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— Special Issue —

EXPERIENCING THE STATE:

Marginalized People and the Politics of Development
in Contemporary India

Guest Editors: Philippa Williams, Bhaskar Vira and Deepta Chopra

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Marginality, Agency and Power: Experiencing the State in Contemporary India

Philippa Williams,* Bhaskar Vira* and Deepta Chopra[§]

ABSTRACT

The idea of the state has shown remarkable resilience over the last couple of decades, despite assaults on it from neoliberal doctrines and the forces of globalization. During this period, the abiding presence and role of the state has been particularly evident in the contemporary political life of the Asia Pacific region. This article pays special attention to the contemporary Indian state in the context of development. It reflects upon the ways in which the state is experienced, by focusing on questions of marginality, agency and power as they intersect the politics of development. By reading the empirical insights documented within this special issue against a rich trajectory of scholarship on the Indian state, the article argues that there has been a recent qualitative change in the way in which the contemporary Congress-led UPA government has presented itself to the common person. The implementation of pro-poor and more inclusive policies has altered the discursive landscape within which state-society interactions have taken place over the last five years. Importantly, these policies have functioned to reconfigure not only the *material* interactions between the state and India's marginalized, but also the *imagined* spaces within which marginal groups renegotiate their relationships with the state.

This special issue draws together a selection of papers that were presented in a series of workshops, meetings and conferences held between 2008 and 2009 in Cambridge, UK and Madison, USA. The collection examines experiences of the state from the perspective of different marginalized people in contemporary India. It explores the ways in which processes of globalization and liberalization shape, inform and influence, and necessitate new structures of interaction between states and their citizens and in so doing provokes broader questions concerning the politics of development in Asia and the Pacific region.

The idea of the state has shown remarkable resilience over the last couple of decades, despite assaults on it from neoliberal doctrines that sought to

KEYWORDS: The state, development, politics, India, marginality

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Spaces of Opportunity: State-Oustee Relations in the Context of Conservation-Induced Displacement in Central India

Kim Beazley

ABSTRACT

This article draws from detailed fieldwork on the recent conservation-induced displacement of a Maharashtrian village in central India to contest the simplicity of conventional treatments of such displacement as a straightforward enactment of state power. Reflecting certain broader theories of power, agency and the state, the case of Botezari village presents a more nuanced reality in which state-society relations were transformed and retransformed. In the village's pre-relocation phase, a set of conducive factors came together to create a small opening which enabled a fundamental reworking of familiar state-oustee power relationships. This opening was ultimately short-lived, with spaces of oustee opportunity to direct change largely closed off in the post-relocation context. However, the villagers' memories of their pre-relocation liberating moment, and the strategic capacity, confidence and expectations honed in that moment, persisted to an extent that challenges the permanency and inevitability of displacement-induced marginalization in the conservation setting.

Introduction

"We were anxious that when we shifted the officials would desert us, and they have, but we have a right to a better life here, and we are going to pressurize them until we get it."¹

This quotation encapsulates the feeling of abandonment that residents of Botezari, a village in Maharashtra, India, experienced in the aftermath of their recent relocation from Tadoba-Andhari Tiger Reserve (TATR) in the interests of wildlife conservation. However, it also reflects some lingering oustee self-assurance; a residual belief in their ability to successfully confront the state, derived from their pre-relocation experiences. The conservation-induced displacement (C-ID) literature is dominated by bifurcated and static

KEYWORDS: Displacement; relocation; conservation; India; power; everyday state

¹ Villager, discussion group led by author, post-relocation Botezari, 3 February 2008.

Spaces for Negotiation and Mass Action Within the National Rural Health Mission: “Community Monitoring Plus” and People’s Organizations in Tribal Areas of Maharashtra, India

Brendan Donegan

ABSTRACT

The first phase of the Community-Based Monitoring of Health Services program of the National Rural Health Mission has seen involvement of civil society actors at every stage, from the formation of policy in Delhi to program implementation in villages across the country. For many of the civil society actors involved, the program presents a unique opportunity to advance their rights-based agendas from within the government system by making creative and innovative use of the spaces that the program opens. In the implementation of the program by people’s organizations in tribal areas of Maharashtra, “innovations” have been introduced that go beyond the scope of the guidelines set in Delhi; these have been dubbed “community monitoring plus.”

Drawing upon actor-network theory and recent work in the anthropology of development, this paper explores the dynamics, achievements and tensions of “community monitoring plus” through a narrative that travels the length of the policy process. The analysis describes how categories such as “state,” “civil society” and “community” are constructed within spaces of policy and practice, and examines the crucial enabling role that such constructions play in the policy process. The necessity of such constructions leads to a disconnect between policy making and implementation, so that policy makers remain ignorant of the realities of implementation practice and subordinate actors can carve out spaces for carrying out their own agendas around and against the policy framework. The implications of the analysis extend beyond the case study, as the dynamics described are also features of policy processes elsewhere.

KEYWORDS: Health, anthropology, community, civil society, state, politics

Questioning Borders: Social Movements, Political Parties and the Creation of New States in India

Louise Tillin

ABSTRACT

As the world's largest multi-ethnic democracy, India has a federal constitution that is well-equipped with administrative devices that offer apparent recognition and measures of self-governance to territorially concentrated ethnic groups. This article analyzes how demands for political autonomy—or statehood—within the federal system have been used as a frame for social movement mobilization. It focuses on the most recent states to have been created in India: Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand, which came into being in 2000. These are the first states to have been created in India on a non-linguistic basis. Their creation has triggered questions about whether the creation of more, smaller states can improve political representation and help to make the state more responsive to diverse needs in India. This article draws attention to the processes which have brought borders into question, drawing social movements and political parties into alignment about the idea of creating new states. It ultimately looks at why the creation of states as a result of such processes may not lead to more substantive forms of political and economic citizenship on the part of marginalized communities. While the focus of the analysis will be on the processes that led up to statehood, the conclusions offer some insights into why pro-poor policy shifts at the national level in India have uneven regional effects. Despite the change in national political regime in India with the election of the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance in 2004, marginalized groups in India continue to experience the state through the refractive lens of multiple regional political histories.

This article focuses on one part of the ever complex field of popular politics and resistance. It examines how, why and with what consequences some social movements in India have drawn on regional identity frames in electoral politics and demanded political autonomy in the form of statehood within the federal system. Explanations for the creation

KEYWORDS: India; statehood; movements; political parties; federalism

Policy Making in India: A Dynamic Process of Statecraft

Deeptha Chopra

ABSTRACT

This paper problematizes the concept of the state by studying its role and interactions with society in the realm of making policy. To achieve this, the case of a recently formulated social policy in India, the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), is examined. The paper provides empirical evidence of policy making as a complex and iterative process, which is mediated by a multiplicity of actors who operate in relation to each other. In tracing the formulation process of the NREGA, theoretical claims regarding the understanding of the state as an ideological construct as well as comprising of material practices are substantiated. The paper sees policy making as an act of governing, and contributes to ethnographic understandings of fuzzy and porous boundaries between the state and society that are redefined through the act of policy making. This dynamism, it is argued, results in the two-dimensional phenomenon of statecraft: how the state pursues policy making as a strategy for governing its population, and in turn, how the state itself gets reconstituted in the making of policy.

Introduction

The notion of the state as a monolithic entity, that is independent from society, has been challenged from both theoretical and ethnographic perspectives which document the ways in which the state and its political systems are constituted within a broader set of social relations.¹ In the context of India, the body of literature on the “everyday state”² has proven particularly influential in disseminating and shaping more complex and nuanced understandings of the state. This extensive body of work argues that the Indian state is not a monolithic actor,³ and that the boundaries between the


KEYWORDS: State, Policy making, Statecraft, India, Politics

¹ Bob Jessop, *State power* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008); Bob Jessop, “The State and Power,” in *Sage Handbook of Power*, eds. Stewart R. Clegg and Mark Haugaard (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2009).



² Christopher John Fuller and Veronica Benei, *The everyday state and society in modern India* (London: Hurst and Company, 2001); Akhil Gupta, “Blurred boundaries: the discourse of corruption, the culture of politics and the imagined state,” *American Ethnologist* 22 (1995): 375-402.

³ This point is reiterated by Rai (1996) in viewing the “state not as signifying a unity of structure and power ... [but] to describe a network of power relations existing in cooperation and also in tension.” Shirin M Rai, “Women and the State in the Third World: Some Issues for Debate,” in *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, eds. Shirin M. Rai and Geraldine Liesley (London: Taylor and Francis, 1996), 5.

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The Competition to Attain Justice for Past Wrongs: The “Comfort Women” Issue in Taiwan

Shogo Suzuki*

ABSTRACT

This article joins the debate on transnational campaigns for Japanese historical wrongs in the Asia-Pacific by highlighting the collective “forgetting” on the part of the victims’ society. Focusing on the Taiwanese “comfort women” issue, I argue that the “comfort women” campaign has been overshadowed by identity politics in Taiwan, and has subsequently lost ground to civil society debates about the KMT’s repressive past. In the context of democratization and a growing political movement to emphasize a Taiwanese identity, I argue that a Chinese Other has been constructed to emphasize the island’s distinctiveness from China. This, however, has entailed drawing attention to historical wrongs committed by the Nationalist Party (*Zhongguo guomindang*, or KMT) during Chiang Kai-shek’s authoritarian rule, as well as the emergence of a new historical narrative that emphasizes (relatively) benign Japanese colonial rule. This has had the unintended effect of drawing greater societal attention towards party political disputes over Taiwan’s national identity and how history should be interpreted, rather than the redress for the former “comfort women.”

Introduction

On November 16, 2009, Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd issued an apology to the “Forgotten Australians” who were victims of Britain’s child migration policy. The victims were shipped overseas, often without their parents’ consent, frequently separated from their own siblings upon arrival, and often suffered neglect and even abuse. The apology, although clearly not enough to heal the psychological wounds completely,

KEYWORDS: “comfort women”; memory; identity; Taiwan; war crimes; Japanese colonialism

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Adversaries versus Partners: Urban Water Supply in the Philippines

Kate J. Neville*

ABSTRACT

In the Philippines, skepticism about private sector participation in urban water provision became increasingly pronounced as missed service targets and regulatory battles plagued governmental relations with the two companies (Manila Water and Maynilad) granted concessions for water provision in the capital, Manila. A comparative study of these two public-private partnerships (PPPs) reveals the challenges of reconciling bureaucratic and organizational dynamics with public suspicion of the private sector. This study draws on interviews and observations with corporate and government officials, academics, journalists, non-governmental organizations and civil society members in the Philippines, almost a decade after the initial privatization.

This paper furthers our understanding of the outcomes in Manila—and PPPs more generally—by addressing the tension between credible commitment in contractual arrangements and flexibility for responding to economic and environmental shocks. It argues that adversarial interactions between the private corporations and regulators hindered the collaborative negotiations needed to respond to the currency crisis. Fear of public backlash against price increases and contract adjustments prevented the government and companies from engaging in meaningful joint problem solving.

The differential outcomes of the companies illustrate the relevance of specific contractual arrangements and leadership in determining the impact of unforeseen shocks. However, the problems experienced by both companies indicates the need—if the private sector is to equitably and efficiently provide public goods—to redesign PPPs to increase transparency and to develop true partnerships.

KEYWORDS: public-private partnerships; private sector participation; urban water; Philippines; contractual arrangements

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Daily Encounters Between Hans and Uyghurs in Xinjiang: Sinicization, Integration or Segregation?

Elena Caprioni*

ABSTRACT

In September 2009, the Information Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China claimed that Xinjiang benefits from respect and harmony between the ethnic groups. This rhetoric is faithfully propagated by national media: they uniformly praise the unity amongst the Han and Uyghurs through the common slogans of *minzu tuanjie* (ethnic unity) and *hexie guanxi* (harmonious relations). Going beyond the official documents and propaganda, my purpose is to explore the relations between these two ethnic groups. I will focus on the ideas, words and actions of Han and Uyghur young people living in Urumqi who are often under-represented in official sources, or other forms of written and scholarly discourse. While comparing their behaviour, I argue that ethnic disharmony between Hans and Uyghurs exists, but it is simplistic to blame only the Chinese government or one of the ethnic groups, and naïve to ask what China can do to solve the problem. Instead, by exploring what the social agents in the young educated society in Xinjiang truly think of ethnic relations between them and the "other," this paper presents a comprehensive picture of the issue. My ethnographic research interprets how people remember, interpret and sometimes exaggerate their ethnic traditions and cultural practices in daily life in relation to the other ethnic group. The findings demonstrate how young people are determining the course of ethnic relations by constructing movable social barriers that result in segregation between them, raising doubts about the future possibilities for ethnic harmony.

Former People's Republic of China (PRC) President Jiang Zemin's tour of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) in 1991 focused on ethnic unity and economic development. Since then, the Chinese government introduced a new policy doctrine regarding ethnic minorities, known as the *san ge libukai* (three inseparable ties). This concluded that the

KEYWORDS: Xinjiang; Hans and Uyghurs; ethnicity; everyday relations; movable social barriers

* The author wishes to thank Ildiko Beller-Hann, Julian Campisi, Pitman B. Potter, Sophia Woodman and *Pacific Affairs* reviewers for valuable comments and suggestions made on earlier drafts.

Land Rights in Cambodia: How Neopatrimonial Politics Restricts Land Policy Reform

Kheang Un and Sokbunthoeun So¹

ABSTRACT

Cambodia has undergone substantial changes since the United Nations' sponsored election in 1993. Politically, the country has become increasingly stable under the domination of the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP). Economically, Cambodia has achieved an unprecedented level of economic performance, with GDP growth averaging almost 10 percent annually during the five years preceding the current economic crisis. In spite of these improvements in political and economic conditions, land rights have emerged as a major issue affecting the lives of many poor Cambodians. Comprehensive overall analysis of land policy reforms in the country remains lacking, however, and this article fills a void in the existing literature. Our analysis shows that despite land policy reforms in the past decade, Cambodia's land rights problems continue unabated. What accounts for this development? Through analysis of government land policies, an array of primary documents, and interview data from government officials and investors, this article questions the relevance of Cambodia's land policy reforms. Its central premise is that although past collectivization and weak governmental institutions have contributed to land rights issues, it is neopatrimonialism—a mechanism that dictates political interaction among the elites and between the elites and the electorate and resources governance and distribution—that perpetuates land rights problems and limits land policy reform.

Introduction

The rapid rise in land value that has accompanied increased demand for land for agro-industrial and real-estate development following Cambodia's economic liberalization in the late 1980s has produced numerous conflicts over land rights. Many poor people have lost their land rights to powerful individuals who manipulated legal instruments and exerted patronage to support their claims. Since most Cambodians reside in rural

KEYWORDS: land rights; land policy reforms; neopatrimonialism, Cambodia

¹ We would like to thank Judy Ledgerwood, Stephen McCarthy, Kenton Clymer and the editors and anonymous reviewers of *Pacific Affairs* for their many helpful suggestions for revision and improvement.

What is going on in India's “red corridor”? Questions about India's Maoist insurgency

— *Literature Review* —

John Harriss


ABSTRACT

Drawing on the small number of recent ethnographic studies, on reports by human rights activists, and on some reports by journalists, this paper explores reasons for the strength of the Maoist insurgency across the “red corridor”: a large tract of India, from the border with Nepal through to the south. It finds that while the “feasibility thesis,” as developed by Fearon and Laitin in particular, amongst recent general theorists of the determinants of civil war and insurgency, has explanatory power, there is also evidence of the significance of “grievance,” especially amongst the tribal people of central India. The Maoists have certainly not always been the drivers of resistance to the many cases of realized or attempted dispossession across the region, but they seem to be sympathetic to movements of resistance, and often to articulate grievances against the state, both for what it has done (encouraging expropriation for mining, infrastructural and industrial projects) and for what it has not done (in the supply of basic services). The alternative “greed” hypothesis is found to be less strongly supported, though rents from the rich mineral and forest resources of central India do play a part in the story. The Maoists support people's aspirations but their supportive moves can be in contradiction with their broader strategic ambitions—of taking over state power—and the spiral of violence that often follows can end up betraying those whom they claim to support.




The early months of 2010 in India were marked by a whole series of serious attacks on security forces by groups of Maoist (or Naxalite, as they are sometimes still described) insurgents. In February, 24 members of the security forces were killed in an attack on a camp at Silda in West Bengal; on 4 April the BBC reported that “Suspected Maoist rebels have killed at least ten policemen in a landmine attack in the eastern state of Orissa”; just two days later 76 paramilitaries of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) were killed in a major attack in the Chhattisgarh district of Dantewada; on 17 May in the same district a mine detonated under a bus

KEYWORDS: Indian Maoism; insurgency; guerilla movements; rural protest; dispossession

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Becoming Urban: Periurban Dynamics in Vietnam and China — Introduction

John Friedmann

ABSTRACT

The new urbanization in Vietnam and China, a result of the opening of their economies to the world, the consequent relaxation of central planning, and the sweeping reforms that have had a transforming effect on these countries, has focused attention on the encounters of an ever-expanding urban with the densely populated rural zones—the periurban—that surround large cities in the region. The effects of horizontal expansion on property rights, land use, occupations, social interaction and the physical environment have been ongoing for between 20 and 30 years and have been profound. Some of them are the object of the four case studies that provide the empirical substance of this special issue.

The research reported here was not part of a larger project. It brings together four studies that happened to address interesting aspects of the encounter between urban and rural in two neighbouring countries with socialist regimes that are on the same development trajectory. We do not claim to make vast generalizations, but note the specificities of each case as worthwhile in their own right.

In her case study of a village on the outskirts of Hanoi, Labbé provides a micro-history that focuses on resistance/negotiations as villagers defend their territory against the encroaching city. Harms, an anthropologist, looks at how city and countryside are discussed in everyday speech by the inhabitants of a village on the outskirts of Ho Chi Minh City, where urban and rural are understood symbolically as “inside” and “outside” and are conceived as standing in a dialectical relationship. Shieh’s study of a suburban village of Nanjing concerns the new forms of governance that are experienced as the village becomes progressively integrated with the city. Finally, Abramson and Qi report on the reconstruction of ethnic villages on the far periphery of Chengdu, capital of Sichuan Province, that were devastated by the 2008 earthquake, and are now being rebuilt as potential tourist destinations for Chengdu residents. A concluding chapter by Leaf comments on all four case studies, drawing wider comparisons to the urbanization experience in East and Southeast Asia.

KEYWORDS: urbanization, urban-rural relations, periurban dynamics, state interventions

Urban Destruction and Land Disputes in Periurban Hanoi During the Late-Socialist Period

Danielle Labbé*

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the recent rise in land disputes in the rapidly urbanizing outskirts of Hanoi. It presents emerging social conflicts as resulting from a clash between the rules and practices of urbanization as devised and regulated locally by periurban people and the territorialization projects that municipal authorities and land developers try to impose on them. At the heart of these conflicts are expropriations of large tracts of periurban land by state-backed developers and the reforms of local institutions that facilitate this process. Using the case of a village recently annexed to the city, this paper examines how local people resort to contentious politics to resist this urban encroachment. The paper finds that groups of elderly villagers assumed a leading role in crafting and deploying acts and discourses of resistance, relying on state-promoted values to support their claim. It further suggests that, while periurban villagers acknowledge the necessity of integrating their locality into Hanoi's urban fabric and governance system, they rise up when this process threatens moral relationships inherited from the prerevolutionary and collectivization periods.

KEYWORDS: periurban, land politics, popular resistance, Hanoi, Vietnam

Introduction

It is hardly novel to say that Vietnamese cities have experienced considerable growth since the *đổi mới*.¹ What is less well known is how the process of urban expansion has led to a surge in social conflicts. Since the late 1990s, overt and occasionally violent disputes between local

* This research benefited from financial and logistical support from a graduate scholarship of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council and from the research projects "The Challenge of the Agrarian Transition in Southeast Asia" and "Informality and Governance in Peri-Urban South-East Asia." I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the team of researchers at the Institute of Sociology of the Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences in the process of data collection and analysis. I also thank the residents and authorities of the village of Hòa Mực and commune of Trung Hòa for their kind cooperation in this project. Last but not least I am grateful for comments on earlier drafts by Michael Leaf, Sarah Turner, Clément Musil, Jim Delaney and two anonymous referees.

¹ The *đổi mới* (literally, "renewal") refers to a set of reforms launched by the Vietnamese party-state starting in the 1980s, that have led to a greater reliance on market mechanisms and material

Material Symbolism on Saigon's Edge: The Political-Economic and Symbolic Transformation of Hồ Chí Minh City's Periurban Zones

Erik Harms*

ABSTRACT

Cities and their fringes are both symbolic and material, imbued with subjective meanings as well as objective physical attributes. In this paper, I show how the physical and social transformation of periurban space in Hồ Chí Minh City emerges from and also contributes to a dynamic interaction between symbolic understandings of space as well as material, political economic forces that transform space in concrete ways. On the symbolic level, I show how conceptions of “inside” versus “outside” as well as rural versus urban play into Vietnamese meaning systems that lend a sense of conceptual order and coherence to the larger organization of urban space. In rapidly urbanizing contexts like Hồ Chí Minh City, the periurban fringe is dynamic and ever-changing, and the political-economic forces of real-estate speculation, city planning and infrastructure development interact with Vietnamese notions of what an ideal city might look like. This paper shows how periurban spaces in different parts of Hồ Chí Minh City can best be understood as spaces of “material symbolism,” places where the material attributes of space, the political economy of development, and the symbolic meaning attributed to space all restructure each other in dialectical fashion. Just as symbolic meanings frame how residents perceive these emergent spaces, these same spaces also transform the symbolic meaning of Vietnamese cities.

KEYWORDS: Vietnam, Saigon, Hồ Chí Minh City, space, periurban

* The author wishes to thank John Friedmann for initiating this project and for his careful editorial work throughout the process, as well as three anonymous reviewers who provided detailed and exceedingly useful feedback on this piece. Research for this paper was funded by a Fulbright-Hays dissertation research grant, as well as the graduate school at Cornell University.

Becoming Urban: Rural-Urban Integration in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province

Leslie Shieh*

ABSTRACT

By investigating the transformation of Nanjing's suburban countryside, this paper examines the relationship between the city and its immediate periphery and the political underpinnings of rural-urban integration. It traces the changing status of a suburban village over the last half century from a vegetable-producing collective to a remnant rural settlement in a predominantly urban landscape. Its evolution brings to light the condition of a protracted, incremental and still incomplete urbanization. "Becoming urban" is more complex than the measurable shifts to nonagricultural activities and the urban household registration. This paper discusses how the transition has been shaped by changing national policies on rural-urban relations and local development pressures and demands on rural resources.

KEYWORDS: urbanization, suburban village, rural-urban relations, China

Introduction

Periurbanization describes the process on the urban fringe where local economy, employment structure and land use are shifting from agriculture to manufacturing, and where urban culture is changing traditional ways of life.¹ In this indeterminate process, village communities that face the encroachment of the city live in great uncertainty over a long period of time. To better capture the shifts that occur and their impact on communities in the process of "becoming urban," this paper traces the changing status of a village located in the inner periurban zone immediately adjacent to the urban core in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province. Without farmland,

* *Acknowledgements:* I am grateful to the residents, villagers' and residents' committee members, and local bureau officials who took the time to share their experiences. I also acknowledge the Institute of International Research at the Hopkins-Nanjing Center for sponsoring my stay in Nanjing. I thank John Friedmann, Michael Leaf, Francis Owusu and the anonymous reviewers for their comments on earlier drafts.

¹ Terry G. McGee, "The Emergence of Desakota Regions in Asia: Expanding a Hypothesis," in *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia*, eds. N. Ginsburg, B. Koppel and T.G. McGee (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 3-26; Douglas Webster, "On the Edge: Shaping the Future of Peri-urban East Asia," Discussion Paper (Stanford: Asia-Pacific Research Centre, 2002).

“Urban-Rural Integration” in the Earthquake Zone: Sichuan’s Post-Disaster Reconstruction and the Expansion of the Chengdu Metropole

Daniel Abramson and Yu Qi

ABSTRACT

One of the more recent movements in China’s policy for periurban planning and development is the pursuit of “town and country integration” (*cheng xiang yi ti hua*). The officially reframed approach to planning suggests possibilities for the official reconsideration of developmental practice, but entrenched conditions of governance, land, environmental and developmental policy, and the planning profession itself constrain these possibilities. Perhaps no other context in China illustrates these constraints more dramatically than the reconstruction effort underway in Sichuan following the earthquake of May 12, 2008. Cultural, environmental and economic differences among settlements in the earthquake zone vary widely, and local and national leaders frequently mention the opportunity the recovery presents for innovative and sustainable development, but the “cataclysmic” nature of reconstruction investment, and the extremely rapid and construction-dominated approach to recovery has prevented planners from considering local conditions or alternative approaches. If the official earthquake response has served to propel urbanization along pre-existing trajectories, local geographical, historical and cultural conditions nevertheless assert themselves, even if informally. The uniquely dense, dispersed and agriculturally productive Chengdu Plain has already shaped a national discourse on urban-rural relations. The expansion of Chengdu’s urban region into the narrow valleys and minority ethnic settlements across the Longmen Mountains presents new and unpredictable challenges for considering how city and country are related.

KEYWORDS: disaster recovery, Wenchuan Earthquake, China, villager urbanization

Introduction

There is no term in Chinese that exactly translates as “periurban” in the sense that this volume attempts to articulate the phenomenon. *Chengshi bianyuan didai* (“zone at the urban edge”) is the literal

Periurban Asia: A Commentary on “Becoming Urban”

Michael Leaf

ABSTRACT

This commentary on the papers collected in this special issue identifies certain recurring themes from the papers and examines these in light of the urban transitions now being experienced by Vietnam and China, as elsewhere in Asia. These include: tensions in state-society relations as expressed in processes of periurbanization; the effects of the expansion of market relations in land and urban development; the persistence of the discursive categories traditional and modern in the analysis of periurbanization; and a consideration of what the periurban might imply vis-à-vis conventional notions of urban and rural, now and into the future. This discussion of recurring themes from the papers is prefaced by some reflections on how our choices of terminology may influence our theoretical understanding of a situation, event or condition. The specific question here is what is the difference between periurbanization and suburbanization, and it is argued that the distinction between the two may derive more from who is using the terms and the contexts within which they are situated than from specific denotative meanings of the words.


KEYWORDS: periurban, periurbanization, Asian urban transitions, comparative analysis

Why Periurban?

Words make a difference. The specific terms employed when describing or analyzing a situation can influence theoretical development if they function as referents to specific literatures or provide links to other streams of analysis, other cases, other situations. Before turning to the four papers here, which present and analyze the situations in various periurban settings in China and Vietnam, it is useful to first consider in some detail the meaning and use of the word “periurban.”

It is curious to me how this word has come into use in recent years, particularly in the academic literature on what previously was referred to as “Third World urbanization” or otherwise in reference to processes of urban change and growth in the erstwhile “developing countries” of the world today. With one exception, no definitions of the word were found in the

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Pacific Affairs

is delighted to announce the ninth

William L. Holland Prize

for the best article published in Volume 83 (2010)
has been awarded to:

Erin Chung

for her article published in vol. 83, no. 4,

“Workers or Residents? Diverging Patterns of Immigrant Incorporation in Korea and Japan”

In this year’s Holland Prize winning article, Erin Chung analyses immigrant incorporation policy variances in South Korea and Japan using a range of sources. She shows how long-term civil society strategies and tactics created a foundation for current incorporation programs that predates the more recent policy recognition of the issue. Highlighting the value of comparative analysis and historical perspective, the article provides new insights on the study of migration, citizenship, incorporation, and belonging not just in the two countries compared, but for the larger Asia and Pacific.



ERIN AERAN CHUNG is the Charles D. Miller Assistant Professor of East Asian Politics and Co-Director of the Racism, Immigration, and Citizenship Program in the Department of Political Science at the Johns Hopkins University. She is the author of *Immigration and Citizenship in Japan* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Pacific Affairs is proud to recognize this article and its author. The award honours the memory of William L. Holland’s dedication to in-depth, engaged, and engaging scholarship

The article may be viewed at our website: www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca

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REVIEW ESSAY

An Overdue Agenda: Systematizing East Asian Peri-Urban Research

Douglas Webster¹

ABSTRACT

Peri-urbanization in East Asia, the complex and “messy” process whereby new urban land is created on the periphery of cities, is still poorly understood. Professor Douglas Webster’s review indicates that research on the phenomenon is highly fragmented among land use change detection analysts, sustainability scholars, institutional experts and community oriented scholars; the result is that fast-paced change on the ground driven by accelerating economic structural change in East Asia is outpacing our understanding of the dynamic.

KEY WORDS: peri-urban, East Asia, land use, urban transition, rural transition, urban periphery

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5509/2011844631>

Leading off the September 2011 special issue of *Pacific Affairs* on peri-urbanization in China and Vietnam, John Friedmann argues, “a general theory of the periurban ... escapes us”; “the best we can do is to provide ‘thick’ descriptive accounts of the events that transform these places.” I agree with Friedmann on both counts. The environmental, economic and social importance of the phenomenon is undisputed, as is its scale: 200 million people will be added to peri-urban areas in East Asia between 2002 and 2027.³ Despite the importance of this dynamic, the dearth and lack of systematization of academic research and literature on the topic is striking. So is lack of funding to scholarly work attempting to understand the process, with the possible exception of satellite imagery-based land

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² John Friedmann, “Introduction: Becoming Urban: Periurban Dynamics in Vietnam and China,” *Pacific Affairs* 84, no. 3 (2011): 425-34.

³ Douglas Webster, “On the Edge: Shaping the Future of Peri-Urban East Asia,” Discussion Paper (Stanford: Asia-Pacific Research Centre, 2002).

Democratizing Hong Kong: Functional Representation and Politics of Institutional Change

Baohui Zhang

ABSTRACT

The system of functional representation constitutes the greatest challenge to political reform in Hong Kong. Utilizing recent developments in institutional and ideational theories in political science, this article explores how both power and ideas shape the politics of reforming functional representation. The impasse generated by the current balance of power has given rise to a plethora of ideas that seek to reform the system while preserving its place in the political process. However, recent direct negotiations between Beijing and moderate democrats in Hong Kong have triggered a significant political realignment. This shift in the political balance of power has generated new scenarios for the reform of functional representation.

KEY WORDS: Hong Kong, democratization, functional representation, One Country, Two Systems, institutional reform

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5509/2011844643>

The process of democratization fundamentally concerns institutional transformations of undemocratic states. As Jean Grugel argues, institutional reform of undemocratic states “constitutes a *sine qua non* of democratization.”¹ As she points out, “If heads of government are unelected or the elections are unfree or seriously corrupt, for example, or if political parties are not independent of the state, then it is impossible to argue that democratization has even begun.”² As a consequence, the central research issues for transition studies, which emerged during the “Third Wave” of democratization, concern the replacement of undemocratic state institutions with democratic ones. In fact, as seen by leading transition scholars such as Giuseppe Di Palma, democratization is essentially the process of “crafting” these new institutions.³

¹ Jean Grugel, *Democratization: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 70.

² Grugel, *Democratization*, 70.

³ Giuseppe Di Palma, *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). For a representative study on political transitions, see Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions from Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Creating Cadres: Mobilization, Activism and the Youth Wing of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, PAS

Joseph Chinyong Liow*

ABSTRACT

Since the 1999 general elections, when it emerged with the most impressive performance in Malaysian political history, the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, or PAS, has elicited significant scholarly attention. This has resulted in the production of a wealth of information about the party's origins and evolution. Yet, while most observers of Malaysian politics note that, next to UMNO, PAS is the most organized and well-resourced political party in the country, there remains a dearth of knowledge about the internal workings of PAS, and specifically, how the party developed, maintained and mobilizes its impressive machinery. This paper aims to unpack the puzzle of the nature of PAS's mobilization by studying the party's youth wing (also known as PAS Youth). Through the conceptual framework of resource mobilization theory and a detailed study of milestone events in the party's recent history, the paper argues that the youth wing has played a pivotal role in defining the party's identity as well as its political triumphs. At the same time, however, its integral role within PAS has meant that the challenges confronting the parent party have undoubtedly rebounded upon them as well.

KEYWORDS: Malaysia, PAS, PAS Youth, Social Movement Theory, Youth Mobilization, Dakwah

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Introduction

Hitherto derided by pundits and the media as a rural “backwater” Islamic fundamentalist party with limited appeal, the political fortunes of the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party, or PAS, have been on the rise over the past decade even as it moderates its Islamist character. Yet while the story of PAS's evolution has attracted extensive scholarly attention

* The author would like to thank Afif Pasuni and Mohammad Redzuan for research assistance, Fadli Ghani for sharing his knowledge, and the numerous members and leaders of PAS Youth and PAS Pusat (central) for sharing their time and views.

Applying a Gift-exchange Perspective to Effective Volunteering in Papua New Guinea

Anne Abraham and Murray Millar

ABSTRACT

This article examines the differing meanings of volunteering that underlie the management of volunteers in diverse cultural contexts by analyzing a case study of an Australian non-government organization (NGO) working in Papua New Guinea (PNG), where local volunteers are engaged in a number of its programs. The results indicate that gift-exchange theory may be a fundamental influence shaping attitudes towards volunteering by PNG nationals. This has led to the development of a gift-exchange model to assist other Western-based NGOs to manage formal volunteering in Pacific nations in a way that is both effective and culturally appropriate.

KEYWORDS: gift-exchange, non-government organizations, Melanesia, volunteering, Papua New Guinea

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5509/2011844687>

Introduction

This paper examines the differing meanings of volunteering that underlie the management of volunteers in diverse cultural contexts by analyzing a case study of an Australian non-government organization (NGO) working in Papua New Guinea (PNG), where local volunteers are engaged in a number of its programs. From this, a culturally appropriate model, based on indigenous notions of reciprocity, is developed. The intention of this model is to assist foreign directors of NGOs to appreciate the cultural background of local volunteers and thus to adjust practices to better fit those of the communities in which they are working.

Volunteering is a significant component of a society's well-being and is often identified as an alternative source of social capital formation.¹

¹ Inmaculada García-Mainar and Carmen Marcuello, "Members, Volunteers, and Donors in Nonprofit Organizations in Spain," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (2007): 100-120; Jonathan Isham, Jane Kolodinsky and Garret Kimberly, "The Effects of Volunteering for Nonprofit Organizations on Social Capital Formation: Evidence from a Statewide Survey," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2006): 367-383; Jenny Onyx and Rosemary Leonard, "Women, Volunteering

Is Malaysia Facing Negative Deindustrialization?

Rajah Rasiah¹

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to examine whether Malaysia is facing negative deindustrialization by examining value-added, trade and productivity trends over the period 1990-2005. The evidence produced in the paper is concrete enough to confirm that Malaysia is facing negative deindustrialization. While it is typical, as part of the process of structural change, to see a rise and fall in the share occupied by manufacturing in the GDP, the evidence shows that Malaysia is indeed facing premature deindustrialization with a trend slowdown in manufacturing value-added, trade performance and productivity since 2000. Not only has the trade performance of manufacturing been falling, manufacturing labour productivity has also slowed down, with the key sectors such as electric-electronics, textiles and transport equipment showing either negative or low productivity growth since 2000. Malaysian industrial policies have been fairly successful in connecting with the global value chains of multinationals and in developing resource-based industries, but have not achieved the same success in stimulating their transformation to high value-added activities. The lack of effective institutional change, partly explained by ethnic policies, is advanced as the prime reason for the setting in of negative deindustrialization in Malaysia.

KEYWORDS: Malaysia, manufacturing, trade, productivity, deindustrialization

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5509/2011844715>


Introduction

Galvanized by the launching of export processing zones, from 1972 onwards the manufacturing sector grew rapidly to become an increasingly important contributor to Malaysia's GDP until 2000.² In the 1970s, giant multinational corporations from the developed economies helped make Malaysia a major exporter of electric-electronics goods and, since the 1980s, also from Asia's four little tigers (i.e., Hong Kong, the Republic of Korea, Singapore and Taiwan). The textile and clothing industries were also important contributors to manufactured export


¹ Funding from the University of Malaya Research Grant (UMRG), and comments from Jeffrey Henderson and Suresh Narayanan, and two anonymous referees of the journal are gratefully acknowledged; the usual disclaimer applies.

² See Malaysia, *Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991-1996* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printers, 1991).



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