Southeast Asian Studies Symposium

3rd ANNUAL
Southeast Asian Studies Symposium

Project Southeast Asia
22 - 23 March 2014, Keble College, University of Oxford
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WELCOME

Project Southeast Asia is proud to welcome you to the 3rd Southeast Asian Studies Symposium. In just three short years, the Symposium has become the largest annual Southeast Asian Studies conference in the world, with 42 panels and roundtables spread over 50 sessions, and nearly 300 delegates. Speakers and paper presenters come from over 20 countries, and represent a wide array of disciplines and expertise, from economics to epidemiology. This year, we are honoured to have as speakers Dato’ Seri Abdul Wahid Omar (Minister in the Prime Minister’s Department, Malaysia), Stephen Lillie (Head of the Asia-Pacific Directorate of the UK Government’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Tony Pua (Democratic Action Party Member of Parliament for Petaling Jaya Utara, Malaysia), and Sir David Weatherall (Regius Professor of Medicine Emeritus, University of Oxford, and Patron, Project Southeast Asia).

Southeast Asia is a vitally important region of the world and its most urgent issues are transregional and multidisciplinary in nature. Project Southeast Asia seeks to contribute to solutions to these issues by providing the Symposium as a platform for the dissemination, discussion and debate of ideas. The Symposium is a central part of our vision for Project Southeast Asia, which has the ultimate aim of establishing a Centre for Southeast Asian Studies in the University of Oxford - a home for Southeast Asia in the heart of one of the world’s premier universities.

Through activities like the Symposium, the Project acts as a focal point for academic and research activity, bringing together many of the most distinguished scholars in the field of Southeast Asian studies, together with the best and brightest new academic talent, for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge about countries in the Southeast Asian region. While emphasising core disciplines of history, politics/international relations, anthropology, human sciences, medicine and development studies, it also aims to address and offer inputs into important contemporary issues facing Southeast Asia, such as regional security, infectious diseases, environmental change, ageing and sustainable development.

In addition, the Project is seeking to support research, student degree programmes, library and archival resources, academic events and institutional exchanges between organizations and individuals in Oxford and between Oxford and the Southeast Asian Region. One of its main goals is to ensure that the most talented students, regardless of need, will be able to study Southeast Asia at Oxford.
We warmly invite further discussions with all those who share our vision of a world-class Centre for Southeast Asian Studies. For more information, please e-mail info@projectsoutheastasia.com or visit www.projectsoseastasia.com.

We hope you will enjoy the Symposium and would like to invite you to join us in expressing our appreciation to the fantastic team who have worked tirelessly to put this conference together. A big thank you in particular to our organising committee and our numerous volunteers, as well as the Keble College conference team for a job well done!

We very much look forward to meeting you this weekend and hope to see you at our future events in Oxford and Southeast Asia.

_Gerry Bodeker, Jeff Burley, Peter Carey, Philip Kreager, and Pingtjin Thum_

_On behalf of Project Southeast Asia_
Dato’ Sri Abdul Wahid Omar, 50, was appointed as a Minister in the Prime Minister’s Department in charge of Economic Planning on 5th June 2013. He oversees a number of government agencies such as Economic Planning Unit, Public-Private partnership Unit (UKAS), Department of Statistics, Ekuiti Nasional Berhad (EKUINAS), Talent Corporation (TALENCORP), TERAJU and Yayasan Pendidikan Peneraju Bumiputera. Prior to his cabinet appointment, Dato’ Sri Abdul Wahid was formerly the President and CEO of Maybank, Malaysia’s largest banking group and the fourth largest in Southeast Asia, from May 2008. He was also the Chairman of The Association of Banks in Malaysia. He is a Fellow of the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (UK) and a Member of the Malaysian Institute of Accountants.

Maybank is the third large organisation that he has led as CEO. Prior to joining Maybank, he was Group Chief Executive Officer of Telekom Malaysia Berhad from July 2004 until its demerger with Axiata Group Berhad in April 2008. He was also formerly Managing Director/Chief Executive Officer of UEM Group Berhad as well as Executive Vice Chairman of PLUS Expressways Berhad.

His strong track record in corporate and financial management began with the banking sector in 1988 when he joined Bumiputra Merchant Bankers Berhad. He later took on senior management positions at Kumpulan FIMA Berhad (Senior Vice President, Finance) and at Amanah Capital Group overseeing the Capital Market & Securities Division.

In recognition of his outstanding leadership in the corporate sector, Dato’ Sri Abdul Wahid was the recipient of the Malaysia’s CEO of the Year Award from Business Times/American Express in 2006 and The Edge Value Creator Award 2013. He was also conferred with the Asian Banker 2013 Leadership Achievement Award for Malaysia.
Stephen Lillie
Head of the Asia-Pacific Directorate of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Born in 1966, Mr Stephen Lillie joined the Diplomatic Service after graduating in Modern Languages from the University of Oxford in 1988. He was the Head of the Far Eastern Group in the Asia Pacific Directorate at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office in London before coming to the Philippines as Her Majesty’s Ambassador in August 2009. He left the Philippines in 2 July 2013 to become Head of the Asia Pacific Directorate at the Foreign & Commonwealth Office.

Previous positions include:

2003 – 2006 New Delhi, Counsellor (Economic) and Director of Trade & Investment
1999 – 2003 Guangzhou, Her Majesty’s Consul-General
1998 – 1999 FCO, Deputy Head, China Hong Kong Department
1997 – 1998 FCO, Head of Section, Hong Kong Department
1996 – 1997 FCO, Head of Section, European Union Department (Internal)
1992 – 1995 Beijing, Second, later First, Secretary (Economic & Political)
1989 – 1991 Full-time Mandarin language training in London and Hong Kong
1988 – 1989 FCO, Assistant Desk Officer, Middle East Department
Tony Pua
Democratic Action Party Member of Parliament for Petaling Jaya Utara, Malaysia

Tony Pua is a Member of the Malaysian Parliament for Petaling Jaya Utara. He was first elected in March 2008 and re-elected in May 2013 with the 2nd highest majority in the country. He is also the National Publicity Secretary for the Democratic Action Party (DAP). The DAP has the 2nd highest number of elected representatives in the Malaysian parliament and is part of the opposition coalition, Pakatan Rakyat (“People’s Alliance”).

Tony was formerly the founder and CEO of Cyber Village Holdings Limited, an e-business consulting firm. He was then the youngest CEO/Founder of a company listed on the Singapore Exchange at the age of 29 in 2001. He resigned and sold his stake in the company to enter the Malaysian political arena on a full-time basis in 2007.

Pua graduated from Keble College, University of Oxford, with a degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics in 2004. He completed his “O” and “A”-Levels in Raffles Institution, Singapore.
Sir David Weatherall

Regius Professor of Medicine Emeritus, University of Oxford & Patron, Project Southeast Asia

Professor Sir David Weatherall is a renowned British physician and researcher in molecular genetics, haematology, pathology and clinical medicine. He is Regius Professor of Medicine Emeritus, retired Honorary Director of the Weatherall Institute of Molecular Medicine at the University of Oxford, and Chancellor of Keele University.

After completing his medical and house staff training, Prof Weatherall joined the army for a 2-year assignment. Shipped to Singapore and put in charge of a children’s ward at the British Military Hospital, one of Prof Weatherall’s patients was a Ghurka child whom he eventually diagnosed as having homozygous β thalassemia with his biochemist colleague Frank Vella. They published their findings in the British Medical Journal, thus launching his distinguished research career. In the 50 years since then, Prof Weatherall has developed tests and clinics worldwide for children affected by the blood disease thalassemia. He also founded the Institute of Molecular Medicine at Oxford in 1989. The Institute was later renamed the Weatherall Institute of Molecular Medicine in his honour upon his retirement in 2000.

Prof Weatherall was appointed Nuffield Professor of Clinical Medicine at the University of Oxford in 1974. In 1992, he assumed the prestigious chair, the Regius Professor of Medicine, until his retirement. He was knighted in 1987, received the Commandeur de l’Ordre de la Couronne in 1994, and the post of Deputy Lieutenant for Oxfordshire in 2000. Prof Weatherall has received numerous awards including the Feldberg Foundation Award for Bioscience (1984), the Royal Medal, Royal Society (1989), the Helmut Horten Research Award (jointly with S. Orkin & Y.W. Kan in 1995), the Prince Mahidol Prize in Medicine (2002), the Allen Award of the American Society of Human Genetics (2003), and the Mendel Medal from The Genetics Society (2006). He was also awarded the Lasker-Koshland Special Achievement Award in Medical Science in 2010 for his dedication to the research and treatment of hereditary blood disorders. The award is given to living persons who have made major contributions to medical science or who have performed public service on behalf of medicine. Prof Weatherall is a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Foreign Member of the US National Academy of Sciences.
SPECIAL EVENTS

Exhibit in the Bodleian Library: Southeast Asia and Oxford

To coincide with the Southeast Asia Symposium, scholars of Southeast Asia in the university have collaborated with Dr Gillian Evison, Head of the Bodleian Libraries’ Oriental Section and Indian Institute Librarian, to present an exhibition on ‘Southeast Asia and Oxford’. Since the seventeenth century, the university has been collecting materials from Southeast Asia, playing home to scholars who shaped the study of the region, and producing alumni who changed history there and around the world. The exhibit highlights this on-going relationship. On display are some of the gems of the libraries’ collections as relate to Southeast Asia, including centuries-old manuscripts, and documents from the archives showing just a few Oxford connections across modern history. In particular, the beautiful letter from Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh to King James I, 1615 (facing page), the matriculation form of King Vajiravudh (1900), and a magnificent Pali text of the lives of the Buddha will be on display.

The exhibit can be found in the Proscholium of the Old Bodleian Library on 21 March. Further information can be obtained by emailing Dr Kevin Fogg, kevin.fogg@history.ox.ac.uk. Information about the Bodleian’s Southeast Asian Collections can be found at http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley/finding-resources/special/oriental_rarebooks/south-east-asia. Directions to the Proscholium can be found at online at http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley/whats-on/find-us.
Letter from Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh to King James I, 1615
Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Laud. Rolls B
The Oxford Gamelan Society

The Oxford Gamelan Society is one of Britain’s foremost amateur gamelan groups. The society meets every Wednesday in term time to play on an heirloom gamelan, *Kyai Madu Laras* (Venerable Sweet harmony) belonging to the Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, in the Faculty of Music at the University of Oxford.

The Society is under the direction of Pete Smith, who discovered gamelan as a music student at York University. He received a scholarship to continue his studies in Indonesia where he enrolled at STSI, the Academy of Indonesian Arts in Central Java from 1992 to 1995. Since returning to the UK, Pete has taught at every level of the education system and has been instrumental in setting up many of the UK’s gamelan programmes.

The Oxford Gamelan Society has performed in many different occasions and colleges within Oxford, including St John’s and St Anne’s. The Society also performed as part of a concert to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Bate Collection in 2011. Beyond Oxford, the Society has also collaborated and performed with different gamelan groups from Durham and York.

The Society are a regular fixture at the Symposium, having performed the beautiful music of the gamelan at the Southeast Studies Symposium in 2012 and 2013, where they performed ladang Moncer, ketawang Kasatriyan / lancaran Kedhu / ladang Pakumpulan, lancaran Lumbung Desa, tari Asmaradana, and gendhing Kutut Manggung.

For more information on the Oxford Gamelan Society, please visit: www.oxfordgamelan.org
**PANELS & ROUNDTABLES**

Session 1: Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

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*The Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at 64 Banbury Road is a 15-minute walk from the main conference venue of Keble College.*
1: Regime Transitions in Southeast Asia: Lessons for Myanmar? (roundtable)
O’Reilly Lecture Theatre, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

Chair: Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London)

Myanmar has recently undergone significant regime transition, promulgating a new constitution in 2008 and holding its first elections in twenty years in 2010, followed by political and economic reforms, the entry of Aung San Suu Kyi’s National League for Democracy to parliament, and the lifting of Western sanctions. Cautious optimism abounds in many quarters about the changes underway, with rosy predictions that Myanmar will become a middle-income country within a few decades. But Suu Kyi herself cautions the transition is ongoing, even declaring that ‘no tangible changes’ have occurred. This roundtable seeks to make sense of the conflicted and contested transition process in Myanmar, and to speculate about likely future trajectories, by comparing it to transitions elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Cambodia underwent transition from one-party rule to ostensible multiparty democracy, but is still dominated by state-business networks clustered around the old ruling party. Is Myanmar fated to tread this path? Or is an Indonesian trajectory more likely, where the military’s post-Suharto role in domestic governance has substantially diminished? What does lessons does the fate of East Timor’s first democratic constitution have for Myanmar as it amends its own constitution ahead of the 2015 elections? What could Myanmar learn from Vietnam’s integration into the global economy as it emerges from isolation? And can Myanmar avoid the spiralling land conflicts that affect many developing countries across developing Asia? This roundtable looks for parallels and pitfalls in the social, economic and political dynamics of Southeast Asia and beyond.

Speakers

- Reshmi Banerjee (School of Oriental and African Studies)
- Peter Carey (University of Oxford)
- Rui Feijo (University of Coimbra)
- Caroline Hughes (University of Bradford)
- Thomas Jandl (American University)
- Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London)
In 2011 a border conflict between Thailand and Cambodia over the Preah Vihear spiralled into an armed skirmish, which claimed dozens of casualties and displaced tens of thousands villagers. The significance of this clash lays in the fact that it revealed the overlooked and often underestimated weakness of ASEAN, i.e. a multitude of unresolved border, land and maritime disputes. While the attention of Southeast Asian states has been focused mainly on resolving the South China Sea dispute between China and ASEAN members, many other (still dormant) disputes continue to linger and can possibly not only mar relations among the states, but also threaten the stability and cohesion of the Association. Border conflicts undoubtedly represent a complex issue, as there is a myriad of historical, psychological and nationalist factors at play. The panel seeks to address these often dormant and overlooked disputes in Southeast Asia. Papers focus either on the roots, development and current situation of border, land, and maritime disputes in mainland and littoral Southeast Asia as well as on the prospects of their resolution. Topics may cover territorial disputes between the PRC and Vietnam, Vietnam and Cambodia, Cambodia and Thailand, etc.; or maritime disputes among littoral states (e.g. Indonesia and Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines over the Celebes Sea.)

**Paper 1: Borders and Frontiers in South East Asia**

Petra Andělová (Metropolitan University Prague)

Political maps of South East Asia resemble mosaics or puzzles, in many ways similar to the European ones. However, while in Europe border significance has gradually receded, in SEA it is on the rise. Moreover, frontiers within Europe have started assuming their former role as a connecting space between two or among three states. On the contrary, frontiers in South
East Asia remain divided by politically drawn and mostly contested borders. Although a lot of attention has been paid to the inter-states relations in the region and their economic cooperation, the role of borders remains partly neglected in academic debate. This paper is based on a neorealist approach and its aims are to define new [or changed] functions of borders and border conflicts in South East Asia, as all kinds of borders as well as almost all types of border conflicts can be found in the region. Moreover, since the Sino-Vietnamese War in 1979 it seems that certain border wars and conflicts (both maritime and terrestrial) have been used rather as a means of political pressure or “punishment” whereas territorial gains have been irrelevant. Borders in South East Asia have also been fulfilling the function of a hedge containing unwelcome immigration from neighbouring states or a conventional security function. For example the Mekong as a boundary river has a unique position among most of the continental South East Asian states and creates its own kind of border conflicts comparable with Danube River in Europe.

**Paper 2: Border Disputes in Southeast Asia and Their Impact on the Regional Integration Process**

Filip Kraus (National Chiao Tung University)

The paper aims to understand the roots, development and impact of the border disputes in Southeast Asia. The analysis is not only focused on the regional integration process within the ASEAN, but also on the impact of the disputes on Inter-Asia state to state relationships. The main focus will be on the mainland members of ASEAN and their relationships with the PRC. Within the work, the author will trace the roots of the territorial disputes back to the colonial and the pre-colonial times, with special emphasis on how this colonial legacy had been conserved and even exacerbated during the Cold-war era. Finally, the paper will show how the territorial disputes jeopardize the process the Southeast Asia integration. The author aims to identify the main sources of the tensions such as: the colonial legacy in form of unjust territorial conquest and uncongenial administrative division of the colonial space; the modern standards of international law that were implemented mainly by western powers without desirable attention to its possible negative impacts on political situation in various parts of the world; and a lack of willingness to resolve those problems stemming mainly from strong nationalist feelings in involved countries, a political calculation on future advantages in usage of these problems, or simply from lack of the means for the resolution of the problem. The border disputes thus lead into the situation where state to state relationships are charged and the integration process of the Southeast Asia is slowed down. In this situation some states have become a Trojan horse in the process while others are utilizing the existence of the disputes for their own benefits.
Paper 3: The internal and external dimensions of the South China Sea conflict for ASEAN
Alfred Gerstl (University of Vienna)

For the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the territorial dispute in the South China Sea poses profound internal and external challenges: The failure to find a consensus among its directly involved members Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei and pro-China positions of certain members, notably Cambodia, undermine the cohesion of the Association. Externally, in particular the United States pressure the Association to play a stronger role in resolving the conflict, claiming that otherwise ASEAN would lose its centrality in East Asian regionalism. The aim of this paper is to examine the territorial disputes between Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei and how they affect ASEAN internally and externally. It will, firstly, analyze why so far a resolution based on bilateral conflict resolution mechanisms has failed. Secondly, it will examine why ASEAN has refused to foster a compromise among its members. Thirdly, it will discuss possible conflict resolution approaches. They range from Indonesia’s mediation efforts that include China, a verdict of the International Court of Justice, a moratorium of oil drilling to the collective exploitation of the resources. The thesis poses that only a broad, multilateral policy that involves all littoral states and key external actors can succeed. A prerequisite, though, is that ASEAN does not promote the position of one or more of its affected members but act as a neutral facilitator, providing multilateral dialogue mechanisms for direct negotiations of the conflict parties. The international community would have to guarantee any outcome the conflict parties have agreed upon.

Paper 4: Phu Quoc (Koh Tral): a Bone of Contention in Vietnam-Cambodia Relations?
Maria Strasakova (Metropolitan University Prague)

Phu Quoc (Koh Tral) is the largest island in the South China Sea; nonetheless most of the attention of the ASEAN member states has been focused on the Paracel and Spratly island dispute. However, on 2 September 2012 in the run up for the July 2013 Cambodian general election, Kem Sokha, the opposition leader to Hun Sen’s ruling Cambodian People’s Party brought the issue of Phu Quoc to the fore again by pledging to return the island to Cambodia. In spite of stressing a resolution through legal and peaceful means, he uncovered a dormant wound in the historically asymmetrical (and traditionally distrustful) relationship of Cambodia and Vietnam. Furthermore, he unleashed a heated domestic debate, in which Hun Sen was accused by the opposition leaders of being responsible for relinquishing the island to the Vietnamese. The objective of this paper is to first analyze the history of the Phu Quoc territorial dispute dating back to the infamous Brévié Line demarcated by the French colonial
rule. Secondly, the aim is to seek an answer to what extent is the dispute over Phu Quoc “an anachronistic political debate” (quoting historian Henri Locard) or a political calculation of Cambodian parties (especially Cambodian National Rescue Party) in their quest for power and public support through stirring strong nationalist feelings against the Vietnamese. Thirdly, the paper seeks to investigate the main turning points in the attempts of both the countries to resolve this sensitive issue as well as prospects for future development and resolution of the dispute.

**Paper 5: Thai-Cambodian Conflict: Approaching the Final Stage at Preah Vihear?**
Richard Turcsányi (Masaryk University Brno)

The proposed article deals with the conflict between Thailand and Cambodia over Preah Vihear temple and surrounding areas. Firstly, historical legacies of the conflict are shortly presented as a background to the dispute, including the original judgment of ICJ in 1962. Secondly, it is established that the escalation of conflict in 2008 was not the result of a mutual misunderstanding rather than of deliberate policies of politicians at both sides to exploit the case for domestic political goals. Thirdly, the expected final decision on interpretation of original judgment by ICJ (supposed to come in October 2013) will be analyzed in depth as it is widely expected to put an end to the argumentative part of the dispute. In the paper I will discuss the possible outcomes and their impacts on the relations between the two countries and the dispute, itself. Furthermore, I will analyze the role of ASEAN, which has been widely criticized for failing to address the conflict between its two member states. At present, it has been proposed that from the ASEAN perspective, the scenario of judgment without resolution of the disputed territory should be preferred as the organization would get the second chance to deal with it. However, there are serious concerns whether ASEAN would be able to handle the issue as both countries are undergoing domestic troubles, which may lead to the mounting willingness of their respective leaders to use the conflict for domestic purposes.

**Paper 6: Southeast Asia and its Contemporary Territorial Concern: The Prospects of the Development of the Sea Code of Conduct over the Disputed Spratly Islands**
Jonathan Eli Libut (University of Santo Tomas)

This paper observes the increasing relevance of the tensions between the claimants of the Spratly Islands; Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam, in the maintenance of peace and order in the Southeast Asian region. The dispute is projected to have an impulsive situation that may lead to unwanted consequences in the region. The Spratly Islands, located in the South China Sea, is one of the most disputed places in the
planet due to its strategic importance politically and economically. This paper’s methodology and sources of literature are anchored from primary academic journals, past and contemporary news reports (both in print and on-line), tertiary copy of conference proceedings, and secondary government policy reports. This paper aims to explain the rationale of the development of the Sea Code of Conduct through multi-lateral arbitration, as such development, at present, is deemed to be the most practical way to ensure a stable atmosphere of cooperation in the region. Moreover, the paper leaves fundamental projections regarding the capacity of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), in dealing with this concern as an organization, and lastly, how this concern may shape the future of Southeast Asia amid the region’s goal toward social, cultural, and economic integration.

**Paper 7: Rethinking the relevance of preventive diplomacy in ASEAN and policy responses**  
Khoun Theara (Cambodian Institute of Cooperation and Peace)

ASEAN Security Community which aims at harmonizing regional security cooperation and peaceful settlement of conflict will come into effect by 2015. However, against this backdrop, its attempts to solve its remaining regional conflicts among its members become lesser relevant with application of its traditional tool of preventive diplomacy such as non-interference, non-use of force, Musyawarah and Muafakat.

This research paper concludes that in the early stage of its formation, ASEAN could effectively and timely prevent the eruption of inter-state conflicts among its members with application of its informal and non-legalistic preventive diplomacy mechanisms. However, changing dynamics of regional and global security environment including the détente of two super power polarities, emergence of China as a regional hegemon and US’s pivot to Asia, and most prominent of which, the end of Cold War, has made ASEAN gradually lose its relevancy in prevention of its intra-mural conflicts.

A deeper investigation into these ASEAN conflict management experiences provides three fundamental common grounds for this adverse development, that is, strict adherence to non-interference principle, deficiency of the sense of regionalism in conflict prevention, and available yet inapplicable regional conflict resolution measure. Therefore, fixing these fault lines will make a stronger and more secured ASEAN.
Great powers and international institutions are often considered as opposite phenomena in world politics: powerful states often use power as a mean to exert their influence, while international institutions set up norms and principles as a political control over the states’ power. An emerging power, hence, is not willing to limit its powers within the institutions. However, the use of international institutions may help a nation reserve its power over the long term. A great power creating or joining a particular institution can be viewed as a trade-off between its short-term and long-term interests, in which it constrains its own power for an acceptance of lesser states of a durable order. Our paper applies this argument to test the Chinese behaviours in the South China Sea territorial disputes. The two approaches of China to the Declaration of Conduct (DOC) and the Code of Conduct (COC) between 2002 and 2012 offer us a typical example of a great power using institutions to serve for its interests. Furthermore, the choices of China to apply COC and DOC point out the effects of utilizing international institutions of great powers. The fact that Beijing signed the DOC with ASEAN countries in 2002 limited the balance of power against China, the regional environment thus became friendly for this Middle Kingdom. However, when China broke the rules and “returned to power” by conducting aggressive actions against its neighbours, attempts to check the China’s growing power started to be observed. Compared to the previous years, the South China Sea structure after 2009 was characterized by not only the role and influence of China but also involvement of other great powers such as the US, India and Japan.

3: The Politics of Citizenship and Migration in Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 2, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

Chair: Anja Karlsson Franck (University of Gotheberg)
This panel examines how the construction of citizenship laws impact the ways in which governments define, manage, and control non-citizens in contemporary Southeast Asia. Citizenship laws are part of the assemblage of dividing practices that delineate citizens from non-citizens; they are exclusionary by design. The papers in this panel analyse the socio-political contexts in which citizenship laws in Malaysia, Thailand, and Myanmar were formulated, and examine their contemporary effects – in particular, the way they undergird national regimes of immigration control and reinforce ethnonationalist sentiments amongst citizens. Panelists examine the ways in which the exclusion of groups results in precarity, inequalities, vulnerability to exploitation, as well as the production of statelessness.

**Paper 1: Hierarchies of Deservedness: Governing Citizens and Migrants in Postcolonial Malaysia**
Alice M. Nah (University of York)

In contemporary Malaysia, fierce debate remains between citizens in favour of Malay special rights and citizens in favour of equal rights. The former often emphasise the ‘immigrant’ (pendatang) backgrounds of non-Malays in arguments for special rights, while the latter emphasise the immigrant roots of most Malays(ians). These struggles over the rights of citizens do not translate into inclusive ideas concerning citizenship; that is, exclusionary ideas of who constitutes a ‘Malaysian’ remain unchallenged. A Malaysian is one who ‘looks’ and ‘sounds’ like a Malaysian, and ‘foreigners’ cannot be Malaysian. These prevailing ideas came to the fore in the recent elections in May 2013. In this paper, I examine how debates amongst citizens concerning equality in citizenship exist in counterpoint to debates concerning immigration control. I suggest that socially constructed *hierarchies of deservedness* exist in society, through which members of society view some groups as deserving of more rights than others. Members of society judge the legitimacy of state action in granting, promoting, and protecting rights according to these hierarchies. I argue that these hierarchies are constructed through different ‘levels’ of interconnected frameworks, which operate as (Foucauldian) ‘dividing practices’. The primary framework divides and orders populations into three categories – citizens, regularized non-citizens, and non-citizens with irregular status. Secondary frameworks – such as ethnicity, religion, gender, types of immigration status, perceptions of value, or intersections of these differences – further divide these three categories. Citizens and non-citizens alike internalise these intersecting hierarchies, maintaining them and associated inequalities in the guise of ‘justice’ and ‘fairness’.

**Paper 2: Citizenship as a Tool of Repression: A Socio-Legal Study of Myanmar’s Citizenship Law**
Nyi Nyi Kyaw (University of New South Wales)
Myanmar has faced a myriad of problems since democratization in 2011 among which the Rohingya issue stands out as the most controversial and intractable one. Indeed, it has existed at least since the late 1970s when the first Rohingya mass exodus to Bangladesh occurred, followed by a second major one in 1991-92 and smaller ones since. Myanmar’s recent political conjunctures have again turned the spotlight on the problem though it was previously largely restricted to international human rights organizations. Sectarian violence, which broke out in Rakhine State in June 2012 and has spread to other parts of Myanmar, and the Rohingya boatpeople have added more complexities to the already complicated trajectory. The most commonly heard prescription to solve the problem is the calls for amending the notorious 1982 Citizenship Law, which most analysts argue is the root cause of the Rohingya statelessness and plight. That the Law itself is a contested document embedded in Myanmar’s historical, socio-economic and cultural power politics is missing in those calls. Even when the Law is briefly discussed, the three classes of citizens it designates are mentioned with a quick conclusion that it is discriminatory. This socio-legal study of the Law will trace and contextualise the early 1980s when the new Citizenship Law was made. A contextual understanding of how and why and by whom the Law was made is expected to reinforce the international and regional advocacy for the issue.

Paper 3: “I’ll tell you how it is: They treat us like slaves.” Non-citizenship, labor brokers and forced labor in Malaysia
Emanuelle Brandström and Anja K. Franck (University of Gotheberg)

In Malaysia migration is highly politicized and securitized. Over the past few decades the large-scale in-migration of foreign workers has increasingly become constructed as a potential threat to national security – with policy emphasis being placed upon external and internal border control, and upon regulating and restricting the rights of non-citizens in the country. At the intersection of these politically motivated restrictions, the continued demand for foreign labour to fuel the country’s economy, and the continued need from people in (poorer) neighbouring countries to find employment abroad new actors emerge to facilitate both regular and irregular movement across the Malaysian border. Amongst the more important are labour outsourcing agencies (also known as labour brokers) which supply Malaysian employers with cheap foreign labour. Yet, despite their growing importance to the migration industry (in Malaysia and beyond) labour outsourcing agencies remain profoundly underresearched and few studies have examined the impact of their activities for the conditions of migrant workers in receiving countries. In this study emphasis is therefore placed upon migrant workers’ experiences of these agencies – in particular in relation to forced labour (understood as work performed under involuntary and coercive conditions).
The study suggests that the outcome of the labour outsourcing system for forced labour needs to be understood in the context of the laws which regulate non-citizenship in Malaysia. It finds that the labour outsourcing system in combination with the weak (legal) bargaining position awarded to non-citizens in Malaysia (vis-à-vis employers, labour brokers and the state) produce not only vulnerability but also increase the risk of migrant workers ending up in forced labour.

4: Natural Resources and the Environment (Part I)
Seminar Room 3, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

Chair: Jeff Burley (University of Oxford)

Keynote: REDD+ – policies and activities in the Southeast Asia Region
Andrew Mitchell & Mr Matt Leggett (Global Canopy Programme)

Paper 1: The Sabah Biodiversity Experiment – investigating forest ecosystem services
Andrew Hector (University of Oxford)

Paper 2: Effects of Management Practices on Soil Ecosystems in Indonesian Oil Palm Plantings
Hsiao-Hang Tao (University of Oxford)

Palm oil is one of the most widely produced vegetable oils globally. The high demand of palm oil has led to vast expansion of oil palm plantations, especially in Indonesia and Malaysia. Future projections suggest a three-fold increase in global vegetable oil demand by 2050, and the area of oil palm planting is likely to be increased. Oil palm crops are often preferred over alternative crops for oil production in the tropics due to its high cost-effectiveness. In addition, oil palm plantings store more carbon than alternative agriculture land uses. However, the conversion from natural forests to oil palm cultivation has also resulted in the reduction of ecosystem services provision, such as biodiversity, soil health, and water quality.
As oil palm plantings are reaching a replanting phase in Indonesia and Malaysia, it is crucial to carefully plan the sustainable management of oil palms cultivations. One of the increasingly recognized soil management practices on oil palms plantings is the application of the recycled oil palm residues – empty fruit bunches (EFB). Previous studies have shown that EFB application enhances soil fertility and production. However, the effects of EFB application on the soil ecosystem processes and services, such as litter decomposition, soil fauna activity and physiochemical properties, remain largely unknown. To address this knowledge gap, we have used an empirical approach to examine the influence of EFB application on soil ecosystem processes and services in an oil palm plantation in central Sumatra, Indonesia. The preliminary results showed that EFB application positively influenced soil fauna activities as well as heterogeneity in soil quality. Further analyses are underway to investigate key factors that contribute to the variable performances of soil ecosystem processes and services under EFB application management.

**Paper 3: Climate Asia – people’s daily experience of climate change**  
Ms Sonia Whitehead (BBC)

**Paper 4: Environmental law in Burma**  
Catherine Mackenzie (University of Oxford)

**Paper 5: Medicinal plants and products from agriculture and forestry in Burma**  
Gerard Bodeker (University of Oxford)

**Paper 6: Community forestry in SE Asia: a most practical institution – insufficiently institutionalised**  
Mr James Bampton (Center for People and Forests (RECOFT))

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**5: Law, Justice, and Politics in Thailand**  
Seminar Room 4, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

Chair: Claudio Sopranzetti (University of Oxford)
**Paper 1: Seasons of Insurgency: The Promises and Curses of Violent Actions in Southern Thailand**

Chayanit Poonyarat (Thammasat University)

“To everything there is a season.
And a time to every purpose, under Heaven”

This is how the 1960s international hit Turn! Turn! Turn! (To Everything There is a Season) by an American rock band the Byrds begins. The lyrics of the song, which are taken almost verbatim from the Book of Ecclesiastes in the Bible, could as well reflect how the insurgency-driven violence in Thailand’s Southern border provinces unfolds. After over a decade the violence has re-emerged in the region, where over five thousand people have been killed and almost ten thousand injured, this ongoing deadly conflict may recently have come to a crucial “change of seasons” where political means are explored as an alternative to the sole military approach. Such change, however, does not come easily. Many complex conditions are to be taken into account, a most challenging of which is how those involved come to pass with the atrocities committed and together envision their unison future.

This paper explores how the insurgents’ violent actions influence the shape of continuing deadly conflict. It argues that although the insurgents’ use of violence may in “a time of war” afford them the leverage to their authority enemy of the Thai state, it could no longer keep such promises when comes to “a time to heal” as “peace talks” between the two sides begin in February 2013. Rather, the violence used by the insurgents could backfire and restrain them from achieving their ultimate goals.

**Paper 2: Comparative Politics of Southeast Asia: The Politics of Thailand**

Antonio Rappa (SIM University)

Thai contemporary politics is segmented along class lines. There are three main classes: the power elite, the middle class and the working class. The widespread systemic corruption in the Kingdom is a result of (1) poor legal implementation; (2) corrupt behaviour among politicians and police officers; and (3) low wages. Additionally, three major challenges face the Kingdom: (1) succession issues in the Chakri Dynasty; (2) the prospects of the 20th military coup since 2006; and, (3) the widening wage differentials between the richest rich and poorest poor. The paper concludes with an analysis of this problematic in the absence of human rights and the presence of Article 112, the lese majeste law that protects the monarchy from criticism.
Severe political strife has been waged in Thailand over the amendment to the country’s constitution. One of the issues under debate is the abolishment of “independent organs,” which were introduced to crack down on the corruption and election fraud made permissible by the 1997 Constitution. The trigger for this dispute was Constitutional Court decisions. Beginning with the decision that ruled the April 2006 election invalid, the court ordered to dissolve the Thai Rak Thai party in 2007 after the coup and overthrew the two regimes of the People’s Power Party in 2008. Although independent organ advocates argue that politicians should follow the “Rule of Law,” critics state that independent organs inhibit democracy.

What are the problems of independent organs in Thailand? This paper validates the institutional particulars of independent organs incorporating the point of view as “packages” for the institutional design of independent organs. The independent organs package is structured by the Election Commission and Corruption Commission which are responsible for investigation and prosecution, and the Senate and the Constitutional Court which are responsible for a final decision. This package consists of a series of judicial proceedings. Members of the organs are selected by an appointment process similar to each other, resulting in the independent organs being of a relatively homogeneous group. Through the 2007 constitutional reform, the independent organs package is almost completely controlled by the judiciary. The independent body package has become the judiciary that can prosecute by themselves in Thailand.
elites to animistic, forest-dwelling agriculturalists. Depending on where the borders are
drawn, some 60 to 80 languages are spoken on the island by a population of more than 15
million. The island has four distinct limbs or peninsulas and a central highland massif with
peaks of more than 2,500 meters in height.
Sulawesi has a remarkable archaeological and historical record that makes it one of the
world’s best natural laboratories for the study of the development of complex societies.
Political centralization and associated social and cultural developments began some three
centuries before the arrival of Europeans. Early sixteenth-century Portuguese visitors to the
southwest peninsula reported a flourishing agricultural landscape dominated by warring
kingdoms. Elsewhere were found simpler societies ranging from chiefdoms to tribes without
centralized institutions, some of which were evolving into more complex units as late as the
nineteenth century.
Research over the last 30 years by archaeologists, historians, geographers and anthropologists
has made it possible to chart the origins and development of complex societies across the
island from c.1200 to the late nineteenth century. The panel is the first formal attempt to
provide a theoretical overview of the development of complex societies in the period after
c.1200 C.E. The panelists, all of whom are specialists on the island, draw on data from North,
Central, South and Southeast Sulawesi.

Paper 1: Family relations in the founding of Wajoq
Kathryn Wellen (KITLV)

Numerous scholars have noted the importance of family relations to traditional Southeast
Asian politics (Andaya, Day) as well as to the politics of South Sulawesi in particular
(Bulbeck, Caldwell). This paper systematically explores the role of marriage and family
relations in the founding of Wajoq, a Bugis polity in South Sulawesi. Wajoq is a
confederative polity, bound together by tradition, a governing council, a paramount ruler and,
it is believed, family relations. This paper uses information from the Wajorese chronicles
and GIS to map out the family relationships and interrogate their significance. It explores the
frequency of marriage relations among the core subpolities of Wajoq as opposed to marriage
relations between the core polities and the vassals and examines the political ramifications of
these relationships.

Paper 2: The Role and Function of Gaukang Objects in South Sulawesi
Stephen Druce (Universiti Brunei Darussalam)

Several accounts by Dutch colonial officials dating to the nineteenth and early twentieth
century report on the apparent significance and role of certain objects in Bugis and Makasar
society, known as *gaukang* or *kalomboang*, that were regarded as supernatural. These reports give the impression that whoever found such objects was made leader of their community but that the ultimate ruler was the *gaukang* objects themselves. Based largely on these accounts, Leonard Andaya put forward an influential *gaukang* model theory for the development of complex society in South Sulawesi (*The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, 1981). In this model, as the population increased, further *gaukang* communities grew from the original but remained tied and loyal to the germinal community. William Cummings (*Making Blood White; Historical Transformations in Early Modern Makassar*, 2002) has even claimed that among the Makasar it was not until the advent of writing in the sixteenth century that the ruling elite were able to eclipse the power of the *kalomboang* and usurp their position as the centre pieces of Makasar society.

In this paper, Andaya’s *gaukeng/kalomoang* model is analyzed against a body of historical, archaeological and ethnographic data from early South Sulawesi. While I refute the claim that these objects as causal factors for the development of complex society, I note their importance in society and discuss their functions.

**Paper 3: Colin Renfrew’s Multiplier Effect in Early South Sulawesi**

Ian Caldwell (University of Leeds)

In his seminal work *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (1972, 2010), the renowned British archaeologist Colin Renfrew sets out a theory for the development of complex cultures which he calls the multiplier effect. He argues that innovations in one aspect or subsystem of a culture, such as agriculture, can enhance and affect, through positive feedback, other cultural systems, such as craft production or social organization. Renfrew explains the development of complex societies as arising out of cultural innovations that sparked interchanges of reciprocity between various cultural systems, ultimately cultivating expansion – the multiplier effect.

The target of Renfrew’s theory was the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. But the theory is a general one and can be applied also to the transition from simple to complex chiefdoms, as occurred on the southwestern peninsula of the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia after c.1200 C.E. Renfrew’s approach has the advantage of sidestepping (and at the same time allowing incorporation) of competing theories of state formation, such as voluntary versus conflict, conquest versus circumscription, or leadership versus class-conflict models of social and political development. In this paper I demonstrate how Renfrew’s multiplier effect offers valuable insights into the historical and cultural forces that drove the transition in South Sulawesi from simple chiefdoms c.1200 to the emergence by 1600 of sophisticated, literate polities with a working knowledge of knowledge of ballistics and the Galilean telescope.
Paper 4: Drivers of State Formation: Colonial Clues to Indigenous Dynamics?
David Henley (Leiden University)

When attempting to identify the drivers of indigenous state formation in Southeast Asia, a lack of contemporary sources accurately describing the chronological course of events by which power came to be concentrated. This often makes it difficult to get beyond the observation that political centralization is broadly correlated with commerce, with surplus agricultural production, with institutionalized religion, and with technological change. Cause and effect remain hard to disentangle, and the relative roles of consensus and coercion in the process of political integration unclear. The expansion of colonial states, by contrast, is often well documented, and in ways which do make it possible to reconstruct motivation and causality. This paper investigates the possibility of using colonial expansion as a model or analogy for indigenous state formation, and thereby throwing new light on the political history of the pre-colonial period in Sulawesi and elsewhere.

7: Reconceptualising Southeast Asian Studies: New Methodologies and Perspectives
Seminar Room 6, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245
Chair: Alan Hao Yang (National Chengchi University)

Paper 1: Relocating the Transnationality in the Making of Indochinese Border Politics
Alan Hao Yang (National Chengchi University)

Border politics in Indochinese region is influenced by historical legacy and contemporary inter-state politics. The study of border politics may reconfigure the linkage between the scholarships of international politics and domestic politics for it is both international and local in essence. Departure from traditional IR conceptualization of border politics, this paper will first re-examine the relations of territorial space and territoriality by highlighting the “transnationality.” Then, it is aimed at proposing a new framework of trans-localization by incorporating state-society relations at locality. Five borderland cases will be discussed, that
is, China-Vietnam border, three from Thai-Cambodian border and the Laotian-Thai border. The reframing of transnationality in the context of border politics may prop up solid and integrated interdisciplinary attempts to conduct Southeast Asia area studies.

**Paper 2: Asian Network for Public Opinion Research: Challenges and Opportunities**

Prof. Jantima K. Kheokao (University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce)

The Asian Network for Public Opinion Research (ANPOR) was officially established on November 28, 2012, by scholars and experts in public opinion research coming from 9 different Asian countries and regions. The aims and objectives of ANPOR are: a) to promote in each country or region in Asia the right to conduct and publish scientific research on what the people and its groups think and how this thinking is influenced by various factors, b) to promote the knowledge and application of scientific methods in this objective, c) to assist and promote the development and publication of public opinion research in Asia, d) to promote worldwide the publication of public opinion research on Asia, e) to promote international cooperation and exchange among academic and commercial researchers, journalists and political actors, as well as between the representatives of the different scientific disciplines. ANPOR’s activities include professional meetings and publications, encouraging high professional standards, promoting improved research techniques, informing journalists about the appropriate forms of publishing poll results, observing the democratic process and use of polls in elections, promoting personnel training, coordinating international polls, and maintaining close relations with other international and regional research associations. This paper will shed light on the current development of public opinion research in Southeast Asia and will discuss the challenges and opportunities for this emerging area of studies.

**Paper 3: Contributions by Cambodian scholars to the study of decentralisation and local politics in Cambodia**

Netra Eng (Monash University)

Many works have been published about decentralisation and local governance in contemporary Cambodia, especially after the implementation of the government policy on decentralisation and deconcentration in 2002. Cambodian researchers have taken a keen interest on the subject although funding for such research almost entirely comes from foreign aid. Publications and studies by Cambodian researchers on decentralisation and local governance have been growing in recent years, providing a new perspective into scholarship currently dominated by foreigners. This paper will review published works on decentralisation and local governance particularly studies on district and provincial levels by Cambodian researchers with the aim of examining the contributions these works make towards the study of contemporary Cambodian local politics. One important contribution is to
bring to life the rich voices and original accounts of how local actors from national to sub-national governments function and understand what the decentralisation reform is likely to achieve. This insight is significant as there is still limited knowledge about these levels of government in the existing literature. Moreover, these researchers provide a different way of looking at local governance: how it really works rather than how it should work and in this way they open up critical and locally-grounded questions crucial to explaining and understanding governance reform and local politics, and thus strengthen the Cambodian scholarship. At the same time, however, Cambodian scholars have difficulty discussing and disseminating certain research findings publicly for fear of discrimination and harassment from the authoritarian state.

Paper 4: Doing research in your own culture: Some methodological hurdles
Somatra Kim Sean (Cambodia Development Research Institute)

Conducting research in a context where there is limited freedom of expression, a culture of violence against the press and strong state surveillance capacity often presents researchers with challenges in data collection, particularly on topics considered politically sensitive. Success then is largely dependent on the researchers’ skills in conducting interviews, asking questions around sensitive topics in a manner that makes them sound less sensitive. In addition, researchers need to depend on other non-verbal sources such as participant-observation and perhaps ethnography to fill the data gaps. Inevitably this creates a tension between research ethics, on the one hand, and the need for data that are otherwise inaccessible, on the other, and it raises the question to what extent should the researchers be upfront about their identity and research interest as doing so would compromise their ability to collect those sensitive data.

Based on his PhD field work experience, the author discusses, in this essay, two methodological challenges that Cambodian researchers doing research on political and governance issues in Cambodia might face. One concerns the ethics of covert data collection. For this, the essay discusses the dilemma posted by the attempt to strictly observe the research ethical code of conduct and the practicality of collecting data on sensitive topics, and how this researcher resolved the problem. The other concerns the difficulties of doing research, particularly research that is ethnographic in nature, in one’s own culture, and how familiarity with one’s own culture might be an advantage or disadvantage for success in data collection and interpretation.
8: Maritime Disputes in Southeast Asia: Conflict Resolution in a Globalised World (roundtable)
Douglas Price Room, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

Chair: Lê Thanh Hải (Polish Academy of Science)

Water disputes in Southeast Asian Sea (also known as East and South China Seas) gradually move into the spotlight of the regional geo-political stage. The death of a Taiwanese fisherman caused by the Filippinian police led to an economical confrontation between the two countries. A huge amount from the GDP of the South East Asian nations went into weapons contracts with Russia, Ukraine, Japan, and the USA. A constant effort in dyplomacy is seen through the ASEAN meetings in order to impose the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea on China. Phillipines brought the dispute over the Scarborough Shoal (also known as Huanguan Island) to the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea while the Chinese government rejected it. Vietnam starts to talk about a military partnership with the former enemy USA in order to balance the Chinese activities on its East Sea. In the age of globalisation, regional conflict is transcended to remote regions through diasporas. The Chinese community in Poland demonstrated in front of the Japanese embassy in Warsaw over the Senkaku (also known as Diaoyu or Tiaoyutai) dispute. The Vietnamese community in the UK protested against the Chinese invasion of the Spratlys and Paracels in front of the Chinese embassy in London. The problem urgently requires an academic attention from different disciplines. Therefore, in co-operation with the Centrum for Studies of Poland-Asia, dr Artur Koscianski from the Polish Academy of Science and I have organised panel-discussion on Sea Conflicts on the West Coasts of the Pacific Ocean in April 2013. Invited experts in international laws, security studies, sociology, politics and diaspora studies discussed the matter and together published a book in Polish. A panel at Oxford SEA Studies Symposium 2014 will offer a great chance for all 7 authors to learn about other approaches and to share knowledge with international scholars and decision-makers.
It has been over fifteen years since the onset of the Asian financial crisis. The crisis itself led to a consolidation of the political economy literature on Southeast Asia and has provided a fertile ground for advancing political economy scholarship on the region. However, much of the literature is focused on elites, especially the tensions that emerged between different groupings of state elites in the crisis aftermath. By contrast, this panel will adopt an ‘everyday political economy’ perspective looking at how the emergence of more marketised forms of economic policymaking are sustained, reproduced and challenged through everyday practices.

In their paper, Elias and Rethel provide an outline of this research agenda – suggesting that focussing on the ‘everyday’ provides insights into how processes of marketization are being produced and sustained in the region. The papers by Martin and Fischer point to the way in which everyday consumption practices amongst the region’s middle classes have taken root alongside transforming understandings of religious identity and gender roles (Fischer looking at the market for halal products and Martin focussing on the popular cultural consumption practices of middle class Malay women). Finally Louth’s paper looks to the ways through which the financial opening of Cambodia (in particular the opening of a stock market) is experienced by ordinary citizens. All of the papers, then, examine the nexus between (and also the tensions that emerge around) the region’s ongoing economic transformation and the lived experiences of ordinary Southeast Asians.
Paper 1: Towards an Everyday Political Economy of Southeast Asia: Economic cultures and global flows
Juanita Elias and Lena Rethel (University of Warwick)

Southeast Asia provides an important site for considering how processes of economic transformation are refashioning the lives of ordinary people – their decisions to migrate across borders; their experiences of growing affluence as well as of inequality, poverty and associated forms of violence and destitution; their activities as activists, citizens and workers; and the ways in which economic and social relations, responsibilities and activities are being refashioned. Southeast Asia is, and will remain, a heterogeneous region of the world, but this very diversity of culture, politics, religion, society and economics – intersecting with divisions of race, class, gender and even age – provides important insights into how economic transformation takes shape. In this paper we set out how an everyday political economy perspective serves to challenge the elitist focus of much Southeast Asian political economy scholarship. In this perspective, we not only consider the ways in which economic transformations ‘touch down’ within the lives of ordinary people, but also how the emergence of more marketised forms of economic policymaking is sustained and challenged through everyday forms of political economic practice such as consumption, the experience of work and forms of resistance.

Paper 2: The Political Economy of Muslim Markets in Singapore
Johan Fischer (Roskilde University)

Halal (literally, ‘permissible’ or ‘lawful’) production, trade, and certification have become essential to state-regulated Islam and to companies in contemporary Singapore, but also globally. In the rapidly expanding global market for halal products, Singapore (along with Malaysia) holds a special position, in that it is one of only two countries in the world where state bodies certify halal products as well as spaces (shops, factories and restaurants) and work processes. In shops around the world, consumers can find state halal-certified products from Singapore. Building on ethnographic material from Singapore, this paper provides an exploration of the role of halal production, trade and regulation between Islam, state and market. Important questions in this paper are how supermarkets/hypermarkets live up to increasing halal requirements in terms of training; audits/inspections; and keeping halal/haram products separate.

Paper 3: Creating Space: Cambodia’s Financial Opening and the Lived Experience of the Everyday
Jonathon Louth (University of Chester)
The paper examines the development and recent launch of the Cambodian stock market as being emblematic of a wider temporal-spatial re-imagining of the Southeast Asian region. Following fits and starts, the eventual opening of the Cambodian Securities Exchange has been vaunted as a long awaited entrance into the global market. For Cambodia it offers a move away from US dollar dependency and towards more sophisticated intra-regional trade-regimes, particularly with its ASEAN neighbours. However, it is argued that this process is simply a continuation of the recent Cambodian experience of violent neoliberal accumulation under the guise of clean and order-inducing neoclassical economic concepts. This paper argues the abstractions of neoclassical frictionless movement and spatial transformations formulate the technocratic, administrative and pseudo-scientific discursive acts that inform the neoliberal agendas of international financial institutions, states, NGOs and governance structures more generally. Importantly, the paper takes the position that the whole process of producing space and capacity is not a neat and linear set of affairs. It is a multi-scaler process, where the international, national, local and individual worlds overlap and interact to co-constitute the production of space. The political economy of the everyday illustrates that the lived experience has a roughness that cannot be completely subsumed by dominant discursive acts. The world of abstractions cannot completely subsume the lived experience. Even within the most repressive confines there is an opportunity for everyday lives to resist and to consider alternatives.

42: Notions of health and personhood in transition, and the containment of life (Part I: Skills and body techniques)

64 Banbury Road, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1115 – 1245

Chair: Elisabeth Hsu (University of Oxford)

The theme of personhood has been central to the social anthropology of Southeast Asia in so far as kinship and socialities in the region are infused by life energies known for their transformative powers. However, they need to be channeled and contained in accordance
with distinctive (seasonal, diurnal, dynastic, etc.) rhythms. Thus, the technique of wrapping is well-developed: among the Chinese and national minorities of Southwest China babies are tightly wrapped into cloths; or one’s legs when hiking should be wrapped into gaiters; gifts of any worth are generally given in wrappings, etc. Alternatively, as Marina Roseman (1992, 2007) has observed, the soul is patted into the body as one pats the earth when planting a plant into the earth. Techniques of the kind persist in contemporary health practices. This panel explores health preventive and therapeutic techniques indicative of the idea that life energies need to be supplemented and contained, and that health arises from a sense of their accrued thickness and density.

**Paper 1: The heavy and full: a China-Pacific cross-cultural comparison**
Elisabeth Hsu (University of Oxford)

In response to an earlier tentative exploration of the cross-cultural experience of “Feeling lighter”, as a positive experience of the patient who expresses an unspecific but overall betterment after medical treatment or due to certain daily routines (published for medical scientists interested in “traditional” medicine, in 2012), I account in this presentation for the positive evaluation of being weighty and pregnant/full. Without denying the positive attributes that feeling lighter has – in medical settings and everyday life – and the negative implications of depression/denseness (yu), fullness (ting) and sluggishness (zhong) in some situations, it is noteworthy that these very terms can be used in a reverse sense too, where yu refers to luxurious growth and dense vegetation, ying/shi to a wanted and cherished pregnancy and zhong to authoritative weight and importance. I will assemble both verbal phrases and observed body techniques, in the past and contemporary world, with the aim to find out how life energies and their containment have been secured, and whether these practices of bodily maintenance have now changed. The focus will be on Chinese and Southwest Chinese sayings and practices, but in cross-cultural comparison.

**Paper 2: Tying the hand: life sustaining technique in northern Thailand**
Junko Iida (Kawasaki University for Medical Welfare)

In Thai folk concepts, human life is believed to be sustained and animated by a spiritual essence or soul spirit called khwan. At certain crisis points, the khwan tends to leave the body, and its temporary absence causes suffering including sicknesses and misfortunes. Thai people therefore perform rituals to recall the khwan to their bodies when they are in a state of suffering, or to bind the khwan to their bodies in order to prevent it from leaving on certain occasions including New Year’s Day, upon departing for a journey and during a rite of passage such as childbirth, marriage and ordination. This presentation explores these rituals
called ju khwan, hiak khwan or hong khwan, which all mean ‘calling the khwan’ in Northern Thai. In these rituals, an elder binds khwan to the body of the participant by tying a piece of cotton thread to both of the participant’s wrists. This action – mat mue, which means ‘tying the hand’ – forms the heart of the ritual. I will demonstrate the importance of the body techniques, routines, and sensory experiences as well as the messages of the words recited in these rituals.

**Paper 3: Permeable Personhood and Techniques for Negotiating Boundaries of the Self among the Luangans of Indonesian Borneo**

Isabell Herrmans (University of Helsinki)

In this paper I take the Luangan saying that they have “a hundred souls and eight essences” (juus jatus, ruo walo) as a clue to understanding the permeability of Luangan personhood and the continuous need to both reinforce and extend boundaries of the self. According to the people I worked with, the expression should not be understood literally, but as metaphorically pointing to the evasiveness or inherent instability of human souls and the many efforts needed to contain or integrate them. As Luangans see it, the soul or life force (juus) of living people, which under normal circumstances is lodged somewhere in the body, may become lost or stolen by spirits, resulting in illness, or death. In addition, there are a number of other aspects of the self, such as invisible plant counterparts (samat) and the placenta (juma), which similarly affect human well-being. While well-being is generally contingent on the strength and fixity of the soul and these other components of persons, health is also adversely affected by alienation, or lack of integration, of people and their unseen counterparts with other beings. A principal factor influencing the stability of souls, for instance, is their strength or hardness, which in turn essentially reflects connections with spirits and sociality with other people. In my paper, I will explore different techniques for strengthening and restoring souls used in Luangan curing which variously serve to maintain or extend boundaries of persons in attempts to negotiate a transient personhood.
### Session 2: Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

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<td>Notions of Health and Personhood in Transition, and the</td>
<td>64 Banbury Road*</td>
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*The Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at 64 Banbury Road is a 15-minute walk from the main conference venue of Keble College.*
10: 50 Years of the Malaysian Dream and the Future of Malaysia (roundtable)
O’Reilly Lecture Theatre, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Pingtjin Thum (University of Oxford)

17 September 2013 marks 50 years of the existence of Malaysia. But official observance of the date in Malaysia has been minimal, especially compared with 50 years of Malayan independence in 2007. Likewise, in Singapore, the date is going almost unnoticed, despite the date marking half a century of independence from the British Empire.

This roundtable seeks to re-evaluate Malaysia in the context of the hope and promises of its founding, as compared to the reality of the past 50 years. In particular, it focuses on two issues. Firstly, has Malaysia lived up to the multiethnic, federal, democratic rhetoric of its founders? Or was that rhetoric quickly overtaken by more prosaic concerns of ethnicity, political power, and geopolitics? Is there a Malaysian identity, or has it always been Melayu Raya, thinly veiled colonialism over Singapore and Borneo?

Secondly, what does the success/failure of the Malaysian vision portend for the original constituents of Malaysia – the Federation of Malaya, Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore? Of numerous proposed post-independence mergers, Malaysia is among the rare few which came to fruition and persists. Does the vision still retain currency? Or is there a need for a new Malaysian dream?

Speakers

Graham Brown is Senior Lecturer in the Politics of Development at the Department of Social & Policy Sciences of the University of Bath, and Research Associate at the Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity at the University of Oxford. He is also Associate Researcher at the Centre for Research on Peace and Development at Leuven University; and, Research Fellow at the Social Development Research Initiative. His research is primarily concerned with the nexus of inequality, identity, and political mobilization, including violent conflict, with a focus on the Southeast Asian region. Recent publications include (with Arnim Langer, eds.), The Elgar Handbook of Civil War and Fragile States. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar (2012) and (with Arnim Langer and Frances Stewart, eds.), Affirmative action in plural societies. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave (2012).

Alice Nah is a Research and Teaching Fellow at the Centre for Applied Human Rights at the University of York. Her research relates to human rights defenders; migration and asylum in

Tony Pua is the Member of the Malaysian Parliament for Petaling Jaya Utara under the Democratic Action Party (DAP). He is also the DAP National Publicity Secretary, as well as the investment liaison officer for the Penang Chief Minister based in the Klang Valley. He is author of The Tiger that Lost its Roar, on Malaysia’s political economy, and is a graduate of the University of Oxford.

Clare Rewcastle-Brown is founder of The Sarawak Report, an investigative journalism online news resource that offers “an alternative vision of justice, transparency and a fairer future in Sarawak”, and its sister organisation Radio Free Sarawak, an independent radio station that brings alternative news for 2 hours a day via shortwave to remote indigenous communities in Sarawak, East Malaysia.

Dato’ Seri Abdul Wahid Omar is a Minister in the Prime Minister’s Department in charge of Economic Planning. He oversees a number of government agencies such as Economic Planning Unit, Public-Private partnership Unit (UKAS), Department of Statistics, Ekuiti Nasional Berhad (EKUINAS), Talent Corporation (TALENCORP), TERAJU and Yayasan Pendidikan Peneraju Bumiputera. Prior to his cabinet appointment, Dato’ Sri Abdul Wahid was formerly the President and CEO of Maybank, Malaysia’s largest banking group and the fourth largest in Southeast Asia, from May 2008. He was also the Chairman of The Association of Banks in Malaysia. He is a Fellow of the Association of Chartered Certified Accountants (UK) and a Member of the Malaysian Institute of Accountants.

Pingtjin Thum is co-ordinator of Project Southeast Asia; Academic Visitor at the Oxford Centre for Global History, University of Oxford; Research Fellow at the Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore. He works on the history of decolonisation and the Cold War in Southeast Asia and the history of Singapore and Malaysia. Recent publications include ‘The Fundamental Issue is Anti-colonialism, Not Merger’: Singapore’s “Progressive Left”, Operation Coldstore, and the Creation of Malaysia (ARI WPS 211) and “Flesh and Bone Reunited As One Body: Singapore’s Chinese-Speaking and their Perspectives on Merger”, in Hong, Lysa and Poh, Soo Kai (eds.), The 1963 Operation Coldstore in Singapore: Commemorating 50 Years. Kuala Lumpur: Strategic Institute of Research and Development (2013).
2: Dormant and Unresolved Border, Land, and Maritime Disputes in Southeast Asia: a New Threat For ASEAN? (Part II)
Seminar Room 1, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Please see page 13.

11: Global Norms and National Institutions – Comparative Law in Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 2, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Marina Kurkchiyan (University of Oxford)

This panel focuses on research on comparative law and national institutions in Southeast Asia. The theme asks for empirical research investigating how international regulatory norms are contextualised in a particular country context in Southeast Asia by national institutions. The underscoring theme is the concern to further understanding of the dynamics of legal transplants in contemporary contexts, and to expand our knowledge of the influence of regulatory regimes in Southeast Asia. Given the increasing importance of global, regional networks and institutions as well as international norms, understanding how these institutions are shaping the understanding of an international norm is essential.
Papers are all concerned with interrogating the spread of international regulatory norms and the complexities of their adoption and interpretation in particular country contexts in Southeast Asia. The papers are framed in different theoretical approaches ranging from legal origin to legal transplant and discourse theory. The papers span four countries in Southeast Asia; Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Myanmar, and cover the diverse topics of
company law, freedom of religion in national courts and human rights institutions.

**Paper 1: The Comparative Evolution of Company Law in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines**

Petra Mahy (University of Oxford)

This paper will compare the long historical evolution of company law in three Southeast Asian countries from the time of the first transplant of company law during their respective colonial periods through to the present. All three countries were colonised by different world powers; Indonesia by the Dutch, Malaysia by the British, and the Philippines by Spain and the United States. The primary question that this paper will ask is to what extent has this difference in colonial powers and the types of legal systems that they bequeathed to their colonies determined the way that company law subsequently developed in each country. The paper will engage with the ‘Legal Origins’ theory, which argues that the legal family that a country belongs to, that is civil law or common law, will have path dependent effects on the style of business regulation in a country. It will also engage critiques of this theory which emphasise the importance of the ‘transplant effect’ in determining how laws fare in their new environment. Specifically, it will interrogate the very long periods of legal stagnation apparently experienced in Indonesia and the Philippines, but not in Malaysia.


Dr Kerstin Steiner (Monash University and The University of Melbourne)

The paper will discuss the current hotly contested issue of freedom of religion in the Malaysian context. The analysis will be theoretically framed in discourse theory thereby allowing for a challenge to the notion that global norms have an intrinsic predetermined meaning that can be conveyed across geopolitical, cultural and temporal boundaries. At the heart of the Malaysian discourse is the assumption that both, international human rights law and Islamic law only allow for one interpretation of their respective norms. I will examine how these different understandings of norms are perceived to collide in a national setting with an ‘all or nothing approach’ advocated by different sides. This is illustrated in particular when the different epistemic communities are arguing over delineating the jurisdiction between the civil and the Syariah courts and which court is to adjudicate over matters concerning freedom of religion and apostasy. However, neither norm is self-explanatory but has been challenged from various epistemic communities numerous times. The question is therefore is whether there is not enough flexibility in the understanding of both norms to co-exist.
Paper 3: Human Rights, Religion, and Democracy: Prospects and Challenges in Malaysia and Indonesia
Dian Shah (Duke University)

In plural societies divided across religious and/or ethnic lines, states are confronted with significant challenges in intergroup accommodation and maintaining peace. Some states fare better than others in managing such divisions, but those that fail face serious repercussions in the enforcement of human rights, and risk inducing conflict. This paper examines the interaction among human rights, religion, and electoral democracy in plural societies. Central to this endeavour is the attempt to solve the theoretical and empirical puzzles surrounding the gap between rights on paper and in practice. By examining contemporary cases in Malaysia and Indonesia, this paper assesses the trends, prospects, and challenges for religious freedom and interreligious relations in these countries. It focuses on three key arguments. First, while the existence of constitutional guarantees provides the normative basis for the protection and enforcement of rights, they are not always adequate. This is especially true in a context where religion and/or ethnicity are socially and politically salient. Second, the configuration of political institutions and the ability of politicians to weaken those institutions might pose substantial challenge to the protection and enforcement of rights, notwithstanding express guarantees on paper. Third, ethnic politics and electoral incentives may determine the parameters of rights and how they are enforced. In short, this paper seeks to explain the significance of history and identity politics in rights enforcement, and to recognize the pitfalls of legally-based solutions in interreligious disputes. Therefore, despite the focus on Malaysia and Indonesia, the arguments herein may potentially apply to other similarly-situated countries in Southeast Asia.

Paper 4: Understanding Harmonization of Competition Law & Policy and Its Role in ASEAN Economic Integration
Cenuk Widiyastrisna Sayekti (Macquarie University)

The target of creating the ASEAN Economic Community and market integration in 2015 is driving legal harmonization efforts across a number of different areas of law. This is especially the case for competition law and policy because this area of law is critical to the success of an integrated market. Harmonization of laws for economic integration is commonly considered to be an effective tool and its success is reflected in the European Union (EU). The ASEAN harmonization process is occurring through the promotion of the ASEAN Competition Policy Guidelines. The Guidelines take the form of a framework aimed at assisting ASEAN member states to develop their own competition policy. This is different from EU competition policy which is based on the compulsory adoption of legislation in each member state (Article 101 to
Article 105 of Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union). This study takes an historical and cultural approach to studying competition law in the ASEAN member states and uses a methodology that looks for the essential components underlying the rules being analyzed to understand likely effects of harmonization efforts on the substance of the competition policy and law. It finds that ASEAN harmonization efforts are being based on the idea of passing similar legal rules in each state but they do not address the underlying differences in legal cultures. I argue that, in order to be effective, harmonization must take into account the fact that different cultures in the ASEAN states perceive law in very inconsistent ways. It is likely to much more difficult to successfully harmonize competition law and policy among the ASEAN nations than it has been in the EU due to the substantial legal and economic development gaps between ASEAN member states.

4: Natural Resources and the Environment (Part II)
Seminar Room 3, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Please see page 21.

12: The Mekong at the Confluence
Seminar Room 4, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Jianchu Xu (World Agroforestry Centre, Beijing Office)

The Mekong region, comprising Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar and Yunnan Province of China is undergoing rapid changes due to economic growth, infrastructure
development, trans-boundary trade and investments, and political changes. While countries in the region differ from each other in terms of political system and stage of economic development, they are becoming integrated with each other at a rapid pace through economic interlinkages and ecological impacts. An important facet in this picture are land use changes, especially in the mountainous Upper Mekong region which impact not only on livelihoods and ecosystem services in the immediate surroundings but also in the downstream parts of the Mekong region. One of the most dramatic changes is the change from traditional land uses such as shifting cultivation to the modern land uses, especially to the expansion of monoculture crops such as maize and rubber.

The objective of the panel is to show how the upland and lowland parts of the Mekong region are linked with each other, and to introduce approaches and methodologies utilized by ICRAF, CIFOR and CDE for a better understanding and monitoring of large-scale change processes. The Panel will also explore more sustainable alternatives to the current change scenario.

Paper 1: Mekong at the confluence: highland-lowland linkages under global change
Dr Jianchu Xu (World Agroforestry Centre, Beijing Office)

There are many Mekongs- the river, the river basin, and the region. The Mekong Region comprises of the five countries of Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam – plus China’s Yunnan Province. The territorial area is 2.3 million km$^2$ which is home to a rapidly growing population of about 260 million people. The major river basins of the region – from east to west – are the Irrawaddy, Salween, Chao Phraya, Mekong and Red. Challenges related to the region include: growth in water, energy and food demand, altering of natural flows, and maintaining wetland, riverine and fishery ecosystems, climate change threats to the health of ecosystems and local societies. New roadways, railways, waterways, and airways are being constructed. Warmer temperature and frequent extreme climatic events are being observed. Increasing transboundary flows of capitals, people, forest and agricultural products are being promoted. All these processes have consequences for landscapes and livelihoods in the region. We link biophysical and socioeconomic transformations to regional governance issues and social consolidation through highland-lowland linkage and water-food-energy nexus.

Paper 2: Agroforestry alternatives to shifting cultivation in Myanmar
Dietrich Schmidt-Vogt (World Agroforestry Center)

Shifting cultivation is still widespread in Myanmar, mainly practiced by ethnic minorities in the uplands, especially in the highlands of northern Myanmar. According to the Forest
Resource Assessment of 1990 by the Myanmar Forest Department, the shifting cultivation area in the country was estimated at 22.8%. As in most other countries, where shifting cultivation is practiced, the official attitude in Myanmar towards shifting cultivation is negative. The Myanmar Forest Policy gives the directive, “to discourage shifting cultivation practices causing extensive damage to the forests through adoption of improved practices for better food production and a better quality of life for shifting cultivators”. This policy can, however, provide the entry point for promoting agroforestry as an alternative to shifting cultivation. Though shifting cultivation systems can provide for the livelihoods and food security of people when enough land is available for accommodating long fallow periods, pressure on land caused by increasing population numbers can lead to a shortening of fallow periods, declining yields, and ultimately less sustainable livelihoods and lower food security. In a situation like this, farmers often adopt permanent cropping systems based on the currently marketable cash crop and relying on heavy inputs of agrochemicals. Governments are mostly supportive of these changes. Agroforestry systems which substitute nutrient cycling between tree and crop layers for burning of woody biomass or use of chemical fertilizer as a means of maintain productivity, can be a more sustainable alternative.

**Paper 3: Assessing trade-offs in ecosystem services and socioeconomic impacts from land use change in Laos and Cambodia**

Grace Wong (Center for International Forestry Research (CIFOR))

Laos and Cambodia are two of the smallest, but fastest growing economies in Southeast Asia and market liberalization policies have propelled both countries along parallel and frenetic development paths. Over the past two decade in particular, an influx of agriculture-based investments has transformed rural landscapes from complex mosaics of forests and mixed smallholder agriculture to large blocks of commercial mono-crop plantations. There are clear trade-offs of ecosystem services and impacts on social-economic systems in these rapidly changing landscapes. However, such information is rarely considered in land use decisions due to the lack of accessible and comparable ecological and economic information. The objective of this research thus is to generate information linking ecosystem services and socio-economic impacts for land use decision-making.

Our research attempts to link selected ecosystem services and socio-economic aspects to spatial assessments of land use change in two landscapes in Laos and Cambodia. This involves: 1) selection of a set of relevant indicators to capture socio-economic assets at both the local- (village) and landscape-levels; 2) economic values of selected ecosystem services through meta-analysis; and 3) assessment of externalities caused by land use change and crop intensification in a spatially explicit way. Our goal is to contribute to the question of winners and losers who have a stake in and can influence land use change in our case study.
areas. This information will be relevant to countries such as Myanmar where similarly rapid land use change is happening.

**Paper 4: Pattern and dynamics of rubber monoculture expansion in Xishuangbanna, China**

Antje Ahrends (Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh)

For a better understanding of the pattern, dynamics, and implications for conservation of rubber monoculture expansion in Xishuangbanna, a major rubber growing area in China, 5m resolution RapidEye image (2010) and 30m Landsat satellite images (1988 and 2002) were used to map rubber plantations. Spatial analysis was conducted with a 30m Digital Elevation Model (DEM). We found that: 1) the area under rubber in Xishuangbanna has increased from 4.5% in 1988 to 9.9% in 2002, and to 22.2% in 2010; 2) rubber monoculture expanded to higher elevations and steeper slopes between 1988 and 2010; 3) overlay analysis of a map of net present value (NPV) of rubber indicated that the proportion of rubber plantations with medium potential economic benefit had dropped between 1988 and 2010; 4) nearly 10% of the total area of nature reserves in Xishuangbanna is now occupied by rubber. The rapid expansion of rubber into higher elevation and nature reserves where most of the remaining forests of Xishuangbanna are located, poses a serious threat to biodiversity and environmental services while not producing the expected economic returns. It is, therefore, essential that local governments develop long-term land use strategies for balancing economic benefits with environmental sustainability.

**Paper 5: A landscape mosaics approach for characterizing swidden systems from a REDD+ perspective**

Cornelia Hett (Centre for Development and Environment (CDE))

Swidden agriculture is often deemed responsible for deforestation and forest degradation in tropical regions, yet swidden landscapes are commonly not visible on land cover/use maps, making it difficult to prove this assertion. For a future REDD+ scheme, the correct identification of deforestation and forest degradation and linking these processes to land use is crucial. However, it is a key challenge to distinguish degradation and deforestation from temporal vegetation dynamics inherent to swiddening. We present an approach for spatial delineation of swidden systems based on landscape mosaics. Furthermore we introduce a classification for change processes based on the change matrix of these landscape mosaics. Our approach is illustrated by a case study in Vienkham district in northern Laos. Over a 30-year time period, the swidden landscapes have increased in extent and they have degraded, shifting from long crop cycles to short cycles. From 2007 to 2009 degradation within the
swidden system accounted for half of all the landscape mosaics change processes. Pioneering shifting cultivation did not prevail. The landscape mosaics approach could be used in a swidden compatible monitoring, reporting and verification system for a future REDD+ framework.

13: The Bangsamoro (Sub)State: Its Identity, Nature, Struggle and Movement
Seminar Room 5, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Sukarno D. Tanggol (Mindanao State University – Iligan Institute of Technology)

Palestinian Question has dominated discourses on self-determination, homeland, independence (emancipation), nationalism, etc. The primal aim of this proposal is to put forward studies and literatures concentrating on Bangsamoro in mainstream academia and orient by hoping to instill interest to students, researchers, teachers, and practitioners alike. This panel is composed of four paper presenters whose families belong to the Bangsamoro (or members of Muslim ethnic communities). Mr. Adiong will discuss the geopolitics and the utilization of the BATNA approach in the peace negotiation. Mr. Arobinto will present a case under the literature on the relations between politics and religion, and that is, highlighting the participation and/or influence of the ulama (Muslim scholars trained in Islam and Islamic law) in political affairs and public policies of the government, especially concerning the Bangsamoro people. Prof. Dr. Tanggol argues for a serious consideration of federalism by the Philippine Government, the Bangsamoro, and other stakeholders, as a political formula to finally put to rest the seemingly-perennial Bangsamoro question. And finally, Ms. Halud will explore options for the country’s peace negotiators according to the framework of transitional justice without having to erode our confidence in the validity of world’s existing collective political struggles.

Nassef Manabilang Adiong (Co-IRIS and Middle East Technical University)
This study examines the intricate geopolitics of the Bangsamoro problem cognizant to how the ‘Best Alternative to a Negotiated Agreement’ (BATNA), as a theoretical approach, will be operationalized to give an earmarked suggestion for both parties (Government of the Philippines or GPH and Moro Islamic Liberation Front or MILF) to forged a final comprehensive compact agreement that will hopefully pave the way for the socio-economic development among the peoples of Mindanao (Muslims, Christians and Lumads), especially those located in conflicted areas and considered as Internally Displaced Persons or IDPs. In to-to, the paper will focus on two phases: Firstly, presenting the geopolitical issues that made their aspirations legitimate and rebel against the government, and secondly, how BATNA may provide incremental ideas in the course of the negotiation process.

**Paper 2: The Voice of the Ulama on the Bangsamoro Struggle**
Raison Dimaampao Arobinto (University of the Philippines)

This paper focuses on the voice of the local religious leaders (*Ulama*) on the Bangsamoro struggle in the Philippines. Several studies have shown that *Ulama* rank on top in trust rating by the people in their respective communities. It is on this light that the theory on *Ulama*’s levels of involvements beyond religious and moral duties was developed. This theory examines the participation of the *Ulama* in various aspects of societal dynamics such as the impacts of their actions to influence the Philippine political system. Responding in the urgency to mainstream the participation of the *Ulama* on the Bangsamoro issues, the paper will deliver the following objectives: to present the current position of the *Ulama* in the Bangsamoro Struggle; to shed light on the participation of the *Ulama* in the political affairs; and to measure the knowledge of the *Ulama* on various peace agreements between the Philippine Government and MNLF/MILF as part of the Bangsamoro endeavours for self-determination and independence. The significance of this study is the realization of the people involved on the issues involving the Bangsamoro people and how *Ulama* have responded and continue to respond on issues related to peace and development in Southern Philippines. To accomplish the objectives, the researcher conducted a survey research to the *Ulama* in Metro Manila, which represent their communities in their respective place. To support the result of the study, the researcher added a structured in-depth key-informant interview (KII) with selected *Ulama* members.

**Paper 3: Between Autonomy and Independence: Is Federalism the Answer to the Bangsamoro Question in the Philippines?**
Sukarno D. Tanggol (Mindanao State University – Iligan Institute of Technology)
The Bangsamoro Question has been a persistent problem facing the Philippine Government. Various political solutions were proposed and tried and a series of peace negotiations were held between the Government of the Philippines and the Muslim groups fighting for self-determination, with the help of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) and active involvement of Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN) countries, particularly Indonesia and Malaysia. While Muslim demand mediated between independence and genuine autonomy, the Philippine Government could only grant or promise various forms of regional autonomy. Meanwhile, federalism has been suggested as an appropriate formula that would address Muslim self-rule without tampering with the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Philippine state. This paper explores the option of federalism as a theoretical mean between autonomy and independence; revisits the relevant discourse, initiatives, and issues within the Philippine polity regarding the federal option and the Bangsamoro issue; and analyzes its implications for Philippine politics and governance, as well as the OIC and the ASEAN. This paper builds on the previous researches and publications of the author on the Bangsamoro question; relies on secondary materials and documents; and draws insights from interviews with key informants, including experts, parties to the peace negotiations, civil society organizations, private sector representatives and international observers like the Malaysian-led International Monitoring Team (IMT). This paper argues for a serious consideration of federalism by the Philippine Government, the Bangsamoro, and other stakeholders, as a political formula to finally put to rest the seemingly-perennial Bangsamoro question.

Leila Asani Halud (University of the Philippines- Diliman)

The turn of events in North and South Sudan makes Mindanao conflict the longest running one on earth. Much has been discussed about the human and social costs of conflict but mechanisms to prevent these escape the range of national commitment albeit peace negotiations are in place. The region remains impoverished and pockets of resistance still persist. The academic community has to ask the question why because the conflict continues to claim lives from both the government forces and minoritized group – the Bangsamoro people. Another important question begging to be answered — do we really need to rely on third party intervention? The most recent incident, the Zamboanga Siege, that occurred in September 2013 is one of the serious indications that, first, there is a failure to set up mechanisms to address historical injustices, which includes the prosecution of perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Second, there is a vacuum in the aspect of reconciliation. The gap between the contrasting narratives of the Philippine state and of the minorities left a void, where both clash when they are supposed to reconcile if the state is to
ensure fuller integration of the Filipino nation as well genuine self-determination for the Bangsamoro people. This paper will explore options for the country’s peace negotiators according to the framework of transitional justice without having to erode our confidence in the validity of world’s existing collective political struggles.

14: Comparing Transnational Dynamics in the Greater Mekong Subregion and Malacca Straits
Seminar Room 6, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Nathalie Fau (Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia (IRASEC) and University Paris Diderot-Paris 7)

The aim of this panel is to present and discuss the main results of a research program entitled Transiter ("Transnational Dynamics and Territorial Redefinitions in Southeast Asia: The Greater Mekong Subregion and Malacca Straits economic corridors") that will be published in 2013 by ISEAS (Institute of Southeast Asia Studies) in Singapore. The main goal of the Transiter Program was to better understand the role played by the economic corridors in the ongoing transition towards a broader transnational integration process, questioning the development of cross-border trade and focusing on interactions between transnational dynamics and territorial redefinitions. Research concentrated on concrete examples (cities, corridors, border…) chosen in the different country of the area and studied according to a multi-disciplinary approach during a three-year period. An important concern of the program was to define terms and to use common theoretical tools and analysis grids. It allowed the comparison by giving the possibility of studying the similarities and specificities of transnational integration structures and processes in maritime and mainland contexts. All the papers are resolutely comparative and are a synthesis of our collective work. The first paper outlines the main transnational dynamics in the GMS and Malacca Straits and justifies the comparison. The second paper compares the arguments and objectives of international bodies with the national strategies. The third paper raises the question of the possible emergence of new urban nodes on corridors and tries to attempt a typology of these new
nodes linked to the regionalizing process of globalization. The last paper studies the impact of these transnational projects on local socioeconomic development.

**Paper 1: Transnational Dynamics and Urban Development in the Greater Mekong Subregion and Malacca Straits: Twin Cities and Urban Pairs, a New Level in Urban Hierarchies Structuring Transnational Corridors?**
Manuelle Franck (National Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures (INALCO))

Transnational corridors, whether planned or the result of existing flows, are structured by nodes whose ranks are linked to the ranks of the corridors and whose dynamics are closely tied to international exchanges along its length. These nodes function as logistic and communications hubs or gateways into territories and participate in articulating the space of flows and the space of places. The head nodes of the corridors are usually large first or second rank metropolises. Between these poles of command, the corridors are structured by a hierarchical series of hubs: by inland province capital cities and by smaller border towns along the continental corridors or, in maritime corridors, by smaller ports. Studying also the transformation of the lowest ranked cities (in urban hierarchies) is another approach to analysing the impact of transnational dynamics. However, accounting for their transformations requires studying them not as individual entities, which in many cases would ignore much of the process; but rather as functionally complementary or competing doublets situated across borders or within the same national territory. Multiple parameters need to be examined: their location (central or peripheral) within national space, their place in national urban hierarchies, their relationship with former command centers, and for border cities, the type of borders involved (land, river, or sea). Through various examples taken from the research program, this communication will try to attempt a typology of these new nodes linked to the regionalizing process of globalization and will introduce a distinction in terminology between twin and pair cities.

**Paper 2: Transnational Dynamics, Supranational and States Actors: Complementarities, Indifference or Rivalry Between the Strategies of the Different Actors in the Greater Mekong Subregion and Malacca Straits?**
Nathalie Fau (Research Institute on Contemporary Southeast Asia (IRASEC) and University Paris Diderot-Paris 7)

The subregions of Southeast Asia, Greater Mekong Subregion, and the Malacca Straits, intermediate areas between the world system and Nation States, involve various actors intervening at different levels: translational, national or local. “Top-down regionalization”, which leaders aim for, mobilizing international or world organizations, comes face to face with
“spatial decomposition from the bottom”, i.e., on an infranational scale. The myriad actors involved raise many questions which deserve to be examined in turn. The first question concerns the State’s new position: is the State overwhelmed by these flows weaving a network of new territories going beyond the national context, or can it still take the initiative? The second concerns governance: have the new forms of transnational management accompanied the creation of these subregions? The third, which is dependent on the second, questions the connection between the strategies and skills of the different actors: complementarities, indifference or rivalry? The final question is whether there are different degrees of involvement between actors in the two subregions, mainland and maritime.

To deal with these four questions, we examine successively the role of supranational (unequal role played by the Asian Development Bank, unequal level of transnational management, links between this subregional zone with the ASEAN and with the opening of Southeast Asia towards Eastern and Southern Asia) national (connection between transnational projects promoted by the ADB and national planning) and finally local power (different views of transnational integration between national and local authorities) in the process of transnational integration.

Paper 3: Transnational Dynamics and Local Communities in the Greater Mekong Subregion and Malacca Straits: Participation, Exclusion or Opposition of Local Communities?
Marie Mellac (University of Bordeaux and French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS))

In theory, most countries in South-east Asia have, since the 1990s, engaged in a decentralization policy aimed at setting up the form of “good governance” recommended by most cooperation and development agencies. The declared objective is to involve local communities in decision making and transfer responsibilities of drawing up and managing strategies to the centres of power closest to the local population so that they can take part in decision making and play a full role as citizens. Whether in mainland or maritime areas, the regional integration process in Southeast Asia is characterized by the State’s preponderant role. The State’s major weight in the building of these transnational areas is seen, not so much in the absence of private and local dynamics as in the lack of connection of economic and spatial strategies between the different actors. Illegal actors, of course, but also the private sector and migrants, build their own transnational spaces with different boundaries and nodes from those officially recognized, since for their development they rely on family, ethnic or company networks, often much older than the official structures. De jure and de facto regional integration are both at work in Southeast Asia. This paper deals with the impact of economic corridors on local communities (the development of informal flows, type of relationships
between private actors and local communities transformation of regional mobility) and the unequal ability of local population faced with the multiplication of transnational project on their own territory to negotiate their future.

15: Tangled Crossroads: Flows of ideas, commodities and people through the Thai-Myanmar borderworld

Douglas Price Room, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Jonathan Goodhand (School of Oriental and African Studies)

Border regions provide a specific set of spatial dynamics which can, as in the Burmese and Thai cases, shape the trajectory of a country’s political, social and economic development. Borderlands, however, have often been projected as uncivilized, passive zones at the margins of state formation, subject to a linear and irreversible process of state encroachment. This has overlooked the agency of the borderlanders whose identities and affiliations straddle cartographic boundaries and their efforts to escape central control.

The Thai-Burma borderworld has long been such an ‘unruly’ space, a site of insurgency and counter-insurgency struggles, of unceasing flows of people and smuggled goods as well as cross-border exchange of ideas. It is a crossroads where the Thai and Burmese states, capitalist enterprises and international NGOs are interacting with Burmese migrant communities and organisations.

Building on research in the Karen and Shan realms, papers in this panel reveal a crack in state power that empowers the borderland populations by creating space for their transborder strategies through the use of social capital like kinship, ethnicity and religious networks. A discussion on these transgressions is timely given the present enthusiasm in the region associated with the arrival of the ASEAN Economic Community in 2015, a widely publicised, but limited top-down process.

Adopting a grassroots approach, this panel explores the flows of people, commodities and ideas shaping the social, political and economic Thailand-Myanmar borderscape. The set of papers invokes three of the symposium’s themes: coming from different disciplines (Anthropology, Development and Politics) but all based on recent (2012-2013) fieldwork,
papers converse about contemporary and transnational realities along and across the Thai-Burma border.

**Paper 1: Power after the Imperium: Territory, Population, and Migrant Labour in the Borderlands of Burma/Myanmar**  
Geoffrey Aung (Soe Lin Aung) (Columbia University)

This paper focuses on emergent formations of power amidst Burma’s transition to liberal-democratic political and economic governance in recent years. In the wake of military rule, what new markers of difference and heterogeneity have materialized under the sign of liberal modernity? Drawing on extended field-based research conducted with and among migrant workers in Burma’s rural and border areas, an attempt is made to trace the passage from coercion to consent as the basis of the exercise of political power in Burma, with an emphasis on how the liberalization of Burma’s political economy has crystallized ‘populations’ as a new object of power in this ostensibly ‘post-authoritarian’ political present. This paper argues that, against the backdrop of shifting migration policy and Burma’s gathering neoliberal turn, rural and border-based workers and migrants represent a new kind of political subject in Burma.

This claim is explored through several years of fieldwork in two areas: first, on everyday tactics used by migrant worker communities to secure access to livelihoods in the Mae Sot area of the Thai-Burma border; and second, south of Mae Sot, on the strategies used by communities living near the Dawei port and special economic zone (SEZ) project to influence project decision-making and assert a would-be participatory politics – in and through concerns around dispossession as a driver of labour migration. The primary theoretical approach attends to recent postcolonial readings of Foucault on governmentality and neoliberalism, seeking in the specificity of emergent power formations in the borderlands a response to the state-centrism of many Foucauldian accounts of state-society relations.

**Paper 2: Lives across the border and beyond: trajectories of the Karen from the Hpa-an area, Myanmar**  
Indre Balcaite (School of Oriental and African Studies)

Activists and researchers concerned with the refugees fleeing civil conflicts, oppression and poverty in Myanmar/ Burma have long been publicising the Thai-Burmese border. In contrast, the parallel and interrelated process of ‘economic’ migration that to a great extent provides a different solution to the same problems has been more ‘creeping’ and ‘silent’ in nature. In the past 2-3 decades economic migration to Thailand has permeated the villages of the Karen/ Kayin State of Myanmar, making them reliant on remittances and producing
already a second generation of Plong/ Pwo Karen migrant workers who fit perfectly into the definition of ‘transmigrants’. The past 15 years have seen the flourishing of infrastructure facilitating irregular migration geared towards the circular economic migration punctuated by liminal life events, e.g. Buddhist monk ordination, marriage, childbirth or retirement. However, refugee camps and even Thai Karen villages remain important nodes of the Karen borderland networks stretching from Hpa-an (the capital of the Kayin State) to Bangkok and beyond – to Malaysia, Singapore, Korea – and then via refugee resettlement programs – to the US, Australia and Western Europe. In fact, it is at the extended and permeable Thai-Burmese border that these networks are perpetuated and reproduced. Building on 10 months of multi-sited fieldwork with the Karen migrants in Thailand originating from the Hpa-an area, the paper attempts to map the trajectories of the Karen leading across the border to Thailand, to explore the significance of the main hubs and their interconnectness.

**Paper 3: A cosmopolitan space: Re-Muslimization across the Thai-Myanmar borderland through the Dawah Tabligh movement**

Samak Kosem (Chiang Mai University)

Religious movements along the Thailand-Myanmar border are significant in understanding the various forces shaping the borderscapes and creating migrant identities. This paper focusses on the network of Dawah Tabligh, the Muslim missionary movement for the revival of the practice of Islam, and its integration in the Mae Sot community and Mae La refugee camp. Studying the structure and individual levels of Dawah Tabligh movement among Burmese migrants of different ethnic groups allows to get a grasp of the ‘re-Muslimisation’ process, itself part of the wider developments called elsewhere as ‘missionarising the border’. Integration occurs in cooperation, conflict, negotiation and compromise over the power relations with respect to time and place. The movement reveals a possibility of creating alternatives Burmese Muslim migrants otherwise excluded from the Thai society. Namely, opportunities open up in their everyday lives under the specific contexts of the Dawah Tabligh network that can help them to ‘make a new home’ by joining the Islamic community ‘Ummah’. Embracing Muslim religiosity, they can claim the religious space and connect with various Muslim groups in other countries such as India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The active process of religious space production at the border encourages integration across the lines of nationality, ethnicity and locality. Migrants’ inclusion in a religious space re-positions them with respect to social relations in the new context, granting them a higher social status within the framework of adaptation to a new culture despite the lack of security in life, caused by economic and social crises.
Paper 4: Opium in the Myanmar-Thai borderworld: The political economy of a resurgent cross-border flow
Patrick Meehan (School of Oriental and African Studies)

This paper explores the cross-border border trading networks which serve to link remote rural opium-producing communities in the Shan state of Myanmar with lucrative markets in Thailand and beyond. It focuses specifically on the role of cross-border brokers who play an instrumental role in enabling drugs to traverse the border region. It examines how these transnational commodity chains have become an invaluable part of local livelihood strategies across Shan State in a region where the gains from development have been deeply inequitable and stunted by protracted conflict, predatory land grabs, ill-conceived (or non-existent) rural development policies and persistent food insecurity.

The paper analyses the drug trade flows in the wider context of the political economy of opium in the Thai-Myanmar borderland, arguing that the lucrative cross-border drug trade has played an instrumental role in the marketization and monetisation of the region’s rural economy. In turn these processes have facilitated a ‘border effect’ both encouraging the Thai and Myanmar states to attempt to penetrate and consolidate their control over the border region and providing the mechanisms and finance through which to achieve this. In particular, the paper analyses the ways in which the drug trade has been utilised by the Myanmar government to extend control over local strongmen in the border region control through their manipulation of offers of legal impunity, protection, taxation ‘rights’ and money laundering on the one hand, and threats of prosecution and military action on the other.

16: Myanmar in Transition: Primary Care and Public Health
Pusey Room, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Valerie Wass (Royal College of General Practitioners)

The Myanmar healthcare system faces significant challenges after decades of underfunding and neglect.
Health indicators are poor: life expectancy is 65 years, the mortality rate for children aged 5 years and younger is 62 per 1000 livebirths compared to the global average of 51, around 40% of Burmese children aged <=5 years are moderately stunted, and the prevalence of tuberculosis and incidence of malaria are respectively three times and two times global and regional averages with increasing reports of drug resistance and counterfeit medication. Healthcare is chronically underresourced: the country has 5 physicians per 10,000 population with the bulk of primary care in rural areas being provided by midwives and non-medical staff, 81% of health expenditure is out of the patient’s pocket and only 10% from government expenditure, and of total government expenditure healthcare receives 3% compared to 20% for the military. These statistics, themselves based on data of mixed quality, gloss over inequalities between cities and villages, between rich and poor in a country where 50 million live below the poverty line, and between central Burmans and their ethnic minorities in the borderlands.

Against this backdrop, there is a growing recognition of the importance of further financial and human resource investment into the Myanmar healthcare system. The Myanmar government has augmented healthcare spending in 2013, and increased medical school student numbers. There is also a real openness from Burmese doctors to learn and improve standards of care and training. As the government healthcare sector develops, there remains a pressing need not just for support in the form of funding and expertise but for more effective coordination among agencies and individuals involved with healthcare. This roundtable brings together doctors, nurses and other healthcare professionals with an interest in developing healthcare in Myanmar to encourage collaboration and exchange of best practice.

Themes

- Development of primary care as a specialty, including its introduction into the undergraduate curriculum, supporting continuing professional development, and ensuring these and other initiatives are accessible and applicable to all general practitioners
- Models of care in rural settings, including the role of midwives
- The role of traditional medicine and its practitioners in healthcare provision
- The role of voluntary/religious organisations and how to collaborate with them
- Supporting medical education, including online teaching
- Development and dissemination of online resources, including guidelines
Speakers

**Caroline Nixon** (Myanmar Family Medicine Project & Royal College of General Practitioners)
Caroline Nixon is a general practitioner and medical educator in Oxfordshire who has worked as a volunteer in Cambodia, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. She is currently involved as a Royal College of General Practitioners International Representative in a project to support the development of a faculty of family medicine in Myanmar.

**Eleanor Vogel** (Myanmar Family Medicine Project & Royal College of General Practitioners)
Eleanor Vogel is a general practitioner in Didcot, Oxfordshire, completing her GP training in Oxford in 2007. She has been involved in international projects in both primary and secondary care for over 10 years. Eleanor became Thames Valley Faculty International Lead for the Royal College of General Practitioners in 2012, and initiated the twinning project between Thames Valley Faculty and Myanmar colleagues.

**Myint Oo** (Myanmar Medical Association General Practitioners’ Society)
Myint Oo is a general practitioner in Yangon who is secretary of the Ethics Committee of the Myanmar Medical Association General Practitioners’ Society. He has published widely on family medicine, health policy, and human rights.

**Thinn Thinn Hlaing** (Brighter Future Foundation)
Thinn Thinn Laing is a metabolic medicine registrar at Addenbrooke’s Hospital, Cambridge where she has been working with the Addenbrookes Abroad team to develop a health partnership link between Cambridge University Hospitals and Yangon General Hospital specifically in supporting laboratory and orthopaedic services. She is a trustee of the Brighter Future Foundation.

**Aung Aung Lwin** (Brighter Future Foundation)
Aung Aung Lwin is a consultant intensivist and acute physician in Chelmsford. A graduate of the Institute of Medicine 1 in Yangon, Myanmar, he is a trustee of the Brighter Future Foundation.

**Khin Swe Myint** (Brighter Future Foundation)
Khin Swe Myint is a consultant endocrinologist and honorary senior lecturer at Norfolk and Norwich University Hospitals. She is the current chair of the board of trustees of the Brighter Future Foundation.

**Jay Halbert** (Maternal and Child Health Care in Myanmar)
Nwe Thein (Mind to Mind Foundation)
Nwe Thein works as a consultant psychiatrist in Shropshire, and contributes to the mental health sector in Myanmar through her young charity Mind to Mind.

Andrew Murray (Health and Hope)
Andrew Murray is a general practitioner who trained in Oxford and is currently chair of the board of trustees of Health and Hope UK.

May Tha Hla & Jon Wilkinson (Helping the Burmese Delta)
Jon Wilkinson and May Tha Hla are founders of the charity Helping the Burmese Delta. He completed a DPhil in Chemistry but followed a business career in Unilever and WPP. She was born and brought up in Yangon, but spent her working life in the UK – and latterly in Burma – in market research.

9: The Everyday Political Economy of Southeast Asia II: Poverty, Inequality and Global Economic Flows
Gibbs Room, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Chair: Juanita Elias (University of Warwick)

This panel addresses the question of how processes of integration in the global economy and marketisation generate emergent forms of resistance and acquiescence in Southeast Asia. The embedding of economic transformation in Southeast Asia’s everyday political economy should not ignore the persistence of poverty; gendered and racialised forms of inequality and oppression; and, the complex relationship between economic transformation and everyday life. Furthermore, these three dimensions are taking shape within the context of attempts to build markets or deepen processes of marketisation that serve to adversely incorporate some of society’s most marginalised groups ever further into the market economy. The panel will bring together scholars working on various aspects of Southeast Asia’s contemporary political
economy from a range of disciplines such as economics, sociology and political science/international relations.

**Paper 1: Survival Strategy of Smallholder Coffee Farmers in East Java – Indonesia**  
**Sofia Giranda** (University of Jember and University of Brawijaya)

Indonesia is one of the top five coffee-producing countries in the world. Based on production numbers, Indonesia is the fourth biggest producer after Brazil, Colombia, and Vietnam. Indonesian coffee plantations are dominated by smallholder coffee plantation managed by farmers. Most of the Indonesian coffee farmers have limited land to grow the coffee plants. The average plot is only 0.50 hectares. In managing the coffee farming, farmers still use traditional ways so that the quality of coffee is low. These conditions, i.e. the limitation of land and the low quality of coffee beans, mean their income from coffee farming is low and not enough for maintaining their life and family. To address their low and uncertain income, they develop coping strategies by participating in other activities that generate other sources of income. This study identifies the characteristics of smallholder coffee farmers and their livelihood strategies to increase their income for maintaining their life and family. Research was conducted at the Sidomulyo Village, Silo District, Jember Regency, East Java Province, Indonesia using descriptive, analytical and statistic methods. The results of the study show that coffee farmers in this area have limited land and low formal education, but they have long experience of coffee farming and high performance. Every farmer has some livelihood strategies for increasing their income. Besides farming coffee on their own land, they do other work in order to increase their income, i.e. mixing crops, food crops, cattle, trading coffee, and expanding coffee farming in the forest. The choice and the number of livelihood strategies conducted by the farmers are much influenced by the income from their coffee crops. The more limited land and the lower the income from the coffee farming, the more livelihood strategies are adopted by farmers to increase their income.

**Paper 2: Counter-Cartography in Kalimantan**  
**Lisa Tilley** (University of Warwick)

This paper begins by drawing out spatial theorising from selected sources of postcolonial thought. Mining the work of Fanon, Said and others, observations on colonial spatial ordering, bordering and claimant practices are outlined. Parallels are drawn with the investment practices of today in Indonesia in which the claimant power of the map retains its prominence in land seizure for large-scale investment projects. The role of mapping techniques in claiming land varies according to industry – mining corporations for example, in order to gain legal permits for excavation, utilise maps detailing the contents of the subsoil, documents which deny the human and natural complexity of the landscape above ground.
However, local inhabitants are beginning to engage in what this paper terms ‘counter-cartography’, the production of maps detailing customary land rights, historic collective land ownership agreements, and ancient and varied forested areas. Counter-cartography is practised by networked indigenous movements, who, through collective “participatory mapping” practices, hope to contest the attempts of the state and corporations to claim land for large-scale development projects. The paper discusses counter-cartography in relation to research conducted in Kalimantan during the summer of 2013.

42: Notions of Health and Personhood in Transition, and the Containment of Life (Part II: Social movements and community events)
64 Banbury Road, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1400 – 1530

Paper 4: “Kembeeh weeh” (Us Together): Bolstering the life force through community healing in the forests of Malaysia.
Marina Roseman (Universiti Brunei Darussalam)

In December of 2011, while staying in the Temiar village of Kg. Santeh, in the hinterlands of peninsular Malaysia, a young boy suffering with fever fainted while playing outdoors with his friends. Immediately he was brought inside, and his family did first-level traditional treatment options for his suffering, massaging him with tepid water, blowing spiritual coolness and sucking out illness, while neighbours arrived with the ginger roots and leaves to be pounded and soaked in water, later to be massaged on his body. Within minutes the word had gone out of his fainting (kesbus), which carries in the Temiar language of these Orang Asli or ‘aboriginal’ people, the same meaning as ‘death’. Neighbours gather twenty thick at the doorways, passing in ritual objects, leaves for leaf whisks, while healers arrived one by one from the surrounding areas. Over the course of three hours, as word spread, healers multiplied and the crowd grew until finally the most senior healer of the area arrived and began to do his ministrations. All this was happening in the home where I was staying while doing my latest research project with the people I’ve studied with over 30 years. As usual, I felt the mixture of angst and excitement, angst because my research was proceeding on the basis of someone else’s suffering, excitement because when studying the subject of medical
anthropology in this kind of setting, no one can predict when someone will fall ill and healings will occur, and there I was in the right place at the right time. So with camera and notes, I covered the event, feeling slightly guilty about gaining material from the boy’s suffering. After three hours of the first day’s treatment, as healers and elders were beginning to leave, one leaned over to me and said proudly, gesturing to the collectivity of people who had gathered to minister, in their various ways, gathering leaves, pounding herbs, worrying and gossiping, ministering, and said in Temiar, “Now put that in your book!”

This event is combined with a recent protest and blocking of logging roads in January 2012 by Temiars of Kelantan state, near where the above healing took place. At the site of their blockade, they had a table with medicinal leaves, leaves for healing ceremonies, jungle foodstuffs, forest building materials, all the things they said “Gave them life (gesgos)”, and were endangered by unbridled logging of the rainforest.

I explore, then the pride of an aboriginal animist forest people, marginalized by the state and the majority Muslim Malays, who despite continual onslaughts on their practices and the environment that supports those practices, continue to take pride in their collective engagement with individual suffering, and their connection to the forest. I also explore the conflicting situation of the medical anthropologist whose ‘business’ is to document suffering.

**Paper 5: Containing lennāwa: Relational techniques for sustaining life in Ifugao, the Philippines**
Jon Henrik Ziegler Remme (University of Oslo)

For the Ifugao of Northern Luzon, the Philippines, life, health and well-being depends on the containment of the life force called lennāwa within the body. The life sustaining lennāwa-body relation is, however, inherently instable. The potential for lennāwa-body separation entails that they need to engage in practices that constitute and sustain the lennāwa-body relation. In this paper I discuss how these practices are relational in the sense that the containment of the life force within and its eventual release from the body depend on the relations the person enacts with other humans and nonhuman beings (spirits). I describe how the Ifugao use various techniques such as small acts of sharing, carrying ginger and keeping a chickweed plant over their ear and argue that these are ways of managing relations with other humans and spirits which, when enacted properly, will stabilize the lennāwa-body relation. When this relation is weakened, the Ifugao engage in elaborate therapeutic rituals the purpose of which is to retrieve the lennāwa and ensure that it is rejoined with the body. These rituals take the form of exchange of lennāwa between humans and spirits by means of the sacrifice of pigs and subsequent observance of a series of taboos. Altogether these practices are meant to
mend relations between the patient and spirits which will ensure that the retrieved lennäwa remains within the body of the patient. In sum, I discuss how Ifugao techniques of containing life must be understood within a relational framework in which the stabilization of the life force in a human body emerges as an effect of an assemblage of relations that includes human and nonhuman beings.

**Paper 6: Sacrificing blood and accruing political energies: the 2010 Red Shirts protest in Bangkok**

Claudia Merli (Durham University)

This paper analyses the protest of the Red Shirts (United front of Democracy against Dictatorship) staged in Bangkok in 2010 by the supporters of exiled PM Thaksin Shinawatra and culminating in a mass blood donation. Protesters fielded both sacrificial and biomedical discourses, paramedics as well as a person dressed as a Brahmin took active part in the operation. In its aspect of biopolitical counterconduct the mass blood donation can be read as a form of political contestation based on controlled disembodiment, shedding the essence of life. The blood donation’s hygienic faultlessness during the sampling phase was captured by the global media and opposed by a counterintuitive pooling of blood in large plastic bottles, carried in procession to government buildings’ gates and splashed on asphalt. A complete subversion of the rhetoric of previous ‘gift’ usually attached to the donation procedure. By wasting and casting away blood in a sacrificial ritual of disembodiment engagement, new political individual and collective energies were accrued in a time of political crisis and transition. A form of democratic citizenship was campaigned by a political opposition that was promptly portrayed by the government as being un-Thai, and using a prominently biomedical rhetoric as particles to be expelled from the body of the nation, as red ‘germs’.
### Session 3: Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

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*The Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at 64 Banbury Road is a 15-minute walk from the main conference venue of Keble College.*
17: The Energy Future of Southeast Asia (roundtable)
O’Reilly Lecture Theatre, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Chair: Nigel Gould-Davies (BG Thailand)

Southeast Asia’s growth and development prospects will depend critically on its capacity to meet rapidly growing energy demand with secure and affordable supplies. How can the countries of this region best develop their indigenous resources? How should this be balanced with environmental concerns? Against the background of tight international markets, how do these countries secure the energy imports that most will increasingly require? How do they ensure equitable and efficient domestic distribution of energy supply? This workshop will explore how governments, business and civil society can engage these issues. In particular, it will address the nature and scale of the looming energy supply challenge; the policy options facing the countries of the region; and the role that greater co-operation among them can play in solving it.

Speakers

- Nadhavathna Krishnamra (Minister of the Royal Thai Embassy)
- Sir Robert Cooper (Special Adviser to the EU High Representative on Foreign Affairs and Security Policy)
- Harald Heubaum (School of Oriental and African Studies)
- Juman Kubba (Global Witness)

18: Evolution or Revolution: Imagining a future for Burma’s rural economy
Seminar Room 1, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Chair: Michael Marett-Crosby (DASSK Trust for Health and Education)

Agriculture is the most important sector of the Burmese economy. Some 70% of the country’s population live and work in rural areas. The success or failure of Burma’s transformation may
well depend upon changes in the rural economy. Despite its huge potential, the sector has underperformed for more than half a century. Once a rice exporting country, Burma now has significant pockets of food shortage – 29% of rural households are below the national poverty line, and more than one third of households have to borrow money to purchase food. Compared to other countries in the region, agricultural workers earn less than their neighbours, and 32% of children are malnourished.

Yet the possibilities are huge. It has considerable water resources and a diverse topography for rice, cereals, livestock, fruits and fish. Many futures are possible – the examples of Vietnam, Thailand and Bangladesh provide contrasting models from the region.

How can agricultural performance be improved and rural incomes raised? What long term institutional and policy reforms are necessary in areas like land holding, infrastructure and deregulation? How can farmers be financed to innovate? Does Burma need a revolution in its agriculture, or are their skills and strengths that need to be encouraged?

This panel is a space for imagining what the future of Burma’s rural economy might look like, what are its opportunities and pitfalls. Participants will be invited to give short presentations in a roundtable format, with opportunities for discussion and debate.

**Themes**

- What are the strengths, if any, of the current rural economy in Burma?
- What lessons are available from Burma’s neighbours?
- What new public resources might be necessary to effect change?
- How can microfinance or other approaches be made to work for the Burmese farmer?
- What is the role for education?
- How can land access be reformed?

**Speakers**

- Professor Sean Turnell (Macquarie University)
- Dr Sandar Win (University of Bedford) sandar.win@beds.ac.uk
- Dr Bob Bloomfield OBE
- Dr Myint Oo
- Mr Dil Peeling (Compassion in World Farming)
- Mr Robert Yates (DfID/WHO)
The relationship between the Southeast Asian and Chinese governments has intensified, both multilaterally and bilaterally. While the political developments have been subject to numerous analyses, less attention has been paid to how societies and cultures in Southeast Asia have adapted to this new political and economic context. The numerous interconnections – some traditional, some new – between the two regions are ancient but constantly evolving. This panel addresses the changing society and cultural in Southeast Asia in response to China’s rise. In particular, it focuses on how identity, culture, and society in Southeast Asia have shifted, and the impact this has had on government policy, social norms, and historical understanding of Southeast Asia’s past. Examples of this include papers which study the changing meaning of identity in Southeast Asia; the evolution of traditional forms of organisation; the alteration of societal norms and expectations; and the rise of new aspirational or negative forms of culture.

**Paper 1: Geopolitics and Chinese Identity: Nationalism in Singapore and Ethnic Chinese from China Today**

Jason Lim (University of Wollongong)

The Singapore government frequently makes statements that suggest a common cultural identity between the Chinese in Singapore and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) because 75 per cent of the island’s population is Chinese and there has been an influx of PRC citizens into Singapore mainly to work and study. However, public opinion captured even in the Singapore media among the Singapore Chinese is in stark contrast to these official statements. Why do the Chinese in Singapore consider themselves ethnically Chinese and yet ‘culturally distinct’ from the Chinese in the PRC? My presentation will look into this discrepancy by examining two related issues. First, I will examine the historical origins of the creation of an identity that the Chinese in Singapore regard as unique. Is this the result of nationalism in
Singapore promoted by the Singapore government after self-government was obtained in 1959? Or had a Chinese identity in Singapore been created in the 1950s and 1960s due a combination of the promotion of Chinese culture by the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan and the image of economic and political chaos in the PRC? Second, I will look into contemporary relations between PRC citizens in Singapore and the Singapore Chinese and how the Singapore government tries to reconcile the two groups. Examples will be taken from Singapore in the last five years on Singapore Chinese reaction to PRC citizens’ behaviour in Singapore and the Singapore government’s reaction to the incidents.

**Paper 2: Culture as Ties and Tools: Contemporary Cultural Activities in Voluntary Associations of Singapore**

Qu Xiaolei (Nanyang Technological University)

Voluntary associations found by Chinese overseas in Southeast Asia are currently facing all kinds of challenges, such as self-renewal, fund raising. In order to confront these challenges, many associations took the initiative to change their organisations and promote various cultural activities suited for the new era. While a growing number of studies have been conducted that examine the institutional and mechanistic innovations and globalised tendencies of contemporary associations, few attempts have been made to investigate the role of cultural and recreational activities. Cultural activities have, in fact, been regular fixtures in the schedules of such associations in recent years. Through the lens of cultural studies, this paper focuses on the evolution and transformation of contemporary voluntary associations against the backdrop of the rising of China and new features of Singaporean society. Relying primarily on new-found archival data concerning Singapore Amoy Association, including letters, fax documents, invoices, posters, and in-depth interviews with leaders and members of voluntary associations, this paper examines the nature and mechanism of cultural activities held from 2003 to 2005 in Singapore. It is argued that culture and recreation are adopted by contemporary associations not only to form significant ties within and beyond the association, but also as indispensable tools to pass on Chinese culture and raise funds for the survival and preservation of Chinese cultural heritage. Furthermore, it is argued that the dynamic interplay between Singapore and China, directly or indirectly, strengthens the cooperation of voluntary associations in Singapore.

**Paper 3: Mapping the local land through travel writing by Chinese Migrant literati during the independence period (1955-1959) in Malaya**

Ho Sok Fong (Nanyang Technological University)

This paper aims to examine the writings of Chinese migrant literati related to
their travel experience in Malaya during the independence period (1955-1959) which were largely published in newspaper and magazines. As these Chinese migrant were in the crisis of being denied by citizenship and were marginalised by local authority in Malaya, they strived to search for their identity and to foster a sense of belonging to Malaya. This process involved them becoming intimately connected to Malaya through their observation of their surrounding, understanding the local history and socio-cultural heritages and participating in the local politics. These local writings were important as they revealed their desire to foster a sense of regional subjectivity and to forge a bond with Malaya as they attempted to integrate into the local community. As they travelled around Malaya, these Chinese migrant literati experienced space and place substantially through their body experiences. It helped them to map the geographical landscape and later to construct the imaginative picture of the country.

20: The Relevance of Rights in Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 3, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Chair: Andrew McLeod (University of Oxford)

The recent flurry of human rights institution-building in Southeast Asia perplexes observers. Southeast Asia is a region renowned for its aversion to ‘legalization’, its resistance to international human rights law, its adherence to principles of sovereignty, non-interference in the political affairs of member states and dedication to the ‘ASEAN way’ of decision-making by consensus. Historically, these things have underpinned what many regard as the limitations of Southeast Asian regionalism, manifest in the absence of deep integration and the persistence of bilateralism. Yet the establishment of the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, the creation of the ASEAN Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children and the signing of ASEAN Human Rights Declaration, would all seem to signal a regional turn towards classical liberal institutionalism.

This panel interrogates this apparent turn. In particular, it asks the following questions. Do the structural shortcomings of ASEAN’s new institutions suggest continuing ambivalence on
the part of member states about deepening regional integration? How plausible is ‘democracy’ as a lode star for the new ASEAN, given the region’s political diversity? What does the form and character of ASEAN’s new institutions tell us about the death, or otherwise, of the ‘Asian values’ debate that marked human rights discourse in the 1990’s? Our approach to examining these questions is informed by the disciplines of law, sociology and political science. The presenters on this panel are from academia, civil society and government. Diverse (and conflicting) perspectives will be offered on the reach (and limitations) of the new Southeast Asian regionalism in the field of human rights.

Paper 1: Between the Scylla of Relativism and the Charybdis of Universalism
Catherine Renshaw (University of Sydney)

This paper critiques recent rights developments in Southeast Asia in the context of unresolved philosophical problems about the foundation, nature and value of human rights. It considers the response of Southeast Asian states to these problems and the response of Southeast Asian states to the pervasiveness of the global rights discourse.

Paper 2: The View from Inside: being an ASEAN Human Rights Commissioner
Rafendi Djamin (ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights)

This paper will provide an overview of the internal dynamics that have marked Asia’s first human rights commission, discussing the institutional and political challenges to effecting change in Southeast Asia.

Paper 3: The Rights of Migrant Workers in Indonesia
Maria Pakpahan (University of Edinburgh and Gadjah Mada University – Indonesia)

At present, there is still no adequate legal framework for the protection of the rights of Indonesian domestic workers and migrant domestic workers. Political will to push for a national law to protect the rights of domestic workers does not exist. Problems concerning the violation of the rights of these workers are most commonly addressed through a ‘supply and demand’ framework. This paper considers the adequacy of such a framework, given the growing phenomenon of migrant work, the increasing incidence of abuse by employers, and the growing demands for action by trade unions, the media and networks of NGOs. This paper analyses the adequacy of existing efforts to address the problems associated with migrant work and considers the reasons why there has been resistance to these efforts. Finally, using a feminist ontology that locates the body as an arena of struggle, this paper considers the nature of the rights claims of domestic workers in the context of a changing
Southeast Asia and prospects for the successful realisation of domestic workers rights.

12: The Mekong at the Confluence (Part II)
Seminar Room 4, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Please see page 42.

21: Modern Boundaries and Migration – Sabah Philippines Relations
Seminar Room 5, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Chair: Alice Nah (University of York)

On February 11th 2013, Agbimuddin Kiram, brother to the proclaimed Sultan of the now defunct Sulu Sultanate, Jamalul Kiram III, with approximately 200 militant followers infiltrated Malaysia’s easternmost state, Sabah. The Royal Sulu Army, as they were known, seized Kampung Tanduo in the district of Lahad Datu and stated intent of asserting their claim to Sabah through militant force. The insurgency that culminated in 68 deaths and the capture of 121 militants ended officially on 11th March with Kampung Tanduo proclaimed secure. However, this incident is the tip of a larger problem. Malaysia still pays a sum of RM 5,300 per annum to the heirs of the Sulu Sultan, a payment Malaysia considers a cession payment, but which the heirs claim to be rent. The Philippines has a dormant claim on Sabah through the Sulu Sultanate. Though Philippines officials have publicly announced on numerous occasions that the claim will not be pursued, the contrary has also been proclaimed with the Philippines urging Malaysia to resolve the issue through the International Court of
Justice. Against the backdrop of this political power struggle, the growing population of stateless Filipinos is given no attention. For decades, Sabah has been subjected to illegal migration from the Philippines and Indonesia and houses an estimated 1.9 million undocumented migrants. Filipino migrants enter the state through its porous sea borders to flee unrest in Southern Mindanao and seek economic opportunities. This panel addresses the migration patterns including the socioeconomic conditions of undocumented Filipino migrants in Sabah, security issues and diplomatic relations between Sabah and the Philippines.

**Paper 1: Filming the Repercussions of Ambiguous Boundaries: Insurgency in Sabah**
Azliana Abdul Aziz, Vilashini Somiah , & Matthew Fillmore (Ohio University)

Sabah, Malaysia’s easternmost state in Borneo, is home to an estimated 1.9 million undocumented migrants. For decades, Filipinos have been making a living in the informal economy of urban areas across Sabah. Migration occurs for several reasons: some seek safety from ongoing political-religious conflict; some seek to improve their socio-economic condition; and finally, some claim that Sabah was once theirs. Thousands migrate every year through the porous sea borders, and due to lax marine security, their numbers have mushroomed significantly since the 1970s. The problem reached a critical point in March 2013. The Defunct Sultan of Sulu and 200 armed men infiltrated Sabah, taking a stand in one of the villages, urging the Malaysian government to release Sabah to them and to admit to years of mistreatment of southern Filipinos. In 2012 the presenter, as Anthropologists/filmmakers, embarked on a journey to film the lives of undocumented Suluk (Tausug) and Bajau (Samal) families. Through interviews with a sample population of Suluks and Bajaus in the town of Lahad Datu, this paper tracks the social problems that the subjects endure prior to and during the recent insurgency. The actions and inaction of the Philippines and Malaysian governments throughout the years will also be examined, in particular the actions of former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, who naturalised Suluk migrants during the 80s (Project IC), an action that contributed considerably to the current problem.

**Paper 2: Stateless Stakeholders, Seen But Not Heard: The Case of the Sama Dilaut in Sabah, Malaysia**
Helen Brunt (Independent Scholar)

Natural resource management and local livelihoods constitute an integrated and complex area of study, frequently involving multiple stakeholders with competing interests and priorities. It is widely acknowledged that some stakeholders have more power and more influence than others. Stateless people, vulnerable due to their lack of citizenship, are often excluded from
decision-making processes that affect them. The Sama Dilaut (also known as Bajau Laut) are a largely stateless maritime community living in the coastal region of the east Malaysian state of Sabah. This paper investigates how the condition of statelessness affects the extent to which meaningful participation in marine conservation management can occur, and how institutions involved in this management perceive and respond to stateless people. By focusing on stateless people without political recognition in Malaysia, this paper contributes to an increased understanding of the vulnerable position of stateless people in a multi-‘racial’ country and the dynamics of natural resource management involving multiple stakeholders.

Paper 3: Foreign Locals: Problematic Identity Amongst the Children of Filipinos in Sabah, East Malaysia
Catherine Allerton (London School of Economics)

This paper examines problematic issues of identity and belonging amongst young second and third generation ‘Filipinos’ living in Sabah. These young people are the children and grandchildren of refugees and migrants who have come to Sabah from conflict-ridden areas of the southern Philippines since the 1970s. Although these children were born in Sabah, their ‘Filipino’ (Suluk, Bajau, Cagayan and Yakan) ethnicity means that they are considered ‘foreigners’ by most Sabahans. In addition, many of these children and young people are undocumented and at risk of statelessness, and have limited access to education. Based on fieldwork in Kota Kinabalu from August 2012 to August 2013, this paper describes the ambiguities of belonging for children and young people who may be perceived as ‘aliens’ and ‘illegals’, but who often lack any strong ties to, or interest in, the Philippines. It does this in part through a comparison with the much stronger attachments to the parental home country experienced by the children of Indonesian migrants. More broadly, the paper shows how the Philippines’ historical ‘claim’ to Sabah, as well as the Lahad Datu incident of 2013, continue to have real, complex repercussions on the ground for Suluk and other migrant families who have made Sabah their home.
Supakit Janenoppakanjana (Chulalongkorn University)

Recent studies of Thai ghost stories have highlighted the questions of gender, sexuality, and the abject body. However, these works have not adequately addressed the issues of canon formation and the process of de/constructing nation-states. My paper grapples with the issue of crypto-colonialism with special attention to subaltern histor(iograph)y of Northern Thai ghost stories since The Siamese Revolution of 1932. Specifically, in my project, I investigate the fundamental links between crypto-colonialism, nationalist developmental discourse, temporality and space, representation of “ghosts”, and literary field as cultural production in order to show the decolonization of modern “Thai” nation-state and centralized government, particularly as it relates to the coming of linguistics and cultural nationalism, by which texts and authors, such as Mala Khamchan, Uthit Hemamul, were priviledged and became the icons of Northern Thai ghost stories tradition. This means transforming Northern Thai ghost stories as cultural texts from objects in need of analysis into analytical objects. I will discuss complexities of crypto-colonialism and the ethnography of colonial archives, and juxtapose them against nationalism and the anxieties about miscegenation in Thai society. I argue that as a result of postcolonial cartographies of globalization, Northern Thai ghost stories can serve as an equipment for liberation from unjust economic, political, or social conditions in that region through the eyes of non-elites. In conclusion, this project, by closely examining how Northern Thai ghost stories, the law, and the archive have historically served as agents of colonialism and how they can be turned creatively into constructing autonomy, sheds new light on new possibilities for indigenous mobilization that are taking shape presently at the heart of new global Southeast Asia.

Paper 2: British Imperial Expansion and the Survival of Brunei in the Nineteenth Century
Paul Brumpton (Universiti Brunei Darussalam)

The survival of Brunei as an independent Sultanate after 1945 was far from certain. The
establishment of an independent Indonesia keen to see a complete end to the influence of the old colonial regimes and the formation of Malaysia meant that its survival was to depend on a complex mix of factors. The survival of the Sultanate had also been seriously threatened in the mid-nineteenth century. At this time British imperial expansion, rather than withdrawal, threatened to destroy Brunei. A central role in this process was played by Sir James Brooke. As the established ‘White Rajah’ of Sarawak from the 1840s his presence weakened Brunei and placed its long-term survival in jeopardy.

The central argument of this paper is that to understand this threat it is necessary to examine British imperial expansion generally and in particular the growth of the Indian empire and the ideas that sustained it. Far from being a lone adventurer Brooke’s ideas on empire building and the methods that he employed to establish his rule in Sarawak drew on an important strand of British imperial thought derived largely from India. Borneo’s political development was shaped by the ideological disputes of an expanding global naval power and this paper will therefore focus on the development of British imperial ideology and the ways in which it impacted Brunei.

Paper 3: Wayang’s Role in the Decolonization of Indonesia
Marianna Lis (Polish Academy of Sciences)

Wayang is the ritual–performance having three dimensions which cannot be separated: political, social and entertainment. In colonial times, under the rule of the Dutch, wayang, which previously had served to promote new values: first, Hinduism, and Islam was “purified” of politics. As Schechner noted the aim was, first of all, to hide the colonial presence of the Dutch, the changes that took place in the Dutch East Indies, and the growing discontent and military actions taken by the Javanese. After gaining independence in 1945, wayang regained its political face. During the Guided Democracy (1945-1965) the rule of President Sukarno focused mainly on cleaning the remains of colonial Indonesia and uniting culturally diverse islands into a single, independent nation. Wayang was at that time the propaganda tool used willingly by the emerging Indonesian nationalism. During the New Order (1966-1998) under the rule of Suharto, wayang was institutionalized, and the performances became a way of controlling the distribution of information to the public. The paper will present the path passed by wayang since the nineteenth century, when colonial rule began to influence the shape and content of the performances to the early twenty-first century, when wayang has become a field of free public discussion and the criticism of the past regime. The author will focus on the manifestation of political ways to use wayang in the first decades after independence, and the role it has played in the process of decolonization and the construction of Indonesian nationalism.
23: The Politics of Art and Culture in Southeast Asia (individual papers)
Douglas Price Room, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Chair: Jana Igunma (British Library)

Paper 1: Living Museums: Fact, Fiction and Local Culture kept alive
Salinee Antarasena (Chiang Mai University)

In the past few decades, a number of local museums around the world have experienced an inexorable decline in visitor numbers. Instead of giving up hopes and letting their attendance spiral downward, curators, scholars and administrators of the museums in Thailand have looked at new approaches to reverse those slumping numbers, knowing they and the locals all have similar memories and experiences, and that the permanent exhibition galleries may no longer be enough; and museums, no longer be only a source where foreign people learn about one’s local cultures. This study offers some behind-the-scene reflections on how a handful of changes were implemented to the traditional-style museum, so as to allow the visitors to tap into the past experiences, to remind them that their past and the lives of people before them are worthwhile and have some sense of purpose or meaning. This study started with the belief that despite the profit gains from increasing visitors, such impression from the local museum—museum as a source of mental resilience and motivation—can mold the way local visitors feel about their past and their community; and this is important when the ASEAN community is fully formed, when there will be not only greater linguistic and cultural diversity between the member countries, but also within Thailand itself.

Paper 2: Cinema and Foreign Policy: The Creation of Post-Colonial Self/Other and the Shaping of Cold War Strategy in Southeast Asia, 1945-1955
Darlene Machell Espena (Nanyang Technological University)

The primary objective of this paper is to examine the cultural dimension of Southeast Asian states’ behaviour during the Cold War. The underlying premise of this approach is that foreign policy formulation is not impervious to culture – that the processes by which
states relate to one another are inevitably grounded in distinct cultural spheres. Through an investigation of the strategic cultures of Southeast Asian states, I seek to provide a provocative alternative of understanding how and why these states navigated the Cold War the way they did. Using films as the primary analytical reference, I investigate what the dominant ideologies in popular cinematic products that circulated in the region illuminate concerning the broader cultural context, in general, and strategic cultures, in particular, of Southeast Asian states; how these films depict the Cold War, the major players in the Cold War (the United States, China, and the Soviet Union), and the role of the Thai, Philippine, and Indonesian states in the battle between the communists and the anti-communists; how popular films and genres impinge on the corroboration or rejection of particular discourses dominant in Southeast Asian foreign policy-making during the Cold War; and finally, how the strategic cultures of Southeast Asian states, which were captured in and influenced by the popular films that were produced by Southeast Asians themselves, shape the outlook of key policy makers in dealing with and coming to terms with Cold War realities in the region. I argue that the ideologies, (re)created, negotiated, and embodied in Southeast Asian films, reflected and influenced the strategic cultures of Southeast Asian states. I further argue that Southeast Asian strategic cultures not only shaped the perceptions of Southeast Asians concerning international affairs, it also affected the manner by which they viewed themselves and others and consequently shaped their foreign policy decisions and international behaviour during the Cold War.

**Paper 3: The Origins of Indonesian Classic Exploitation Films:  The Dynamics of Film Production and Politics of Tastes in Indonesia’s New Order Regime**

Ekky Imanjaya (University of East Anglia)

In Indonesia, popular Indonesian films, especially exploitation movies produced in Indonesia’s New Order era, are overlooked and underrated by most of film critics, film journalists, and film scholars. This era has become notorious in its enacting of a state-controlled totalitarian system of government which dominated every aspect of life under the guise of security, development, and stability. In the film industry, the government applied sharp censorship and controlling all aspects of film production and film organizations to distribution and exhibition.

However, despite the ideological framing and state control undertaken by New Order regime, the production of low-budget B Movies persisted and mushroomed particularly from late 1970s to early 1990s, and is considered as “The Golden Era of Indonesian Exploitation Cinema” by some global fans and scholars. Apparently, The New Order had several policies designated to rehabilitate the development of the film industry and support the import of foreign films. Ministerial decrees were enacted to improve film development with a focus
upon a “quantity approach” or “audience approach”.
This paper will look at how exploitation movies were understood and produced during the
New Order era by interrogating how series of political policies shaped the production, (and,
later, the consumption) of exploitation films, the kind of films that they were actually trying to
avoid. And lastly, I want to investigate why and how the films were produced for political
reasons from series of political contradictions.

Paper 4: Re-evaluating (art) historical ties: The politics of showing Southeast Asian art
and culture in Singapore (1963-2013)
Yvonne Low (University of Sydney)

In 2012, Singapore’s pre-eminent art historian, T.K. Sabapathy curated the show,
Intersecting histories: Contemporary turns in Southeast Asian art, in which canonical works
from four Southeast Asian countries were shown with the intention to generate new research
and perspectives on the works in the context of Southeast Asian art and art historiography. By
locating the exhibition strategically in a university gallery, the show’s strong pedagogical
tenor prompted and motivated investigation into the issue of consecration and gave the
Singaporean audience the rare opportunity to examine the reification of select artworks and
the works’ collection and exhibition history. Though this exhibition was merely one of several
in the last decade to contextualise Southeast Asian modern and contemporary art, it was likely
the first such exhibition (and scholarly publication) to reflect upon Singapore’s long history of
institutional support for Southeast Asian art (which to date has the
largest Southeast Asian collection of modern and contemporary art in the region) in relation
to its wider historical and political connections with her Southeast Asian neighbours. This
paper takes up some of the exhibition (and publication)’s key propositions with the aim to re-
evaluate Singapore’s mostly political interest in and culturally ambivalent attitudes toward
establishing itself as a cultural leader in the field of Southeast Asian modern and
contemporary art. Using the exhibition Intersecting histories as a point of departure, it will
examine the seminal role key institutions in Singapore have historically played in the shaping,
disseminating and the institutionalization of a “Southeast Asian art”.

Saturday
1615 - 1745
24: Decentralisation, Development, and Democratisation in Southeast Asia (Part I)
Pusey Room, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745

Chair: Phyllis Ferguson (United Nations Development Programme)

Paper 1: Sub-national Government reforms in Myanmar: fiscal decentralization and resource allocation
Soe Nandar Linn (Myanmar Development Resource Institute and University of Bonn)

After five decades of authoritarian military junta, the government of Myanmar has initiated a range of reforms in order to reintegrate into global economy and international communities. Alongside with political, macroeconomic and administrative reforms, decentralisation and features of federalism have been widely raised due to the emergence of sub-national governments and parliaments under the defined constitutional and institutional arrangements. Decentralisation is gradually taking place, as there have been 24 deconcentrated-departments with semi-devolved fiscal autonomy at the sub-national level. Apart from limited administrative and fiscal powers, sub-national governments lack capacity to take on the role as drivers of development policies.

In order to maintain social and political stability throughout the democratisation process, there are three key issues associated with decentralisation that we need to take into account: 1) a comprehensive policy framework and transparent policy-based fiscal-transfer system, 2) the capacity of civil servants and inefficient bureaucracy that hinder service delivery and decentralisation efforts and, 3) a sound and clear constitutional framework which is also vital for peace building and equitable resource sharing in Myanmar.

Paper 2: Bangkok and Phnom Penh between local politics of resilience and new speculative real estate projects
Celine Pierdet (University of Compiegne)

The river capitals Phnom Penh and Bangkok are subject to very high stresses in their urban development. They have expanded behind the bank of the rivers with dikes and embankments on the river floodplains. So they are very vulnerable to natural disasters such as flooding.

Since the early 1970s, it is now common to assimilate a city to a system, closed (Forrester W.J. 1969) or opened (Rosnay de J. 1975). The major crisis suffered under the Khmer Rouge regime damaged hydraulic networks. Moreover, most of the city dwellers and elites were killed in a genocide charge of 1.7 million victims. Why can we talk about resilience for this city-system since 1979?

We define resilience as “the ability of a system to integrate a disruption in its run, without
changing the qualitative structure” (Holling C.S. 1973). More recently, in Phnom Penh and Bangkok, speculative projects to private investors reject in the outskirts of cities the poorest populations. The consequences are social, but also environmental. Firstly the peripheral areas, in contrast to the city center, having no embankments, are prone to flooding, with no proper drainage systems. Secondly the proliferation of high-rise towers worsens the process of subsidence and flooding vulnerability of cities.

Why speculative urban projects of the private investors located in the central and the peripheral areas (i.e. new skyscrapers and new towns) are they going to worsen the vulnerability of cities to flooding?

**Paper 3: Regional Energy Trade: Myanmar’s Participation in Regional Cooperation**

Pyi Pyi Thant (Mekong Ecological and Energy Network)

There are many components in the blue print of regional cooperation such as ASEAN, GMS and ACMEC. However, Myanmar’s position has not clear on how to participate in the game in the region except an energy supplier.

In the case of Myanmar, the preparation for AEC or GMS is inevitable but the situation is unknown. The country is very poor in economy but regarded as resource rich country. The only and outstanding area where people are used to be informed is in the energy sector.

Energy trade in natural gas pipelines, Yadana, Yetagun and China-Myanmar Gas and Oil Pipelines. There are MOUs and MOA signed for hydropower electricity trade and even coal fire power plants are in the list of bilateral energy trade means that, this sector is more advanced than other sectors in cooperation. The blueprint includes trade but the economic plan does not mention much on these export and imports sectors. The 98 per cent of FDI comes to energy sector in 2010 and 2012.

The paper has ultimately considering on a balance of the future of Myanmar’s energy sector. This regional cooperation is an opportunity for this undeveloped, closed country to participate in the regional economy. But how these energy cooperation and regional energy trade impacts to the economy and environment of Myanmar including natural resource allocation in Myanmar is unknown. The paper try to highlight on the energy consumption in the region that is unsustainable that huge investment in energy sector is not reliable for Myanmar.

**Paper 4: Local management of Natural Commons: Centralization or Decentralization in River Resource Management in Myanmar?**

Su Su Yin (Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand)

In Myanmar, the river resource management is not belongs to a unique one committee or
There are many stakeholders depending on the purpose of usage or the project is. The main importance of river is still regarded as transportation use. In the management of this resource, the policy exists somewhere far away from the people who are depending on the river.

The management of the river resources for the local agrarian community is so far from their community that people are feeling lacking of participation. On the other hand, if we let the river management decentralized to the fullest and let everyone extract to their fullest extent locally, the river will be used for agriculture and hydropower plants mainly because of the local need and communal decision making and other functions of the river in ecosystem services will be diminished. In case of Myanmar, where there are international rivers such as Salween, Minipur and Kaladan etc. and local rivers that flows locally inside the nation, we should have a different policy that will tackle the situations accordingly.

The researcher will explain about the suitable policy options for the river managements of the river from top-down (centralized) to bottom-up (decentralized) in the local national rivers and international rivers that are flowing through the region.

**Paper 5: Decentralization and The Indonesian Industrialization Strategy In The Post New Order Era: The Case Study of The Indonesian Oil and Gas Sector In The Province of West Papua**

Francisia Seda (University of Indonesia)

The research is an UI (University of Indonesia) national collaborative research with the University of Cenderawasih in Jayapura in the program of social and humanities studies (sosial humaniora). The primary focus of this research is the dynamic relations between the process of decentralization (specifically the Special Autonomy for Papua) and the social exclusion processes experienced by local marginalized communities surrounding the development of The LNG Plant in The Bay of Bintuni Regency and the potential inclusive policies and programs of the local government and the MNC (multinational corporation), BP (Beyond Petroleum). This primary focus is analyzed in the context of two patterns of relations on the national and macro level. First, the pattern of relations between natural resources and the Indonesian Industrialization Strategy In The Oil and Gas Sector In The Post New Order Era (1999-2009) and second, the pattern of relations between natural resources and the Character of State-Society Relations In The Post New Order Era (1999-2009).

This research will carry out the Qualitative approach with specific emphasis on in-depth interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) for the primary data, and analysis of secondary data. This research will use Case Study of The Indonesian Oil and Gas Sector In The Province of West Papua specifically the development of The LNG Plant in the regency of The Bay of Bintuni.
Paper 6: Big Decision, Big Impact and Big Debt: Compulsory Public Consultation on Mega-Infrastructure Projects in Southeast Asia
Dhanaraj Kheokao (University of Mannheim) & Nattawadee Boonwattanopas (University College London)

Public consultation plays significant role in every project to be developed in every country. “Big Decision, Big Impact and Big Debt: Compulsory Public Consultation on Mega-Infrastructure Projects in Southeast Asia” aims at gathering insightful data of policy and practice on public consultation in mega-infrastructure projects in Southeast Asia countries, how public consultation affect on mega infrastructure projects and furthermore on countries in mega infrastructure projects. The research derived from mainly from literature review and interview. Preliminary findings have shown that there has been increase of mega-infrastructure projects built and/or on progress of planning and construction in Southeast Asian countries preparing for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2018. Public consultation remains as one of the difficulties for mega-infrastructure projects. For instance, the flood management project in Thailand has been delayed by a Thai court’s order to conduct public consultation. While Malaysia also have difficulty with public consultation in order to build mega infrastructure projects in Penang, the construction of the 6.5 km Gurney Drive-Bagan Ajam undersea tunnel and 12 km road connecting Tanjung Bungah- Teluk Bahang. In case of future multinational mega-infrastructure project such as a high-speed rail network from Ho Chi Minh to Bangkok via Phnom Penh would need to have even more complex public consultation. In conclusion, this research paper has contributed a comparative practice of public consultation in Southeast Asia as well as how it should be a common practice accepted by all countries in ASEAN.

Paper 7: Reclaiming Future Ground: Local Resistance and Global Mobilization in an Indonesian Occupation Village
Yen-ling Tsai (National Chiao-Tung University)

Contrary to popular conception that there was no effective resistance to dispossession under the authoritarian regime of New Order Indonesia, thousands of farmers in North Sumatra have staged occupation campaigns against various state and corporate plantation companies throughout the region since the 1990s. My paper focuses on one of such long-term occupation villages, and considers its wider implication for our understanding of new forms of peasant resistance and agrarian politics. Self-identified as “re-claiming”, these occupation campaigns emphasize the traditional, communal rights of the peasants in their struggle against state-sanctioned dispossession. In practice, villagers device useful strategies of co-habitation to
maintain individuated spaces within the highly-communal lives of the occupation village. Most significantly, my study shows the ways in which these reclaiming campaigns collaborate intensively with peasant movements at various scales, translating constantly between and across local, national and international contexts. In sum, this paper offers a locally grounded perspective on farmers’ strategies against the corporatization of rural-livelihood in Indonesia, on the one hand, and how these local strategies are in critical dialogue with the global quests for sustainable development and food sovereignty, on the other hand.

**Paper 8: The role of media in determining voters’ choice in the 13th Malaysian General Election (GE13)**

Ku Hasnita Ku Samsu (Universiti Putra Malaysia)

The changes in Malaysian political landscape after the 13th General Election (GE13) was very surprising when the opposition party namely Pakatan Rakyat (People Alliance) won 50.87% of popular vote as compared to the Barisan Nasional (National Front) coalition party as many as 47.38%. Nevertheless, the Barisan Nasional has formed the government after winning a majority of Parliamentary seats as many as 50.27% as compared to the opponent party 46.75%. Likewise the domination of Pakatan Rakyat in almost all of urban areas especially in the capital cities of the states and the increase of voters turnout in this general election. This scenario reflected to the cause which stimulated voters’ choice, that was mass media. In this context, mass media consist of printed and electronic is one of the most significant political socialization agent in contributing political awareness among citizens such as voting, standing for election, involving in political campaign etc. Therefore, this paper will be discussing on the role of mass media in determining voters’ choice in the 13th Malaysian General Election which affected the country’s political landscape.

![Image of the world map highlighting the region of Southeast Asia.](image-url)

**42: Notions of Health and Personhood in Transition, and the Containment of Life (Part III: Film)**

64 Banbury Road, Saturday 22 March 2014, 1615 – 1745
Film: Blood for the Gods: Ritual Revival Among the Pumi People in Southwest China
Markus Schiesser

The Anji/Hangui is a ritual specialist among the Pumi (Premi) people who live in southwestern China. He works in the same field as the Lama monk of Tibetan Buddhism, which is the dominant tradition in the region. This film shows three Anjis, their daily life and their rituals in Yiji village of Muli county, Sichuan province. It highlights how Anjis today navigate pressures from the state and Buddhist authorities while attending to the demands of their rich world of gods, spirits, demons, the ghosts of the dead and, of course, the local people themselves.

In the centre of an Anji’s culture are the scriptures that detail the rituals and chants. Many of these scriptures were burned during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), but some Anji families managed to hide them in remote mountain caves. These books are all the more crucial today as they assist the current generation of Anjis to continue an interrupted tradition. Occasionally, the information derived from these books is seen to fill the gaps left by their fathers, who were not allowed to study the rituals.

The Anjis refer to these scriptures when they defend the need for blood sacrifices against the objections of both Buddhist and state authorities. They explain that it is only the Anjis who can deal with the most powerful spirits, and those all need to be fed with blood and meat in order to peacefully co-exist with, or even become helpful to, human beings. Inevitably, some of the Anjis have given in to the pressure and gave up blood sacrifices. While these Anjis acknowledge that according to the scriptures blood sacrifices are needed, they reject them as ‘feudal superstition’ and feed the dangerous evil spirits usually with red colour.

A great part of the rituals in this film are part of the ritual practices among monks from the Bön monastic tradition, in particular, of the Dru (‘bru) lineage monastery called Menri (sman ri) that was founded in the 14th century. However, the scroll depicting different stations after death in hell testifies to a local funeral ritual tradition seemingly no longer performed.
### Session 4: Sunday 23 March 2014, 0930 - 1030

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25: Why have there been no ‘gender turns’ in Myanmar/Burma research: Why and how does it matter?
O’Reilly Lecture Theatre, Sunday 23 March 2014, 0900 – 1030

Chair: Maria Jaschok (University of Oxford)

Why is there no tradition of Women/Gender Studies in Myanmar/Burma? The Roundtable brings together scholar/activists and scholars researching on/engaging in different aspects of Burmese society currently under conditions of social and political change. Whilst working in different disciplines and specialisations and to differing degrees of involvement with the country they study, all participants bring a shared viewpoint – the imperative for a ‘gender turn’ also in Burmese Studies.

The scholar of cross-cultural studies of gender and religion, Ursula King maps mile-stones in the academic trajectory of scholarly development as entailing a ‘gender-critical turn.’ Feminist studies (critical and transformative) and gender studies (more broadly conceived, more inclusive), she writes, have created paradigmatic shifts in many academic disciplines.

What are these shifts? According to King, they include the growing interrogation of the gendered nature of studied phenomena, the relationship between power and knowledge, the critical questioning of the authority of canons of knowledge and mainstream scholarship and institutions, and involvement and responsibility of researchers undertaking such studies as gendered subjects.

Whether seen in terms of conceptual and theoretical issues arising from comparative perspectives or approached as an acute scarcity of empirical, evidence-based investigation, the absence of Women/Gender Studies as a legitimate constituent part of academe in Burma raises numerous questions. And these questions are as much of intellectual and ideological as well as of social implications, such as, for instance, the implications of the presence of an energetic and pro-active local women’s activism without the theoretical grounding to construct a context-specific identity establishing Burmese Women/Gender Studies within wider and comparative regional and international discourses.

Speakers

SweSwe Stella Hlaing (Educational and Skill Development Centre, Yangon) is an educator and community activist whose current research focuses on the situation of marginalized women in Myanmar’s changing economy.

Maria Jaschok (Institute of Gender Studies at Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford) is by training a social historian/social anthropologist of modern China; she has researched and
published in the areas of religion, gender and agency; gendered constructions of memory; feminist ethnographic practice; marginality and identity religion and gender; and oral history methodology. She oversees the IGS Burma-related initiatives.

**Mar Mar Khin** (Daw Aung San Suu Kyi Junior Research Fellow, Lady Margaret Hall, University of Oxford) is a social anthropologist, gender specialist, filmmaker and has furthermore a background in education. Her research has focused on child protection, trafficking, gender violence, migration and governance issues.

**Mandy Sadan** (School of Oriental and African Studies) is a lecturer in the history of Southeast Asia, among her research interests are the creation of ethnic categories in Burma (especially the ‘Kachin’ minority), the analysis of gendered economies among minorities in northern mainland South East Asia as well as the study of photography, representation and ideologies of conflict.

**Kirsten McConnachie** (Joyce Pearce Junior Research Fellow at Lady Margaret Hall and the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford) has studied governance and justice practices among Karen refugees living in camps on the Thai-Burma border. Key research themes include the production of order beyond the state, justice as a contested site, and the influence of transnational human rights discourses on local justice and governance practice.

**Sandar Win** (University of Bedfordshire) is using her background in banking and international finance to problematize debates over assumed benefits of a wider application of micro-finance to alleviate poverty and empower women.
Paper 1: Harmonisation of higher education: issues and prospects for the ASEANISATION of higher education.
Salita Seedokmai (University of Melbourne)

In the global higher education (HE) scenario, many countries face common challenges in HE including rising demands for access to HE, and the needs to improve the quality of HE for international recognition. Although the harmonisation of HE process in Europe has not been without flaws, a regional platform to address and perhaps solve common challenges in HE is of interests to the global regions. This project examines the harmonisation of HE in the case of ASEAN countries. Considering a regional commitment to establish an ASEAN Community by 2015 and the international challenges in HE, a more prominent role of the harmonisation of HE process within the ASEAN region is crucial to build a strong foundation for the ASEAN Community and also to enhance HE interconnectedness of ASEAN and beyond. This study explores the concept of the harmonisation of HE, particularly from an ASEAN perspective. It also investigates the progress and impediments towards increased harmonisation in HE in this region. Findings are based on document analysis and in-depth interviews with policy makers and practitioners at the managerial level from ten ASEAN countries engaged in regional cooperation. The findings lend evidence that harmonisation of HE process has induced increased convergence HE policy of ASEAN countries. It is anticipated this study will shed light on how ASEAN countries can collectively stimulate more harmonised ambience in HE, to promote the connectivity in HE among ASEAN countries and beyond.

Paper 2: Creating a Common ASEAN Economic Community’s Credit Union as Means of Savings for Labours: Case Study from the Experiences and the Opinions in Thailand
Pornpong Sakdapat (Shinawatra International University)

Co-operation is a public shared organisation, which is formed by people who have the same interest in supporting their purpose; Credit Union is a co-operation in financial sectors in order to assist members regarding the stable and sustainable aspect in their finance situation. It is one of the most important organisation especially among blue collar labour in Thailand because it influences labour to realise to save money by using the member economic participation principal. This study investigated the relationship of labour’s saving with
demography of labour, economic conditions, and the workplace credit union. The result of the study can lead to a conclusion that manager should support labor to be a member of credit union in which results in the better labor living condition or not. The study observed data by using questionnaires choosing from sample random sampling method in 5 major cities, in 5 region of Thailand in May 2013. Questionnaires were sets of 400 sampling from labour who work in the workplace that has credit union. The data were analysed by using description statistic, t-test, and Chi-square test.

Result showed that majority sampling is credit union’s member, of which 81.5 percent being member for 5.03 years old on average, the majority of these group are women, married, their average age is 35.84 years old, and work in large workplaces (more than 200 employees) with a bachelor degree, the average monthly income is 17,414 Baht or US$539.67, while the monthly excess is 11,720 Baht or US$363.29, the monthly deposit on average is 39,662.75 Baht or US$1229.47.

Hypothesis testing found that credit union’s members have difference amount of saving compare to those who are not credit union’s member. It was also found that credit union’s members have a significant relationship between saving and their age, year of being credit union’s member, degree of education, type of job, monthly income, while marital status has no significant relationship with the saving amount. As this form part of an on-going research, it is expected that the experience from Thailand will provide an insightful experience for Southeast Asia.

**Paper 3: The ASEAN Economic Community: Is Cultural Diversity An Impediment to Development?**
Balbir Bhasin (University of Arkansas – Fort Smith) & Lee Keng Ng (Toulouse Business School)

The ten countries of Southeast Asia have very diverse cultures, ranging from differences in language, religion, history, geography, political structure, social framework and world view. How do these differences affect the countries’ efforts at economic development, modernization and regional cooperation? As they move forward as members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) towards an ASEAN Community by 2015, this paper endeavours to suggest options to the challenges ahead.
In the wake of decolonisation, the nation-states of Southeast Asia sought to justify their post-colonial boundaries and forge coherent nations out of diverse and disparate peoples. The creation of national identities has been a hotly disputed process, contested by different nationalist visions and challenged by older, preexisting forms of transnational or subnational identity. This contest takes many different and varied forms, including some unique to Southeast Asian contexts. It has also sparked a lively and growing debate on identity in its numerous and myriad forms. This panel will deconstruct different conceptions of identity in Southeast Asia, examining economic, moral, and cultural forms of identity production and their relationship to the state and the nation. The contested nature of identity continues to unsettle Southeast Asia today, providing major impetus for discrimination, segregation, repression, and instability. These papers provide insight into the myriad and complicated ways in which identities are formed and interact in Southeast Asia.


Lee Kah-Wee (National University of Singapore)

Nation-building processes in Southeast Asia have produced a dramatic record of losers – from suppressed political movements to clan associations to indigenous tribes. Yet, what happens when the enemies of the new state are the citizens themselves? I consider the vexing case of gambling in Singapore between the 1950s and 80s, when this form of popular illegality was strenuously stigmatized by the government as a form of cultural weakness and foreign vice. I present two scenes into this historical moment. First, I rebuild the street economy of gambling in the Chinatown district through the oral histories of former residents of this area. Their narratives reveal how gambling was a commonplace activity that permeated every form of commercial transaction as well as a vibrant business that fed many petty traders and workers in the neighborhood. Second, I conduct a visual analysis of the state-sponsored legalized lottery set up in 1965. The draw ceremony and physical design of the lottery booths evince the attempt by the state to resolve the contradiction between stigmatization and legalization. These two scenes suggest that a veiled space of exception was carved within the body politic of the nation-state for those who failed to live up to the ideal of modern citizenship.
Paper 2: Writing Identity on the Wall: the Geração Foun, Street Art and National Identity Construction in Timor-Leste
Catherine Arthur (Queen’s University, Belfast)

Since the independence of Timor-Leste was regained in 2002, the process of nation-building and national identity formation is on-going in the face of significant challenges. Among the issues that pose a potential threat to national unity is the generational divide that stems from the differing cultural-linguistic heritages left by the former Portuguese and Indonesian occupations. The younger generation of Timorese born after the 1975 invasion has been largely excluded from the nation-building project as a result of their educational and cultural associations with Indonesia. In contrast, the older generation which has led the country in the post-independence years has privileged its own Lusophone cultural-linguistic heritage in the new state. Street art and graffiti are primary media of expression for the young Timorese, providing a platform for political expression that they would otherwise not have and allowing insight into their hopes for the future. In this paper, I analyse language use and construction in contemporary street art as reflective of the younger generation’s views on national unity and peace in a post-conflict society. The utilization of language in street art is deliberate and an integral part of the self-identification and representation of the young generation to not only East Timorese society, but to the international community. Drawing from existing research about the Geração Foun, as well as theory on street art and graffiti from around the world, I propose an interdisciplinary approach to a study of young people in national identity construction in Timor-Leste.

Paper 3: Malaysian MMORPG communities reinforcing Malaysian identities
Benjamin Loh (Ohio University)

Massively Multiplayer Online Role Playing Games, otherwise known as MMORPGs, are a new wave of online games that are designed to connect thousands of players together from around the world, allowing them to play and communicate with each other. Considering the international nature of these games and how most of them are hosted in Western countries, the communities within tend to be Western by nature as they primarily use English and follow Western cultural norms. Despite that, there are players from small countries that band together in these online spaces and create their own local communities within them. Malaysian players are one such group. Within Malaysia today, there exists a racial tension among its citizens as there is a lack of racial integration as the society reflects pluralism. However, these prejudices are shed by these player communities which recognize Malaysians for who they are and not their race. This paper reveals this fact based on interviews with local Malaysian players who are involved with Malaysian player communities. The findings show
that these communities are extending Malaysian culture in an international environment and strengthen a sense of Malaysian identity amongst its players.

**Paper 4: Cultural Logic and Temuan Identity: Negotiating indigeneity in postcolonial Malaysia**

Chih-Hui Liang (Academia Sinica, Taiwan)

This paper presents a critical rethinking of indigeneity and cultural logic approaches to identity formation and maintenance of the Temuan society. Among the indigenous peoples of Malay Peninsula (generally referred to as Orang Asli), the Temuan are a proto-Malays subgroup speaking Austronesia languages. The Orang Asli of the Malay Peninsula, even though they lived in a marginal area, they were not always isolated. Actually, they have a long history of interaction and exchange with Malay and other ethnic groups migrating to the Peninsula. Temuan Society is a tightly-knit held together by a network of kinship relations organized along the principles of Adat. It is this compact system of hierarchical relations that unites and strengthens the Temuan as a people, reinforcing their social identity and thus following them to maintain and carry on their own unique traditions. In other words, the practice of cultural logic acts a role to maintain ethnic distinctiveness and identity.

**28: Environmental Governance and Development Policy in Southeast Asia**

Seminar Room 3, Sunday 23 March 2014, 0900 – 1030

Chair: Takeshi Ito (Sophia University)

Studies of environmental governance and political economy in Southeast Asia have long focused on the roles of the state and market. Yet the 21st century is seeing novel forms of governance emerge, involving combinations of new actors like private capital, state-owned corporations, regional governments, and transnational social networks. The papers in this panel propose to look at the political economy of environmental governance in Southeast Asia through new lenses, focusing on contemporary dynamics such as the transformation of the rural countryside by the financial, energy, and food crises since 2007-2008; mega
development projects of building industrial complexes in peripheries to cater to the needs of the global economy; policy switch to neoliberal, capitalist development in transitional countries; and foreign aid and development policy that promote foreign direct investment in farm lands. These emerging issues and interests focus our attention on the politics of environmental governance and development policy in new ways. One neglected area that these papers address is permeability between politics and policy. The papers examine how the interaction between politics and policy shape policy outcomes particularly in development. By employing the methods of empirical case studies, the papers address environmental governance and development policy from both a regional and local perspective in Burma, Indonesia, Vietnam, and the Philippines.

**Paper 1: Food Security and Agrarian Policies in Indonesia**

Takeshi Ito (Sophia University)

Agriculture has regained currency in development. Concerns with population growth and high food prices have brought policymakers’ attention to agriculture as a vital means to achieve food security, poverty alleviation, and rural development. In response to the world food and energy crises of 2007-2008, Indonesian President Yudhoyono, under the slogan “Feed Indonesia, Feed the World,” called for a new form of public-private partnerships in agricultural development, aimed at increasing agricultural production through technological breakthroughs, innovative financing, and partnership programs between transnational corporations and smallholder farmers. This article examines the characteristics of the new form of agricultural development by situating it in political and historical context of the last sixty years where agrarian policies reflected the interests of donors, international organizations, and philanthropic foundations. It argues that important shifts in agrarian policies arose in the 1990s as part of neoliberal restructuring following the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997-1998. The case of the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) illustrates this shift toward corporate-financed model of agriculture development. Implemented in 2010, the MIFEE is a mega development project that is to transform local agriculture into agribusiness through large-scale corporate investment in food crops and biofuels for domestic and foreign markets. This article further argues that this corporate-financed model of agricultural development displaces social and political struggle for land reform from the development agenda, while provoking resistance from local community. The particular trajectory of Indonesia’s agrarian policies is, however, relevant for other developing countries around the world.

**Paper 2: Market-led land reform: the Samal Island case**

Viviane Ferreira Lopes (Sophia University)
This paper discusses the outcomes of the World Bank Community-Managed Agrarian Reform and Poverty Reduction Program – CMARPRP implemented in the Island City of Samal, Philippines, from 2002 to 2007. Drawing on the World Bank’s enthusiasm for the project and on the criticism presented by Saturnino Borras, Danilo Carranza and Jennifer Franco, it brings an investigation of how the people of Samal has experienced CMARPRP. It also provides insights about how market-led land reform programs operate. Land reform has been a core concern in the struggle for food security in the Philippines, where over half of the population live in rural areas. Market-led land reform is a format designed to guarantee land ownership to smallholders without the political costs of traditional land reform. However, power relations are at the root of land transfer mechanisms and politics will have a definitive role in the implementation of the program.

**Paper 3: New forms of territorialization and capital accumulation in transitioning Burma: the Dawei Special Economic Zone (DSEZ)**

Yukari Sekine (Sophia University)

Myanmar has undergone dramatic political and economic changes since March 2011 when the government declared reforms after 50 years of military rule. In April 2012, by-elections placed opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi in Parliament and showed leaders were ready to embark on economic reforms under the guidance of international institutions such as the IMF, ADB and the World Bank. The transition marks a change in discourse and forms of implementing ‘development’. The Dawei Special Economic Zone (DSEZ) is part of this increased economic liberalization. The new industrial estate region and deep seaport is set to transform the local economy with supposed contribution to employment. Along with increased investment, there has been wide-scale dispossession of previously established communities to make way for construction, initially in the road link to Thailand, and for speculative purposes in the surrounding areas. These have been met with civil society mobilization and forms of resistance that are emerging with greater political freedom. This study seeks to understand the new political economy of dispossession, as land in the SEZ is converted for real-estate construction and commodified for speculation. It seeks to investigate the different actors involved in the process and the discourses for legitimization. Drawing on the concept of “accumulation by dispossession” by Harvey, it aims to understand the particular forms of agrarian changes that happen under SEZs, similar in nature to the commodification of land present in transformations toward industrial agriculture and “green grabbing”, but different in form as it is made into real-estate. It also considers issues of land governance in the context of state-expansion and territorialization.
Paper 4: Neoliberalism and state-led development in Vietnam
Nguyen Le Minh (Sophia University)

The coffee production in Vietnam has been criticized for its social and environmental impacts even though it has been widely considered as an important part of economic development as well as a mean for poverty alleviation. In the Central Highlands region where 79% of coffee farmers in Vietnam live, many people, particularly ethnic minorities and small-scale farmers still live under poverty. Furthermore, large area of forests were cut down and replaced by coffee plantations, leading to various environmental issues. This process is accelerated with the rapid expansion of the industry under policies promoted by the government. During the 1980s, Vietnam implemented Doi Moi, a radical economic reform program that saw the country transit from central planning to a market-based economy, or more accurately, a Socialist-oriented market economy. Many state-owned enterprises (SOEs) were equitized or privatized, creating a new generation of more effective private companies. After joining the WTO, international trade has been liberalized through deregulation and reduction of trade tariffs. These implementations have also allowed the establishment of private companies the coffee industry, which opened up a new era in coffee production in Vietnam, transforming the traditional farming method to large-scale, industrial agriculture and marginalizing small-scale farmers. In this research, the case of coffee production in the Central Highlands of Vietnam is used as the mean to illustrate how state-led neoliberal policies and corporate actors helped facilitate the development of the industry and how the development in turn play, a role in causing social instability and environmental degradation.

29: A New Geopolitical Framework for Maritime Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 4, Sunday 23 March 2014, 0900 – 1030

Chair: Nguyen Thanh (Languages and Oriental Civilizations Asia Pacific (INALCO) & Captain Ivan Cadeau (Armée Française (French Army))

The territorial dispute for some islands in the China Sea has recently raised tension in Southeast Asia. In 2012 Shangri-La Dialogue, Leon Panetta, America Secretary of Defense,
said that 60% of the US fleet will be deployed in Asia-Pacific by 2020. President Obama himself indicated that the Asia-Pacific region was a top priority of US security policy. Some Southeast Asian countries have then strengthened their military alliances and expended their military presence in this area after China’s decision to increase its maritime powers. This behavior made the situation tenser. It seems that the military involvement created some unexpected consequences, politically, economically and geopolitically. Will the maritime face of this region change with the strategic games and dispute for sovereignty? In their will to take the leadership, are India, China and the United States about to give a new shape to Asia? What are the lessons learned to date? Our panel proposes to take stock of the situation and to reassess whether special measures are necessary.

**Paper 1: The phasing out of French strategic and imperial ambitions in South China Sea: Direct result from Indochina War**  
Captain Ivan Cadeau (Armée Française (French Army))

In the Inter-war period, France wanted to strengthen its position in Asia-Pacific by establishing naval bases, such as Cam Ranh, the most prominent example. At the end of Second World War, the idea has re-emerged and coincided with the will to restore its status of Great Power. Indochina War enabled to nurture this ambition as Indochinese theatre of operations called for the creation of operating bases to supply and support the French Far East Expeditionary Force and its major naval bases. The construction of these major logistical centres met initial operating requirements and intended to reflect the French will to set up in the long-term in the South China Sea. This started with the creation of Saigon’s naval base, Cap Saint Jacques 1954 – 1956. The end of Indochina War and the will of President Diem, 1956, to make a definite break with French tutelage had sounded the death knell for the French hopes. The weakness of French Navy and Algeria’s war needs imposed a refocus in the Mediterranean, especially for the Navy and finally led to an abandonment of South China Sea’s ambitions. More broadly, this led to an abandonment of Pacific’s ambitions. If the Pacific met a revival of interest with nuclear tests (Moruroa in the 60’s), the South China Sea is still neglected. Looking back of the French colonization history would help us to understand the importance of this area for France and what would be our perspectives for the future.

**Paper 2: Between the India and China’s naval leadership, what perspective for Vietnamese maritime in America’s vision and the new geopolitical frame of Asia?**  
Nguyen Thanh (Languages and Oriental Civilizations Asia Pacific (INALCO))

Located on one of the most useful main line of communication, Vietnam shares with its neighbours an important part of South China Sea, this one claimed by China in its nine dotted
The territorial disputes between neighbours raised after the announcement of China’s First to increase PLA’s powers. After more than 10 years in other conflicts, US navy is now back in Asia-Pacific, determined to take leadership. Military alliances, technological cooperation, the negotiation games are crucial. In this context, old friendships emerge. The Vietnamese story is linked with America’s since Vietnam War. As its sovereignty over some islands is contested, Vietnam is now reaching for alliances with powerful nations. Military partnership has signed with India. America’s decision to return in Asia-Pacific cannot come in a better time as Vietnamese government is now on a blink of bankruptcy and cannot enhance its military capabilities. American support is vital for Vietnam, the only country who shares with China land and sea borders. Will Obama’s new maritime policy be benefit for Vietnam? What consequences for the other Vietnamese neighbours? This paper aims to show the place of Vietnam and its maritime territory in the new geopolitical frame of Asia.

**Paper 3: Modernization of the Vietnamese People’s Army and techno-cultural vision in South China Sea, a response to the modernization of the People’s Liberation Army**

Benoit Noget (Armée Française (French Army))

The Chinese aggression of 1988 in Spratly reveals the weakness of Vietnamese to defend their sovereignty in no continental area. The need to modernize the VPA and acquire, quickly, new air and naval equipment became a guarantee of security and durability for the country. In full of Doi Moi reform, the successful modernization of the army returns to successful accomplishment of Doi Moi. As complex as the image of strategic importance of the South China Sea, Vietnam arms procurement can be described as unique. Responsible and controlled, modernization wants to be a balance between the entry of new technologies and their application in maritime environment. It is by combining successive phases of acquisition hardware integration, expression of the need adapted and capability gain that Vietnam built its reform. Mainly focused on the technical aspect from 1991 to 2009, it was only from the publication of the Defense White Paper 2009 that Vietnamese modernization integrated cultural vision. Between the Russian arms export policy in Asia and the Chinese modernization, Vietnam decides to mark his own difference, integrating models of management of foreign weapons programs. Diplomatically, this attitude enables a détente with China, including the modernization of its army, main threat to Hanoi.

**Paper 4: China confronts powerful countries during the dispute of Vietnam’s sovereignty over the issue: the South China Sea**

Nguyen Thi Hanh (Hanoi National University of Education)

Chinese dispute for Vietnamese territorial sovereignty over two archipelagos, Paracels and
Spratlys, has lasted up to now. In fact, in the process of implementing its ambitions, China has always faced powerful countries involving the region and the South China Sea issue at different levels: French, American and Soviet Union. By persisting pursuit of the policy called “catching in on opportunity“, China took advantage of the change of regional and international situation as well as the change of powerful countries’ policy towards Vietnam to gradually expand its influence range and to occupy the islands under the sovereignty of Vietnam in the South China Sea. This paper focuses on studying main selected events during this period: Chine – France dispute on the territorial sovereignty over the South China Sea in the colonial period, Chinese aggression over Paracel in 1974 and over Spratly’s islands in 1988. This paper analyses the factors involving in China’s decisions on aggressive actions at that time, offers explanations about the causes. On that basis, the paper aims at putting forward one question: whether the enhanced involvement of the great powers over the South China Sea issue is a good solution to help ASEAN countries to defend their sovereignty, or this enhancement itself will create leaking points for China to take advantage of pursuing the policy of “catching in on opportunity” to further expand its influence in the region in the future.

Paper 5: From regional conflicts to diasporic insecurity
Le Thanh Hai (Polish Academy of Science)

The West always has to deal with refugees in case of war between poor countries. After the Chinese ban on fishing water in South East Asia, more people is currently think of following the illegal routes to Australia and Europe. More importantly, symbolic war between nations settling down around the South East Asian Sea (South China Sea) would expand via diasporas around the world and challenge national security of other counties far away from the region. Chinese workers in Poland gathered to demonstrated in front of the Japanese embassy in Poland. Vietnamese students in the UK organised protest in front of the Chinese embassy in London. Confrontation between two diasporic communities bring new problem to local police and authorities. Through lobby channels they can impact the central politics, both in their host countries and homeland. Vietnamese pro-democracy activists found common interest with anti-Chinese protesters in the Philippines and international representatives in Thailand. My paper follows the perspective through diasporas, suggested by Samuel Huntington in his last book Who Are We, to analyse regional and diasporic developments related to the territorial dispute in South East Asian Sea in the last several years.
30: Transnational Capital and Student Migrant Flows: Mapping Student Migration between East and Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 5, Sunday 23 March 2014, 0900 – 1030

Chair: Yoonhee Kang (Seoul National University)

This interdisciplinary panel looks at contemporary transnational student migration between East and Southeast Asia as illustrated in the following cases: South Korean educational migrants in Singapore; Japanese-Filipino children pursuing education in both Japan and the Philippines; Malaysian-Chinese student-turned skilled migrants in Singapore and London; and mainland Chinese student immigrants participating in the competition for “foreign talent” in Singapore.

As a precursor to skilled migration, student migration is becoming an increasingly significant phenomenon driven by a globalized labor market, the internationalization of (English) education, and widening economic, social, and demographic disparities between states. The papers in this panel show variation in the ways (im)migrant children/youth are utilizing transmigration between East and Southeast Asia as a strategy to (re)generate economic and socio-cultural capital. Concurrent and mutually constitutive to these transnational educational experiences are processes of (re)construction, and negotiations of identity, selfhood and belonging.

These papers draw on life histories, interviews, archival and ethnographic data to analyse the complexity of student migrant and capital flows in and between East and Southeast Asia, in which roles as recipient, transient, sending states have become indistinguishable, and where notions of homeland and foreign land have to be re-examined. This panel offers nuanced perspectives on (1) the shifting role of Southeast Asia in transnational population mobility and student migration that links East and Southeast Asia into the global chain of human capital accumulation; and (2) how migrants negotiate issues of identity and belonging, while seeking to maximize the social, economic, and political incentives of transnational migration.
Paper 1: “It’s about time!”: Temporalities and the social construction of self among South Korean educational migrants in Singapore
Yoonhee Kang (Seoul National University)

In this paper, I explore the intersections between the experiences and practices of time and self-identities, by analysing a case study of South Korean educational migrants in Singapore. Recently, a growing number of Korean young students in their primary and secondary schools have moved to Singapore for their ‘early study abroad’ (jogi yuhak). These young children are usually accompanied by their mothers, while their fathers remain in Korea to financially support their families abroad.

By adopting Bakhtin’s concept of chronotope, a spatial-temporal frame for a specific type of personhood, this study discusses how Korean students and their mothers experience time and temporality in the context of transnational migration and how such time experiences are linked to their construction of desired personhood and identities in this rapidly globalizing world. More specifically, I will show how Korean migrant children and their mothers experience time in different ways; the children understand their time in Singapore in a type of sequencing in the pursuit of ‘global leaders,’ while the mothers experience and conceptualize a ‘condensed’ time for their intensive mothering in this specific transnational time-space.

Based on my ethnographic research among Korean educational migrants in Singapore between 2008 and 2012, this paper illustrates how the Korean migrants negotiate and redefine their identities through their experiences and imaginations of chronotopes, a cultural model for time-space-personhood in their migratory trajectories.

Paper 2: Freedom of choice or constrained options? Patterns of transnational education and logics of citizenship of Japanese-Filipino Children (JFC)
Jocelyn O. Celero (Waseda University, Japan)

Who are Japanese-Filipino children (JFC)? How does their citizenship influence their current and future socio-economic trajectories? While existing studies tend to focus largely on the marginalized positions of Japanese-Filipino children/youth either in Japan or in the Philippines, this study utilizes a transnational approach to capture their diverse educational experiences and prospects for employment in both societies.

This ethnographic research examines the narratives of citizenship, migration, and education of Japanese-Filipino children of Filipino migrant mothers in urban Japan. It begins with a comparative overview of the education system of Japan and the Philippines, the position of each state in the global economy, and the issues and challenges to socio-economic integration of Japanese-Filipino children in both societies. Next, using life vignettes, field notes from participant observation, and FGDs conducted with (30) Filipino mothers and JFC in Tokyo,
it identifies typologies of Japanese-Filipino children based on their patterns of migration, education, and employment options. Third, it analyses the economic, social, and political logics that inform JFC’s decisions to envisage multiple, often segmented life chances. This paper aims to establish that whereas most JFC tend to have fixed legal notions of Japanese and Filipino citizenship, a combination of national, cultural, linguistic and emotional capital (Bourdieu 1986, Hage 2000) acquired from both societies direct JFC to construct complex and ambivalent socio-economic futures between Japan and the Philippines, or a third country of migration.

Paper 3: Desiring home, nation and citizenship: the flexible ‘regime shopping’ discourse and practice of mainland-Chinese ‘foreign talents’ in Singapore
Yang Peidong (University of Oxford)

Aihwa Ong’s expression ‘flexible citizenship’ which denotes a strategic/calculative attitude towards formal citizenship has become a landmark conceptual idiom in the scholarly studies of contemporary human experience of transmigration. This paper examines the discourse and practice of ‘flexible citizenship’ in the case of mainland-Chinese (or ‘PRC’) student-immigrants as ‘foreign talents’ in the Southeast Asian city-state of Singapore. Drawing on a 16-month long ethnographic fieldwork across the two countries (China and Singapore) and, more specifically, recorded in-depth interviews with 20 PRC ‘foreign talents’ aged in their late 20s who had graduated and were working in Singapore, I examine how these Chinese subjects imagine about, talk about and go about ‘shopping’ countries—‘regime shopping’. Specifically, I outline the ‘tripartite comparative methodology’ they use in their shopping—a methodology that puts Singapore as a middle station between China on the one hand and the ‘real’ Western countries on the other, in relation to various comparative criteria and dimensions. The logic of ‘flexible citizenship’ seems so entrenched in this methodology that it appears to be taken for granted by my research participants.

In contrast to Vanessa Fong’s notion of “filial nationalism” and/or patriotism, my research participants demonstrate what I call a ‘discursive patriotism at a safe distance’. In other words, while many of the Chinese ‘foreign talent’ immigrants in Singapore claim deep attachment to their home country China, I contend that such attachment is largely maintained symbolically through media and imagination. These Chinese subjects are flexible citizens for whom neither Singapore nor China is home, if only because for them the idea of home has profoundly changed.
The joint research by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, USAID, The National Planning Bureau (Bappenas) and the Centre of Law and Policy Indonesia demonstrates that the development of law in Indonesia after ‘1998 Reformasi’ has indicated hyper legislation or legal explosion. Based on that finding, this research is purposed to examine the phenomenon of hyper legislation in Indonesia and its impact on human rights and legal philosophy of Indonesian criminal law system. This paper uses Regulatory Impact Analysis which focuses on the assumption of planning, fulfilling and the impact of a certain legal policy. It means that this research will evaluate the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas) proposed by the parliament in drafting and adopting a certain legislation.

This research indicates that the Prolegnas has actually forced Indonesia in a hyper regulation situation because all regulations, either specific or general legislations should mention criminal sanction as one of the compulsory elements. This legal paradigm brings about exaggerated criminalization and misleading legal philosophy of criminal legal system in Indonesia. One indication from this hyper legislation is the emergence of overload prisons around Indonesia. As a consequence, the capacity of prison cannot cover all prisoners and decreases the quality of legal capacity building for prisoners. This hyper legislation also brings about the riots which occur in some prisons in Indonesia.

This research assumes that the enactment of hyper legislation brings about human rights violation as this legal perspective solely depends on criminal sanction as a primary element of the legislation. In fact, the enactment of legislation should consider its quality rather than targeting the quantity and the usage of criminal sanction should be noted as the last instrument to preserve public order.
**Paper 1: Avoiding the Court, Justice Matters? Socio-Legal Inquiry of Press Legal Cases in Indonesia**  
Herlambang P. Wiratraman (Leiden Law School and Airlangga University)

Getting involved with the court in Indonesia seems problematic for journalists at local level. While mostly people understood that press freedom is considered freer than authoritarian regime of Soeharto, it does not automatically affect to local journalists who have been often facing brutal attacks or violence against the press. While Indonesia’s reformation has been widely known affecting the court reforms, the fact that justice is still far reaching for journalists if they deal with a complicated judicial system. Yet, the internal pressure from media owner or editor to withdraw the case led to a very frustrated way for journalists to get more legal protection.

In that regards, avoiding the court is a serious matter for journalists to consider whether or not they bring justice before the judicial system. Judiciary is not always used to solve the problem on press legal cases, although avoiding the court is not fully accepted by other journalist groups or even among their group. They are aware that the ineffectiveness or even distrust of judicial mechanism and lack of protection are the most serious problems for journalist or editor to deal with the court or other judicial processes. However, the paper argues that avoiding the judiciary does not always relate to distrust over the judicial system, but it is more a ‘forced situation’ (situsaketerpaksan), and it might led to the systematisation of impunity. By using socio-legal research method and taking several case studies, the paper dissectes to what extent avoiding the court could be fairly considered as possible justice for journalist in the injustice situations in decentralized Indonesia.

**Paper 2: Examining Religious Freedom for Religious Minorities within Islam in the Concept of Pancasila**  
Al Khanif (School of Oriental and African Studies and Jember University)

Discussing the rights of minorities within Islam in the Indonesian context is unequivocally complex because the concept of religion, law, and religious freedom is differently understood by the government and Muslims. This interwoven legal system frequently challenges the rights of ‘non-mainstream Islam’ in Indonesia such as Syiah, Ahmadiyah, Syncretistic Islam and other heterodox Islamic groups due to the influence of traditional Islamic orthodoxy and practices of customary Indonesian law. The mixture of Islam and customary laws in Indonesian legal positivism brings about the complex human rights enforcement in the country.

By using literature-based research, this paper is meant to comprehend the legal spectrum of forum internum for all religions in Pancasila. The research evaluates the dimension of
religious principle in Pancasila as the supreme legal canopy and how the application of this principle in the modern Indonesia is differently understood by Indonesian government overtime. This paper however opines that it is not possible to comprehensively understand Indonesian human rights spectrum especially to protect religious minorities within Islam without having accurate knowledge of Pancasila, because as an ideology and supreme source of law, Pancasila may be interpreted in relatively open ways but has always heavily depended on the regime and society in a particular era. It means that this paper will also evaluate religious principles of Pancasila from some legal perspectives such as Islam and international human rights to comprehensively scrutinize the challenge to protect religious minorities within Islam in Indonesia.

**Paper 3: The Fighting Against Corruption in Indonesia: A Human Rights Perspective**

Madja el Muhtaj (Medan State University)

Corruption is not only reducing the society in realizing its dignified lives, but also destructive to the nation and global community. No region or country in the world is immune to the damages of public-sector corruption. This being the case, the international community has reached a consensus that the crime of corruption is a crime against the international community, through the United Nations Convention against Corruption of 2003 which had been ratified by the Government of Indonesia through Law No. 7 Year 2006. As a reflection of its commitment, Indonesia has issued a number of regulations and established independent institutions to fight against corruption such as the Commission of Anti-Corruption and the Court of Anit-Corruption. Even so, Indonesia in the 2011 corruption perception index (CPI) as reported by Transparency International still placed at lower half, which ranks 100th of 183 countries with a score of 3.0. It reflects that corruption is still rampant implicated in the practices of state authority management.

This paper examines the development of patterns and trends of corruption in Indonesia as well as systematic measures which have been and will be done by the civil society and government in combating corruption. Through an analysis of international human rights instruments and national level, this paper also seeks to review the prevention efforts and the importance of new approaches in combating corruption through the mainstreaming of human rights particularly in Reformed Era in Indonesia since 1999. A human rights-based approach to development is strongly used to examine the achievements of Indonesian government in combating corruption by central government and local governments based on Indonesian National Action Plan on Human Rights (*Ranham Indonesia*) as enacted by the presidential regulations.
The aim of this double panel is to explore the various ways in which small and medium enterprises are involved in processes of social, cultural and economic value creation in Southeast Asia. In much of the entrepreneurship literature as well as in policy documents, SME’s are considered key in economic development. This must however, not be taken uncritically and neither be restricted to economic value creation but include explorations of social and cultural value creation. Therefore, the papers in this panel will take a broader approach and critically explore the role of SME’s as drivers of development, growth, employment, innovation, creativity, and internationalization and the opportunities and challenges they encounter in the region in terms of different constellations of informality, patronage, unstable capital markets, rising middle classes, ITC, and social, environmental, political and economic turmoil. Papers can focus on SME’s in the creative industries (the growth of small specialized firms in providing services, ranging from webpage design to art consultancy, event management to film editing), the growing phenomenon of social entrepreneurship, female entrepreneurship, the resilience of SME’s in the volatile tourism industry, the on-going discourse of so-called successful ethnic Chinese entrepreneurship, generational dimensions in small family firms, and so on. This double panel hopes to address these issues either through empirical case studies and/or more theoretical explorations. The panel welcomes contributions from any discipline related to any of the Southeast Asian countries or the region as a whole. Potential papers will be invited for publication in the open access journal Asia Matters: Business, Culture and Theory of which the panel organisers are the editors.

**Paper 1: Ethnic Chinese SMEs in Myanmar’s rice industry as actors of early internationalization and bottom-up innovations in development**

Jinsun Bae (Copenhagen Business School) & Valeria Giacomin (Copenhagen Business School)
Gradual relaxations of trade embargos from the West and the rise of China as a major consumer market and economic superpower are providing Myanmar with opportunities to take advantage of internationalized economic linkages. Local SMEs accounting for 96% of Myanmar’s urban and rural economies will undoubtedly be key players. In this light, Sino-Burmese SMEs deserve renewed attention. The Sino-Burmese represents only 3% of Myanmar’s population (about 1.6 million) but holds dominant business presence in several strategic industries of the primary sector. They are early and presently active actors in Myanmar’s trade with other countries based on their firm-specific assets and working ties with the government. We are particularly interested in the rice industry in which ethnic Chinese SMEs have long been involved as producers for export through rice mills mostly located in Upper Myanmar. Statistics reveal local SMEs dominate in the food sector, and within it rice-related firms are largest in number. Our paper aims to understand the role of these Sino-Burmese SMEs in the early internationalization process of Myanmar’s rice industry and the bottom-up innovations they have created during the process. This paper jointly constitutes a part of two PhD projects: one focusing on evolution of ethnic Chinese internationalization strategies in developing Southeast Asia (Valeria Giacomin), and another on trade, FDI and signs of early internationalization in Myanmar (Jinsun Bae). The literature on SMEs in Myanmar is scant, and information accessibility is very low. Hence, our paper will be explorative and rest on quantitative and qualitative data. We will also gather empirical data from the field such as interviews, statistics or case studies.

Paper 2: Negotiating gender through informal micro-entrepreneurship in Malaysia
Anja K. Franck (University of Gothenburg)

There is growing recognition that women’s informal micro-entrepreneurship is not only the result of poverty, disadvantage or exclusion from the formal labor markets. Instead, several studies seem to indicate that women actively seek such work in order to gain more freedom, self-fulfillment and flexibility to balance work and family roles. This study engages with this discussion through adding a spatial dimension. Employing a feminist geographical perspective the study suggests that while women in Malaysia engage with informal micro-entrepreneurship for a wide variety of reasons, such engagement also involves a renegotiation of gendered spatial boundaries. In other words: a renegotiation of the places and spaces accessible to women. As such, women may utilize informal micro-entrepreneurship to gain access to an independent income – but also as a means to negotiate and extend their room to maneuver both within and beyond the household.
Paper 3: Birds of a feather? Local versus (inter)national competition in the swiftlet nest trade in Indonesia
Laurens Bakker (University of Amsterdam and Radboud University Nijmegen)

The trade in edible swiftlet nests collected in Southeast Asia and exported to China goes back hundreds of years, but production, cleaning and farming techniques have seen considerable professionalization over the past decade. In Indonesia, these improvements have brought domesticated swiftlet farming into the greater security of urban areas and greatly popularized interest in this profitable trade. Increased competition has seen the rise of local Indonesian traders and investors next to Chinese businessmen. Whereas the latter used to dominate the business, new trade routes through Singapore, Malaysia and Vietnam provide ample opportunity to circumvent Chinese trading networks. In this paper I discuss the mechanics of this business competition at the local level in the Indonesian province of East Kalimantan, one of the major production areas. My focus lies on entrepreneurs’ dealings with the facilitating/prohibitive bureaucracy, the providers of protection and supporting financial networks. I ask whether the current boom sees local entrepreneurs taking over from (Indonesian) Chinese businessmen, or whether this trade remains a mostly Chinese affair.

Paper 4: Developing border zones in the Greater Mekong Sub-region: bridging cultures or destroying identities?
Gianluca Bonanno (Kyoto University)

Improving connectivity in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (the region comprising Southern China, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Viet Nam, and Thailand), has been a high priority on governments’ agendas since regionalising efforts started to be implemented in 1992. In sight of the forthcoming ASEAN Community, many are the facets of development that are being addressed by the national governments, as well as by the international community writ large. Nevertheless, acknowledging the tangible difficulty of tackling more sensitive issues such as policies of socio-political integration, a lot of attention has been shifted towards economic cooperation schemes, in particular the development of border zones, as a means to improve intra-regional flows and to foster trans-border economic ties. Since allowing large state companies to take on the whole task would have meant creating frictions at a national level, the current strategy seems to favour the involvement of a diversified arrange of SMEs. This presentation looks at the emergence of SMEs’ clusters along the internal borders of the Greater Mekong Sub-region, economic spillovers both at national and at local levels, and consequent social implications. In particular, attention is given to the adverse distribution of benefits caused by ownership and labour force coming mostly from far away provinces, and the inevitable human insecurity perceived by local people who find themselves once again
excluded from participating in the development of their own land.

24: Decentralisation, Development, and Democratisation in Southeast Asia (Part II)
Pusey Room, Sunday 23 March 2014, 0900 – 1030

Please see page 78.

33: The Rohingya: Past, Present, and Future
Gibbs Room, Sunday 23 March 2014, 0900 – 1030

Chair: Keith Leitich (Pierce College)
Discussant: Eva Hansson (Stockholm University)

The purpose of this panel will examine the Rohingya, their past, present and future. Arakanese Studies is a subfield within Southeast Asian studies sandwiched between history and anthropology of Bengal (India/Bangladesh) and Burma (Myanmar), its South Asian and Southeast Asian background. The papers will use a variety of methodological approaches to study the Rohingya. All three papers will examine various aspects of the Rohingya’s past, the present, and their future within the context of current historiography. Keith Leitich’s paper concentrates on the political geography of Arakan to test the plausibility of the migration and indigenous hypothesis’ of the Rohingya. Alexandra de Mersan’s paper centers on the present day conflict between Muslims and Buddhist in Arakan. Her paper uses an anthropological approach to examine the current conflict between the Buddhist Rakhaing and Muslim Rohingya in Arakan.
Paper 1: The Rohingya Question: A Geographical Approach
Keith Leitich (Pierce College)

Scholarly opinion on the origin of the Rohingya is divided into two schools; the migration theory and the indigenous theory. Each claims historical truth but there is neither archaeological evidence nor historical records to definitively support their respective thesis. Given the paucity of documentary evidence and the unlikelihood that the Burmese government will grant access to archaeological sites in the Rakhine Division in the near future, a different approach must be taken. This article will utilize a geographical approach coupled with an examination of the cultural history of the Rohingya to test the plausibility of the migration and indigenous hypothesis.

Paper 2: The Rohingya: Views of the Arakanese
Alexandra de Mersan (INALCO/CNRS, Paris)

June 2012, saw violent conflicts in Arakan State of Burma which was said to have opposed Muslims with Buddhist populations or Rohingya people against Rakhine (Arakanese). In this paper, I shall attempt to highlight the situation and give some keys for understanding, based on my anthropological research started in Arakan State fifteen years ago. I will consider the figure of strangerness among Rakhine (Arakanese) and try to answer how far this conflict can be qualified as a “religious” one. This question is directly linked with religious nationalism which was allowed to express more strongly when the regime started its reforms in the country after the elections in 2010. Finally, the conflict underlines the question of ethnicity and access to citizenship in Burma.
### Session 5: Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 - 1230

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34: The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and its implementation
O’Reilly Lecture Theatre, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1200

Chair: Gerard Clarke (Swansea University)

The language of “Community” is alive and well in East Asia and this is no more so than in Southeast Asia where the region’s institution – the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) – is committed to building a community by 2015. One aspect of ASEAN’s community building project that has attracted much attention is the notion that it is “people-oriented”. What people-oriented means is itself a subject of some controversy, and this roundtable is concerned with one element of it that is considered a significant marker, and for many the most significant marker, for what it means; the safeguarding of the people’s human rights.

From its founding Bangkok Declaration in 1967, ASEAN has always claimed to be for the people. However, even a cursory glance at ASEAN’s history reveals that “people”, and their security, have not been uppermost concerns for the state elite. The silence from ASEAN members while atrocious human rights abuses were conducted by leaders such as Ferdinand Marcos, Than Shwe, Suharto, coupled to the general restrictive nature of “soft” authoritarian regimes in Cambodia, Malaysia and Singapore, and the communist regimes of Vietnam and Laos, have, unsurprisingly, given ASEAN the image of being, not for the people, but a gentleman’s club for the state elite. ASEAN’s embrace therefore of human rights is a significant development for the Association. In 2009, ASEAN inaugurated a human rights body – ASEAN Inter-governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) – and since then the ten Representatives, one from each member state, have established AICHR’s Terms of Reference (ToR) and in November 2012 the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration (AHRD).

The AHRD has attracted considerable comment, with many non-governmental organisations bemoaning its restrictive nature while other actors are cautiously optimistic that it represents a turning point for human rights protection in Southeast Asia. It is the AHRD that acts as the focal point for this roundtable’s discussion. Five participants will present at the roundtable; two from a politics perspective, two from a legal perspective and one as a former AICHR Representative. Three are from Southeast Asia and are both noted academics within, and beyond, the region and policy-informers within Southeast Asia. Please see the abstract under each participant for brief details of their topics. In short, we aim to place the AHRD within a discussion of what constitutes human rights in Southeast Asia and what the politics surrounding the creation of the AHRD reveals about the Association’s notion of “people-oriented”. The discussant closely connected with the functioning of AICHR can explain both the politics and legal interpretations behind the AHRD’s clauses. All participants are confirmed.
Participants

- Dr Gerard Clarke (Swansea University)
- Dr. Helen Quane (Swansea University)
- Associate Professor Herman Joseph S. Kraft (University of the Philippines, Diliman)
- Prof Elizabeth Aguiling-Pangalangan (University of the Philippines, Diliman)
- Dr. Sriprapha Petcharamesree (Mahidol University)

35: Myanmar: Ethnicity, Memory, and Identity
Seminar Room 1, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1230

Chair: Kirsten McConnachie (University of Oxford)

Saw Keh Doe (Chiang Mai University)

Pregnancy is universally considered a potential life-threatening event. As a result, most societies develop systems of knowledge, behavior, beliefs and practices which reflect dietary and behavioral precautions, ritual practices and the use of herbs, the aim being to ensure the well-being of both the mother and child. This issue becomes more critical in a displacement situation, as Karen displaced people find themselves living in an unfamiliar environment and in uncertain and insecure circumstances. The situation in the camp attracts many NGOs that work to promote and develop health, education, disability and other humanitarian activities. Hence, the Karen refugees’ displacement into the camp, with its modern health care services, might have been expected to lead to a replacement of their cultural practices and customs. I explore the pregnancy caring practices of those displaced Karen women living in Thu Mweh refugee camp and describe how family members are connected and/or reconnected each other in order to transfer the knowledge, organize the ritual and provide moral and physical support during pregnancy, besides maintaining this relationship, I also try to understand how people create another kind of relatedness such as family-like relationship which has also...
played role on pregnancy caring practices for securing the uncertain situation especially in the context of displaced situation. The data was collected by using three techniques: participant observation, in-depth interview and life histories.

**Paper 2: Becoming Christian Missionaries: Social Memories and Networks of Burmese Karen Youth at the Thailand-Burma Border**

Pattarada Rittang (Chiang Mai University)

Post colonial time has left Burma with seeds of ethnic conflicts and civil war. Therefore, people migrated into neighboring countries like Thailand so authorities and responsible organizations have to set up nine refugee camps for providing humanitarian aids. The aids from INGOs develop Thu Mweh Khee refugee camp to have better facilities than other minor camps and become education centre in borderland. Therefore, this research focuses on ethno-nationalist schooling in seminary college where dominate by an ethnic group called Skaw Karen who were exile by civil war. This college has to be changed to adapt into the regulations of refugee camp that influences by many actor as camp is Zone of Exception. On the one hand, the increasing of ethnic diversity as the condition of camp as exceptional zone is leading to a greater level of experience among Theological students. Moreover, creating connectivity and networking during their studying such as participate in religious space and nationalism ceremony with people from various backgrounds and different sets of social memory have helped in creating new perceptions and ideas. As a result, Karen mission students are faced with complexities and contradictions within this displacement space, so their notions about serving God and Kawthoolei through ethnic nationalism activities, and by carrying out missionary work have been affected.

**Paper 3: Are we refugees or Myanmarese? : A study of Arakanese Magh Tribe**

Debolina Sen (University of Calcutta)

The pirates who originated in the Arakan region of Burma are the Maghs. They were the most feared pirates of the Bay of Bengal basin. They preferred themselves to be called as Marmas which means Burmese. They are an Arakanese speaking population and regard Myanmar as their cultural life. But with the turn of the century and the clearing of forests in order to accommodate growing population, this ethnic group has experienced oppression from the encroaching settlers. This has compelled them to flee and seek refuge in neighboring Chittagong hills and borders of India. But recent insurgencies have shown their critical existence. This paper aims at finding out what exactly do these Myanmarese refugees feel about their national identity. The paper questions this particular ethnic group’s identity and
questions their identity crisis and addresses their future prospects regarding nationality.

36: Islam outside the Mainstream in Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 2, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1230

Chair: Tomáš Petrů (Metropolitan University Prague)

The proposed panel aims to look more closely on Islam in Southeast Asia outside the large mainstream Sunni Islam communities in countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, where this form of Islam dominates the political and cultural life and whose issues have been given much attention by the academe. That is why this panel wants to cast more light on both the marginal, extreme, heterodox and generally unique forms of Islam in these pre-dominantly Muslim countries as well as minority Muslim communities in non-Muslim countries such as Thailand, Myanmar and/or the Philippines.

To specify what we have in mind, as for the first category hinted, the proposed panel organizer welcomes papers on issues concerning Shi’a Muslims in Indonesia and Malaysia, new Chinese converts in Malaysia, the Ahmadiyah and the Wetu Telu in Indonesia on the one hand; and also forms of Islamic radicalism and vigilantism such as FPI, Hizbut Tahrir, Perkasa, on the other. The other category hinted is the issues and problems of Muslims like the Rohingya in Myanmar, the situation of Pattani Malays and Muslim Thais in Thailand and last but not least, the Muslim South of the Philippines.

Paper 1: Islamic Vigilantes in Indonesia: A Threat or a Spent Force?
Tomáš Petrů (Metropolitan University Prague)

Quasi-official political vigilantism, often implemented by so-called thugs for hire, is a well-known and deeply rooted phenomenon in Indonesia. It has been in place as early as since the Soekarno era and reached its apex during Soeharto regime, when the state completely usurped the monopoly of power. After the downfall of Soeharto, liberalization of the political space followed and the state lost the total power grip. As a result of that, the gangsters-cum-vigilantes known as preman ceased to be agents of state and have become a power tool of
competing interest groups. In recent years, these have been successful in gaining influence
drawing on a new trend among the more sophisticated entities to affiliate themselves with
strongly religious or ethnic identities. This has given them a degree of legitimacy and a new
modus operandi. Thus, Indonesian civil society has been facing actions and threats from the
well-organized and well-connected gangsters in Muslim robes such as the Islamic Defenders’
Front (FPI) or the ethnic-based Betawi Brotherhood’s Forum (FBR). On the other hand,
after quite a few years of their operating in public space almost uncurbed, the long-silent
public attitude has changed, for their aggression against minorities has both exceeded the
limits and posed a clear threat to Indonesia’s pluralism and religious tolerance. Also, the shift
in attitude might be reflecting on the change among Indonesian leadership among whom a
high-profile runner-up for president, Jakarta’s governor Joko Widodo, intentionally
surrounds himself notable deputies and colleagues from non-Muslim, non-pribumi
communities, paving a path for new politics. The question to be solved therefore is whether
this wave of pluralism stands a chance and can change things thoroughly or whether it is just
short-lived effort which will be downtrodden by both conservatives and Islamic hardliners.

Paper 2: Resisting the Post-Islamist Wave? Paradoxes of Ultra-Conservative Youth
Activism in Malaysia
Dominik M. Müller (Goethe-University Frankfurt)

Many observers of contemporary Muslim politics argue that a transnational “post-Islamist”
turn is presently replacing the state-political orientation of classical Islamism, particularly
among the young generation of Muslim societies and Islamic political movements. According
to this narrative, it is particularly the university-educated, media-savvy Muslim youth which
has lost faith in the utopian promise of Islamist political ideologies, their paternalistic truth
claims and the idea of utilizing the state’s legal apparatus for a top-down Islamization of
society. In sharp contrast to this mainstream tendency and the generalizing, one-directional
scholarly claims that go along with it, the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) is presently
witnessing the anachronistic rise of a new generation of ultra-conservative Islamist activists
among its youth wing. These young activists, many of whom are holding prestigious local and
international university degrees and belong to the new Malay middle-class, are now calling for
a “purification of PAS’s Islamic struggle” vis-à-vis a faction of “post-Islamist” pragmatists in
the senior party. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, I will elucidate how paradoxically,
however, the same PAS Youth has reinvented the party’s “Islamic struggle” in a unique pop-
Islamist manner, as it expresses decidedly Islamist political positions through new forms of
religious marketization, new media and pop-cultural channels that are commonly ascribed to
the post-Islamist turn.
Paper 3: Good and Bad Conversions: Chinese Malaysian Converts in Penang and their Search for a Muslim Life
Frauke-Katrin Kandale (Goethe-University Frankfurt)

Chinese Malaysian converts to Islam, in Malaysia called saudara baru (new brother/sister) or revert, face a number of difficulties upon converting to Islam and are entering a highly debated field. The Federal Constitution of Malaysia defines a Malay Malaysian as a Muslim which leads to the perception of Islam being largely associated with the Malay community. Due to this communal association with religion, Chinese Malaysian parents object to their children embracing Islam. The perception of ‘masuk Islam = masuk Melayu’ (entering Islam equals entering Malayness) still prevails in the minds of many Malaysians. Since Malaysian Islamic law restricts a Muslim only to marry a Muslim, non-Muslim Malaysians have to convert to Islam before marrying a Muslim. Although marriage is the prevailing motivation for conversion it is often frowned upon because it indicates that the convert did not discover the truth in Islam or was called by Allah (hidayah). This paper investigates how the Chinese Malaysian converts cope with this subtle differentiation between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ conversions which connects to the dichotomy of akal (reason) and nafsu (passion) in Malay society (Peletz 1994). The findings are based on ethnographic fieldwork in Penang, West-Malaysia, in 2009 and 2010.

Paper 4: Understanding Religious Conversion Of The Dusun Muslim Converts In Brunei Darussalam: Critical Engagement Of The Rambo Model
Asiyah Kumpoh (Universiti Brunei Darussalam)

A literature review on the conversion studies reveals that most models of religious conversion postulate Christian-centric and western-centric perspectives. One of these models is a seven-stage model developed by Lewis Rambo (1993) which identifies the context, the crisis, the quest, the encounter, the interaction, the commitment and the consequences as the fundamental stages in a religious conversion. Previous studies however tended to assess Rambo’s definition and the postulated stage sequence and many argue that the model fails to explain the religious conversion of their research subjects. Drawing on the qualitative data obtained through interviews with the Dusun Muslim converts in Brunei Darussalam and the utilisation of relevant literature, this paper attempts to critically engage the Rambo Model and to offer plausible explanations as to why there are variations in the definition and the stage order in a conversion process. One of the significant is the indication that a context is not a stage per se but rather a background setting of a conversion process. Consequently, having redefined the context, different components of context were identified where each of these components influences a specific stage. Alongside this finding is the identification of culture-
free definition of the conversion stages which consequently allows the components of context to construct them into the definitions that represent the actual conversion experience of the Dusun Muslim converts. This paper also highlights the existence of the contextual components that vary across different religious contexts, and as the nature of the component of context can only be utilised in an orderly manner, this fact further determines the order of the stages that occurs in a religious conversion.

37: Manila at a Crossroads: Transitions and Aspirations of Asian Cities
Seminar Room 3, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1230

Chair: Jonathan Corpus Ong (University of Leicester)
Discussant: Mark Johnson (University of Hull)

This panel brings together scholars from diverse fields of sociology, anthropology, and media studies to interrogate different dimensions of metropolitan Manila. The panel highlights that Manila as the capital city of the Philippines and ‘densest city in the world’ provides scholars with a complex canvas to theorize social struggle and transformations both in the developing world and in Southeast Asia. In popular discourse, Manila is currently caught in between optimistic narratives of development, such as being a “2013 top 10 city to invest in Asia” (The Telegraph), and pessimistic accounts of its squalor and moral decay, such as when the city was controversially dubbed as “the gates of hell” (Dan Brown’s Inferno). The four papers in the panel explore contemporary Manila in its uneven and contradictory movements between development and decay, multiculturalism and ethnocentrism, and tradition and change. They situate the city at the crucial point of transition, or a crossroads, through exploring it as a crucial locale for processes of religious diversification (Cornelio), mediation (Ong), migration (Cruz), and multiculturalism (Cabanes).

In the first paper “The Governance of Religions and Urban Aspirations in Metro Manila”, Cornelio examines Manila as an urban space that renders visible relationships between religious organizations, the government, and the public. He discusses how government regulation of sexualized billboards and rock concerts in the city are stirred by moral panic discourses from religious organizations, just as the government’s permissiveness for religious
use of public space in the metropolis ties in to specific ‘worlding’ aspirations of Manila. The
second paper “Zones of Media Experience in Metropolitan Manila” locates Manila at the
center of Philippine society not only from its geographic claim as the center of political and
economic power, but also of extensive media power, where media have come to fill the gap for
a weak state. Ong’s paper discusses how media institutions in the city act as poignant sites of
‘pilgrimage’ for poor and working-class people not only for purposes of fandom or
entertainment but for social recognition and even the promise of economic reward and basic
social services. The third paper “Leaving Manila: Filipino Emigrants, Agents of the State,
and the Times of Migration” presents an ethnographic account of the interactions between
Filipino emigrants and representatives of the Philippine state in Manila, particularly officials
and employees of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. Cruz views these encounters as
nexuses of temporalities: as parts of what could be prolonged struggles to emigrate, as
generating ruptures and continuities in familial ties, and as moments when Philippine
statehood and citizenship are seemingly devalued but also reasserted. The final paper “On
the Mediation of Multiculturalism in Manila” explores the links between how the Manila-
centric Philippine entertainment media and how Manila’s local Filipinos talk about the city’s
Indian and Korean diasporas. Cabanes argues that the particular kind of mediation produced
in this instance is entangled in the broader dynamics that undergird the Philippine
postcolonial nationalist project, in particular that of the local Filipinos’ preoccupation with
establishing a unique and unifying cultural identity and with their often unspoken but deeply
entrenched hierarchy of their cultural others. The panel ends with an expert response from
Dr Mark Johnson, who has written extensively on Filipino migration, gender studies, and
religion.

Paper 1: The Governance of Religion and Urban Aspirations in Metro Manila
Jayeel Cornelio (Max Planck Institute for Religious and Ethnic Diversity)

One of Metro Manila’s contemporary facets is religious diversification brought about by
emerging evangelical organizations and immigration. However, there are no specific policies
or government agencies dealing with the management of religious organizations. This paper
will show that in spite of this absence, several recent developments in NCR render visible
some patterns concerning the relationship between religion and the government of the
metropolis. These developments, it will be seen, also surface the various aspirations people
have in Metro Manila. Two broad patterns will be explored here. First, in the wake of several
controversies involving public morality, it will be seen that religious organizations appeal to
the State to become the moral arbiter. These controversies include sexualized billboards,
Lady Gaga’s concert, and an art exhibit, among others. Mainly coming from conservative
Catholic and Evangelical groups, the moral militancy reflects the aspiration to sustain the
capital’s supposed religiosity, which is threatened by changing religious attitudes among the public. Second, the State generally follows a permissive rule in the religious use of public space in the metropolis. This can be seen in terms of the seeming unproblematic use of historic open spaces in NCR. But the State can also be seen as offering a more supportive assistance to such events as the Black Nazarene procession around the old City of Manila. In this case, the State draws from taxpayers’ money to provide sanitation and security, for example, to devotees. This is in a way expected since the procession is inseparable from the historical and cultural identity of Manila. In recent years, the State, it will be seen, is extending the symbolic power of its recognition to the ambitious constructions of El Shaddai and Iglesia ni Cristo (INC), two highly influential religious organizations based in NCR. El Shaddai’s International House of Prayer and INC’s Philippine Arena are constructions that surpass expectations of size and grandeur, which collectively contribute to the worlding aspiration of Metro Manila.

**Paper 2: Zones of Media Experience in Metropolitan Manila**

Jonathan Corpus Ong (University of Leicester)

This paper draws from the recent literature on media anthropology and production studies to explore the *locatedness* of media in ordinary people’s experiences, arguing that media production and consumption are always-already socially shaped and imbricated in national and local histories of regulation and development. This paper teases out the unique feature of Filipino privately owned television networks as *interventionist*, whereby economic aid and assistance is offered to “the masses” not only in wealth-sharing game shows, but also in charitable projects run by media oligarchs and celebrities. While elite-owned, television confers symbolic recognition to the poor through their “overrepresentation” (Wood & Skeggs, 2009) across multiple genres, and offers material redistribution in the transactional interactions between generous TV personalities and loyal audiences in various zones of media experience. In particular, this paper discusses how television institutions in Manila act as sites of ‘pilgrimage’ for poor and working-class people both within and without the city to avail of the social services advertised by TV institutions. Through an ethnographic portrait of a family’s physical and emotional labor of visiting a TV network, auditioning, and then being subjects of their own charity appeal, the paper illustrates the exercise of unregulated media power in the Philippines, the Filipino cultural idioms that animate practices of pilgrimage, and the significance of Manila not only as a center for political and economic power but of intense concentration of symbolic power.
Paper 3: Leaving Manila: Filipino Emigrants, Agents of the State, and the Times of Migration
Resto S. Cruz (University of Edinburgh)

In this paper, I present an ethnographic account of the brief encounters between Filipino would-be emigrants and agents of the state based in Manila, specifically officials and employees of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas, and primarily in the context of pre-departure orientation seminars that the Philippine state requires would-be emigrants to attend. I highlight how, in spite of their briefness, these encounters might be usefully seen as nexuses of temporalities that include: personal, familial, and broader histories of migration and mobility; the continuities and ruptures of kinship time; the cycles, rhythms, and timeframes of bureaucracy, statehood, and citizenship; and the various futures that emigrants, their kin, and agents of the state imagine and seek to create. By attending to these temporalities and how they may converge or diverge, I foreground in this paper the irreducibility of emigrant-state encounters to either logics of regulation and governmental rationality or the severance of bonds of citizenship. Indeed, part of what emerges from these encounters is the seemingly contradictory devaluation and reassertion of Philippine statehood and citizenship. Emergent too in these encounters and interactions are different construals of Manila. Whilst Manila’s centrality in migration and broader social processes in the Philippines is a precondition of and is in turn reinforced by these encounters, Manila is also produced as the site of a present that is on its way to becoming the past, at the same time that it is relocated to a future of anticipated returns, familial reconnections, and social and economic mobilities.

Paper 4: Photography as an Interruption to the Mediation of Multiculturalism in Manila
Jason Vincent A. Cabanes (University of Leeds)

In this article, I examine the mediation of multiculturalism in the developing world city of Manila. Drawing on both a thematic analysis of the Manila-centric Philippine entertainment media and six focus group discussions with the city’s local Filipinos, I reveal that this instance of mediation is entangled with the broader discourses of the Philippine postcolonial nationalist project. For one, the mediation of multiculturalism in Manila tends to symbolically marginalize the city’s Indians and Koreans and, in so doing, reinforces existing negative discourses about them. I contend that this is linked to the locals’ preoccupation with establishing a unifying cultural identity that tends to make them elide the issue of their own internal cultural diversity, as well as of the increasing diasporic population of the city. Second, the said mediation also tends to valorize the lighter-skinned Koreans over the darker-skinned Indians. I posit that this is related to how the locals’ discourse of cultural homogeneity has
resulted in their continued reluctance to publicly discuss the persistence of their unspoken skin-tone based racial hierarchy not only of themselves, but also of their cultural others.

38: Transnational Security Challenges and Governance in Southeast Asia
Seminar Room 4, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1230

Chair: Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London)

Although often seen as a region of ‘hard’ states fiercely attached to their national sovereignty, Southeast Asia has always been host to a massive array of transnational social, political and economic forces: ethnic, religious and linguistic groups and diasporas; communist, separatist and rebel groups; transnational flows of people, capital, goods, diseases, communications, crime and pollution – to name but a few. Although some of these flows are welcomed, others are considered as threats to local, national, regional or global ‘security’. This panel explores how transnational security problems – understood in their broadest sense – are defined and managed in Southeast Asia. This is not simply a question of the discursive identification of threats, but has real-world implications for the exercise of power, political order and governance. In some cases, transnational challenges lead local authorities to try to harden national structures of governance: to toughen border controls, or forcibly repress domestic groups relying on transnational economic flows or support networks. In other cases, their very transboundary nature seems to render state-based governance defunct, with calls for great regional integration or global governance to tackle new threats to human well-being. What drives the ‘securitisation’ of transboundary flows and how they are addressed? What interests and ideological projects are being served?

Paper 1: Governing Non-Traditional Security in Southeast Asia
Lee Jones (Queen Mary, University of London) & Shahar Hameiri (Murdoch University)

This paper presents the findings of a three-year research project into the politics and governance of non-traditional security (NTS) issues in Southeast Asia, specifically transboundary pollution, pandemic disease, and transnational crime. Given the transboundary
nature of NTS threats, many scholars and practitioners argue that national state-based governance is no longer sufficient, since no one country can tackle these problems alone. Instead, governance must be rescaled to a regional or global level that matches the threat in question. Consequently, who should govern NTS, and how, is far more open-ended than for traditional military security. Discussions of NTS in Southeast Asia often conclude that little governance is occurring because of the failure of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to acquire significant supranational authority over member-states. However, this overlooks the fact that many NTS issues are increasingly governed through the transformation of states rather than a zero-sum loss of sovereignty to regional bodies. State apparatuses are increasingly networked into regional or global regulatory regimes designed to govern transnational issues. However, this transformation is heavily contested, since different scales and instruments of governance inevitably privilege different societal interests and ideologies. To understand how threats in our three issue areas are governed, therefore, we analyse this contestation, which involves social conflict within specific political economy settings connected to the NTS issues concerned. A considerable amount of governance rescaling has occurred, despite Southeast Asia’s reputation for a cast-iron attachment to sovereignty and non-interference. Yet, the incipient governance regimes are shaped and constrained by powerful societal interests that often limits their efficacy.

Paper 2: Countering Piracy: Transnational Maritime Security Governance in Southeast Asia
Carolin Liss (Griffith University)

In the early 2000s, maritime piracy in Southeast Asia, and particularly in the Malacca Strait, received substantial international attention. As the number of attacks in the Malacca Strait declined and more and more incidents were reported from the Gulf of Aden area, international attention shifted to Somali piracy. Piracy in Southeast Asia, however, did not disappear, and pirates who often operate across national borders continue to be active, especially in the waters of Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. This paper examines how piracy is addressed in Southeast Asia, with a focus on the different state and non-state actors involved in combatting the threat and their interactions. The paper suggests that even though individual states continue to play an important role in addressing threats such as piracy, maritime security governance in Southeast Asia today involves an ever expanding range of state, non-state and hybrid actors, including international and regional not-for profit and for-profit actors.
Indonesia is vitally important because half of the world’s trading goods and oil pass through Indonesian waters including the Straits of Malacca, the Strait of Sunda and the Strait of Lombok. Consequently, Indonesia’s engagement in maritime governance is a matter of some import for the international community. In the development of maritime security governance dealing with criminal activities in the region Indonesia has played an important role in shaping cooperation institutions. However, Indonesia’s varying behaviour towards the development of maritime governance is puzzling. Indonesia has initiated and led some of these maritime cooperation initiatives and opted out of others. Concerns over sovereignty infringement have often been given as the reason underpinning Indonesia’s behaviour towards maritime governance. Sovereignty concerns can have some bearing when seeking to understand Indonesia’s behaviour towards maritime governance; however, by focusing too much on sovereignty concerns the current literature tends to overlook the extensive networks of maritime governance that involves Indonesia and its efforts to project preferences and interests onto the institutional design of maritime governance in Southeast Asia and Asia-Pacific. This paper argues that in dealing with transnational crimes Indonesia – both its government and private sector – have promoted cooperation institutions that enable states to carry out cross-border sea and air patrols and provide access to its land, air space, ports and other industrial sites to other states’ law enforcement agencies. The evidence shows that costs and benefits calculation, rather than sovereignty concerns can explain the way Indonesia responded to different forms of maritime governance. The extensive networks of maritime governance in Southeast Asia are developed through the interweaving of maritime initiatives at bilateral, regional and international levels. Among these initiatives Indonesia decides only to promote cooperation initiatives that yield significant benefit.
39: Reconceptualising Migrant Returns: Contemporary Southeast Asian Literature in Transition
Seminar Room 5, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1230

Chair: Jacqulyn Teoh (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

The ethno-linguistic diversity and multiplex narratives characteristic of Southeast Asia and its peoples are compounded, in contemporary times, by global diasporic movements. Such movements create fluctuating, hyphenated identities whose instability derives from both the possibility and impossibility of ‘returning’ to originary homelands. This panel seeks to provide an overview of current Southeast Asian Anglophone literary production through examining the concept of the migrant’s ‘return.’ We suggest that inasmuch as the migrant’s ‘return’ requisites a revisiting of the ‘old’ country and a recuperation of ‘lost’ memories, it simultaneously creates new conceptualizations of being, becoming and belonging. In his paper, Christopher Ramos suggests how the articulations of exile and return in the writings of Burmese-American Wendy Law-Yone and Cambodian-American Anida Yoeu Ali wrestle with imperial legacies to construct new modes of belonging based on a transnational collective imaginary. On the other hand, Hai-Dang Phan argues that the ambivalent poetics of Vietnamese-American Phan Nhien Hao necessitate a new deterritorialized reading practice that navigates transnational sites of writing, reception and translation in order to resist the teleology of loss and recuperation commonly associated with the ‘returning’ migrant. Finally, Jacqulyn Teoh’s paper considers how Chinese-Malaysian author Tash Aw’s Booker-nominated Five Star Billionaire restructures the novel form to reconsider the multiplicity of motives that drive Chinese-Malaysians to ‘return’ to contemporary China, thereby redefining the concept of the ‘returning’ migrant. This panel ultimately aims to demonstrate how changing interpretations of migrant ‘returns’ manifested through innovative literary forms reflect the dynamics of Southeast Asia in rapid transition.

Paper 1: Genocide and Southeast Asian American Anticolonial Critique
Christopher Bautista Ramos (Duke University)

Paper 2: Postwar Reconciliation and Counterpublic Witness from the Vietnamese Diaspora: The Poetic Case of Phan Nhiên Hạo.
Hai-Dang Phan (Grinnell College)

Paper 3: Multiple Narratives, Multiple Returns: Rethinking the Migrant Return and the Novel in Tash Aw’s Five Star Billionaire
Locating Southeast Asia as the site of dispersal, real or imagined, diasporic groups described in contemporary Southeast Asian diaspora literatures in English, who experience the travails (even traumas) and rewards of leaving their homelands what with various reasons, feel a simultaneous sense of alienation and affiliation to the hostland and the homeland. They are searching for their cultural identity and hoping to belong to a community. This paper will analyze selected works of this genre to examine the triadic relationships between the diasporic subjects, homeland and hostland, as well as different diasporic trajectories; illustrate the geographical, social, political, historical and cultural contexts in which these works are set; and expound on the contingently constructed cultural identity characteristic of a dynamic “transnational consciousness”. Using the notions of diaspora criticism, this paper will also consider how the exilic experiences (double or even plural movements) and the psychological consciousness of diasporic groups are inflected by race, class, religion, gender, sexuality and global capitalism. Within an interdisciplinary frame in relation to ethnic studies, cultural studies, as well as sociology and anthropology, my objective is to focus on the topics of postcolonial nostalgia, immigrant memory and history, anxiety over identity, language and textual aesthetics to explore how the diasporic identities are practiced, lived and experienced.
armed insurgencies, revolts and uprisings. These have included anti-colonial and nationalist struggles for independence, religiously and politically motivated struggles, counter-campaigns against these struggles, and uprisings borne of more diffuse feelings of grievance. This panel seeks to examine what happens to the protagonists after the conflict is officially over and how and to what end ex-combatants identities are mobilised and reconfigured in the post-conflict milieu.

Whether victorious or not, former combatants and their supporters, in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, often continue to reproduce the language, logic and political imaginaries of the struggle years – witness, for example, the self-portrayal of the Burmese tatmadaw as guardians of the nation harking back to the anti-colonial struggle; the continuing anti-communist rhetoric of groups such as Pemuda Pancasila in Indonesia; the insistence of former GAM in Aceh to have their symbols and leaders representing the province; and the ‘a luta continua’ rhetoric of former resistance members in Timor-Leste. The conveners invite papers that examine the various socio-political imaginaries of Southeast Asian former combatants and their supporters in a broad sense, including the gender and spiritual dimensions of these imaginaries.

**Paper 1: Reintegration Programmes and the Remaking the Timorese State**
Kate Roll (University of Oxford)

Reintegration and benefits programmes are at the centre of processes of post-conflict state-building. These programmes ‘do’ much more than provide welfare payments or control spoilers; they are, instead, more usefully approached as a providing a set of mechanisms or a technology for defining the post-conflict state and enabling the extension of state power. While many practices may be analysed in these terms, this is particularly true of reintegration and benefits programmes, both as they engage with classic definitional issues around the state such as who may legitimately wield force as well as mark significant changes to state infrastructure and state knowledge of its subjects.

This argument, however, rest on a particular conceptualisation of state-building and the state itself, one that diverges from the dominant approach focusing on institutional development. More specifically, I apply recent theoretical analysis of the state as constructed to post-conflict state-building in Timor-Leste. I follow the calls to ‘focus on the multiple sites in which state processes and practices are recognized through their effects’ (Trouillot, 2001: 126) and plumb the quotidian practices of governance and state performance that become ‘a central domain for the production and reproduction of the state’ (Navaro-Yashin, 2002: 135). Accordingly, I approach state-building as concerning the broader questions, including how does a collection of new institutions become a ‘state’? What processes transform these entities into something more than the sum of their institutional parts? Fundamentally, how
does the state emerge as a ‘common ideological and cultural construct’ (Mitchell, 1991: 81)?”

**Paper 2: Shadow, Parallel and Contested States in Timor-Leste: The Political Practices and Myths of Veterans’ Organisations in Timor-Leste**  
Henri Myrttinen (Mauerpark Institute)

The official narrative of the independence of Timor-Leste and the state which it begot, the armed resistance of the Falintil plays a major, if not dominant role. This is underlined by public displays of valorisation, be it in commemorative speeches or increasingly extravagant monuments, but also in several hundred million dollars worth of pensions, scholarships and public contracts.

Nonetheless, the veterans, as represented by their organisations, tend to be an unhappy polity. This paper examines the political practices of two key veterans’ organisations, the CPD-RDTL (Conselho Popular pela Defesa da República Democrática de Timor-Leste) and the Sagrada Familia. While both whole-heartedly support the valorisation of veterans and neither questions the independence or the existence of the state of Timor-Leste per se, both have a distinctly ambivalent attitude towards it. While both have been seen as factors of instability in the post-independence years, they have followed different paths in the interaction with the state.

Of the two, CPD-RDTL is the more radical in its stance, questioning the legality current constitution of the republic, using mostly political and legal arguments, and drawing on an eclectic ideological mix based on ‘maubere:ism’. The organisation has been challenging state authority by setting up parallel structures to the very RDTL state it purportedly is defending. The Sagrada Familia, on the other hand, while ideologically similar has a much more mystical basis, centered around the persona of Comandante L-7. While also carrying out activities in parallel to the state (such as collecting and storing the bones of fallen guerrillas), Sagrada Familia has also been able to occupy central positions of the state bureaucracy with its members, including the Armed Forces Commander, thus forming a kind of shadow state.

Over the course of 2013, a new actor emerged in the form of the Revolutionary Council headed by L-7’s brother, contesting the authority of the government based on poor socio-economic performance. The paper examines the forms of interaction of these three organisations with the state, analysing some of the deeper issues underlying the forms, narratives and practices of these processes.

**Paper 3: DDR in Aceh, Indonesia – Disillusioned, Discontent, Ready to return to war?**  
Roman Patock (Goethe Universitaet)

Based on the general DDR (Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration) approach this
paper looks into the economic, political and social implications of reintegration of former guerilla combatants in Aceh, Indonesia from an ethnographic perspective.

Against the backdrop of the post-Tsunami brokered peace agreement between the Acehnese resistance movement GAM (Geurakan Acheh Meurdheuka) and the Government of Indonesia in August 2005 the initial process of disarmament and demobilisation of guerilla fighters, relocation of Government troops and amnesty for political prisoners went surprisingly fast and smooth. The economic, political and social reintegration into civilian life, however, progressed much slower and saw numerous obstacles.

In the eyes of former combatants reintegration (reintegrasi) is merely thought of in economic terms as compensation for suffered losses and legitimate spoils of war rather than benefits of peace. Channelling the funds through the organisational network of the former rebel military on one hand reinforced a far reaching parallel society lead by military authorities, on the other hand helped to commit GAM members to peace so far.

Besides economic and political empowerment the need for social integration is widely abnegated under the assumption GAM and the Acehnese people have never been separated. ‘Mental disarmament’ and reconciliation have not yet settled in as can be seen from the vivid expression of past warrior pride and ethno-national sentiment. Rhetoric of war and independence (meurdheuka) are still strong in conversation, heroic tales, karaoke songs and symbolism.

In the eyes of numerous fighters the present post-conflict period is merely seen as a transitional period with open end at best, often referred to as ‘times of political war’ with considerable potential for violence as the discovery of weapons caches, grenade attacks and prevented assassination attempts suggest. Should sentiments of disillusioned and discontent fighters be fuelled and their readiness to return to war exploited, the peace process could eventually come under considerable pressure.
32: Small and Medium Enterprises and Value Creation in Southeast Asia (Part II)

Chair: Can Seng Ooi (Copenhagen Business School)

Paper 5: Family firm sustainability in the traditional batik industry in Lasem, Indonesia
Lely Kristinawati Budhiyanto (Oxford Brookes Business School)

This paper aims to come to a better understanding of the nature of sustainability (growth and survival) in family firms in the traditional batik industry in Indonesia by exploring how they adjust to changing circumstances. It will analyse the changes at different levels and contexts: the micro level (the family and the firm), meso level (the market and institutional environment), and macro level (economic and political climate). This adds a new perspective to existing approaches in family firm sustainability research and will result in a more holistic conceptual framework for the study of small family firm sustainability. Within the context of developing countries, family businesses are the dominant business model. Family businesses in general also have the potential to contribute substantially to economic development and social welfare in the countries in which they are active. In the case of the traditional batik industry, cultural value creation can be added to this list. However, being small business units, these firms are also vulnerable in terms of survival in the long run. As a consequence, research that offers insights into how the sustainability of family firms can be supported can contribute quite significantly to further community development in developing and pre-emerging markets such as Indonesia. The paper will be based on ethnographic data (gathered in 2013) and will compare the experiences of traditional batik family firms on how they adjust to changing circumstances.

Heidi Dahles (Griffith University)

The scholarly interest in ‘migrant entrepreneurship’ received an innovative impulse with the concept of ‘mixed embeddedness’, which addresses entrepreneurial activities in migrant receiving economies. Mixed embeddedness outlines the economic, social, cultural and political opportunity structures that affect immigrant business operations. Overall, the opportunity structures of both the immigrant community and encompassing host economy are viewed as providing assets conducive to immigrant business. Conversely, this paper relocates the concept of ‘embeddedness’ in a transnational setting by focusing on the business activities conducted by Cambodian returnees in Cambodia. Return is understood in terms of circular mobility between home and host countries. The paper aims at identifying the
opportunities and challenges of returnee entrepreneuring in Cambodia emanating from their persistent – hence ‘mixed’ – embeddedness in diverse economies. This explorative study compares two categories of returnee through a review of literature on Cambodians in the United States and France and primary fieldwork data obtained through open interviews with Cambodian returnees in Cambodia. Cambodian French and Cambodian American returnees show different entrepreneurial dispositions based on divergent migration histories and hence play different roles in the Cambodian economy. While both categories initiate myriad institutional and business ventures, their contribution to the Cambodian economy remains contested for different reasons.

**Paper 7: Chinese Indonesian Female Entrepreneurs and their Value Creation**  
Juliette Koning (Oxford Brookes University)

There is an abundant literature on ethnic Chinese entrepreneurship in Southeast Asia. Although the ‘actual’ contribution of ethnic Chinese business groups to the Southeast Asian economies stays a contested debate, most scholars agree that there is an important role played by ethnic Chinese businesses in terms of employment, innovation, and internationalization. On closer inspection, this overwhelming research however, rarely contains an analysis of companies, businesses and ventures developed, managed and expanded by ethnic Chinese female entrepreneurs and business owners. It can be argued that in fact the literature on ethnic Chinese entrepreneurship in Southeast Asia is very quite in terms of gender. Following critique on entrepreneurship studies more in general (such as articulated by Helene Ahl) of the implicit masculine discourse and the homogenizing tendencies of research that compares the behaviour of male and female entrepreneurs, this paper explores individual life and business stories of Chinese Indonesian female entrepreneurs. The aim is to come to a better understanding of the different routes to value creation developed by these women, why the literature is so quite about their activities and what these can tell us about the interesting relationships between gender, ethnic identity, entrepreneurship, and value creation. The paper is based on case studies of several Chinese Indonesian female entrepreneurs in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
41: Burma and Drugs: national problems, regional solutions
Pusey Room, Sunday 23 March 2014, 1100 – 1230

Chair: Mathea Falco (Drug Strategies)

The current transition in Burma presents opportunities and challenges, and nowhere more so than in the problems around drug production, consumption and the role of counterfeit medications in the healthcare system. Opium and methamphetamine production have risen in recent years, and drug education and prevention were virtually unknown under the military regime. Illicit drug production is a source of income to many in ethnic states who have few alternatives. Counterfeit drugs are killing those they purport to cure.

This panel will seek to explore all aspects of Burma’s drug production and counterfeit drug use from a comparative and trans-national perspective. Attention will be given to the various policy solutions sometimes advanced and variously tried both within Burma and amongst its neighbours: eradication, medical effects, treatment, prevention and education. It will seek to find models for dealing with the problem of counterfeit drugs in the healthcare system.

Themes

- Has drug eradication worked in neighbouring countries? How do international obligations to eradication square with the search for effective solutions to the drug problem?
- What are the medical effects of the counterfeit drugs in Burma?
- What role can international actors play in developing a drugs education programme?
- Can the Burmese healthcare system be resourced/enabled to deal more effectively with both drug addiction and counterfeit drugs?
- Are there viable alternatives to drug production that can be developed for opium farmers?

Speakers

Mathea Falco is a leading expert on drug abuse prevention and treatment, served as the first U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs during the Carter Administration (1977-81). She is President of Drug Strategies, a nonprofit research institute based in Washington, D.C., created with the support of major foundations in 1993 to identify and promote more effective approaches to substance abuse and international drug policy. A graduate of Yale Law School, she is also a Visiting Scholar at the Center for International Criminal Justice at the Harvard Law School. From 2003-2010, she
was Associate Professor at the Weill Cornell Medical College Department of Public Health in New York and from 2005-2007, she was a Fellow at Harvard University’s Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. She has visited Burma many times.

**Michael Marett-Crosby** obtained an M.A. and D.Phil from Oxford University. Marett-Crosby serves as trustee of the Daw Aung San Suu Kyi Trust for Health and Education, Prospect Burma, and the Rangoon General Hospital Reinvigoration Fund. He frequently travels to Burma to advance health and education projects in the country.

**Sean Turnell** has been a researcher of Burma’s economy for nearly twenty years. Formerly a Senior Analyst at the Reserve Bank of Australia, he is based at the Economics Department of Macquarie University in Sydney. He has been an advisor on Burma to the US State Department, USAID, Australia’s Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the World Bank, and many other international bodies. Turnell is an advisor to a number of key stakeholders in Burma, including Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy (NLD). The author of “Fiery Dragons: Banks, Moneylenders and Microfinance in Burma”, he is currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Myanmar Development Resource Institute (MDRI). He has previously held fellowships at Cambridge University, Cornell University, Johns Hopkins, and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

**Patrick Meehan** is a PhD candidate in the Department of Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London. His research interests are focused on the political economy of drugs and state formation in post-colonial Burma, specifically Shan State. He has been conducting field research in both Burma and on the Thai-Burma border since 2011. His publications include “Drugs, insurgency and state-building in Burma: Why the drugs trade is central to Burma’s changing political order”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, (2011), 42:3 and “Fortifying or fragmenting the state? The political economy of the drug trade in Shan State, Myanmar, 1988-2012”, *Critical Asian Studies*, (forthcoming, 2014).

**Myint Oo** has been a general medical practitioner practicing at his own clinic in Burma for over thirty years. He has published over 500 articles related to general practice, public health, human rights and health policy. A Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow in 2010, he is currently the vice-president of General Practitioners’ Society, and is working to set up a private college of General Practitioners for the improvement of primary care and medical education in Myanmar. Oo is the recipient of numerous other awards including a Hubert Humphrey Fellowship at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (2003-2004) and an IIE Alumni Impact award (2005) for pioneering a continuing medical education program in Burma.
James McTaggart is an Educational Psychologist working in the Highlands of Scotland. Educated at Oxford University, McTaggart had a varied career including teaching before training as a psychologist at London Metropolitan and Dundee universities. He specializes in early child development, infant mental health and developmental trauma. As part of the national rollout of Post School Psychological Services, McTaggart and the Highland Council Psychological Service have been working with key partners to improve transitions in Highland. McTaggart also serves as Education Adviser to the Daw Aung San Suu Kyi Trust for Health and Education.
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<td>Seda</td>
<td>Universitas Indonesia</td>
<td><a href="mailto:saveria09@gmail.com">saveria09@gmail.com</a></td>
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<td>Salita</td>
<td>Seedokmai</td>
<td>University of Melbourne</td>
<td><a href="mailto:salitas@student.unimelb.edu.au">salitas@student.unimelb.edu.au</a></td>
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<td>Yukari</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:dsen24@gmail.com">dsen24@gmail.com</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eric</td>
<td>Seo</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:seoeric2015@gmail.com">seoeric2015@gmail.com</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brian</td>
<td>Setiadinata</td>
<td>University of Oxford</td>
<td><a href="mailto:brian.setiadinata@hertford.ox.ac.uk">brian.setiadinata@hertford.ox.ac.uk</a></td>
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<td>Dian</td>
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<td>Aung Pyi</td>
<td>Soe</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:aungpyisoe86@gmail.com">aungpyisoe86@gmail.com</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Joey</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:joeywbs@gmail.com">joeywbs@gmail.com</a></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Kerstin</td>
<td>Steiner</td>
<td>Monash University</td>
<td><a href="mailto:kerstin.steiner@monash.edu">kerstin.steiner@monash.edu</a></td>
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<td>Maria</td>
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<td>Metropolitan University Prague</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:chancellor@g.msuit.edu.ph">chancellor@g.msuit.edu.ph</a></td>
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<td>Hsiao-Hang</td>
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<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Tha-Hla</td>
<td>Helping the Burmese Delta</td>
<td><a href="mailto:maythahla@mac.com">maythahla@mac.com</a></td>
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<td>Pyi Pyi</td>
<td>Thant</td>
<td>Mekong Ecological and Energy Network</td>
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<td>Pingtjin</td>
<td>Thum</td>
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<td>Richard</td>
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<td>Jason</td>
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<td>Jonathan</td>
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<td>Zhao</td>
<td>Yunnan University of Nationalities</td>
<td><a href="mailto:irenezhao924@gmail.com">irenezhao924@gmail.com</a></td>
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### Saturday, 22 March 2014

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<td>Stephen Lillie, <em>Head of the Asia-Pacific Directorate, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK</em></td>
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<td>&amp; Tony Pua, <em>Member of Parliament for Petaling Jaya Utara, Malaysia</em></td>
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### Sunday, 23 March 2014

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**END OF SYMPOSIUM**