

***Beyond the State's Reach:
Casino Spaces as Enclaves of Development or Lawlessness?***

21-23 August 2015, Siem Reap, Cambodia

PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, 21 AUGUST 2015	
8:00 – 9:00	REGISTRATION
9:00 – 9:30	WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS KRISNA UK, Director of Center for Khmer Studies PHILIPPE PEYCAM, Director of IIAS TAK-WING NGO (University of Macau)
9:30 – 12:30	PANEL 1 THE “ASIAN CASINO SPACE”: AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR DEVELOPMENT? CHAIRPERSON & DISCUSSANT PÁL NYÍRI (VU Amsterdam)
9:30 – 9:50	JAMES A. WARREN , Mahidol University International College <i>Historical Perspectives from Thailand on the Contemporary Asian Casino</i>
9:50 – 10:10	LEE KAH WEE (National University of Singapore) <i>The “Las Vegas Model” and its Mutations in Macau and Singapore</i>
10:10 – 10:45	Questions and Answers
10:45 – 11:15	COFFEE BREAK
11:15 – 11:35	SHEYLA S. ZANDONAI (Laboratoire Architecture Anthropologie, Paris) <i>The Colonization of Space: Casino Sprawl and the Intimacy of City Life in Macau</i>
11:35 – 11:55	KEARRIN SIMS (University of Western Sydney) <i>Gambling on the Future: Casino Enclaves and the Making of a Modern Laos</i>
11:55 – 12:30	Questions and Answers
12:30 – 14:30	LUNCH BREAK
14:30 – 18:00	PANEL 2 GOVERNING THE GAMBLING INDUSTRY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, CHINA, AND BEYOND CHAIRPERSON & DISCUSSANT LEE KAH WEE (National University of Singapore) & BRENDA S.A. YEOH (National University of Singapore)
14:30 – 14:50	KAMALINI RAMDAS (National University of Singapore) <i>From Cosmopolitan Centre to Heartlands: The Other Face of Singapore's Casinos</i>
14:50 – 15:10	JUAN ZHANG (University of New England, Armidale, Australia) <i>The State of Fun: Casinos and Experiential Capitalism in Singapore</i>
15:10 – 15:45	Questions & Answers
15:45 – 16:15	COFFEE BREAK
16:15 – 16:35	THANYATHIP SRIPANA (Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok) <i>Casinos and Threat to Social Stability</i>
16:35 – 16:55	ERIN LIN (Princeton University) <i>The Socio-Economic Impact of Casinos in Rural Cambodia</i>
16:55 – 17:30	Questions & Answers
17:30	END OF DAY ONE
19:30	Conference dinner (for speakers, chairpersons and invited guests only)

PROGRAMME

SATURDAY, 22 AUGUST 2015	
8:30 – 9:00	REGISTRATION
9:00 – 12:30	PANEL 3 BLURRING BOUNDARIES: THE LEGAL GREY AREA OF CASINO-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT AND ITS ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS
	CHAIRPERSONS & DISCUSSANTS DANIELLE TAN (IAO-ENS Lyon) and PEPPINO ORTOLEVA (University of Turin)
9:00 – 9:20	TIM SIMPSON (University of Macau) <i>Non-State Actors, Informal Networks, and Resurgent Medievalism in Macau's Casino Industry</i>
9:20 – 9:40	PETCHARAT LOVICHAKORNTIKUL (School of Management, Shinawatra University, Thailand) <i>Casino Resorts as Micro-Para-Statal Areas in the GMSR: Connectivity and Economic Development</i>
9:40 – 10:15	Questions and Answers
10:15 – 10:45	COFFEE BREAK
10:45 – 11:05	MELODY CHIA-WEN LU (University of Macau) <i>Regulatory Regimes and Transnational Labour Brokering in a Grey Casino Space</i>
11:05 – 11:25	TERI SHAFFER YAMADA (California State University Long Beach) <i>The NagaWorld Casino in Phnom Penh: The Ideology of Unmitigated Development and its Ethical Implications</i>
11:25 – 12:00	Questions and Answers
12:00 – 14:00	LUNCH BREAK
14:00 – 15:00	WRAP-UP SESSION
15:00 – 15:30	COFFEE BREAK
15:30 – 17:30	ROUNDTABLE - RESHAPING ASIAN STUDIES
	CHAIRPERSONS PHILIPPE PEYCAM (IIAS) and THONGCHAI WINICHAKUL (University of Wisconsin–Madison)
17:30	END OF DAY TWO
19:30	Conference dinner (for speakers, chairpersons and invited guests only)
SUNDAY, 23 AUGUST 2015	
DAY-FIELD TRIP TO A BORDER TOWN CASINO (POIPET)	

PRESENTATIONS

PANEL 1

THE “ASIAN CASINO SPACE”: AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL FOR DEVELOPMENT?

Historical Perspectives from Thailand on the Contemporary Asian Casino

JAMES A. WARREN

Mahidol University International College (MUIC)

james.war@mahidol.ac.th

While the modern casino originated in Europe in the nineteenth century, gambling houses, in which mostly Chinese games were played but which catered to indigenous peoples and immigrants alike, could be found throughout Southeast Asia during the same period. These were operated, usually by Chinese entrepreneurs, as tax farms and provided both independent and colonial states in the region with crucial revenue for state building, before being abolished in the early twentieth century. Moreover, in the late 1930s, the Thai government of Luang Phibun Songkhram established state-run, Western-style casinos as a means of promoting economic development and tourism. Although this initiative was short-lived, it might now be considered to have been ahead of its time. Focusing on Thailand, this paper will compare these gambling houses and casinos with their Western counterparts in order to examine to what extent they are the forerunners to the present-day integrated casino resorts located in the region. Drawing on a variety of sources including travelogues, newspapers and memoirs, it will also explore how members of the Thai elite and intelligentsia imagined these different gambling spaces and understood the relationships between them. This paper will thereby offer some historical perspectives on the question of whether the Asian casino represents an alternative model for development by uncovering its Thai antecedents.

James A. WARREN holds a PhD in History from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, and is currently a Lecturer in the Social Science Division of Mahidol University International College (MUIC), Thailand. Before joining MUIC in 2011, he was a Postdoctoral Fellow in the History Department of the National University of Singapore (NUS) from 2008 to 2010. Specializing in the social and economic history of modern Thailand, his current research project examines the history of alcohol consumption and production in the kingdom. He is the author of *Gambling, the State and Society in Thailand, c.1800-1945* (2013).

The “Las Vegas Model” and its Mutations in Macau and Singapore

LEE KAH WEE

Department of Architecture, National University of Singapore

leekahwee@nus.edu.sg

Within the social sciences, scholars who have studied the Las Vegas casino tend to focus on its spectacular façade and thematic narratives as the clearest expression of hyper-consumerism and mainstream American culture. This ignores the role of the design profession and its changing relationship with the casino industry as well as the distinctiveness of the “Las Vegas model” as a highly rationalized and replicable architectural type. In this paper, I trace the emergence of this

model by examining the plans of casino-resorts built between 1950s and 80s. I contextualize this architectural development within a quantitative turn of the industry, when digitization and corporatization produced an “avalanche of printed numbers” (Hacking, 1990) that agitated against the spectre of chance and suspicion of criminality. The architectural typology that emerged is distinguished by an organizing core made up of the porte cochere, casino and hotel lobby as an indivisible unit. Around this core, component parts like the theatre and mall can be arranged to 1. produce a strong centre where the casino is; and 2. create an interiorized world where the arrangement of spaces reflects a hierarchy of profitability. Finally, I compare this model with recent casino developments in Macau and Singapore. While there are clear examples of reproduction and rescaling, there are also significant deviations. I suggest that geopolitics, spatial constraints and cultural attitudes towards gambling are the key frames that explain these deviations.

LEE Kah Wee is Assistant Professor at National University of Singapore, Department of Architecture, where he teaches history and theory of urban planning. His doctoral dissertation, “Las Vegas in Singapore”, submitted in 2012 at UC Berkeley, is a history of the control of vice in Singapore. In 2014, he was Visiting Fellow-in-Residence at Yale University on a Chiang Ching Kuo Junior Scholar Grant. His work on the politics of urban planning and casino development has been published in the *Geoforum*, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *Environment and Planning A and C*, and the *University of Las Vegas Centre for Gaming Research*.

The Colonization of Space: Casino Sprawl and the Intimacy of City Life in Macau

SHEYLA S. ZANDONAI

Laboratoire Architecture Anthropologie (LAA), Paris
sheylazandonai@gmail.com

In 2002, gambling liberalization (liberalização do jogo, 賭權開放) in Macau changed the profile of an activity with more than a century of history in the city. This most recent chapter, of transnational connections and foreign capital, tied to the ever-expanding global economy of tourism and expenditure, is also one of political reintegration in which Macau’s gambling ‘exception’ has been incorporated into China’s map of post-developmental geographies. Since 2006, Macau became the world’s richest gambling platform. Underlying the city’s move from a dragging and morose economy in the turn of the 21st century to a place that tops today many of the developed world’s GDP per capita, liberalization fostered a casino economy that has produced a swift, and arguably violent transformation of the social and spatial experiences of place. In this paper, I analyse the impact of casino spaces over *non-casino* spaces. Triggering a general increase in property prices, the liberalization has produced casino-led sprawls that sucked economic diversity and the livelihood of small and medium enterprises, largely affecting the sociality of place and the intimacy of city life. While enabling operations of gentrification and tourism densification, casino development has emptied parts of the city from their prior social, commercial, and symbolic functions. I argue that the ways in which the casino economy has occupied land and space in Macau suggest that economic forces are shaping place through contested struggles, disrupting the idea of development the political economy of gambling might have originally espoused.

Sheyla ZANDONAI Sheyla S. ZANDONAI holds a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology (2013) from the École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), France. Since June 2014, she is Research Associate at the Laboratoire Architecture Anthropologie (LAA), École Nationale Supérieure d’Architecture de Paris La Villette. After holding a Postdoctoral Fellow position in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the

University of Macau, China (2014), she temporarily joined Trent University (Canada) as a Lecturer of Ethnography in 2015. Sheyla Zandonai has conducted extensive fieldwork in Macau during her doctoral and postdoctoral studies. Her current research examines the relationships between urban renewal, neoliberalism, the political economy of gambling and tourism, and the emergence of practices and discourses of heritage in Macau.

Gambling on the Future: Casino Enclaves and the Making of a Modern Laos

KEARRIN SIMS
University of Western Sydney
k.sims@uws.edu.au

The growth of neoliberal capitalism has produced an increasingly volatile global economy that displays concomitant patterns of expansion and contraction. One consequence of this instability has been an increase in the number of incentives offered by national governments to ‘ground’ speculative capital flows within their territorial borders. Such state entrepreneurialism has been particularly strong within Southeast Asia, and is nowhere more evident than in the region’s growing number of special economic zones. In this paper I examine one specific form of investment that is becoming increasingly prolific within these zones, namely, casinos. Following the extraordinary wealth that has been generated by casinos within cities such as Macau and Singapore, both private-sector investors and national governments have promoted gambling enclaves as a means to fast-track economic growth. However, not all casinos have lived up to their expectations. With a primary focus on two casino towns in northern Laos, this paper seeks to highlight the place-based specificities of Southeast Asia’s casinos and the manner in which these sites of ‘variegated sovereignty’ have reconfigured the livelihoods and socio-cultural practices of local residents. Here, I argue that Laos’ northern casinos cannot be understood without appreciating both the manner in which the Government of Laos has used these investments to expand state power and the transnational vice economies in which these casinos are embedded. Drawing these two themes together, I question the viability of Laos’ casino towns as a model for sustained economic growth and poverty alleviation.

Trained in sociology and international relations, **Kearrin’s** current research draws on recent work in human geography, sociology, development studies, urban theory, human rights and global studies. His primary research interests include: (1) the socio-economic ‘rise’ of Asia and growing transnational interconnectivities within the region, (2) the geopolitics of international development and the emergence of ‘new’ non-Western bilateral and multilateral aid flows, (3) community transformations and social upheavals brought about by development interventions and rapid socio-economic change, and (4) alternative pathways for sustainable development and community wellbeing. Kearrin completed his PhD in 2015 and the majority of his work to date has focused on mainland Southeast Asia, Chinese aid and investment, and the least developed country of Laos. More information on his research and publications can be found on his personal website at www.laophd.com or at <http://uws.academia.edu/KearrinSims>

PANEL 2

GOVERNING THE GAMBLING INDUSTRY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, CHINA, AND BEYOND

From Cosmopolitan Centre to Heartlands: The Other Face of Singapore's Casinos

Kamalini Ramdas, Joanna Hioe and Brenda S.A. Yeoh
National University of Singapore
geokr@nus.edu.sg

The Integrated Resorts (IRs), Marina Bay Sands and Resorts World Sentosa, that house Singapore's casinos are expected to cement Singapore's status as global tourism capital and provide greater employment opportunities for Singaporeans. These benefits were seen to outweigh the social ills that gambling potentially presented and the motion to allow the IRs was passed in parliament in 2005, making them a permanent part of Singapore's urban skyline. Using Aihwa Ong's (2008) 'biopolitical assemblages', the paper approaches casino spaces and their associated economies as a constantly mutating 'experimental assemblage' that pivot on the logics of making exception. By invoking exceptions, the Singapore state hovers between neoliberal reasoning favouring economic growth and biopolitical control to safeguard its population. These mutating spaces of assemblage comprise state and non-state organisations that must balance economic interests whilst minimising ethico-moral challenges to society. The Money Lenders Act (2008) that licenses and governs Money Lenders and Pawn Brokers is one strategy to keep clean the negative image of spill-over industries associated with casinos. However, in spite of these efforts we argue there is an unstable configuration of economic benefits and social costs that connect the casinos in the cosmopolitan 'centre' and their spillage into the 'heartlands'. By studying the unintended mushrooming of moneylending and pawn broking shops in Singapore's residential estates and the emerging spaces of non-governmental organisations who work with problem gamblers, this paper shows how state and non-state entities become part of the assemblage that enables the space of the casinos in Singapore to continue functioning as exception.

Kamalini RAMDAS is a Lecturer in Geography at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, National University of Singapore (NUS). She obtained her PhD in Geography from NUS in May 2013. Her PhD research topic on singlehood amongst Singaporean Indian women based in Singapore, London and Melbourne uses a feminist ethics of care to critique the biopolitics of transnational familyhood and community. Kamalini has published in *Environment and Planning A and Gender, Place and Culture*. She has co-edited *Changing Landscapes of Singapore: Old Tensions, New Discoveries* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013), and *(Un)tying the knot: ideal and reality in Asian Marriage* (Singapore: Asia Research Institute, 2004). Kamalini draws from her key interests in governmentality, biopolitics, and care ethics to frame her current research on the casinos in Singapore.

The State of Fun: Casinos and Experiential Capitalism in Singapore

JUAN ZHANG

University of New England, Armidale, Australia

zhang.jess@gmail.com

When Singapore opened two luxurious casino resorts in 2010, fun was a key rationale that legitimized the state's project of reinventing Singapore as an exciting global city attractive not only to the rich and famous, but also the transnational tourists with money to spend. In the casino resorts, entertainment, culture, arts, shopping, services, and gaming are packaged as a total "experience" of fun and consumption. Conceptualizing Singapore's casino economy as intrinsically experiential capitalism, this paper interrogates how experiences of excitement and dullness, pleasure and boredom, welcome and rejection, are indicative of a disciplinary regime that operates through state regulations and market enticement. Fun, as both attraction and discipline, is fundamental to the experiential capitalism. Fun in Singapore's casinos entails class and citizenship politics; it is also embedded in the spatial ordering of pleasure and restriction, self-indulgence and self-control. Through a Foucauldian analysis, this paper discusses how fun is governed and experienced in and around Singapore's casino space. Calculative logics, maximizing strategies, and ethics of self-responsibility justify the individual right to have fun. Experiential capitalism turns Singapore into a state of fun, where fun masks the exclusionary borders of pleasure and luxury as it governs fun-seekers' rationalization and self-conduct.

Juan ZHANG is a lecturer in Sociology at the University of New England in Australia. Her research interests include social change, transnational migration and mobility, gender and development in the context of Asia. Her work places a central focus on multiple forms of borders and mobilities, governance, and global circulations. In particular, her research explores migrant experiences and subjectivities, borders and transgressions, and how global flows and circulations transform the technologies of governance in everyday life. Before joining UNE, Juan completed her PhD in Anthropology at Macquarie University, and was a Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore.

Casinos and Threat to Social Stability

THANYATHIP SRIPANA

Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

sthanyat@hotmail.com

Casinos have spread all over along border in the Mekong region. Due to infrastructure development and connectivity, as well as transportation management system, the access to casinos has become easy regardless the distance. Fifty four casinos are located along the Cambodian side of Cambodia-Vietnam border, twenty two casinos deployed along Cambodia-Thailand border, and no less than 2 big ones are on the Mekong bank in Lao side opposite to Thailand. While casinos are considered as generator of revenue and economic development, they are as well considered as threat to social stability. A number of Thai go to the border in Poipet, Battambang, Pailin, etc. in Cambodia, as well as to Savannakhet and Bo Keo in Laos. A number of Vietnamese (including some student), as well as the Thai from Bangkok and local Thai farmers in the provinces along border were tempted and go to casinos in Cambodian side along Cambodia-Vietnam border. Thousands of Vietnamese people and

more in case of the Thai, cross the border to gamble at Cambodian casinos every month. The Chinese from Yunnan travel along R3A enjoy casino by the Mekong River in Bo Keo too. Most of the gambler's life becomes unstable due to the debt in casinos. Several of them have lost their property. Family life was broken. Some committed suicide. According to Vietnamese reporters and local people in the southern provinces of Vietnam, several Vietnamese gamblers going to casinos in Cambodia, who could not pay back money they borrowed from casino lenders, were beaten or threatened to death by usury gangs. Some had their fingers and ears cut by lenders at casinos to be sent to their families in Vietnam in order to bring them money for redemption. Some of them even jumped down from high stories in an attempt to escape and died. The worst cases are the Vietnamese student were involved in gambling and became brokers. In case of Vietnam, how did the government react to this? A part of interview was done with gamblers in casinos, with local people in some towns along border of the three countries. Interview with some gamblers was also conducted in several occasions in taxi van from Poipet to Bangkok, and from Ban Pakkard and Ban Laem to Chanthaburi. Interview was also done with local people in Chiangsean, Chiangkhong, Mukdahan (Thailand), Savannakhet (Laos), and in southern provinces of Vietnam.

Thanyathip SRIPANA is a senior researcher and lecturer at the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University. She is also guest lecturer in various institutions in Thailand, and occasionally gives lecture in Vietnam and Malaysia. Receiving a scholarship from the French government, she earned her doctorate degree from Faculté de Droit et de Science Politique, Université d'Aix-Marseille III, in France. Vietnamese Studies has taken up much of her time since 1988, with her experience doing research in France, Canada, Japan, and countries in the Mekong Sub-Region: Laos and Cambodia. She has been conducting in-depth research in Vietnam in particular.

The Socio-Economic Impact of Casinos in Rural Cambodia

ERIN LIN

Princeton University

erinlin@princeton.edu

Recently, social scientists have attempted to understand the impact or lack thereof of casinos on two core domains of local life: whether casinos create economic growth in previously poor communities; and whether casinos encourage “bad” behaviors, like gambling debt and the spread of HIV/AIDS. However, the effect of casinos on these domains is difficult to identify, at the very least because populations near casinos are highly migratory and tend to be involved in informal economies, on which there is very little data. I shed light on this issue through a comprehensive, quantitative study of all casinos opened in Cambodia since 2000, using an ethnographic-based survey from closed ministerial archives. Drawing from a unique spatiotemporal dataset, I identify the location and the opening dates of the country's 57 casinos, and correlate them to the gambling behavior, income, and household member occupations of over 10,800 geo-referenced households, from the 2004, 2008, and 2012 waves of the Cambodia Socioeconomic Survey (CSES). The survey is unique, in that it requires enumerators to live in each sampled village for a month, observing and inquiring after the economic behaviors and migratory patterns of workers and residents. After matching villages according to pre-casino income, occupation, and poverty levels, I run a multi-level model that tests the impact of casinos on village migration patterns, income levels, occupation type, household rates of debt (including the percentage spent on gambling), and rates of infectious disease. I find evidence that, for villages within 30 kilometers of a casino, the wealthiest third of the village experiences an increase in monthly income and more job opportunities while the poorest 20 percent are more likely

to fall into debt. I also find that, for villages within 50 kilometers of a casino, females are 5% more likely to contract HIV/AIDS.

Erin LIN is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Politics at Princeton University. Erin's research focuses on comparative politics, legacies of violence, the environment, and Southeast Asia. Her dissertation examines how the politics of land shape patterns of economic development in the post-conflict, developing world, with a regional focus on Cambodia. Substantively, her chapters address the role of post-war harvesting practices in the formation of social capital and social protection schemes, as well as the impact of aerial bombing on land fertility, rice production, local consumption, and inequality. Her research has been funded by Fulbright, Luce, and Foreign Language Area Studies grants. She holds a B.A. with distinction in environmental studies and international studies from Yale University. She has previously held positions at the World Bank and the Center for Khmer Studies.

PANEL 3
**BLURRING BOUNDARIES: THE LEGAL GRAY AREA OF CASINO-ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT
AND ITS ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS**

***Non-State Actors, Informal Networks, and Resurgent Medievalism in Macau's Casino
Industry***

TIM SIMPSON
University of Macau
tsimpson@umac.mo

In an analysis that attempts to explain the contemporary economic prominence of East Asian territories like Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan within the historical trajectory of global capitalism, Giovanni Arrighi (2003) contends that 'the lead agencies of the formation and expansion of the capitalist world system appear to have been organizations that are either something less (city-states and quasi-states) or something more (quasi-empires) or something different (business diasporas and other transterritorial capitalist organizations) than nation states.' This paper departs from Arrighi's observation to explore the functional role the city-state of Macau plays in the post-socialist market reforms of the People's Republic of China, and therefore in China's emergence as a key factor in the global economy. Following Portugal's return of Macau to the PRC in 1999, and the city's subsequent designation as a Chinese Special Administrative Region, the local government liberalized the city's gaming monopoly, and opened the industry to outside investment from North America, Australia, and Hong Kong. As a result, Macau is now the world's most lucrative site of casino gaming, visited by more than 30 million tourists per year, and with revenues of \$45 billion in 2013 alone. These profits emanate from a mutually-beneficial 'bargain' among the state, an oligarchy of casino concessionaires, (dis)organized labor, and Chinese organized crime. A key factor in this arrangement is a type of informal business network that functions within a 'tribute-trade' relationship which has existed in East Asia for a millennium. Macau today manifests a 'new medievalism' that is reminiscent of the operations of the 16th century Genoese-Iberian regime of capitalism during which the city was founded. I contend that today's emergent Sinocentric East Asian economy depends on such resurgent pre-modern forms of governance and finance.

Arrighi G. (2003) 'The rise of East Asia and the withering away of the interstate system'. In N. Brenner, B. Jessop, and G. MacLeod (eds) *State/Space: A Reader* (pp 131-146). Oxford: Blackwell.

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 volume *Macao Macau* (Black Dog Publishing).

***Casino Resorts as Micro-Para-Statal Areas in the GMSR
Connectivity and Economic Development***

JOHN WALSH & PETCHARAT LOVICHAKORNTIKUL
School of Management, Shinawatra University, Thailand
jcwalsh100@hotmail.com; lovicha@yahoo.com

Several types of para-statal areas exist in different parts of the Greater Mekong subregion (GMSR). These are areas in which different versions of the rule of law apply than in normal parts of the country. Para-statal areas can be formal in nature, as in the case of the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) that are used to help propel nations along the trajectory of the Factory Asia paradigm. Other para-statal areas are informal in nature and represent territories where the rule of law is partially or wholly-imposed by non-state actors. These range from areas in Myanmar where insurgent ethnic minority groups have established autonomous zones, to areas in Laos where Chinese capital has been used to create areas of cowboy capitalism, where the rule of law is enforced by the owners of capital, usually in collusion with representatives of the state, who benefit personally as a result. There are no examples of the latter form of para-statal area offering better workplace safety conditions or labour relations more generally. On the contrary, workers are generally subject to exploitative conditions with little guarantee of receiving due reward for their labour and no rights to collective bargaining or freedom of association. This is generally true of the casino resort micro-para-statal areas of the GMSR that are mostly located on the borders of Thailand with Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia, as well as special resorts created for Chinese visitors to Vietnam. Casinos offer employment but few good jobs and a significant proportion of those jobs are associated with indecent work. Only croupier work is valued. Most jobs are low-paid, low-skilled service sector jobs with little security or career paths. They are also often associated with drug smuggling and usage, sex work of various categories and money laundering. This does not necessarily mean that the lives of workers in resorts are materially worse than all other workers in formal sector SEZs, as the recent protests by female Cambodian workers in the garment industry SEZs illustrates. However, these are conditions in which workers have historically sought to organize themselves in the name of security. This paper uses mostly secondary data sources to compare what is known of conditions in a range of different para-statal areas across the GMSR, with a particular focus on casino resorts. It is argued that connectivity with surrounding areas can be of considerable importance in determining the nature of conditions experienced by workers and that the different forms of connectivity exist in different combinations in the various para-statal area categories identified. This then has a direct impact on the willingness and ability of workers to provide remittances and to obtain competencies and experiences that can subsequently contribute to local economic and social development.

John WALSH is Director, SIU Research Centre at the School of Management, Shinawatra University, Thailand. He is the editor of the SIU Journal of Management, the Journal of Shinawatra University and the Nepalese Journal of Management Science and Research. He is also Regional Editor (Southeast Asia) of Emerald's Emerging Market Case Studies series. He received his doctorate from the University of Oxford in 1997 for a thesis on international management in East Asia. His research these days mostly focuses on the social and economic development of the Greater Mekong Subregion.

Petcharat LOVICHAKORNTIKUL is a lecturer at the School of Management, Shinawatra International University (SIU), Thailand. She earned her B.B.A. in Marketing from Chulalongkorn University and B.A. in Liberal Arts from Ramkhamkhaeng University, both from Thailand. Afterwards, she received the Master's degree in Leadership and Management from University of La Verne, CA, U.S.A. Finally, she graduated for the Ph.D. program from SIU. Her dissertation emphasizes on Buddhist principles for

human resource development of professionals in the healthcare business in Thailand. She, however, is also teaching novice monks at the Traimbuddhasart school, Prachin Buri Province.

Regulatory Regimes and Transnational Labour Brokering in a Grey Casino Space

MELODY CHIA-WEN LU
University of Macau
MelodyLu@umac.mo

The recruitment and control of migrant labour have been integral elements of state developmental strategies in East and Southeast Asia. In recent years, casino resorts in the region have stimulated particularly feminized and racialized migrant labour to provide round-the-clock services needed in the casino leisure sector. Based on ethnographic research on card-dealers and labour brokering agencies, this paper takes the process of labour brokering from China and Taiwan to Singapore to illustrate that a grey zone in the transnational casino space is necessary in resolving conflicting logics in the constellation of overlapping regulatory regimes and inherent moral dilemmas. We borrow from Xiang and Lindquist's (2014) concept of "migration infrastructure" to investigate how commercial infrastructure interacts with the regulatory. As gambling is illegal in China and Taiwan, and Singapore's casino operators are concerned about openly recruiting labour in this inglorious industry, the transnational brokering industry has developed a sophisticated division of labour between counterpart brokers, in some cases involving 4-5 brokers in a single recruitment, to externalize the risks and to circumvent the migration and casino regulatory regimes in respective countries. Together they manufacture a legal pathway while the covertness is maintained. This grey zone of the labour brokering differs from clandestine migration and border-crossing in two aspects, 1) it appeals to the logics of leisure, gaming and cosmopolitan glamour, echoing the rhetoric of the integrated resorts; 2) it is circumscribed by the states' desire to regulate in maintaining a "clean" and ethical casino space. By juxtaposing the narratives of workers and brokers, we will examine different discursive and practical strategies adopted by the Singaporean, Taiwanese and Chinese brokers which reveal different moral imaginaries of the casino space.

Trained in anthropology and developmental sociology, **Melody Chia-Wen LU** teaches migration and transnationalism, consumption and leisure, gender and sexuality in Dept. of Sociology, University of Macau. She co-edited *Asian Cross-border Marriage Migration: Demographic Patterns and Social Issues* (Amsterdam University Press, 2010) and published several journal articles and book chapters. Her current research interest is on transnational mobility in the casino space in Singapore and Macau, with an empirical focus on mainland Chinese and Taiwanese female migrants. She also serves as the coordinator of International Research Network of *Casino and Development in Asia*. Prior to joining the University of Macau, she was Research Fellow at the National University of Singapore and the International Institute for Asian Studies, the Netherlands.

The NagaWorld Casino in Phnom Penh
The ideology of Unmitigated Development and its Ethical Implications

TERI SHAFFER YAMADA
California State University Long Beach
Teri.Yamada@csulb.edu

From its origin as a floating barge casino on the Mekong in 1995 to an integrated resort, stockmarket superstar in 2015, still under construction along two blocks of prime riverfront real estate in Phnom Penh, the story of the Naga Casino incorporates many aspects of the tragic shadow side of Cambodia's rapid development. The Naga's public history includes suspicion of covert deals and political favoritism to money laundering. More recently its development plans share a common goal with many other monumental projects throughout Cambodia: the displacement of impoverished people from their land in order to expand. This paper will discuss the "ethics" of the Naga Casino's development in Cambodia and the 'cover story' it has generated to counteract any criticism of illegality. This paper will also explore the irony of the Naga's exploitation of Cambodian traditional culture as a type of "tourist orientalism" as well as the Naga's connection to the Chinese junket market and its benefit from the recent tourism agreement in 2015 between Cambodia and China.

Teri SHAFFER YAMADA received a master's degree in Southeast Asian languages and literatures in 1975 and a doctorate in Buddhist Studies from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1985. She has studied seven Asian languages, including Chinese, Japanese and Khmer, and lived in Japan for seven years. In 2002 she organized the Nou Hach Literary Association (www.nouhachjournal.net) to promote the development of literacy and modern literature in Cambodia. This NGO publishes the only literary journal in Cambodia, sponsors yearly literary awards, and promotes writers workshops in Cambodia. Currently she is the Chair of the Department of Asian and Asian American Studies at CSU Long Beach. Her research interests include modernity and Southeast Asian literature, development and sustainability in Cambodia. Her publications include the compilation *Virtual Lotus: Modern Fiction of Southeast Asia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), *Modern Short Fiction of Southeast Asia: A Literary History* (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2009), and *'Just a Human Being' and Other Tales from Contemporary Cambodia* (Nou Hach Literary Association: Translation Series, No 1, Charleston S.C., 2013). She has written numerous articles on modern Southeast Asian literature and political culture, modern Cambodian literature and culture, and the Cambodian diaspora. For the past twenty years she has served as the faculty mentor for the Cambodian Student Society at CSU Long Beach.

ABOUT THE CHAIRPERSONS

KRISNA UK is the director of the Center of Khmer Studies. Dr. UK is a distinguished international scholar, who studied at the University of California-Berkeley and holds Masters degrees from the University of Paris-Sorbonne and Oxford University, as well as a PhD in social anthropology from Cambridge University. Her previous scholarly work focused on comparative literature and environmental sciences. Her PhD dissertation in social anthropology was on the Jarai. Her extensive experience in NGO management includes five years with the Cambodia Trust, as well as five years of development work in humanitarian demining, which includes research on the impact of landmines contamination on Southeast Asian communities living in high risk areas. Krisna Uk can be contacted at krisna.uk@khmerstudies.org

TAK-WING NGO is Professor of Political Science at the University of Macau and the IAS Professor of Asian History at Erasmus University Rotterdam. He is the editor of the journal *China Information* and the two book series *Governance in Asia* (NIAS Press) and *Global Asia* (Amsterdam University Press). Tak-Wing Ngo can be contacted at takwingngo@gmail.com.

PÁL NYÍRI is Professor of global history from an anthropological perspective at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. His most recent book is *Mobility and Cultural Authority in Contemporary China* (University of Washington Press, 2010). He is currently writing an ethnography of how Chinese correspondents report on the world. Pál Nyíri can be contacted at p.d.nyiri@vu.nl.

BRENDA S.A. YEOH is Professor (Provost's Chair), Department of Geography, as well as 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. Her interests in migration research in Asia include 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. Brenda Yeoh can be contacted at geoyasa@nus.edu.sg.

DANIELLE TAN is Adjunct Lecturer in Political Science and Asian Studies at Sciences Po Lyon (France). She is also Research Associate at the Institute of East Asian Studies (IAO-ENS Lyon). Previously, she had the opportunity to pursue her postdoctoral research at IAS and at the Australian National University. She received her PhD in Political Science from Sciences Po/CERI (Paris) in December 2011. Her dissertation (in French) was entitled "*From Communism to Neoliberalism: the Part Played by Chinese Networks in the Transformation of the State in Laos.*" She is co-editing a volume with Pál Nyíri (VU Amsterdam) gathering together the most recent research on the renewed Chinese presence in Southeast Asia: *How Chinese Engagements Are Transforming Southeast Asia. People, Money, Ideas and their Effects* (on-going peer-review, University of Washington Press).

PEPPINO ORTOLEVA has been active for more than thirty years as a scholar, critic, curator, at the crossroads of history, media studies, TV and radio authoring, museums and exhibits. He is currently full professor of Storia e teoria dei media at the Università di Torino. His last book, *From Sex to Play*, is an analysis of the role of play and lucidity in contemporary society and its relations with the "sexualization of the world" typical of the Twentieth Century. Now his main interests are play and

games on the one hand and contemporary myths on the other. He is the coordinator of one of the research teams, dedicated to online gambling, of the European research on addictions, Alice Rap. (University of Turin). Peppino Ortoleva can be contacted at peppino.ortoleva@gmail.com.

PHILIPPE PEYCAM is the director of the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, the Netherlands. He is a trained historian whose recent book traces the origins of a Vietnamese public culture of contestation during the colonial occupation, *The Birth of Vietnamese Political Journalism: Saigon 1916-30* (Columbia University Press, 2012). For 10 years, Dr Peycam worked as founding director of the Center for Khmer Studies. From 2010-2011, he was a United States Institute of Peace's Jennings Randolph Fellow. Since 2009, he is a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore. Philippe Peycam can be contacted at p.m.f.peycam@iias.nl.

THONGCHAI WINICHAKUL, Professor of History at University of Wisconsin-Madison, the author of *Siam Mapped* (1994) which was awarded the Harry J Benda Prize from the Association for Asian Studies in 1995. He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2003 and was President of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in 2013/14. His research interests are in cultural and intellectual history of Siam. He currently works on the intellectual foundation of modern Siam (1880s-1930s) and also a book on the memories of the 1976 massacre in Bangkok. July-Dec 2015, he is a visiting fellow at Institute of Southeast Asia Studies (ISEAS) Singapore. His latest publications include "Asian Studies Across Academies", *Journal of Asian Studies*, 73:4 (Nov 2014). Thongchai Winichakul can be contacted at twinicha@wisc.edu.