Asia in 2015 and Beyond: New Challenges and Governance Agendas
APISA 9 Congress Secretariat

Co-Conveners:
Dr. Chandarith Neak
Acting Head of Department of International Studies
Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Prof. Jinhwan Oh
Director of Cambodia Development Institute (CDI) and
Professor of Ewha Womans University

APISA 9 Congress Secretariats:
Mr. Sokkhoeurn An
Conference Coordinator, Department of International Studies
Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Ms. Monika Mey
APISA 9 Secretariat (General Inquiry)
Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Tel: 092-818-684

Ms. Sokunthea Phork
APISA 9 Secretariat (Hotel Reservation)
Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Tel: 069-689-872

Mr. Sosereybot Kry
APISA 9 Secretariat (Registration)
Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Tel: 077-337-482

Mr. Raksmeay Kiet
APISA 9 Secretariat (Abstract Submission)
Institute of Foreign Languages, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Tel: 070-769-311

Hotel Inquiry:
023-430-333 / 023-430-339 (Sunway Hotel)
023-722-828 / 012-383-360 (Lux Riverside Hotel)
023-430-066 / 023-998-422 (Hotel Cara)

Tour Agency (PTM)
Tel: 023-886-868
Email: inbound@ptmcambodia.com
APISA Executive Committee (2015 – 2016)

**Dr. Paul Chambers and Dr. Napisa Waitoolkiat (Co-Presidents)**
Chiang Mai University and Naresuan University, Thailand

**Dr. Julio Teehankee (Executive Secretary)**
De La Salle University, Philippines

**Dr. Mark R. Thompson**
City University of Hong Kong, China

**Dr. Christian Schafferer**
Overseas Chinese University, Taiwan

**Dr. M Ramesh**
National University of Singapore, Singapore

**Dr. Brendan Howe**
Ewha Womans University, South Korea

**Dr. Toshiya Hoshino**
Osaka School of International Public Policy, Japan

**Dr. N. Ganesan**
Hiroshima Peace Institute, Japan

**Dr. Darryl S. L. Jarvis**
Hong Kong Institute of Education, China
Welcome to
The 9th Annual Congress of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA9)

I. Introduction

Asia has come a long way in overcoming legacy issues and looking to a shared future to advance prosperity for all. This year, 2015, will herald an unprecedented opportunity for the countries of Asia to take far-reaching, long-overdue actions to secure their future well-being. Despite positive trends of this Asian Century, challenges lie ahead. They range from peace and security to development and governance. Thus, this is a moment to join hands and renew commitments for development, regional integration, human security, democratization and conflict management. To address those challenges and agendas, the Royal University of Phnom Penh in collaboration with Ewha Womans University will convene the 9th Annual Congress of the Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) on 11-12 September 2015 in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

II. Objectives

APISA 9 seeks to contribute to scholarship about Asia, encompassing interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research, especially with regard to issues of development, regional integration, democratization, human security and conflict management.

Therefore, APISA 9 welcomes panels and papers which reflect the said objectives with a goal of producing theoretically-informed analyses of single and/or comparative case studies about Asia, and of showcasing new perspectives to current issues and themes pertaining to Asia. Papers from this conference are to be published afterwards in APISA-connected journals or edited volumes.

III. Themes of the Congress
1. International Development, Sustainability & Gender
2. Regional Integration
3. Human Security Issues
4. Security Sector Reform
5. Governance, Human Rights & Democratization
6. Conflict Management
7. Social Movements & Resistance
8. Party Politics & Electoral Systems
9. Communities at the Margins
10. Non-Governmental organizations and civil societies
11. Migration, Trans-nationalization of Migration & Diaspora Politics
12. Transnational Issues, Environmental Politics and Energy Politics
13. Asian Studies
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THURSDAY, 10 SEPTEMBER 2015</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00 - 19:00</td>
<td>Early registration and collection of congress kits and badges</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>FRIDAY, 11 SEPTEMBER 2015</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08:00 – 08:30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08:30 – 08:40</td>
<td>Introductory Remark by&lt;br&gt;- <em>Dr. Napisa Waitoolkiat</em>, Co-President of&lt;br&gt;Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA)&lt;br&gt;- <em>Dr. Julio Teehankee</em>, Executive Secretary of Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08:40 – 08:45</td>
<td>Welcome Remark by <em>Dr. Eun Mee Kim</em>, Dean of Ewha Womans University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08:50 – 09:00</td>
<td>Opening Remark by&lt;br&gt;- <em>H.E Dr. Chet Chealy</em>, Rector of Royal University of Phnom Penh&lt;br&gt;- <em>H.E Dr. Hang Chuon Naron</em>, Minister of Education, Youth and Sports of the Kingdom of Cambodia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00 – 09:10</td>
<td>Group Photo Session</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:15 – 10:15</td>
<td>Keynote Remark by <em>Dr. Peou Sorpong</em>, Professor and Chair of the Department of Politics and Public Administration of Ryerson University (Canada)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:15 – 10:30</td>
<td>Q &amp; A Session</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:30 - 11:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:00 - 12:30</td>
<td>Panel Session 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room:</td>
<td>Panel 02: Economic Regionalism in Asia&lt;br&gt;- Ratanak Hoeun, “The Effects of AFTA and Trade Facilitation on ASEAN Intra-Trade”&lt;br&gt;- Siti Daulah Khoiriati, “Thinking ASEAN Economic Community: A Centrifugal or Centripetal Process toward Regional Integration?”&lt;br&gt;- Parinha Sok, “Effect of Dollarization on Monetary Transmission Mechanism: Cases of Cambodia and Thailand”&lt;br&gt;- Jungbin Lee, “Regional Integration in terms of GVC in Asia”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room:</td>
<td>Panel 02: Economic Regionalism in Asia&lt;br&gt;- Ratanak Hoeun, “The Effects of AFTA and Trade Facilitation on ASEAN Intra-Trade”&lt;br&gt;- Siti Daulah Khoiriati, “Thinking ASEAN Economic Community: A Centrifugal or Centripetal Process toward Regional Integration?”&lt;br&gt;- Parinha Sok, “Effect of Dollarization on Monetary Transmission Mechanism: Cases of Cambodia and Thailand”&lt;br&gt;- Jungbin Lee, “Regional Integration in terms of GVC in Asia”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room:</td>
<td>Panel 02: Economic Regionalism in Asia&lt;br&gt;- Ratanak Hoeun, “The Effects of AFTA and Trade Facilitation on ASEAN Intra-Trade”&lt;br&gt;- Siti Daulah Khoiriati, “Thinking ASEAN Economic Community: A Centrifugal or Centripetal Process toward Regional Integration?”&lt;br&gt;- Parinha Sok, “Effect of Dollarization on Monetary Transmission Mechanism: Cases of Cambodia and Thailand”&lt;br&gt;- Jungbin Lee, “Regional Integration in terms of GVC in Asia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Wat Phnom II</td>
<td>Panel 03: Natural Disasters and Human Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Brendan Howe, “Governance Obligations and Aid Invasions: Humanitarian Intervention in Times of Crisis”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Prof. Allen B. Surla, “ICT in Disaster and Post Disaster Management and Recovery”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Geehyun Bang, “Nargis and Haiynan: Governance Challenges and the Exacerbation of Natural Disasters”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Geraldo S. Petilla, “Transcendental Humanitarianism and the Changing Understanding in Human Security”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Kulen</td>
<td>Panel 04: Securitizing the State: Security Sector Practices and Security Sector Reform Proposals in Asia Today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Napisa Waitoolkiat (Panel Chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Saya Kiba, “‘Breaking the Silo’ through Sharing Experience of Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Atsushi Yasutomi, “Challenges in the Security-Development Nexus Regarding the Stabilization of Fragile States in Asia—Theoretical Perspectives”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Paul Chambers and Dr. Kevin Nauen, “Civilian-Military Relations and Security Sector Reform Efforts in Cambodia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Mekong II</td>
<td>Panel 05: The Role of the Elite, Ethnicity, and the Poor in Asian Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Prof. Devin Joshi, &quot;Varieties of Meritocracy: The Role of Elite Educational Backgrounds in Asian Parliaments&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Syaza Farhana Mohamad Shukri, &quot;The Role of Ethnic Politics in Promoting Democratic Governance: A Case Study of Malaysia&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Prof. Kazuhiro Ota, &quot;Politics of Poverty in the Philippines: Governmentality through Classification of Population&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Wat Phnom III</td>
<td>Panel 06: Governance and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Darryl S.L. Jarvis, &quot;The New Politics of Development: Citizens, Civil Society and the Evolution of Neoliberal Development”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Bryan Joseph Ortiz, “The Promise of Prosperity Through Urban Revitalization in the Philippines and Indonesia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Nath Debashis, &quot;Contradictions and Development Dynamics of India’s North East and Beyond”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Bokor</td>
<td>Panel 07: Cambodia-US Relations: Current Issues, Challenges and Future Prospects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chanborey Cheunboran (Panel Chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Oudom Tem, “Cambodia between China and the United States, 1997-2013”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Vinich Virak, “Cambodia-US Bilateral Relations: What Have Been the Strained Factors?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chansereypich Seng, “US-Cambodia Strained Relations: From American Perspectives”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Visal Phork, “The U.S. Pivot to Asia and Democracy in Southeast Asia: The Case of Cambodia”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Session/Activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:30 - 13:45</td>
<td>Lunch Break (Venue: Sun Café and Lobby Lounge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 15:30</td>
<td>Panel Session 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Panel 08: Electoral Democracy and Authoritarian Elections in Southeast Asia**

- Dr. Julio C. Teehankee (Panel Chair)
- Dr. Fukuoka Yuki, "Ruling Malaysia in a “Post-Protective” Era: New Challenges for UMNO"
- Dr. Prajak Kongkirati, "The Failed 2014 Election: Anti-election Movement, Military Coup, and Democratic Breakdown"
- Dr. Yuko Kasuya, "Survival of Electoral Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: The Impact of Constitutional Structure"
- Dr. Mark R. Thompson, "To Catch a Thief: Middle Class Campaigns against Stolen Elections"

**Panel 09: Southeast Asia and China: Problems of Democratization and Governance in the Context of Globalization**

- Prof. Amado M. Mendoza, Jr., "The Politics of Hatred and Revenge: Travails of Democratization and Democratic Consolidation in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Myanmar"
- Prof. Rolando G. Talampas, "A Decade of UHC: Social Health Insurance in China, Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam, 2005-2015"
- Prof. Alejandro N. Ciencia, Jr., "Judicial Clientelism in the Philippines and Southeast Asia: Exploratory Considerations"
- Prof. Jalton G. Taguibao, "Renewable Energy Policy in Southeast Asia: Domestic Variations and Congruences in Policy Design"

**Panel 10: Comparative Politics in Asia**

- Dr. Borah Rupakjyoti, "South Korea in India’s “LOOK-EAST POLICY”: What Lies Ahead?"
- Prof. Keliyan Maya, "New Challenges Facing Asian Middle Classes: Japan, Taiwan and China in Comparative Perspective"
- Alphonse G. Samson, "The Tortoise or the Hare? Media Coverage and Legislative Success"
- Glenn Joseph Teh, "Bilateral Cooperation Leading to Congruence of Interests"

**Panel 11: States, Markets, and Governance in Southeast Asia: A Multi-Level Analysis**

- Prof. Richard Javad Heydarian, "Regional Integration, Security, and Governance: Understanding the ASEAN from a Comparative Perspective"
- Dr. Eric Vincent Batalla, "Why the Fight against Corruption Always Fails: Reformism and Underdevelopment in the Philippines"
- Dr. Ador R. Torneo and Prof. Jose Ma. Arcadio C. Malbarosa, "Public Sector Reform: An Exploratory Study of the Effects of the Performance-Based Incentives System (PBIS) on Selected Philippine Government Agencies"
- Prof. Pedro Antonio Jr., "Institutions for Contract Enforcement in "Stateless" Markets: Lessons from Community-Based Gambling in the Philippines"
**Panel 12: Aid and Development Cooperation**
- Prof. Thomas Kalinowski & Min-Joung Park, "Korean Development Cooperation and the Legacy of the Developmental State"
- Kris Hartley, "Aid Effectiveness and Donor Intervention: Concept, Commitment and Competence in recipient governance"
- Ji-Hyun Shin and Prof. Jinhwan Oh, "On Health-Aid Determinants"
- Dr. Enkhtsetseg Sosorbaram, "Economic Comparative Studies Among Resource-dependent Countries such as Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz"

**Panel 13: Human Rights Issues in Asia**
- Lucy West, "The Limits of Transitional Justice to Establish a Liberal Rule of Law Culture in Cambodia"
- Rakesh Singh Khwairakpam, "Functioning of Human Rights Commission in the Conflict Regions: A Case Study of Manipur Human Rights"
- Mustika Hans, "Between Human Rights and Politics in Indonesia: Jokowi and Death Penalty for Drug Traffickers"
- Gianna Francesca Catolico, "State-non-state Relations and NGO-NGO Relations in Solving Extrajudicial Killings in the Philippines"

**Panel 14: Cooperation and Development in Southeast Asia**
- Prof. Yoshimatsu Hidetaka, “Revisiting ASEAN Centrality in East Asian Regionalism”
- Castillo Ronald M. and Estapia Clint Lou Matthew P., “Republic City and ASEAN 2015: The Integration of Nations and their Political Cultures”
- Garcia Lermie Shayne, “South-South Cooperation within Southeast Asia: Exploring Areas of Cooperation between the More Developed South and the Less Developed South”

**Panel 15: National and Transnational Policies and Implications for Human Security**
- Prof. Dmitry Baluev, “New Russian Engagement in Asia Pacific”
- Dr. Sean O’Malley, “Nuclear Power, Human Security and South Korea’s Middle Power Activism”
- Prof. Raj Kishor Singh, “Challenges to Human Security in South Asia”
- Rajesh Kharat, “Borderland Communities and Issues of Human Security in South Asia: ‘Baltis’ as Victims of Border”

**Panel 16: Colonialism and International Relations**
- John Harvey Gamas, “Universalizing International Relations through the Genealogy of International Systems: The Historical”
- Sanjay Kumar, “Indian Intellectuals’ Cognizance of Korea during Colonial Period”
- Dr. Serizawa Takamichi, “Comparing US Modernization Discourses on Japan and the Philippines (1945-1964)”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concurrent Panels</th>
<th>Panel 17: Governance and Democratization in Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room: Mekong II</td>
<td>Room: Mekong II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panel 18: Regional Conflict Management in Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Wat Phnom II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panel 19: Party Politics in Southeast Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Wat Phnom III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panel 20: Causes and Governance of Migration in Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Kulen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Panel 21: Environmental Protection and Disaster Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Room: Bokor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19:00 – 21:00 Welcome Dinner (Venue: Grand Wat Phnom)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Panel 17: Governance and Democratization in Asia**
- Dr. Christian Schafferer, “Taiwanese Democracy 2.0”
- Prof. Nishimura Kenichi, “Do the Family Backgrounds of Mayors Affect the Performance of Local Governments in the Philippines?”
- Rodrigo Karen, “The Role of Judicial Review in the Anti-Corruption Agenda in the Philippines”
- Sokphea Young, “The Logic of Regime Survival: A Case of Cambodia”

**Panel 18: Regional Conflict Management in Asia**
- Dr. Clifton Sherrill, “The Age of ISIS: The Threat to Southeast Asia”
- Prof. Joshua Robert Snider, “Counter-radicalisation Policy in Malaysia: The Appeal of ISIS and the Limits of Najib’s ‘Moderation Agenda’”
- Miguel Alberto Gomez, “Stem the Tide: ISIL/ISIS in South East Asia”

**Panel 19: Party Politics in Southeast Asia**
- Allan Cairo M. Reyes, “Probing the Iglesia Vote: Religious Endorsements and Iglesia Support in the 2004 and 2010 Elections”
- Beltran Jonathan, “Strong and Weak States: The Continuing Electoral Authoritarianism in South East Asia”
- Ramos Renz Paolo, “Teachers’ Party-Lists on K-12 Program in the Philippines”

**Panel 20: Causes and Governance of Migration in Asia**
- Monika Lalwani, “Politics of Illegal Migration: A Case Study of Assam”
- Naomi Hatsukano, “Cambodian Migrant Workers in Thailand”
- Sokheng Ork, “Migration and Border Crossing Issues at the Hat Lek-Cham Yeam Border Checkpoint in Koh Kong Province”

**Panel 21: Environmental Protection and Disaster Management**
- Villasanta Evenita Maan, “Policy Paradigms and Policy Change in Disaster Policy in the Philippines”
- Doce Brian, “Smuggling as Transnational Crime: The Case of the Fireworks Industry in Bocaue, Bulacan”
- Kania Prathita, “The Improvement of Sustainable Fisheries in Indonesia in 2014”
### Concurrent Panels

#### Panel 22: Grassroots Civil Society Building for Local Development?
- Dr. Say Sok, "Civil Society Building in Developing Countries: A Conceptual Debate"
- Dr. Rido Thath, "Factors Affecting Cost Efficiency of Cambodian Rice Farming Households"
- Dr. Say Sok and Rosa Yi, "Toward Understanding Grassroots Civil Society Building in Rural Cambodia"

**Room:** Mekong I

#### Panel 23: Gender Orientation and Networking
- Dr. Peracullo Jeane, "Japanese Women’s Activism as Transnational Women’s Movement: Reimagining, Redefining Solidarity"
- Cabalang Alyssa Faye, "LGBT in the Philippines: Effectiveness of Ang Ladlad and Its Network Organizations in Policy Making"
- Marasigan Anastacio Jr., "Sexual Orientation and Gender Identities and Expression (SOGIE) and the Anti-Discrimination Ordinan"

**Room:** Bokor

#### Panel 24: Foreign Policy in Asia Pacific
- Dr. Simo Leang, “The Real Issue of ASEAN Integration: A Case Study of the Roots of Cambodia-Thailand Nationalism through Official Historical Writings”
- Chanborey Cheunboran, “The Making of Cambodia’s Foreign Policy: Compelling Factors, Actors and Strategic Choices”
- Hannah Leigh Tabunda and Carla Michaela B. Taguinod, “Japan’s Current Stance on the Comfort Women Issue”
- Thearith Leng, “Cambodia’s Foreign Policy towards Vietnam”

**Room:** Mekong II

#### Panel 25: Culture and Development
- Naina Thatal, “Cultural Diversification and Identity Mobilization in India’s Northeast: Case of Sikkim”
- Phyllis Marie S. Teanco, “Engaging the Indigenous People through Participation in the Development of Their Ancestral Domain”

**Room:** Kulen

### Plenary Session

#### Keynote Remark by H.E Dr. Hang Chuon Naron, Minister of Education, Youth and Sports of the Kingdom of Cambodia

**09:15 – 10:15**

#### Q & A Session

**10:15 – 10:30**

### Concurrent Panels

#### Panel 26: International Relations in Asia Pacific
- Prof. Yoneyuki Sugita, “President Obama’s Pivot to Asia-Pacific and Japan’s Hedging Policies”
- Dr. Moni Monir Hossain, “Cultural Diplomacy in Japan’s Foreign Policy toward Asia: Problems and Prospects”
- Rabena Aaron Jed, “Trilateral Relations Between The US, China, And The Philippines”

**Room:** Mekong I

### Coffee Break

**10:30 - 11:00**

### Panel Session 5

**11:00 - 12:30**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concurrent Panels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Room: Wat Phnom I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panel 27: Contested Democracy in Asia</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dr. Ortmann Stephan, &quot;Democratization and Sovereignty: The Case of Hong Kong&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dr. Monica Ang, &quot;The Anti-government versus government dilemma of Philippine and South Korean Presidents&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Alfredo S. Sureta Jr., &quot;After an Asian Strongman: Creating Durable Democratic Institutions in Select ASEAN Countries&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room: Kulen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Panel 28: Empirical Investigations on Philippine Politics, Development, and Administration</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Dr. Ador R. Torneo (Panel Chair)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| - Bianca Isabel D. Soriano, "Philippine provincial dynasties and local economic development (2001-2009)"
| - Alessandra Regina D. Gaon, "Online Political Marketing as a Campaign Strategy in the Philippines"
| - Michelle Sta. Romana and Dr. Ador R. Torneo, "Merit and Fitness in Philippines Public Administration" |
| Room: Bokor |
| **Panel 29: Conflict Management in Southeast Asia** |
| - Patricia Belle Adolfo, “Cross Strait Relations: The 'ASEAN Way' Strategy in Global Conflict Resolution”
| - Prof. John Gustave Swanda, “Perceptions, Intelligence and Strategies of South Korean Cyber Security”
| - Jeffrey Ordaniel, “UNCLOS in the South China Sea: Int'l Law, ASEAN Claimant States’ Strategies and the East Asian Order” |
| Room: Mekong II |
| **Panel 30: Public Policy, Political Capacity, and Governance** |
| - Dr. Michael Patrick Howlett, "Blending Skill and Resources Across Multiple Levels of Activity" |
| - Phua Chao Rong, "The Capacity (Potential) of Capacity: A Focus on Political Capacity, Adaptive Capacity and Research"
| - Dr. Hidayat Rakhmat, "The Anti-Corruption Education in Indonesia After New Order" |
| - Dr. Dashzevge Myagmarsuren, “Comparative political research on natural resource-based developing countries” |
| Room: Wat Phnom II |
| **Panel 31: Marginalized Communities and Role of Civil Societies** |
| - Doce Brian, “Opus Dei Study Centers and Youth Involvement in the Philippines”
| - Mochahari Monjib, "Deconstructing a Periphery: Communities, Networks and Conflicts in 'borderlands' of India's Northeast”
<p>| - Chhetry Tikendra Kumar, ”Identity Mobilization, Conflicts and Linguistic Minorities in India: A Case of Gorkhas in Assam” |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room: Wat Phnom III</th>
<th>Panel 32: Electoral System and Politics in Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Francis Yin, &quot;New Media, Election and Party Politics: the Case of Taiwan&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Ronojoy Sen, &quot;India's Aam Aadmi (Common Man's) Party and its significance&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Arun Kanti Jana, &quot;Reforming the Electoral System in India: The Recommendations in the Era of Liberalisation&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Adhikari Neeraj, &quot;Regional Politics in India: Electoral Politics and Party Behaviour in Sikkim&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:30 - 13:45</td>
<td>Lunch Break (Venue: Sun Café and Lobby Lounge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00 – 15:30</td>
<td>Panel Session 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room: Mekong I</th>
<th>Panel 33: The Rise of Regionalism in Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Marcin Grabowski, &quot;Trans-Pacific Partnership as a Crucial Element of the U.S. Pivoting to Asia – is TTIP a Threat?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Bharati Torane, &quot;Small Island States and Regional Integration: the Maldives Stakes in SAARC&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Arunoday Bajpai, &quot;Bottom-Up Approach to Regional Integration in South Asia&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Erdem Cagri, &quot;Northeast Asia as a Transnational Region: Geopolitical Challenges and Geoeconomic Opportunities&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room: Wat Phnom I</th>
<th>Panel 34: Social Movement and Resistance in Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ewelina Karas, &quot;Chinese-Chinese Relations in Motion: Does Mobilization at the Periphery Matter?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Matthew David Ordoñez, &quot;Battle for the Fort: Anti-gentrification Urban Social Movements in Fort Bonifacio&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room: Wat Phnom II</th>
<th>Panel 35: Local Politics and Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Rogelio Alicor Panao, &quot;Relative Benefits? Families and Fiscal Governance in Local Development&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Brian Doce, &quot;Leadership and Local Economic Development: A Case Study on an Angeles City Mayor from 2010-2013&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ibnu Pohan, &quot;The Dynamics of Local Politics in Indonesia: A Governor without Supporting Party In Multi-Party System&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Sherwin Ona, &quot;Opening Health Data in Rural Communities: Implications for Local Government Units in the Philippines&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Room: Wat Phnom III</th>
<th>Panel 36: Migration, Development, and Human Security in Asia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Ador R. Torneo (Panel Chair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Benjamin Arcena San Jose, “In the Name of the Filipino Nation: Migrant Home Communities as Sites for Contention on Migration and Development”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Prof. Ron Bridget T. Vilog and Marie Donna M. Ballesteros, “Overseas Filipino Workers in Conflict Zones: Narratives of Filipino Nurses in Libya”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Dr. Ador R. Torneo, “Marriage Migration from Developing Countries to South Korea: Empirical Modelling and Analysis”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Jeorge Alarcon JR., “Diverse and Equal?: Inter- and Intra-group Politics, Filipino Organizations in Kanto, and Migrant”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:30 – 16:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00 – 17:00</td>
<td>Panel Session 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Panel 37: Cambodia in Changing Regional Contexts**
- Sokkhoeurn An (Panel Chair)
- Teksang Phour, “South China Sea dispute: Implications on Cambodia”
- Piseyratanak Sovan, “Cambodia-Japan Strategic Partnership: Factors, Interests and Challenges”
- Sovannaroth Tey, “Implications of Obama’s Pivot to Asia on Democratization in Southeast Asia”
- Sereyrath Seng, “Greater Mekong Sub-region and ASEAN Economic Community: Implication on Cambodia”

**Panel 38: National and International Governance Challenges**
- Dr. Francisco Magno, “Governance, Security and Human Trafficking”
- Dr. Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, “The Youth and ISIL Threat in Malaysia”
- Sema Angely, “Conflict and Development in Nagaland”
- Lim Yan Chun, “Labour Migration, Human Security and Migrant Impacts in Rural Cambodia: Case Study of Baray District”

**Panel 39: Economy of Security Sector and Civil-Military Relations**
- Hans-Peter Lipp, “The Economy of the Security Sector as a Key of Infrastructure Development in Laos”
- Prof. Rykhtik Mikhail, “New” Military Forces for Old World Order”

**Panel 40: Cross-border Conflicts in the ASEAN region**
- Dr. Krisna Uk, “Cambodia-Thailand relations: border issue”
- Oudom Ham, “Adverse environmental effect by the Don Sahong and Xayaburi dam construction”
- Dr. Chivoin Peou, “Risks and challenges of young Khmer migrant peasants”

**Plenary Session**
- Room: Grand Wat Phnom
- 17:00 – 18:00
- Closing Session
  - Report by Dr. Julio Teehankee, Executive Secretary of APISA
  - General Meeting of APISA
## Table of Contents

### Panel Session 1
(Friday, 11 September 2015, 11:00 - 12:30)

1. Panel 01: Education and Development
2. Panel 02: Economic Regionalism in Asia
3. Panel 03: Natural Disasters and Human Security
5. Panel 05: The Role of the Elite, Ethnicity, and the Poor in Asian Politics
6. Panel 06: Governance and Development
7. Panel 07: Cambodia-US Relations: Current Issues, Challenges and Future Prospects

### Panel Session 2
(Friday, 11 September 2015, 14:00 - 15:30)

8. Panel 08: Electoral Democracy and Authoritarian Elections in Southeast Asia
10. Panel 10: Comparative Politics in Asia
11. Panel 11: States, Markets, and Governance in Southeast Asia: A Multi-Level Analysis
12. Panel 12: Aid and Development Cooperation
14. Panel 14: Cooperation and Development in Southeast Asia

### Panel Session 3
(Friday, 11 September 2015, 16:00 - 17:30)

15. Panel 15: National and Transnational Policies and Implications for Human Security
16. Panel 16: Colonialism and International Relations
17. Panel 17: Governance and Democratization in Asia
18. Panel 18: Regional Conflict Management in Asia
20. Panel 20: Causes and Governance of Migration in Asia
21. Panel 21: Environmental Protection and Disaster Management

### Panel Session 4
(Saturday, 12 September 2015, 08:15 - 09:15)

22. Panel 22: Grassroots Civil Society Building for Local Development?
23. Panel 23: Gender Orientation and Networking
24. Panel 24: Foreign Policy in Asia Pacific
25. Panel 25: Culture and Development

### Panel Session 5
(Saturday, 12 September 2015, 11:00 - 12:30)

26. Panel 26: International Relations in Asia Pacific
27. Panel 27: Contested Democracy in Asia
Panel 29: Conflict Management in Southeast Asia ................................................................. 48
Panel 30: Public Policy, Political Capacity, and Governance ................................................. 50
Panel 31: Marginalized Communities and Role of Civil Societies ........................................ 52
Panel 32: Electoral System and Politics in Asia ................................................................. 54

Panel Session 6
(Saturday, 12 September 2015, 14:00 - 15:30)
Panel 33: The Rise of Regionalism in Asia ............................................................................. 56
Panel 34: Social Movement and Resistance in Asia ................................................................. 58
Panel 35: Local Politics and Development ............................................................................. 59
Panel 36: Migration, Development, and Human Security in Asia ......................................... 61
Panel 37: Cambodia in Changing Regional Contexts ............................................................. 63
Panel 38: National and International Governance Challenges ............................................. 64

Panel Session 5
(Saturday, 12 September 2015, 16:00 - 17:00)
Panel 39: Economy of Security Sector and Civil-Military Relations ..................................... 66
Panel 40: Cross-border Conflicts in the ASEAN region ......................................................... 68
Panel 01: Education and Development

Panel Chair: Prof. Jasper Kim, Ewha Womans University

Prof. Jasper Kim, Ewha Womans University
Email: jaskim@ewha.ac.kr

Abstract
As stated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), universal primary education is inarguably an important aspect of an individual. To some, it is a necessity that should be considered a basic human right. As education is stressed to have important value in Asia and at the global scale, the current state of basic educational infrastructure and resources in developing regions within and beyond Asian borders clearly exist, in notable part due to lack of education funding. Global Monitoring Report reports that basic education is underfunded by an estimated 26 million U.S. dollars (UNESCO, 2014).

For this reason, the author argues that such funding for such needed education can in part (but not entirely) be provided in the form of a PPP-SIB (Public-Private Partnership and Social Impact Bond) social finance development assistance model, whereby mutuality and cooperation within a Brinkerhoff theoretical perspective represents a crucial element to current and future progress towards improvement in society through education financing. The suggested PPP-SIB education-funding framework would allow the government to save costs while incorporating certain incentive systems of the private sector. The incentive and performance based PPP-SIB allows for social impact investors to potentially receive a return both in monetary and social value, while NGOs and other service providers gain efficiency and capacity to deliver their purpose towards constituents who are then able to enhance the direct effects of the given educational project. The PPP-SIB model is evidence-based and enhances transparency since an external evaluator would be used, whereby the Asian region would reap benefits for a growing opportunity to have and gain quality education and educational resources.

In summary, the use of SIBs and the PPP education-funding model to complement (but not replace) other sources of education financing could help resolve some of the budgetary capital constraints that currently exist in the region to foster greater Asian socio-economic development.

Edcelyn Bacila, De La Salle University
Email: edzbacila@gmail.com
Paper: Glocalizing’ the Philippine Basic Education System: The Adoption of the K+12 Mechanism

Abstract
The Philippine education system is keeping up with the phase of globalization and transformation by implementing new laws and mandates that had been the demanded from the country for quite some time now. The Enhanced K to 12 Basic Education System is one of the answers in the demands from the global community to upgrade the local education system of the country. It is a fact that the Philippine education system needs to be reviewed, reassessed and resuscitated, especially in this time of globalization. Globalization had been affecting almost all aspects of the society and it is but a must to made mention that the academe had been greatly affected by the changing paradigm of the world. What is happening in the global scale is not limited to some countries but is affecting the local or national scale.

Arguably, globalization is an inevitable process; however the globalization process does not mean to forget the local sphere in embracing the paradigms set globally. The process of globalization is another avenue to be at par in the global sphere while enhancing and using the local society. The attempt to further enhance and preserve the local society in the onset of globalization is possible. Glocalization
Easter Joy Dabuet, De La Salle University
Email: easter.dabuet@dlsu.edu.ph
Paper: Education for a Sustainable Future

Abstract
As we enter the era of ASEAN Integration there is a need to re-examine what students are learning. According to Karl Mannheim, education is a tool for social conditioning. If this is so, what is the goal of education today? In this paper I propose key areas for education to achieve not just the goals of the integration but to attain a sustainable future for the entire region. First is the value of the environment because everything that requires human sustenance comes from natural resources. Second is the need for religious tolerance because religion has always caused conflict in the world. Third is gender equality and sensitivity to prevent injustice and give opportunities to all genders. Last is poverty alleviation that is genuinely geared towards development. Each country may have their own priorities but I believe that these are the particular areas that students need to learn more about if we want a sustainable future. The youth of today are our future. All the advancements in science and technology will not be enough to address all the problems in the world. The topics that I have mentioned are sources of perennial problems; it is definitely time to give these more focus.

Panel 02: Economic Regionalism in Asia

Panel Chair: Ratanak Hoeun, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Ratanak Hoeun, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: hoeun.ratanak@gmail.com
Paper: The Effects of AFTA and Trade Facilitation on ASEAN Intra-Trade

Abstract
This paper investigates the effects of AFTA and trade facilitation on ASEAN intra-trade by employing a gravity model with econometrics tool of Haussmann-Taylor panel data approach. The study covers all ASEAN members from 2005 to 2013. The results show that AFTA is economically and statistically significant for contribution to the increase in ASEAN intra-trade, while the effect of trade facilitation is inconclusive. AFTA increases intra-trade by 70.7%; one score increase in trade facilitation of an exporting country raises intra-trade by 92.1% while that of an importing country raises intra-trade by 53%. However, when we included year fixed effect to control for time trend, only AFTA is economically and statistically significant; it raises intra-trade by 34.5%.

Siti Daulah Khoiriati, Universitas Gadjah Mada,
Email: daulahk@ugm.ac.id
Paper: Thinking ASEAN Economic Community: A Centrifugal or Centripetal Process toward Regional Integration?

Abstract
The formation of ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) faces many challenges and difficulties to be materialized as scheduled in 2015. Various studies based on economic analysis show that the weak intra-ASEAN trade has become one of the causes for the difficulty to develop a solid economic integration based on the principles of economic interdependence. Meanwhile, trade activities between
ASEAN member states and their external partners which grow relatively more intensive seems to distract their commitment toward the formation AEC. In such condition, it raises the question whether ASEAN is facing a centrifugal or centripetal forces in its effort to form a regional economic integration? What are the impact of such forces towards the regional integration process? This paper attempts to review the formation process of AEC in order to identify which process is taking place in the formation of a regional integration. In order for a regional integration to be successful, a centripetal force should be working in the process. Therefore, this paper argues that the ability of ASEAN to face the challenges in the formation of AEC would generate its success.

Parinha Sok, Royal University of Phnom Penh  
Email: parinha.sok@gmail.com  
Paper: Effect of Dollarization on Monetary Transmission Mechanism: Cases of Cambodia and Thailand

Abstract
There has been ample research on dollarization and monetary transmission mechanism. However, there has not been much empirical research on how dollarization affects the monetary transmission mechanism. Among other things, ASEAN countries are diverse in terms of the degree of dollarization of their economies. In this paper we aim to offer preliminary evidence on the effect of bank deposit dollarization on monetary transmission mechanism by comparing two countries: Cambodia and Thailand, the former a highly dollarized economy whereas the latter a non-dollarized country. We use SVAR in time series with two variables: the deposit interest rate and the monetary base. We impose structural restriction of monetary neutrality which works well for countries that allow their real exchange rate to adjust to long-run equilibrium so that monetary base doesn't have an impact on real interest rate in the long run. The results show that the transmission mechanism from the monetary base to the deposit rate in Cambodia is slightly weaker than that in Thailand. We adapt a dynamic general equilibrium model to explain the results.

Jungbin Lee, Ewha GSIS  
Email: glswjd2tp@naver.com  
Paper: Regional Integration in terms of GVC in Asia

Abstract
Despite of highly advanced production network in Asia region, there has been no single regional economic integration model so far. Lately, the effort to negotiate Trans Pacific partnership (TPP) and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) shows us the needs are also recognized by United State and China. I will examine which partnership could support intra-regional trade under Global Value Chain (GVC) and what strategy for Korea government should have. At the somewhat wider view, simultaneous regional integration may cause inefficiency and negative effects like noodle bowl effect. Moreover, it is highly likely that product fragmentation trade has prospered in Asia region under over-lapping FTAs. In this context, this paper suggests the way to enhance GVC for the further growth in Asia.
Panel 03: Natural Disasters and Human Security

**Panel Chair:** Dr. Brendan Howe, Ewha Womans University

Dr. Brendan Howe, Ewha Womans University  
**Email:** bmg.howe@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Governance Obligations and Aid Invasions: Humanitarian Intervention in Times of Crisis

**Abstract**  
The impact of Cyclone Nargis in 2008, as well as the aftermath of the catastrophe when the Government of Myanmar was accused of blocking international relief efforts, threw into sharp relief the tensions between international obligations under the new paradigm of human security and the preexisting rights of a sovereign state. Human security reflects the entitlement rights of individual human beings to live their lives free from fear, want, and indignity. In establishing these rights as universal, the paradigm also implies concurrent obligations upon others, not only to refrain from denying individuals these rights, but also to establish conditions under which they can be enjoyed. This means that national governments have an obligation to provide conditions under which these entitlement rights may be enjoyed. If a national government is unwilling or unable to provide such conditions, or worse, is seen as a direct threat to them, then the international community is further obliged to take action, even if such action amounts to a violation of sovereign rights. At the cutting edge of this controversy lies humanitarian intervention and the responsibility to protect (R2P). Thus some international commentators and practitioners raised the question as to whether it was time for an ‘aid invasion’ of Myanmar given perceived government inaction the face of the Nargis catastrophe. Yet discussion of humanitarian intervention in Myanmar also revealed divergent international understandings of human security, the R2P, the relationship between the two, international obligations, and the permissiveness of the violation of the principles of non-intervention and state sovereignty. Primarily the divisions can be seen as running along East-West fault lines. This paper addresses both the physical impact of Nargis, and the impact it had on human security policy debates.

This presentation has been produced in association with the JICA-RI Research Project on "Human Security in Practice: East Asian Experiences".

Prof. Allen B. Surla, De La Salle University  
**Email:** allen.surla@dlsu.edu.ph  
**Paper:** ICT in Disaster and Post Disaster Management and Recovery

**Abstract**  
Amidst regional integration issues in Southeast Asia are the never-ending natural and man-made disasters in countries like the Philippines. Natural disasters such as floods, drought, earthquake, typhoons, agricultural infestations, volcanic eruptions, fires, and haze, occur in the region -- although some countries are prone to more than others. Countries also experience political-social disturbance in various levels/intensity like political conflict, civil unrest, insurgency, secessionist movements, ethnic rebellion, and state violence. Epidemic like SARS and avian flu are becoming common, a few destructive tsunami, as well as concerns on “terrorism.” Disasters as these pose serious threat to human security and existence, and thus highlight the need to better address the fundamentals of disaster risk management and post disaster management and recovery.

Especially for the more disenfranchised segments of society, the role of ICT becomes more pronounced so that these people can rise again after each disaster and re-establish themselves as important members of society.
Geehyun Bang, Ewha Womans University  
Email: geenie.bang@gmail.com  
Paper: **Nargis and Haiyan: Governance Challenges and the Exacerbation of Natural Disasters**

**Abstract**

This paper examines the impact of two of the gravest natural disasters in contemporary Asian history; Cyclone Nargis that devastated parts of Myanmar in May 2008, and typhoon Haiyan that hit the Philippines in November 2013. It addresses the role played by greatly divergent governance structures, noting that serious governance failures led to the exacerbation of the disasters in both cases. The paper explores the links between the national government as the primary duty-bearer for good governance and natural disaster risk-management, examining institutions, infrastructures, education and budgetary allocations in each country; seeking the underlying causes of inefficient disaster-management. This includes how and why both governments examined in the case studies failed adequately to respond to natural disasters even though their respective countries are regularly exposed to typhoons and tropical storms. In each case the findings are that the national government preparedness effort to reduce the impact of natural disasters was insufficient, and that the authorities, either through lack of capacity or lack of will, failed to deliver their governance obligation to cope with natural disasters effectively. The final section contains lessons learned and policy prescription in order to enhance resilience in the face of future natural disasters in Asia.

Geraldo S. Petilla, National Research Council of the Philippines  
Email: gspetils@yahoo.com  
Paper: **Transcendental Humanitarianism and the Changing Understanding in Human Security**

**Abstract**

The events that transpired after the onslaught of extreme natural hazards such as the typhoon Haiyan (Yolanda) in the Philippines displayed numerous lessons about humanitarianism. However, the experiences in Haiyan went beyond the usual responses commonly seen. It challenged how, what and why people would extend compassion to people in need beyond those considered basic, such as religious exercise, spiritual awareness, deepening international friendships and cultural exchanges. Moreover, the conduct of humanitarianism after Haiyan demonstrates also how territorial conflicts between the suffering nation and that of the perceived aggressor state can be a venue for détente. The prospect of finding an Asian way in conducting humanitarianism that transcends the physical towards the internal well-being of a person or community, which could be essential to the understanding and more holistic practice of human security in the region.

The paper suggests that humanitarianism is a strategy in human security especially along disasters, human or natural. It presents emerging realities in human security such as religious, social and emotional support needed by victims of disasters, which are manifested only after its occurrence. Disasters indicate certain contextual realities that are to be treated differently from the other domains of human security. Further, it advocates that human security, especially in cases along disasters must not be seen as national issue alone, but as an international concern that should matter to everyone.
Panel 04: Securitizing the State: Security Sector Practices and Security Sector Reform Proposals in Asia Today

Panel Chair: Dr. Napisa Waitoolkiat, Naresuan University

Security institutions in countries around the world are crucial to the longevity of the state. Such security actors (armies, police, gendarmerie, etc.) are generally granted the monopoly on violence within a given polity. Yet in order to streamline security sectors as well as make them more efficient, transparent and accountable to civilian scrutiny, efforts have been made to improve security sectors. Such security sector reforms have been attempted in countries throughout the world. Within Asia, such efforts have grown both within single countries and in terms of collective collaborations. This panel examines security sector reform with regard to security practices and security proposals across Asia as well as in selected countries of Asia today (e.g. military, police, etc.). Included in the panel is an analysis of experiences of security sector reform based upon participant interviews at Southeast Asian SSR workshops. A second paper looks at challenges to the security-development nexus of fragile states in Asia. A third paper examines civil-military relations and security sector reform in Cambodia. The final paper analyzes conflict-management mechanism practices among the Philippine army and police. All papers offer proposals to boost SSR either within one state or across countries of Asia.

Dr. Saya Kiba, Doshisha University
Email: saya_kiba@yahoo.co.jp
Paper: Breaking the Silo through Sharing Experience of Security Sector Reform in Southeast Asia

Abstract
This paper argues that multinational and multi-sectoral dialogue plays an important role for Security Sector Reform (SSR) in Southeast Asian countries. The paper asks the following questions: 1) What people have led SSR in Southeast Asian countries? 2) What has been their career background? 3) How did they study SSR concepts and methodology? Using the cases of the Inter-parliamentary Forum on Security Sector Governance in Southeast Asia (IPF-SSG), successively held in Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Cambodia since 2006, this study compares the forums, focusing attention on their participants, the agents of SSR, specifically in terms of their academic/career background and networking capability. It shows that most of the key agents have experience in more than two sectors such as the armed forces, legislature, NGOs, private sector, and research institutions. Indeed, many have adopted a “break-the-silo” approach in SSR, bridging different sectors, particularly among military officials and civilians.

Dr. Atsushi Yasutomi, Research Institute for Peace and Security
Email: yasutomi@rips.or.jp
Paper: Challenges in the Security-Development Nexus Regarding the Stabilization of Fragile States in Asia—Theoretical Perspectives

Abstract
International actors assisting in stabilizing fragile states generally agree that strong, effective coordination amongst the security (particularly the military and the police) and the socio-economic development actors need to be made. In this context, the international community as well as developed countries have committed themselves to implementing their policy of Security-Development Nexus, labelling it 3D (Defence, Development, and Diplomacy). In this context, a number of studies have been made as to how such coordination should be best achieved (e.g. OECD 2006; Nilsson et al 2008; Fitz-Gerald 2004). However, examples of successful, effective coordination seem rather rare as some critiques address what went wrong in practicing the Security-Development Nexus policy (e.g. Tschirgi 2006). Why does such a nexus often fail from the first place? Looking at Asia, this paper seeks answers from the theoretical perspectives on civil-military relations, particularly shedding light on organizational theories and theories of military effectiveness.
Dr. Paul Chambers, Chiang Mai University and Dr. Kevin Nauen, Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace  
**Email:** pwchambers@gmail.com, knauen@yahoo.com  
**Paper:** Civilian-Military Relations and Security Sector Reform Efforts in Cambodia

**Abstract**  
This study examines the evolution of civil-military relations in Cambodia and their impact upon that country’s security sector reform efforts. It argues that the country’s historical legacies of entrenched conflict, division, and only recent (post-1998) advent of stability have contributed to the evolution of a powerful, sometimes opaque military in Cambodia. As such, ensuring a consolidated form of elected civilian supremacy over the armed forces—with resultant security sector reforms—has sometimes been a challenge. To what extent has the level of civilian control in Cambodia hindered security sector reform efforts? What types of security sector reforms are currently underway in Cambodia? What is the future of civilian control and security sector reform in Cambodia? This analysis attempts to answer these questions.

Dr. Rosalie Arcala Hall, University of the Philippines Visayas  
**Email:** rbarcala@hotmail.com, rahall@upv.edu.ph  
**Paper:** Localising Agreement-Based Conflict Management Mechanisms: A Comparison of Practices Among Army and Police Units in Three Bangsamoro Areas (Mindanao, Philippines)

**Abstract**  
Previous agreements between the Philippine government and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) created the Coordinating Committee on Cessation of Hostilities and the Ad Hoc Joint Advisory Group. The paper describes the presence, functionality and utilisation of these mechanisms and other informal security arrangements between the army/paramilitary, police, MILF and Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in three Bangsamoro locales in Mindanao, Philippines. It is based on an Asia Foundation project entailing key informant interviews of local commanders and local chief executives. The paper draws recommendations for strengthening rules of engagements for internal security operations that meet civilian oversight metrics.

Panel 05: The Role of the Elite, Ethnicity, and the Poor in Asian Politics

**Panel Chair:** Prof. Devin Joshi, Singapore Management University

Prof. Devin Joshi, Singapore Management University  
**Email:** devin.joshi@du.edu  
**Paper:** Varieties of Meritocracy: The Role of Elite Educational Backgrounds in Asian Parliaments

**Abstract**  
Theories of Asian politics frequently emphasize the normative importance of meritocracy in selecting political leaders, particularly in those countries falling into the Confucian sphere of influence. But empirical studies have conducted only limited tests of whether this is actually the case in practice. Addressing this gap in the literature, this study compares Asian political leaders in Confucian and non-Confucian countries to see whether the latter exhibit more meritocratic elements. Through an original and extensive educational background analysis of contemporary members of parliament across 20 Asia countries, it identifies a high degree of education-based meritocracy in ‘Confucian’ Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, but finds a similar pattern in places such as Bhutan, Iran, and Thailand. Observing considerable heterogeneity in the educational backgrounds of MPs across the continent, it
concludes the ‘Confucian model’ is only one of several different varieties of meritocracy in Asian politics.

Syaza Farhana Mohamad Shukri, International Islamic University of Malaysia
Email: syaza_shukri@yahoo.com
Paper: The Role of Ethnic Politics in Promoting Democratic Governance: A Case Study of Malaysia

Abstract
It is known that Malaysia has been ruled by a coalition of political parties demarcated along ethnic lines since independence more than 50 years ago. How has this affected democratic governance in a relatively young multi-ethnic nation? Some has argued that ethnic, religious, or linguistic politics threaten democracy as it leaves room for the majority to abuse the minorities, which in turn disrupt democratic governance of a country. I will argue against this idea that consolidation of democracy is difficult in a heterogeneous society and use Malaysia’s ethnic politics after independence as an example.

My approach to the problem is to account for Malaysia’s relative stability and repeated experiences with elections (despite not being free and fair) as evidence that ethnic politics do not necessarily have to lead to discord in a country, but could instead lay the foundation for democratic consolidation. This thesis is interesting because the relationship between diversity and democracy is a debate that continues until today with ongoing racial and religious conflicts happening almost every day.

In Malaysia for example, we have seen recently the growing resentment by the majority Malays towards the ethnic Chinese and Indians. However, the Malay elites realize that they cannot afford to lose the support of the ethnic minorities if they were to stay in power and to guarantee the country’s future development and commitment to democracy. More importantly, I will conclude that by legally accepting diversity, minorities are not afraid of the loss of their identity and thus are more willing to participate in the political process. This is important because a democracy could not work without political equality among all people.

Prof. Kazuhiro Ota, Kobe University
Email: otak@kobe-u.ac.jp
Paper: Politics of Poverty in the Philippines: Governmentality through Classification of Population

Abstract
This paper considers political implication of poverty policies in the Philippines, drawing on Michel Foucault’s framework of governmentality. It tries to analyze various concepts of ‘poverty’ with their political aims and background.

Poverty always constitutes an important part of the political process in the Philippines. Poverty and the poor are, however, not as objective as they look. The poor themselves do not share the same occupation nor common identity. The concept of poverty and the poor are socially invented in certain political context. They do not unite themselves to form unions like laborers and peasants, either. They may commonly live a life below the ‘standard’, which is usually set by someone else without consent of the poor. Thus, people are not aware whether they belong to ‘the poor’ or not.

Various kinds of poverty concept have been created and applied since political ‘democratization’ in the 1980s. The question is who defines ‘poverty’ for what purpose. It is a political deed to classify people as poor with poverty concept. Political implication of various poverty concepts are examined in the context of Philippine society. Foucault’s ‘governmentality’ framework suggests that power relation is not confined to the ruling system and governmental institutions. It also penetrates into every aspect of society and controls values, consciousness and daily life attitude of people. The poor are to become the governed citizens in governmentality process.
However, governmentality does not occur in a linear process in the Philippines because of heterogeneity of the society. NGOs have been active enough to influence the political process while the poor employ both formal and informal life strategies. In addition, the government sometimes compromises with these social forces. Creating concepts of ‘poverty’ and defining the poor becomes a political struggle between the government and the people since classification is associated to state policies to distribute resources.

The paper discusses the governmentality process of the Philippine politics by focusing on the struggle and tense over the concepts of poverty between the state and people.

**Panel 06: Governance and Development**

**Panel Chair:** Dr. Darryl S.L. Jarvis, Hong Kong Institute of Education

**Dr. Darryl S.L. Jarvis,** Hong Kong Institute of Education  
**Email:** djarvis@ied.edu.hk  
**Paper:** The New Politics of Development: Citizens, Civil Society and the Evolution of Neoliberal Development

**Abstract**

In this article, we explore the evolution of neoliberal development theory and practice, its manifestations and impact on the political economy of the state, domestic classes, and the material conditions of populations in emerging economies. Specially, the article focuses on the modes of resistance to the rollout of neoliberal development practice by citizens, civil society, and NGOs, and, in turn, the responses of international financial institutions such as the World Bank—a process that we argue has forced the reinvention and transformation of neoliberal development policy. Furthermore, we attempt to situate the evolution of neoliberal development policy and the changing modes of resistance to it within a theoretical framework that explains emergent class and material interests in the context of the increasing functionality of pro-market agendas to modes of accumulation that benet discrete elite and class interests but which also generate substantial and ongoing contradictions.

**Bryan Joseph Ortiz,** Holy Angel University  
**Email:** bryanjoseph_ortiz@yahoo.com  
**Paper:** The Promise of Prosperity through Urban Revitalization in the Philippines and Indonesia

**Abstract**

Problems like high unemployment still exist in cities that are considered models of good governance, such as Marikina (Philippines) and Surakarta (Indonesia). To account for the persistence of such problems, this paper probes the patchwork result of (local) state formation and uncovers the interplay between agents and institutions in creating and implementing “transformative” projects at the local level under a neoliberal regime. Results derived from the use of a combination of Kim, Snyder and Nas’s works as guides and Comparative Historical Analysis as the methodology indicate that residents’ access to social services and infrastructure in the two cities were enhanced by state-led projects. Such enhanced access was enabled by the mayors’ visions and the ties created between the local state and key social forces. However, continuous shifts towards liberalization and the nature of the mayors’ relationships with other state elite and social forces hinder the sustainability of the projects.
Abstract
The basic problems that the contemporary democracies face is concentration of its resources, which lead to consternation and then to conflict. Indian democracy is also subject to this undeclared rule of conflict, particularly in its north-eastern region, which comprises eight states and accommodates more than two hundred tribes having distinct ethnic and cultural orientation. Over the past six decades or more the north east region of India faces the problem of development deficiency owing to policy paralysis of respective central and state governments as well as contradictory orientation to development of the region and the discourse being followed by the Indian state. It is high time that such contradictions are addressed and worked upon to foster inclusive development in the region and beyond. Such development must therefore be sustainable in nature and should be adjusted to the regional capacity building measures. This has to be done by avoiding any probable clash between development discourse of the state and ethnic orientation of life in India’s north east.

Alternative approach to development needs to be curved out to save its generations from lasting underdevelopment.

So, the present study focuses on finding these contradictions and thereby builds an alternative approach to development which is capable of bringing in cohesion between regional and national aspirations.
Panel 07: Cambodia-US Relations: Current Issues, Challenges and Future Prospects

Panel Chair: Chanborey Cheunboran, The Australian National University

Since President Obama took office in 2009, Asia in general and Southeast Asia in particular have been primary focus of his administration through ‘American Pivot to Asia’ in order to, among other things, re-exert American power and influence in the region. As far as the Cambodia-US relationship is concerned, although some progress has been made, the bilateral ties are not rosy. Therefore, this panel seeks to puzzle out the strained relations by highlighting important issues, identifying key challenges, and anticipating future prospects of the Cambodia-US relations.

Oudom Tem, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: temoudom@gmail.com
Paper: Cambodia between China and the United States, 1997-2013

Abstract
Capriciously, China has shifted its policy towards Cambodian People’s Party of Hun Sen since 1997. The Sino-Cambodia relation has reached its peak in the last few years, while the relation between Phnom Penh and Washington remains strained. It is perceptible that Cambodia seems to move closer to Beijing than Washington. While economic interests have been attributed to this move, this paper aims to explore motivations that exhort Cambodia to be more supportive to China, rather than the United States during the 1997-to-2013 period by focusing on Hun Sen’s personality, background, and perception, the influences of the bureaucrats and Cambodian interests groups, Cambodia’s contexts between 1997 and 2013, different intensities of economic interdependence and exchange visits between Cambodia and the two countries.

Vinich Virak, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: vireakvinich@yahoo.com
Paper: Cambodia-US Bilateral Relations: What have been the strained factors?

Abstract
Since the 1950s, Cambodia-US relations have been fluctuated as a result of armed conflicts and government changes in Cambodia. Therefore, this paper aims to identify the strained factors of Cambodia-US bilateral relations based on actors’ influences ranging from Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, and Congressmen to Interest Groups within the two countries. The findings suggest that the background, personality, and perception of Cambodian top leaders, the Congressmen and interest groups in the United States did play some role in straining the bilateral relations between the two countries.

Chansereypich Seng, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: sereypich27@gmail.com
Paper: US-Cambodia Strained Relations: From American Perspectives

Abstract
Analyzing Cambodia-US bilateral relations from every aspect is definitely not an easy task to do. There are various theories trying to look from different angle. Among them, the foreign policy arena, which mainly focuses from 4 areas: context, issue, interest and actor is a quick guide for readers to understand any relations between country to country. Thus, this paper seeks to maximize its analysis on two important element of the above mentioned framework: actors and issues. In the actor part, readers will understand more about how two important governmental officials–state department and congressmen–help shape the foreign policy of the US to Cambodia and whether their presence leaves any significant point of strained marks. Another section will discuss about
various issues in Cambodia that poses questions to the US whether it is a threat to the bilateral relations between the two or not. Those issues are as following: democracy and human rights, corruption, military cooperation and Cambodia-China relations.

Visal Phork, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: phorkvisal@gmail.com
Paper: The U.S. Pivot to Asia and Democracy in Southeast Asia: The Case of Cambodia

Abstract
This paper aims to investigate the roles the U.S. Pivot to Asia plays in the democratization process of Cambodia. First, the conditions of Cambodia democracy before-and-after the introduction of the U.S. Pivot to Asia are explored, with freedom of the press and civil and political rights being the two employed indicators. Second, the responses of the United States, toward the undemocratic practices in Cambodia are systematically examined. The findings show the democratic condition in Cambodia has declined under the Obama Administration. However, the U.S. Pivot to Asia does not appear to be the cause because the Obama administration has continued the democratic-promotional strategies employed under the Bush administration, while it also seems to play no role in the decline of the press freedom in Cambodia, the main reason causing the regression of Cambodia democracy in this study.

Panel 08: Electoral Democracy and Authoritarian Elections in Southeast Asia

Panel Chair: Dr. Julio C. Teehankee, De La Salle University

In recent years, Southeast Asia has straddled between electoral democracy and authoritarian elections. This panel will compare and contrast the electoral dynamics and governance trajectory in these regime types. The panel will consist of the following papers.

Dr. Fukuoka Yuki, Embassy of Japan in Malaysia
Email: yukifukuoka21@hotmail.com
Paper: Ruling Malaysia in a “Post-Protective” Era: New Challenges for UMNO

Abstract
This article delineates the changing contours of Malaysia’s authoritarian regime, highlighting new challenges for the dominant party, the United National Malay Organization (UMNO). Traditionally, the UMNO-led regime in Malaysia had derived its strength from what Dan Slater (2010) called a “protection pact” – a broad acquiescence to the notion that the authoritarian regime plays a necessary stabilizing role in an inherently unstable society vulnerable to ethnic tensions. Particularly, the racial riots of May 1969 provided a powerful impetus for leaders of different ethnic groups to accept strengthened authoritarian institutions to maintain social order. However, as the memory of the 1969 riots gradually fades away, the elite acquiescence has also been eroded. Against this backdrop, the opposition, Pakatan Rakyat, has become increasingly assertive, drawing support not only from ethnic minorities, particularly the Chinese, who no longer see the UMNO-led regime as their protector, but also from urban Malays who had grown increasingly alienated by the persistence of authoritarian politics. This article argues that the evaporation of the “protection pact” has redirected UMNO to take defensive measures; containing further political advancement of the opposition on the peninsular while keeping East Malaysian states as its “safe deposit”. Towards these ends, UMNO now promotes a strongly racialized narrative that the interests of the Malays are threatened by the opposition with little respect for “Malay privileges”. At the same time, UMNO directs more state resources to East Malaysia to buy the loyalty of opportunistic regional elites. These strategies, however, are mutually contradictory. UMNO’s renewed emphasis on Malay supremacy does not resonate well in East Malaysia with
substantial non-Malay populations. Meanwhile, the failure to secure Malay votes on the peninsular would accelerate UMNO’s decline, leading to the defection of East Malaysian elites. Based on an original research, this article highly!

Dr. Prajak Kongkirati, Thammasat University  
Email: prajakk@yahoo.com  
Paper: The Failed 2014 Election: Anti-election Movement, Military Coup, and Democratic Breakdown

Abstract
In this short paper, it explains that Thailand's 2015 constitution draft is an attempt to bring back Thailand to the "semi-democratic system" of the 1980s led by Prem Tinsulanond. To achieve this political goal, the drafters re-design the electoral system and parliament structure to weaken the elected government and to fragment the party system. The mixed-member proportional (MMP) electoral system is adopted, but manipulated, to suit the Thai-style democracy, and to serve the military-bureaucratic elites' interest. Several unelected bodies are established to control the elected government. With this newly-created "controlled democracy," the election institution will matter less in shaping the government and deciding who should rule the kingdom.

Dr. Yuko Kasuya, Keio University  
Email: ykasuya@law.keiko.ac.jp  
Paper: Survival of Electoral Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: The Impact of Constitutional Structure

Abstract
Why do some electoral authoritarian regimes survive for decades while others are short-lived? Using the cases from Southeast Asia, this paper examines the impact of constitutional structures on the longevity of electoral authoritarianism. I argue that under electoral authoritarian regimes, parliamentary systems permit rulers to survive longer than they do in presidential systems. This is because parliamentary systems incentivize autocrats and ruling elites to institutionalize a dominant party, discourage opposition parties from uniting together at elections, and indirectly allow electoral manipulation in order to achieve an overwhelming victory at the ballot box, such as through gerrymandering and malapportionment. I compare the cases of Malaysia’s Barisan National (National Front) regime (1955 to present) and the Philippines’s Marcos regime (1972 to 1986) to elucidate these mechanisms. In addition, future prospects of the existing electoral authoritarian regimes in the region, namely, Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Singapore, are analyzed using the proposed framework.

Dr. Mark R. Thompson, City University of Hong Kong  
Email: mark.thompson@cityu.edu.hk  
Paper: To Catch a Thief: Middle Class Campaigns against “Stolen Elections”

Abstract
Although in a normative sense every act of electoral manipulation amounts to an act of stealing, elections only are perceived to have been “stolen” when credible information comes to light documenting voting fraud resulting in the mobilization of “civil society.” This paper examines two cases of “stolen elections” in the Philippines, one the “snap” presidential election of 1986 in which the incumbent electoral authoritarian leader Ferdinand E. Marcos was immediately seen to have “robbed” the opposition candidate Corazon C. Aquino of victory and the other the presidential election of 2004 in which the incumbent president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo who was only later widely blamed for electoral manipulation against her opponent Fernando Poe, Jr.
Panel 09: Southeast Asia and China: Problems of Democratization and Governance in the Context of Globalization

Panel Chair: Prof. Amado Mendoza Jr., University of the Philippines

Southeast Asia is poised to enter a new stage of development through the multi-faceted community building of its regional organization, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The membership of the region’s newest state, Timor Leste, will be fact in the future. Alongside this process of regional integration, many Southeast Asian states like the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam as well as China, the aspiring regional hegemon, have to deal with both the difficulties and consequences of democratization and/or liberal pressures due to their integration into the global capitalist economy and the attendant concerns for appropriate governance and human rights, specially in the realms of public goods (hard and soft) provision, management of intra-state diversity, and other related concerns. The papers presented in this panel will examine these processes and pressures as well as the responses and initiatives of China and various Southeast Asian states.

Prof. Amado Mendoza Jr., University of the Philippines
Email: ammendozajr@gmail.com
Paper: The Politics of Hatred and Revenge: Travails of democratization and democratic consolidation in the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand and Myanmar

Abstract
Notwithstanding differences in the political and social development of Southeast Asian states, it is noteworthy that a “politics of hatred and revenge” characterizes contemporary Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand, and the Philippines. In Indonesia, unrepentant vestiges of the Order Baru era seeks to derail the presidency of Joko Widodo. Thailand meanwhile is gripped by the seemingly intractable enmity between pro-Thaksin and anti-Thaksin forces. In the Philippines, the out-going Aquino administration is scrambling to field a friendly successor to avoid a fate it ruthlessly imposed on the preceding president. While on the road to democracy and internal reconciliation, the Buddhist-dominated regime in Myanmar is currently engaged in an apparent genocide against Muslim Rohingyas, now the new ‘boat people’ that even Muslim countries like Indonesia and Malaysia are unwilling to accommodate. This paper seeks to trace this primal path, speculate on its future, and its impact on regional community building.

Prof. Rolando G. Talampas, University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman
Email: roligt@up.edu.ph

Abstract
What do countries do to achieve universal health coverage (UHC)? What problems do they encounter? What can other countries learn from them? This paper seeks to provide answers by reviewing the UHC/social health insurance (SHI) lessons of China and Vietnam (both under one-party rule) and the democratizing countries of Thailand and Indonesia. Adopting the so-called “UHC cube” of the World Health Organization (WHO) as the framework for the review, this paper finds that the sampled countries’ claims of complete or near-universal coverage are vulnerable to allegations of corruption, inefficiencies, rising out-of-pocket expenses, if not fragmentation of the health system under siege by market forces, among others. Health outcomes are jeopardized in the process. Therewith, this paper describes key features of the Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai and Indonesian SHIs relative to the globally accepted/prescribed indicators.
Prof. Alejandro N. Ciencia, Jr., University of the Philippines  
Email: ali.ciencia@gmail.com  
Paper: Judicial Clientelism in the Philippines and Southeast Asia: Exploratory Considerations

Abstract
Interest in judicial clientelism in the Philippines is prompted by the observation that while the works on Philippine politics deal with clientelism, little has been written about clientelism in courts. James C. Scott noted the crucial place of patron-client relationships in the political life in several Southeast Asian countries. Quite recently, courts in the region have been drawing considerable international attention, partly as a consequence of controversial political cases being heard in countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand. The paper will look into the possibility of extending the analysis of judicial clientelism in the Philippines to other Southeast Asian countries. It will explore the theoretical and methodological possibilities of conducting empirical research on judicial clientelism in the Philippines and a number of Southeast Asian countries. It will also look into the ramification of judicial clientelism on rule of law, governance, and democratization in the Philippines and parts of Southeast Asia.

Prof. Jalton G. Taguibao, University of the Philippines (Diliman)  
Email: jtaguibao@up.edu.ph  
Paper: Renewable Energy Policy in Southeast Asia: Domestic Variations and Congruences in Policy Design

Abstract
States in Southeast Asia want to ensure continued economic growth. A critical issue concerns required energy supply and capacities. Apart from policy regarding conventional energy sources, governments ventured into renewable energy development to augment existing energy capacities. Alongside the economic imperative, renewable energy capacity is also seen as the ecological antithesis to fossil- and carbon-based energy. Thus, contentions between the economic and ecological dimensions of domestic energy policy frameworks have become apparent. This paper compares renewable energy policy initiatives of Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, and answers the following queries: How did these key domestic economies design their respective renewable energy policies, with respect to their domestic conditions as well as the broader Southeast Asian regional context? What accounts for the convergence and divergence in the attributes of the policies they designed? What emergent issues and challenges surfaced at the domestic and regional levels vis-a-vis renewable energy development?

Panel 10: Comparative Politics in Asia

Panel Chair: Dr. Borah Rupakjyoti, National Chung Hsing University

Dr. Borah Rupakjyoti, National Chung Hsing University  
Email: rupakj@gmail.com  
Paper: South Korea in India’s “Look-East Policy”: What Lies Ahead?

Abstract
The relations between India and South Korea go back deep in time when Buddhism spread from the land of its birth, India to Korea. However, it is only in the post-Cold War era that the relations between India and South Korea began to flower as in the earlier period, the two countries were on different sides of the Cold War divide. While South Korea became an ally of the US, India considered itself as a Non-Aligned country, although it had close ties with the erstwhile Soviet Union.

The relations have prospered in the light of India’s “Look-East Policy” which aims to reinvigorate India’s historical ties with East Asia and Southeast Asia. The South Korean President Lee Myung-bak
was the Chief Guest at India’s Republic Day celebrations in 2010. A civil nuclear cooperation agreement was signed between the two sides in 2011 during the visit of the then Indian President Pratibha Patil to South Korea. For Seoul, India is a crucial partner in ensuring the security of the sea-lanes of communication in the Indian Ocean which carry a huge chunk of South Korea’s sea-borne trade. In order to improve people-to-people ties, India has extended a visa-on-arrival facility for Korean tourists from April last year.

This study will analyze why India and South Korea are important for each other. It will shed light on how and where South Korea fits in India’s “Look-East Policy” and elucidate the problems and prospects in the relations. Last, but not the least, it will lay down a roadmap for the future of the bilateral ties.

Prof. Keliyan Maya, International Research Center for Japanese Studies
Email: mayakeliyan@gmail.com
Paper: New Challenges Facing Asian Middle Classes: Japan, Taiwan and China in Comparative Perspective

Abstract
According to the author’s understanding, in order to be topical and fruitful the debate to the contemporary Asian countries development requires a comprehensive analysis of the processes occurring in the middle classes. In the development of middle classes in Taiwan, China and Japan one observes certain features common to “state-conducted” modernizations typical to Asian societies. In separate historical periods, these countries have followed the leading Western models, but after achieving economic success and respective stabilization of the middle classes social position, later became basis for building-up the Asian identity. Three studied countries have been regarded as examples for successful reforms – Japan as first successful modernized non-Western country, Taiwan as first Chinese democracy, and recently China - as an example for fast economic growth.

The paper is focused on following problems:
1. What are basic characteristics of separate groups belonging to the middle classes (old and new middle class; upper, middle and lower middle class; entrepreneurs, professionals, administrators, etc.), their problems, similarities and differences in Japan, Taiwan and China?
2. In the context of the global financial and economic crisis and deepening social inequalities, are the middle classes in these countries melting down, and are we witnessing the phenomenon of “rising middle class anxiety”?
3. What is the political role played by the middle classes, their civil activeness and their social-group potential for engendering social change in studied countries?
4. What are challenges posed by these processes to the governance agendas in Japan, Taiwan and China?

Alphonse G. Samson, University of the Philippines-Diliman
Email: agsamson27@gmail.com
Paper: The Tortoise or the Hare? Media Coverage and Legislative Success

Abstract
What is the relationship of the level of media coverage on a proposed legislation and its chance of being enacted? Gaining media coverage on a legislation is often seen as an effective strategy for policy entrepreneurs to achieve legislative success, which is defined here as bill enactment at the soonest possible time. Media coverage is expected to stir enough interest to discuss bills in the floor, causing them to move faster up the legislative ladder. Contrary to such hypothesis, however, this study contends that increased media coverage leads to lower chances of legislative success. It draws from media effects literature asserting that media is not just a conduit but also a contributor that pulls more actors and interests into the policy arena. In theory, clashes of interests cause negative feedbacks that slow down the policy process. Using multiple regression analysis, this study tests the effects of media coverage on the length of time a bill takes, once filed, to be passed into law. 234 bills from the
14th and 15th Congresses of the Philippines were collected and online articles of the Philippine Daily Inquirer and Philippine Star that mention these bills were counted. Findings suggest that increased media coverage attenuates legislative success. However, the media effect is diminished by the higher quickening effect of bill urgency. Hence, this study further suggests that media attention alone does not increase chances of legislative success. To achieve more conclusive results, it is recommended to expand the dataset and the scope of bill selection, and include other variables and other news media outlets.

**Glenn Joseph Teh**, St. Paul University QC  
**Email:** glennteh@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Bilateral Cooperation Leading to Congruence of Interests

**Abstract**  
From a historical behavior of states relying on ideological alliances, contemporary international relations have pushed governments to increasingly pursue like policies that is deemed more beneficial to their developmental interests. Through the years, this has opened up states to new partners that would have not been possible in previous international regimes. There is now a shift to non-security issues, particularly in economics, which in turn has led to a more “user-friendly” international arena. Given that conversing states are aligning in their interests, this paper theorizes that there will be a tendency for them to have a more conducive atmosphere for reaching bilateral agreements with each other. Through this process, non-security interests become more important than traditional security concerns for these states. In this respect, there is an emerging thought that states may functionally work together as this shift of focus is taken by these governments. The international system becomes more stable and it becomes less likely for agreements to break down immediately when unfortunate conflict issues arise. And while non-state actors in the form of multinationals, trade groups, or regional organizations are taking part in the agreements, it remains to be spearheaded by governments. The essential element here is to make sure that bilateral parties both benefit so that a ‘spill over’ effect can happen for future partnerships. From the European example in France and Germany, this kind of occurrence may also be applied to the case of South Korea and Russia, having a distinct history that traditionally would have closed the possibility of cooperation. Yet following the nonfunctional explanation, the two are able to work together in specific policy areas. It seems that, while things remain uncertain because of traditional geographic context, the two countries will most likely continue with engaging each other through low politics areas.

**Panel 11: States, Markets, and Governance in Southeast Asia: A Multi-Level Analysis**  
**Panel Chair:** Prof. Richard Javad Heydarian, De La Salle University

The panel examines state-market relations and patterns of governance in Southeast Asia on multiple levels of analysis. On the regional supra-national level, it looks at patterns of governance and interstate cooperation under the aegis of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN), assessing whether the regional body has the political wherewithal and decision-making infrastructure to ensure regional security and sustained economic integration. On the national/state level, it looks at the experience of the Philippines, particularly under the Aquino administration, in fighting against corruption and advocating good governance through public sector reforms -- reformist advocacies that are crucial to sustained economic development, political stability, and democratization. On the sub-national/local level, it examines informal institutions that support self-governing markets through an exploration of the case of contract enforcement mechanisms in community-based gambling in the Philippines.
Prof. Richard Javad Heydarian, De La Salle University  
Email: jrfheydarian@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Regional Integration, Security, and Governance: Understanding the ASEAN from a Comparative Perspective  

**Abstract**  
With the deadline for the conclusion of an Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) Community – particularly, the establishment of a single, integrated regional market -- fast approaching, it is important to keep the European Union’s (EU) experience, which stands as the most advanced form of regional integration to this date, in mind. The paper primarily focuses on the ebbs and flows of regional integration in the ASEAN, examining the decision-making procedures and geopolitical imperatives shaping its evolution. To further shed light on the significance and distinct features of ASEAN integration, the paper also provides a comparative analysis of the regional integration experiences in the ASEAN and the EU, identifying critical points of convergence and differences, particularly in the realm of security and economics. A key point of concern is whether the ASEAN has the necessary governance infrastructure, which is to say the bureaucratic capacity and decision-making nimbleness, to manage existing challenges, particularly the ongoing disputes in the South China Sea, and maintain conducive environment for sustained market integration in Southeast Asia.

Dr. Eric Vincent Batalla, De La Salle University  
Email: eric.batalla@dlsu.edu.ph  
**Paper:** Why the Fight against Corruption Always Fails: Reformism and Underdevelopment in the Philippines  

**Abstract**  
The Philippines has a long history of fighting corruption. This is manifested by the variety of anti-corruption laws and institutional mechanisms that developed since the country’s pre-authoritarian period. Despite such laws and mechanisms, the Philippines remains to be perceived as a high-corruption country. The problem, despite the reformist posturings of successive political administrations, continues to be felt at various levels of government. This paper argues that deep flaws in the Philippine political system reinforce the culture of corruption and underdevelopment. Clientelism, the spoils system, and the weak political party system are the rules of the game that prevent substantial reforms from being instituted and sustained in government agencies.

Dr. Ador R. Torneo & Prof. Jose Ma. Arcadio C. Malbarosa, De La Salle University  
Email: ador.torneo@dlsu.edu.ph  
**Paper:** Public Sector Reform: An Exploratory Study of the Effects of the Performance-Based Incentives System (PBIS) on Selected Philippine Government Agencies  

**Abstract**  
This study examines the Performance-Based Incentive System (PBIS) of the Philippine government and assess both its intended and actual effects on government employees in the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) and the Department of Education (DepEd). The PBIS was established in 2011 and attempts to unify performance monitoring and incentive systems in all Philippine government agencies and rationalize performance incentives which have for decades been generally characterized by across board bonuses. As an application of New Public Management (NPM) principles, it borrows the private sector practice of providing bonuses based on performance for government offices and employees that meet set performance goals and demonstrate exemplary performance. In this paper, the authors describe the mixed outcomes and various challenges encountered by the two agencies, explore possible explanations for these results, and discuss their implications for public sector reforms in the Philippines.
Abstract
This paper applies theoretical insights from the neo-institutionalist literature on reputation-based mechanisms in exploring how contract enforcement may occur when state institutions are absent or weak. In particular, I examine a form of community-based gambling in the Philippines called ending, in which “buyers” purchase a wager consisting of a pair of one-digit numbers from different “sellers.” In the absence of any role of official public authorities, the thriving market for ending relies on the operation of informal institutions that effectively ensure that sellers comply with the terms of the contract regarding the delivery of winnings to successful buyers. These informal institutions transmit information on sellers’ reputations, provide a credible threat of non-patronage to sellers who acquire ill-repute, and therefore generate incentives to honor contractual obligations. The paper concludes with some implications for understanding market dynamics in the context of weak state institutions.

Panel Chair: Prof. Jinhwan Oh, Ewha Womans University

Paper: Institutions for Contract Enforcement in “ Stateless” Markets: Lessons from Community-Based Gambling in the Philippines

Abstract
The previous debate of East Asian development cooperation with Africa has been dominated by contrasting the Western ideals of aid effectiveness, untied aid, institutional reform, and good governance with East Asian focus on development effectiveness, business relations and non-intervention. Most welcome the emergence of new donors but critics of the East Asian approach fear that donors will repeat the mistakes of Western donors in the past and undermine global norms in development cooperation. This paper moves beyond this controversy and rather aims at investigating motivations and strategies of East Asian development cooperation. More precisely how does the legacy of successful state-led development in East Asia influence the approach to development cooperation?

By looking at the case of Korea we argue that its development cooperation towards Africa is shaped by the legacy of the Korean developmental state. Korean development cooperation is understood as an internationalization of industrial policies based on a close partnership between state and business. Transcribed to the international arena the goal of the developmental state is to incite the globalization of businesses and quickly expand global market share by socializing private risks. More concretely this article examines the case of Mozambique as a typical example of ‘Resource Diplomacy’ and Rwanda as an example of ‘Sales Diplomacy’ in the field of IT infrastructure. We show that projects have many similarities although engagement in resource extraction has proven to be far more problematic than the Rwandan case that also showcases some benefits of public private partnership in development cooperation.
**Kris Hartley**, National University of Singapore  
**Email**: hartley@u.nus.edu  
**Paper**: *Aid Effectiveness and Donor Intervention: Concept, Commitment and Competence in Recipient Governance*

**Abstract**  
This paper addresses strategic efforts of aid donor countries in helping recipient countries escape the anti-developmental equilibrium. Focusing on behaviors, it introduces a rational actor game-theoretic model to determine whether aid, specifically official development assistance (ODA), supports governance improvement. The hypothesis is that ODA effects (positive or negative) depend on behavior, specifically the complementary actions of donors and institutional context of recipient countries. The structural equation model finds that poorly strategized aid policies produce an equilibrium in which recipient countries willfully maintain low development effort and are satisfied with aid-dependence. The theoretical implications inform a strategic framework for donors to break this equilibrium through longer-term strategies beyond monetary intervention. The framework is based on the ideas of concept, commitment, and competence. This study's contribution is a nuanced model to understand how anti-developmental behaviors compromising aid programs persist, and how relationships between donors and actors become mutually self-serving.

**Ji-Hyun Shin & Prof. Jinhwan Oh**, Ewha Womans University  
**Email**: newsqueen@naver.com, joh@ewha.ac.kr  
**Paper**: *On Health-Aid Determinants*

**Abstract**  
For the past two decades, development assistance in health sectors has soared. The amount of the aid has risen due to increasing fund from the bilateral government (ODA) and private development assistance (PDA). As a matter of fact, health issues are associated with three major goal out of the total eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In addition to the MDGs by UN, from the last decade, international development priorities had shown result of mushrooming health initiatives. However, while a great number of studies have been produced to examine determinants and effectiveness of aid in general, such studies for health-specific aid are quite few. Therefore this study revisits health-aid issues with more comprehensive dataset to investigate various factors of determinants of health aid including recipients’ health needs, implementation of MDGs, health aid effectiveness, and governance level.

**Dr. Enkhtsetseg Sosorbaram**, International Relations  
**Email**: Enkhtsetseg@num.edu.mn  
**Paper**: *Economic Comparative Studies among Resource Dependent Countries such as Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz*

**Abstract**  
Main purpose of the paper is to compare the main challenges of mining sectors in these countries and their responsive economic acts against the “resource curse”, which is enough popular in resource dependent countries.

There are several reasons to compare these countries as a whole.  
1. These countries are rich with natural resources and resource wealth is main contributor in economy  
2. They all have political and economic transition period for a while.  
3. These countries strive to keep a strategy, which aims to balance political and economic influence from powerful neighboring countries.  
The most binding constraints that these countries face at this point are the following:  
   a/ symptom of Dutch Disease  
   b/ vulnerability of minerals income
This paper is more focused on their differences in the responsive policy acts against these challenges and their experiences.

**Panel 13: Human Rights Issues in Asia**

**Panel Chair:** Rakesh SinghKhwairakpam, Tata School of Social Sciences

Rakesh SinghKhwairakpam, Tata School of Social Sciences  
**Email:** khulakpakh@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Functioning of Human Rights Commission in the Conflict Regions: A Case Study of Manipur

**Abstract**  
Manipur is one of the most highly militarized zones in the world today. There are more than 350, military installations, fifty to sixty thousands armed forces of India state and thirty insurgent groups in the state. Out of these, six armed insurgency groups are actively operating with sophisticated weapons in the state. The ratio of armed security and civilians in the state is 1/15 which is much higher in many recognized conflict zones around the globe. The conflict situation has created presence of heavily armed groups engaged in armed combats with security personnel's. The genesis of the conflict is the history of contentious merger of Manipur with Indian Union in 1949 and conflict over the issue of its lost sovereignty. The Indian Government is strictly against secession from the Indian Union. To tackle these armed groups, Armed Forced Special Power Act (AFSPA) was imposed in Manipur, Jammu and Kashmir and other North Eastern states of India. This draconian act gives security forces impunity from punishment in case of civilian casualties during anti insurgency operation. As a result thousands of non-combatants including women have become victims. To check Human rights abuses Manipur Human Rights Commission (MHRC) was established on 27th June 1998 for protection of human rights. The paper will explore the role of the Manipur Human Rights Commission related to the cases from 1999 to 2007.

The findings indicate that the MHRC is an investigatory and recommendatory body. Without any power for prosecution 439 cases were disposed out of 1145 reported cases in nine years pointing towards ineffective role in Human rights cases.

Lucy West, Griffith University  
**Email:** lucy.west@griffith.edu.au  
**Paper:** The Limits of Transitional Justice to Establish a Liberal Rule of Law Culture in Cambodia

**Abstract**  
This paper questions the ability of transitional justice mechanisms, notably the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) to establish a liberal rule of law culture in Cambodia. Within the field of transitional justice, the conventional understanding during this phase of transitional justice was that legal accountability for past human rights abuses would establish a liberal rule of law culture and assure the transition to democracy. This suggests a highly normative and linear approach to rule of law reform, and discounts any non-liberal interpretations of the rule of law which may be adopted, or any assessment of the state’s democratic ‘quality’. This paper is critical of the linear approach to rule of law reform and by discussing the case of Cambodia it reveals the limits to operationalizing a liberal rule of law through accountability processes. This paper argues that liberal rule of law discourses, notably those promoted through the ECCC have had little impact on the contemporary cultural and political understandings of the rule of law in Cambodia today.
**Mustika Hans**, University of Indonesia  
**Email**: mustikahans@hotmail.com  
**Paper**: *Between Human Rights and Politics in Indonesia: Jokowi and Death Penalty for Drug Traffickers*

**Abstract**  
This essay examines the relation between human rights and politics in Indonesia in case Jokowi and the death penalty for drug traffickers. There are a lot of human rights violations in Indonesia that driven by political conditions. The incumbent’s approach to increasing their supporters is frequently neglecting the human rights. There are assumptions that indicate political motivation behind ‘bali nine’ incident. This also brings the political consequences, particularly in bilateral relations between Indonesia and Australia. Unfortunately, Indonesian awareness of human rights still low. So many people that support the death penalty. It convinces Jokowi to do more. In spite of many people refuse his decision; we still do not know when Jokowi will change his demeanor.

**Gianna Francesca Catolico**, De La Salle University  
**Email**: gianna.catolico17@gmail.com  
**Paper**: *State-Non-State Relations and NGO-NGO Relations in Solving Extrajudicial Killings in the Philippines*

**Abstract**  
Despite the consistent clamour of human rights NGOs, both the Arroyo and Aquino administrations failed to execute actions to resolve and curb cases of extrajudicial killings in the Philippines. Local and international human rights organizations continue to advocate appropriate government actions in solving and ceasing extrajudicial killings in the country. Drawing on in-depth interviews and content analysis of documents, this study will examine state-non-state relations and NGO-NGO relations among human rights NGOs in attempts to influence policymaking in the context of extrajudicial killings. My findings suggest that these NGOs differ in their views on counterinsurgency policies, the implementation of the A.O. 35, and means to gather resources and funding from embassies and INGOs. NGO lobbying and intervention in solving cases of extrajudicial killings in the Philippines is ineffective due to conflict among human rights NGOs and between NGOs and the government. Finally, this study will contribute to the existing literature on extrajudicial killings in the Philippines by shifting the limelight on the efforts of NGOs to lobby and influence the government.
Panel 14: Cooperation and Development in Southeast Asia

Panel Chair: Prof. Yoshimatsu Hidetaka, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

Prof. Yoshimatsu Hidetaka, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University
Email: yoshih@apu.ac.jp
Paper: Revisiting ASEAN Centrality in East Asian Regionalism

Abstract
ASEAN has been regarded as the core entity of regionalism in East Asia. Major regional institutions such as the ASEAN+3, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), and ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+) have developed with ASEAN’s prominent initiative and involvement, and consequently major institutions in East Asia have the ‘ASEAN+’ format. Thus, the historical development of regional institutions surely represents ASEAN centrality.

This article examines the implication of ASEAN centrality for regionalism in East Asia in terms of productive power. It posits that ASEAN’s productive power is formed and exercised by the creation of shared meanings, the diffusion of common norms, and the production of specific social constitutions involving states in Northeast Asia.

First, ASEAN has developed specific styles of participation in regional institutions. The stress on participation in institutions as the base for social interactions is a major meaning of ASEAN's institutions. ASEAN reflected such meanings on regional institutions that were established and developed under its initiative.

Second, ASEAN has taken advantage of specific norms for promoting regional cooperation and incorporated them in institutions formed in East Asia. The association has paid respect to equitable treatment and pragmatic flexibility in institution-building. Not only did these norms derive from common practices and customs seen in East Asian societies but they are also embedded into regional institutions in East Asia.

Third, ASEAN-centred social constitutions have been formed in East Asia with its legitimacy in managing regional affairs. Both China and Japan admitted such constitutions and sought to develop closer linkages with the association. ASEAN has exerted productive power to maintain the social constitutions by avoiding exclusive formal linkages with each of the two great powers, drawing their positive commitments to regional cooperation as the key node of regional social networks, and coordinating the two powers’ interests and initiatives.

Castillo Ronald M. & Estapia Clint Lou Matthew P., University of Santo Tomas
Email: ustrmc22@gmail.com
Paper: Republic City and ASEAN 2015: The Integration of Nations and their Political Cultures

Abstract
Integration links and blurs the boundaries between states. The ASEAN 2015 aims for this goal in order to meet the challenges of a globalized capitalist world. Though Southeast-Asia is composed of neighboring countries linked by the highway of the seas, but within lie the problems of clashing cultures. Through an Animated Film Content Analysis, the authors will show themes which tackle the reality of integration. Republic City, the fictional city of the animated series Legend of Korra is an allegory of the realities and issues that integrated Asian countries may face. Each of the three books of the series portray Marxist, Conservatist, and Anarchist Ideas. Through dendogram analysis of dialogues and scenarios from the films juxtaposed with various political cultural examples within Southeast, the authors will describe phenomenological implications of the ASEAN Integration.
Ma. Aviegail Anne Semillano, University of Santo Tomas
Email: avsemillano@gmail.com
Paper: ASEAN 2015: Fostering Stability and Regional Cooperation in a Multipolar World

Abstract
Association of Southeast Asian Nations is a regional organization established on August 8, 1967. The ASEAN Leaders at their Summit in Kuala Lumpur in December 1997 decided to transform ASEAN into a stable, prosperous, and highly competitive region with equitable economic development, and reduced poverty and socio-economic disparities. They pledged their commitment and determination to bringing this ASEAN Vision for the year 2020. Following the previous summit such as Bali Concord II which goal is to have an ASEAN Economic Community, the 12th ASEAN Summit in January 2007 affirmed their strong commitment to accelerate the establishment of an ASEAN Community by 2015. In particular, the Leaders agreed to catalyze the establishment of not just the Economic Community but also the Socio-Cultural and Political-Security Community of ASEAN. To transform ASEAN into a region with a free movement of goods and services, investment, skilled labour, and free flow of capital. Specifically, promoting regional cooperation in Southeast Asia in the spirit of equality and partnership and thereby contribute towards peace, progress, and prosperity in the region.

This paper will try to show the opportunities and challenges on building a stronger Southeast Asian region through the ASEAN Integration 2015. We will discern certain explanations on how this new ASEAN integration would work emphatically despite challenges in a multipolar world. Moreover, it will be also tackled in this paper the information based from the past and recent developments, that these following areas where ASEAN 2015 does indeed foster stability and regional cooperation is in: trade and academics or cultural. Specifically, we will discuss the possible effects of this inter-state cooperation in the affected countries by comparing it with other international cooperation done in history such as the integration of the European Union.

Garcia Lermie Shayne, De La Salle University
Email: lermieshayne.garcia@gmail.com
Paper: South-South Cooperation within Southeast Asia: Exploring Areas of Cooperation between the More Developed South and the Less Developed South

Abstract
Southeast Asia (SEA) is a vast and diverse region not only in terms of cultures but of economic development. The World Bank classifies countries in the region from Low Income to High Income levels. This gap persists despite regional efforts such as the Initiatives for ASEAN Integration and Narrowing the Development Gap.

This paper in particular aims to explore the possibilities of cooperation between what the author refers to as the “more developed South” (Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia) and the “less developed South” (CLMV and Timor Leste).

Exploring the idea of “South-South cooperation within SEA”, the study focuses on best practices that the countries in both categories could offer to their fellow Southern countries. These best practices in various areas support the idea that poorer countries need to cooperate on things that they are capable of doing and controlling, given the countries’ shared experiences and/or common contexts.
Panel 15: National and Transnational Policies and Implications for Human Security

Panel Chair: Dr. Brendan Howe, Ewha Womans University

Prof. Dmitry Baluev, Nizhniy Novgorod State University
Email: dbalu@yandex.ru
Paper: New Russian Engagement in Asia Pacific

Abstract
In a wake of growing disagreements with the West Russian leadership is declaring the acceleration of its Asia Pivot policy. In a first place it means strengthening ties with People Republic of China and normalizing relations with such key countries of North Asia as South Korea and Japan. Secondly, it leads to reassessment of the role of Russia in SEA. The paper assess rapprochement with China, its courses and problems. Then it deals with implications of this for SEA and western countries. Possible scenarios of interaction in the quadrant Russia-West-China-SEA and its implication for human security are the special interest for the author.

Dr. Sean O'Malley, Dongseo University
Email: seanmo@gdsu.dongseo.ac.kr
Paper: Nuclear Power, Human Security and South Korea’s Middle Power Activism

Abstract
The normative ideals of middle power activism are often equated with good global citizenship and multilateral problem-solving. Over the last decade, a general rise in South Korean middle power activism has taken many forms, regional and global in nature. The articulation of the Seoul Consensus and increased participation in UN peacekeeping operations shows a state willing to embrace human security in many ways. Nonetheless, in the post-Fukushima Dai-ichi era, Seoul has continued its quest to expand civilian nuclear power both domestically and internationally. The aim of this paper is to determine whether South Korean civilian nuclear policy upholds the lofty ideals of normative and behavioral middle power activism, in terms of human security. Acknowledging the proliferation of characteristics defining middle powers, this paper utilizes the four approach framework of Cooper, Higgott and Nossal to analyze South Korean foreign and domestic policy in the field of civilian nuclear power, as it relates to human security. The paper begins with a general exposition on civilian nuclear power in human security terms and how this is relevant to South Korea. This is followed by an explanation of the Cooper, Higgott, Nossal framework of middle power approaches and why South Korea meets all framework criteria. Subsequent sections break down South Korean civilian nuclear policy, foreign and domestic, into each individual approach: positional, geographic, normative and behavioral to ascertain whether Seoul’s policies adequately meet the expectations of each approach. When it comes to human security through nuclear policy, the paper concludes that Seoul is meeting middle power ideals in positional terms. However, it is questionable whether it is meeting these in geographic, normative or behavioral terms. The paper therefore offers some policy prescriptions moving forward, to better align Seoul with its rhetoric of being a responsible middle power.

Prof. Raj Kishor Singh, University of Agra
Email: dr_rksingh1@rediffmail.com
Paper: Challenges to Human Security in South Asia

Abstract
This paper will focus on challenges to “Human Security” in south Asia. Human security means safety of people from both violent and non-violent threats. The elements of human security include economic security, food and health security, personal security, political security, military security. The value of
freedom and equality befitting the dignity of the human individual have been made more complete and substantive and constitute the foundational principles of constitutions of all the south Asia. The objectives of the constitution have been to establish an egalitarian society, free from exploitation of man by man, guarantying liberties not to a few but to all and bringing real freedom to the masses in positive sense. The right of human beings has a central place in our efforts to build the national polities sustained by law. But with the passes of time, we need to make an assessment as to how far the lofty ideals have been put to practice. The challenges of late appear to be more economic and less military and more related to developmental aspect. The problems facing the developing countries of south Asia are a reflection of the laborious process of nation building. At the root of the problem lies the reality of social inequalities and economic disparities.

The aim of the paper should be examine the problem of social disorder and political conflict in south Asia. The paper will also promote to systematic investigation of challenges to Human Security in South Asia in comparative perspective.

Rajesh Kharat, Centre for South Asian Studies JNU
Email: rkharat@hotmail.com
Paper: Borderland Communities and Issues of Human Security in South Asia: 'Baltis’ as Victims of Border

Abstract
As far as the concept of nation-state is concern it is always challenge to define the borderland communities due to their national sentiments. Therefore, the cross-border ethnicity is one of the important factors which need to be studied impartially. Due to ethnic similarities and affinities of the borderland communities across the border remains a fluid concept and pose a challenge to understand their nationalities. For the borderland communities the borders are merely geographical markers so borders are tend to be violated by them in a day to day life and in dilemma in their approach towards the nationalities, they generate across the dividing lines.

In the light of above discussion the proposed paper makes an attempt how to study Borderland Communities in South Asia who are divided by the partition of 1947 and the border war between India and Pakistan in 1971. In this situation their survival in all respect always at stake as host nation-state suspects their loyalties and deprives them from basic necessities of life, for instance, civil rights. Being victims of border politics, the feeling of sub-nationalism bound to be inculcated among them which are often contended by the state-machinery. So, this paper will highlight the Balties as borderland community and study what strategies they use in order to extract different types of resources from it, particularly, when they live in the conflict zone borders.

Panel 16: Colonialism and International Relations

Panel Chair: John Harvey Gamas, Ateneo De Davao

John Harvey Gamas, Ateneo De Davao
Email: jhdgamas@addu.edu.ph
Paper: Universalizing International Relations through the Genealogy of International Systems: The Historical

Abstract
Contemporary scholars of International Relations (IR) have decried the discipline's Eurocentric parochialism and propensity to impose Westphalian notions on the past. The study of the genealogy of international systems is one of the solutions forwarded in order to transform IR into a truly universal
discipline that is more inclusive of non-Western experiences and conscious of historical diversity. However, IR has a problematic approach in using history. This has plagued the development of systems theories in the field. Nevertheless the English School of IR, being more conscious of the “historical problem” presents a way out through Buzan and Little's more nuanced conception of International Systems. Furthermore bringing non-Western historical experience could also draw from studies on regions often marginalized by IR. One such region is Southeast Asia. Studies on Southeast Asian history made by political scientist and historians reveal latent systems thinking. Therefore the utilization of the English School's International Systems framework and the incorporation of Southeast Asian historical studies would help universalize IR as a discipline and hopefully sustain its relevance in providing analysis and solutions to present and future international issues.

Sanjay Kumar, Kangwon National University
Email: sanjaykorean2007@gmail.com
Paper: Indian Intellectuals's Cognizance of Korea during Colonial Period

Abstract
The History of Indo-Korean relations date back to the first century A.D. Because there was no direct land route between India and Korea, Interactions between the two independent ancient civilizations were largely indirect. The spread of Buddhism later in the 4th century provided the foundation for cultural interactions. Afterwards, many of the Korean monks and scholars went on pilgrimage to the land of Buddha in search of scriptures and knowledge. Indian monks also visited Korea to spread the teachings of Buddha. The policy of expanding Confucianism and repressing Buddhism during the Joseon period resulted in a decline of Buddhist and cultural interactions among the people of the two countries over a long period of time.

However, relations between the two nations were rekindled during the period of colonial hardships under the leadership of important Indian leaders like Gandhi, Tagore and Nehru who perceived Korea and expressed their perceptions. Indian writers like Rahul Sankrityan and Shiv Prasad Gupta also visited Korea via Japan and wrote their observations about colonial Korea based on their direct interaction. Indian Perceptions on Korea were mixed in the early twentieth century and based on the incidents and its recognition among the representative Indian Intellectuals and leaders of Independence played an important role in portraying Korea as a separate cultural and racial entity from Japan. This paper attempts to explain the direct and indirect cognizance of Korea among the Intellectuals of Colonial India and objectively examine their perceptions on Korea during the hardships of Japanese colonial period.

Joshua Manalo, De La Salle University
Email: manalo.joshua94@gmail.com
Paper: The Sea Bully: How Colonialism influenced Chinese behavior in the East and South China Seas

Abstract
The East and South China Seas, known for their rich fishing grounds, potential oil reserves and as major international maritime trade routes, are seen as potential flashpoints in the Asia Pacific as several countries asserts overlapping claims of sovereignty over these areas. As it seeks hegemonic status, People’s Republic of China claims these seas as part of its territory as a historical right, drawing large attention in the international stage. This conflict over overlapping claims normally ought to be resolved through international law using the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). However, China insists to settle these disputes through bilateral negotiations rather than international arbitration. Most of the analysis of the Chinese behavior towards the seas around it fail to consider its historical struggle with colonial masters as a source of this kind of aggression. Japan had been the colonial master of China in the first half of the 20th Century. Meanwhile, the Philippines, one of the claimants over several areas in the South China Sea, has strong connections with the United States. China sees the US, albeit vaguely, as part of the Western colonial masters who pilfered the country in
the 19th Century. This has caused the communist government that rose in the second half of the 20th Century to pursue actions to avenge the colonization of the country directly through its immediate neighbor Japan and indirectly through the Philippines. This paper will try to explain the attitude of China towards the conflicts in the East and South China Seas using the path dependence theory in tracing the development of the seemingly aggressive behavior against its neighboring states.

Dr. Serizawa Takamichi, De La Salle University  
Email: takamichi.serizawa@dlsu.edu.ph  
Paper: Comparing US Modernization Discourses on Japan and the Philippines (1945-1964)

Abstract
Although the World War II was ended in 1945, many countries in Northeast and Southeast Asia continued to experienced the wars for independence with choosing capitalist or communist way of nation-building. In order to prevent the spread of Communist rules in the region, the scholars in the United States formed area studies right after WWII and had sought so called "modernization theory" that locates non-Western countries' political and economic development along the path of that had been traversed by Western developed countries. This paper focuses on the formation and circulation of this modernization discourse with a particular interest in knowing the difference and similarity in the prescriptions of patron-client thesis in Japanese and Philippine Studies by the US scholars. Both countries were put under the US hegemony, the Philippines since 1898 and Japan since 1945, and what was interesting is, significant number of postwar American scholars who specialized on the Philippines were trained under similar theories as well as professor-student environment as those who specialized on Japanese studies in the United States. In other words, Japanese and Philippine studies had been greatly interacted particularly in the earlier stage of US area studies when the division of Asian Studies was not yet formed. The paper will elaborate a critical insight that the discourse on patron-client relationship has been formed to meet the demands of American scholarship for images of Japan and the Philippines in the earlier period of postwar era: feudal relationships are, for the former, the dynamo and for the latter, the obstacle in modernization.

Panel 17: Governance and Democratization in Asia

Panel Chair: Dr. Christian Schafferer, Overseas Chinese University

Dr. Christian Schafferer, Overseas Chinese University  
Email: chris@ocu.edu.tw  
Paper: Taiwanese Democracy 2.0

Abstract
Taiwan has been widely acknowledged as one of the most democratic countries in Asia. Notwithstanding, there is concern among scholars and political observers about a democratic rollback as a result of the current government’s ambivalent attitude towards democratic institutions and its rapprochement with Beijing. Although the new regime’s policies have already shown evidence of negative impacts on democratic development in Taiwan, such evidence has mostly been neglected in internationally respected surveys, such as those conducted by Freedom House. The discrepancy between the current approach to defining democracy and the perceived quality thereof has also been noted and extensively discussed by liberal Taiwanese scholars, political activists and citizen intellectuals. The student movement and the local elections of 2014 as well as popular publications illustrate public discontent with the inchoateness of currently propagated concepts of democracy and are evidence of a new Taiwanese citizenry that has stopped believing in a democratic system that has been abused by politicians and business elites. A growing number of people in Taiwan want a
democratic system that serves the people and translates into distributive justice – Democracy 2.0. This paper looks at the discourse on Taiwan’s democratic development and traces the causes of Taiwan’s slowed down progress towards enhancing democratic quality.

Prof. Nishimura Kenichi, Osaka University
Email: knishi@ciee.osaka-u.ac.jp
Paper: Do the Family Backgrounds of Mayors Affect the Performance of Local Governments in the Philippines?

Abstract
This paper examines the relations between attributes of mayors especially their family backgrounds and performance of local governments in the Philippines utilizing the results of an elite survey which we had conducted in 2011 and 2012.

It is common in the world that some elite families continuously produce politicians through generations. The Philippines is no exception and political families are criticized as seeking private interests rather than public interests and being corrupted.

Under such circumstances, people looked for more democratic local governance and this had led to the promulgation of the Local Government Code 1991 which aims at promoting democracy as well as improving efficiency and effectiveness in providing public services in the local level. Then DILG developed Local Governance Performance Management System (LGPMS) to evaluate performances of LGUs in the Philippines. These policies may have effects to develop the participatory and collaborative local governance.

Under the premise of resilience of political family and the existence of a new set of laws which promote participatory, transparent and accountable local governance, we will analyze how these political families perform under a new set of legislative system on local governance.

For the analysis we utilize LGPMS data as dependent variables. It has 20 indices under five performance areas – (1) Administrative Governance, (2) Social Governance, (3) Economic Governance, (4) Environmental Governance, and (5) Valuing Fundamentals of Governance. All indicators are shown with five-point scale; point 5 being the highest performance and 1 being the lowest. Then we use the data on the family background of mayors which are the results of our survey as independent variables. In our survey we asked mayors if their family members had occupied or are occupying politically elected positions. We use ANOVA to see the difference of performance between the mayors from political families and non-political families.

Rodrigo Karen, Da La Salle University
Email: karen.rodrigo@dlsu.edu.ph
Paper: The Role of Judicial Review in the Anti-Corruption Agenda in the Philippines

Abstract
Judicial review has been under attack for being anti-democratic since a non-representative and unaccountable court interpreted and enforced the constitution. Critics of judicial review, particularly the popular constitutionalists, argue that the legitimate interpretation of the constitution can only come from the people, by themselves or through their representatives in the government. This case study investigates the role of judicial review in the anti-corruption agenda of abolishing the Pork Barrel System in the Philippines. The Pork Barrel System refers to collective body of rules and practices that facilitated political corruption by providing pork funds to individual politicians – legislators and the President – and granting them control over said funds in violation of several constitutional principles. The case is unique because it presents a situation wherein resort to the representative or political branches of the government proved to be difficult, if not in utile. Using a qualitative case-based research design with legal analysis and contextual description as research tools, this study
demonstrates how judicial review is a possible and adequate measure to enforce constitutional and human rights.

Sokphea Young, the University of Melbourne  
Email: sophiabelieve@gmail.com  
Paper: *The Logic of Regime Survival: A Case of Cambodia*

**Abstract**

Bueno de Mesquita and his colleagues argue that regimes survive because of their winning coalition—a set of people who select or vote for the leaders. In authoritarian regimes, the winning coalitions tend to be small, but they are large in democratic regimes. To remain in power, the leaders of authoritarian regimes have to dole out its private goods to placate the winning coalitions and to ensure their loyalty. Leaders of democratic regimes have to utilize public goods to placate a large number of winning coalitions. But, these scholars have not delved into how public and private goods are cultivated in these two distinctive regimes. As a contribution to this dearth, this paper—draws on empirical case of Cambodia’s current political regime—postulates that, to survive, not only does the regime award and protect rent extraction of its winning coalition’s networks, but it also circumvents and co-opts the challengers.

---

**Panel 18: Regional Conflict Management in Asia**

**Panel Chair: Dr. Clifton Sherrill,** Troy University

Dr. Clifton Sherrill, Troy University  
Email: csherrill@troy.edu  
Paper: *The Age of ISIS: The Threat to Southeast Asia*

**Abstract**

The rise of the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) and its eclipse of al-Qaeda as the leading jihadist organization presents both threats and opportunities to Southeast Asian states. Although ISIS has enjoyed unparalleled success in taking and holding territory, generating income, and attracting foreign recruits, its methods have simultaneously alienated the vast majority of Muslims. This paper explores whether ISIS’s ideology is likely to appeal to Muslims in Southeast Asia, how such appeal is likely to manifest in security threats within Southeast Asia, and how Southeast Asian states can diminish such threats. It then considers how multilateral counterterrorism cooperation can enhance regional security cooperation more generally, within the constraints of prevailing non-interference norms.

Prof. Joshua Robert Snider, University of Northern Iowa  
Email: Joshua.Snider@nottingham.edu.my  
Paper: *Counter-radicalization Policy in Malaysia: The Appeal of ISIS and the Limits of Najib’s "Moderation Agenda"*

**Abstract**

The modern era. In nation-states around the world the ISIS issue raises a similar and complex set of questions: 1) how to prevent people from joining neo-Jihadists (Salafist) groups like ISIS, 2) what to do with people who have returned home from Iraq and Syria and 3) legal questions surrounding the suppression of civil liberties in the service of counter-radicalization agendas? The Malaysian context presents a number of challenges that range in scope from the sorts of macro complexities at work elsewhere (i.e. social media, cyber-radicalization and ease / affordability of travel) to very unique
domestic factors related to the government’s use of Islam as a tool to manage ethno-nationalist agendas. To date, the main thrust of Malaysia’s counter-radicalization policy has been the rhetorical deployment of Prime Minister NajibTunRazak’s “Moderation Agenda.” At the 68th UN General Assembly, Razak called for a Global Movement of Moderates to counter what he called “the forces of extremism.” He sees Malaysia as the vanguard of the moderation movement and argued that Malaysia has much to teach the world on the subjects of peaceful coexistence and moderation. This paper will explore Malaysia’s counter-radicalization agenda and will argue that if the State is serious about using the moderation agenda as a tool to mitigate the attractiveness of ISIS then it must challenge the Global Movement of Moderates Foundation (and civil society in general) to engage in new intellectual project. This project must entail a critical exploration of the meaning of moderation and a practical discussion on how moderation might combat manifestations of extremism.

Miguel Alberto Gomez, Institute Barcelona d’EstudisInternacionals
Email: miguel.gomez.n@gmail.com
Paper: Stem the Tide: ISIL/ISIS in South East Asia

Abstract
With a significant Muslim population residing in South East Asia, and the expansion of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL/ISIS) into other conflict zones beyond, the resonance of their message is perceived as a threat to the stability of the region. Nevertheless, this study asserts that, while certain groups have allied themselves with ISIL/ISIS, the underlying (1) historical, (2) ideological, and (3) political structures limits the ability of ISIS/ISIS to expand into the region. Specifically, the study proposes that Islamic secessionist movements in South East Asia would not be co-opted into supporting ISIS/ISIL’s objectives due the aforementioned constraints. In doing so, the study reifies ISIL/ISIS as a secessionist movement that utilizes terrorism and compares it with Islamic secessionist groups in the Southern Philippines and Southern Thailand.

Alfredo S. Sureta Jr., University of Makati
Email: alfredsureta2004@yahoo.com
Paper: Lessons from 1996 Final Peace Agreement: Comparing the MNLF and MILF negotiations

Abstract
The purpose of this paper is to analyze how the transition of authoritarian regimes in selected ASEAN countries led to the creation of institutions that have resulted in uneven democratic consolidation. In countries like the Philippines and Indonesian transition from authoritarian rule resulted democratic states that have regular elections while weak in administrative capacities. In comparison to Thailand and Singapore transition from Authoritarian states resulted in weak electoral politics while strong in administrative capacities. This exploratory research aims to understand how uneven democratic transition was a result of unique institutional choices undertaken during period of authoritarian rule. Using comparative historical analysis the paper will argue that democratic consolidation is heavily dependent on institutional innovation before democratization in these countries.
Panel Chair: Dr. Prajak Kongkirati, Thammasat University

Reiner S. Gallardo, University of the Philippines Diliman
Email: reinergallardo@gmail.com
Paper: The Filipino Vote: An Analysis of the Effects of Social Identity on Philippine Elections

Abstract
There exist various differences that create natural cleavages within the society. These cleavages promote specific values and attitudes that shape an individual’s preference which affect various decisions they make, including voting. Hence, incorporating these natural cleavages in studies concerning elections prove to be integral, especially in understanding voting dynamics. These cleavages allow for the rise of exclusive groups that exhibit unique set of values, commonly referred to as social identity groups. Ben-Bassat and Dahan (2008) defines social identity as being attributed to an individual in relation to the context of the existing cleavages in the society. Social identity provides a heuristical device through which voters can base their decisions on. Most of the existing works on social identity and voting preferences, especially those cited in this study, argue that members of specific social identity groups are more likely to vote for members of the same group, viewing co-membership to social identity groups as an assurance for patronage. Using the same premise, the main argument of this paper is that social identity groups influence the voting preference of Filipinos. While Filipinos may be subjected to an entirely different context, the same argument applies. The difference in context, however, allows for the existence of a unique set of social identity groups that are not the same as the groups being analyzed in the literature cited in this study (i.e. race, party). Using the data from 2007-2013 Philippine Senatorial Elections, this study aims to analyze the prominent social identity groups in the Philippines and their apparent effect on the trend of voting in the local elections. This paper uses probit and linear regression models to prove that social identity groups, specifically, religious, regional, and gender affiliations have effects on the win ability and the ranking of senatorial candidates in the Philippine Senatorial Elections.

Allan Cairo M. Reyes, University of the Philippines-Diliman
Email: allancairoreyes@gmail.com
Paper: Probing the Iglesia Vote: Religious Endorsements and Iglesia Support in the 2004 and 2010 Elections

Abstract
The Iglesiani Cristo (Church of Christ) has had considerable influence in Philippine politics since the EDSA Revolution of 1986. This has been manifested in the success of its candidate endorsements during elections, which has invited allegations of the religious sect engaging in bloc voting. Such phenomenon opens an inquiry into the voting behavior the Iglesiani Cristo. Is there an Iglesia vote? In answering this question, the paper utilizes 2004 and 2010 exit poll data from the Social Weather Stations Data Library, using measures of Iglesia vote share (Iglesia support), candidate endorsements from the Iglesiani Cristo and popularity ratings from the Pulse Asia Databank. OLS and logistic regression models were estimated to test the hypothesis that while candidate endorsement is significant to the share of Iglesia votes received, it does not equate to a solid bloc vote and that popularity is a stronger predictor of their voting behavior. This study also hypothesizes that contrary to accounts in the literature, candidate popularity is a consideration in the organization’s endorsements. The findings show that while candidate endorsement remains the better predictor of Iglesia votes, the Iglesiani Cristo does not deliver a solid bloc vote during elections. They also suggest that the Philippines, particularly the Iglesiani Cristo, is an outlier in conventional theories on voting behavior because candidate platform, affiliation, experience, incumbency and dynastic ties are not
significant predictors of their voting decisions. Moreover, the findings indicate a positive relationship between candidate popularity and likelihood of Iglesia endorsement.

**Beltran Jonathan**, De La Salle University  
**Email:** jbeltran@hpair.org  
**Paper:** *Strong and Weak States: The Continuing Electoral Authoritarianism in South East Asia*

**Abstract**  
Similarities amidst Diversity. In the midst of democratization in South East Asia and forthcoming elections, most of its elections are still characterized with electoral authoritarianism. In the recent report of the known Freedom House Index 2015, still none of the countries in South East Asia have been rated as Free. Together with this, a study of electoral integrity published by the Electoral Integrity Project rates the region very poorly with only Very Low to Moderate Electoral Integrity. Riddled with personalistic regimes, South East Asian Countries seem to falter upholding the rule of law and is instead taken over by the rule of man, why is this so?

This paper will look at trends in the region focusing on the question, why is electoral authoritarianism still persistent in South East Asia? Furthermore, what institutional, (existing laws, government agencies, political parties, etc.) or socio-cultural features permit the continued (and even rise) of electoral authoritarianism in the region? How can the region's growing democracies uphold fair and free elections? The paper will employ a comparative method (Lipjart) of analysis. Looking at the issue in a regional setting and the roles of the strengths of states to enforce its laws, this research seeks to mend existing gaps, examine the trends of discussion in the literature of Electoral Authoritarianism and suggest further focal points for future study of the field.

**Ramos Renz Paolo**, University of Santo Tomas  
**Email:** renzramos.manila@gmail.com  
**Paper:** *Teachers' Party-Lists on K-12 Program in the Philippines*

**Abstract**  
In 2016, the Philippines will be adapt a new educational system in the form of the Enhanced Basic Education Program or the K-12 Program. Legislated and signed into law in 2013 through RA 10533, the K-12 Program is expected to deliver an overhaul of the existing 10 year basic education in the country. Because of this program, there are several problems anticipated once this program reaches its full implementation. One of these problems concerns the college teachers who will be affected by these adjustments in the education system. This study concentrated on the teacher-representing party-list elected and their participation and activities that addresses the aforementioned problem. The study compares the legislative activities of Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) Party-list and Advocacy for Teacher Empowerment through Action Cooperation and Harmony towards Educational Reforms (A-TEACHER) Party-list to recognize which gave substantial representation to college teachers with regard to the issues of their tenure, salary and benefits.
Panel 20: Causes and Governance of Migration in Asia

Panel Chair: Monika Lalwani, University of Agra

Monika Lalwani, University of Agra
Email: b_1988@rediffmail.com
Paper: Politics of Illegal Migration: A Case Study of Assam

Abstract
My paper expected to highlight the “Politics of migration in Assam”. North-East India is a politically vital and strategically vulnerable region of India. Surrounded by five countries, it is connected with the rest of India through a thirty kilometer narrow corridor. North-East India, then called Assam, is divided into Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura. After independence, the Assamese people expected that there would not be any further trans-migration of Muslims from East Pakistan to their new political territory. But the flow of illegal migration from East Pakistan again increased aggressively as in the absence of any population planning by its government or any social movement for creating awareness to control population, its people remained facing the problem of living space for survival. Even after liberation, a huge number of Bangladeshi Muslims stayed back in Assam and helped their co-religionists in influencing the electoral politics of this state. They not only further increased the demographic imbalance in the state but also scared the Assamese middle class of the danger to their socio-cultural identity. That the problem of infiltration of foreigners in large scale has reached such a stage that unless immediate drastic steps were taken to solve it, the state of Assam, and for that matter, the entire North Eastern Region, faces the danger of being overrun by foreigners in the next few years”. Between 1983 and 2000, the sixteen tribunals in various districts. have located about 10,000 illegals (immigrants) of which a bare 1,400 have been deported”. The highest growth of Muslim population in Assam due to unrestricted infiltration for consolidating the Muslim votes is a threat to its socio-cultural subjugation. It is one of the major sources of bitterness and tension in the region. Now the political clout of Muslim leaders is so strong that no political party is in a position to take a tough stand against the illegal immigrants in this state. Due to lack of vision they do not understand the design of the communal politics of the Muslims of Assam and neighboring Bangladesh. They must know that once, Assam is ceded from India, the Muslim militants will throw away the Hindus in Assam as they did in Pakistan and Bangladesh. The Indian path of institutional adjustments aimed at winning over and changing the opinion of hostile ethnic groups and extending special safeguards to hill States have helped solve ethnic problems to a great extent. These need to be endured.

Naomi Hatsukano, IDE-JETRO
Email: hatsukanon@gmail.com
Paper: Cambodian Migrant Workers in Thailand

Abstract
The economic integration within ASEAN only has focused on the free flow of professional workers. For the sake of the further economic integration, the free flow of the migrant workers, including lower skilled or unskilled workers came to be a topic within ASEAN these days (though it is more approachable from the viewpoint of the safe movement to prevent human trafficking). When governments try to promote the free flow of the people in the official way, they may have to build more borders or barriers between the relevant countries, to control the migrants who are moving beyond the borders distinguishing between preferable migrants and non-preferable migrants. Diener et al (2015) called this paradoxical situation “border full” world.

The labour market in the Mekong region is integrated as a matter of practice and Thailand receives millions of legal and illegal migrant workers at present. There are almost 0.8 million Cambodian migrant workers working in Thailand at present. Some are legal and some are illegal among them and
in June 2014, more than two hundred thousand Cambodian workers rushed to return home since they were afraid of the crackdown in Thailand.

In my research presentation, the governance of the Cambodian migrant workers focusing on the relevant stakeholders, government and non-government actors’ system, how to control the migrant workers and the workers’ view, how they are being controlled. I would like to explain the system that more barriers or borders by the controllers and the reactions of the workers are producing new illegal workers.

This research would be based on 1) Questionnaire survey of the 450 Cambodian workers in Thailand in 2014, 2) Individual interviews with the Cambodian migrant workers in Thailand and Cambodia in 2015, 3) Interview surveys to the government officers, private agencies, employers, NGOs both in Thailand and Cambodia since 2010.

Sokheng Ork, Kdei Karuna Organization
Email: sokhengork@gmail.com
Paper: Migration and Border Crossing Issues at the Hat Lek-Cham Yeam Border Checkpoint in Koh Kong Province

Abstract
The flow of Cambodian migrants to Thailand has taken place continuously at different checkpoints between the two countries, in spite of past conflicts between Thailand and Cambodia. In particular, the Hat Lek-Cham Yeam border checkpoint, on the border between Thailand’s Trat province and Koh Kong province in Cambodia, has played a significant role in the crossing of Cambodians to Thailand, both legally and illegally. This paper is based on data collection during the fieldwork at Hat Lek-Cham Yeam border checkpoint and in Koh Kong province, along with qualitative and quantitative analysis focused mainly on three aspects. First, it discusses the migration process both legal and illegal, among Cambodians. In some cases, misconceptions have been found. Second, some problems have occurred during their migration to Thailand such as the high cost of passport procedures, the deception by the recruiting agency or the corruption by the authorities. Third, it details the different types of working conditions including salary, social welfare and job opportunities among Cambodians, which could be divided into positive and negative impacts depending upon the employers. This has influenced the decision on whether or not the migrants would permanently or temporarily live in Thailand. This paper reveals the shift in the initial intention of crossing the border in search of work to other significant reasons such as daily shopping trips or family visits.

Panel 21: Environmental Protection and Disaster Management

Panel Chair: Edcelyn Bacila, De La Salle University

Villasanta Evenita Maan, De La Salle University
Email: villasanta.eve@gmail.com
Paper: Policy Paradigms and Policy Change in Disaster Policy in the Philippines

Abstract
The Philippine has an abundance of exogenous shocks that theoretically, should be a major indicator to consider in the dynamics of policy change. This study seeks to explain why there was an apparent delay in the legislation of R.A. 10121 in the Philippines despite the presence of exogenous shocks that is predicted by historical institutionalism: it is a case of continuity despite factors of change. This paper will employ Baumgartner and Jones’ punctuated equilibrium framework as a historical overview of what caused the sudden inclination for policy change and will utilize the Hall’s concept of paradigm shift to explain the different policy paradigms that emerged. The argument of this paper is that
although exogenous shocks are an important factor to consider, it was not enough to propel the legislation for R.A. 10121. In the case of disaster policy in the Philippines, the decisive reason that determined slow policy change was the structure of policy-making institutions in the Philippines that embodied a closed policy community further defined by a dominating policy paradigm.

Doce Brian, University of Santo Tomas
Email: briandoce.bd@gmail.com
Paper: Smuggling as Transnational Crime: The Case of the Fireworks Industry in Bocaue, Bulacan

Abstract
Transnational crime is one of the concerns regional organizations are currently answering. In relation, with the increasing number of smuggled products entering domestic markets of developing countries, domestic industries are threatened and endangered. The case of the fireworks industry in Bocaue, Bulacan in the Philippines is not an exception to this reality. This study proves that smuggling does not only affect the local industry but also the work ethic of local craftsmen. Through interviews of local officials, qualitative surveys among licensed storeowners, purposive inquiries among unregistered retailers, and ocular visitations in Bocaue, Bulacan, the study discovered the following realities. First, aside from the corruption in the national level and weakness of implementation, there is an incoherence of national and local policies written to address the issue. Second, the efforts of the local government of Bocaue to address the issue is deemed futile and useless because the Bureau of Customs had already legitimized the so-called “smuggled” products by giving them permits and licenses. Finally, it is discovered that the entry of these illegal products results to lower demands on locally made firecrackers which translates to lower income on local manufacturers, and diminishing essence of craftsmanship. This study recommends that dependence on legal and institutional measures will not solve the problem but an attitude change on consumers and retailers are necessary in order for them to realize the future negative deficits they are going to face if this trend will pursue.

Kania Prathita, University of Indonesia
Email: kania.prathita@gmail.com
Paper: The Improvement of Sustainable Fisheries in Indonesia in 2014

Abstract
As a maritime country, Indonesia is very vulnerable to the occurrence of illegal fishing. According to FAO 2014 report, the number of fish derived from IUU (Illegal Unreported and Unregulated Fishing) at the global level can reach up to 11-26 million tons annually whose value is estimated at 10-23 billion dollars. IUU fishing activities in Indonesia have contributed significantly to the overfishing today. Analysis of statistical data fisheries Indonesia and FAO, estimated that Indonesia reach 430 thousand tons per year of the overfishing. That figure was based on estimates made by FAO that 30 % of the total catches estimated from IUU fishing activities. IUU can certainly disserve the country and also disrupt the continuity of marine ecosystems. On 2014, the new minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, formed the regulations about fishing that becoming the answer about the Indonesia’s marine problem and also supporting the sustainable fisheries. Eradication of illegal fishing, a moratorium on new licenses of fishing vessels, prohibition of cutting off mangroves and the use of chemicals for aquaculture ponds, as well as banning the capture and trade of fish spawn is related elements of sustainable fisheries. Likewise, the arrangement exploitation of fish resources to preserve fish stocks, known as the harvest control rule to plan the elimination of fuel subsidies transferred to the welfare of fishermen. Those regulations show the importance of the sustainability of sea environment as the source of life and gave many positive effects for the people, environment, and the country (Indonesia) as a maritime country. Therefore, this paper will explain about how the formulation, process, until the implementation of the regulations that can be the solution for the sea environmental problem in Indonesia.
Panel 22: Grassroots Civil Society Building for Local Development?

Panel Chair: Dr. Say Sok, Royal University of Phnom Penh

This panel comprises of three papers. The first empirical paper examines factors affecting the cost efficiency of the current farming practice in Cambodia. The author argues that the household level farming practice is generally not cost efficient and proposes that there is a need for livelihood diversification and a change in farming practices. With a specific focus on agricultural cooperatives and fishing communities, the second paper explores grassroots civil society building as an option for local development. The argument is that grassroots civil society building in Cambodia is complex and challenging, and that it is a learning-from-doing process with varying degrees of community engagement and consolidation. While grassroots civil society is seen as an option for local development, the authors argue that the intervention needs to move beyond erecting merely skeletal apparatuses. The final paper discusses theoretical debates around grassroots civil society building. It is suggested that in developing countries for such a process to be successful it is crucial to meaningfully engage the concerned stakeholders, including the states, intermediary non-state actors, and citizens themselves.

Dr. Say Sok, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: saysok@gmail.com
Paper: Civil Society Building in Developing Countries: A Conceptual Debate

Abstract
Civil society as a concept has a very long history and it is very contested and complex. The complexity also applies to civil society building. Alex de Tocqueville and liberal scholars generally support for the building of civil society as an autonomous sphere in itself and prefer minimal intervention from the state. Antonio Gramsci and neo-Gramscian scholars, while advocating for an autonomous sphere, argue that the state and civil society are in constant ‘wars of positions’ for hegemony over one another. In developing countries, the limited experiences in bonding and bridging beyond the family and cleavage-based organizations often pose a challenge for grassroots civil society building. The complexity is confounded by the fact that this process is usually aided and modes of intervention determined by external donors, many of which bypass or play down the participation of the state and indigenous institutions and movements in their intervention. It is the intent of the paper to examine the debates around civil society building and it argues that for grassroots civil society building to be effective it is important to bring the state, non-state intermediaries, and citizens into form an effective partnership as a precondition for grassroots development and improved human wellbeing.

Dr. Rido Thath, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: rido_rupp@yahoo.com
Paper: Factors Affecting Cost Efficiency of Cambodian Rice Farming Households

Abstract
Using the Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey (CSES) 2009, this study tested the cost efficiency of Cambodian rice farming households. The wet and dry season cases were examined separately, and the results showed the evidence of cost inefficiency among the wet season farming households, while among the dry season farming households, there was no significant evidence. When taking into account different agro-climatic zones, only wet season rice farming households in Tonle Sap and Plateau/Mountain zones were found to have cultivated inefficiently. There was no evidence of inefficiency among dry season rice farming households in all agro-climatic zones. The mean cost efficiency score of 1.2 and 1.3 were obtained respectively for Tonle Sap and Plateau/Mountain zones, which indicates that, on average, wet season rice farming households were operating on
about 20% and 30% over the minimum cost frontier. The results of the factors affecting cost efficiency suggested that there should be an appropriate number of farmers cultivating in a plot of land. If too many farmers cultivate in a small plot of land, cost efficiency will drop. Cost efficiency can also be improved if farming households are able to increase their cultivated area given the same number of farmer members of households, or reduce the number of household members who cultivate rice.

Dr. Say Sok & Rosa Yi, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: saysok@gmail.com, rosa.ifl@gmail.com
Paper: Toward Understanding Grassroots Civil Society Building in Rural Cambodia

Abstract
External efforts to build local community in Cambodia date back to early 1990s when the country made a drastic transformation from socialism to liberalism. The opening up of its door to the outside world was instantly followed suit by the explosion of civil society sector supported by international donor agencies using non-governmental organizations as their proxies to implement a wide range of development projects. The nature of the interventions has evolved over the decades in accordance with global trends and discourses. However, a shared characteristic amid such change is the fact that efforts initiated for grassroots civil society building seems to downplay the meaningful participation from the state and citizens per se.

Empirical experiences and existing literature on civil society building suggest that to harness its building require to bring back the state yet again in this endeavor while citizens and intermediary organizations need to re-engage themselves. In other words, state needs closely connect with civil society as partners, while allowing space for autonomous and participatory decision-making and initiatives. Such partnership can be viewed as successful only when the cooperation and collaboration between the two actors can be translated into positive outcomes in terms of socio-economic development and improved wellbeing of intended groups. In the same horizon, any positive outcome is conditioned by state capacity to fulfill its functions and by civil society sector capacity and flexibility to work with the state to establish mutual trust and, thereafter, effective partnership.

Panel 23: Gender Orientation and Networking

Panel Chair: Dr. Peracullo Jeane, De La Salla University

Dr. Peracullo Jeane, De La Salla University
Email: jeane.peracullo@dlsu.edu.ph
Paper: Japanese Women’s Activism as Transnational Women’s Movement: Reimagining, Redefining Solidarity

Abstract
The proposed project examines at length and in-depth Japanese women’s activism as an example of a transnational women’s movement. It aims to provide insights on new models of cooperation and partnership in Asia in particular, and the world in general. These new models will be inspired by particular ways women carry out their activism that will further deepen and enrich existing models of solidarity, cooperation and partnership. These new models are formed and informed by Asian women’s greater awareness of human rights, which include women’s rights, greater exposure to gender and women’s studies which originated from the West and are now gaining foothold in some parts of Asia.

In the Philippines, several Japanese women-led organizations can be found and they work with various sectors including children, youth, women, and indigenous cultures. According to Japan-Filipino NGO
networks, Japanese NGOs are based all over the Philippines—from Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao and an estimated 80 to 90 organizations are actively involved in the Philippines, making the country a primary beneficiary for Japanese NGO assistance.

One of these women-led organizations is the Association of Women Empowerment Project (AWEP). AWEP describes itself as an NGO promoting women’s empowerment through fair trade that provides jobs for women, information sharing, and counseling for foreign residents in Japan. It is worthy to note that AWEP’s vision and mission are consistent with the history of women activism in Japan that, according to Vera Mackie in Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality (2003), has always been oriented towards gender equality among the working-class, female participation in the public sphere, and assistance to female foreign workers. AWEP as an organization is involved in education and training, job creation and enterprise development, gender issues, human rights and labor conditions.

In the proposed project, I aim to investigate the following:
What new models on solidarity, partnership and cooperation in Asia can be derived based on the Japanese women’s activism as a transnational women’s movement that aims to empower and enhance resource-enabling abilities of stakeholders?

In order to answer this problem, I also aim to investigate the following sub-questions:
1. How do the members of AWEP see, perceive and envision their work for Filipino women? In this connection, why help Filipino women in particular?
2. What are some of the challenges they encountered with their work and how have they respond to those considering that there are cultural, religious and language differences between Japan and the Philippines?
3. Fair trade has a gender component in one of its principles. How has this principle shaped their advocacy of women helping women?
4. What is AWEP’s understanding of power? How important that this view be shared with other women in the world particularly Filipinas?
5. What important lessons have the members learned about solidarity, cooperation and partnership from the Filipinas they have worked with?

The proposed project argues that Japanese women’s activism contributes to a global understanding of being women helping other women, across borders, nationalities, ideologies and cultures while remaining sensitive to the postcolonial realities of Southeast Asians. AWEP’s work has broad implications on the issues regarding women empowerment, gendered migration and the continued inability of marginalized sectors in the Philippines (in particular, poor, single mothers with no employment) to participate in the so-called economic boom that the country experiences. In emphasizing women empowerment, AWEP hopes to manifest that real power comes in the form of female solidarity, cooperation and access to fair trade.

Cabalang Alyssa Faye, University of Santo Tomas
Email:afcabalang@gmail.com
Paper: LGBT in the Philippines: Effectiveness of AngLadlad and Its Network Organizations in Policy Making

Abstract
Lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender in the Philippines have distinct customs however with inadequate and constrained rights. Today, LGBT activists play an important role in pressuring government officials for support and equality. Movements, civil society organizations, and campaigns are widely used by the LGBT advocates in participating in the government. In the Philippines, AngLadlad, which means to unfurl or come out, is renowned for being the first political party in the world composed of LGBT Filipinos that fights for the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexual, and transgender. Accordingly, this study has a main objective of providing an analysis on how AngLadlad, the leading organization who fought to secure representation in the congress in the Philippines, and its umbrella
organizations carry out measures in affecting policy-making. This research will dwell onto the function and the effect of network strategies of AngLadlad; and how the umbrella organizations contribute to the participation and representation of the lead organization. This study utilizes a qualitative approach in data gathering and phenomenological in nature. Using three indicators in assessing the effectiveness of AngLadlad—interest articulation, political participation, and political representation—the qualitative findings show that the efforts of AngLadlad and its network organizations in policy making is not effective. There are also problems in affiliation, conflict resolution, and lack of legitimacy and political will of AngLadlad and its member network organizations. The interviews pointed out that the affiliation with AngLadlad is primarily based on personal and close private ties which lead to a more limited cooperation and coordination.

Marasigan Anastacio Jr., De La Salle University  
Email: anastacio.marasigan@dlsu.edu.ph  
Paper: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identities and Expression (SOGIE) and the Anti-Discrimination Ordinan

Abstract  
In 2014, the Global Gender Gap Report of World Economic Forum (WEF) ranked the Philippines as the “9th most gender-equal country in the world”. Despite of the four notches dropped from 2013, the country is still the “best in Asia.” However, using SOGIE as lens of analysis the so-called gender equal Philippines might reveal a different situation.

Since the 11th Congress (1998), members of civil society and advocates have been pushing for the passage of the Anti-Discrimination Bill in Congress. The closest, however, that the bill reached in the legislative process was at the level of committee hearings. Despite of the failure/reluctance of Congress to pass the bill through the years, several local governments initiated their own version of the Anti-Discrimination Ordinances.

This paper will analyze selected ADO using SOGIE as framework and look at its implications in terms of creating enabling environment for marginalized groups that could lead to a more gender responsive and equal situation. The paper will also analyze the dichotomization of gender equality i.e. male and female using a more inclusive view on gender identities and expressions. Through this approach, policy and governance could be more cognizant of gender diversity in a society.

Panel 24: Foreign Policy in Asia Pacific  
Panel Chair: Dr. Simonn Leang, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Dr. Simonn Leang, Royal University of Phnom Penh  
Email: simonwaseda@gmail.com  
Paper: The Real Issue of ASEAN Integration: A Case Study of The Roots of Cambodia-Thailand Nationalism Through Official Historical Writing

Abstract  
Cambodia’s Vietnam Foreign Policy has been characterized as a calibrated mixture of deference and defiance. Since 1998, Hun Sen has pursued the hedging policy strategy against his Eastern neighbors, and such a policy can be manifest in his government’s Omni-directional policy responses ranging from economic pragmatism, limited bandwagoning, direct engagement, and soft-balancing. This economic pragmatism refers to Hun Sen government’s efforts to promote bilateral economic cooperation between the two countries despite the obvious tension. Simultaneously, Phnom Penh has on multiple occasions sought to bandwagon Hanoi by trying to control irritants and/or making certain concessions to improve the bilateral ties. Further, Phnom Penh has made its utmost efforts to directly engage with
Hanoi through numerous exchanges of visits between high-ranking officials of the two countries. Hun Sen’s Cambodia has, however, pursued the soft-balancing tactic by engaging China as the key balancer against Vietnam’s mounting pressure over a wide range of issues. The article will also examine the foundation of Cambodia’s foreign policy making using John Spanier’s three levels of foreign policy analysis: the system, the nation-state, and individual.

Chanborey Cheunboran, The Australian National University
Email: boreymfaic@gmail.com
Paper: The Making of Cambodia’s Foreign Policy: Compelling Factors, Actors and Strategic Choices

Abstract
The research provides a comprehensive explanation on Cambodia’s foreign policy, by highlighting the compelling factors, actors and strategic choices.

Firstly, the research argues that Cambodia’s foreign policy has been shaped by four determinist factors: (1) geographical location, being sandwiched by its two powerful and historically antagonist neighbors – Thailand and Vietnam; (2) economic imperatives as an aid-dependent nation; (3) the French colonial rule and its implications on the fundamental principles and goals of Cambodia’s foreign policy; and (4) the tragedy of Cambodia as a victim of power politics during the Cold War.

Secondly, Cambodia’s foreign policy has been diffused with increasingly important role of new players such as political parties, NGOs and civil society, the intelligentsia and netizens. The diffusion has, to some extent, affected Cambodia’s foreign policy, especially on strategic choices the country makes.

Finally, economically dynamic but geopolitically volatile Asia brings about many strategic dilemmas for Cambodia, which are as the results of strategic competitions between and among major powers. In this respect, the researcher postulates that, in the short run, Cambodia must catch the big elephant – China – as it provides enormous economic interests for Cambodia and addresses security need of the kingdom, precisely the perceived threats from its stronger and historically antagonist neighbors. In the medium run, Cambodia must be relevant in ASEAN and active in promoting ASEAN’s centrality. Meanwhile, Cambodia must strengthen its relations other major powers in Asia and beyond. In the long run, Cambodia shall adopt omnidirectional foreign policy and play a key role in promoting a rules-based regional order. It’s crucially important to emphasize that while there are various reasons Cambodia cannot execute all strategic choices at the same time in the short run, the realization of the first choice by no means affects the chance to implement the two other choices.

Hannah Leigh Tabunda & Carla Michaela B. Taguinod, Royal and Pontifical Catholic University of the Philippines
Email: hannahtabunda@yahoo.com, cm27_pinckarla@yahoo.com
Paper: Japan’s Current Stance on the Comfort Women Issue

Abstract
The purpose of this research is to present A Single Country Comparative Contextual Description Study of Japan’s Current Stance on the Comfort Women Issue. The issue has come to light after the continuous denial of Japan regarding the Japanese Imperial Army’s perpetrations concerning the comfort women. Because of the said matter above and other factors that will be discussed in this paper, Japan’s current stand on the comfort women issue is accused of failure in pursuing certain resolutions. This research shall present the implications of this dispute to Japan’s Foreign and Domestic Relations such as that of how failure to pursue the resolution can affect its relations to certain countries perpetrated by their past war crimes. The research also presents means or ways discussing how the current administration should address this recurring problem.
Thearith Leng, UNSW Canberra
Email: thearithleng2011@gmail.com
Paper: Cambodia’s Foreign Policy towards Vietnam

Abstract
Cambodia’s Vietnam Foreign Policy has been characterized as a calibrated mixture of deference and defiance. Since 1998, Hun Sen has pursued the hedging policy strategy against his Eastern neighbors, and such a policy can be manifest in his government’s Omni-directional policy responses ranging from economic pragmatism, limited bandwagoning, direct engagement, and soft-balancing. This economic pragmatism refers to Hun Sen government’s efforts to promote bilateral economic cooperation between the two countries despite the obvious tension. Simultaneously, Phnom Penh has on multiple occasions sought to bandwagon Hanoi by trying to control irritants and/or making certain concessions to improve the bilateral ties. Further, Phnom Penh has made its utmost efforts to directly engage with Hanoi through numerous exchanges of visits between high-ranking officials of the two countries. Hun Sen’s Cambodia has, however, pursued the soft-balancing tactic by engaging China as the key balancer against Vietnam’s mounting pressure over a wide range of issues. The article will also examine the foundation of Cambodia’s foreign policy making using John Spanier’s three levels of foreign policy analysis: the system, the nation-state, and individual.

Panel 25: Culture and Development

Panel Chair: Naina Thatal, Sikkim University

Naina Thatal, Sikkim University
Email: naina_thatal@yahoo.com
Paper: Cultural Diversification and Identity Mobilization in India’s Northeast: Case of Sikkim

Abstract
India has been witnessing large numbers of conflict and violence associated with identity politics. It has been a home of hundreds of group communities with various and distinct identity. Looking this scenario, the cultural plurality and diversity, the framers of the Indian constitution adopted the values of political and cultural pluralism. The framers of constitution realized that India could stand united and integrated only if it recognized its diverse cultural values. Article 51 (A) of Part IV of the Indian constitution states that it shall be the duty of every citizens of India to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture and promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities. Despite this constitutional fact India has already and still witnesses various assertions. Despite the adversaries rooted in diversity, it was tried to resolve some of such identity conflicts through constitutional mechanism in India and, there are numbers remains unsolved.

Sikkim, state in Northeastern region of India also witnesses similar glare in fresh tone recently. The state dominantly inhabited by Lepcha, Nepali and Bhutia is experiencing the cultural identity mobilization among sub-ethnic communities. There have been sharp tendency of cultural identity-diversification and fragmentation among the sub-ethnic groups in the state in demand of reservation in assembly seats in state assembly, employment opportunities, educational institutions etc. Though, so far, no any violent conflict has been manifested yet, the conflict undercurrent densely persists. Seeing the consequence of issue in analogy in other part of country and the world, it needs a timely intervention and academic understanding and, hence this study is.
**Phyllis Marie S. Teanco**, De La Salle University  
**Email**: phyllis.teanco@dlsu.edu.ph  
**Paper**: Engaging the Indigenous People through participation in the development of their ancestral domain

**Abstract**

When globalization came to its full swing in the 1990s, it was clear that technology, telecommunication and transportation are necessary infrastructures to be developed in order to fast track development. It is in this context that there was an exponential growth of large scale mining corporations in the Philippines.

This study investigates the extent of participation of the Indigenous people (IPs) in determining the kind of development projects implemented in their ancestral domain during the operation of TVI RD and examines whether there was a consensus among them as a tribe, in allowing the operation of TVI RD to explore their ancestral domain and its impact to their community. To this end the question to be answered in this study is: what is the level of involvement and extent of participation of the IP in determining their development needs in the exploration of their ancestral lands by TVI RD? Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions: 1) what is the significance of the ancestral domain for the IP on their identity and culture; 2) what is the impact to the IP tribe of the development programs implemented by the TVI RD in their ancestral domain?; 3) how did the TVI RD involve the IP in the process of securing their consent before the mining operation commenced?

In gathering data for this paper, the researcher conducted focus group discussions (FGD) among the indigenous people, the local leaders and non-governmental organizations. The researcher employs qualitative method approach in the analysis of the gathered data and documentary analysis of the reports and minutes.

Results of the study show that the Indigenous people were never consulted as a tribe in the development of their ancestral domain and due to this, it resulted to the destruction of their culture and their environment.

**Panel 26: International Relations in Asia Pacific**

**Panel Chair**: Chanborey Cheunboran, The Australian National University

**Prof. Yoneyuki Sugita**, Osaka University  
**Email**: sugita@lang.osaka-u.ac.jp  
**Paper**: President Obama’s Pivot to Asia-Pacific and Japan’s Hedging Policies

**Abstract**

President Obama expressed his idea of “pivot to the Asia-Pacific” in November 2011; however, it has been difficult for the United States to implement this idea. This chapter analyzes meanings and significances of this policy. The United States has to spend so much time and efforts on the Middle East (Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Syria, etc.), Afghanistan, and the Ukraine, and cannot pay as much attention as it wishes to the Asia-Pacific region. Regarding this situation as an opportunity to strengthen its influence in the U.S.-Japan alliance, the Japanese government has been trying to centralize its power in terms of utilizing the Self-Defense Forces. Moreover, Prime Minister has been energetically visiting foreign countries, trying to establish closer ties especially with the ASEAN and India. Abe expects to contain China through cooperation among Japan, the United States, the ASEAN, and India (as well as Australia). He also tries to increase its relative independence in the U.S.-Japan alliance by placing more emphasis on the cooperation with the ASEAN and India. For the United States, the idea of “pivot to the Asia-Pacific” means that the United States wishes to join the economic
development and dynamics in this region. At the same time, it tries to contain Japan’s independent move in this region and to manage the U.S.-Japan alliance.

Moni Monir Hossain, International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken)
Email: moni@apigs-edu.net
Paper: Cultural Diplomacy in Japan’s Foreign Policy toward Asia: Problems and Prospects

Abstract
The importance of ‘soft power’ through ‘cultural diplomacy’ (also known as ‘public diplomacy’) is increasingly recognized in the 21st century’s international relations. Indeed, while cultural diplomacy has become an essential element of foreign policies of many countries worldwide in the contemporary years, such a trend is quite obvious in Asia and particularly East Asia. In the case of Japan, it has actually more potential soft power resources than any other Asian country. The nation has experienced in the use of softer forms of power due to its pacifist constitution. Seemingly, Japan lost its hard power but has nourished soft power. In short, Japan has long remained a great ‘civilian power’ relying mainly on soft power. However, although the term ‘sofutopawa’ (Japanese translation for ‘soft power’) has recently gained a huge popularity among Japanese, it is a salient question how far Tokyo was successful in exerting Japan’s cultural soft power both regionally and globally. In fact, cultural diplomacy for branding national identity in the social media-driven globalized world has never been indispensable in post-tsunami Japan. Under this rational backdrop, the timely and needful study attempts: (i) to explore the cardinal challenges confronting Japan’s soft power in East Asia amid emerging regionalism and critical geopolitics, especially in defiance of today’s China; and (ii) to reveal the future possibilities of Japanese cultural diplomacy in Asia as a whole, going beyond Japan’s top-tier ‘economic diplomacy’ ever since toward this vibrant but sprawling region. By developing an analytical skeleton of ‘soft power’ and ‘cultural diplomacy’, the research arguably suggests how Tokyo’s newly unveiled foreign public policy paradigm can be well designed to more persuasively fulfill its targeted diplomatic goals. In conclusion, this piece reckons that Japanese soft power as an ideological notion could constructively and valuably help shape the new Asian international relations order.

Rabena Aaron Jed, Shandong University
Email: jedrabena@yahoo.com
Paper: Trilateral Relations between the US, China, and the Philippines

Abstract
This paper aims to look into the kind of interaction between a small state and two big powers. The case is primarily analyzed from the standpoint of a small state’s disposition vis-à-vis the big powers particularly the Philippines’ path of interaction towards the US and China. The significance of this study is in discerning the underlying inherent (systemic) and concocted (new actors) factors that configure the trilateral relations. Main questions surrounding small-big power dynamics taken in a trilateral context are directed to include fundamental and complex relations. The findings of this study were concluded with the aid of the Interactive Triadic Framework. The framework was utilized given its broad-based and theoretical approach in knowing the kinds and levels of interaction in the main dimensions (diplomatic, economic, political, security, socio-cultural) of international relations. This is in order to appreciate the overall picture and systemic relations of the three powers.

The October 2011 pronouncement of US President Barack Obama to pivot back into Asia pays great attention unto how America makes a stronger realignment strategy. The incidents of the death of Osama Bin Laden, US withdrawal in Iraq and Afghanistan, crisis in the Eurozone, Arab Spring, the rise of China, and the booming economies of Asia have all emboldened US efforts to redirect its focus back towards the Asia-Pacific. The potential security flashpoints in the region have also prompted the US to pool more resources and strengthen its alliances in the same. In the Post-Cold War and Post 9/11 world, the Asia-Pacific Century is back in the offing making Asia the geopolitical center of gravity prompting the world’s lone superpower to make an assessment of its geostrategic and geo-economics interests. The future of politics will be decided in Asia, not in Afghanistan or Iraq, and the United
States will be right at the center of the action. Secretary Hillary Clinton even called this as “America's Pacific Century.”

Elaine Tolentino, DLSU-Manila
Email: elaine.tolentino@dlsu.edu.ph
Paper: The Entrapment of Asymmetry: The Philippines between the US and China

Abstract
This paper aims to analyze the asymmetric dilemma facing the Philippines and China in the South China Sea tensions. Among American East Asian allies, the Philippines seems to stand on the frontline between two rival powers, the United States and China. Since the US declared its Pivot to Asia policy, the Philippines’ foreign policy towards China has become assertive and sometimes appears reckless with some military adventures against Chinese maritime patrols and naval ships, which also further forced China to take a tougher foreign policy against the Philippines. Considering the distinctive asymmetric indicators between China and the Philippines based on military forces, economic capacity, territorial size, and population, the aggressive policy behaviors that the Philippines and China have been displaying against each other cast an inquiry of what drives the two countries into head to head collision. While China as the larger power vis-à-vis the Philippines as the smaller power in the relationship has aimed for control and domination of their disputed territory, the Philippines’ drastic defiance has also led to China’s irritation and possible frustration. Furthermore, the US’ renewed attention to Asia has caused shifts of asymmetric bilateral dilemma to triangular entanglement between the US-China-Philippines. It is vital therefore to pay attention to the asymmetric interaction of states and their varying views in order to find possible solutions to the SCS tensions.

Panel 27: Contested Democracy in Asia

Panel Chair: Dr. Ortmann Stephan, City University of Hong Kong

Dr. Ortmann Stephan, City University of Hong Kong
Email: stephan.ortmann@cityu.edu.hk
Paper: Democratization and Sovereignty: The Case of Hong Kong

Abstract
The democratization of Hong Kong has drawn the attention of many scholars since the first fundamental reforms in the 1980s. While most of these studies have asked the question why democratization has not occurred in Hong Kong, few have questioned whether a functioning democracy is at all possible under the existing institutional framework. Even though democracy has emerged even in non-sovereign polities, this paper demonstrates that this is impossible when an authoritarian one-party state assumes control over local politics, which places an insurmountable obstacle for the development of representative democracy. In the case of Hong Kong, the key problem is that China's interpretation of the promised “high degree of autonomy” falls far short of any true autonomy. In fact, recent developments demonstrate that the extent of autonomy is entirely contingent on the national prerogatives of the Chinese government and its own interpretation of national sovereignty. In this context, it was perhaps not surprising that the phrases “Hong Kong people governing Hong Kong” and “a high degree of autonomy” were not mentioned in the work report of Chinese Premier Li Keqiang in 2014 and only after immense criticism reinstated in 2015. For the Chinese government, maintaining the dominance of the Communist Party has the highest priority. It supersedes any other interests, including those of improving the political situation in Hong Kong. The main problem is that if the city became truly democratic, the government of the Special Administrative Region could have greater legitimacy and authority than the central government which would be a challenge to one-party rule. Understanding this dilemma explains why in 2014 the Chinese government
announced an extremely restrictive electoral reform proposal for the Chief Executive and has been unwilling to compromise with moderate reformers.

Dr. Monica Ang, University of Asia and the Pacific  
Email: monica.ang@uap.asia  
Paper: The Anti-government versus Government Dilemma of Philippine and South Korean Presidents

Abstract
What is the allure of authoritarian leaders in countries that struggled to gain their democracy? In evaluation of political leadership skills of South Korean presidents, strongman presidents often scored higher than the other more democratic presidents. In the Philippines, despite lessons from the Marcos presidency, strongman presidential candidates have gained substantial support from the people. The answer could be found in the administrative efficiency of such leaders and the leadership failure of democratic-reformist leaders.

It is argued that organizational management is essential to successful leadership. In South Korea, democratic leaders like Kim Young Sam, Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun all had a background of anti-government struggle and even in their presidency they maintained the mentality of the struggle. They pursued ambitious goals and fell short of accomplishing them. In the Philippines, the mantle of democratic leadership seems to have fallen on the shoulders of the Aquinos. From Cory Aquino, who led the fight against the Marcos dictatorship, to his son Noynoy Aquino, who led the battle against the corruption of the Arroyo administration, these two presidents have personified the moralist brand of leadership. But both Aquino presidents have failed to produce any substantial reforms in the Philippines, leading to massive disappointment.

This study seeks to look into the role of political leadership in development in South Korea and the Philippines. The central question revolves around what are the major points of convergence and divergence of leadership in these two countries. Moreover, the focus will be on leadership in democratic settings, with a special focus on the appeal of a strongman leader. The study reinforces the idea that anti-government struggle is different from governing and that a successful democratic leader needs to shed the anti-government mentality in order to successfully lead a country.

Alfredo S. Sureta, Jr., University of Makati  
Email: alfredsureta2004@yahoo.com  
Paper: After an Asian Strongman: Creating Durable Democratic Institutions in Select ASEAN Countries

Abstract
The purpose of this paper is to analyze how the transition of authoritarian regimes in selected ASEAN countries led to the creation of institutions that have resulted in uneven democratic consolidation. In countries like the Philippines and Indonesian transition from authoritarian rule resulted democratic states that have regular elections while weak in administrative capacities. In comparison to Thailand and Singapore transition from Authoritarian states resulted in weak electoral politics while strong in administrative capacities. This exploratory research aims to understand how uneven democratic transitions was a result of unique institutional choices undertaken during periods of authoritarian rule. Using comparative historical analysis the paper will argue that democratic consolidation is heavily dependent on institutional innovation before democratization in these countries.
Panel 28: Empirical Investigations on Philippine Politics, Development, and Administration

Panel Chair: Dr. Ador R. Torneo, De La Salle University

The papers in this panel include studies of Philippine politics, development, and administration. This panel is comprised of both historical and empirical (quantitative) studies of various issues pertaining to Philippine politics and development. The articles include empirical investigations on the effect of online political marketing in election outcomes, the impacts of political dynasties on local development, the social returns on government investments in education and health, and the selection and appointments in the Philippine civil service. In examining these phenomena, the researchers draw on a combination of historical analysis, contemporary literature, and statistical models to analyze data on selected political, development, and administration issues.

Bianca Isabel D. Soriano, Manila University

Abstract
This article attempts to contribute to this literature through comparing the net income of provinces ruled by dynasties and of those that are not. The paper uses data available for provinces in the Republic of the Philippines from 2001 to 2009. Results show that there is a strong negative relationship between the presence of political dynasties and net income; i.e. provinces ruled by governors who belong to political dynasties have lower net income than those ruled by governors who do not belong to dynasties.

Georgeline B. Jaca & Dr. Ador R. Torneo, De La Salle University
Email: georgeline_jaca@dlsu.edu.ph, ador.torneo@dlsu.edu.ph

Abstract
This article examines the relationship between human capital investment and social returns in the context of the Philippines. To this end, it develops a model based on the human capital theory of Schultz and Becker and the health capital theory of Grossman. Measures of regional government expenditure and investment on State Colleges and Universities and on the Department of Health from 1988 to 2012 were gathered and subjected to Pearson’s test of correlation and fixed-effects panel regression with robust estimators. Such procedures were undertaken to determine the strength and significance of the link between human capital investment and social returns. Contrary to the assumed weak influencing capability as form of human capital investment in the literature, the results of this study show that health investment is significant in influencing social returns, specifically poverty incidence and unemployment rate. This has important policy implications in Philippine social and economic development strategies.

Alessandra Regina D. Gaon, Manila University
Paper: Online Political Marketing as a Campaign Strategy in the Philippines

Abstract
This study examines the use of online political marketing as a means of increasing a politician’s public support and popularity prior to elections. The author posits that the public support gained by the 2013 senatorial candidates is reflected on the popularity of the candidates in social media in which they...
have engaged in strategic online political marketing. The post-modern campaign of the 90s up until the present time is one that has marked the use of technological advancements so as to increase a politician’s public support and popularity. One political marketing strategy that has been recently adopted by Philippine politicians is the use of social media, which is deemed to enable political candidates to reach out to their constituencies and increase their chances in winning the elections. This study will show that politics has now become a competitive game between influential actors who want to prolong their power, and only through political marketing will their power be ensured.

Michelle Sta. Romana & Dr. Ador R. Torneo, De La Salle University
Email: ador.torneo@dlsu.edu.ph
Paper: Merit and Fitness in Philippine Public Administration

Abstract
The modern Philippine civil service was established based on American practices of meritocracy, fitness and equal opportunity from the beginning of the early 1900s. However, criticisms of patronage and political interference have emerged and continued to remain influential in studies of the Philippine bureaucracy. More technical studies reveal that the same problems – difficulty in retaining quality bureaucrats, lack of monitoring on the qualifications of high-level appointees, lack of transparency, low morale – have recurred despite major shifts in the administration, alongside structural improvements throughout Philippine history. This research paper aims to accomplish a descriptive, historical review of the development of Philippine civil service, beginning from the early American colonization period, to the WWII-era (covering both Japanese and American occupations) and the post-war era and examine how merit and fitness was observed in the selection and appointments in the bureaucracy.

Panel 29: Conflict Management in Southeast Asia

Panel Chair: Sokunthea Huot, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Sokunthea Huot, Royal University of Phnom Penh
Email: hstifl@gmail.com
Paper: Towards a Better Understanding of Conflicts and Peacebuilding in Cambodia: A Social Capital Perspective

Abstract
Civil conflicts in Cambodia, particularly the genocide, left the country with unspeakable disaster, tragedy, and unbearable trauma. Most Cambodians, including those who went through the upheavals and those who can only feel the effects through storytelling, do not really become settled mentally and emotionally. What exactly explains the conflicts remains contested, at least to some Cambodians. Contemporary Cambodia remains in the state of negative peace, which is characterized by rampant corruption, poverty, unequal distribution of resources, poor records of human rights, and the large gap between the rich and the poor. Building a positive peace is a long-term process, encompassing a wide range of initiatives from security sector reform to building effective institutions, the rule of law, and respect of human rights. This article attempts to explain the conflicts and provide suggestions for peace building in Cambodia by employing a social capital perspective.
Patricia Belle Adolfo, University of Santo Tomas
Email: adolfotrixie@ymail.com
Paper: Cross Strait Relations: The 'ASEAN Way' Strategy in Global Conflict Resolution

Abstract
The Republic of China, since the establishment of Chiang Kai-shek’s democratic government in the island, has sought sovereignty from mainland China. Previous attempts backfired for China displayed its military capabilities and threatened the security in the Strait. Collectively, the three strains in the relationship of China and Taiwan were called ‘Taiwan Strait Crises’. Recent attempts of Taiwan made China regard the island as ‘renegade province’. Nevertheless, the labeling did not slow down the economic activity present. Known to be the world’s 24th largest economy and 16th largest exporter, Taiwan is also one of the four Tigers in Asia along with South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong. Economic relations with Taiwan remain to be bilateral in nature and are yet to be restricted by the People’s Republic of China.

China’s lack of control over Taiwan’s economy might become the key for the province to gain independence; as such would be the flow of the study. ASEAN member states interact with the Republic of China, especially Vietnam which receives Taiwan’s FDIs and Indonesia wherein they get energy resources. The study focuses on the ‘ASEAN Way’ of handling conflicts should the Taiwanese government lobby their independence to the regional institution. Moreover, using the international political economy, China’s role in the arena deepened. Updates regarding the foreign policy of the two Chinas and the domestic sentiments of the two about the issue were suggested for further studies.

Prof. John Gustave Swanda, Busan University of Foreign Studies
Email: jgswanda@yahoo.com
Paper: Perceptions, Intelligence and Strategies of South Korean Cyber Security

Abstract
Since the Korean War, stability in North and South Korean relations has been elusive. Over the past decade, hostilities have entered a digital phase as an increasingly tech-savvy North Korea has compromised public and commercial systems in South Korea with relative impunity. Perceiving North Korea as its greatest threat to cyber security, South Korea has focused virtually all of its cyber security efforts and resources towards defending against future cyber-attacks from its northern neighbor. This paper examines the accuracy of South Korea’s threat assessment of North Korea and investigates the validity of South Korean cyber forensic techniques and intelligence. Furthermore, this research uses analyses of data from past cyber incursions in South Korea to determine the effectiveness of cyber security policies and attempts to determine if defensive and offensive strategies are appropriate, in both size and scope, for the danger that North Korea appears to represent. The author concludes that while South Korean assessments of North Korean cyber capabilities and involvement in cyber incursions are relatively accurate, there are ambiguities in the findings of cyber forensic analyses that may be incorrectly attributed to North Korea. As a result, current cyber strategies may be in adequate to defend against other possible state and non-state actors. In addition, this research finds that past cyber policies have weakened South Korea cyber security, and suggests that South Korea should shift its focus towards broader defensive strategies that include other regional and international threats.
Jeffrey Ordaniel, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
Email: manueljeffrey@gmail.com
Paper: UNCLOS in the South China Sea: Int’l Law, ASEAN Claimant States’ Strategies and the East Asian Order

Abstract
The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) came into force in 1996. How did it shape Southeast Asian claimant states’ strategies vis-a-vis the rising China in the South China Sea? This paper primarily argues that UNCLOS provided littoral states with a normative tool to protect their interests from perceived Chinese irredentism and broadly from the threatening behavior of a major-power neighbor. To do so, ASEAN claimant countries, namely the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia and Brunei had to align their policies (claim adjustments) to conform to UNCLOS, and consequently legitimize their own claims on disputed waters by using the provisions of the Convention. All of these have been apparent in the behaviors of those littoral states as demonstrated by how UNCLOS has been always emphasized in all internationalization and legalization efforts by ASEAN SCS claimant states since the treaty law came into force. Overall, this paper has three goals: demonstrate the normative power of UNCLOS in shaping Southeast Asian states’ foreign policies and maritime strategies, analyze how smaller powers attempt to influence the threatening behaviors of big powers, and finally draw implications on what the power struggles in the South China Sea mean to the wider East Asian International Relations.

Panel 30: Public Policy, Political Capacity, and Governance

Panel Chair: Dr. Say Sok, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Dr. Michael Patrick Howlett, National University of Singapore
Email: howlett@sfu.ca
Paper: Blending Skill and Resources Across Multiple Levels of Activity

Abstract
The policy capacity of a government is a key indicator and requisite of policy success. The term describes the preconditions a government requires order to make sound policy choices and implement them effectively in achieving its potential to deal with public problems. These range from public support for its actions to an internal capacity for knowledge and evidentiary analysis. Policy capacity in this sense is at heart a function of three competences or skills which affect the ability of governments to develop and craft effective policies: analytical ones which allow policy alternatives to be effectively generated and investigated; managerial ones which allow state resources to be effectively brought to bear on policy issues; and political ones which allow policy-makers and managers the room to manoeuvre and support required to develop and implement their ideas, programs and plans. Exercising each of these sets of skills or competences requires resources or capabilities at the individual, organizational and systemic levels. This article outlines the several different types of policy capacity which exist at the interface between these competences and capabilities and develops a synthetic framework for the overall analysis of governmental policy capacity.
Phua Chao Rong, Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy
Email: cr.phua@u.nus.edu
Paper: The Capacity (Potential) of Capacity: A Focus on Political Capacity, Adaptive Capacity and Research

Abstract
Institutions matter! Douglass North argued in 1991. But specifically what institutions mattered the most, and towards what outcomes has been source of contention till date. This essay argues that Capacity (Potential) of Capacity is promising to operationalize Good Governance and focuses on Political Capacity as a Key Capacity, and Adaptive Capacity as Political Capacity v2.0. This essay contributes to the burgeoning literature on ‘Capacity’ in New Institutional Economics (NIE) with interdisciplinary learning from Political Science, Sociology and Economics, amongst others and will conclude with a detailed research agenda for NIE, Public Administration (PA) and Public Policy (PP).

First, this essay will adopt a working definition of Capacity with Painter and Pierre’s Capacity Triangle of State, Administrative and Policy Capacities. Second, it will focus on Political Capacity (political effectiveness), and use the Research Synthesis methodology to articulate (with an eye for similarities, differences and interesting aspects) its Political-Economy, Political-Art and International variants, and its hitherto muddled relationship with State Capacity, before discussing the effects of Political Capacity, and its relationship with legitimacy and trust.

Third, it will explore the concept of ‘Adaptive Capacity’, (could be interpreted as Political Capacity v2.0 put to the test of time with an exogenous shock) using the Singapore case study with reference to its adoption of a new Public Administration and Management (PAM) paradigm of Complexity Thinking/New Synthesis, which focuses on emergence and resilience (manifestation of adaptive capacity), amongst others. Lastly, it will conclude with a ‘mixed-methods approach’ research agenda to develop Capacity (specifically Political Capacity) within NIE, PA and PP.

Dr. Hidayat Rakhmat, State Jakarta of University
Email: rakhmat_123@yahoo.com
Paper: The Anti-Corruption Education in Indonesia after New Order

Abstract
In recent years, the fight against corruption has been high on the policy agenda of many governments and international agencies. To eliminate the culture of corruption in Indonesia, the government of Indonesia has imposed anti-corruption education in schools which will take effect starting since years ago. The Anti-corruption education will be given from basic education to higher learning. In fact, not only for students, but also for teachers and principals. This was agreed by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi). The agreement aims to make education and culture as a motor to prevent corruption through the acculturation process. The cooperation between the Ministry and the Commission which was started in 2010 has become an important marker for both the education and eradication of corruption in Indonesia. The paper will discuss how effective this anti-corruption education in producing young people who are not corrupt? Nevertheless hopefully the anti-corruption education in schools will be able to provide a strong mental foundation for the nation, especially the younger generation not to commit any acts of corruption. The emergence of a new generation of anti-corruption is expected to break down the corrupt system and culture. Indonesia as a country specific cultural values and social structures affect the level and the pattern of corruption. A number of case studies have found that societies with strong extended family or clan-based loyalties tend to have high levels of corruption (Theobald, 1990). However, due to the lack of a reliable and internationally comparable quantitative measure for most countries, culture variables are not included in our study. Our goal is to investigate the effects of anti-corruption education in Indonesia.
**Abstract**
Comparative political research on natural resource-based developing countries: In cases of Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Myanmar)

Theoretically, resource abundant countries, their revenues especially in times of high commodity prices should support mobilization of the domestic resources for social and economic development. But in practice, the experience shows that the economy which is rich in natural resources are slowly growing than the economy with insufficient natural resources, as well as negatively influencing on the political system. The natural resource itself has brought many difficulties to the governments of the developing countries, causing instability and negative consequences of political and economic life.

This research article is intended to compare the consequences of natural resource, especially natural resource curse in political and economic life on the example Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Myanmar. In these countries, until recently the authoritarian communist political structures and centrally planned economic system have dominated and over the last 10-20 years they have been under the political and economic transition and implementing reforms. Also these countries are rich in natural resources and mineral extraction which plays an important role in forming the national budget and same time ongoing processes on political institution reforms, which brings them to the edge of duplication and conflicts of foreign players/investors interests, overcoming risks of the country's geopolitical situation and security caused by external rent.

**Panel 31: Marginalized Communities and Role of Civil Societies**

**Panel Chair: Dr. Juhn Chris Espia,** University of the Philippines Visayas

**Dr. Juhn Chris Espia**, University of the Philippines Visayas

Email: jpespia@up.edu.ph


**Abstract**
The recent shift in the Philippine government’s emphasis from response to a more proactive disaster risk management (DRM) approach came with the recognition that different stakeholders play important roles in the governance of disaster risk. This study looks beyond the simple question as to whether all stakeholders are involved in DRM planning and investigates the dynamics of contestation, conflict and negotiation between actors in municipal planning in San Jose de Buenavista, Antique, Philippines and their narratives of risk. In order to highlight how risk to disasters is socially constructed in DRM planning, this study utilizes a constructivist approach and draws theoretical insights from Hilhorst’s theory of Social Domains and Beck’s Risk Society thesis. The study utilized a qualitative methodology. Data was gathered through archival research, key informant interviews and focused group discussions. The narratives of civil society organizations and communities ,which revolve around livelihoods, community and the local context, are conspicuously absent from the plans whereas that of government actors, which focus on geography, placing “blame” on vulnerable sectors and government-led early warning, preparedness, response and mitigation, occupy a central position in the risk discourse. This can be attributed to unequal status ascribed by the current local risk government set-up to actors, government control of risk communication and the social construction of knowledge. The study highlights the power-saturated process of defining and addressing risk to disasters, where knowledge is intimately linked to power as some voices shape plans and policies,
whereas others are excluded because their knowledge is socially constructed as less reliable and irrelevant. As a consequence, local DRM plans and policies fail to address the root causes of vulnerability in the coastal areas and underscores the need for inclusivity in disaster risk management.

Doce Brian, University of Santo Tomas
Email: briandoce.bd@gmail.com
Paper: Opus Dei Study Centers and Youth Involvement in the Philippines

Abstract
Leadership studies is a vital component in the history of research in political science. Further, invoking the role of political leadership in agenda for economic growth and economic development is no longer a novel idea in the discipline. However, the new trends in the study of political leadership vis-à-vis economic growth is focused primarily on the interplay of the leader along with the key players in a specific closed system. This research calls for a re-visitation of the traditional perspective on leadership focusing on the individual characteristics. The study was applied in a local government unit in the Philippines since the country is plagued of so-called “political ignorance” referring to both the statesmen and the masses. Using the Mediational Model of Leadership (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs, & Fleishman, 2000), a qualitative case study on an Angeles City Mayor was conducted wherein his programs were analyzed in reference to his career experience and the current socio-economic condition of the city, and an evaluation on the standard of living of Angelinos from 2010-2013. Through documentary analysis and data triangulation, the study discovered the following results. First, the development programs of Mayor Pamintuan are related to his profession as a lawyer and experienced politician. Second, he prioritized the “exterior” development or those which can be seen by the people over the “interior” which refers to the improvement of the quality of life of the constituents of Angeles City.

Mochahari Monjib, Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Email: monjib2010@gmail.com
Paper: Deconstructing a Periphery: Communities, Networks and Conflicts in ‘borderlands’ of India’s Northeast

Abstract
Several years of political unrest in Assam and insurgency movements across the Bodoland (Assam, India)-Bhutan international border have redefined and restructured the networks of border communities whose everyday lifestyles extend beyond the nation-state boundaries. Moreover, a shift in India’s policy towards Bhutan international border significantly contributed to rupture of aged-old social and cultural ties between the indigenous Bodos and the Bhutanese in the foothills of the Himalayas. The intervention of Indian government aimed at countering armed insurgencies has created new forms of organized networks restricting people’s free mobility (migration) and cross-border activities. Such regulated borders are less relevant to the local communities than to the competing states in remote bordering towns like Bhairabkunda, Darranga Mela and Dadgari in Assam which used to be the epicenter of shared dynamic relationships between the Bodos, one of the largest communities in Assam and the Bhutanese since the precolonial times. In this paper, tracing trans-border insurgency movements along the five-hundred kilometers India (Assam)-Bhutan international border and India’s response to it in the form of militarization of the border areas, I capture the dynamics of armed conflict in the borderlands, trans-border migration and emerging socioeconomic relationship between the Bodo and the Bhutia communities and how they create space for re-unions despite construction of an artificial political boundary and regulated border networks. Specifically, this paper seeks to engage with the communities along the international borders who are caught up in situations of violent armed conflict and India’s aggressive deployment of security forces to tackle insurgencies, whose demands range from political autonomy to a separate nation-state.
**Chhetry Tikendra Kumar**, Sikkim University  
**Email:** tikendrameets@gmail.com  
**Paper:** *Identity Mobilization, Conflicts and Linguistic Minorities in India: A Case of Gorkhas in Assam*

**Abstract**
The term minority, although is, often used to refer the group of people those who are in less number, it is also referred to address the dominated, marginalized and deprived sections in society. The situation to term a section of society as minority may appear through different facet. In diverse and heterogeneous societies, minority groups may appear in various forms i.e., ethnic minorities, religious minorities, indigenous minorities, linguistic-cultural minorities etc. The democratic set of governance urges to protect the democratic interest and existence of such minorities. Subscribing to this logic of democracy, including India, a good number of states across the world have been trying to integrate constitutional provisions to protect such minority (ies).

Indian constitution urges to protect the socio-cultural rights of minority groups in India through the fundamental rights. To protect the socio-cultural rights of minority, several articles in fundamental rights of constitution have been assigned. In doing so, the policy formulators to a large extend try to address the issues of religious minorities whereas the issues of linguistic and cultural minorities remain mostly unaddressed. On this backdrop there have been sharp apprehensions among the cultural and linguistic minorities that the actual meaning of minority has not been properly interpreted by the people in policy making and, it has been steeping the vulnerability of such minority group other than the religious minority. A sharp look into the matter convinces that, such apprehension bear some validity. Especially the case and status of small linguistic and cultural groups in space of identity mobilization and ethno-nationalistic contestation and conflict is found to be vulnerable. Case of Gorkhas in Assam is being unfurled here that tries to portray the case of such linguistic minority groups.

**Panel 32: Electoral System and Politics in Asia**

**Panel Chair: Dr. Christian Schafferer**, Overseas Chinese University

**Francis Yin**, National Sun YatSen University  
**Email:** francis.j.yin@gmail.com  
**Paper:** *New Media, Election and Party Politics: the Case of Taiwan*

**Abstract**
New media, based on progress of communication technologies, has increasing importance in politics in Taiwan, which has experienced transition from authoritarian regime to democracy in the last decades. New media, with the characteristics of openness and decentralization, new media provides a platform different from the traditional mobilization based on parties and mass media, and thus has played the role as mobilization channel for both social movements and electoral campaign. In this study I analyze the role of new media in recent elections, especially the presidential election in 2012 and local election in late 2014, to discuss how different camps use new media to mobilize, and which factors decided the effect of such mobilization. It is found that mobilization based on new media gives more discourse power to the middle ground and the youth, and has changed the two-party system to a certain extend.
Dr. Ronojoy Sen, National University of Singapore  
Email: isasrs@nus.edu.sg  
Paper: *India’s Aam Aadmi (Common Man’s) Party and its significance*

**Abstract**  
There were very few who had foreseen the stunning debut of the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) or the Common Man’s Party in the 2013 state elections in India’s capital Delhi, where it won 28 of the 70 seats and nearly 30 per cent of the votes, and its subsequent formation of a minority government. Following the Delhi election and a 49-day stint in government, the AAP, which grew out of an anti-corruption movement, sought to replicate its electoral success in other parts of India by contesting over 400 seats in the 2014 national elections. It did not do as well as expected by winning four seats and roughly 2% of the national vote. Many had written off the AAP after its poor performance in the 2014 national elections and the strong showing by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) under India’s current Prime Minister Narendra Modi. However, after the AAP’s stunning victory in the recently-held Delhi election in 2015, where it won 67 out of 70 seats and reduced the BJP to only three seats, there is a renewed debate on what the electoral success of the party means for Indian politics. This presentation examines three aspects of the AAP phenomenon. First, it analyses AAP’s electoral success. Second, it examines how well AAP has made the transition from its origins as a movement against corruption to a political party. Third, it looks at the rise of AAP in the context of the literature on political parties and its impact on India’s political system.

Dr. Arun Kanti Jana, University of North Bengal  
Email: arun_jana1@rediffmail.com  
Paper: *Reforming the Electoral System in India: The Recommendations in the Era of Liberalisation*

**Abstract**  
Although after the adoption of the Parliamentary form of government and the First Past the Post system, elections were held in post independent India from 1952 onwards, but by the late 1960s the drawbacks of the electoral system and procedure came to the fore and as early as in 1971 a Joint Parliamentary Committee on Amendment to Election Law under the chairmanship of Jagannath Rao was appointed for recommending electoral reforms which submitted its report in 1972. Several committees were formed thereafter like the Tarkunde Committee (1974), Dinesh Goswami Committee (1990), Vohra Committee (1993), Indrajit Gupta Committee (1998) etc. with similar intent. In addition the Election Commission of India has come out with a number of proposals on reforms like the proposed Electoral Reforms (2004), from time to time.

In recent decades, starting from early 1990s what however is noticed is that general discourse on electoral reforms including the recommendations of Committees appointed has undergone a change. Before 1991 the recommendations on electoral reforms included changes; in the system of representation, in voting rights etc. It also concerned with restricting candidates contesting from several constituencies, state funding of elections etc. Recommendations in recent years however aim at preventing entry of criminals in politics, insists on disclosure of assets and liabilities by candidates, insists on curbing the cost of campaigning, prevent false declarations in the affidavits by candidates who contest elections etc. We argue that the shift in recommendations by the committees on electoral reforms and the general discourse reflect the ills that had plagued the electoral system and procedure after liberalization. We argue that with liberalization corruption has increased significantly. There has been an increase in the use of money and muscle power during elections, criminals contesting elections, elected representatives getting involved in major scams etc.
Adhikari Neeraj, Sikkim University
Email: neerajpcm12@gmail.com
Paper: Regional Politics in India: Electoral Politics and Party Behaviour in Sikkim

Abstract
Sikkim, a federal unit of India union, enjoys democratic and political practices under the largest democracy in the world. Democratic set up and a comprehensive political culture of multi-party system are not unknown here. Yet, the history of party culture tells different story in Sikkim in comparison to other parts of country. Sikkim is dominantly ruled by a single party, or though parties other than the ruling are not absent, voice and role of such political parties is not effective. After the emergence of democracy in the state, one party is dominating more than a decade and largely with minimum of opposition. Power shift has been witnessed in the history of democratic practices in state by new political outfit. Interestingly, such new parties emerged with the split in the ruling party through the initiatives of disgruntled leaders, often after a long regime of the ruling party. Whenever such disgruntled leaders came with a fraction of other disappointed party workers, they were successful in receiving the overwhelmed public mandate. Such public mandate helped to bring a power shift as well as transition in ruling community or group. Such the transitional periods always had a violent end.

Keeping this historical background of political trends in the state, it is to be analyzed whether the future political scenario in the state is moving on similar path or else differently? Apart from the party based political activities, since in recent days, the ethno-political mobilization has been receiving dominant momentum in politics of the state. Hence, without an extensive research work it is difficult to understand that why the political culture undergoes like present one and how will be the political environment in the state in the future. This study attempts to answer similar kind of questions through a comprehensive and extensive research.

Panel 33: The Rise of Regionalism in Asia

Panel Chair: Dr. Marcin Grabowski, Institute of International Relations and Politics

Dr. Marcin Grabowski, Institute of International Relations and Politics
Email: martin.grabowski@gmail.com
Paper: Trans-Pacific Partnership as a Crucial Element of the U.S. Pivoting to Asia – is TTIP a Threat?

Abstract
U.S. pivoting to Asia is described as a crucial policy shift in the American FP, but actually it may seem there is more rhetoric than reality. Looking at the reality, however, we may observe, the ‘pivoting’ is based rather on the military engagement. In this context, development of TPP and the role of the U.S. as a key player in this project seem to add the other leg to the initiative, rebuilding American position in the region.

We should remember about the competitive/concurrent project, Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (negotiations started in July 2013). Barack Obama entered the White House bringing hopes of greater engagement in the Asia-Pacific Region (reinforced by his advisors’ premises of American foreign policy - Campbell, Russel). Also his engagement with regional powers and organizations made his term Pacific presidency. At the same time, the idea of rebuilding the transatlantic community seems to be revitalized, having had certain problems after 2007 failure of the Bush-Merkel initiative to create Transatlantic Free Trade idea.
The proposed paper aims at presenting Obama’s policy towards the Asia-Pacific, making a comparison with policies of his predecessors and analyzing TPP’s role in the pivoting strategy, as well as the influence of transatlantic relations, especially TTIP negotiations.

**Bharati Torane**, Dept of Political Science A.V. Vartak College of Arts and Commerce and Sciences  
**Email**: btorane123@yahoo.co.in  
**Paper**: *Small Island States and Regional Integration: the Maldives Stakes in SAARC*

**Abstract**
Foreign policy of any small island state in regional alliances is based on a number of social, economic and political processes. Therefore, we must look closely at its governmental activities, objectives, ideology, economic situation, political conditions, psychological attitudes of the rulers and decision makers, general culture of its people, emotional tensions and geographical situations. Combinations of these factors determine how active foreign policy can be pursued by these small island states in regional organizations. For instance, foreign policy of Maldives is determined by its sense of weakness and vulnerability as security and stability of Maldives is constantly threatened by subtle or direct political, economic or military overtures by larger nations in the oceanic areas. Henceforth, the efforts of Maldives’ in this regard should be, the determined but careful use of diplomatic capabilities. In this situation, options for an island small state are either alignment with one of the big power bloc or complete isolation. But the option of isolation for the Maldives is neither really desirable nor feasible due to lack of material and human resources, economic underdevelopment, and political instability. Moreover, it faces environmental challenge like it is sinking day by day in the Indian Ocean. In this context, the proposed paper makes an attempt to analyses the structural constraints in its economic, political and social behavior, the Maldives has pursued a policy of active interaction not only bilaterally but also multilaterally, in order to optimize benefits from the SAARC member states. Efforts will also be made to critically examine Maldives relations with India and its impact on Maldives stakes in the regional integration of South Asia.

**Arunoday Bajpai**, DBRA University Agra  
**Email**: arunodaybajpai@gmail.com  
**Paper**: *Bottom-Up Approach to Regional Integration in South Asia*

**Abstract**
South Asia, comprising of eight members of SAARC namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Nepal, Bhutan and Afghanistan is a region of paradoxes. South Asia has 16 percent of the total global population, but it contributes less than 2 percent of the global GDP, only three percent of the global trade and 1.7 percent of the global flow of FDI. It houses 570 million poor people, which is 44 percent of the total poor population of globe (World Bank: 2014). It has failed to reap the benefits of globalization due to lack of integration. It is the least integrated region in the world (World Bank: 2006) with intra-regional trade being 4.3 percent of its total trade in 2011. The intra-regional trade figure for ASEAN and ASEAN+3 are 26 percent and 39 percent, respectively.

The thirty year existence of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) since 1985 is a story of its failure in regional integration in South Asia. Our experience of European Union and ASEAN suggests that consensus among regional actors on the fundamental issues of regional security and development is a prerequisite for integration to succeed. This creates political will and favorable environment for regional integration. This element is absent in South Asia leading to failure of Top-Down approach to regional integration in South Asia. This paper argues that in the absence of such consensus among regional actors, the Bottom-Up approach may gradually promote regional integration in South Asia. This approach consists of small steps of bilateral, sub-regional cooperative efforts with focus on connectivity, which demonstrate the benefits of regional integration and cooperation to non-willing regional actors. The paper analyses and compares the two approaches of regional integration in the light of facts in South Asia as well as other regions.
**Erdem Cagri**, Keimyung University  
**Email:** cagerd@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Northeast Asia as a Transnational Region: Geopolitical Challenges and Geoeconomic Opportunities

**Abstract**  
The definition of Northeast Asia often changes according to the context in which it is discussed. For the purpose of this study, Northeast Asia encompasses coastal northern China, the Russian Far East, the Korean peninsula, and Japan. It would be fair to argue that international cooperation in Northeast Asia remains limited and generally unsatisfactory given the large economic and political weight of regional countries. In fact, regional cooperation is becoming even more problematic as the continuing rise of China and the relative decline of US presence in Northeast Asia are uncoordinated and present additional concerns for regional nations. Yet, another challenge is the general rise of nationalism in all Northeast Asian states, which in turn can be a serious impediment for cooperation. On the other hand, there are a number of significant geoeconomic opportunities/synergies among the countries in question. This paper will explore/evaluate possible geopolitical challenges and geoeconomic opportunities in this very dynamic region.

---

**Panel 34: Social Movement and Resistance in Asia**

**Panel Chair: Ewelina Karas**, City University of Hong Kong

**Ewelina Karas**, City University of Hong Kong  
**Email:** ekaras2-c@my.cityu.edu.hk  
**Paper:** Chinese-Chinese Relations in Motion: Does Mobilization at the Periphery Matter?

**Abstract**  
Chinese-Chinese Relations in Motion: Does Mobilization at the Periphery Matter? China’s Rise to Regional Power and Societal Response in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

One country, two systems was a strategy for the peaceful reunification of China with Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan formulated by Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s. The aim of this policy was to resolve the sovereignty problems of the three regions arising from different historical circumstances. According to this principle, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau could retain their existing economic, political and legal systems after reunification despite the practice of socialism in mainland China.

Recent protests in Hong Kong and the Sunflower Revolution in Taiwan brought attention to tensions in Chinese-Chinese relations. It was the biggest societal challenge Chinese leaders have faced since Tiananmen Square in 1989. The complicated historical background created distinct institutional legacies, mentalities and local identities in the Mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong. China’s growing economic and political power has significant implications for Taiwan and Hong Kong at various levels. What is the motivation behind the mobilization at the “Chinese Periphery” and how can it affect the Mainland?
Matthew David Ordoñez, Ateneo de Manila University  
**Email:** matthew.ordonez@obf.ateneo.edu  
**Paper:** *Battle for the Fort: Anti-gentrification Urban Social Movements in Fort Bonifacio*

**Abstract**  
Before Bonifacio Global City became one of the fastest growing business districts in the Philippines, the military reservation was occupied by both military villages and civilian informal settlements alike. The state, through the Bases conversion and Development Authority (BCDA), has deployed numerous strategies and policies for the relocation of affected parties and securing the land needed for gentrification. Military and civilian elements have since resisted these efforts of gentrification, ranging from legal conflicts and coalition-building, to more informal and violent confrontations. As the expansion of BGC continues, the BCDA struggles to address these resistances on multiple fronts. Using a Gramscian framework for the urban scale and context, this study examines both sides in the struggle for urban space. Informant interviews and archival research shows that these “counter-hegemonic” groups, consisting of military and urban poor settlers, currently have a wide network of political allies across both Taguig and Metro Manila. The most notable coalition is the Federation of Military and Civilian Residents (FOMCRES), which has effectively delayed BGC’s expansion by representing Taguig residents in legal battles. The BCDA has responded by breaking up these alliances using their control of the military elements and co-opting select communities with cash and housing compensation, capturing certain areas one at a time. Beyond the legal channels, urban poor syndicates (some of them led by retired military officers) sabotage community negotiations and inadvertently complicating conflicts with gang violence. Although the BCDA has occasional success in securing portions of the reservation, the sharp growth of informal settlers and urban poor populations continue to challenge gentrification as new forms of resistance, both organized and sporadic, continue to emerge.

Panel 35: Local Politics and Development  

**Panel Chair:** Rosa Yi, Royal University of Phnom Penh

Rogelio Alicor Panao, University of the Philippines Diliman  
**Email:** alicor@gmail.com  
**Paper:** *Relative Benefits? Families and Fiscal Governance in Local Development*

**Abstract**  
Do political families really deter local development? Or is it rather the quality of local governance that determines socioeconomic outcomes?  

Local underdevelopment in the Philippines is typically regarded as a consequence of informal institutional constraints, more specifically the dynamics of political families and patronage politics. Literature, however, remains inconclusive on many important questions, such as whether political families really breed democratic capture or if they are what actually give a semblance of stability in fragile democracies. A lingering puzzle is: if the ubiquitous political families are detrimental, what explains the development of local government units similarly dominated by well entrenched political clans?  

I present a fiscal governance model of local development and argue that a local government’s capacity to generate revenue, as a reflection of the quality of its leadership, affects the level of expenditures for public services. Using social spending and election data in 81 provinces and 145 cities in the Philippines between 2001 and 2013, I establish a direct link between strong local revenue generating capacity and the propensity to spend more on social services. The dataset allows for a short but rich panel that spans more than a decade, three presidential administrations, and four local elections.
The findings indicate that local government capacity is only weakly defined by informal political institutions such as political kinship, or at least not as strongly as common notion suggests. For instance, while local governments are expected to spend for public goods and social services, this propensity is more pronounced in local governments who actively engage in self-generating revenue measures. The Philippine Local Government Code of 1991 encourages fiscal autonomy and the findings suggest there is wisdom to this legislative intent. Moreover, competitive elections also serve as an important accountability mechanism that can influence the design and commitment to social development programs.

Brian Doce, University of Santo Tomas
Email: briandoce.bd@gmail.com
Paper: Leadership and Local Economic Development: A Case Study on an Angeles City Mayor from 2010-2013

Abstract
Leadership studies is a vital component in the history of research in political science. Further, invoking the role of political leadership in agenda for economic growth and economic development is no longer a novel idea in the discipline. However, the new trend in the study of political leadership vis-à-vis economic growth is focused primarily on the interplay of the leader along with the key players in a specific closed system. This research calls for a re-visitation of the traditional perspective on leadership focusing on the individual characteristics. The study was applied in a local government unit in the Philippines since the country is plagued of so-called “political ignorance” referring to both the statesmen and the masses. Using the Mediational Model of Leadership (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs, & Fleishman, 2000), a qualitative case study on an Angeles City Mayor was conducted wherein his programs were analyzed in reference to his career experience and the current socio-economic condition of the city, and an evaluation on the standard of living of Angelenos from 2010-2013. Through documentary analysis and data triangulation, the study discovered the following results. First, the development programs of Mayor Pamintuan are related to his profession as a lawyer and experienced politician. Second, he prioritized the “exterior” development or those which can be seen by the people over the “interior” which refers to the improvement of the quality of life of the constituents of Angeles City.

Ibnu Pohan, 17 Agustus 1945 University
Email: ibnuasqoripohan@gmail.com
Paper: The Dynamics of Local Politics in Indonesia: A Governor without Supporting Party in Multi-Party System

Abstract
Governor of Jakarta (DKI Jakarta), after the issuance of Law No. 17 of 2014 on the People's Consultative Assembly, House of Representatives, Regional Representatives Council, and the Regional Representatives Council (MD3), resigned from the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra) which is the main supporter of the party. The resignation was in protest against the attitude of the party that supports local elections through the Regional Representatives Council (DPRD). It means that the Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) will lead Jakarta until 2017 in the absence of party supporter. This research is interested to see how the dynamics and the relationship between the executive and legislative relations in the context of local politics in Jakarta under the leadership of Governor Ahok. In addition, this study will also be important to analyze and predict whether a governor can manage the administration until the end of his term in the context of a multi-party system in Indonesia. This study is a qualitative study using descriptive analysis approach. The finding of this study is up to April 2015, Jakarta government cannot work effectively because of the intensity of the conflict between the executive and legislative is too high.
Dr. Sherwin Ona, De La Salle University  
Email: sherwin.ona@delasalle.ph  
Paper: Opening Health Data in Rural Communities: Implications for Local Government Units in the Philippines

Abstract
The movement towards openness and innovation has resulted in a mix of opportunities and challenges. The participation of the Philippines in the Open Government Partnership in 2011 signaled its firm commitment towards transparency, accountability, and participation. Furthermore, this resulted in the adoption of open government initiatives such as the full disclosure policy, bottom-up budgeting, and the open data portal. Such programs are aimed towards encouraging openness and participation in local government units. In addition, the Philippine government is currently pursuing an open government-open data campaign that aims to support its inclusive growth aspirations. An important goal of this effort is to ensure universal access to health services by 2016. However, community health tells a different story. The Philippine government has conceded that the MDG target on maternal mortality (MDG-5) will not be met. Studies point to the inadequate management of community health data as one of the reasons why there is difficulty in monitoring maternal health cases thus contributing to the failure of achieving its MDG-5 target. This comes amid the devolution of health services to local governments and increase in budget allocation for community health programs.

In our paper, we examined community practices in maternal health and child care (MHCC) in selected municipalities. Using a qualitative research design, our paper will present the various challenges and opportunities that beset local government units in relation to their MHCC and data management practices. Lastly, our paper will also include a discussion on the potential of open data techniques in addressing these concerns.

Panel Chair: Dr. Ador R. Torneo, De La Salle University

Panel 36: Migration, Development, and Human Security in Asia

This panel is comprised of papers examining the various aspects and dimensions of migration, development, and human security in developing Asian countries like the Philippines. The papers in this panel examine the role of both state and non-state actors, and socio, political, and economic factors to migration, development, and human security at the community and the national level. The first paper re-examines the migration-development nexus debate and discusses the impact of migration and development initiatives by the state, advocacy groups, and diaspora communities towards their home communities in the Philippines. The second paper examines how Filipino migrant workers in crisis zones like Libya undertake risk calculation and reduction and respond to state initiatives especially during times of conflicts. The third paper examines how socio, economic, political, geographic, and policy factors affect marriage migration from various developing countries to emerging Asian countries like South Korea. Through careful examination of these cases, this panel hopes to contribute towards a better understanding of migration and development narratives, trends, issues, and impacts in Asia.

In the Name of the Filipino Nation: Migrant Home Communities as Sites for Contention on Migration and Development.
**Abstract**

This paper will discuss the impact of migration and development initiatives by the state, advocacy groups and diaspora communities towards their home communities in the Philippines. As the state and advocacy groups debate on the future of migration with their diverging ideologies and approaches, this paper will show that their debate is often along macro-national lines and is promoted through meta-narratives regarding the future of migration and development in the country. However, these actors often fail to consider the perspectives of the migrants. By showing the gap on studies regarding migration and development initiatives which are state-centric and/or civil society oriented, this paper will show how migrants themselves have pragmatic views on the impact of their migrant journeys towards their families and home communities. This paper will highlight the primacy of their pragmatic views that focus on maximizing positive outcomes, rather than engaging in the macro-national and meta-narrative debates on migration and development between the state and advocacy groups.

---

**Prof. Ron Bridget T. Vilog and Marie Donna M. Ballesteros, De La Salle University & Nagoya University**

**Email:** ron.vilog@dlsu.edu.ph, mdmballesteros@hotmail.com

**Paper:** Overseas Filipino Workers in Conflict Zones: Narratives of Filipino Nurses in Libya

**Abstract**

This paper examines the risk perception of Filipino nurses who worked in Libya during the height of post-2011 crisis. The narratives reveal that nurses, as opportunity migrants, took advantage of the massive hiring campaign organized by Libya’s Ministry of Health in 2012, hoping that their migration experiences would result to economic and social rewards as they established their careers in the healthcare industry. After two years of adjustment to the conflict-ridden environment, they found themselves situated in another episode of civil war, yet defying the Philippine government’s mandatory repatriation program.

The mechanism of defiance entails risk-taking as political crisis loomed. Filipino nurses, especially those who initially refused to leave Libya, embraced an “illusion of control” that eventually reinforced “unrealistic optimism”. These risk-minimizing strategies have successfully undermined the protective powers of the state. Our paper ultimately argues that Filipino migrants in crisis zone like Libya undertake such kind of risk calculation and reduction, albeit the tendency to commit risk denial and false sense of empowerment and exceptionality. In the end, however, we have emphasized that these mechanisms have limits, depending on the experiences, timing, and risk interpretation of the migrants.

---

**Dr. Ador R. Torneo, De La Salle University**

**Email:** ador.torneo@dlsu.edu.ph

**Paper:** Marriage Migration from Developing Countries to South Korea: Empirical Modelling and Analysis

**Abstract**

This study empirically examines how socio, economic, political, geographic, and policy factors affect marriage migration from developing countries to South Korea. It will develop an empirical model that will integrate these various factors and use it to examine the phenomenon to identify correlates of marriage migration. The empirical model will be based on the gravity model that was previously developed by the author and used to examine general and labour migration but this will be re-specified to fit the particular characteristics of marriage migration. Statistical analysis will be used to identify significant factors and assess the direction and magnitude of their impact. The outcome of this
research will be useful both in developing migration theory, in improving our understanding of this phenomenon, and planning relevant public policies in both sending and receiving countries.

**Jeorge Alarcon JR.,** Waseda University  
**Email:** jeorge.alarcon@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Diverse and Equal?: Inter- and Intra-group Politics, Filipino Organizations in Kanto, and Migrant

**Abstract**  
There are over 200,000 registered Filipinos in Japan, half of whom reside, study, or work in the Kanto region. Within the region, about 100 Filipino migrant groups exist catering to various interests and perspectives. Both the main Japanese and Philippine state structures related to migrant Filipinos in Japan are in the region as well. Integrating or incorporating all into the system can be a challenge for both the state authorities at the destination country and the migrants themselves. Central to these processes are individual and collective welfare. Utilizing participant observation and ethnographic as well as semi-structured interviews, I will try to look at the role that immigrant nongovernmental organizations play in the lives of Filipinos living within the Kanto region, identify in what ways have immigrant NGOs, particularly Filipino migrant groups, contributed in the migrant adaptation process, and how inter- and intra-group politics may be related to the migrant welfare. I will try to analyze the data gathered through the lens of strategic fields’ theory.

**Panel 37: Cambodia in Changing Regional Contexts**

**Panel Chair: Sokkhoeurn An,** Royal University of Phnom Penh

Since 1993, Cambodia has attached its greatest importance to regional integration. As a result, Cambodia was admitted to ASEAN in 1999. While having to work constructively with other members to create an ASEAN Economic Community by 2015, Cambodia has to confront external forces, namely the disputed South China Sea, the rise of China, US Pivot to Asia, and China-Japan rivalry. Therefore, this panel aims to examine how the changing regional contexts have shaped Cambodia in political, security and economic terms.

**Teksang Phour,** Royal University of Phnom Penh  
**Email:** phour.teksang@yahoo.com  
**Paper:** South China Sea dispute: Implications on Cambodia

**Abstract**  
This paper seeks to investigate whether Sino-Vietnamese South China Sea dispute affects Cambodia. It argues that the dispute does affect Cambodia in three dimensions. Politically, the dispute negatively affects Cambodia’s foreign policy, legitimacy and prestige. Economically, the dispute stimulates China’s and Vietnam’s trade, investment and aid to Cambodia. Yet it benefits Cambodia’s economy only in the short-run. In addition to politics and economy, the dispute also affects Cambodia’s security. It has mixed impacts on Cambodia’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, as well as peace and stability.

**Piseyratanak Sovan,** Royal University of Phnom Penh  
**Email:** piseyrattanak.sovan@yahoo.com  
**Paper:** Cambodia-Japan Strategic Partnership: Factors, Interests and Challenges

**Abstract**  
This paper seeks to investigate the factors and interests pushing Cambodia and Japan to elevate their bilateral relations to a strategic partnership. It also explores the challenges facing this newly
established relation. This paper argues that the rise of China, the US’s Pivot to Asia, and the rise of conservative group motivate Japan to upgrade its ties with Cambodia, while Cambodia’s decision results from the accusation of Cambodia as a Chinese proxy, Japan’s development role in Cambodia, and the domestic political development after the 2013 election. Moreover, the interests of both countries encompass political, strategic, economic, social, and cultural gains.

**Sovannaroth Tey**, Royal University of Phnom Penh  
**Email:** tey.sovannaroth@yahoo.com  
**Paper:** Implications of Obama’s Pivot to Asia on Democratization in Southeast Asia

**Abstract**  
This paper seeks to investigate the implications of the Pivot on democratization in Cambodia and determine whether the policy has brought about democratic progression or regression for the country. Specifically, the research will study the impacts of democracy promotion related financial assistance from the US on enhancing freedom of expression, governmental accountability, transparency, and rule of law, as well as free and fair election in Cambodia. After analyzing the data, this paper argues that the overall impacts on democratization in Cambodia are negative leading to a conclusion that the Pivot has contributed to the democratic regression in the country.

**Sereyrath Seng**, Royal University of Phnom Penh  
**Email:** seng.sereyrath@gmail.com  
**Paper:** Greater Mekong Sub-region and ASEAN Economic Community: Implication on Cambodia

**Abstract**  
This paper discusses the contribution of the Greater Mekong Sub-region Economic Cooperation Program (GMS-ECP) to the Cambodia’s readiness for ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). This paper argues that the GMS-ECP has played a crucial role to deal with Cambodia’s development challenges and served complementary role to the AEC Blueprint in maximizing the readiness for AEC.

**Panel 38: National and International Governance Challenges**

**Panel Chair:** Dr. Francisco Magno, De La Salle University

**Dr. Francisco Magno**, De La Salle University  
**Email:** francisco.magno@dlsu.edu.ph  
**Paper:** Governance, Security and Human Trafficking

**Abstract**  
Globalization promotes the free flow of goods, services, technology, and information that contributes to development. However, transnational processes also foster negative spillovers like human trafficking that led to new security and governance challenges (Newman 2001). The forceful movement of people across borders is not new. What is new is the high volume of human trafficking (Feingold 2005). This is driven by numerous factors, including the spike in demand for cheap labour in developed countries, population growth, and weak governance. Women and children from the extremely poor regions are especially vulnerable (Burke 2013). Previous studies paid attention on the victims but neglected the traffickers, clients, and law enforcement agencies. This paper will build on the literature that emphasizes the value of examining the role of actors who are engaged in the anti-trafficking campaign, such as service providers, civil society organizations (CSOs), and law enforcement agencies (Laczkon 2005).
The Anti-Trafficking in Persons Act of 2003 paved the way for the creation of the Inter-Agency Council against Trafficking (IACAT) to monitor and oversee the implementation of the law and coordinate all programs on anti-human trafficking. The IACAT is composed of the Department of Justice, Department of Social Welfare and Development, Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Labour and Employment, Bureau of Immigration, Philippine National Police, POEA, and CSO representatives.

A key governance challenge is the lack of coordination among the different government agencies. In particular, there is a deficit in having effective inter-operability and information sharing mechanism among the various government agencies. The level of knowledge, skills, capacities, and resources of government agencies vary in addressing human trafficking. There is no existing database or information system on human trafficking. In certain cases, government agencies even rely on data from CSOs. Most of the data are anecdotal in nature. There is also a need to examine the role of social networks that serve as conduit to irregular migration.

Dr. Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, University Utara Malaysia
Email: azizuddin@uum.edu.my
Paper: The Youth and ISIL Threat in Malaysia

Abstract
The emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) has shocked the international community after the release of gruesome beheading videos of western journalists via the internet. The violence orchestrated by this group and the speed of them conquering many land areas in Syria and Iraq have made them the number one enemy for many nations including the United States (US) and Muslim countries too such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Indonesia. This group is now considered the most dangerous terrorist group in the world. The essence of ISIL’s struggle is to establish an Islamic state in Syria and Iraq. The United Nations (UN) claimed that ISIL had committed war crimes. According to the UN report, at least 9,347 civilians have been killed and at least 17,386 wounded in the first eight months of 2014. The violence methods used by ISIL militants were considered as crimes and absolutely contradicted with the Islamic teachings. ISIL manages to attract many supporters and sympathizers including Malaysians to join them in Iraq and Syria. As a Muslim majority country, the influence of ISIL in Malaysia is considered as a threat to national security and stability. The concern now is the spread of ISIL extreme ideology especially to Malaysian youth which is hostile to Muslims and non-Muslims in Malaysia. If it fails to be contained pre-emptively, it can also harm the multi-religious Malaysian society through terrorism activities. This article focuses on ISIL threat in Malaysia and how does it attract Malaysian youths to join the militant group. It also looks at the background of ISIL as an emerging threat to the global and regional arena and the efforts taking by Malaysia to counter the ISIL threats.

Sema Angely, Ewha Womans University
Email: angyshine7@gmail.com
Paper: Conflict and Development in Nagaland

Abstract
Nagaland has been a project of addition to the region of troubled hot spots in India’s insurgency corner, and in the South Asia region. In the murk of confusion state of affairs, ethnic-conflict adds a situation where the state authorities feel insecure to administer efficiently adding another dimension to its insecurity. The situation is already delicate and vulnerable, especially for the most vulnerable section of the society, both from the military, insurgency, crony capitalism, politicians and power elites, and economic underdevelopment due to lack of infrastructure. However, development alone will not eliminate the threat posed by the conflict to the most vulnerable section of the society. Shift in the approach of the national policy in resolving the issue for better development need assessment of past for building the future as the new has to emerge from the old. In addition, the impact of identity conflict needs holistic approach and comprehensive action plan which addresses the needs of the most
vulnerable, in terms of both human security and development through bottom up level, so as to put to an end to the repeated cycle of governance and policy failures.

Lim Yan Chun, Chulalongkorn University
Email: lim.yanchun@gmail.com
Paper: Labour Migration, Human Security and Migrant Impacts in Rural Cambodia: Case Study of Baray District

Abstract
Labour migration is a major phenomenon in Cambodia; however it is under-researched. For many rural Cambodian migrants, migration is the key strategy for them to seek better employment opportunities, increase their incomes and improve their quality of life. However, faced with many migration options, each requiring different sets of pre-requisite, and subjecting migrants to different threats or insecurities, as well as different impacts, how should migrants choose which option to take? In recent years, academic and the non-governmental organizations have urged the Cambodian Government to provide migrants with information to inform their decisions better. Yet, such needed information have not been empirically researched. Thus, this paper expects to find out and compare the human security risks and economic, social and psychological impacts of each of the most common migration options (internal migration to Phnom Penh, international migration to Thailand, Malaysia and South Korea), so as to better inform migrants’ decision-making. This paper expects to employ a case study method focusing on a rural district in central Cambodia. Through a quantitative survey(n>100), as well as life-history interview method to document and analyze the migration experiences of the returned migrants, this paper seeks to develop rich and illustrative accounts of the costs, risks, challenges, benefits, impacts, trade-offs and possible threat-coping strategies of each of the four migration options that the district’s migrants have. This will help to inform Cambodians, Civil Society Groups, as well as the Cambodian Government to craft policies and design programmes to support aspiring labour migrants.

Panel 39: Economy of Security Sector and Civil-Military Relations

Panel Chair: Dr. Paul Chambers, Chiang Mai University

Hans-Peter Lipp, Universitaet Tuebingen
Email: hans.lipp@interkont.com
Paper: The Economy of the Security Sector as a Key of Infrastructure Development in Laos

Abstract
Developing the infrastructure of Laos - Security sector as a key factor of regional development ties between the security sector and infrastructure in Laos are close – talking about development of infrastructure means to talk about a relatively clear and structured theme. The country is undergoing an unbelievable fast social and economic change. While every society needs a strong structure to make its way through history – the only existing structures in Laos are these, based on the LPLA. Since independence and the end of the second Indochina this situation never has changed. Positions around the government have been generally seen to be connected with the political structures of the Pathet Lao which is in fact a kind of semi civil “front end” of the former military organization raised out of the second Indochina War. Today the surviving seniors of the movement are cementing their families’ power in establishing their children and grandchildren as socialist aristocracy. Holding the centers of power all over the country and residing in the most important government and industry offices all over the country, their names are not such prominent but their importance is undisputed.
More than on any other field their influence takes effect on infrastructure level. Maps, topographic information, machines, trucks, cars, any kind of transport and access to remote areas are limited mainly on the LPLA’s depots, offices and personal structures, the LPLA and her children are still the keys to the Lao infrastructure sector. Means that there’s no infrastructure or better there will be no more new infrastructure in Laos without the uniformed sector at all.

The infrastructure system of Laos is not such a secret like many people might believe. It’s fairly logical and economically structured. From military logic there’s a (strategy) change these day to business rules, economical needs. Interesting questions will lead to interesting answers. Let’s talk about economy, infrastructure and the security sector in Laos.

**Ariance Grace Tolentino**, De La Salle University  
**Email:** arianegracetolentino@gmail.com  
**Paper:** *Civil-Military Relation in the Philippines: The Changing Role of the Military in Philippines Politics*

**Abstract**  
Civil-military relations have changed over time from the subordination of the armed forces to rise of military power to partnership and coordination between the military and civilian authorities. This can be seen in the administration of Quezon to Aquino from a subordination to a partnership kind of relationship. This paper seeks to explain these changes through the use of discursive institutionalism. Hence, the change in regime shows how the militarization of Philippine politics is being affected by the different changes that have occurred in different administrations. Furthermore, the change in the civil-military relationship in the Philippines can also be explained through the communicative discourse which consists of the interaction between political actors and public sector.

**Prof. Rykhtik Mikhail**, Lobachevskiy State University of Nizhniy Novgorod  
**Email:** rykhtik@fmo.unn.ru  
**Paper:** *"New" Military Forces for Old World Order*

**Abstract**  
The increased interest in military issues in our time indicates a return to the perception of traditional military force in contemporary international political processes. The events of recent years confirm the dire predictions of pessimists – working for men with guns will always take place. The idealistic sentiments about the possibility of a peaceful resolution of conflicts on the basis of liberal democratic values, which were widely spread in the early 1990s, are out of fashion today. A man with a gun took a leading role on the world stage again. The answers on the questions “where?” and “when?” will take place these performances are already given. If the time and place are already specified, the debate about which kind of the qualities the “man with a gun” should have, and which props he will be able to use, is still going on.

The peculiarity of the modern stage of international relations development consists of the fact that there was an increase in participation of non-state actors, and this is particularly noticeable in the security sphere.
Panel 40: Cross-border Conflicts in the ASEAN region

Panel Chair: Dr. Krisna Uk, Center for Khmer Studies

Dr. Krisna Uk, Center for Khmer Studies
Email: krisna.uk@khmerstudies.org
Paper: Cambodia-Thailand relations: border issue

Abstract
Using a political and anthropological lens, Dr. Krisna Uk focuses on the K5 mine belt, also known as the “Bamboo Curtain”, a 700km long and 500m wide heavily landmined buffer running along the international border with Thailand. Dr. Uk discusses how this area classified as “high risk” for the livelihood security of the local population by international demining agencies has over the years increasingly become a strategic tool for the Royal Government of Cambodia to maintain a de facto border that helps shape Cambodia's relationships with Thailand.

Oudom Ham, Center for Khmer Studies
Email: oudomham@gmail.com
Paper: Adverse environmental effect by the Don Sahong and Xayaburi dam construction

Abstract
With the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) preparing for the Asean Economic Community (AEC) at the end of the year, the Center for Khmer Studies’ cross-disciplinary panel on "Cross-border Conflicts in the ASEAN region" will explore the political, environmental and social sources of cross-border disputes that may affect peace and sovereignty in Cambodia, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam.

With energy consumption increasingly growing in Southeast Asia, especially with the continuous pressure of China's demand, Mr. Oudom Ham studies the adverse environmental effect caused by the Don Salong and Xayaburi hydro-power dam construction projects and their irreversible development impact on Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia.

Dr. Chivoin Peou, Center for Khmer Studies
Email: peouchivoin@gmail.com
Paper: Risks and challenges of young Khmer migrant peasants

Abstract
Dr. Chivoin Peou investigates the daily risks and challenges experienced by young Khmer migrant peasants doing manual work in Phnom Penh, Bangkok and the Thai coastal city of Rayong. Dr. Peou’s paper will problematize the implications of such mobility and transient existence in relation to the structural conditions of international and regional dynamics.