

WEDNESDAY, 9 JULY 2014

10:15 – 10:30 REGISTRATION

10:30 – 10:45 WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS

BRENDA S.A. YEOH, Asia Research Institute, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
& Department of Geography, National University of Singapore

KUMIKO KAWASHIMA, Macquarie University, Australia

10:45 – 12:00 KEYNOTE ADDRESS 1

CHAIRPERSON | **BRENDA S.A. YEOH**, National University of Singapore

10:45 **“Labor” Under the Developing Logic of Economic Zones**

THOMAS LOOSER, New York University, USA

11:30 Question & Answer

12:00 – 13:00 LUNCH

13:00 – 14:30 PANEL 1: GLOBAL CAPITALISM AND IDENTITY FORMATION

CHAIRPERSON | **MELODY LU CHIA-WEN**, University of Macau, China

13:00 **Learning Globality: Service Workers in India’s Transnational Economy**

KIRAN MIRCHANDANI, University of Toronto, Canada

13:20 **Wagering on Future: Integrated Resort Employees and their Mobile Ambitions in Singapore**

BRENDA S.A. YEOH, National University of Singapore

KAMALINI RAMDAS, National University of Singapore

13:40 **Macau’s Integrated Resorts and the Biopolitical Subjection of the Post-Socialist Chinese Consumer**

TIM SIMPSON, University of Macau, China

14:00 Question & Answer

14:30 – 14:50 TEA BREAK

14:50 – 16:00 PANEL 2: PRECARIOUS WORKERS FROM DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

CHAIRPERSON | **SUZANNE NAAFS**, National University of Singapore

14:50 **Linking Exceptional Spaces in China and Japan: Offshore Outsourcing of Japanese Information Service Work to Dalian**

KUMIKO KAWASHIMA, Macquarie University, Australia

15:10 **Shanghai’s Culinary Contact Zones: Travelling Cuisines and Migrant Culinary Workers in the Global Food City**

JAMES FARRER, Sophia University, Japan

15:30 Question & Answer

16:00 – 16:20 BREAK

WEDNESDAY, 9 JULY 2014

16:20 – 17:30 PANEL 3: STATE POWER AND SOVEREIGNTY

CHAIRPERSON | **KAMALINI RAMDAS**, National University of Singapore

16:20 **Hybrid Governmentality in the Golden Triangle Special Economic Zone: The Dynamics of Transformation of the Lao State in the Age of Globalisation**

DANIELLE TAN, Sciences Po Lyon, France, and L'Institut d'Asie Orientale, France

16:40 **Tourism Mobilities and Exceptional Sovereignties in Taiwan and China**

IAN ROWEN, University of Colorado Boulder, USA, and Academia Sinica, Taiwan

17:00 Question & Answer

17:30 **END OF DAY ONE**

18:00 – 20:00 **CONFERENCE DINNER** (FOR SPEAKERS, CHAIRPERSONS, AND INVITED GUESTS ONLY)

THURSDAY, 10 JULY 2014

10:30 – 12:00 PANEL 4: MIGRANTS IN SPACES OF SHIFTING LEGALITY

CHAIRPERSON | **SALLIE YEA**, Nanyang Institute of Education, Singapore

10:30 **Contingent Integration of the Rohingya in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh**

ANDERS BJORNBERG, Binghamton University, USA

10:50 **Special Buffer Zones: Transforming SOE Lands as Migrant Trade Hubs, Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, China**

CHEN TING, ETH Zurich: Future Cities Laboratory at Singapore ETH Center

11:10 **Working through Exceptional Space: A Case of Women Migrant Workers in Mae Sot, Thailand**

KYOKO KUSAKABE, Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand

11:30 Question & Answer

12:00 – 13:00 LUNCH

13:00 – 14:10 PANEL 5: CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING

CHAIRPERSON | **KUMIKO KAWASHIMA**, Macquarie University, Australia

13:00 **Exceptional Membership and Liminal Identity: The Migration of Taiwanese College Students to China**

PEI-CHIA LAN, National Taiwan University

13:20 **'Thin Citizenship' and the Growth of the Cross Border Medical Care Market**

ANDREA WHITTAKER, Monash University, Australia

13:40 Question & Answer

14:10 – 14:30 TEA BREAK

14:30 – 16:00 PANEL 6: ETHNIC(ISED) ENCOUNTERS

CHAIRPERSON | **LAAVANYA KATHIRAVELU**, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

14:30 **Leave or Live: Korean Chinese Migration and Liminal Life in the Remittance Development of Yanbian, China**

JUNE HEE KWON, Duke University, USA

14:50 **Additional Temporary Measures and Special Zones: Uncovering the Layering of Migrant Mobilities While Unpacking the Nomenclature of a Riot**

DHOLEKA SARHADI RAJ, Independent Researcher

15:10 **From Poppy Cultivators to Rubber Growers: The Akha and their Experiment of Opportunities along the Supply Chain Capitalism in Northern Laos**

YUNXIA LI, Yunnan University of Nationalities, China

15:30 Question & Answer

16:00 – 16:15 BREAK

16:15 – 17:00 CONCLUDING REMARKS AND DISCUSSION

17:00 END OF CONFERENCE

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

“Labor” Under the Developing Logic of Economic Zones**THOMAS LOOSER**

East Asian Studies, New York University, USA

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Many of the economic imperatives, social incentives, and political conditions of control that have encouraged modern global mobility (of all levels of social and cultural groups) continue to operate in the world today. Global capital flows only continue to intensify, even while the structure of state-based politics has certainly not evaporated. The ability of corporate leaders to not only cross but to transcend state borders in following the movement of global finance, while laborers face both the exigencies of moving in search of both work and freedom, yet the inability to overcome political borders, has not altogether changed over the past few decades. The movement of global finance, ownership, and labor to some extent follows patterns that we have known for some time, in which state structures are overlaid with the networked flow of global capital—often centered on global cities—and the structure of work that accompanies global capital.

Nonetheless, the logic of special economic areas and zones continues to expand worldwide (with the greatest rate of development in Asia), as a vaguely perceived answer to an era largely characterized by crisis. As this logic of the zone develops, the conditions of the global, and the given structures of global flow, are being restructured and reorganized. The kinds of spaces that have emerged out of the conditions that we now somewhat generically call neoliberal have tended toward both exception and enclosure—and in general, a turn from larger commitments of social responsibility. In fact these qualities of exception and enclosure are only part of the picture, but it is clearly these types of spaces that are helping to construct a new fabric of the global in general, and of labor in particular.

This paper focuses on the spaces of the special economic zone, as an outgrowth of earlier exceptional spaces and as a logic that is now helping to redefine urban structures of life. Drawing on three variant examples, in this paper I am especially interested in the ways in which labor is being configured into their organization of the city as a realm of production. In both the relation between the special economic zones and their surrounding urban environments, and in the relation between the flows of financial capital into these zones and the labor that somehow must still support financial capital, one can see glimmers of new categorical understandings of what labor is, and what the changing place of labor migration might therefore be.

In looking at the ways in which financial capital is accumulating in and helping to concretize the special economic zones, one also then sees changes not only in the conception of labor, but also of the terms of the global. If the global has been conceived as that realm of life that is defined by networks and flows (Castells, Harvey, etc.), in fact one can see in some of these zones a kind of temporal stasis, and fixed spatial territorialization—even an immobility, by some terms. The starting point for this paper is thus the flows of finance that are congealing into special economic zones, but the outcomes point toward a new conceptual normativity of labor; a restructuring of the place of labor; and by implication, changes in the coordinates of physical and social mobility within this increasingly important realm of globalization.

Thomas LOOSER (PhD in Anthropology, University of Chicago, USA) is Associate Professor of East Asian Studies at New York University, USA. His areas of research include cultural anthropology and Japanese studies; globalization; urban form, architecture, and art; new media studies; and critical theory. A senior editor for the *Journal Mehademia*, he has published in a variety of venues including *Boundary 2*, *Japan Forum*, *Mechademia*, *Shingenjitsu*, *Journal of Pacific Asia*, and *Cultural Anthropology*.

Learning Globality: Service Workers in India's Transnational Economy

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Indian urban landscapes reflect the country's uneven social and economic development and spaces of exception provide a jarring reminder of the vast class disparities within the nation. There has been considerable research on the social and economic impact of special economic zones and gated high-tech communities. While these transnational spaces may be infrastructure-rich with the look and feel of Western corporate offices, they are also spaces where labor who occupy a variety of class positions interact. Those employed within spaces of exception in India include not only upper and middle class managers, software programmers or call center workers but also cleaners, caterers, drivers and security guards. This paper focuses on the ways in which workers occupying different class positions learn and practice distinct forms of "globality" within spaces of exception. Exceptional spaces are defined as geographical areas occupied by MNC (multi-national corporations) either within peripheral special economic zones, or within city centers.

The term "globality", first used in the mid-80s, can be differentiated from the broader notion of globalization. Schafer argues that globalization indicates a process of economic, cultural and social expansion across nation states; it has multiple actors including states, corporations and policies. In contrast, globality is a condition – specifically the "quality of being global." The concept provides an "analytic snapshot of the extent of discrete global processes at a particular point in time" (2007: 8).

Globality has been conceptualized as a consciousness of the "world as a single social space" in the context of widespread connectivity (Robertson 2002, citing Sholte). Globality is achieved through a set of practices – it is the "outcome of the conscious and intentional actions of many individual and collective human actors" (Shaw, 2000:17). Others have used the term "critical globality" to refer practices through which people become "literate in the workings of capitalism and other forms of power" (Weinbaum and Edwards, 2000). This focus on practice, condition and consciousness differentiates globality from more mainstream notions of globalization which center on description, critique or celebration of worldwide capitalist expansion.

In some ways, globality has been referred to a middle class orientation – that is, a consciousness which serves as cultural capital for the middle classes (O'Bryne and Hensby). However I argue that notions of "globality" impact all workers who occupy spaces of exception; many low wage workers cover significant ideological distance in their daily movement between local spaces and spaces of exception. As a result globality leads to a questioning of the very notion of class, particularly in relation to nation. Weinbaum and Edwards (2000) for example argue that globality "allows us to signal the historical shift in the constitution of the notion of class, and to understand the ways in which new class formations are precipitated by processes of globalization that disrupt boundaries of nation-states as economic political units in some ways, reconsolidate them in others, and in so doing catalyze new transnational alliances" (2000:271).

This paper draws on interviews with workers employed in transnational firms and focuses on how they learn and develop notions of workplace globality within spaces of exception. I draw on a study which involved approximately two hundred interviews with call centre workers, cleaners, drivers and security guards working within India's transnational firms which occupy spaces of exception. In this paper, I provide a set of case studies which trace the ways in which the "condition of being global" is interpreted and learned by workers occupying diverse class positions.

Kiran MIRCHANDANI's research and teaching focuses on gendered and racialized processes in the workplace; critical perspectives on organizational development and learning; criminalization and welfare policy; and globalization and economic restructuring. Using qualitative, interpretive approaches, her work is based on qualitative interviews with transnational service workers in India and workers in precarious jobs in Canada.

Wagering on Future: Integrated Resort Employees and their Mobile Ambitions in Singapore

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With the opening of two luxurious Integrated Resorts (IR) in 2010, Singapore emerged as one of the top gaming destinations in Asia boasting world-class entertainment, top-notch services and a wide variety of leisure activities. The IR came to be “exceptional” sites of multiple intersections and global circulation where constant movements of labour, capital, and consumer power constitute a vibrant space of flows. And because of the IR’s “exceptionality”, it is also a space of governmentalisation and moral regulation where subtle forms of social control can be maintained indirectly through the normalisation of specialised employment processes, surveillance, and the management of consumption practices. This paper investigates the embodied experiences of “exceptionality” of IR employees in Singapore who claim a sense of agency over their own mobile ambitions and professional prospects. Working in the IR enables these employees to reconfigure their career and migratory trajectories as they equip themselves with new expertise, techniques, knowledge, outlooks, and the “right” kind of qualifications and experiences desirable for the global labour market. Their mobile trajectories are shaped by a particular awareness of “anticipatory temporality” (Jasbir Puar 2007), where they try to catch a small hold of an imagined better future which cannot be scripted. Actively mobilizing skills, training, existing and newly established networks, IR employees render their futures “knowable” and possible through what Ben Anderson calls “anticipatory logics” (2010) that intertwines the future with the present through calculation, imagination, and preparation. To maintain their eligibility and privilege in the exceptional space exemplified by the IR, employees constantly negotiate ethnicised, nationalised, and classed identities, rights, and a sense of self-value. However, the more IR employees capitalise on the mobile potentials offered by the IR, the more shackled they become by specialised codes of practice and logics of discipline essential to sustaining the order and productivity in the exceptional regime. This paper argues that exceptional spaces create anticipation of mobile pathways and knowable futures, and in doing so, neoliberal disciplinary logics gain a stronger hold on waged employees who are eager to participate in the flexible labour regime while still believing that freedom and future is within their grasp.

ZHANG Juan was a Research Fellow with the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore (NUS). Her research focuses on cross-border mobilities, post-socialist subjectivities in contemporary China as well as everyday politics in the borderland. She is also interested in Chinese cultural politics, borders and boundary making, sexuality, and mobility. She received her PhD in Anthropology from Macquarie University in Australia, her MA in NUS and BA in Wuhan University, China.

Brenda S.A. YEOH is Professor (Provost's Chair), Department of Geography, and Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore. She is also the Research Leader of the Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute, NUS, and coordinates the Asian MetaCentre for Population and Sustainable Development Analysis. Her research interests include the politics of space in colonial and postcolonial cities, and she has considerable experience working on a wide range of migration research in Asia, including key themes such as cosmopolitanism and highly skilled talent migration; gender, social reproduction and care migration; migration, national identity and citizenship issues; globalising universities and international student mobilities; and cultural politics, family dynamics and international marriage migrants. She has published widely in these fields. Her latest book titles include *The Cultural Politics of Talent Migration in East Asia* (Routledge 2012, with Shirlena Huang); and *Migration and Diversity in Asian Contexts* (ISEAS press, 2012, with Lai Ah Eng and Francis Collins); *Return: Nationalizing Transnational Mobility in Asia* (Duke University Press, forthcoming in 2013, with Xiang Biao and Mika Toyota); as well as a paperback reprint of her book *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment* (originally published in 1996 by Oxford University Press; reprinted by NUS Press in 2003 and 2013).

Kamalini RAMDAS is a lecturer with the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore. She was conferred her PhD in Geography from the department in May 2013. Her PhD research topic on singlehood amongst Singaporean Indian women uses a feminist ethics of care to critique the biopolitics of familyhood and community in Singapore. Kamalini has published out of her PhD in *Environment and Planning A* and *Gender, Place and Culture*. Kamalini has a keen interest in the social and cultural landscapes of Singapore and has co-edited and contributed to *Changing Landscapes of Singapore: Old Tensions, New Discoveries* (Singapore: NUS Press). Prior to embarking on her PhD, she worked at the Asia Research Institute (ARI) and the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). At ARI, she co-edited a book with Gavin Jones, *(Un)tying the knot: ideal and reality in Asian Marriage* (Singapore: Asia Research Institute). Kamalini is currently a collaborator with the *Casino Mobilities* research project (Principal Investigator, Brenda Yeoh).

Macau's Integrated Resorts and the Biopolitical Subjection of the Post-Socialist Chinese Consumer

TIM SIMPSON

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Following Portugal's return of Macau to the People's Republic of China in 1999, and the subsequent liberalization of the city's casino gaming industry, Macau has been transformed into the world's most lucrative site of casino gaming revenue. Today Macau Special Administrative Region (SAR) and its integrated casino resorts, in turn, play an operative role in the market-socialist transmutation of the PRC economy and in the subjection of a post-socialist Chinese consumer. If the socialist Chinese worker under Maoism was forged in *danwei*, or work units, which produced a collectivist subject and ensured reproduction of labor power (Bray, 2005), the post-socialist subject is forged in the SAR – a “space of exception” to normal socialist logics – and is produced in the integrated resorts which ensure reproduction of leisure power. These subjects are crucial to the macroeconomic strategy of the PRC to create an urban consumer class whose domestic consumption habits will drive the Chinese economy, and perhaps ensure the mid-term stability of global capitalism. This phenomenon is a product of China's biopolitical decision to enable tourist mobilities in a strategic response to two population crises. Today mainland Chinese tourists are encouraged to travel during two annual “Golden Week” holidays, and they gain access to Macau via the “Individual Visitation Scheme” (IVS), which extends special exit visas to select Chinese tourists from relatively affluent cities and provinces. The Golden Week holidays were created by Chinese authorities in response to the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, in an attempt to stimulate China's domestic consumption. The IVS was subsequently created in the wake of a public health crisis – the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome epidemic of 2002 – which damaged the economies of Macau and Hong Kong. As a result of these decisions, tourism in Macau exploded such that by 2013 Macau was visited by 29 million tourists, more than 60% of whom were from mainland China.

Today transnational capital invested in the city to serve these tourists has produced a phantasmagoric cityscape of iconic glass architecture and themed resorts. Several of Macau's new casino concessionaires are Las Vegas entrepreneurs, and Macau's new integrated resorts resemble the themed architecture typical of Las Vegas; in fact, Macau's Venetian and Wynn Resorts are direct imitations of Las Vegas properties. This architecture in Las Vegas is often considered the epitome of postmodern design, defined by such semiotic characteristics as simulation, hyperreality, and implosion/de-differentiation. However, to properly understand the role of Macau's integrated resorts for Chinese tourists, we must address Macau and its casino resorts not as hyperreal and de-differentiated postmodern architecture but as a *highly-differentiated* post-socialist spatial formation whose very materiality plays a functional role in production of a post-socialist Chinese consumer subject. From this perspective, Macau's resorts may be understood as a contemporary, neoliberal iteration of the *danwei*. As urban enclosures, the integrated resorts offer all the social benefits of *danwei*: accommodation, food, health care, child care, education facilities, transportation, entertainment, etc. However, the socialist Chinese state has retreated and responsibility for provision of these benefits is left to the tourists themselves. Those tourists participate in the “work” of leisure (Lonsway, 2009) necessary for the development of the consumer economy of the PRC. This collusion among the PRC, Macau SAR, and an oligarchy of transnational casino concessionaires may be understood as what Ong (2006) calls a “state-transnational network”, whereby governance of the population is shared by state and non-state actors and utilizes special juridical zones. Thus traveling to Macau and gambling in an integrated resort constitutes a corporeal form of neoliberal governmentality, a pedagogical process whereby carefully calibrated freedoms of mobility and consumption are strategically extended as a mode of vital population governance that aims to create a “quality” (*suzhi*) Chinese consumer.

Tim SIMPSON is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication, and Associate Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Macau, where he has worked for more than a dozen years. He has published a number of articles and essays about Macau's post-colonial development and the operative role it plays in China's post-socialist economic transformation. He is the co-author (with UK-based photographer Roger Palmer) of the forthcoming volume *Macao Macau* (Black Dog Publishing).

Linking Exceptional Spaces in China and Japan: Offshore Outsourcing of Japanese Information Service Work to Dalian

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Since the mid-2000s, an increasing number of educated young Japanese have moved to Asia's economic development zones to serve Japanese consumer markets from afar. The only required 'skill' is their understanding of Japanese language and culture. Alongside local employees, they work at call centres and other workplaces in the lower echelons of the IT sector and typically earn, in local currency, much less than the salary they can earn in metropolitan Japan.

The case of Japanese outsourcing workers in Dalian Software Park in northeast China allows us to see the interlinked nature of exceptional spaces in Asia. This new form of transnational mobility—'exporting' Japanese white-collar workers to a Chinese special economic zone to turn them into 'local' workers—provides us with a new approach to the issue of outsourcing labour in special economic zones, in at least two ways: by going beyond the impact of foreign capital on the 'local' workforce, and also the perception that it is the third-world cheap labour that is compromising jobs in developed countries. These ways in which IT-service outsourcing as a mechanism of global capitalism is commonly considered are often anchored by the national framework, in which special economic zones become synonymous to national economic growth and employment strategies, and outsourcing is seen to cause an antagonistic relation between sending and receiving countries regarding domestic labour management.

By detailing the on-the-ground process of outsourcing IT-service jobs and the crucial role played by cheap imported workers in it, this ethnographic paper argues that IT-service outsourcing as a method of capital accumulation is made possible because seemingly disparate but intrinsically interlinked spaces of exception across the national borders work in tandem: On the one hand, Dalian Software Park is a geographically demarcated space of exception where tax exemptions and other different rules apply to both local and transnational investors. On the other hand, it was not simply that Japanese jobs were not simply lost to China, as Japanese outsourcing has only become possible following the marginalisation of IT-service jobs within the Japanese labour market. As my interview findings reveal, the extensive use of irregular employment and youth labour exploitation in general is the backbone of Japanese service outsourcing. Ultimately, my case study shows that Japan's sense of economic decline and the rise of the middle classes in Asia's developing countries are intrinsically linked to larger shifts in the global capitalist order.

Kumiko KAWASHIMA is a Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, Macquarie University, Australia. She received her PhD in anthropology from the Australian National University, and was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore between 2012-2014. Kumiko's projects to date have investigated the nexus between the lives of young people, transnational migration and social transformation with focus on labour, consumption and identity in globalising Asia. Her work has been published in *Asian Studies Review*, *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, and *Journal of Industrial Relations*, among others.

Shanghai's Culinary Contact Zones: Travelling Cuisines and Migrant Culinary Workers in the Global Food City

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Cosmopolitan dining scenes are an increasingly important feature of the cultural geography of global cities. These are distinctly transnational spaces, often staffed both at the top and the bottom by migrant laborers. Along with an increasingly globalized culture of restaurant dining, a city's culinary traditions also impact upon the development of its urban foodscapes. Shanghai has a long association with western restaurants since the late 19th century. Following the Maoist experiment in strict culinary nationalism in the 1960s, an international restaurant scene rapidly returned to the city as incomes rose in the 1990s. Since the 2000s, a fine dining scene with migrant star chefs and creative cosmopolitan offerings is focused in distinct culinary contact zones of the city. This paper describes the development of Shanghai's culinary contact zones, and shows how they have fostered the activities of migrant entrepreneurs from around the work, while also providing work and experience for a legion of migrant food workers from other provinces in China.

James FARRER is Professor of Sociology and Global Studies at Sophia University in Tokyo, specializing in urban studies, cultural sociology and sexuality studies. He has used qualitative sociological research methods to investigate urban culture in Shanghai and Tokyo, including sexuality, cuisine, nightlife, and expatriate communities. His recent research projects have focused on the lives of expatriates in Shanghai, including their work lives, sexuality, marriage, family, childrearing and urban place-making. His publications on sexual culture in China and Japan have covered changing gender roles and sexual relations, including youth sexuality and dating culture, extramarital sexuality, cross-border relationships, online dating, internet sexual politics, sexual storytelling, gay identities, and other aspects of sex and gender in social interaction. He also studies food culture, including a study of the transformation of urban restaurant scenes in Shanghai and Tokyo and the spread of Japanese cuisine globally. He is author of *Opening Up: Youth Sex Culture and Market Reform in Shanghai* (University of Chicago Press 2002) and co-author with Andrew Field of the forthcoming *Shanghai Nightscapes: A Nocturnal Biography of a Global City* (University of Chicago Press). He holds an MA and PhD in Sociology from the University of Chicago and a BA in Cognitive Science from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Hybridised Governmentality in the Golden Triangle Special Economic Zone: The Dynamics of Transformation of the Lao State in the Age of Globalisation

DANIELLE TAN

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Since the end of the Cold War, the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) has witnessed the revival of the ancient caravan trade routes and networks, which once traversed mainland Southeast Asia. In the region's uplands, where Burma, Thailand and Laos intersect in the notorious Golden Triangle, massive Chinese investment and migration have reshaped local political economies. The world's second largest drug producing area has today been restructured into a series of tourism and casino hubs under the banner of the GMS' Special Economic Zones (SEZs). These SEZs are frequently represented as either Chinese enclaves or lawless domains that threaten Lao national sovereignty and territorial integrity. This article disputes both representations, arguing instead that they are rather "sites of exception" (Ong 2006), where one can observe fervent state activity and intentionality, critical to the expansion of the lowland Lao state control in the Uplands. The Golden Triangle SEZs can be understood as an extraordinarily malleable technology of governing that allows post-socialist Laos to reaffirm its hegemony over society, and especially in its periphery, where state power and legitimacy have long been contested. These margins are important "resource frontiers" (Tsing 2005) for the Lao state because they embody "spaces of capitalist transition" (Barney 2009). These spaces blur the boundaries between licit/illicit and legal/illegal but the very practice of straddling these distinctions is a technique of state formation. This paper examines the way in which the lowland Lao state strategically leverages Chinese presence and activity in the Golden Triangle SEZ to pursue territorialisation and the consolidation of state power in the Northern Uplands through the conversion of these drug enclaves into "regional paragons of economic modernity" (Nyíri 2012), thus fitting the 'last enclosure' strategy described by Scott (2009). If the Chinese migrants have very nearly regained the status of tax farmers that they possessed under colonial rule, I argue that the special zones constitute full-blown tax farms. I will demonstrate how these "spaces of capitalist transition" both epitomize the hybridisation of neoliberal and post-socialist governmentalities, and the renewal of the logic of shared sovereignty inherited from the pre-modern period.

Danielle TAN is currently teaching Political Science and Asian Studies at Sciences Po Lyon (France). She is also Research Associate at the Institute for East Asian Studies (IAO). Previously, she had the opportunity to pursue her postdoctoral research at the International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden) and at the Australian National University. Her main research interests include Chinese networks and migration in Southeast Asia, and the political economy of the Greater Mekong Subregion, with a specific focus on ethnographic enquiries into the meaning and discourse of 'the rise of China'. She received her PhD in Political Science from Sciences Po/CERI (Paris) in December 2011. Her dissertation was entitled 'From Communism to Neoliberalism: the Part Played by Chinese Networks in the Transformation of the State in Laos'. She is currently co-editing a volume with Pál Nyíri (VU Amsterdam) gathering together the most recent research on the renewed Chinese presence in Southeast Asia.

Tourism Mobilities and Exceptional Sovereignties in Taiwan and China

IAN ROWEN

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Capital and human flows between the PRC and Taiwan continue proliferating despite the two regimes' incompatible sovereign and territorial claims. Taiwan, itself a "quasi" or "de facto" state and therefore an "exceptional space" in the normative global world order of sovereign nation-states, is in large part defined by its relations with China. This relationship is being reshaped through cross-Strait tourism.

Tourism is profoundly affecting social, economic, and spatial order across the Strait as well as within Taiwan, reconfiguring leisure spaces and economies, transportation infrastructure, popular political discourse, and cross-Strait geographical imaginaries. The PRC now sends millions of tourists across the Strait, even as it points over a thousand missiles in the same direction. Unofficially, tourism is also facilitating other forms of investment, political contact, and business and personal network formation.

Due to the sovereignty dispute, negotiations for cross-Strait tourism have been conducted not by state organizations, but by quasi-official/quasi-private organizations. Such complex institutional structures and arrangements call fundamental notions of state sovereignty into question. Writing about other regional formations, Ong has proposed the concept of "variegated sovereignty" to account for new regional formations (including the PRC's Special Economic Zones, such as Shenzhen, and Special Administrative Regions, such as Hong Kong), and Callahan has relatedly described "Greater China" as an "exemplary contingent state".

Unlike Hong Kong or Shenzhen, Taiwan has never been under the administrative control of the PRC, which has led Beijing to deploy economic mechanisms to exert power-at-a-distance. The strain on Taiwan's infrastructure caused by unprecedented tourist arrivals, as well as wide popular support for maintenance of de facto independence, has made tourism a flashpoint for debate. Meanwhile, the purported economic benefits of tourism have been used by the PRC as a lever for extracting political concessions within Taiwan, including funding cuts to agencies that have sponsored media critical of the PRC.

Based on interviews and detailed ethnographies of tourist spaces and practices in Taiwan and Shanghai conducted between 2012 and 2014, this article will explore how such tourist mobilities are entangled with exceptional forms of sovereignty and territory in the region. This research is broadly relevant also for the political geography of other regions affected by PRC tourism, including Hong Kong, Tibet, Xinjiang, and the South China Sea.

Ian ROWEN is currently a Fulbright Fellow, Visiting Associate at Academia Sinica's Institute of Sociology, and PhD Candidate in Geography at the University of Colorado Boulder, USA. His PhD dissertation research, funded by the US National Science Foundation and the Fulbright Program, has centered on the political geography of cross-Strait tourism. His peer-reviewed article on this topic was published in the May 2014 issue of the *Annals of Tourism Research*. Prior to commencing graduate study, he worked in the Asian travel industry (Hotel of Modern Art; Global Nomad; Imperial Tours), as a consultant to the Taiwan Cultural Affairs Department and the British Council, and as a journalist at Taipei Times, TIME/Classic Communications, and the Variety International Film Guide. Fluent in Mandarin and proficient in Indonesian/Malay, he has completed two book translations, including *Gzi: On the Life of contemporary Tibetans*, an account of the Tibetan environmental movement, to be published in 2014 by Rowman and Littlefield.

Contingent Integration of the Rohingya in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh

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An antagonism between the state and borderlanders defines a certain ideal of borderland studies: the state seeks to reign in and to homogenize in order to create national subjects, while borderlanders resist and subvert the state's attempts to do so. My paper complicates this account by locating the sociopolitically contingent form of integration of the Rohingya refugee population in and around Cox's Bazar. Cox's Bazar is at once both a nexus for the traffic in small arms and drugs across the nebulous border and at the same time a burgeoning tourist hotspot, a beach oasis where over ten luxury resorts are slated to open within the next few years. This massive transformation is taking place precisely through the extralegal attributes of Cox's Bazar as a space where the border is performed and subverted. The 230,000 Rohingya living in camps administered by UNHCR and the unregistered, lawless informal ring camps which have accumulated on their outer edges provide an ample and timely labor surplus prepared to work under poor conditions for lower pay, their precarity effectively underwriting the region's development. Though over the last few years the Rohingya have frequently been the victims of ethnically motivated violence, their work as poorly compensated manual laborers has been exempt from harassment by local citizens or police. In my paper, I draw upon ethnographic research in and around Cox's Bazar to interrogate how the contingent integration of the Rohingya expands and redefines settled concepts of legality and licitness.

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Special Buffer Zones: Transforming SOE Lands as Migrant Trade Hubs, Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, China

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In Shenzhen, immigrants are the absolute majority of the 16 million population and the dominant labour force in manufacturing, commerce and service economy. However in recent years, large-scale urban redevelopment projects are replacing numerous organically developed migrant quarters with monofunctional residential and office tower clusters targeting only at elites. In this process, the existing migrant traders and workers -- together with their formal or informal businesses -- were spatially and socially marginalized. In spite of that, some former SOE lands have resisted the trend of renewal. In a fragmented ownership condition, they transformed organically into migrant trade hubs of regional or even national importance. In the past decades under the marginalizing renewal fever, these areas have functioned as buffer zone for both the urban society and economy by offering diverse opportunities for dissimilar migrant groups and their businesses. By juxtaposing these transforming SOE lands and other failed top-down planned projects for small and medium enterprises, this paper argues that learning from the incrementally transforming SOE lands as 'special buffer zones', it is time to rethink the current urban strategy for a more sustainable alternative path for urban redevelopment.

Trained as an architect, **CHEN Ting** received her B.Arch & M.Arch degrees in Tsinghua University at Beijing, worked on fields of architectural and urban design, monument preservation and neighborhood revitalization. She used to work as junior researcher for the chair of urban design history in ETH Zurich. Currently she is a doctoral researcher in Future Cities Laboratory, Singapore ETH Center. Her research interests include urban design strategy, post-socialist urban transformation, urban politics, and rural-urban interaction. Her dissertation project is geared towards the urban transformation mechanism of Shenzhen, China's first Special Economic Zone, to explore how the transitional socialist State-Owned Enterprises shaped the city in various ways under a booming semi-market-driven, semi-command economy.

Working through “Exceptional” Space: A Case of Women Migrant Workers in Mae Sot, Thailand

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The state governs its territory by defining spaces. As Ong (2004) argued in her discussion on graduated sovereignty, state governs different spaces in different ways, and it is not that in “exceptional” spaces such as export processing zones, state power has been weakened. These are forms of state control manifested in different forms. This paper analyzes how the state attempts to create “exceptional” spaces, and how people react to such creation, re-define the space in their own ways, and reclaim the space through a case study of Mae Sot in Thailand. Mae Sot is considered an “exceptional” space by the Thai government. There is a constant discussion of putting Mae Sot as a special zone to allow factories to hire migrant workers without going through the registration and work permit system that is applied in other places in Thailand. Mae Sot’s location at the border of Thailand and Myanmar, and the mountainous topography surrounding the town makes it possible for the state to imagine such seclusion of the place. After the introduction of national verification and temporary passport system, there has been drastic decrease in the number of migrant workers who are registered in Mae Sot. This signifies that even before the government has officially defined the place as “exceptional”, the practice is that the place is already considered and treated as “exceptional”. Such “exceptional” treatment of the space has given both difficulties and opportunities for migrant workers in Mae Sot. They face precarious working conditions and lower wages, but able to expand their social network and social practices in Mae Sot. This paper analyzes the working of “exceptional” space especially through the views of women migrant workers and their social reproduction activities.

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Ruth PEARSON is Emeritus Professor of Development Studies at the University of Leeds, UK. Her current research is on gender and work in the global economy; homebased work and workers organisations; gendered analysis of production and social reproduction; migrant workers and identity – Burma/Thailand and the UK; gender and economic transition (Cuba); money – micro credit, community currencies; hypothecated taxation; gender and development policy and prospects.

Exceptional Membership and Liminal Identity: The Migration of Taiwanese College Students to China

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Based on in-depth interviews with 61 Taiwanese students who moved to China to pursue higher education, we look into policy regulation, migration motivation and identity formation in this case of student migration. The Chinese government has offered Taiwanese citizens exceptional membership and privileged access to college admission, in order to uphold China's claim of sovereignty over Taiwan and promote the political agenda of reunification. Taiwanese students, in the pursuit of either academic degrees or job opportunities in China, capitalize on such institutional privilege and cultural ties to facilitate their transnational mobility and flexible capital accumulation. The educational incorporation of Taiwanese, however, leads to unintended consequences in the terrain of identity politics. These students develop different strategies to negotiate their liminal position in China: assimilating as Chinese, reasserting a Taiwanese identity, and claiming a cosmopolitan identity. Their diverse experiences show that identity is not a given membership, but a product of incessant negotiation between the competing forces of globalization and nationalism, and deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

Pei-Chia LAN is Professor of Sociology at National Taiwan University. She received a PhD from Northwestern University and was a postdoctoral fellow at University of California, Berkeley, a Fulbright fellow at New York University, and a Yenching-Radcliffe fellow at Harvard University. Her book *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domesticity and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan* won a Distinguished Book Award from the Sex and Gender Section of the American Sociological Association (2007) and ICAS Book Prize: Best Study in Social Science from the International Convention of Asian Scholars (2007). She is working on a book manuscript on parenting, globalization and class inequality.

Yi-Fan WU is currently a Data Scientist in the internet marketing industry based in New York. She received her MA in Sociology from National Taiwan University, with a thesis titled *Reterritorialized Student Migrations in Comparison: Taiwanese Students in China and Malaysian Chinese Students in Taiwan*. Continuing her interest of mobility, social network, and economic sociology, she applies social science and social innovation in a business setting. Yi-Fan Wu also obtained a MS in Marketing from Northwestern University.

'Thin Citizenship' and the Growth of the Cross Border Medical Care Market

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In this paper I explore the articulation of neoliberal exceptions focused upon the development of medical hubs in Asia with varied forms of 'thin' citizenship. Drawing upon empirical work in hospitals in Thailand and Malaysia catering to foreign patients, I firstly describe how specific conditions, government collaboration and different commercial regimes are encouraging medical hubs in both states, albeit with varying degrees of success. Within these spaces, to a certain degree although not completely, discriminations between citizens and foreigners are dropped in pursuit of human and economic capital.

The global assemblages that constitute hospitals pose specific resolutions to the problems of diverse categories of patients, who make varying claims for resources, entitlements and care. In the past, health care constituted a responsibility of a nation-state to its citizens, but with a fundamental shift in the ethics and ideology of health care from social good to individual self-governance (Rose 1999)(Parr 2002:77), the provision of health care has become an example of how mobile markets, technologies and populations challenge the notion of citizenship tied to the territory of a nation-state. Mutations in citizenship emerge as the elements of citizenship become disarticulated from each other and are re-articulated in new ways Ong (2006). As increasing numbers of people travel for care, diverse actors invoke not territorialised notions of citizenship, but make new claims: postnational, flexible, technological, and biological forms of citizenship all operate within these medical spaces. New and old connections and novel combinations characterise the emergent spaces of the transnational medical market.

In this paper, I draw upon these understandings of citizenship to consider new perspectives on a fundamental question—why people travel to cross borders for medical care. The growth of trade in cross border medical care articulates with the growth of a diverse range of 'thin citizens'—those whose citizenship ties to their nation-states are tenuous, contingent and in some cases transient, whether through their mobility, ethnicity, spatial location, biological status or class. States produce varying graduated citizenship (Ong, 2000); building on this notion, I suggest that the common element to the heterogeneous movements of patients is their status as populations with 'thin' connections to their nation-states.

This allows insight into the diverse groups encountered among medical travellers: from highly mobile wealthy professional expatriate workers, regional border crossers, migrant workers, those who cannot afford care at home, patients whose status makes treatments unavailable, and outsourced patients forced to travel for care. I examine these categories of patients in turn to explore their 'thin' ties to their nation states, some derived through the failure of their nation-states to provide care, others produced through regulations, employment, social or biological status.

Andrea WHITTAKER is ARC Future Fellow and Convenor of Anthropology at the School of Social Sciences, Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. She is a medical anthropologist working primarily in the fields of reproductive health and biotechnologies with a special interest on Thailand and SE Asia. Her Australian Research Council Future Fellowship studies the reproductive travel in Thailand and the region for sex selection and surrogacy. In addition, she is currently undertaking collaborative research on contraceptive use among migrant women in Melbourne through an ARC Linkage project and is part of another ARC Linkage project working on a longitudinal qualitative study of people living with HIV in rural and regional Queensland. She received her PhD from the University of Qld in 1995. Her major publications include *Intimate Knowledge: Women and their Health in Northeast Thailand* (2000), *Women's Health in Mainland South-east Asia* ed. (2002), *Abortion, Sin and the State in Thailand* (2004) and *Abortion in Asia: Local dilemmas, global politics* ed. (2010). She has another book entitled *Thai in vitro: Assisted reproduction in Thailand* forthcoming in 2014 with Berghahn Books.

CHEE Heng Leng worked for many years in the fields of public health and the political economy of healthcare before turning her attention to marriage migration. She was previously attached to Universiti Putra Malaysia (1979—2003), and Asia Research Institute, NUS (2003—2012), and is now a visiting professor at the Women's Development and Research Centre (KANITA), Universiti Sains Malaysia. Her current research project is on international medical travel, and she sees it as an intersection of her research interests in health care and in migration. Her publications include a special issue in *Global Social Policy* on medical travel (2010, volume 10 no. 3) (co-editor), and 'Global track, national vehicle: transnationalism in medical tourism in Asia' (*European Journal of Transnational Studies* 2013, volume 5 no. 1) (co-author).

**Leave or Live:
Korean Chinese Migration and Liminal Life
in the Remittance Development of Yanbian, China**

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This paper examines the impact of “Korean money” on everyday life in Yanbian, the Korean Chinese Autonomous Prefecture, in the wake of the *Korean Wind*, the persistent and pervasive Korean Chinese transnational labor migration to South Korea for the last two decades. My research is based on a series of interviews and multi-sited participant observations conducted in Yanbian, China and Seoul, Korea from 2008 to 2009, with an eye to the rise of exceptional ethnic space and ethnic relationship in response to the *Korean Wind*. This paper documents and analyzes the stories of three migrants to Yanji: a laid-off factory worker (*xiagang*) moving from a small city to Yanji; a South Korean entrepreneur coming to Yanji in pursuit of new business opportunities; and a Han Chinese *dagong* moving from the countryside to Yanji. I situate the narratives in dialogue with recent studies on the migration-development nexus, “differentiated mobility,” and “jumping scales.” In doing so, I address two main questions: 1) how transnational migration has been intertwined with Han Chinese and Korean Chinese internal migration and the region’s rapid economic development; 2) how the migration—viewed by Korean Chinese as a fundamental life backup plan that has enabled them to achieve economic betterment in privatized China—has caused ambivalence between leaving and living to become a dominant structure of feeling in Yanbian. I argue that the differentiated mobility of Han and Korean Chinese actually promotes interconnection between individuals and between ethnic groups, and inculcates a mutual dependency on the remittance economy’s incessant but unstable flows of money. This paper suggests that migration is not a single, discrete movement, but a ceaseless *process* that entails mobility and immobility (leaving and living) together. And remittance, a currency inseparable from the unpredictable migration process, serves as a means of creating a new sociality and ethnic relationality. The *Korean Wind* is not a simple transnational ethnic transnational migration, but an economic and social force that remakes this exceptional post-socialist ethnic frontier and integrates it into the global economy.

June Hee KWON received her PhD in the Department of Cultural Anthropology at Duke University in September 2013. After graduation, she has been a teaching fellow at Asian Middle Eastern Studies, Duke University, and will be a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Pittsburgh from August 2014. Her book manuscript is titled, *Mobile Ethnicity: The Formation of the Korean Chinese Transnational Migrant Class*. She was a winner of the Sylvia Forman Graduate Student Prize in 2012 awarded by the Association for Feminist Anthropology. She also won the Eric Wolf Prize awarded by the Society of Anthropology of Work in 2011. Parts of her book manuscript are under review for anthropology journals. She got her master’s degree in Sociology in Yonsei University, Korea, and the thesis is titled, *Ethnic Identity of the Third Generation of Stateless Koreans in Japan: The Graduates from Chosen Ethnic School in Osaka and Tokyo*.

Additional Temporary Measures and Special Zones: Uncovering the Layering of Migrant Mobilities While Unpacking the Nomenclature of a Riot

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Inspired to act after an incident in Singapore involving temporary migrant workers, the Singapore Parliament is in the process of considering a Public Order Bill on Additional Temporary Measures (2014). "Identified as an act to make temporary provisions for the area within Singapore commonly known as Little India so as to continue to maintain public order in that area following the violence..."([http://www.parliament.gov.sg/sites/default/files/Public%20Order%20\(Additional%20Temporary%20Measures\)%20Bill%201-2014.pdf](http://www.parliament.gov.sg/sites/default/files/Public%20Order%20(Additional%20Temporary%20Measures)%20Bill%201-2014.pdf)).

This paper explores the Bill as state of exception, temporally, in terms of its special powers, as well as, its creation of a special zone within the city-state. Based on ongoing research addressing Indian migrant mobilities in Singapore, I look at the ways that space, territory and the flow of capital and labor are creating a new type of state engagements that extend into hyper-territory based government powers. The paper begins with a brief history of the spatiality of the area known as little India, including the reliance on temporary workers from South Asian during the colonial period. I then explore the ways that the proposed bill focusses on alcohol to expand basic powers of law enforcement. In the backdrop of a spatialized race discourse, does this event and bill signal the beginning of a rupture or is it a 'hidden' historical continuity? or both? The paper draws from qualitative fieldwork conducted with a civil society group meeting and the discursive discussions about the Bill and an examination of the bill itself.

Dhooleka Sarhadi RAJ's research and publications address globalization, urban life and migration, focusing on South Asia mobilities. Dr Raj is author of *Where are you from? Middle Class Migrants in the Modern World* (2003, University of California Press), and is currently writing a book on India's diaspora strategies. A key question of her work is to understand how transnationalism, ethnicity, and religion simultaneously transform families and nation-states. She has conducted fieldwork on migrants (London), partition refugees (Delhi), globalization and the American family (Washington DC), and state responses to bioterrorism (USA). Trained as an anthropologist, she has taught undergraduate and graduate courses at Yale, Harvard and Cambridge. Previously, she was the Associate Chair of South Asian Studies, Yale University. Dr Raj has held research fellowships at The Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University and the University of Cambridge. She has served on the American Anthropological Association Committee of Ethics and The Ethics Task Force. Dr Raj holds a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Cambridge.

From Poppy Cultivators to Rubber Growers: The Akha and their Experiment of Opportunities along the Supply Chain Capitalism in Northern Laos

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Smallholder rubber plantation at the intersection of North-western Laos and Southern-Yunnan China was nurtured by historical trade network, cross border human mobility and ethnic interactions. Yet China's recent agrarian expansions into Laos together with Lao State's reassertion of its domination over the upland areas and population further complicated the pre-existing rubber landscape.

Newly emerged concessional-type of investment in rubber plantation evolved from cross-border exercise of poppy replacement between China and Myanmar. With the subsidies from China, the investment was introduced into Laos and backed up by Lao Government's relaxed rules. One could argue that the Poppy Alternative Development is a neoliberal-informed discursive strategy to remoralise economic gains, the materialisation of these concessions is hinged upon different market rationalities and logics and sought through "legal" and "illegal" means. In an unintended manner, large-scale Chinese invested rubber plantation brought along a wider spread of planting materials, and technique into the less accessible areas, contributing to the outburst of smallholder rubber in North-western Laos.

This study is contextualised in a climate of wide-spread land concession throughout Laos. These concessions are the spaces where the Lao State depends on external resources to develop forms of power between "legible" (Scott 2009) and profitable, and where it struggles to experiment with a kind of governing to accelerate economic transition and modernisation. However, this "space making" is also challenged as the local farmers also actively alter their physical and social landscapes by establishing their own plantation. The influx and circulation of money, goods and people rework the local social and economic life and produces new forms of sociality. Accordingly, my focus is on the social significance that generated through the interactions between the Chinese and the Lao Akha in Muang Sing and Muang Long. Significantly, the exceptional and contested space provides the Lao Akha new ways to experiment with social and economic opportunities.

It is in this sense of "space of exception" that cross-border supply chain of rubber forages a version of "good life" and taps into the rubber farmers' aspirations and hopes. By highlighting these "non-economic" factors, this examination casts new lights on how cross-border supply chain between China and Laos thrives on old connections and new claims.

Yunxia LI obtained her PhD from the Department of Anthropology, Macquarie University, Australia and her M.Phil. from the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway. Currently she is teaching in the Department of Sociology, Yunnan University of Nationalities, China. Li is interested in the anthropological research in the areas of Northern Laos, Yunnan China, economic anthropology, agrarian studies, gender and ethnic policies.

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Laavanya KATHIRAVELU is Assistant Professor at the Division of Sociology, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Her research interests includes Migration, especially within the 'Global South'; everyday diversity and multiculturalism; Urban Studies/Urban Sociology with a focus on Global Cities; Friendship and affect; Race and Ethnicity; Ethnography and visual methods.

Melody LU Chia-Wen is currently Assistant Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Macau. She holds a PhD in Anthropology and Development Sociology from Leiden University, the Netherlands. She has co-edited *Asian Cross-border Marriage Migration: Demographic Patterns and Social Issues* (Amsterdam University Press, 2010), guest-edited for the *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* (Special Issue on *Transnational Families in the South*, March 2010), and published several journal articles and book chapters on comparative migration regimes, international marriages, and ethnic return migration in East and Southeast Asia. Her current research projects include international marriages in Singapore and Malaysia, transnational mobility in the leisure industry and casino resorts in Asia, and contemporary Chinese migration to Lusophone Africa. She has worked as a research fellow at the Asia Research Institute (Asian Migration Cluster), National University of Singapore and at the International Institute for Asian Studies, the Netherlands, and taught at the University of Amsterdam and Leiden University, the Netherlands. She was an activist and worked in several Asian regional NGOs in Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Philippines on the issues of gender and development, migration and student activism.

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