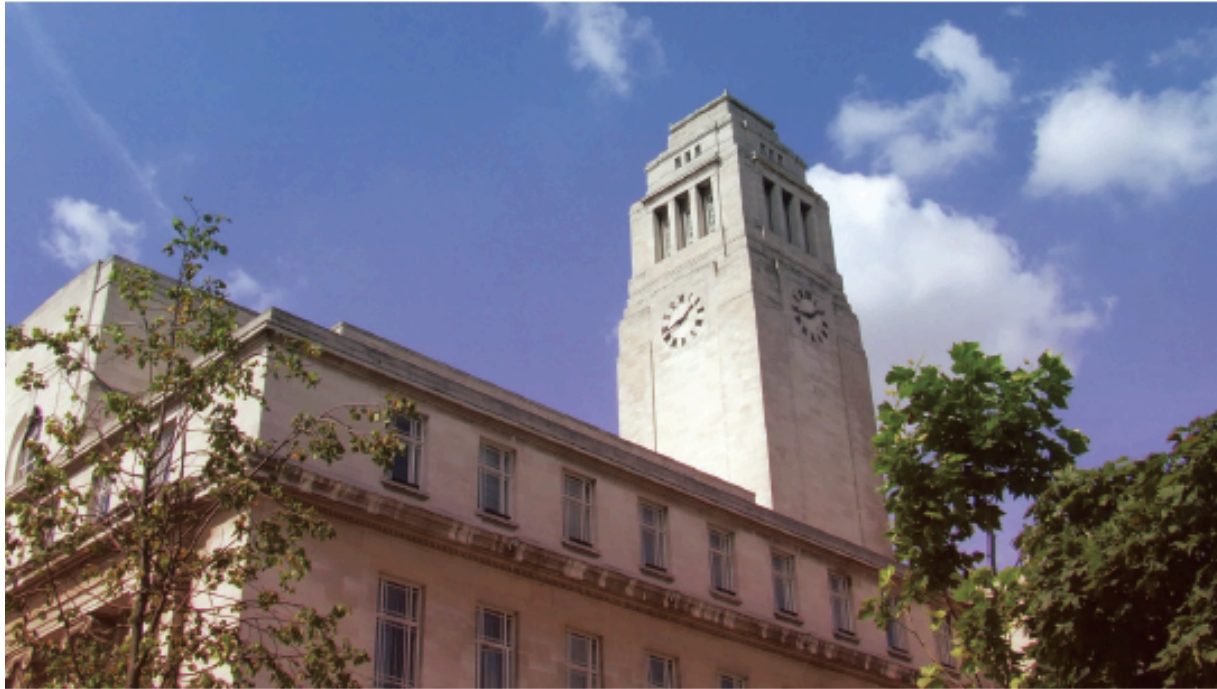ASEAS (UK)
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ASEAS Conference
Book of abstracts
University of Leeds, 5 - 7 September 2018
'Southeast Asia meets global challenges'

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Theme: Politics and Good Governance

PGG 1: Is there a 'Leeds School' of Southeast Asian Political Studies?

Panel Abstract

Over the past quarter-century, more than 25 students have successfully completed Leeds PhDs on different aspects over Southeast Asia's politics, international relations and development. Many of these theses were co-supervised or internally examined by Duncan McCargo, David Beetham, Ricardo Blaug, Gordon Crawford, Joern Dosch, Caroline Dyer, Hugh Dyer, Christine Harlen, Mike Parnwell, Ruth Pearson, Adam Tyson and Polly Wilding. This panel asks whether these doctoral theses, along with subsequent publications by their authors, work done by Leeds academics, and work published by students who studied for MAs at Leeds before pursuing doctorates elsewhere, amount to a 'Leeds School' of Southeast Asian political studies? Arguably, the Leeds School is characterised by an emphasis on empirical fieldwork, the use of qualitative methods including ethnographic approaches, and an emphasis on developing clear, comparative concepts rather than theorising for its own sake.

Convenor: Duncan McCargo (University of Leeds, UK)
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Paper Abstracts

SESSION 1: REFLECTING ON THE LEEDS SCHOOL

Reflecting on Some Features of the 'Leeds School' of Southeast Asian Studies
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Is there such a thing as the 'Leeds School' of Southeast Asian studies? If so, it is based largely on the vision of Duncan McCargo, who founded and has been at the centre of this school over the past quarter-century. Arguably the Leeds School brings disciplines and area studies together to allow us to think comparatively about important global issues and challenges. As James Scott argued in the 1990s, formal or overly abstract theory sometimes fails to illuminate real societies and often overlooks the variety of experience in less accessible parts of the world. Some of the key features of the Leeds School to be discussed in this presentation include McCargo's dynamic vision and approach to Southeast Asian politics, the nature and conduct of empirical fieldwork in Southeast Asia, and the contribution of members of the Leeds school to wider debates in political science.

Historical-Political Research in the 'Leeds School':
A Study of Cold War Narratives in Thailand
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The research examines accounts of the Cold War in Thailand and power struggles through the construction of foreign Others through selected narratives. My work demonstrates the character of

the 'Leeds School' of Southeast Asian political studies by developing concepts through extensive document research rather than theorising the study. This empirically-driven approach is shared by other research by members of the 'Leeds School.' However, unlike many doctoral theses on Southeast Asian political studies by past and present postgraduates, my work does not engage in empirical fieldwork due to its historical nature. It is primarily library-based research engaging a wide range of document and publications, particularly those published between the 1950s and 1970s. Popular media such as films and radio programmes during the Cold War period have also been included. This deserves a further discussion of character of the 'Leeds School': can it include studies focusing on documentary research? Is a bottom-up empirical focus the key trait of the School? These questions will be raised to seek reaction and comments from fellow panelists.

School and "*Sanam*": Reflections on Fieldwork in Isan
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This paper examines the Leeds School approach to research and reflects on the author's *sanam* (fieldwork) experiences. It explores experiences from three crucial fieldwork sites in Thailand's Isan region: Udon Thani, Khon Kaen and Ubon Ratchathani. This paper also re-examines the experiences of interviewing various Thai political actors: Udon Redshirt leader Khwanchai Praipana, the Khon Kaen Dao Din student activists and Ubon Redshirt leader Pichet Tabutda. Although it demonstrates that there are certain disparities between the knowledge gained from the School and the real experience of fieldwork, this paper argues that such disparities are not only important in creating the originality of empirical research, but these disparities usually involve difficulties in gaining information that are also crucial to the learning process of a researcher. Such difficulties become 'rites of 'passage' for a researcher when s/he attempts to overcome obstacles while conducting fieldwork research as well as learn from such experiences.

'Leeds School' Approach to the Study of Nation Branding in Thailand:
Advantages, Challenges and Lessons Learned
Petra Desatova (University of Leeds, UK)
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This presentation works on the assumption that there is a 'Leeds School' approach to the study of Southeast Asian politics characterised by a strong focus on empirical work, qualitative methods and limited preoccupation with theory. The presentation analyses this 'Leeds School' approach to the study of Southeast Asian politics on the example of my own doctoral research into the phenomenon of nation branding in post-coup Thailand (22 May 2014 – 1 December 2016). I will address the questions of what it means to do research into Thai politics under the 'Leeds School' approach, what are its basic requirements (including any skills researchers need to have to be able to use this approach) and how it extends and enhances our understandings of Thai politics. My presentation will essentially offer a reflective account of the 'Leeds School' approach with a special emphasis on its advantages, challenges and lessons that I have learned. I will argue that the 'Leeds School' approach to the study of Southeast Asian politics is a challenging yet rewarding approach that has a potential to produce high-value and high-impact academic scholarship.

SESSION 2: THAILAND: POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Thailand's Authoritarianism
Naruemon Thabchumpon (Chulalongkorn University, Thailand)
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In Asia, democracy is in decline and authoritarianism is on the rise—this is a common refrain of many assessors of the state of democracy today, ranging from Freedom House and the Economist Intelligence Unit to academics, activists and journalists. Thailand has been highly controlled by the military and its allies since the 2014 coup d'état. The state has played a major part in policy planning hoping for its long term strengthening of coercive power and political legitimacy while the economy is run in a neo-authoritarianism manner based on a top-down developmental paradigm. Under the conditions of Thailand 4.0 and a 20-year national reform strategy, the paper aims to explore the roles of Thai state as an authoritarian state that puts democracy aside. Those in power come from a dominant bureaucracy and its trusted networks, with a highly co-opted civil society as a backdrop. The state leads neo-liberal economic development plans, the bureaucracy supports free market policies: limited state intervention, public enterprise liberalization, private sector participation, and political leaders gain legitimacy through economic performance. All this adds up to a "neo-authoritarian developmental state".

This paper examines the state of authoritarianism in Thailand, the ways such concentrations of power are taking place and the justification of authoritarian actions in the name of good governance that can be co-opted by Machiavellian autocrats. While examining the processes of Thailand's transformation to become an authoritarian state, the study will apply democratic theories and neo-authoritarian developmental state concepts to studying key policymakers in Thailand's politics.

Urban Development and Autocracy in Thailand
Pechladda Pechpakdee (Mahasarakham University, Thailand)
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In this paper, I present a contextual analysis of the urban development of Thailand by examining the origin of urban development schemes, power from country scale to city scale. The Southeast Asia region is now dominated by autocratic political systems deploying various forms of single party government. In Thailand, the political situation from the mid-2000s has seen considerable conflict and controversy, including military coups in 2006 and 2014. Key elements of the Thai element have supported a shift from democracy to autocracy. Under the current military rule, despotic urbanism may be seen in various schemes that are justified in terms of economic development and city beautification. For instance, the Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) is the government's flagship investment zone which will play a vital role in driving economic recovery. City beautification themes are seen in urban renewal projects in Bangkok through evictions at Pom Mahakan, the Lad Phrao Canal, housing development projects at Dindaeng flats by the National Housing Authority, the construction of the overbuilt bike path along the Chao Phraya River as well as the *reorder*ing of public spaces by clearing out street vendors and small traders. These reveal the convergence between the junta's political agendas and its approach to development.

This presentation discusses various actions and interventions by the military junta to transform urban development using different kinds of autocratic control in Thailand. In conclusion, I offer some critiques about the appropriateness of the top-down approach which is embedded in the culture of administration and urban development in Thailand.

Cultural Limitations on Talented Millennials in the Thai Bureaucratic Arena
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Approximately one third of the public servants in Thailand will be eligible for retirement by 2025. As a consequence, the Thai bureaucratic sector will be faced with the challenge of recruiting replacements from younger generations. It is thought that millennial public servants, now between twenty and forty years of age, will make up over sixty percent of government sector workers by that time. The conservative stance of the Thai bureaucratic sector remains a major obstacle to attracting young employees. This is especially true for talented younger individuals, because they tend to have more liberal attitudes and other career options. This article will discuss the work experiences of a group of talented millennials, the way they view these experiences, and the extent to which they have been able to perform within the Thai bureaucratic arena.

Methodologically, the researchers employed a phenomenological approach to study the work experiences of talented millennials. Qualitative data was collected by using in-depth interviews with 60 talented millennials from four public sector agencies, who had been awarded government scholarships to study abroad and are currently working for the sector. This article argues that the talented millennials have limited scope to express themselves and perform within the bureaucratic sector. The evidence shows patterns of power differentials between senior and junior public servants. The former tend to use their advantages in terms of social structures, modalities, and practices within the Thai bureaucracy to control and dominate the latter. It appears, however, that the degree of power inequality between the old and the new generations varies in different organizations. This apparently contributes to unique common personality traits for the talented millennials within each public organisation.

The Evolution of Vote-Canvasser Networks in Thailand
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Vote-canvassers (*huakhanaen*) in Thailand act as middlemen in the relationships between electoral candidates and voters. Through various sets of complicated networks, vote-canvassers maintain channels of communication and reciprocity between politicians and voters, in and out of election seasons. Networks of votes-canvassers have been the most important electioneering mechanism in electoral campaigns in Thailand since the beginning of electoral democracy in 1932. Up until the latest national elections in 2014, networks of vote-canvassers have played a vital role in mobilising the largest amount of votes; in other words, canvassers largely determined electoral outcomes. Political parties and electoral candidates heavily rely on networks of vote-canvassers to win elections at both national and constituency levels. However, these networks are complex and loyalties are a challenge. The managerial structure and power of control within networks of vote-canvassers are both changeable and unpredictable. Some networks of vote-canvassers have lasted many decades while some blossomed and failed within a single election cycle. A further complication is that different networks require different sets of conditions and resources to cultivate, maintain, perform and survive. Networks of vote-canvassers are organic entities in the Thai political eco-system; therefore, they adapt, develop, transform and, in some respects, evolve together with Thai society.

Networks of vote-canvassers in Thailand have transformed during years of drastic changes in Thailand. The Thai state establishment, secured under the long reign of King Bhumibol, has experienced

structural challenges. Banished former premiers Thaksin and Yingluck Shinawatra remain influential figures in the Thai political landscape. Civil society sectors continue to flourish amidst the military's iron rule. Thai society has become a market-oriented society in which the divide between urban and rural areas is minimized. Mobile connectivity brings about trans-border communication. Social media makes it possible to bypass networks of vote-canvassers. Mass demonstrations organized by the redshirts and yellowshirts harness and empower networks of vote-canvassers to politicise and mobilise protestors. Four years of military suppression has not frozen nor destroyed networks of vote-canvassers. These networks have transformed together with other elements of Thai society and remain crucial to Thai electoral politics. The Thai model of election campaigning continues to be complex and hybrid models have evolved. Networks of vote-canvassers are no longer limited to career politicians, government officials, local community leaders and mafia-style figures. Thai citizens, even the most ordinary ones, are now part of these notorious networks of vote-canvassers.

SESSION 3: DISCOURSE AND DEVELOPMENT

A Triple Irony in the Translation of the Weekly Thai Prime Ministerial Address
Narongdej Phantaphoommee (University of Leeds, UK)
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Shortly after the May 2014 coup, Thailand's self-appointed prime minister General Prayud Chan-ocha made his first attempt to communicate with the public in his Friday evening TV programme 'Return happiness to the people in the nation', broadcast in Thai with English subtitles. Emulating a format inherited from its precursors during the Thaksin, Abhisit and Yingluck premierships, this programme is the junta's political marketing, aiming to dispel public anxieties and disseminate their governing rationale to the Thai public and international audiences.

Drawing on the official English translations of the speeches, this study applies a Systemic Functional Linguistics method to analyse how the translators' value-judgments may be influenced by the government's ideology. Interviews were conducted to understand how the translation process operates. The study found that this translation project involves three levels of irony. The first irony lies in textual manipulations. Linguistic evidence suggests that the translators intervened to reset the negative tone of the original, and to rearrange unreasonable and repetitive utterances by using various translation procedures. Consequently, conservative constructs such as the mantra of 'Nation, Religion and King' which loomed large in the original text were presented less explicitly in the translation. The second is the translation team's common aims. Knowing their task was politically sensitive, the team had to engage in censoring their own prime minister into being sensible before relaying the 'proper translation' to international audiences. The third is the light-touch management of the TV production and translation. Despite the considerable importance of the translated broadcasts, only a handful of people were involved in the whole process. There was no assessment after the show, either did the translators receive any feedback from the NCPO.

How May River Basins Be Governed? The Ganges and The Mekong
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This presentation is concerned with governance of international river basins. Water resource management is analysed in terms of international politics and comparative politics.

Available water resources are constrained by natural, social, economic and even political factors, increasing risks for conflict. The governance of river basins involves co-ordinating issues on water resources by stakeholders; not only governments but also other non-governmental actors confront or collaborate to manage, use and conserve various resources derived from rivers. Such river basin governance, however, is not easy to create. In fact, while the River Ganges faces a number of conflicts for water resource, no effective governance mechanism has been established yet. The failure of institutionalisation of multilateral river basin governance reflects the hegemonic power of India in South Asia. India is collaborative only bilaterally, not multilaterally.

Along the Mekong River basin, too, both upstream countries and downstream countries respectively represent incompatible interests. While some stakeholders in the basin of Mekong River founded the multilateral Mekong River Commission (MRC), it has proved dysfunctional due to its rigid respect for state sovereignty and the non-membership of key upstream countries such as China and Myanmar. However, because of the deepening economic interdependence among concerned countries, China's quest for access to the Indian Ocean, and the improved collective bargaining power of downstream countries since 2000, China has recently been more accepting of the multilateral management of Mekong River Basin.

The issue of river basin governance is tangled by diverse perspectives, from natural, social, economic and political, and multi-layered dimensions from local, national and regional. This presentation will suggest both academic and practical implications for how international rivers may and may not be governed.

Women's Place in Contemporary Lao Society: The Trials and Triumps of Dynamic Women
Savitri Gadavanij (National Institute of Development Administration, Thailand)
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Lao women have significant role in households: Lao culture, especially that of the lowland majority Lao Loum, tends to be matrifocal. The practice of a man marrying into a woman's family puts women in a privileged position compared with most other cultures. Moreover, the establishment of Lao Women Union (LWU) in 1955 has positioned women in the country's nation-building movement. The role of LWU is specified in the Constitution and its voices are regularly depicted in the press. With 27.5 per cent female members of parliament (United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 report), Laos PDR is one of the countries that comes closest to parliamentary gender equality.

This paper investigates women's perception of their status and roles in contemporary Lao society against the backdrop of a cultural and political atmosphere that appears to be favourable to them. Through fieldwork and interviews, data has been collected from professional women in two major cities, Vientiane and Luang Phrabang. Discourse Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis are applied to examine women's social roles and status by answering these questions: What does society expect of them? What are their aspirations? And what are the challenges they are facing? The result of the analysis will be interpreted in relation to data on the broader context of Lao society collected in a field

survey of the same period. This research will promote awareness of Lao gender ideology and shed light on women's status in contemporary Southeast Asia.

So Is There a Leeds School? Some Reflections and Comments
Duncan McCargo (University of Leeds, UK)

The presentation will offer a summary and discussion of key themes and arguments to emerge during the session, asking whether there are potential lessons to be drawn, and whether some of the papers presented could form the basis of a publication project.

PGG 2: Political Ideologies in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

This panel follows a previous panel convened in Bangkok in June 2017 at the Institute of Asian Studies. Chulalongkorn University with the support of the Institute of Asia Pacific Studies, University of Nottingham Malaysia Campus. Panel 1 resulted in a special issue of *Asian Review* (30, 2) entitled *Ideological Aspects of Development, Empire and Inter/nation* published at the end of 2017.

This panel will include papers that employ ideological analysis related to state-society relations, political contest and the construction of political power in a Southeast Asian setting, including papers that explicitly apply existing or new forms of ideological analysis to explore concrete expressions of the ideology in question. The themes or issues explored include:

- The distinctive traditions of meaning surrounding political concepts that are influential in a particular geographic, historical or political setting.
- 'State of the field' overviews of ideological analysis for specific countries or themes.
- The dissemination of explicit ideological forms and the role public intellectuals, media or think-tanks play in the consolidation of particular ideological orientations.
- Manifest ideological competition in parliamentary debates or other public forums.
- The social basis of distinctive ideologies or of ideological hybrids.
- Unnamed (as yet!) ideological forms and their lifeworld.
- The impact of ideological currents on public policy.
- The morphology of liberalisms, conservatisms, feminisms, environmentalisms, fascisms or any other ideology.
- The value or otherwise of thick ideological analysis in enhancing understanding of well-described political conflicts.

Convenor: Michael Connors (Michael.Connors@xjtlu.edu.cn).
Chair: Carlo Bonura (cb84@soas.ac.uk)

Paper Abstracts

Dimensions of Democratic Understanding in Southeast Asia
Aurelia Nugroho (King's College London, UK)
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Democratic socialization is often dictated by cultural context and political interest - in some cases, politically-motivated redefinition of democracy determines how citizens understand democracy. For example, despite its authoritarian system, 90% of Vietnamese believe that their country is a democracy, and 88% are satisfied with its performance. Although state elites and institutions play a role in directing democratic discourse, political sophistication theory suggests that individuals are responsible for seeking, organizing, and distributing political information. Hence, this study is interested in examining microfactors that led some to accurately articulate democracy and others to declare themselves ignorant of the concept. It tested the hypothesis that individuals in Southeast Asia with similar social determinants and political literacy backgrounds would describe democracy in similar ways. Using multinomial logit regression analysis on survey data from Asian Barometer Survey 2005-2008, the model examined the extent these variables shape democratic understanding (DU) in

respondents from Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Responses from open-ended meaning of democracy question were categorized into four groups based on definition type and complexity of understanding. Analysis suggests that women are more likely to provide nonsubstantive responses, while increases in education and income significantly improve complexity of DU. Furthermore, Southeast Asians perceive democracy primarily in terms of rights and freedoms at nearly all levels of education and income. Overall, formal education and greater welfare play important roles in shaping democratic understanding.

Radicalizing liberalism: the ideological inversions of Islamic liberalism and moderation in Malaysian politics
Carlo Bonura (SOAS, University of London, UK)
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The emergence of Islamic liberalism in Southeast Asia over the last two decades has been characterized by its highly uneven reception across and within national contexts. In Indonesia, particularly in the 2000s, Islamic liberalism had some public space to develop even though it was met with a wide variety of opposition. In Malaysia, however, liberalism is a thoroughly negative category in political and religious discourse. The concept has a significant political value as a means of policing religious interpretations and oppositional political claims without the corresponding development of Islamic liberalism within public discourse.

In part the mobilization of anti-liberal reaction is the product of two important trends in Malaysian politics: the proliferation and growing power of Malaysia's Islamic bureaucracy and the increased public activism of a broad array of Islamic NGO's. These two trends reinforce each other in generating the controversies over Islamic practice or religious diversity that have punctuated Malaysia politics over the last ten years. In spite of these recurring controversies, Malaysia maintains an international reputation among North Atlantic governments as a "moderate Muslim" nation. Former Prime Minister Najib Razak's efforts to craft a state Islamic ideology of moderation (wasatiyyah) was viewed by the Malaysian state, however, precisely as a bulwark against the further spread of liberalism within domestic politics. This seminar will examine such ideological inversions at work in Malaysian politics located in the concepts of Islamic liberalism and moderation.

Violence, Moral licensing, and The Concept of Peace and Justice in Thai Society
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Many peace scholars agree that the key process determining whether an actor exercises political violence is moral licensing. People often exercise violence in the name of goodness - such as peace and justice. Therefore, learning how people perceive justice and peace can be a crucial approach to understand violence. This article explores a definition and concept of peace and justice in Thai society. The study examines Thais' understandings which allow Thai people to gain moral-license towards peace and justice more easily. The primary tool used in this research is a questionnaire designed to identify definitions and concepts of peace and justice. Our result displays that Thais tend to define peace as an absence of disorder (kwam-wun-wai) rather than the absence of violence. Such definition might justify violence for the sake of bringing order back to the society. Regarding the concept of

justice, Thai people are likely to be utilitarian in that they are willing to sacrifice benefits of a minority for a greater good. Utilitarianism grants exception to exercise violence, if people believe that violence action may bring about better outcome for everyone. As a result, the definition and concept of peace and justice in Thai society, which center on order and greater good, give away moral license more easily compared to the concept of peace and justice in Western society, which roots in diversity and individual rights.

From liberal complicity to fascism? Justifying the end of the democratic vote in Thailand
Michael K. Connors (Xian-Jiatong Liverpool University, Suzhou, China)
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Building on a previous study that argued that intellectuals' 'muted liberal complicity' in the 2006 coup d'etat against the Thaksin government was not a defection from liberalism but part of a liberal logics of security, this paper moves to consider the political rationalities of those who rabidly campaigned for the overthrow of the Yinkluck Shinawatra government in 2013-2014, along the way vandalizing the electoral process and willing the formation of a dictatorship. Combining a Gramscian approach to hegemony and Freeden's (1996) configurational approach to political ideology, the paper will ask whether erstwhile liberals had indeed succumbed to a fascist logic or whether their political stance might be articulated to some other ideology. In doing so, it looks at historical examples of liberal defection to authoritarianism and fascism, and how these might be theorised.

PGG 3: The Effects of Authoritarianism on Human Rights and Press Freedom

Panel Abstract

Focusing on the present authoritarian (re)turn to Southeast Asia, this panel welcomes papers addressing the relationship between authoritarianism and either the challenges to human rights or media freedoms. The panel asks contributors to consider how nations, and Southeast Asia as a whole, have had contemporary human rights and media freedoms curtailed as a result of increasing authoritarian rule. Are there commonalities and connections between these? Can a regional trend be concluded? Panellists are directed to consider if these challenges come as a result of authoritarianism – a symptom, or if the spike in authoritarianism has resulted from an already weakened human rights agenda and free press – a cause.

Prospective panellists are encouraged to discuss and compare cases such as Rappler in the Philippines and coverage of the Duterte administration, and the detention of the Reuters journalists by the authorities in Myanmar and coverage of Rohingya persecution. This panel therefore intends to explore the link between human rights and media freedom at both national and regional levels with an open mind as to the nature of the relationship between political leaders and human rights and a free press.

Convenor: Tom Smith (University of Portsmouth, UK)
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Paper Abstracts

Mobilization in Oppressive Cultural and Moral Spaces: Mobilizing victims' families against Duterte's 'War on Drugs' in the Philippines
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Structural perspectives have long dominated theories of social movements and contentious politics. By contrast, much less attention has been paid to empirically analysing and theorising the cultural contexts and dynamics that come into play when mobilising political action, particularly in highly repressive cultural and moral settings. Drawing on empirical fieldwork research conducted in Metro Manila's urban poor areas on mobilization against drug-related extrajudicial killings in President Duterte's "war on drugs", this paper helps to address this neglect within the existing scholarship. In a country where drug usage and related activities are widely vilified by the general population, this paper will show how the surviving relatives of the victims of the drug war— previously isolated from each other due to an oppressive cultural space and moral stigma —nevertheless were able to mobilise a protest movement. In the process, cultural contention helped shape subsequent collective action whereby a "symbolic inversion of villainy" permitted the emergence of a unifying collective identity of "moral victimhood" that tapped into some of the most important symbols and scripts of Philippine culture and religion.

From the ASEAN Charter to the ASEAN Declaration of Human Rights: Should we now establish an ASEAN Court of Human Rights?

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This paper is an investigative research on the evolution of ASEAN towards establishing its own Court of Human Rights, post the establishment of an ASEAN Charter and the ASEAN Declaration of Human Rights. While human rights issues are wide and all-encompassing, this paper will tackle a more structural question of ASEAN as a regional group in developing an institutional mechanism to handle human rights issues within the operative context of an established regional norm and ASEAN's contemporary power structure. Ever since the promulgation of the non-intervention policy (NIP), ASEAN has often been seen to exercise its role with great caution, sensitivity and care towards its Member States, albeit amidst growing concern over ethnic issues, political regime, transboundary haze, intertwined relationship of culture and arts with intellectual property rights, and certain human rights and humanitarian causes in the region. This paper recognises that NIP is central not only to the political integrity of ASEAN, but fundamentally constitutes the core identity within which ASEAN is seen to be manoeuvring its intra-relationships in the post-Cold War paradigm. From Khmer Rouge to the Rohingya crisis, NIP has been actualised as the prevailing norm for the exercise of an institutionalist response rather than a realist response towards various ASEAN human rights issues. This paper will conclude with a critical appraisal on the institutional response for the ASEAN Court of Human Rights vis-à-vis the NIP, which may either serve as legal impediment, if not necessarily in conflict with the ASEAN prevailing norm.

Populism and New Authoritarianism: An Age of Morons and its Regional and International Implications

Rikard Jalkebro (University of St Andrews, UK)
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Using a democratic platform to make constitutional changes leading to less direct democracy is something we have seen in places such as Hungary, Poland, the Philippines and Turkey. The Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte won a decisive victory in the 2016 elections running on a platform of change. He openly discussed the possibility of declaring martial law as a way to 'fix Mindanao' and to solve the 'Moro problem'. He has also seemed keen to invoke a federal solution to end the conflicts in the Philippines while also consolidating his power by making changes to the 1987 Constitution. This paper will examine the Philippines and the use of populism and authoritarian rule and how this will affect regional and international relations. The declaration of martial law in the Philippines was linked to the 'war on drugs' and was extended to all of 2018 after the initial sixty-day period. While the idea of changing to a federal system is not new in the Philippines, this government seems more determined to push it through. Federalism has been proposed to address the problems of armed rebellion and lack of development of local communities. Hence, there is a timely need to discuss the details of the proposals especially since there are indications that the Philippines is taking steps towards authoritarian rule once again.

PGG 4: Civil Society and Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

The recent history of Southeast Asia has long been understood in the popular imagination through the lens of the Cold War; indeed, even the term "Southeast Asia" itself became prominent as a strategic geographical designation by Allied forces during the Second World War and its aftermath. But although somewhat subsumed in English-language scholarship by events such as the U.S.-Soviet rivalry or the Vietnam War, the region's postwar history has been characterised by complex relations between authoritarian governments and a range of civil society groups. Far from superpower proxies, both governments and opposition repurposed and exploited Cold War rhetoric and foreign intervention to pursue domestic political ends.

Growing access to local archives, however, has contributed to new research which challenges previous superpower-driven narratives, and highlights local agency. This panel builds on these promising lines of inquiry by exploring the complex and evolving relationship between state and civil society in Southeast Asia. It also seeks to understand and examine the ideologies, mechanisms, means and processes that state actors in Southeast Asia deploy to rationalize and perpetuate their either one-man or one-party rule.

Convenor: Sean Fear (University of Leeds, UK)
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Chair: Adam Tyson (University of Leeds)

Paper Abstracts

Political Journalism in South Vietnam
Sean Fear (University of Leeds, UK)
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A return to constitutional rule in 1967 saw government censorship of South Vietnam's raucous print media scene formally proscribed. And while a de facto (if often inept) censorship regime lingered for much of the Second Republic (1967-1975), Saigon's outspoken and irreverent community of journalists served to symbolize the state's ostensible commitment to reform. Accordingly, the pledge to uphold a free press was routinely invoked in South Vietnamese and American efforts to assure constituents at home and abroad that South Vietnam was worthy of continued political and financial support. While relations between journalists and the state were, in practice, always more contentious than the constitution and official public pronouncements implied, the early years of the Second Republic indeed provided a limited public forum for debating civic affairs, airing grievances, and offering suggestions. This fleeting moment of measured state forbearance was crushed, however, with the passage of sweeping Emergency Powers legislation in 1972, silencing even routinely pro-government independent newspapers like *Chính Luận*, and bringing South Vietnam's brief experiment with constitutional government to a close.

Saigon's ostensibly free press has long been cited by advocates of American intervention on South Vietnam's behalf, who, while hailing its existence, have tended to neglect the essence of its contributors' increasingly scathing and despondent anti-government critiques. Rather than stake a

claim in the ongoing debate between so-called "orthodox" and "revisionist" interpretations of the war, this paper instead identifies South Vietnamese print media as an overlooked source yielding significant insights into the South Vietnamese military regime's failure to secure legitimacy in the eyes of even its most vehemently anti-communist constituents.

Drawing on South Vietnamese newspapers and Vietnamese and American archival materials, this paper traces the tumultuous trajectory of political journalism in the Second Republic, evaluating printed political observations, state-press relations, and the outsized consequences of the government's 1972 crackdown.

China and Civil Society Space in Cambodia
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The world is facing and challenging a dramatic political change. While some countries have transformed from an authoritarianism to a more democratic one by providing more freedom and space civil society, the remaining countries, especially those in the global South, have traversed between the two political systems. Political developments in Southeast Asian nations, including Cambodia, have likewise encountered a similar challenge. Cambodia is more likely moving toward an authoritarian style of leader, given that the contemporary civil society space in the country is shrinking compared to the past two decades.

This paper focuses on how domestic political affairs, especially political survival of the regime, and regional influence, especially Chinese roles, has moulded civil society space in Cambodia. It argues that the shrinking space of Cambodian civil society is induced by the increasing influence of China, in terms of its aid and investments, in the region, and, in tandem with the regime's strategies to endure their office tenure.

Devising New Ways of Influencing Burma: British Cultural Diplomacy and Burmese Civil Society in the Cold War
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The Cold War period in newly-independent Burma was characterized by both a rejection of the British colonial heritage (Burma did not join the Commonwealth when it became independent in 1948) and a refusal to take part in Cold War politics, with Burmese Prime Minister U Nu becoming one of the spokesmen of the non-aligned movement at the 1955 Bandung Conference. In this seemingly hostile atmosphere however, the British Government strove to develop new relationships with its former colony by reaching out to Burma's civil society: the 1950s in Burma saw the multiplication of a number of British-Burmese associations promoting inter-cultural understanding and friendship. My research therefore focuses on the way in which the British Government tried to repair its damaged political relationship with Burma by fostering cultural and educational ties at the local level. I am notably looking at the British Council's activities which target the teachers' and students' communities in Burma: while the Burmese Ministry of Education showed reluctance, in the early 1950s, to rely on the British Council to implement long-awaited educational reforms, the British institution in charge of promoting the English language overseas managed to build solid academic partnerships with the University of Rangoon and a number of private schools. Through English Language Teaching (ELT), the

idea was to revamp Britain's image in former colonies "threatened" by the spread of communist influence.

This strategy of discreet self-promotion through ELT, which was part of a broader "positive propaganda", became a key element of British cultural diplomacy during the Cold War. Nevertheless, in spite of the apparent success of British cultural activities on Burmese soil and the "special relationship" which supposedly united Britain and its former colonies, Burma chose to follow its own course of action on the international stage, thus challenging the traditional bipolar conception of the Cold War conflict. Therefore, my paper will show that the British Council succeeded, to a certain extent, in spreading the British model within Burmese civil society, but failed to influence the Burmese Government into siding with the Western bloc during the Cold War. Burmese policy of neutrality culminated in the 1960s with General Ne Win's imposing a military government on the country and severing all links with foreign countries.

Cold War Narratives in Thai Politics: Foreign Others and Identity Politics
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The research investigates how the Cold War was internalised into Thai politics by studying contradictory Cold War narratives in domestic power struggles between the Thai military government and Thai intellectual activists in the 1950s to 1970s. Both sides produced and promoted different version of the Cold War narratives to justify their political aims and counter their opponents' legitimacy. The military government promoted stories of the Cold War that Thailand was under communist threats from both outside and inside and thus in need of anti-communist leadership and the American support. The ethnic Chinese in Thailand and villagers particularly in the Northeast were depicted as vulnerable to the communist threat due to their 'un-Thai' qualities. The government's programmes based on the American researches in Thailand were launched to secure their loyalty to the Thai state. However, the intellectuals and student activists narrated the situation differently. Influenced by leftist ideology, they proposed that the Cold War in Southeast Asia involving Thailand was caused by the American imperialist ambition assisted by the Thai government who needed the American support to the military regime. The People's Republic of China and the Chinese communist leaders were narrated as political models and utopia, and the poor villagers were indeed victims of vicious Thai ruling elites rather than the communists. The confrontation between the government including the Thai ruling elites and the intellectual activists reached its peak in the 1970s leading to an attack and killing of student protesters in 1976 and decrease of publications on the leftist narratives of the Cold War in public.

Recalling hydraulic despotism: Hun Sen's Cambodia and the re-emergence of staunch authoritarianism
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Mirroring other states in the region and globally, Cambodia has witnessed a pronounced shift towards stricter authoritarianism over the last few years, with earlier hard-won democratic spaces and freedoms severely curtailed, while state-linked abuses and repression of political opposition has risen. The state is now more firmly ruled by Prime Minister Hun Sen than at any time during his three decades plus of leadership, with the *de facto* status of the Cambodian People's Party now more closely resembling the

single party regimes of neighbouring states. Through its effective control of the bureaucracy, judiciary and military, one of the major tools of political control employed by the CPP network is the construction of major infrastructure projects, most notably dams (both hydropower and irrigation), roads and communications and electricity distribution, but is by no means limited to these categories. This paper focuses attention on the hydraulic infrastructure aspects of exacting political authority and control by the core elite over the periphery, drawing upon Wittfogelian perspectives for a conceptual framework, maintaining that Cambodia represents a modern variant of a hydraulic society and Hun Sen a classic hydraulic despot. This paper further argues that China's influence over hydraulic development should be regarded as a key element in explaining the modern state formation and contemporary power relations, including the longevity and resilience of Hun Sen's supremacy.

Political trust in authoritarian settings: Forms, functions, and roles in governance
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Political trust has a strong relationship with democratic regime and democratic consolidation. It contributes to the maintenance of democracy, sustaining it with consistent expectations that things will run smoothly and systematically to a degree and that particular obligations will be honored. The functions and roles of political trust in authoritarian settings receive less scholarly attention in comparison. The capacity to act, social relationships with the peoples, and effectiveness in dealing with public difficulties are all contributing factors to how trust is established and reinforced. On the other hand, perceived mismanagement and dishonesty, i.e. corruption, instigate mistrust. It is then a conventional assumption that trust is low in authoritarian settings, but that is not always the case. Increasing trust production might not always precede transition to democracy. Rather, it might prolong the regime. Mechanisms of popular control do not accompany high levels of political trust which could also be prevalent in authoritarian settings. These are very interesting starting points in exploring the limits and potentials of trust in trying times of democracy. The paper will particularly look at the case of Thailand after the coup in 2014.

How an authoritarian regime crafted good women:
The case of women volunteers in Indonesia
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In the Indonesian New Order regime (1965-1998), community-based health care program was very successful in improving the health condition of women and children at a lower cost. The program, called Posyandu, run almost entirely on a volunteer base. In the mid-1980s around 1.5 million women were involved in around 200,000 Posyandu across Indonesia. Most of these volunteers continued working at the Posyandu even though the New Order itself ended in 1998. My paper explains the mechanism and strategies that were used by the authoritarian New Order in mobilizing and legitimizing women to volunteering at the Posyandu. I argue that the authoritarian New Order did not use direct coercion or force. Instead, the regime reworked the genuinely indigenous notions of moral obligation and generalized reciprocity into a cultural-ideological instrument for the mobilization of village labor. To legitimize the voluntary work in the community, the state propagandized the concept of good women as pillars of the community responsible for the moral upbringing of children and good citizens as well as the management of moral communities. The state rewarded the bureaucrats who supported the program and penalized if they did not. Further, to build the spirit and motivation of the

volunteers, the state composed a jingle and popularized it through state-owned television and radio networks and through schools.

Political Learning and Military Rule in Thailand: From the 'Wasted' 2006 Coup to the NCPO Regime
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Thailand's ruling military junta, which calls itself the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), has been in power since a coup d'etat in May 2014. This paper argues that many aspects of the junta's rule can be explained in terms of political learning. Specifically, the NCPO has learned from the perceived mistakes of the previous coup in 2006 which had failed to eradicate the political influence of Thaksin Shinawatra and thus had been regarded as a 'wasted opportunity'. Based on first-hand interviews and documentary research, the paper explores three important ways in which the 'lessons' from the 2006 coup have shaped the NCPO. First, the ruling junta refuses to make a clear commitment regarding its departure from power. Second, it aims to safeguard its future influence by permanently subverting democratic politics. Third, it has made explicit efforts to legitimise its rule using non-democratic justifications including performance, stability, corruption eradication and the need for 'reform'.

PGG 5: The Movement of People Within and Across Borders in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

The movement of people in Southeast Asia has been fundamental in shaping its societies. Migration has led to the formation of new communities, changed understandings of the self in relation to others, and resulted in hybridity in linguistic and cultural practices. Over the past few decades, political and economic transformations in the region have resulted in significantly greater flows of people both within and across geopolitical borders. States have grappled with these movements, establishing border control practices that have significant effects on the lives of people who move. This panel explore the ways that movement within and across borders has shaped the lives of people in Southeast Asia. It examines the causes of movements. It examines the way they are categorized – for example, as migrant workers, refugees, trafficked persons, unaccompanied minors – and the reasons for and effects of these practices. It explores the shifting ways in which state authorities understand and try to capture migration.

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Paper Abstracts

Cultures of migrating, nursing, and success: Greener pastures for Filipino nurses
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There is a considerable amount of research which examines the decision-making processes of migrants, yet the overwhelming majority of this research focuses only on those who aspire to migrate. This paper explores the decision-making processes of nurses and nurse students living in Metro Manila, the Philippines. I examine how although many young Filipinos enter nursing education as a means to acquire a 'passport' to overseas opportunities, aspirations of overseas employment for some disappear as novel domestic opportunities present themselves. While many continue to imagine their futures overseas in 'greener pastures', others turn to novel opportunities within the Philippines as a means to fulfil their desires.

The stories of nurses demonstrate how the Philippines' 'culture of migration' and associated 'culture of nursing' continue to shape the life choices of Filipino nurses, without necessarily leading to aspirations of migration. National discourses such as Bagong Bayani (national hero), that once pushed the Philippines' youth overseas in search of opportunities to enable social mobility, now allow nurses opportunities to deploy their skills without migrating, but whilst remaining in global circulations of healthcare. Migration itself appears not to be valued, rather the benefits associated with migration are. Where people can achieve social capital without undergoing the trauma associated with leaving family and friends, migration for many becomes devalued. 'Greener pastures' can refer to opportunities beyond (yet often associated with) nursing, rather than opportunities beyond the Philippines.

'They shot my two daughters in front of me': Rohingya stories of forced migration from Myanmar

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Myanmar's Rohingya Muslim ethic minority have been the victims of a recent forced migration of a scale not seen regionally since the Second World War – since August 2017 around 700,000 Rohingya have fled Myanmar seeking refuge in Bangladesh.

The Rohingya claim a centuries-long heritage in Myanmar but their collective rights have been denied by the authorities who have subjected this Muslim minority to decades of persecution. Myanmar's Buddhist nationalist groups have used opportunities provided by the country's democratic transition, including changes to communications and media laws to campaign for further restrictions of the Rohingya's rights. Buddhist nationalist groups like the Ma Ba Tha argue Myanmar's Buddhist religion faces an existential threat from Islam and call for rights restrictions on Muslims.

In the face of continuing restrictions of Rohingya rights, the emergence of a new Rohingya insurgent group, the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, and its attacks on official security posts prompted a brutal crackdown against the Rohingya community which Myanmar's military describes as a "clearance operation". This military crackdown has been characterised by severe human rights violations and described by senior UN officials as "ethnic cleansing". Despite this, Myanmar's army chief considers those Rohingya who fled as likely militants or sympathisers.

Drawing upon recent in-depth interviews undertaken with newly arrived Rohingya refugees at camps in Bangladesh, this paper will present evidence that the forced migration of Rohingya civilians from Myanmar involved the deliberate targeting of civilians by Myanmar's military. The paper will argue that the forced migration crisis was created by Myanmar's military who used militant attacks as the pretext for a large-scale and well-prepared military "clearance operation" with the primary objective not of arresting militants but instead of removing Rohingya civilians from their traditional lands.

Constructing Refugees: Negotiating Asylum in the Complexities of Migration in Southeast Asia

Alice Nah (University of York, UK)
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Scholars have criticized the ways in ways in which policymakers, decision-makers and practitioners treat 'refugees' and 'migrants' as given categories, thus justifying the exclusion and containment of some people who move across borders. However, in places where 'refugees' are not recognized in domestic law and where there is little public understanding about their circumstances, actors concerned about their protection have had to invest tremendous effort into signifying 'refugees' as legitimate figures. Focusing on Southeast Asia, and the case of Malaysia specifically, I examine how UNHCR and local civil society actors reinforce the distinction between 'refugees' and 'migrants' through practices of identification, intervention, and advocacy.

I highlight how these resourced-dependent practices, conducted in environments hostile to migrants with irregular status, have resulted in the partial, unstable, protection of some groups. Such practices are dependent on cooperation by state authorities and thus protection remains contingent on the goodwill of states. This identification and separation also ignores the needs and rights of many other non-citizens living with precarity. In addition, actors who actively construct people as refugees also hold the power to construct them as non-refugees and thus, as 'undeserving' of protection.

This paper argues that while the construction of the 'refugee' fails to address the complexities of migration and leads to problems such as the privileging of refugees over other mobile subjects, it has become necessary in convincing states of the need to protect a certain 'type' of 'foreigner'. Alternative ways are needed to recognize and address the precarity of diverse mobile subjects living in the Southeast Asian region.

PGG 6: External Actors and New Challenges in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

In recent years, Southeast Asian countries, both collectively and individually, have developed stronger relationships with other major countries and groupings outside of the region such as with China, India, Japan, US, the EU and Australia. The growing presence and influence of external actors in Southeast Asia may bring both positive and negative consequences and pose new challenges for the region. In the first place, it challenges the cohesiveness of Southeast Asia as a region and increases the likelihood of fragmentation between Southeast Asian countries.

This panel examines the role of external actors in Southeast Asia's political, economic, social and security structure and how these external influences affect the region. Furthermore, it addresses what new challenges have to be overcome due to these changes, and how Southeast Asian countries should respond to these external challenges.

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Paper Abstracts

The Changing Balance of Power in East and Southeast Asia: A Game Theoretical Perspective
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After the end of the Cold War a balance of power took shape in East and Southeast Asia, determining the manoeuvring room of the small and big countries within the region. The international system guaranteed by the US as an external actor provided an umbrella for the smaller countries against their stronger neighbours. However, the rise of China has re-established the historical experience of the asymmetric relationship between Beijing and the smaller regional states regarding the extreme differences in their power capabilities. China's newly assertive behaviour and its effects on the attitude and strategy of the neighbouring countries have spawned a large body of academic literature.

The present paper examines the power relations within the region through the game theoretic model of asymmetric theory of international relations arguing this analytical approach provides an effective explanatory power to understand the strategies and behaviours of the different actors. The results have been tested through the case study of the foreign political orientation of the Philippines toward China since the end of the Cold War. The paper concludes that the assertive foreign policy pursued by China is a rational strategy considering the changing regional circumstances, while the smaller countries manoeuvring space has significantly diminished forcing them to find a more constructive way dealing with Beijing. These regional processes neither will leave the US position untouched, compelling the American leadership to reconsider its current regional strategy.

The ASEAN Nudge: Effect of the Southeast Asian Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty on Regional Nuclear Positions

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It is easy to prevent an ASEAN agreement: all it takes is to sway a single member state. The founding principles and structures of ASEAN demand a consensus from its ten members to reach an agreement. This has challenged the ability for ASEAN to project a strong and collective stance due to its failure to issue a joint statement in Phnom Penh in 2012, and more recently in Vientiane in 2016. Regardless, ASEAN remains Southeast Asia's most valuable tool to maintain both the sovereignty of its member states and the agency of the region in determining its own affairs. This paper argues that while ASEAN may not always be able to outwardly agree due to external pressures on member states, the norms that accompany agreements raise barriers to external influence.

Using the prism of nuclear security, this paper identifies that an existing ASEAN agreement: the Bangkok Treaty, or Southeast Asia Nuclear Weapon Free Zone, is accompanied by a strong pattern of collective voting by ASEAN members in the UN First Committee and General Assembly, even if not all ASEAN members are signatories to binding treaties. Recognizing that the challenge of external influence is broadly a challenge for diplomacy, this paper demonstrates that ASEAN's purported norms exist not only in theory, but in the tangible votes of its members as active participants in global governance. If diplomacy happens behind closed doors, this paper argues that the consensus model can be adapted to provide flexibility for states to opt out.

ASEAN as a Global Actor: Problems of Unity and Cooperation in ASEAN External Economic Relations

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As ASEAN celebrates its 50th anniversary in 2017, it is slowly developing a growing presence in international affairs. In external relations, ASEAN has been rather successful in accelerating extra-regional cooperation through ASEAN Plus Three (APT), East Asian Summit (EAS) and the various economic cooperation such as the ASEAN-China FTA, ASEAN-Australia-New Zealand FTA and more recently, ASEAN-Hongkong FTA. This paper addresses the role of ASEAN as a global actor by examining ASEAN's relations with external parties in economic affairs. Specifically, it questions whether ASEAN can be considered a fully functioning international actor and what factors contributes to ASEAN's 'actorness'. Since economic affairs are currently ASEAN's most advanced external relations, it provides the best case study in explaining this phenomenon. Employing actorness as the main theoretical framework, this study finds that ASEAN can be considered an international actor, despite several limitations in their features namely in decision-making, preference convergence and ASEAN capabilities. Following Doidge's (2008) accounts on actorness, this paper treats actorness as a spectrum ranging from weak to strong actor, where ASEAN currently sits at the weaker end. Strengthening ASEAN's role as an international actor may benefit its member states, particularly in economic terms, although this may be difficult to do in the short term.

**From ASEAN Regionalism to the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)
Agreement: Chineseness is Still Never Enough?**
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This paper will revisit the notion of ASEAN Regionalism and the manifest influence of rising China within the sphere of international politics and economic integration. Recognising the different level of developments in ASEAN-Six and CLMV (Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Viet Nam), ASEAN has still emerged to have grown and learnt from various bilateral and regional initiatives that are not only concluded amongst ASEAN Member States but also with their external trade partners. This is attested through ASEAN Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with Korea, China, Australia and New Zealand, Japan and India (known as "ASEAN Plus") and within ASEAN, the ASEAN Free Trade Area, regulating liberalisation of trade in goods, services, investment and the propagation of the ASEAN Enhanced Dispute Settlement Mechanism. Notwithstanding the US's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement, the recent signing of the Comprehensive And Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement does not seem to inhibit the on-going negotiations of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) Agreement. Against this backdrop, there are two analytical dimensions that this paper will investigate. First, does RCEP really stand for closer economic integration with all of its ASEAN Plus Members. Second, where RCEP stands to forge closer economic integration, how RCEP would be seen in the context of rising China in exercising its role in the ASEAN region, in contrast with the notion of ASEAN Regionalism including the existing ASEAN Plus. This paper will conclude with a comparative analytical outlook on ASEAN Regionalism and the rising influence of China in the ASEAN region.

The Restructuring of Manufacturing Production Networks in Mainland Southeast Asia
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Manufacturing production networks in mainland Southeast Asia are undergoing restructuring. Foreign capital, especially from East Asia, has reconfigured production, most notably extending into the less developed countries of Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos (CML). These countries have become new links in the geo-economic strategies of more powerful East and Southeast Asian capital and states. Japanese firms have engaged in a restructuring programme of "Thailand Plus One". Chinese investment occurs in the context of China´s "Belt and Road" and "Go Out" policies. Thailand is attempting to move into more innovative, high technology manufacturing with its "Thailand 4.0" policy. These assorted strategies have contributed to a new regional geography of production, which presents new challenges and opportunities for differently situated actors in CML. I compare recent developments in three manufacturing sectors in CML: automobiles, electronics, and garments. I examine why a new spatial configuration has formed, the distribution of value, especially to labour, and how it affects the development and industrial policy goals of CML states. I suggest that current foreign-invested manufacturing development in CML represents a limited development pathway.

PGG 7: Civil Society and Political Participation in Democratic Indonesia: New Trends, Old Challenges

Panel Abstract

The presence of a robust, complex and plural civil society is one factor that shapes processes of democratic transition and consolidation in a country. As evidence from Indonesia since 1998 suggests, civil society actors cannot stand alone. The position and role of civil society is influenced by relations with other political actors, the alliances and deals made between formal and informal power brokers, political parties, as well as the complex structural opportunities and constraints that exist. Democratic consolidation may require a 'free and lively civil society' that is inherently unpredictable, at times complementing national development efforts and strategies, and at other times challenging the status quo. In the Indonesian context, the legacy of Suharto's relatively strong authoritarian regime, as well as the internal dynamics of deeply entrenched ideological divisions in civil society, have led to the emergence of a complex and expansive civil society in need of constant reappraisal.

This panel revisits the political challenges facing civil society in the second decade of Indonesian democratisation. We invite papers that undertake current assessments of civil society and political participation, based on new empirical evidence or the reconceptualization of civil society. Indonesia today represents a contentious arena for those who are competing for power, giving rise of new political identities and interests, as well as old rivalries and challenges. Civil society can be a force for good, helping to mobilise the public and creating pressure for political change, and it can also be a force that is appropriated and manipulated to serve more nefarious purposes.

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Paper Abstracts

From Factory to Politics:
The Challenges of Trade Unions' Electoral Engagement in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia
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The labour movement in Indonesia was weakened and depoliticised for nearly 32 years under President Suharto's authoritarian regime, but has re-emerged in the post-1998 democratisation era since there has been an alteration in the political policies that were formerly used to curb the political freedom and independence of labour movements. The challenge is now to understand the new political dynamics of trade unions in democratic Indonesia, with consideration given to the changing role of elites and the ways in which competing actors are vying for power.

This paper examines the challenges of trade unions' electoral engagement based on the experience of union elites' involvement in Indonesia's 2014 legislative election. The analysis reveals that structural and organisational constraints had a genuine effect on unions' mobilisation to compete in the legislative election and limited most union candidates to expand the mobilisation capacity of their resources. Most union candidates appeared unprepared when confronted with Indonesia's electoral politics that are dominated by corrupt practices, in which political parties and candidates rely on the transactional distribution of material benefits to attract potential voters. As newcomers and non-party

cadres with minimum financial contribution to the party, the party machine becomes irrelevant for union candidates and thereby compels them to manage and finance their own means of support to campaign. Union fragmentation has also placed union candidates in a difficult position to form inter-union's electoral cooperation. Consequently, political support for union candidates is more individualised and limited to the capabilities of each union organisation to form its own success team. Despite its shortcomings, this paper argues that the unions' experience in the 2014 legislative election can be positioned as a valuable 'learning by doing' experience for union's further engagement in electoral politics and as an important step forward for the consolidation of Indonesia's democracy.

Civil Society and Politics: Re-Thinking the Indonesian Broadcasting System
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The liberalized media in the established democracies of Europe and the North America, characterised by the absence of State intervention in media operation, has influenced such policy in the newer democracies, including Indonesia. Is it true that Indonesia adopts this liberal policy, and to what extent do civil society organizations (CSOs) introduce a democratic model of media system? This paper answers these questions through a case study exploration of the changing policies of broadcasting. In particular, the paper examines the idea of adopting public oriented broadcasters to mark the democratic media system.

The paper outlines two issues: first, the academic debate surrounding broadcasting systems in the world, and second, the struggle of liberal vs. democratic ideas of media system in the legislative process of Broadcasting Law and its execution.

It can be concluded that the broadcasting system prevailing in Indonesia is not purely liberal, but a blend of liberal-authoritarian models, with a character that has also occurred in post-communist and post-authoritarian states in Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. This paper also finds that CSOs such as the Coalition of Broadcasting Independence and Indonesian Press and Broadcasting Society play a key role in mainstreaming media policy reform, with support from international agencies. However, as happened in most former authoritarian regimes of Asia-Africa, the initiative was limited only to policy creation, with a lack of engagement over policy execution during the last 15 years.

How Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian Perceive the influence of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesian post-New Order Politics: Perception and Misperception
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The political participation of Chinese Indonesians stands out as an interesting phenomenon, most importantly in the 'reform era' (1998 until now) where a different dynamic can be identified. In Indonesia, Chinese formal political participation has been conducted through assimilated political parties. This thesis argues that the presence of some Chinese-Indonesian in politics becomes a common indicator for a positive change in the political atmosphere as well as on the government policy toward Chinese-Indonesians.

Some people believe that the involvement of Chinese-Indonesians in local politics has been expected, because it is their democratic right to be politically active. Others even expect that the economic skill

and power Chinese-Indonesians possess could help a regional economy, particularly through their international business network and connections. Moreover, there are no regulations on regional government or local elections that prohibits Chinese-Indonesians from joining the competition.

This study investigates the political participation of Chinese Indonesians in Indonesia and addresses the question why Chinese Indonesians have become more overtly politically engaged in Indonesian post new order politics. This research is based on the hypothesis that class, socio-economic status, ethnicity and social capital have made Chinese Indonesians become more active in politics. By applying Political Opportunity Structure (POS) Model, this thesis explores the features of four approaches and tries to offer a comprehensive answer to the question of political participation.

The aim of this research is to comprehend the new political behaviour of Chinese Indonesian society. In addition, the research will also enrich the study of Indonesian Chinese ethnic group. Besides its up-to-date characteristic, the topic encompasses the issue of political behaviour and Chinese Indonesian politics that is rarely discussed among scholars in Indonesia.

Civil Society Versus Oligarchy In Post-Suharto Indonesia: The Struggle of Civil Society Organisations Against Corruption In Banten Province (2010-2017)
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Democratisation in Indonesia, which started in 1998, has brought some success stories, including vibrant civil society. However, it has failed to prevent the old oligarchs, especially at regional level, from surviving in a new decentralised system. These oligarchs maintain their predatory characteristics through corruption, collusion and nepotism. In some cases, the predatory activities have been conducted through political dynasties which show a subnational authoritarianism, as has taken place in Banten Province (western Java) which was established as a separate province to West Java in 2000.

Previous studies suggest that Banten's oligarchs have co-opted the bureaucracy, political parties and civil society. This paper argues that the civil society in Banten has substantial counterbalancing efforts to the power of dynastic oligarchs through the anti-corruption movement during 2010-2017. This study demonstrates that civil society has taken multi-track ways to resist the corrupt dynastic oligarchs through legal action, electoral politics and bureaucracy. However, the oligarchs remain the more powerful group compared to civil society, because of the deep penetration of the dynastic oligarchs throughout politics and society and some limitations faced by civil society organisations. By resonating the pluralist approach on interpreting Indonesia's post-Suharto democracy, this paper shows that Indonesia has continued to become the arena of contestation between oligarchic and non-oligarchic forces.

PGG 8: What's So Good about Good Governance? Alternative Understandings in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

This panel proposes to examine the meaning of good governance in contemporary Thailand/Southeast Asia with a special emphasis on recent political developments and the general trend of growing authoritarianism across the region. The Ahok blasphemy case in Indonesia, Cambodia's new lèse majesté law, Duterte's controversial war on drugs and the Thai junta's attempts to institutionalise ethics and morality into Thai politics are just a few examples of a more general trend within the region to re-define the meaning of good governance and to divest it from liberal democratic values once again. As a result, the region has seen a decline in political, civil and human rights with most of the region being marked by the Freedom House as 'Not Free' or 'Partly Free' in its 2018 democracy metrics and 'Not Free' in its 2017 freedom of press metrics.

How can we explain this trend? How/why are the Southeast Asian leaders and their governments trying to shape the good governance discourse and the meaning of the word 'good'? What implications does this have for the prospects of democracy in the region? These are just some of the issues this panel addresses.

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Paper Abstracts

'Sleeping with the state's fishes:' Extrajudicial killing as 'good governance' in Southeast Asia
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According to the London School of Economics (2016), the world has entered the 'Post-War on drugs era', owing to the emerging consensus that war-like approaches have failed. However, this paper will demonstrate that the discourses of the war on drugs still have significant traction within Southeast Asia. Though estimates of drug use in Thailand and the Philippines are broadly comparable to many Western industrialised countries (UNODC, 2012), both have witnessed particularly violent 'wars on drugs' where thousands of drug users and suspects have been extrajudicially killed. This presentation will seek to explore how Southeast Asian leaders, in particular Rodrigo Duterte and previously Thaksin Shinawatra, have successfully persuaded their electorates of the legitimacy of violent approaches to suppressing drug consumption and distribution, despite clear evidence that they will not be successful in achieving the stated regional aim of being 'Drug Free' by 2020. Indeed, Duterte has gone as far as to claim that he would be happy to kill 100,000 alleged criminals and dump their bodies into Manila Bay, to 'fatten all the fish there'. Consequently, this paper will assess how so called 'Asian values' have played into notions of the collective 'good' against individualistic notions of human rights, and at least go some way in explaining why violent approaches are generally well received by electorates in the region. This is a surprising political feat when it is considered that anticorruption, which forms an integral part of good governance projects (Thompson, 2004), is neglected in such approaches which, instead, prioritise the disciplining of the poor.

Buddhist-inspired Governance: Understanding Prayuth's Thailand

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The 2014 coup d'etat turns Thailand's clock back to its more ancient days. The regime under Prayuth Chan-ocha is built upon hyper-moralism, which is orchestrated to forsake universal values i.e. democracy, rule of law, and human rights. Buddhism and the state have grown closer over the past four years. Prayuth often promotes the idea of Buddhist-inspired governance which he believes is more suitable to the local context. But what is that Buddhist-inspired governance, and what has Prayuth done to materialize it? Most importantly, does he succeed? Surprisingly, his effort seems to meet with only little success, suggesting that the state-Buddhism relationship is more complicated than expected. This article will try to answer the three questions.

'Good Governance' New Malaysia Style

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For the first time in Malaysia's history there has been a party turnover in government. The Pakatan Harapan government promises reform, tied to its manifesto and its roots in a political and civil society reform movement. This paper looks at how Pakatan conceives of 'good governance' and assesses the measures that have been put in place in the first few months of office of the new government. It contrasts these measures with how Barisan Nasional (National Front) conceived of 'good' governance, drawing from the legacy of the Najib government from 2009-2018. Three areas are highlighted – concepts of 'good governance', patterns of political legitimation and implementation practices. While regional trends have focused on more authoritarian trends, this paper will compare more democratic patterns of good governance in Malaysia with that of the past.

Re-Branding the Meaning of Good Governance in Post-Coup Thailand

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When a group of high-ranking army generals operating under the name of National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) overthrew the elected government of Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra on 22 May 2014, they promised to return happiness to the Thai people. The promise was based on the NCPO's action in four areas: (1) reforming the country' political system, (2) healing the deep societal divisions, (3) improving the country's economic performance, and (4) dealing with corruption – all under the framework of a democracy with the king as head of state. Through these activities, the generals sought to institutionalise a new form of good governance based on conservative, illiberal and inherently undemocratic values. This paper examines a number of junta's image and identity campaigns that seek to re-brand the popular notions of good governance and shift the public discourse away from liberal democracy. The paper argues that the military government used these campaigns to present its own version of good governance based on institutionalised notions of virtue and virtuous self-governance of the Thai people.

PGG 9: Crime and Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

Over the past thirty years, Southeast Asia has experienced rapid growth in intra-regional economic activity but, despite a remarkable diminution in the frequency and intensity of military conflict and crises, it has not been free of interstate clashes, maritime disputes above all. Indeed, it is home to vital networks, such as shipping lanes in South China Sea and Malacca Straits, where approximately one third of international trade goes through. However, the struggle against maritime crime activities, such as piracy and transnational illicit organisations, represents a priority for all countries of the region, as well as one of the unavoidable prerequisites for the achievement of regional economic security. Maritime crimes increase trade riskiness and have significant effect on their flows, particularly influencing costs related to the delivery of transported goods. Therefore, the role of political institutions is paramount for tackling the emergence and persistence of transnational crime in Southeast Asia, suggesting the need for a new framework that is able to explain connections between crime and power.

This panel brings together scholars with diverse backgrounds ranging from Sociology, Law, Economics and Politics. It aims to focus on the impact of transnational crimes and maritime piracy on Southeast Asian countries' development, governance and security.

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Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia: Consequences for Economic and Political Integration
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The costs of the Southeast Asia maritime piracy to the global economy are largely underestimated regarding the issue of the fight against piracy. In particular, the region suffers from severe negative socio-economic impacts due to over-fishing, and the reduction and collapse of the fisheries have led to a widespread loss of income and employment. The attacks on fishers take place regularly in most Southeast Asian countries. Also, in many cases, the pirates are the fishers themselves, and they attack fishers of other nationalities. All those attacks have a serious negative impact on food security in the region by damaging fishing industry and threatening artisanal fishers who risk losing their entire income. Given the fact that large parts of Southeast Asia's fish populations are overfished, fishers have less possibility to avoid areas prone to pirate attacks.

The Crime-Terror Nexus in the Philippines: Implications for the South China Sea
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This paper will analyse the crime-terror nexus in the South China Sea. By starting from the Filipino context and its jihadist galaxy, it will be argued that terrorism and crime in the South China Sea represents a different aspect of the same threat.

Whilst jihadism in the South China Sea has been an understudied phenomenon, this paper contends that it has acquired a growing importance in shaping the geopolitical situation in that area. Jihadism in the Philippines constitutes a feudal organization in which the ideological basis of the movement is often hided by the economic goal of maximising the profit of the organisation. After having clarified the crime-terrorism nexus in the security environment of the South China Sea, this paper will analyse the typology of threat that the Filipino criminal-terroristic organisations pose to the South China Sea. The operational shift from Al-Qaeda to Daesh in the South China Sea constitutes a proof that the jihadist galaxy in the area is more criminal oriented than ideologically committed.

In the conclusion, this paper will try to trace some policy implications related to the security of the South China Sea in relation with the crime-terror network in the Philippines.

PGG 10: The Belt and Road Initiative across the Indian Ocean: Activities and Repercussions of China's Strategic Initiative from Southeast Asia to Africa

Panel Abstract

China´s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) consists of the land-based Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR). Both roads pass through Southeast Asia and further interlink the region with its main trading partners. A main part of this strategic initiative concerns numerous countries along the historical Maritime Silk Road, from Southeast Asia to Africa. This panel invites contributions that focus on specific experiences of individual countries and/or regional organizations, notably the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), or on a comparative analysis, discussing, among others, the perceptions, opportunities and challenges of this strategic initiative for other players in the region and beyond.

Concerning Southeast Asia, Beijing collaborates in general closely with ASEAN. So far, it accepts ASEAN´s regional centrality and the multilateral institutions and governance mechanisms ASEAN created in Southeast and Northeast Asia, e.g. the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) or the East Asia Summit (EAS). However, is China still willing to respect the existing governance structures in Southeast Asia and other regions along the Silk Roads? Or does Beijing intend to establish its own norms, rules and institutions, e.g. the Asia Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB). A possible concrete case study is China´s behavior in the South China Sea and how it impacts on the Southeast Asian claimant nations and ASEAN´s regional centrality: Does Beijing remain opposed to a multilateral resolution of the territorial disputes and respecting International Law? Can the MSR project promote multilateral cooperation that can contribute to a peaceful resolution of the territorial disputes in the South China Sea?

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Paper Abstracts

China´s Belt and Road Initiative in Southeast Asia:
Perceptions of ASEAN, Malaysia and Singapore and their Reactions
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Both China´s land-based and maritime Silk Road pass through Southeast Asia. At least in theory, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the also ambitious infrastructure development plans of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) offer a win-win situation to increase connectivity within Southeast Asia and between Southeast and Northeast Asia: The ASEAN members lack the financial resources to finance all infrastructure projects, whereas China and the multilateral funding mechanisms it has created can close the financial gap.

Certain BRI projects are already in the implementation stage, e.g. railway connections in Cambodia and Indonesia. Yet, ASEAN has so far not clearly addressed the economic and strategic impacts of BRI on Southeast Asia. This paper aims to examine in detail the perceptions of ASEAN and two member

countries, namely Malaysia and Singapore, and their reaction to BRI. Do they view it purely as an economic initiative or a strategic tool for Beijing to thrive for regional hegemony? Do they engage other actors, e.g. the United States, Japan or the European Union, in infrastructure projects? ASEAN was chosen, because its statements and policies reflect the consensus of its ten members. Singapore, the ASEAN Chair of 2018, is the only industrialized country in Southeast Asia, already possessing an excellent infrastructure, but in need of improved connectivity in the region to promote its growth. Malaysia is an interesting case, as the former and new Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad has uttered criticism on the size and impacts of Chinese investments in Malaysia.

BRI in ASEAN:
Impact of China's Belt & Road Initiative on Southeast Asia's Regional Power Sector Integration

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This research examines the potential for expansion of cross-border electricity trade as a means to address clean energy concerns in East Asia and the impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) on regional power sector integration efforts. This includes an analysis of BRI policy and financial support for power sector infrastructure development in Southeast Asia, and the development of the ASEAN Power Grid (APG) through bilateral, sub-regional and regional initiatives.

The significance of addressing the potential impact BRI may have on regional power sector integration lies in the pressing need for coordinated, global responses to climate change. Global economic growth has resulted in significant environmental and climate damage. This is due in part to a heavy reliance on fossil fuel energy sources and industrial and export driven development. East Asia is not alone in its obligation to address global climate challenges. However, as a major contributor to global emissions and emerging leader in world economic growth, technology innovation, and international trade, East Asia is in a unique position to contribute significantly to the global response.

One such way, which will be addressed in this research, is by strengthening power sector capacity through energy market integration and power sector infrastructure development. National policy measures impact regional clean energy utilization, and in turn have an impact on global markets, policy, and trade. The role of BRI as a supporting mechanism for regional growth in clean energy utilization and integration is also poorly understood in relation to national and regional power sectors and will be expanded upon in this research.

One Belt One Road (OBOR) and Industry 4.0: Implications of current strategic initiatives of enhancing connectivity for identity politics in insular Southeast Asia

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The rise of China as major economic and political actor on a global scale is often discussed with a strong emphasis on asymmetric power relations with its partners in Asia and Africa. In contrast, this paper departs from an often overlooked common element between recent Chinese initiatives such as the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative or the Chinese strategy for the era of the Internet-of-Things (IoT) or "Industry 4.0", namely "Made in China 2025". That common element is the emphasis on enhancing connectivity both in a physical (traditional hardware infrastructure such as roads, railways, or ports) and digital sense. Taken as such, these recent Chinese initiatives resemble policies of other

governments in recent years, including in Southeast Asia, which can lead to a framing of the topic both as more over-arching and less China-focused. This paper discusses some unintended, yet very likely indirect implications of the "great push for enhancing connectivity" for identity politics in Southeast Asia. Key points of discussion include the social and cultural dimensions of the reshuffling of value chains in Southeast Asia, esp. in ethnically fragmented countries such as Singapore and Malaysia.

China's growing role as international study destination and its implications for Malaysia: the case of African students

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While many countries along the recently launched Belt and Road Initiative pin their hopes on higher education cooperation and student exchange with China, others experience increased competitive pressure. This is the case of Malaysia, which, similarly to China, aims to become a global education hub and play host to large numbers of international students. This paper investigates the case of African students in China and Malaysia in comparative perspective. Both countries have recently witnessed the remarkable surge of students from Africa, who now comprise a large fraction of their international student bodies.

The paper explores the strategies China and Malaysia use to attract African students and discusses the factors that add to the pulling power of these countries as study destinations. Derived from document analysis, interviews and discussions, the paper argues that Belt and Road Initiative, together with government's targeted focus on African human resource and education development, significantly increases China's attractiveness among prospective students. On the contrary, the favorable perception of African students towards Malaysia may be changing in the near future due to the tightening of visa regulations and neglect of the African continent in higher education promotion activities.

Firstly, findings of the paper have practical implications for Malaysian policymakers, who need to establish more outward-looking policies towards African students to ensure their further inflow into the country. Secondly, the paper constitutes part of a larger academic exercise contemplating about the changing global higher education landscape and new cross-border migration flows between Asia and Africa.

Political Ecology of Rising China in the BRI regions

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China's greater role in the global economy has profound implications for the world. Along with its economic presence in forms of trade, aid and foreign direct investment, China has rapidly magnified its overseas and global environmental footprint. Substantial amount of Chinese investment are concentrated in sectors that are environmentally sensitive such as oil, gas and mineral exploration and hydropower provision. In addition, President Xi announced the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013 to look at improving and creating new trading routes and investment opportunities, and will pass through over 60 countries in Asia, Europe, Middle East and Africa. These investments could have both positive and/or negative impacts on the environment, depending on the differential strategies and practices of the Chinese firms and actors.

This paper examines the differential environmental implications of Chinese actors and impacts on the global environment through the lens of political ecology. Power relations between different actors are at the heart of this approach as all actors possess some form of power to control and access resources. By developing the political ecology of rising China theoretical framework, and examining these unequal power relations between the different stakeholders, this paper provides a way to explain the uneven distribution of environmental resources and outcomes due to a rising China in the BRI regions.

PGG 11: Contested notions of 'Chineseness' in Cold War Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

How did the complex interaction between late colonial politics and shifting Cold War allegiances and alliances shape what it meant to be 'Chinese' in societies such as Malaya and Singapore in the 1950s and 1960s? Were new notions of 'Chineseness' which emerged in this critical period organic expressions of local identity, or a reflection of geopolitical struggles over cultural expression? And how can a more regional approach to the study of Chinese-medium cultural production in Southeast Asia move the current state of the field of Chinese Diaspora studies (dominated hitherto by studies of 'the Chinese' in specific societies) into exciting new directions?

These questions have been addressed over the last 2 years by Dr Jeremy Taylor and Dr Xu Lanjun on a British Academy IPM Grant (PM140245) entitled 'Cultures of the Chinese Cold War in British Southeast Asia'. This panel provides an opportunity for Taylor and Xu to present their findings to a wider audience and also for other scholars working on similar themes to contribute to a wider dialogue on notions of 'Chineseness' which emerged in Southeast Asia in this same period.

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"Not a particularly happy expression": "Malayanisation" and perceptions of the "China threat" in Britain's late-colonial South East Asian territories
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A good deal of research on the "Malayan Chinese" has hitherto focused on the role of Chinese communities themselves in carving out new, post-colonial identities in the period between the end of WWII and the arrival of self-government in Malaya and Singapore in the late 1950s. The tendency for young intellectuals, especially, to embrace a local identity through genres such as "Mahua" literature and the "Nanyang School" of fine arts are all part of this literature.

In this paper, however, I would like to turn the focus back on the departing British colonial authorities, and to explore their role in a process which they referred to as "Malayanization". Based on colonial-era archives from the UK, Singapore and Malaysia, this paper will show that the fostering of this "Malayan Chinese" identity, rather than being an organic or spontaneous reaction to local events, was part of well-planned colonial strategy aimed at countering a perceived threat of cultural influence from the People's Republic of China (PRC) from the early 1950s onwards. This strategy involved the colonial authorities funding and supporting particular types of Sinophone cultural expression (publications, newspapers, broadcasting, cinema) at the expense of others. The British initially acknowledged that the notion of "Malayanization" was an "unhappy" one which had the potential to alienate large sections of the population (including many "non Chinese"). Eventually, however, they came to believe it represented the best way in which to sustain a "loyal" Chinese community which could be trusted to resist close ties with the PRC, while accepting its place in a post-colonial Malay(si)a.

Lover, Traitor, Detective, Spy: Soft-boiled Anti-Communist Romance at the Crossroads of Hong Kong, China, and Southeast Asia

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In 1953, the USIS (United States Information Service) in Hong Kong decisively made an operational change in its cultural Cold War against Communist China by financing the publication of "original fiction by Hong Kong authors in an effort to expand readership among our Overseas audience". The initiative resulted in The Story Paper (Xiaoshuo bao), a bi-weekly 12-paged tabloid newspaper of a full-length fiction with colour illustrations to propagate anti-communist sentiment to Chinese readers in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and more importantly, Southeast Asia. This popular newspaper story, sold for approximately one-eighth the price of a conventional Chinese book, was "intended to do what American paperback books have done, reach an audience of persons who normally never read books." At its peak, the circulation could have reached over 100,000 per issue, distributed for sale in Hong Kong and given away (as newspaper inserts) mostly to Taipei, Bangkok, Saigon, Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, Phnom Penh, Vientiane, Yokohama, Seoul, Tokyo, and London.

Modelled on the dime novels and story papers that flourished in America and England, The Story Paper featured tales of social outlaws, detective and spy stories, mysterious woman narratives and romances of overseas Chinese characters in Southeast Asian settings. Has US agency successfully shaped the imaged Chinese communities of the "free world"? Does The Story Paper rather offer us border-thinking to reassess local agency in negotiating the contested meanings of being Chinese in Cold War Asia? The paper explores the inter-generic mode of detective spy stories by Hong Kong popular writers.

Imagining Hokkien Chineseness in the 1960s: A Multi-layered Sense of Place in Xiangju Amoy-dialect Cinema

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What did it mean to be a Hokkien-speaker in 1960s Singapore – a time and place where language increasingly became loaded with political connotations? Commonly referred to as a "provincial language" (*difang yuyuan*) that relates exclusively to the ancestral home village of Amoy (now Xiamen), what sense of place did this dialect embody during this time of great change and uncertainty, and what sort of "Chineseness" emerged as a result thereof? The case of Amoy-dialect cinema (*Xiayu dianying*) provides us with a foundation from which these questions may be probed. In the early 1960s, Amoy-dialect cinema fell from its peak into rapid decline. Attempting to save the industry from an impending death, Singapore's Goh Eng Wah initiated a revival plan in 1963 that was to turn Amoy-dialect cinema from featuring "modern Hokkien songs" to one that is based upon *xiangju*, a traditional Chinese opera genre that could, with its peculiarities, help Amoy-dialect cinema at that time to align itself simultaneously with the ancestral home village, the region of anti-colonial Southeast Asia and with "Free China" (the Nationalist government on Taiwan). This strategy to revive Amoy-dialect cinema through the specific use of xiangju infused the dialect with a multi-layered sense of place, pointing to the imagining of a flexible, multi-faceted Hokkien Chineseness as a way of finding a place for dialectal identities amidst the pressing precarity of the times.

PGG 12: Myanmar's Systemic Transformation: Before and After 2015

Panel Abstract

Myanmar's transformation has been extensively featured in media since the early 2010s. The political significance and former global popularity of Aung San Suu Kyi, however, contributed to the dominance of NLD-centric narratives over transformation. Whether in relation to by-elections in 2012, the general elections in 2015, or the role of Suu Kyi (and other former dissidents), when thinking and writing on Myanmar's transformation many people adopted an NLD-centric-narrative. This was understandable given the Tatmadaw's past misdeeds, mismanagement and poor human rights record.

This panel examines the importance of Myanmar's recent transformation by emphasizing not only post-2015-focused narratives, but both the pre-2015 and post-2015 periods. The aim is to analyze political, economic and social changes that took place since 2011 without prioritising any particular period.

Two years have now passed since the NLD's takeover, allowing us to make some initial assessments of the periods both before and after the 2015 elections. Whether it be the domestic transition of power, controlled democratization, transformation of economy, reformulation of policies to address political challenges, balancing foreign policy, new ceasefire agreements with ethnic armed groups, (re)emerging sectarian conflicts, environmental issues (such as resource management), social challenges (such as burgeoning "squatter" settlements, illegal buildings and developments, or land ownership), all these issues and processes now await scholarly evaluation. We welcome papers from all researchers addressing diverse perspectives on the political, economic, spatial, environmental and social aspects of the transition in Myanmar after 2011, both during the Thein Sein and NLD periods.

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Re-assessing Refugee Repatriation along Thai-Myanmar Border since Myanmar's Democratic Reform, 2012-2017

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Since Myanmar began to transform into a modern democratic state after President Thein Sein assumed office in 2011, the diplomatic relationship between Myanmar and Thailand has entered a new chapter. Since the launch of the 7-Step Roadmap to Democracy in 2003, the interactions between the two neighbouring countries became visibly more positive. It is generally known that ethnic insurgencies play a pivotal role in shaping modern Thai-Myanmar relations. Hundreds of thousands of refugees from Myanmar, mainly from ethnic groups, fled their homes to Thailand resulting in the establishment of 9 refugee camps along Thai-Myanmar border – currently with around 100,000 refugees in the camps. During the last decade some 10,000 refugees successfully resettled in a third country but the majority of them remain in the camps.

However, after the 2012 by-elections where the National League for Democracy won most seats, increasingly more refugees started to return to their Myanmar homes on a voluntary basis. Though the number of returnees each year is still low – 71 in 2013 through UNHCR's voluntary repatriation

scheme which was facilitated by the Thai government and NGOs – it is clear that the attitude of refugees from Myanmar has considerably changed. With the ongoing reconciliation process in Myanmar, more and more refugees have registered to return to Myanmar.

This paper discusses the voluntary repatriation scheme as a milestone in forging Thai-Myanmar relationship since 2012 and it seeks to explain how the democratic reform in Myanmar has successfully convinced the refugees to return to the war-plagued region in south-eastern Myanmar.

An empirical analysis on economic conditions of Myanmar migrant workers in Thailand: returns to Thai language skills
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Thailand has attracted large inflows of migrant workers from neighbouring Myanmar. The total number of official and unofficial Myanmar migrant workers is estimated above two million, who have filled the demand for low-skilled labourers in the host country. Despite their significance in socio-economic relations of the two countries, little is known about their economic conditions. While the majority occupy unskilled jobs, do acquisition of skills and knowledge enable them to climb up the social ladder in the host country? To address this issue, this paper analyzes economic return to Thai language proficiency using the survey data of 5,000 Myanmar migrant workers in Thailand collected in 2012. The Thai language is one of skills that migrants acquire through their stay in the host county. The survey compiled information such as migrants' duration of stay in Thailand, working location, type of business, wage level, and self-reported language skills. First, we examine correlation between migrants' language skills and their type of business. Second, after controlling for work locations and types of business, we examine economic return to language skills by checking the correlation between self-reported language proficiency and wage level. Although most migrants work as low skilled labourers, some positive return to language skills is confirmed. Based on empirical results, we also discuss the implications of migrants' language skills on their assimilation to the Thai society.

Tourism development, urban growth and segregation: The case of Nyaungshwe town (Inle Lake, Shan State)
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In the last twenty years, and especially since the 2011 political transition, Inle Lake has become a major tourism highlight of Myanmar, receiving almost 200 000 foreign visitors a year and maybe twice as many locals. Tourism is now a massive economic sector, generating more than 5000 direct jobs in the whole region and more than 30 million dollars per year revenue. Such an activity has deeply shaped Nyaungshwe, the main town and tourism hub: its population has increased significantly while hundreds of migrant workers from Central Myanmar have been catering to a booming construction sector. The consequence of such frenzy is skyrocketing land prices: a small plot in downtown Nyaungshwe can reach up to a million dollars; even a few kilometres away, fields and slopes have been allotted for commercial purpose. In such a context, many landowners have sold their plots in town and moved to the periphery, while low-income tenants cannot afford downtown rents anymore and are forced to the periphery.

Very clearly, political and touristic transitions since 2011 have transformed Nyaungshwe town from a pretty socially-homogeneous place – where locals and tourists lived together – to a dual urban system, shaped by a strong centre-periphery gradient, social inequalities and a split between foreigners' and locals' Nyaungshwe. Indeed, those two communities have moved away from each other: foreigners now chill in restaurants and hotels designed for them, while more and more locals step back, withdraw from some public spaces and retrench into their neighbourhood.

Myanmar's Economic Reforms 2011-2015: Building of a Post-Socialist Developmental State
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This paper examines Myanmar's economic transformation during the period of accelerated economic reforms and economic liberalization of 2011-2015. It presents the account of market institutionalization and economic restructuring. The paper argues that during that period the authorities attempted to create a genus of the post-socialist development state (PSDS), as a state institutional and policy model. The PSDS explains how some countries incorporated the provisions of the so-called East Asian development miracle (based on the concept of the developmental state) into their peculiar conditionality of post-socialist systemic transformation from a centrally-planned, state-command, socialist model to a market-based capitalist economic model. In the Myanmar case of 2011-2015, it was visible through the state policy of gradual and incremental economic transformation accompanied by state intervention, illustrated through the applying a multi-sectoral targeting in industrial policy, deterring and, at the same time, attracting foreign investors, using bureaucratic regulations and special economic zones, respectively, tightly controlling international trade and the banking sector and supporting the domestic business sector through the creation of an uneven playing field.

Myanmar's transformation during Thein Sein: a balance sheet attempt
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Myanmar's transformation has been dominated by NLD-centric narratives which is logical given Aung San Suu Kyi's worldwide significance. This phenomenon, however, overshadows Thein Sein's years, with its bright and dark aspects of Myanmar's transformation: domestic transition of power, controlled democratization, transformation of economy, balancing foreign policy, new ceasefire agreements with ethnic armed groups, re-emerging sectarian conflicts, environmental issues and social challenges, to name just the major ones.

This paper will try to refocus the attention from NLD-focused narrative of transformation and examine the importance of Thein Sein's period. The aim is neither to undermine NLD's political merits during transformation nor to applaud Thein Sein's administration, but rather to provide more agency to the political, economic and social changes that took place in 2011-2015. The two years that have passed since NLD's take-over allow us to make some initial, nevertheless comprehensive, assessments of the Thein Sein's period.

The working thesis of this paper is that (so far) Thein Sein's administration proved to be more successful in transforming Myanmar than the NLD government. On the other hand, if one takes into account all years of Tatmadaw's rule in Myanmar, the balance sheet would not be so favourable as NLD'ss failed hopes cannot match six decades of army's mismanagement of the state.

PGG 13: Roundtable on Malaysia's politics:

Reflections on Malaysia's 14th General Election

Panel Abstract

On 9 May 2018 the Pakatan Harapan coalition in Malaysia won a surprise electoral victory. Pakatan Harapan secured the majority of Parliamentary seats and brought an end to 61 years of rule under the Barisan Nasional coalition. Former Prime Minister Najib Razak's loss raises many critical questions about the future of Malaysian politics, not least the durability of the Pakatan Harapan. The return of Mahathir Mohamad was a major factor that brought an end to the Barisan Nasional's monopoly of power. Mahathir made history by becoming the world's oldest elected prime minister, and the revival of "neo-Mahathirism" needs further analysis. Ethnic politics remains a critical factor in Malaysia, with the Malay majority divided and non-Malays seemingly behind the new ruling coalition. Contentious issues that deserve further scrutiny in this Roundtable include the election manifestos that create new "moral contracts" (not legally binding), the establishment of the Council of Elders, the Institutional Reform Committee, and the review of the Anti-Fake News Act 2018 and the Sedition Act 1948, to name a few. The Malaysian Election Commission is in the spotlight because of the disqualification of candidates and the introduction of new rules governing elections. This interdisciplinary Roundtable offers a timely discussion of the latest political situation in Malaysia, approximately four months after the shock results of the 14th general election.

Convenor: Adam Tyson (University of Leeds, UK)
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Chair: Duncan McCargo (University of Leeds, UK)

Participants

Mohamed Mustafa Ishak, Professor in the International Affairs Department, Universiti Utara Malaysia. His research focuses on Politics and International Studies, especially Malaysian and Southeast Asian politics. He is passionately and actively engaged in deliberating issues on law and national constitution, and providing commentaries on domestic and international affairs as well as political analyses.

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PGG 14: Issues in Southeast Asian Politics & Society

Chair: Deirdre McKay (University of Keele)
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Paper Abstracts

Fighting Words: The Impact of the Afghan War on the Ideology of Indonesian Islamist Militancy
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This paper examines how the participation of Indonesian Islamist militants in the Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989) influenced the ideology of Indonesian terrorist organisations as these men returned home to conduct attacks in the 1990s. Academics have tended to focus their research on the conflict's impact on improving the operational capabilities of Indonesian combatants. While important, this focus has resulted in the role of ideology being sidelined and poorly understood with groups apparently sharing a homogeneous set of values, beliefs and aims.

This paper will foreground the role of ideology in shaping the mobilisation, motivations and target selection of Indonesian Islamist militants. Using archival documents, recorded sermons and interviews with participants, this paper will show how the experience of war and exposure to new strands of Salafist ideology by thinkers such as Abdullah Azzam challenged and internationalised Indonesian militants' prevailing interpretation of *jihad*, their conception of an Islamic State and understanding of monotheism.

This paper will explore the mechanisms by which these new ideas of Salafist thought were stitched together with existing beliefs and linked with socio-political events abroad and domestically to facilitate the mobilisation of potential members in Indonesia. It will highlight the ways in which the internationalist ideology of the Afghan mujahedeen was adapted by returning fighters to encompass historical grievances and the Indonesian political climate in the 1980s and early 1990s. It will argue these moves resulted in schisms within the Indonesian Islamist movement, leading to the formation of new organisations, which pursued different strategies and prioritised the targeting Western institutions and symbols.

Islamic Vigilantes and the Mobilisation of Religious Sentiments in Indonesia
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The rise of identity politics has been prominent in contemporary world politics as seen in Brexit and the election of Donald Trump. This tendency could also be found in Indonesia recently, where Basuki Tjahaya Purnama's blasphemy case had been used by the alliance of contending political actors and Islamic vigilantes to mobilise support in 2017 Jakarta's gubernatorial election. Many scholars, primarily those who employ cultural perspective, have observed such phenomenon as an alarming symptom of the rise of Islamic radicalism. Indonesian government also exerts such understanding, resulting in reactionary responses and leading to the mobilisation of ultra-nationalism that exacerbates polarisation. It confirms that such perspective not only neglects aspects of power but

could also bring Indonesian democracy at risk. I argue that the use of identity politics is by no mean a new phenomenon. It has been the main feature of Indonesian democracy since 1998 Reformasi, particularly after the implementation of regional autonomy. Ethnic and religious sentiments have been used widely by various actors, mainly the politicians and vigilantes, to mobilise political support in the power contests. Such is made possible by the absence of organised Left in Indonesian politics since 1965-66 communists' massacre. Against this backdrop, the use identity politics will be likely to occur in the upcoming 2019 election, where Islamic militias will continue to play a vital role in mobilising religious sentiments. Politics and society will probably be severely polarised based on cultural identity, obstructing fundamental issues of social and economic inequality.

A Heritage of Freedom:
The Pacific War Memorial and Second World War Remembrance in the Philippines
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Many studies have examined the fate of colonial era monuments in the post-independence period (Whelan 2002; Amae 2011; Larsen 2012 are just a few examples). Indeed in the Philippines there has been some analysis of how monuments constructed during U.S. colonial rule (1902-1942 then 1945-1946) sought to foster the concept of U.S. governance as a prerequisite to the achievement of Philippine independence (for example Mojares 2006).

However, this paper seeks to demonstrate how the U.S. continued to use the Philippine landscape to articulate the importance and necessity of a strong U.S.-Philippine relationship, even after Philippine independence, through the construction of the Pacific War Memorial on Corregidor Island in 1968.

The Pacific War Memorial was ostensibly created to commemorate all those who had 'fought under the American flag' during the Second World War. However, through an analysis of the archival documents by the American and Philippine committees responsible for the Memorial, this paper contends that its construction in fact formed part of America's strategy to maintain a geopolitical presence in the Asia-Pacific region, whilst in turn attempting to shape Philippine and Asian memorialisation of the conflict.

Despite this, a uniquely Philippine narrative emerged around Second World War remembrance that sought to place the freedom won within a historical narrative of colonial oppression. I argue that despite its impact on the 'memoryscape' (Muzaini and Yeoh 2016) of Corregidor, the emergence of distinctly Philippine 'memoryscapes' has meant the Pacific War Memorial is largely absent from contemporary Philippine remembrances of the War.

Theme: Sustainable and Equitable Development

SED 1: Agency from the margins: interdisciplinary perspectives on modern transformations among the Hmong of upland South East Asia

Panel Abstract

James Scott's infamous *Art of Not Being Governed*, for all its faults, has undoubtedly raised the profile of South East Asia's highland groups, calling for a shift away from a state-centric obsession and towards a perspective of social phenomena from the hills. Of all the diverse cultures and histories of Zomia's highlanders, Scott's thesis is perhaps most relevant to the tumultuous migration history of the Hmong, an ethnic group of some 4-5 million spread across the borderlands of China, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand (plus significant diasporas in USA and Australia). Infamous for their controversial role in the CIA's 'secret war' in Laos, Hmong speakers are often marginalised, impoverished and treated with suspicion by the various states they currently live in. Their complex historical legacy and strong ethnic identity has given rise to some fascinating social phenomena in recent times, including mass Christian conversions in the face of government hostility, human trafficking and transnational marriage networks, commoditisation of culture for tourism and everyday resistance to state assimilation projects.

This panel explores the surprising agency of the Hmong in South East Asia – and their impact of wider regional socio-political transformations – from the diverse perspectives of anthropology, political science, human geography and ethnomusicology.

Convenor: Seb Rumsby (University of Warwick, UK)
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Paper Abstracts

Spiritual Economies: Hmong Christian conversion and neoliberal advance in upland Vietnam
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James Scott quipped that, until the second half of the 20th Century, South East Asian states "can't climb hills" – and to this day, Hmong communities in Vietnam continue to resist assimilation to the ethnic majority and undermine state domination projects in various ways, including via mass conversions to Christianity over the past 30 years. However, in recent times neoliberalism, arguably an even more powerful force that the Vietnamese state, has been making inroads into upland Vietnamese society at an alarming rate, with traditional semi-subsistence livelihoods and government subsidies being replaced by market expansion, state development loans and an increasingly monetarised economy. Turner, Michaud and Bonnin (2015) make the case for Hmong agency to selectively engage with the desirable (but not all) aspects of economic modernity, yet even after just a few years the picture is changing. In this context, and based on fieldwork conducted over the past two years, this paper asks: to what extent is Hmong Christianity supporting or hindering neoliberal advance in Vietnam's highlands?

Traditional Hmong worldviews make little distinction between religious, social and political spheres, with economic factors being a significant element of many Hmong conversion narratives (Ngo, 2016). Furthermore, Hmong pastors and church leaders see the economic development of their community as an intrinsic part of their ministry, often wielding more influence over the congregation than local authorities. Comaroff & Comaroff (2009, p. 22) among others have asserted an 'elective affinity' between neo-Pentecostal Christianity and neoliberalism in quite different contexts, while Rudnyckyj (2010) advances a 'spiritual economies' theory while exploring the neoliberalisation of Islamic practice in Indonesia. Drawing from these concepts, we will consider how Christianity can empower and equip Hmong communities to engage with, but rarely challenge, market expansion and neoliberal forms of governance.

Minority Voices on Air: Reimagining Ethnic Diversity after the Unification of Vietnam
Lonán Ó Briain (University of Nottingham, UK)

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Following unification in 1976, the mission of Hanoi-based state media was rewritten to incorporate southern Vietnamese and ethnic minority voices. Broadcasters assimilated the technical and administrative apparatus of the former Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam), and adapted their programming to appeal to more diverse audiences. This shift in tone affected the position of minorities living in the northern mountains, including the Hmong, who were relegated even further down the priority list by virtue of becoming a smaller percentage of the newly enhanced national population.

In this paper, I investigate how changes to the administrative structure of and broadcast content produced by the Voice of Vietnam Radio (VOV) during this period impacted minority perceptions of their hyphenated ethnic-national identities and influenced minority engagement in local politics and society. Data is drawn from eleven months of fieldwork in Vietnam (June 2016 to April 2017) when I interviewed radio broadcasters and listeners, accessed documents on the history of Vietnamese radio at the National Archives, participated in rehearsals and recording sessions at the VOV studios in Hanoi, and visited the VOV sound archives. By examining the spaces that were allocated to minority content, the styles of broadcasting in minority languages, and the ways that minorities accessed these state radio broadcasts, this research argues that these voices were syphoned into local and regional broadcasts to stifle their subversive potential at a particularly fragile period for the state.

The role of online public space in identity building and self-presentation: the case of the young Hmong migrants in Vientiane (Laos)
Clémentine Léonard (Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)

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This talk aims to establish links between identity, youth, migration, and the use of online public space (i.e. social network sites) and to introduce the first results of some exploratory fieldwork I conducted in Vientiane in 2017.

In Laos, young people from rural areas are increasingly attracted to cities, going in search of work and educational opportunities, and are also attracted by modernity. Due to digital globalization, it is worth exploring the role of the virtual world as a public space where people can build and perform their identity.

In recent years, the spread of the Internet and the use of mobile phones have substantially increased in Laos. Social network sites - and the pictures and languages they convey - can influence rural youths. The research informants are young people who belong to the Hmong minority ethnic group and who settled in the capital city, Vientiane. Vientiane is mainly inhabited by the Lao majority ethnic group, and thus, the migrants face a new set of sociocultural and linguistic norms. As rural youths migrate to the city, they usually increase their access to and use of the Internet. In the case of Hmong youths, this is particularly interesting to study as the Hmong people have developed a significant online activity because of the diaspora mainly established in the United States, in France, and in Australia. Social media connect individuals throughout the world but are also a way of giving visibility to Hmong language and culture.

After presenting some theoretical considerations, I will give an overview of my first data obtained during some fieldwork. I will introduce my informants' profiles and share their uses of social media.

Ethnic Minority Women's Agency and Identity in Upland Rural Food-Insecure Contexts in Vietnam
Christine Bonnin (University College Dublin, Ireland)

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Food security has remained a core priority of the Vietnam state's development and poverty reduction approach towards the northern mountainous border region (with China), which is home to a diverse population of officially-recognised ethnic minority groups such as the Hmong. Since the late 1990s, this agenda has been primarily pursued through state promotion of hybrid varieties of rice and maize upland staple foods. Hmong residents have been key targets for state subsidised hybrid seed programmes, which have been largely successful in terms of reducing overall levels of household food insecurity.

Food security is of particular salience for Hmong women, who, while entirely overlooked by the Vietnam government's 'gender neutral' food security approach, are deeply impacted by it as the gendering of food provisioning means that women are directly responsible for feeding their families on a daily basis. Situated within this context, my research explores Hmong women's narratives relating to temporalities of health and wellbeing and finds that food is deeply implicated in local understandings of what constitutes being healthy. Drawing upon a conceptual framework that weaves together ideas from political ecology, health geography and feminist geography, I explore Hmong women's understandings of a food secure present - attributed to state subsidized hybrid seed programmes – and how this is contrast with a food insecure past. Paradoxically, while food security is now acknowledged to be greatly improved, Hmong women do not equate this with healthier bodies. Instead, it is the food insecure past that is remembered as being a time of healthier bodies, while the foods Hmong women buy, grow, prepare and eat today are increasingly being regarded with suspicion and as one of the major causes of unhealthy or even sick bodies.

SED 2: Discourses of Development in Laos

Panel Abstract

What does it mean to be one of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) in the world? This status, created by the United Nations (UN) in 1971, counts within its members the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which has intended to depart from LDC status since 1996 (the new exit target is by 2030). Meeting the objectives of the UN Millennium Development Goals is a preoccupation of the Lao authorities and an often-repeated statement across the country in official discourse. To whom is this rhetoric addressed? Moreover, how to fulfill these objectives and at the same time meet the goals of other public or private institutions (ASEAN, Foreign Direct Investment from China, Vietnam and Thailand) in which Laos is similarly engaged?

Laos has been "under an Aid Regime" for numerous years, yet the LDC status also carries with it certain advantages such as receiving help for international trade, for debt reduction, and public assistance for development. Therefore, what does "development" mean for the actors of change (Lao State, officials, NGO and international cooperation members, funders, beneficiaries, etc.)? What does it produce in terms of legitimacy, national identity and policies?

This panel takes these broad themes as its starting point, exploring what is meant by development and modernity in Laos, agendas of development from different points of view, who the various actors and agents of change are, the uniqueness (or not) of the context, and the implications and consequences of development programs and initiatives within and beyond Laos.

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Paper Abstracts

An Overview of LPDR's Development
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The Lao Peoples' Democratic Republic (LPDR) from central planning economy to the reforms in 1986 was followed by the economic crisis in 1997-1998. It is now a state-managed mixed economy. Boosting agricultural productivity is a top priority for improving livelihoods and reducing poverty. The majority of Lao people live in rural areas (72 percent in 2005 and 67 percent in 2015), a part of them works in factories in cities. During the economic boom from 1986 to 1996, a farmer with secondary school education could nearly triple his/her income by making such a move (LDR 2014: 36). However, the problem is that "nearly half of firms in Lao PDR indicated that they had no or few applicants [to an unskilled job]". This phenomenon points to troubling workforce issues (Ibid.: 10). In 2015 123,000 worked in "manufacturing", with more male than female (Census 2015: 80).

Poverty reduction is important. The World Bank classified the poor Lao population into four categories. Category 2 are households with low agricultural productivity; in Luang Namtha, they

are helped by rural NGOs securing cross-border investments from Yunnan (Xishuangbanna) on Hevea plantations. There is progress in education in Laos, but the infrastructure of the remotest countryside, more than elsewhere, needs development which will indirectly improve education. An example of exceptional development is given by the increase in telephone penetration in recent years. The Government has been successful in developing its hydro resources, and electricity exports. The consequences of these actions remain to be discussed.

From Land-locked to Land-linked: Lao Regional Connections and Labour in Historical Perspective
James Alan Brown (SOAS, University of London)
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The discourse of turning Laos from a "land-locked" to a "land-linked" country implies Laos´s historical isolation from the currents of the Southeast Asian political economy. However, this underplays the ways in which Laos has been linked to the region over the past two centuries, and a study of this history can shed light on contemporary regionalisation. Laos´s position at the centre of the Southeast Asian mainland has entailed peripherality to regional loci of power. Its geography of peripheral centrality has however resulted in Laos becoming a realm of contestation between powerful neighbours. The analysis traces the construction of Laos within a regional space from pre-colonial times to contemporary special economic zones, illustrating the long-term integration of Laos into Southeast Asian capitalist development. Laos has been produced through mobility, foreign actors´ attempts to reorient space to their sphere of influence, and Lao actors´ strategic engagement with foreign power. Of particular relevance has been the mobility of subaltern actors, especially labour and peasants. Laos´s various forms of integration have been processed through class relations both internal to the territory and stretching beyond it, and these relations in turn have often hinged upon the spatial mobility of the subaltern. Capture and flight of labour power has been a persistent theme linking Laos to the wider region. A historically subordinate regional position and the issue of labour mobility have manifested within current special economic zone projects.

Development as a process: setting up an organic market in Vientiane
Sonemany Nigole (Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium)
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Laos is considered as one of the poorest countries in the world and is thus financially supported by the international community. How does development aid work in Laos? And what does this situation imply for the actors of development? Considering the implementation process of a development project can help us answer these questions. Taking as an example the very specific case of organic agriculture development in the capital of Vientiane, I will describe how concepts and ideas were translated from a project into reality (Callon 1986, Latour 1996). Analyzing the steps of the implementation of organic agriculture in Laos (training of farmers, establishment of organic markets, creation of an organic certification, and related policies and institutions, etc.) gives us insights into the challenges experienced by organic farmers. In this paper, I compare the discourses on development held by different groups of actors, i.e. international workers, government staff members and farmers. This data was collected during 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork, from 2014 to 2017. I argue that, because organic agriculture was an initiative introduced by external development actors, its implementation and success rendered the Lao government and farmers perpetually dependent on foreign aid with no possibility for the sector becoming sustainable. Nonetheless, these actors continued to support organic farming as they had vested interests in receiving aid.

The Lao-China railway and the changing discourses of development in Laos.

Phill Wilcox (Goldsmiths, University of London, UK)
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Official narratives of poverty and development in Laos state that the country is poor and must develop. This narrative is embodied by NGOs working in Laos. However, being in need of development and seeking outside assistance is a complex and nuanced picture particularly when considered against the rise of China; whose influence in Laos is growing. China will arrive very literally in Laos with the construction of the Lao-China Railway; a major infrastructure project under One Belt: One Road set for completion in 2021. This is an example of China taking a far more prominent role in development and shaping ideas of development on an international stage. This paper contends that Laos has an ambivalent relationship with discourses of development, especially those involving China. Despite the accepted need for development, many Lao articulate serious concerns about the growth of China in Laos. At the same time, many Lao buy Chinese products and view China as a place of modernity. Lao people speculate that even if not entirely desirable, China will become increasingly prominent in their own futures and the future of the country. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork, this paper argues that perceptions around China in Laos and Chinese backed forms of development are both complex and contradictory at all levels as decisions are made increasingly with reference to China. This will become more acute as rising China becomes a reality in contemporary Laos. Second, that growing Chinese influence on ideas of development demonstrates that perceptions and understandings of development are subject to change.

SED 3: Changing aid in Southeast Asia: peer-to-peer, private and Inter-Asian Approaches'

Panel Abstract

This panel explore emerging forms of development assistance and humanitarian aid in Southeast Asia. We are interested in flows of value, expertise and donated goods that make up 'South-South humanitarianism' (see Pacitto and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2013). There is a new direction of travel for development, marked by the shift from North-to-South models of development assistance towards new roles for development actors in the global South (Gray and Gills 2015). Whether these actors are nation states like India and China, regional NGOs, hometown associations or grassroots groups, they are influential aid providers. In Southeast Asia, it is local and peer-to-peer assistance that has figured most strongly in this shift (South 2012). We invite papers that examine how these new directions and modes of interventions become visible where national line agencies - or the traditional international non-state actors of aid - are less present. Contributions could explore the following questions: How does 'citizen aid' at various scales play out after a disaster? How do regional NGOs move in to fill gaps left by foreign donors whose interests have shifted? Are new, longer-term interventions propelled by invocations of inter-ASEAN or Asian similarity and common regional citizenship? What difference do these new forms of aid make for those that receive their support? For their employees or donors? Do these initiatives have distinctive modes of operation or ethics? Finally, to what extent have these new forms of aid managed to address the problematic power differentials that lie at the heart of the traditional North-South aid paradigms?

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Paper Abstracts

Indonesia's new Aspirations as an Aid-Donor: Different Agents and Perspectives
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In January 2018, Indonesia established a new official development assistance agency through which it will organize and regulate future official foreign aid. *Indonesia Aid* is supposed to strengthen Indonesia's South-South cooperation (SSC) and probably even more to boost the country's self-confidence. Thus, the agency contributes to the agenda of becoming an emerging donor country. Such a policy is often related to foreign policy strategies such as increasing power and prestige on the international stage, contributing to regional security or supporting international commitments as well as to domestic targets focusing on national pride and voters' support.

This early-stage research project intends to place the new agency *Indonesia Aid* in the context of Indonesian South-South cooperation in the past – from the 1955 Bandung Conference to President Yudhoyono's foreign policy strategy to create "a thousand friends and zero enemies" – and current trends under President Jokowi. Furthermore, Indonesia's striving to increase its soft power as an aid-donor is analyzed with regard to neighboring countries with similar SSC strategies (Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand). These comparisons with past concepts and strategies of other Southeast Asian actors help to shed light on different actors and perspectives on Indonesia's aspiration as an aid-donor

in the global South. They also contribute to the discussion of power structures that are alternative to traditional North-South aid paradigms. Of key interest is the question whether Indonesia tends to follow the example of Western or East Asian (especially Chinese) aid strategies or creates its own methods.

Bilateral Climate Aid and the Complex Governance in Indonesia
Gracia Paramitha (University of York, UK)
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Indonesia has become the 6th largest carbon emitter in the world, of which 70% come from deforestation and other forest degradation. In response to this situation, many countries have become strategic partners and donors to tackle climate change since 1997. However, some of bilateral climate partnerships did not work well due to inappropriate funding distribution, lack of leadership in local government of Indonesia, the dynamics of power politics, and the absence of civil society engagement. These possible factors give rise to the question: "To what extent are bilateral climate partnerships effective in Indonesia? Why does bilateral climate change aid remain complex in Indonesia?"

In light of this background, I am going to analyze and measure factors and challenges that both Indonesian government and the donors face in bilateral climate cooperation, along with the complexity of Indonesian governance. The methodological approach is qualitative, with in-depth interviews with various resource persons (local government, private sector, local and global civil society groups) and case study approach. According to fieldwork in Central Kalimantan and Jakarta, there are three main factors that affect bilateral climate partnerships: the donor-recipients power relations, the absence of intermediary agencies, and civil society engagements. These findings reflect the Indonesian government's situation of not having an integrated funding institution for all stakeholders yet. Furthermore, the dynamics of intermediary agencies potentially yielded to a conflict of interest among Indonesian government/non-government bodies internally and between Indonesian and foreign donors externally. This will be a new chapter for Indonesian climate governance, and I propose a bilateral climate aid modeling and policy recommendations for better governance in Indonesia.

Indonesia's Strategy in Managing International Environment Aid Sustainability: Balancing Dependence between DAC and Non-DAC Countries
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After the tsunami hit Indonesia in 2004, the incoming flow of foreign assistance peaked. Following the global financial turmoil in 2008, Indonesia began to redirect its policy on national budget management and global cooperation to manage risks on business. Climate change and environmental degradation are amongst the biggest contributing threats to business and economic sustainability, given the vulnerability of Indonesia's geography and financial architecture. The financial crisis in the West brings opportunities for Indonesia to pursue another source of assistance with less political intentions and loose concessional economic reforms. The Paris Agreement in 2015 also offers flexible mechanisms for developing countries to meet their targets.

The countries belonging to the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD (DAC countries) are known to contribute support for poverty reduction and environmental assistance, while some non-

DAC countries like China prefer to build their core assistance through infrastructure development programs. However, other non-DAC countries demonstrate significant growth in environmental aid, as well as its capacity of delivery. This paper will establish a model to balance Indonesian dependence on foreign assistance for environmental conservation between those two types of donor countries. Using international assistance approach, this study will try to establish an argument prior to policy recommendation for the above circumstances. The study will further examine these factors: economic equality, dignity, greater participation, appropriateness, sustainability, capacity building, and a rights-based approach.

Citizen aid, brokerage and social media – the Philippine experience of disaster relief
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In a crisis, aid providers deliver humanitarian relief across a hierarchy of organisations where influence and capacity map to their scale of operations (Fouksman, 2016; Mercer & Green, 2015). On the front lines of crises, 'citizen aid' is what small, local and informal groups offer to fellow citizens. Citizen aid groups are tied to place and work through longstanding personal relationships (Fechter, in press; Sanchez et al., 2016). In the Philippines, these groups raise most of their own funds and their staff have everyday jobs in business, the academy, the arts, or the third sector. Such citizen aid groups frequently support their activities by documenting their work with photos of beneficiaries to solicit donations from within the country and around the world across social media platforms (Bonacker et al, 2017.) Citizen aid actions have often been considered in terms of the benefits of giving and volunteering for donors (Malkki, 2015). Beneficiaries, however, may see citizen aid as mediating access to powerful, external institutions. This paper extends recent debates on brokerage (Lindquist, 2015) to examine the temporal and physical dynamics of citizen aid – beneficiary relationships in the relief effort after Typhoon Haiyan (2013–2017). We find citizen aid actors broker not only finance and resources, but influence and political nous. To analyse the impacts of these actions on local civil society and politics, we draw on case-studies of three very different citizen aid actions post-Haiyan. Here, the socially-mediated nature of citizen aid itself mediates new forms of humanitarian brokerage.

Development and the Search for Connection in 'Citizen Aid'
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Efforts in international aid and development have often been understood and portrayed, at least partly, as driven by the 'desire to help'. In this paper, we argue that this view has left a potentially key motivation out of sight: the search for a connection by those supporting development efforts. These desired connections are often sought with people separated by geographical distance, who are thus considered 'other' from those providing assistance.

We do not claim that this search for connections is all-encompassing, or the only key to understanding aid. We propose, though, that much of development literature has so far failed to recognise its relevance, and the potential implications it has. There has been a partial recognition of the importance of relationships for how aid works, for the shaping of policy, and its implementation (Eyben 2006). Rather than social relations being merely instrumental to successful aid practice, we suggest that at

the same time, providing assistance to others can be a vehicle that facilitates the making of these desired relations. This is illustrated through two case studies in which the 'search for connection' is clearly evident as a driver alongside the 'desire to help'. These are supporters of micro-lending though kiva.org and those who engage in small, private projects which could be described as 'citizen aid'. We argue that it would be judicious to consider the desire to help and the desire to connect as intertwined strands that help explain people's engagement in assisting others.

SED 4: Social Inclusion and Public Services

Panel abstract

There is increasing awareness that across the world some groups in society are being excluded from opportunities while other groups enjoy unfair advantages. This unjust state of affairs appears to be getting worse rather than better, even in countries where wealth is increasing overall. There is agreement among many international bodies working in low and middle income countries that equality and fairness must be given more priority in future in order to improve the economic wellbeing and life chances of all people in these countries. Failure to include all social groups in development has, for example, led to people from minority ethnic and religious groups being more likely to have low paid work, to live in slums with risky conditions and to have poorer access to healthcare, education, finance and public transport. People from these populations are also excluded from systems for justice and government and from decision-making about things that affect their lives. This kind of unfairness leads to public unrest and unstable societies.

This panel aims to explore the role of public services as a mechanism for social inclusion in terms of influencing how well people from minority populations are able to participate in society and be treated as full citizens. Strategies for developing inclusive public services in development contexts involve political and social challenges, as competition for work and resources often drives conflict between ethnic groups. Research evidence on ways in which public services have tried to reduce unfairness and how research can help facilitate social inclusion is welcome. Reviews of the evidence available as well as gaps in knowledge and what further research might help move things forward are of particular interest.

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Paper Abstracts

A Future Research Agenda for Ethnic and Religious Inclusion in Public Services
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Background: Disadvantaged ethnic and religious groups experience exclusion and inequalities globally and there is a lack of research relating to this issue in countries eligible for Official Development Assistance. The Inclusive Societies Network was established to develop a future research agenda that supports social inclusion, conceptualising health, education, local government and police services as a mechanism for creating culture change at local levels. The agenda aims to increase awareness and understanding of the need for change, inform research funding strategies and promote positive change and egalitarian relationships that empower people from disadvantaged ethnic and religious groups.

Methods: The agenda was coproduced with advocacy organisations, policymakers, practitioners, academics and research funders. It was developed from a series of literature reviews and engagement

with over 200 expert participants in 22 workshops and numerous interviews in India, Kenya, Nigeria, Vietnam and the UK. Evidence gaps were identified in relation to key drivers of ethnic and religious exclusion, strategies for inclusion in public services and intersectional disadvantage, relating to the additional impact of gender, age and migration[1].

Results: The agenda conceptualises social inclusion as a human right and exclusion as a denial of this right. The need to move away from vague terminology and to specifically define ethnic and religious groups that experience exclusion is highlighted, to ensure that interventions are focused on those that most need support. The agenda also promotes robust research methods that support effective evaluation of inclusion initiatives and that model inclusive practice.

Three themes on which future research should focus are specified:
(i)   *Achieving inclusion and understanding the dynamics of change* - exploring diverse explanations for inequalities and how to counter negative understandings amongst different stakeholders, particularly key influencers of public services. Research with under-represented or 'hardly reached' groups, as well as under-researched public service areas, is also promoted.
(ii) *Multilevel, multiagency interventions -* multifaceted interventions at macro, meso and micro levels are needed to address the complexity of disadvantage experienced by some ethnic and religious populations. The cumulative impact of disadvantage experienced simultaneously across different public services adds to this complexity. Multidisciplinary, multisector studies that reflect and engage with the lived experience of disadvantage are advocated, as well as research into how such collaboration can be achieved and what contributes to, or detracts from, the effectiveness of such partnerships.
(iii) *Policy development and the political context –* understanding the role of policymakers, public service providers, excluded communities and other social groups in policy development and harnessing legal and political processes that can support effective inclusion. Ways of reducing the fear and sensitivity surrounding such research and legitimising work in this field are also needed.

Conclusion: The research agenda promotes greater social ownership of 'inclusive societies' through research that would help transform the current landscape. With support from funders it could play a key role in reducing social inequalities.

The Social Inclusion of Public Services for Ethnic Minority and Religious Groups in Vietnam:
A Scoping Review
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Background: Ethnic minority and religious groups are marginalized groups in Vietnam. Members of these groups face particular challenges in accessing public services, including health care and education.

Methods: We conducted a scoping review between January and April 2017 to achieve a better understanding of strategies for improving the accessibility and utilization of public services for ethnic

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[1] A global evidence review and four country specific reviews will be made available online in July 2018 at http://medhealth.leeds.ac.uk/info/615/research/2381/socially_inclusive_cities

minority or religious groups in Vietnam. We triangulated and supplemented our findings with experts from stakeholders in four national workshops in Vietnam and four international workshops involving partners from the Socially Inclusive Societies Network from the UK, Nigeria, Kenya, and India.

Findings: The Vietnamese government has developed and implemented an enormous number of long-term policies and strategies for the inclusion of ethnic minority groups in Vietnam. These policies and strategies are comprehensive in content at central level, covering all socio-economic aspects. Ethnic minority groups, however, continue to face many challenges in accessing public services and their health and education outcomes are much worse than the ethnic majority group. Our evidence reviews highlighted multi-layered and interconnected factors affecting the social exclusion of minority ethnic groups. To improve the accessibility and utilization of public services more evidence is needed at macro, meso, and micro levels. There were few published papers and policies on religious groups in Vietnam and the social exclusion of religious groups was not visible in published literature.

Conclusion: Ethic minority groups in Vietnam have been recognized and prioritized in inclusion policies by the Vietnamese government. To support successful implementation of these policies, more rigorous evidence on policy processes and strategy evaluation is needed. The political sensitivity of religion in Vietnam is a significant barrier to gathering evidence on strategies for the social inclusion of religious minority groups.

Education Policies for National Integration in Malaysia: Challenges and Future Prospects
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Malaysia has a core goal of developing national integration, and the government has implemented various policies to achieve this goal over the past six decades. Education policies have been recognised as particularly important arena to these efforts. In Malaysia, public primary education consists of Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools. Many researchers argue that this education structure causes inter-school ethnic polarisation and thus hinders the development of integration. In this paper, the challenges and future prospects of education policies for national integration will be examined by analysing past and present policies.

Since independence, the government has focused on unifying primary education systems. However, policies with this objective have failed to develop integration, implying that policies directly related to the survival of ethnic identity are not effective in developing integration. In the early 2000s, Malaysia introduced a new approach designed to develop integration by enhancing ethnic interaction. In 2013, the government officially announced to strengthen the Rancangan Integrasi Murid Untuk Parpaduan (RIMUP), under which students from Malay and non-Malay primary schools participate in joint activities, and this programme is expected to become a main driver to achieve 'unity in diversity'. However, the RIMUP has not substantially contributed to the development of national integration because of its structural weakness. Although it is essential to overcome weakness, the government has not actively undertaken structural reforms. Whither Malaysia's education policies for national integration?

Mainstream Education to Ethnic Minorities in Northern Mountains Vietnam: Educational Experience and Voices of Young Ethnic Hmong

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Mainstream education provision for ethnic minority students in Vietnam has always been the major focus on the study of development issues domestically and internationally. Statistics highlight the low academic achievements of ethnic minority students and the significant discrepancy in educational outcomes between the major ethnic Kinh and other minority groups. While most of the studies written in Vietnamese are premised on the neutrality and meritocracy function of mainstream schools, these studies adopt a deficit approach and blame inequalities on community cultural forces. Other studies written in English argue that the dominant dicourse in mainstream education has often overlooked the system's flaws and mistakenly assumed that ethnic minority people are backward and problematic in awareness.

Aligned with these studies and rejecting the deficit approach, this study purposefully targets the academic achievers in the under-represented and isolated Hmong group in the Northern Mountains of Vietnam and examines their struggles in the asymmetrical power relations in schools. Drawing on semi-structured interview and focused-group discussion data from five Hmong young achievers, who made their way from local schools to higher education institutions in a capital city, a deeper look is taken into the ways they interpret their schooling experience and relate it to their ethnic background. Findings reveal that dominant ideology and hegemony is strongly expressed in the interactions between teachers and peers from the majority Kinh and the Hmong students, as well as in the exclusive curriculum and materialized pedagogy of ethnic representation. Such hidden curriculum reinforces the lower Hmong minority status compared to the majority and internalizes the inferiority. Therefore, the young ethnic Hmong participants emphasized the importance of prejudice reduction and local context integration in order to cultivate pride and cultural understanding.

Findings suggest the comprehensive implementation of multicultural education into mainstream education as a way to construct stronger representation of ethnic groups.

SED 5: Beyond Water Terror: Everyday Life, Labour and Mobility amidst Southeast Asia's Changing Hydrology

Panel Abstract

As the likelihood of conflicts over water increases, global scholarship is increasingly attentive to the politics of this vital resource. Parts of the world are growing drier in the face of climate change and population growth, leading the threat of terror and war to become heightened in those areas where states compete most strongly for scarce resources. Elsewhere, more than three billion people are threatened by catastrophic flooding with the potential to fuel existing armed conflicts. Indeed, so seriously are world leaders taking the issue, that water crises were ranked as one of the five greatest threats facing the world at the 2018 World Economic Forum.

Yet this narrative of international conflict masks a more pernicious reality. Currently, two thirds of the global population lack adequate water supplies at least one month per year and half a billion face severe water scarcity all year round. At the same time, others face an opposite threat, as changing rainfall patterns lead inland flooding to become more intense and less predictable, leading to shifting livelihoods, migration and poverty.

The struggles that arise show that water conflict is not confined to the scale of nations, but acts also as an everyday axis of inequality, intertwined in social and economic systems. As Southeast Asian nations face water growing water shortages, this ticking time bomb is driving ever more people into precarious labour, bondage, and modern slavery across the region. This panel seeks to explore this nexus, exploring how the everyday politics of water are becoming embedded in the life and labour of the region.

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Paper Abstracts

The Everyday Politics of Hydrological Engineering and the Geography of Death Under the Khmer Rouge

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Between 1975 and 1979 approximately two million men, women, and children died in the Cambodian genocide. Of these deaths, approximately half perished directly through torture and execution, the remainder died from a combination of indirect causes -- starvation, exhaustion, and lack of medical care. In their totality, these deaths are the consequence of a series of political-ecologic decisions that produced the conditions of widespread mortality. Most salient was the Khmer Rouge's attempt to increase agricultural productivity. The attainment of this objective required a great effort to expand rapidly irrigation projects (i.e. dams, dikes, canals, and reservoirs) throughout Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, in just under four years, the Khmer Rouge forced millions of men, women, and children to construct upwards of 7,000 kilometers of dams, dikes, and canals and over 350 reservoirs. In this paper, I contrast the everyday politics of Khmer Rouge hydrological engineering with the geographies of everyday death as experienced by forced laborers.

Shaping the Water and Grabbing the Land: The Elite Land Grabbing in Cambodian Urban Poor Communities

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In Cambodia, land can legally be owned only if it is not located on state-public property, including lakes. Yet this apparently clear definition presents a problem. Due to its location in the Mekong River plains, where wetland lakes are a common ecological trait, the sites and boundaries of these lakes are poorly defined, leading to a blurry identification of state-public property and of whose land is eligible for legal ownership. By exploring the fragility of land possession among the urban poor communities who dwell in the Boueng Tumpun area – a wetland lake located in the Southern periphery of the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh – this paper explores how elites are able to exploit land laws and shape water bodies in order to grab land in Cambodian urban poor communities. Water boundaries therefore become political tools for land legalization, (de)possession and land-grabbing in Cambodia, as land laws hold the power to impose ecological discourses both discursively and materially, shape water bodies, and take control of land while dispossessing local communities.

The Spatial Politics of Water in Cambodia: Marginality, Precarity, Power

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Water is life, but it is also power. In Cambodia, a country still heavily dependent on agriculture, it remains the key not only to survival but to prosperity, even as the country's changing climate has come to accentuate its uneven scarcity. Rainfall patterns which were once reliable enough to stake livelihoods upon have become increasingly erratic and destructive, presenting a huge problem for Cambodian smallholders ravaged by floods and droughts. In an increasingly high cost and marketised environment, the fine margins of debt funded agriculture make reliance on the rain a potential source of ruin for farmers and their families, leading those who lose their gamble into unmanageable debts and bonded labour.

In this context, this paper explores how the spatial politics of water has begun to assume paramount importance in rural areas. Distances from irrigation sources, both natural and manmade, now play a defining role in shaping household wellbeing across a range of outcomes. Inequalities from debt, to health, to reading ability, can be read in the landscape of water. Moreover, the influence and power of the hydrological landscape continues to be felt far beyond its immediate vicinity. Cambodia's deeply embedded web of translocal linkages ensure that the geography of water remains embedded in the lives, livelihoods and flesh of even those hundreds of miles away.

Developing mobile political ecology in Southeast Asia: insights from flood contexts

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This paper discusses findings from a cross-national comparative study that has sought to challenge simplistic framings of the links between flooding and migration in Southeast Asia. The research was developed with the explicit goal of adding nuance to donor and government policy agendas and to respond critically to expert-led technical interventions that, despite a 'will to improve', run the risk of

bringing additional harms to those rendered marginal in the context of the region's hydro-meteorological hazards, as reduction of flood risk for some means the redistribution of risk to others.

In this paper, we build a case for 'mobile political ecology', drawing on insights from eight empirical case studies from Vietnam, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. By bringing a relational perspective to communities impacted by or living with floods, a 'mobile political ecology' framework accounts for environmental change, socio-spatial power asymmetries and the historical production of social injustices as these relate to mobility, migration and multi-local livelihoods.

A synthesis of key findings suggests that mobilities and migration form a mode of living with floods, but the commodification of nature coupled with contemporary forms of governance of rural and urban spaces means such strategies can themselves become a source of risk. We draw wider lessons from our "progressive contextualization" methodology to show that whilst a political ecology approach alone challenges simplistic environmental 'triggers', a 'mobile' political ecology perspective challenges sedendarist and state-centric ontologies of flood hazards, vital in a region that is characterized by mobile people, capital and nature.

Livelihood as a Measure of Vulnerability in the Wake of Typhoon Yolanda
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Livelihood strategies that are crafted in post-disaster conditions should also be able to function once some semblance of normality has resumed. This article aims to show that the vulnerability experienced in relation to Typhoon Yolanda (2013) was, and continues to be, directly linked to inadequate livelihood assets and opportunities. I examine the extent to which various livelihood strategies lessened vulnerability post-Typhoon Yolanda and argue that creating conditions under which disaster survivors have the freedom to pursue sustainable livelihood is essential in order to foster resilience and reduce vulnerability against future disasters. This includes access to water based resources and safety from hydrological hazards. I caution against rehabilitation strategies that, knowingly or unknowingly, resurrect pre-disaster vulnerability. Strategies that foster dependency, fail to appreciate local political or ecological conditions or undermine cooperation and cohesion in already vulnerable communities will be bound to fail. These criteria may seem obvious. However, some of the post Typhoon Yolanda livelihood strategies failed on some or all of these points. It is important for future policy that these failings are addressed.

SED 6: Is Palm Oil a Force for Good? Normative and Evidence-Based Approaches to Commodity Branding in Indonesia and Malaysia

Panel Abstract

Indonesia and Malaysia are world leaders (by volume) in palm oil production, and key players in a US$65 billion annual global trade in edible oils, cosmetics and biofuels. For example, Indonesia's oil palm harvest in 2016 was 34 million tons, for which an area the size of Liberia has been converted to meet production targets. Palm oil is a versatile, multipurpose oil, and some would argue it should be treated as a strategic national commodity. This panel will ask, among other things, how competing discourse coalitions are representing palm oil production in countries like Indonesia, and to what extent these representations match the realities on the ground. Contributors are invited to examine competing discourses and media representations of rural development and patterns of palm oil production. Paper submissions are welcome from postgraduate students and academic staff with an interest in debating the current trends in commodity branding and the impacts of palm oil production in Southeast Asia.

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Paper Abstracts

Media, development and sustainability: A comparative analysis of newspaper coverage of palm oil in Malaysia and the Netherlands

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Since the early 2000s palm oil has become the largest produced and consumed vegetable oil in the world. A variety of governance arrangements has been initiated to address the severe sustainability concerns associated with palm oil production. However, these attempts have at best been limited in succeeding to govern the industry. The most prominent governance arrangement in this issue field is the Roundtable on Sustainable Palm Oil, which developed a standard for sustainable palm oil through a multi-stakeholder process in which a wide range of actors were included.

Despite this approach, a variety of stakeholder groups – predominantly from producing countries in the Global South – are unsatisfied with the outcomes. This discomfort seems to stem from a fundamentally different understanding of the palm oil industry among different stakeholder groups. To better understand the cognitive divide between Northern consuming countries and Southern producing countries, this paper compares the media coverage of palm oil in two different geographies. We compare Dutch and Malaysian newspapers over a fifteen-year time period with the aim of examining the similarities and differences in media framing as a means to analyse conceptualisations of sustainability in contrasting geographies. Moreover, the paper analyses the knowledge authority associated with these frames, i.e. whose and what type of knowledge is being referred to, and whose knowledge is being challenged? By better understanding these local knowledge politics and its relationship with global processes, we have a better chance of addressing sustainability challenges apparent in global value chains.

Envisioning Tropical Environments: Representations of Peatlands in Malaysian Media
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In light of an international debate about tropical peatlands development in the world's major palm-oil producing countries, namely Indonesia and Malaysia, this paper analyses representations of tropical peatlands in Malaysian media over a twenty-year period. Our fundamental questions are about continuities and changes in colonial representations of peatlands over time. To what extent are representations of peatlands as wastelands contested, where, and by whom? Our methodology overall is a qualitative content analysis; a combination of secondary reading and deductive analysis of the articles in the data set led us to focus on a particular form of linguistic expression, namely textual metaphor.

The four main categories of metaphor identified in the paper are: ontological (peatlands as containers and as people); cybernetic (peatlands as machine systems); organic (peatlands as living organisms and as human organs); and aquatic (peatlands as bodies of water). Overall, we find arguments in favour of both conservation and development and an array of representational practices in Malaysian media. We also find arguments *against* contested uses of peatlands and concerns about significant challenges and obstacles to conservation. As well as differences, however, we find similar metaphorical expressions criss-crossing lines of debate. Land container metaphors that envision tropical peatlands as receptacles of economically valuable natural resources are by far the most common. We ultimately question the value of these as they re-inscribe a firm boundary between humanity and the environment, thereby facilitating a capitalist vision of nature as a resource to be exploited for profit and further fuelling market-based approaches to conservation. At a time of wider debate about the processes that enable this, we conclude with a call for greater consideration and critical analysis of all of the metaphors found in the study.

The Politics of Palm Oil: A Critical Discourse Analysis
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Palm oil can be represented as a strategic commodity that boosts economic growth in Indonesia and Malaysia. Palm oil has significant export value and the industry is a major source of employment. At the same time, many consumer and environmental groups associate palm oil production with the environmental degradation and climate-harming emissions from forest and peat fires. This paper examines rival discourses on palm oil. For example, as one may expect, the Indonesian government tends to promote palm oil as a strategic commodity, while the Indonesian Palm Oil Producers Association (GAPKI) lobbies for further growth and expansion. Equally predictable are the charges against the industry being championed by environmental groups, 'experts' in think tanks and even individual environmental crusaders who seek to challenge mainstream views about the developmental track record of the industry.

The palm oil industry is also embroiled in what might be called a wider trade war between the European Union and regional producers. For instance, the EU Parliament Resolution to ban CPO-based biofuels that cause deforestation in Indonesia and Malaysia has been strongly opposed by the Council of Palm Oil Producing Countries (CPOPC). Norman Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis can be used to focus on textual analysis, discursive practices and social practices to understand the power dynamics between competing discourse coalitions. This paper will also present data from a public opinion survey that gauges public responses to the competing (and often contradictory) discourses on palm oil production.

Competing Representations of Palm Oil in Indonesia
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This paper examines the strategies to promote palm oil in Indonesia through "truth" campaigns, public diplomacy, and commodity branding activities targeting domestic audiences. Generally speaking, there is a pro-growth discourse coalition that includes ministries (such as trade and agriculture), agribusinesses and trade associations. This paper looks at the propaganda devices and marketing strategies used by industry champions to challenge the environmental norm of sustainable palm oil. Positive representations of palm oil often rely on unverified claims that are problematized by empirical evidence. The effect of palm oil production on employment, poverty reduction and sustainability can only be proven if the complexity of local experiences are considered. Evidence is considered from Riau province, where oil palm plantations are ubiquitous.

Providing Incentives for a Sustainable, Prosperous Papua – A Study of Possible Economic and Development Instruments
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Papua and West Papua's Special Autonomy has not translated into better lives for the Papuans. With IDR 53,48 trillion disbursed up to 2017, one of four Papuans still live in poverty (27.72% in Papua and 25.10% in West Papua are poor, compared to the national average of 10.12%). The provinces are also facing immense pressure to clear forest to give way for infrastructure and growth. Almost 69% of Papua's territory is already divided into 443 mining, timber, and palm oil concessions: this constitutes a threat for 466 indigenous tribes whose lives are dependent on the forest.

A study is conducted by Kemitraan to look for alternative development models for Papua, building upon an environmental carrying capacity study undertaken by Ministry of Environment and Forestry. An analysis of incentives aligning sustainability and prosperity begins with stakeholder mapping of actors at national and local levels influencing Papua's development trajectory, then combined with a simple modelling of possible economic incentives under prevailing laws. While still preliminary, the study reveals that while fiscal incentives, payment for environmental services and off-set market instruments may help to incentivize a 'greener' Papua, establishing mechanisms ensuring that indigenous Papuans are active players and direct recipients to development is paramount.

SED 7: Finance and Development in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

The Southeast Asia region is characterised by great financial diversity. In particular, in the region's poorer countries, many still lack access to formal financial services, such as having a bank account. Financial inclusion is the process of ensuring that financial services are available where needed by vulnerable groups such as marginalised communities including weaker sections and low-income groups at an affordable cost. Countries with larger proportion of populations being excluded from the formal financial sector show higher poverty ratios and higher inequalities. Building an inclusive financial system requires conducting research from multidimensional perspectives.

Hence, this panel welcomes papers which would deepen our understanding of factors determining the extent of financial inclusions in the Southeast Asia region for development. We invite papers that reflect critically on what it means to be financially included in Southeast Asia, supported by robust empirical research. We are particularly interested in work that i) explores gradations of (in-)formal financial activity and how they impact everyday life (including, for example, mutual savings schemes such as *arisan* in Indonesia, and voluntary financial exclusions in post-conflict areas in Myanmar); ii) evaluates the transformative (or not) impact of new financial practices and technologies (such as FinTech in the CLMV countries and/or Islamic finance in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore); and iii) interrogates markers of the region's growing financialisation (including, for example, rising levels of household debt and new circulations of finance capital and their aesthetics). We welcome both papers that focus on specific countries and locales in Southeast Asia as well as contributions that adopt a more comparative perspective.

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Paper Abstracts

'Micro-strikes' in Vietnamese garment production
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This paper defines and discusses 'micro-strikes' in southern Vietnam's garment industry. Existing literature on labour activism in Vietnamese manufacturing during the current epoch largely focuses on wildcat strikes, where workers gather outside a factory to make demands of their employers. Hundreds of wildcat strikes are recorded each year. My research, however, has also revealed the pervasiveness of much smaller collective work stoppages, or 'micro-strikes'. During these, workers stop work but stay at their workplaces, rather than leaving the factory. A micro-strike often occurs as an immediate response to an announcement or event by the enterprise management, so usually centres on a specific, defensive demand. Such demands can be based around a wide variety of issues related to, for example, wages, better treatment, or the canteen food. Micro-strikes are resolved quickly. They are sometimes settled within an hour, and rarely last more than half a day. After a micro-strike, workers will immediately resume work. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with workers and businesspeople, I argue that micro-strikes are prevalent across southern Vietnam's garment and

textile sector, in enterprises of many different types and sizes. I begin to conceptualise micro-strikes as something between everyday forms of resistance and bigger, more explicit resistance such as large wildcat strikes. I argue that micro-strikes effectively frustrate the smooth functioning of capitalist production on a day to day level. They should therefore be taken seriously as a category of labour resistance, and as an important part of labour-capital relations in garment and textile production in southern Vietnam.

A Tale of Two Cities? Financialization, consumerism and affordable housing in Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta
Lena Rethel; Juanita Elias (University of Warwick, UK) and Lisa Tilley (Queen Mary University London, UK)

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There is much change afoot in Muslim Southeast Asia. Since the economic crisis of the late 1990s, countries in the region have accelerated their programs of market-oriented reforms. These reforms have had a significant impact on everyday life in the region's cities, stretching from an intensified regime of evictions of urban poor in Jakarta to the skyrocketing of house prices and concomitant household debt in Kuala Lumpur. In the process, practices of land, property and shelter have been given new meanings as they are increasingly wrapped up in the triple onslaught of neoliberalism, financialization and consumerism. On the one hand, Islamic finance – despite its moral claims - has been made complicit in the region's financialization. A slew of new products is creating new financial subjects and subjectivities. Islamic mortgages, car loans and personal finance products, and even crowdfunding platforms, are designed with the aim of drawing an ever-expanding middle class into the market. On the other hand, Islamic values are inspiring new forms of contestation, be it the taking to court of mortgage lenders over the Islamicness of a loan, crowdfunded alternatives to state-provided public housing or the assistance provided by Islamic organizations in covering the rent in new public housing developments. The paper draws on observations from Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta in order to analyze these dynamics of transformation, resistance and modification, and the way that Islam and Islamic values are invoked in them.

Islamic Microfinance in Indonesia and Marginalized Groups: Assessing The Role of *Baitul mal Wat Tamwil* (BMT) in Empowering Women
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This paper aims to explore the current development of *Baitul Maal Wat Tamwil* or BMTs as the most common model of Islamic Microfinance Institution (IMFI) in the growing tendency of financial inclusion in Indonesia. Broadly, the paper tries to understands factors determining the extent of financial inclusion in Indonesia, with BMTs as case study. In particular, the author seeks to understand a correlation between the origin, mission, and affiliation of BMTs and how they contribute to the issue of women empowerment. The study employed the qualitative method. During 2017, the author conducted semi-structured interview, field visits and document collection to the four selected BMTs in Yogyakarta special province, namely BIF, Al-Ikhwan, KUBE Sejahtera, and GEMI.

It can be said that the invention of BMTs in Indonesia was driven by both a struggle to reduce the massive practice of moneylenders in traditional markets and upholding of the Islamic economic system. The founders are Moslem intellectuals who affiliate with various Islamic mass organizations.

Moreover, the creators of BMT come from middle-class society who have sufficient knowledge about the Islamic financial and economic system and other matters related to Islamic teaching. Interestingly, with no specific orientation to serve women, most of the BMTs clients are women working in the traditional markets of Yogyakarta. Overall, the study reveals that the preference toward women clients is not related to gender ideological consideration, but rather for business and pragmatic consideration. Consequently, women are positioned as the object of BMTs rather than their strategic partners.

Path Dependency of Financial Inclusions through Microfinance and Fintech for the Bottom of the Pyramid in Myanmar
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Social innovations such as microfinance and fintech have been legitimised as important drivers for economic growth by development organisations. They are presented as serving the unbanked populations to achieve inclusive growth. To perceive that social innovations are constrained by an institutional environment is paradoxical to their original mission, i.e. 'utilising and pooling resources across institutional boundaries to create social innovation aimed at addressing societal problems and social change'. Hence, there has been limited study on the impacts of institutions in creating social innovation enabled environments.

If social innovations aim to drive social change, it is important not only to consider the demand for social innovations but also the institutional capacity to absorb aid and create investment friendly environment. We used path dependence perspective to explore the role of social innovations in creating a new path for financial inclusion (non-conflict region) and destruct financial exclusion (post-conflict region). As we consider social innovations as products and not as processes, we are able to explore the preferred form of ecosystem in which social goals can be achieved. This is because for a product to induce change, it should have economic agents who are able to address the social needs. We demonstrated that state played an important role in the political framing, reproduction of the pre-conditions including institutional conditions, business environment and learning capacities for social innovations enabled ecosystem to achieve their social goals. We also presented evidences that existing institutions, especially political institutions and the state, could act as barriers to change, establish self-reinforcing mechanisms to lock-in and influence individuals' cognitive schemata in making decisions whether to adopt new products/services and technologies. Those decisions could be path dependent rather than based on efficiency and rationality.

Theme: Cultural Heritage and Cultural Production

CHCP 1: Studies on South East Asian manuscripts: linguistics, codicology and philology

Panel Abstract

Papers were invited for this panel on any aspect of the form and content of manuscripts from South East Asia, both mainland and island. The panel aims to provide a collegial and stimulating forum for researchers working on diverse aspects of manuscript studies. Topics include the codicology of manuscripts, including research on illumination and illustration, bindings, inks and paints, calligraphy and palaeography; philological studies of texts in vernacular or sacral languages; and the overlap between manuscript studies and epigraphy, looking at inscriptions in wood, stone or metal. Linguistic, historical, literary or cultural studies based on manuscript materials are also welcome, as well as research on the production and use of manuscripts in historical perspective. A focus is on the role of manuscript texts in forming contemporary cultural identities, with particular reference to the transition of these texts into new forms, whether scholarly editions or popular comics, plays or other retellings.

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Paper Abstracts

The oldest known illuminated Islamic manuscripts from Southeast Asia
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This paper will present all known examples of illuminated manuscripts from maritime Southeast Asia dating from before 1700. So far the corpus of 17th-century illuminated manuscripts from the Malay world comprises four documents, including three letters from Aceh dated 1615, 1639 and 1660; four codices dated or dateable to the 17th century, including two Qur'an manuscripts; and a further three manuscripts which may date from this period on the basis of paleographic and other codicological evidence. This very preliminary study will describe the examples and attempt to outline some characteristics of the corpus.

Early 20th century Islamic Maritime Trade and Scholarly Networks Between South and Southeast Asia: Interpreting a unique quadrilingual manuscript
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This research paper aims to examine the significance of a quadrilingual word-list discovered in Kampar, a small district in Riau, central Sumatera, in November 2008. This manuscript belonged to Bahaluddin, a distinguished religious teacher from Kampar. The manuscript has received little

attention and remains relatively unknown by scholars. The texts will be analyzed through philological methods, specifically codicology and paleography. Through critical examination of this manuscript, the history of Kampar and its role in the development of maritime trade and scholarly networks between South and Southeast Asia will be extended. Bahaluddin was not only a scholar, but also a trader, who had a significant role in spreading Islam. When Tamil Muslim merchants dominated the commercial networks across the Indian Ocean, he engaged in trading with them and followed their routes; starting from Kampar and extending to ancient trading port of Singapore; Penang, Malaysia; Tamil Nadu, South India; and Colombo, Ceylon. This quadrilingual dictionary could become one of the key documents in enhancing our understanding of the role of trading communities in the proses of spreading Islam and Islamic literary transmission between South and Southeast Asia in the early 20th century.

Sanskrit language and Batak writing: On the Origins and Connections of Batak script of Sumatra, Indonesia

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Scholarship on the Batak script of Sumatra, Indonesia, has long identified the writing system's derivation from antecedents in the Indian subcontinent some time before the 16th century, and authors for decades have presented evidence of the influence of Sanskrit in Batak languages and writing (see Parkin 1978). Consequently, scholarship focused on the "Indianization" of Sumatra as an early period (i.e. pre-colonial) which saw the introduction of cultural changes induced from influences outside the island. This paper interrogates this avenue of research and seeks new ways to formulate the connections between India and Sumatra vis-à-vis the analysis of a sample of Batak texts from the Bartlett Collection held at the University of Michigan. The aim of this paper is not merely to deconstruct the stories of Batak "Indianization," but to present innovative ways of analyzing Batak textual corpora that frame the script as a dynamic set of practices which – if previous historical linguistic research is to be trusted – nonetheless overlapped with and interacted with other script practices such as those of South India.

Community-sourcing Malay manuscript transcription

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This presentation will provide a progress report on an ongoing community-sourcing project, in which volunteers participate in transcribing a Malay manuscript from Jawi to Rumi. The manuscript is British Library Malay B9, *Syair Jaran Tamasa*, a Panji romance that belonged to the early 19th century British philologist, John Leyden, and probably has not been read since his time. I will also survey recent digitisation efforts for manuscripts from island Southeast Asia and will discuss the potential and actual benefits of using digital technology as a tool for engaging the public in the co-creation or rediscovery of this aspect of their cultural heritage.

The Preservation of Khmer Manuscripts and Oral Traditions in the Digitization Era

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This paper discusses the situation of the preservation of Khmer manuscripts and Cambodian oral traditions. In particular, I shall focus on the conservation, preservation, and digitisation projects carried out by Cambodian researchers in collaboration with Western institutions. A long-term project made possible thanks to the collaboration between Buddhist temples in Cambodia, many Cambodian researchers and monks - alongside Western researchers – is preparing a catalogue of manuscripts of Buddhist and traditional literature. These efforts have resulted in the digitisation and online publication of numerous Khmer manuscripts. This in turn is making it possible to study many linguistic and cultural aspects of such Khmer manuscripts. More recently, younger researchers are working on both Khmer palm-leaf and bark-paper manuscripts as well as on digitizations that include audio recordings of Cambodian Buddhist chants, completed with linear notes and translations. Thus, there is hope for a brighter future for the Cambodian writing and oral traditions.

Media Product of the Malay Magnum Opus

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The Malay magnum opus has attracted not only scholars but media production team as well. In 1956, *The Chronicle of Hang Tuah* was made into a film, won the award for best musical score in Hong Kong and was nominated for a 'Golden Bear' at the 1957 Berlin Film Festival. Another eminent film which was adapted from the *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* is *Raja* Bersiong (1968). The effort of filming and adapting these masterpieces continues in this millineum. KRU Production has produced *Merong Mahawangsa* (MM) in 2011 and followed it with *Puteri Gunung Ledang* (PGL) in 2012. The latter was then performed as a musical at the Istana Budaya, Kuala Lumpur. With the advent of modern technologies, both MM and PGL were supported by computer generating imagery (CGI) to enhance the production. Another type of media product, the animation *Satria 7*, depicts Hang Tuah and his four comrades in action series was released in 2016 by FINAS and a Japanese production house. Finally, an illustrated book retelling *Hikayat Hang Tuah* was published in 2012. While these new cultural products attracted the attention of the younger generation, their authenticity is dubious and contentious. Since the production houses were more concerned with commercialization, they realigned the story line and focused more on film techniques, such as props, lighting, shots and locations. As a result, the features of the characters were modified, and the chronicles were misrepresented, indirectly demoting the legitimacy of these Malay magnum opus.

The Batak Cultural Heritage in Italy: Modigliani's collection of Batak manuscript

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Between 1886 and 1894, an Italian adventurer, Elio Modigliani explored Sumatra and its islands off the western coast. His first trip, in 1886, was to the island of Nias, where he explored the southern region, traveling among head-hunting tribes. In the autumn of 1890, he began his second trip to the Indonesian archipelago, with his destination the inner region of Sumatra inhabited by the Batak. He entered the still unexplored lands of the Lake Toba region which was at that time outside the control of the colonial power.

His collection constitutes one of the most important corpora of the Natural History Museum in Florence. It consists of about 2000 objects, which show different aspects of indigenous culture, such as clothing, trading, housing, objects of worship. To this is added a large number of anthropological finds (skulls, skeletons, plaster casts) and an important collection of photographs, whose original negatives are preserved in the Museum Archives. Among the ethnographical specimens collected by Modigliani there are twenty bark books (*pustaha*) and five bamboo manuscripts. A closer look at Modigliani's trip through Sumatra and how he assembled this manuscripts collection, along with the language analysis, may shed light on the origin of the manuscripts themselves.

Kammavācā – How Collectors' Taste and Curators' Choices Shaped Buddhist Manuscript Collections from Mainland Southeast Asia
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Kammavācā manuscripts are among the highlights of the British Library's and other Southeast Asian manuscript collections in the UK. The most prominent examples originate from Burma (now Myanmar), thanks to their lavish gold and lacquer decorations, the outstanding decorative script, and, in some cases, their unusual writing material. Other Kammavācā manuscripts originate from Thailand and Laos, but they have not been given as much attention as the Burmese examples. Generally, Kammavācā manuscripts have not been researched as much as illustrated folding books or palm leaf manuscripts containing particularly important Buddhist texts. There are various reasons for this: cataloguing efforts sometimes progressed slowly, secondary sources to study these manuscripts were very limited, decorations and illuminations did not seem to have an interesting narrative compared to illustrated folding books. Nonetheless, Kammavācā manuscripts belonged to the favourites of manuscript collectors and many outstanding examples have surfaced recently thanks to digitisation projects at the British Library and elsewhere.

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the textual contents and physical description of Kammavācā manuscripts, the circumstances of their production, and when and how they found their way into the British Library collections. Using the example of Kammavācā manuscripts, we will discuss if and how the taste of collectors and the decisions of curators based on their expertise and special interests may have shaped the British Library's collections of Southeast Asian Buddhist manuscripts.

Enriching Glyphs in Mainland Southeast Asian Indic scripts
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Writing systems used in Mainland Southeast Asia such as Mon, Burmese, Khmer and Thai are phonogramic systems of Indic origin, traced back to Brāhmi script in the 3rd Century BC which was designed for an Indo-Aryan language, Prākrit.

Indic scripts introduced in Southeast Asia are supposed to have had letters for 34 consonants and notations (letters and/or signs) for 11 vowels. The sound systems of languages spoken by the ethnic groups who accepted Indic scripts were fairly different from the sound system of Prākrit. The inventory of glyphs of a script originally for Prākrit is insufficient for most of their languages.

There are two options for the "phonogramic policy" which the speakers of such a language could take under such situation. One is to notate sounds of the target language within the framework of the

accepted writing system, and the other is to accommodate the writing system to the target language by inventing new glyphs, reinterpreting glyphs and introducing new combinations of glyphs. Roughly speaking, Mon and Khmer who accepted Indic script earlier were apt to take the first option at the outset, while Burmese and Thai who accepted it later through the ethnic groups mentioned above took the second option from the beginning.

In this talk, I will discuss the enterprise of enriching glyphs sought in mainland Southeast Indic script, particularly Burmese script.

CHCP 2: Southeast Asia and World Literature

Panel Abstract

The field of world literature is fast gaining traction as an emerging discipline across global universities as both a research theme (for example, Global South) and pedagogical focus ('Great Books' courses). These ventures often focus on major cultural units such as Europe, Chinese and Arabic. Very little attention has so far been directed at literary productions from Southeast Asia, rendering it a peripheral region within the ambit of world literature. However, there are indications on the ground that this might be changing. In 2015, Indonesia was featured as the guest of honour at the Frankfurt Book Fair. The following year, the Indonesian writer Eka Kurniawan received widespread critical acclaim for the English translation of his novel, *Lelaki Harimau* (*Man Tiger)*. Singapore is also making waves internationally through its annual government-backed Singapore Writers Festival which have consistently attracted literary bigwigs such as authors Mohsin Hamid and Junot Diaz. This panel seeks to explore the place of Southeast Asia within world literature. Though not exhaustive, it welcomes papers that seek to address the following questions:

- What accounts as a Southeast Asian literary classic? Is there a canon?
- What makes a Southeast Asian text worldly?
- What is the role and value of literary translation play in Southeast Asia?
- Do existing theories of world literature (such as David Damrosch on literary circulation, Franco Moretti on patterns, Pascale Casanova on cultural capital) apply to the context of this region?

Convenor: Kathrina Mohd Daud (Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Brunei)
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Paper Abstracts

Imagining Brunei: Comparing representations of Brunei in local and world literature.
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What is the place of Brunei Darussalam, by population the smallest country in Southeast Asia, in world literature? Despite having one of the highest rates of literacy in the world, the glacially-paced but recently increasing development of the Bruneian creative industries means that there is a severe paucity of representation of Brunei in literature and film locally. Like many other countries in the region, the nascent state of creative production locally has two significant implications: (1) Narratives produced locally "speak back to" and draw on global rather than local forms, medium and content and (2) what is produced tends to be of variable, hesitant quality, made sustainable locally through #supportlocal initiatives, both grassroots and government-initiated.

This paper will explore representations of Brunei in local fiction in comparison to world literature and media in order to examine these implications further. How is Brunei spoken about in world literature? How do Bruneian writers write back or pander to these externally produced representations? To what extent does anxiety about a place in the global marketplace shape and inform local texts, materially, linguistically and ideologically?

This paper will also look at how local Bruneian writers use Graham Huggan's concept of the "postcolonial exotic" to claim a place for Bruneian identity in the world. The paper argues that the anxiety about this place has thus far driven and shaped the production of Bruneian literature, and will consider what implications this has for the future of the Bruneian creative industries.

The Nation is a Ghost:
Historical Parody and Metafictive Games in Contemporary Southeast Asian Novels
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Although postcolonial fictions may be classified under modernism and postmodernism for their subversive uses of language, a marked absence of technical innovation seems to persist in anglophone Southeast Asian novels. However, the case may be that little critical attention has thus far been paid to their narratology, as the regional literature has conventionally been valued for its representations of history and politics rather than how these representations are achieved. The novels *Ilustrado* (2008) by Miguel Syjuco and *Beauty Is a Wound* (2002, translated into English in 2015) by Eka Kurniawan challenge this paradigm through diegetic play and political irreverence. They employ postmodernist strategies in parodying their national legacies—that of the Philippines and Indonesia respectively—and in so doing, offer an effective means of re-engaging with the static narratives of history and nationalist literature. Although the parodic mode is not exclusive to the realm of the postmodernists, its execution through postmodern narrative techniques legitimises parody as a meaningful form of cultural expression. This is especially relevant in what critics like Fredric Jameson have either lamented or celebrated as a pluralistic reality with no cultural dominant. Focusing on the aesthetic strategies of these novels also works to overturn the regional homogenisation brought on by colonialism. By choosing their national histories as the butt of their jokes, *Ilustrado* and *Beauty Is a Wound* posit a compelling trend in Southeast Asian writing to interrogate not only their recent pasts, but the very fabric of their own 'postcoloniality'.

Modern Khmer prose and World Literature. Traditional traits and new trends
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Khmer literature was not considered as a secular art form until the 1930s when the first prose-writings began to appear. The first prose works of mass circulation in Khmer literature were novels. Khmer writers of that period adopted novels as a literary form from French literature. It is important to note that authors used the adopted literary form but retained the didactic function of classic Khmer poetry. The content of these novels conformed to the Khmer literary canon which was formed in the "middle period" of Khmer literature (14th-19th century). The changes that took place in society leave an imprint on the Khmer prose. A new generation of Cambodian writers started to use new trends in their works. So, they tried to promote modern Khmer literature. It is important to observe that Khmer literature was closed off for many years. At the moment, a small number of works is being translated into other languages. Despite the fact that these changes took place, the Khmer literary canon has a strong influence on modern prose. This can be seen in the way the plot schemes and types of characters of classic Khmer poetry have been transferred into modern prose.

Questioning the centre: Alfian Sa'at's *Corridor* and the cognitive poetics of distance
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Alfian Sa'at's *Corridor* is a selection of short stories about the lives of ordinary people in Singapore; the book title is a metonymic motif representing the housing for the masses built by the government's Housing and Urban Development Board. Singapore's ruling People's Action Party has constructed a national narrative of racial integration and success for all, achieved through hard work and a meritocratic system, and based ultimately on so-called Asian family values. Mainstream media and advertising present a cultural identity broadly in tune with this success mantra, but one which is arguably more Chinese and family-centred.

Many of the stories in the book concern people at the margins in one way or another. *Corridor* questions the mainstream portrayal of Singaporeans through an almost fly-on-the-wall account of the lives of people who find themselves distanced from it. This paper employs cognitive poetics to explore these distances from the mainstream, primarily by looking at characters and relationships. The main concepts used are figure and ground, prototypes, deixis, scripts and schemas, and the embodied reader. These all require us to view language as a constituent part of the human cognitive apparatus, but the last one also asks us to consider the reader as located within a particular culture, shaped by and perhaps resisting of it. In this way, cognitive poetics facilitates an exercise in literary anthropology and cultural studies and allows us to see modern short fiction as emerging cultural product which questions and extends a located cultural heritage.

CHCP 3: Cultural Heritage, Cultural Production and Performing Arts in Southeast Asia

Panel Abstract

Globalisation, tourism, social media, the hegemony of mass media - films, television, YouTube, Spotify - all of these forces have been identified as threats to Cultural Heritage, particularly in the performing arts. Initiatives such as UNESCO's identification of forms deemed to constitute "intangible cultural heritage" are designed to define, preserve and defend endangered aspects of these "dynamic traditions" of "living culture." Yet, if culture is living and dynamic does it need protecting? Do such designations help the arts they seek to preserve, or might they instead fossilize, stagnate and ultimately destroy these practices through stultification? Does preservation preclude innovation? Do films like *Setan Jawa* perhaps support, rather than undermine, live performing arts?

"Cultural Tourism" is another problematic term that has both positive and negative implications and interpretations. The growth of culture spectaculars like *Bali Agung, The Jayavarman VII Show* and the *Khon* masked dance at Chalermkrung Theatre are "attractions" that aim to give insights into local cultures and traditional performing arts for a mass-market. They are profitable and provide relatively steady employment for local artists, but do they preserve and promote cultural heritage? Or are they simply reductive, populist entertainments manufactured for the "tourist gaze"?

The international community and tourists tend to valorise "traditional" forms of music, dance drama, but what effect does this have on emerging artists creating new work, new forms? Can innovation be rooted in tradition? Must it be?

Convenor: Margaret Coldiron (University of Essex, UK)
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Paper Abstracts

Session 1: Reviving, Developing and Preserving Traditional Arts

A New Hope: A Reinvigoration of Malaysian Shadow Puppetry Through Star Wars
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Fears of globalization, tourism, social media, and mass media threatening traditional values and performance practices has often hindered radical experimentation in traditional puppetry forms across Southeast Asia. This is often the case when a theatre form is newly threatened or in the midst of serious decline. A country's government, the international community, and foreign tourists often place more value on the "traditional" forms of performance, rather than on experimental or new works of art. This importance placed on keeping the arts "traditional," whether it be simply for the protection of tradition itself, the monetary value of traditional arts in terms of tourism, or other factors asks three very important questions. Can innovation be rooted in tradition, can this innovation be a part of the larger movement to protect the "traditional", and is there economic value in these experimental forms on the local and international level? This paper investigates these three questions through an analysis of the cross-cultural navigation of one Malaysian puppetry troupe, Fusion Wayang, and their attempt to revitalize kelantan wayang kulit theatre through the re-telling of Western pop culture stories, particularly the original Star Wars trilogy.

The Royal Ballet of Cambodia: Tradition goes with Innovation
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The Royal Ballet of Cambodia (Robam Preah Reach Trop, which literally means "the dance of royal fortune") was on the verge of extinction after the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979). In 1980, a few surviving artists helped to teach and to restore the repertoire through oral interviews and bodily transmissions from the very few surviving dancers and teachers. In 2003, UNESCO put The Royal Ballet on its nomination list as "Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity". The intention was to rescue and preserve the ancient traditions for the younger generation.

The Royal Ballet is considered to be a national pride, providing a sense of cultural rebirth to the Kingdom of Wonder. In fact, it is one of the images of tourism in Cambodia today. This paper looks at the situation of the Royal Ballet at this juncture of its history. The reduction of financial support from the state and the democratization of this once ritualistic art form closely associated with the monarchy has put it in a very challenging situation. It seems that there is a trend for NGOs in Cambodia to train local performing artists for the tourist market. The result of this marketing strategy is the commodification and museumisation of dances in packaged performances that cater to the needs of tourists.

My argument is twofold in this paper. First, I point out that due to its royal patronage and leadership under Princess Norodom Buppha Devi, the Royal Ballet has managed to escape this NGO model of marketing the arts. The national troupe retains its ritual function by continuing to perform regularly during royal and religious celebrations, especially when the kingdom suffers from drought or other disasters. Second, I argue that the Royal Ballet is administratively a dance company and Princess Norodom Buppha Devi has been very creative with traditions by revisiting the old repertoire and introducing new choreographies. Thus the Royal Ballet epitomizes a living art form where tradition goes with innovation.

Teaching *wayang kulit pakem Ngayogyakarta*: Standardisation
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In the last couple of decades much literature has been written about contemporary *wayang kulit* (shadow puppetry), but mostly the developments in classical wayang styles (*pakem)* have gone unnoticed, especially the *pakem* of Yogyakarta which has been less studied than Surakarta. Where contemporary wayang is usually studied for its innovations in medium, performance structure and the plays performed, there have also been developments in the classical *pakem* Yogyakarta; it has been further standardised for education purposes.

To preserve the style and to make the transfer of knowledge about it more efficient, at the Habirandha School of Puppetry in Yogyakarta the movement of the shadow puppets (*sabetan* in Javanese) has been standardized during the last 10 years and adopted at the two other principal Yogyakarta learning institutes.

In this paper I will look at written sources about Yogyakartan *sabetan* and how it developed, with a focus on *tangguh*, or position of the puppets.

New approaches to Finding Audiences for Traditional Performaing Arts in Vietnam
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Many traditional forms of performing arts in Vietnam have survived and retained their popularity to various degrees, such as Traditional Opera (*Chèo*), Classical Opera (*Tuồng* or *Bội* singing), Water puppetry, and some newer forms such as modern folk opera (*Cải lương*), folk drama.

Nowadays with globalization and the explosion of information technology and the internet, dozens of art shows take place everywhere on television channels or social media so that audiences for traditional stage performances have diminished. In addition, other factors such as urbanization have made the cultural space of traditional theatres narrow; daily life with hundreds of worries and work pressures mean that people have less time to enjoy the arts. The younger generation lacks knowledge about theatres as well as traditional performing arts. For these reasons, today's traditional theatres are losing audiences.

To preserve and promote the traditional drama as a national intangible cultural heritage, Vietnam is developing programmes and activities to help theatres and traditional troupes develop these arts, such as:
- A "Bring Stage to Schools" programme, which aims to reach young people
- Theatres set up websites to introduce programmes and approach audiences
- "Art in tourism" projects to find new audiences
- Promoting traditional arts through international exchange

Attracting audiences to the theatre in the first plcae is one thing, but keeping the audiences is not so simple. Efforts to find audiences for performing arts and traditional theaters are still moving ahead, and Vietnamese government is seeking advice from both researchers and the public.

Session 2: Popular Culture, Tradition and Society

"Keroncong Crocodiles" and Masculinity in Indonesian Popular Music
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The crocodile, or *buaya* in Malay/Indonesian, has a longstanding symbolic history in the literary and performance traditions of maritime Southeast Asia. This paper focuses on indigenous representations of the *buaya* as construction of masculinity among *keroncong* musicians in Indonesia. *Keroncong* is a string-based genre of music that was first brought to the north coast of Java on Portuguese trade ships in the 16th century; later it was associated with mixed-race Eurasian communities in Jakarta. The term *buaya keroncong* (keroncong crocodile) comes from this historical context and now refers to a male performer considered to be a master musician with extensive knowledge of the genre's history and repertoire. *Buaya* connotes these characteristics along with a powerful sense of "male-ness," bravado and charisma. Only male musicians who embody these characteristics are considered true *buaya*.

The first part of the paper examines 20th century constructions of heterosexual masculinity associated with the *buaya*, namely his flair for flamboyant fashion and "socially deviant behavior" (eg. heavy drinking, womanizing, gambling). This section draws primarily from previous scholarship in ethnomusicology, gender studies and history to examine how Indonesian ideals of masculinity

constructed during the colonial period and in contemporary popular culture and media have informed contemporary ideas about masculinity and the voice. The second part of the paper describes how musicians have refigured past romanticized representations of the *buaya* to negotiate male-ness and gender roles in Indonesian *keroncong*.

Transnational hip hop encounters featuring Vietnam
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This paper makes an initial attempt to define and discuss the transnational in hip hop encounters with 'Vietnam' as a principal element of innovation in musical and cultural production from within the diaspora. Current literature on Vietnamese hip hop is largely limited to artists operating within the confines of their own national boundaries. The existing scholarship traces the origins of Vietnamese rap to Thái Việt G and Khánh Nhỏ's track *Vietnamese Gangs*, two young Asian-Americans rapping about issues dealing with immigration, criminality, and negotiation of their Asian-American identity. Apart from the above track, the scholarship does not address diasporic hip hop engagement with the perceived homeland. My research has revealed that cultural producers use Vietnam in their artform in which generally can be categorised as follows. First, there are the variety of deejays, rappers, and beat makers who use the musical and cultural traditions of Vietnam in their work as inspiration, which is primarily for a Western target market, most commonly in the form of sampling. Second, the artist 'returns to the homeland', and thus continues their practice in their new target market, however their hip hop practice is still Western in essence. The third and last category is similar to the second, but in this instance their artwork has instilled an element of Vietnamese nationalism. My research will involve interviews with artists, analysis of their work, and analysis of other interviews they have given. I argue that hip hop cultural producers from the diaspora use Vietnam as means to evolve and innovate their work.

'Gongs' Culture in Vietnam's Central Highlands and Tourism
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Gongs are popular musical instruments of most ethnic groups living in the Central Highlands of Vietnam. In the past, gongs were one of the valuable exchange objects and a measure of wealth in the community. Gongs were highly significant and were even personified, with souls considered as hidden in each gong. Gong music was played during community festivals or family rituals. For instance, at birth and at their funeral, every Tay Nguyen person was welcomed and bid farewell by gong music.

However, today gongs and gong music have gradually lost their special role in ethnic culture. The number of gongs has reduced and gong music is gradually being replaced by other forms of music. After being honored by UNESCO as the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2005, Vietnamese gong music is now not only widely known throughout the country but also throughout the world. Gongs and gong music have become a source of pride not only for the people of the Central Highlands but also for the entirety of Vietnam. The more gong music become better known, the more people are curious and want to hear it and see a gong music show. Gongs become a "speciality" when tourists come to the Central Highlands.

From the above, the article deals with issues such as identifying the current gong heritage in the Central Highlands the impact of tourism on heritage performances and analyzing the role of the community in preserving the gong heritage of Tay Nguyen.

Overlapping Worlds: Text & Paratext, Author & Reader in Chart Korbjitti's "Facebook: Words Overlapped"

Rebecca Iszatt (University of Leeds, UK)
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Chart Korbjitti is a long-celebrated Thai author, twice the winner of Southeast Asia's prestigious SEA Write Award. From September 2014 to 2015, Chart spent every day meticulously crafting his most experimental and, possibly, bravest novel yet: "Facebook: Worlds Overlapped" (2016).

The 736-page narrative of "Facebook: Worlds Overlapped" consists entirely of text and imagery lifted from Chart's Facebook profile during this year-long period. Such content is generated both by Chart and his Facebook friends and followers, whom I coin his "Facebook public". The ephemeral dialogue bound up within Chart's posts to Facebook, along with his Facebook public's input via comments, are transplanted from their digital – native? – space, (re-)materialising as the delimited, static object of the printed book. Permanence (print) replaces transience (digital). Through his Facebook public's afforded participation in authoring the narrative, the western-constructed boundary of author/reader is also deconstructed.

This triumph of both literary and digital cultures is understood through an adaption of Genette's typology of the elements – so-called paratextual elements – that frame literary texts (Genette, 1987; trans. 1997). Recruiting Facebook as a literary platform challenges the traditional role of paratext as subordinate to – serving to frame – the text. Paratext becomes para/text, facilitating the transition between author and reader. Drawing on qualitative analysis of both Facebook-based text and the print rendition of Chart's – and his Facebook public's – narrative, as well as an extensive interview with Chart, the paper theoretically engages Genette's "paratextuality" and Barthes "writerly text" (1973; trans. 1975) to establish how, using Facebook as a tool, Chart disrupts tradition.

'Prospective Memory' and Agung Kurniawan's Gentayangan

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Gentayangan ('Haunted') was a performance piece by an Indonesian artist, Agung Kurniawan (b.1968), which was originally performed live in Yogyakarta. In 2017, this performance was repackaged for the international audience at the Europalia Arts Festival in Brussels. For this occasion, the piece was modified and it had gone through chains of development. Gentayangan represents a story of Indonesian women rescuing themselves from a tough condition based on their collective memory. The cast comprised activists affiliated with Indonesian communist cadres, namely PKI (Indonesian Communist Party) and Gerwani (Indonesian Women's Movement). During the Indonesian crisis in the mid-sixties, the Indonesian government haunted and tortured these women. The facts that they survived and are able to create a performance for all of us to see were the fruits of their smart decision: they chose the subtler path of 'disguised performativity' instead of blatant fight, when they were faced with the cruel oppression.

The museumisation of this performance brought a chance for the cast's stories to be spread to the greater audience. However, because of the discrepancies between the live performance and the museum-version (mainly in the setting of the room and the medium of the artworks) the outcomes were very different. By generating some discussion through the writing of Rivka Eisner regarding the performance of 'prospective memory', this paper will address these discrepancies and will bring some light as how performance can be a tool to engage with 'prospective memory' can commemorate history and uncover 'truths', which would otherwise be easily forgotten by subsequent generations.

Dragons in the waters of Borneo: power, protection and threat
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Beliefs about snake-like water spirits are ubiquitous in SE Asia, and Borneo is no exception. These beliefs derive from east and west, from the Chinese *lung* and the Indian *naga*, as well as from an earlier stratum of beliefs deriving from both an Austronesian and a pre-Austronesian heritage. In 2017 I began research on these beliefs in Sarawak and I will discuss some of these here. These spirits are closely associated with water and its power both to fertilize and to destroy, and this is reflected in complex beliefs around their relationship with humans. Among the Iban, they are protective and cloths are woven which bring safety. Among the Kayan they are associated with high status and aristocracy. Among the highland Lundayeh and Kelabit they are associated with the Great Spirit, an overarching spirit of the natural environment, and floods follow from improper behaviour towards the natural environment. And among the nomadic Penan there are beliefs about a Rainbow Serpent which appear to reflect ancient ancestral connections with the aboriginal peoples of Australia.

CHCP 4: Southeast Asian Funerary Material Culture

Panel Abstract

This panel concerns papers discussing various aspects of Southeast Asian funerary material culture and their surrounding rituals. We welcome archaeological, art-historical, and anthropological approaches to the topic. These may include the use of commemorative architecture and inscriptions; relationship between material culture and religious ideas; the emergence and development of funerary traditions; and the social dimension of funerary material culture.

Convenor: Jessica Rahardjo (University of Oxford, UK)
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Paper Abstracts

Megalithic burial traditions in the highlands of Sumatra, Indonesia
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Archaeological finds from burial sites in the highlands of Jambi and West Sumatra in Indonesia highlight burial traditions which are connected to stone alignments and erected stones. These practices still reflect megalithic traditions dating back to the first century BCE when stone monuments were erected during death rituals in the area. The newly excavated burial site in Tanah Datar, the heartland of the Minangkabau group, can be directly linked to habitation areas during the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The full corpse burials were marked by more than 200 stones leading to the conclusion that the local population did not adopt the practice of cremation as might have been expected within the realm of the Hindu-Buddhist ruler Adityawarman who has established his reign in this area in the fourteenth century. The burials were not furnished with grave goods or they have not survived in the archaeological context. However, ceramic and earthenware sherds, stone artefacts, and metal pieces as well as burnt areas indicate that ceremonies in connection with the preparation and maintenance of the graves or cremations took place. This burial tradition is still kept until today.

A Preliminary Examination of the Late Eighteenth- to Early Nineteenth-Century Muslim Gravestones seen at Kota Bharu, Kelantan
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This paper discusses a distinct form of late 18th to early 19th century Muslim gravestone (*batu nisan*) found in and around Kelantan's state capital, Kota Bharu. Appearing in association with members of Kelantan's ruling elite, these largely unstudied memorials are evidence of a unique and highly-Sinicised form of Southeast Asian Muslim funerary art. While previous Kelantanese Muslim gravestones were either simple river stones or ornate wooden constructions influenced by Thai art, beginning with Sultan Long Yunus (r. 1762–1794), the ruler responsible for cementing the authority of Kelantan's current Pattani dynasty, both that state's rulers and wider nobility began to utilise a unique form of granite memorial suffuse with Chinese iconography. Largely devoid of both traditional Islamic and Malay artistic motifs, these gravestones drew upon a diverse range of Chinese decorative

patterns, including Chinese floral displays, phoenixes, traditional Chinese hanging decorations, Chinese characters, and even the yin and yang symbol. Careful examination suggests the utilization of these motifs was neither random nor for mere aesthetic effect. Rather, these traditional Chinese designs possess clearly defined symbolic meaning; the creators of the discussed Kelantanese *batu nisan* appear to have been fully aware of these meanings, using them to convey specific messages about the individuals interred beneath them. This paper not only seeks to document the use of these images, but also to understand how and why members of Kelantan's 18th to 19th-century ruling elite chose to use them.

Eastern Indonesian Islamic Funerary Material Culture: Case Studies from the Sultanate of Bima
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This paper traces the development of eastern Indonesian forms of Muslim tombs as exemplified by the royal tombs of the Sultanate of Bima (17th–21st century) in Sumbawa, West Nusa Tenggara. Existing research on Southeast Asian Islamic funerary material culture has tended to focus on examples from mainland Southeast Asia and western regions of the Malay Archipelago. Eastern Indonesia, however, has received comparatively little scholarly attention despite its unique location at the intersection of wider political, religious, commercial, and cultural forces. Processes of Islamisation, which accelerated with the establishment of the Sultanate, transformed local burial practices and imbued them with Malay and South Sulawesi influences.

The paper discusses three extant funerary sites in Bima – Dana Taraha, Tolo Bali, and the Sultanate Mosque – using analyses of local chronicles and traditions, Dutch colonial records, European travel accounts and prints, and data gathered from fieldwork. The evidence of material culture points to the enduring significance of South Sulawesi in Bima's conversion to Islam, long after political ties between the two were severed with the Dutch East India Company (VOC)'s defeat of Makassar. At the same time, one witnesses in the funerary material culture the survival of Hindu-Javanese visual culture alongside eastern Indonesian traditions. Royal funerary material culture also plays a major role in the formation of Bimanese identity, particularly with the recent revival of the Sultanate after its dissolution in 1957.

An End to Mourning Clothes: The Transformation of Funeral Ritual in Singapore
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In Singapore, in the space of a generation, Chinese funeral ritual has been near entirely transformed. This paper, which draws on ten years of fieldwork in Singaporean funeral parlors where I worked as both anthropologist and embalmer, focuses particularly on the abandonment of mourning clothes.

"Traditional" mourning clothing – sackcloth hoods and gowns – expressed sorrow through a complete abnegation of personal comfort. Its purpose was not only the visible ordering of relatedness – kinship laid out in color – but suffering itself. Its replacement – patches of fabric pinned to the sleeve – suggests new perspectives on ritualized suffering's intrinsicality to grief. Mourning clothes were also dialect group specific: the mourning costume for a Hakka family differed from that for a Hokkien or a Teochew group, making visible in death the Mainland Chinese places from which Chinese

Singaporeans trace their descent. Patches mark no such variation, suggesting instead a unified Singaporean Chineseness purposefully distanced from the mainland.

More broadly, I consider what prompts people to change the ways they mark death. Why are some ritual practices discarded, seemingly without regret, while others become orthopraxy? And how does funerary material culture become a complex signifier of "modernity" and appropriate identity?

CHCP 5: Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development: Policy, Management and Safeguarding in Vietnam

Panel Abstract

Vietnam has ratified UNESCO's conventions concerning the protection of world heritage (1987) and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (2005), and is actively involved in promoting related agendas. In 2001, the Vietnamese government promulgated the Law on Cultural Heritage, which it later amended in 2009. Related ministries and institutions have implemented Resolution No. 33-NQ/TW-2014, which strives to meet the standards of sustainable development while simultaneously building and developing the cultures and peoples of Vietnam. The Vietnamese government has additionally launched the National Target Program on culture, providing financial support for projects related to the safeguarding of cultural heritage since 1998.

This panel asks what role cultural heritage has played in the development of Vietnam, including papers that deal with the management and safeguarding of heritage in the sustainable development of Vietnam. Specifically, papers will address related themes, including: the impact of national policies and UNESCO conventions on heritage; government management and the role of communities in safeguarding cultural heritage; and heritage and sustainable tourism.

Convenor: Hien Thi Nguyen (Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies, Vietnam)
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Paper Abstracts

The Relationship between State Management and Community Role in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage in Vietnam

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In Vietnam, managers and researchers argue for enhancing the active role of the community in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH) under the leadership, orientation and support of the State. In fact, the relationship between State management and the role of the community in safeguarding ICH is dialectical and not the same for every element. Although heritage management is generally regulated by law, implementing the policy of the Party and the State, the dialectical relationship between the State and the active role of the community in the legacy sometimes depends on the nature of the heritage, on the autonomy, the role of non-governmental organizations, community cohesion, organizational issues, customary and traditional practices, as well as the awareness of the local community members. This paper is based on the management of ICH elements in Vietnam which have been inscribed by UNESCO to discuss the different forms of governance and community involvement in safeguarding ICH in Vietnam.

Transformations of Traditional Culture in a Rural Area of the Northern Delta of Vietnam in the Renovation Process
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The Renovation (*Đổi mới)* initiated in 1986 and the Fifteenth Central Committee (the 7th Congress held in 1993) by the Communist Party of Vietnam were a turning point for rural and agricultural development and Vietnamese farmers. They also created conditions for the revitalization of traditional expression and cultural heritage elements. The key point of Renovation is that, on the one hand, the allocation of land use to farmers and households that are considered as autonomous entities in production and business, and on the other hand, the decrease in the role of the cooperatives. Consequently, the roles and functions of villages in socio-economic management, especially in the organization of traditional cultural activities, has been re-affirmed.

In the Renovation period, Tam Son commune, Tu Son town, Bac Ninh province, is a countryside with typical features of the Northern Delta of Vietnam and rich in traditional expression and cultural heritage elements. Since 1998 up to now, industrialization and urbanization have led to economic and cultural transformations of this rural area which have considerably influenced cultural heritage. This paper aims to identify the transformations of traditional culture and cultural heritage and to analyze factors that have strong impacts on cultural transformations, and to recommend the measures of management and safeguarding of traditional culture and heritage in Tam Son commune for the sustainable development of Vietnam.

Cultural heritage in Vietnam with the Requirements of Sustainable Development
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In the process of development, especially in the context of industrialization and modernization, cultural heritage in Vietnam is facing many challenges and difficulties in resolving relationships between safeguarding and development, safeguarding and exploitation, economic and cultural goals, the role of the government and the community, and political and cultural factors, especially when compared with the requirements of sustainable development.

By studying the case of some of the heritage sites that UNESCO has inscribed as World Cultural and Natural Heritage as well as on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in Vietnam (Ha Long Bay, Hue Imperial Citadel, Trang An Complex, Hue Royal Court Music, Xoan Singing, Worship of Hung King in Phu Tho, Cultural Space of Gongs in Central Highlands, and so on), this paper aims to analyze the specific issues in the above relationships, thereby to clarify the challenges posed to the safeguarding of cultural heritage that meet the requirements of sustainable development.

Filming Music Heritage in Vietnam
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The production of videos about intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is part of a broader process of heritagization that is sweeping across many parts of the world. UNESCO states that films about heritage help to 'increase visibility and awareness' and they are often tied to cultural tourism and sustainable development. Despite the importance of films in the management and promotion of ICH, the audiovisual representation of heritage has received little scholarly attention. This paper reflects on how film intersects with the heritagization of music traditions, focusing on the official videos submitted by state parties as part of the process of nominating elements for inscription on UNESCO's ICH Lists. As a case study, it considers the Ví and Giặm folk song tradition from the Vietnamese provinces of Hà Tĩnh and Nghệ An, which was inscribed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2014.

Drawing on a research trip to Vietnam in 2013 organised by the Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies (VICAS), the paper unpacks the complex issues involved in the audiovisual representation of intangible cultural heritage and problematizes the notion that film is a neutral form of documentation. Through a comparison of the official video about Ví and Giặm folk songs submitted to UNESCO and a television broadcast of a large-scale staged show featuring performances of folk song and dance, it is emphasized that films are historically situated cultural artefacts with the potential to affect how music heritage is promoted, perceived and practised.

Heritage of the Ancient Maritime Silk Roads to Creative Tourism Destinations Development in Southeast Asia: Hội An Ancient Town and the Historic City of George Town
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This paper explores the evolution of the former port cities of empire and colonialism to World Heritage Sites, with guidelines on creative tourism destination development in Southeast Asia. Two cities are used for this case study: Hội An Ancient Town, in Vietnam, and the Historic City of George Town, Penang, in Malaysia.

The early age of commerce in Southeast Asia was a time of international trade and cultural exchange throughout East Asia, South Asia, Middle East and within the Southeast Asia region. Since the establishment of colonial port cities in Southeast Asia, Southeast Asian civilizations and people's livelihoods were influenced by maritime trade. The colonial estates, monuments, and groups of buildings are testimony to these changes. In this study, developments are described in chronological order. The historic cities comprised a significant cultural mosaic in the port cities.

Cultural mapping involves a community identifying and documenting local cultural resources and is a process which helps communities recognize, celebrate and build new cross-community connections. The case study of Hội An is a special symbol of a traditional port town on the Silk Road, which arose from a unique traditional settlement including temples, shrines, assembly halls, family chapels and shop-houses influenced by the Japanese residents and Chinese communities of the pre-colonial Cochin China coast. Historically, George Town was built on swampy land and became a British colony with multicultural architectural forms and a commercial district where multicultural trading area contributed towards the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the city. These sites act as repositories of collective memory, particular histories and commemorations. With sensitive management, these historic cities can be transformed into creative tourism destinations.

Beauty and Power in Spirit Mediums' Costumes: Sustaining Embroidery Craft Development for Traditional Royal Robes in Spirit Possession (Lên đồng) Rituals
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Lên đồng ritual is a practice of the Viet Beliefs in the Mother Goddesses of Three Realms which is on the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. It is not only sophisticated in music, but also in costumes and performance. The spirit mediums *(thanh đồng)* expect that as their destiny, they have the gift to intercede with the spirits of the pantheon of Mother Goddesses, and that the spirits take possession of them through ritual performances with splendid costumes. The costumes are usually decorated with embroidered patterns and motifs that express the rank and power of the spirits.

This paper will explore the link between the concept of beauty and power through the selection of embroidered royal motifs on spirit mediums' costumes and the development of the current embroidery craft in Vietnam. The paper demonstrates that the beauty of costumes is not only to express the beliefs, but also serves to support the sustainable development of the relevant embroidery craft. The paper will conclude that the sophisticated embroidery of the performance costumes contributes to ensuring the viability of the practice of Viet beliefs in the Mother Goddesses today.

The Religious Ethic and Sustainable Tourism in a Buddhist Community: A Case Study of Perfume Pagoda (Chua Huong) in Northern Vietnam
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Spiritual tourism in Vietnam started to take off from the 1980's, which accordingly stimulated the development of local economies. As a prominent Holy Site of Vietnamese Buddhism, the Perfume Pagoda (Chua Huong) is renowned for its natural caves and historical sites. Although every spring numerous tourists visit the Perfume Pagoda to worship the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara (Phat Ba Quan Am) during the three-month Buddhist festival, the natural environment has been surprisingly well-preserved.

Tourism is managed by the villages and local authorities. It is a miracle that the commercial capital has not been able to invade this holy site to develop the real estate and hospitality industry, so the territory of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara retains its rural landscape. This paper will analyse the concept of Buddhist Merit and its impact in cultivating the spiritual connection between the local people and their land.

This study is based on fieldwork in April 2018. Through interviews with local villagers and scholars, the traditional meanings of land were narrated in the context of Vietnamese Buddhism as the territory of the Buddhist Goddess and the local people's home. The legend of 'Kuan-yin in South Sea' (Quan Am Nam Hai) will also be analysed as one part of the cultural heritage of the Perfume Pagoda throughout this study.

Globalisation and Re-enchantment in Vietnamese Buddhism

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To a large extent, the globalisation of Buddhism has gone hand in hand with modernist restructurings of Buddhism as a world religion. Frequently, this has given rise to interpretations and formations of Buddhist orthodoxies that accentuate a secularist perspective, so that Buddhism is presented as a psychology, with meditation its principal technique. In presenting Buddhism in this way, Buddhist globalists and modernists have often been critical of elements that stress interconnections with the supernatural, and practices that underscore this understanding (such as supplicative practices like burning spirit money). In this way, the overall trend in the process of globalisation has been to marginalise these practices, by relegating them to categories labelled "culture", "tradition", or "superstition. In doing so, Buddhist reformers have participated in hegemonic processes that link modernist-global neo-colonialist, nationalism, State control through police and justice systems.

Despite the hegemonic nature of the modernist discourse, there has been a resurgence of Buddhist practices in Vietnam (and elsewhere) that resists the modernist construction of Buddhism and reiterates a version of Buddhism that does not make the distinctions that typify modernism – between religions, between the religious and the secular, and so on. This paper will draw on fieldwork in Vietnam to speculate on the implications this has for the globalisation of counter-modernist discourses, and how they are not merely the continuation of traditional practices, but are also dependent on global forces.