



# EuroSEAS 2019

September 10–13, 2019

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

AS OF 01 SEPTEMBER 2019

# Session 1

WEDNESDAY 09:00–10:30

---

Room 1.102	Examining “Dutertenomics” in the Philippines: Historical and Comparative Perspectives
Room 1.103	The Rhetoric of Gender and Sexual Codes in Contemporary Indonesia ❶
Room 1.201	New Persons in Southeast Asia ❶
Room 1.204	The Labour Movement(s) in Southeast Asia: Historical Contingencies and Contemporary Challenges ❶
Room 1.308	Agrarian Social Movements and Struggles in Southeast Asia Past and Present
Room 1.401	Creative Peacebuilding and Resistance in Indonesia ❶
Room 1.405	Material Manifestations of Environmental Change ❶
Room 1.406	Ageing Out of Place: Comparative Perspectives from Southeast Asia
Room 1.501	Grounding “Alternative Ontologies”: Towards a Political Ecology of Animism ❶
Room 1.502	The Evolving Indo-Pacific Construct: Responses from ASEAN and its Major Stakeholders
Room 1.503	<b>LABORATORY</b> Governance for Climate Change Adaptation in Southeast Asia: History, Anthropology, and Political Economy ❶
Room 1.504	Reverberations of an Occupation: Indonesian Wartime Connections Between Postwar Societies
Room 1.505	Traditional Art, Community and Environmental Discourse: Wayang Puppet Theatre in Global Contexts ❶
Room 1.506	Social Inequality and Sociocultures in Southeast Asia ❶
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>ROUND TABLE</b> Myanmar: One Year Ahead of the Next Elections

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/1](http://euroseas2019.org/session/1)

# Examining “Dutertenomics” in the Philippines: Historical and Comparative Perspectives

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Shingo Mikamo <i>Shinshu University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Various economic policy and institutional reforms have been implemented in the past three decades in the Philippines. The Philippines is no longer seen as “sick man of Asia”. However, the process of alleviating poverty and reducing social inequality has been excruciatingly slow. More, because the restoration of electoral democracy in 1987 has yet to translate into improved quality of life for the majority, it has opened the door for a resurgence of strongman rule even as concerns for the deteriorating rule of law have grown. President Duterte has a unique leadership style and political agenda. With respect to economic policy, he emphasizes the ambitious infrastructural development plan “Build, Build, Build” as his economic strategy. His administration has also launched an ambitious “Manufacturing Resurgence Program”. In this panel, the issues of Dutertenomics will be examined from historical and comparative perspectives. How has President Duterte changed economic policy and governance? How do we assess Dutertenomics? What are lessons from Dutertenomics for the rest of Southeast Asian countries in the processes of developing economies and democratic governance? First, the foundation of Dutertenomics, arguably “neoliberalism”, is examined (by San Juan). And then, we analyze our focused economic policy areas that include industry and trade (by Raquiza), infrastructure development (by Ito) and fiscal and monetary policy (by Mikamo). This panel also will explore the interaction between government's infrastructure and industrialization programs and its fiscal and monetary policies.

## PAPERS

### › Dutertenomics: Challenges for Financing Aspect of Infrastructure Development in the Philippines

Susumu Ito *Chuo University*

This paper studies Dutertenomics of the Philippines, which is regarded as drastic policy shift in Public-private partnership (PPP) infrastructure development. While Aquino administration focused on PPP-based infrastructure development as a priority policy, the Duterte administration launched “Dutertenomics”, a large-scale infrastructure development plan of about 8 trillion pesos, about 160 billion USD, over 6 years in 2017 that mainly depends on national budget and ODA as financial source rather than PPP. This triggered the debate of “PPP vs ODA” in the Philippines. The paper discusses policy changes and directions of last four administrations since Ramos in the areas of law/ regulation, institution, finance, and specific sectors/ projects as a background of Dutertenomics. Among last four administrations, particular focus is given to PPP related policies and measures implemented by Aquino administration including regulatory and institutional reforms, project development fund, PPP fund and relaxation of single borrowers' limit. Then, Dutertenomics is argued from the viewpoint of 1) acceleration of infrastructure development, 2) shift from PPP to ODA, 3) hybrid PPP and 4) financial sources. Finally, policy recommendations are discussed based on assessment of current infrastructure related policy, regulation, and environment.

### › Industrial Policy in the Time of Dutertismo

Antoinette Raquiza *University of the Philippines Diliman*

In recent years, the Philippine government has set into motion what it has called a “new industrial policy” aimed at diversifying the bases of the country's growth and jumpstarting structural transformation. Begun in 2011 with the government and industry leaders drawing up consolidated roadmaps, the thrust to promote the manufacturing sector continues under the Duterte administration. Today, the Department of Trade and Industry has two key programs: the Manufacturing Resurgence Program and the Inclusive, Innovation, Industrial Strategy (i3S), launched in 2014 and 2017, respectively. The current push for an industrial policy is the third such attempt since the import-substitution industrialization in the 1950s-60s and the 11 industrial mega-projects in the 1980s under the Marcos regime. Will the current attempt be able to break through historic problems that doomed the earlier attempts at industrialization? The presentation will argue that while the Philippines' growth pattern provided the impetus for the revival of manufacturing, it also presents challenges to the sector's expansion. Specifically, the country's booming international trade in services has led to the expansion of the consumer class that, in turn, has provided a market for manufactured goods. On the other hand, this same pattern has led to the Dutch disease: currency flows in labor and services exports raise the costs of doing manufacturing in the country. The presentation will briefly touch on the country's growth pattern and key features of the government's industrialization drive and outline similarities and differences between today's push and past experiences. It will conclude with the call for the need to reconfigure industrial policy in light of the rebalancing of the global economy. Among such suggested measures is for government to invest heavily in research and development.

### › Neoliberal Dutertismo

David Michael SanJuan *De La Salle University*

Duterte's populist rhetoric partly won him the Philippine presidency in a crowded elections where choices don't vary much. Despite constantly berating the previous dilawan (yellow conservative) second Aquino administration, Duterte's economic policies are arguably

as neoliberal as his predecessor's. This paper will discuss Duterte's subscription to neoliberalism in matters such as taxation, debt appropriations, public-private partnership in health care and education, and foreign investments.

› **Radical Reforms with Fiscal and Monetary Policy Challenges Under the Duterte Presidency**

Shingo Mikamo *Shinshu University*

Can the Philippine President implement radical economic and political reforms within the 6 years term? This paper will examine the changes and continuities of fiscal and monetary policy and economic governance under the Duterte Presidency. President Duterte still has a radical political reform agenda toward federalism. However, there are still many obstacles to form a consensus on the political reform agenda. Without solving fiscal issues, considerable changes in the roles of national and local governments would be unrealistic. His ambitious "Build, Build, Build" project raised serious concerns about debt trap. Avoiding a risk of debt crisis is a united voice of influential Philippine businesses across sectors. The Duterte administration has been keen to push tax reforms. However, tax reform has been always one of top priorities of the past Philippine Presidents. Examining radical reformism of the Duterte Presidency will provide good testing cases for the level of institutionalization of economic policy making and governance in the Philippines.

.....

## The Rhetoric of Gender and Sexual Codes in Contemporary Indonesia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Anggaunitakiranantika <i>State University of Malang</i> Wida Ayu Puspitosari <i>Brawijaya University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Indonesia has come a long way since reformation era emerged, with shimmering and glorious cityscapes representing its role onto international recognition in late modernity era. These remarkable alteration corresponds with changing behaviors and perspective encompassing the issues of gender and sexual identity – some of the most disputed political discourses in Indonesia – with terms: multiculturalism, unity in diversity, feminism, LGBT as crucial to sociopolitical landscape of the nation. Those concepts that strongly affect the eminent imaginary are 'freedom' and 'difference', accentuating the hegemonic hold on individual rights as global or western ideology. Moreover, Indonesia has encountered the changing of sociopolitical currents which perceived the processes of modernization, emancipation, women's suffrage, nationalist uprisings and globalizing communication networks through which digital information and labor markets thrived. Thus, the concepts of gender and sexual identities and codes are as much in flux by now. Given that notions of gender and sexual codes have always had to conform to normative rhetoric and traditional binaries, we have been researching on what extent Indonesia has really changed. How gender and sexuality being contested as political and cultural domains of representation and expression, for now and in the future? Are they still interweaved in structures and practices of territoriality and social class? And in what ways have these embedded codes of gender and sexuality altered shape over the past decades? We address these key questions by analyzing Indonesia gender and sexual codes in conjunction with the meanings, ideas and imageries emerging from several aspects such as migration, workforce, local wisdom, militarism and media in contemporary era. By approaching these rhetoric as contested sites of identity, power and performance, this session explores the extent to which they have regressed through the hegemonic discourses of culture, nation and in terms of globalization wave.

### PAPERS

› **The Unwritten Codes: Gender-Based Role Expectation and Rivalry Among Indonesia Army Wives**

Wida Ayu Puspitosari *Brawijaya University*

This paper deploys an ethnographic research of gender-based role expectation of Indonesia army wives. Its aim is to question wives' positionality vis-à-vis the military institution and consider the implication for how to understand the unwritten codes to be army wives itself. This paper asserts that the expectation for wives are culturally gendered role that are different for seniors' and junior's enlisted wives. To address these points, I discuss the meaning of gendered roles, then progress through a brief history of military marriage procedures, then discuss current expectations for and perception of army wives. I then evaluate the extent to which gendered role expectations continue to reflect rivalry among army wives before concluding with assertion about what today's stereotypes and role expectation say about social progress in Indonesia army.

› **Transwomen Gap for a Formal Work Attainment as a Part of Indonesia's SDGS Implementation Constrains**

Fanny Syariful Alam *Bandung School of Peace*

The Indonesian Government's commitment to signing Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) from 2015- 2030 views their significant development platform in a purpose to create sustainable developing aspects for more prosperous societies and the country. It is translated into Presidential Act no. 59/2017 about The Implementation of Achievement towards Sustainable Development Goals with an emphasis of three principles, such as Acceleration, Funding, and Inclusion. Inclusion in SDGs means leaving no one behind, ensuring that all the targets must meet the interests of all people of nations without any exceptions as stated by UNSTATS, and it covers vulnerable or marginalized groups, including LGBTI. 12 UN entities endorse the statement underlining the importance of LGBTI's participation for countries' development process. In contradict, the LGBTI in Indonesia have faced serious challenges, principally about their human rights. Transwomen are considered repressed for their right to be properly employed. A formal work attainment for the group tends to create another negative concern due to the employers' highlight to their sexuality not to their capacity. The paper elaborates how their gap occurs based on the methods of direct observation toward keypersons as well as literature and media study. It comes with an expectation that in long terms, the group might be employed for formal works as maintained for informal ones currently.

› **Unlocked Boundaries: Women Transformation Among Indonesian Migrant Workers**

Anggaunitakiranantika *State University of Malang*

Modernization in various sectors in Indonesia, has made women more flexible and open-minded in doing their activities. For a long time, Indonesian women have often been perceived as being weak and backward, unable to show their quality in the many fields, including social, economic and political. Over the 20 year, Indonesia admitted for transnational migrant worker through Asia pacific especially for domestic worker namely Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Taiwan. This research describes and identifies the involvement of Indonesia women who lived with their resistance and justifying their existence as Indonesian migrant workers in various countries. This research used qualitative method and intended to gather information about the status or symptoms of a phenomenon to reveal the meaning behind it. The purpose of this study is to examine resistance and existence of Indonesia women who migrated to other countries. Informants were selected using purposive technique. Observations and in-depth interviews were conducted on 15 women. Conclusion of this research are transformation of women in the labor market, especially Indonesian migrant workers, is increasing. It shows resistance for Indonesian women to patriarchal system. Transnational migration which cover social, cultural, economic and political boundaries, are being deconstructed and transform into new rules along with transnational migration to Asia pacific country.

› **Women vs. Women: Are Indonesian Women Too Vicious in Social Media?**

Monika Sri Yulianti *Universitas Sebelas Maret*

There have been many studies about women and social media. Nowadays, trend shows that women use media more than men, including in Indonesia. On the other side, Indonesian women are known to have noble values of national culture which are eastern cultures. In general, they are known as gentle, gentle and polite people. However, on one social media platform, Instagram, women are known not to indicate these traits. Using Pierre Levy New Media Theory, and cyber-feminism concept from Sadie Plant, this paper investigated digital interaction between female users of Instagram, particularly in creating a vicious noise. The expected finding of this paper is a framework of values-based digital interaction between female Indonesian users of Instagram. This finding is hoped to be used in other similar research in the future.

.....

**New Persons in Southeast Asia 1**

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Resto Cruz <i>University of Manchester</i>
DISCUSSANT	Janet Carsten <i>University of Edinburgh</i>

**ABSTRACT**

This panel examines the emergence of new persons across various settings and historical periods in South East Asia. How do new kinds of person emerge and with what consequences—biographical, relational, ethical, as well as political? How and why might such newness be defined, experienced, aspired for, imposed, rejected, or reworked? To what extent does the emergence of new persons entail a rupture with the past? How does newness co-exist or get folded into existing ways of being a person, as well as relationships? In contexts where lives and trajectories appear to be heavily constrained by the past, institutions, policies, or inequalities, how does newness enter the world? What happens in the wake of new modes of being a person? How is newness recalled and narrated? By addressing these and related questions, the panel seeks to develop novel South East Asian perspectives on the analytic importance of foregrounding persons and personhood in understanding processes of rapid social, political, and economic change, thereby contributing to wider conversations on

personhood and its generative and transformative potentials. It also aims to develop connections with recent and ongoing work on ethical lives and conundrums, aspirations, as well as work on biography, history, and temporality.

## PAPERS

### › **Belonging and Personhood Among Noncitizen Vietnamese Children in Cambodia**

Charlie Rumsby *Coventry University*

Using various qualitative research methods and emphasising children's perspectives, this paper puts forward a three-dimensional framework of belonging as something that is imposed from above, inherited from below, and appropriated from beside, to understand how and why personhood can and does change. Using the case study of noncitizen Vietnamese children living in a peri-urban slum in Phnom Penh, we can understand how 'belonging from above' is informed by socio-historical discourses about Cambodia's largest minority group, and how this discourse has affected interactions among people within communities at a local level in different ways.

For children in these communities, a sense of belonging and identity reflects the framing of 'Vietnamese-ness' by the dominant powers, from above children encounter negative discourses of what it means to 'be' Vietnamese, 'illegal', 'untrustworthy' and 'thieves', leaving them with feelings of otherness and exclusion. 'Belonging from below' refers to children's belonging as inherited socio-cultural beliefs, and identity signifiers from the family and the local community. Children encounter local spiritual practices and narratives about the supernatural that causes anxiety. To resolve the negative aspects of belonging from above and below, children appropriate new forms of belonging. Children's 'belonging from beside' is revealed, in this case, at the transnational-religious nexus. The introduction of 'the God School' - an unregistered Christian school targeting the Vietnamese community - as a transnational space brought extraneous or outside elements, offering children new ritual forms, new sets of ideals, and new possibilities for sociality (Austin-Boos 2003). This paper will focus on how children appropriated these outside elements and what this means for their personhood.

### › **Salvation as Violence: Anti-Trafficking and the Rehabilitation of "Fallen Women" into Moral Neoliberal Subjects**

Sharmila Parmanand *Homerton College*

The common thinking in Philippine feminist and anti-trafficking circles is that women in prostitution are victims of violence and incapable of legitimately consenting to sex work because their agency is undermined by poverty and desperation. The implication of this assumption on policy is that women's agency that has been lost in prostitution can only be reclaimed when women are rescued, rehabilitated, and redirected to other acceptable forms of employment, a process that transforms them into new kinds of virtuous and productive persons.

This paper interrogates the ideological projects behind rescue and rehabilitation strategies, such as the regulation of women's sexuality and the creation of 'moral subjects' within an essentially neoliberal order that requires poor women to practice responsible citizenship and motherhood by engaging in low-paid, labour-intensive morally acceptable alternatives to prostitution, such as domestic work, factory work, and small-scale entrepreneurship. This paper draws on life history interviews with ten women who were rescued from prostitution in the Philippines about their reflections on their encounters with the state, their experience in rehabilitation shelters, the process of being reconstituted from 'victims' to 'survivors', the violence involved in transacting with their rescuers for survival, and their reintegration into society as 'empowered women'.

### › **The Artist as Figure: Devising Relations in the Face of Urban Precarity in Contemporary Indonesia**

Lukas Ley *Heidelberg University*

This paper discusses insights from ongoing collaborative research with Indonesian urban art collective Hysteria. Drawing on ethnographic data from participatory observation and interviews conducted with the collective in Semarang, Indonesia, and Heidelberg, Germany, the paper considers emerging relationships between activist art, (inter)national audiences, and the urban. In Semarang, Hysteria actively links itself to social problems that are distinctly urban, such as water scarcity, flooding, or gentrification. Their themed art exhibits in select neighbourhoods experiment with various forms of public expression and story-telling that link remote communities and spaces within the city and across regions. Their artistic interventions become social events that connect marginalized subjects, urban space, and the political in new ways. To make sense of Hysteria's winding road from barely surviving to international recognition, I draw on Simone's notion of devising relations and Barker and Lindquist's concept of the figure. According to Simone (2014), urban collectives in Indonesia, such as households, kampungs, or whole cities function as hinges; connective devices that increase maneuverability to produce economic opportunity. However, Simone's theory leaves the individual underexposed. If the practice of devising relations is an urban mechanism specific to Southern cities, what are the ethics and politics of these relations and how do they fashion the city? Drawing on Barker and Lindquist (2013), I consider the artistic activist ("artist") as an emerging figure able but also forced to master membership in multiple social milieus: creative economy, academia, as well as (non-)governmental sectors. This figure is not a mere by-product of a particular form of the urban. Instead, as the activist communicates, mediates, brokers, and promotes, it is dialectically related to the ground of social life.

# The Labour Movement(s) in Southeast Asia: Historical Contingencies and Contemporary Challenges ①

LOCATION	Room 1.204
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Fahmi Panimbang <i>Sedane Labour Resource Centre</i> Michaela Douth <i>University of Bonn</i> Nantawat Chatuthai <i>University of Bonn</i> Oliver Pye <i>University of Bonn</i>

## ABSTRACT

The successful economic development of Southeast Asia is related to the expansion of capital relations and the ongoing proletarianisation of its population. However, the labour “side” of the economic “miracle” in Southeast Asia usually remains hidden from view. Apart from occasional mentions of larger strike movements, labour as a class and as a collective agent is usually ignored in political analyses of the region. This also applies to political activists and civil society, which, for some decades, have downplayed class as a category of analysis and the collective struggles of the working class as a strategic moment. This panel hopes to rekindle interest in labour studies in Southeast Asia in which labour is really at the heart of the debates and discourses. We welcome contributions that take a comparative view on labour movements but also – or especially – contemporary research that address the politics of labour, labour and the rise of authoritarianism, labour and gender relations, labour and the environment, movements of migrants informal workers or home-based workers and the dynamics and lessons from important major strikes and collective struggles.

## PAPERS

### › Choke Points and Transnational Labour Organising in the Palm Oil Global Production Network

Fahmi Panimbang *Sedane Labour Resource Centre*

Palm oil industry is a multi-billion-dollar industry that encompasses the globe, connecting oil palm plantations and mills in Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America, to refineries and processing plants in other regions and to food and beverages, cosmetic and chemical factories around the world. The industry has been one of the most repressive towards labour, using a sophisticated system of labour control. Most workers are mostly precariat-migrants without a history of collective struggle. Consequently, labour in the industry is among the most unorganised and marginalised. This paper shows how labour activists in Southeast Asia are starting to identify spaces and choke points in the palm oil industry, using transnational networks to challenge the spatial control of capital. It argues that despite the usual challenges from capital, there is a potential for labour agency to use new organising strategies within the palm oil global production network.

### › Labour and Populism: Indonesian Experiences in Comparative Perspective

Olle Törnquist *University of Oslo*

Labour movements in the Global South are up against two basic hindrances, one, diverse interests and fragmentation due to uneven development, two, weak citizens' rights and democracy. These challenges remain crucial, in spite of the double-edged advances under the new international division of labour and the third wave of democracy. Hence, the labour movement strategies in the North are insufficient; the once so promising South African labour movement's attempts to follow suit is a case in point. Against this backdrop, and a number of previous strategies to handle the challenges, the preliminary paper focuses on the pros and cons of one of the major alternatives that have been put forward: left-populism. This has a long history in not least Indonesia and Latin America. Recently it is also been argued in Europe, including in Spain and France, based on Chantal Mouffe's theses, and to some extent by the new left in the US. The Indonesian experiences from congregating and strengthening movements by way of informal contract with leaders like Jokowi, and in particular, the successfully formed broad alliance of politicians, unions and movements in favour of the Indonesian public health reform, are the main cases in the preliminary paper. These campaigns, as well as the problems of sustaining them, are discussed in view of historical lessons in Indonesia, as well as the new experiences from Latin America, India and Europe.

### › Labour Politics in Southeast Asia: The Long Shadow of Maoism

Oliver Pye *University of Bonn*

One of the puzzling questions of contemporary Southeast Asian politics is why, despite rapid industrialization and proletarianization, and despite a resurgence of class struggles, Labour has not emerged as an independent political player. Across the region, no labour party of any persuasion has established itself inside or outside of parliament. Whilst some explanations point to structural reasons such as the power of capital, fragmentation, globalisation etc. for Labour's political weakness, this is contradicted by Southeast Asian history, where Labour was once a significant political force despite similar or arguably more drastic challenges. This paper argues that the legacy of Maoism, in essence the subordination of independent working class politics to national liberation, is one part of the puzzle. Examining the politics of the Indonesian Communist Party, it will be shown that the legacy has two components: firstly disastrous politics in the 1960s created a path dependency that shaped subsequent developments and secondly, Maoist concepts linger on in the

contemporary labour movement. In comparison with other Southeast Asian countries, these two legacies can be shown to exhibit a remarkable similarity across the region.

### › Unions and Politics in Indonesia

Michele Ford *University of Sydney*

During the Suharto era, the official trade union was strictly prohibited from engaging with political parties and all but one of the 'alternative' unions publicly rejected political unionism, preferring instead to seek recognition as a socio-economic force. In the early years of Indonesia's return to democracy, too, trade unions sat on the side-lines in elections and depended on mass protests to advance their demands. From 2004, however, labour leaders' position on electoral politics shifted dramatically. Increasingly frustrated with the government's failure to stem labour rights abuses, the ineffectiveness of the labour law enforcement, and the weakness of the social safety net, many unionists concluded that they must engage in 'formal politics' if they are to secure more favourable policies for workers. By the time of the 2009 election, the question was no longer whether unions should try to influence politics, but whether they should do it by lobbying parties from outside the system or by running candidates for office.

In a context where the parties vying for power within Indonesia's political system have made little attempt to define themselves by a commitment to particular policies—and have faced little pressure from outside to do so—unions' efforts to engage in electoral politics are tremendously significant for Indonesia's emerging democracy. Drawing on case studies from five union-dense locations in Java and Sumatra, this paper examines unions' engagement in the 2014 and 2019 electoral cycles, and makes an assessment of its significance for Indonesian politics.

.....

## Agrarian Social Movements and Struggles in Southeast Asia Past and Present

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Matthew Woolgar <i>University of Oxford</i>
DISCUSSANT	Ben White <i>International Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag</i>

### ABSTRACT

Across Southeast Asia, agrarian conflicts have long been major concerns of a variety of social movements, taken here to mean sustained forms of collective, contentious social action in primarily agricultural settings. In scholarship on agrarian conflict there is also a strong tradition of exploring agency 'from below', whether examining 'weapons of the weak', or more organised and overt collective action. In recent years this has included studies investigating responses to 'global land grabbing' or the 'resource rush'. This panel takes as its starting point that there are gains to be had by encouraging dialogue between researchers studying historical and contemporary social movements in agrarian contexts. In doing so it takes an interdisciplinary approach, exploring cases from across a range of times and countries in Southeast Asia. The panel welcomes papers addressing questions including: under what conditions do people act collectively over agrarian issues? How do changing rural social and economic contexts relate to the development of social movements? How do ethnic, religious, gender and generational differences impact such movements? How are different movements organised, and what are the implications of varied patterns of organisation? How do we understand the role of symbols and ideas in this collective action? How do state actors interact with, and condition the opportunities for, these social movements? How can we explain the successes and failures of such movements?

### PAPERS

#### › Agrarian Capitalism, Genocide, and the Communist Party of Kampuchea

James Tyner *Kent State University*

Between 1975 and 1979, the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) sought to establish a new society governed by a Marxist-Leninist inspired vision of collective ownership. In the process, upwards of two million people perished, through disease, famine, torture, murder, and execution. To date, minimal scholarship has documented the centrality of agrarian transformations as formative of the genocide. Even less work has considered the CPK as constituting a collective, social movement. In this presentation, I argue that the basis of the Cambodian genocide is the problematic of agrarian-based, capital accumulation. More broadly, I position the policies and practices of the CPK within the longer history of agrarian social movements. My central thesis is that upon assuming power, the CPK sought to transform traditional farming practices to a socialist mode of production. However, in so doing the CPK more fully subsumed Khmer society to the dictates of capitalism. Indeed, if we consider seriously the attempted socialist revolution in Cambodia, we see that actually existing socialist agriculture looks a lot like state capitalism.

› **Peasant Protests in Global Production Networks in Southeast Asia**

Sokphea Young *University College London*

As a contribution to a very limited literature on transnational protests in global production networks (GPNs), this paper examines how peasants—assisted by civil society organisations (CSOs)—orchestrate transnational movements targeting governments and transnational corporations in Southeast Asia. Drawing on cases from Cambodia's controversial agro-industries, this paper argues that, although transnational protests of peasants play a very significant role in GPNs, such as in influencing corporate behaviour, their participation in transnational protests undermines their identities, ideologies and autonomy as the latter are often driven by international CSOs. While their transnational protests are seen as a double-edged sword, they should not be neglected by scholars given their power, through collective actions, within the contested spaces of the GPNs' framework. To better understand GPNs in the era of globalisation, the extant debate pertaining to power relations among actors in these GPNs should incorporate CSOs' power.

› **Rice Without Land, Man Without Rights**

Sirithorn Siriwan *Cornell University*

Across the land and rice fields, PM 2.5 smog has been lingering over the landscape of Northern Thai agrarian regions for years. With the wake-up call from citizens in Bangkok and provinces in the central Thailand concerning this “newly emerged” life-threatening situation, the air pollution resulted from burning rice fields for swidden agriculture and burning the highlands for forest products. The domination of this discussion by the contemporary middle class has seen the exclusion of “people from the field” in rural areas from this discourse. Firstly, this paper focuses on the flow and fights for agrarian agency in Thailand after the Thai students' movement for democracy during the 1970s in which the Farmers' Federation of Thailand was established under the concept of moral economy. This united the farmers and the middle-class, walking hand in hand along the road fighting for democracy and agricultural subsistence.

However, in the 2010s in which Thai agrarian agents have progressively become entangled with political instability and unreconcilable divisions of economic classes in contemporary Thailand, the “people from the field” and “people from the city” are no longer joining their hands for the political movement. The second part of this paper's argument examines the notion of “rational economy” when rice farmers have achieved political mobility, as they have become active political actors during this time of economic conundrum. Adding fuel to the fire with air pollution in 2019, the gap between classes has led to the deterioration of the dynamism of Thailand's political landscape. From land rights (to feed farmers' lives) to man's rights (to breathe clean air), agrarian and urban spheres are continuously on the move.

› **Society, State and Party in the “Unilateral Action” Land Reform Campaign in West Java**

Matthew Woolgar *University of Oxford*

During 1963–65 Indonesia witnessed a controversial and sometimes violent communist-backed land reform campaign under the banner of ‘Unilateral Action’. Scholars have differed in their interpretations of what drove the land reform campaign, especially the relative importance of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) directives and social conflict at the grass roots. Existing accounts have also been geographically limited, overwhelmingly focusing on East Java, Central Java and Bali. This paper re-evaluates the dynamics of the land reform campaign by examining the often-overlooked case of West Java. This case study demonstrates the importance of decisions made by the PKI's national leadership, but also indicates the limits on the PKI's control of events. It also highlights the significance of underlying socio-economic conflicts and the salience of varied patterns of state formation. More broadly, the paper points to the value of sub-national comparisons and a longer temporal perspective for furthering our understanding of the dynamics of agrarian struggles in Indonesia and Southeast Asia more broadly.

.....  
**Creative Peacebuilding and Resistance in Indonesia 1**

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Birgit Bräuchler <i>Monash University</i>

**ABSTRACT**

For a long time, research on Indonesia had a strong focus on conflict, which is not surprising, given the long-lasting and repressive regime under president Suharto, infamously launched after the 1965/66 massacres, incidents like the Bali bombing, or interreligious and interethnic violence in post-Suharto Indonesia. Spaces for peacebuilding, reconciliation, coming to terms with the past and resistance against powerholders have only slowly but prominently been opening up over the last two decades. This does not only include space for coping with physical violence and suppression, but also more indirect structural violence inherent in government policies that led to continuing injustices and social inequalities. Whereas arts and cultural performances have been prominent means to implicitly and explicitly express critique towards powerholders in various regions in Indonesia for a long time, new art forms, new media and borrowings from and links to global repertoires of protest aesthetics, networks and strategies are taking this to new levels.

This panel seeks to take stock and develop ideas in what directions future research could lead creative peacebuilding and resistance in form of performative action and/or social movements in Indonesia. These are some of the questions this panel is interested in: Where and in what forms do such initiatives take place? Who are key activists and mobilisers: NGOs, human rights activists, indigenous peoples, elites, youth, scholars, etc.? What elements and strategies are they drawing on? Where and how can different initiatives and movements learn from each other? Where can peace and social movement research inform Indonesian peoples' struggle and, the other way around, where can scholars and peace activists elsewhere learn from the Indonesian experience? We invite paper proposals that provide thick descriptions of creative and performative means for peacebuilding, resistance and struggles for broader social justice, that draw on ethnographic fieldwork and that enable us to foster comparative research and develop an understanding of both their regional specificities and supranational similarities.

## PAPERS

### › Disengagement, Moderation and Resolution Among Radical Groups in Bima, Indonesia

Muhammad Adlin Sila *Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs & State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta*

Studies on how members of radical extremist groups change their radical views on Islam and violence is still understudied. The significance of this study is therefore to provide a database of life stories of former members of radical extremist groups and how they changed their radical views and adopted peaceful ways. The agency's efforts to deradicalize extremist cells remained effective until now. But, they were not optimal enough to ensure that former terrorists could return back to their groups and do not change their radical views. Through 12 months of ethnographic research (2018-2019), I found that patterns of assisting former members of radical groups to combat radical views on Islam and violence are diverse. The key point is to identify and understand why these people adopted radical views and joined the radical extremist group, and how to change their entire views on Islam and violence, as well as distance them again from extremist groups. Overall, this preliminary study asserts that some recruiters of radical extremist organizations have changed their entire views about Islam and violence to a more moderate interpretation. This study will help reformulate the government's program on deradicalization by introducing a new way of combating radical extremism.

### › From Gangsters to Social Workers? The Evolving Role of Preman

Laurens Bakker *University of Amsterdam*

Although Indonesia's entry into the 21st century was marked by a number of preceding and following violent local conflicts, on the whole the country has been remarkably peaceful. 'Remarkably' given existing tensions among religious and ethnic groups as well as political and societal forces building on these. Among others these tensions resulted in the widespread formation of locally and grassroots based vigilante groups who, following the Pemuda Pancasila model, combined a potential for organized violence with a professed dedication to the provision of security and support to (elements of) the local population. These quickly – and often justly – drew criticism for criminal behavior and a disrespect for the law, but it also became clear that if they managed to generate and maintain societal support, they could be social forces to be reckoned with. Over time, many such groups disappeared again, yet others successfully established themselves as societal organizations who threaten violence in some circumstances yet provide assistance and aid in others. Both lines of actions have become structural, with groups establishing armed and trained 'security wings' as well as legal and social support divisions. While these allow for a diverse range of images to present to society at large, several essential issues stand out. First, most of these groups hardly collaborate with regular NGOs, even though their foci frequently and partly overlap in goals and methods. Second, more often than not, these groups emphatically continue to profess their capacity for violence but rather than making use of it, they seek to reach a peaceful agreement that is acceptable to parties. Third, in terms of appearance and public performance they are increasingly combining their established 'militant' repertoires with more general civilian and NGO-like modes of operation. While their visibility is crucial for publicity, its style has diversified with the methods applied.

In this paper I look at the evolving *modus operandi* and performativity of these groups. Considering that the potential of violent societal conflict alone seems to be insufficient to warrant their continued existence, their role in peace-making and increasing social justice needs to be considered in the light of the three issues identified above. The paper will be based on extensive fieldwork with groups in North Sulawesi, East Kalimantan and – to a lesser extent – Jakarta.

### › Love All Serve All: Teaching Human Rights to the Military

Knut D. Asplund *University of Oslo*

Fifteen years ago I had a meeting with two men in the café in the lobby of a 4-star Jakarta hotel. One of the men was a lieutenant colonel from the (this is where we tend to insert a somewhat derogative adjective of some kind like – "notorious") Indonesian Army's Special Forces Kopassus. The other was a human rights lawyer, a specialist in humanitarian law, or the law of armed conflict who had worked for the ICRC (International Committee of the Red Cross). They had come to know each other after the former had sabotaged the latter's car during the still ongoing armed conflict in Aceh. This encounter was the beginning of a ten-year long project teaching humanitarian law and human rights to Indonesian military officers. Drawing on perspectives from political science, among it – peace and conflict studies; law; anthropology; even phenomenology – and not least, the testimonies of those suffering from the conflicts – how do you go about designing such a training programme? Could it be taken for granted that it would have a positive impact? Based on the work with the TNI, what could we assume about development in the past hotbeds of conflict around the country. Has there been any change in the way the TNI approaches them?

## › Neutralizing Social Media and Non-Political Activism

Ario Seto *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*

My paper details the struggle of an online community, Agus-Agus Bersaudara Indonesia (Agus Brotherhood Indonesia, AABI), to avoid political discussions among its members in their Facebook and Whatsapp groups in order maintain community stability while community leaders urge members to chat about philanthropy and charity activism. The struggle contrasts the practices at the dawn of online communication proliferation in Indonesia when netizen enlarged their activities to encompass online political expressions and activism. Exhausted by the current increasing tendency of online hate speech stemming from the 2014 and 2019 national election campaigns, AABI members agreed to 'neutralize social media' by censoring political conversations, jokes, and memes, in order to restore peaceful conversation and to maintain the online community as a non-political enclave.

Such an endeavour is problematic across three levels. First, it denotes a bottom-up view among citizen that 'politics' and 'peace' occupy opposite poles. Peaceful online conversations and consequently peaceful communities, according to AABI members, could only emerge when members restrain their political opinions and ensure a sanitized neutral space for heterogeneous members. Second, if communities are the element of public sphere, such self-censorship, then, signifies the withdrawal of the community from the latter and subsequently from the political sphere. Third, taken together, political avoidance indicates that Indonesian netizens face a problem that they could not solve: tolerance of political difference. In the age of the 'the political', such a non-political turn delivers a setback to civic capacity practices.

.....

## Material Manifestations of Environmental Change ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.405
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Jacobus Bracker <i>University of Hamburg</i>

### ABSTRACT

The proposed panel will discuss the topic of environmental change from an archaeological perspective. Environment, here, is understood in a wide sense including the climatic, political, and cultural environments of societies. In these environments changes occur over time due to innovations, trade, exchange, conflicts, geobiochemical processes, or disasters which interact with and transform societies and their structures. Looking at these changes from an archaeological perspective means observing them by studying the material remains of past societies which reflect environmental changes and transforming social structures for example through changing styles of ornaments, different imagery, materials, or practices or immediate traces of human behavior like destruction, abandonment, repair, or iconoclasm.

The reactions societies show and the transformations in structures give insight into how they deal with times of crises. The panel will discuss environmental change and possible transfers of adaptation and resilience strategies in ancient societies in zones of interaction between Southeast Asia and the Mediterranean by highlighting diverse geographic regions in different times: from ancient Greece, via Gandhara and the Roman empire to the empires of the Lombards and Umayyads, into the region of the Malay Peninsula and the empires of the Cham and Khmer in nowadays Vietnam and Cambodia.

This approach from different archaeologies aims at developing an interdisciplinary method to observe and analyse long-time developments of societies and their complex interdependencies with environments.

### PAPERS

#### › Animal Representations as an Indication of Different Narrative Strategies in Early Buddhist Art

Simone Voegtli *University of Bern*

The stupa of Bharhut, built in central India around 100 BCE, provides the first example of visual narrative in the medium of stone in Buddhist art. During the following centuries early cult monuments were erected in places as far apart as Sañci, Amaravati, and the region of Gandhara. Apart from the different regional architectural concepts that intended various places for the sculpted and carved decoration there were also different modes of visual narratives.

For example, the region of Gandhara developed a distinct strategy of embellishment not only by applying a narrative fries surrounding the stupa's dome but also by choosing the Buddha's historical life as a main motive.

Considering the divers strategies of visual narration on early Buddhist monuments this paper aims to discuss another characteristic that hasn't been regarded so far: The use of animal representations. The presence and importance of the animal as a motive varies considerably in the different examples of narrative art. It sheds a new light on the various strategies that were employed to transfer the message of Buddhism to its first followers on the Indian subcontinent and beyond.

## › Archaeological Explorations into Critical Zones in the Mediterranean and Southeast Asia

Jacobus Bracker *University of Hamburg*

Modern western conceptions of Earth and society follow the categorial difference between nature and culture derived from Cartesian thinking. However, the threat of a world-wide climate catastrophe and the notion of the Anthropocene point to the fact that human agency and nature are densely and complexly entangled.

The paper will take a comparing archaeological view on alternative concepts of nature and culture respectively Earth and society as they become visible in the material remains of the classical Athenian acropolis in Greece, the Cham temple complex of My Son in Vietnam and ancient Angkor in nowadays Cambodia. Especially the remains of buildings, their surface designs (mythical reliefs, floral ornaments), and their placement in the environment reveal many information on how the builders viewed their society's relation to nature and Earth.

The second part of the paper aims at developing a theoretical and methodical framework to analyze these relations. It is proposed to take the concept of the 'Critical Zone' as a starting point. The Critical Zone is "the heterogeneous, near-surface environment in which complex interactions involving rock, soil, water, air, and living organisms regulate the natural habitat and determine the availability of life-sustaining resources." (National Research Council 2001, 2; see also Chorover et al. 2007, 321 seq.). The Critical Zone has been established as a new interdisciplinary research perspective by diverse natural sciences like biology, geology, and hydrology. The complexity of phenomena like climate change made it necessary to take an holistic view on the possible causes and their connectedness. The human involvement, as it becomes apparent in the debate on the geochronological era of the Anthropocene, now invites humanities, especially social and cultural studies to take part in this interdisciplinary discussion (see Ferraro et al. 2018; Latour 2018; Pétursdóttir 2017).

## › Between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean: Why Did the Isthmian Region of the Malay Peninsula Become a Crossroads for Maritime Routes in the Centuries BC/AD?

Brigitte Borell *University of Heidelberg*

Not only the networks of land routes across Eurasia were increasingly developed in the period between roughly 500 BC to AD 500. A similar process took place regarding the networks of sea routes in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. Seafaring in these waters depended on the monsoons. Understanding this predictable wind system was an important factor. In the period addressed here, regional spheres of maritime interaction came into closer contact, sometimes including land crossings in between, resulting in a maritime connectivity extending from the South China Sea to the western Indian Ocean and via the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ultimately to the Mediterranean.

The Malay Peninsula proved to be not so much an obstacle but a contact zone and a 'stepping stone' between searoutes connected here by transpeninsular land crossings. One particular region, which is in the focus of this presentation, came into prominence as attested by the archaeological record. This is the region of the Isthmus of Kra in present-day southern Thailand and southern Myanmar. Numerous archaeological sites on both east and west coasts, among them substantial port-settlements, attest to the long-distance activities in the late centuries BC and the early centuries AD. Finds include artefacts from the sphere of the South China Sea and from Han China, from the Gulf of Bengal sphere and India, as well as from the Mediterranean of the late Hellenistic and Roman period.

A number of factors may have contributed to this development. At present, we are still at the very beginning to come to a better understanding of it, therefore, often only tentative or hypothetical answers will be possible and many questions will remain open.

.....

## Ageing Out of Place: Comparative Perspectives from Southeast Asia

LOCATION Room 1.406

TYPE Single Panel

CONVENERS Megha Amrith *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*  
Victoria Kumala Sakti *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*

### ABSTRACT

Ageing *in place* as a conceptual framework has long dominated policy and gerontological perspectives of what constitutes a 'good life' in older-age. This concept involves the idea of staying in the same or preferred 'place' – narrowly defined as static, rather than fluid and dynamic – over a sustained period of time. Such understanding often assumes that discontinuity in place corresponds to problematic ageing processes. However, as global migration continues to grow and for ever-diversifying reasons, people are more likely ageing across places, in places other than those from which they originate and engaging in diverse practices of place-making. Similarly, many older people who remain 'in place' are shaping and being influenced by family members' migration projects. There is therefore acute need to explore the multiple and shifting experiences of ageing that go beyond a singular understanding of place.

In this panel, we invite contributions to reflect on the linkages of ageing, place and migration. The concept of *ageing out of place* (Lewis 2009) will be critically examined in light of ongoing migration and displacement in Southeast Asia, together with the increasing normalcy of being in and belonging to multiple places at the same time. A comparative focus on Southeast Asia provides a unique opportunity to consider sociocultural and political specificities within the region, such as different regimes of ageing care and of migration; as well as connections between places in light of greater regional integration and mobility, while also critically engaging with dominant assumptions embedded in Euro-American 'models' of ageing. Papers may focus on different kinds of mobilities in and across the region including: temporary and long-term migration, labour migration, political exile and forced migration, or mobilities related to family care or intimacy in older-age. We welcome contributions from different disciplines adopting qualitative, creative or mixed-methods approaches.

## PAPERS

### › Ageing in and out of Place: Perceived Retirement Life and Aging Among Singaporeans Living in Shanghai

Leng Leng Thang *National University of Singapore*

Sylvia Ang *National University of Singapore*

In an age of growth and diversity in global migration, the scholarship on migration has expanded from a focus on labor migration to encompass aging concerns. This is exemplified in the emergence of the field of international retirement migration with a tendency to focus on active and middle-class retirees seeking a better life of leisure overseas (see Warnes, 2009). There is, however, a gap in the literature on understanding post-work migrants and aging. For those who have worked long-term overseas, how do they perceive "aging in place"? Does retirement mean coming home to "age in place"? Or should where they have built up their networks in the past decade be considered the "place" for them to age in? What are some options they have in terms of places to age in, including a third destination country they were neither born in nor worked in? This paper problematizes the concept of ageing in place. How do linkages in aging, retirement, place and migration help us better understand retirement choices, and how will a sense of displacement and ambivalence affect place making, and contribute to the changing meaning of "aging in place" among migrants in this age of global migration and longevity? Through our study focusing on the voices of 16 Singaporeans age 50 and above who are living long-term in China as employers, employees and spouses from project TRACE (Transnational Relations and Care Ethics), we hope to contribute to the understanding of diversifying experiences and perceptions on retirement and aging.

### › Ambivalent Belongings and Place-Bound Framings of Older Age: Experiences of Migrant Domestic Workers over Time

Megha Amrith *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*

Discourses on 'ageing in place' typically take a nation-centered framework of ageing. In so far as migration enters into the discussion, the focus is on the role of migrants in caring for ageing populations who want to age-in-place and receive home-based care. Little is said, however, about the ageing experiences of the thousands of migrants labourers that move across local and national borders in Southeast Asia. This paper focusses on low-wage migrant workers, particularly domestic workers, who work abroad in Singapore over decades. Specifically, it engages with how notions of home, belonging and place come into domestic workers' reflections on their life trajectories and in their imaginaries of the future in older-age. While domestic workers have long been constructed by Singapore's migration and labour frameworks as 'out of place', temporary presences in the wider national imaginary, this paper examines how migrant domestic workers create a sense of home and place in Singapore over time, in spite of living under conditions of long-term precarity and restricted mobility. Yet institutional policies mean that domestic workers must, at age 60, return to and retire in their home countries, places in which they now feel out of place and where questions relating to security, companionship, everyday routines and dependence raise powerful emotional anxieties. Processes of ageing bring into sharp focus the ambivalence of belonging among migrants, as well as the inequalities and static place-bound framings of low-wage labour, pension and social security regimes in contemporary Southeast Asia.

### › Health Inequalities Among Rural Indonesian Elderly: Why Gender Matters?

Muhammad Ulil Absor *Australian National University*

Presently, there are 21 million people aged 60 and over in Indonesia, and this number is projected to increase to 48 million by 2035. A high proportion of these older persons lives in rural areas, commonly being areas from which younger people have moved to the cities, making life more difficult for older adults. The urbanisation of young people raises an essential question about the well-being of the left behind older persons, particularly on their health status. This paper aims to examine the relationship between health status and sex of the elderly, how and in what way it varies across socio-demographic groups of ageing population in rural Indonesia. Data is drawn from the 2016 Ageing in Rural Indonesian Survey (ARIS). This survey employed a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative methods. This paper argues that ageing is not a gender neutral. Elderly women are significantly more likely to have a lower level of health status in four dimensions of health including chronic disease, disability level, psychological impairment and self-rated health than elderly men. The ethnographic content analysis and thematic analysis explain the influence of culture on the health variation between senior women and men. The higher prevalence of female disability and illness might reflect gender inequality across their life course reflected in their education, labour force participation, caring roles, social networks and relaxing activities.

### › The Mobilities and Lifestyle Constellations of Transnational Retirees of Thai Descent

Tassya Putho *University of Surrey*

The mass migration of Thais to the United States was at its peak in the 1970s with the predominant flow of new graduates seeking novel experiences in the 'land of opportunity'. Currently, many of these skilled transnational retirees have transitioned into retirement after working in the United States for most of their lives. They are valuable resources to sending and receiving societies with regards to their accumulated human capital and access to financial freedom and leisure time. Despite being naturalised U.S. citizens, they

engage in everyday mobilisations of culture across multiple geographical spheres. They also opt for significant decisions in later life, including the decision to return or not return to the homeland, entangled within a spectrum of mobility and lifestyle choices. This study adopts a lifestyle-migration lens and qualitative approach to exploring the spectrum of mobilities of this culturally specific group of transnational retirees. Results from 52 interviews conducted in the United States and Thailand with the retirees and their families revealed a fluidity of movements and determinants that were closely linked to familial and social ties, constructs of home and identity, physical and emotional wellbeing, and provisions of care in later life. This research seeks to offer new insights on this particular group of transnational retirees as well as present a comparative study on those with different residential strategies with the ultimate goal to develop Thailand at the community level as the place of return as well as popular travel destination for these transnational retirees.

.....

## Grounding “Alternative Ontologies”: Towards a Political Ecology of Animism 1

**LOCATION** Room 1.501  
**TYPE** Double Panel (Part 1)  
**CONVENERS** Annina Aeberli *University of Bern*  
Christoph Antweiler *University of Bonn*  
Timo Duile *University of Bonn*

### ABSTRACT

Our panel seeks to bring into dialogue two popular approaches in Southeast Asian studies which do not talk much to one another, at least conceptually: materialist-oriented political ecology and, recently blooming, “new animist” studies focusing more on ontological approaches. Such a dialogue is all the more necessary for its potential to turn into a powerful conversation on a common denominator of both approaches: a more or less explicit concern with the disruptive implications of capitalist modernization and alternatives to it. We invite contributions which further the discourse on how “animism” and other non-naturalist ontologies like analogism can be cast in political ecological terms with regard to Southeast Asia. Papers may be empirical and/or conceptual in nature but should explicitly address the political-economic implications of ontologies or the impacts of ecological, political and socio-economic changes on ontologies; they might choose to deal with the following questions:

- How do recent studies on animism in Southeast Asia fit into a political-ecological, historical-materialist frame of reference? E.g.: How do alternative ontological concepts of the environment relate to issues of enclosure, primitive accumulation, resettlement, migration, urbanization, commodification or class struggle?
- How are Southeast Asian animisms actively involved in processes of “modernization”? How do they further – or undermine – specific hegemonic projects?
- How do changes in the physical landscape such as mining or logging and related political and socio-economic processes affect and interact with ontologies? How do ontologies interplay with changing physical landscapes over time? How do people maintain and renegotiate their relationships with the non-human world under change?
- Are there potential alternative trajectories, or “concrete utopias”, arising from an integration of both perspectives, e.g. when looking at a specific empirical case, or by comparison?

An outcome of this panel should be a joint publication as special journal issue or anthology.

### PAPERS

- › **Pacifying the Gods, Exploiting the Resources: A Field Finding from Tayan Hilir, West Kalimantan, Indonesia**  
Julia *University of Bonn*

This paper discusses how local deities are used to legitimize land grabs in Tayan Hilir sub-district of West Kalimantan, Indonesia. I examine the views of the customary leaders on their roles in performing rituals for the companies as a symbol of “asking permission” to the spirit guardians of the land and water before they start their extraction activities. Despite being strong adherents of Islam and Christianity, both Malay and Dayak communities in West Kalimantan are characterized by the hybridization process of Abrahamic religions with their customary religious (animistic) practices and culture proper (e.g. Ahyat 2014). The customary leaders of both communities are the mediator of inter-human relations, and also the mediator (and interpreter) between human-and-non-human nature relations. The role positioned them to have power over the communities, especially by their socio-political position, and authority as the non-human nature mediator. This paper argues that in the context of land grabbing, companies employed a strategy where they approached and “recruited” local customary leaders in order to minimize local resistance on their presence and activities (which first and foremost may come from the customary leaders themselves). Animism and its materialities become the interface of power struggle and negotiation between the owner of the culture-religious belief and the companies. The vacuum of knowledge of the latter on the

animistic practice and the social authority of the customary leader creates this negotiation space between the two parties. However, this space is also prone to elite capture by the customary leaders for their own personal interests.

### › **Twenty-First Century Animism as a Theme of Farmer Activism in Java, Indonesia**

Thomas Reuter *University of Melbourne*

Farmers in Java, Indonesia, have been subjected to interventions beginning with the establishment dual economy in the colonial period (comprising subsistence and export agriculture) and culminating in the Green Revolution during the Suharto period. While traditional Javanese culture does feature a number of animist elements, these are also overlaid with an increasingly literalist Islam. The animism we can expect today thus necessarily takes a modern, reconstituted form, which is likely true for much of Indonesia. This paper describes how this reconstituted animism manifests in political economic and social critiques of industrial agriculture and in alternative trajectories, or “concrete utopias”, based on these critiques. A comparison between three empirical case studies will document the range of different expressions this modern animism can take.

### › **Why Does Animism Persist? An Attempt at Explanation Using the Case of Laos**

Michael Kleinod *University of Bonn*

The persistence of animism in times modernization and globalization contradicts modernization theories which, following Max Weber, suggest an increasing rationalization and reduction of “religious” worldviews. This assumption often also underlies political-ecological accounts which see Southeast Asian spirit territories overrun by a capitalist market logic. So how can we account for animism’s persistence from a political-ecological viewpoint?

Against the backdrop of Critical Theory and World-Ecology, this paper seeks an answer to this question focusing on animism in Laos. On a general level, the persistence of “irrational” attitudes (from a modernist perspective) is explained by the fact that capitalism is not simply a force of rationalization but itself essentially irrational as it keeps individuals powerless regarding their own social fate. Rather than merely liberating actors from a situation of being dominated by external nature, they are increasingly dominated by a social system of “blind” exchange value production. On a more particular level, many regions of Southeast Asia can be considered frontier regions in the global world-economy: they are places of the appropriation of cheap nature and work that is essential for global capital accumulation. In this context “[l]abor power ‘produced’ by peasant formations within reach of capitalist power, but not yet subordinated fully to the law of value, is labor power with a low value composition” (Moore 2011, 24). This is so because such labor power is to a large extent reproduced in “traditional”, uncaptialized and unpaid networks of care and moral economy. Such networks also facilitate to some extent the cheap appropriation of natural resources that often comes with a perpetuation of precarious livelihoods, such as, via resettlement. Moreover, according to Critical Theory animism is itself already part of a logic of nature appropriation. Thus, not least the hierarchical nature of Southeast Asian animism and its “domestication paradigm” of (Arhem 2017) may to some degree even support resource appropriation.

Thus, in the case of Laos, the persistence of animism may be explained by the fact that it is necessitated by violent historical ruptures: it persists precisely through change, not despite of it. The civilizational rationale of the precolonial baan-meuang structure valued positively the turning of the “wild” (pa/kha) into “civilized” space. This symbolic valuation springs from a situation where the “frontier”, as it were, between meuang and non-meuang space was stable on the average over time. It is prolonged by, and may productively tie into, a situation where the frontier is constantly advancing towards the “end of the frontier” (Moore 2014). However, animism’s persistence in Laos and elsewhere consists not just in a simple and smooth cooptation by capitalist dynamics but might as well provide the ground for criticism of environmental plunder.

.....

## **The Evolving Indo-Pacific Construct: Responses from ASEAN and its Major Stakeholders**

LOCATION	Room 1.502
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Rahul Mishra <i>University of Malaya</i>

### **ABSTRACT**

The term Indo-Pacific, which refers to a strategically significant area stretching from the littoral of east coast of Africa to the East Asian waters covering Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific Ocean along the way, has become one of the most debated and speculated terms in contemporary strategic and foreign policy discourse.

First brought into eminence at the highest policy circles by Shinzo Abe, the Japanese Prime Minister, in his speech at the Indian parliament in 2007, Indo-Pacific attempts to combine the strategic thrust of Indian and the Pacific Oceans involving leading maritime powers but leaving China out. In Abe’s terms, it is a vision for the “Confluence of the Indian and Pacific Oceans” as “the dynamic coupling as seas of freedom and of prosperity” in the “broader Asia”.

While an official articulation of the term first appeared in Australia's Defence White Paper, 2013, India, Japan, Indonesia, and the United States have been pitching for the Indo-Pacific as a zone of rule-based order. With the US government actively bringing in Indo-Pacific as the key idea for re-engaging with Asia and maintaining the strategic equilibrium in its favour, the term has gained salience.

However, the emergence of Indo-Pacific has created some uncertainties in the Southeast Asian region leading ASEAN and its member countries to reassess their strategic and foreign policy choices. Competing visions for Indo-Pacific have turned out to be a major aspect in that context. For instance, Indonesia, which claims to have proposed a comprehensive Indo-Pacific, proposes to make it inclusive treaty-based construct similar to ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation.

A major reason for ASEAN's apprehension about Indo-Pacific is that it does not include China as a stakeholder in Indo-Pacific. On the contrary, China has been identified by proponents of Indo-Pacific as a threat to the rules-based order. Both China and Russia are opposed to the Indo-Pacific. While ASEAN and most of its members support a rules-based order, they have been trying their best to avoid a situation where they have to choose between China and the US.

This panel attempts to comprehensively analyze the strategic objectives of Indo-Pacific, ongoing debates about its promises and likely pitfalls, and responses from ASEAN and its major stakeholders including China.

## PAPERS

### › European Responses to the Indo-Pacific Construct: Actors, Policies and Role Change

Sebastian Bersick *Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

The conceptual power of the evolving Indo-Pacific construct is deeply rooted in China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) which allows Beijing to enact the new role as a "transcontinental great power" (Duggan et al. forthcoming). The construction of the Indo-Pacific has to be understood as a counter-reaction of the Trump administration to China's rise and Beijing's increasing economic and military assertiveness. It builds upon and links up with earlier initiatives like the Quad and recent ones like Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy (FOIP). So far, Europe has not played a role in the process of the social construction of the Indo-Pacific as a region that largely encircles mainland China geographically. Yet, this is changing. Why is this so and which factors can explain the related role changes?

Contrary to the largely confrontational US approach the EU and its member states respond to the BRI conceptually by formulating the Europe-Asia connectivity strategy (EC 2018) that puts emphasis on common norms and rules. In addition, the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) that brings together 51 state actors, the EU and the ASEAN Secretariat started to promote ASEM Connectivity. It thus seems that the European response to the reasons that cause the evolution of the Indo-Pacific construct is the continuation of its multilateral engagement strategy vis-à-vis China and the Asian region. But this reading of the EU's overall approach to Asia as a cooperative one would be misleading as it cannot explain a recent and ongoing China-critical turn. Major European state and non-state actors are beginning to perceive China as a threat and are reformulating their respective China strategies accordingly (BDI (Germany) 2019; EC 2019; DCoD (France) 2019).

Using France, Germany and the UK as case studies, a role theoretical approach is used to explain and critically assess European responses to the Indo-Pacific construct. Furthermore, the concept of national role conceptions and its domestic as well as external contestation will be applied in order to analyse the on-going revisions of European policies regarding China and the implication of the former for the regional policy space.

---

## Governance for Climate Change Adaptation in Southeast Asia: History, Anthropology, and Political Economy ①

LOCATION Room 1.503

TYPE Laboratory (Part 1)

CONVENER Tom Hoogervorst *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

### ABSTRACT

- How well have Southeast Asian societies responded to climate-related crises in the twentieth century?
- Did they learn from past crises? (That is, how much adaptive capacity was there?)
- How can we explain variance in their responses and adaptive capacities across Southeast Asia?
- What does this tell us about likely responses to such crises in the twenty-first century?
- How can these questions be most fruitfully investigated?

Organisers invite scholars of/from Southeast Asia interested in developing an empirical understanding of climate change-related adaptive capacities in the real, historical world.

Participants will seek to develop ideas leading to a common approach, with a view to future research collaboration.

The laboratory will be interesting to historians, anthropologists, and political scientists, and to natural scientists interested in collaborating with them on policy issues.

#### PARTICIPANTS

- › Agus Suwignyo *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
- › Alan Frendy Koropitan *Bogor Agricultural University*
- › Annemarie Samuels *Leiden University*
- › Bart Barendregt *Leiden University*
- › Daniel Oliver Paulsen *University of Bergen*
- › Dennis Gupa *University of Victoria*
- › Gerry van Klinken *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*
- › Greg Bankoff *University of Hull*
- › Leontine Becking *Wageningen University*
- › Mira Rochyadi-Reetz *Technische Universität Ilmenau*
- › Mohamad Yusuf *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
- › Peter Mulder *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*
- › Sander Tetteroo *Leiden University*
- › Sartika Intaning Pradhani *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
- › Sikko Visscher *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*
- › Sonny Mumbunan *University of Indonesia*

.....

## Reverberations of an Occupation: Indonesian Wartime Connections Between Postwar Societies

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	William Bradley Horton <i>Akita University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Peter Post <i>NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies</i>

#### ABSTRACT

War in general is a site of encounter between nations, ethnic groups and cultures. World War II— including the early postwar period—was certainly a dynamic period of change and contact in Indonesia. These wartime experiences and interactions certainly affected the lives and activities of many of these individuals after the war. In some cases, this could have been a purely personal influence, but in other cases knowledge, acquaintances and networks from the wartime and early postwar would have been available for professional use. In the case of elites, it is likely to have affected professional interactions and decisions in various areas such as foreign affairs, politics, military policy, and business.

Whether an ethnic Chinese translator for Sukarno in his postwar engagements with Japan, former Peta officers negotiating the cold war international and domestic environments like Col. Zulkifli Lubis, Japanese officers who underwent lengthy postwar trials by Allied courts before returning to Japan like General Hitoshi Imamura, or Indonesian nationalists engaged in postwar negotiations related to reestablishment of relations like Subagio Reksodipuro or Subardjo, the possibility of important wartime influence on a personal or profession level needs to be considered for this new postwar, independent

period. This panel seeks to explore the histories of a range of individuals connected by experiences in Indonesia during the 1940s which potentially affected their personal and professional interactions.

## PAPERS

### › Military Personnel and Japanese Occupation Period Networks

Kaoru Kochi *Kanda University of International Studies*

During the Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies, the Japanese Army and Navy created several military organizations for native peoples, including the Seinen D?j? (Barisan Pemuda, or Youth Column), established in Tangerang in 1942, the auxiliary army/navy force Heiho which began recruiting in 1943, the volunteer self-defense force PET? (Pembela Tanah Ai?) established in 1943, and Laskar Hizbullah (a Muslim version of PETA). Certainly the primary motivation for Japanese to give military training to Indonesians in (quasi-)military organizations was make up for the shortage of Japanese soldiers caused by transfers to various fronts. For local peoples, however, it was a first and foremost a very precious opportunity for substantial military training.

This presentation will explore the network of military personnel trained by the Japanese, the roles they played, their carrier development, and the domestic/international connections they developed.

After the declaration of Indonesian independence in August 1945, personnel trained in those wartime organizations formed the core of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) and its predecessors during the Independence War. Among the many Indonesians trained by the Japanese were the future president, General Suharto, the future minister and Army Commander General Achmad Yani, and Lt. Gen. Sarwo Edhie Wibowo. The myth that the TNI was the only group of Indonesians ready to defend Indonesian independence to the death reinforced their authoritative position in post-war Indonesia. Along with the development of TNI and their dwifungsi (dual-function) ideology, those officers also deepened their involvement in social/political spheres and took more and more important roles.

Although soldiers trained during the war maintained a kind of fraternity, they did not always share political inclinations. Zulkifli Lubis, who built the Indonesian intelligence system and thus left a lot of mystery about himself, was accused of being the mastermind of a plot to murder President Sukarno and then joined the revolt against Sukarno. Military officers close to Zulkifli were dropped out of the main stream.

Officers trained during the Japanese occupation were not locked into the domestic environment, but also had opportunities to engage with the outside world. Military business links resulted in foreign contact. Additionally, some officers including Sukarno's favorite, Achmad Yani had opportunities to study at Fort Leavenworth. Zulkifli, as an intelligence official could get in touch with the CI?. Former seinen kunrensh? assistant instructor Rukminto Hendraningrat was entrusted with the critical position of ambassador in Japan in the pivotal years after 1965.

Tracing the careers and interactions of a limited number of officers helps us to understand the extent to which wartime networks influenced the military and political development of Indonesia in the postwar era, not only under the Sukarno regime but also under Suharto's New Order Regime. In that sense, those personnel show continuity from the Pacific War, the Independence War to the postwar era.

### › The Man Behind a Defeated General's Wining Life

Mayumi Yamamoto *Miyagi University*

The third president of the Batavia BC class war tribunal, L. F. de Groot, left Indonesia for the Netherlands before announcement of the "not-guilty" verdict for General Imamura Hitoshi. Although proceeding had started much earlier, this was one of the final court cases handled by the court, and the not-guilty verdict was said to be the reason for President de Groot's unexpectedly sudden departure.

Imamura Hitoshi, the first commander during the Japanese occupation of Java by the 16th Army, is well-known figure. It can be said that Imamura was admired and had a good reputation in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and Japan. His smooth and relatively gentle management of the shift from Dutch colonial rule to Japanese rule resulted in less tension, including with the Dutch population, than during the tenure of any other commanders in Java. Despite his "liberal" administration in that period, as a military commander overseeing both the invasion force and the initial occupation government in Indonesia, it is no surprise that he was accused of negligence with respect to his troops' misbehavior. However, thanks to the professionalism of de Groot, Imamura was able to return to Japan alive, and could live quietly in a suburb of Tokyo, writing and rewriting his memoirs in a three tatami mat hut located next to his house.

General Imamura is still remembered by a large part of the Japanese public, and a smaller number of Indonesians and Dutch, but not so de Groot. The two men respected each other and occasionally exchanged letters, a custom followed even by Imamura's eldest son after Imamura passed away. The two were wartime enemies and had very different views, but with reverence. In this presentation, I would like to examine the characters of both Imamura and de Groot and their relationship through examination of court documents for the Batavia BC Class Court, including the interrogation records and courts verdicts, as well as memoirs and correspondence. What did make them keep corresponding with each other? Are there any keys to understand how even Imamura's family felt a relationship with de Groot? While other cases are not known, it is not impossible that similar relationships could have existed between other individuals, making this case even more interesting.

In history, it is not necessary to be a winner to become legendary—sometimes even in defeat legendary status perseveres, as in memorable military leaders like Caesar, Napoleon, and Imamura Hitoshi. Despite Japan's defeat in the war, admiration of Imamura's leadership has never ceased. Even today, the Japanese business world sees his military management and strategies as a role model for business leadership. Ironically, the victorious man who gave justice to Imamura in the years before Imamura wrote his memoirs is nearly forgotten, however, their relationship may be important for understanding Imamura after the war.

## › Wartime Experiences, Colossal Blunders and Renewed Friendships: Putting Faces and Historical Context into the Reestablishment of Japanese-Indonesian Relations in the 1950s

William Bradley Horton *Akita University*

Following the end of the war, diplomatic ties between Indonesia and Japan first had to pass through Dutch hands, and it was only in the 1950s that Japan and Indonesia had formal contact through negotiations over reestablishment of diplomatic relations, war reparations, trade, and educational affairs. Individuals involved in these negotiations, including the San Francisco treaty negotiations where Foreign Minister Achmad Subardjo had to make a quick decision to sign the peace treaty, contingent on payment of reparations, albeit with an oral agreement of the Prime Minister—a colossal blunder seen through the looking glass of Indonesian politics. The Indonesian ambassador to Japan, Raden Sudjono, also participated in the conference, as did a number of other Indonesian nationalist functionaries. Seen conventionally, the San Francisco Peace Treaty delegation was a unit without any background, with the face of Foreign Minister Subardjo. Similarly, subsequent negotiations with Japan were done primarily by faceless functionaries, with top politicians taking responsibility for the results.

This paper seeks to examine the backgrounds of some of the key Indonesians involved in the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference as well as some of the many individuals more generally involved with the reestablishment of normal relations between Japan and Indonesia as a step towards understanding how the experiences and networks of the Japanese period, or even in the 1930s, could have influenced events in the critical 1950s. Raden Sudjono and his wife were prominent figures during the Japanese occupation of Java, and his appointment as ambassador to Japan was both surprising and natural, as he would bring both linguistic ability and a wide range of contacts from both his student days and years in Gunseikanbu. Foreign Minister Subardjo was not without contacts in Japan, both from a visit in the 1930s when Sudjono had introduced him to key cultural figures in Japan, but also from his close association to the Navy representatives in Jakarta—Maeda and his aides. Could these contacts have been a significant factor in making difficult decisions like that in San Francisco?

While each case is certainly unique, most individuals of significance in the 1950s had significant experiences and contacts with Japan or Japanese in the 1940s. Examination of these prewar and wartime contacts helps us understand professional interactions and decisions in various areas such as foreign affairs, politics, military policy, and business.

.....

## Traditional Art, Community and Environmental Discourse: Wayang Puppet Theatre in Global Contexts ①

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Matthew Isaac Cohen <i>University of Connecticut</i>
DISCUSSANT	Catherine Diamond <i>Soochow University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Puppet theatre (*wayang*) in traditional communities of the agrarian societies of western Indonesia has long been a means for evoking, dramatizing, addressing and supplicating supernatural beings associated with the natural environment; disseminating information about best practices and taboos in relation to agriculture, forestry and fishing; and defining and reinforcing bonds of community. Ritual dramas performed annually in villages and propitious sites are participatory rites sponsored and attended by communities.

Due to changes in religious belief and practice (particularly Islamization), education, the industrialization of agriculture and commercial fishing, migration and urbanization, the centrality of these wayang ritual dramas and associated local knowledge is etiolating. They are premised on traditional techniques, predictable monsoons and agricultural and fishing seasons – regular patterns thrown into disarray by rapid modernization, climate change and global challenges. Wayang is being sponsored by communities no longer defined by geographical proximity but also involve actively members who participate from afar, such as migrant workers in South Korea. Local traditions survive as heritage but are often no longer “in good working order,” in philosopher Alisdair Macintyre’s terms, as they fail to recognise significant changes.

There exists, however, potential in revitalizing these archaic and residual ritual drama forms and associated myths to address the pressing environmental issues confronting western Indonesia today such as coastal erosion, flooding, sinking cities, air and water pollution. This panel, which emerges from a collaborative research project conducted by UK-based and Indonesian researchers, examines the re-definition of wayang interpretive communities under globalization; residual and archaic environmental functions of wayang; contemporary efforts by coterie of activists, academics, agrarian communities and artists to link wayang to environmental causes; and, more generally, the potential of wayang to comprehend, communicate and intervene in environmental discourses and other global challenges.

### › **Cembengan: The Etiolation of Wayang Ritual Drama and Local Knowledge**

Dewanto Sukistono *Indonesian Institute of the Arts, Yogyakarta*

Cembengan is a ritual held once a year to mark the beginning of the sugar cane grinding at the PT. Madu Baru PG/PS Madukismo, Yogyakarta and other sugar factories. It lasts several days and always begins and ends with an all-night wayang performance. First, it starts with an offering (ancak-ancak tumpeng sewu) that is placed at certain sacred places and followed by a wayang kulit (shadow puppet theatre) performance at Parangkusumo beach. A pilgrimage is undertaken to Ki Ageng Giring's grave in Gunungkidul, a cemetery in Kotagede, the kings' cemetery in Imogiri, and the cemetery of predecessors who worked at the sugar cane factory. Finally, there is an offering ritual inside the factory and a pageant (kirab tebu temanten), concluding with a wayang kulit performance.

In the past, the wayang play selected was related to the local people's relationship with the environment, agriculture, and agrarian life. Due to recent social cultural changes, the wayang ritual now serves a new function, namely as an entertainment. Its story and meaning is no longer a priority and the show is separated from the ritual processes.

This paper aims to explain how wayang kulit performance could be a communication space to reconnect people to nature and promote awareness of ecological considerations.

### › **Sujarah Penatah (A History of Wayang Carvers): Narrative, Creativity, Legitimacy**

Bima Raharja *Universitas Gadjah Mada*

The names of wayang puppet makers or penatah (in Javanese) are well known among puppetry aficionados in Indonesia, but little tends to be known about their biographies. It is as if their personalities are overwhelmed by the greatness of their art work. In Yogyakarta's wayang tradition, a number of names such Resapenatas, Maraguna, Kertiwanda, Prawirasucitra, Prayitnawiguna and Bundhu are very well known. All are considered great wayang makers or artists, with distinct aesthetic styles, but almost all details of their lives are unknown. The only substantial written text to concern penatah is a manuscript titled *Sujarah Panatah (A History of Wayang Carvers)* written in the early 20th century in Yogyakarta. Tales about carverstake the form of wayang plays. In one play, Ki Mangunwiguna teaches his son how to make a wayang based on prior exemplars. The author of the text tries to connect factual stories and myths about the gods. As in bad stories about kings of yore, wayang makers are presented as if they are also not just ordinary people. This is a means to establish their legitimacy. They are chosen, because they are able to communicate with gods. Alongside the text are wayang-style illustrations, supplementing the creativity of the narrative. This paper will consider the factual basis and validity of stories collected in the *Sujarah Penatah*, the way the text understands the origins of creativity and its mode for legitimising wayang makers and the continuity of their craft.

### › **The Ritual Use of Wayang for Controlling the Natural Environment in Dutch Colonial Literature**

Sietske Rijpkema *Royal Holloway, University of London*

Javanese wayang (shadow puppetry) and its ritual use in traditional and agrarian communities has been described in several 19th and 20th century Dutch colonial writings. Dutch descriptions focus on how wayang ritual drama is used to manage and control the natural environment: averting plagues of rats and severe diseases, invoking rain for agricultural purposes or to ward off natural disasters – such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and floods – that affect local communities. Puppeteers are considered to have cosmological powers and the ability to communicate with supernatural beings which they utilize to bring about changes in the environment to fulfill the needs of local communities.

Generally, colonial literature about wayang theatre served as an instrument for colonial rule and was influenced by an interest in linguistic aspects in the 19th century, as well as an interest in the mystical elements of wayang and Javanese tradition under the influence of the Theosophical Society at the beginning of the 20th century. This paper explores how ritual wayang performances were discussed, which aspects were highlighted, and how these texts relate to other colonial literature that address wayang performances in general or in specific reference to environmental issues. Published writings by scholars such as R. Inggis and G.A.J. Hazeu, as well as unpublished writings by J.L. Moens, are considered. The paper explores how ritual practices have been described in areas such as Kedu and Karangjati, concentrating on which lakon (plots, narratives) are used by dhalang, among these Watugunung, Banyurolas, Eramba and Mekukuhan, and how these are accompanied and completed by sesajen (ceremonial offerings of food, flowers and so on) and other ritual practices. It explores how the colonial written sources reflect the interests of colonial rule as opposed to writings by Javanese wayang experts.

## Social Inequality and Sociocultures in Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Boike Rehbein <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Benjamin Baumann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Vincent Houben <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

### ABSTRACT

The panel deals with social inequality in Southeast Asia against the background of a new theoretical framework. The framework argues that social inequality in contemporary nation states is rooted in hierarchies that emerged in earlier historical periods. The hierarchies, which the framework refers to as sociocultures, shape social classes in contemporary societies and partly persist beneath and next to these classes. The configuration of sociocultures and social classes can be studied empirically in a combination of historical research, qualitative interviews and quantitative instruments. The panel presents the findings of studies in Cambodia, China, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. It also presents an outline of the theoretical framework itself and a general overview of social inequality and sociocultures in Southeast Asia.

### PAPERS

#### › Introduction: The Concept of Socioculture

Vincent Houben *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

#### › Social Inequality and Sociocultures in Laos

Boike Rehbein *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Current forms of social inequality are results of long historical processes. Even after deep social transformations, e.g. in the wake of wars or revolutions, earlier social structures do not simply disappear. They rather persist to some degree, while at the same time pre-structuring the forms of inequality that develop after the transformation. This is particularly evident in societies which experienced transformations only recently. Laos even experienced two such transformations, namely the socialist revolution in 1975 and the introduction of a market economy in 1986. The paper shows how social structures that developed before and after 1975 still shape the currently emerging structure of social classes, which is typical for capitalist societies. These persisting hierarchies are called sociocultures. The paper first introduces the concepts of socioculture and social class before proceeding to outline the two sociocultures in question and the contemporary structure of social classes.

#### › Social Inequality and Sociocultures in Vietnam

Herrmann Königs *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

This paper deals with the relevant sociocultures for contemporary social inequality in Vietnam and presents preliminary findings from 40 life-course interviews. The relevant structures that inform contemporary inequality in Vietnam are the village, Buddhist, Confucian, colonial, socialist and capitalist sociocultures. However, only the two latest sociocultures are relevant for the emerging structure of social classes. All sociocultures are still relevant on the symbolic level, while the Confucian socioculture still informs contemporary (patriarchal) gender and family structures. The land reform of 1953-56 in the socialist North and the Northern victory over the western-oriented South in 1975 meant a profound break with the previous Confucian and colonial social structures, at least on the level of class inequality. Both events aimed at ousting the previously powerful people while bringing those on the side of the communists to power, thereby establishing the rule of the communist party over all fields of society and introducing a socialist structure. A renovation process initiated since the mid-1980s, dubbed Doi Moi, introduced capitalism as a new form of social hierarchy. Thus, Vietnam's current class structure is informed mainly by these two sociocultures. The party hierarchy is still the most relevant and powerful social structure, while the new domestic capitalists emanated entirely from upper positions in the party-state. Capitalism produced also a number of small-scale entrepreneurs as well as a marginalized group at the bottom of the social hierarchy, while leading to a re-evaluation of certain professions in the middle.

#### › Social Inequality in Thailand

Sirima Thongsawang *Chulalongkorn University*

The paper studies social inequality in contemporary Thailand. It argues that a pre-capitalist socioculture combines with a capitalist structure of social classes to form a peculiar double-faced hierarchy. While in the capitalist structure, social classes are emerging, they are linked to a hierarchy rooted in the earlier sakkina and baan-muang structures. This will be demonstrated with reference to a multiple correspondence analysis of important habitus traits in contemporary Thai society. The study discerns seven habitus types, one being rooted in the village, two in the royalist structure, three in capitalism and one cutting across the dividing line between pre-capitalism and capitalism. The paper draws on 62 qualitative interviews, which were conducted and interpreted on the basis of a methodology inspired by the documentary method.

## Myanmar: One Year Ahead of the Next Elections

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Round Table
CONVENER	Michael Lidauer <i>Myanmar Institute</i>

### ABSTRACT

Elections have shaped Myanmar's recent history. In 2010, elections marked the end of the authoritarian military regime and the beginning of a quasi-civilian government that proclaimed a transition towards a more democratic state. In 2015, the first free elections since 1990 brought Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy (NLD) to power while key ministries and parts of parliament remained under military control. Many of the high expectations that surrounded this electoral turn both internationally and in country remained unfulfilled. The nascent peace process, seeking to reconcile long-standing grievances and violence between ethnic armed groups and the central government, appeared to stall. Some newly introduced liberties, in particular those concerning the freedom of the media and the freedom of speech, were revoked, and an authoritarian governmental style seemed to return. Internationally most visible, however, was the expulsion of the Rohingya from Rakhine State into Bangladesh, including numerous grave human rights violations. In 2020, the people of Myanmar will go again to the polls, this time with an NLD-appointed election commission in charge of the administration. This roundtable seeks to take stock of Myanmar's politics, societal developments and international relations one year ahead of the next general elections expected for the end of 2020. The roundtable will provide a platform for three invited speakers from Myanmar to share insights, framed by an introduction to the electoral system and an academic commentary. A representative of the German foreign office will also be invited to join the panel. The roundtable will be co-organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation who also facilitates the participation of speakers from Myanmar.

### PARTICIPANTS

- › Axel Harneit-Sievers *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*
- › Michael Lidauer *Myanmar Institute*
- › Saw Chit Thet Tun
- › Su Mon Thazin Aung *Institute for Strategy and Policy, Yangon*
- › U Myo Win *Smile Foundation*
- › Yin Yadanar Thein *Free Expression Myanmar*

# Session 2

WEDNESDAY 11:00–12:30

---

Room 1.101	The Political Economy of Southeast Asian States
Room 1.102	Sectarian Identity Formation and Intra-Group Muslim Rivalries in Southeast Asia
Room 1.103	The Rhetoric of Gender and Sexual Codes in Contemporary Indonesia ②
Room 1.201	New Persons in Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.204	The Labour Movement(s) in Southeast Asia: Historical Contingencies and Contemporary Challenges ②
Room 1.308	Policing and Religion: Policing Religion in Late Colonial and Postcolonial Asia
Room 1.401	Creative Peacebuilding and Resistance in Indonesia ②
Room 1.403	Continuing Negotiations of History, Identity, and Nation in Philippine Literary Production
Room 1.404	Being Young Vietnamese in Post-Socialist European Countries
Room 1.405	Material Manifestations of Environmental Change ②
Room 1.406	Crop Booms in Borderlands: Perspectives from Southeast Asia ①
Room 1.501	Grounding “Alternative Ontologies”: Towards a Political Ecology of Animism ②
Room 1.503	<b>LABORATORY</b> Governance for Climate Change Adaptation in Southeast Asia: History, Anthropology, and Political Economy ②
Room 1.504	Ethnic Organizations and Cooperation of Multiple Stakeholders in Strengthening Transition and Promoting Diversity in Myanmar
Room 1.505	Traditional Art, Community and Environmental Discourse: Wayang Puppet Theatre in Global Contexts ②
Room 1.506	Social Inequality and Sociocultures in Southeast Asia ②
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>ROUND TABLE</b> “Listen to Your Eyes”: Multimedia Story-Telling and the Future(s) of Academic Publishing

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/2](http://euroseas2019.org/session/2)

# The Political Economy of Southeast Asian States

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Pietro P. Masina <i>University of Naples L'Orientale</i> Terence E. Gomez <i>University of Malaya</i>

## ABSTRACT

The role of Southeast Asian states in economic development has been at the centre of multiple debates. Relevant literature noted that part of the region was inspired by the East Asian development state model although, with the only exception of Singapore, state interventions generally lacked the level of strategic and effective coordination typical of Northeast Asia. An expansion of the regional multi-layered subcontracting system since the late 1980s progressively integrated all Southeast Asian countries in (largely foreign-led) production networks. The reorganization of the regional production system was accompanied by trade liberalization and policies aimed at attracting Foreign Direct Investment. The vulnerability inherent in export-oriented industrialization was a fundamental cause of the regional economic crisis 1997/98, but the post-crisis recovery was accompanied by a further intensification of the same FDI-led industrialization model, with a more prominent integration of new countries (notably Vietnam, and later on Cambodia in garment).

The economic miracle rhetoric promoted by the World Bank just ahead of the regional crisis was succeeded by a new discourse emphasizing the limits of industrial upgrading and catching up with the West and the first generation of Asian NIEs. The region is now presented by the same World Bank as engulfed in a "middle-income trap". The "trap" debate does not deny the role of many countries as exporters of manufactured goods, but underlines the fact that GDP per capita growth is too slow to allow a convergence with industrialized countries.

Against this critical background the panel aims at exploring the role of Southeast Asian states in pursuing economic development during the last thirty years. On the one hand, the focus is on the interpretation of the policies that have been implemented to accompany FDI-led industrialization models. On the other hand, the attention is on the debates within the countries and on the alternative visions that have emerged, helping to shed light on national decision-making processes. The dependent position of Southeast Asian countries in foreign-led production networks and the hegemonic role of neo-liberal discourses on development have certainly reduced the autonomy of national policies. At the same time, however, the recent global crisis has again emphasized the role of states within a globalized economy. The panel, therefore, is looking at how Southeast Asia states have coped with foreign influences but also at how institutions, competing interests and local power structures have contributed to shaping national policies.

This panel proposal is connected with the ongoing Horizon 2020 CRISEA, but we hope to receive paper proposals also from colleagues not involved in this project.

## PAPERS

### › **BRI, Investment Flows and New State-Business Relations: A Case Study of China's Investments in Malaysia**

Terence E. Gomez *University of Malaya*

In Southeast Asia, the implications of these new state-state relations leading to new forms of state-business relations (SBRs), precipitated by China's promotion of its Belt-Road Initiative (BRI), as well as independent business ventures are the focus of this article. What are the outcomes of these different sorts of SBRs? What are the factors that have contributed to the construction of such state-state relations, more so when they appear to favour China and its state-owned enterprises (SOEs)? The primary focus of this assessment of new SBRs is their functionality and viability with primary concern being the need to understand how the system, in its diversity, works or does not work. A case study will be provided of China's investments in Malaysia.

### › **Regulatory Regionalism and State Transformation: A Case Study of Hydropower Development in Laos**

Ome Chattranond *Maharakham University*

Regionalism has become a significant aspect of development in Southeast Asia, where national marketization and governance reforms go hand in hand and have led to a regionalization of economic activities. The creation of regional markets for goods and services across Southeast Asia is the main outcome of this regionalization process. However, the governance of the new regional markets has not kept pace with the deepening of the markets.

This paper analyses the integration of regional markets in Southeast Asia by focusing on so-called regulatory regionalism. It is a process in which governance at the regional level is shaped by inter-state politics, and influenced by transnational capital. Yet, regionalism in this case consists more of the regulation of national and regional markets rather than norm-setting by supranational institutions.

The analysis focuses on a case study of the hydropower sector in Laos, which serves to illustrate the transnational governance complex of investment and development. Our study concludes that liberalization and deregulation have placed developing countries such as

Laos at the receiving end of processes of globalization, and have taken away these countries' main tools for independent development policies. We argue that regulatory regionalism, on the one hand, has become an instrument to redress the limited development capacity of the state, while, on the other hand, it deepens the country's dependency on and sensitivity to the regional and global political economy.

› **State, Capital, and Labour in Post-Doi Moi Vietnam**

Pietro P. Masina *University of Naples L'Orientale*

One of the main features of the doi moi (renovation) process in Vietnam since the early 1990s has been the attraction of foreign direct investment to accelerate the industrialization process – until the mid 2000s through joint-ventures with state owned enterprises and in the following period prevalently in the form of 100% foreign ownership. Since WTO admission in 2007 Vietnam actually became one of the largest FDI recipient among developing countries. Strong attraction of foreign investment – or increased FDI dependence – was connected to a hyper-liberal turn in the Vietnamese development strategy promoted by former Prime minister Nguyen Tan Dung. Foreign capital contributed to a rapid expansion of employment in manufacturing, especially in labour-intensive activities. The country became an important manufacturing hub in electronics and garment, but industrial workers continued to be exposed to hard working conditions, low wages and precariousness. Vietnam seemed therefore to follow the steps of other regional countries which were pursuing an FDI-led, export-oriented model of industrialization. However, a closer look at the Vietnamese experience also reveals a rather distinctive way in which relations between state, capital and labour are addressed. First, industrial disputes and strikes are much more common than in other countries of the region and they are hardly repressed by local and national authorities. Second, the Vietnamese General Confederation of Labour – a party-affiliated organization – continues to play an important role in supporting workers interests: although at factory level its representatives are often appointed by the management and de facto it cannot organize strikes, it intervenes to promote negotiations with firms once spontaneous strikes have emerged; at the same time it operates nationally to promote pro-labour legislation and lobbies with the government each year to increase the minimum wage. Third, the state and the party maintain an ambiguous attitude in the relation with capital and labour – largely supporting the interest of foreign investors, but at the same time consenting industrial strikes possibly as a way to achieve bargaining power with foreign capital.

› **The Challenge of Building Inclusionary Institutions: Subnational Variation of Contention in Philippine Mining**

Jewellord Tolentino Nem Singh *Leiden University*

While states promote inclusionary institutions in order to guarantee citizens in making informed choices over crucial political decisions, the design and implementation of such arrangements are often fraught with significant opposition. Reforms that seek to empower mining communities, such as the free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) as well as community-based assembly, have yielded mixed results at best. In the Philippines where strong public opinion against large-scale mining persists, efforts to institutionalize political participation of indigenous and mining communities have failed to protect their ancestral lands and promote a politics of redistribution. This paper examines the multiple logics of institutional design in mining regimes at the sub-national levels: on the one hand, the efforts to promote large-scale mineral extraction; and on the other hand, the progressive movement towards the institutionalization of social and cultural rights of minority groups impacted by resource exploitation. We argue that the weakness of designing inclusionary institutions stems from the dynamics of contention between elites and local social forces – in particular – the strength or weakness of collective action in relation to states and mining companies. The paper examines three cases in which state response to political pressures for inclusion varied as a result of different mobilizational capacity of mining and indigenous communities in the Philippines: a highly inclusionary arrangement in Benguet, co-optation of communities in Surigao del Norte, and state repression against communities in Mindanao.

.....

**Sectarian Identity Formation and Intra-Group Muslim Rivalries in Southeast Asia**

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Alexander R. Arifanto <i>Nanyang Technological University</i> Saleena Saleem <i>University of Liverpool</i>
DISCUSSANT	Saskia Schäfer <i>Freie Universität Berlin</i>

**ABSTRACT**

This panel examines the dynamics of sectarianism in Muslim-majority countries in Southeast Asia, as well as in those countries with significant Muslim minority communities. The panel aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of sectarianism and the development of intra-Muslim group contestations by focusing on the multiple factors that shape modern sectarian identity formation within Southeast Asian Muslim communities. By moving away from rigid, primordial-centred and theologically-rooted conceptualisations of sectarian divides, the panel instead demonstrates the workings of multiple structural factors and contextual drivers in the construction of sectarian identities such as the politicisation of ethno-religious identities; competition over access to state recognition and resources; political uncertainty or change;

subnational contestations over reinterpretations of religious traditions; and transnational ideological influences. Through the empirical examples provided in the papers of this panel, we seek to answer fundamental questions on why, when and how modern sectarian identities are variously emphasised and de-emphasised by different political, religious and social actors, as a consequence of the high salience or low salience of identifiable structural and contextual drivers in the different national contexts studied. The panel convenes junior and senior scholars of Muslim societies in Southeast Asia to address these questions from a sociological and political science interdisciplinary perspective.

## PAPERS

### › **Hegemonic Islam and Pressures for Change: Constructing “Liberal” Muslims in Malaysia**

Saleena Saleem *University of Liverpool*

This paper examines the social and political factors that contributed to the development of intra-Muslim group contestations centred around reinterpretations of religious traditions, and the consequent construction of new forms of divisions within the Muslim community in Malaysia. The paper builds on Cesari’s argument that a ‘Muslim national habitus’ was created when Islamic institutions became part of the state system in post-colonial Muslim-majority countries (2016). In the Malaysian context, the Muslim national habitus resulted in a hegemonic version of Islam and exclusivist discourses on Malay dominance. This created growing pressures for change from affected segments of society, from both the non-Muslim ethnic minorities and from within the Muslim majority community.

Through an examination of the example of a reformist-oriented Muslim women’s group that challenged hegemonic Islam in Malaysia, the paper elucidates why and how opposing political, religious and civil society actors variously responded to these pressures for change. In doing so, these actors constructed a discourse of the ‘liberal’ Muslim, which effectively rendered some Muslim groups as an inauthentic other. In light of recent political changes in Malaysia, the paper concludes with a consideration of the implications of this form of identity divisions within the Muslim community in Malaysia.

### › **Ideological Cleavages in Muslim Communities: The Liberal-Conservative Divide in Singapore**

Walid Jumblatt Bin Abdullah *Nanyang Technological University*

Much attention has been devoted to the study of sectarian cleavages within Muslim communities: typically, these studies revolve around theological divisions, for instance, the Sunni-Shia or the Sufi/traditionalist-Salafi divides. While these cleavages are undeniably pertinent, this paper focuses on a division within Muslim communities which is not analysed as much: the liberal-conservative cleavage.

The paper focuses on the Singapore Muslim community. I postulate the following: 1) religious identities or cleavages may, and do, exist regardless of state politicization of these identities, and 2) in the case of Singapore, both liberals and conservatives generally attempt to court the state and work within what has been defined as acceptable, rather than challenge the parameters set by the state. In the process of doing so, neither liberal nor conservative Muslims can claim to be faithful to liberal or conservative principles, but rather, have to make pragmatic compromises.

This study challenges the sectarianization thesis posited by Hashemi and Posner (2017) by arguing that Muslim identities are dependent on the agency of individuals, and are not necessarily the consequence of state politicization. To be sure, states most definitely attempt to wield influence over religious communities, but actors do possess agency, and Muslim identities must be understood from the lens of the protagonists themselves, while not discounting the role the state may play in shaping identities.

### › **Whither Sectarianization in Indonesia? An Examination of Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah Relations**

Alexander R. Arifianto *Nanyang Technological University*

The sectarianization thesis (Hashemi & Posner 2017) argues that ethno-religious cleavages between different Islamic sects within a given society occurs because their identities are politicized by state actors and elites to keep themselves in power. In the examination of the Indonesian case, I find while state actors do politicize and manipulate identities of different Indonesian Islamic groups – especially during Suharto’s authoritarian rule (1966-98) – cleavages between these groups also arises (and declines) due to how do the groups identify themselves vis-à-vis the other groups. External influence from transnational Islamic actors also plays an important role as well.

This article examines the relationship between the two largest Indonesian Sunni Muslim organisations – Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. It finds while the group’s early history is characterised by sectarian rivalries between the two groups, over the past three decades such rivalries have gradually diminished. The two key factors that led to this diminished rivalry are: 1) political moderation conducted by leaders of both groups over the past three decades, and 2) perceived ideological threats from newer transnational Islamic groups – especially after Indonesia’s 1998 democratic transition. However, their rivalries can still resurface, especially during time of national elections, as the two organizations jockeying for political positions.

## The Rhetoric of Gender and Sexual Codes in Contemporary Indonesia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Anggaunitakiranantika <i>State University of Malang</i> Wida Ayu Puspitosari <i>Brawijaya University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Eliminating Nightmares: Increasing Mother Role in Healing Process of Paedophilia Victims

Fajar Nugraha *Indonesia University of Education*

Siti Nurbayani *Indonesia University of Education*

The healing process of pedophilia victims is a long stage and needs supervision from various roles. In this case, the most central roles are parents, especially mothers. Mothers play an important role in restoring children's confidence, increasing sensitivity to the environment, and preventing these occurrences from happening again. However, in some cases that occurred in this research, there were differences between maternal care for children with pedophile victims. In this study, the researcher used a qualitative approach with a descriptive analysis method carried out in three cities in Indonesia. The results show that these differences include; (1) parents, especially mothers, give more supervision to pedophile victim children so that children cannot open up and tell them what they are experiencing, (2) both parents try to assume that the incident is part of a child's mischief which has an impact on other sexual deviations, and (3) three parents who provide education about the importance of protecting themselves after the occurrence of the incident. On the other hand, the central role of mothers in improving children's self-confidence is very much needed, therefore in this article we will discuss the extent to which the role of mothers increases children's confidence in the healing process of pedophile victims because the tendency of children to be more open to their mothers. The implication is, this research article can provide knowledge about the handling of pedophile victims to return to their environment without negative stigma by increasing the role of mothers in care, protection and supervision of victims in the healing process.

#### › Is the Househusband a Reality or a Myth? Portrayals of Evolving Gender Roles of Middle Class Indonesian Mothers and Fathers

Belinda Rina Marie Spagnoletti *University of Melbourne*

Is the social fabric of traditional Indonesian families unravelling? And is the dominant patriarchal gender ideology that placed Indonesian women at the centre of the reproductive work domain weakening?

Recent popular media representations of modern Indonesian parenting indicate that changes are indeed afoot. Middle class Indonesian women are labelled as "multitasking breastfeeding mamas", while their husbands are being characterised as "ayah rumah tangga" (lit. househusbands). These labels indicate significant shifts in public discourses around gender roles. Income generation has traditionally been regarded as the primary role of Indonesian husbands, whereas their wives have been charged with running the household and raising the children.

To what extent are these recent portrayals of Indonesian mothers/wives and fathers/husbands real or fictitious? And how do they diverge and converge with religious ideals concerning the familial roles of pious women and men?

This paper analyses these emerging depictions of modern Indonesian women and men, and considers their alignment with Indonesian Islamic interpretations of family gender roles. It then presents primary data on the division of labour in among middle class Indonesian couples, and how this is being reconstellated after the arrival of children. The findings demonstrate how new fathers come to share caring and domestic responsibilities that have previously been categorised as "women's work". It also reflects upon women's growing sense of entitlement to study, paid work and to raise their children with a greater degree of support from their male spouses. Finally the paper considers some of the ways in which men could be supported to further contribute in the domestic workload, such as through the provision of extended paternity leave. This paper draws on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in Yogyakarta from 2014–2016.

#### › (Re)narrating Indonesia: Rhetorical Modes in the Controversies About Indonesia's Pornography Law

Ronja Eberle *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

In October 2008, the so-called 'bill against pornography and pornographic action' was ratified under the title Pornography Law. The long-lasting controversies about the draft bill and the law can be seen as one of the most important fields in which national imaginations of 'Indonesia' have been challenged and redefined over the last decade. Using data from several national newspapers, the talk gives insights into arguments for and against the Pornography Law and how this arguments operate in and through interdependent processes of sexualisation, gendering and nationalisation. The focus will be on a rhetorical mode that I call '(re)narrating the nation'.

## New Persons in Southeast Asia ②

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Resto Cruz <i>University of Manchester</i>
DISCUSSANT	Janet Carsten <i>University of Edinburgh</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Bargain the Past and Craft Your Way: On Being a Village Headman in Contemporary Myanmar

Stéphen Huard *Centre Asie du Sud Est*

My ethnographic research in the villages of central Myanmar explores how village headmen craft their position and their authority in daily life. Village headship is an institution created during the colonial period in Upper Myanmar (1886-1942) and which has been empowered in different ways by the successive governments. To some degrees, the position is constrained by the past and headmen could be seen from a variety of options such as government brokers, buffers against state demands, charismatic patrons anchored in a local, corrupt officials, or political entrepreneurs depending on the person and the period. But even if headship get folded into existing ways of being, following one headman in his daily life in the aftermaths of the democratic transition (2011) shows that it is a matter of craftsmanship, or bricolage. My contribution proposes to study how Ko Kyaw, headman of Myinmilaung village tract, is constantly creating his position by articulating references to morality and practices of previous persons of power while dealing with shifting forms of sociability. For him, being a headman means curving obligations while abiding by local ethics, being responsible while dodging various forms of contention. On a day to day basis he has to dissemble as he is representing layer upon layer of individuals through the institution, and not simply his own authority via the institution. The tools at hand are his family reputation, his way of haranguing, smiling, being silent; of accepting, refusing and giving things; of forming, avoiding and manoeuvring factions; and also, of complying with the village bigmen and having a fair idea about the lines he should not cross. As one follows Ko Kyaw in his routine, it becomes clear that he transforms and gives arms and legs to an institution that has a new role in a network of personalities. By exploring how a person crafts village headship in central Myanmar, I seek to contribute to the ongoing debates about personhood in Southeast Asia by connecting the anthropology of morality and uncertainty with an historical perspective focusing on ethical shifts.

#### › How Cousin Patrick Didn't Become a Seaman: Social Mobility and the Afterlife of the New

Resto Cruz *University of Manchester*

In this paper, I trace ethnographically how the new might arise from what exists, if only slowly and over a long duration; how it might create ruptures in people's sense of personhood and relations; but also how it might get absorbed into these. I do so in the context of social mobility in postwar and contemporary Philippines. Here, social mobility entails the production of new kinds of person; it is enabled by prior relations and modes of being a person, while also transforming these, including in less positive ways. Taking the vantage point of those born in the wake of upward mobility, I examine the place of refusal to follow established and valued (but previously, novel) paths to upward mobility. I focus on the story of my classificatory cousin, Patrick, who, on the cusp of becoming a seaman, decided to pursue other lines of work, thus creating new, and deepening existing, breaks in his kinship universe. Alongside these breaks were various suspicions, accusations, and explanations that held open the possibility of repair. In attending to Patrick's story, I argue for the need to broaden the temporal horizon of the new beyond the immediate; and to see how multiple kinds of the new emerge in and get folded into persons, their lives, and relationships.

.....

## The Labour Movement(s) in Southeast Asia: Historical Contingencies and Contemporary Challenges ②

LOCATION	Room 1.204
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Fahmi Panimbang <i>Sedane Labour Resource Centre</i> Michaela Douth <i>University of Bonn</i> Nantawat Chatuthai <i>University of Bonn</i> Oliver Pye <i>University of Bonn</i>

## ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

## PAPERS

### › **Cinema as Asylum: PERSAMA, Shaw Brothers and the Malay James Bond Films**

Min Hui Yeo *University of Oxford & Nanyang Technological University*

Shortly after Singapore broke away from Malaysia in 1965, authorities began to crack down on labour unions and activists. Dominic Puttucherry, the man behind Singapore's Socialist Front and the trade union, was arrested together with other union leaders. Actor Jins Shamsuddin, leader of the Malayan Artists Union (Persatuan Artis Malaya; PERSAMA) and member of the Singapore General Employee Union (SGEU) Central Committee alongside Dominic Puttucherry at that time, also received warning that he could be jailed for at least two years. Unlike most of his compatriots, however, instead of the prison Jins found his way into a couple of James Bond-style Malay films that were made in Hong Kong and released in Singapore and Malaysia between 1967 to 1968. These films catapulted him to the peak of his film career, awarding him his now-iconic status as the Malay James Bond – a public image that effectively effaced his other identity as a prominent leader in Singapore's labour activism scene of the 1960s. This unusual series of events illuminates a hitherto understudied area of Singapore's labour movement history: the art and entertainment side of the story. Motivated by a desire to understand this intriguing chain of events, in this paper I explore the complex relationship between the PERSAMA, the Malay James Bond films, and the producer (i.e. employer) of these films – the Shaw Brothers (Hong Kong) Company. Drawing mainly from biographical records, newspapers and movie magazines, I reconstruct the scenes where entertainment mogul Shaw Brothers (Hong Kong) intervened into Singapore's labour activism scene by bringing key leaders of PERSAMA to Hong Kong under the pretext of making Malay James Bond films. I posit that through the making of these films, the Shaws essentially provided a sort of political asylum for PERSAMA activists while at the same time critically weakened the union which had, since its founding, been a major force of opposition to the company's Malay counterpart – the Malay Film Production Company that was based in Singapore.

### › **New Brooms and Giant Napkins: Class and Gender in the Struggles for an Indonesian Domestic Workers' Law**

Mary Austin *University of London*

There are at least 4 million domestic workers employed inside Indonesian homes. However, their 24 year-long fight for legal recognition and protection as workers has been largely disregarded by international and Indonesian scholars alike. Yet it is a struggle where the intersectionality of class and gender is key. The paper focuses on a series of street protests conducted by the domestic workers' movement between 2009 and 2016 and argues that the recalcitrance of governments, the complacency of publics and the resistance of employers pushed the movement to take a more overtly class based stance in its discourse, collective identity construction, and alliance building, while never discarding its feminist roots. Looking closely at the iconography of demonstrations, the strategic use of 'tools of the trade' as symbolic markers, and the testimony of participants, the paper traces shifts in styles and message over three periods: 2009-2011; 2012-2014; and November 2014 and February to March 2015 when the movement staged a series of hunger strikes. It ends with a brief consideration of where class analysis and identity sit within current debates about future directions for the global domestic worker movement, affect, and the ethics of care.

### › **The Cambodian Garment Workers' Movement: Linking Space, Agency and Gender**

Michaela Douth *University of Bonn*

The Cambodian garment workers' movement is a relatively young phenomenon. Its biggest success – so far – was the last general strike in 2013/2014. The workers could achieve a temporary production stop and a minimum wage increase of more than 100%. Only the brutal intervention of police and military forces could stop the workers. Since then spaces for labor actions become more and more limited, but the Cambodian garment workers' still (try to) shape spaces for labor actions.

Based on qualitative research with Cambodian garment workers, the paper discusses how space, agency and gender are interlinked in the movement of Cambodian garment workers. Workers' perspectives give new insights into Cambodian garment workers' roles as significant agents in the global garment production network, shaping spaces for labor actions in very different ways, transcending spatial boundaries. Women workers' perspectives in particular examine how women are significant agents, breaking away from their traditional roles, experiencing emancipatory moments. This finally stands in contrast to an official representational unionism that is often patriarchal and corrupt. A gender-sensitive view from below is needed to help new organizing approaches to tap into this emancipatory potential of the mainly female working class in the global garment industry.

### › **Yellows vs. Reds Politics and the Unmaking of the Thai Labour Movement**

Akkanut Wantanasombut *Chulalongkorn University*

Nantawat Chatuthai *University of Bonn*

This paper examines the relationship between the Thai labour movement and Yellows vs. Reds populist politics, and how the former has been weakened or unmade by the latter. Thailand has been stuck in what is generally known as the Yellows vs. Reds political polarisation since the latter half of 2000s. Interestingly, the labour movement – historically an important actor in democratization processes – has not played an independent role in this recent politicisation of Thai society. There has been little presence of labour organizations within the Redshirts, although the latter claims to be a popular grassroots democratic movement, and despite the fact that significant numbers of its supporters are workers. In contrast, several Thai labour organizations decided to join the Yellowshirts which claim to be a substantive democratic movement that protects Thai interests against vicious capitalistic globalisation. As we know, the Yellowshirts ended up as ardent supporters of nationalist-traditional authoritarianism and the military Junta-regime. Thus, the main question is "Why and how the populist politics of the Yellow- and the Redshirts led to the unmaking of the Thai labour movement?"

The paper is based on interviews with key informants from the Yellowshirts, the Redshirts, and labour organizations. Selected formal political statements released by the three parties will also be closely examined.

---

## Policing and Religion: Policing Religion in Late Colonial and Postcolonial Asia

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Marieke Bloembergen <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i> Ruth Streicher <i>Heidelberg University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Following the ideal of the secular state promoted by European imperial powers in Southeast Asia, the modern institution of the police and the modern category of “religion” emerged as mutually exclusive categories. Thus the bounded concept of “religion” enabled states to govern religious traditions, inter alia, by relegating certain aspects of “religion” to the private realm. At the same time, one of the central tasks of constabulary forces was to maintain “public order” – a precondition to guarantee religious freedom in the realm of the public. In this ideal, the police (impartial and public) has been opposed to religion (partial and private). Perhaps as a legacy of this political construction, literature on policing in Southeast Asia still largely ignores its religious undercurrents, and only few scholars interested in the religious traditions of this area have inquired into the security forces.

Notably, however, colonial police forces were manned predominantly by local subjects who were themselves formed by local religious traditions. Further complicating the picture, particularly during late colonial rule, were new transnational religious reform movements that developed along with anti-colonial movements in the Southeast Asian region: these all generated suspicion of, and policing by, colonial states while at the same time inspiring spiritual seeking amongst policemen themselves. How, in short, have policing and religion in late colonial and postcolonial Asia been informing and influencing each other?

This panel explores the tensions and entanglements between policing and religion through three or four case studies in Southeast Asia, thus exposing their intricate relationship and interdependence. Two of these case studies engage the role of religion in shaping subjectivities of police officers through historical biographies (Craig Reynolds, Marieke Bloembergen). One paper delineates how the construction of handbook knowledge on religion is key to the operation of security forces in southern Thailand (Ruth Streicher).

### PAPERS

#### › **Handbooks and the Policing of “Islam” in Southern Thailand**

Ruth Streicher *Heidelberg University*

Works that have examined the “religious undercurrents” of the ongoing insurgency in southern Thailand, one of the deadliest conflicts in Southeast Asia, have so far mostly focused on two questions: how insurgents refer to “Islam” in fighting for the independence of the former sultanate of Patani, and how Thai security forces rely on certain ideas of “Buddhism.” Much less attention has been paid, however, to how Thai state agencies produce certain notions of “Islam” in order to discipline the southern Muslim population.

Applying a broad Foucauldian notion of policing as a governmental practice that connects the management of the population to the order and strength of the state, this paper examines how handbooks for state officers that are to be deployed in southern Thailand have constructed certain notions of “Islam.” It uses historical examples of such handbooks, which have been produced since the beginning of the twentieth century, to trace the genealogy of key ideas about “Islam” that continue to be central to current Thai security efforts. It concludes by arguing that this state-led policing of “Islam” is key to understanding the ongoing conflict.

#### › **The Javanese Policeman and the Indian Swami: Introducing Yoga to Indonesia and the Indonesian Police Force in Times of Non-Alignment, 1950s–1960s**

Marieke Bloembergen *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

This paper explores the endeavours of Indonesian’s first head of police (since 1948), Sukanto Tjokroaditmodjo (1908-1993), to use Indian yoga and Javanese kebatinan meditation practices as a means to morally and physically enforce the Indonesian police force and Indonesian elite society, in the 1950s and 1960s. To gauge the socio-political meanings and impact of Sukanto’s efforts, I situate this micro-history in a longer term, and inter-Asian perspective. I follow Sukanto’s formation as a (spiritually inclined) police officer in the colonial police force in the 1930s, across the Japanese occupation and decolonization war, and within inter-Asian knowledge networks – of policing, and of spiritual seekers – developing between India and Indonesia since the late 1940s. The paper aims to problematize

the historiography of police reform in colonial and postcolonial societies, by questioning its strict paradigm of (rational) modernization, set by western colonial standards, and by going beyond the frameworks of state formation. This case history forces us not only to think in different ways about the history of police reform in colonial and postcolonial Asia, but also to recognize the artificiality of the borders between rational and religious/ spiritual knowledge therein. The modern police of Indonesia was (as it did in colonial times) not only dependent on local social knowledge but also inspired by embodied knowledge on spiritual power, developing within Indonesian Chinese and Javanese kebatinan networks, and between India and Indonesia.

Sukanto recognized the empowering force of yoga for Indonesia's new generation of police men in the early 1950s. With his insight in the marketing value of Yoga, he built on the endeavours of (nationalist) Yoga entrepreneurs active – in India and in the West – since around 1900. Sukanto was inspired, in particular, by Swami Sivananda Saraswati (1887-1963), founder of the then worldwide popular Divine Life Society (DLS). Sukanto embraced DLS in 1953, and, when he was stationed as military advisor to the Indonesian Embassy in Delhi (1953-55), travelled for DLS Yoga to Rishikesh. What was it that drove Sukanto, and how should we understand his endeavours in the longer term history of policing and cultural-political knowledge networks in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia, and between Indonesia and India?

### › The Religious World of a Southern Thai Policeman

Craig Reynolds *Australian National University*

I am completing a biographical study of Khun Phantharak Ratchadet (1898-2006), a policeman from the mid-south who hunted down lawbreakers with liberal use of lethal force. Policeman and the rural masculine types they pursued in the first half of the twentieth century risked injury and death. For protection they armed themselves with guns, knives, and farm implements, and they wore amulets, inserted charms under the skin, and inscribed their bodies with tattoos to ward off adversity and misfortune.

Defending oneself against injury or death is the physical side of protection. The mental and emotional side involves keeping fear in check with self belief. Magical thinking, like religion, belongs to the psychosocial dimension of human experience. It treats of the emotions and humanity's expressive needs. It is tempting to see some beliefs and practices in other cultures as superstitious or irrational. Reason struggles against unreason. In fact, the magical thinking we attribute to people in other cultures is little different from how modern people often interpret reality. "Most of us have a 'savage' mentality much of the time," says Richard Shweder. The policeman's repertory of magical and religious practices emboldened him and contributed to the ruthlessness in his character. He acknowledged his savage mentality, cultivated it, and defended himself with it.

.....

## Creative Peacebuilding and Resistance in Indonesia 2

LOCATION Room 1.401  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER Birgit Bräuchler *Monash University*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Creative Resistance on Bali: A Thick Description of Zine Culture

Sophie Anggawi *Graduate Institute Geneva*

The tolak reklamasi movement has stirred the waters in and around Bali for some years now. Graffiti, Punk, performance art, workshops and many more artistic involvements have emerged around the contested reclamation project. This paper proposes a closer look at zine publishing on Bali, which lies at the intersection between the punk scene, NGO engagement, as well as young artists' involvement on Bali.

Self-publishing so called zines is a less well known form of creative protest which has materialized especially within the past years on Bali, but does not only focus on the reklamasi struggle. So far, it overlaps roughly with the punk scene of the island, known for its political involvement and engagement (see also Baulch 2007), but it is also closely tied to environmentally interested NGO work done by WALHI. Furthermore, young artists from around the island participate and contribute to the zines, using it as a platform to spread their art. This free form of self-publishing allows for different actors to get involved, publish and spread their work, thoughts, and discontent -- whether that is about social or political injustice or environmental degradation. Being a quite uninhibited medium, the zine allows for different contributions ranging from poetry, short stories, and street art photography to calls for actions or even movie analyses. Thus, the zine scene stretches far beyond the written word, and expands from paper to social media, from the online back into the offline world with exhibitions, workshops, festivals, and impromptu tattoo sessions. Zine publishing can thus provide inspiration for protest movements between the contemporary rush of social media and online presence, as well as the slower pace and longevity of the paper-printed medium.

This paper will offer a thick description based on ethnographic fieldwork in 2018/2019 on Bali.

› **Tradition as a Tool for Strengthening Social Inequalities: New Strategies and Spaces for Dialogue in Maluku, Indonesia**

Simona Sienkiewicz *Jagiellonian University*

Many researchers mention Maluku – along with Kalimantan, Papua and East Timor – as one of the most bloody conflicts after the fall of Suharto. What made it particularly interesting was the way it ended. An interreligious, peaceful reconciliation in Maluku, based on the tradition of indigenous peoples, became an unique case in Indonesia. However, internal migrants from Sulawesi (BBM - Butonese, Bugis, Makassarese) and Java experienced exclusion from this process. Focusing on interreligious dialogue without creating a space for interethnic dialogue has led to social inequalities and further strengthening the position of indigenous peoples. A deep loyalty to local traditions has resulted in ignoring many symptoms of unequal treatment and injustice. Consequently, the internal migrants became dependent on the indigenous people for tradition, land ownership, leadership and economy.

This presentation aims to identify the negative effects of exclusion of the internal migrants in the traditional societies of Ambon and West Seram. Favoring particular ethnic groups make the effects of the peace process, which has begun almost twenty years ago, less and less tangible. By presenting the point of view of BBM and Javanese, I would show how they perceive the unilateral support of the local government and why this is detrimental to the system developed during the reconciliation. I would identify other spaces and strategies for maintaining peaceful coexistence in Maluku, paying particular attention to religion and the visual aspects of local traditions.

› **Youths in Post-Conflict Indonesia: The Emergence of Youth Peacebuilding Initiatives in Poso and Ambon**

Mohammad Zaki Arrobi *Universitas Gajah Mada*

Muhammad Najib Azca *Universitas Gajah Mada*

Youth has played a critical role both in provoking violence and promoting peace education in post-conflict eastern Indonesia, especially in Maluku and Poso. Large numbers of un(der)employed youth in urban areas of eastern Indonesia, such as Ambon and Poso, easily lead to the (new) eruption of collective violence, particularly in the post-conflict context. Yet local youth movements have also been playing a crucial role in promoting peace, such as the case of the "Peace Provocateur" movement in Ambon, Maluku and the "Rumah Katu" community in Poso, Central Sulawesi. This paper discusses these two local-based peace education initiatives pioneered by youth communities in the two cities of Ambon and Poso. "Peace provocateur" is a social movement emerged in Maluku since the September 2011 violence led by local religious community leaders from both Muslim and Christian groups. Twisting the term "provocateur," which was previously commonly interpreted in a negative sense for causing conflict and violence, it promoted peace by conducting inter-group and peace activities provokingly in public areas, such as in the border zones of the religiously segregated city of Ambon. It also employed creative and cultural approaches such as using music, theatre, film, photography as a medium for promoting peace (Meinema, 2012). Meanwhile, in post-conflict Poso, a group of young people, mostly former combatants during the communal war, established a youth community named "Rumah Katu" to promote peace education. It has been actively organizing various forms of activities to enhance and accelerate peacebuilding at the local level, such as organizing the "Rumah Katu Festival" in 2016 to campaign for peace, ranging from music performance, traditional dance, photo exhibition, and film screening. Like "Peace provocateur" in Ambon, "Rumah Katu" has been dominated by young people who are actively promoting peace education initiatives in creative ways.

.....

## Continuing Negotiations of History, Identity, and Nation in Philippine Literary Production

LOCATION Room 1.403  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENER Glenn Diaz *University of Adelaide*

### ABSTRACT

Well into the era pronounced as the end of History, the Philippine experience of late capitalism is nevertheless marked by its broad consequences: resurgent populism, systemic precarity, the rise of identity politics, and heinous inequality, all arguably implications of the country's long and complex relationship with global structures of power. This panel seeks to examine potentially new paradigms and tangents framed as negotiations—via text and political practice alike—of key writers' historical moments, from their participation in an American cultural diplomacy program during Martial Law to their use of formal and discursive strategies that contest even as they manifest their ongoing implications in historical subject formation.

## PAPERS

### › Capital-as-Presence and Space-as-Absence: The Language of Neo-Liberalism and the Narrative of Capital in Diaz's "The Quiet Ones"

Rogelio Braga *Birkbeck, University of London*

Diaz's *The Quiet Ones* explores the lives of people in the labor force created by a global market system where work, public services, geography, identities, production and consumption in general are being shaped and directed by the flow of boundary-less foreign capital investments from developed countries. The novel presented characters as workers in the business process outsourcing industry in the Philippines, expatriates as highly skilled workers who migrated to the country to look for better opportunities in economic and social capital, and the various relationships with people surrounding these workers. This paper charts the terrain, nature, and the systemic movements of Capital through (1) \*Capital-as-presence\* in the text, framing or creating work patterns, human relationships, consumption behavior, and as a (2) \*Space-as-absence\* that mediates relationships between states, citizens and the State (represented by the law and state authorities), between citizens as workers, between citizens as workers and their cities. The paper will employ Marx's critique on Capital, Lukács's reification and class consciousness discourse, and a post-structuralist textual examination to reveal the power structure that shapes the narrative of the novel. The paper concludes that neo-liberal economic agenda in/of globalization created a language where Capital is deeply embedded in a textual negotiation of/in meanings that legitimizes the power structure that perpetuates, supports, enables, and reinforces an oppressive elite, imperialist, and capitalist economic market system as the only alternative in rendering a concrete livable world.

### › Dramatic Monologue and Queerness in the Early Work of J. Neil Garcia

Mark Anthony Cayanan *University of Adelaide*

The paper intends to examine how the dramatic monologue in the early oeuvre of foremost Filipino queer poet J. Neil Garcia presents the "bakla," or Filipino male homosexual speaking subjects. In particular, it explores how his use of the dramatic monologue—a genre that, among other characteristics, maintains a double discourse that disengages the author from the persona—functions as a strategic formal vehicle in the context of what was, in the 1990s, an incipient queer movement in the Philippines. The paper also explores how Garcia's subscription to a New Critical paradigm compromises the subversive potential of his poetry as a site of formal and therefore political disruption.

### › The Forest as Archive in Alvin Yapan's "Sandali ng mga Mata"

Glenn Diaz *University of Adelaide*

The paper seeks to situate the resurgence of speculative, or non-realist, fiction in Philippine fiction within the country's broader experience of late capitalism. In particular, it will explore the archival function of the forest as haunted locus in Alvin Yapan's *Sandali ng mga Mata* as a negotiation of and resistance to globalization's cultural logic toward the repression of history.

### › The Radical Filipino Poet in Iowa: Creative Writing and U.S. Cultural Diplomacy During the Marcos Regime

Conchitina Cruz *University of the Philippines Diliman*

This paper examines the deployment of the International Writing Program (IWP) as an apparatus of American cultural diplomacy in the Philippines, specifically during the regime of Ferdinand Marcos. Filipinos were among the first fellows of the IWP in 1967, the second year of Marcos's first term as Philippine president. By 1986, the year the dictator was ousted, a total of 18 Filipinos had already gone to the United States as IWP fellows. Included in this roster are two poets who joined the resistance against Marcos's authoritarian rule. The activist Gelacio Guillermo attended the IWP in 1970, during the period of unrest that preceded the declaration of martial law in 1972. When Jose F. Lacaba attended the IWP in 1979, the seventh year of martial law, he had already survived imprisonment for two years as a result of his work in the underground movement.

The participation of Guillermo and Lacaba in a program of U.S. cultural diplomacy seems incompatible with their critical stance against an oppressive regime sustained in no small part by the United States through economic and military assistance. This study attempts to explore this contradiction via the poets' own accounts of their IWP experience, as well as the poetry they circulated and/or wrote as IWP residents. It examines the ways the two poets reckoned with the Cold War liberalism propagated by the IWP, which both celebrated and contained their activism as proof of the "free" writer in the Free World, even as the U.S. enabled the regime the poets struggled against. It interrogates the privileges and compromises the poets contended with as participants in a U.S. program that explicitly functions as a tool for cultural diplomacy.

.....

## Being Young Vietnamese in Post-Socialist European Countries

LOCATION	Room 1.404
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Barbora Nováková <i>Charles University</i>

## ABSTRACT

In general Vietnamese communities in the countries of post-socialist Europe still remain understudied. These communities share common historical background in state organized labor and study migration from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and seem to increasingly partake in what could be conceptualized as a specific East European transnational community (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2015).

Intergenerational relationships within the families with migrant background are according to many studies very dynamic. While the 1st generation migrants (parents) try to keep and preserve their cultural heritage, the 1.5th and 2nd generation migrants (children) often tend to lean towards the host country (Zhou 2009). This phenomenon often leads to intergenerational conflicts. Due to the various reasons young Vietnamese in the countries of post-socialist Europe face obstacles posed by not only the majorities but also the Vietnamese minorities.

The panel aims to better understand the life experience of young, or 1.5th and 2nd generation, Vietnamese, focusing on various aspects of intergenerational relationships. Ewa Grabowska will examine the role of Vietnamese traditional rituals in intergenerational relationships among Vietnamese in Poland, Marta Lopatková will focus on intergenerational conflict among Czech Vietnamese, and Barbora Nováková will discuss the grass root activities of young Vietnamese in Czechia.

## PAPERS

### › “Czech Girls Only Go to Parties and Eat Breadrolls”: Intergenerational Conflict Regarding Marital Partner Preferences Among Vietnamese Migrants in Czech Republic

Marta Lopatková *Charles University*

Although intergenerational conflict among 1st, 1.5th and 2nd generations of migrants is widely recognized within the world, this phenomena is rather new to the Czech environment. Only about ten years ago first group of young Vietnamese migrants (mostly migrants of 1.5th and 2nd generation) spoke up and described the situation of young Vietnamese living in Czech Republic. They often spent most of the life in the Czech environment being raised by Czech nannies. Due to the language barrier and misunderstanding of Vietnamese culture which cause the tension between them and their parents, young Vietnamese describe various emotions like frustration, disappointment and sadness.

Choosing a marital partner of young Vietnamese migrants is one of the key points being often stressed out while speaking about intergenerational conflict they struggle with. They feel lot of pressure from their parents to choose a Vietnamese partners and potential Czech partners are often subject of prejudices. By qualitative analysis of social media content and interviews I contextualize the phenomena of intergenerational conflict and marital preferences of young Vietnamese migrants in Czech Republic.

### › Searching for Community: Young Vietnamese Grassroots Activities in Czechia

Barbora Nováková *Charles University*

In recent years we have been witnessing a growth of grassroots activities among the one and half and second generation Vietnamese in Czechia. Nowadays being in their 20ies and early 30ies, these young people grew up in very Czech environment, being often brought up by Czech nannies, feeling culturally and emotionally remote from their parents, speaking little or no Vietnamese and having limited contact with Vietnamese peers (Souralová 2012, Svobodová 2017). The recent surge of formal and informal groups and initiatives seems to be a response to the needs of young Vietnamese, stemming from their childhood experiences. The presentation will examine various functions of these groups and initiatives such as self-help, peer-to-peer learning and capacity building, socializing etc. and discuss how community is conceptualized among the organizers of these groups and initiatives, what does it mean to them and how it is contrasted with the first generation Vietnamese immigrant associations.

### › Traditional Rituals in Intergenerational Relationships Among the Vietnamese in Poland

Ewa Grabowska *University of Warsaw*

Being migrants in Poland the Vietnamese show high mobility traits and maintain networks of transnational connections. Vietnamese families use their own culturally specific resources to cope with challenges coming out of this and other backgrounds. This paper analyses the importance of traditional rituals from the perspective of two generations of the Vietnamese: a 1.5 and 2 generation adults as opposed to their parents' generation. It explores the role that ancestor worship beliefs have as well as different kinds of sources of support that younger and older family members use in dealing with everyday hardships.

### › Young Vietnamese Experiences in the Marketplace

Felipe Kaiser Fernandes *French Research Center in Humanities and Social Sciences*

The purpose of this article is to understand the sense of belonging experienced by Young Vietnamese in post-socialist European countries to a specific place. Through the example of Trung Tâm Thương Mại Sapa, also known as Little Hanoi, in Prague (Czech Republic), this research aims to explore the practices and usages of the marketplace by the one-and-a-half and the second generation Vietnamese-Czech. Sapa market, out of the ground in the 1990s, has become one of the central points of the Việt people in Europe. Compared to other similar post-socialist markets/bazaars in Central Eastern Europe it is relatively unique (Drbohlav et al. 2010, Hüwelmeier, 2013). Celebrations and religious activities organized by the Pagoda Văn Nghiê, situated inside the marketplace attract

Young Vietnamese from other regions of Czech Republic as well as from other post-socialist European countries. In this sense, this paper will also explore the preservation of religious practices among young people in the context of Sapa.

Anthropological studies of markets analyse them as nodes of complex social processes and generators of cultural activity as well as realms for economic exchange. In order to understand the sense of belonging of these Young Vietnamese, this study examines their life and journeys through a participant observation in Sapa market. A number of 5 deep interviews were conducted. All the interviews were followed by detailed field notes. The majority of the interviews were conducted in 2019; generally during to 40 minutes to more than 1 hour, they were all recorded and followed by notes. The objectives of the interviews: were to trace their families' lineages, along with other socializing factors such as peers, family, school or leisure activities. They were also asked about religion, privacy, social and gender relations, racism, integration.

---

## Material Manifestations of Environmental Change 2

**LOCATION** Room 1.405  
**TYPE** Double Panel (Part 2)  
**CONVENER** Jacobus Bracker *University of Hamburg*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Manifestations of Environmental Change in a Portuguese Settlement in Malacca

Monika Arnez *University of Hamburg*

This contribution examines manifestations of environmental change in contemporary Malacca at Malaysia's West Coast. Due to its multicultural heritage Malacca was inscribed on the World Heritage list in 2008. The efforts to preserve material heritage in this city, for example the Portuguese fort A Formosa that was built in the first half of the 16th century stand in striking contrast to endeavors of creating new infrastructure by means of land reclamation projects, most notably „Melaka Gateway“.

The aims of this contribution are two-fold. First, based on fieldwork carried out in Malacca in 2018 and 2019 and drawing on my documentary „Flow of Sand“ it shows how land reclamation in Malacca can be understood as a visible expression of environmental change in Malacca. Second, it demonstrates the impacts the land reclamation project has on the Portuguese community living in close proximity to the land reclamation project „Melaka Gateway“ and which strategies it has developed to deal with land reclamation.

#### › The Temple of Preah Vihear: An Archaeological Site as Contested World Heritage Site Between Cambodia and Thailand

Volker Grabowsky *University of Hamburg*

The ancient temple of Preah Vihear, situated on Cambodian territory but geographically connected to the Khorat Plateau of Northeastern Thailand, has been the object of a border dispute between Thailand and Cambodia for more than six decades. The inscription of the temple as Cambodian world heritage site by the UNESCO in July 2008 has provoked an escalation of this conflict which has slowed only down in recent years, following the a reinterpretation by the International Court of Justice in November 2013 of its earlier – heavily contested – judgment of 15 June 1962. This presentation analyses how the ruins of long-abandoned temple whose very existence was recognised by the ruling elites in Bangkok and Phnom Penh only 120 years ago could become an archaeological site arousing nationalist sentiments among the peoples of Cambodia and Thailand.

---

## Crop Booms in Borderlands: Perspectives from Southeast Asia 1

**LOCATION** Room 1.406  
**TYPE** Double Panel (Part 1)  
**CONVENERS** Cecilie Friis *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*  
Juliet Lu *University of California, Berkeley*

## ABSTRACT

Commercial agriculture is continuously and rapidly expanding throughout Southeast Asia. While some commercial crops have been taken up cautiously, more often they have been adopted in dramatic booms by a mixture of local smallholder farmers, domestic companies, and foreign investors. Furthermore, state actors often play a role in promoting crop booms as a means to perform state sovereignty and exert territorial claims to the land, as well as pursuing discursive targets of 'socioeconomic development'. Crop booms are especially dynamic and volatile in borderlands, where capital and market demands often flow between neighbouring countries, heightening both incentives for producers to participate, and their exposure to market risks. The volatility of interactions and relations in borderlands, represent particular challenges for research seeking to understand and governance seeking to address the social and environmental sustainability problems associated with often rapid boom-bust cycles associated with cash-crop production. It is this particular challenge that we seek to engage in this panel. With this panel, we aim to bring together scholars that explore, analyse and/or compare the patterns and dynamics of crop booms as they play out in various borderlands of Southeast Asia. We invite papers that – from different theoretical and methodological perspectives – engage with questions related to the patterns of demand and industries driving booms, the structure of cross-border exchange, the modes of accumulation, the spatiotemporal dynamics, including bust phases and their local outcomes, the constellations of actors involved and/or the social and environmental implications of the boom. Through comparison and contrasting, we hope the session will contribute to advance the understanding of how crop booms play out in highly different social-political-environmental contexts in the borderlands of Southeast Asia. Both single site cases and comparative studies are welcome.

## PAPERS

### › Cross-Border Spillovers of Maize Booms in the Mekong Uplands

Pin Pravalprukskul *University of Copenhagen*

Thailand is the world's top exporter of processed chicken. Maize is a key component of poultry feed; growth in the poultry industry has therefore dramatically expanded smallholder maize cultivation in the northern uplands of the country over the past few decades. These maize booms have been heavily supported by agricultural development policies such as subsidies for hybrid seeds, microcredit programs, and pledging schemes. However, the maize feed supply chain is changing dynamically due to fluctuating domestic maize prices and recent negative media attention on the environmental and health impacts of maize cultivation (deforestation and seasonal haze). In response, major Thai agribusinesses are turning to sourcing maize feed from neighboring countries, such as Lao PDR and Myanmar, and wheat from Europe and Argentina to supplement poultry feed. The agribusinesses, Thai government and NGOs are addressing the environmental impacts through exclusionary market practices, strict land use policies, and interventions intended to promote sustainable development. All these drivers are thought to be causing maize booms in neighboring countries where land use policies are less stringent, with environmental and socio-economic impacts and possible feedback effects. Using a telecoupling framework, this study traces the changing flows of maize between Thailand, Lao PDR and Myanmar, and the associated land use and environmental outcomes, to paint a clearer picture of the complex cross-border connections between these land use systems.

### › Implications of Melon Boom in Myanmar-China Cross-Border Trade on Smallholders

Koji Kubo *Japan External Trade Organization*

China's ravenous appetite for fresh fruits has instigated the melon export boom through cross-border trade in Myanmar. The annual melon export in 2017 exceeded 800,000 tons and rivalled the country's traditional export crop of rice, whereas the bulk of the trade was unreported in China, implying the opaque status of fresh fruit imports from Myanmar. Drawing on key informant interviews and observations from extensive fieldwork in the production areas and the cross-border market, this paper offers an analytical narrative of the melon export boom with a focus on the intersection of Chinese entrepreneurs and Myanmar smallholders.

Two features of melon production and trading are particularly influential in framing the constellations of actors and shaping the growth path of the melon value chain. One is that the wholesale market in the Myanmar-China borderland governs the melon trading. Chinese consumers do not yet attach weight to credence attributes—attributes not directly observable from products such as food safety (i.e., use of harmful pesticide on farms) and social conditions (i.e., farms' compliance to the minimum wage legislation)—of fresh fruits. This makes a stark contrast with the Western countries where consumers' preference to credence attributes frames the supply chain to tightly incorporate farm production to preserve traceability of products, which empowers retailers to control farmers through specialized distributors, as exemplified by the Western supermarket sector. For Myanmar's melon export to China, brokers in the wholesale market orchestrate production and cross-border trade to mobilize commodities at low costs sometimes in unofficial ways, which facilitate smallholders' access to the Chinese market. As the wholesale market entails sharp price fluctuations, however, there has been a high number of entries and exits of smallholders' melon cultivation.

### › Out of Mind, out of Sight? Regulating Maize Trade in Huaphanh Province, Lao PDR

Isabelle Vagneron *French Agricultural Research and International Cooperation Organization*

The deepening of economic integration allowed by dynamic regional policies (e.g., Greater Mekong Subregion, Asian Economic Community) has created new opportunities and new challenges at the margins of Southeast Asian States. As a locus of the aggressive expansion of market capitalism, many Southeast Asian margins can be simultaneously viewed as transition spaces towards the experimentation and consolidation of new models, where new ways of doing things and new relations between people are being

invented and tested –e.g., new production processes, labor relations, land uses. At the same time, these experimental areas are also embedded in pre-existing social networks, and relations of power and authority.

On the other hand, margins are also spaces of exclusion as they are often areas of great vulnerability for those who cannot make their voices heard –e.g., local communities, migrant workers, smallholder farmers. These stakeholders are often invisible to public policies either because they are not targeted by their programs, actors and practices, or because they are muffled by more powerful voices. Ultimately, the outcome and impact of what happens on the border depends on how individuals from the area and from outside, endowed with different types and levels of capital, are able to negotiate the web of relationships within which they live and work.

This paper explores how the rules of the game are designed, translated, locally negotiated and implemented at the margins of the State. Namely, it focuses on the interactions between Vietnamese traders, Laotian maize farmers and local government in two villages of Huaphanh Province (Lao PDR) that sit literally on the border with Vietnam. In these villages, we investigate how trade arrangements and local policies (e.g., herbicide ban, custom duties, trade agreements) are negotiated and implemented at the local level. In these areas, which are in many ways out of the sight of the central authorities, we examine how actor strategies take into account, abide by, avoid or circumvent provincial and national policies. Ultimately, we highlight the paramount role played by non-Laotian stakeholders on the Laotian side of maize value-chains, and the difficulty for Laotian authorities to make their voice heard when market forces prevail.

› **Variiegated Transitions of Agrarian Capitalism: The Rubber Boom and Bust in Northern Laos**

Miles Kenney-Lazar *National University of Singapore*

Over the past 15 years, the government of the (post-)socialist Lao People’s Democratic Republic (Lao PDR or Laos) has conceded more than one million hectares of “state” land – an area equivalent to five percent of the country’s territory – to capitalists for resource extraction and commodity production projects, such as mining, hydropower, logging, and agricultural plantations. The allocated land ostensibly owned by the state is in fact customarily used, occupied, and managed by Lao peasants and indigenous peoples for generations. Thus, its violent expropriation at the behest of corporate actors has displaced rural people from the lands, forests, and rivers that constitute their means of subsistence and production. Facing a coercive and repressive authoritarian state apparatus that jails its citizens for political activity perceived as regime-threatening, Lao peasants have resorted to creative political strategies of contestation that I refer to as resisting with rather than against the state. “Resisting with the state” does not suggest that peasant and state interests and goals are aligned (this could not be further from the truth as the state is expropriating peasant land on behalf of foreign capital), but that peasants are working within the hegemonic power relations of the state to protect access to important lands. Employing data from 20 months of ethnographic field research in Laos, I show how different groups of eastern Savannakhet province near the Vietnam border have sought to protect agricultural and forest lands from expropriation by a Chinese paper-pulp company planting eucalyptus and acacia trees and a Vietnamese rubber enterprise.

.....

## Grounding “Alternative Ontologies”: Towards a Political Ecology of Animism 2

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Annina Aeberli <i>University of Bern</i> Christoph Antweiler <i>University of Bonn</i> Timo Duile <i>University of Bonn</i>

ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

PAPERS

› **Ancestor’s Ontological Presence and Transformative Landscapes among the Fataluku, Timor-Leste**

Susana Viegas

Ethnographies focusing on Southeast Asia have highlighted the entanglement of cosmologies, historical trajectories and kinship, usually referred to as toponymy. Based on fieldwork in the easternmost region of Timor-Leste among the Fataluku speaking people, I propose to think the space-temporal dynamics of toponymies, operated by the co-presence of ancestors in the lives of their descendants. Responding to one question addressed in the call for this panel, namely, how do ontologies interplay with changing physical landscapes over time, I will discuss the lived experience and historicity of the Fataluku in relation to a site known among the Fataluku as the plateau of Nari. This site was a dwelling place in the past and is now only “inhabited” by ancestors. It is the origin site where people from a specific clan among the Fataluku originated and a place where another one settled after arriving in the island from the sea. The paper looks at the dynamic changes of this site in three different periods. First, in the 1950’s when people living in Nari have been subject to forced colonial resettlement, moving from the top of the hill to the lowland places. Secondly, from 1974 to 1999, during the period of Indonesian occupation, when Nari became at certain moments a refuge site for the living, but also a potent dwelling place for ancestors in their graves. Third, after the Indonesians left in 1999, when Fataluku people from clans pertaining to Nari have returned to

tender gardens and small plots of land, and to care for the ancestors' graves through ritual practices. Nari is a prototypical case and not an exception in the understanding of the entanglement between dynamic ontologies and landscape among the Fataluku in a long time frame.

### › **Dynamic Ontologies in Dynamic Bornean Landscapes**

Annina Aeberli *University of Bern*

This paper aims to make Philippe Descola's ontologies more fluent, dynamic and related to the landscape and herewith, relevant for Political Ecology. Departing from Descola's four ontologies of animism, analogism, naturalism and totemism, I shed light on the dynamics at play within and between ontologies as well as the entanglements of ontologies and landscapes with an example from Malaysian Borneo. My findings are a result of field research with the indigenous Kenyah in the Baram area of the Malaysian state of Sarawak, mainly through interviews and participatory observation. In this paper, I find that the Kenyah can neither be clearly classified as animists nor analogists as defined by Descola, as they have elements from both ontologies. Furthermore, Kenyah ontologies have been changing under processes of resource exploitation and Christianization. This has led to the strengthening of analogist over animist components. Interestingly for Political Ecology, ontologies and changes in ontologies have an influence on how people interact with their environment and shape the landscape, they enable different types of behaviour towards nature. My research also reveals how the entanglement of the Christian belief in combination with traditional ontologies furthered the emergence of a powerful indigenous movement against a hydro-power project, the so-called Baram Dam. My research concludes that while Descola's ontologies are a very useful tool, they need to be used flexibly and dynamically in order to understand the processes that happen in societies and landscapes. Once we acknowledge the entanglement of landscapes and ontologies over time, the ontological turn becomes relevant for Political Ecology.

Key words: ontologies, political ecology, animism, Borneo

### › **The Spirit of Egalitarianism: Sabulungan, Forest Exploitation, and Wealth Distribution Among the Mentawaians in Siberut Island, Indonesia**

Darmanto Darmanto *Leiden University*

This paper examines the relations between the Mentawai animism (sabulungan) and forest exploitation in Siberut Island, West Sumatra. Sabulungan ontology sees that forest is crowdedly dwelled by the spirits who have the primordial pact with humans, in which they are living in separate domains but sharing a world where no parties feeling subdued or dominated. The egalitarian ethic of sabulungan generates ambivalence attitude toward and compels the living Mentawaians to have both respect and fear of the spirits when about to exploit forest material. This ethic also has been crucial when large scale forest exploitation has enclosed and extracted Siberut forest. Timber companies are reluctantly permitted but continuously been protested, accused and cursed by the Mentawaians because giving unequal share of their fortune and generating new social hierarchy. This paper argues that the egalitarian ethic of sabulungan is fundamental for humans-spirits relations, serves as a political-economy tool for the Mentawaians in struggle to gain equal material redistribution of forest exploitation, and shapes their attempt to maintain autonomy and political equality amidst hierarchal social relations brought by a new mode of accumulation. Further, this paper will contribute to the discussion on 'ontological turn' that has been criticized of being ignorant to political-economy dimension by discussing the importance and power of egalitarian and equality ethos of an animist belief for the politic of redistribution.

.....

## **Governance for Climate Change Adaptation in Southeast Asia: History, Anthropology, and Political Economy 2**

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Laboratory (Part 2)
CONVENER	Tom Hoogervorst <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PARTICIPANTS

- › Agus Suwignyo *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
- › Alan Frendy Koropitan *Bogor Agricultural University*
- › Annemarie Samuels *Leiden University*
- › Bart Barendregt *Leiden University*
- › Daniel Oliver Paulsen *University of Bergen*

- › Dennis Gupa *University of Victoria*
- › Gerry van Klinken *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*
- › Greg Bankoff *University of Hull*
- › Leontine Becking *Wageningen University*
- › Mira Rochyadi-Reetz *Technische Universität Ilmenau*
- › Mohamad Yusuf *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
- › Peter Mulder *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*
- › Sander Tetteroo *Leiden University*
- › Sartika Intaning Pradhani *Universitas Gadjah Mada*
- › Sikko Visscher *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*
- › Sonny Mumbunan *University of Indonesia*



## Ethnic Organizations and Cooperation of Multiple Stakeholders in Strengthening Transition and Promoting Diversity in Myanmar

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Chosein Yamahata <i>Aichi Gakuin University</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Catherine Renshaw <i>Thomas More Law School</i> Nisit Panthamit <i>Chiang Mai University</i>

### ABSTRACT

The opening of a new chapter in political history in 2016 gave much hope to the people and encouraged the international players to work with the NLD-led administration for bringing democracy, human rights, peace, and development, which had been absent in Myanmar for long. However, in contrast to the high hope and expectation, the realities on the ground are filled with many new challenges, unresolved old problems, and the emergence of sudden crises caused mainly by the multiple divisions exist in society. Due to the new opportunities and challenges faced differently by each group, the country is divided into a greater number of socially and self-identified groups in terms of ethnicity, religion, political belief, race, and social strata. Most of the recent crises are deliberately created by exploiting nationalism through religious extremism, ethnic inequality, colonial history, and multiple disparities, resulting in ‘instability’, ‘divisions’ and ‘conflicts’. Therefore, non-state players, starting from ethnic organizations, local academics, media, and individuals have taken initiatives to play constructive, supplementary as well as evaluative roles to support the fragile transition. They are bridging the huge gap left by the state by promoting fair rights and opportunities for development, and equal voices for justice and diversity as an obligation of the citizens.

This panel will be a platform of exchange among presenters and between the speakers and the audience to accommodate different ideas, socio-ecological information, situational analysis, principles and approaches in dealing with local realities, national policy, and local politico-administrative implications. It also serves as a useful tool of both inputs and outputs in strengthening Myanmar’s transition by building a ‘stability’ from the community level.

### PAPERS

- › **Building Culture of Peace in Myanmar by Civil Society through Social Cohesion and Ingroup Socializing**  
Myat Thet Thitsar *Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation*

One of the conflict drivers for communal and ethnic armed conflicts in Myanmar identified by members of Civil Society is an ethnic and religious exclusion. One of the inter-ethnic and inter-religious issues identified by the research is Burmanization or Majoritization which in fact is the prolong wound mainly started in Socialist dictatorship regime in Myanmar. Under the majoritarianism that is through Burmanization and Buddhisization the multicultural nature Myanmar has never been truly activated. Myanmar currently has been faced with armed conflicts between ethnic armies and Myanmar Tatmadaw, and inter-ethnic conflicts. In addition, Muslims in Myanmar have also frequently been faced with violence by Buddhist communities. Civil Society in Myanmar is making contributions

in building both positive and negative peace through different functions. The current presentation will focus on Myanmar's CSOs' efforts in building positive peace or building the culture of peace through the two functions ingroup socializing and social cohesion. The constraints and challenges for CSOs in implementing building culture of peace will be discussed in the presentation. The presentation is based on the research on the Role of CSOs in Myanmar's Peace Building Process, conducted by Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation (EMReF) and Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (IPTI) from 2018 to 2019. The research explored civil society activities' peacebuilding activities in Myanmar according to the civil society and peacebuilding framework developed by Paffenholz and Spurk in 2006 and validated in a research project from 2007-2010.

› **Civil Society and Land Related Activism in Chin State**

Rainer Einzenberger *University of Vienna*

The 2012 ceasefire agreement between the Chin National Front (CNF) and the Union government as well as the establishment of a state parliament following the 2010 elections opened new opportunities for political participation in Chin State. While civil society in the state has been traditionally dominated by church institutions, in recent years, non-faith-based groups and organizations are beginning to play a bigger role. They are increasingly engaging with, and at times confronting state actors and political institutions on different political scales, from the local, to the national, partly also supported by transnational activism. The paper will explore the area of land rights and resource governance, a particularly relevant field for civil society activism in the state, echoing problems in other parts of the country. A variety of actors, from inter-ethnic coalitions to independent activists are increasingly focusing on land rights. Their demands are diverse and include the recognition of individual land titles, as well as legal reforms and further autonomy regarding land and resource governance in Chin State under a federal system. Just as diverse are their forms of activism. Among other examples the paper will discuss a rare case of public street protests, which occurred in 2017 yet went largely unnoticed by (inter)national media and academic circles.

› **Post-Socialism? A Comparative View of Political Transformations in Burma and Eastern Europe**

Michal Lubina *Jagiellonian University*

In the 1990s and 2000s, it was not unpopular to perceive Burma as a failed Eastern European-style revolution, where the regime somehow survived the social pressure, expressed in mass protests. After 2010s changes, that transformed Burma from its pariah position into more suitable international position, however, the Eastern European model became more comparable.

What makes Burma and Eastern Europe's cases comparable is a) a unique mix of public will (expressed in free elections) with secret, behind-the-scenes deals of the elites, b) hard-won social liberties (such as freedom of speech) and pressure for change neutralized by social contrasts, tensions and oligarchization (cronyism), and c) reversal of democracy after initial enthusiasm. These three aspects make comparing Eastern European model of transformation with that of Burma not only possible but also intriguing.

› **Re-Drawing Border: Self-Determination Movement Among Naga People**

Satoshi Ota *Tama University*

This presentation examines Naga people's political view of their nation-building. Naga people are one of the ethnic minority groups living in Northeast India and Northwest Myanmar. Naga people mainly live in Nagaland but some of the subtribes live in the neighboring states such as Manipur, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh, while others live in Myanmar. In the state of Nagaland, as the name suggests, Nagas are the main ethnic group, which includes Ao, Angami, Sema, Konyak, Lotha, Chakhesang, Rengma, Chang, and so on. Apart from the Naga people mentioned above, Tangkhul and Mao are large Naga groups that live outside Nagaland. In Myanmar, Sagaing Region is the area where a sizable population of Naga inhabits.

In the case of India, although Nagas are Indians by nationality, they bear a weak sense of Indian nationalism but instead, they are conscious about their Naga identity. Because of the process of being incorporated into India and Myanmar, some of the Naga people are claiming greater Nagalim which includes Nagaland, part of Manipur, Assam, Arunachal and Myanmar, and they claim political autonomy in the area. Given the above ethnopolitical backdrop of the Naga people, this presentation will explore the process of Naga's incorporation into India and Myanmar historically and will also explore political groups which seek for Naga's nation. Then, the presentation will look at Naga people's views on the political movement for nation-building.

.....

## Traditional Art, Community and Environmental Discourse: Wayang Puppet Theatre in Global Contexts 2

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Matthew Isaac Cohen <i>University of Connecticut</i>
DISCUSSANT	Catherine Diamond <i>Soochow University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

## PAPERS

### › Contemporary Wayang in Java and Environment

Marianna Lis *National Academy of Theatre Arts, Krakow*

One of the most characteristic attribute of wayang kulit (shadow puppet theatre) is that it encompasses a holistic view of the universe, essaying the laws that rule it and the human and nonhuman persons inhabiting it. At the same time, wayang is also a space where there has always been a place for the most important current problems and challenges, especially those important for local communities. Wayang has taught and commented on the moral and ethical values that viewers should follow. Hence in the last century the stories associated with the struggle for independence, propaganda content during the New Order regime and comments by puppeteers on corruption of rulers, have all been present in the performances. And as environmental sustainability becomes an import issue, performances show how local wisdom transmitted in wayang can help to solve global problems.

So what is the shape of environmental discourse in contemporary wayang in Java? More and more artists introduce topics related to climate crisis to their performances. Some of them leave the subject on the margins, making it a kind of background for the action being played out. For others, however, topics related to environmental protection become the main axis around which the whole intrigue presented in the performance is built. Some artists go a step further – not only the plot is related to environmental protection, but also the puppets used in the performance are made of recycled materials or, as in the case of Wayang Sampah, created in Surakarta from garbage collected from the streets of the city. Such performances are not only meant to entertain, but above all serve to inform and educate – transmitting basic information about growing problems and demonstrating how, slowly, step by step, the local community can influence the surrounding environment through simple actions, and, consequently, influence the state of the entire planet.

### › Shadows of Change: Environmental Activism and the Performing Arts in 21st Century Bali

Laura Noszlopy *Royal Holloway, University of London*

As an island nation, Indonesia faces increasingly severe environmental threats. Whether deforestation, air pollution, biodiversity loss, rising sea levels, extreme weather events, inadequate waste disposal, water shortage, or any combination of these, manmade problems threaten the lives and livelihoods of the archipelago's people and, of course, its non-human inhabitants. The situation in Bali has been exacerbated by uncontrolled tourism development and its profound social and ecological consequences.

The traditional performing arts, and wayang kulit (shadow puppetry) in particular, have always been a means to address cosmological and societal concerns through the use of adaptive lakon (narratives and plot devices) and creative imagery. Typically, performances have simultaneous ritual, pedagogic and entertainment functions. Since the late 20th century, Balinese dalang (shadow puppeteers), sometimes in collaboration with artists from other parts of the world, have integrated innovative storylines, musical scores and designs into the wayang kulit format; these innovations are also seen across several other genres of traditional performance.

This paper will explore some of the ways in which contemporary dalang, and other artists and performers, are creating narratives and imagery about the environmental and climate crisis to address today's most pressing and universal concerns. It will recount the life-stories and philosophies of various dalang and examine the key environmental factors, local and global, that influence their latest works. The paper will examine the different contexts in which these performances take place and consider whether and how audiences have changed over time. My research seeks to assess the extent to which such narratives and imagery are considered popular and useful as tools to influence, educate and signal resistance.

### › Wayang Ritual Dramas in Cirebon (West Java, Indonesia) and Ecological Discourse, Past and Present

Matthew Isaac Cohen *University of Connecticut*

A mainstay of wayang kulit (shadow puppet theatre) in the Cirebon cultural area of Java's north coast are a cluster of ritual dramas. These are sponsored by communities in conjunction with annual rites that insure the blessings of ancestors, repel malevolent spirits and pests, insure fertility of crops and stocks of fish, bring rain and give thanks. Puppeteers act as both entertainers and ritual officiants, enacting ancient myths, reciting incantations and creating holy water. Plays depict an animistic universe, blurring distinctions between humans and animals, living and dead, visible and invisible. Not only human characters, but also nonhuman persons such as weapons, mountains, and animals, have consciousness and interiority. Communities are actively engaged in the proceedings through giving donations, selecting performing troupes, preparing offerings and participating in communal meals and processions. Indeed, ritual dramas have been key in defining communities and relations among them. These ritual dramas have been moments for agrarian and fishing communities to have a public conversation with visiting wayang troupes about their most pressing ecological issues. Wayang ritual dramas such as Mapag Sri (Greeting Sri) are still sponsored by some communities, though not as often as in the past due to modernization and religious shifts. However, the news is not all bleak. Starting in the early 2000s some communities sussed out that they could apply to central funds for annual events that could be entered into tourist calendars. In more recent years, villages, flush with funds devolved to the village level due to decentralization, have expanded the scope of annual celebrations to include participatory elements, such as elaborate processions. There are also villages that have elected to sponsor more elaborate dramatic forms than wayang, principally sandiwara (costume drama), and now present the old ritual dramas only in a curtailed form. While a number of ritual drama forms, such as an annual celebration sponsored by cattle owners, seem to have disappeared entirely, puppeteers remain sensitive to agrarian questions and needs, and find ways to discourse on ecological issues such as animal rights in plays sponsored outside of ritual cycles.

## Social Inequality and Sociocultures in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Boike Rehbein <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Benjamin Baumann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Vincent Houben <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Clashing Social Ontologies: A Sociological History of Political Violence in the Cambodian Elite

Daniel Bultmann *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Using interviews with members of the elite, the paper analyzes the current Cambodian political elite as a fragmented social field with competing groups fighting for hegemonic control over the state apparatus. It traces the creation of these competing elite groups through a historical account of significant transformations within the social fabric of the political field. In doing so, it argues that transformations such as colonialism, anti-colonial strife, civil war and genocide, foreign occupation, and capitalism each led to the emergence of new elite groups with differing social ontologies – or views about what society is, how it is structured and what is part of that collective and what not – that shaped corresponding hierarchical structures, or sociocultures. There are elite groups with roots in the sociocultures of colonialism, of communism, of war culture and – most recently – of capitalist class transformation.

Although this is similar in many ways to elite competition in other countries with similar histories, the history of elite transformation in Cambodia is unique due to the Khmer Rouge regime (1975–1979), which left large parts of the pre-Communist elite either dead or resettled in diaspora communities around the globe. After the end of the Khmer Rouge regime, a new political elite was created almost out of thin air by the Vietnamese occupation force. This new elite heavily relied on mid-range cadres of the Khmer Rouge and former so-called Khmer Vietminh, most of whom did not have an elite background. This deep fissure in the country's elite still forms the basis of political violence in Cambodia today. Since 1979, the artificially created new elite has clashed with members of the old elite in various ways. During the waning days of the Cold War, it took the form of a civil war between a collection of old elites against the new elite under Hun Sen. Later, the return of the old elites to the political field after the UNTAC peace mission began in 1992 led to fierce competition for (scarce) state resources. This conflict led to a constant ebb and flow of expulsions from the political field. Instead of viewing the Cambodian political elite as monolithic, the presentation explains the history of political violence in Cambodia through the lens of competing elites with roots in different sociocultures and social ontologies.

#### › Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Initiative in Indonesia

Arianti Ina Restini Hunga *Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana*

The progress of Indonesia in the last decade has been impressive, but there are issues of particular concern, mainly pertaining to religious intolerance (Wahid Institute 2015: 26), gender inequality (UNDP, 2018), social exclusion, and environmental destruction. As Indonesia progresses towards higher-income status, many of the poor are trapped in precarious employment relative to other emerging economies, particularly women (gender inequality) (OECD, 2018). This fact, in turn, requires serious attention, particularly from higher education, in order to assume an active role in producing & sharing of values of pluralism, justice, peace, and sustainability. This paper aims to explain higher education initiatives in integrating Gender Equality & Social Inclusion (GESI) in education, research & community service activities, especially related to politics, environment & natural resources. The study was conducted using focus group discussions, in-depth interview, & secondary data. GESI analysis was conducted to understand and critical reflection on GESI initiation in education & teaching, research, and community service programs. At the level of education institutions, especially higher education, the issues of GESI have not been included in the curriculum, teaching, research, and community service. There are relatively few studies and community services activities funded by the Kemenristekdikti for the period of 2013–2017 that deal with GESI. But there is a relatively high number of females awarded chairs in the GESI program. Theoretically the number may be potential in boosting the research and programs related to GESI. The GESI Initiative faces the obstacles: 1) GESI is not clearly stated as a national priority; 2) lack of knowledge and / or skill in integrating GESI into every existing scheme; 3) insufficient number of proposal reviewers who are knowledgeable and competent of GESI; and 4) the patriarchal norms. Although GESI has a strong basis in government policy but not yet an integrated part of the state policy implementation such as the National Development Plan. In line with that, higher education has not yet fully committed to integrate GESI into management and the three higher obligations of education (education, research, and community services). Even though the numbers are relatively small, there is a movement from the 'bottom' – lecturers / researchers who already have a GESI perspective. They are active personally, as a group, and through the women's / gender / child / disability study centres, which are integrating GESI in educational & teaching activities, research, community service & publications.

#### › Gender Equality and Social Inclusion in Social Areas: Issues and Policy in Indonesia

Keppi Sukesi *Universitas Brawijaya*

Gender issues occurred from the Patriarchate system can be seen in the phenomena of gender bias, stereotype, subordination, and gender-based marginalization. A gender gap results in the women isolation including in social areas. This research aims to: 1. Identify

issues of gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) in social areas. 2. Map strategic on GESI . 3. Formulate policies for community empowerment based on GESI in Indonesia. The research method used is secondary data study from Directorate General of Research and Public Service, Higher Education, social field policy study in East Java, and focus group discussion (FDG) with Social Service and Women Empowerment in Malang city. The results showed that there are seven priorities of GESI Malang and national level namely poverty, social action and behavioral deviation, disability, corruption, disaster victims, alienation, and victims of violence. The FDG showed that gender-based poverty becomes a problem, depicted by many poor women, gender and social transparency including violence againsts children and domestic violence. Strategic planning of Social Ministry data in 2015 showed an increasing social children problems in 2013 estimated by 6,9888 compared to 6,271 in 2012. Of the 84 million children in Indonesia, 6.76% is displaced. 1.5 million girls suffered physical abused of 1.5 million; 1.2 million suffered emotional violence; and another 600,000 had sexual violence. Gender and disability become one of the 2015-2019 Social Ministry strategic plans. Disability is no longer considered as a medical problem, but also a social issues. Based on Indonesia Central Statistics agency data, the disability level in 2015 reached 9 million people or about 4.74 % of the total population in Indonesia. The disability number is balanced between women and men. Last problems are women trafficking and young marriage in Malang. In conclusion, GESI issues should be prioritised to solve. Therefore, women and children protection agencies should formulate appropriate policies.

› **The Sociocultural Making of the Inequality Under China’s Reform**

Lumin Fang *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

The initiation of the reform and opening up in China since the late 1970s has given rise to an emerging stratified society. This paper tries to understand the inequality under China’s reform from a sociocultural perspective. Firstly, it utilizes multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to quantitatively represent the underlying structure of Chinese society through data from the 2015 Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS). It is found that the configuration of social stratification under China’s reform is, to some extent, reproduced from the state-socialist hierarchical system that persists as a socioculture. This paper further examines how the reproduction of inequality happens under China’s reform. It argues that the reproduction of inequality is assisted by Chinese citizens’ habitus acquired through the socialist hierarchical relations. In particular, some state-socialist hierarchical arrangements are maintained in the form of symbolic inequalities under China’s reform, and are defined together as a socialist socioculture that is hypothesized to mediate human practice in a market environment. Following the findings of the quantitative study, this hypothetical mechanism is reconfirmed by a series of qualitative interviews. With regard to the qualitative research, two things are under exploration: (1) What ideal habitus types can be constructed in a transforming society; (2) how are these habitus types linked to social class situations in a market environment?



**“Listen to Your Eyes”: Multimedia Story-Telling and the Future(s) of Academic Publishing**

**LOCATION** Fritz-Reuter-Saal  
**TYPE** Round Table  
**CONVENER** David Kloos *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

**ABSTRACT**

We propose to launch the results of a two-tier EuroSEAS-KITLV workshop on multimedia storytelling for researchers, followed by a roundtable on the uses and challenges of multimedia or ‘multimodal’ formats in scholarly publishing.

**Background:** The launch is the culmination of two events. In May-June 2018, EuroSEAS organized a workshop, titled ‘Listen to your Eyes’, at the University of Milano-Bicocca in Milan. At this workshop, which was led by the award-winning multimedia journalist Martijn van Tol, researchers working in/on Southeast Asia gathered to experiment with creating multimedia stories on the basis of their research, using innovative software. Integrating text, image and sound, these ‘scrollable’ online stories offer accessible yet powerful crosscuts of ongoing research, ranging from filmmaking and censorship in Indonesia to the visual and aural impact of small-town urbanization in Vietnam. In May 2019, a follow-up event will be held at KITLV, Leiden, to further enhance these stories and finalize them for online publication.

**Launch:** The session will start with a launch of the stories. After a brief presentation of the project by David Kloos, two workshop participants will present their individual projects to the audience through a screening and a brief reflection on the workshops.

**Round Table:** The stories created during the workshops are journalistic in scope. They make ongoing research accessible to a global audience through a multimedia form. In the roundtable, we want to take the experiment a step further and discuss how this format – and the software now available – might serve ongoing innovation in scholarly publishing. Some major journals, like *American Anthropologist*, have introduced ‘multimodal’ sections on their website. Other journals, like Brill’s new journal *Bridging Humanities*, offer a platform for multimedia productions and ‘co-created’ projects. Overall, however, scholarly journals lag behind journalistic platforms that have been much more radical and accommodative in terms of

integrating media in new narrative forms. This roundtable seeks to bring together a select groups of people from academia and the world of publishing to engage with the following questions: What are the affordances of multimedia publishing? What are the main challenges and constraints? How can we imagine academic publications that employ transmedia or multimodal formats to engage with scholarly debates and theory, without reverting back to text-dominated forms for communication?

In conclusion to the roundtable, the audience will be invited to take out their mobile phones, tablets, and laptops to view/read all the stories of the workshop participants online.

#### **PARTICIPANTS**

- › Charlie Rumsby *Coventry University*
- › David Kloos *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*
- › Mirjam Le *University of Passau*
- › Rosalia Engchuan *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology*

# Session 3

WEDNESDAY 13:30–15:00

---

Room 1.101	Rethinking Southeast Asian International Relations: New Theories and Methodologies
Room 1.102	Women and Politics in Southeast Asia: Navigating a Man's World
Room 1.103	Refugees in Indonesia: Comprehensive Discussions on Perception, Reception, and Coping Mechanisms
Room 1.201	Material Culture, Heritage and History in Southeast Asia ❶
Room 1.204	Cambodia's "Golden Age": Accessing the Global History of the Sangkum
Room 1.308	The Struggle for Nationalism in Contemporary Thailand ❶
Room 1.401	From Southeast Asia to Europe: Tracing the Roots and Routes of Transpacific Radicalism
Room 1.403	Women, Pluralism, and Political Participation in Peacebuilding, Democratizing and Developing Burma/Myanmar ❶
Room 1.404	Memory and Identity in Vietnamese Migrant Literature in Europe
Room 1.405	In the Making: Experimentation and Experiment in Southeast Asian Art ❶
Room 1.406	Crop Booms in Borderlands: Perspectives from Southeast Asia ❷
Room 1.501	Boundaries Within the Flow: The Shape of Life in Southeast Asian Cosmologies ❶
Room 1.502	East Timorese Multiple Belongings: The International Relations of East Timor and the Application to ASEAN
Room 1.503	<b>LABORATORY</b> Legal Intermediaries: Reading, Interpreting and Documenting "Law" in Southeast Asia ❶
Room 1.505	Historical Anthropology in the Highlands: Contexts, Methods, Actors, and Ethics ❶
Room 1.506	Revisiting Decolonization Processes in Southeast Asia ❶
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>ROUND TABLE</b> Responding to Troubling Times: The Urgency of Collaborations Between Academics and Artists

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/3](http://euroseas2019.org/session/3)

# Rethinking Southeast Asian International Relations: New Theories and Methodologies

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Deepak Nair <i>National University of Singapore</i>
DISCUSSANT	Don Emmerson <i>Stanford University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Southeast Asia is at the crossroads of a range of contemporary dynamics re-shaping international politics: from US-China great-power shifts and ASEAN's tortured diplomacy to respond to the South China Sea disputes to changes in state-society relations involving democratic transitions (Burma) and populist authoritarian rollbacks (Philippines). The scholarship on Southeast Asian International Relations (IR) has not kept pace with the region, however. The dominance of theories like realism and constructivism in framing the post-Cold War research programme on Southeast Asian IR has limited the questions, subjects, and relations pursued in this field. This panel features four contributors who draw on sociology, history, anthropology, and critical political economy to open up the study of Southeast Asian IR along new theoretical and methodological registers. Besides outlining the pay-offs of these new approaches to Southeast Asian IR, the panel has three broader theoretical aims. One, to suggest new modes of studying power in IR (beyond materialism and idealism). Two, to think about new ways of anchoring international politics to state-society relations and domestic politics. And three, to ask whether the study of core traditional concerns in IR – balancing, identity, norms, etc. – can be reinvigorated using these new approaches.

## PAPERS

### › ASEAN's Peculiar Regional Order

Mathew Davies *Australian National University*

This paper advances a new account of ASEAN's peculiar regional order. Instead of emphasising power or shared norms, it emphasises the importance of an emerging symbolic and ritual framework through which political elites and government bureaucracies perform regional order. I argue that ASEAN's order has two defining characteristics. First it is subjunctive rather than intersubjective – that is it operates 'as if' it were real rather than actually being true. Second it is orthopraxic rather than orthodoxic, concerned with policing behaviour within ASEAN not shared belief beyond ASEAN. This account of order provides new insight into both ASEAN's endurance and the simultaneous endurance of member state practice that consistently violates regional commitments.

### › Domestic Politics, Historiography, and Southeast Asian International Politics

Ja lan Chong *National University of Singapore*

Much of the international relations literature on Southeast Asia focuses on state actors and emphasizes state policy. There is as well a proclivity to treat the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a single actor. Such perspectives give short shrift to Southeast Asia's complexity as well as the myriad ways developments in the region cross political boundaries. The circulation of people, trade, and ideas historically characterize the region and its politics. Such dynamics often feature in the work of comparative political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists, but play a less prominent role in international relations scholarship—and the field is much poorer for it. My paper proposes to highlight ways in which the study of international politics in Southeast Asia can incorporate domestic politics and the use of the growing historiography on the region. I make the case that taking on board domestic political contestation can allow for a more accurate and precise understanding of Southeast Asian international politics. Consequently, I look at how an account that includes Southeast Asian domestic politics and recent Cold War history explains the development of ASEAN cooperation from its origins in 1967 through the 1990s and its decline thereafter in comparison to existing approaches.

### › Duterte, Sukarno, and Sihanouk: Southeast Asia's Anti-Colonial Populisms in Comparative Historical Perspective

Deepak Nair *National University of Singapore*

I aim to do two things in this paper. First, I clear the conceptual ground for studying anti-colonial populism in the post-independence foreign policies of states in the Global South. I delineate anti-colonial populism as organized around a critique of unfinished decolonization that shapes both the domestic social coalition of anti-colonial leaders and also their international (re)alignments. Making intra-regional and longitudinal comparisons, I proceed to historically flesh out an anti-colonial populist foreign policy as a type by focusing on three charismatic and authoritarian anti-colonial populists from Southeast Asia spanning the 20th and 21st centuries. These include Sukarno, who led Indonesia through its National Revolution and presided over the Republic's slide towards civilian authoritarianism and international Confrontations against two European colonial powers (Dutch, British); Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a French backed royal who cultivated a mass movement to undercut republican and revolutionary challengers and strategically invoked anti-colonialism in his campaign for Cambodia's independence and neutrality during the Cold War; and Rodrigo Duterte whose initial social coalition was cemented by "penal populism" towards drug dealers inside and anti-Americanism outside. A second aim is to situate the Philippines' contemporary realignments in the longer historical arc of other small powers in Southeast Asia that grappled with making alignments choices in the context of Cold War rivalry, namely Sukarno's Indonesia and Sihanouk's Cambodia. I will ask what

these ultimately tragic efforts to respond to intensifying pressures of Great Power competition during the Cold War might suggest about the fate of dramatic international re-alignments of the Philippines under Duterte.

### › The Inconsistent Power of Human Rights: How ASEAN States Resist Change

Catherine Renshaw *Australian Catholic University*

In theory, the regional-level institutionalization of human rights in Southeast Asia had the potential to significantly advance the realisation of human rights within ASEAN states. One possibility, for example, was that regional human rights commitments would introduce a new factor into the cost / benefit calculation of states' decisions around domestic human rights: states might be less willing to violate regionally-endorsed human rights norms because of the social sanctions they would incur from regional neighbours. Another possibility was that compliance with regionally-endorsed human rights norms would come to reflect the appropriate pattern of behaviour within the community of Southeast Asian states: states would come to follow a logic of appropriateness that included the domestic promotion and protection of human rights. A third possibility was that discourse connected to the creation and implementation of regional human rights institutions would encourage a process of social learning and deliberation around human rights compliance: states would eventually reorient their interests towards human rights through interaction and mutual learning. Yet in more than a decade since the signing of the ASEAN Charter, there has been little evidence of any of these processes. In this context, my paper reflects on the limitations of traditional theoretical frameworks in explaining the (in)effectiveness of ASEAN's human rights institutions as mechanisms of domestic political change. It argues for a form of analytical eclecticism to account for factors such as (1) the rise of China and its increasing hard and soft power influence in Southeast Asia, together with the concurrent diminution of the moral authority of the United States and Europe; (3) internal factors such as the absence of participatory politics – genuine democracy – within most ASEAN states. The paper examines in comparative detail the transnational and local causal mechanisms at play in two key human rights issues – ethnic cleansing of Myanmar's minority Muslim population, the Rohingya, in 2017; and the announcement in 2019 by the Sultan of Brunei that death by stoning would be introduced for certain breaches of Sharia law. The article explains how and why ASEAN and its human rights institutions failed to constrain (in the former case) and constrained to an extent (in the latter case) the behaviour of the respective governments.

.....

## Women and Politics in Southeast Asia: Navigating a Man's World

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Theresa Devasahayam <i>Mahidol University</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Claudia Derichs <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Fajar Nugraha <i>Indonesia University of Education</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel intends to combine the book launch of the edited volume “Women and politics in Southeast Asia: navigating a man's world” (by Theresa W. Devasahayam, Portland, Oregon: Sussex Academic Press, Series: The Sussex Library of Asian and Asian American Studies, 2019) with a discussion on three distinct Southeast Asian case studies of androcentric politics, namely Burma/Myanmar, Singapore and Indonesia. It is well known that politics is a male-dominated realm constructed as a male preserve and that women are never “admitted as full and equal members of most polities”, particularly in the case of formal party politics (Fagan and Munck 1997, 103). The complex terrain of formal party politics and women's experiences in this arena has led to a wave of studies offering a glimpse into the different facets of women's engagement or, for that matter, disengagement in the political domain. The book to be launched as well as the conference panel presentations contribute to the discourse on women and politics in Southeast Asia by exploring how women navigate the power structures embedded in a male-dominated realm. As in much of the literature on the subject, politics encompasses processes, events, and activities pertaining to the governance of a country or area related to government, parliament, parties and generally the state that regulate public life. While the book acknowledges that there has been a growing literature on the role of women in politics in Southeast Asia, there is far less research which analyses in detail the asymmetrical power relationships between the sexes. This is a gap that deserves to be addressed. In keeping with this aim, we attempt to highlight the “contextually specific ways in which politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics” (Waylen 1998, 1). In regards to gender relations, it must be recognized that Southeast Asia is unique in one respect – women in this region, relative to their sisters in other parts of Asia, enjoy considerable power and autonomy (Dube 1997; Raybeck 1980/1981, 1992; Stevens 1996; Stoler 1977; Strange 1981; Sullivan 1994; Wolf 1990, 1992; Wazir Jahan Karim 1992). But does this power and autonomy Southeast Asian women hold translate into greater engagement in politics for them? For this purpose, we present the three case studies, investigating the:

- opposition politician-turned-de facto head of government Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma/Myanmar in a context of androcentric transition politics at the backdrop of a long-ruling military regime;
- competing realities and gender roles negotiations of female candidates in Singapore, having to negotiate a “triple burden” when entering politics at the backdrop of a socio-political patriarchal reality, with blurred lines between public and private patriarchy and the challenges it generates;
- the gender-specific barriers that female members of a matriarchal community face in Indonesia when negotiating regional- and national-level androcentric politics and gender roles prescriptions; thus in an arena which exacerbates or inhibits by its setup and dynamics the transfer and employment of otherwise accumulated power and capital.

## PAPERS

### › The Triple Burden: Politics and the Competing Realities of Singaporean Women

Theresa Devasahayam *Singapore University of Social Sciences*

The paper argues that although the door leading to the world of politics may not be closed to women, nevertheless they struggle with deciding whether or not to enter the domain, not because of their lack of capacity or viewing this domain as an arena belonging only to men, but because of competing demands placed on them by dominant gender norms positing their primary role as caregiver. The paper speaks to this very issue faced by women political candidates in Singapore. In spite of the efforts of the dominant party as well as opposition parties to recruit women political party candidates, narratives reveal that women have not had significant success in this regard over the years. In the author’s interviews with women political leaders and potential candidates, a critical obstacle found that women faced in whether or not to run for politics is their responsibility to fulfil their familial demands. Should a woman consider joining politics, she does not only face a ‘double burden’, highlighting women’s coping strategies as mothers and workers with power differentials in the family in favour of men, but a ‘triple burden’, since in Singapore, becoming a politician is not a full-time career and politicians continue to hold down their full-time jobs in addition to taking on political duties. Having to struggle with balancing the three spheres of family, work, and politics—clearly a woman’s “struggle” and not a man’s since he does not have to contend with these multiple roles—the author argues that the likelihood of neglecting family or career is great because of the demands of a political life and unless and until Singaporean women have found ways of balancing the demands of these three spheres, which often comes at a cost, they are more likely to make the decision of not pursuing a political career. But what kind of choices are women left with? Can they operate within a different value system rather than one that is carved out by men? The possibilities, she suggests, are limited, dependent on whether husbands are willing to ‘mind the children’ and play a larger role of manager in the household, and by extension countering the gender stereotypes embedded in the male breadwinner/female caregiver model.

.....

## Refugees in Indonesia: Comprehensive Discussions on Perception, Reception, and Coping Mechanisms

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Mahardhika Sjamsoeod Sadjad <i>Erasmus University Rotterdam</i> Realisa Masardi <i>University of Amsterdam</i>

### ABSTRACT

Indonesia has traditionally been a popular country of transit for the thousands of refugees passing through on their journey to reach Australia or other countries of resettlement. In November 2014, Australia announced that refugees registered after 1 July 2014 in Indonesia would be ineligible for resettlement to Australia. Approximately 14,000 refugees are currently ‘stuck’ in Indonesia, unable to return to their countries of origin, integrate locally in Indonesia, nor move on to resettle to a third country. As a result of declining opportunities for refugees’ resettlement, Indonesia has been forced to transform from being a country of transit to a country of containment.

This panel will address the phenomenon of refugees ‘stuck’ in Indonesia from three different approaches: multi-sited ethnography, individuals’ life stories, and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Together, these three papers offer a comprehensive study on refugees living in Indonesia, a country strategically situated on emerging refugees’ migratory trajectory in the Asia Pacific region. They offer important insights into the variety of living experiences that refugees face in detention centres, shelters, and self-funded accommodations located in different urban settings across the archipelago. This panel will contribute to an understanding of how international refugee regimes are domesticated, particularly in the context of Indonesia, a country that continues to abstain from signing the 1951 Convention of Refugee Protection and its 1967 Pro-

tol. Moreover, it furthers a better understanding of movement, stuck-ness, and temporality as experienced by refugees currently living in the Global South.

## PAPERS

### › Good Relationships with Locals

Realisa Masardi *University of Amsterdam*

Through a multi-sited ethnography in Jakarta, Bogor, Medan, and Pekanbaru, Realisa Masardi discusses strategies and tactics of independent refugee youths while living in Indonesia. Her research problematizes politics of age and vulnerability, and highlights youths' agentic action and self-representation facing the international refugee regime as well as Indonesian local systems. In the conference, Realisa will present part of her dissertation chapter about children and youths' strategies to build good relationships with Indonesian locals.

### › Problems and Challenges of Rohingya Asylum Seekers in Medan City Indonesia in the Aftermath of Presidential Regulation No. 125, 2016

Heru Susetyo *University of Indonesia*

Indonesia is not a signatory to the 1951 U.N. Refugee Convention. The best the country provides is the right to stay temporarily and register with the UNHCR until resettlement can be processed. In 2016, Indonesia's president, Joko Widodo, signed a decree recognising the status of asylum seekers and refugees, and the country will no longer label them as illegal immigrants. The presidential decree also set forth a policy to allow for more local refugee shelters to be set up. Refugees already in Indonesia are in an awkward limbo. The UNHCR began informing refugees that resettlement to a third country is becoming less likely and that they must try their best to assimilate into Indonesian society. But Indonesian officials insist permanent residency is not an option. Indonesia views itself only as a transit country for refugees, not a final destination. If asylum seekers and refugees are to assimilate into Indonesian society rather than being forced to return to their home countries, Indonesia must find solutions. Indonesia's 265 million people make it the world's fourth most populous nation and there are around 28 million Indonesians living below the poverty line, with education, health and housing a priority. In South-east Asia, only Cambodia, the Philippines and Timor-Leste have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, which enshrines fundamental human rights for migrants and displaced people.

Although Indonesia has not, it does have a long tradition of offering protection to refugees, who in the past have used it as a transit country. Vietnam and Cambodia Refugees. Boat People used to live in Indonesia's Galang Island from 1979-1996, following the war in Vietnam and Cambodia. Yet, after Australia began tightening rules for asylum-seekers a few years ago, many asylum seekers in Indonesia could hope only for return home or official resettlement. With these options now unlikely for many, refugees in Indonesia - mainly from Afghanistan, Myanmar, Somalia and Iraq - have been left stateless and rely on aid agencies to survive. Many live on a small monthly handout from the IOM or relatives to pay for food and clothing. The IOM also provides essential services, such as healthcare, accommodation and training.

Life is monotonous for many refugees in Indonesia. Some have lived in the country for up to a decade, unable to move freely. While Indonesia's refugees mainly live peacefully alongside local people, often in cramped, cheap apartments, rooming houses or detention centres, there have been flashpoints of conflict. Some Indonesians, for instance, had wrongly believed their new guests were getting free government handouts. This research, therefore, is trying to depict the problems and challenges faced by transit migrants in Indonesia, particularly Rohingya asylum seekers from Myanmar who have temporarily stayed in Medan City for quite a long time, and whether they have alternatives and other opportunities to obtain their rights in the aftermath of the enactment of Presidential Regulation No. 15/ 2016 on Treatment of Refugees and Asylum Seekers.

### › Refugees in Indonesia: Comprehensive Discussions on Perception, Reception, and Coping Mechanisms

Nur Isdah Idris *University of Amsterdam*

Indonesia has traditionally been a popular country of transit for the thousands of refugees passing through on their journey to reach Australia or other countries of resettlement. In November 2014, Australia announced that refugees registered after 1 July 2014 in Indonesia would be ineligible for resettlement to Australia. Approximately 14,000 refugees are currently 'stuck' in Indonesia, unable to return to their countries of origin, integrate locally in Indonesia, nor move on to resettle to a third country. As a result of declining opportunities for refugees' resettlement, Indonesia has been forced to transform from being a country of transit to a country of containment.

This panel will address the phenomenon of refugees 'stuck' in Indonesia from three different approaches: multi-sited ethnography, individuals' life stories, and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Together, these three papers offer a comprehensive study on refugees living in Indonesia, a country strategically situated on emerging refugees' migratory trajectory in the Asia Pacific region. They offer important insights into the variety of living experiences that refugees face in detention centres, shelters, and self-funded accommodations located in different urban settings across the archipelago. This panel will contribute to an understanding of how international refugee regimes are domesticated, particularly in the context of Indonesia, a country that continues to abstain from signing the 1951 Convention of Refugee Protection and its 1967 Protocol. Moreover, it furthers a better understanding of movement, stuck-ness, and temporality as experienced by refugees currently living in the Global South.

# Material Culture, Heritage and History in Southeast Asia 1

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Elsa Clavé <i>University of Hamburg</i> Mulaika Hijjas <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>

## ABSTRACT

Artifacts such as textiles, regalia items and other ritual objects, but also photographs and manuscripts, have now found a place in the pantheon of national heritage and the discourse of patrimonialisation in Southeast Asia. But while they are increasingly displayed in museums and described in catalogues, this visibility (including in digital archives) has not been used for historiography, even when these artifacts have much to contribute towards critical scholarship of political, intellectual and literary history in the region. The panel proposes to tackle this issue by discussing the meaning of those artifacts in relation to national history, material heritage, and historiography. By doing so, we intend to emphasize the connection and disconnection between those three domains, as well as the sociohistorical reasons which explain it. By bringing together Southeast Asianists from different disciplines, we propose to reflect on different approaches to study and consider how these artifacts may better inform the understanding of the histories of the different countries. Papers are invited discussing specific case studies, how and why these may be excluded from national historical narratives, and exploring how artifacts, both in traditional and digital archives, open up new possibilities for a more pluralist historiography.

## PAPERS

### › Emblem of Sovereignty: The Riau Cogan and Histories of the Malay World

Mulaika Hijjas *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

This paper will discuss the so-called Riau cogan, or emblem, in terms of what it reveals about national history, material heritage, and historiography, in a polity that was dismembered by colonial rule into what became the modern nation-states of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. The cogan is an unusual and probably novel item of Johor-Riau regalia, inscribed with the Sultan's claim of authority over "all the Malay lands." The Riau royal regalia collectively was believed to be an embodiment of the Sultan's right to rule, and thus its seizure by the Dutch in 1812, its return to their chosen protégé, and eventual abandonment a century later when the royal family moved en masse to Singapore, tracks the fate of the sultanate. The paper will assess the art historical and textual evidence for assigning a date of production for the cogan not to a mythic past, as popular accounts assume, but more likely to the late nineteenth or even early twentieth century—precisely when the Johor-Riau Sultanate was under greatest threat of dissolution. It will also consider the uses of the Riau cogan in present-day discourse, where it serves as a symbol of transnational Malay identity and of ambitions towards regional autonomy in post-authoritarian Indonesia.

### › Marks, Smears, and Printed Mistakes: Inscription and Printing Technologies, and the Production of Muslim-Malay Literature in the Late 19th Century

Wei Jin Darryl Lim *University of Reading*

Nineteenth-century Malay texts – religious, educational, literary, or quotidian – are often encountered and consumed in a variety of material formats: as loose leaves, occasionally a scroll, or more commonly, a codex. Late nineteenth-century Singapore was the locus for the production and distribution of Malay texts in the Malay Archipelago. The Singapore-based lithographic printing trade for Malay printing pivoted around the print and publishing networks of Muslim-Malay printers, many of Javanese extraction. At its peak in 1890, book production soared, with up to six million pages printed annually – most, were lithographed (Proudfoot, 1993). Distributed, sold, or loaned through commercial, religious, or social networks, all were produced from technologies which inscribed or imprinted textual content: ink from a reed pen, printed from handset metal types, or in the case of lithography, written with a pen, then printed from a lithographic stone. While the book is the embodiment of textual content, the physical and dimensional qualities of a printed codex are but minor subjects of investigation by historians. Yet, the materiality of a book itself can be 'read' to distill details relating to composition, production, and distribution.

This paper focuses on lithographed books published in Singapore during this period of intense print activity, and will specifically discuss the materiality seen in printed codices of *syair*, a form of popular four-line verse poetry. Bibliographical and material evidence of localised, perhaps unique, adaptations and practices of printing will be triangulated from printed marks and smears, defects or 'mistakes'. This in turn, will be a prism through which we can assess the far-reaching products of a printing trade; and the careful – or careless – scribe and printer's hand in the material production of literary and intellectual culture. By examining what is perhaps considered a minor historical trajectory, this paper will broadly attempt to situate late nineteenth-century Singapore within broader histories of the book; and consider Singapore as a site of significance within a regional 'constellation of printing'.

### › Photographing the Sultans: Networks of Authority in the Southern Philippines, 1880–1910

Elsa Clavé *University of Hamburg*

The practice of photography spread in Southeast Asia in the last decades of the 19th century, boosted by the colonial growing economy and the need to record, study and advertise its commercial products and exotic cultures. At that period, professional photographers

installed in their studio or hosted at the court, produced images of powerful rulers and aristocrats. In the Philippines, pictures were taken between 1880 and 1910, and circulated under the format of *carte de visite* or as illustration in European journals and travelogues. These photographs resulted from the encounter of different ideas and representations of authority – the one imposed by the photographer and the one performed by the subject – which materialized using this recent technology.

Based on an analysis of about sixty photographs from Sulu and Mindanao – put into perspective and compared with others from Java, the Malay peninsula, Siam and India – the paper studies the result of these encounters. It weights each side's role in the composition of the photographs and traces the circulation of motifs, models and symbols of authority in the mentioned Southeast Asian kingdoms. The result is an understanding of the formation, and the meaning, of the visual language used by the Sulu sultans and Mindanao rulers in their representation of the self.

› **The Historical Notes as Literary Artifact: An Appreciation of Julio Nakpil's "Notes on Teodoro M. Kalaw's The Philippine Revolution"**

Joyce Arriola *University of Santo Tomas*

In 1896, the Philippine revolutionary society called the Katipunan led an uprising against the Spanish colonial administration. The Katipunan leader, Andres Bonifacio, was able to summon the support of native intellectuals and artists who subsequently wrote about the secret society and expressed their patriotism in various modes such as literary works, historical essays, visual art pieces and musical compositions. One of the Katipunan's most prominent members was the musician Julio Nakpil, whose body of works embody 19th century cultural nationalism (Chua, 2019). Yet Nakpil did not only leave behind his notable musical compositions but also historical notes written in his own handwriting and presented in the form of annotations, footnotes, glossary of terms, miscellanies and occasionally, personal essays that meander into the confessional mode.

In current discourse, the historical annotations and the confessional essay have assumed greater significance in the light of the value being assigned to alternative historiographies that may appear in the form of artefactual creative works, poetics, biographies, memoirs and other archival documents. Nakpil's marginal historical notes offer a response to the widely-read and cited *The Philippine Revolution* by Teodoro M. Kalaw. Moreover, Nakpil's notes on Kalaw's work provide contemporary historians and students alternative interpretations of some of the most controversial events that occurred during the 1896 Philippine revolution against Spain and the Philippine-American War (1899-1903). More importantly, the Nakpil notes indeed proved how the "historical text" can, by way of Hayden White (2001), be a "literary artifact."

---

## Cambodia's "Golden Age": Accessing the Global History of the Sangkum

LOCATION Room 1.204

TYPE Single Panel

CONVENER Ron Leonhardt *George Washington University*

### ABSTRACT

As archives open up throughout the world, histories are being constantly updated, reconfigured, and expanded. Today in Cambodia, the early postcolonial period is remembered fondly. Norodom Sihanouk's *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* (People's Socialist Community) Party led Cambodia during a period that is often referred to as the 'golden years' in Cambodia. However, due to decades of war and political turmoil, popular memory of the Sangkum era is much more robust than actual histories of the Sangkum. This panel examines the Sangkum era in both a postcolonial and global context in an attempt to tease out a more thorough history of Cambodia's 'golden years.' Papers include social development and exchanges, foreign perceptions and interactions with Sangkum Cambodia, state institutions and policies, and the Cold War as the Sangkum understood it. The history of Sangkum Cambodia is beginning to match its place in popular culture due in large part to greater access to history. With materials from Belgrade to Beijing and many depositories in between helping to tell the history of Sangkum Cambodia, this panel will also examine the interplay between accessible and global history and how new technologies and resources are helping to make more history more accessible.

### PAPERS

› **Being a Good Sport: A Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Sporting Events, Athletes, and Citizenship in Burma and Thailand, 1950–1970**

JoAnn LoSavio *Northern Illinois University*

Indigenous, traditional sports, such as chin lon in Burma and boxing in Thailand, and widely practiced competitive sports like swimming, football, and weightlifting became increasingly significant as elements of national identity in post-colonial Burma and Thailand. Multi-national, regional competitive sports events, such as ASIAD and SEATO Games, and smaller, single-sport exchanges between Southeast Asian nations served as political conduits for these states to assert sovereignty. I propose, in addition to this function, Burma and

Thailand utilized this novel competitive platform to engage their citizens in their respective nation-building programs, to develop a culture of national pride, and cultivate behaviors that conformed to and promoted state concepts of citizenship.

This project is novel for its subject matter, the intersection of two twentieth-century phenomena: multi-national sporting events and processes of decolonization in Southeast Asia. It also contributes to a growing body of historical scholarship that examines the processes of decolonization through a cultural lens. Here I view the process as an engagement between the state and its citizens, rather than as a political or diplomatic exchange between states. My conclusions are based on my visual and textual analysis of historical images, photographs, and texts produced by Burmese and Thai state-controlled publications. These documents aimed at foreign audiences and reveal these states' perspectives. They also show how Burmese and Thai citizens and athletes engaged with the state, performed citizenship through the medium of sports, and participated in the post-colonial impetus to develop a national identity.

### › **Pakistan's Afro-Asian Diplomacy as Seen Through Pakistan-Cambodian Relations**

Rohail Salman *George Washington University*

This paper will examine Pakistan-Cambodian relations in the 1960s, using documents and sources from the United States, Pakistan and Cambodia. The 1960s is an important decade for analysis for several reasons. Several important events are interspersed in the decade, including the two Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) games, the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962, the 1965 Pakistan-India war, and efforts to strengthen the Afro-Asian community. By analyzing Pakistan's diplomacy during the 1960s this paper will explore how Pakistan's cultural, economic and political ties with Cambodia coincided with its close relationship with the US and its membership of SEATO.

### › **Santapheap in the Sangkum: Cambodia, Public Health and Geopolitics, 1950–1970**

Trude Jacobsen *George Washington University*

The Cold War era saw competing international aid programs from the two ideological "blocs" with which countries were supposedly aligned: Democratic countries, led by the United States, and communist countries, led by the Soviet Union and, after 1961, the People's Republic of China. Whilst some nations aligned themselves as "pro-western" or "pro-communist", others opted for "neutrality" – which resulted in tranches of aid from both blocs as they tried to sway the neutralists to their side. Military assistance in the form of advisers, equipment, and infrastructure to sides of civil conflict during this period have been well studied, particularly for Vietnam and Laos; less focus has been upon technical assistance for non-military development, including public health. Cambodia was an avowedly "neutral" state from independence in 1953 until the fall of the country to the PRC-backed Khmer Rouge in 1975 and received assistance in the form of technical experts, equipment, and supplies from both western and communist bloc countries. Government publications proudly showcase Cambodia's improvements in the public health sector throughout the period; personal accounts from healthcare personnel attest to the rapid development of healthcare, at least in the cities. This paper seeks to determine whether the provenance of funding and technical assistance for service delivery, health workforce, information, medical supplies, financing, and governance affected the shape the six building blocks of public health assumed in Cambodia by the early 1970s.

### › **When Basketball Came to Battambang: The Transformation of Sport Culture in Cold War Cambodia, 1955–1970**

Ron Leonhardt *George Washington University*

After taking control of newly-independent Cambodia in 1955, the Sangkum Party reconfigured colonial sport culture in ways that helped legitimate the "nation" on the international stage. In a span of only twenty years, French-organized Cambodian teams playing the M? Quang Celestials in French Indochina were dissolved and then rebuilt into Sangkum organized Cambodian teams playing the Dinamo Tbilisi in Georgia. This paper will explore the connections between Sangkum Cambodia's nation-building processes and these sportive "jumps" from colonial intersquad matches to transnational competitions. I will also discuss Cambodia's involvement in the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO), regional pingpong matches with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and other international sportive endeavors in ways that demonstrate their importance both to modern Cambodian history and to the general history of sports during the Cold War.

.....

## **The Struggle for Nationalism in Contemporary Thailand ❶**

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Joel Selway <i>Brigham Young University</i> Petra Desatova <i>University of Leeds</i>

### ABSTRACT

The central political struggle in contemporary Thai politics is over nationalism. This struggle takes on various forms, including subnationalism, official state nationalism, constitutional nationalism, religious nationalism, and monarchical nationalism. This panel examines both the causes and consequences of these various types of nationalism as each paper lends unique

insight into the future of the Thai nation. Theoretical and empirical frameworks are employed in this assessment, as well as a range of methodological approaches, from qualitative comparative historical to survey experiments.

## PAPERS

### › **Gastrodiplomacy and Food Nationalism in Post-Coup Thailand**

Petra Desatova *University of Leeds*

This paper examines Thai nationalism from the perspective of food by focusing on the period following the 2014 coup. Food has always been an important aspect of the collective Thai identity and a source of national pride. Since the early 2000s, it has also featured prominently in Thailand's nation-branding efforts. The National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO), Thailand's military junta that seized power in the 2014 coup, has launched a number of campaigns in cooperation with the private sector aimed at promoting Thai food both in Thailand and abroad. What is the purpose of these campaigns? What values do they promote? And how do Thai people react to them? These are only a few questions that this paper addresses in order to demonstrate that Thailand's post-coup food promotion (domestic and international) is an integral part of the NCPO's legitimation processes.

### › **Thai Nationalism Through Theoretical Lenses**

Joel Selway *Brigham Young University*

This essay assesses the state of knowledge on Thai nationalism through an overview of narratives via the lens of the four traditional schools of thought on nationalism: Perennialism/Primordialism, Modernism, Instrumentalism, and Ethnosymbolism. The essay highlights both the unique contributions and limitations of a reliance on these frameworks in our understanding of Thai nationalism. The final section of the essay presents the Thai nationalism story through several contemporary approaches to nationalism, including Neo-Perennialism, Postmodernism, Post-Colonial Theory, and Constructivism. It concludes by laying out an agenda for the future study of nationalism in Thailand.

### › **The Constitutionalization of Thai Nationalism**

Eugénie Mérieau *University of Göttingen*

This paper examines Thai nationalism as embedded in Thai Constitutions. Based on an examination of constitution-drafting minutes, it analyzes the deep meanings attached to the key phrase of "Democracy with the King as Head of State" and traces its genealogy, a genealogy tied to the history of Thai Nationalism. To which extent is Thailand's "Constitutional Identity" a nationalist construct?

.....

## **From Southeast Asia to Europe: Tracing the Roots and Routes of Transpacific Radicalism**

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Vina A. Lanzona <i>University of Hawai'i at Mānoa</i>

### ABSTRACT

Since the 19th century, Southeast Asian nationalists from Jose Rizal to Ho Chi Minh traversed national and colonial boundaries and crossed oceans in pursuit of what Benedict Anderson calls as educational and political "pilgrimages." In Europe and America, they found kindred spirits and allies for intellectual enlightenment and political solidarity, and these relationships helped shape nationalist and independence movements in Southeast Asia.

In the 20th century, Southeast Asian activists and radicals continued this tradition. Many enlisted in the Spanish Civil War, studied in Russia, organized labor unions in the United States, forged alliances with international radical organizations to raise funds and support causes back home. This panel looks at the roots and nature of such movements—these circuits of transpacific and transoceanic radicalism—and to trace the routes Southeast Asian radicals took to support revolutionary causes at home and abroad.

## PAPERS

### › **Filipinos and Fascism**

Florentino Rodao *Universidad Complutense*

The ideas related to Fascism arrived to the Philippines in different ways, first mostly associated with Mussolini and after 1936, influenced by the impact of the Spanish Civil War in the Philippines and the internal disputes within the Spanish community. The main character was Miguel R. Cornejo, who besides compiling and publishing the Cornejo's Commonwealth Directory of the Philippines (1939) strove to find a political space in the Philippines. After being a two-term Municipal President (Mayor) of the City of Pasay, and

an elected member of the Philippine Legislature (Congress) in the 1920s, Cornejo founded the Philippine's Fascist Party and after 1937 moved to different alliances.

› **From Manila to Madrid: Filipinos and Filipino-American Brigadistas in the Spanish Civil War**

Vina A. Lanzona *University of Hawai'i at Mānoa*

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) was a watershed in the history of modern Spain, but its impact was not confined to Spain. The war sparked fierce international debate and Spain quickly became a symbol of the conflict between fascism and democracy in the 1930's. These issues engaged Filipino radicals and activists in the Philippines and in the diaspora, some of whom joined the Communist Party (CPUSA) and enlisted in the International Brigades. Despite the recent explosion of memoirs and books about the International Brigades, these Filipino brigadistas have been largely ignored, their experiences hardly mentioned in books about the Spanish Civil War. My paper traces Filipinos and Filipino-Americans who fought in the Spanish Civil War, reconstructs the networks of transpacific radicalism from which they came, and explores the debate about the Spanish Civil War in the Philippines and the United States in the period before World War II. The stories of Filipinos and Filipino-Americans who served in Spain are important in themselves, and telling them will help reconstruct an important but largely submerged history of transpacific radicalism.

› **From Manila to Utrecht: Diffusion and Scale Shift of the Philippine Revolutionary Movement**

Sharon Quinsaat *Grinnell College*

Using social movement theory, I provide an analysis of the organized resistance against the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos in the Netherlands—a non-traditional country of destination for Filipino migrants and exiles. I show that two processes were central in the emergence and development of this movement—the political socialization of transnational movement adherents (Dutch solidarity activists) in the Philippines and migration of political entrepreneurs (members of the National Democratic Front [NDF]) to the Netherlands. Both actors possessed social and cultural capital and served as brokers—the former to European social movements while the latter to the transnational network of the NDF—to facilitate the mobilization of material and symbolic resources based on the political culture in those countries. Thus, I argue that the histories of the Philippine revolutionary movement and European solidarity activism are inextricably linked as they interacted and influenced each other in the course of political contention. In analyzing the rise and evolution of diaspora movements in relation to and dependent on other actors in contention—such as solidarity groups, political parties, and nongovernment organizations—I provide insight into the development dynamics of transnational resistance.

› **Giving Back Ownership and Control of Water Services to the Public Sector: The Philippine Experience in the Context of Global Civil Society Movements Across Regions**

Teresa Tadem *University of the Philippines Diliman*

Starting in the 1980s, privatization became the preferred policy of governments for economic development and the delivery of public services. This was a response to the global economic crisis in most of the developed and developing countries. Following World Bank and International Monetary Fund conditionalities and prescriptions for structural adjustment loan packages to stem the impact of the crisis on developing countries, privatization policies were introduced. In general privatization went hand in hand with deregulation and economic liberalization – the three mantras of a neo-liberal development strategy. The promise of privatization, however, remains unfulfilled. Patronage and corruption have accompanied privatization efforts and it has brought about inequalities as well as inefficiency in the delivery of services.

This has spawned a global movement across developed and developing regions to reclaim public services. The Philippines is of no exception and this paper will highlight its experience as it is mirrored with those of other countries in Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. This has led to active campaigns and actual initiatives for alternatives to water privatization by citizens' movements and local governments under the concept of bringing back ownership and control of water services to the public sector. The underlying principle informing these alternatives is that access to water is a human right rather than a market transaction driven by the corporate profit motive.

.....

## **Women, Pluralism, and Political Participation in Peacebuilding, Democratizing and Developing Burma/Myanmar ❶**

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Chosein Yamahata <i>Aichi Gakuin University</i> Sar Yar Poine <i>Mon Women's Organization</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Hseng NOUNG LINTNER Makiko Takeda <i>Aichi Gakuin University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Decades of civil war and military rule have had a tremendous impact on the people of Myanmar. The brutal repression committed by the Burmese Army has left a deeply ingrained sense of distrust, grievance and fear in the minds of ethnic minority people. Myanmar is a society of great ethnic, ideological, religious, and social heterogeneity. However, the prolonged military dictatorship has transformed this rich diversity into deep division at various levels, exacerbated by inequality, discrimination, poverty and human insecurity. Therefore, on the one hand there have been a number of development and peace initiatives after the advent of NLD-administration, on the other hand, there is still a long way to go to build a fully democratic society that can bring sustainable peace and development to the people. Aung San Suu Kyi has stated many times that her government's top priority is to resolve ethnic conflict as soon as possible through an 'all-inclusive' peace process, but significant challenges remain to be addressed.

Against this backdrop, an increasing number of women's organizations have emerged and have in turn formed coalitions. Many women are joining hands across the ethnic boundaries playing an especially important role in the socio-environmental sphere. Some have even actively participated in the political decision-making processes in peacebuilding as well as underpinning democratization and development. Women play the roles of unifiers and peacemakers and have an innate endowment for promoting inclusiveness, and respecting diversity. Without women's presence and active participation in decision-making, it would be difficult to create a democratic and pluralistic society with the potential to bring about peace within the family, community, and the country since the society in Myanmar has been broken into pieces due to the multiple divisions.

Different approaches, various accomplishments, emerging challenges and promising opportunities are hoped to be exchanged, analysed and consolidated among presenters as well as the inputs from the audience for further applications.

## PAPERS

### › Ethnic Identity with Language Rights in Burma: From the Viewpoints of Pluralism and Unity in Diversity

Moe Kathy *Karen Information Center*

Burma is the country of many ethnic nationalities living together such as Kachin, Kayah, Karen, Shan, Mon, Rakhine, Burma, Chin, etc. Bamar nationality is the majority and the other ethnic groups are minorities. Each of these ethnic nationalities has different culture, literature, language and wearing style, and traditions. All ethnic people would like to live peacefully in their respective places. In history, political factors forced language policy, which has severely affected the ethnic identities and caused grievances in the mind of ethnic people as they are not allowed to study in their mother tongues at public schools. At the current situation, Burmese, the language of the ethnic majority group, is the only official language in the country. Other ethnic languages are not recognized as the means of instruction at school. That's why the new generation of the ethnic minority groups cannot read and write in their own languages. They lack opportunities and a facilitating environment to use their mother tongues to communicate in their communities, school lives and at work. If each ethnic group has equal rights to confidently and openly promote their original identity, practice their traditions and customs, there will be a natural course to respect diversity, reduce inequality, and promote peaceful co-existence. Only through the availability of such an environment, as well as enforcement of legal foundations to strengthen multiethnic society, the nation can be transformed to, in one day, a country with unity in diversity consisting of different ethnic groups regardless of majority or minority.

### › Kachin's Struggle for Political Equality

Stella Naw

This presentation will examine the current civil wars in Kachin and northern Shan states from a historical perspective; drawing lessons from the various previous peace negotiations and ceasefires between the Burma Army and the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) since 1961. The timeline of armed conflict can be categorized into four distinct periods: the first three decades from the founding of the KIO in 1961 to the 1994 Bilateral Ceasefire; the ceasefire years from 1994 to 2011; the resumption of war from 2011 to 2015; and the continuation of civil war under the current NLD government. Key areas of analysis will be who is driving the armed conflict; shifts in BA and KIO negotiating positions; and the impact on civilian populations, specifically the targeting of civilians and large-scale displacement. In conclusion, the geopolitical implications of the ongoing civil wars in Kachin and northern Shan states, as well as international involvement in the current peace process, will be briefly touched upon.

### › Myanmar's Prospects for Democracy in a Post-Military State

Yatana Yamahata *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

Myanmar's recent regime change, after more than a half-century of military rule, has sparked debates on its transition towards democracy. The debates are mainly centered on major challenges starting from a fragile peace process between the military and ethnic armed groups in the nation's resource-rich borderlands; a potential communal violence and worsening tensions in the Rakhine state; a growing anti-Muslim sentiment; rising negative perceptions of non-Burman and non-Buddhist groups; ecological problems and environmental disasters caused by China's investment-driven energy, infrastructure and development projects; and the deadlock legislative issue on the 2008 Constitution and its related political implications among many others. It is safe to state that the march towards a democratic transition is a long way to go. Since changes in Myanmar will not happen overnight, an appropriate balance of internal pillars driving for genuine change and international support can effectively shorten the journey of a confused transition towards stable democracy. However, this research explores that Myanmar's road to democracy is unlikely to be linear; its military remains deeply entrenched in the political, economic and social aspects of the Myanmar state and society. Even with these realities,

Myanmar can still benefit from many applicable lessons proven throughout the process of East Asian democratization processes including Japan as well as other Southeast Asian cases from two dimensions –neutralizing military institutionalization and deepening democratization. This paper aims to discuss the following questions.

- Is Myanmar undergoing a democratic transition?
- Why has military rule been entrenched in Myanmar?
- Why is there no longer a need for the direct military rule?
- What are the prospects for democracy in Myanmar?
- What can Myanmar learn from Indonesia's model of democracy? East Asian models of democracy including Japan?

### › Understanding Women's Political Participation in Myanmar: Attitudes, Barriers and Challenges

Sar Yar Poine *Mon Women's Organization*

This chapter looks into the key concepts in the topic of perceptions regarding the participation and representation of young women with a special reference attached to Mon women, in political parties in Mon state, Myanmar. The first section discusses the general attitudes as well as trends of women in politics by referring to the recent research on women in politics. The second section highlights women's political participation from different perspectives and opinions in terms of participation and representation including the types and level. Finally, the discussion centers on the barriers to women's participation in politics and it will also demonstrate the diverse challenges that young women face to be able to participate in politics. This research also aims to highlight perceptions of young women's political participation today in implications towards the issues relevant to development studies.

.....

## Memory and Identity in Vietnamese Migrant Literature in Europe

LOCATION Room 1.404  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENER Tran Tinh Vy *University of Hamburg*

### ABSTRACT

Vietnamese people in Europe account for about one-fifth of the overseas Vietnamese population with diverse groups. The Vietnamese group of students or workers in France during the period of French colonialism can be considered as the first Vietnamese residing outside of Vietnam. The second group of Vietnamese is the refugees who escaped from Communist in South Vietnam in 1975. The former contract workers, who lived and worked mainly in Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 also made up a significant number of the Vietnamese community in Europe. In addition, the wave of Vietnamese students choosing Europe to study and work after graduation forms the intellectual Vietnamese community. Last but not least, the group of Vietnamese arriving in Germany in the form of family reunion and of political asylum contributed to the diversity of the Vietnamese community in Europe.

Corresponding to the varied groups of the Vietnamese community, Vietnamese literature in Europe has a clear distinction. The first literary sector, which was formed and developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, is the literature of the refugees, or diaspora literature. The waves of Vietnamese migrants going overseas after 1990 for many reasons transformed the nature of Vietnamese migrant literature. From the starting point as the literature of the refugees, the Vietnamese literature now has authors leaving Vietnam but was not dissent with the communist government. For example, most works by authors as former contract workers focused on their lives in host land, i.e their struggle with surviving and working in Europe. In contrast, writings by other groups of Vietnamese touched upon the spiritual lives of migrants between two worlds, host land and homeland. In such an in-between-space, memory and identity of the migrants reflected through their writings become the core issues in the quest for the significance of migrants. The expression of memory in the migrants' writings is not just the way for the writers to reproduce a lost homeland in the past but also to the query, thereby forming their identities in the future. By organizing this panel, the convener seeks to provide a forum for the latest research in Vietnamese migrants literature in Europe. Presenters are welcomed to explicitly discuss the methodological and practical issues of memory and identity represented in Vietnamese migrants literature, such as the issues of collective memory, cultural identity, hybridity or in-between-ness.

› **“Banana Kid—Vietnamese Girl in the Czech Jungle”: A Reflection of the Lives of Young Vietnamese Migrants in Czech Republic**

Marta Lopatková *Charles University*

Czech Republic is home to one of the largest Vietnamese communities in Europe. Young Vietnamese migrants of 1.5th and 2nd generation are the most visible members of community. They often have to deal with obstacles given not only by Czech majority but also Vietnamese community.

Although young Vietnamese quickly adopted Czech culture and Czech values which is something their parents sought for they often experience difficulties while communicating with their parents - migrants of the 1st generation. As a result, there are generational conflicts, misunderstandings, and a generation gap which opened up between 1st generation and 1.5th and 2nd generation.

In 2008, Duong Nguyen Jiraskova, published an article on her blog, “Double Life of Banana Kids”, where she described the situation of young Vietnamese living in Czech Republic, which caused a sensation among young Vietnamese. Later she developed the idea and published the very first book written by a Vietnamese author in the Czech Republic called “Banana Kid - Vietnamese Girl in the Czech Jungle”, where she reflects daily life experience, intercultural relationship and other aspect of growing up as Vietnamese in Czech Republic.

The book will serve as an authentic source providing insight into the perception of being young Vietnamese in the Czech Republic

› **Memory and Identity in the Work of Tran Duc Thao**

Richard Quang-Anh Tran *Ca'Foscari University of Venice*

This talk proposes to examine the question of memory and identity in the work of the Vietnamese philosopher Tran Duc Thao. Even though Thao is more often known for his twentieth-century philosophical engagement with phenomenology and Marxism--including debates with the generation of European thinkers such as Jean-Paul Sartre --this talk suggests that this philosophical corpus would need to be placed in the context of Thao's historical travels between Europe and Vietnam. Condemned by the Vietnamese Communist Party in the 1950s and then later embraced postmortem by the same Party as one of its preeminent intellectuals, Thao left a rather poignant memoir of his intellectual journey towards the end of his life, a record that has yet to be examined more closely. The talk will ask the following questions: First, how does Thao understand his own identity? Is there evidence of an evolution, if any, in his own self-concept? If so, how might the question of memory problematize the retrospective construction of this identity? Second, what role, if any, does this identity play in framing the problem of “time” and “experience,” two key concepts in the philosophy of Marxism and phenomenology? Finally, in light of these questions, where might we situate Thao in the broader historicization of Vietnamese migrant literature?

› **Memory and Identity in Vietnamese Diaspora Literature in Germany**

Tran Tinh Vy *University of Hamburg*

Vietnamese people in Germany form the country's third largest group of resident foreigners from Asia. The ‘Moritzburgers’, a group of 348 students who were received in Moritzburg in 1955 and 1956, can be considered as the first Vietnamese residing in Germany. In 1960s, both the former West and East Germany hosted groups of students, coming from the former Republic of South Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam respectively, to study in Germany. However, the group of Vietnamese people arriving Germany as political refugees after 1975 and the influx of Vietnamese to Germany in the form of contract workers in 1980s are the two largest Vietnamese communities living in Germany. In addition, the wave of Vietnamese students who chose Germany to study and work after graduation forms the intellectual Vietnamese community. Last but not least, the group of Vietnamese arriving in Germany in the forms of family reunion and of political asylum contributed to the diversity of the Vietnamese community in Germany.

In general, Vietnamese writers in Germany have relatively diverse backgrounds. The two largest groups of writers are boat people (Phu Vân, Vu Nam, Vu Ngoc Long) and former contract workers (The Dung, Nguyen Van Tho, Lê Xuan Quang, Nguyen Cong Tien, Mai Lâm, Do Truong and so on). In addition, some of the authors are free immigrants (Ngo Nguyen Dung) and family reunion (Pham Thi Hoai, Le Minh Ha, Doan Minh Phuong). Corresponding to the diversity in their social backgrounds is the richness of the subjects presented. For writers who are boat people, memories and nostalgia that are both fanciful and bitter about the homeland are often recreated in their compositions. In contrast, the former contract workers focused on their struggle for livelihood at the host land. For other authors, neither homeland nor host lands but in-between spaces, where the diaspora continuously questioned, self-defined and reconstructed identity in the age of migration, become a prominent theme in their composition.

In this paper, I will focus on how memory and identity were represented through the works of selected Vietnamese authors living in Germany. I argue the expression of memory in the writing of diaspora is not just the way for the writers to reproduce a lost homeland in the past but also to the query, thereby forming their identities in the future.

## In the Making: Experimentation and Experiment in Southeast Asian Art 1

LOCATION	Room 1.405
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Amanda Katherine Rath <i>Goethe University of Frankfurt</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel will address the issues around experimentation and experimental in Southeast Asian arts between the 1950s and early 1990s. This is an interdisciplinary panel addressing developments in visual, performance and sound art, and which underscore the impossibility of direct linguistic and conceptual reciprocity. Discursively and historically, the concepts and labels of experimentation and experimental have been deployed and employed to accommodate works and practices combining techniques, temporalities and cultural registers unfitting for established categories of artistic and cultural practices. Such developments also have been commonly accepted as precursors of contemporary art in Southeast Asia. This panel argues that experimentation and experimental unsettle mainstream understandings to provide a more nuanced and complicated narrative.

Some of the questions that the panel will address, but not limited to, are:

- What makes experimental art/s experimental in Southeast Asia?
- In what ways does experimental as a term fill a void in the discourse, the discomfort between discourses and traditions?
- What is experimental without an avant-garde movement in the cultural field?
- Is experimentation/experimental and artistic freedom connected?
- Is experimentation/experimental art gendered, in and across contexts in Southeast Asia?
- What are the political implications and social ramifications?

### PAPERS

#### › Postmodern Experimentations: The Making of a Southeast Asian Avant-Garde

Leonor Veiga *University of Lisbon*

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, gradually, experiments with traditional arts in the realm of contemporary practices took place all over Southeast Asia. Interestingly, this event took place simultaneously in The Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, and between unrelated artists who didn't know one another. When ASEAN came to be in 1967, and launched a series of exhibitions, slowly, a network of artists and their practices started to appear in the regional artworld. In common, they had the fact that they were using elements of their cultural realm (such as traditional arts and ritual practices) in the midst of very conceptual artworks. This talk will show how this process started, how it developed, which networks supported it and how in the 1990s a "boom" of such postmodern practices came to be and was widely exhibited internationally. Postmodernism in Southeast Asia, I argue, has looked at traditions differently than its Western counterpart; that is with an agency and critical discourse that made it possible for a Third Avant-garde to emerge.

#### › Sufi Aesthetics of the Indonesian Writers of Angkatan 70

Kris Ramlan *Goethe University of Frankfurt*

This paper explores the subsequent discourse on literary aesthetics propagated by Abdul Hadi W.M. after he declared, the "demise of formal realism, anti-rationalism and openness to improvisation" on the Indonesian literary scene in 1970. Abdul Hadi, a writer-poet and an academician, rallied around a loose collaboration of writers known as Angkatan 70. The group urged for a sharp break from the previous period, and instead to produce experimental literary work inspired by new aesthetic awareness. This includes a discourse on Islamic values in literature and giving expression to literary products.

Abdul Hadi expounded the term "Islamic literature" and a new genre of "prophetic" or "sufistic" literature, that is underpinned by the teachings of Sufism. Its ambitious aims are for the purification of the souls of the readers and to energize the spirit of the colonized people in the East. The prophetic literature is not interested in any particular form, but it emphasizes "traditional" elements such as the "return to the roots of local cultures," including "Javanese Sufism". For him, the traditions and culture of Indonesian society are formed thanks to the inclusion of its major religions, i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam.

Throughout its centuries-long tradition, Sufism has been an especially literary religious path. In the region, the earliest known Malay Sufi poems was authored by Hamzah Fansuri c. late 16th century. Hamzah's poems remain an important part of the tapestry of Malay Sufism, serving as a model for Abdul Hadi's understanding of poetic production. Hamzah is considered a heretic by a many Muslim scholars and he epitomizes anti-establishment, anti-conformist artistic experimentation--yet "traditional". What then is traditional? or prophetic literature? They have stirred up debates, yet, this model is also seemingly very attractive for many.

## Crop Booms in Borderlands: Perspectives from Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Cecilie Friis <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Juliet Lu <i>University of California, Berkeley</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › After the Boom: Proliferating Market Networks in the Cambodia-Vietnam Borderland

Sango Mahanty *Australian National University*

In a panel that sets out to examine the risks, opportunities and transitions wrought by crop booms in Southeast Asian borderlands, this paper explores the important question of what happens 'after' a crop boom. I focus on a relatively established agricultural landscape that spans eastern Cambodia (Tbong Khmum) and southwest Vietnam (Tay Ninh). This post-frontier landscape is an ideal location to understand how crop booms evolve over time. The borderland was wracked by conflict in the 1970s and early 1980s, before being resettled during the 1990s. Market-oriented agriculture started booming in the early 2000s as the Vietnamese and Cambodian economies liberalised. Farmers in Tbong Khmum were among the first in eastern Cambodia to adopt cassava (*manihot esculenta*) en masse, before the crop advanced to other provinces in Eastern Cambodia. Over the border, starch processing factories in Tay Ninh came to rely heavily on fresh cassava from Tbong Khum and other eastern provinces. Between 2014 and 2018, however, Tbong Khmum farmers started turning to other commodity crops such as cashew, rubber and pepper. This paper explores why and how these transitions to new crops occurred, and the effects of these proliferating market networks. I explore multiple causes, including dramatic shifts in cassava price, the emergence of Cassava Mosaic Disease, and growing indebtedness among farmers. Farmers' decisions on crop transitions responded to available land, labour and capital, as well as community trends and personal aspirations. The borderland context also ensured that developments and relationships in Vietnam and beyond actively shaped market opportunities. Ultimately, these conditions framed a post-frontier market with rhizomic and interconnected commodity networks that at times deepened, and at other times fractured, resurfaced or branched out along different trajectories. In relation to the panel themes, the paper speaks to the spatiotemporal dynamics associated with borderland crop booms and, particularly, their transitions over time.

#### › Borderland Crop Booms: Political Ecologies of Rubber, Banana and Maize Booms in the Borderlands of Laos

Cecilie Friis *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Juliet Lu *University of California, Berkeley*

Laos is a frontier in the expansion of commercial agriculture in Southeast Asia, and policies enacted by the Lao government throughout the 2000s opened and incentivized foreign investment in large-scale agribusiness deals. Commercial crops have been taken up sometimes cautiously, but more often in dramatic booms by a mixture of local smallholder farmers, domestic companies, and foreign investors. Crop booms are especially dynamic and common in the borderlands where capital and market demand from neighboring countries heightens the incentive for Lao producers to participate. But vast differences emerge in the spatial and temporal patterns of crop booms depending on which actors are involved. This paper is focused on how three crops – bananas, rubber, and maize – were promoted in the Lao borderlands by three very different types of investors: rubber by large, state-supported Chinese companies, maize by small- and medium-scale Vietnamese contract farming investors, and banana by Chinese family or small-scale outgrower operations. We present a robust comparison between the drivers, spatiotemporal patterns, and on-the-ground networks through which these booms played out. This comparison brings us to argue that two often understudied factors: the political ecology of the different crops (how their material characteristics dictate where, through what investment or production cycles, and by who they are planted) and the structure of cross-border exchange (by which we mean the cross-border sociocultural networks of exchange, the physical realities of moving products, people, and knowledge across the border, and the geopolitical history of the border region) shape the characteristics and resulting implications of crop booms.

#### › Untangling Crop Boom-Bust Mechanisms in the Mekong Region

Jean-Christophe Castella *Institute of Research for Development*

Based on comparative analysis of crop-boom related studies across the Mekong region the presentation will address the mechanisms of spatial displacement of crop commodities across the region along least effort pathways. I investigate how the increasing demand for commodities results in rapidly moving boom-bust cycles depending on local conditions, e.g. political support to economic development, weak governance in contexts of abundant resources, and labor requirements fulfilled by temporary or long-term migrations. As a consequence, the same 'boom' phenomenon happens again and again across the region, e.g. current maize pioneer front in Shan State (Myanmar) is very similar to what happened in Battambang (Cambodia) and Sayabouri (Laos) in the 2000s and in Son La (Vietnam) and Kanjanaburi (Thailand) in the 1990s.

This displacement phenomenon of boom-bust cycles happens at all scales: across villages within districts, across provinces within countries and across countries of the Mekong region, and applies to all individual commodities. I explore the specificities of the commodities in terms of displacement, i.e. annual crops such as maize and cassava are more 'mobiles' than perennial crops such as

rubber and palm trees. Beside spatial displacements, commodity crops succeed to each other along pathways of natural resource exploitation. For example, cassava may come after maize once the soil fertility levels are not sufficient for maize anymore (bust phase) thanks to the deep rooting system of cassava that allows pumping nutrients in the deeper soil horizons and to exploit the remaining soil fertility. Once the land is degraded, farmers may turn to tree crops or pastures for large livestock. The sequence of crop commodities is highly dependent of commodity prices and export mechanisms, e.g. closing border gates depending on countries trade policies.

The proposed framing of crop displacement mechanisms allows drawing lessons from past crop booms in neighboring countries. Indeed, we can anticipate that the same processes will happen again in the next agricultural frontiers leading to potential boom prevention and/or early warning systems. Cross-country comparisons in time and space also bring useful insights about how local agriculture can evolve in the aftermath of a crop boom. A dedicated learning alliance of academics and practitioners may thus emerge to support the necessary shift from an unregulated, displacement-based boom regime to a higher level of governance that would ensure more sustainable commodity supply chains across the region through maintenance of complex landscape mosaics and less resource extractive agricultural production models.

.....

## Boundaries Within the Flow: The Shape of Life in Southeast Asian Cosmologies ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Guido Sprenger <i>Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg</i> Monica Janowski <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
DISCUSSANT	James Fox <i>Australian National University</i>

### ABSTRACT

In Southeast Asian cosmologies and ontologies, life, potency and power are conceived of as a flow; indeed the entire cosmos is arguably regarded as being made up of, or as being a field of flow for, life and power. The cosmic flow is, however, not amorphous; it is (as it were) heterogenized, made up of distinct entities. These entities exist by virtue of the fact that they have boundaries. In the context of a profoundly animistic ontology and cosmology in the region – including among peoples who now belong to monotheistic world religions – all of these entities are regarded as being alive; what flows through them is life itself, which coheres and coalesces in certain places in the flow. Each entity is regarded as possessing or being inhabited by a spirit. Enspirited entities include human and animal bodies, plants, mountains, stones, houses, states.

The boundaries around living entities are not fixed; they may grow larger or smaller, and they may die. The flow of life and power and the boundaries between entities making up the flow of life is believed to be susceptible to management and manipulation – and humans aim to achieve this. The direction of flow, and in particular its concentration in certain entities – individual humans, human-made objects such as jars or swords, naturally occurring entities such as stones or mountains – is the focus of much ritual practice. Boundaries between entities are also the subject of much ritual, aimed at both maintaining and manipulating them – boundaries of the body, when spirit mediumship or spirit-induced illness occurs; those of houses, villages and cities, which may be managed through rituals of purification, fertilization and protection; even those of the state. Ways of managing boundaries and the flows of life include walls, gates, tattoos and numerous others.

This panel invites papers that explore the dynamics of the relationship between flow and boundaries, both necessary features of life and potency. We welcome papers examining ideas as well as practices, apparent contradictions, the tensions between authoritative and marginalized cosmological perspectives, and the uncertainties arising through the question of when to act to encourage flow and when to maintain boundaries.

### PAPERS

#### ➤ **Grasping Life: Vital Flows and Fragility of Being in a Healing Ritual of the Luangan in Indonesian Borneo**

Isabell Herrmans *University of Helsinki*

This paper uses an ethnographic case study to illustrate how Luangan shamans in Indonesian Borneo seek to channel the flow of life and life energies (souls and spirits), and how this precarious pursuit may misfire. The paper examines this process as it eventuated in a healing ritual performed in June 2017, wherein the shamans set out in search of a woman's soul when she fell seriously ill. By situating the shamanic effort of regulating flows and boundaries within the particularity of individual human lives and a particular event, the paper aims to bring cosmology down to earth, so to speak, to highlight the uncertainty and unboundedness of real-life events, in which the quest of manipulating spiritual flows and boundaries is embedded. The case illustrates the shamans' varied efforts and

techniques to regain and contain a fundamentally evasive soul, and their efforts to reach out to various spirits through diverse courses of negotiation. Along with the stakes involved, the concentration of spirits during the event, and the fervent potency of blood-anointed ritual objects (stones, tiger teeth, a headhunt skull), created a situation of affective density which overwhelmed some ritual participants who became possessed by spirits, drinking blood from a chicken and the pigs sacrificed, causing a tumult which injured one of the shamans and scared many participants. The attempt to channel and contain the flow of life energies thus in a sense “backlashed,” reverting into excess. A central argument in the paper, inspired by João Biehl and Peter Locke, is that the regulation of flows and boundaries entails a volatile condition, which reflects the “unfinishedness” of human subjects and lifeworlds, their quality of being in a state of continuous becoming.

#### › On the Productivity of Separation in Timor-Leste

Judith Bovensiepen *University of Kent*

Much of the literature on exchange in Southeast Asia focuses on how exchange produces relations and alliances amongst exchanging parties. Examining exchange practices between life-giving and life-taking entities in Timor-Leste, this paper suggests, by contrasts, that acts of exchange produce boundaries and detachment. Taking a cue from Marilyn Strathern’s (1996: 527) argument that “gifts quite crucially sever and detach people from people”, it shows that separation (the cutting of flow) is a constituent part of the ways in which entities come into being and how relations between them can be productive. This is particularly pertinent in contexts where an implicit assumption is one of continuity between the living and the dead and where human and non-human worlds are not clearly distinguished from one another.

#### › The Sentience of Water: Beliefs in Dragons in Sarawak

Monica Janowski *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

In Sarawak there are widespread beliefs in watery spirits, among Chinese, Malays and tribal peoples. These are closely associated with snakes and, among tribal peoples, conflated with the Chinese lung or dragon. These beings are believed to be extremely powerful and are sometimes conflated with the Great Spirit of the forest/cosmos.

I explore some of these beliefs; and I argue, further, that they are an expression of beliefs about the nature of the flow of life force and power through the cosmos. These watery spirits are, I suggest, equivalent to sentient water. As such, they both express the broader sentience of nature and provide a window into the process whereby sentience is believed to come into being in the form of individual spirits.

---

## East Timorese Multiple Belongings: The International Relations of East Timor and the Application to ASEAN

LOCATION	Room 1.502
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Nuno Canas Mendes <i>University of Lisbon</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel intends to discuss the place of East Timor in international relations and its political and economic relations with Australia, Indonesia, China, Portugal and CPLP (the Community of Portuguese Language Countries). Bearing in mind the multiple belongings of East Timor between Southeast Asia, the Pacific and the Lusophone connexion, the panel will explore the diplomatic and strategic aspects of these relations and its impact on East Timorese politics and economy. In this framework of analysis, we will focus on the main goal of the country’s foreign policy: the application to ASEAN - a process which started in 2011 and is still being further delayed with no end in sight. The panel is open to discuss constraints and opportunities of the admission procedure as well as the various ‘players’ taking part within this ‘game’.

The aim is to contribute to a reflection on the impact of the membership, both internally as well as regionally, grounded in several scientific areas and open to a diversity of methodologies.

### PAPERS

#### › ASEAN and Timor-Leste: Rationalities, (Des)integration and Imagined Communities

Paulo Castro Seixas *University of Lisbon*

Timor-Leste’s first official application to the regional grouping ASEAN took place in the year of 2011. Hence, within this paper we provide an analysis of the structure of application as a test-case to polarization and fragmentation in the competing regional (des) integration process. As a small country in which the elites build much of their status and power (cultural capital) through outside networks, the social ‘distinction’ is played through small differences in which ‘outside’ resources are brought ‘inside’ (inside and outside

are fundamental sociological concepts to understand Timor-Leste's society) in a continuous competing and translation process. A small state (and particularly an island small state) is constrained by several factors. In the case of Timor-Leste this leads to the assumption that the democratic patterns of the country - in the midst of autocratic regimes - appear as constraints in the context of ASEAN, following Elias' concept of the standards of civilization. Thus, there is an effort to compensate and overcome these through a constant negotiation. Timor-Leste is an evidence of such negotiations in the global realm being both strength and a weakness which must be considered in the process.

### › The “Readiness” of Timor-Leste: Narratives About the Admission Procedure to ASEAN

Nadine Lobner *University of Lisbon*

The following paper is based on an empirical research with an inductive approach about the admission of Timor-Leste to ASEAN. We examined a corpus of international newspapers (N=48) which forms a debate over this case on the internet. The articles are reproduced in English and are currently the most representative form of debating the membership delay which takes place since 2011. Throughout the observation of our gathered data, we discovered one main narrative that is reproduced by several agents/spokespersons: The Readiness of Timor-Leste to join the Southeast Asian grouping. Hence, built through three rationalities (preparedness, ambivalence, conflict), the Narrative of Readiness reveals a common sense amongst the agents. Therefore, we propose an International Imagined Community in the making - even though the delay of the Timor-Leste admission to ASEAN still raises further questions.

### › Timor-Leste's Membership to ASEAN: The Political Process and its Discontents

Nuno Canas Mendes *University of Lisbon*

This paper presents a chronology of the political process of the ASEAN membership for Timor-Leste since resistance in times of the Indonesian occupation. Furthermore we will explore the main turning points of this chronology in a reflexive way, which we consider as internal and external discontents. By analysing internal discontents we disclose the political framework of Timor-Leste and the elite visions on Timor-Leste's integration in ASEAN. Through the external discontents, the ASEAN perspective on the admission procedure will be revealed, its fears and doubts.

Following this, we will elaborate on international territorial integrations of Timor-Leste as eventual global-and-local identity choices for Timor-Leste (ASEAN - Commonwealth - CPLP- SPF/PIF/MSG). It is explored how these global-and-local choices may represent fragmented polarized options in actions and representations. Furthermore, we consider that this situation may represent an epitome of the region itself and is jeopardizing Timor-Leste candidacy to ASEAN.

---

## Legal Intermediaries: Reading, Interpreting and Documenting “Law” in Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Laboratory (Part 1)
CONVENER	Jeremy J. Kingsley <i>Swinburne Law School</i>

### ABSTRACT

Plans for discussion and collaboration: Legal Intermediaries are those people and increasingly, technological systems, that facilitate and provide the documentation, rules and mediate (or decide) the outcome of commercial, social and political disputes. They can be religious leaders, diplomatic actors or lawyers. The nature and qualifications for this role change across time and place. Legal intermediaries are essential for the movement of people, development aid, information circulation, and capital flows. These actors create, and document, the legal connections across Southeast Asia. Through sharpening our focus on legal intermediaries, we are able to interpret the operation, practices and mechanisms that underpin legal connections across Southeast Asia from social, political and legal perspectives.

We are living in a period of great commercial and socio-political upheaval, climatic change and technological disruption. As a result, the role of legal intermediaries is being reconfigured. Through an inter-disciplinary collaboration between lawyers, historians, and anthropologists, the laboratory seeks to identify how these changes impact legal intermediaries. We aim to trace how conceptions of legal intermediaries and their role have evolved across geographies and times.

The dynamic composition of scholars participating in the laboratory will consider the question of legal intermediaries from multiple perspectives that cross traditional, modern, local, transnational, digital, and physical boundaries. The discussion will address questions including:

- The changing role and definitions of 'law' in the Southeast Asian settings, for example, the role of lawyers contrasted to the role of religious leaders as legal intermediaries;

- What it means to be a 'lawyer' as a historical matter, as a contemporary iteration and into the future in Southeast Asia;
- The role of technology and non-humans as legal intermediaries in Southeast Asia; and
- The concept of 'figures of prowess' (Barker and Lindquist 2009) in relation to legal intermediaries.

Please note: We are running a reading group preparing for this laboratory that will commence in January 2019.

#### PARTICIPANTS

- › Antje Missbach *Monash University*
- › Chen Meng Lam *Singapore University of Social Sciences*
- › Kari Telle *Chr. Michelsen Institute*
- › Kristina Simion *Australian National University*
- › Mohamed Mahayni *Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Paris*
- › Sanne Ravensbergen *Leiden University*
- › Santy Kouwagam *Leiden University*
- › Wayne Palmer *Bina Nusantara University*

.....

## Historical Anthropology in the Highlands: Contexts, Methods, Actors, and Ethics 1

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Jean Michaud <i>Université Laval</i> Pierre Petit <i>Université Libre de Bruxelles</i>

#### ABSTRACT

After decades of inconspicuousness, ethnohistory and historical anthropology have (re)surfaced as a field of research in Highland Southeast Asia, as attested notably by the special issues published in the *Journal of Global History* (Michaud 2010) and *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* (Tappe 2015). This renewed interest antedates Scott's *The Art of Not Being Governed* (2009) but was certainly also fuelled by it.

Ethnohistory and historical anthropology are often used interchangeably, although the latter usually refers to historical research in reportedly "marginal" contexts, whereas the former has often been outlined as "folk history", or "the view a society has of its past", to quote Carmack's seminal article (1972). A common thread of the emerging scholarship is to pay attention to both oral and written sources, and to keep on the ridgeline between memory studies – which often lack an interest for the objective aspects of the past – and more classical history – which often lacks an interest for the present stakes for the past. If the increasing concern for such research in mountainous Asia is salient, the stakes of its methodology and epistemology, and those of the diffusion and reception of its results have been to a large extent addressed in implicit rather than explicit ways. These are the specific issues this workshop intends to unravel. We welcome contributions that, although empirically grounded, go clearly beyond local interests to discuss the following questions:

**\*Contexts.\*** How has ethnohistory been developed and practiced during the colonial period in South-East Asia – considered at large, including the eastern fringes of India and the southern provinces of China? For which purposes, and in which environment? How was it related (or not) to the development of this subfield in other continents? How has it changed since the political turmoil of the 20th century? How about its connections with the global urge for "cultural conservation", phrased in UNESCO and/or nationalist terms?

**\*Methods.\*** What are the different ways to conduct such research? Apart from oral narratives and written documents, what are the other sources that can be used in the process, like archaeology, landscape, or rituals? How to cope with the locally acknowledged "key informants" and gatekeepers when dealing with sensitive topics in local history? How to handle the often-reported male authority on historical information? How to capture history- in-the making, through performances rather than interviews?

\*Actors and ethics.\* Who speaks for whom, and in what languages? How about the ethics of anonymity, censorship and self-censorship? How about collaborative works, between international, national and local scholars from different and sometimes antagonistic political background, and across disciplines? And more globally, what are the specificities of historical anthropology, ethnohistory, and other ways to speak about the past?

## PAPERS

### › Endogenous State Formation: Considering the Northern Vietnamese Borderlands Through French Colonial Military Archives

Jean Michaud *Université Laval*

Military ethnography in the highlands of colonial Tonkin has been conducted along methods and principles that blend context (colonial expectations, military chains of command, centre-periphery divide, marginal peoples), untried methods (colonial attempts at ethnography informed by nascent social sciences), and actors for whom the exercise of ethnography was wholly unfamiliar (military officers facing upland non-Kinh respondents). What was the ethnography of the highlands of Tonkin and what was its purpose? By choice at the time or by consequence today, was it anything else than a pragmatic exercise in population control? The texts stemming from such encounters thus provide narratives that must be read critically; yet, when informed by an anthropological viewpoint, they also constitute a rich data base from which to carve building blocks for a history on the periphery. I propose to assess these ethnographic writings' validity today against the background of ongoing debates regarding state formation on the margins, integration of minority groups, but also ethnography as text. This paper is a step towards completing a monograph on the modern reading of ethnography in the borderlands of colonial Indochina.

### › Inventing "Hill Tribeness"? An Ethno-Historical Analysis of the Representation of Thai Hill Tribes in Interwar and Post-World War Two Ethnography

Lukas Christian Husa *University of Vienna*

The aim of the present paper is to analyze the (self-)representation of members of the so-called Hill Tribe population in Northern Thailand in the ethnographic literature of the Interwar- and the Post World War Two period but also by members of the Hill Tribe peoples themselves from the 1960s onwards. The focus on ethnographic literature from interwar period and the post-war period is explained by the fact that ethnography began to establish itself as a science during this period. As far as the "ethnic" side is concerned the focus on the time from the 1960s onwards is connected with the establishment of the Crop Substitution Programs, but also with the onset of the local hill tribe tourism and the development of a local handicraft and souvenir industry. In this context the main questions of this paper will be as follows: in how far did these two sides -the insiders' as well as the outsiders' - contribute to the mutual construction of the idea of iso-lated ethnic communities? To what extent did the early ethnological reports and the tourism industry shape present day images of these Hill Tribes? For example, by comparing 19th century travel reports and early 20th century ethnological reports it can be assumed that the idea of iso-lated, ahistorical tribal societies in Southeast Asia was an invention of 20th century's ethnographers and has indirectly influenced 20th and 21st centuries' touristic images. The main sources used for the present paper will be ethnographic reports and scientific articles from the 1920s and the 1960s as well as interviews with members of local hill tribe communities in Chiang Mai and Mae Hong Son. As theoretical frame Herders' theory of isolated ethnic communities, as well as an adapted version of John Urry's and Jonas Larsen's concept of the so-called tourist or in this case better said traveler's or ethnographer's gaze, will be used. The idea of the gaze basically describes the outsiders' perception of the cultures visited, but interviews with members of Hill Tribe communities should make a comparison with the insiders' perspective possible.

### › Revolutionary Alternatives, or Dien Bien Phu After the Battle

Christian Lentz *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Điện Biên Phủ is a place often invoked but poorly understood. On 7 May 1955, a year to the day after Vietnam's great victory over France, a ceremony on its hallowed ground established the Thái-Mèo Autonomous Zone and celebrated national ethnic unity under revolutionary socialism. Yet local critics decried the Zone's resemblance to the colonial Tai Federation and called for a revolutionary alternative to regional autonomy. Escalating resource claims turned simmering discontent among Hmong, Khmu, and Dao swidden cultivators into a boil. Intensive engagement with revolutionary ideals and participation in anti-colonial struggle had changed the region's peoples, destabilizing its elevationally-layered social formation.

Largely unknown to scholars, the countermovement in and around Điện Biên spread across the Black River region between 1955 and 1957, even inspiring activities in Laos and China, before being crushed by Vietnamese security forces in 1958. Exploring its history through newly available archival sources and oral histories enriches a geographic concept of territory as an uncertain outcome of grounded struggles. In the wake of the First Indochina War (1946-54), midland and upland peoples joined forces, protested state resource claims, and appealed to a supernatural sovereign to deliver justice, topple an ethnicized hierarchy, and unite kin across borders. Its leaders held high-level positions in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, demonstrating how political movements rose not in spite of but alongside and within the new national state. Moreover, the millenarian movement built on and amplified tensions embedded in postcolonial territory. Its political vision—a highland geobody ruled by a divine king—challenges how we as scholars conceptualize hegemonic spaces of nation-state rule.

### › The Death of Père Verbier: Traces, Fragments and the Historical Anthropology of Zomia

Oliver Tappe *University of Hamburg*

In 1895, the French missionary Jules Verbier was killed during an attack on his post on the Lao-Vietnamese upland frontier. Reconstructing the events that led to this escalation, the actors involved, and its aftermath, allows a tentative assessment of local sociopolitical dynamics and cross-cultural tensions. This endeavour calls for a creative dialogue between historical and anthropological

methodologies and epistemologies. Even if it remains difficult to finally clarify the circumstances of Père Verbier's violent death, a historical anthropology approach that aims to re-assemble and analyse diverse traces and fragments will allow detailed glimpses into past social and political entanglements in remote 'Zomian' contexts. Such traces and fragments include letters from local colonial administrators and missionaries, written testimonies of indigenous power brokers, and contested assessments by different political actors in the metropole. Unraveling the complex entanglements across political and cultural boundaries contributes to a deeper understanding of Zomia beyond simplified upland-lowland or state-non-state dichotomies. My analytical framework towards a historical anthropology of upland Southeast Asia – exemplified by the tragic story of Père Verbier – aims to open up new perspectives on past sociocultural configurations and local political dynamics.

---

## Revisiting Decolonization Processes in Southeast Asia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Rui Graça Feijó <i>University of Coimbra</i>
DISCUSSANT	Peirong Lin <i>World Evangelical Alliance</i>

### ABSTRACT

Southeast Asia was a pioneer in the global process of decolonization, the proclamation of independence of Indonesia in August 1945 being the first of a sweeping process that nevertheless took long before the independence of Timor-Leste set a final (?) mark to it. In the half century that it lasted, various cases tested the relationships between Decolonization, Re-colonization and Cold War. Time is now ripe to project new light both on the process as a whole and in significant case studies framed in a comparative context. The proposed panel will be open to scholars of every SEAsia country/sub-region who can contribute to reframe our understanding of the complexities of what is perhaps the most significant series of events after World War II.

### PAPERS

#### › How to Decolonize East-Timor? The Difficult Paths of the Implementation of the MFA Program in 1974

Zélia Pereira *Universidade de Coimbra*

Before the Portuguese revolution of April 25, 1974, the problem of the decolonization of East-Timor had rarely been a concern for the opponents of the Estado Novo colonial policy. The absence of a scenario of war and of liberation movements, instead of what had been happening in the African colonies, made it imperative to start a debate within the Timorese community, in order to promote awareness of the need to reflect on destiny of the territory.

Some of the first steps towards the political mobilization of East Timorese society were given in East Timor by military personnel who were engaged in attempting to execute the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) program. In this process, Major Antonio Arnao Metello, Chief of Staff of the Independent Territorial Command of Timor since 1973, was one of the prominent figures in the first months after April 25, being appointed as the MFA Delegate and assuming the presidency of the ephemeral Commission for the Self-Determination of Timor, until his departure from the territory in September 1974, in a political and ideological collision course with the then Charge of Government, Lieutenant-Colonel Niveo Herdade, and other Portuguese civil and military elements.

In this communication, aspects related to the execution of the MFA decolonization program after the 25 April, 1974, will be presented with a specific focus on the action developed by Major Arnao Metello, based on documentation from his personal archive and other coeval sources. In particular, the following aspects will be addressed: the role of Arnao Metello and his most direct collaborators in the initial formation of the first Timorese political associations (UDT, ASDT and APODETI); the tense relations in East Timor between the elements committed to the execution of the MFA Program and other military and civilian concerning the decolonization of the territory; and the ins and outs of the relations between the MFA delegate in Timor and the political and military leaders in Lisbon.

In addressing these aspects, the positions taken by other countries directly interested in the destiny of East Timor, namely Indonesia and Australia, will also be taken into account, as well as whether these have conditioned in some way the orientation and actions followed by the MFA and Portuguese policymakers in the first months after the change of regime in Portugal.

#### › Portuguese Foreign Policy Towards Timor-Leste, 1975–1999

Moisés Fernandes *University of Lisbon*

Due to the fact that Timor-Leste's was far away from Portugal and the African colonies had been pushing for the independence since the 1960s, the Portuguese decision-makers, e.g. the President, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, had decided that the first colonies to decolonize were the African after the 25 April 1974 coup d'état. However, the influx of new ideas on how to organize

political parties in Portuguese Timor led the Portuguese decision-makers to get out their decolonization plan for Timor-Leste's on 17 July in 1975, which envisioned their independence in 15 October 1978.

Nonetheless, the Indonesia knew that since 1963-1964 the Foreign Ministers of the U.S., the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand held quadrilateral talks at the U.S. State Department, about the future of Timor-Leste and they decided that when the Portuguese Empire come to an end Timor-Leste ought to become part of Indonesia.

As soon as Indonesia's invaded Timor-Leste in 7 December 1975, Portugal cut immediately diplomatic relations with Jakarta and took the issue of Timor-Leste of self-determination and independence to the Security Council and the General Assembly. In 1982, the General Assembly passed a resolution in which agreed with Portugal that the Secretary-General of the United Nations should be involved in this question.

From 1983 to 1986, they held humanitarian meetings between the Foreign Ministers and the Permanent Representatives of Portugal and Indonesia in New York. Nevertheless, the outcome of these secret meetings led the Portuguese Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to accept an Indonesia's proposal of having a legislative elections on 23 April 1987. But that had to be put to the President, since it dealt with foreign policy, namely Timor-Leste and Macau. The President was against it.

After the refusal of Portugal decision-makers to take part in the Indonesian legislative elections, it seemed that Indonesia would not come back to humanitarian meeting. But after a few months the Indonesians at the United Nations-level had returned to humanitarian meetings, which lasted from 1987 until 1997.

The Asian financial crisis between 1997 and 1998 was a key factor. Indonesia's was particularly hit. On the 4 May 1998, the International Monetary Fund had approved \$1 billion as one-third of the credit line. Indonesian President Suharto resigned in 21 May 1998. A major hurdle had been put aside. The Vice-President of Indonesia, Habibie, became the new President. Habibie agreed on a referendum which envisaged either an autonomous region within Indonesia or independence, on the 30 August 1999. Meanwhile, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Indonesia and Portugal Foreign Ministers signed an accord on the 5 of May 1989, which sets-up the wholly logistical operation for Timor-Leste. Finally, the Secretary-General of the United Nations speaking from New York declared that 78,5% had voted for independence. However, the ASEAN countries did not want Portugal to participate in the International Force for East Timor (Interfert), which the Portuguese decision-makers agreed upon.

.....

## Responding to Troubling Times: The Urgency of Collaborations Between Academics and Artists

**LOCATION** Fritz-Reuter-Saal  
**TYPE** Round Table  
**CONVENERS** Clod Yambao *University of Ghent*  
Kay Abaño *Artist*  
Rosa Cordillera A. Castillo *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

### ABSTRACT

Various parts of Southeast Asia are faced with intensifying social and political challenges. Amid these troubling times, academics, especially those working on human rights, conflict, and peace, are confronted with the task of finding better means to communicate their knowledge with all its nuances and complexities. There is the challenge of making their work accessible to audiences that do not have the patience nor time to delve into such nuances and complexities, and that of making their material available and comprehensible—in terms of language and form—to a broader audience, across age groups. These conditions are particularly pressing for publicly engaged scholars who aim to forge understanding in the midst of polarizing and hate-filled discourses and attitudes. One way to do this is through more creative means of communicating their knowledge. |

|Meanwhile, the work of artists such as photographers, visual artists, filmmakers, performance artists, and fiction writers have had the power to arouse people's curiosity and imagination while questioning and engaging the status quo. Time and again, different artistic works have been instrumental in elevating awareness and emotion in turbulent times. Therefore, artists and their works provide the initial invitation to look and to question, as their works can be widely accessible. These creative productions can be further enriched and informed by materials and perspectives drawn from careful research and analyses—materials and perspectives that academics can provide. |

|There is thus enormous potential for reaching a broader audience and shaping public opinion and debate through collaborations and intersections between academics and artists, while keeping in mind that such collaborations are subject to similar problematics of representation and comprehension of context as any form of knowledge production. |

|This roundtable discussion will therefore bring together artists and academics from various parts of Southeast Asia who have collaborated on certain pressing issues in their respective countries, to tackle the following questions: What are the advantages of such collaborations? What challenges did they face? What strategies did they employ to overcome these challenges? How has the public responded to their collaborative work? And, what lessons can we glean from these experiences that other academics and artists may draw from for their own collaborations?

Kindly sponsored by Umverteilen! Stiftung für eine, solidarische Welt.

#### PARTICIPANTS

- › **Allen Jordan Metrio** *Hip-Hop Artist, Sandata*
- › **Clod Yambao** *University of Ghent*
- › **Ferdiansyah Thajib** *Freie Universität Berlin*
- › **Kay Abaño** *Artist*
- › **Kim Dinh Bui** *Georg-August Universität Göttingen*
- › **Ponlert Tantipanitkoon** *Tentacles Gallery, Bangkok*
- › **Raffy Lerma** *Photojournalist*
- › **Rosa Cordillera A. Castillo** *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

# Session 4

WEDNESDAY 15:30–17:00

---

Room 1.101	<b>The Politics of Human Rights and Peace Education in Southeast Asia</b>
Room 1.102	<b>Muslim Belonging and Politics of Belonging in the Philippines</b>
Room 1.103	<b>Legal Pluralism and Challenges for Family Law Governance</b>
Room 1.201	<b>Material Culture, Heritage and History in Southeast Asia ②</b>
Room 1.204	<b>The Gender of Labor in Privatizing Vietnam</b>
Room 1.308	<b>The Struggle for Nationalism in Contemporary Thailand ②</b>
Room 1.401	<b>Strongmen in Southeast Asia</b>
Room 1.403	<b>Women, Pluralism, and Political Participation in Peacebuilding, Democratizing and Developing Burma/Myanmar ②</b>
Room 1.404	<b>Parent Education and (Non-)Schooling</b>
Room 1.405	<b>In the Making: Experimentation and Experiment in Southeast Asian Art ②</b>
Room 1.406	<b>Transforming Productivist Economies: Inter- and Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Organic Farming in Southeast Asia</b>
Room 1.501	<b>Boundaries Within the Flow: The Shape of Life in Southeast Asian Cosmologies ②</b>
Room 1.503	<b>LABORATORY Legal Intermediaries: Reading, Interpreting and Documenting “Law” in Southeast Asia ②</b>
Room 1.505	<b>Historical Anthropology in the Highlands: Contexts, Methods, Actors, and Ethics ②</b>
Room 1.506	<b>Revisiting Decolonization Processes in Southeast Asia ②</b>
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>The Government Intermediary: The Role of Middlemen and Socio-Cultural Brokers in Past and Present Southeast Asia, ca. 1800–2000</b>

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/4](http://euroseas2019.org/session/4)

# The Politics of Human Rights and Peace Education in Southeast Asia

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Joel Mark Baysa Barredo <i>Mahidol University</i> Sriprapha Petcharamesree <i>Mahidol University</i>

## ABSTRACT

The protection of human rights, conflict transformation, and building of peace in Southeast Asia are far from being the norm in terms of governance, law making, and even in the everyday life of its peoples. The socio-political problems in the region are deep and far ranging, with some countries having more serious rights violation than others. What is alarming is the popularity of governments that are blatantly authoritarian and populist. This reflects a non-appreciation of human rights and peace, not only on the part of states, but perhaps, far worse, on the part of many people.

Human rights and peace education aim to help students develop an understanding and appreciation of human rights and peace. Moreover, it leads to building capacities for students to contribute to the protection of human rights and creation of peace in their respective societies and/or communities. Although Human Rights and Peace education is included in ASEAN Vision 2025 and is part and parcel of the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN)'s Culture of Prevention, human rights and peace education is still lacking, or is still not included in learning systems in many parts of Southeast Asia. A significant number of higher education institutions and academics are struggling to push for its full promotion due to (1) restrictive political climate, (2) low demand for subjects or programmes, (3) the lack of funding and human resources, (4) social and structural challenges, (5) marginalization of human rights and peace by States and non-state actors, most notable university administrations.

This panel will identify and examine the impacts of the socio-political environment affecting the delivery of existing human rights and peace courses and programmes in higher education institutions. Researchers of Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines, and Timor Leste will provide a deeper analysis of the situation in these countries.

## PAPERS

### › Political and Social Environments for Human Rights and Peace Education in Myanmar

May Thida Aung *Mahidol University*

Republic of the Union of Myanmar, with a population of 51.5 million, is the home of 135 ethnic groups which are flourishing in different religions, linguistic, cultures and traditions. The prolonged armed conflict with some of the ethnic groups broke out after 1948. Undemocratic system had been practiced until 2010. When the system was changed from undemocratic to democratic, the Government has started reform processes which also include the creation of spaces for the people to exercise their rights on freedom of opinion and expression as well as press freedom. However, due to lack of well-informed human rights and peace knowledge among the people in the past, a number of clashes sparked out between the government agency and the people. The early stage of democratization process in 2011-15 has shown that human rights and peace education is necessary to be introduced in order to reconstruct the perceptions of government agency as well as the community as a whole.

Thus, the higher education curriculum has adapted with the changes of political trends such as inclusion of human rights subject in 3rd year LLB course as elective in 2013 and inclusion of conflict management in International Relations discipline in 2015. Nonetheless, courses are not reflected with the contemporary issues such as protection on stateless persons, gender issues due to the deep rooted political and social traditions. The rising of nationalist movements due to community tensions with some minority Muslims people since 2013 also lead to less focus on minority rights. The government oppression on freedom of assembly and freedom of expression together with not fulfilling commitment of ratification of ICCPR makes the implementers deep consideration to touch upon those rights. Moreover, being raised under the military regime together with not being familiar with the concept of human rights, the idea of many decision makers is to emphasize on human rights which are compatible with local context such as using protectionist approach to protect women, emphasizing on citizen responsibilities rather than states, avoiding to teach LGBT rights due to the social and cultural belief.

Peace education is far away from the higher education sector though the government is doing national peace process and though objectives of National Education Law provide a legal basic to build up an education system that could improve social participation and cohesion for the long-term goal of national reconciliation. It seems the government has treated peace education as distinct policy areas, though in reality they are inextricably linked. Moreover, assuming peace education is necessary only to those conflict affected areas.

### › The Construction of Human Rights and Peace Education in Post-Conflict Societies: The Case of Timor Leste

Khoo Ying Hooi *University of Malaya*

Restored its independence in 2002, Timor Leste is the newest country and one of the poorest in the Southeast Asia region. During the peak of the eruption of violence in 1999 due to the United Nations referendum, education at all levels including higher education was forced to discontinue due to the militia action. It is estimated that around 95 percent of primary and secondary schools, as well as

post-secondary education institutions included school infrastructures and teaching materials were destroyed. Despite being a post-conflict society, the Democracy Index by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) ranked Timor Leste as the most democratic country in Southeast Asia. However, it has a challenging path to get on par with other countries in human rights and peace education due to the several challenges such as lack of funding and human resources, social and structural challenges and marginalization of human rights and peace by university administrators. For instance, traditionally, Timor Leste has had a strong informal training system delivering skills in different community areas. While Timor Leste's Constitution has adopted all basic and fundamental human rights, what remains missing is that there are no specific policies or legislations related to human rights and peace education. The education sector in Timor Leste is therefore bound to face challenges given its status as one of the world's newest country, not to mention its status as a post-conflict small state. Based on such context, this paper examines the impacts of socio-political environment affecting the delivery of human rights and peace programmes in higher education institutions in Timor Leste, in the context of post-conflict vulnerabilities. The data presented in this paper is drawn from the range of information available from both official and unofficial sources, including books, journal articles and government policies. Data was also collected from interviews and focus group discussions with relevant stakeholders such as the academic staff and students in Timor Leste. This paper focuses on four universities located in Dili, the capital city of Timor Leste, namely the Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e (UNTL) as the only public university and three other private universities, namely the Universidade da Paz (UNPAZ), the Universidade Oriental de Timor Lorosa'e (UNITAL) and the Universidade de Dili (UNDIL). Throughout the data collection for this paper, it is found that while the democracy of Timor Leste could be high, it does not necessarily mean that human rights and peace education are recognized highly.

### › The Politics of Human Rights and Peace Education in Indonesia: A Tool for (In)tolerance and Social (In)justice?

Patricia Rinwigati Waagstein *Regional EU-ASEAN Dialogue Instrument Human Rights Facility*

Human rights and peace education is a fundamental tool for guaranteeing human rights and peace. For the last decade, human rights and peace education in Indonesian has been integrated into national curriculum. Such integration has been driven by the vast development of human rights in Indonesia. The high commitment of Indonesian government to human rights coupled with the increase public awareness on human rights has created a need to have more knowledge on human rights and peace. Here, human rights and peace education has been perceived as a necessity. On the other hand, universities have been accused of being a place to spread intolerance toward extremism. Hence, the question is whether human rights and peace education can be used as a socio-political tool to spread tolerance and social justice.

The EUROSEAS presentation attempts to analyse the legal basis as well as the politics behind human rights and peace education at the theoretical and operational levels in Indonesia. It discusses further the interrelation between extremism and human rights and peace. It is argued here that understanding human rights and peace constitutes an essential contribution to the long-term prevention of human rights abuses as well as a conflict. At the same time, human rights and peace education is expected to provide positive impacts for the promotion of tolerance and moderation. Nevertheless, as this presentation will be highlighting, it has been facing some challenges that prohibit its full potential to commit changes in social perception and work towards human rights protection and peace building throughout the country.

### › The Politics of Human Rights and Peace Education in Southeast Asia

Sriprapha Petcharamesree *Mahidol University*

The protection of human rights, conflict transformation, and building of peace in Southeast Asia are far from being the norm in terms of governance, law making, and even in the everyday life of its peoples. The socio-political problems in the region are deep and far ranging, with some countries having more serious rights violation than others. What is alarming is the popularity of governments that are blatantly authoritarian and populist. This reflects a non-appreciation of human rights and peace, not only on the part of states, but perhaps, far worse, on the part of many people.

Human rights and peace education aim to help students develop an understanding and appreciation of human rights and peace. Moreover, it leads to building capacities for students to contribute to the protection of human rights and creation of peace in their respective societies and/or communities. Although Human Rights and Peace education is included in ASEAN Vision 2025 and is part and parcel of the Association of Southeast Asian Nation (ASEAN)'s Culture of Prevention, human rights and peace education is still lacking, or is still not included in learning systems in many parts of Southeast Asia. A significant number of higher education institutions and academics are struggling to push for its full promotion due to (1) restrictive political climate, (2) low demand for subjects or programmes, (3) the lack of funding and human resources, (4) social and structural challenges, (5) marginalization of human rights and peace by States and non-state actors, most notable university administrations

### › Transition to Democracy in Malaysia: Challenges and Opportunities for Human Rights and Peace Education

Khoo Ying Hooi *University of Malaya*

For decades, Malaysia has been described as a flawed democracy; progress in addressing human rights concerns is seen as a product of decades of struggles. The rights of Malaysians to participate in civil society, and protection of basic civil liberties, are spelt out at length under the second part of the Federal Constitution, under the section of fundamental liberties. But the distribution of civil, political and socio-economic rights remains a challenge until today. The Barisan Nasional (BN) was the ruling government since the country's independence in 1957. However, the administration has changed for the first time on May 9, 2018 when the coalition of a united opposition parties - Pakatan Harapan (PH), won the elections. This is particularly important to mention because this political development has had an impact on the general human rights and peace environment of the country. This is especially true as the PH branded itself as a champion of human rights and democracy. Based on this context, human rights and peace education in the country has taken shape in a particular way in Malaysia. For some, human rights are considered as Western values and it contradicts with the Asian values. In Malaysia, several documents such as the Federal Constitution, the National Ideology or also known as the Rukunegara and the National Philosophy of Education provide basic guiding principles for a faith-based values education. Based on such background with different races, religions, values and systems, steps are taken by the government to foster the faith-based values and

moral education at all levels of education. Due to this, human rights and peace education are generally treated as less of a priority field of studies in Malaysia. After the change of government, there are now more calls from the new government to enhance and strengthen human rights education. Based on such context, this paper intends to investigate how does the democratic transition process affecting the delivery of human rights and peace programmes in higher education institutions in Malaysia. The data presented in this paper is drawn from the range of information available from both official and unofficial sources, including books, journal articles and government policies. Data was also collected from online interviews with relevant stakeholders i.e. the academic staff that are either directly or indirectly related to the human rights and peace education in Malaysia. It covers three types of universities in Malaysia, namely: public universities, private universities and foreign universities with campuses in Malaysia. This paper found that while the current socio-political features open opportunities to adopt a more open and human rights approach system, overall, the human rights and peace education remains a challenge and a long struggle.

.....

## Muslim Belonging and Politics of Belonging in the Philippines

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Rosa Cordillera A. Castillo <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Tirmizy Abdullah <i>Mindanao State University</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel looks into the lives and experiences of Muslim Filipinos through the lens of belonging and politics of belonging. It will tackle the various ways in which Muslims perform and construct their belongingness, which Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) defines as “emotional attachment, about feeling ‘at home,’” that exists at three analytical levels: “[the first is] social locations; the second relates to individuals’ identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings; the third relates to ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others’ belonging/s.” Belonging becomes political, Yuval-Davis asserts, when contestations over the latter ensue and when social locations—including political and historical positionalities, and narratives of identities, are used, particularly by hegemonic powers, to draw, enact, maintain, and reproduce boundaries between “us” and “them.” Thus, the panel will also look at how these boundaries are drawn and what their consequences are for particular Muslims, while, at the same time, interrogating how these boundaries are contested and challenged.

Cited work: Yuval-Davis, Nira, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging,” *Patterns of Prejudice*, 40:3 (2006), 197-214, at 197.

### PAPERS

#### › Decolonizing the Bangsamoro Narratives: Of Settlers and the Filipino Narratives of the Bangsamoro

Rogelio Braga *Birkbeck, University of London*

The Moro-Filipino relation is premised on the colonial domination of one hegemonic power over the other. The Bangsamoro nationalist ‘narration’ of the bangsa is framed on the following historical events significant to the Bangsamoro struggle for independence and for the right to self-determination: that Mindanao was illegally annexed to the Philippines, that the Moro is not Filipino, and the current relationship that binds the two nations is that of a ‘master’ and ‘slave’ and the continuous plunder of the latter’s resources. The conflict is on representation and narration: The Filipino nationalist narration of the nation deploys images of ‘Mindanao’, ‘Moro’, and the ‘struggle’ in a language that inherently legitimizes the grand narration of a homogenous and monolithic Filipino Philippines. Utilizing Bhabha’s ‘third space’ as platform for interrogation, the paper conducts textual and intertextual analysis of the following canonical texts: Salah Jubair’s ‘Bangsamoro: A Nation Under Endless Tyranny’ (1984), ‘The Living and the Dead’ (1994) and ‘The Green Sanctuary’ (2003) by Antonio Enriquez, and ‘The Moro Armed Struggle in the Philippines: The Nonviolent Alternative’ (1995) by Macapado A. Muslim to demonstrate the power structure and the narrative strategies that frame the representation and narration Bangsamoro in mainstream discourses in the Philippines of Mindanao, its representation, the conflict, identities, and nationhood. The paper concludes that there are two dominant narratives in constant struggle for domination, resistance, and negotiation that ‘narrate’ the fragmented Nation, the hegemonic Filipino Narratives of the Bangsamoro and the Bangsamoro Narratives: narratives that are in constant negotiation whenever power is symmetrically distributed between the two.

#### › Gender Dynamics and the Politics of Belonging in Localized Peace Platforms in Mindanao, Southern Philippines

Rufa Cagoco-Guiam *Mindanao State University*

For almost 20 years, the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) engaged in a tedious peace process that spanned the terms of three Philippine presidents (six years each). Alongside this mainstream peace process, several localized peace initiatives evolved in communities affected by armed conflicts. These initiatives highlighted the important role of building from below the incremental blocks of creating a peace constituency, not only to support the main or national peace process

but also, and more importantly, to create local platforms for peace that are inclusive and representative of all sectors and groups in grassroots communities. The initiative to include the formerly excluded sectors in local peace governance is not new to the Philippine political arena, with the passage of the Local Government Code in 1991. However, creating platforms in local communities where formerly excluded sectors can now feel they belong and how they can benefit from belonging in these platforms is part of a novel approach in widening ownership of forging and sustaining peace at the community level. Another feature in this new initiative is the recognition of gender dynamics and how it can influence the success or failure of localized peace processes or platforms. This paper culls out lessons learned from the creation of volunteer based community peace platforms in Maguindanao Province (part of the new Bangsamoro Autonomous Region) and how these compare with those from a local-government driven peace mechanism called Sulong Kapayapaan in Sarangani Province (outside the autonomous region but with a substantial Bangsamoro population).

› **The Politics of Marawi’s Post-War Rehabilitation**

Rosa Cordillera A. Castillo *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*  
Tirmizy Abdullah *Mindanao State University*

The five-month war in 2017 between government forces and a composite group of ISIS-inspired militants resulted in the displacement of almost 350,000 residents of Marawi City in Lanao del Sur, Philippines. Two years since the siege, many of the city’s internally displaced residents have yet to return to their homes and rebuild their lives. Furthermore, no independent investigation has been done on the war including determining the number of casualties and the missing, the city’s central business district remains totally destroyed, and affected residents are largely left out of the planning process for rehabilitating the city. These have sparked protest actions from displaced residents and their supporters. This paper thus explores some of the issues and challenges in the post-war rehabilitation of Marawi City and offers observations on how these are illustrative of the politics of Muslim belonging in the Philippines.

.....

## Legal Pluralism and Challenges for Family Law Governance

LOCATION Room 1.103  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENERS Stijn Cornelis van Huis *Bina Nusantara University*  
Theresia Dyah Wirastrı *Universitas Indonesia*

### ABSTRACT

All over the world non-state mechanisms exist in the realm of family law, reflecting the existing religious and cultural diversity. Proponents of narrow state regulation argue that non-state mechanisms can be a welcome addition to state governance of family law. Others oppose a prominent role for customary and religious mechanisms as they fear that those will challenge statutory rights of individual members - especially rights on equality. This debate is especially manifest in Muslim majority countries, as state regulation and interpretations of Muslim family law are prone to challenging views.

Even in a situation of exclusive state regulation of family law, customary and religious mechanisms may continue to operate, which may result in practices of unregistered marriages and out-of-court divorces. Government institutions may show leniency towards such practices and recognize its full or particular legal consequences: for instance, when an underage marriage is registered, or when in case of an unregistered religious marriage, the court puts an obligation upon a father to pay child support. The consequences of such leniency can be paradoxical: it grants rights to individual women and their children, but at the same time it maintains a normative system which challenges basic statutory family law provisions aimed at protecting women and children in general.

Participants in this panel will address the challenges that legal pluralism pose for family law governance; the ways in which government institutions, communities, minorities, and / or individuals deal with those challenges; and the consequences this has for family law governance and individual rights of citizens. The panel aims at increasing our knowledge about how in family law matters normative systems interact and how this interlegality affects family law governance.

### PAPERS

› **Child Marriage: Threat to Legal Pluralism Due to Contestation of Legal Sources in an Undemocratic Political Structure**

Mustafsirah Marcoes *Rumah Kita Bersama*

The most difficult thing in prevention of child marriage is the acceptance of marriages that are performed by religious figures from outside the official institutions provided by the state such as the Religious Affairs Offices (KUA) or Religious Courts. The acceptance of such marriages shows that legal pluralism, which was originally intended as a recognition of the diverse sources of law in Indonesia, especially in family law, can in fact become a problem that requires solutions from outside the legal sector. This is because the impact

of such practices is the institutional non-recognition of marriages that are performed without being recorded at the formal institutions but are still considered valid by religion. The state's refusal to recognize these religious marriages on the one hand, and the acceptance of such marriages by the community on the other, is in reality detrimental to those involved in such marriages, especially the women and the children born from such marriages.

This paper will demonstrate how the arguments that justify the occurrence of child marriage should be refuted by state institutions by putting forward arguments that also have a religious basis. Through its experience in advocacy over the past five years, Rumah KitaB proposes religious arguments as one form of advocacy to non-state institutions, which can be used by decision makers to reject child marriage. At the same time, Rumah KitaB shows that legal pluralism can only be applied by first putting relations between males and females (gender relations) on an equal basis as universal values that have long been contained in these various sources of law. Without this, legal pluralism will endanger justice seekers, particularly if one source of law is part of a dominant political entity or if the public space where the contestation of sources of law occurs is becoming increasingly conservative. This is because in such a situation, the political tide tends to favor the dominant primordial group. Legal pluralism has as its prerequisites that status in society is, in social terms, not merely normative terms, truly equal and egalitarian, and that truly democratic political structures develop.

### › Dilemma of Civil Servants: Reconstruction of Norms of Divorce and the Obligation to Distribute Salary to Wives

Imam Koeswahyono *Brawijaya University*

Muhammad Dahlan *Brawijaya University*

This research, which takes a case study in East Java, Indonesia as its subject, has the aim of studying, analyzing, and finding a solution to the vulnerability dilemma of civil servants who have divorced, for whom Law Number 5 of Year 2014 applies, mandating them to share part of their salary to their ex-wives according to Article 41 Letter c of Law No. 1 of Year 1974 on Marriages. Another aim is to use the theory of legal pluralism, theory of justice, and theory of legal interpretation, along with philosophical analysis, to resolve the vulnerability dilemma of civil servants that is caused by divorce with their ex-wives. Article 8 of Government Regulation No. 10 of Year 1983 iuncto Government Regulation No. 45 of Year 1990 establishes the mandatory regulation for divorced male spouses who are civil servants or government officials to distribute their salary to their ex-wives until they marry again. Meanwhile, according to Islamic law, the obligation of the ex-husband to the ex-wife who had been initially repudiated (talak raj'i, the first or second), which allows the husband to reconcile with the wife during the iddah period, is to furnish mut'ah, nafkah, maskan, and kiswah during the period, and to pay off the partially or completely owed dowry if qobla al dukhul (there had not been intercourse), except if the ex-wife had been thrice repudiated (talak ba'in or nusyuz) and is not in pregnancy. This research utilizes a socio-legal approach, specifically an interdisciplinary approach, which combines legal science and legal anthropology as well as legal pluralism in particular. The research was conducted by conducting a series of in-depth interviews with judges of courts of religion and married couples who work as government officials and have divorced, in the province of East Java. This research has resulted in several interesting findings. There were several variants on how the salary of a male government official is distributed to his ex-wife, whether continuously over several years or given in full upfront after a divorce. A third option is implementing a model of compromise, wherein the payment is paid in installments according to the ability of the ex-husband who holds the position of a civil servant, which may differ in rank and monthly salary. It becomes inevitable to reconstruct the regulating norms of Article 8 of Government Regulation No. 10 of Year 1983 iuncto Government Regulation No. 45 of Year 1990 because the philosophical and substantial aspects of the regulation does not reflect balanced justice and legal protection between the ex-husband and ex-wife.

### › Early Marriage: Constraint Consent Between State and Muslim Law in Indonesia

Mies Grijs *Leiden Law School*

With the enactment of the 1974 Marriage Law No. 1, Indonesia had at last a codified and unified Marriage Law. Three articles are relevant for consent:

(a) Registration. Art. 2 stipulates that a marriage is legal, if contracted according to the laws of the respective religions and beliefs of the parties concerned. Every marriage shall be registered according to the regulations in force.

(c) Consent requirements. Art. 6 requires that marriage shall be based on consent of the future spouses. A person who has not yet reached the age of 21 years shall obtain the consent of both parents.

(d) Minimum age of marriage. Art. 7 sets the minimum age at 19 for the man and 16 for the woman. Exceptions may be granted by the Court at the request of the parents.

Article 2 shows that legal plurality is embedded in the Marriage Law: first comes the religious ceremony. Muslim marriage contract is a deal between the groom and the male guardian of the girl. Consent of the girl is only asked afterwards, at the marriage registration, including the consent of her parents if she is still under 21. When marrying younger than 16 a girl is depending on both the consent of her guardian and of her parents who should request for age dispensation at the Court.

In contrast to this, the Indonesian Penal Code article 287 sets the age of consent to participation in sexual activity as 15 years old. Given that in Muslim law a sexual relation before marriage is a serious sin, consent to sex asks for marriage.

So, what are current practices of early marriage? Does a girl actually have any say in getting married? Is her consent relevant? What to do if she does not consent to the marriage? How to govern this?

### › Inheritance Law Pluralism and Inheritance Justice: A Gender Perspective of Law

Sulistiyowati Irianto *Universitas Indonesia*

This paper aims to explain the existing inheritance laws and its interrelations within through a lens of legal pluralism. Disputes of inheritance as handled in civil courts of law provides the window with which to picture the contesting, negotiating, and balancing act between adat law, religious law, State law, and (international) gender justice discourse. This research investigates how gender justice in inheritance, is defined through court decisions, and to what extent adat laws of inheritance are kept alive; or conversely, rejected or

sublimed in a “new” form. This paper also helps outline women’s perceptions on gender justice in inheritance in their daily practices, and leading to the conclusion that adat law is ever-changing, with new adat emerging over time.

---

## Material Culture, Heritage and History in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Elsa Clavé <i>University of Hamburg</i> Mulaika Hijjas <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Epigraphic Sources from Brunei in Comparative Perspective: Inscriptions on Metal

Annabel Gallop *British Library*

Epigraphic sources to be considered in this paper include weaponry, primarily cannons; coins and seals; and brass utensils for public and domestic usage. A comparative perspective will be employed to evaluate these sources in the context of other inscribed metalwares from the Malay world. Particular attention will be paid to a specific genre of Malay brassware dating from the 19th to the early 20th century, bearing inscriptions in Malay in Jawi script raised in relief, and seemingly unique to Brunei. These inscriptions – nearly all of which are dated – usually record the name of the owner of the utensil and his place of abode. Categories of the types of brassware which bear such inscriptions include gantang (rice measures), lanjangan (large communal cooking pots), paspan (smaller cooking pots), kitil (water kettles) and periok (pots).

#### › Parade of the Kasaysayan ng Lahing Pilipino: Cultural Spectacle as State Discourse

Mary Jane Rodriguez *University of the Philippines*

The staging of “Kasaysayan ng Lahi” (History of the Race) in Manila in 1974 was more than just a grand parade highlighting the inauguration of the newly-built Folk Arts Theater (FAT); it was also a revelation of a deeper ideology of the “New Society” ushered in by the Marcos regime. Integral to this was the concept of “nation-building” through historical-cultural reconstruction. Coinciding with the first-ever hosting of the Philippines of the Miss Universe Contest, the parade was a spectacle and pageantry, with 20,000 schoolchildren deployed for the occasion, marching platoons of participants representing various ethnolinguistic groups and decorated floats showcased in full view of a sea of spectators. It was not just an exercise in historical commemoration, but a demonstration of State power. With historical narration as a tool, the State sought to legitimize its existence as it promised to chart a vision of a better future for the people.

With the film “Kasaysayan ng Lahi” as text, this paper attempts to examine how power is embedded in historical reconstruction through a public display of the past. Framed by politics of representation, it will draw discursive themes upon which state discourse was predicated. At this juncture, the following questions may be posed to tease out the nuances and complexities of Marcos’ nation-building project. How was the “ethnic” woven in the grand narrative of the nation? How did the narrative exemplify the colonial view of Filipino identity as a mixture of races and influences? How did it frame New Society in representing the aspirations of Filipinos as they emerged from the “breakdown of social order”?

#### › Re-Assessing Ancient Gold Jewellery from Indonesia and Singapore

Mai Lin Tjoa-Bonatz *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*

Jewellery has been a most common form of gold ware found in archaeological contexts of Southeast Asia since the late 1st Millennium BCE. During the 7th to early 16th centuries, conventionally referred to as the Classical Period, various regions in the gold-bearing archipelago have produced personal adornment of copious variety and intricate workmanship indebted to a Hindu-Buddhist iconography.

Since the 19th century Dutch scholars have started documenting gold jewellery found at archaeological sites on Java. Catalogues of pre-War II collections and excavation reports were published on gold finds from Indonesia and Singapore. The work of Dutch, British and German scholars during the colonial-period is still most important. However, some of their assumptions have to be revised due to new finds e.g. from maritime sites, translated written sources or chemical analyses of the gold alloy.

Re-assessing the work of early scholars addresses chrono-typological markers, the origin of certain motifs and the function of jewellery made of precious material in ancient Southeast Asia.

# The Gender of Labor in Privatizing Vietnam

LOCATION	Room 1.204
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Ann Marie Leshkowich <i>College of the Holy Cross, Massachusetts</i> Minh Nguyen <i>University of Bielefeld</i>

## ABSTRACT

Three decades after its shift from socialist central planning to a market economy, Vietnam is vastly different from what it used to be. Economic growth, privatization, industrialization and urbanization have ushered in entirely new landscape of production, consumption and mobility. Cities are rapidly expanding, so are global factories and urban service industries, attracting millions of migrant workers; micro-businesses abounds; mobile economic networks extend beyond national borders. Recent Vietnam scholarship has documented the emergence of new configurations of labor, work and care in this context. In particular, it has shown complex dynamics of class and gender at the intersection between new production regimes and techniques of governance on the one hand, and new politics of the self on the other. Such politics draws on both the socialist structure of feelings, enduring moral ideals and competing notions of modernity. It also invokes a new divide between 'meaningful', socially valued and formalized labor and low-qualified and precarious labor that garners little social recognition or even stigmatizes.

This panel explores the nexus of value, gender and class in relation to the question of labor in Vietnam today with papers that discuss the implications of gender for one or more of the following themes:

- Labor and class: The articulation of class identities through labor processes, explorations of precarious labor, and the politics of labor that shape the relations between workers and employers, between migrant workers and the urban middle class, and between the state and citizens.
- Labor, migration and mobility: The diverse trajectories of migration and mobility among social groups, the emergence of new labor subjectivities, and the implications of mobility for the valuation of labor.
- Labor and care: How the valuation of labor is integral to relations and practices of care within and beyond family and kinship (at community and societal levels, including those of philanthropy and social welfare).
- Labor and morality: Competing moral valuations of labor based on different value orientations that coexist in Vietnam today, e.g. socialist, capitalist, communal, labor as the basis for moral and communal life, and the emergence of moral economic networks around particular forms of gendered labor.

## PAPERS

### › Chasing Shadows: Gender, Development and Corruption in Vietnam's Borderlands

Kristy Kelly *Columbia University*

Women's intersectional social, political and economic positions in society shape their experiences with, definitions of, and strategies for dealing with corruption (Bjarnegård, 2006; Dollar et al 2001; Ellis, Manuel and Blackden 2006; Seligson 2006; Swamy et al 2001). Nevertheless, the gender and corruption literature tends to devalue these experiences. This paper aims to fill this gap by using the case of ethnic minority women's shifting relationship to land (and land management institutions) along the China-Vietnam border in northwest Vietnam to investigate the relationship between gender, development and corruption. As women seek to maintain access to, control over, and profits from farming and tourism from their land, they are increasingly required to negotiate regimes of petty corruption, or the everyday abuse of entrusted power by low- and mid-level public officials and community leaders (Andvig and Fjeldstad, 2001). Women deal with petty corruption most visibly through their daily interactions as they try to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments, and land management agencies. Managing petty corruption – or what many call “chasing shadows” – is rarely captured in formal measures of corruption, or in anti-corruption campaigns. When it is, data suggests that men are more likely to be asked to pay bribes (Pring 2015), while women are more likely to fall victim to sexual extortion (Hossain, Nyamu, Musembi and Huges 2010). A second stream of literature tends to promote women as “political cleaners” (Goetz 2001) who can be rallied to political and organizational leadership to fix corrupt institutional practices and clean-up dirty network organizations. However, a review of experimental evidence indicates that “women are not necessarily more intrinsically honest or averse to corruption than men” in the laboratory or in the field (Frank et al 2011, 68). Rather, the attitudes and behaviors of women concerning corruption depend on institutional and cultural contexts in these experimental situations (Alatas et al 2009; Alhassan-Alolo 2007; Armantier and Boly 2008; Schulze and Frank 2003). This suggests that a further understanding of the gendered institutional and cultural contexts that differently shape men's and women's experiences with corruption is needed. While development and humanitarian aid organizations have begun to focus on addressing the complexity of women's experiences, the scholarly literature has yet to emerge. This paper is a first in developing the links, and in the process, I suggest a framework for studying corruption as a gendered institution. I do so through an examination of the strategies women develop as “mothers, wives, daughters, and female heads of households” to negotiate with local bureaucrats as they promote family and enterprise interests in ways designed to delimit the risk of corruption.

› **Moral Economic Networks Through Agricultural Production Strategies of Single Mothers in a Rural Area of North Central Vietnam**

Cam Ly Vo

Nguyen Tuan Anh *University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hanoi*

Based on an anthropological and sociological study in Yen Thanh district, Nghe An province, Vietnam, this paper explores the strategies by which single mothers are able to maintain agricultural production – the main livelihood in this area. This paper addresses three main points. First, concerning the difficulties of single mothers in agricultural production, the paper examines the significant features of this single mother group, including low education level and skills, high average age, and poor health. These features are obstacles to their agriculture-based livelihoods. Second, the paper reveals single mothers’ strategies in response to these obstacles, relating to accessing agricultural land and labor. Regarding agricultural land, the single mothers are observed to enlarge their land area depending on their network of relatives and neighbors. Many single mothers borrow agricultural land from relatives and neighbors in order to improve the economic circumstances of their household. Regarding labor, many single mothers also ask for support and exchange labor with relatives and neighbors. This is a useful strategy for single mother households, which are usually labor constrained, to meet needs in the processes of agricultural production, especially in transplanting and harvesting. From these practices, the third point of the paper confirms the importance of kinship networks and neighborhood networks in the economic lives of these single mothers. In other words, the study reveals the importance of moral economic networks to rural life among marginal groups in North Central Vietnam.

› **Women’s Careers in Vietnam as Belonging to Communities of Practice**

Eva Fuhrmann *Universität zu Köln*

Cutting across the themes labor, mobility and care, in this presentation I show aspects of female careers in Vietnam by focusing on women’s entrance points to occupations. The presentation is based on interviews with women in a rural commune of Northern Vietnam, in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, of various vocational backgrounds and age, conducted during an exploratory field trip.

The current state of research suggests that female life courses in Vietnam are highly dynamic: Within their working life, women move between different locations for work and adapt to family needs. Access to work is often gained through personal networks such as family or friends (e.g. Earl 2014, Leshkovich 2014, Nguyen 2015). Geographic mobility is an important strategy to adapt to the demands of the labor market, especially for women (e.g. Vu 2013).

Adding to this research, I argue that female careers in Vietnam today depend on access to multiple communities of practice (Wenger 1998), such as work and family. As interviews showed, women do not only move between locations but also from one vocation to another. Entering a vocation is not necessarily marked by formalized training but through (peripheral) participation in common practice facilitated by personal networks. While female careers are also influenced by family related decision-making, they are not always subject to a family’s decisions but also reflect how women create meaning and identity through vocation and family. Both factors, personal networks and family related decision-making, can facilitate and simultaneously restrain career opportunities for women in Vietnam.

› **Working Rhythms: Relations of Labor and Morality in Ho Chi Minh City**

Catherine Earl *RMIT University Vietnam*

Rhythms of banal and diurnal working offer a lens to observe social transformation. This paper challenges the claim that there is an entirely new landscape of production, consumption and mobility in Vietnam. Rather than conceptualizing social and economic transformations in Vietnam in terms of a turning point or rupture of time and space – a ‘before’ and an ‘after’ – I take a relational approach to exploring the socio-historically situatedness of work related phenomena. In doing so, I engage with anthropological theorizing of transformation and change. I explore how relations bring novelty in urban life and question to what extent an orientation towards progressive novelty shapes and is shaped by curiosity about globalizing processes and skepticism towards traditional ways of framing and interpreting (re)production and innovation. Drawing on fieldwork among urban professionals and spontaneous labor migrants of Ho Chi Minh City since 2000, I analyze how gender is implicated in relations of labor, class, mobility and morality as rhythms. I consider these working rhythms through paradigmatic, syntagmatic and symbolic relations of time and space. I conclude to what extent new production regimes and techniques of governance are discursive products of place-dependent action, politics of the self, and affective experiences of social transformation.

.....

**The Struggle for Nationalism in Contemporary Thailand 2**

LOCATION Room 1.308  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENERS Joel Selway *Brigham Young University*  
Petra Desatova *University of Leeds*

ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

## PAPERS

### › **Death of an Immortal King**

Edoardo Siani *Kyoto University*

Matthew Phillips *Aberystwyth University*

Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej passed away on 13 October 2016, after seven decades on the throne. He was the world's longest serving head of state. The monarch was a Buddhist king and many in Thailand revered him as a divine being. He was also a political leader and a figure of great historic importance. Historian Matthew Phillips and anthropologist Edoardo Siani met, by chance, in Bangkok as they were both attending the rituals that followed the royal death. Their shared experience of said rituals forms the basis for a dialogue regarding how events may be studied from a multidisciplinary perspective. In this workshop, Phillips and Siani will discuss the relationship between ethnography and historical record as well as the process of jointly writing an ethnography in an attempt to question assumptions of what events are.

### › **Historical Drama and Nationalism in Thailand**

Kittiya Moonsarn *University of Leeds*

In Thailand, television drama is one of the most influential forms of media in the country. Influential, popular TV dramas can have a high impact on the whole nation. While these TV dramas are produced mainly for entertainment, it is undeniable that they are laden with Thai values, beliefs, ideologies, and hegemony, for example. One of the key messages propelled through Thai television drama is that of a Thai nationalism, rooted in Thai Royalist Nationalist Historiography.

My research analyses four selected Thai television dramas from 2007 – 2017. These each contain strong themes about northern Thailand, a popular focal area in TV industry productions. As most Thai TV dramas and programmes are produced from production companies based in Bangkok, and narrated from a central Thai perspective, this research investigates how the north is portrayed and as part of building specific concepts of nation. In the first part of my research, I studied two historical dramas influenced by Thai national ideologies. These dramas do not only reconstruct Thai history in a way that corresponds to what Thongchai Winichakul has called "Thai royalist-nationalist historiography" (2011), but they also use stories from history to communicate to contemporary audiences. This research wants to find out how history is narrated in these dramas, by focusing on the portrayal of northern Thai culture and history, and how TV producers manipulate the use of historical narrative as part of nation-building apparatus.

### › **Integration and Exclusion: Isan People and the Thai State**

Jacob Ricks *Singapore Management University*

Since 2000, Thailand's 20 Northeastern provinces, collectively called Isan, have become incredibly important to Thai politics, as they are home to the largest block of supporters for ousted prime ministers Thaksin and Yingluck Shinawatra as well as the Red Shirt movement. Pacifying the region has been a central concern of the current military junta, echoing the worries of military regimes in the 1950s-1970s. The "northeastern problem," thus labeled in the 1960s, is one of both ethnic integration and exclusion. Approximately one-third of Thailand's people hail from the Northeast, most of whom are ethnically Lao and identify as Isan. Unlike other ethnic groups throughout Southeast Asia, though, Isan people tend to eschew political mobilization through their ethnic identity, instead embracing their "Thainess" and taking pains to differentiate themselves from the Lao across the Mekong. At the same time, Isan people are among the poorest in the Thai state, with relatively few economic or political benefits accruing to the region. Indeed, the Lao language and phenotype are frequently castigated by central Thais and the Thai state. Thus, the Isan region is both integrated into the Thai nation while simultaneously experiencing economic and political exclusion. In this paper, I examine the large-scale public adoption of the government-approved Thai identity among Isan people. I argue that the dual forces of both positive inducements for integration as well as negative consequences and stigmas associated with being labeled as "not Thai" create an environment wherein Isan identity is subsumed within the official Thai identity. At the same time, though, the Isan identity remains salient and serves as a possible source of political mobilization. I contend that the Thai state's century-long effort to create a unified Thai identity could potentially be challenged by the rise of ethnic tensions between central Thais and Isan people.

.....

## **Strongmen in Southeast Asia**

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Daniel Bultmann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> John Buchanan <i>Yale University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Daniel Bultmann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

### ABSTRACT

Scholars of Southeast Asia have produced an extensive literature on strongmen. The study of traditional strongmen focuses on men of prowess across Southeast Asia, emphasizing the importance of shared belief systems about the basis

of an individual's power and the historical processes that influenced these beliefs. Scholarship on modern strongmen also discuss elements of traditional authority, but often emphasize the reliance of strongmen on coercion and ties to the state as the basis for their domination of society.

This panel brings together scholars from various perspectives to examine a broad range of issues regarding strongmen in Southeast Asia. The goals of the panel are to present recent research on strongmen to broaden our understanding of several dynamics. Among the questions addressed: 1) What is the basis for strongmen's domination of society? 2) When and how do strongmen ally with/violently challenge the central state? 3) What are the economic and social foundations of their authority?

## PAPERS

### › **Circles of Obligation: Autonomous Strongmen on the Myanmar-China Border**

Andrew Ong *National University of Singapore*

Myanmar's largest armed group, the United Wa State Army (UWSA), controls a de facto autonomous region on the border with China, run by its strongmen in a form of "rebel governance." UWSA strongmen, however, derive their authority through opposition and not allegiance to the Myanmar state, not as state-society mediators, but the autonomous patrons of their own people and territory. At the same time, they enact a formal posture of subordination to the Myanmar state, rejecting secessionist claims, while simultaneously cultivating the neighbouring Chinese state as alternative patrons. This paper explores the ambivalences of the tripartite relationship between Wa strongmen of the UWSA, the Myanmar military rulers, and Chinese state agents, examining them as patron-client ties informed by local logics of generosity and obligation. I argue that these multidirectional political and economic ties are both confrontational and collaborative, drawing UWSA strongmen into relationships of obligation with the Myanmar military, state, and their Chinese patrons, destabilising impressions of strongmen as simply mediators between "state" and "society". Ultimately, a sustainable peace requires strengthening ties of obligation in order for the Myanmar state to draw the UWSA closer into its network of influence.

### › **Rethink on the Role of Johore and Singapore Chinese Leader, Major Tan Hiok Nee**

Siew Boon Lew *National University of Singapore*

This paper will discuss the only Major in British Malaya Johore during the late 19th century and early 20th century - Tan Hiok Nee. Tan was a famous and influential Chinese Teochew leader in Johore-Singapore. His life was full of legend. He ranked as Major from an infamous cloth merchant after many years of cultivation. However, research regarding his life and influences has never been the main focus in academia. So far, there are only a few researchers like Patricia Lim Pui Huen and Carl Trocki, who have discussed Tan Hiok Nee's business in Johore. Trocki especially highlighted Tan Hiok Nee's power in Johore when discussing the opium trading in Johore-Singapore. Thus, this paper aims to discuss Tan's influence more comprehensively based on previous research results and new data gathered from the National Archives and different languages newspapers that have not yet received emphasis. This study aims to contribute a new point of view on Tan Hiok Nee's political and economic roles in Johore and Singapore.

### › **Strongman Authority at the Periphery of the State: Social Foundations of Bentian Leadership**

Kenneth Sillander *University of Helsinki*

The manti of the Bentian of Indonesian Borneo in many ways represents a typical case of Southeast Asian strongmen, characteristic of indigenous groups at the periphery of the state. Their authority has been ambivalently based on state and local authority, ascription and achievement, disinterestedness and self-aggrandizement. The term manti – cognates of which appear widely in Southeast Asia – has two distinct Bentian referents: extended family heads and community leaders, reflecting the condition of unstable political authority typical of dispersed, state-peripheral groups with an egalitarian orientation. The manti are a fundamentally heterogeneous category; there are manti of different ranks and dignity, with different social and political orientations, exhibiting at least two distinct forms of charisma, one expressing enterprise, zeal, and a "will to power," and the other composure, refinement, and deference. Over time, and in different villages, the nature of their leadership has also significantly varied, due to shifting modes of social organization and differential integration with the state. Through ethnographic examples of individual manti, this paper discusses these variations through history into the present, and the varied ways in which their leadership has been authorized through kinship connections and descent; linguistic skills, oratory and knowledge of customary law; titles and ties to the state; ritual, exchange and cosmological notions.

### › **Strongmen Across Southeast Asia: The Case of the Bo in Burma's Shan State**

John Buchanan *Harvard University*

During the post-World War II period, the Shan State of Burma became one of the world's most politically fragmented areas. The configuration of political authority in Shan State experienced a far-reaching transformation in which powerful strongmen exercising social control autonomous of central state leaders emerged. There is a rich literature on strongmen in Southeast Asia that features concepts of traditional and modern strongmen. Many of the strongmen modern strongmen rely on ties to the state for access for the resources critical to their exercise of power.

This paper builds on this scholarship by examining strongmen in Shan State who are autonomous of the central state. It examines the conditions that account for their emergence through a focus on the role of societal dislocation, their accumulation of opium capital and the basis which they exercised social control. Drawing on comparative analysis of other strongmen in Southeast Asia, the paper examines the critical importance of both access to resources and the ability of strongmen to offer people strategies of survival as a basis for their domination of society.

## Women, Pluralism, and Political Participation in Peacebuilding, Democratizing and Developing Burma/Myanmar ②

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Chosein Yamahata <i>Aichi Gakuin University</i> Sar Yar Poine <i>Mon Women's Organization</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Hseng NOUNG Lintner Makiko Takeda <i>Aichi Gakuin University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Press Freedom Under the New Government of Aung San Suu Kyi: The First Five Years and Beyond

Yoshikazu Mikami *Mejiro University*

Burma/Myanmar was under the military rule for over 50 years and the press freedom was strictly under the control of the government. But since the Thein Sein government took charge in 2011, major changes had taken place: the government censorship board was abolished in August 2012 and in April 2013, private newspapers were allowed to publish for the first time in five decades. Myanmar's media experienced the freedom that was denied for so long and new newspapers, magazines and internet media flourished.

Once the new Aung San Suu Kyi government was inaugurated in 2016, there was a strong hope that the press freedom will be further enhanced. But in reality, the media is facing many challenges and the arrests and imprisonments of journalists still continue to this day. Moreover, the situation has become more complicated, especially with the rise of problems of Rohingya refugees. Two Reuters journalists were charged under The Official Secrets Act when they were working on stories about Rohingya Muslims; they were arrested for allegedly possessing state secrets and spent 18 months in prison until their release on May 7, 2019. Activists and journalists in and outside of Myanmar accused the new government of failing to protect press freedom which is vital for democracy to prosper and endure.

To be fair, it is important to understand that Aung San Suu Kyi's political power base is not as strong as one would imagine; the military still wields strong power in Myanmar politics. It is also undeniable that the country has made huge progress in promoting freedom of the speech. But despite these facts, international (Western) media has criticized Aung San Suu Kyi for not doing enough and voicing her concern. But what are the impediments for the press freedom to flourish in Myanmar? Why it is still restricted despite the fact that many people had hoped for further relaxations? This paper aims not to criticize the current government but to gauge the nature and the problems facing the press freedom during the first 5 years of the NLD government and to make some suggestions for more open press freedom.

#### › Shaping Federalism through Identity: Resurgence of Identity Politics in Smaller Ethnic Minority Areas of Myanmar

Myat The Thitsar *Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation*

Myanmar's ethnic minorities, both larger and smaller minorities, had limited space to promote their identity under different eras of authoritarian regimes from one-party socialist regime to military regimes. However, in recent years of political transition and decentralization, different ethnic areas of Myanmar have seen as a resurgence of identity politics. Importantly, this paper explores the emerging efforts of identity formation and separation by smaller ethnic groups, which are mainly resided in the larger dominant ethnic area or multi-ethnic regions and previously played a subtle role in ethnic politics. These efforts have taken clear patterns in light of federal dreams which are fiercer in ethnic regions after Aung San Su Kyi's government came into power in 2016. The study looks at five different areas of smaller ethnic groups including PaO, Da Nu, Ta-ang (Palaung), Naga and Shan-ni (Tai-Lai Shan). The study explores different approaches that these ethnic groups have been using in their efforts of constructing, reinforcing and separating identity- in different areas covering from customary justice, language, culture and religions and history to some extreme cases of building military capability and confrontation. Secondly, the study examines the structural pitfalls of the current state-led federal state-building process and the historical National Convention, where six self-administered areas were decided to set up through undemocratic procedures. These pitfalls created by both undemocratic and democratic rulers of the countries are revealed by the study as significant attributes to growing uncertainties/insecurities among ethnic minorities groups. Based on the findings, the study argues that through identity formation, reinforcing and separation, the smaller ethnic groups have been shaping federalism which would render a secured position in which they can make as better compromises as possible with larger dominant ethnic groups. Finally, the paper concludes that the federal state building in Myanmar needs to have absolutely new approaches for all stakeholders. The most important of all is a profound change in understanding the current ethnic power dynamic which, in fact, is quite different from that of the "Panglong" in the pre-independent era, and that reality has been calling for a radical change toward an inclusive federal state-building process.

› **Unknown Woman 07: The Role of Female Artists in Myanmar’s Transitional Context**

Catherine Renshaw *Australian Catholic University*

This paper examines the role and contribution of female artists to socio-political recalibration in Myanmar’s transition towards democracy. First, the paper explains that in transitional contexts, art practices can provide important unofficial counterparts for truth-finding, reconciliation, civic repair, psychological reparation and other mechanisms of transitional justice. Next, the paper recounts the details of a particular event which came to symbolize, for many in Myanmar, the suffering and oppression of ethnic women in areas under military control. The event is the rape and murder of Maran Lu Ra and Tangbau Hkawn Nan Tsin, which took place in January 2015 in a small village in Shan state. Third, the paper analyses and explains the artistic response of contemporary Myanmar performance artist Zoncy to the deaths of Ra and Tsin. Zoncy’s ‘applied performance art’, such as Unknown Women 07, seeks to commemorate the deaths of Ra and Tsin and stimulate awareness of the need for justice and accountability for women in the transitoinal process. Against the backdrop of increasing academic attention to the field or art and transitional justice (Bell and Di Paolantonio 2009; Lenta 2010; Lipscomb 2010; Bahun 2015) this paper seeks to show how art has the potential to speak to the commensurabilities and disparities between the general reading of the rule of law and its multiple local perceptions in particular transitional contexts, and the external and the internal practices in place to promote legality in a given community.

› **Women’s Grassroots Initiatives on Multilingual Education for Promoting Peace Culture: A Social Identity Perspective**

Chosein Yamahata *Aichi Gakuin University*

Makiko Takeda *Aichi Gakuin University*

Language, culture, and identity are inextricably connected to each other. Since language is an important component of culture, which consists of a set of shared values and beliefs with others, it has a direct impact on social identity. Therefore, language suppression not only results in the poor academic achievements of children but also bruises their self-esteem, provoking strong negative emotions and creating and widening social division. Violent group mobilization is likely to occur when a group of people has serious grievances along the line of their shared identity that is significant and influential in shaping their behavior and well-being. However, thus far, language policy has been discussed in terms of the linguistic and cultural rights of ethnic minorities, focusing on Mother Tongue-Based education, but not in relation to peace process in Myanmar, although the research revealed that there is a direct correlation between conflict and the feeling toward the language and curriculum children are taught. In addition, since women have an innate talent for peacebuilding and conflict transformation (Porter, 2007; Thornton & Whitman 2013), which can also have positive effects on bridging division, ethnic women who were one of the most marginalized in society, are the main agents of this research to see how women can contribute to the community.

This paper aims to highlight the importance of multilingual education and women’s contribution to Myanmar, where society is deeply divided. First, ethnic issues are reviewed in order to give insight into the situation of social division. Then, the benefits of multilingual education are explored, especially in terms of its social aspects. Thereafter, the prospects for multilingual education by women’s grassroots’ initiatives are discussed in relation to its potential to change children’s perceptions of different cultures. It is hoped that multilingual education could lay the foundations of a pluralist democracy and peace culture, which is only possible through the realization of a harmonious Myanmar.



**Parent Education and (Non-)Schooling**

LOCATION	Room 1.404
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Juliette Sendra <i>Université d’Aix-Marseille</i> Steven Prigent <i>Institut de Recherches Asiatiques</i>

**ABSTRACT**

The panel proposes to report the relationships of families to the school institution. In that way, the participants are conveyed to pay attention to educational practices and (non) school enrolment family strategies of children and teenagers within a broad educational context (school and non-school). Motivations to educate – or not – children are multiple (religious, ethical, economical, etc.). They participate in parental educational choices often correlated to strategies of distinction or reproduction (as defined by Pierre Bourdieu).

Parents can be actively involved in the schooling of their children at different degrees (choice of school, moral support, homework help, funding for additional classes, school counselling, etc.), can prefer to stay away from school knowledge and rely on teachers, can leave more or less flexibility to children or young people, or can even refuse schooling. The discussion will highlight the differences and similarities in the relationships between families and school, based on case studies from different countries (Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Laos) and concerning different disciplinary approaches.

Participants should also consider the links existing between the modes of learning developed at school and out of school, both at the level of practice and at the level of underlying aims.

Finally, school as a particular form of education bring into play exogenous norms and references within a given social context. The school project is indeed based on the education conceptions linked to national and international policies. The interventions can thus propose to consider the possible implications of these policies at the level of school and non-school parental logics.

## PAPERS

### › **Education Logics in Vietnam: For Better or for Worse?**

Nolwen Henaff *French Research Institute for Development*

'Vietnamese parents can sacrifice everything, sell their houses and land just to give their children an education,' Vietnam's education minister Phung Xuan Nha said at a conference in December 2017. The whole country has therefore strived to develop education over the past decades, with impressive results as shown by Education for all achievements and PISA international tests results. The goal is commendable, but the means questionable. The desire for school education has created tremendous pressure on the country and its people and the cost of the promised bright, but uncertain, future is high both the education system and the children.

We propose here to show how educational practices in Vietnam are in contradiction with the logics that underlie them. This article is based on secondary sources and the results of two surveys: a series of interviews with Vietnamese students in Singapore in November 2016 and March 2017, and a questionnaire survey of students from three elite high schools. Ho Chi Minh City in November 2018. The first part will explain how the search for the best educational, on the part of parents, teachers and the State, led to the development of the 'performance disease. The second part will analyse the consequences in relation to the educational logics of the parents and the state.

### › **Educational Strategies of Students, Parents and High School Students, Yogyakarta Special Region, Indonesia**

Jean-Marc de Grave *Université d'Aix-Marseille*

The relationship established between parents and their children as part of high school education and - in its aftermath - post-high school is characterized by its diversity. The negotiations between the two parties are often de rigueur, but the rules of schooling force anyway the family concerned to adopt a compact endogenous strategy. These rules include especially recruitment on dossier and possibilities access to university. In a related way, educational, security, socio-cultural and / or religious settings also play an important role. The typic-strategy is to compose with all of these factors and to continually readapted them according to the student's results. Through specific cases from ethnography, I propose here to put into perspective the role of students and parents face of institutional and ministerial policies, in order to grasp the formal and informal logics that come into play from the point of view of high school students and their respective families.

### › **Logics and Strategies Educational of Parents Seized in the News Economics Situations, Javanese Village of Bejiharjo, Indonesia**

Juliette Sendra *Université d'Aix-Marseille*

Within the village context of Bejiharjo, the educational aims advanced by the national orientations are not always on coherence with the local and community educational logics. The school remains largely perceived by families as an institution outside the village (knowledge and finalities).

Today, Bejiharjo is subject to strong economic and tourist contingencies. It is observed that the underlying aims of educational policies will into go in synergy with the way in which the local economy has developed, thereby influencing parents' educational practices. With the increase of the financial capital of these families, we notice a greater investment in the schooling of their children (continued high school education, tutoring, private schools, etc.). Increasingly the relationship of families to the school institution become individualized and the school is constituted as an exclusive mode of training that tends to be unmissable.

After having brought to light the different conceptions of school education of families and the meaning they give to the schooling of their children, the contribution is intended to capture the impact of socio-economic changes in the educational strategies of families.

### › **Why Schooling Children in a Patronage System? (Cambodia)**

Steven Prigent *Institut de Recherches Asiatiques*

While international organizations have been promoting democratic and empowerment educational values for more than ten years in Cambodia, the ministry of education has been maintaining an informal economy of patronage. In this context, teachers are allowed to give extra lessons to their pupils as an addition to their salary. These lessons are private and, therefore, paid by parents. Since it functions based on a 'patronage contract', one might suppose that the public school system in Cambodia remains an inegalitarian and non-meritocratic institution, excluding the poorest pupils and not recognising the most deserving. After giving empirical depth to this patronage system, this communication will question the meaning Cambodian rice growers give to school education in such a context.

## In the Making: Experimentation and Experiment in Southeast Asian Art 2

LOCATION	Room 1.405
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Amanda Katherine Rath <i>Goethe University of Frankfurt</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Experimental Film-Making as an Independent Film Movement in Indonesia

Yvonne Michalik *Hochschule der populären Künste Berlin*

Experimental film has been received by the professional world as a subcategory of Film. Although it occupies a small niche in film history, the works have made significant contributions to the development of film as an independent art form and film aesthetics. Also in Indonesia, the experimental film genre was discovered by some filmmakers and artists in the 1970s. Their films provide important insights into culture-specific manifestations of the experimental film genre. But they are also testimony to a global culture that has spread worldwide since the 1970s. Among the most important representatives of the Indonesian experimental film are the filmmakers Gotot Prakosa and Foazan Rizal. Their works, like the experimental film in general, are characterized by a variety of expressions. In addition to the heterogeneity of their films, it is also essential that they and other Indonesian filmmakers have always emphasized the culture's own expression. Their films are therefore not only to be regarded as examples of a global culture, but above all as a cultural-specific works of art. The experimental filmmaking is therefore presented here as an independent film movement, with its own culture-immanent interpretations of criteria and aesthetics. The contribution shows the historical beginnings of the Indonesian experimental film and introduces these two important Indonesian experimental filmmakers.

#### › Experimentation and Redemptive Intervention

Amanda Katherine Rath *Goethe University of Frankfurt*

This paper focusses on the trajectory of concepts of experimentation and experimental art in the Indonesian arts discourse between 1968 and 1975. This period brackets the inauguration of influential institutions and the emergence of the now canonical New Art Movement of Indonesia (GSRBI). This paper takes D.A. Peransi's concept of redemptive potentiality of creative practice, art's potential agency as a mode of redemptive intervention, as an entry point into this complicated terrain. Peransi was a painter, writer, and film maker, and established experimental film at the Jakarta Institute of Art. He was the main author of the iconic Black December Manifesto (1974). Beyond its context of the New Art Movement, little attention has been paid to the signatories of the manifesto comprised of visual artists, poets, writers, and playwrights. Some of them had recently returned from residencies abroad. Some were members of Angkatan 66, hence already influential institutionally. They formed a momentary collective with a shared sense of urgency, claiming the autonomy to choose which cultural points of reference and traditions were relevant to the local discourse's needs. This paper critically engages this under-represented aspect, as well as moves beyond the confines of the manifesto to engage Peransi's concepts of a socially responsible experimentation in creative practices. After being a jurist for the Oberhausen Film Festival (1971-1974), Peransi reconsidered radical experimentation. Thereafter, Peransi articulates a relationship between experimentation, renewal and self-reflexivity, in which the artist is given a high degree of moral authority, tapping into a rich tradition of cultural activism in Indonesia.

#### › Listening to Experimental Aesthetics: Sounding Experiments on Postcolonial Democracy?

meLê yamomo *University of Amsterdam*

Immediately succeeding colonial independence, the birth of the Southeast Asian nations and the region as a whole is inextricably linked to the rise of the Cold War. Nowhere else was the Cold War felt the hottest as in the Southeast Asia. Experimenting with their new national identities the postcolonial states played their allegiances with the Cold War powers. This paper reflects on how the aesthetics of anti-colonial Soviet/Maoist ideologies and the liberal capitalist democracy influenced the avant-garde and experimental practices of artists in the region at the time. How were the artistic experiments of the time served as experimentations of postcolonial democracy? How did the 'international' culture of the Cold War instigate local independent/national practices? How did the Southeast Asian experimentations flow into the transnational art institutions? In particular, this paper will examine the cases of the work of composer/ethnomusicologist, José Maceda, whose work challenged colonial aesthetics with his experimentations of the precolonial sounds with the global avant-garde movement.

# Transforming Productivist Economies: Inter- and Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Organic Farming in Southeast Asia

LOCATION Room 1.406  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENER Martina Padmanabhan *University of Passau*

## ABSTRACT

The last decades have witnessed an emerge of alternative agriculture against the background of an all-encompassing green revolution in Southeast Asia. Under the names of “Organic”, “Healthy” or “Natural food” different concepts, practices and strategies present themselves as better ways to produce food in an environmental friendly way, consider social as well as economic needs of farm-households and express other notions of human-nature relationships. The framing of organic farming as lifestyle, health concern, social or environmental movement furthermore shapes assessment of local and state policies on the new institutions. In this panel we invite disciplinary, inter- and transdisciplinary contributions to spell out organic farming and investigate the current trends of alternative agriculture in Asia. While we are interested in research on the philosophies and worldviews of organic pioneers, we likewise aim to understand farmers’ and consumers’ decision making patterns.

We invite contribution from a wide range of disciplines from anthropology to economics, from ethics to sociology to question the societal transformation towards alternative farming:

1. What potential does organic agriculture hold as an alternative model in Southeast Asia?
2. What are the underlying belief systems, economic situations and institutional structures of alternative farming in Southeast Asia?
3. What promising types and technologies of organic farming are adapted to the context at hand?
4. What framework conditions support the organic movement and the establishment of producer-consumer relations?
5. What are the broader environmental and socio-economic impacts of organic farming?

## PAPERS

### › A Mixed Bag: Ideologies and Practices Around Seeds in Organic Farming in Yogyakarta

Martina Padmanabhan *University of Passau*

Seeds are identified as central in organic farming. Depending on the framing, they appear as material input for the farmer, as biological potentials to grow food, as part and parcel of intricate planting cycles or cultural and culinary heritage. The contested perspectives on seeds and their subsequent handling, treatment, importance or denial, serves as an entry point to observe and discuss the rather unclear and diffuse situation of agricultural biodiversity in Indonesia. On the one hand, organic seeds are requested by the official National Indonesian Standard to distinguish itself from conventional production, but rather seldom actually available. On the other hand a growing debate within the organic movement underlines seed quality and autonomy as a prerequisite for adhering to the ecological and social goals of alternative food systems. Based on qualitative fieldwork around Yogyakarta on Java in 2017/18, I want to unpack the different dimensions of seed management to show the contradictory, yet flexible and nature of agroecological practices embedded in a highly institutionalised conventional setting. Along with accumulated expertise, we observe a deskilling regarding seed treatment, ecological properties of cultivars competing with economic considerations and the social network of gendered actors as decisive for the availability of seeds. The question of the organic quality of seeds surprisingly is often not the first priority and explains the low institutionalisation of an organic seed market.

### › Does Information Increase the Willingness-To-Pay for Organic Food? Experimental Evidence from Indonesia

Nathalie Luck *University of Passau*

The intensive use of chemical inputs has led to a growing concern about the health and environmental implications of conventional farming. Similar to many high income countries, there is a growing organic movement in many low and middle income countries such as Indonesia where various stakeholders, activists and policy makers promote organic farming. Yet, we know little about consumers’ willingness to pay for organic food in these countries, an essential requirement for further adoption of organic farming by smallholders who typically have little access to export markets. This paper assesses consumers’ willingness to pay (WTP) for organic rice in urban and suburban Indonesia. We use an incentive-compatible auction-like mechanism based on the Becker-DeGroot-Marschak (BDM) approach to elicit consumers WTP for organic rice. We find that respondents are willing to pay an average price premium of 20.1% compared to what they paid during their last rice purchase outside of our experiment. We further study the role of income and the exposure to a randomized information treatment on respondents’ WTP. Results show that higher income is correlated with higher WTP, but that the random exposure to a video-information treatment about the health or, alternatively, environmental benefits of organic consumption was not effective to further raise WTP. The study concludes that there are opportunities to promote organic rice among urban and suburban Indonesian consumers and that income constraints appear to be more important than information constraints for consumers’ willingness to pay a price premium for organic rice. Although the video treatment could not significantly increase demand, the data shows that consumers who do associate organic rice with better health have a higher WTP even holding constant income and

education. Hence, the results can be used as a basis to design alternative awareness measures to increase knowledge, interest and demand for organic food.

### › Framing the Sustainability of Organic Farming: The Case in Yogyakarta

Nurcahyaningtyas Subandi *Universitas Atma Jaya, Yogyakarta*

Organic farming continues to develop in Indonesia and currently has become an agriculture method that is supported by the government. The sustainability of organic agriculture is related to the various motives that influence the decision of farmers to switch from conventional agriculture to organic farming and the decision of consumers to consume organic food products. The objective of this paper is to propose the framework conditions that support organic conversion and the establishment of producer-consumer relations in Yogyakarta. Because different actors of organic agriculture have different approaches to their decision-making process, it is essential to describe these differences to identify the obstacles, challenges and strategies of organic farming.

Based on the discussions in the 1st IndORGANIC Woskhop in December 2018 and a series of in-depth interviews involving stakeholders and different actors of organic agriculture in Yogyakarta, it can be summarized that there are 5 conditions that must be met for organic farming to be economically profitable and sustainable. These conditions are: 1) building awareness of the importance of organic agriculture, 2) the existence of a growing market, 3) the formation of organic agriculture communication forums, 4) government support, and 5) natural resources and biodiversity.

Constructing the elements and sub-elements of decision making by farmers and consumers, and the dependencies and feedback between the decision-making elements, is essential to understand the priorities and strategy necessary to promote organic farming. The Analytical Network Process (ANP) under the BOCR (Benefits, Opportunities, Costs, Risks) model offers a method to frame the different perspectives of a diverse group of people in choosing the best of a discrete set of alternatives based on the merit of benefits (B), opportunities (O), costs (C) and risks (R). Unlike the usual methods of optimization that assume the availability of measurements, the measurements in ANP-BOCR model (and other Multi Criterion Decision Making models) are derived or interpreted subjectively as indicators of preference and of the strength of preference.

This study proposes the first step of applying the ANP-BOCR model, which is framing the decision making problem of farmers and consumers. The objective or goal of this model is to address the question: "What agriculture product and associated cultivation method should the farmer use?" (supply side) and "What agriculture product would consumers choose?" (demand side) in the Yogyakarta region. Both the farmers and consumers choose among the 3 alternatives: 1) conventional agriculture products (no organic conversion), 2) healthy food (uncertified or semi-organic), or 3) organic certified products, based on the merit of benefits, opportunities, costs and risks. In making their decision (choice) the farmers and consumers consider a set of control criteria: 1) economic, 2) social, 3) environmental, and 4) institutional. Each control criteria is then defined by clusters and elements in each clusters according to the supply and demand side perspectives. The dependencies and feedback mechanisms between the decision-making elements will be explored based on information gathered from the 1st IndORGANIC Woskhop in December 2018 and a series of in-depth interviews involving stakeholders and different actors of organic agriculture in Yogyakarta.

### › Institutional Analysis and Development Framework: Analysis on Organic Farming Institution in Indonesia

Dimas Dwi Laksmna *University of Passau*

The aim of this paper is to investigate the institution of organic farming in Indonesia by adopting Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework at the operational tier. This implies policy analysis which is grounded on the everyday experiences of organic farmers. Institution in this context is understood as rules, whether formal or informal and written or unwritten, that regulate structured and repeated human interactions. This definition suggests the importance of rules as linkages between actors and as components that influence the structure of decision making. Therefore, my first research objective is to systematically analyse action situation which is defined as a social situation where participants interact and make decisions (patterns of interactions) that affect their life conditions and immediate biophysical world (outcomes). The action situation that is critically analysed is the regular farmer group meetings when decisions regarding farming practices, conflict resolutions, information disseminations, etc., occur. Particular attention is given to the characteristics of Javanese farmers and their biophysical world to exemplify the interconnectivity between institution and social-ecological system. Secondly, I attempt to analyse working rules which can be understood as sets of rules that people make reference to in explaining and justifying their decisions. By using the grammar of rules I can systematically analyse the structures and effects of these working rules on farmers decision making regarding organic farming practices. Following this approach I specifically focus on the roles of existing written rules, such as legislations and regulations, and unwritten rules, such as norms which are embodied in the everyday life of organic farmers. Based on a nine-month ethnographic fieldwork with organic farmers in Yogyakarta, Central Java, institutional analysis allows me to explore and discover the various modes of interactions between farmers and other influential stakeholders in organic farming which are embedded within the larger discourse of agricultural development of the country.

### › Institutions of Rice Seed Varieties Management in Tasikmalaya, Indonesia: The Impact of Different Seed Systems on Agrobiodiversity

Ronja Haupt *University of Passau*

Seed management is a crucial aspect for maintaining farmer's agrobiodiversity, securing farmer's productivity, and creating social and cultural spheres. This paper presents the socio-cultural organization of wet rice seed management and seed exchange and focuses on the relevant factors regarding the conservation of agrobiodiversity. After the Green Revolution, Indonesia's rice seed exchange system was mainly influenced by the availability of modern seeds, distributed via the formal setting instead of the so far prevalent informal seed exchange. The present study detects the related characteristics of the seed flow, interlinkages between both seed systems, and factors influencing the seed selection. The study was embedded within the larger IndORGANIC project and semi-structured interviews combined with the Net-Map method were conducted between February and May 2019 in Tasikmalaya, Indonesia. Using the Net-Map method allows to reveal the structures behind the formal and informal seed management system and its related actors and institutions. Findings show that although many seeds are distributed through government agencies, an even higher amount of seed and knowledge

exchange still preferably takes place in an informal sector with neighbors. Farmer groups are the main actors, connecting both the formal and informal seed sector. Whereas traditional seed varieties are only found in the informal seed sector, modern varieties occur in both systems. Traditional, local seeds only exist in small diversity and quantity. Higher yields, shorter growth-period and cheaper prices are the main criteria for farmer's preferences towards modern seed varieties. However, seeds being distributed via the formal sector are not permanently accessible or available and its quality is often seen as problematic. To understand local seed markets is the key for improving farmer's rice cultivation and enhancing new farming practices such as organic farming. The establishment of a local seed bank, female farmer groups, and discussion forums will be crucial for enhancing biodiversity.

### › **Styles of Organic Agriculture Intellectuals in Yogyakarta, Indonesia**

Kristian Tamtomo *Universitas Atma Jaya, Yogyakarta*

Organic agriculture originally emerged as a social movement reacting to the ecological costs of conventional agriculture and the perceived socio-political inequities of the global agri-food economic system. However, the growth of organic agriculture and market at the turn of the 21st century meant that it has itself become a global agro-industry. Participants in organic agriculture can vary in their styles, practices and motivations, ranging from those treating it as a social movement to those that treat it as a business and economic endeavor (Vos 2000, Guthman 2004, Alroe and Noe 2008, Reed 2010). Organic agriculture in Indonesia has also followed a similar trajectory, with a contemporary trend towards industrial scale production and trade facilitated by state-backed organic regulations and standards (David and Ardiansyah 2016), leading to similar multiplicity in meanings and motivations around organic agriculture for practitioners (Schreer, forthcoming).

In his study of organic rice farming in Bali, McRae (2011) points out that the personal qualities of certain individuals are often the key driver of organic agricultural endeavors. Adopting Gramsci's notion of 'organic intellectuals', who are intellectuals that emerge and are connected to a specific social class or group (Forgacs (ed.) 2000, Kurzman and Owen 2002), this paper seeks to describe case examples of different styles of individuals who act as organizers of organic agriculture activities in Yogyakarta. Data on these individuals were obtained through observation, interviews, and participation in events on organic agriculture in Yogyakarta. The data collection is also a collaborative part of the on-going IndORGANIC research project with the University of Passau. The study aims not only to illustrate the social role these individuals play in organizing organic agriculture endeavors but also to describe their different perspectives on organic agriculture and the strategies (both practical and discursive) that they employ to enact their perspectives.

The preliminary findings describe three different styles of organic agriculture intellectuals in Yogyakarta, (1) the activist, (2) the cultural entrepreneur, (3) the organic business entrepreneur. Each style is similar to the three perspectives on organic agriculture 'protest, logo-poietic, and market' outlined by Alroe and Noe (2008). The protest perspective emphasizes organic agriculture as a counter and alternative to conventional agriculture, the logo-poietic perspective focuses on developing a unique meaning of organic agriculture for practitioners, while the market perspectives views organic agriculture as a potential and sustainable niche in the agri-food market.

Each style of organic agriculture intellectual in Yogyakarta uses their own respective discursive symbols and organizational methods, ones which are socio-culturally significant to their perspective. The activists reference terms and figures from the activist discourse of the global organic agriculture social movement, the cultural entrepreneurs make use of traditional Javanese philosophy, symbols and agricultural rituals, while the organic business entrepreneurs emphasize increased farmer welfare as well as developing marketing network and techniques.

### › **Value Models and Value Communicators in the Indonesian Organic Movement: Alternative Takes on the Bio-Economy Between Market Orientation, Religion, Culture and Tradition**

Patrick Keilbart *University of Passau*

Similar to other Southeast Asian countries, organic farming in Indonesia has developed from a form of resistance towards conventional farming to a government strategy for food sovereignty. By linking food security to national security, the Indonesian government legitimizes its own role in determining the country's food policies, advancing national standardization and market development. Contrarily, the understandings, motivations and aims of non-state actors in the Indonesian 'Organic Movement' are mainly guided by post-materialist ideas; they embed organic agriculture into an anti-neoliberal discourse of food sovereignty. Non-state actors and stakeholders in organic farming comply with the government's regulations and cooperate with the respective institutions to varying degrees, promoting their visions of the Indonesian bio-economy.

A critical approach on the theorization of the bio-economy (as a form of capitalism) sets the focus on national and local economies being built around bio(techno)logical materials, products, and processes, and the generation and appropriation of value. This implies the recognition of different potential sources of value, and an understanding of value in various different ways, including economic and non-economic aspects. Beyond profit or shareholder value, and conventional ideas of the value chain, the interplay between producers and consumers, regulations and institutions is determined by dynamic, evolving value constellations. These value constellations and value models emerge through the interactive creation and (re-)invention of value by producers and consumers, and by influential individuals within the Organic Movement.

Based on the premise that the production and appropriation of value takes place in relation to the emergence of new subjectivities, this paper identifies major value communicators within the Indonesian Organic Movement, and the value models they aim to implement. Those models to varying degrees combine market orientation, issues of food safety and healthy nutrition, and concerns for the environment with religious, cultural and traditional values. On this basis, different alternative takes on the Indonesian bio-economy are presented, which constitute the framework and future prospects for the organic movement in Indonesia.

## Boundaries Within the Flow: The Shape of Life in Southeast Asian Cosmologies 2

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Guido Sprenger <i>Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg</i> Monica Janowski <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
DISCUSSANT	James Fox <i>Australian National University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › The Village Ecology of Personhood

Guido Sprenger *University of Heidelberg*

In upland Southeast Asia, villages are not just communities of people but ecological systems that also encompass animals, plants and spirits/numinals. As such, they are related to an environment containing other such systems that integrate different beings into different types of relationships. One crucial aspect of the village ecology of the Rmeet of upland Laos is the way they enable relationships between the various entities by assigning them different degrees and aspects of personhood. Spirits are prominent among such non-human persons, but so are animals and plants. Such determinations of personhood are not necessarily stable, and this articulates in relationship to the environment of the system – for instance, to government discourses on development and superstition. This article aims at demonstrating how such an ecology of personhood works as a fluctuating system that is constantly expanding and contracting. In all these movements, however, the maintenance of a boundary between village and environment is of crucial importance. The maintenance of personhood, especially human personhood, depends on the maintenance of a boundary of sorts. Inspired by both Niklas Luhmann's theory of autopoietic systems and Eduardo Kohn's semiotic approach, this example helps to examine the question what kind of interaction encompasses humans and non-humans while at the same time maintaining a boundary between village and wilderness.

#### › Unbounded Flows, Life, Death and Destruction in a Malaysian Rainforest

Ivan Tacey *University of Exeter*

Unbounded Flows: Life, Death and Destruction in a Malaysian Rainforest

This paper discusses how environmental degradation affects flows of life energies among the Batek, a post-foraging group of Peninsular Malaysia. Flows of life and potency are regulated by Bateks through strict dietary and sensorial codes, prohibitions on conduct and behaviour, and avoidance of certain places and peoples (human and non-human). Just as Bateks are mutually constituted with the non-human beings they share their forest world with, their subjectivities and practices are also shaped through relations and connections with other persons from within and exterior to the forest. In the contemporary period, Batek experiences of the outside world have been marked by traumatic experiences resulting from their sociopolitical marginalization and the destruction of vast swathes of their formerly-forested landscapes which has pushed entire lineages of species towards extinction. For Bateks these changes have resulted in a marked increase in dangerous, predatory nonhumans exacting revenge on human communities and causing calamitous events (tsunamis, earthquakes, floods and violent storms) within and beyond Malaysia. Drawing upon theoretical frameworks from multispecies ethnographies, the ethics of care and new animism, the paper presents case-studies from different Batek communities to discuss how experiences of environmental degradation have led to the restructuring of potent flows of life-forces, the augmentation of sensorial boundaries between the forest and the outside world, increased nonhuman violence and overwhelming feelings of loss. Anxieties about widespread anthropogenic changes cut across what have been labelled animistic and naturalistic ontologies. The paper highlights the need for a politically and ethically informed anthropology of animism which moves beyond rigidly demarcated and abstract cosmological, epistemological and ontological approaches.

---

## Legal Intermediaries: Reading, Interpreting and Documenting “Law” in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Laboratory (Part 2)
CONVENER	Jeremy J. Kingsley <i>Swinburne Law School</i>

## ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

## PARTICIPANTS

- › Antje Missbach *Monash University*
- › Chen Meng Lam *Singapore University of Social Sciences*
- › Kari Telle *Chr. Michelsen Institute*
- › Kristina Simion *Australian National University*
- › Mohamed Mahayni *Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Paris*
- › Sanne Ravensbergen *Leiden University*
- › Santy Kouwagam *Leiden University*
- › Wayne Palmer *Bina Nusantara University*

.....

## Historical Anthropology in the Highlands: Contexts, Methods, Actors, and Ethics 2

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Jean Michaud <i>Université Laval</i> Pierre Petit <i>Université Libre de Bruxelles</i>

## ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

## PAPERS

### › Ethnohistory and History of the Borders: New Insights Through the Readings of Borders Documents (Kongdin) in Northern Laos

Vanina Bouté *Centre Asie du Sud-Est*

From my previous works (among others Bouté 2011, 2018), this contribution intends to renew our understanding of regional history by showing the limits of a history written from the "centers" of power, and by arguing the need to develop localized, historical and ethnographic researches. To this end, I will reopen questions debated by historians (notably from Tongchai's book, *Siam Mapped*, 1994) and anthropologists about the notion of borders in the pre-colonial tai kingdoms, as well as about the design and management of these areas of margins for sovereigns.

Noting the few studies that have seriously examined the relevance of Thongchai's theses for the continental SEA region outside the Siamese context, particularly the few field investigations conducted in other geopolitical situations, I propose to reconsider the regional history based on ethno-historical data concerning one of the mountain regions at the steps of the Lao kingdom of Luang Prabang. In my case study, the possibility of having been able to find, translate and analyze ancient and unpublished documents (books of the borders, Kongdin) owned by a upland minority in Northern Laos, allows me to show the existence of territorial limits from the 18th century, and to go beyond the idea that the relations between center and peripheries would have necessarily been articulated around the fact that the margins would have been either "neglected" or that they would have conversely "fled" the centers of power.

### › Quest for the Past, Stakes of the Present: Navigating Across Sources on History Among the Tai Vat (Houaphan, Laos)

Pierre Petit *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

Since 2009, I have conducted research in Houay Yong, a Tai Vat village encapsulated in a multiethnic highland frontier between Laos and Vietnam. I have eventually completed a book about the dynamics of history, memory, and territorial cults in the village and its close region. The presentation intends to discuss the issues of methodology and epistemology I faced, situated on the ridgeline between memory studies and more classical history research. On the one hand, I was interested in the way the past is conceived, referred to, narrated, embodied, given material forms, and purposefully performed by people and groups having their specific agendas. On the other hand, I engaged with the usual concerns of history, and with the question about what 'really' happened, following a more chronological approach that has faded away in many scholarly works fascinated with subjectivities.

My central concern is the relation between oral narratives and written documents (notably French archives): how can they be used together to produce a better analysis of history, and of historical imagination? These sources shed light on each other, and it was only

through their entwinement that a plausible reconstruction of the past could be proposed, going back to the 1870s and – with more difficulties – before. I will try to capture the iterative processes of the research when circulating from oral sources to documents, and back. The discussion should, however, not be limited to these properly narrative sources: landscapes, material culture, rituals, bodily practices and other non-discursive elements have often been underestimated in the relation people have with their past – and with their present as well. The rekindling of historical anthropology could benefit from considering more seriously those dimensions usually left unaddressed in historical research.

### › The Voice of the Lord from a Record Player

Gábor Vargyas *Hungarian Academy of Sciences*

In this paper I shall present and analyse a part of a 21 hour long Bru life history that I have recorded in the late 1980-ies. This detail is relating to the evangelisation of the Bru as seen through the eyes of a man who himself was not a convert though, he was in relation with the key protagonists of the story and was a witness of the events. The interview sheds light above all on the question as how evangelised and non-evangelised saw the evangelists? What impact their world had on them? How convincing their arguments were for them? What were their ways in promoting evangelisation? How their personality was reflected upon by the Bru? At the same time the interview reflects the icy political and ideological milieu of the 1960s and 1970s the impacts of which were still lingering when the recording was made.

.....

## Revisiting Decolonization Processes in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Rui Graça Feijó <i>University of Coimbra</i>
DISCUSSANT	Peirong Lin <i>World Evangelical Alliance</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Decolonisation in Borneo: Self-Determination or Exploitation?

David Phillips

Despite their unique history Borneo and the Borneo states are invariably treated as disregarded appendages to the national narratives of Indonesia and Malaysia. Yet they occupy a key position in the long historical record of Southeast Asia. Their experience of decolonisation spans the whole period of substantive imperial withdrawal from the declaration of Indonesian independence in 1945 to the 1967 ASEAN Declaration which confirmed the status of Malaysia as an independent nation state. At a time when the process of decolonisation is increasingly questioned, especially in the former British Borneo territories of Sarawak and Sabah, a fresh look is long overdue.

This paper, based largely on archival sources and empirical evidence, describes the process of decolonisation in the Borneo states of East Malaysia, Kalimantan and Brunei. In particular it considers the role of local agency which is all too often neglected in the standard historical accounts; the elements of recolonisation that affected all these states in different measure; the strains placed on a wide variety of local communities and the attempts to reconcile or obliterate these differences; the parallel efforts to construct a sense of national identity and citizenship in societies where colonialism itself was often a shallow experience; and the transnational framework in which decolonisation took place.

It is part of the contention of the paper that the process of decolonisation cannot be fully understood if it is not informed by an appreciation of the processes of colonisation and its antecedents. It also considers briefly the legacy of colonialism in the Borneo states and poses the question whether decolonisation can in any sense be considered complete beyond the raising and lowering of national flags. It is hoped that this approach may prompt fresh thought about decolonisation in other areas of the region.

#### › Iberian Influence on Sociocultural Development of the Philippines, Timor-Leste, and the Straits of Malacca: Tracing the Colonial Past

Ryan Pesigan Reyes *Centro Escolar University*

Selected areas of maritime Southeast Asia have been greatly influenced by colonization. Alongside this, their sociocultural development has also been affected by their respective histories. Traditionally, Timor-Leste, Philippines and the areas surrounding the Straits of Malacca were colonized by the nations of the Iberian Peninsula. Their occupation forever changed the social and cultural landscape of the areas. Drawing on documentary research, fieldwork, qualitative interviews, and survey questionnaire data, this study historically

traces the social and cultural development influenced by the Iberian colonization. In addition, it presents the prevailing influences within the region and traces how these still affect the sociocultural development of the areas of study.

An analysis of the data gathered yielded that Spain and Portugal have sociologically and culturally influenced Timor-Leste, Philippines, and the areas surrounding the Straits of Malacca. Their influence have touched all sociocultural aspects – family, religion, government, education, economics, language, symbols, norms, and values.

The survey questionnaire and qualitative interview added support to the documents and visual sources in understanding what the sociocultural identity is of the people in the areas of study. In using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative research, this paper endeavors to contribute to further Southeast Asian Studies.

### › Remembering and Re-Membering Home: Postcolonial Poetics in 21st Century Filipino, Indonesian and Vietnamese Diasporic Narratives

Christine Neil Tejedor Vicera *University of Hong Kong*

In *Global Diasporas*, Robin Cohen points to the Greek roots of the term *Diaspora*, *spiero*, meaning to ‘sow’ or to ‘disperse’ (Cohen xiv). This “sowing” or “dispersion,” presupposes the idea of a centre, or a ‘home’ from which the dispersion occurs. This paper engages with Aleksandra Bida’s concept of a multi-scalar home as a way of understanding the migrant’s identity and place(s) in the world on an individual, interpersonal, social, and global scale. In examining the dialectic between the diasporic subject’s home – both the imaginary home and the adopted home – this paper articulates and maps out the out-of-sync nature of diasporic subjectivity which is manifested in what I call the “poetics of asynchronicity” that undergird the narratives of Hannah Espia’s independent film *Transit* (2013), Clement Baloup’s graphic novel *Vietnamese Memories* and Lian Gouw’s historical novel *Only a Girl*. The literary and filmic representations of mobility in Southeast Asian – specifically Filipino, Indonesian, and Vietnamese – diasporic narratives, reveal the dual-displacement that characterise the experience of diasporic mobility – a displacement in space and in time. This dual-displacement, constitutes the migrant’s out-of-sync experience, which according to Steffen Köhn in *Mediating Mobility*, is a result of the inability to reduce the “many temporal worlds,” they live in, “the past of the motherland... a present that is often precarious, and an uncertain future,” simultaneously into one (Köhn 109). In theorising a connection between these seemingly disparate narratives, this paper builds upon Elleke Boehmer’s work on postcolonial poetics and argues that through a “poetics of asynchronicity,” these narratives become engaged in a decolonisation of memory. While readers are compelled to remember and to re-member stories that verge on what Ariel Heryanto calls a “Postcolonial Amnesia,” the displaced subject is endowed with the agency to re-member forgotten pasts, and to create a more inclusive future in today’s world of movement.

---

## The Government Intermediary: The Role of Middlemen and Socio-Cultural Brokers in Past and Present Southeast Asia, ca. 1800–2000

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Bernard Keo <i>Monash University</i> Maarten Manse <i>Leiden University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Fridus Steijlen <i>Leiden University</i>

### ABSTRACT

To many of the ethnic groups throughout Southeast Asia, both historical colonial regimes and contemporary national governments were foreign (Tarling 1998). The drawing of borders (Cribb and Li 2004), establishment of institutions, levying of taxes and other impositions of governance have therefore occurred largely without popular consent or interaction between government and people. To claim territory, elaborate government programs over popular masses, colonial and national governments relied on the paradoxical processes of simplifying complex local circumstances (Scott 1998) while depending upon increasingly complex bureaucracies (Elson 1993, Cribb 1994). Effective communication between colonial officials and their postcolonial successors with regional peasant masses was problematic. Therefore, these bureaucracies, governed by expanding bureaucracies (Elson 1993), of highly-trained, technocratic and self-proclaimed ‘rational’ civil servants carrying out unifying policy schemes, were also characterized by ambivalence, limitations and the incapacity to effectuate these schemes on the ‘colonial ground’, as has been highlighted in more recent literature (see for instance Stoler 2009, Bloembergen 2009, Kloos 2014). Critical were the people, networks and groups in between, who communicated with both. Attention has been called to fluctuations and crossroads in the reality of colonial governance, policy-making and practice, as framed in pluralism in the governance and legal structures of colonies (Benton & Ross, 2013; Yahaya 2009, 2013 & 2015), and shaped by the intermediary role of for instance Chinese, Arabic, and Japanese merchant networks, European industrialists (Bosma 2010 & 2013; Taselaar 1998) and urban middle-classes (Hoogervorst & Schulte Nordholt 2017).

Yet, cultural brokers (Geertz 1960) have been addressed individually, but never have they been categorized as a group and studied as the governmental intermediaries they were on the spot. How did local elites, merchants, soldiers, diplomats and others co-determine the colonial agenda? What role did they play in either reinforcing or subverting colonial rule? And what was their fate in the wake of imperial disengagement and decolonization after the Second World War?

This panel aims to reflect on these questions, emphasizing the role of various intermediaries in colonial and national governance and social engineering. We would like to contribute to the growing literature that argues (colonial) Southeast Asian states were not run exclusively by metropolitan officials, but all the more by merchants, industrialists and other migrants, by local political, religious and mercantile elites (see for instance: Benda 1965; Sutherland 1979; Young 1994), and by the general population of both indigenous peoples and migrant populations like the Chinese and Arabs through their kapitan or chiefs (see: Lohanda 1996; Kapitein, 2014). We would like to investigate how colonial governing traditions continued throughout the era of decolonization, and how intermediaries fared following the rise of post-colonial nation-states. Doing so will help us move beyond stereotypical ideas of Southeast Asian governance and enhance the general understanding of how states communicated with its subjects.

## PAPERS

### › **From Coolie Brokers to Bureaucrats and Consuls: Chinese and European Intermediaries in the Recruitment and Regulation of Chinese Labor Migration in the Netherlands East Indies and the British Straits Settlements, 1870–1930**

Bastiaan Nugteren *European University Institute*

The Dutch and British colonies of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Southeast-Asia saw the arrival of millions of Chinese labor migrants. In order to feed their insatiable hunger for natural resources, colonial governments, planters and mine owners went at great length to secure a steady stream of Chinese labor to work in the colonies. Although they utilized all the personal and diplomatic relations they could in order to gain a firm foothold in the 'coolie market' on the southeast coast of China, the Dutch and British plantation and mine owners remained highly dependent on Chinese community leaders, opium farmers, and wealthy merchants for arranging and accommodating these large groups of migrants. But besides Chinese labor being in high demand, the growing amount of – often impoverished – migrants in the colonial cities also sparked much anger amongst the European settler population against the crimes of so-called 'coolie brokers', forcing the two colonial governments to further regulate migration and tighten their imperial borders. In doing so, both governments attempted to diminish Chinese-organized labor migration, and replace it with Chinese Protectorates, immigration offices, and immigration laws. However, the attempted bureaucratization and 'rationalization' of immigration policies also led to an increased involvement of the Qing Empire and the Republic of China respectively.

The recruitment of Chinese laborers and the regulation of Chinese migration was therefore a complex interplay of actors, interests, and intermediaries. Amongst others, it involved Chinese community leaders and 'coolie brokers', European merchants, industrialists, government advisors and immigration officers, as well as representatives of the Chinese government working in the Consulates and Chinese Chambers of Commerce. This paper will shed more light on this wide variety of actors connected to the 'Chinese migration question' in the Netherlands East Indies and the British Straits Settlements during the high peak of Chinese migration between 1870 and 1930. From 'coolie brokers' to consuls and bureaucrats, the wide variety of actors and intermediaries made the recruitment of labor and regulation of migration a highly complicated and contentious affair.

### › **Straits Chinese, British Subjects, Imperial Citizens: Reconceptualising Peranakan Chinese Politics and Identity in Turn of the Century Malaya, 1890–1918**

Bernard Keo *Monash University*

A hybridised overseas Chinese community, the Peranakan Chinese served as a bridge connecting Chinese, Malay and colonial communities across Southeast Asia. Occupying the space between these communities, the Peranakan were able to carve out an influential position owing to their ability to navigate within and between different cultural worlds. Within the Straits Settlements, the Peranakan have largely been categorised in previous works as loyal compradors to the colonial government, serving as economic and political middlemen as well as cultural brokers between the Chinese, Malays and British of Malaya (Winstedt 1923; Gullick 1964; Clammer 1980; Tan 1988). Building on recent scholarship that challenges long-held assumptions that the Peranakan were primarily dedicated servants to the colonial enterprise (Goh 2010), this paper proposes a critical re-examination of the Peranakan as complex political actors during the height of the colonial period in British Malaya.

Focussing on the activities of leading Peranakan figures such as Tan Cheng Lock, Lim Boon Keng, Sir Song Ong Siang and Lim Cheng Ean, I make the case that the Peranakan had a multi-layered sense of identity. More specifically, they thought of themselves as a hybrid community combining the best aspects of East and West, as proud residents of the Straits Settlements, and as cosmopolitan imperial citizens of the British Empire. This complex melange of identities coloured their relationship with the colonial government. Rather than being straightforward Anglophiles, as older narratives suggest, or presciently postcolonial activists as more recent works have elucidated, the Peranakan were firm believers in the ideals of the British Empire and as such, were willing to take the colonial government to task when they failed to live up to what the Peranakan thought of as British standards.

By engaging with a reassessment of the Peranakan Chinese in turn of the century British Malaya, my work seeks to dispel long-standing conceptions of the community as uncritical middlemen facilitating the British imperial project in Malaya. In so doing, it contributes to a growing literature that addresses the complex ways Southeast Asian communities interacted with imperial powers in the region beyond simply serving in support roles to the colonial project.

› **The “Misbehaviors” of Colonial Modernity: The Everyday Labor and Politics of Chartists, Women, and Vietnamese Librarians in the French Colonial Indochina Library, 1908–1945**

Cindy Nguyen *Brown University*

The Vietnamese library was never quiet. Readers flooded the Central Library to escape the heat in the summers, and lovers huddled in corners during the unforgiving Hanoi winters. Frequent library patrons complained loudly to library staff and the press about the lack of chairs for readers and unfair borrowing privileges for Vietnamese compared to Europeans. Everyday conflicts between workers and readers, French and Vietnamese, are scattered throughout the internal library documentation along with occasional violent and contentious library dramas: a French patron slaps a Vietnamese librarian, a lifetime revocation of library privileges, and a mysterious death reported as a suicide.

The Vietnamese library was never ‘orderly.’ Library administrators struggled to make sense of the uncategorized and poorly maintained library collections and figure out why certain works kept disappearing. Was it clerk Lê Th? V?nh who regularly showed up late to work, was caught reading during working hours, often forgot to log book loans, who was to blame for the missing materials in the Saigon Library? Was the uneven application of ‘modern, Western, scientific, and standardized’ library classification systems the reason for the confused state of Indochinese library collections? Was there a lack of library regulations or culture of public use which dissuaded the return of library books?

This historical paper examines the everyday labor and politics of the library staff of the colonial libraries in Hanoi and Saigon from 1908 to 1945. I follow the life, work, and training of the cadre of French and Vietnamese librarians, archivists, and secretaries who were tasked with preservation and daily operations of the libraries. As cultural intermediaries between the colonial state and library readers, the diverse group of indigenous librarians navigated both internal hierarchies of racism with their French higher level Chartist-trained supervisors as well as with French library readers. Librarians were tasked as preservationist-curators of knowledge to disseminate to the reading public, but also to protect from damage by the ‘dangerous’ tropical climate and indigenous readers ‘lacking a culture of care for cultural objects.’ With a limited budget and overwhelming number of readers, library staff struggled to maintain ‘hygiene’ and ‘order’ in the library based on colonial notions of French technological prestige, library sciences, and colonial modernity.

On a social and political level, the library was a symbolic manifestation of colonial modernity, a compendium of global knowledges, and a resource of popular and social education for urban Hanoi and Saigon residents. This paper uncovers and centers the human laborers—from high level administrators and secretaries to nightguards and clerks—who carried out the important everyday operations of the colonial library machine. Through this close historical analysis of the everyday ‘misbehaviors’ of library staff, I disentangle the colonial discourse of technological modernity and reveal the everyday contestations of social and racial hierarchies among librarian staff and readers.

› **War Captives as Interlocutors of Empire: Siam’s Intelligence-Collection Practices and Its Attempts to Control Precolonial Cambodia**

Matthew Reeder *National University of Singapore*

The European colonial regimes established in mainland Southeast Asia over the nineteenth century engaged, and partially replaced, an equally-acquisitive set of local empires: Burma, Vietnam, and Siam (Thongchai 1994). By the middle of the nineteenth century, these local empires had asserted control, with more or less success, over most of the smaller kingdoms on their peripheries, including Arakan, Cambodia, Chiang Mai, Luang Prabang, and Patani (Lieberman 2003). Their expansion, according to most existing scholarship, relied on larger military forces, better access to imported weaponry, and wily interventions into the factional rivalries of the weaker states (Baker and Pasuk 2009, Mayoury and Pheuipanh 1998, Puangthong 1995). As with the colonial regimes that followed, however, hegemony was not achieved in an information vacuum. The royal courts of Burma, Vietnam, and Siam assiduously collected intelligence about the smaller kingdoms on their peripheries, and about their larger rivals beyond. One way they did this was to interrogate a range of war captives—from peasants to princes—who could offer inside information. The intelligence gathered from such individuals included the history, social organization, leadership, court intrigues, spiritual prowess, manpower, defenses, and resources of those places. This information was translated and reordered in pre-determined formats for the use of military officials on the front and court officials in the capital. In this paper, I focus on testimonies collected by Bangkok’s military officials in Cambodia in the 1830s and 1840s. After outlining the historical context, I will discuss three representative testimonies—from (tentatively) a Cham fisherman, a Vietnamese soldier, and a Khmer court retainer—to illustrate the ways in which pre-colonial Southeast Asian states used knowledgeable locals to facilitate the expansion of empire.

# Session 5

THURSDAY 09:00–10:30

---

Room 1.101	<b>Liberalism, Majoritarianism, and Religious Conservatism in Contemporary Indonesia</b>
Room 1.102	<b>Knowledges Apart: How to Converge Disciplinary, Epistemological and Social Realities?</b>
Room 1.103	<b>Heritagization: The Complexity of the Heritage Inscription</b>
Room 1.201	<b>Transnational Living, Cross-Border Connections and Socially Embedded Exchanges Between Thailand and Europe ①</b>
Room 1.204	<b>Persistence and Change in Local Knowledge in Dealing with Natural Hazards in the Philippines</b>
Room 1.308	<b>Health, Policy and Governance: Cases from Indonesia ①</b>
Room 1.401	<b>“Worlding Sites”: Globalized Visions and Material Constructions of Future Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.403	<b>Sickness and the City in Vietnam ①</b>
Room 1.406	<b>How to Get Published in Southeast Asian Studies</b>
Room 1.501	<b>Performing Sumatra Through Cultural Heritage ①</b>
Room 1.503	<b>Pathways to Agricultural Development in Postcolonial Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.504	<b>Everyday Justice in Myanmar ①</b>
Room 1.505	<b>Interculturalism and Southeast Asian Performing Arts ①</b>
Room 1.506	<b>Southeast Asia and Central-Eastern Europe: Forgotten Connections, Stories and Histories ①</b>
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>Politics in the Age of Duterte</b>

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/5](http://euroseas2019.org/session/5)

# Liberalism, Majoritarianism, and Religious Conservatism in Contemporary Indonesia

LOCATION Room 1.101

TYPE Single Panel

CONVENERS  
Chris Chaplin *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*  
Daniel Peterson *University of Melbourne*  
Michael Buehler *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

## ABSTRACT

On 18 August 2000, a second amendment was made to Indonesia's 1945 Constitution. What resulted was the incorporation of a raft of liberal democratic human rights guarantees, which included the right to freedom of expression, the right to freedom of religion, and the right to freedom of assembly. Ironically, these same liberal democratic freedoms facilitated a backlash of conservative Islamic sentiment, which resulted in, among other things, the growth of religious vigilantism, greater sectarianism, an increase in the number of blasphemy convictions, and an increase in the number of Islamising regulations issued at the local government level. For almost two decades now, Indonesian democracy has become well established, but it has simultaneously veered away from the liberal democratic ideals contained in its highest law toward the illiberal and majoritarian notion of 'religious harmony'. Religious harmony, as Indonesia's Constitutional Court articulated in 2010, is the notion that public order is maintained by prioritising the protection of the religious sensibilities and religious orthodoxy of Indonesia's Sunni Muslim majority over the fundamental rights of the country's religious minorities. While this shift has been endorsed by the state and judiciary, and led to a resurgence of what Jeremy Menchik refers to as 'Godly Nationalism' in the public sphere, religious expression in Indonesia remains a site of constant contestation. This panel thus seeks to address the contemporary socio-legal trajectories that underpin the politicisation of religion, asking how it manifests itself, and whether the country will change trajectory and begin to uphold the democratic ideals enshrined in Indonesia's highest law.

## PAPERS

### › Legal Literacy in Contemporary Indonesia

Daniel Peterson *University of Melbourne*

With Indonesia's Blasphemy Law – Law No. 1/PNPS/1965 – having recently survived its third Constitutional Court challenge, proponents of the liberal democratic human rights theoretically guaranteed by Indonesia's 1945 Constitution have reason to despair. Two recent developments, however, offer them hope: PSI party chair Grace Natalie's public rejection of Islamising and Christianising local regulations, and a report issued by Indonesia's Institute for an Independent Judiciary (LeIP) advocating improved levels of legal literacy among Indonesia's law enforcement authorities and judiciary. While Grace called for a return to the fundamental freedoms guaranteed by Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, the LeIP report argues that diminished reliance on Indonesia's peak Islamic body, the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), coupled with a correct interpretation of the Blasphemy Law, should result in significantly fewer blasphemy indictments and convictions. This paper addresses the ramifications of Grace's comments, as well as the conflicting interpretations of the Blasphemy Law and the confusion surrounding MUI's role and official status.

### › Shifting Religious Authority Within the Urban Mosque: A Spatial Analysis of Salafi Expansion in Makassar, Indonesia

Chris Chaplin *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

The Salafi Islamic movement has increasingly become a part of the religious landscape of contemporary Indonesia. Aiming to propagate a 'literalist' interpretation of Islam, Salafi activists, who have strong ties to the Arabian Peninsula, are frequently accused of seeking to foreground Islamic universalism at the expense of local histories and cultures. Yet, their spread has less to do with 'denouncing' other Muslim traditions than it does an ability to adapt their activism to local considerations. This paper examines the tactics and socio-political arrangements that facilitate their spread through a spatial analysis of Salafi mosque networks within Makassar, South Sulawesi. By investigating the growing influence of the Salafi inspired Wahdah Islamiyah across 10 mosques in the city, this paper explores how mosque authority fragments and shifts over time. I illuminate how Wahdah Islamiyah build their presence within a mosque and what spatial, demographic and administrative factors play into such competition. Despite wide variance across field sites, I argue that there is a clear pattern pertaining to Wahdah Islamiyah's increased presence. They do not directly contest the authority of others using the mosque. Instead, Wahdah Islamiyah deploy local activists who incrementally increase their presence by providing classes to local children, lectures for the community, and, only later, by taking up positions on the mosque's administrative council. While these tactics are local in orientation, they build into a national strategy. Indeed, they provide very real experiences through which Wahdah Islamiyah learns which communities and mosques are most amenable to its religious message.

### › The Diffusion of Anti-Ahmadiyah Regulations in Indonesia

Michael Buehler *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

Since 1998, over 40 local regulations have been adopted that ban the Ahmadiyah group in Indonesia. Most of the existing literature examines these regulations with regard to their consequences, such as their impact on minority groups in Indonesia or human rights

more broadly. This paper, however, is interested in examining the causes of these regulations and the processes through which they have spread across the archipelago. Drawing on theories about the diffusion of public policies, the paper will examine how these laws have spread across space and time, and identify the driving forces behind it. The paper will end with a comparison of how morality laws have diffused in other democracies in the past.

.....

## Knowledges Apart: How to Converge Disciplinary, Epistemological and Social Realities?

**LOCATION** Room 1.102  
**TYPE** Single Panel  
**CONVENERS** Alexandra Heis *University of Vienna*  
Petra Dannecker *University of Vienna*

### ABSTRACT

Migration, access to natural resources, and social inequality are closely linked phenomena, globally as well as across South-east Asia. The collapse of a dam wall in Champasak Province, Laos, in July 2018, caused a major flooding, which dramatically demonstrated the urgency to address the interrelatedness of these issues. The tragedy made clear that those who profit least from growth-oriented “catching up” development processes often must bear the highest costs. To provide convincing answers and workable alternatives to such and other highly relevant problems, intensified exchange and collaboration across national boundaries, but also across disciplinary and academic ones is required.

While the idea of transcending boundaries to further collaborative knowledge production is at least as old as the boundaries themselves, methodologies of such collaborations are tagged differently across the world, and based on different epistemological traditions. The working concept of transdisciplinarity is an attempt to systematize these efforts and to encourage ongoing discussion. The KNOTS Erasmus+ project, which started in 2016, aims exactly at that: to connect participatory, collaborative, socially engaged and transdisciplinary concepts, methodologies, and philosophies in research and teaching.

The panel will discuss the results of the three years of joint involvement of participating universities in Thailand, Vietnam and the EU to draft a transdisciplinary teaching manual, but also look further ahead. The panel invites the presenters to address questions of commensurability of academic and practical knowledges as well as scenarios of collaboration under the auspices of an extended regional cooperation, linking the above-mentioned phenomena on the conceptual, analytical and political level. In particular, the panel will discuss challenges, which accompany such an endeavour; challenges arising from different perceptions of ‘relevant’ knowledges, different relationships between science and politics as well as different problem definitions regarding migration, inequality and access to natural resources.

### PAPERS

#### › **Contestation and Co-Production of Local Knowledge: A Transdisciplinary Study of the Road-Link Project in Tanintharyi Region, Myanmar**

Naruemon Thabchumpon *Chulalongkorn University*

Mainland Southeast Asia is currently facing pressing challenges of regional integration through the formation of the ASEAN community. Accelerated land grabbing, conflicts over resources and social inequality throughout the region have become issues of national policies, and governments increasingly engage academia and non-academic actors to assure sustainable and just economic growth. The targeted creation of a knowledge society is expected to promote social justice, peace and inclusive development. This paper introduces a study of the 138-kilometre “road-link” project that connects Kanchanaburi Province, Thailand to North of Dawei town that changed transportation access, and facilitates a growing cross-border trade between Myanmar and Thailand. The Dawai Special Economic Zone and the road-link have been highly contested in terms of its impacts on local communities due to uncompensated loss of land and other impacts of resettlement on livelihood and culture, as well as overall weak public participation. Throughout the study, a transdisciplinary design is applied to conduct research and reconfigure the relationship between political and academic authorities and local communities over the production of knowledge and construction of a development discourse. By such reconfiguration, the study has a clear social impact and represents both new opportunities and challenges for local development. The paper discusses transdisciplinary research and its claim to converge and integrate different realities in a case study, and relates these experiences to the findings of the KNOTS Project.

› **Thai Baan (Villagers) Research: History, Philosophy and an Alternative Methodology of Knowledge Production**

Chayan Vaddhanaphuti *Chiang Mai University*

The paper aims to discuss Thai Baan Research (TBR), an alternative research methodology developed by Thai academics and NGOs, which emphasizes local knowledge on natural resources and livelihoods. The history and impact of this innovative methodology stands in stark contrast to the official, scientific knowledge often used to justify state-initiated development. Its epistemological background and the reflection of power relations in knowledge production stress the essential role of the local people who produce knowledge from their own practice. TBR defines a form of interaction between researchers and local people, often not endowed with access to academic knowledge, who become the main co-producers of knowledge. In this sense, TBR bears resemblance to transdisciplinary research and refers in crucial terms to its aim of integrating academic and non-academic perspectives in producing socially relevant knowledge. The paper thus discusses different vernacular forms of data conceptualization, gathering and presentation and a holistic view of interaction between people and nature, which lie at the heart of many transdisciplinary endeavors. By contrasting the merits and limitations in using TBR in knowledge production and empowerment, the contribution addresses compatibility and interfaces of Thai Baan Research and transdisciplinarity to address pressing developmental issues in Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries.

› **Towards Enhancing Social Cohesion of Migrants in the West Ho Chi Minh City: A Transdisciplinary Approach to Building Participation for Youth Migrant Workers from the Mekong Delta**

Minh Doi Nguyen *Ho Chi Minh City Open University*

As the west gateway between the industrial region in the southeast of Vietnam and Mekong Delta, the peri-urban area in the west Ho Chi Minh City attracts large numbers of migrants from many other provinces, but especially from the Mekong Delta, seeking labour opportunities and better lives there. The sudden increase in mechanical population, however, generates complex social problems and increasing social contrast, due to the disparate distribution of positive and negative effects of peri-urban growth between different local communities and groups. These emerging social problems are challenging the political socio-economic development efforts but have not yet been given adequate attention. The objective of this project, therefore, is to explore the potential of a transdisciplinary approach to create a knowledge that can challenge the dominant development discourse. The study of daily life experience of migrants in the west Ho Chi Minh City is an important contribution and a first step to produce a socially solid knowledge of factors and aspects necessary to enhance and achieve social cohesion in this area. The paper presents the experiences of an academic and non-academic research team on how participation in knowledge production beyond the academic realm affected the social cohesion dimension of youth migrant workers from Mekong Delta in Binh Tan District. The first part regards the measurement of civic participation and social or community participation. The second introduces the identification of the aspects that affect the level of participation. The third is to co-create solutions that improve the awareness and collaborative ability of stakeholders. The paper further asks how transdisciplinary research, as it has been discussed within the KNOTS project, could be applied in urban studies in Vietnam, and what its benefits and limitations with relation to integrative knowledge production are.

› **Transdisciplinarity and Its Challenges: Some Insights from an Erasmus+ Project**

Petra Dannecker *University of Vienna*

The aim of the KNOTS Erasmus+ Project, which started in 2016 and ends 2019, is to develop transdisciplinary knowledge production further by engaging with transdisciplinary concepts and approaches in research and teaching and by building up transdisciplinary knowledge networks. The participating Universities and Institutes from Thailand, Vietnam, Germany, the Czech Republic and Austria share the common assumption that a new form of knowledge production is needed to deal with global challenges like migration, social inequality and environmental degradation. These global problems can neither be studied from one scientific discipline with its specific approaches and methodological strands exclusively nor without the integration of non-academic actors and their specific knowledge. Thus discussions, developments and building up transdisciplinary capacities in research and teaching in the participating higher education institutes, to initiate regionally embedded transformations and social change, was pursued for the last years. In this presentation, the implementation as well as the process will be reflected and discussed from a critical development studies perspective. This perspective was chosen, since it provides approaches to analyze and contextualize the challenges the project faced, such as North-South knowledge hierarchies, inequalities related to the administrative and financial management structure of the project, constrains and different possibilities to participate due to power structures and the different positionalities of the actors involved, hierarchies between and within universities, as well as between academic and non-academic actors, just to name some. Since these challenges are hardly discussed in studies on and evaluations of transdisciplinarity respectively transdisciplinary projects, with the chosen perspective, the aim of the presentation is to show that the experiences the KNOTS project went through are not necessarily unique to transdisciplinary or transdisciplinary research projects. Questions of knowledge hierarchies and participation for example are experienced and discussed in other areas, however these discussions are hardly taken up to understand and also frame the challenges transdisciplinary projects are confronted with. Thus, the presentation hopes to provide new insights into transdisciplinarity, insights that could help to develop transdisciplinary knowledge production further, especially in so-called North-South projects.

# Heritagization: The Complexity of the Heritage Inscription

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Nguyen Thi Hien <i>Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies</i>
DISCUSSANT	Laurel Kendall <i>American Museum of Natural History</i>

## ABSTRACT

UNESCO's Conventions and national laws inscribe heritage elements on natural features and products of human effort, both tangible and intangible. Heritage designations have been actively pursued as national projects and by regional, ethnic, and other communities within nation states. In addition to safeguarding and protecting heritage, the inscription is usually regarded as advantaging to the custodial community, but heritage designations sometimes produce unforeseen tension and sometimes result in damage to or distortion of the intended object of preservation, radically changing a cultural practice or transforming a sacred site into a crowded tourist attraction. The process of heritagization, which assumes the participation of several different stakeholders – state, community, organizations, and individuals – and the consequences of international conventions and laws may marginalize some stakeholders. At the same time, heritagization may promote the cohesion and empowerment of stakeholder groups as they strategize and promote their own heritage claims. The papers in this session explore the complexity of heritage inscription in Southeast Asia through several carefully-researched case studies of heritagization.

## PAPERS

### › “10% of the Villagers Have Benefit, and the Rest Live Miserably on the Heritage”: The Story of Interest Group Conflict in Conservation of Living Heritage

Nguyen Thi Hong Nhung *Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies*

Duong Lam is a commune in Son Tay Town, Ha Noi City, Vi?t Nam. Over hundreds of years of formation and development, Duong Lam still protects most of the typical features of a traditional village of Kinh people in the Northern Delta. In 2006, Duong Lam became the first ancient village in Viet Nam that was inscribed by the State on the national list of cultural and historical monuments. The heritagization of Duong Lam village has had significant impacts on the heritage itself, the management and the life of the villagers, both positive and negative. From a agricultural village, Duong Lam has attracted tourists to experience and explore the house architecture, village culture and people's life. So that, a small number of families which still preserve their ancient houses have benefited from tourism business activities, some family have also develop traditional jobs and participate in selling products to tourists. Besides, since the inscription of the heritage, the life of a large part of the villagers has also been turned upside down. Activities related to the traditional houses must comply with all strict regulations of the Cultural Heritage Law, such as maintenance, rebuilding houses ... Many three-generation families have to live in an old, cramped house, and without a toilet. Some ancient houses were restored by the State but the landlord was not satisfied with both quality and funding. It is hard for some the other owners of the ancient houses to attract tourists to come because they have no relationship with the Management Board of the village heritage.

Conflicts in Duong Lam between people and authorities, commune leaders and relics management boards, interest groups in villages, conservation and new construction ... are always insidious and at risk of outbreaks. At the peak of the year 2013, a number of Duong Lam ancient villagers applied to move the inscription from the national list of monuments. Although the authorities and people have cooperated to solve this problem, it is only temporary.

With ethnographic fieldwork data, this study focuses on analyzing conflicts arising in Duong Lam after being inscribed as a heritage village. Whether personal or economic interests are placed above the heritage values? Are the conflicts of group interests are the main cause of "moving the heritage from the National List"? What is the key to resolving the conflict between heritage conservation and social security for people in the case of Duong Lam?

### › Inscription of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Vietnam: A Process of Making Heritage and Consequences

Nguyen Thi Hien *Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies*

Viet Nam is one of the few countries with promulgation of the Law on Cultural Heritage (2001) and amended in 2009 to update a number of articles under the UNESCO Conventions. Viet Nam is also actively involved in ratifying and implementing Conventions such as the 2003 Convention on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, the 1972 Convention on cultural diversity (2005) and on the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage (1972). This shows that the government is paid attention and support the heritage sector. The process of heritage inscription is legalized and specified by law. The inscription of the heritage on national and international cultural heritage lists can be seen as a process of promoting and raising awareness about heritage safeguarding, as well as increasing the interference and concerns of government, managers, stakeholders, the general public and the custodian community to heritage. What happens when the heritage, especially the intangible cultural heritage of the community, is practiced in the community and for hundreds of years, is suddenly inscribed nationally and internationally? This paper is based on the study of some UNESCO's inscribed intangible cultural heritage elements in Viet Nam to analyze the process of making heritage and issues related to the inscription such as the heritage politics, administration of heritage, making use of heritage to develop tourism, raise income, and etc. Thereby, this paper will give some methodological views related to the process of making and inscribing heritage.

## › Uma Lulik as Heritage: Ancestors, Agriculture, Kinship

Carolina Boldoni *Lisbon University Institute*

The uma lulik (sacred houses, Tetun) are paramount within the East Timorese rural society, as well as within the current UNESCO heritageisation [Harvey 2015] in Timor-Leste. In fact, these 'traditional' architectures are scattered throughout the territory, presenting different symbolic and aesthetic configurations based on the area they are located in, as well as on the ethno-linguistic group they belong to. What kind of representation of the uma lulik the Official Heritage discourse is developing in Timor-Leste? What elements of the uma lulik are included and which ones are excluded and why?

The presentation is going to focus on the characteristics of the uma lulik that are left aside by the Authorised Heritage Discourse [Smith 2006] in Timor-Leste and try to argue the reasons of this. During my fifteen-months fieldwork research in the sub-district of Venilale (district of Baukau, Timor-Leste), I could notice how the social configuration of the uma lulik is important within the rural communities of the territory, sometimes even more than the actual physical structure of it. Most importantly, the sacred houses represent kin and clan relationships celebrating the alliances between the fetosan (wife 'takers') and the umane (wife 'givers') as well as the offspring resulting from these 'agreements' throughout the generations. Hence, the uma lulik are places where the memory of the clan is stored, represented by the objects of the dowries and the gifts exchanged by the fetosan and umane, as well as by the objects transmitted by the ancestors.

In addition, agriculture is one of the most important activities for the local rural communities of Venilale, which is partly related to uma lulik. In fact, each uma lulik has 'sacred' fields which belong to it. The harvesting of the rice and the corn (staple East Timorese food) of these 'special' fields deserve a celebration for the ancestors, to show gratitude to the ancestors for the harvesting. Generally, celebrations are conducted in the uma lulik building. In the cases in which the uma lulik has not been built yet, the household does celebrate the harvest in the origin place of the lineage. Thus, twice per year harvesting celebrations take place. Other elements and places of the territory can belong to the uma lulik. Along with the 'special' or 'sacred' fields, there are also 'non-domesticated' places of spring of waters, that are always considered lulik (sacred/forbidden in Tetun). Generally speaking, the land and the landscape are believed to be inhabited by spirits (lulik) [Bovensiepen 2009]. Despite the importance of these rituals connecting the clan to their uma lulik, to their ancestors, to the land and to the territory they inhabit as well as to natural/non-human spirits that are believed to inhabit the land, the Authorised Heritage Discourse does not seem interested in recognizing these celebrations as part of the local traditions and of heritage. Why these celebrations are not displayed as national heritage? Are there other rituals linked to the uma lulik which are more likely displayed rather than the agriculture cycle? Can we think about these connections between people, ancestors and territory as an emic form of Cultural Landscape? What can this knowledge tell us about the resources of the territory? Why and how the Heritage discourse in Timor-Leste is trying to 'transform' the representation of the rural areas (foho)? And what is the 'answer' at the local level? In short, I am going to point out the ambiguities of the 'liberal' discourses and policies developed by the government institutions and by the International Heritage framework. Consequently, I am arguing how these liberal discourses are one of the main reasons why the Heritage Discourse is currently focused on the tangible elements of the uma lulik, leaving aside the intangible dimensions of the sacred houses.

## › Whose Is the Temple? The Dimensions of Heritage Making in Contemporary Society in Vietnam

Phan Manh Duong *Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies*

The making of cultural practices and monuments is seen as the process in which the government, cultural managers and other stakeholders involve in the safeguarding and promoting it. Today, the cultural expressions and historical monuments/relics have been inscribed on the national and international lists. Along with the inscription, there are a number of projects that have been carried out to expand the scale of monuments, or to make use cultural practices for other purposes such as for tourism or for a very specific or personal objective. With that, heritage will be taken out from its custodians and even become a vehicle for outsiders. Therefore, the inscribed element is often coupled with the restriction or marginalization of its custodians. Through the study of specific case of Tram Gian Buddhist temple, Hanoi City this paper will demonstrate the various dimensions on heritage as a dynamic process in the cultural, social and political context in Vietnam today.

---

## Transnational Living, Cross-Border Connections and Socially Embedded Exchanges Between Thailand and Europe ①

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Paul Statham <i>University of Sussex</i> Sirijit Sunanta <i>Mahidol University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Pattaporn Chuenglersiri <i>University of Sussex</i>

## ABSTRACT

Today, some partnerships between Thai women and Westerners have lasted for more than a quarter of a century. Early pioneers acted as intermediaries and facilitated more partnerships by introducing friends and kin from across national borders and showing them the ropes. In this way, cross-border partnerships have produced specific migration streams, that have grown significantly over time and importantly transformed the social fabric of the transnational localities and “linked lives” that they have produced. At the same time, increasing numbers of European retirees settle in Thailand to benefit from affordable healthcare, while new sectors of service provision are emerging on the periphery of the tourist industry selling services of “Thai-ness” (massage, spirituality) to Western tourists. This panel aims to study cases of lived experiences of “transnationalism” between Thailand and European countries, that are increasingly prevalent in Thailand and Europe, initiated by the significant and longstanding forms of mobility and migration related to marriage, life-style, student education, retirement, sex-tourism and healthcare. How does “transnational living” between Thailand and Europe become manifest as a social form within space and place, and with what consequences for the individuals involved? What gendered power inequalities are at the core of Thai-Westerner exchanges? From the Thai perspective, what are the long-term impacts of these exchanges for individual life chances and wellbeing, on extended families, and on the communities and societies where they are embedded? Cases include Thai-Western long-term partnerships in Thailand, Thai marriage migrants to the UK, child migration to Germany, European retirees in Pattaya, Thai women in Belgium and small-scale entrepreneurs serving Western Tourists in Hua Hin.

## PAPERS

### › **From Marriage Migration to Child Migration: The Migration from Thailand to Germany**

Pataya Ruenkaew

The figures of the Thai population residing in Germany listed by the Federal Statistical Office (StatBA) reveal that migration from Thailand to Germany has taken place since 1960. Until 1975 the numbers of Thai men and women were nearly equal. Since 1975 the numbers of Thai women immigrating to and living in the Federal Republic have permanently increased. Since then, women make up the majority of Thais in Germany. Simultaneously the number of marriages between Thai women and German men has increased steadily since 1990. In 2016 there were 58,765 Thais in Germany, 13% of which are men and 87% women. About 60% of these women are married to German husbands. Thus, transnational migration from Thailand to Germany can be considered a largely female migration, and it has a characteristic of marriage migration.

The findings of studies on Thai migrants in Germany indicate that the majority are single mothers, i.e. separated or divorced women who take the sole responsibility for their children born in a former relationship with Thai men. After a certain period of time, particularly when they gain a safe legal status or their lives are settled in the destination country they fetch their children to stay with them in Germany. Hence, female migration to Germany leads to the subsequent immigration of children. The paper provides an analysis of data from the Federal Statistical Office showing the development of the transnational migration of Thai women to Germany and discusses the situation of Thai migrant children.

### › **Making a Life out of “Unintended Transnationalism”: Thai Women’s Experiences of Transnational Living by Partnering Westerners as a Strategy for a Better Life**

Paul Statham *University of Sussex*

This article provides an insightful contextualised analysis of what transnational living means for Thai women in long-term partnerships with Western men. We start out from an understanding of this form of transnational living as ‘unintended transnationalism’, that living a life defined by dependent intercultural exchanges with a foreigner was a by-product, not an aspiration of her strategy for a better life. We study how her relative access to rights, cultural differences, and positioning in social space and place, that results from her sharing a home with a Westerner, constitutes ‘transnational living’ and impacts upon her individual wellbeing, social relations and life-trajectory. The empirical analysis examines her negotiated exchanges with her partner (in a context of dependency) in setting up home (rights); interpersonal relations at home (cultural differences); and re-making home in Thailand (social space and place). The study draws from twenty biographical interviews with women in partnerships (between 7 and 30 years) with Westerners, currently resident in Thailand. We find that ‘transnational living’ is a challenging experience even for women who make material gains. First, her access to rights and property, healthcare etc. is formally dependent on maintaining her ‘marriage’. Second, she faces strong pressures to acculturate towards his Western tastes, language and values in the home, leading to conflicts. Third, her partnership defines her natal family relations, that can be challenging, while she faces stigmatisation by Thai society. Overall, living ‘unintended transnationalism’ can lead to isolation, dissociation from family, and dissimulation from belonging in Thailand.

### › **Thai Marriage Migrants in the UK: Social Network, Social Capital and Wellbeing**

Patraporn Chuenglersiri *University of Sussex*

This paper discusses the relationship between social network, social capital and wellbeing of Thai marriage migrants in the UK. The paper will explore how social networks are formed among migrants and also between migrants and local residents. Thai marriage migrants in the UK build and re-build their network while settling in a new country. In new settings, Thai women participate and/or exclude themselves from various forms of social relationships. Furthermore, it will explore how and what kind of social capital Thai marriage migrants gained or exchanged through these networks. Focusing on forms of social relationships and networks outside from their relationship with their husband and children, I hope to examine migrants’ broader social ties which affect their lives as migrants in

the UK. This paper will also examine how social network and social capital, or lack thereof, have impact on wellbeing of Thai women in the UK.

---

## Persistence and Change in Local Knowledge in Dealing with Natural Hazards in the Philippines

LOCATION	Room 1.204
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Soledad Natalia Dalisay <i>University of the Philippines, Diliman</i>
DISCUSSANT	Joseph Palis <i>University of the Philippines, Diliman</i>

### ABSTRACT

People deal with hazards in their environment in various ways that they consider to be meaningful and have been helped them overcome these hazards through several encounters in the past. In many instances in their past a group of people have engaged with particularly damaging hazards using tried and tested ways that have saved their lives. Such ways form part of a group of people's local knowledge and practices. Local knowledge and practices include worldviews that explain the occurrence of a natural hazard, predicting its occurrence and potential impacts as well as several ways of effectively stemming the potential damage these hazards can bring. Two dominant views regarding how people engage with hazards are presented by Oliver-Smith and Hoffman (2002) and Slater (2014). Oliver-Smith and Hoffman believed that when faced with a hazard, people will "recast or reinvent their cultural system". Slater on the other hand, contended that several disaster ethnographies have shown persistence in local knowledge and practices that people systematically hold on to familiar "cultural and social schema" in adapting to hazards in a given environment. Studies have shown that in several communities in the Philippines, people have dealt with natural hazards with both persistence and change in terms of their local knowledge and practices. This panel delves into local explanatory models for a natural hazard, signs found in nature that predicted the onset of a hazard, as well as the practice of religious rites and rituals in peoples' attempts to stem great devastation because of a hazard. Through the various studies in this panel it is hoped that a deeper understanding of the processes involved in persistence and change in local knowledge and practices in the context of resilience as people engage with natural hazards in the Philippines will be developed.

### PAPERS

#### › Local Knowledge and Natural Hazards: Persistence and Change for Disaster Resilience

Soledad Natalia Dalisay *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

Natural hazards have always been an integral element of environments in which groups of people lived. Through generations of engagement with natural hazards, cultural groups have developed tried and tested ways to successfully deal with these hazards. Through time, people have developed lifeways that contribute to changes in their environments, which in turn, pose new or additional challenges that people need to contend with. Through their local knowledge, people have encoded valuable life lessons that helped them deal with environmental challenges successfully. These are adopted and passed on from one generation to another. Such elements of local knowledge, like all other aspects of culture, are never static or unchanging. This presentation looks into how various elements of local knowledge in a lakeside community in Batangas Province in the Philippines and how these are used in dealing with what the people consider as the most challenging hazard in their environment, the potential explosion of the Taal Volcano. This presentation also delves into the various strategies and innovations in local knowledge that people in the community have adopted as they face the risk of a particularly devastating volcanic explosion.

#### › Murupuro, the Islands of Constellations: A Practice-Based Research on Disaster Stories and Indigenous Ways of Knowing Emerging from Zones of Precarity

Dennis Gupa *University of Victoria*

This paper is extracted from my on-going doctoral dissertation that centers on sea rituals, climate change and applied theatre. The project aims to foreground the themes and intimations of sustainability in sea coast communities emerging from histories of climate crises. As I examine sustainability by looking at the shared ecological relationship between the human and the nonhuman through the analysis of ritual performances in island community impacted by climate crises, I will also tell stories. Through my doctoral applied theatre performance project, Murupuro/The Islands of Constellations, informed and scaffolded from the ecocultural practices of prusisyun (fluvial parade), panggal (fishing tradition), padasal (commemorative prayer) and pyesta (community celebration), this paper inquires on traditional ecological epistemology and ontology within the history of colonization and environmental decimation in post-disaster sites in Eastern Samar, Philippines. Murupuro/The Islands of Constellations is a result of a practice-based-research that

attempts to form a creative and synergistic approach of performance making that interflows with contemporary multimedia art (video, dramatic text and soundscapes) and ritual performance-making that tells stories and tackles climate crises. This paper will engage with these questions: How does ritual performance intersect with traditional ecological ways of knowing in an island community in the Philippines and how does applied theatre contribute to the circulation of discursive theory of indigenous epistemology and ontology on ecological sustainability?

› **The Comattributes of Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Evidence from the Tagbanawa of Palawan, Philippines**

Rolando C. Esteban *University of the Philippines*

Indigenous Knowledge systems (IKS) are a buzzword in international development work today. It is part of the strategies of communities around the world in dealing with everyday problems and crisis situations, especially before, during, and after disasters. While this attests to its relevance and persistence, questions about the stability, flexibility, or both, of IK continue to inspire research in the field. The paper aims to provide answers to these questions using data from my research on the Tagbanawa of Palawan. The findings show that IK remains a vigorous, resilient cultural resource among these groups. Its persistence attests to the dynamic, syncretic nature of IK that makes possible the integration of new information into a priori ones for survival in a fast changing world. Persistence and change are comattributes of IK, and research on these comattributes are recommended toward a more robust understanding of IK.

**Health, Policy and Governance: Cases from Indonesia 1**

LOCATION Room 1.308

TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)

CONVENERS Dicky Tahapary *University of Indonesia*  
Sikko Visscher *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

DISCUSSANT Sikko Visscher *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

**ABSTRACT**

The issue of health, healthcare provision and health policy are an increasingly relevant topic the world over, but also for countries in Southeast Asia. Changes in society and politics greatly influence the field of health and healthcare. Migration, urbanization, lifestyle, economic development (or lack thereof), democratization and decentralization are all phenomenon that impact the arena.

This panel brings together presentations of results flowing from a number of projects funded by the Scientific Programme Indonesia – The Netherlands (SPIN) on health, citizenship and governance. The contributions include work by medical specialists on the implementation of health research outcomes in policies, research from the social sciences on welfare distribution and health policies, as well as efforts to approach issues of governance with a mixed methodology including quantitative and qualitative elements.

Furthermore, it showcases the plans of a consortium which aims to address issues of Urban Transitions in an interdisciplinary manner. This includes investigation into the changes in the bodies of migrants after they have moved to the city and the relationship to changes in the occurrence of illnesses. By seeing the urban as opportunity for implementing sustainability measures, the interrelation with quality of life (in a medical and social sense) will be explored.

**PAPERS**

› **Development of Highly Pathogenic Avian Influenza (HPAI) Policy in Indonesia from the Perspective of the Government and Smallholder Broiler Farmers**

Muchammad Gumilang Pramuwidyatama *Wageningen University*

HPAI remained endemic in most of the regions in Indonesia. HPAI mitigation in Indonesia has been suggested to be pointed at the uptake of measures by small-scale poultry farmers. Thus, placing farmers as the key point along with stakeholders with whom farmers are in contact with related to poultry diseases management (e.g., technical supports, integrated companies, livestock, and animal health agency) is essential to develop HPAI policy. This study aims to identify HPAI policy implications based on (i) the preference of the government related to measures directed against HPAI, and (ii) smallholder broiler farmers' motivation and socio-psychological factors that associated with farmers' motivation to implement measures against HPAI on their farm.

A systematic evaluation of 27 measures which involved a workshop with local government officials was carried out to identify measures directed against HPAI that are preferred by the government. In addition, interviews with 203 Western Java small-scale broiler farmers were done to identify farmers' motivation and factors that are associated with their motivation to implement different measures against HPAI.

Our results show that the primary aims of the government were to safeguard humans from HPAI transmission by mitigating HPAI in livestock. Both the government and farmers are more in favor to mitigate HPAI by applying preventive measures such as vaccination and biosecurity compared to control measures, such as stamping-out. Furthermore, improving the attitude of farmers is important to increase the uptake of biosecurity and vaccination; and offering activities or programs that incentivize farmers is important to increase the uptake of vaccination.

In conclusion, HPAI policy should be emphasized to preventive measures rather than control measures. HPAI mitigation programs should primarily focus on incentivizing farmers complemented by programs aiming to improve farmers' attitude. Furthermore, a collaboration between the government, integrated companies, and broiler farmers is essential to ensure the implementation of the policy.

### › Did Democratic Politics Produce Better Health Care in Jakarta?

Isfandiarni Soenarto Rosidin *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

Gerry van Klinken *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

Democratization introduced a new politics of health reform to Indonesia. This paper assesses the extent to which these politics have actually affected health outcomes. Under the authoritarian New Order, government health expenditures were low (though high enough to cause significant health improvements from a low base). Health facilities were poor. Only the one-third of the population earning in the formal sector were insured for health, and that was by means of private contributions. The 1997 economic crisis and subsequent democratisation combined to make health care the subject of considerable political interest. Health insurance for the poor was part of targeted social assistance. Elections stimulated local government heads to offer cheap health insurance schemes.

Assessing whether these politics – particularly in Jakarta – actually worked to reduce health expenses and improve health facilities for all citizens turns out to be difficult. Publicly available health statistics are not designed to answer questions that connect welfare politics with health outcomes. Statistics we extract from the economic census (Susenas) indicate that people are making more use of subsidised public hospitals, which offer cheap, good service. But the rich have benefited more from these subsidies than the poor. Meanwhile, the number of health resources (medical staff, infrastructure) has actually declined. Government financing for health has increased in absolute terms due to booming revenues, but it has not increased in proportion to other sectors, and remains below that in comparable other countries. It appears to have been directed at subsidising hospital attendance and not at expanding health personnel and infrastructure. This suggests that so far the reforms have been driven by short-term electoral logic, and not by the desire to build a sustainably financed universal health system for the future. Political pressures have so far failed to fundamentally challenge the assumption underlying the New Order approach that health is mainly a matter for the individual patient and the private market.

---

## “Worlding Sites”: Globalized Visions and Material Constructions of Future Southeast Asia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Monika Arnez <i>University of Hamburg</i> Silvia Vignato <i>Università di Milano-Bicocca</i>

### ABSTRACT

“We see the worlding city as a milieu of intervention, a source of ambitious visions, and of speculative experiments that have different possibilities of success and failure [...] Such experiments cannot be conceptually reduced to instantiations of universal logics of capitalism or postcolonialism. They must be understood as worlding practices, those that pursue world recognition in the midst of inter-city rivalry and globalized contingency.” (Roy, A., Ong, A., 2011: xv)

In this panel, we would like to extend Aihwa Ong's idea of “worlding cities” to a larger acceptance of “worlding sites,” land- and seascapes modified in line with massive, modern transformation in Southeast Asia. Some of these sites are seminal projects representing best practice, not only in terms of commercial profit but also innovation. Such original, experimental, yet contested places are often engineered according to a specific vision that bespeaks aesthetic, economic, moral and political ideas of a good future. Land reclamation sites modifying the sea/land border, real estate mega projects and Special Economic Zones where global capital is emplaced and shown off are of particular interest here. We focus on the experience of transformation and the responses to such sites, the compliance, indifference and resistance to them. We also include visions, standpoints and the control of them. Another interesting field is the dichotomy between the seen and the unseen. What is made to be seen and what needs to stay unseen when a worlding site is planned and constructed?

We suggest a few hints: pollution (sea pollution, for example), impacts on the ecosystem (decrease in fish population, seabed destruction, erosion), hazards (climate change and natural hazards), work (workers' lodging in urban peripheries, in

building sites, on the sea itself), cross-border mobility, signs of poverty or backwardness (dormitories, slums, food stalls, wanderers, beggars), immorality (prostitution, drinking, drugs), and wild exploitation (massive sand displacement, gas exhaustion...).

We invite contributors to explore the powerful *visions* which are brought into play and emplaced in worlding sites, addressing modern industrialization, development and progress, nation, citizenship, emplacement of global capital and entitlement and rights. Beyond visions, we are also interested in soundscapes. How do they shape sites and vice versa? In order to explore these visions in their concrete and embodied forms, we invite contributors to ask questions such as:

- Are all the sites of transformation in SEA inspired by similar models? Are all the land reclamations alike, the SEZ alike, the new cities alike?
- How are these sites produced and reconstructed in the face of the challenges of exploitation and political aspirations?
- To what extent are humans part of the visions? Who is supposed to work, live and stroll in the worlding sites, and who actually does? Who is not supposed to be there?
- What happens if large-scale projects are constructed but there are hardly any people inhabiting them?
- What is the interplay of governmental schemes, local interests and other, immaterial values when it comes to uprooting homes, modifying the coastline or filling “empty” spaces with buildings? How does this show in concrete objects and bodies?
- How is memory inserted into global visions (for example as “tradition”)? Who remembers? Is memory connected to sites or does memory ‘travel’?
- Is there a common temporality in similar sites?
- What is the gender bias in a worlding site?

This is an interdisciplinary subject but to keep the dialogue alive we invite contributors to privilege the human factor over the technical analysis.

## PAPERS

### › **Moulding Singapore: Crafting Places and Engineering Conviviality**

Barbara Götsch *Austrian Academy of Sciences*

Singapore is a prime site of worlding, as laid out by Roy and Ong (2011). With its ambitious visions and effective transformations, ranging from land reclamation and urban restructuring to educational and business policies, Singapore has become a model for many other states to emulate. Moreover, the state introduced an industrious regime of controlling the smallest aspects of life in the city-state, all in the name of boosting the economy and improving services to the public. For this reason, Singapore has been titled a “nanny state” that not only plans well but also cares for and disciplines its citizens to behave in specific ways. It is no coincidence that the Ministry of Education’s claim runs “moulding the future of our nation”.

In recent years, there has been a growing awareness – corresponding to international trends and competitions between cities – that for Singapore to remain successful, it needs to be perceived as a liveable, vibrant and convivial place, for the population to enjoy and for ideas to flourish. As a consequence, the Singapore government invested in the preservation of its multicultural heritage, in fostering the arts and sparking creativity, and it proclaimed the aim of becoming a “city in a garden”. In this paper, I will be concerned with the way authorities aim to create spaces – and “make places” – that enable this vibrancy and conviviality and in the subtle ways in which they encourage, stimulate or “nudge”, the desired behaviour in the population.

### › **The Conflicted City: NGOs vs. Globalised Urban Development Visions of Jakarta**

Jerome Tadie *French Research Institute for Development*

As a megacity of more than 25 million inhabitants (almost 10 in the limits of the capital city province, the DKI), Jakarta until recently enjoyed mixed forms of residential neighbourhoods, in which the kampongs used to prevail. After a period of kampung rehabilitation programs, relocation programs began in Jakarta in the 1980s, under the influence of the Singaporean model and of paradigmatic shifts in international policies for housing for the poor (as designed by the World Bank in particular). As a reaction, various local NGOs have tried to adapt to such a context and to propose alternative solutions to what can seem a hegemonic international trend.

Starting from the imposition of international models for housing for the poor, where social housing in towers prevail, this paper studies how local NGOs in Jakarta have tried to negotiate these hegemonic global shifts and to propose other types of solutions. It first analyses the context of urban transformation in the central zones and the eradication of several kampongs. It then addresses the NGOs’ alternative visions of the city and its future, before showing, in a third part, how these visions are deeply rooted in formal and informal networks that are proper to the Indonesian context.

### › **The Jakabaring Sport City in Palembang, Indonesia: A Worlding Site of Modernity, City Development and Islam**

Friederike Trotter *University of Passau*

The capital of the Indonesian province South Sumatra has long been an industrial centre with a negative reputation of being ugly and backward. Major transformations, however, occurred after Indonesia’s decentralization process in the early 2000s which have been connected to Palembang’s regular hosting of national and international sports events between 2004 and 2018 leading to the city’s new status as Indonesia’s sports city. This paper investigates the role of the sports-themed zone Jakabaring Sport City as Palembang’s worlding site of modernity, city development and Islam and the political aspirations related to this sports complex. By detailing the

transformation process of the Jakabaring area, the governmental targets of displaying modernity and progress come to light. This does not only include the association of sports with modernity but also the purpose of ending rumours about mysterious incidents in the area and thus eliminating backwardness and haunted places. As a worlding site with international attention, the Jakabaring Sport City is further supposed to symbolize green and smart city development and to display Muslim identity. This paper analyses in how far this overload of meaning and the different ambitious visions have led to contradictions and failures. It further scrutinises the different responses of Palembang's citizens and compares the Jakabaring Sport City to other sports sites and complexes in Southeast Asia and beyond.

---

## Sickness and the City in Vietnam ①

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Sara Ann Swenson <i>Syracuse University</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel compares contemporary responses to physical and mental illness in urban Vietnam. Panelists will explore how residents of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City navigate personal, communal, and institutional responsibilities around medical diagnoses. Papers examine how factors like the state, religion, urban development, import products, and changing family structures contribute to public perceptions of health. What causes mental and physical illness? Who is responsible for healing and preventing illnesses, from depression to cancer?

Papers are based on ethnographic research projects including social workers, hospital employees, psychologists, religious leaders, charity volunteers, medical patients, and their familial or hired caretakers.

### PAPERS

#### › **Between the Family and the State: Responsibility for Care Work in the Vietnamese Public Hospital Setting**

Maria Stalford *Harvard University*

Vietnamese public hospitals (like those in many other health systems) are characterized by a striking bifurcation in responsibilities for treatment and care, in which much of the patient care that might be carried out elsewhere by practical nurses or patient assistants is instead the province of family members or other informal carers. Is this family-based model of hospital care in Vietnam the manifestation of a precious tradition of familial solidarity? Or would it be more clear-eyed to see this model of care instead primarily as a consequence of the state's shifting of responsibility for health and welfare to individuals (i.e., the policy orientation known as "socialization")? In this paper, drawing on Minh T. N. Nguyen (2018) in particular, I show that this mode of care is both at once: relying on families for care work in the hospital setting is a paradigmatic mode of "socialization," not in spite of the fact but rather because it "strikes a chord with enduring moral ideas about social life" (243). The family-based care model undeniably entails many significant and inequitably distributed risks, burdens, and hardships, but in this paper, which emerges from my ethnographic research in a HCMC cancer hospital, I try to imagine a way of conceiving of those challenges that also takes the potential meaningfulness and effectiveness of informal care work seriously, rather than presuming that progress and solutions must lie only in the greater professionalization of care.

#### › **"Equanimity and Resilience": Emotional Health, Urban Buddhism, and Middle-Class Aspirations in Ho Chi Minh City**

Dat Nguyen *Boston University*

In recent years, emotional health and well-being have come to the fore of public attention in Vietnam. As various health and educational institutes in Vietnam begin to reveal statistics and openly discuss about emotional health, youth between the age of 15 and 29 emerge as one of the populations most susceptible to depression, anxiety, stress, and other emotional issues. The rise of public attention to the emotional realm, particularly that of youth, give rise to the proliferation of life-skill courses and mindfulness meditation programs that help youth better navigate their social and emotional lives. These educational programs draw on a growing repertoire that combine Western psychological discourses and Buddhist teachings, and they take place at both Buddhist temples and more "secular" educational centers. Drawing on fifteen months of fieldwork at these educational programs for urban youth, I explore how emotional health and well-being serve as a nexus to investigate the contentious intersection between political economy, religion, and public ethics in late-socialist Vietnam. In comparing how Buddhist monastics and "therapeutic life-skill" educators recast emotional issues as issues of an unstable heart-mind (*tâm*) and of ethical virtues, I show how these programs propagate a new middle-class ethics of self-realization and social responsibility that promotes both the recognition and the effacement of socio-economic differences. In examining these educational programs, I investigate how the realm of emotion has become a site where religious actors and educators in Ho Chi Minh City craft and negotiate new forms of urban religiosity and late-socialist bio-politics.

➤ **Social Work and the Construction of Precarious Selfhoods in Ho Chi Minh City**

Ann Marie Leshkovich *College of the Holy Cross*

Over the past several decades, Vietnam’s development of a market economy has generated class-specific patterns of anxiety in Ho Chi Minh City. An urban precariat is besieged by “social problems”: homelessness, substance abuse, human trafficking, and family breakdown. Meanwhile, newly prosperous middle and upper classes strive to develop the human capital and psychological fortitude to realize their own potential and contribute to national development. This context provides fertile terrain for the emerging field of social work in Vietnam. Social workers seek to empower the urban precariat to become the kinds of selves who are able to engage in self-scrutiny and self-improvement in order to achieve desired outcomes. But these interactions also establish the social worker’s own privileged personhood as therapeutic expert who applies scientific knowledge through interpersonal and affective acts of care.

Drawing on participant observation, interviews, and archival research conducted from 2010 to the present in university and professional educational settings in southern Vietnam, this paper considers how social work both acts across and works to naturalize class divides by inculcating ways of thinking, feeling, and perceiving. Social work in Vietnam is simultaneously part of a global rise in therapeutic technologies of the self and a particularly situated project to craft appropriately Vietnamese personhoods. While social work’s shaping of selves resembles neoliberal dynamics of medicalized subjectivation, this paper also traces genealogies of change and continuity in Vietnamese notions of self, status, and precarity across several eras: French colonialism, the Republic of Vietnam (1954-1975), postwar socialism, and market socialism.

.....

**How to Get Published in Southeast Asian Studies**

LOCATION Room 1.406  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENERS Benjamin Baumann *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*  
Gerald Jackson *NIAS Press*

**ABSTRACT**

This panel brings together editors from various journals and presses publishing academic research on Southeast Asia. The editors will first introduce their presses and journals, before they will address key issues in the publication process including the submission of a manuscript, the peer review process, audiences and journal missions. The panel seeks to shed some light on the enigma of the publication process.

Moderated by Benjamin Baumann.

**PARTICIPANTS**

- **Ann Philipp** *International Quarterly for Asian Studies*
- Gerald Jackson *NIAS Press*
- Rachel Harrison *South East Asia Research*
- Robert Shepherd *Critical Asian Studies*
- Saskia Gieling *University of Amsterdam Press*

.....

**Performing Sumatra Through Cultural Heritage 1**

LOCATION Room 1.501  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)  
CONVENERS Alan Darmawan *University of Hamburg*  
Jan van der Putten *University of Hamburg*

## ABSTRACT

Since the turn of 21st century, turning objects, places and practices into heritage, or heritagisation has become a global trend forming a dynamic terrain in which state and non-state actors are actively involved to pursue various interests. In recent times Indonesia has become very active in trying to have its cultural and natural heritage acknowledged by nominating sites for the UNESCO lists. The ongoing political decentralization with its identity formation on sub-national levels also makes use of a national heritage list to get local sites acknowledged, stimulating self-identification in the process. These processes are quite often performed in a framework of intertwined-interests to shape a local or regional identity and commodify sites to attract tourists.

To this general trend of 'heritagising Indonesia', the island of Sumatra is no exception but shows its own dynamics. It has always been at the crossroads of many cultures which has resulted in a welter of outside cultural elements enriching local cultural expressions. Indonesia's political and cultural focus has always been on Java and Bali, but it seems that through the political and economic decentralisation this is finally changing.

This panel wants to present and stimulate discussions about social processes that surround the making and performing of heritage from a multi-disciplinary perspective focusing on different cultural formats such as oral tradition, rituals, performing arts, manuscripts, and historical sites. It plans to present papers on local cultures of Sumatra, such as Toba Batak (North Sumatra), Minangkabau (West Sumatra) and Malay (the Riau Islands and South Sumatra) by specialists in the field.

## PAPERS

### › **Building Collections from Colonized Indonesia: Historical and Ethical Perspective in the Case of the Batak Collection of the Ethnographic Museum of Hamburg**

Roberta Zollo *University of Hamburg*

### › **Melayu Songs and Their Relation to Storytelling in North Sumatra**

Clara Brakel *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

'A yellow ship sails into the night' is the opening line of a popular lagu gambus, a song that is performed at happy domestic occasions such as wedding parties, where it may be accompanied by an energetic zapin dance. This attractive Malay song, that has been popular for a long time, was recorded in 1979 in the area near Medan for a project on traditional storytelling in North Sumatra by Lode Brakel and myself. We recorded two very different versions of the song, yet another version was recorded in 1993-4 by Philip Yampolski in Riau.

The fact that literary texts in Indonesian languages are primarily composed as 'sound' is usually overlooked in scholarly writings. This is why our research on North Sumatran literary traditions focussed on performance of storytelling in all its aspects, including songs, speeches, spells and riddles.

For this Sumatra cultural heritage panel, I shall present a few different versions of the song about a yellow ship, discuss their meaning and investigate the connection of these songs with stories and storytelling processes, which have for a long time been part of the making and performing of cultural heritage in various regions of [North] Sumatra.

### › **Silk Tells Its Stories: Nineteenth and Early 20th Century Textiles from Aceh**

Barbara Leigh *University of Technology Sydney*

Acehnese woven silk textiles were once produced in a number of coastal centres in the province. Such was their high reputation that neighbouring regions looked to Aceh to emulate their fine designs and learn from their skilled weavers. The sombre tones of Acehnese silks and the intricate floral, geographic and calligraphic motifs tell their own stories. The ravages of war and plundering of many fine cloths now housed in museums in Europe is part of that narrative. The paper will examine that cultural heritage through the "eyes" of the textiles.

---

## Pathways to Agricultural Development in Postcolonial Southeast Asia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Karin Bugow <i>Jacobs University</i> Sebastiaan Broere <i>University of Amsterdam</i>
DISCUSSANT	Marc Frey <i>Bundeswehr University Munich</i>

## ABSTRACT

Over the past two decades, scholars in the social sciences and humanities have submitted “development” to the scrutiny of history and disclosed a great variety of ideas, assumptions, interests, and practices. This panel sets out to contribute new scholarship to this growing body of literature by presenting several papers on the history of agricultural development in Southeast Asia. Included case studies will draw attention to the multiple actors involved in the imagining and enacting of agricultural development and examine why at particular times and places certain “pathways of development” were favored over others. Special attention will be devoted to the role of knowledge and technologies, both broadly construed, in the promotion of new practices and entities (e.g. crop varieties, fertilizers, or farmers), and the politics behind these processes. The panel intends to open a dialogue between different regions within Southeast Asia in order to examine commonalities, differences, and cross-connections. Chronologically, it focuses on the period after the multiple struggles for political independence, keeping in mind that postcoloniality often went hand in hand with the forging of new dependencies and the partial reproduction of colonial ideologies and practices.

## PAPERS

### › **Four Times “A Matter of Life or Death”: Contested Agricultural Development During Indonesia’s First Decade of Independence, 1945–1955**

Sebastiaan Broere *University of Amsterdam*

This paper traces the early postcolonial framing of agriculture as “a matter of life or death” to analyze the agro-developmental visions of four prominent Indonesian politicians, including the country’s first president. Sukarno’s famous 1952 speech, entitled *A Matter of Life or Death*, marks a milestone in the history of agricultural development in Indonesia. Delivered at the groundbreaking ceremony of the Agricultural Faculty of Universitas Indonesia in Bogor, Sukarno envisioned mechanization and agricultural intensification as foundational to turning the young country into an independent nation. The early 1950s, however, witnessed intense political debate on many issues, including agriculture. To examine several key positions, I engage the writings of Wisaksono Wirodihardjo, Sukarno, Mohammad Sardjan, and Sadjarwo. While all used the “a matter of life or death”-trope, their perspectives on what the “matter” exactly was varied considerably. To them, making Indonesia entailed different political and religious projects, which called for different types of agriculture that could only be realized through the production and dissemination of certain knowledges. By uncovering the connections between these three components (Indonesia-agriculture-knowledge), this paper examines the politics of knowledge behind the pathways to agricultural development that were proposed during the first decade of Indonesia’s independence.

### › **Software for Asia’s Green Revolution: The Agricultural Development Council, Art Mosher, and Getting Agriculture Moving**

Ben White *International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague*

The mid-1960s were a crucial period when Southeast Asian agricultural development policy and research, influenced by cold war concerns, were shifting from politically difficult agrarian reform efforts to “green revolution” approaches to agricultural and small-farmer development. This paper explores the background, context, and influence of Arthur Mosher’s *Getting Agriculture Moving: Essentials for Agricultural Development and Modernization* (1966), the first book produced in the Agricultural Development Council’s Training Materials Programme. The Agricultural Development Council was founded by John D Rockefeller 3rd, whose Asian travel diaries document his overwhelming personal concern with three issues: population growth, food production, and communism. Mosher’s book devotes almost no attention to difficult issues of land reform and unequal distribution of land. Instead, it insists on the need to teach peasants to want more for themselves, to abandon collective habits, to get on with the “business” of farming and become “modern farmers” defined by their reliance on purchased inputs of seed, fertilizers, pesticides and equipment. More than 50,000 copies were distributed freely in most South and Southeast Asian countries, as well as translated versions in the major Asian languages. The book had an enormous influence, being at the time virtually the only widely available general book on agricultural and rural development.

### › **The BIMAS Project in Java, Indonesia, 1968–1970**

Karin Bugow *Jacobs University*

I argue that multinational corporations were important agents in the promotion of new practices and entities in the postcolonial agricultural development of Southeast Asia. Historians of development have mainly focused on “political” state-actors such as governments and their development agencies, international organizations and development banks, and non-state actors. The case of the Bimas Gotong Royong, a rice intensification scheme in Java, Indonesia, puts the spotlight on profit-oriented and technology-driven actors: multinational corporations. It exemplifies the close relationship between Suharto’s government and multinational corporations in enacting agricultural development between 1967 and 1969. In this project, Ciba-Geigy, a Swiss chemical corporation, received a mandate by the Indonesian government to introduce a “package” of products and practices for agricultural “modernization”, including large-scale aerial spraying of pesticides, the distribution of high-yielding seed varieties and fertilizers, and a training program for farmers. This case illustrates how the Indonesian government relied on multinational corporations in its efforts to increase food production and the close interaction between multinational corporations, governments, and the military. This paper discusses why a “public-private partnership” to increase Indonesia’s food production was favored over other pathways of development and the difficulties experienced by the government, the corporation, and the farmers.

# Everyday Justice in Myanmar 1

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Helene Maria Kyed <i>Danish Institute for International Studies</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Ardeth Thawngmung <i>University of Massachusetts Lowell</i> Dhammasami Linkara <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>

## ABSTRACT

Myanmar, like other Southeast Asian countries, is characterized by the co-existence of various informal, yet pervasive, alternative authorities and parallel state formations. This is also seen in the area of justice provision – the topic of this panel. Although, the official judicial system is legally the only recognized system, in practice it constitutes only one among many avenues for seeking remedies in criminal and civil cases. Official state law does not enjoy a monopoly in deciding most cases, but is frequently avoided and supplanted by customary rules, the laws of ethnic armed organizations and cultural-religious norms. This panel will include papers on how ordinary citizens in Myanmar seek justice and try to resolve disputes and crimes following the end of five decades of military rule and protracted armed conflict. Theoretically, the panel will discuss everyday justice provision in relation to broader questions about the dynamics of state formation, identity politics and the constitution of order and authority in a transitional Southeast Asian context. Papers in this panel will draw on in-depth anthropological research from 2016 to 2018, focusing on ethnic minority areas, including Karen, Mon, Naga and Kachin.

## PAPERS

### › Formality-Fobia: Fear of Formality in Justice Provision in Myanmar

Myat Thet Thitsar *Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation*

This paper explores formality-phobia in Myanmar with a particular focus on justice provision and dispute resolution. The concept of 'formality-phobia' refers to people's discomfort and feelings of anxiety when they encounter formal environments and settings, like the police, courts and state administrations, as well as customary institutions that use formal procedures. The paper argues that the fear of formality is the main reason why ordinary Myanmar citizens are very reluctant to address the official courts and even those customary disputes settling mechanisms that carry features of formality. Instead, the majority of people prefer to use what I refer to as "social means", which includes negotiation and mediation by local elders and religious leaders, who have mediation skills and knowledge of local customs. People prefer to resolve their disputes in an unreserved environment through interactive and open conversations. They want restorative and retroactive justice rather than punitive justice. They are reluctant to use the formal justice system, or any other system that applies strict rules and procedures. These insights echoes qualitative research findings in various rural and urban settings of Myanmar, but this paper draws particularly on research conducted in Kachin state. The paper explores the main reasons behind formality-phobia, which reflects not only a wider distrust and fear of the state due to decades of military-rule and corruption, but also cultural beliefs. Particularly I focus on the cultural factor, which create fear or discomfort relating to the formal institutions as well as the formalities embedded in the justice sector even if these are applied by non-state customary justice systems. Cultural factors, I argue are shaped by religious beliefs and the socially cohesive nature of societal norms.

### › Seeking Local Justice and Evading the State in a Hpa-An Ward

Lue Htar *Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation*

This paper explores state evasion through the lens of seeking justice in crime cases and social disputes, based on ethnographic fieldwork in an urban ward of Hpa-An (2016-2018) where the majority identify as Karen and as Buddhists. As other recent research on Karen state and Myanmar as a whole equally show, the residents of the ward prefer crimes and disputes resolved at the lowest level possible within their own neighbourhood. Indeed, a minority of cases are submitted to the official justice system. Instead, elders and ward leaders are the main providers of everyday justice. If these leaders fail to find satisfactory solutions, people seldom proceed to the higher state levels, but either give up on the case or seek help from religious-spiritual actors, notably monks and spirit mediums. These different local actors co-participate in evading the state, by diverting cases away from the official judicial institutions. Intriguingly, this co-participation also includes the ward administrator and lower ranking police officers, who are recognised as part of the state apparatus, while also being local residents. State evasion reflects a shared distrust in the state to provide the kinds of justice processes and outcomes that ward residents prefer and are comfortable with. Drawing on legal and political anthropological understandings of justice and state evasion, the chapter explores how ward residents go about resolving disputes and crimes by evading the state and by articulating local, non-legalistic notions of (in)justice. We also analyse why this form of state evasion takes place in contemporary Hpa-An. Our analysis is built up around two in-depth case-studies on property loss, and while all cases vary, we use these as examples of common tendencies related to local justice seeking behaviour and state evasion, which cut across the 52 cases that we followed in the ward during 2016.

# Interculturalism and Southeast Asian Performing Arts 1

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Margaret Coldiron <i>University of Essex</i>

## ABSTRACT

Southeast Asia has been noted for its unique outward looking view—a key part of identity and state building in contemporary Southeast Asia is seeking involvement in global exchange and processes. This is very much the case when it comes to both traditional and contemporary performing arts. Examining a range of performers and performances, this panel seeks to interrogate the ways and means of intercultural interactions among and between artists in the region and with artists based elsewhere in the world in order to examine intercultural performance theory and complicate East/West dichotomies. Papers will examine intercultural performance pedagogies, the adoption and adaptation of international popular culture by contemporary and traditional performing artists, cultural exchange between and among ASEAN artists and projects between European institutions and Southeast Asian performers.

## PAPERS

### › **Metamorphoses: Re-Appropriation of a Greek Myth by the Royal Ballet of Cambodia**

Suppya Helene Nut *French National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations*

The paper aims to examine the re-appropriation of a Greek mythology by the Royal Ballet of Cambodia. It marked the first collaboration of Princess Norodom Buppha Devi as choreographer with one of the most famous and inspiring figure Perseus. This 2018 project was the first example of intercultural theatre concerning appropriation across lines for the Cambodian national troupe. This re-appropriation was creative process and succeeded to mix the strict codification of court theatre (character types, melodies and gestures) with the authenticity of the narrative.

I argue that the result went much beyond the seeming cross-fertilization. The choreographer succeeded to create layered narratives that reflected issues of cultural and identity in Cambodia. She turned the adventures of Perseus to an allegory of the traditional imaginary Cambodian world, the humans, the gods and the fabulous animals. The Princess herself explained: « I can see the possibility of adapting this story, because in ancient Greece, people venerated gods as we do. »

### › **Tango Argentino on Bali?! Researching an Expat Minority Culture**

Kendra Stepputat *Kunstuniversität Graz*

Tango argentino is a cosmopolitan genre, that has its roots in the delta of the Rio de la Plata between Argentina and Uruguay, but is practiced today in almost every city around the world in countries where economic stability allows for such a hobby, 'Western' performing arts are politically and culturally accepted, and physical contact in public between man and woman, woman and woman, man and man, are officially allowed and not culturally frowned upon. This includes parts of Southeast Asia; for instance urban hubs like Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, Bangkok or Manila have lively tango argentino scenes. On Bali, tango argentino can be practiced in Seminyak and in Ubud, both heavily frequented tourist areas. Each year a tango festival is organized, that lures a national and international crowd of dancers to Bali, to dance socially, learn from renown tango teachers and watch performances.

Who dances tango argentino on Bali and why? This seemingly simple research question has led into a complex of follow-up questions, tapping into issues of expat cultures and communities on Bali, tourism and the "appeal of exoticism" as well as economic exploitation of a cliché, both in relation to Bali, the "paradise island" and tango argentino, the "most passionate dance".

Contents and interpretation of my presentation are based on fieldwork in the tango argentino scene on Bali, insights into Balinese performing arts and cultural tourism I gathered during the research for my PhD about the kecak, as well as my knowledge of the international tango argentino scene as an active dancer for more than a decade.

# Southeast Asia and Central-Eastern Europe: Forgotten Connections, Stories and Histories ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Jan Mrázek <i>National University of Singapore</i> Mária Strašáková <i>Palacký University Olomouc</i>

## ABSTRACT

Much scholarly focus has been devoted to the study of the European colonial presence in Southeast Asia. However, the British, the French or the Dutch were not the only Europeans involved with the region. In fact, Southeast Asia has attracted many Central and Eastern European (Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Serbian, Russian etc.) missionaries, travellers, adventurers, soldiers, writers, journalists, businessmen, and scholars. This panel aims to begin to gather scholars, histories, stories, and perspectives of/about/on Southeast Asia or its parts from different Central and Eastern European countries. Secondly, the panel seeks to reflect on Central/Eastern European scholarship on Southeast Asia (especially historically, but also at present), as well as experiences and accounts of Europeans who travelled and/or lived in Southeast Asia and through their accounts and work triggered interest in the region, and in some cases also contributed to scholarship on Southeast Asia (e.g. Harry J. Benda, who was born in former Czechoslovakia, lived in the Dutch East Indies, and later established Southeast Asian Studies at Yale and Singapore). Last but not least, the panel will explore how Eastern/Central European views were conditioned by and incorporated into particular European cultural/historical situations. So far, scholarship on these questions has taken place mostly within the national boundaries of the Central and Eastern European countries. While the idea of the panel originated in discussions among Czech scholars, it aims to be the first step in stimulating a conversation across Central and Eastern Europe, and in expanding our understanding of Europe and European interaction with Southeast Asia beyond Western European empires.

## PAPERS

### › **Dr. Arwin and the Silence of the Millions: Czech Images of Tropical Forest and “Development”**

Jan Mrázek *National University of Singapore*

“[T]o be stabbed in the heart with a knife, so stunned you are by immense tropical nature,” wrote the Czech poet Konstantin Biebl in 1927. Tropical nature, and particularly the prales (“primeval forest”) was immense also as an object of desire and as a literary inspiration for Czech writers who travelled to Southeast Asia in the colonial period. The prales is ancient—“a remnant of primeval times” (Pavel Šebesta)—yet it is intensely alive, “eternally green”, in the present. In Jan Havlasa’s novel *The Abyss of Bliss*, the archaeologist Dr. Arwin, as he searches for the skull of the primeval ape-man, dreams and perhaps really encounters the pithecanthropus, alive in the present-day primeval forest. In the prales, borders are fuzzy between reality and hallucination, science and madness, the past and the present. In other texts, prales is encountered as an absence, or as a memory of violence and destruction, in “developed” places: as the cleared forests that are the plantation and cities, as animals crushed under the wheels of a speeding car, as the “silence of the millions”. In absence, destruction, and death, the ancient vitality of nature is more persistent than ever. Like when Dr. Arwin and the pithecanthropus play hide-and-seek across time, the paper’s author reflects on Czech writings from the late colonial period through his own experience of nature, “development”, and certain silences in present-day Southeast Asia, and vice versa.

### › **“Lands, Which We Usually Call the East, Can Be Divided into Three Separate Groups” (W.M. Zaleski): How Polish and Serbian Travellers Told Stories About Southeast Asia**

Tomasz Ewertowski *Shanghai International Studies University*

Following the title of the Panel, Southeast Asia and Central-Eastern Europe: Forgotten Connections, Stories and Histories, we would like to draw your attention to often forgotten stories told by Polish and Serbian travellers from the so-called “long 19th century” (1789-1914). Eric Hobsbawm’s idea allows us to observe long-term historical processes without being restricted by a rigid time framework. The choice of this specific period is motivated by the fact that this was “the age of transformation” (Osterhammel), the period of industrialization, urbanization, colonialism, and globalization. Those changes hugely influenced the way in which Europeans interacted with nations in other continents, and we will see how such influence is reflected in travel writing at the time. A comparison of two Slavic nations, one Central European and traditionally Catholic with another of Southern European and traditionally linked to the Byzantine heritage, will give us a deeper insight into the various factors that influenced the image of Southeast Asia in Polish and Serbian travel writings.

In our research, we have analysed a corpus of texts written by 13 travellers who visited Southeast Asia during the “long 19th century”. Upon further reflection, we decided to focus on only 6 of them. This selection was motivated by a desire to gain insights into a variety of experiences. Anzelm Dzwonkowski was a member of the crew of a Dutch East India Company ship in the late 18th century; Milan Jovanovic worked as a ship doctor in 1870; Prince Pawel Sapieha was an aristocratic tourist and member of the Austro-Hungarian diplomatic corps who travelled throughout Asia in the years 1888-1889; Wladyslaw Jagniatkowski served in Vietnam with the French

Foreign Legion in 1890'; Michal Siedlecki, a professor of biology, had a research stint in Java in the early 20th century; and Milan Rajcevic, a globetrotter, travelled throughout Asia on his own in 1910.

Such a selection allows us to analyse a number of factors that might have influenced travel and travel writing at the time. For example, changes in technology and transportation: while Dzwonkowski still travelled around Africa by means of a sailing ship, later writers travelled on steamships via the Suez Canal, and Rajcevic sometimes used motor vehicles. Travellers also visited Southeast Asia in different capacities, e.g. Jagiatkowski and Dzwonkowski were soldiers at the behest of colonial powers, while Siedlecki was a scientist conducting research on Java. At the time, the general political framework was different, e.g. travellers witnessed colonial expansion by Western European powers or even fought for them as in the case of Jagiatkowski.

In our analysis, we will refer to Vladimir Gvozden's research. According to Gvozden, there are two dimensions of travel writing that should be examined: materiality (places visited, means of transportation) and aesthetics. Through an analysis of our selected travelogues, we will show how technological, social and political changes influenced travel writing in terms of its materiality and aesthetics. We will also see how changes in the materiality of travel writing are linked to its ideological dimensions.

### › The First Two Impressions of the Southeast Asia in the Serbian Literature

Nada Savkovic *Faculty of Law and Business Studies Dr. Lazar Vrkić*

Dr. Milan Jovanovi? Morski (1834-1896), being a marine physician in the period from 1876 to 1882, wrote travel books, which, according to some people, are the best part of his literary work. It has been noted that his travelogue is characterized as an emphasized symbiosis of the artistic and the documentary, i.e. as a cross between striking impressions of distant places, events and human fates that he was a direct witness of with historical recollections and geographical studies. Two watercolours will be presented: the Malay Archipelago and Singapore. Milan Jovanovi? Morski often expressed shame over the harshness and brutality of naval officers and sailors towards Asians. The discussion will include his trip from Bengal via Penang to Singapore. The impressions of the Southeast Asia – Singapore, Bangkok, Penang and Rangoon by Milorad Raj?evi? (1890-1964), a world traveller, will be presented also. He was only twenty years old when he decided to embark on a trip around the world in 1910/1911. The question is: How did the authors establish their position bearing in mind two different crypocolonial contexts?

.....

## Politics in the Age of Duterte

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Mark R. Thompson <i>City University of Hong Kong</i>
DISCUSSANT	Patricio Abinales <i>University of Hawai'i at Mānoa</i>

### ABSTRACT

Rodrigo Duterte's presidency has brought a sea change to Philippine politics. Scholars have also had to take a notably different tack in their analyses, leaving in their wake traditional paradigms of clientelism, bossism, and imperialism. Duterte won the presidency with limited political machinery with a campaign narrative that targeted not only drug dealers and users but also elite politics more generally. His pro-China, anti-U.S. stance makes it rather implausible to categorize him as a typical U.S. "lapdog". Even his bossist style is different from old-style strongman rule as his primary focus has been on the criminal "other" rather than his political rivals. This has led the emergence of what can be termed "Duterte studies" with new research foci: the nature and appeal of his violent, illiberal "penal populism" and his "social banditry morality"; the precise nature of the drug war, police vigilantism and "murder as enterprise"; the "weaponization of social media" and trolling; Duterte's misyonist and violent humor which has a deadly seriousness to it and more generally Duterte's style of discourse with its "backstage" authenticity; continuity in neo-liberal economic and social policy despite Duterte's claim to be a socialist; the shift of the communist left from "frenemies" to Duterte's most militant opponents, the apparent breakthrough in Bangsamoro autonomy, a move toward "dynastic federalism", Duterte's "resurgent" anti-imperialist nationalism but also the claim he is "collaborating" with the China. The aim of this panel is to discuss these new trends in Philippine politics in terms of political discourse, the drug war, economic and social policy, militarization, and foreign policy under the Duterte presidency as well as examining how it differs from the pre-Duterte era and what the longer term implications of this new political era may prove to be.

### › **Compelled Intimacy and the Violence of Politics**

Karl Arvin Hapal *University of the Philippines*

Steffen Jensen *University of Aalborg*

This presentation explores how the war on drugs came about and what consequences it will have for poor urban communities most affected by it. While commentators have pointed to Duterte to explain the emergence and consequence of the war, we explore the extent to which the war on drugs rearticulated and radicalized sedimented social structures around marginalization, state violence and politics. In doing so, we coin the concept of compelled intimacy to explain the violence of politics. This concept allows us to understand important horizontal and vertical relationships and their entanglement with authorities and state violence from a subaltern perspective. The presentation is based on a decade-long engagement with a poor relocation site on the Northern fringe of Metro-Manila, Bagong Silang. During this decade we have carried out ethnographic fieldwork among gang-like fraternities, interviewed police officers and other state agencies, carried out a quantitative survey, engaged victims of state violence in collaboration with human rights organizations and finally carried out a new round of ethnographic fieldwork during the height of the war in 2017.

### › **“Local Going National”: The Political Narratives of Duterte and Jokowi from Mayors to Presidency**

Lermie Shayne Garcia *City University of Hong Kong*

This study examines the political narratives of Rodrigo Duterte (Philippines) and Joko Widodo (Indonesia) from being mayors (local) to being presidents (national). It aims to understand the factors that brought them electoral successes in the 2016 and 2014 presidential elections, respectively. First, their local experiences in pragmatic problem solving as mayors of Davao and Surakarta/Solo and later as congressman and governor, gave people hope that what they did in their respective localities can also be replicated in other cities and at the national level. Unlike other candidates who made use of idealist platforms, their rhetoric was not based on empty promises but on actual achievements which later became their “campaign calling cards”. Because both candidates were already “tried and tested” at the local level, they enjoyed more legitimacy when they ran for national office. Second, their populist appeals (although based on quite different forms of populism) combined with activities in which they demonstrated their connection to the people such as Widodo’s blusukan (impromptu visits) and Duterte’s night patrols. Lastly, it also explores the importance of mediatization (both mainstream and social media) and the volunteer sector (individuals and organizations) in their campaigns. These factors help explain the hopes for reform connected to these two successful presidential candidates in the context of broken promises and poor performance of their political predecessors which had led to widespread public disillusionment.

### › **The Contradictions of Duterte’s Authoritarian Populism: Autocratization Through Democratic Deficits in the Philippines**

Bonn Juego *University of Jyväskylä*

Amid continued criticism from various opposition groups and negative publicity from sections of the liberal media, the Filipino majority consistently accords President Rodrigo Duterte high satisfaction ratings. The paper contributes to a critical examination of this sustained popularity of Duterte since he assumed prominence and notoriety from the 2016 elections. It does so by introducing the concept of authoritarian populism, which captures the self-contradictory political phenomenon whereby Duterte enjoys considerable social legitimacy despite—or because of—his arguably anti-democratic ideas and autocratic style of governance. In particular, it discusses the specificities of at least a dozen dimensions in Duterte’s populist politics as these have become manifest halfway through his six-year term. Methodologically, it suggests that a research on populism needs to evaluate in the first instance Duterte’s projections as presidential candidate, then his actions as the state leader in power, vis-à-vis their socio-economic consequences in the long run. The concluding remarks take on a historical perspective to support the argument that the popular consent given to an emergent Duterte-led process of autocratization is rooted in the accumulation of democratic deficits in the Philippines during the past three decades.

### › **The Duterte State and the State of Duterte Studies**

Mark R. Thompson *City University of Hong Kong*

Since his election as president in mid-2016, president Rodrigo Duterte has (quite literally) ‘stuck to his guns’ in implementing a promised ‘war on drugs’ while turning the Philippines into an illiberal democracy (controlling Congress, purging the judiciary, intimidating the press, undermining independent government institutions, and trolling or jailing leading oppositionists). This has created what can be termed ‘Duterte studies’. It has focused on, among other things, the ‘dark side of electoralism’, admiring ‘populist publics’, the nationalization of once ‘sub-national’ authoritarianism, ‘Dutertards’ and the role of ‘trolls’ and the new social media, ‘penal’ or ‘violent’ populism with the ‘securitization’ of the drug issue, ‘murder as enterprise’ and the ‘spectacle of violence’, ‘Dutertismo’ or even Duterte as a ‘fascist original’, ‘resurgent nationalism’ and the ‘pivot’ toward or ‘appeasement’ of China. These new approaches raise questions about previously dominant forms of analysis of Philippine politics and society – clientelism, bossism, and neo-colonialism. These theoretical paradigms have proved incapable of explaining the rise and rule of Duterte whose powerful anti-drug narrative makes him less dependent on clientelism and whose popularity through singling out supposed drug criminals as the source of societal evil permits the calibrated use of coercion against opponents, with his nationalism making it difficult to label him a puppet of the U.S. and other ‘Western imperialist’ powers. The paper will also attempt to situate the Duterte state and the state of Duterte studies (with apologies to Benedict Anderson) in the larger literature on political violence and global populism.

# Session 6

THURSDAY 11:00–12:30

- 
- Room 1.101 **Governance to the Local Level: Synergies Between the Social, Economic, and Climate Change Sustainable Development Goals in Southeast Asian Cities**
- 
- Room 1.102 **(Un)making Southeast Asia's Illiberal Order: Anti-Geopolitics and the Authoritarian Turn**
- 
- Room 1.103 **Cultural Strategies and Political Challenges in Southeast Asian Queer and Trans Communities**
- 
- Room 1.201 **Transnational Living, Cross-Border Connections and Socially Embedded Exchanges Between Thailand and Europe ②**
- 
- Room 1.204 **Islam and Capitalism in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia**
- 
- Room 1.308 **Health, Policy and Governance: Cases from Indonesia ②**
- 
- Room 1.401 **"Worlding Sites": Globalized Visions and Material Constructions of Future Southeast Asia ②**
- 
- Room 1.403 **Sickness and the City in Vietnam ②**
- 
- Room 1.405 **Organization and Social Movement of Fishers in Indonesia**
- 
- Room 1.406 **Southeast Asia's "Creative Turn": Reconfiguring Power and Partnership**
- 
- Room 1.501 **Performing Sumatra Through Cultural Heritage ②**
- 
- Room 1.503 **Pathways to Agricultural Development in Postcolonial Southeast Asia ②**
- 
- Room 1.504 **Everyday Justice in Myanmar ②**
- 
- Room 1.505 **Interculturalism and Southeast Asian Performing Arts ②**
- 
- Room 1.506 **Southeast Asia and Central-Eastern Europe: Forgotten Connections, Stories and Histories ②**

---

Fritz-Reuter-Saal **ROUND TABLE Philosophies in Southeast Asia**

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/6](http://euroseas2019.org/session/6)

# Governance to the Local Level: Synergies Between the Social, Economic, and Climate Change Sustainable Development Goals in Southeast Asian Cities

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Ronald Holzacker <i>University of Groningen</i>
DISCUSSANT	Mira Rochyadi-Reetz <i>Technische Universität Ilmenau</i>

## ABSTRACT

Across Southeast Asia, cities are considering their development plans in light of the Sustainable Development Goals. In this panel, we wish to explore examples where synergies have been sought between particular social, economic, environmental, and climate change goals. We are especially interested in examples and analyses that focus on how cities have attempted to involve stakeholders, NGOs, civil society organizations, and citizens in the planning and implementation of the SDGs. Authors may wish to focus on a single case study or small comparative study of cities in Southeast Asia. The selected cities may be from the middle-income countries in the region (Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand), the developing countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam – the CLMV countries), or from the upper-income countries (Singapore, Brunei).

Much analysis of the SDGs has focused on the links between the international and the nation state level, here we are interested in the multi-level governance approach to reach down to the local level of government, the closest level to the citizen. We are also interested in examples where cities are sharing their best practices internationally or regionally for achieving the SDGs, either through the United Nation's (UN) sponsored city network organizations, or through the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN).

## PAPERS

### › **Water Problem in the Tourism City of Yogyakarta: Between Ritualism and Biopolitics**

Mohamad Yusuf *Universitas Gadjah Mada*

This study is inspired by a conflict occurred involving locals and hotel corporations with the dispute over water used. Through a case study in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, the locals of Yogyakarta have started to experience negative repercussions of the rapid development of global chain hotel development which lead to the water scarcity. The primary objective of the study is therefore to analyze the existing biopolitics of water which has been applied by the government. How is the changing perception of water? How this has resulted in the environment and social impacts for the communities where tourism development has arisen? By analyzing how are the biopolitics controlled and operated, the empirical evidence can be found to support the main argument. In the discussion of biopolitics, water often viewed as an essential role of human survival (Hellberg, 2017). Hellberg (2017) associates explicitly the term of survival in line with what has been formulated as MDGs and SDGs focus. It is narrowed on how water is regarded as the essential needs for safe and clean domestic water. The baseline of this argument is the phrase of 'making life' as introduced by Foucault in his discourse about biopolitics. It aims to create free access to water for the sake of the survival of everybody. For Indonesian, particularly for people of Yogyakarta, water has become one of the most important aspects of the community, and some people perceive as having supernatural qualities. Water symbolizes the purification process of the community. However, there has been different ways of perceiving water between people and the government, due to the development of tourism industry. Tourism becomes one of the most leading economic sectors in Indonesia. This study found that there are infractions from the hotels in the water-use system meanwhile, the government does not use their power to affirm consequence but providing the other solution instead. Furthermore, the condition of local communities remains the same since the water scarcity they encountered getting worse.

### › **When Places and People Are Vulnerable: Thinking About Resilience and Sustainability in Post-Haiyan Leyte**

Maria M. Ikeda *Kyoto Sangyo University*

The island of Leyte located in the central region on the east coast of the Philippines is known to be vulnerable to natural hazards. More than five years ago, Typhoon Haiyan with strong winds and massive storm surges devastated the coastal areas of Leyte, disrupting the lives and livelihoods of mostly poor families whose main source of income is derived from farming and fishing. How do people living in vulnerable places rebuild their homes and livelihoods? Can they build-back better? We propose in this study a framework for a sustainable building-back-better process in three critical areas of (a) employment and education, (b) built environment, and (c) natural environment implemented through modules of self-help, mutual assistance and public-private partnership initiatives to rebuild homes, livelihoods and communities in areas devastated by natural disasters based on field work done in Leyte, Philippines. Case studies of mutual assistance and self-help initiatives are analyzed based on how these initiatives affect community-based capacity building and empowerment. We also consider the utilization of social networks in reducing vulnerability and increasing resilience against potential natural disasters. We analyze what grassroots initiatives can be made more sustainable in the pursuit of building back vulnerable places where people live at constant risk of natural disasters.

# (Un)making Southeast Asia's Illiberal Order: Anti-Geopolitics and the Authoritarian Turn

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Sabina Lawreniuk <i>Royal Holloway, University of London</i>
DISCUSSANT	Bridget Welsh <i>National Taiwan University</i>

## ABSTRACT

The 'disturbing phenomenon' of 'illiberal democracy' (Zakaria 1997:42) – where nominal elections are held but the rule of law is to a greater or lesser extent suspended – is on the rise, not just in Southeast Asia but across the globe. From Poland to the Philippines, Brazil to Burma, the broad international sweep of these trends (e.g. Hangmann and Reyntjens 2016; Gonzales 2016; Chang, Zhu and Pak 2007) has provoked suggestions both within the academic literature and popular discourse that we are now witnessing a 'global authoritarian turn' (Handel and Dayan 2017).

The scale of this shift is certainly troublesome and warrants careful scrutiny of more general antecedents. Nevertheless, the globalist language that has come to pervade the debate is unhelpful, presenting a totalising reading of authoritarian expansion as a process of top-down and often North- South diffusion. In this reading, the influence of local geographies, histories and people for ushering, provoking, and refusing the trajectory of authoritarian change is erased.

In defiance of this eviscerating imaginary, this panel welcomes contributions that tell alternative stories of the authoritarian turn, situated in the struggles of the subaltern and their resistance to practices of illiberal statecraft. We invite critical reflections on the 'anti-geopolitics' of the authoritarian turn, drawing on Routledge's conceptualisation of counter-hegemonic skirmishes waged from outside the traditional positions and locations associated with geopolitics: that is, beyond sites of political, economic, and cultural power and prestige.

Indeed, beneath representations of Southeast as a subcontinent of smiles, yielding to the strictures of authoritarian control, is an inured history of rebellion from below. This history resonates today in the struggles of Cambodia's garment workers, Thai land rights activism, and Malaysian women's campaigns for political representation, among countless others; all waged in the face of state hostility or outright repression. This panel will examine these grassroots challenges, elaborating a 'geopolitics from below' that presents contemporary political change in Southeast Asia from the perspective of those engaged in resistance to the authoritarian state.

## PAPERS

### › Legal Geographies of Authoritarian Neoliberalism: Garment Worker Struggles and Cambodia's Law on Trade Unions

Sabina Lawreniuk *Royal Holloway, University of London*

In January 2014, a general strike called in the ongoing ferment of a contested general election outcome brought one million workers on to the streets of Cambodia in support of wage rises in the garment sector. Dispersed using lethal force, the longer-term response of state authorities to the growing threat of workers' increasingly vocal dissent was the passing of the Law on Trade Unions in 2016. According to the International Trade Union Council, the coupling of the state's physical intimidation with the legal violence welded by the new law creates a civil society environment for workers that now ranks among the 'most hostile' in the region. In this paper, I draw from interviews with trade union groups and an ethnographic study of a 3-month factory live-in demonstration to elaborate the contentious legal geographies of the rise of authoritarian neoliberalism in Cambodia through a study of the Law on Trade Unions. I show, on the one hand, how the Law on Trade Unions extends existing rule by law strategies, as part of an attempt to insulate the state from the social and political conflict that arises from worker discontent over the contradictions of Cambodia's uneven neoliberal development. However, this strengthening of the state simultaneously engenders its growing fragility as it becomes the increasingly direct target of worker frustrations no longer contained within disciplining trade union channels. Thus, in highlighting the entanglements of everyday activism and state efforts to contain dissent, the paper illustrates the contradictions that underpin the entrenchment of Cambodia's authoritarian populist regime.

### › Market Citizenship Schemes and Poor People's Politics in Manila, Jakarta and Phnom Penh

Caroline Hughes *University of Notre Dame*

Programs to assist the urban poor in South East Asia promote an ideal of market citizenship as an adaptation to the financialization and gentrification of urban space. Such schemes offer real benefits to poor people – assistance for relocation as an alternative to forced expropriation, or cash transfers in situations of dire poverty, for example. However, such schemes also set out explicitly to remake relationships within poor communities, between the poor and the middle class, between the poor and political elites. Research into poor people's movements in three South East Asian cities suggests that such schemes are rarely rejected outright, precisely because they offer real short-term benefits. Rather they meet with highly contextualized strategies of negotiation, determined by local specificities. In particular, existing (although constantly transforming) political relations between the poor and their political representatives are disruptive for market citizenship schemes. This paper examines the fortunes of market citizenship programs in

the field of informal settler relocation, against the backdrop of rising populist politics in three cities. It concludes that ideals of market citizenship built into donor programs are manipulated or subverted in different ways by the poor, with different outcomes for the poor and for urban politics across the three cities, as they intrude into political relationships that reflect particular historical trajectories and contemporary political economies.

### › **Networked Spaces of Hope: Social Media and Grassroots Politics in Southeast Asia**

Merlyna Lim *Carleton University*

Social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, and devices such as smartphones have increasingly played a critical role in facilitating and mobilizing collective actions, activism, and social movements all over the world, including Southeast Asia, for both progressive and regressive causes. Simultaneously, the very same technologies have also been utilized by states and public authorities for their own benefits, including to control public opinions and repress dissents. Moving away from assessing the presumed democratic potentials of social media, in this presentation, I explore complex and contradictory relationships between social media and politics and offer an in-depth understanding of how state and society relations, power, and politics are contested and exercised on, with, and through social media. Drawing on (snapshots) of case studies from the region, particularly from Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, I specifically analyze the roles of social media platforms as they were utilized and appropriated by grassroots activists in the pursuit of justice and counter-hegemonic project. My research reveals that the technology did not transform individual citizens into politically active citizens and social media are limited in their capacity to diffuse old and traditional (ethno-religious) political groupings. However, by appropriating social media in their pursuit of 'justice' politics, grassroots activists have opened new possibilities for participation and engagement in politics and expand the space for people's agency in shaping the future of politics in the nation, and the region.

### › **Resisting with the State: Agrarian Struggles for Land in Post-Socialist Laos**

Miles Kenney-Lazar *National University of Singapore*

Over the past 15 years, the government of the (post-)socialist Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR or Laos) has conceded more than one million hectares of "state" land – an area equivalent to five percent of the country's territory – to capitalists for resource extraction and commodity production projects, such as mining, hydropower, logging, and agricultural plantations. The allocated land ostensibly owned by the state is in fact customarily used, occupied, and managed by Lao peasants and indigenous peoples for generations. Thus, its violent expropriation at the behest of corporate actors has displaced rural people from the lands, forests, and rivers that constitute their means of subsistence and production. Facing a coercive and repressive authoritarian state apparatus that jails its citizens for political activity perceived as regime-threatening, Lao peasants have resorted to creative political strategies of contestation that I refer to as resisting with rather than against the state. "Resisting with the state" does not suggest that peasant and state interests and goals are aligned (this could not be further from the truth as the state is expropriating peasant land on behalf of foreign capital), but that peasants are working within the hegemonic power relations of the state to protect access to important lands. Employing data from 20 months of ethnographic field research in Laos, I show how different groups of eastern Savannakhet province near the Vietnam border have sought to protect agricultural and forest lands from expropriation by a Chinese paper-pulp company planting eucalyptus and acacia trees and a Vietnamese rubber enterprise.

### › **Succeeding in Failures: Philippine Party-List Electoral Quests and the "People's Agenda"**

Rolando Talampas *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

The February 1986 Philippine People Power Revolution at EDSA\* overthrew the 20-year rule of Ferdinand Marcos built on the basis of "constitutional authoritarianism". It gave those who fought for democratic restoration hopes for greater people's participation in state affairs but vestiges of strongman politics have continued to reside in local and national affairs.

As the failure of sought after political and economic reforms has continued to fuel mass disenchantment and sympathies for the fight for people's agenda, leaders of people's organizations have organized party-list groups to throw their hats into the electoral fray, hoping against hope that small reforms may come their way. But party-list groups from the genuinely marginalized sectors and classes, with or without elections, mount campaigns to educate the public, enjoin them into actual mobilizations, and serve notice that the spirit of EDSA 1986 could not be wished away even with the resurgence of populist authoritarianism in very recent years.

By focusing on the analyses by the party-list groups of the national and local political and economic situations and relating these with the 'people's agenda' in the midst of right-wing populist authoritarianism, this paper argues that a protracted stalemate could possibly incubate a pre-EDSA 1986-like scenario but not a bloodless one.

# Cultural Strategies and Political Challenges in Southeast Asian Queer and Trans Communities

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Peter A. Jackson <i>Australian National University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Peter A. Jackson <i>Australian National University</i>

## ABSTRACT

This regionally comparative, cross disciplinary panel of four paper presentations will focus on some of the key political and cultural challenges facing lesbian, gay, trans and queer (LGBTQ) communities across Southeast Asia today. It will also explore some of the cultural and other strategies that gender and sexual minorities and their allies in the region and internationally draw upon in resisting minoritisation and attempting to establish safe and secure spaces for Southeast Asian LGBTQ people within often homophobic and transphobic social and political settings. The paper presentations will concentrate on the contemporary situations in the Philippines and Indonesia, while the chair/discussant will provide comparative viewpoints from the perspective of LGBTQ communities in mainland Southeast Asia. Our panel will include scholars from Southeast Asia, Europe and Australia and disciplinary perspectives will include political and cultural history, anthropology as well as literature and cultural studies.

## PAPERS

### › A Lexicon of Beloved Men: Genderqueer/Transfeminine Perspectives on Masculinity in Current LGBTQ Vernacular Poetry in the Philippines

Jaya Jacobo *University of the Philippines*

How do genderqueer/transfeminine poets writing in the languages of the Philippine archipelago craft their poetic personas in relation to their amorous objects, particularly, men? This paper seeks to intuit the lover's discourse that can be assembled from the 1st GlobalGRACE (Gender and Cultures of Equality)-University of the Philippines National LGBTQ Writers Workshop held in the monsoon of 2018. Close reading poems written in Tagalog/Filipino, Bikol, Rinconada, and Kinaray-a, I explore the various ways in which gender and sexuality are interrogated when these categories are traversed in the imagination of genderqueer/transfeminine romance, particularly when "beloved men" (lalaking mahal) are troped in a certain way, that is, from the Philippine dispositions of "bakla", "bading", "bayot", "binabae", and "agi." What happens to the predicament of violence and the terms of toxicity which overdetermine the Filipino male before the revision of his image in genderqueer/transfeminine poetics? Does their/her persona let the beloved man speak? If so, what kinds of Filipino masculinities are narrated and described in such a queer/trans opportunity? And finally, what then becomes of love (pagmamahal/pag-ibig/gugma/pagkamoot/pagpadangat) in these poetic engagements?

### › Exploring Queer Models of Affective Companionship and Solidary with LGBTQ Allies in (and Beyond) the Philippines

Mark Johnson *University of London*

Kate Ramil *De La Salle University*

The idea and concept of LGBTQ allies is now widely recognised and discussed in the context of North America especially. It commonly refers to cis gendered / heterosexual women and men who challenge forms of queer/transphobia and support publically gender and sexual equalities. While there is a growing body of literature to suggest that active and visible allies within educational institutions are associated with more inclusive and safer spaces for LGBTQ+ people there are also critical voices that raise questions about whether and how putative allies and alliances simultaneously reinforce systems of hetero / cis gendered privilege and elide critical differences between people in terms of what is at stake in their commitments to and participation in equality practices.

In this paper we want to ask a different but related set of questions about how the concept of queer allies travel and circulate beyond its North American contexts and within the Philippines in particular. How might the premises of queer & cis / heterogendered allies be troubled by different regimes of various eroticised genders? In what ways might the notion of queer – straight alliances stabilise rather than contribute to the undoing of categorical boundaries that produce the conditions of possibility for socially differentiated subject positions? Finally, what alternative models of affective companionship and solidarity might be imagined?

### › Indonesia's Two Sexual Moral Panics Compared: 1965 and 2018

Saskia Wieringa *University of Amsterdam*

In 1965 the first sexual moral panic was created in Indonesia: the slander that communist women would have castrated and killed army generals. This moral panic served to help legitimize the rise to power of General Suharto and incited militias to murder possibly one million people. Since late 2015 another sexual moral panic is raging. It is again directed from above by political and religious elites. This time the LGBT community is targeted. Though same-sex relations between consenting adults has never been criminalized, and Indonesia has been known as relatively tolerant of homosexuality, raids on gay saunas and bars are held, and lesbian couples evicted from their boarding houses. Activists are targeted, foreign funding is blocked, and anti-LGBT legislation is being prepared. In this paper I

will compare both campaigns, discuss the political and religious motivations behind them, as well as the underlying patriarchal forms of heteronormativity.

➤ **Timidity and Excess: The Postconfessional Poetry of Young Filipino LGBTQs**

Jose Neil Carmelo Garcia *University of the Philippines*

The GlobalGRACE-University of the Philippines National LGBTQ Writers Workshop took place in July of 2018. Focusing on the genre of poetry, it was the first in a four-year series of competitive and national workshops devoted to LGBTQ creative writing by young Filipino LGBTQs. This paper seeks to examine the aesthetic strategies deployed in the anglophone poetry suites from this workshop under the rubric of postconfessionalism. This critical term refers to a kind of self-aware poesis or “making,” in which the confessional “I,” the anguished “self” who expresses and unbosoms a personal shame, is understood to be the performative effect of the repetitive citation of the confessional norm, and it is this very performativity that produces the illusion of autobiographical self-presence. Hence, postconfessionalism is a deliberate kind of autobiographical writing, that understands the confessional lyric in terms not of experiential accuracy, but rather of the artistically realized simulation of the supposedly faithful relationship between life and art. As a literary form, the postconfessional poem willfully aspires to create powerful personal fictions or “myths”—in this case, of the LGBTQ self—couched in lyric expressions that may be seen to oscillate between timidity or understatement on one hand, and excess or hyperbole on the other. A close historicist reading of the poems will suggest the possible reasons why these are the expressions being favored by young Filipino LGBTQ poets today.

.....

## **Transnational Living, Cross-Border Connections and Socially Embedded Exchanges Between Thailand and Europe ②**

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Paul Statham <i>University of Sussex</i> Sirijit Sunanta <i>Mahidol University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Patraporn Chuenglertsiri <i>University of Sussex</i>

**ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

**PAPERS**

➤ **Social and Cultural Capital in Thai Migrant Service-Based Entrepreneurship in the UK**

Sirijit Sunanta *Mahidol University*

This paper examines Thai migrant entrepreneurship in the UK, drawing on 17 interviews with Thai migrants in Brighton, East Sussex. The findings reveal that Thai migrants tend to own small-scale businesses or provide personal services in three sectors: cleaning and care work, beauty and massage, and food and catering. Thai businesses are becoming more flexible and informal in the lightly regulated business environment in the UK. Migrants’ higher educational level and social class backgrounds before migration do not necessarily translate into an advantage in starting a business in the UK. On the contrary, pre-existing family networks in the UK and marriage to UK nationals constitute important sources of social capital for migrant entrepreneurs. Thai businesses focusing on food, clean and care, and bodily services respond to the demand for affordable paid care services in more economically advanced but time poor society. Thai-ness is mobilized as a cultural capital that adds value to services provided by Thais.

➤ **Socio-Economic Implications of Long-Term Western Migrants on Local Society: A Case Study of Pattaya, Thailand**

Kwanchanok Jaisuekun *Mahidol University*

Thailand has long been a popular tourist destination. Nowadays, the country is becoming even more popular as a desirable long-stay destination, especially for those from Western countries. Thailand has received an increasing number of Western migrants, which includes expatriates, retirees, entrepreneurs, and those married to Thais. This phenomenon has captured media as well as academic attention. However, the effects of this migration on Thailand as the destination country have not been sufficiently discussed. This study aims to examine the perceptions of local residents towards socio-economic implications of long-term Western migrants on local society. Pattaya, a beach resort in Eastern Thailand, is selected as a case study as it is one of the most popular residential destinations for Western migrants in Thailand. This study adopts participant observation, semi-structured interviews and document analysis as primary methods that are used as a complimentary data collection strategy. This research discusses the impacts of Western migrants in Thailand using development theory and its relation with tourism and migration as a key theoretical framework. Preliminary findings reveal that the local population benefit from economic development that accompanies the arrival of Western migrants in the city.

However, they are also negatively affected by the inflated property price and privatization of public services. The local way of life has been changed as a result of increasing diversity generated by this migration from wealthier countries.

➤ **The Transnational, the Transgenerational and the Transcendental: Thai Migrant Women in Their Buddhist Social Spaces in Belgium**

Asuncion Fresnoza-Flot *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

The migration of Thai women in Europe has been characterised by its strong matrimonial orientation. Belgium is one of the destinations of these women who arrive in this country to mainly form a couple and eventually a family with a Belgian man. The number of Thai restaurants, massage salons and Thai Buddhist temples in this society attests to the increasing presence of Thai migrants. Based on semi-structured interviews and observations in Thai religious spaces, this presentation unveils the different significations of religious associative life of Thai migrant women in Belgium. The first signification can be qualified as “transnational” as these women frequent a Thai temple to reinforce their links with their country of origin and to provide a symbolic reference to their ethnic identification. The second sense can be described as “transgenerational” as their participation in different activities in the temple facilitates their transmission of cultural and religious values to their children. Finally, their religious associative life has “transcendental” meaning, because it invigorates their spirituality and improve their understanding of the profane world. All these significations reflect the often-challenging situation of Thai migrant women in Belgium, who usually find themselves facing various social and familial expectations “here” and/or “there”.

.....

## Islam and Capitalism in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia

LOCATION Room 1.204  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENER Viola Thimm *University of Hamburg*

### ABSTRACT

Since the 1980s, capitalist processes in Asia have been occurring which are characterized by entanglements of spiritual economies, neoliberal piety and economic modernization. Malaysia has placed itself into the center of these dynamics in the 2000s by, as a “halal hub,” setting worldwide standards for different economic spheres according to syariah law (halal economy). With so called Islamic Tourism, halal cosmetic and fashion products and particularly with a halal-certification system, Malaysia has complemented the “spiritual center of Islam” – Mecca and Medina – with an economic Islamic center. Initiatives and corporate bodies in Singapore and Indonesia follow these dynamics: Singapore’s strategic location serves as a significant factor for the potential growth of its halal industry and Indonesia with the largest Muslim population in the world has, in turn, the largest potential for halal consumption. This panel invites presentations that deal with the rising Islamic economies in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia and its complex negotiation processes between religious and economic spheres. On an empirical level it can be analyzed how production and consumption of halal products are related to one another; how social actors consume these products and how the halal industry influences mobility as well as concepts and practices of gender, class, religion and ethnicity. On a theoretical level, papers can address interlinkages between the evolvement of spiritual economies and nation state building; transformations in understandings of “halal” and “haram” or the role of morality and spirituality as part of these processes.

### PAPERS

➤ **Beauty East, Beauty West: The Making of “Halal” Beauty in Indonesia**

Diah Ariani Arimbi *Universitas Airlangga*

Beauty fascinates us all, especially women, regardless of their race, social and cultural standings or religions. Not only has beauty managed to characterize women but also it has become an identity marker for them. And the media has given a powerful representation of beauty for women and girls. Through mass media, images of women and girls have bombarded us with more or less a culture that is heavily polished by pop culture, especially Western pop culture. The face in the magazines often serves the standard(ized) beauty for the readers. This paper will address the representation of female beauty in Indonesia, especially Muslim or Islamic beauty. How does Indonesian Islam see beauty as Islam constructs beauty within the parameters of faith – often termed as halal beauty - is one question this paper tries to answer. By understanding how Muslim women understand the concept of beauty and how the concept of beauty represented in the Islamic magazines, this paper also attempts to see whether there is a shift in the meaning of the concept or perception of beauty or it is merely formed by consumerism. As consumerism has been long associated with the Western world, the discussion in the paper will also comprise how the perception of beauty for Indonesian Muslim women, is indeed a social and cultural construction that is not only housed within indigenous/local Indonesian context but is also heavily influenced

by (Middle) Eastern Islamic world and the global (Western) standards. The East-West relationship seems to be pivotal in constructing Muslim beauty in Indonesia.

› **Halal Commensality Experiences in a Multireligious Society: Towards Building Social Cohesion in Malaysia**

Aiedah Abdul Khalek *Monash University*

Scholars have discovered the role of commensality in binding individuals, family and community. Existing work on commensality focuses mostly on consumers' behaviour, marketing, and various commensality practices in a community. However, there is limited academic work done on the role of halal commensality in building social cohesion among people with different religious beliefs and dietary practices. Thus, this study focuses on the collective experience of halal commensality and unpacks the experiences of the community in order to analyse the synergy of halal commensality and social cohesion in a multireligious society. Adopting a mixed method approach, survey and interviews were conducted in different cities in Malaysia to gather the findings. This study finds that practices of halal commensality link with multiple dimensions of social cohesion in a multireligious society.

› **Is Malaysia Losing Its Leadership in the Global Halal Market?**

Cedomir Nestorović *ESSEC Business School Asia Pacific*

In the domain of Islamic business, Malaysia was the most innovative country in the world. Without surprise Nestlé has established its halal hub in Malaysia and students used to come in hundreds to learn about Islamic finance at the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) or INCEIF (International Centre for Islamic Finance Education) in Kuala Lumpur. Tabung Haji was the synonym of the efficient Hajj organization and Islam Hadhari was studied at Universities and Institutes across the country.

All this came to a halt after 2009. Other countries started to challenge Malaysia's role as the leading Islamic business country. The Emirates, and especially Dubai stepped in with the creation of the DIEDC (Dubai Islamic Economy Development Center) in 2013. Dubai developed its own halal standards under the auspices of ESMA (Emirates Standardization and Metrology Authority), also in 2013. Back in Malaysia, the initiative to coordinate all halal certificates in the world under the leadership of Malaysia with the creation of IHI (International Halal Integrity Alliance) in 2007 ended lamentably in 2017.

The purpose of this paper is to address Malaysia's journey as a leading country in Islamic business and find out why and how it can lose its leadership in the halal business worldwide. More specifically we will focus on political and economic reasons for this drastic change.

› **Muslim Piety as Economy: Markets, Meaning and Morality in Southeast Asia**

Johan Fischer *Roskilde University*

This talk is about the the edited volume Muslim Piety as Economy: Markets, Meaning and Morality in Southeast Asia by Johan Fischer and Jeremy Jammes (Routledge 2019). The first volume to explore Muslim piety as a form of economy, this book examines specific forms of production, trade, regulation, consumption, entrepreneurship and science that condition – and are themselves conditioned by – Islamic values, logics and politics. With a focus on Southeast Asia as a site of significant and diverse integration of Islam and the economy – as well as the incompatibilities that can occur between the two – it reveals the production of a Muslim piety as an economy in its own right. Interdisciplinary in nature and based on in-depth empirical studies, the book considers issues such as the Qur'anic prohibition of corruption and anti-corruption reforms; the emergence of the Islamic economy under colonialism; 'halal' or 'lawful' production, trade, regulation and consumption; modesty in Islamic fashion marketing communications; and financialisation, consumerism and housing. As such, it will appeal to scholars of sociology, anthropology and religious studies with interests in Islam and Southeast Asia.

.....

## Health, Policy and Governance: Cases from Indonesia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Dicky Tahapary <i>University of Indonesia</i> Sikko Visscher <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>
DISCUSSANT	Sikko Visscher <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

› **Does Ex-Ante Moral Hazard Exist in Healthcare Indonesia?**

Ifsandiarni Soenarto Rosidin *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional (JKN), or a single-payer comprehensive universal healthcare program has been established since 2014 with the aim to provide health coverage for all Indonesians and the government paying the modest premium. This program is now facing financial difficulties to pay health bills and jeopardizing fiscal sustainability. It seems that people pay very little premium but they could receive high cost treatment. We argue people tend to have ex-ante moral hazard if there is no incentive to prevent their health once they are insured. Health insurance could determine the probability to access inpatient and outpatient care but its coefficient is underdetermined. Thus, understanding people’s behaviour towards health is crucial as it reveals demand for outpatient and inpatient cares, and hence it could affect JKN in the long run. This paper attempts to identify ex-ante moral hazard in health insurance program.

We assume the health behaviour of insured people is the same overtime so, due to data limitation, we only observe individual behaviour prior JKN era. We use Susenas 2014 to estimate demand for healthcare and unhealthy consumption. Our findings suggest health insurance with or without subsidy improves access to healthcare substantially, however, ex-ante moral hazard among insured people also exists. Unhealthy consumption has positive correlation with outpatient care after introducing insurance. We also find the probability of the insured people to consume more unhealthy food is significant higher than its counterpart. These results remain robust after controlling income, education, age, housing quality, employment status, having kids and living in urban areas. Moreover, among insured people, the subsidized members visit more frequent for outpatient care while the non-subsidized members spend more days for inpatient care. The latter is associated with elderly, wealthier and more educated people. To access inpatient care where the patients should deal with paper works, education plays important role for subsidized people. Having those findings, our main policy implication is price differentiation for basic and advance treatment is unavoidable so JKN as universal healthcare should focus on basic healthcare, health prevention and promotion supported by upgraded primary healthcare throughout Indonesia.

› **The Impact of Urbanisation on the Changing of Disease Landscape in Indonesia**

Dicky Tahapary *University of Indonesia*

Indonesia is a country in transition. The rapid socioeconomic development has led to a dramatic changes in lifestyle, as well as environment, not only in urban areas, but also to a lesser extent, in rural areas. These changes contributed to the changes of disease pattern in Indonesia, which host of more than 260 million people. Communicable diseases have previously been recognised as the main health problem in Indonesia. However, during the past few decades, non-communicable diseases (NCDs) problem has slowly surpassed the problem of communicable diseases.

It is important to note that this health problem varies across Indonesia. In a more remote area, communicable diseases are still pretty much the main problem, while in urban area NCDs are the main problem. However, with the ongoing socioeconomic development and increase in infrastructure development, these rural areas are currently marching toward a more urbanised lifestyle and environment. These changes lead to the increase of NCDs on top of the still unsolved communicable diseases problem in many rural areas of Indonesia. Thus, these rural areas are facing a more complex health problem in comparison to their urban counterparts. Furthermore, access to healthcare facilities in these rural areas are still unfortunately limited.

For example, the problem of obesity and type 2 diabetes is increasing in both rural and urban area, of which the rate of increase is even higher in some rural areas rather than urban areas. Thus, these rural areas are facing double problem of the still ongoing problem of communicable diseases and the increasing problem of NCDs. The lack of resources in these rural areas lead to a suboptimal management of both communicable diseases and NCDs, which then lead to a higher morbidity and mortality.

Taken together, the government should put a more emphasize on increasing the awareness of NCDs problem in rural areas as well as providing an optimal health care to overcome increasing NCDs problem in rural areas. Preventive method by providing health education in term of NCDs prevention, especially to people living in rural areas, might potentially halt the increasing problem of NCDs in Indonesia.

.....

**“Worlding Sites”: Globalized Visions and Material Constructions of Future Southeast Asia 2**

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Monika Arnez <i>University of Hamburg</i> Silvia Vignato <i>Università di Milano-Bicocca</i>

ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

## PAPERS

### › **Building a Safe Future in Different Worlding Sites: From Batam, a Failed Industrial Project, to Malang, Where Returnees Farm Cash Crops and Work in Services**

Giacomo Tabacco *University of Naples L'Orientale*

In this paper, I will explore the aesthetic, moral and material constructions of the future in two Indonesian localities that are socio-economically adjacent; Batam (a failed industrial worlding project), and the region of Malang, home to many migrant factory workers and a major locality for dismissed returnees from Batam. With the relentless demise of technologically advanced and value-capturing industry, Batam transformed into a low-tech production center, where machines and infrastructures haven't been upgraded since the 1990s, and the workforce and capital decrease little by little. Hit by global contingencies and market rivalries, Batam consists today of a transforming worlding site where what should remain unseen in a neo-liberal regime is often easily seen; abandoned plants and shipping yards, deserted dormitories, empty shopping malls, eroded coastlines, and unemployed wanderers all over. The region of Malang, for its part, became a vibrant worlding site of new speculative experiments in cash cropping and food processing by former factory workers (now in their 40s) and their offspring. Central to my analysis are the ideas of a good and safe future that people who were exposed to a worlding site par excellence as Batam elaborate when neoliberal urbanization and industrialization don't deliver. From what I gathered during recent fieldwork, bureaucrats, migrant workers and new generations often embrace ideas that are intrinsically global: they call for State and large corporations' intervention, embark upon very capitalistic and market oriented small-scale farming (in Malang), and aspire to infrastructural, political and existential modernity. At the same time, however, people also question these mainstream worlding repertoires; they acknowledge hopes are usually disconnected from reality, life trajectories are often marked by recurrent existential and economic failures, and the social capital they rely upon is ultimately fragile.

### › **Smallholders, Farmers and Environmentalists: Small Oil Palm Plantations as Meaningful Spaces**

Giulia Zaninelli *Università di Milano-Bicocca*

Based on my previous fieldwork for the master thesis in the province of Aceh and my current research Phd project in the province of Riau (Sumatra, Indonesia), I will show how environmental NGOs shape rural workspaces through public narratives.

The small oil palm plantation become a space where it is possible to identify a friction between global market dynamics and "glocal" environmental protection visions and where the personal and collective ambitions, hopes and dreams are shaped. On the one hand, the small oil palm plantation represents the target-space for green environmental projects conceived in a citizen elsewhere far from rural areas; on the other hand, it is possible from the small oil palm plantation to think of an upturn of the agricultural site as a space for designing a more measured, more "sustainable", more environmental-friendly agro-economic future. Using the data I will collect during fieldwork in Riau I will analyze how small oil palm plantation, a non-urban space, build the imaginary and the practices of the future through a continuous friction between the developing ideology that re-signify the agricultural spaces and the environmental protection vision.

### › **"Worlding School Gardens": Contested Values of Education and Land Usage in Timor Leste**

Thomas Stodulka *Freie Universität Berlin*

Within a broader scope of anthropological research on transnational dimensions of education and learning, this paper focuses on the unique pathways of public education in Timor Leste. It focusses on the young nation's unique primary school curriculum that is designed around the transnationally travelling concept of permaculture, which promotes children's ecological, historical and cultural awareness and responsibility vis-à-vis postcolonial identity formation, citizenship and their usage of the land. I intend to discuss permaculture's potentials to contribute to large-scale transformations within the realms of national and local economies, environmental and social justice, and the shaping of children's bodies and minds to provide them with skills that oscillate between imagined both local and cosmopolitanized futures. This paper also attends to the question as to why the globally circulating ideas of permaculture, school gardening, sustainable learning principles and land usage fall on particular fertile grounds in Timor Leste as nationalized 'worlding site' subject to various kinds of economic, political and other heterotopias.

---

## Sickness and the City in Vietnam ②

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Sara Ann Swenson <i>Syracuse University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

PAPERS

› **Cognitive Behavioral Therapy in Post-Reform Ho Chi Minh City**

Allen Tran *Bucknell University*

This paper examines the role of writing technologies and literacy practices in the construction of emerging forms of subjectivity and affect in psychological counseling centers in post-reform Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. Popular interest in affective life and the psy-disciplines in Vietnam has increased dramatically since marketizing reforms were implemented in 1986. The earliest psychotherapeutic services in Ho Chi Minh City provided concrete and instrumental advice and encouraged proper morality according to established work and family roles. However, the growing influence of cognitive-behavioral therapy (CBT) has made counseling centers the site of a reconfiguration of the interior self. While many clients prefer CBT's customizable focus on problematic behaviors over psychoanalysis' more comprehensive approach, the very work of self-compartmentalization requires a broader questioning of personal and cultural identity as counselors negotiate the cultural forms that assist and resist the application and internalization of CBT principles. I argue that psychotherapeutic knowledge is made intimate through writing highly formatted and scripted accounts of people's anxieties.

› **Displacing Disease: Political Economies of Blame in Hanoi**

Martha Lincoln

In Vietnam, as elsewhere in the world, disease is a potentially significant ideological resource: grounds for the construction of political imaginaries, a vehicle for the expression of nationalist interests, a means for the state to project a particularly constituted body politic, and a venue for the expression of social deservingness and desireability. For individuals and families that experience disease, however, the situation is more complex. The illness narratives told by patients to explain the origins and phenomenology of ill health often express political perspectives; at the same time, the lived experience of illness entails suffering, stigma, economic burden, and other forms of social disadvantage. This paper draws on outbreak narratives (Wald 2007) and illness narratives (Kleinman 1988) that I gathered in Hanoi during a cholera outbreak, arguing that struggles over the origins of cholera and other diseases expressed a complex and contested politics around economic and cultural inclusion in contemporary Vietnam. I contrast perspectives of state and other official agencies with the commentary of affected individuals, showing how members of both the state and urban households made moral claims with their efforts to displace culpability for disease.

› **Micro-Charity and the Ethics of Cancer in Ho Chi Minh City**

Sara Ann Swenson *Syracuse University*

Ho Chi Minh City's Oncology Hospital is a popular site for charity services in Vietnam. While charity projects may include a range of activities – including sponsoring medicine or subsidizing treatment for individual patients – the projects I observed during eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork were focused on small food and gift donations. Examples of donations included home-cooked meals and envelopes of lucky money before the Lunar New Year. In conversations with volunteers about their motivations for making these micro-scale donations of time, food, or money on a semi-weekly or monthly basis, many volunteers mentioned the desire to create blessings (tao phuoc duc) in order to protect their own health or the health of family members. Causes of cancer were often framed as ethical failings. Greed, anger, or selfishness are said to manifest themselves in bodily sickness. These manifestations of what Julia Cassaniti calls “moral emotions” occur not only on an individual plane, but as reflections of global politics. Cancer rates in Vietnam are often credited to corruption in food quality oversight, or greed among Chinese farmers growing exports. This paper explores perceptions of personal ethics, the state, and global affairs at the point of exchange between charity volunteers and cancer patients.

.....

## Organization and Social Movement of Fishers in Indonesia

LOCATION Room 1.405  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENER Rilis Kinseng *Bogor Agricultural University*

ABSTRACT

With more than 17,000 islands, Indonesia is known as the biggest archipelagic nation in the world. Indonesia is also known as a maritime state since about 75% of its territory comprise of sea. Blessed with rich marine resources, there are many people who live in coastal areas work as fishers. In 2016, for example, there were 2,643,902 fishers in Indonesia.

Under the New Order era of President Suharto, most of fisher's organizations were introduce and established “from above”. Their role was also mainly to deliver government program and agenda. At that time, the *Himpunan Nelayan Seluruh Indonesia* (HNSI) or “All Indonesian Fisher Association” was the main fisher organization that existed. In some places, there were also Fisher's Cooperative Organization (KUD) existed. However, since the fall of the New Order in 1998, there seem to be many fisher organizations established by the fishers themselves or by NGO's. In line with that, fishers also become more often express their interests in the public sphere, such as meeting local government and parliament as well

as demonstration. In other words, fishers become more active conducting social movement to pursue their interests. Until now, study about the organization and social movement among fishers in Indonesia after the fall of the New Order is still very limited.

Based on the description above, it is very important to study the organization and social movement of fishers in Indonesia. For that reason, in 2018 (first year), we have already conducted study regarding organization and social movement of fishers in Indonesia. The study was conducted in Lamongan (East Java), Pati and Tegal (Central Java), Indramayu (West Java), and in Jakarta (DKI Jakarta). If everything goes well (approved), the study will be ended by the year 2020.

## PAPERS

### › Narrative on “Cantrang” by Fisherfolk Social Movement Organizations in Indonesia

Rilus Kinseng *Bogor Agricultural University*

Sarwititi Sarwoprasodjo *Bogor Agricultural University*

Indonesia’s government has banned the use of cantrang by fishermen in Indonesia in 2015, which drove a massive protest rally by fishermen in Indonesia. Even though government provided aids for cantrang fishermen, best solution has not yet been achieved. The purpose of this study is to explain the use of narrative theory by fishermen organization and social movement in Indonesia as a communication strategy in building rationality about the legalization of cantrang. Using qualitative methodology, 25 members of fishermen social movement organizations from four district (Indramayu, Tegal, Pati, and Lamongan) throughout West Java until East Java were interviewed. This study showed that fishermen social movement organizations used provocative narrative approach in their communication strategy to its members and to government, where social movement organizations blame the current Minister of Maritime and Fisheries Affairs to provoke a policy review on cantrang legalization

.....

## Southeast Asia’s “Creative Turn”: Reconfiguring Power and Partnership

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Deirdre McKay <i>Keele University</i> Laurie Parsons <i>Royal Holloway, University of London</i>
DISCUSSANT	Malcolm Smith <i>Universitas Sanata Dharma</i>

### ABSTRACT

From shadow puppetry to contemporary dance, film to fine art, Southeast Asian culture is loved and lauded the world over. But cultural production is never easily disentangled from the political context which it generates and shapes and vice versa. From colonial representations of the other to the security-driven cultural agenda of ASEAN, culture has long been an instrument of Southeast Asian nation-building, deployed as a way of ‘integrating social, political, artistic, and cosmic order’ (Roxas-Lim, 2005: 1). When creative methods and cultural production appear at the forefront of new modes of marketing, opinion-shaping, collaborative research, and development outreach driven by interests in the global North, it is time to interrogate what this emphasis on creativity may mean.

In the current era of economic boom, rising inequality, and tightening authoritarianism, what the ‘creative turn’ means for Southeast Asia raises a series of pressing questions. While Southeast Asia’ current cultural effluence is lauded, there may be a ‘dark side’ to it and the creativity that sustains it (Cropley et al., 2010: 1) for those living in the region. Do creative approaches to art, dance, theatre, film, sculpture, music and digital production play a role in processes that fuel inequality or justify authoritarian regimes? Who can harness ‘creative power’? Do the processes and products of creativity in Southeast Asia drive some people apart and pull others together? How are creative methods being called upon to interpret the current situation in Southeast Asian nations?

Questions of creativity and collaborative partnership are increasingly coming to the fore with shifting expectations of research funders and development agencies. Southeast Asianists thus need to think carefully about the role of creativity - broadly understood - plays in their research collaborations. What does it mean, in practice, to co-create research? Southeast Asian academics, governments, and colleagues in the third and creative sector find themselves increasingly asked to engage research design focussed on creative processes and outcomes intended to deliver social impact. Does this new emphasis on creativity work to decolonise research relationships? Or is the creative turn generating new risks, expectations, obligations, and forms of bureaucracy that have the effect of undermining equitable partnerships?

We invite papers that reflect on how creative methods structure relationships and narratives in research and governance. This reflection could encompass co-created projects using innovative approaches to film, theatre, art, digital media, dance, photography and exhibitions. We especially encourage perspectives from scholars who have experience as research partners in Southeast Asian institutions and charities.

## PAPERS

### › **Counter mappings and Cartographic Acts of Revision in a Brutal Lifeworld**

Joseph Palis *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

In 2010 Denis Wood argued: "...[A]mong counter-mapping strategies, none mounts the assault on the prerogatives of professional mapmakers that map art does, art ... made as, with, or about maps" (2010, 189; emphasis in original). This presentation discusses processual practices of countermapping in the Philippines: art maps which are reconfigurations and re-assemblies of 'official' maps whose creation and authentication were legitimized by hegemonic state power to represent the modern nation-state. In the case of Filipino artist Cian Dayrit's countermapped art works, these are interventions that interrogate the role of state power in standardizing and legitimizing a specific and particular brand of nationalism. Dayrit's cartographically-informed art incorporates maps that destabilize the emblem of imperial and colonial power. Likewise, the art works of Annie Lumbao, Mars Bugaoan and Mark Salvatus embody the emotional and affective geographies of urban subalterns who navigate the labyrinth of institutionally and discursively violent terrains of Metro Manila. The maps provide an alternative representation of geoaffective dislocations and institutionalized marginalization due to spatial elitism. I argue that these cartographic efforts and interventionist art maps assist in destabilizing commonly-held cartographic imaginations that were shaped and reinforced by normalized state violence abetted by vestiges of colonial legacies in the Philippines.

### › **Decorating Duterte: Development and "Dark" Creativity in the Filipino Diaspora**

Deirdre McKay *Keele University*

This contribution reflects on experiences of deploying a curatorial research methodology based on co-created community art. Our project, *Curating Development*, explored Filipino migrants' contributions to development in the Philippines through participatory arts workshops. Arts activities in these workshops were designed to create an art exhibition, embedding research dissemination and public engagement in the creative process itself (Puwar and Sharma, 2012). Our project design anticipated our creative exhibition-making work would bring forth new ideas and inspire conversation, not generate conflict or exacerbate misunderstanding. The creative process we developed was simple: workshop participants applied collage techniques to selected social media images to illustrate their contributions to development 'back home.' The resulting collages revealed much to celebrate, but also showed migrants' ambivalence about fractured family relations, contested political loyalties, and fraught personal histories. Even viewing art celebrating the Philippines controversial current president, Duterte, participants were reluctant to discuss the conflicts made visible by their art in the workshop space.

Using the concept of 'dark' creativity (Cropley et al, 2010), we explore why we decided to exhibit these problematic artworks. We reflect on the ways our exhibition design shaped the wider stories being told. Our creative methods for research co-production, and those for creative geographical research more broadly, need a stronger methodological grasp this 'dark' creativity as generative of critical insight, rather than something to be repressed, discarded and hidden. A more robust and ethical approach to research collaborations should anticipate dark creativity as a vital part of the creative research process.

### › **Performing Male Sexuality: Artistic Contrivance, Political Economy, Institutional Limitations on Macho Dancing**

Michael Pastor *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

Macho dancing, is performed in gay bars, in key urban Philippine cities, where male dancers rely on body capital for social mobility in a neoliberal economy (Tolentino, 2009). Male sexuality in macho dance has been utilized for artistic, entertainment, and marketing purposes. Research on the topic is limited and sensitive due to its oblique connection to prostitution, which has been the focus on existing literatures. The creative and burlesque aspects of macho dancing have been engaged only recently (Pastor, 2014; 2017). In macho dancing, the relationship between creativity and political economy informs the production of fantasies and sexual experiences between the "abject" male dancers and "well-off" patrons and guest, with business agents (managers and owners) as intermediaries. This dynamic raises questions about exploitation and ethics, which are informed by moralistic biases, despite the methodological concern and focus on creativity.

Given these concerns, this research aims to nuance the relationships of masculinity, male body, aesthetics, and representation in the works of Eisa Jocson, a female contemporary performance artist, visual paraphernalia by gay bars through the use of social media, and the case of Dante Gulapa, a former macho dancer who popularized macho dancing on Facebook. These instances have taken macho dancing outside of its usual performance contexts but also demonstrate institutional limitations in areas of creative work. Analysis of these cases also aims to unmask and critique power relations within academic institutions regarding the research on sexualized forms of labor and how these indicate sexual inequality in Philippines as a whole. Lastly, this paper explores how macho dancing, as a creative and economic activity, evolved from its emergence during the Marcosian period up (Tolentino, 2009) to the Duterte administration.

### › **The Ghost in the Machine: Spiritual Practice, Destiny and Coercion in Cambodia**

Laurie Parsons *Royal Holloway, University of London*

From shrines nestled against brick-forming machines, to hand-drawn pictures of the Buddha on the factory wall, creative acts of faith and religious belief are infused into the fabric of industry in Cambodia. The creation and placement of shrines and religious imagery

provides a link between the harsh and unpredictable reality of the workplace and a spiritual world in which actions and events are the product of human and more-than-human intent.

By focusing on the country's brick factories and their labouring bodies, this paper goes beyond previous studies centred on spirituality in the workplace, to consider the kiln both as a site of creative escape and an affirmation of life beyond the self. Yet it aims also to show the dark side of these creative endeavours, demonstrating how brick kiln owners, local authorities and even monks actively articulate creative acts through recourse to Buddhist notions of merit, character, and destiny.

Thus, by collapsing fixed categories of embodied and spiritual actions, this paper problematises physically-grounded ontologies of labour, emphasising instead the significance of the spiritual in structuring labour and its constraints. In doing so, it emphasises not only 'the central role that spirits play in everyday life in Cambodia, mediating land/labour relations between corporations, villagers, and the state' (Beban and Work, 2014: 594), but conversely also the role of (im)mobility in creating spiritual life through its delineation and enforcement of imagined and actual boundaries.

.....

## Performing Sumatra Through Cultural Heritage 2

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Alan Darmawan <i>University of Hamburg</i> Jan van der Putten <i>University of Hamburg</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Raja Ali Haji and Contemporary Cultural Production in Riau Islands: Malay Heritage Performance in Film, Museums and Art Festivals

Alan Darmawan *University of Hamburg*

Political decentralization in Indonesia has led to several ramifications in the social and cultural fields. New provinces came into being and take part in redefining identity for more local interests. Within this context, Sumatra appears as a unit of cultural realm differing itself from dominant Javanese culture and identity. Several efforts have been initiated to weave provinces on the island to step forward as a community. Malayness revives as a shared imagination and overarching concept, which is adopted as identity by most of provinces in Sumatra. Instead of being a final form, Malayness is being shaped by linking the provinces through series of conferences, customary society forums and art festivals.

In these circumstances, Riau Islands engage in such a network and present Malayness as identity of the province. These attempts stimulate a revival of tradition and reinvention of heritage. The historical presence of the nineteenth-century Riau-Lingga sultanate provides the local authorities with an ideal form of Malay civilization, which is being revived to obtain an ambition as the center of the Malay world. Literary works are thought to indicate the paramount of cultural life, which is regarded to have necessarily contributed to the formation of Indonesian national language. Among the illustrious Malay authors from the age, Raja Ali Haji is respectfully placed in the center of circle of literati. The province has exerted much efforts to promote this Malay scholar as national hero and his works as source for recent art productions.

This paper deals with the re-production of narratives about Raja Ali Haji and one of his works, the Malay poem gurindam dua belas. His name appears in every-day life as the name of several places and objects. Museum displays representations, and a film embodies his biography. Youngsters and school children appropriate the poem through music production and verbal art staged in art contests and festivals at school or held by local government. These cases show that Raja Ali Haji gains a key position in Malay language and literary tradition, and as one of the symbols of Malayness in Sumatra. This paper argues that the revival of literary work materializes in art production, as one of means to perform Malayness, which is one of configurations shaping the image of Sumatra.

## Pathways to Agricultural Development in Postcolonial Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Karin Bugow <i>Jacobs University</i> Sebastiaan Broere <i>University of Amsterdam</i>
DISCUSSANT	Marc Frey <i>Bundeswehr University Munich</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › **A Stalled Transition: Rethinking Rural Development in Myanmar's Ayeyarwady Delta Through a Historical Food Regimes Frame**

Mark Vicol *Wageningen University*

The contemporary policy narrative surrounding rural development in Myanmar's Ayeyarwady Delta emphasizes the potential of smallholder inclusion in integrated agri-food value chains to achieve pro-poor growth. This paper challenges the appropriateness of this development model for the Ayeyarwady Delta. Assumptions of latent growth potential among a smallholder agricultural class fundamentally misinterpret the ways that farming is embedded within the Delta's regional economy. Adopting a long historical perspective informed by the food regimes approach, we reveal a contemporary conjuncture in the Delta that signals a 'stalled agrarian transition'. We argue that this is a path-dependent legacy of how the Delta's place-embedded agricultural production systems have been successively incorporated into global circuits of food production and trade. These arrangements have left the Delta without a latent smallholder class 'in waiting' for development, meaning that policies that prioritize value chain development are unlikely to generate the type of pro-poor outcomes that are required to address the widespread poverty and food insecurity in the Delta. Instead, a rural development agenda for the Delta should focus on its actually-existing social and economic dynamics that are a legacy of its history.

#### › **Global Value Chains and the State: Shifting Development Pathways in the Indonesian Coffee Sector**

Jeffrey Neilson *University of Sydney*

The last thirty years has witnessed a significant shift in many sites across Southeast Asia away from a state-led agricultural development model towards what might be considered a value chain model of development. This is certainly true in commodity sectors such as coffee. While the crop was one of the first to be introduced to Java during the colonial period and so has a long and contentious history in the islands, it experienced a massive boom in the post-colonial era when the development of export crops was afforded strategic significance by the state. The period since the collapse of a quota regime in 1989, however, has been characterised by the general retreat of state involvement and the rising influence of global lead firms operating through global value chains. These private sector actors, and the broader industry platforms they have constructed, are now the leading source of technologies and extension support for farmers in the coffee sector. This paper will discuss the importance of this shift in influence over farm practices and reflect upon the implications for (contested) notions of rural and agricultural development in contemporary Southeast Asia.

#### › **Technological Coloniality from Plantations to Budget Airlines in the Malay Archipelago**

Wei Yi Leow *National University of Singapore*

Questioning the essence of technology penetrates beyond technical aspects to reveal socially constructed meanings arising from the creation and use of technology. Experts, owners and users, and conversely non-experts, non-owners and non-users, of technology develop social relations with one another on the basis of their access to, or mastery of, the technology in question. Unequal relations vis a vis technology produce power relations that are captured in narratives that deepen over time. In the colonial period, the perceived mastery of technology by Euro-Americans fed a particular narrative about the consequent alleged shortcomings of the 'natives' concerning the same technology. Such relations fed into the coloniality of power that held the Euro-Americans to be superior even to the present, nominally 'post-colonial' age. Two cases situated specifically in the Malay Archipelago, and more broadly in the Global South, illustrate the persistence of coloniality: the claim made by Boeing that Indonesian pilots and airlines were responsible for the 2019 crash of Lion Air Flight 610 in spite of design problems inherent in the 737 MAX aircraft, and the failure of the state-sponsored rubber research organisation in British Malaya from 1928 to 1946 to serve colonial subjects despite an avowed mission to do so.

## Everyday Justice in Myanmar 2

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Helene Maria Kyed <i>Danish Institute for International Studies</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Ardeth Thawngmung <i>University of Massachusetts Lowell</i> Dhammasami Linkara <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Are We so Different? Inter-Religious Collaboration in a Rural Karen-Muslim Village in Hpa-An Township

Than Pale *University of Yangon*

'Identity politics' play a significant role in both violent and non-violent conflicts, and yet identity construction is increasingly understood as fluid (Butler 1990), and the role of ethnicity and religion in both self-identity and othering are important. Thus, identity is multi-layered and can shift according to context and time. Recent communal violence in Myanmar has been framed primarily as an ethnic/religious conflict. This assumes, however, the primacy of ethnic and religious aspects of identity - a point which, this paper challenges. This paper explores how Karen and Muslim collaborate in disputes resolution process in rural Karen-Muslim village, situated in Hpa-An township in Karen State. Based on ethnographic research during 2016-2018, this paper explores how Muslim and Buddhist residents of the same Karen village in Hpa-An State, despite being from different religions, settle local disputes and deal with community security through mutual collaboration. I use two in-depth case studies - one about public disturbance by young people drinking in the Muslim area and one theft case in the Karen area - to illustrate this collaboration. The case also shows how Karen ethnic armed group actors support the village leaders in resolving problems. Muslims have lived in this village for over one hundred years, and Muslim men have been involved in village leadership since then. In addition, the Muslims can speak Karen language and have good communication with the Karen Buddhists. Muslims also participate jointly with the Buddhist Karen in social activities like celebrating the Karen New Year and sharing food at ceremonies. In this case, self-identity is derived more from a sense of locality and place (being born and living in the same village) rather than from ethnic or religious aspects. This provides a common identity which is enacted and reinforced through their collaboration in dispute resolution. Despite growing ethnic and religious tension in Myanmar, this communal identity and its application to dispute resolution has enabled the two religious communities to live peacefully together and avoid larger conflict. This kind of identity construction, and its expression in everyday justice, offers a hopeful paradigm for different kinds of legal pluralism, where belonging is defined by your locality, and not by ethnicity or religion.

#### › The Shadow Power of Armed Actors: Justice Seeking Practices in a Rural Pa-O Self-Administrated Zone

Mi Thang Sorn Poine *Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation*

This paper explores everyday justice seeking strategies and security practices in a rural Pa-O village, which have been under the mix-controlled of the Pa-O national organization (PNO) and the self-administrated zone's government since 2011. Based on fieldwork in 2017 and follow up in 2018, we show that the area is characterised by legal pluralism. Until the PNO and its armed wing, the Pa-O National Army (PNA), signed a ceasefire in 1991, people in the area utilized only village principles to deal with disputes and crimes. Today there is both collaboration between and a separation of the following: the Pa-O village system, the PNO/PNA and the Myanmar state, including its village leadership system and its justice system. In addition, this pluralism is influenced by the overall political system of the SAZ and the armed group. We argue that due to the long history of armed conflict followed by ceasefire, men with guns still, in the shadow of, underneath and beneath, the plural system influence how crimes and disputes are addressed. This is not very open, but when people complain about land confiscations and drug problems, they always fear the armed men. We draw on two cases to illustrate this point, and to show how the men with guns influence the security situation. The PNO/PNA is generous and represents the Pa-O people, by giving them land and security, but they are also exploitative by taking land and selling drugs. So overall, the history of armed conflict and the continuity of armed actors influence what problems the villagers have and how they are able to resolve the problems.

#### › The Strength of Customary Justice Practices in the Changing Political and Social Landscape of the Naga Self-Administered Zone

Myat The Thitsar *Enlightened Myanmar Research Foundation*

This paper explores the role of customary law and legal practices of Naga tribal groups in Laeshi Township, which is one of the townships included in the Naga Self-administered Zone in northwest Myanmar. The paper is based on qualitative fieldwork in mid-2017 and early 2018. The study found that the customary legal practices are still important part of different Naga tribal groups in terms of dispute resolutions at different levels, from the blood-related household groups (Pha-thar Su) to the district administrative-level. In addition, the study observed significant trends of institutionalizing the customary law and legal practices, which form part of an effort to maintain ethnic identity in the changing political and social landscape. In the 1990s the Naga ethnic leaders organized the Naga culture and literature committee central (NCLC-C), which purpose is to ensure equal and fair justice for all the different Naga tribes as well as to create a shared Naga language and literacy. Then NCLC-C codified the Naga customary law book in 2003, which can

be widely applied to deal with all kinds of crimes and disputes, including severe crimes. In this paper we argue that there are three main factors, which can help explain the continued significance of Naga customary law, including: (i) a strong sense of maintaining ethnic identity, (ii) the social-cultural structure of the Naga, namely the Pha-thar Su, which strongly nits together the Naga society from the smallest unit to the inter-tribal institutions; and; (iii) continuous mistrust in the official Myanmar state institutions. The paper presents three supportive case studies. The first case highlights how the customary legal mechanisms of the Naga contest the state legal procedures and actors. The second case study reflects how the Naga Pha-thar Su serves as an important dispute resolution mechanism in Naga communities, and the third case study observes how the customary legal practices have become hybrid in terms of its adaptation into gender sensitive perspectives and women rights, as a result of the work of civil society organizations and the Baptist church.

---

## Interculturalism and Southeast Asian Performing Arts 2

LOCATION Room 1.505  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER Margaret Coldiron *University of Essex*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Cicadas or Cockroaches? European-Southeast Asian Intercultural Performance Process and Production

Catherine Diamond *Soochow University*

The Institut Francais and Goethe Institute are among the main European government agencies promoting and fostering local arts in SE Asia. They have been active in supporting the development of certain performing troupes in lieu of local funding. They arrange for their own artists to come to the region to perform, lecture and collaborate, as well as to bring SE Asian artists to their countries to perform. They also subsidize groups that use theatre, puppetry, music, and dance to address social and environmental concerns such as sanitation, ethnic tolerance, and deforestation. They are major facilitators of intercultural work in the SE Asian region, yet such collaborations often reveal cultural difference more than commonality—both in the creative process and in the aesthetics of the final performance.

I present a general overview of Franco-German sponsorship in the SE Asian region—starting with a sublime performance “Silence of the Insects,” witnessed in Bangkok 2015 to more problematic collaborations in Malaysia, Laos, Taiwan, and Indonesia. I have previously written about the difference between collaborations initiated and carried out by the artists themselves, and those initiated by third parties such as the institutes whose financial incentives can overshadow artistic ones for the cash-strapped SE Asians. The economic disparity between the European and SE Asian participants means that the former usually dictate the parameters of the performance and more subtly influence its resulting aesthetic qualities.

#### › Islam, Art, and the Streets: Intercultural Identities in Yogyakarta

Jenifer Goodlander *Indiana University*

Arts scholar and activist Doris Sommer argues that critical thinking “is both a condition of and a complement to art-making.” She draws from the theories of Friedrich Schiller to make the bold statement that “interpreters are cultural agents who explore art as the greatest renewable resource for addressing the world’s fundamental challenges of disease, violence, and poverty.” (2013, 10-11). My work draws from ethnographic methods to explore the role of critical thinking and arts practices for social development, especially around religious expression and identity--arts making and discourses about the arts and society are inextricably linked and complementary.

This paper will be based on field research in Indonesia from approximately May 12-June 8, 2019. This period is ideal to study the intersections of religion, art, and community because it intersects with the important Muslim holiday of Ramadhan (which will be approximately May 4- June 4 in 2019). The observance of Ramadhan incorporates many arts and performances that stress Muslim identities and themes within the context of Islamic piety enacted through generosity. In spite of the holiday - artists and art spaces remain active, involving both local and foreign artists. This paper will examine how these different identities collide and complement in order to better understand intercultural formation and interactions in Indonesian art.

## Southeast Asia and Central-Eastern Europe: Forgotten Connections, Stories and Histories 2

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Jan Mrázek <i>National University of Singapore</i> Mária Strašáková <i>Palacký University Olomouc</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › A History of Misreading: The Soviet Biography of an Ethnographic Collection from North Borneo

Aleksandra Kasatkina *Kunstkamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*

Brought by German ethnologist Albert Grubauer from his expedition to British North Borneo in 1911, the ethnographic collection in question was sold to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) in St Petersburg, Russian Empire, in 1914. Early 20 century was the time of rapid and flourishing development of the Kunstkamera and of wide international contacts. After the 1917 Revolution the opportunities of contacts with research institutions abroad became limited and professional specialists in cultures of foreign Asia were constantly lacking. The inventory of the Grubauer's collection from Borneo that was completed only in 1979 is an eloquent example of how foreign Asian ethnographic items were treated under those conditions. Various employees of the Museum, of different cultural and educational backgrounds, had been preparing the document. None of them had ever been to Borneo, none of them was specialist on this particular region, and there was no Internet to help. The final inventory is full of mistakes in local place-names and words as a result of misreading the Grubauer's German-language lists, some items are defined as of unknown purpose, etc. In my presentation I would like to offer seeing this document as a product of a specific time and specific infrastructure of ethnographic knowledge. I argue that taking these flaws in descriptions as just lack of competence can be itself a misreading of history of Soviet preserving of foreign Asian cultural heritage.

#### › Czech Maverick: On the Centennial of Harry J. Benda, the Founding Father of ISEAS

Tomáš Petru *Czech Academy of Sciences*

This paper seeks to commemorate the centennial of Harry J. Benda (1919–1971), a Jew of Czechoslovak origin and a half -forgotten legend of global Southeast Asian Studies, attempting to provide an insight into his work and private life. Despite the brevity of his career, Benda tremendously contributed to the development of Southeast Asian Studies in the USA, notably Yale, and also Singapore where he served as the founding father of the ISEAS (1968-69). His personal life was also exciting, and tragically ironic. Of Jewish origin, his well-to-do father dispatched young Harry from then Czechoslovakia to save him from the Nazi threat, which landed him in the Netherlands Indies, and also a Japanese internment camp. In the end, he spent seven years in Java, which became a foundation for his expertise in Indonesia's social history. During the post-war revolutionary turmoil in Indonesia Harry had to flee again – this time to New Zealand, where he obtained two university degrees. While still in Wellington, he applied for a prestigious doctoral stipend in Southeast Asian Studies at Cornell, and the rest is history.

Benda's main research topics included the role of Islam in Indonesian society, the period of Japanese occupation, Communist movement as well as decolonization processes in Southeast Asia. He authored or co-authored a number of books and dozens of articles, with *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (1958) being his most acclaimed and quoted masterpiece. Arguably, one of his main intellectual contributions to the field was an attempt to curb the West-centric approach and highlight the "indigenous" perspective.

#### › Karl Siegfried Döhring and the Beginnings of the Study of Thai Art and Architecture in Germany

Jana Igunma *British Library*

Karl Siegfried Döhring was born in 1879 in Cologne, Germany. He passed his Abitur (German higher education entrance qualification) in 1899 in Neustettin (now Szczecinek, Poland) and moved on to study architecture at the Royal Technical College in Berlin-Charlottenburg. He graduated in 1905 and applied in the same year for a post in the Siamese civil service, where he worked for three years as an engineer in the Siamese Railway Department. Various buildings in and around Bangkok, including four royal palaces and two rail stations were designed by Döhring who was nominated the king's First Architect in 1909. Two years later, he submitted his dissertation about the Phrachedi in Siam at the Royal Saxon Technical College in Dresden and obtained his first PhD degree before he returned to Bangkok and got involved in the architectural planning of the first university in Siam, Chulalongkorn University. In 1913 he had to return to Germany permanently due to poor health, but obtained two more PhD degrees (archaeology and art history at the University Erlangen, and law at the Royal University Greifswald). His dissertation on 'Buddhist temples in Siam' (published 1920) was a milestone in the study of Thai Buddhist architecture in Germany. Other ground-breaking publications on Thai fine art, including painting, lacquer and mother-of-pearl works, ceramics, manuscript art, textile art and funeral art followed in the 1920s. Döhring passed away in 1941 in Darmstadt and his collection of Thai art is now being held at two museums in Germany: the Grassi Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig and the Ethnological Museum in Berlin.

## › Unexpected Destinations: Two Travels Between Russia and Indonesia

Aglaia Iankovskaia *Kunstkamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography*

The paper looks into two episodes from the history of travels between what is now Russia and Indonesia in the twentieth century. One of them is the voyage of a Russian couple, Alexander S. Estrin and Anna Y. Smotriskaya, around the islands of East Indonesia in the early 1920s. The second case is that of Effendi Usman, the first Indonesian professor of Saint Petersburg (then Leningrad) State University who moved to the USSR and taught there in 1950-60s. The two travels, from Russia to Indonesia and in the opposite direction, are remarkable in so far as they resulted in the creation of ethnographic collections which are now stored in Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) in Saint Petersburg.

---

## Philosophies in Southeast Asia

LOCATION                    Fritz-Reuter-Saal  
TYPE                        Round Table  
CONVENER                Lara Hofner *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

### ABSTRACT

Dealing with Philosophy at an Area Studies conference permits two different approaches to the topic: one from the discipline of Philosophy and one from Area Studies. These approaches together help explain why the topic of “Philosophies in Southeast Asia” has so far been overlooked in academia. From an Area Studies perspective, we can trace why philosophy rarely has been included among the diverse disciplines that make up the field. This exclusion is especially acute in Southeast Asian Studies – there are not many Southeast Asianists with a philosophical background, and there is no philosophy taught in Area Studies curricula for the region. Therefore, Philosophy is nearly absent from the disciplines of Area Studies for Southeast Asia. Anthropologists, social scientists and historians with a focus on Southeast Asia sometimes venture into theory, but those attempts have been relatively unsystematic.

If we look from a Philosophy perspective instead, we find that “Philosophies in Southeast Asia” are not widely researched among Western philosophers either, although for different reasons. While philosophies of Asia have gained more and more attention in Western academia over the past two decades, this has been more the case for better-known canonical traditions, such as Indian or Chinese Philosophy. The regional philosophies have remained largely unacknowledged and under-examined.

Several scholars have argued, however, that a conceptualization of philosophies in Southeast Asia is both possible and necessary. This Roundtable tries to explore fundamental aspects of such a grouping, within both Philosophy and Southeast Asian Studies, to provide an international platform for this promising field.

Central topics will be:

- Philosophy in Southeast Asia or Southeast Asian Philosophy?
- Denominational problems: On labels and (non-)neutrality
- From thinking and theory to philosophizing
- The history of philosophy in Southeast Asia
- Figures of Southeast Asian philosophy
- The language issue
- Differences and similarities of Southeast Asian philosophies
- Southeast Asian philosophies in Southeast Asia and the West

### PARTICIPANTS

- › Boike Rehbein *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*
- › Lara Hofner *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*
- › Nicole Antonette Del Rosario *Universität Leipzig*
- › Preciosa Regina de Joya *Ateneo de Manila University*
- › Rainier Ibana *Ateneo de Manila University*
- › Soraj Hongladarom *Chulalongkorn University*

# Session 7

THURSDAY 13:30–15:00

---

Room 1.101	<b>On Being Radical or Moderate: The Many Ways of Interpreting Radicalism and Promoting Moderate Islam in Contemporary Indonesia ①</b>
Room 1.102	<b>Mediating and Mediatizing Political and Religious Authorities ①</b>
Room 1.103	<b>Labour Migration: Diversity and Inequality, and Imaginaries of the Future in Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.201	<b>Gender in the Transition: Feminist Politics, Resistance and Intersectionality in Myanmar</b>
Room 1.204	<b>Transregional Southeast Asian Connections: Indonesia and Malaysia</b>
Room 1.308	<b>Understanding the Emergence of Political Villagers and State's Counteraction in Northeast Thailand</b>
Room 1.401	<b>Offline and Online Spaces of Southeast Asian Transnational Migration: Facebook, Mall, Museum and Art ①</b>
Room 1.403	<b>Violence, Human Rights and Democracy in the Philippines: Historical (Dis)continuities and Spatial Variations</b>
Room 1.404	<b>The Politics and Governance of Palm Oil Expansion in Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.405	<b>Scholars in Emerging Archaeological Researches in the Philippines ①</b>
Room 1.406	<b>The Challenges Ahead and Future Trajectories of Indonesia's Defence and Security ①</b>
Room 1.501	<b>The Sociality of Infrastructure-Mediated Development: Dynamics of In/Exclusion in Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.502	<b>Turning a Dissertation into a Book Manuscript</b>
Room 1.503	<b>Engaging Universals: Traveling Concepts and Practices in Contemporary Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.504	<b>Identity: Forging Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.505	<b>Borneo and Beyond: Connecting the Local and the Global in Borneo's Past ①</b>
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>ROUND TABLE Southeast Asian Studies: Directions, Themes and Collaborations</b>

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/7](http://euroseas2019.org/session/7)

# On Being Radical or Moderate: The Many Ways of Interpreting Radicalism and Promoting Moderate Islam in Contemporary Indonesia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Muhammad Adlin Sila <i>Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs &amp; State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta</i>
DISCUSSANT	Martin Slama <i>Austrian Academy of Sciences</i>

## ABSTRACT

What does radical actually mean is highly diverse. Radical literally means “pertaining to roots”, from the Latin *radix*. The use of “radical” in Islamic and political studies marks a desire to reach down to the very roots of something in order to change it, or reform it entirely. In Indonesia, radical Islamic groups are associated with a group of people who proselytize the picture of Islam in stickler way. They often call for the need to install an Islamic State (Khilafah), replacing Pancasila, the Indonesia’s constitution, seen as a corrupted ideology. In the Indonesian context, particularly before the Reform era came to the fore, progressive Islamic mass organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah have come up with a common platform that Pancasila is the sole Ideology of Indonesia’s nation-state. No question about it anymore. But after the reform era, new Islamic organizations emerged as the more opened political atmosphere was introduced. These transnational organizations, such as HTI, tried to challenge Pancasila or interpret it in an Islamic way, repudiating the fact that Pancasila is the umbrella ideology for every group of people regardless of their religious background. Consequently, NU and Muhammadiyah with their jargon of Islam Nusantara (the archipelagic Islam) and Islam Berkemajuan (the developing Islam) respectively have been trying to promote their views about Islam which are moderate, tolerant and inclusive. Although their efforts did not run smoothly, Islam Nusantara and Islam Berkemajuan have been taken for granted by NU and Muhammadiyah activists in promoting moderate Islam in Indonesia nationwide. This panel invites papers that touch on the many experiences of the activists of NU and Muhammadiyah in their effort of promoting moderate Islam in Indonesia and beyond. It also welcomes the varied interpretations of what Islam Nusantara and Islam Berkemajuan mean to different Muslims and context.

## PAPERS

### › Europe, Here We Come: The NU in Promoting Moderate Islam Overseas

Yanwar Pribadi *State Islamic University Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin, Banten*

This paper discusses the Indonesian Muslim organization of the Nahdlatul Ulama’s (NU) efforts in promoting Islam Nusantara (the NU’s version of moderate Islam) in Europe, particularly in Germany and the Netherlands. As Indonesia’s largest Muslim organization, the NU has expanded their scope and networks by establishing its special branches (Pengurus Cabang Istimewa NU – PCI NU) across the globe. In Germany, the special branch was established in 2011, while in the Netherlands it was established in 2013. Both special branches have been founded, organized, managed, led, and dominated by Indonesian students pursuing their M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, although recently many Indonesian migrants who have long resided in both countries also joined and influenced the organization. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in Germany and the Netherlands, this paper explores the organizational projects and religious activities of the NU people in Europe. Observed cases are for example traditionalist religious practices, such as slametan (religious meal feasts), tahlilan (prayers performed to facilitate a deceased person entering paradise), and pengajian (Islamic congregations); the encounters with Western values, such as religious freedom and secularism; and the implementation of moderate-traditional Islamic expressions in everyday life. The analysis of in-depth interviews with and close observations of the PCI NU people shows that the NU through its special branches is extending their networks, seeking influence, and at the same fostering the organization’s version of moderate Islam overseas in order to counter radicalism and religious intolerance and promote Islam as a peaceful religion.

### › Muhammadiyah and Its Movement Through Interfaith Education on Minority Muslim Society of Indonesia

Ismail Wekke *State Islamic College of Sorong*

Muhammadiyah is known as Islamic organization pioneering modern educational and social movement. Recently, Muhammadiyah education has experienced rapid development, yet there are still many problems and challenges to overcome in order to continue competing and giving the best for the society. The aim of this research was to figure out the role of Muhammadiyah in conducting dakwah bil hal movement in education and social environment in Sorong City, Papua. By using qualitative method and in-depth interview and also field research, this study found out that bil hal Muhammadiyah Movement in Sorong City, Papua has given significant impact on the society, especially in education from Kindergarten to University level. Meanwhile, in the social field, Muhammadiyah in Sorong City had built orphanage for boys and girls. However, in terms of management of organizational governance, Muhammadiyah needs to strengthen the solidity between regional leaders, optimization of autonomous assemblies and organizations as a power base to support maximization of dakwah bil hal Muhammadiyah movement in the future, especially in education and society.

## › The State and the Making of Religious Moderation in Contemporary Indonesia

Muhammad Adlin Sila *Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs & State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta*

Moderate Muslims are often labeled as not 'kaafah' (plenary), do not rely on the whole teachings of the Koran as a way of life. Moderate Muslims are also often considered synonymous with being insensitive, ignorant, or not being defense when, for example, Islamic symbols are demeaned. Another erroneous assumption that is common among the people is that siding with the values of moderation and tolerance in religion is the same as being liberal and ignoring the basic norms that are clearly written in religious texts. So that in religious life in Indonesia, those who are moderate in religion are often faced diametrically with people who are considered conservative and hold strictly to the teachings of their religion.

This misunderstanding related to moderate meaning in religion has implications for the emergence of antipathy attitude of the community which tends to be reluctant to be called a moderate, or even further blames moderate attitude. However, what it means being moderate in understanding Islam? What is the relation between being moderate and being Indonesian at the same time? And is it true that being moderate in religion means mortgaging the beliefs of our religious teachings in order to respect the beliefs of followers of other religions? This article tries to answer the above questions by updating the process of writing a book on religious moderation that is being compiled by the Ministry of Religion.

---

## Mediating and Mediatizing Political and Religious Authorities 1

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Merlyna Lim <i>Carleton University</i> Saskia Schäfer <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

### ABSTRACT

In the past decades, religion has become more publicly visible in many parts of the world, including in Southeast Asia, and has gained its currency in various political and cultural agendas. This visibility, in part, is accommodated by the workings of various media. Politics and religion—in strategies, practices, and discourses—have become increasingly mediated and mediatized. How do politicians and religious authorities employ different media to generate followership in an increasingly competitive and individualized environment? How have religious authorities influenced political processes? What role have media played in episodes of identity politics and populist moral outrage? How have social movements and religious actors circumvented common structures of political participation through digital media, and thereby highlighted and also enhanced the weaknesses of the former? This panel addresses the relationship between religious and political authorities with a focus on media. Putting empirical and theoretical contributions from various countries in Southeast Asia into conversation with one another, the panel aims to illuminate the complex, layered, and nuanced relationship between politics, religion, and media in the region.

The panel is multidisciplinary and welcomes theoretical contributions as well as case studies from across Southeast Asia. As of November 2018, we have already had three interested contributors for case studies from Indonesia and Malaysia and plan to diversify the range of cases to other Southeast Asian countries via a Call for Papers. Because of the breadth of the topic, we propose a double panel. We plan to circulate papers among the participants ahead of the panel in order to discuss the possibility of publishing some of the contributions in a special issue.

### PAPERS

#### › Covert Propaganda on Social Media: A Case Study of Vietnam

Quynh Hoang *University of Amsterdam*

Social media, the very technology that once heralded as allegedly shifting power from governments to civil society during the Arab Spring and Occupy Movement in 2011, has been increasingly exploited by authoritarian regimes to crush dissidents and curb collective actions. However, literature on the autocratic regimes' use of social media tends to give an overview of their strategies and the use of social media bots without an in-depth analysis of the regimes' message framing. What is more problematic is that most research in this field pays attention to the covert social media operations of Russia and China. In attempting to fill the gap, this paper analyzes how authoritarian regimes are leveraging global communication platforms for social control, especially in the context where religious authorities play an important role in the countries' social movements, through a case study of Vietnam.

Vietnam is famously known for the regime's suppression of dissent and their historically strained relationship with the Catholic Church, despite having the second greatest number of Catholics in Southeast Asia after the Philippines. The authoritarian regime is also among those leveraging social media to shape public discourse, nudge public opinion, and consequently suppress online dissent and

social movements. Because the Catholic Church plays an important role in the country's dissent movements, especially during a series of mass protests demanding social justice for victims of a marine disaster from 2016 to 2017, and the demonstrations against the state's controversial laws in June 2018, the Church has become one of the main targets of the regime's cyber troops. Hostility against bishops and Catholic communities and framing the Church as the "ally of foreign enemies" are the main themes of their operations. The findings are mainly drawn from an analysis of six pro-regime Facebook pages and three local Catholic communities' Facebook pages from 4 April 2016 to 31 December 2018, complemented by interviews with 15 Vietnamese Catholic activists. By analyzing the narratives and tactics of the cyber troops' propaganda in this case study, I argue that authoritarian regimes have adopted a new mode of covert propaganda that is agile, flexible, and quickly adapting to potential threats to their power. Their information control tactics include discrediting dissidents, especially the protests' leaders, counter-mobilizing the regime's support by calling for sympathy for police forces and making misleading claims to defend their response to protesters. By gaming the algorithmic logics of social media, the propaganda campaigns were engineered to garner maximum attention and reach large audiences outside the regime's support base.

### › **"Just Don't Quote Me on Islam": Politics, Religion, and Journalistic Values at Malaysiakini**

Janet Steele *George Washington University*

At Malaysiakini, Malaysia's premier online news portal, non-Muslim editors are skittish about being quoted about Islam out of fear that their words could be misconstrued, or worse. Although Article 11 of the Malaysian Constitution protects freedom of religion, in Article 3 it simultaneously proclaims Islam to be the religion of the country. Malays are required by law to be Muslim, and apostasy, or *murtad* is a serious crime. Even something as seemingly harmless as "interfaith-dialogue" is seen by some as a dangerous attempt to undermine Islam by suggesting that all religions are equal.

If we define pluralism as according legitimacy to different ways of being in the world, than it is hard to say that Malaysia, a country in which one group is accorded special privileges by the constitution, is truly pluralist. Worse yet, the politicization of Islam and the maneuvering by political parties and groupings to outdo one another in displays of piety have had insidious effects on how people interact on a daily basis.

The Malaysian state is involved in religious affairs to a degree that would be unimaginable in neighboring Indonesia. Although the results of the 14th General Election in May 2018 have brought new thinking in the areas of accountability, corruption, and good governance, there has been almost no public discussion of changing the fundamental relationship between Islam and the state in a system in which political and religious authority are fused.

For the past twenty years, it has been Malaysian government authorities who ultimately decide what is sensitive, and there are limits even to what the otherwise fearless Malaysiakini considers valid for discussion. As one senior editor put it, "Religion must be handled with double kid gloves." Two of the most sensitive issues are apostasy (conversion away from Islam) and "body snatching," which sometimes occurs when someone dies and the family "realizes" that the deceased had entered a different faith. As the same editor noted, there is a fine line between what Malaysiakini will publish and what it will not, but that line is very well anchored.

In this context, what are the challenges facing Malaysiakini, a news organization that is committed to democracy, human rights, and freedom of expression? Approximately one-third of Malaysiakini's reporters are Muslim, and how do they view their work in such a highly-charged environment? This paper will focus on prominent cases involving religion and how Malaysiakini covered them. It will also examine the views of Malaysiakini's Malay-Muslim journalists towards Islam and journalism, and the role of Malaysiakini in mediating them.

### › **Personal Touch, Professional Style: Women Candidates in Malaysian Islamist Politics**

David Kloos *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

In this paper I investigate the mediated performances of female Islamist politicians in Malaysia's 2018 General Elections. I concentrate on the campaigns of women candidates in the main Islamist opposition party, PAS, and the more progressive Islamist party, Amanah, which split from PAS in 2015. One of the main challenges that confronts these women, I suggest, is the need to navigate a tension between, on the one hand, the perception – strongly connected to ideas about motherhood and domesticity – that a woman is more able than a man to 'touch the hearts' of voters, and, on the other hand, the supposed electoral advantages, emanating from an increasingly highly-educated and socially mobile electorate, of a professional persona. This tension is predicated on changing, and to some extent contradictory, trends regarding the role of Muslim women in the public sphere. As I will show, this tension determines to a large extent women Islamist politicians' use of media as they seek to establish religious as well as political authority.

### › **The Importance of Keeping Up Appearances: Being Buddhist, Being Lao, Religious Hegemony and the Lao State**

Phill Wilcox *Bielefeld University*

In stark contrast to the days of strict austerity following the socialist revolution in 1975, Buddhism is now celebrated as a central and inalienable part of Lao culture. This is officially so since around the early 1990s, when Buddhist practices began making a reappearance as part of the national landscape with the Lao authorities taking the place of the legitimate guardians of Buddhism. Today the relationship between state sanctioned Buddhism and the Lao state is a very close one, leading to questions about who patronises whom and to what end. However, the question as to whether this is a revival of previously discouraged religious practices or something else is a pertinent one, especially when not only respecting Buddhism but being seen to do so is central to ideas about being a good citizen of contemporary Laos. This paper traces the reappearance of Buddhist practices in Laos in the last three decades with the sponsorship of the Lao state. It argues that official and popular media is a significant driver of Buddhist religious hegemony in Laos, which perpetuates a sometimes complex relationship between Buddhism and state. It also argues for the prominent role of being Buddhist or being seen to engage with Buddhism as a fundamental aspect of individual and collective identity in contemporary Laos.

# Labour Migration: Diversity and Inequality, and Imaginaries of the Future in Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Henk Schulte Nordholt <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i> Lennie Geerlings <i>Leiden University</i> Prasert Rangkla <i>Thammasat University</i> Soimart Rungmanee <i>Thammasat University</i>

## ABSTRACT

This panel has two interconnected sessions. The first is concerned with diversity and inequality, and the second focuses on imaginaries of the future. The first session invites 3 young scholars to join.

The first session explores issues of labour migration and diversity in Southeast Asian cities and beyond. This session aims to disrupt the framing of migration in terms of flows and laws, globalisation and development, or 'push' and 'pull' factors. Instead it seeks to explore the on-the-ground, day-to-day experience of migrants in Southeast Asian cities and beyond. Ethnographic analysis of the everyday, fleshy experiences of people defined as migrants help understand the production of difference and inequity in culturally diverse 'host' cities and states.

Ethnographic analyses underline the multiple and simultaneous subjectivities of migrants – for example, as workers who are also family members of students, or as foreigners who are also lovers – and their different locations on intersecting axis of power including ethnicity, gender and social class. What can we learn from analysing the experiences of migrants through a lens of positionality and intersectionality? What can we learn from migrants' experiences about bordering practices, the production of Others, and the production and maintenance of inequity in contemporary Southeast Asian cities and elsewhere? How do processes of belonging and solidarity intervene in practices of difference and inequality? We invite in particular young scholars who have started to explore this field of ethnographic research to share their fieldwork experiences and to raise and discuss questions in this panel.

The second session focuses on imaginaries of the future. Migration studies see the concept of wellbeing confined to purely material wealth, while the notion of future is usually taken-for-granted. Both terms tend to be abstract and indifferent to cultural frameworks, and engage insufficiently with the rapidly changing social environments in which migration is situated. Scholars have however increasingly emphasized the importance of widening the attention to how different human individuals and societies organize and engage their own future (Appadurai 2013; Robbins 2013). In refiguring the future within specific cultural systems, we will be better able to place more particular ideas about well-being. The panel suggests to explore how ideas of well-being and future shape particular forms and experiences of migration in Thailand, Laos and Myanmar. It will do so by teasing out how these ideas play out at different moments in migration: pre-migration, in migration, and through return migration. We seek answers to the following questions: How do people understand their wellbeing and future? How do such imaginaries shift over the migration life course and inform migration practices? How do people living in different societies strive to create the good in their migratory projects? How do understandings of "well-being" change overtime and across contexts? What are the implications of migration on well-being of families and communities?

## PAPERS

### › Migrant Workers' Advocacy in Malaysia: Komunitas Serantau as an Informal Indonesian-Based Advocacy Community

Pamungkas A. Dewanto *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

After the 2008 General Election that was believed to be the beginning of the weakened electoral authoritarian regime in Malaysia, members of civil society have been more active in many different fields, in both local and national settings. Specifically, in the field of migrant workers advocacy, not only local NGOs and individual advocates that became more open in their engagement, but many new migrant workers' networks and communities were also born in the last five years. Such a development is interesting as previously migrant workers were regarded as an object of exploitation and were seen as a helpless agency in navigating their survival in Malaysia. In this paper, I highlight the life of Nasrikah, through which I will discuss the role of an Indonesian community called Serantau that Nasrikah is chairing. Nasrikah has retained multiple identities as a domestic worker, a mother, as well as a migrant workers' defender. In her hand, she managed to lead Komunitas Serantau to be a more civic community rather than just a space for a cultural gathering, as many other communities are. Despite that its appearance is more like a hometown association, Serantau is engaging in both grassroots social works and policy advocacy. In this research, I conducted an ethnographic work by following the activities of Nasrikah. I argue that despite the absence of formal outlets in migrant workers' advocacy for foreigners in Malaysia, the case of Serantau has demonstrated that a less fluid and informal form of organization in which it engages both cultural and civic activities could also play a role in migrant

workers advocacy. It becomes an interlocutor between migrant workers, policymakers, and NGOs that work across national boundaries. Serantau cultivates its organizational resources through a complex network of engagements with many other communities and NGOs.

› TBA

Lennie Geerlings *Leiden University*

› **Technology to Reposition Masculinities: Low-Wage Mainland Chinese Migrant Men in Singapore**

Sylvia Ang *National University of Singapore*

While work on gender and migration has grown significantly, it has mostly addressed the experiences of female migrants; the experiences of male migrants are still understudied. Even less attention has been paid to male migrants and their heterosexuality. This paper is interested in Chinese masculinities, which in the migration literature have been discussed largely in relation to migration to the West. Discussions of low-wage Chinese masculinities have similarly been limited, with a focus on rural-urban migration within China. Empirically, this paper aims to contribute by investigating Chinese masculinities outside of China but in a non-Western setting. The arrival of low-wage migrants from China into Singapore's majority-'Chinese' population not only enables an investigation of the hierarchies of Chinese masculinities but also unsettles the 'Chinese' ethnic category. I consider low wage mainland Chinese migrant men's raced, gendered and classed subjectivities and show how low-wage mainland Chinese migrant men in Singapore employ technology to reposition their subordinate masculinities, with specific focus on their use of the *suzhi* discourse. This paper contributes through extending current analyses of masculinities to show how technology can enable both maintenance and transformation of masculinities.

› **Visions of (Respect)ability: How Indonesian Migrant Domestic Workers in Hong Kong Negotiate Migrant Citizenship**

Samia Dinkelaker *Osnabrück University*

The paper discusses how Indonesian migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong negotiate policy makers' visions of a more 'respectable' future of Indonesia as a 'labor brokerage' (Rodriguez 2010) country. Policy makers in Indonesia have repeatedly expressed their aspirations to 'upgrade' its migrant labor force, who predominantly work as domestic workers in households in countries of the Middle East and the Asia Pacific. As it has been argued, these aspirations are nourished by gendered and classed anxieties that circle around Indonesia's identity as a sending country of menial workers who are classified as unskilled (Chan 2017). In the paper I will juxtapose official visions of Indonesia's future as a labor brokerage state with insights into how Indonesian migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong enact distinct versions of 'migrant citizenship' (Rodriguez 2010). These versions incorporate the diversity of subjectivities formed in the course of their migration projects and are nourished by their particular experience as migrant domestic workers. The paper thus argues that negotiations of citizenship and national belonging and their articulations with gendered and class-based notions of respectability and valuations of their work not only matter to the societies of 'receiving countries', but also to those of sending states. Such a perspective fills a desideratum in global migration studies on the one hand (see e.g. Schwenken 2018) and contributes to the expanding discussion in the studies of South East Asia on current configurations of transnationalism in the region on the other (see e.g. Amrith 2017).

.....

## Gender in the Transition: Feminist Politics, Resistance and Intersectionality in Myanmar

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Elisabeth Olivius <i>Umeå University</i> Jenny Hedström <i>Umeå University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Bridget Welsh <i>National Taiwan University</i>

### ABSTRACT

The aim of this panel is to critically examine different conceptualizations, dynamics and lived experiences of gender in Myanmar. A central question for students and scholars of gender is how gender roles are (re)produced in and connected to relations of, inter alia, power, class, ethnicity, and religious identity. The study of gender in historical and contemporary Myanmar then provides a unique opportunity to explore differences in the articulation and lived experience of gender across time and communities. Paying attention to this allows for the examination of how the status of women has evolved against a background of absolute exclusion during military rule to a semi-civilian government with a female de-facto head of state. Despite this shift, gender inequality persists across the country at all levels. Why is this, and how are feminist or women's movements mobilising to confront the inequalities they experience? What can students of contemporary Myanmar learn from the ways in which gender has been mobilised for political purposes in the past? Some of the questions raised in this panel include:

- What sort of gender roles are being (re)defined or (re)instated in the transition? In what ways have gender roles been bent, utilized, or changed in the past, and for what purposes?
- How have notions of feminism evolved and been employed in Myanmar by women and queer/LGBTI activists? How is feminist resistance organized against militaristic modes that reinstate and reinforce relations of inequality? What spaces are afforded non-heteronormative activists?
- How are new or redefined norms and regulations affecting feminist, intersectional and queer work for political participation and equality?
- How are non-normative identities reconfigured through migration, displacement or diasporic activities?
- How is sexuality and gendered roles regulated at home and in war? What are the gendered effects of war, ceasefire dynamics and development processes in Myanmar?

## PAPERS

### › **Burden or Opportunity? Negotiating the Gender Roles in Karen Women's Labour Mobility from Myanmar to Thailand**

Indre Balcaite

Justine Chambers *Australian National University*

Despite the popular argument about the relative gender equality in Southeast Asia, venturing far away from home for women – especially if young and single – implies a negotiation between the notions of ‘modern women’ and ‘dutiful daughters’ (Barber 1997; Mills 1999; Derks 2008). Since the 1980s, life in southeastern Myanmar (Burma) has become increasingly reliant on remittances from Thailand but women's major role in it remains underresearched. The co-authors combine their long-term ethnographic fieldwork experience on both sides of the Myanmar-Thailand border in 2012-2018 to argue that the reconfiguration of gender roles through migration presents both an opportunity and a burden for Karen women. The paper teases out the gender roles that the predominantly Phlong-speaking Buddhist Karen women from Hpa-an Township, Kayin (Karen) State, are subjected to, subvert and negotiate before, during and after their migration to Thailand. We analyse how the intersections of gender with age, family status and class shape individuals' perceived and internalised roles in the migration process. Like elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Karen men invoke the notion of travelling as exploration for fun and experience, whereas women's mobility negotiates the notions of propriety, modesty and filial piety. For example, unmarried eldest daughters are overrepresented among the ‘pioneer migrants’ first to leave from their family. We highlight the multiple ways that women balance their productive and reproductive labour and financial and care obligations to their families while away. Women's mobility is expected to be flexible enough to respond to changing family needs. Finally, we offer a glimpse into how the female Karen migrants negotiate their aspirations and familial and societal expectations upon their return to their home communities, forging new paths for themselves in sometimes empowering ways while running the risk of criticism for ‘lost manners’.

### › **Defining the Feminine: An Evaluation of the Burmese Weaving Industry in Amarapura**

Markie Striegel *Northern Illinois University*

“Why Did Burma's Leader Appear on TV in Women's Clothes?” This was the headline for an article published by Time Magazine on February 24, 2011. A few weeks earlier, the former military leader of Myanmar, General Than Shwe, wore a contemporary *luntaya acheik longyi* (a type of sarong) during a Union Day celebration in the country's capital of Naypyidaw. This sparked much media attention both within Myanmar and abroad. However, *luntaya acheik* is not solely a women's design.

Prevalent in Myanmar since the mid-18th century when King Alaungpaya commissioned its production, *luntaya acheik* is a horizontal, wave-patterned silk design technique in an interlocking tapestry weave. Traditionally hand-woven, it is one of the most definitive designs in Burmese fashion. My research explores the local usage of *luntaya acheik* and focuses on its progression from a royal design worn by both sexes, to one widely-accessible and more associated with femininity. In addition, I look specifically at the contemporary positions of men and women within the textile weaving industry in Amarapura to further discuss the transformation of gender roles by socioeconomic and cultural factors.

### › **Gender, Intersectionality and the Gendered Effects of Agricultural Development Process in Myanmar**

Daun Cheong *Wageningen University*

Women's roles in warranting food security came more to the fore in the wake of increased male migration that endangered the viability of small-scale agriculture. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) clearly states the international commitment to achieving gender equality and inclusive rural development through promoting women's roles in agricultural development. Yet, in the narratives of agricultural development research and policy, women are still perceived as instruments to increase productivity overlooking the diversity of women's realities and needs, and their agency to pursue their own farming strategies. As a result, women farmers have been trivialised in service provision and public support in agricultural innovations. Myanmar's new Agricultural Development Strategies (ADS) emphasises on the modernisation of rice production, with limited approaches to support small-scale farmers, particularly women whose labour input accounts for 60 to 80% in small-scale rice farming in Myanmar. Furthermore, there is little discussion about the diverse farming strategies and practices of different ethnic groups. Despite the extensive attention in gender in agriculture research, only 6% of the studies have been conducted in Southeast Asia. Especially, Myanmar, due to the long isolation from the outside world, severely lacks the knowledge of the relevant fields. To date, there is very limited knowledge on gender, intersectionality, and their effects on farming patterns and agricultural development process in the Myanmar context. Minding this research gap, this paper studies the expected gendered effects of agricultural development through a content analysis of relevant literature including policy and programme documents. The results from this study will provide insights for more inclusive and customised agriculture service design, and further research areas.

## › In the Land of Wise Old Men: Experiences of Young Women Activists in Myanmar

Poe Ei *Gender Academy Myanmar*

In a society in which leadership is still largely defined by age and gender, young women in Myanmar face social, cultural, and even administrative challenges to raising their voices and taking on leadership roles. The research explores the experience of young women activists in Myanmar, considering social norms and challenges to leadership, coping strategies, and solutions to the obstacles that young women face to participating in on-going legal and political reform in Myanmar. The qualitative research analysed the case studies of five women activists in Myanmar. By researching the lifespan of the women activists using in-depth interview, it is evident that the women activists experienced harassment relating to their appearances and behaviours. The research has indicated that young women have encountered limited participation and felt less important while they are working with older men and women due to sociocultural norms on age and sex.

The research highlighted that young women have faced activism related risks such as i) lack of protection mechanism on women, example no law against workplace bullying and harassment or domestic violence, ii) over protection of family members against young women activists, iii) balancing family and activism roles as women and iv) exclusion of peer groups for young women prevent them from persuading their goals and activist life. It is due to the political situation in Myanmar is considered risky for young women to participate and making an alliance with political activists which cost social-economic for young women.

Young women used different approaches and strategies to tackle and cope with the challenges they have faced. In order to organise and take collective actions, young women need support from their family members especially husbands and parents. The research reflected that women created strong evidence-based knowledge to gain credibility and to build trust with key officials. Young women gain motivation from networking with younger male groups as well as big women alliances. The research recommended that it is vital for the government, NGOs and CSOs taking the initiative to support young women leaders in Myanmar. All parties should go beyond training and workshops on discrimination of age and sex and creating an enabling environment for young women to participate meaningfully in the national fora.

.....

## Transregional Southeast Asian Connections: Indonesia and Malaysia

LOCATION Room 1.204

TYPE Single Panel

CONVENER Amanda tho Seeth *Philipps-University Marburg*

DISCUSSANT Mirjam Künkler *Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences*

### ABSTRACT

This multi-disciplinary panel discusses religious, cultural, educational, political and economic entanglements of Southeast Asia with other regions. The papers are informed by theories of cultural anthropology and political science and stress agency over structure.

By focusing on Muslim-majority Indonesia and Malaysia, it is shown how ideas, individual and group identities are constituted through movement across space. Furthermore, in the field of religion, Indonesia and Malaysia are increasingly looked up to as potential role models or are striving to exert influence beyond their own regional borders. Accordingly, the panel critically evaluates the long established perception of both countries as an Islamic periphery. By focusing on transregional connectivities, the panel also aims at contributing to the debate on new area studies and the concept of 'region' within area studies.

### PAPERS

#### › Bringing Back Piety: Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca as Catalyst for Gendered Islamization Processes in Malaysia

Viola Thimm *University of Hamburg*

Traveling plays a special role in Islam. The spirituality of travel becomes obvious in the big (haj) and the small (umrah) pilgrimage journey to the holy places of Islam in today's Saudi-Arabia as well as in visiting holy graves and shrines (ziarah) even outside the Arabian Peninsula. In Malaysia, travel agencies offer umrah journeys connected with ziarah, which are understood here as part religious observance and part holiday and leisure. Malay women from Malaysia especially choose Dubai as the destination for ziarah due to the possibilities for going shopping. They are particularly interested in purchasing the abaya, a long black garment which is usually worn by Arab women. Upon return, the Malay Malaysian women wear the abaya in private and public space in Malaysia in order to express a deeper religiosity on the basis of their pilgrimage experience. Beyond this bodily self-representation, the abaya has become a symbol for overall processes of Islamization in Malaysia that developed only recently. These processes are, in turn, embedded into wider dynamics of sacred landscaping in which the Arabian Peninsular – the place of origin of the abaya – is considered to be the "spiritual

center of Islam” while Malaysia positions itself at the margins. Within this Muslim world order, transregional connections lead to an entangled web of meaning making regarding Islamic principles, spirituality, embodiment and gendered social practices.

› **From Periphery to Centre: Pathways of Local Knowledge from the South**

Claudia Derichs *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Knowledge production is a global process, but during the 19th and 20th century, knowledge deriving from the global north (or “the West”) has occupied a hegemonic position in this process. Theories and methods were mostly developed in the global north, only to be “tested” in the regions of the global south. This imbalance came under criticism with the rise of subaltern and postcolonial studies. The term “methodological nationalism” hints at the bias in the field of northern methodology. Critics also demanded to “provincialize Europe” (Chakrabarty 2000) and to decenter and diversify Southeast Asian Studies (Goh ). Studies of the “local” in Indonesia convey the necessity to also apply a more differentiating look and to attend to local experiences, environments, conditions, and frameworks for the development and transformation of theories and methods. The presentation addresses these tasks and suggests some steps to move forward with this shared exercise.

› **Narratives of Separation, Pragmatic Cooperation and Surprising Similarities: Movement Between Israel, Indonesia and Palestine**

Mirjam Lücking *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

As the largest Muslim society in the world, Indonesians are deemed to be highly critical of Israel. However, Indonesians’ position towards Israel and Palestine is in fact ambivalent and complex. Muslim Indonesians are divided over questions of boycotting or cooperating with Israel and their relationship with Palestinian and other Middle Eastern Muslims is characterized by a centre-periphery divide in the Muslim world. Among members of Indonesia’s Christian minority there is a popular liking for Israel with an adaptation of Israeli and Jewish symbols. Despite a lack of diplomatic relations, there is significant movement and exchange between Israel and Indonesia: Muslim and Christian Indonesians travel in so called Holy Land Pilgrimages and Al-Aqsa tours to Jerusalem and Israeli IT, software and technology find their way to Indonesia. While on the one hand, competitors in political, economic and religious spheres draw on enemy images and stereotypes, on the other hand, many Indonesians, Israelis and Palestinians pragmatically cooperate with each other and discover surprising socio-cultural similarities and points of connection. This paper explores these ambivalences and complexities in the relationship between Israel, Indonesia and Palestine showing under what conditions transnational movement of people and goods inspires cooperation and where it fosters conflict.

› **The Extraversion of Indonesian Islamic Education**

Amanda tho Seeth *Philipps-University Marburg*

Traditionally perceived as a geographical and civilizational periphery of the Muslim world, Indonesia is since the early 2000s increasingly pursuing an Islamic soft power diplomacy that aims to globally promote itself as a role-model of a ‘democratic Muslim-majority country upholding religious pluralism and tolerance’. This paper analyses the educational dimension of this Islamic soft power policy. It looks at private pesantren education and state Islamic higher education and shows how both are used for Indonesian foreign policy strategies.

Delphine Allès (INALCO, Paris) and Amanda tho Seeth (University of Marburg)

.....

## Understanding the Emergence of Political Villagers and State’s Counteraction in Northeast Thailand

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Wataru Fujita <i>Osaka Prefecture University</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel examines the transformation of politics of the villagers in rural areas in Northeast Thailand (Isan), from multiple viewpoints including motivations, group identity, linkage to politicians or political parties, livelihood ecology, and their interaction with the military government. The main focus is the ‘Red-Shirt’ movement in Isan. Existing studies so far have argued about the socio-economic backgrounds of the Red Shirt participants in somehow generalized ways claiming that they are a newly emerging lower middle class engaged with commercial agriculture or small business, who is much benefited by the policies of the Thaksin administration. In this panel, in-depth examination of how the villagers did/not become ‘Red’ and how they have been maintaining their ‘redness’ until now.

Four papers in this paper take different methodological perspectives on the issues. Fujita’s anthropological study compares how environmental diversities in different geographical areas affected people’s economic and, hence, political preferenc-

es. Viengrat analyzes the transformation of Isan citizens by comparing politicians' narratives of Isan with those of other regions. Saowanee's paper employs linguistic methods to examine how ordinary Red Shirt activists maintain their political identity. Puangthong examines the impact of military's use of the Cold War-era methods to penetrate its control and influence in Isan area.

## PAPERS

### › **Contesting Political Narratives and the Patterns of Social Networks in Thailand**

Illan Nam *Colgate University*

Viengrat Nethipo *Chulalongkorn University*

This work is a study of narratives that Thai politicians communicate with the voters in their constituencies. The content of narratives that successful politicians convey to build and maintain their linkage with the voters differ sharply between the north/northeast and the south. The contrast in these two regions, we argue, is shaped by the patterns of social networks in each locality. The contents of narratives and the way they are communicated are analyzed through in-depth interviews with several key political actors in these two regions. We focus especially on the contents that have played a significant role in rationalizing the polarization that took place in Thailand over the last decade, particularly the notions of representation, the meaning of citizenship, and visions for the future. To identify and categorize the pattern of social networks in the communities, we apply network analysis technique. The paper will thus draw analytical links between the patterns of social networks and the narratives in these two different regions. We assume that the closed and consistent pattern in the south shapes narratives that help maintain a politics of stagnancy, while in the north and northeast the cosmopolitan pattern of networks structures narratives that encourage dynamic politics.

### › **Mottled Imagination and Sympathy of Peasants: Considering Political Peasants from Livelihood Ecology**

Wataru Fujita *Osaka Prefecture University*

This paper considers Isan peasants' motivations to support and participate in the "Red Shirt" movement by comparing two villages in Ubon Ratchathani province, Northeast Thailand. Special attention is paid to how such motivations are related to the transformation of livelihoods and lifestyles in both villages. In the first village, T, located in the Southern part of the province, the majority of the villagers apparently supported the movement, and many participated in it. In contrast, in the second village, N, located in Eastern part, only few villagers apparently expressed their support for the movement. I visited both villages and conducted interviews with villagers who supported and participated in the movement as well as those who were never interested. I also interviewed community-level leaders such as village headmen and kamnan (Sub-district level leader).

Key findings were as follows:

- 1) Those peasants who supported the movement felt strong sympathy with policies by the Thaksin administration, which provided various forms of assistance to the peasants, but those who did not do so instead emphasized that they relied on their own resources despite the fact that they eventually received available benefits from those policies.
- 2) In T village, agriculture is more mechanized; lifestyle is more market-dependent; and there remain fewer natural resources than in N village.
- 3) In T village, however, those who most actively participated in the movement did not necessarily benefit from the Thaksin administration's policies.
- 4) It seems that relationships with village-level leaders or locally influential politicians (MPs or MP candidates) played a role in the villagers' political thinking.
- 5) The number of households with satellite dishes (indicating their access to satellite media) is positively correlated with the support for the Red Shirt movement.

### › **Remobilization of Military-Dominated Mass Organizations in Thailand**

Puangthong R. Pawakapan *Chulalongkorn University*

State-dominated mass organizations were the essential component of the Thai state-counterinsurgency operations in the 1960s-1980s. The royalist popular defence was a political offensive measure against the communist movement. A demise of the communist threat led to the dissipation of their activities from public view. Evidences reveal that since the coup d'état in 2006, the Army and its political arm, the Internal Security Operations Command or ISOC have tried to revive and expand the popular base throughout the country. Old groups were reinvigorated and many new groups were created. Various kinds of incentives were injected into them. This paper argues that the remobilization and expansion of royalist popular base was a the Thai conservative elites's response to the rise of the Red Shirt movement and the unabated popularity of former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra. The foremost objective of the mass program is to protect the monarchy, the royal hegemony and status quo of the establishment. People became state surveillance over their neighbors and cyber activities. Besides, when the country was approaching the general election in May 2019, its members became potential voters for the NCPO-backed political party.

### › **Staying "Red": How Ordinary Red Shirt Protesters in Thailand's Northeast Maintain Their Political Identity**

Saowanee T. Alexander *Ubon Ratchathani University*

The deadly crackdown on the self-proclaimed pro-democracy Redshirt protesters in May 2010 was one of the most violent political incidents in Thailand's modern history. Nearly 100 were killed and 2000 were injured. This is not to mention the fact that a number of protesters were jailed while some fled the country and lived in self-exile. Many of these protesters were ordinary people from Thailand's North and Northeast. As the movement was recovering from the losses in a short-lived period under the rule of

a democratically-elected government, a military coup took place in May 2014 that ousted the government. The protesters were immediately faced with another round of harsh suppressions under the junta government. It was not until the 2019 elections that the Red Shirts reappeared again despite in a more subtle way. This paper reports on findings from field research through interviews and observations aiming to understand how and why ordinary Redshirts continue their political identity despite the constant risks and dangers threatened by the elite-backed junta government and its conservative supporters. I argue that the Redshirts continue to struggle because they have not accomplished their political missions, but the challenges are so dangerous that they need to maintain their beliefs through innocuous daily-life activities, which in turn allow them to safely carry on their "Red" identity.

---

## Offline and Online Spaces of Southeast Asian Transnational Migration: Facebook, Mall, Museum and Art ①

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Emily Yuan <i>National Taiwan Museum</i> Morakot Meyer <i>Mahidol University</i> Wimonsiri Henthanon <i>Mahidol University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Kim Dinh Bui <i>Georg-August Universität Göttingen</i>

### ABSTRACT

This panel highlights the dynamism of transnational migration and its impacts in Southeast Asia and the wider Asian region in two domains. The first one is Southeast Asian migrants' construction of social spaces in the physical and online worlds. The second area is the responses of cultural institutions and art sphere to transnational migration.

As to the first area of focus, the panel explores the everyday practices of migrants from Southeast Asia in creating and negotiating social spaces in urban settings such as in malls, parks, religious areas, etc. Increasingly the social space of migration is no longer confined within the spatial domain of the territorial world. Scholars in the fields of sociology of network society and social media reiterate the power of information technology that creates ubiquitous unbound-territorial networks transcending locality at multiple scales (Graham and Simon, 2000; Castells 2006, 2013). The social fields of migrants' transnational life simultaneously operate in the online and offline worlds. How can we better understand migrants' constructions of social spaces in the online world in relation to the physical world?

In the offline world of Southeast Asia and the broader Asian region, cultural institutions and art sphere have increasingly responded to the conditions of 'super-diversity' and high mobility. Museums and art exhibitions have become a contested space of interpreting everyday multiculturalism and transnational migration. This second focal point of the panel touches upon the scope of transnational mobility in the world of representation, global service economy and social inclusion.

### PAPERS

#### › Online and Offline Public Sphere of Thai Migrants in Singapore

Wimonsiri Henthanon *Mahidol University*

Friend of Thai Workers in Association (FTWA) (Singapore) originally located on the 3rd Floor, Golden Mile Complex in Singapore, is the public place where Thai Migrants gathering over weekend, especially on Sunday which is only a day off for most of the members. Years ago, when Facebook became popular in Thailand as a crucial online public sphere for information and communication among Thais, the team who ran FTWA decided to employ Facebook as another platform to communicate among themselves and with other members due to FB specific characteristics as a hub as self-broadcast of news and information, air public opinions and also being used as a tool to channel support online to the real-world activities. Members then joined in online sphere and used it as another platform and make use out of it. Various activities happened in both online and offline sphere as state hereinabove where Thai Migrants can pay a visit and insert themselves for the purpose of staying in the receiving country more smoothly and conveniently at the same time seeking for an opportunity to empower them for upward mobility. This paper explores how Thai migrants in Singapore employ both online (Friend of Thai Workers in Association (Singapore) and offline sphere (Golden Mile Complex) as platforms and communication tools to maintain, reproduce and enhance their capitals from the far. The paper employs qualitative research to unpack the issue in the question using in-depth interviews with the migrants, focus groups, and participatory observation. It extends scholarly debates in the fields of transnational migration, and social & cultural capital coined by Bourdieu.

› **Two Worlds Apart in the Same Transnational Space? Offline and Online Experiences of Migrants from China and Myanmar in Thailand**

Morakot Meyer *Mahidol University*

The waves of migrants from Myanmar and China who came to Thailand from the 1980s have changed Thailand's cityscapes, everyday social and business practices. Unlike migrants from other countries who came to the country in the same period, they can exhibit their cultural identities and form communities in some parts of Bangkok and neighboring provinces. Despite these seemingly successful migration patterns, in-depth interviews of migrants from Myanmar and China show different accounts of emotional stress, spatial negotiation, discrimination, and transnational-life strategies. In everyday practice, these migrants from Myanmar and China are also heavily relied on social media platforms to create and sustain their transnational fields, negotiate with physical spatial constraint and exchange of information capitals. Thus, their online and offline practices represent a certain degree of 'connectedness' and 'consistency' which are crucial for any network communities/societies, as argued by Castells (1996). With the analytical framework situated at the intersection of transnationalism (Faist et al., 2013; Vertovec, 2009) and everyday multiculturalism (Wise 2004, Hardy 2017), this paper compares the offline and online transnational practices of migrants from Myanmar and China in Thailand. More specifically, it studies different and similar modes of how they make use of the physical and online platforms to create, maintain and negotiate social space and relations against contextual factors such as spatial order, intercultural habitus, individual factors, class and power relations, media contents and state policies.

› **Visualizing "Home" Here and There: Vietnamese-Belgian Couples' Material and Symbolic Social Performances in the Domestic and Public Spaces**

Angelie Marilla *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

This research locates home-migration nexus in the lived experiences of Vietnamese-Belgian mixed couples in Vietnam-Belgium visual-social spaces. Using multi-sited ethnography, the study delves deeper into understanding how these mobilities (re)create connectedness to origin and how this manifests in the personal and socio-cultural spaces that these couples (re)negotiate. This "home-making" is often expressed in visualities—objects and images—in the migrants' everyday life that represent and visualize active transnational and translocal practices. The analysis is framed using Paolo Boccagni's home-migration nexus (2017) by focusing on the material (practical) and immaterial (affective) concept of home and how their descriptive (and prescriptive) conception of home subsequently shape home-making practices in both domestic and public spaces. Home as materially constituted unpacks meanings, experiences, relationships and practices that are affective and performative.

.....

## **Violence, Human Rights and Democracy in the Philippines: Historical (Dis)continuities and Spatial Variations**

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Jeroen Adam <i>Ghent University</i>

### **ABSTRACT**

With this panel, a set of original papers are being presented delving into the Duterte administration's use of violence in its various iterations to govern the country. As generally known, since Duterte assumed office in June 2016, a violent campaign has been unleashed against alleged drug users and pushers. Some killings occurred in the course of regular police operations, but many more are extra-judicial killings committed either by vigilantes or police officers. According to the President's brazen rhetoric, these deaths are simply the price to pay for solving the drug problem. In his election campaign he promised to get rid of drug criminals within six months. He also warned potential voters that "If I become president, there would be no such thing as bloodless cleansing".\*

For obvious reasons, this campaign has generated vigorous and polarized debate among policy makers, civil society activists and academics alike. Too often however, these debates have been driven by biased opinions, rather than conclusive data that are based on primary and careful data gathering. With this set of papers, we wish to tackle this lacunae by focusing explicitly on (1) the complex historical (dis)continuities in the use of violence in processes of state formation in the Philippines; clearly these (dis)continuities go beyond the current Duterte regime, (2) the remarkable nation-wide spatial variations in the manner violence is deployed, (3) the multiple and complex outcomes of this violence on everyday societal processes.

### › Explaining the Authoritarian Turn Before Duterte: Political Violence in the Philippines, 2001–2016

Sol Iglesias *National University of Singapore*

The authoritarian reversal in the Philippines is commonly characterized as abrupt, with the ascension of Rodrigo Duterte to the presidency in 2016. This paper offers a short history of the central-local dynamics that paved the way to Malacañang for a local strongman like him. It argues that the national and parochial uses of political violence changed from 2001, ushering in a period of democratic and institutional disruption; and that central-local dynamics explain the changes in the initiation, scale and conclusion of political violence.

From 2001, the Philippines experienced a recalibration in the scale of political violence. Political violence between 2005 to 2007 reached a peak not seen since the bloody political transition after the “people power revolution” that ousted the Marcos dictatorship in 1986. With the heightened use of political violence, mostly state-sponsored, the violation of basic civil and political rights became increasingly routine. This eroded the quality of an already precarious and unconsolidated democracy, built upon a famously weak state. This period paved the way for President Duterte’s presidency and its death toll of an estimated 13,000 killed in the first 18 months of the so-called “war on drugs”.

Central-local dynamics explain these patterns of political violence: while central government participation is required to escalate the levels of violence, the violence was worst when it was driven by local actors and their particularistic interests. The empirical evidence suggests that the literature on the Philippines that focuses on only either electoral violence or insurgency-related conflict tends to overlook their pernicious interactions. Moreover, the sustained use of violence for social control first emerges during this period in parts of the country—most significantly, in Davao City where Duterte was a longtime mayor.

The paper is drawn from an original database of over 1,890 cases of political violence in four regional groups: Northern Luzon (Ilocos, Cagayan Valley and Cordillera regions), Central Luzon, Eastern Visayas and Southern Mindanao. This database includes case files from investigations of the Commission on Human Rights, reports from human rights NGOs and daily newspaper scans.

This study offers a unique perspective by explaining variations in temporal, spatial, scale, onset and termination aspects of political violence in the Philippines.

### › The Dynamics of Local Violence: Explaining the Sub-National Context of War on Drugs in the Philippines

Brian Ventura *University of the Philippines, Visayas*

This paper examines the sub-national context of violence related to the war on drugs in the Philippines. The prevalence of violence in many democracies has been a puzzle that many literature in political science has tried to resolve for many decades. There are at least two ways that this problem is explored. The first approach focuses on macro structural condition such as the legacy of state formation; the problem of politicized military; and the intractability of insurgencies, ethnic and religious war, and secession. The second explanation focuses on more contextualized sub-national level of analysis, explaining the variation of violence within a given state. Among the explanations under this view are the dominance and violence of political dynasties; the prevalence of criminal activities in the area; the intense competition among political machineries and network of patronage. Uncovering the factors contributing to the spike of violent law enforcement in the current Duterte administration in the Philippines requires a focus on subnational comparative analysis, such as by comparing various local government units, or examining two to more cities or communities in the war on drugs. Accounting for local variations can help explain why, for instance, some local politicians readily jump into the bandwagon of violent war on drugs while others try to resist and explore other methods. Drawing from the case of war on drugs in the Iloilo City, Western Visayas in the Philippines, the data reveals that factional competition and the insecure position of local politicians contribute to their lack of autonomy vis-a-vis the local implementation of national policies. More specifically, the presence of competing factions create opportunities when the existing leaders confront vulnerabilities ensuing from their relationship with the national government. At the same time, the weakness of the support base of those in the position make them less able to challenge the push coming from the national government. The result is that the violence ridden war on drugs policy gets implemented by the national bureaucracy in the local level with little resistance or even widespread support from local politicians.

### › The Presidency of Murderers

Joel Ariate *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

Before Rodrigo Duterte, there was Joseph Estrada, before Estrada there was Ferdinand Marcos, before Marcos there was Jose P. Laurel, before Laurel there was Emilio Aguinaldo—five of the sixteen Philippine presidents either confessed to have killed another person or was accused of killing one. Joseph Stalin was said to have said, “Death solves all problems. No man, no problem.” This paper is a reflection on what these five individuals were trying to solve when they were accused of murder while president of the republic (or for some even before assuming the highest political office in the land). It is a reflection that casts a critical understanding on how machismo and the supposed preservation of a presidency rely on the logic of violence that equates potency with impunity. The lives of these five men represent distinct eras in the life of the Philippine republic, hence they also embody the functioning of a democratic state that accepts, if it is not inured to, the murderous tendency of its political elite.

### › Who Mourns for “Collateral Damage” Under Tokhang?

Elinor May Cruz *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

It is said that counting generally means looking for the “ideal,” as in ranking and the “characteristic,” as in representation. But where new “subjects” are said to emerge in new historical developments, as in the victims of Rodrigo Duterte’s war on drugs, where does collateral damage fit when it resists the state’s supposedly neat category of “drug addicts”? The deaths from collateral damage are not ideal in the sense that they are supposedly too few and tangential compared to the original and legitimate targets; they are also not characteristic in the sense that they are outliers, that is, with too many contradictions to help bring about parsimony. Compared with the “routinized

practices” of counting, deaths from collateral damage can make one pause, reflect, and ask why. They can also potentially steer the growing acceptability of and impunity for the killings toward critical focus on what has been, both in theory and practice, a movable boundary between legitimate and illegitimate targets of senseless violence. In the growing archives of documented deaths under Tokhang, this article espouses that the unaccounted for also be the subject of study, where a death, multiplied by the lives surrounding it through grief, with at least a set of parents and grandparents, maybe a wife, son, friend, connected to it, becomes exponential in trauma. It posits the question: under Tokhang’s free-for-all climate of impunity, whose lives and deaths will be fought for, mourned, and remembered? Using select news reports, this article explores the subject-phenomenon of collateral damage, in the backdrop of propaganda numbers that dangerously tread from “states of objectivity” to “states of authority,” toward a more inclusive and just approach to scholarship on violence.

---

## The Politics and Governance of Palm Oil Expansion in Southeast Asia 1

LOCATION	Room 1.404
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Ward Berenschot <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>

### ABSTRACT

The current palm oil boom is arguably one of the most rapid agro-environmental transformations in modern history. The rapid expansion of oil palm expansion is beset with problems, ranging from deforestation and forest fires to pollution and conflicts between companies and rural communities over access to land. Governments from Malaysia and Indonesia to Thailand, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea are struggling to deal with these challenges. The palm oil industry has adopted multi-stakeholder initiatives like the RSPO to improve (the image of) palm oil production, while rural communities throughout Southeast Asia are mobilising to pressurize companies and powerholders to address their grievances. At the same time palm oil expansion has generated informal, collusive connections between palm oil companies and political actors which has greatly complicated such efforts.

This panel aims to bring together studies on the varied character of these responses to palm oil expansion in different Southeast Asian countries. While there is a considerable literature on the governance of palm oil expansion, comparative studies have been scarce. Yet an understanding of (the effects of) palm oil expansion call for as comparative approach: as similar problems land in countries with different political, legal and societal settings, it provides a unique opportunity to study how these local contexts shape the different ways in which countries (fail to) manage the growth of oil palm plantations. When and under what conditions can rural communities succeed in addressing their grievances vis-à-vis palm oil companies? How do differing political contexts in Indonesia or Malaysia affect the capacity of governments to prevent deforestations and forest fires? And in what ways do differing legal regimes regarding (communal) land rights affect the politics of palm oil expansion? By bringing together informed (case-) studies from across Southeast Asia, this panel aims to take up such questions to better understand how the character of local politics and governance shapes palm oil expansion.

### PAPERS

#### › Managing Food Poverty in Sumatra’s Mature Oil Palm Landscapes

Henri Sitorus *University of North Sumatra*

John McCarthy *Australian National University*

Indonesia, along with many middle income countries across the Global South, is experiencing rapid economic growth, widening household inequality, uneven access to labour market opportunities and patterns of undernourishment in conjunction with high concentrations of wealth. This contradictory trajectory is associated with the booming palm oil sector, where a commodity in high global demand has been developed in a way that both generates affluence as well as sharpening patterns of agrarian inequality. This paper analyses the distinctive patterns of agrarian change found across North Sumatra’s extensive plantation belt, among the oldest areas of oil palm cultivation in Southeast Asia but also areas with high rates of undernutrition (stunting). The paper analyses how agriculture, tenure and labour regimes in these mature oil palm landscapes produce these issues. It also examines how development policy attempts to manage these problems, studying the distributional politics affecting access to land, labour opportunities and the social protection policies that aim to address the characteristic forms of vulnerability found in the landscapes of Sumatra’s old plantation belt.

## › The Great EU Palm Oil Debate: Comparing Regional Framing of the Problem and Responses

Annisah Smith *American University*

Helena Varkkey *University of Malaya*

The European Union ranks among the world's biggest palm oil importers (21% of global supply) and is the largest buyer of certified sustainable palm oil. 17% of Indonesia's and 13% of Malaysia's palm oil exports are shipped to the EU. However in early 2018, the European Parliament passed two resolutions; to phase out palm oil from the EU biofuels programme by 2020, and to impose a single certified sustainable palm oil (CSPO) scheme for all palm oil entering the EU after 2020. Following an intense period of lobbying by Indonesia and Malaysia, the EU replaced these resolutions with its revised Renewable Energy Directive (RED II) which phases out edible biofuel feedstock that have high indirect land use change risk. Producer states however have called fowl on this move for being simply a repackaged palm oil ban, as palm oil is likely to still fall within this category.

While the most severe effects of palm oil expansion affect communities within Southeast Asia, opposition has come largely from a region half a world away; first from consumers and then from national and regional EU institutions. Why did the same not occur in Southeast Asia? What interests dictate the national and regional responses to the issue in both regions? As the issue has boiled down to a debate between sustainability and neo-colonialism, what has been the role of regional institutions in framing national responses? Using a comparative regionalism approach, this paper attempts to analyse if these recent developments can be construed as regional rivalry or a genuine concern for the environment and development on both sides.

.....

## Scholars in Emerging Archaeological Researches in the Philippines ❶

LOCATION Room 1.405

TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)

CONVENER Kristine Kate A. Lim *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

### ABSTRACT

Archaeology is an exciting discipline in this 21st century of the Philippines with more collaborations and developing data and discussions given the older timeline of the peopling in the Southeast Asian region. Researches in the last few years have significantly contributed to a better understanding of early human migration and colonization, proving how connected the islands are to the rest of the world. Besides this, the field is also challenged with its role in today's global context and issues. In this panel, we invite and bring together young scholars with on-going archaeological researches on human adaptation to climate change, archaeological heritage management, and the application of new technologies in archaeological data presentation – key and emerging themes in the practice of Philippine archaeology.

### PAPERS

#### › Adding to Archaeological Chronologies in Island Southeast Asia through Newly-Discovered Sites in Southeastern Mindanao, Philippines

Anna Pineda *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

With the currently thriving archaeological studies in Island Southeast Asia, we are now in the position to assess how communities adapt to environmental change and societal stresses through time. It also opens new insights on the chronology of various archaeological sites. And while this is particularly true in many areas throughout the Philippines, studies on the island of Mindanao—especially at its southern area—is still relatively at its initial stages. This paper will provide results for a recent archaeological survey done in Southeastern Mindanao. These sites will be situated within the previously limited archaeological and historical researches within the area, while also comparing them to other sites throughout the Philippines and Island Southeast Asia. We can tentatively expand on human interactions and chronologically relate it with our current understanding of Island Southeast Asian record.

#### › An Overview of the Vulnerabilities of Maritime Cultural Landscapes in the Philippines

Kristine Kate A. Lim *Freie Universitat Berlin*

At present, there are a few types of research that examine the influence and impact of human activities and natural hazards focused on archaeological heritage seascapes in the Philippines. Often, vulnerability assessments pertaining to maritime and coastal landscapes do not necessarily account the cultural aspect in the discussion and predominantly has an environmental perspective. Accordingly, those that conduct vulnerability assessments in maritime and coastal communities are also focused on the impacts of climate change to coastal integrity, coral degradation, fish loss and consequently food security. These assessment tools lack discussion on how such phenomena affect our heritage systems especially in present-day shorelines that are more susceptible to climate change and other anthropogenic signals. If ever heritage systems make it to the discussion, they are also geared towards the understanding of the

impacts of natural disasters on built and natural heritage and lately, a growing interest on incorporating Indigenous knowledge and nothing on Philippine archaeological resources.

While those mentioned are surely a priority, one must also be able to account for an archaeological perspective in the conduct of vulnerability assessments in maritime and coastal sites. Archaeology as a discipline of human and material science with long-term data on human-environment interactions can go beyond this short-term and seemingly one-sided understanding of such occurrence and discuss systems of culture-environment change in aid of not only heritage conservation and management but also a holistic disaster risk reduction management plan.

Here, I will give an overview of these gaps and salient points that need to drawn-out in several studies and projects and show some archaeological examples that need our attention. With an interdisciplinary and integrated approach, this study is relevant in putting forward solutions and the understanding of human cultures in the context of pressing global issues.

### › **Developing a System for Cultural Heritage Management Applications for Prehistoric Sites and Materials of Cagayan Valley, Luzon Island, Philippines**

Caroline Marie Q. Lising *Ateneo de Manila University*

There is a need to develop and create a system for cultural heritage management applications for the province of Cagayan Valley, Philippines, which will serve as a platform upon which implementation of CRM plans and projects will be based. Cagayan Valley is a known location of numerous and the oldest archaeological sites in the country dating to the Middle Pleistocene. The master thesis of this candidate has shown that no comprehensive cultural resource management plan exists for the Cagayan province sites, hence the necessity for this project. The method to be employed mainly includes studying how other countries of similar socio-economic contexts with the Philippines have addressed their sites of similar characteristics. Two world-renowned Pleistocene sites—Sangiran in Indonesia, and Dmanisi in the Republic of Georgia—have been chosen as models to see how these have managed, protected and preserved, the information about them disseminated, and the involvement of stakeholders in the process. It aims to identify best practices in cultural heritage management based on historical as well as contemporary situations, to determine which of these best practices can be adopted for implementation in the Cagayan Valley, and what innovations can be made and applied to the context of the Cagayan Valley sites. Another reason for choosing these two sites is that both have produced similar faunal and lithic materials that have been found in sites in the Cagayan Valley, and lastly, both sites in these 2 countries are known to have implemented their own cultural heritage management strategies for a considerable period of time now. In the Philippines, the oldest human remains in the country to date have been found in Callao Cave, Peñablanca, Cagayan Province, dating to 67,000 kya (Mijares 2009). These Callao human fossils have recently been assigned a new species, *Homo luzonensis* (Detroit et al 2019). Although no human remains have yet been published from the Rizal, Kalinga site in the western border of Cagayan Valley, lithic materials and fauna that have been found and dated to 709 kya (Ingicco et al 2018) convince researchers that the humans that made these stone tools would have been *Homo erectus*, the same species in Sangiran and Dmanisi.

### › **Exploring How Humans Adapted to the Tropical Environment of Palawan Island During Prehistory and How They Used Its Resources**

Hermine Xhauflair *University of Cambridge*

Lithic industries in Southeast Asia are characterised broadly speaking by the paucity of formal tool types and simple production techniques. It has been suggested that this might be the consequence of an adaptation to the tropical environment in which human groups lived and that stone artefacts were complemented by a more complex industry made of bamboo. Use-wear analyses of stone tools seem to support this interpretation as many of them show traces related to plant processing. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether these traces are the result of manufacturing bamboo tools or if they are in fact related to processing other plants. In order to know if bamboo processing has a specific signature and can be distinguished from use-wear resulting from working other plants, I built up a reference collection by conducting experiments in Makiling Forest Reserve (Luzon Island). To be realistic, these were based on activities recorded in the field among Pala'wan communities (Palawan Island) who use wild plants on a daily basis. This approach led to the identification of a particular wear resulting from processing bamboo, as well as from other plants such as palms, banana trees and pandan. Using this new analytical tool, I studied artefacts from Tabon Cave dating to late Pleistocene (40-30,000 BP). The tools displayed evidence for processing different plants, such as palms, rattan and Donax. I also observed use-pattern related to different activities, including plant splitting and thinning fibres. These results, together with other recent discoveries, are beginning to challenge the bamboo hypothesis *sensu stricto* and show that prehistoric people adapted to the forests of SE Asia in a more holistic way, using a wide range of plant resources.

### › **Lessons from Interpret Europe: Adapting Heritage Interpretation and Alternative Education in the Philippines**

Andrea Natasha E. Kintanar *University of the Philippines*

Tuklas Pilipinas Society is a non-profit organisation that aims to spread awareness of archaeological heritage in the Philippines through alternative education and public archaeology. The group has been adapting lessons from Interpret Europe for Heritage Interpretation strategies, which they have also integrated with their own ideas. This presentation discusses various examples of public archaeology conducted by Tuklas in the Philippines, that have been effective in engaging local communities in heritage management and preservation of their archaeological sites. The different projects of Tuklas have close involvement of the local and national government. With this, the group has been able to review the government's implementation and initiatives. As with most public archaeology efforts, Tuklas emphasizes the importance of close interaction between the local community, archaeologists, and heritage practitioners in the course of their work.

## ➤ Paleogeography and Human Mobility in Island Southeast Asia from the Late Pleistocene through the Mid-Holocene

Emil Charles R. Robles *University of the Philippines*

Recent discoveries of new hominin species in Island Southeast Asia have highlighted the importance of the region in our understanding of the human past. Different species of the genus *Homo* have colonized the islands in spite of the need for oftentimes long sea crossings. A Geographic Information System approach to understanding palaeogeography, palaeoenvironments, and mobility through these island environments is presented here for Island Southeast Asia. This approach is undertaken using different spatial analytical tools in GRASS GIS. Paleogeographic changes due to Quaternary sea level changes are modeled using present-day bathymetric and topographic datasets. Resulting palaeogeographic models coupled with the palaeoenvironmental datasets are used to analyse mobility to different parts of the region. Resulting models show that during the Pleistocene through the mid-Holocene Island Southeast Asia experienced massive changes in the distribution of land and the oceans. This, in turn, have significant implications in our understanding of the history of human presence in the region and how they colonized and moved to the islands.

.....

## The Challenges Ahead and Future Trajectories of Indonesia's Defence and Security 1

LOCATION Room 1.406  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)  
CONVENER Keoni Marzuki *Nanyang Technological University*

### ABSTRACT

Indonesia's strategic environment, both domestically and externally, have changed significantly over the past decade and is likely to evolve in the future. Cognisant of the archipelago's dynamic security environment, President Widodo's administration espoused the Global Maritime Axis/Fulcrum doctrine that aims to propel Indonesia as a formidable regional maritime power. The doctrine is not unwarranted. In its immediate regional neighbourhood, Indonesia faces the prospect of a more assertive China that lay claim to the South China Sea, which gave rise to tension between several Southeast Asian countries with the regional hegemon. While not a direct party to the dispute, China's claims over the South China Sea is a great concern to Indonesia given that its EEZ and China's so-called Nine Dash Line overlap, not to mention the frequent skirmishes between the Indonesian Navy and Chinese Coast Guard.

Domestically, terrorism continues to be Indonesia's preoccupation. While the Islamic State is now a shell of what it used to be, its sympathisers in Indonesia – those who have went and returned or deported after attempting to cross into the Syrian border with the intention to further the caliphate's cause – is of a significant concern to Indonesia as security apparatuses feared that they intend to establish a caliphate in Indonesia and thus cause a spike in homegrown-terrorism and fuel radicalism. Counter-radicalisation effort, not only driven by government but also related stakeholders, therefore, would be an essential element in Indonesia's security sector. The role of women in both violent extremism and countering extremism has also been of debate as women had recently been an involved as an active participant in terror attacks in Indonesia. A discussion on the subject of gender and the role of women not only broaden the scope of the study, but also add a different perspective to a previously male-dominated terrorism environment. This panel aims to discuss and elaborate the security challenges that Indonesia is facing in the near future. More importantly, this panel seeks to discuss policies that Indonesia has adopted in tackling challenges and some aspects of the policy-making process.

### PAPERS

#### ➤ Assessing the Threats of Returnees and Deportees from Syria

Chaula Anindya *Nanyang Technological University*

This article seeks to assess the potential threats posed by returnees and deportees in Indonesia. National Police Chief Tito Karnavian claimed over 1100 Indonesians have emigrated to Syria. Of those, 500 people remain in Syria, 103 have been killed in Syria, and around 500 people have returned to Indonesia. Their return to Indonesia has raised concerned about the likelihood of terror plots by both returnees and deportees. However, will they pose an immediate threat to the country? This article will use the framework of Daniel Byman (2016) on the potential danger and the actual threat posed by returning foreign fighters. The assessment will be based on the number of attacks done by returnees and deportees since the beginning of the Syrian war, legal frameworks, and deradicalisation programmes. This article suggests that the actual threats posed by returnees and deportees remain low given the historical yardstick and newly ratified law on terrorism. Indonesia must enhance law enforcement, as well as addressing the problems of prison management and deradicalisation programmes to prevent greater potential threats.

### › Mapping the Role of Women in (Counter-)Violent Extremism in Poso: Preliminary Findings

Mohammad Zaki Arrobi *Universitas Gajah Mada*

Muhammad Najib Azca *Universitas Gajah Mada*

The article will present preliminary findings of ongoing research on the role of women in (counter) violent extremism in Poso. It attempts to identify and to understand the various roles played out by women in the violent extremist groups in post-conflict Poso. It will also critically evaluate the current programs of deradicalization by state and non-state actors that targeting the (former) violent extremist both men and women. Contrary to the dominant discourse that locates women as merely the victim of violent extremist groups and ideology, the study attempts to look at the women's agency and gender dynamics both in violent extremism and in counter violent extremism. The study has three main research questions that we seek to address: (1) how is the map of actor and group within women's supporter of violent extremism?; (2) how are the roles of women in violent extremist groups and how their role shaped by gender dynamics?; (3) what are the key factors (push & pull factor) that promote and prevent women from involving in violent extremist groups? The research found that the involvement of women in violent extremist groups in Poso can be described into four different categories, such as active supporter, active preventer, passive supporter, and passive preventer. Each category has a different degree of agency both in supporting and preventing violent extremism at the family, community, and society level. Meanwhile, we identified three key drivers of women's support and prevention for violent extremism, namely revenge, ideology, a combination of both, and pragmatism.

### › Reinforcing the Status Quo? Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum and Its Implication to the Defence Sector

Keoni Marzuki *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

This article investigates the defence aspect of the GMF, arguably one of the more understudied topic and least understood aspect of the concept. Specifically, this article seeks to examine whether the GMF concept effect changes to Indonesia's defence sector or otherwise and to what extent does it impact the defence sector if any. This article discusses several vital aspects within Indonesia's defence sector, namely strategic and defence outlook, defence procurement and spending priorities, defence doctrine and strategy, and deployment patterns of the military, and assess if any changes have taken place following the adoption of GMF. This article argues that while the concept instil greater awareness of the maritime domain in Indonesia's strategic thinking, its impact in the defence sector is limited due to a host of factors, such as the administration almost exclusive focus on the economic aspect of the GMF; the indirect involvement and shifting priorities of the concept's principal architects, particularly in policy implementation; the Widodo's administration business-as-usual approach in defence policy programmes that often conflict or irrelevant to the GMF; and some institutional impediments in the defence establishment.

### › "Suara Nahdlatul Ulama" in the Fight Against Radicalism and Extremism: Case Study of NU Online

Syafiq Hasyim *Nanyang Technological University*

This paper presents a case study of NU online in its role in providing online narrative and discourse about Islam and Nahdlatul Ulama's teaching for the members of this organisation in particular and Indonesian Muslims, in general, to fight against Islamic radicalism and extremism. At the beginning of its establishment, the NU online has no particular mission to fight against radicalism and extremism, but its main concern was rather to empower and protect the members of Nahdlatul Ulama from the prolific influence of other online media. This paper, therefore, considers the importance of elaborating the history of NU online-establishment, mission, daily operation and actors behind the NU online. As the largest Muslim organisation in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama has been left behind other Muslim organisations in benefitting online media for their da'wa activism. This paper explains that the onset of NU online is kind of a mimicry movement within Nahdlatul Ulama to the success of Islamist organisations in their da'wa activism through online media. This paper also tries to portray the expansion of NU online coverage from the providers of general issues on Islam and Nahdlatul Ulama to the providers of alternative and particular online materials for combating radicalism and extremism. The transition of the NU online from internal media-online to public online-media is also given special attention in this paper. Last but not least, this paper examines the role of young people within the NU online to lift the leverage of this online media from an underdog to top online media position in readership among Islamic online media in Indonesia.

### › The Role of the Indonesian Military in Indonesia's Foreign Policy Formulation: The Case of the South China Sea

Tiola *Nanyang Technological University*

As the largest state in ASEAN, Indonesia and its foreign policy in the South China Sea play a key role in shaping the region's dynamics. While numerous studies have been published on the issue, few have explored the role of the Indonesian Military (Tentara Nasional Indonesia – TNI) in the formulation of such policies. Indonesia's foreign policy itself is rarely a product of pure realism, but rather a result of internal dynamics and power struggles between various state institutions. However, beyond the bureaucratic infighting at the executive level, the TNI appears to have been influential in the issue – despite the law which bans them from participating in politics. In 2014, for instance, General Moeldoko, then-commander in chief of the TNI, stated that "Indonesia is dismayed ... that China has included parts of the Natuna Islands [an Indonesian regency located in the South China Sea] within the nine-dash line, thus apparently claiming a segment of Indonesia's Riau Islands province as its territory." This stands in contrast with the government's official stance, which emphasises that Indonesia does not have any overlapping territorial claim with China. Moreover, the TNI is also frequently involved in the deliberation process related to the South China Sea. The paper will explore the extent to which the military is influential in the formulation of Indonesia's policies in the South China Sea. In so doing, I will identify key foreign policies related to the issue – such as accelerated military build-up in Natuna; as well as decisions related to joint military training with ASEAN and the United States – and examine the dynamic between the military and the executive bodies in producing these policies. The paper will then examine the implications and 'lesson learned' from the case for other ASEAN countries.

# The Sociality of Infrastructure-Mediated Development: Dynamics of In/Exclusion in Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Panarai Ostapirat <i>Thammasat University</i> Richard L. MacDonald <i>Goldsmiths, University of London</i>

## ABSTRACT

This panel aims to develop a comparative perspective on dynamics of inclusion and marginalisation associated with infrastructure-mediated development in Southeast Asia. Historically, a diverse range of development models have been in operation across the region, and the legacy of these models continues to be felt in complex ways in the present. More recently, both the regional body, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and member states have committed themselves to common global development goals, including the adoption of sustainable and inclusive development strategies. However, according to a 2018 UNESCAP report, progress towards meeting these development challenges has been profoundly uneven. Despite having made significant progress in “industry, innovation and infrastructure” development, the report noted that Southeast Asia is the only subregion within Asia Pacific with widening inequalities, and, alarmingly, shows less progress in the development of “peace, justice, and strong institutions”.

Our panel take this divergence from commonly-held policy objectives as our point of departure. Our individual papers detail research focused on the sociality of infrastructure-mediated development, which foregrounds the dialectics of inclusion and exclusion in each case. Our case studies engage diverse national and regional policy visions for inclusive development: the ASEAN ICT Masterplan (AIM2020), Korean ODA's projects on rural development in Myanmar, urban planning in Thailand, financialisation in Lao PDR, digital inclusion among the indigenous communities in Malaysia and ethnic language accessibility in Vietnam.

Our research engages with diverse infrastructures conceptualised as material forms through which objects, ideas, finance and people circulate. Infrastructures are bound up with discourses of development and rhetorics of progress and are shaped by and in turn influence networks of power at local, national and global scales. Our research examines the infrastructures of smart urbanisation (Thailand), communication (Malaysia and Vietnam), finance (Lao PDR) and development aid (Myanmar). Across our case studies we aim to illustrate how the contingent processes of infrastructural development projects, and the differentially distributed opportunities for participation they imply create opportunities for social actors to challenge and subvert dominant development discourses. Finally, we propose how these social assemblages of regional ICT policy, ethically oriented development projects (Myanmar), smart urbanisation (Thailand), digital payment (Lao PDR), digital inclusion (Malaysia) and digitised ethnic scripts (Vietnam) offer an empirically grounded reconsideration of the discrepancy between state aspirations for national and global integration, and collective imagination of socio-economic equality and inclusive society.

## PAPERS

### › ASEAN ICT Masterplan 2020 and Discourses on ICTs and Development: Policies and Practices in Mainland Southeast Asia

Worapoj Wongkitrungruang *Thammasat University*

The establishment of ASEAN Community in 2015 marked a major milestone for the economic, socio-cultural and political integration in Southeast Asia. The ASEAN ICT Masterplan (AIM 2020) was designed at this juncture to support aspirations in steering ASEAN towards a digitally-enabled, innovative, inclusive, and integrated ASEAN community. The key objectives of AIM 2020 is to create an integrated digital economy and develop the human capacity, facilitate the emergence of a single market attractive to investment and talent, and build a safe and trusted digital environment. Though inclusive and sustainable development strategies are incorporated in AIM 2020 as ASEAN and its members have committed themselves to common global development goals, the neoliberal discourses on the roles of ICT in development seem to be more pronounced.

This presentation aims to analyze key discourses on ICT and development in AIM 2020. It provides an overview and discusses dynamic interactions of organizational structure connecting regional and national implementation of AIM 2020. It illustrates how local appropriation of policies yield to or challenge policy discourses at national or regional level across three areas of study: smart urbanization in Thailand, financial inclusion in Lao and ethnic diversity represented through local content in Vietnam. Mainstream, technology-centric discourses overemphasizing the role of ICT in propelling material growth may be dominant in AIM 2020 and national ICT Masterplan but social imagination on alternative vision focusing on people's capabilities to use ICT in a way that is inclusive, equitable and participatory can be emerging at local level.

› **Rendering Ethical: Global Saemaul Undong and the Spirit of Korean Developmentalism**

Jakkrit Sangkhamanee *Chulalongkorn University*

This paper is a reflection based on my research on the role of Korean ODA and Saemaul Undong (SMU) projects in development intervention outside Korea. Based on case studies in Myanmar, I look into the processes of transfer and implementation of Korean's experience in rural development, dated back to the authoritarian regime of Park Chung-Hee, and argue for the distinctiveness of Korean development intervention, characterised by the strong imposition of Saemaul Undong spirits onto local authorities and communities in recipient countries. I argue that, while the Korean's rural development program, like other donors', seems to render complex development issues technical, examining its implementation at the ground reveals a much more nuanced aspect of ethical re-education and enforcement.

The anti-politics machine of Korean's rural intervention, as the cases illustrate, operates by reposing political questions not only in technical but also in ethical terms. The hybridization of the technical and ethical intervention is done through a series of well-crafted curriculum and activities at the SMU training centers and carried out in daily life through community development operations and evaluation. Seeing not unlike a state, this process of rendering ethical through technical intervention in livelihood improvement operations, eventually, help to reinforce state apparatus in controlling and turning the citizen into a desirable subject. This, therefore, allows the Korean's ODA and its developmentalism to be able to work well with, and integrate into, authoritarian development regimes where the states seek to establish their power and regulation onto local agencies and communities.

› **The Smart City and its Citizens: The Participatory Dynamics of Smart Urbanisation in Khon Kaen, Northeast Thailand**

Richard L. MacDonald *Goldsmiths, University of London*

The development of smart urbanism in Khon Kaen in Northeast Thailand has been accompanied by a diverse range of novel mechanisms for the participation and consultation of citizens in matters of urban design and development including: hackathons, datathons, smart city forums, smart expos, innovation labs, participatory action research projects and so forth. These diverse platforms for citizen engagement, participation and consultation have been funded, supported and promoted by multiple agencies, from the city administration and the university, to the national digital economy promotion agency (DEPA) and United Nations Thailand via its SDG Action Plan. They have also brought to prominence a loose network of civic consultants, NGO activist-facilitators, social entrepreneurs and urban design and architecture experts.

Drawing on ongoing fieldwork started in April 2018 this presentation critically examines the efflorescence of platforms for citizen engagement associated with smart urbanism in Northeast Thailand. I situate this research in relation to both emerging scholarship on the neoliberal logic of smart citizenship in Europe and South Asia (Cardullo & Kitchin, 2018; Datta, 2018) and the recent theorisation of consultative mechanisms as a containment of conflicts over capitalist development in Southeast Asia (Roden, 2018). My presentation foregrounds the processes through which knowledge is shaped and managed by civic intermediaries in the participatory platforms of smart urbanism in Northeast Thailand. It develops the argument that as well as being carefully managed, citizen knowledge repeatedly dissipates in the recursive citizen engagement process, leaving only a generalised aura of engagement having been performed. Who are the primary beneficiaries of this aura, and how might citizen-focused knowledge production be done differently, are fundamental questions with which this research grapples.

.....

**Turning a Dissertation into a Book Manuscript**

<b>LOCATION</b>	Room 1.502
<b>TYPE</b>	Single Panel
<b>CONVENERS</b>	Benjamin Baumann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Gerald Jackson <i>NIAS Press</i>

**ABSTRACT**

How do I turn my dissertation into a book manuscript that attracts a publisher's attention? Many young scholars struggle after their defense to convert their detailed and frequently theoretically dense dissertation into a book manuscript that big presses consider worth publishing. In this panel, we seek to address the biggest problems in the process as well as possible solutions. The panel seeks to raise the following questions:

- What are publishers looking for in a book manuscript, especially if it is the author's first monograph?
- How do I find the appropriate press for my book manuscript on Southeast Asia?
- How to draft a promising book proposal from a dissertation manuscript that may still be too long?
- Which sections to cut and which to elaborate before I submit the proposal?
- What happens after my proposal is accepted?
- Where do I find help during the conversion process?

Moderated by Benjamin Baumann.

# Engaging Universals: Traveling Concepts and Practices in Contemporary Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Catherine Scheer <i>École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i> Sina Emde <i>Heidelberg University</i>

## ABSTRACT

In 1997, Cambodian and foreign judges started to work together to try former Khmer Rouge leaders for crimes against humanity within a hybrid court, set up by the Cambodian government and the United Nations applying both international and national law. A few years later, in 2001, the concept of “indigenous peoples” made its way into Cambodian law and, through human rights advocates, into the countryside, altering preceding notions of minority identity in a dominantly Khmer Buddhist nation. These are just two examples of current engagements of global normative ideas and practices in local settings in Southeast Asia.

In a wide area of fields such as transitional justice, rights-based activism, but also humanitarian aid and development, norms, concepts or tool kits travel globally and enter local contexts and communities. Presented as universals but always born in a specific cultural settings, they are usually transported and mediated in between the local and the global by persons such as development experts, rights activists, peace workers, or NGO employees. In the process both, the local and the global, are altered. Scholars have analyzed these different dynamics as frictions (Tsing 2005), translations (Lewis and Mosse 2006) or vernacularizations (Levitt and Merry 2009). Rather than concurring with established objectives and outcomes, such dynamics often give way to unexpected interpretations and developments. They might even engender new conflicts.

This panel invites ethnographically informed contributions that explore how people engage global ideas and practices across Southeast Asia. Where do such traveling concepts and tools originate? Which (human and non-human) actors and currents carry them? How are they translated or vernacularized, and what socio-cultural processes are thereby set in motion?

## PAPERS

### › Development Ideas Meeting Local Realities in Aid Context in Vietnam: A Case Study Analysis

Minna Hakkarainen *University of Helsinki*

Several earlier studies have noted that words that are central to development theory and practice have different meanings for different actors (e.g. Mosse 2005; Cornwall 2008; White 2004; Kurki 2010; Cornwall & Brock 2005). Concepts that guide aid practice carry values and ideals that are widely shared by the aid community, but are often interpreted in unexpected ways by aid recipients. Inspired by development ethnographies (Ferguson 1994; Li 2007; Mosse 2005) that show how socio-political and historical contexts become apparent in the course of aid interventions, the paper explores how local context and people's experiences manifest in contestation between different meanings given to the notion of participation. The paper discusses language as a means and an object of contestation in aid practice utilizing Bakhtin's theory of meaning (Bakhtin 1996). The theory makes a clear division between a word and its meaning and argues that time, space and an individual's personal experiences are key factors in a meaning construction process. Through an analysis of a case study, the paper explores how different interpretations of participation by a Western development NGO and project beneficiaries in Vietnamese villages were rooted in discrepancies of aid talk (giving exclusively positive attributes to participation) and Vietnamese socio-political realities (marked by state led participatory development practices). The paper further argues that aid interventions, therefore, should strive for creation of 'micro cosmoes', alternative realities that shape people's experiences, and consequently their understanding on concepts that are crucial for the success of chosen interventions, and to do so requires understanding of language as contextual and contested across time and space.

### › Environmentally Friendly: Traces of a Concept in an Indonesian Fishery

Katharina Schneider

Based on fieldwork at a Javanese fishing port, this paper examines the marks that 'environmentally friendly' has left as it has travelled into debates about fisheries development among fishers and fish traders. The concept is not new in this setting, and people seemed happy to use it in discussions of lifestyle choices. When it appeared in justifications of changes in fisheries policy that were threatening to severely impact their livelihood, however, most declared it irrelevant in this context. I sketch out different strategies for expelling the concept from such debates and indicate how boundaries between fishers and others, large and small, rich and poor, people and government, Indonesia and other nations have been redrawn as a result.

## › “The Logic of the One”? Citizen Aid in Cambodia

Anne-Meike Fechter *University of Sussex*

Critiques of conventional development have highlighted the ‘travelling rationalities’ (Mosse 2011) which oft underpin development programmes devised by donors or large-scale aid agencies. These might include models such as ‘good governance’, forms of healthcare, or modalities of remembrance. These concepts are often presented as universal, while masking their origins in particular historical, political and social contexts. In the case of small-scale private aid activities, which are driven by independent individuals from the Global North and South, such travelling universals may, at first glance, be less evident. These initiatives are characterised, however, by a consistent focus on the ‘logic of the one’, or the belief that ‘every person counts’. Such a framework is fitting and, one might argue, necessary, as these practices are by their nature mostly focused on creating changes in the lives of individuals. Might the ‘logic of the one’ (Malkii 2016), though, be another such concept which appears universal, while originating in a Western-inspired neoliberal framework, which places the responsibility of one’s own welfare, as well as that of selected others, on the individual person? Based on ethnographic fieldwork with such small-scale aid projects in Cambodia, the proposed paper will explore these questions.

.....

## Identity: Forging Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Volker Grabowsky <i>Universität Hamburg</i>
DISCUSSANT	Yves Goudineau <i>École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>

### ABSTRACT

Southeast Asia is home to multiple ethnic and religious identities, which – through historical processes dating to colonial and pre-colonial times – have shaped the nationalism of modern nation-states. Local loyalties were shaped by their inclusion in broader systems of belief like Buddhism, Confucianism, Islam and other ideological frameworks, both transnational, and national, and often mixed. These identities underpin Southeast Asian citizens’ sense of their membership of the ASEAN Community. In recent years, ASEAN has paid attention to the shaping of new forms of collective imaginations about the future of the region. These have committed the Association to directions that reach beyond the politico-economic realm and are grounded in a growing awareness of the interrelatedness of the region’s diverse cultures. In fact, Southeast Asian identity should not be confused as a conceptual tool with the identity of ASEAN as a regional organisation. The identity of Southeast Asians may rather be seen as an arena for the interplay of different forces competing for the allegiances of its inhabitants.

We invite papers dealing both with elite-driven projects of forging a regional belonging and endeavours evolving from grassroots movements. Special emphasis is laid on competing forces providing a key to understand the dynamic or regional belonging in Southeast Asia, such as generations (belonging shaped by collective experiences of age groups), transnationalism, violence and trauma (identities forged by perpetrators as well as victims), gender, and migrational experiences.

### PAPERS

#### › Buddhist Pilgrimages in the Upper Mekong Basin, Revival of Tai (Transnational) Identities: The Case of Phra That Chiang Ngoen, Mueang Hun, Sipsong Panna

Sirui Dao *Universität Hamburg*

The Theravada Buddhism and Buddhist sites in Sipsong Panna (Xishuang Banna) in China have been tremendously destroyed during several political upheavals from the late 1950s until the early 1970s. However, since the early 1980s, Buddhism and Buddhist architecture have been restored. This article aims to analyze the revival of transnational religious-ethnic Tai identity from the reconstruction of Buddhist place in the Upper Mekong Basin, through the case of Phra That Chiang Ngoen (Chiang Ngoen Pagoda) in the autonomous Tai prefecture Sipsong Panna. The recent reconstruction of Phra That Chiang Ngoen of Mueang Hun in 2000–2004 is a fine example of an transnational Tai Buddhist network, the agents of which are internationally-renowned holy monks and which are based on transnational donations and trans-border pilgrimage of Buddhist laity. The reconstruction was initiated in 2000, led by Khruba Saeng La (Myanmar), together with Kruba Sin Man (Myanmar) and other three local monks of Sipsong Panna, China. The donations from lay people of Myanmar and Thailand largely contributed to the construction expense. The construction being completed in 2004, Tai people from Myanmar and Thailand also crossed the border to participate in the completion ceremony.

## › **Death of the Last King: Memory, Identity and Belonging Among the Tai Lue of Sipsong Panna**

Roger Casas *Austrian Academy of Sciences*

On the night of 30 September to 1 October, 2017, Chao Mom Kham Lue, the last chao phaendin, or 'lord of the land' of Sipsong Panna (Ch.: Xishuangbanna, Yunnan Province, China), passed away in a hospital in Kunming. Removed from its former prominence and relegated to a powerless position since the founding of the People's Republic in the mid-twentieth century, the last ruler of this small, formerly semi-independent polity was for many a symbol of an identity distinguishable from that of the 'Chinese Nation' and transcending the country's borders (Hsieh 1995). After his death, different groups both in and outside China organized appropriated rituals to honour the memory of the former king; at the same time, for many Tai Lue, especially those in younger generations, the event went unnoticed.

Using the figure of the last ruler of Sipsong Panna to evoke 'underlying historical processes' as well as 'local, national, and transnational discourses about contemporary social life and its futures' (Barker, Harms and Lindquist 2014), this presentation offers an ethnographically informed exploration of the role that the memory (or lack thereof) of the chao rulers plays in the production of localities among Tai Lue today. Avoiding stereotypical and essentialist notions of identity in this multicultural region, the discussion pays special attention to the resilience of discourses and rituals related to pre-modern forms of power among the Tai peoples of southwest China in a context of profound socioeconomic transformations, and of increasingly vocal demands of allegiance to a national, imagined community.

## › **Flexible Identities Amongst the Indian Diaspora in Chiang Mai, Thailand**

Ayuttacorn Arratee *Chiang Mai University*

This paper explores identity formations among members of the Indian diaspora in Chiang Mai, Thailand. It also focuses on kinship, economic and religious networks that serve to strengthen cultural notions of an Indian community. The study aims to investigate the ways in which members of the Indian diaspora construct flexible notions of identity to engage with elites and markets in Asian countries as well as their homelands, as they understand and relate with them. Data are traced through Indian diasporic networks in Chiang Mai, in relations with their contacts in other provinces in Thailand, as well as in Myanmar, and the Punjab Region in India. The Indian government issues an overseas citizen of India (OCI) card for Thais of documented Indian heritage; some members of the diaspora avail themselves of this bureaucratic advantage for the advancement of their children's education, religious connections and authenticity, and economic mobility. At the same time, they find ways to connect with Thai institutions and culture. Members of the Indian diaspora selectively assimilate into Thai society through marriage and religious practices. They also create connection with the Thai royal family and government agencies, and at the same time support marginalized people through social activities. Findings reveal that intercultural communication of Indian diaspora are de-territorialized, flexible and mobile through family, economic and religious networks.

## › **How Vietnamese Fishermen Forged Their Identity and Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia in the Era of Globalization?**

Nguyen Quoc-Thanh *Lyon Institute of East Asian Studies*

Within Southeast Asia, many identities and cultures stand side by side. Inside this area of cultural richness, the fishermen community remains at the outside with their own stages of development. The question of identity is then probably one of the most sensitive issues for them in the era of globalization. Men of no borders, their community represents a group living beyond all boundaries, with its own traditions dictated by their work, forged by beliefs coming from India, China or elsewhere many centuries ago. More than any other communities, the fishermen are influenced by external cultures. So what is meant by « Identity » when referring to the fishermen? What is the difference between them and those of the hinterland? How can we identify the various stages of their identities' development? And how do they forge their belonging in Southeast Asia? Beyond these concerns, the answers to these questions will help us to better understand Asian maritime communities. This paper aims to present a case-study research proposal in which Vietnamese fishermen demonstrate their skills to integrate Southeast Asian communities, their ability to take their place and their maritime common identity composed with their individual identities.

## › **Regional Citizenship Beyond Rights: Assessing Regionalisation of Belonging, Access, and Rights in ASEAN**

Amalie Weinrich *Göteborg University*

How is citizenship practiced beyond the nation state in ASEAN? The concept of citizenship is present in ASEAN discourse and the organisation's framework but officially remains confined to the nation state. The idea of Southeast Asian regional citizenship or ASEAN citizenship is not an official part of the organisation's framework. Yet, as more people move across national borders, traditional conceptions of citizenship are increasingly being challenged and new types of citizenship below and above the nation are emerging.

In Southeast Asia, citizenship is by and large characterised by the prioritisation of collective regulation over individual rights, contingent membership over universal membership, and subnational and supranational networks and hierarchies over national democratic principles (Chung, 2017; Kennedy, 2016). This conceptualisation of citizenship is also implicitly evident within the ASEAN discourses. Instead of providing individual citizenship rights beyond a single nation state, specific and often case-by-case rights are allocated to groups of people. This is evident in the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration, as well as the various protocols on the protection of women and children as well as migrant workers in the region. While citizenship officially remains confined to the nation states, elements of regional citizenship have manifested themselves in the form of individual policies and informal networks. Moreover, through the development the ASEAN community and the Masterplans of each community, we increasingly see an extension of citizenship beyond a single nation state. This trend is also visible in the ASEAN discourse around identity, which is increasingly being promoted with clear regional traits.

In this paper, the three main dimensions of citizenship, rights, access, and belonging serve as the analytical framework and are used to assess how ASEAN is practicing citizenship at the regional scale. The paper is situated within current conceptual discussions in

citizenship studies and regionalism. Yet, the paper stands to contribute important new findings from an under-researched case – ASEAN.

The paper makes use of empirical data gathered during field research in five ASEAN Member States: Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Singapore, and Thailand, which took place between November 2018 and February 2019. It includes interviews conducted with senior officials from the ASEAN Political-Security Community, the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, with national representatives to ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) and ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC), as well as with senior officers at the ASEAN Secretariat (ASEC) and the ASEAN Foundation. Additionally, material from semi-structured interviews with eleven international organisations working on citizenship, migration, regional integration, and human rights in Southeast Asia are used for the analysis of the paper.

.....

## Borneo and Beyond: Connecting the Local and the Global in Borneo's Past 1

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Jennifer R. Morris <i>National University of Singapore</i> Valerie Mashman <i>Sarawak Museum Campus Project</i>

### ABSTRACT

Borneo is often characterised as a remote, isolated island, peripheral to regional and global networks and narratives. Scholars of Borneo, however, have long recognised the inaccuracies of this perception, given the island's long history of participation in global trading networks. Eric Tagliacozzo (2013) argues that, in fact, by the second half of the nineteenth century, Borneo was a centre of transnational connection. During this period, European interests on the island targeted trade in mineral resources, forest products and the cultivation of export crops. At the same time, Western explorers and collectors were drawn to the island, motivated by a search for wealth and for knowledge of Borneo's unique flora, fauna and peoples - knowledge which was highly prized in scientific circles. The introduction of European styles of governance and peace-making gave further impetus to trade, but Borneans remained at the centre of these networks, agents of change in their cross-cultural interactions with global forces.

This panel aims to explore Borneo's position as a hub in such transboundary networks – economic, political, scientific and cultural - and to highlight the island's historical significance in regional and global perspective. Participants will demonstrate how a world-history framework can be combined with interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Borneo's past to draw out previously unheard voices in the island's story. These approaches include the consideration of alternative source material, such as oral histories and material culture; interrogating colonial sources from new perspectives, including recently declassified archives; and the examination of 'subaltern' experiences in Borneo societies.

### PAPERS

#### › A Shield for the Rajah: A Gift from the Badeng of Borneo in Rome

Valerie Mashman *Sarawak Museum Campus Project*

Often exotic objects are displayed in western museums for their powerful aesthetic rather than historical value because little is known regarding the provenance and history of the object. A chance encounter with a colleague's photograph of a shield in the Vatican Ethnological museum reveals a series of transactions: a trusted Madang (Badeng) chief Saba Irang gave a shield in 1899 to Charles Hose to be given to Rajah Charles Brooke as a sign of peaceful acceptance of Brooke Rule, in Sarawak, Borneo. This came after a series of uprisings, punitive expeditions, relocation of communities and reconciliation. The context and act of giving this shield is examined in the context of peace-making and trade. This gift did not stay in Sarawak as a reminder of the relationship this chief had forged with the Rajah but disappeared only to be found exhibited in the Vatican Museum some 120 years later. A case is made for this object to be exhibited in Sarawak for its story to be told with the source community who have spent the intervening time straddling the borderlands in Borneo between Kalimantan Indonesia and Sarawak Malaysia, vying for recognition and their rights as citizens of the state of Sarawak. Their story on the borders of the state is encapsulated in the biography of the shield and its presence can provide a voice for the telling of the history of peace-making from the margins.

#### › Advantageous Opportunities: Securing Objects from Borneo for Scotland's National Museum

Rosanna Nicolson *National Museums Scotland*

In 1906 the Royal Scottish Museum purchased part of colonial official Charles Hose's collection through an auction house. In the annual report for the same year the Keeper of the Art and Ethnographical Department wrote: 'Advantage is taken of every suitable opportunity to secure objects from those countries in which the native customs and arts are being changed under the influence of modern

civilization'. These opportunities were created because Europeans, like Charles Hose, travelled, lived and worked overseas, flooding the 'market' with material culture illustrative of these countries upon their return home.

This paper will focus on the transnational networks and connections that provided Scotland's national museum with opportunities to acquire, both by purchase and donation, six hundred objects from Borneo. The majority were accessioned between 1870 and 1920, and due to the historic British presence in north Borneo the strength of the collection is material from Sarawak. This area of the collection is under-researched, in part because of this institution's past curatorial and geographic divisions. But, as the largest section of our Southeast Asian collection, research is now underway to establish what we have and to understand the historic contexts of acquisition. This in turn will lead to new networks and connections between Borneo and Scotland.

### › Annoying Requests: A Halle Missionary's Collecting in Borneo (1842–1848)

Jutta Kelling *FernUniversität Hagen*

When in 1878 the first plans came up to build a museum in Sarawak, Brooke's officers and the local population were asked to contribute and collect for the foundation of today's oldest museum in Borneo that was opened in 1891. But it is hardly known that some individuals from Europe were collecting and gathering cultural artefacts and natural scientific specimen of various kinds on the remote island much earlier. Missionaries from the German towns Halle and Barmen were working from 1838 on near Banjarmasin. Being sent out to promote Christianity among the Dajak they lived close within the communities and had a pivotal role in exploring the foreign island and its indigenous peoples. Reports, language studies or objects moved from the periphery to Europe crossing more than just geographical boundaries.

One of the missionaries was Johann Michael Carl Hupe (1818-1861) from Halle who even travelled to Sarawak and tried to establish a mission school there. Although there is some awareness of his linguistic work and his existence in Kuching he is still a vague person for Borneo researchers. Of course, the early missionaries on the island were of no exception to others but the vast literature about the contributions made by missionaries to the natural sciences and European ethnological collections during the nineteenth and the early twentieth century has not studied the case of Borneo so far.

This presentation explores the Hupe's role as a source for European knowledge and images about Borneo drawing on archival material from Halle. The first part follows Hupe's way to Sarawak and it focuses on how objects and specimen were collected. What were the instructions from Halle and for whom did he collect? What was Hupe's own attitude? Moreover, the presentation examines the new life of the items from Borneo in Germany. Many of them can still be found in the museum collection of the Francke Foundations others circulated and were passed on in different ways within existing networks. In the end, this small research will also demonstrate how interests in Europe targeted Borneo even in the first half of the 19th century and connected the island to scientific and cultural circuits with the traffic of its objects.

### › “Romance, Savagery and Authentic Jungle Thrills”: Exhibiting Brooke Sarawak on the Global Stage 1900–1925

Jennifer R. Morris *National University of Singapore*

The second Rajah of Sarawak, Charles Brooke, was a passionate advocate of public museums. His founding and design of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching can be interpreted as part of a concerted campaign to shore up his political position in the early years of his rule. Brooke did not, however, confine his museumising to Borneo. He also used the public museum as a tool to influence perspectives on Sarawak and on his own kingship in the UK, founding a second 'Sarawak Museum' in his country house in Cirencester. His successor, Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke, adapted many of his father's strategies to the medium of the international exhibition.

This paper will consider the ways in which the Chesterton House Museum (1904-1923) and Sarawak's participation in both the 1922 Malaya-Borneo Exhibition in Singapore and the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley represented Brooke Sarawak to regional and global audiences. Each of these three case studies utilised visual spectacles drawing on zoological, ethnographic and economic themes to communicate specific narratives of the Brooke state, tailored to their respective audiences in Southeast Asia and Europe. These exhibitionary strategies, and public responses to them, give insight into shifting perceptions of Sarawak's place in global and imperial networks.

.....

## Southeast Asian Studies: Directions, Themes and Collaborations

LOCATION Fritz-Reuter-Saal

TYPE Round Table

CONVENER Sikko Visscher *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

### ABSTRACT

In this Roundtable we want to explore where the field of Southeast Asian Studies (SEAS) is heading. Which actions and directions do we need to take to stay relevant in the eyes of those outside our circle? But, perhaps more importantly, what work do we want and feel we need to do to develop SEAS scientifically as well as societally? The panelists will be asked to reflect on this in brief statements after which the audience is invited to join the discussion.

Topics and themes to address could be: **Interdisciplinarity** and **transdisciplinarity**; **Comparative perspectives** within SEA *and* with other regions; studying **governance** as a mechanism for societal organization of implementational paths of change; organizing consortia around **Sustainable Development Goals** such as **Climate Change, Biodiversity, Livelihood, Health** etc. to ensure thorough reflection from the Social Sciences and Humanities.

It is envisioned that a second Roundtable on this subject will take place at the SEASIA conference in Taipei (December 2019) to further develop and enrich our discussions.

#### PARTICIPANTS

- › Alan Frendy Koropitan *Bogor Agricultural University*
- › Caroline Hau *Kyoto University*
- › Khin Zaw Win *Tampadipa Institute*
- › Mária Strašáková *Palacký University Olomouc*
- › Sikko Visscher *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*
- › Silvia Vignato *Università di Milano-Bicocca*
- › Vincent Houben *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

# Session 8

THURSDAY 15:30–17:00

---

Room 1.101	<b>On Being Radical or Moderate: The Many Ways of Interpreting Radicalism and Promoting Moderate Islam in Contemporary Indonesia 2</b>
Room 1.102	<b>Mediating and Mediatizing Political and Religious Authorities 2</b>
Room 1.103	<b>Labour Migration: Diversity and Inequality, and Imaginaries of the Future in Southeast Asia 2</b>
Room 1.201	<b>The Development Challenges of Post-Socialist Southeast Asia: The Politics, Economics and Geography</b>
Room 1.204	<b>Encountering Spirits: Trance and Spirit Possession in the Performing Arts of Contemporary Southeast Asia</b>
Room 1.308	<b>Health Equity and Embodied Vulnerabilities in a Region in Transition</b>
Room 1.401	<b>Offline and Online Spaces of Southeast Asian Transnational Migration: Facebook, Mall, Museum and Art 2</b>
Room 1.404	<b>The Politics and Governance of Palm Oil Expansion in Southeast Asia 2</b>
Room 1.405	<b>Scholars in Emerging Archaeological Researches in the Philippines 2</b>
Room 1.406	<b>The Challenges Ahead and Future Trajectories of Indonesia's Defence and Security 2</b>
Room 1.501	<b>The Sociality of Infrastructure-Mediated Development: Dynamics of In/Exclusion in Southeast Asia 2</b>
Room 1.503	<b>Engaging Universals: Traveling Concepts and Practices in Contemporary Southeast Asia 2</b>
Room 1.504	<b>Identity: Forging Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia 2</b>
Room 1.505	<b>Borneo and Beyond: Connecting the Local and the Global in Borneo's Past 2</b>
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>ROUND TABLE New Area Studies and Southeast Asia</b>

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/8](http://euroseas2019.org/session/8)

## On Being Radical or Moderate: The Many Ways of Interpreting Radicalism and Promoting Moderate Islam in Contemporary Indonesia ②

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Muhammad Adlin Sila <i>Religious Research and Development Agency, Ministry of Religious Affairs &amp; State Islamic University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta</i>
DISCUSSANT	Martin Slama <i>Austrian Academy of Sciences</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Dancing to a Different Drum: Reimagining Social Harmony in Post-Democratic Transition Indonesia

Karim *University of Amsterdam*

During the last two decades, a dramatic transition from authoritarianism to a rapid process of democratization has been experienced by many different societies across the world. This 'democratic phenomenon' has been marked with a changing character of interdependently hybrid governance arrangements and a massive transformation in many different dimensions, including in practices and discourses of state, non-state actors, and security provisions. As a result, it has not only complicated the state-centered analytic approach to social order, but also challenged the notion of what Benedict Anderson calls 'imagined communities', presenting nationalism as a way of imagining and as well as creating community. Drawing from a comparative ethnographic research in two different urban settings in Indonesia, this paper explores the distinct ways of how two different non-state actors, GP Ansor (Ansor Youth Movement, a youth wing of NU, campaigning Islam Nusantara) in the one hand, and Jamaah Maiyah (a new religious movement, led by a unique Indonesian Muslim scholar Emha Ainun Nadjib, promoting Negeri Maiyah and is using a term of 'organism' instead of organization), offering their visions of social order and social harmony within Indonesian post-democratization context and beyond that is impacted by violent extremism. As their socio-religious movements are also introducing and envisioning new kinds of perspectives of the state, creating new consciousness of nationalism, and dealing with security provision (both in the discourse and practice), this paper also grasps different approaches and strategies utilized by these religious groups that competing post-democratic imaginaries relate to each other and come to constitute a new "imagined community" within post-reform Indonesian society

#### › Jakarta: Halal City? Progressive Responses to the Conservative Turn in Urban Religion in Jakarta and Its Effect on National Politics in Indonesia

Mark Philip Stadler *University of Copenhagen*

Indonesian society is going through a phase coined as "conservative turn" in recent debates in Southeast Asian Studies and social sciences. With it, scholars throughout the field connect the rise of conservative values, mostly through the strengthening of Islam in politics, but not limited to it. Open calls for officially banning same-sex relationships, co-habitation of unmarried couples and campaigns such as "Indonesia tanpa pacaran" (Indonesia without dating) dominate the public debate. The 2017 gubernatorial elections and the 2019 parliamentary and presidential elections have been heavily influenced by this conservative turn also. It can be predicted that Indonesia is entering a time of "illiberal democracy" in the next five to fifteen years at least. In urban areas, the Muslim mainstream organizations Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) seem to be incapable of handling the conservative turn. At the kampung (urban village/settlement) level, both organizations have little if no presence, physically as well as ideologically. Muhammadiyah has its stronghold in the urban middle class but the organization does not reach below. NU is traditionally considered to have a rural base and therefore too is not all too present in the many kampungs. Mostly organizations such as the Front of the Defenders of Islam (Front Pembela Islam; FPI) are in control of the lower-class discourse despite the fact that organizations like this are still the minority in Indonesia. Discourses such as "Islam Nusantara" and "Islam Berkemajuan" are not known to many kampung dwellers. In response to the conservative turn and even radical turn of many kampungs in Jakarta with calls for "halal kampung" and "halal city", there is opposition from progressive groups of a variety of religious background, Muslim, Christian and other, which want to produce a counter narrative. These initiatives, one of the being Islam Bergerak, advocate for openness, open society and democracy, sexual orientation free from persecution and interfaith harmony. They conduct and support interfaith marriages, are in support of workers (unions), religious minorities such as the Ahmadiyya and political progressive grass-roots confederations and parties. These initiatives however are not heard on the national level (yet), neither do they have direct political influence. Yet, an obvious clash of values is happening in the city which might result in severe and bitter competition over who is going to design the value composition of the city as well as the nation state.

This presentation is a cross-field study between urban studies/urbanism and religious/Islamic studies. It is envisaged that there will be possible contributions to both fields as part of the wider field of Southeast Asian Studies.

#### › Pesantren As'adiyah and the Dissemination of Values of Moderate Islam in Eastern Indonesia

Wahyuddin Halim *State Islamic University Alauddin, Makassar*

Following the publication of Dhofier's seminal study about pesantren in 1982 (1999), a significant number of scholarly works have been written about this oldest Indonesian Islamic model of learning. Most of these works, however, have focused on pesantren in Java, and

to some extent on those in Sumatra. My paper explores the various roles played by Pesantren As'adiyah, the oldest pesantren in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, in disseminating values of moderate Islam in the province in particular, and in the eastern parts of Indonesia more generally since the 1930s. Mainly through its traditional and modern Islamic learning programs and Islamic preaching activities, this pesantren introduces, disseminates and preaches to the Muslim people in the pertinent regions the type of moderate and pluralistic Islamic teaching and interpretation. With hundreds of madrasa (Islamic schools) in primary and secondary levels since 1950s that it has established both in South Sulawesi and other provinces in Indonesia, As'adiyah has contributed to the teaching, spread and maintenance of the moderate Islamic theology of Ahlulsunnah wal Jama'ah (followers of the prophet tradition and the majority of Muslim community) in the most parts of eastern Indonesian, creating the same nuance of religious life and practice as those found in most parts of Indonesia thanks to the role of other traditionalist organisation, especially the Nahdlatul Ulama that was established in East Java in 1926. The paper argues that by playing such an important role, As'adiyah, both as education and socio-religious institution, has helped to strengthen the moderate way of understanding and practicing Islam among the majority Muslim in Indonesia against the project of newer Muslim groups currently that are actively engaged in promoting a more radical and exclusive Islamic ideology to the pluralistic Muslim communities in Indonesia.

› **The Role of NU Universities in Mainstreaming Moderate Islam in Indonesia**

Fatimah Husein *State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta*

The paper discusses the programs and activities of universities that are closely related to Nahdhatul Ulama in mainstreaming moderate Islam. Universitas Islam Malang (Unisma) and Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang (UIN Maliki), both are located at an important site of the radical movement in East Java, will be two cases the paper will analyse. It focuses on best practices that demonstrate how the two universities develop their moderate Islam policies and strategies in light of the development of Islamism in Malang in general, and at Islamic universities in particular.

.....

**Mediating and Mediatizing Political and Religious Authorities 2**

LOCATION Room 1.102  
 TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
 CONVENERS Merlyna Lim *Carleton University*  
 Saskia Schäfer *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

**ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

**PAPERS**

› **Contested Da'wa: The Trajectories of Online Islamic Proselytization in Indonesia**

Ibnu Nadzir *Indonesian Institute of Sciences*

Islamic proselytization in Indonesia has long been portrayed to be characterized by the contestation between traditional and modernist preachers. Despite criticism addressed to these classification with slightly different variant, this portrayal still hold its relevance throughout several decades (Bruinessen, 2013; Geertz, 1976; Hefner, 2000). These categorization thus has become salient feature in the discussion of research on Islamic proselytization in Indonesia as well.

In the early period of Indonesia, the contestation of da'wa was dominated between two major Islamic organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah. Ahmad Dahlan who was fascinated by the ideas of Islamic modernization from thinkers such as Muhammad Abduh, developed Muhammadiyah as a da'wa organization who adheres to the mixture of purification and modern ethics. In response to that, seeing that traditional Islamic practices under the threat of purification several ulamas including Hasyim Asyari initiated NU. These two organizations are still the most influential Islamic organizations in Indonesia today. Nevertheless, within the last two decades their religious authorities are contested by the emergence of relatively newer Islamic streams, among which are Tarbiyah, HTI, and Salafi.

One of the most important strength of da'wa among these newer Islamic streams are their capabilities to incorporate Internet into Islamic proselytization. It is exemplified from the rise of popular preacher such as Felix Siauw, Salim A. Fillah or Abdus Somad who build their religious authorities mainly by engaging his followers using social media. Another example could also be seen from the initiation of da'wa channels from several Salafi based organizations like Yufid or Rodja.

In general NU or Muhammadiyah members tend to underestimate the impact of online da'wa developed by these organizations. However, the growing influence online da'wa among mainstream Moslem particularly urban area has triggerd similar initiatives from NU or Muhammadiyah members. Some NU member for example, uploaded public sermons of renowned traditional preacher such as Anwar Zahid on Youtube (Kiptiyah, 2017). On the other hand, other members of these organizations developed website as platform to

voice their ideological standing, as exemplified by websites such as NU Online or Islam Berkemajuan. Online platforms thus has become an arena where the claim of religious authorities are contested between those organizations.

Despite many research conducted on the practices of online da'wa (e.g. Hew, 2018; Nisa, 2018), the overview of this contestation is still relatively nascent. In that context, drawing from comparative analysis on online da'wa practices performed by NU, Muhammadiyah, and Salafi based organizations, we propose to classify online da'wa into two categories: personal and collective form of online da'wa. Personal online da'wa are the ones that developed their platform based from individual charisma of a preacher. On the other hand, collective online da'wa are initiatives that focuses more on the content. As in any other category proposed in social sciences, on empirical situation both of this classifications might overlapped with one another. Nevertheless, we argue that the categorization would help us to comprehend better the dynamics contestation of online da'wa between Islamic streams. Moreover, the category would also useful to understand the production of religious authorities on Internet and how it might implicate Islamic normativities in Indonesia.

### › “Pop-Islamist” Preachers: Marketing Religious Conservatism and Shaping Political Discourses in Indonesia and Malaysia

Hew Wai Weng *National University of Malaysia*

This paper analyses the politics of contemporary religious movement in relation to changing practices of religious media consumption. It examines how and under what conditions, 'pop-Islamist' preachers use various offline and online strategies, as well as combine both marketing and multi-media skills, to shape religious and political discourses in Malaysia and Indonesia. It focuses on the preaching activities of media-savvy, business-minded and politically-active Felix Siau, and his various preaching teams such as YukNgaji and HijabAlila. Highlighting the roles of visual aesthetics, it explores how they use various online and offline media (such as visual books, Facebook postings, Instagram stories, short films, animations and artworks) to subtly promoting Islamist ideology, as well as bringing Islam, politics, and business together as a whole package. Their preaching styles and contents are appealing to urban Muslim youth and middle-classes who have just rediscovered their religiosity, as it aspires them not only to be more religious but also to be more politically-engaged, socially-mobile and business-friendly. By doing so, these young preachers are challenging not only existing religious authorities but also ruling political leaders and established business elites, through their multimedia practices and aesthetic appropriations.

### › Spiritual Resistance in Cambodia: Social Media and Religion

Sokphea Young *University College London*

Spiritual potency and religious practices are used by scholars elucidate the pre-colonial state formation, expansion and protection in Southeast Asia. In the era of economic and technological advancement, the rhetoric of protecting of a community, as a place of ritual and spiritual practice, is amalgamated with the Western notions, such as social movements and media practices. As a contribution to the intersection between social movements, social media and religion, this paper draws on a spiritual resistance of Areng Valley indigenous communities orchestrated against the extractive industry. The communities-cum-support of activists and organizations practiced their spiritual belief as a weapon of resistance. On the one hand, they organized the regular animistic practice, the ancestral ritual celebration appealing to maintain the community spiritual potency confronting external invaders; and they adopted Buddhist practices, ordaining tree and forest to purify and incarnate Buddhist merit to protect the former. Intertwining between these two approaches is mediatized by social media to leverage public opinion and to mobilize youth participation. Through these approaches, the indigenous communities and supporters believed that they have been protected from encroachment. Beyond mobilizing participation from the outsiders, the practices of ritual and spiritual resistance have suggested how the indigenous communities entangled in the different religious practices, and diversified their approaches, adopting social media as a form of modernization of their spiritual potency and belief to protect the communities.

---

## Labour Migration: Diversity and Inequality, and Imaginaries of the Future in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Henk Schulte Nordholt <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i> Lennie Geerlings <i>Leiden University</i> Prasert Rangkla <i>Thammasat University</i> Soimart Rungmanee <i>Thammasat University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

› **Gambling and Ethical Practices: The Striving Towards Well-Being Among Burmese Migrants in Thailand**

Prasert Rangkla *Thammasat University*

This presentation explores the ethical practices on well-being circulating around the gambling issue in an immigrant community. It is based on an ethnographic study among Burmese migrant workers in a commercial fishing town called Pranburi in Thailand. The case study represents fishing-related employment and low-paid labor community afflicted with financial debts and gambling problem. Being fond of betting on cards and illegal lottery receives responses that vary in according to different personal circumstances. Those gamblers destabilizing the family economic conditions are heavily condemned in public. Either borrowing for unreasonable spending or troublesome gambling are then denounced as self-indulgence. This work argues that these Burmese migrants' stances on gambling are not just general moral critique, but rather an ethical guidance that they use to navigate across the future-making project. It is an emphasis that pleasure from high-risk games, as a value focusing on sensual gratification, is not compatible with the value on prudence and pride in ameliorating one's life status and wellbeing.

› **Post-Migration Strategy and Challenges of the Return Migrants in Northeast Thailand**

Soimart Rungmanee *Thammasat University*

Migration has been described as one of the strategies that contribute to rural development. However, there is very little research questioning life after migration and the various challenges of reintegration in the home community. Drawing on an empirical case from a village in Northeast Thailand where migration to work aboard has been a key livelihood strategy, the paper focuses on first generation migrants who have returned and generally are emulated by their children, who have become the second generation migrants. It explores migration and return, and whether return migrants are able to successfully enhance entrepreneurial activities. It also questions whether the potential remittances offer new economic opportunities in agriculture and/or in non-agriculture activities. Some critical conjunctures (retirement, health problems, and changes in the situations of family, political and economic elements) that set the conditions for return migrants are considered to understand everyday risks and vulnerability facing return migrants.

› **The Absent Presence of Migration in Narratives of Future Wellbeing Directed at and Among Young People in Remote Rural Laos**

Roy Huijsmans *Erasmus University Rotterdam*

Migration and education are typically presented as diametrically opposed despite the many connections between the two (Hashim 2007). Education is presented as a key ingredient for realizing future wellbeing, while migration at a young age is portrayed as putting futures at risk. However, particularly in remote rural parts of Southeast Asia migration must be understood as a prerequisite for realizing normative imaginaries of wellbeing for the basic fact that completing secondary education in most remote rural villages requires migrating to district and or provincial centres or getting into boarding schools.

In this presentation I draw on research conducted as part of an ESRC-DFID funded project. I present an analysis of imaginaries of wellbeing relating to future livelihoods proposed in Lao primary school textbooks and discuss the extent to which migration is part of these representations and/or children's discussion about realizing these aspirations. I also analyse narratives of migration emerging from interviews with young people who have migrated for various kinds of education. On this basis I attempt to tease out the degree to which, and how precisely, migration is acknowledged in various narratives of realizing future wellbeing that are circulating in remote rural Laos.

› **Transnational Marriage and Migration: Imaginaries and Narratives of Refiguring the Future and Wellbeing in Rural Thailand**

Patcharin Lapanun *Khon Kaen University*

Transnational marriage and migration is a global phenomenon involving women in many parts of the world, especially Southeast Asia, and men, mostly from the wealthier locations in the global economic hierarchy. Scholars indicated that motives and desires encouraging women and men to engage in this marriage are diverse, complex and transcending materiality and intimacy (Constable 2005; Ishii 2016). The insight contradicts the normative way in which this marital relationship is illuminated in purely economic term, ignoring of socio-cultural and political dimensions. Such motivations/inspirations also reveal imaginaries of future livelihoods and wellbeing in the contexts of marriage migration, as a part of global migration stream.

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in a rural northeastern Thai community, as part of the FAO funded project on migration, gender and land ownership in the Mekong region, this paper focusses on the perspectives regarding future and wellbeing of women engaging in transnational marriage and villagers relating to this marital relationship. Also, the paper presents narratives of how and in which contexts such perspectives/imaginaries are refigured and realized, and analyses the consequences of the on-going dynamics relating to transnational marriage and migration on women, and their families and community.

# The Development Challenges of Post-Socialist Southeast Asia: The Politics, Economics and Geography

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Andrzej Bolesta <i>United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific</i>

## ABSTRACT

Scholarly literature often considers Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam as post-socialist countries of Southeast Asia that have been undergoing a systemic transformation. Indeed, CLMV, as the countries are often referred to, have a number of institutional features in common. They have also been the fastest growing economies in the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in recent decades. However, despite their development achievements they remain among the poorest countries in the region. What are then their specific development challenges that impede their ability to accelerate poverty reduction and how can these challenges be addressed?

Sectoral research tends to produce generic analyses and generic policy recommendations confined to a specific scientific discipline. These analyses often draw on the fact that CLMV share common intuitional and systemic features. However, to understand the development predicaments among post-socialist Southeast Asian countries one needs a multidisciplinary approach, as each country is different and there is no effective one-size-fits-all policy. This multidisciplinary approach needs to consider economic, political, social and even geographical factors. For example, it is believed that for Myanmar the biggest issue concerns political instability and ethnic conflict therein, for Laos – geographical predicament related to “landlockedness” and lack of access to international sea routes, for Cambodia – social tensions related to growing disparities, whereas for Vietnam – the economic obstacles in the form of an inefficient banking sector. All of these states also suffer from inadequate foreign investments targeted to specific sectors, which would more effectively accelerate the process of poverty eradication. This list of political, economic, social and geographical challenges specific for CLMV is not exhaustive. There are indeed others, and to identify them and address them means going beyond the confines of one particular discipline.

This panel will discuss the multidisciplinary predicaments related to development challenges in CLMV. It will use a broader comparative analysis to illustrate the cases and provide policy recommendations.

## PAPERS

### › Barriers to Agricultural Development in Vietnam: Who Farms in the Future?

Nguyen Thi Dien *Vietnam National University of Agriculture*

Without a thorough understanding of the opportunities and barriers faced by youth and women to effectively participate in and benefit from agricultural value chains, it is challenging for development agencies to design and implement a meaningful approach in its programme of rural development. This paper based on a survey in Vinh Phuc province with 208 persons by sex and age and the interview with 28 key informants as well as 8 focus group discussions to distinguish the gender and generation dynamics in vegetable value chains in Vietnam. The results show that the already low levels of agricultural activity in rural areas are likely to drop further, imperilling any hope for rural development in the future is the main drive of young people living in rural areas to migrate to cities. However, although finding the non-farm jobs outside villages, the increasingly married youths in Vinh Phuc engage more in agricultural production and the female labours contribute a larger extent of time to the vegetable value chain than their male counterparts. The paper argues that youth is not homogenous and the contribution of youth and woman on agriculture, especially in the smallholder agriculture is underestimated by the common perception. The development in Vietnam creates the dynamics and flexibilities of labour across the sectors with the largely meaning self-employment and multi-jobs in which both male and female youth are not choosing to take up agriculture either as a career or as a key component of a livelihood strategy. The non-interest of the youth in agriculture is exacerbating the youth unemployment crisis in countryside. Although young people do not find enough incentives, profitable economic opportunities and attractive environments in rural areas, agriculture is still valued as an essential and respectful profession in livelihood. The process of differentiating gender and generation contributions to agriculture production is also a process of self-realizing the importance of agriculture of rural labours.

### › Development Challenges in the Post-Socialist Laos

Supitcha Punya *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Lao People's Democratic Republic or Laos is land-locked, least developed, highly aid-dependent and remains a socialist country, which the state power is dominated by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (the LPRP or the Party – in short), in Southeast Asia. Prior to 1986, the failure of the Soviet Union, as a major aid provider, and central-planned economy adopted by the Party had caused an economic downturn in the country. As a consequence, the Party had no choice left but unprecedented integrated itself with the global economy under the New Economic Mechanism policy in 1986. After that, capitalism and international development assistance from the international community (e.g., international organizations and financial institutions) have been influential in Lao development to

improve economic growth and people's livelihood. Currently, for example, the Party has promoted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs – in short) and graduation from the Least Developed Country by 2024 throughout the country. There is no doubt that the Lao government so far attempts to accelerate economic growth, improve human and institutional capacities, and bring sustainability to the country through a countless number of development projects in hydropower dams, education, transportation routes resulted from the regional and sub-regional economic integration, and foreign direct investment. However, it could be argued that it seems out-of-reach for the Party to achieve the development goals as long as worrying issues from development (e.g., environmental degradation, human capacity, drug trafficking, human right, and corruption issues) remains challenging. This paper thus seeks to analyze development challenges of Lao development in various notions from Lao development protagonists, such as Lao policy-makers, and representatives from the international community and the civil society.

This paper will start with brief information on Lao development since the New Economic Mechanism policy in 1986, in which how the open economy has changed Lao development policies and strategy. Then, this paper will present a debate on Lao development challenges based on interview information acquired from my field research in Laos and documentary research. According to this information, there are four development challenges in socio-economic, environmental, and political aspects which should take into consideration. These challenges include: 1) hydropower dams and environmental degradation; 2) human right issues; 3) institutional and human capacities for economic integration; and 4) good governance.

Lastly, this paper aims to make a further discussion for the policy recommendation in multidisciplinary approaches that will hopefully contribute to long-term sustainability to the country.

### › **Not Only Rakhine: The Developmental Challenges of Post-Socialist Myanmar**

Michal Lubina *Jagiellonian University in Krakow*

The Rakhine crisis has internationally dominated the spotlights on Myanmar. It is, too, widely considered – among other ethnic conflicts (Tatmadaw's clashes with the Northern Alliance) and together with the alleged political instability – as the major challenges on the way to develop the country. Notwithstanding the gravity of the Rakhine conflict, as well as other challenges, such as re-emerging sectarian conflicts, environmental issues and other social problems, this paper claims that the biggest obstacles to Myanmar's development lie in the complexities of deep-rooted Burmese political culture, especially in the protectionist nature of Burmese civil servants.

The members of “the heaven-born” (to quote Maung Maung Gyi) Burmese civil administration have a deep-seated anxiety towards non-controlled business activity. This is an old phenomenon that goes back to the precolonial economic activity of the Burmese monarchy, colonial socio-political structure of the state and the postcolonial failure of nation-building and economic development, but nowadays it manifests itself in protectionism, regulatory measures, inertia, lack of clarity, red tape, economic nationalism and in other aspects. Consequently, such economic spheres as healthcare, retail banking and shipping remain heavily protected by the state, there is no liberalization of transportation and retail/wholesale sectors; and there is a lack of clarity in the mining, oil and gas sectors. Add other problems, such concerns about labour contracts and judicial independence, as well the key obstacles in doing business in the country indicated by the World Bank (problems with the access to land, utilities, finance and poor human capital) to see the grim picture. When taking this all into consideration, it is unsurprising that these – not the Rakhine crisis – are the main reasons why investors either pull out of the country or refrain from investing there, instead preferring other Southeast Asian countries.

Michal Lubina is Assistant Professor at Jagiellonian University, Kraków, Poland. His research interests are in the fields of Burma/ Myanmar and Russia-China relations. His publications include 6 books, e.g. his recently published monography *The Moral Democracy. The Political Thought of Aung San Suu Kyi* (2018) as well as the first history of Burma/Myanmar in Poland and the only biography of Aung San Suu Kyi in Polish. Currently he is preparing the English version of his political biography of Aung San Suu Kyi.

### › **Structural Transformation to Reduce Poverty in Least Developed Countries: The Cases of Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar**

Andrzej Bolesta *United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific*

Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar, jointly referred to as CLM, belong to the category of Least Developed Countries (LDCs). The development challenges of LDCs are well known and concern the high incidence of poverty. Indeed, while many countries within the group have made considerable development gains in recent decades, in some, extreme poverty remains an issue. In part, this is because as far as structural transformation is concerned, transition to services has bypassed the relatively higher-productive, employment-generating dynamism of the manufacturing sector. Consequently, rural poverty has been replaced by urban poverty. Also, little progress has taken place in within-sector upgrading in the agriculture sector, failing to facilitate value added activities in rural areas. Using the findings of the *Asia-Pacific Countries with Special Needs Development Report 2019*, this presentation discusses the linkages between structural transformation and poverty reduction and puts forward relevant policy considerations to align structural transformation and poverty reduction. Policy recommendations for CLM include: (a) building productive capacities to allow for effective structural transformation to increase productivity; (b) strategizing FDI to targeted sectors relevant for the overall development trajectory through special economic zones; (c) improving the quality of human capital and enabling policies to create decent employment; (e) enhancing the process of rural modernisation.

# Encountering Spirits: Trance and Spirit Possession in the Performing Arts of Contemporary Southeast Asia

LOCATION	Room 1.204
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Eva Rapoport <i>École Pratique des Hautes Études</i> Ilaria Meloni <i>Sapienza University of Rome</i>

## ABSTRACT

Spirit encounters constitute an essential part of many performing arts throughout Southeast Asia. Various forms of trance, shamanism, spirit possession, mediumship, altered states of consciousness, ecstatic and transcendent states are deeply intertwined with local cultures and everyday life of local communities: while some of these forms are still embedded in traditional, religious and ritual milieu, other appear to belong to a more globalized context and to be closely connected to the political, economic and social trends of the current century. In fact, practices of spirit encounters, despite their archaic roots, do not remain frozen in time but adapt to the changes in action in their diverse environments. The ongoing scholarly interest in this field produced important contributions; however, the amount of studies emerged in recent years is still incomparable to the wide variety of phenomena to be found in the region.

This panel intends to discuss new challenges and responses and to explore different practices through inter- and multidisciplinary approaches (including, but not limited to, performing arts studies, ethnomusicology and ethnocoreology, religious studies, cultural anthropology and cultural studies) in a geographical comparative perspective, investigating diverse aspects of the phenomena throughout Mainland and Insular Southeast Asia. More specifically: Indonesia, Cambodia and Myanmar.

We are proposing new insights and innovative multiple approaches discussed by scholars from different countries – including Italy, United Kingdom, Russia and Germany, in order to encourage the interdisciplinary and intercultural exchange.

## PAPERS

### › “Cek Cek Gong, Cek Cek Gong.” Sounds for the Spirits, Sounds for the People: Musical Eclecticism and New Social Aspects of the Contemporary Horse Trance Dance in East Java

Ilaria Meloni *Sapienza University of Rome*

In the contemporary Java, horse trance dances seem to have become one of the most popular entertainment and gathering occasions for local communities. Known under the name of kuda kepang (“bamboo horse”) or kuda lumping (“leather horse”), they appear in different forms throughout the Javanese island, from the ebèg in Banyumas to the jathilan in central Java, to the East Javanese jaranan. The different local forms share some features and, at the same time, distinguish from each other including several specific elements which enhance the local identity and the so called “regional style”, a concept inherited from the Orde Baru era.

The East Javanese form, known as jaranan, results to be one of the most scarcely investigated among the hobby-trance dances forms in Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Not much can be found about jaranan, excepts for the work of V. M. C. van Groenendael (2008) who has provided a wide investigation of the historical, performative, ritual and choreutic aspects. Though, what concerns the analysis of the musical repertoires still needs further attention, especially in its developments across the decades, parallel to important socio-political and economical changes.

In fact, amongst other relevant elements (language, costumes, performative context, dance genres) the music cover an important role, which have undergone dramatic transformation in the current days (jaman now), enhancing more and more the social function (especially as expression of a strong sense of community and pride for the magnificence of the local performing arts) and the importance of the entertainment, to the detriment of the more proper ritual aspect. While, in the past (jaman dulu), music was essentially instrumental – played by small itinerant ensembles – and mainly focused on the local repertoires, having the specific function to help the induction of the trance, the contemporary scenery looks rather heterogeneous and manifold. Beside the instrumental and traditional pieces, new popular and hybrid genres constitute now an essential part of the performance and the insertion of the female singers have determined a significant open to new musical possibilities and to the spectacularity.

Through several examples recorded in the area of Nganjuk (Kertosono district, East Java, 2017-2018), this paper investigates the current way in which music is conceived to be used in horse trance dance performances, serving both the ritual function – thence accomplishing “the spirits requests” – and the purpose of entertainment – fulfilling the contemporary audience demand. This way, music encounters both the tradition and the needs to the local administrations in promoting the local arts to create a strong sense of group cohesion of the community, demonstrating its importance as a mean of innovation and as a mirror of the changing society.

### › Efficacy and Authenticity in Cambodian Spirit Possession Rituals

Paul Christensen *University of Göttingen*

The practice of spirit mediumship in contemporary Cambodia is remarkably dynamic and heterogeneous. Over the last two decades the absence of societal critique, and the perceived appeal of the practice, have led to an increase in the popularity of spirit possession rituals. Many Cambodians find this ‘Brahmanist’ practice appealing because they feel their offerings produce more immediate benefits

than in Buddhist merit-making. Nevertheless, Buddhism remains an important reference to compensate moral ambiguity of the Brahmanist rituals.

This paper focuses on the religious negotiations that spirit mediums engage in during their possession performances. Unlike similar ritual specialists elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Cambodian mediums expend hardly any effort in affirming the authenticity of the spirits that they channel. Rather, their ability to convincingly grant their clients access to spiritual forces depends on how successfully they present themselves as both Buddhist and Brahmanist. By presenting examples of how these negotiations play out during possession performances, I provide an account of the dynamic and heterogeneous character of 'Brahmanist' practice and the manner in which idioms of efficacy and authenticity are produced in Cambodian ritual contexts.

### › **Eling Eling Wong Eling Jokowi Maning: Rethinking Ebèg “Folk Drama” and its Current Musical and Socio-Political Implications in Banyumas, Central Java**

Daniele Zappatore *La Sapienza University of Rome*

In Banyumas district – a culturally hybrid area situated on the border between West and Central Java regions – the term ebèg designate a peculiar kind of 'folk drama', known elsewhere in Java as djarn kèpang, kuda lumping, jathilan or jaranan. While sharing several traits with other Javanese performing practices somehow linked to trance phenomena, the ebèg banyumasan has its own exclusive features, especially in: the musical accompaniment; the behavior of the possessed dancers and its social functions within diverse performative contexts.

Its specific attributes make the ebèg an interesting case study for a comparative and cross-disciplinary analysis, which could take into account anthropological, musicological and psychological approaches. Since the 1970s, a significant amount of studies has been devoted to investigate the interactions between music, context and individual consciousness. The wide scientific production provided authoritative reference points and formed strong theoretical background, enlightening the way for further research and analysis. Regarding, specifically, the Javanese area, a mention should be made of the outstanding work by M. Kartomi (1973) which offers a general overview of the ebèg hobby-horse trance dance, focusing on some musical, dramatic and symbolic features.

However, there are still many aspects that need a further investigation, especially for what concerns the processes of transformation undergone by this practice in the last decades, involving its economical and socio-cultural implications. In order to deepen these issues, in this paper I focus on a gigantic ebèg – involving almost 200 dancers – that took place at GOR Satria Purwokerto (the major stadium of Banyumas, located in the capital city of the regency) on the 13th of April 2018, few days before Indonesian presidential elections. The event, that I had the chance to attend, was sponsored by a local businessman aimed to support the political campaign for the president Joko Widodo. I have documented the preparation, the musical and choreutic development and a significant number of trance phenomena among the dancers and the audience. Despite this colossal ebèg represents a one-off event, it undoubtedly constitutes a remarkable case-study to discuss the role of the music (and, more generally, of the performing arts) in conveying socio-political instances and to reconsider the multi-faceted nature of practices that, while preserving their ritual foundations, are becoming, nowadays, increasingly blurred and more and more linked to a function of mere entertainment.

### › **Jathilan Dance in Comparative Perspective: Javanese Trance Performance, Spirit Possession Theories and Other Local Possession Beliefs and Practices**

Eva Rapoport *École Pratique des Hautes Études*

Jathilan is one of the names for traditional Javanese trance performance combining dance, music and altered states of consciousness. It is commonly described as a 'horse dance' for the horse effigies made of woven bamboo are the hallmark props used by the performers. Trance constitutes the main attraction of the show, though through the lens of local beliefs it is interpreted in terms of spirit possession: it is assumed that spirits enter the dancers' bodies and make them capable of demonstrating various feats based on invulnerability to physical harm and pain. Such performances are extremely popular amongst the villagers and lower-income urbanites, and serve as an essential part of many traditional communal celebrations (such as marriages, circumcisions, village purification ceremonies). Horse dances are widespread all over the island of Java (jathilan is precisely the name used in the Special Region of Yogyakarta and some of the neighboring regencies, in other areas it can be called kuda kepang, kuda lumping, jaranan, jaran kepang, ebeq, etc.), but as well can be found almost in any area where Javanese immigrants are present—on other Indonesian islands, in neighboring Singapore and Malaysia, even in South American Suriname. Jathilan is a part of pre-Islamic Javanese culture, while spirit possession is in obvious contradiction with orthodox forms of Islam. The exact origins of the horse dances remain quite unclear (the first mentions of the dance in written sources date back to 19th century and numerous accounts from early 20th century describe the performances not too different from the ones that can be observed nowadays), but what makes them exactly remarkable is the persistence of the practice despite all the possible challenges and ideological contradictions.

Besides numerous publications providing descriptions of the dance and its mentions in many more general accounts on Javanese culture (Geertz, Koentjaraningrat, Pigeaud, etc.), horse trance dances are rarely put in a broader context of Javanese spirit and spirit possession beliefs and practices and seem to have never been analyzed in a comparative perspective of spirit possession theories based on the accounts of its occurrence the world over. The purpose of this presentation is to attempt to fill this gap and consider Javanese trance in the framework of now-classical theories to approach trance and spirit possession (such as those proposed by Erika Bourguignon, Gilbert Rouget, I.M.Lewis, etc.) as well as some from more contemporary authors, and also to discuss a wider variety of possession and trance that are not uncommon for Javanese performing arts, rituals and magic practices.

Said approach is hoped to allow for the deeper understanding of particular practice in question, provide some catalogue of possession and trance occurrences in the culture it is a part of, and even offer a version of a general framework for approaching phenomena of spirit possession in any other cultural milieu.

# Health Equity and Embodied Vulnerabilities in a Region in Transition

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Catherine Smith <i>Macquarie University</i>

## ABSTRACT

The Asia Pacific is currently undergoing major social, economic and political transformations that are radically changing the health landscape of the region. Some of the complex social processes occurring across the region that have health implications include: urbanisation and the expansion of megacities; climate change and environmental crises; migration and the displacement of populations; political conflict or regime change; changes in the nature of the development sector; and shifting social values and health-related behaviours; to name but a few.

Such socio-political processes often produce new forms of health subjectivities, while also carrying material effects that shape patterns of disease and health inequalities at the local, regional and/or global levels. These socio-political transformations raise questions about how to conceptualise and respond to health equity issues in a region that is rapidly growing and transforming socially, economically and politically.

This panel brings together social researchers from various disciplines whose research investigates the contemporary socio-political context of health issues in Southeast Asia. The panel gives particular focus to the shifting landscape of health vulnerabilities in the region, and situates these issues in the broader regional and global flows that shape illness, health and embodied experience. The panel aims to build transdisciplinary and cross-country dialogue that examines how health inequalities are influenced by multi-level socio-political processes and changing social norms in contemporary Southeast Asia.

## PAPERS

### › Is It Time for a New Vision for Health Equity?

Catherine Smith *Macquarie University*

Although medical anthropologists have long emphasised the social, economic, political and historical basis for global health disparities, expanding access to quality medical care has long been seen as the principle solution to address health inequalities. Taking up the case studies of malaria elimination and global maternal health, this paper suggests that we are at a timely point to reinvigorate critical medical anthropology and bring about new approaches to health equity that go beyond expanding biomedical care. For both malaria elimination and maternal health, internal health disparities are not only becoming more apparent, they are becoming increasingly fluid, and shaped by shifting social and political processes in addition to more enduring social determinants of health. In many malaria elimination settings, social and political processes have come to shape disease vulnerability to a greater extent than physiological risk. In the case of maternal health, we are at a stage where many women globally continue to struggle to access care while many others suffer from the overmedicalization of childbirth including coercive health interventions. All of this is even more sobering when we look to wealthier countries such as Australia, and see that internal health inequalities that are grounded in social injustice do not disappear even after the development of excellent healthcare systems. This paper is intended as an exploratory paper to ask what conditions might be necessary to enable health initiatives to better respond to complex socio-political transformations in ways that better support social resilience and social justice. It argues that contemporary transformations in the global health landscape call for new approaches to health equity, and that a starting point should be to reconceptualize global health problems as multidimensional social problems that carry tragic embodied effects.

### › Obscuring Inequities: A Case of Global-Local Partnerships in HIV Research and Intervention in Indonesia

Sutarsa Nyoman *Australian National University*

Throughout this paper, I discuss how local actors have facilitated global – local partnerships both in scientific and program implementation projects. Partnerships, or the act of domination from western institutions can be viewed as pull and push manoeuvre involving power contestations and economic struggle between local elites and global collaborators. Drawing from my co-authorship analysis and extended field work in Bali Province, HIV research agenda and HIV programming at the locality are heavily influenced by the interests of global collaborators under the rhetoric of fair and mutual collaborations. Thus, global – local alliances in Indonesia has reinforced a power dynamic and skewed further the already asymmetrical power configurations between local partners and international counterparts. As a result, the imagination of equal and mutual partnership becomes untenable. Knowledge produced from scientific collaboration and vertical program implementation is no longer solely a public good, but rather is treated as a new 'material' to attract more financial and social resources. Knowledge associated with HIV epidemic for example, mirroring the wave-like epidemic model promoted by western institutions, has coloured the HIV epidemiology and behavioural studies for the last three decades. The mimicry of HIV research agenda in Bali Province from early 1990s until now is facilitated by the dependency of local researchers and institutions on foreign research grants and programs, which effectively creates fertile environments for academic neo-colonialism. Emerging HIV research at locality is designed to provide answers that matter to western societies, or at worse to confirm western

scientific discovery using samples and patients from locality. What emerges from these global – local partnerships is the global division of labour in knowledge production where local partners always at the receiving end of such processes.

### › **Paradox and Ambivalence of Biomedicalization: Rising Caesarean Section Rates and Persistent Preference for Vaginal Delivery in Contemporary Vietnam**

Myriam de Loenzien *French Research Institute for Development*

Over recent decades, maternal and neonatal health conditions have greatly improved in Vietnam in a context of medicalization. The proportion of women undergoing caesarean section (CS) is among the highest in the region. This raises concerns due to the sanitary, human, social and economic costs attached to its overuse. To better understand this process, we examine the way delivery and CS practice have developed during the last decades, and explore women's subjectivities associated with these phenomena. We use data from nationally representative surveys from 1997 to 2014, and results from qualitative interviews realized with 15 nulliparous women in Hanoi in 2017.

Results show that in a context of reducing disparities and rising caesarean section rates reaching high levels especially in urban areas, preference for vaginal delivery remains strong. Women attribute recourse to CS to difficulty to deliver but also to social constraints and willingness to deliver at a propitious time. In a context of lack of preparation for childbirth, CS helps them to deal with uncertainty, fear of childbirth and poor healthcare quality notwithstanding the availability of high level technology equipment. Despite many drawbacks, CS is viewed as a way to avoid potential problems in sexual life due to consequences of vaginal delivery on the women's body. In a context where lifestyles are rapidly changing, CS is interpreted as a sign of women's modern "weakness". The ambivalence surrounding CS results from organizational healthcare constraints but also multiple and contradictory injunctions faced by women when dealing with their family, the medical personal and their social environment. In a context of long lasting promotion of equality by the government but also increasing role of the Internet, recourse to caesarean section is associated with inequalities whose meaning is ambivalent and significant of evolving social and biomedical norms.

### › **The State of Health, Delivery of Health Services and Equity of Access in Metro Manila: Successes, Challenges and Possible Ways Forward**

Maria Ela Atienza *University of the Philippines*

The health sector is the largest service that has been devolved to local governments as a result of the 1991 Local Government Code in the Philippines. However, available literature suggests that devolution has not resulted automatically to improved health service delivery and greater access to health services across local government units (LGUs). Decentralization has not always resulted in greater efficiency, equity and effectiveness in the health sector. There is uneven progress in this area across Philippine LGUs. Statistics suggest that human resources, budget, and facilities for health are spread unevenly across the country, with Metro Manila (the National Capital Region composed of 16 cities and one municipality) and other urban centers enjoying more of these. However, another important question is whether health services are accessible for all. It appears from various literature that the poor are not getting access according to their needs.

What this study intends to do is to look into the status of health and utilization of health services in Metro Manila, the most populous and most densely populated region in the Philippines as well as the economic center which accounts for 37% of the country's GDP. This paper looks into regional and LGU levels with national comparisons. First, the paper will briefly look into the existing devolved structure of health services in the country as well as in Metro Manila. Second, the paper will assess the health status in Metro Manila in general and within the LGUs, looking into various health indicators. Third, the paper will assess the utilization of health services in Metro Manila and its LGUs and check on access and equity issues. Finally, the paper concludes with the overall assessment of the health status, service delivery and utilization of health services in Metro Manila and its LGUs, emphasizing positive areas as well as problem areas. The final section will also propose some policy recommendations for the improvement of health services and access to these. These policy recommendations can be within the current devolved framework or other alternative arrangements and policies, e.g. federal arrangements as advocated by the current national administration or an autonomous metropolitan region, applicable in particular to the Metro Manila area.

This paper uses the human security approach and will rely mostly on available qualitative and quantitative data and assessments of health status and services in Metro Manila and the Philippines, including LGU budgets, Department of Health data, poverty data, and the National Health and Demographic Surveys. Independent assessments conducted by private foundations and groups will also be included in the assessment.

## Offline and Online Spaces of Southeast Asian Transnational Migration: Facebook, Mall, Museum and Art ②

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Emily Yuan <i>National Taiwan Museum</i> Morakot Meyer <i>Mahidol University</i> Wimonsiri Henthanon <i>Mahidol University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Kim Dinh Bui <i>Georg-August Universität Göttingen</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › A Space in Foreign Land: Intertwining the Online and Offline World of Vietnamese Migrants in Taiwan

Jessica Steinman *University Leipzig*

Research shows that improvement in communication technology has positively impacted transnational relationship (Horst, 2006; Parreñas, 2005; Senyurekli & Detzner, 2009). The Internet has become a great tool for migrants to reinforce their identity as member of groups from the homeland and to integrate into the host society (Hiller & Franz, 2004; Parker & Song, 2006; Peeters & D'Haenens, 2005). Furthermore, social media can have a tremendous impact on migration as it facilitates social ties between individuals (Haythornthwaite, 2002; Komito, 2011; Dekker & Engbersen, 2014). Dekker and Engbersen (2014) and Komito (2011) argue that social media can transform migrant networks and facilitate migration by strengthening ties with family and friends, creating weak ties with other individuals during the process of migration and integration, creating a network of latent ties, and creating a rich source of knowledge on migration and integration for migrants. Though studies on the effects of communication technologies and social media on migrants' community has been plentiful, the online and offline aspect are often separated. Yet, Miller and Slater (2000) argue that online life forms an integral part of everyday life for many people, thus it is unproductive to separate online and offline life. This paper focus on the online and offline network of Vietnamese migrants in Taiwan to understand how Vietnamese migrants imagine, create, and contest spaces themselves through the analysis the role of technologies, physical sites, the social position of an individual, state regulations, social networks and symbolic meaning in the constitution of transnational social spaces for Vietnamese migrants.

#### › Food Culture and Cultural Exchanging of Migration in Taiwan: Stories Behind the Exhibition of "A Taste of Hometown: Southeast Asian Flavors"

Emily Yuan *National Taiwan Museum*

Southeast Asia (SEA) is the home of 174,000 immigrants in Taiwan, and where 360,000 second-generation immigrant children go to visit their grandparents. There are around 700,000 industrial migrant workers and social welfare nurses. In total, Taiwan has 1,234,000 immigrants and migrant workers, forming countless ties with SEA region. The trend of migration from Southeast Asia started since the 1990s because of marriage or labor/working contracts, they bring in more than population, languages, and cultures. Furthermore, their memories of the taste of hometown are as well continuously brought in with the increasing amount of SEA migrants. In the exhibition, we focus on the interactions and challenges between the SEA food plants that profoundly affect Taiwanese culture and nature. Most of the Southeast Asian cuisines require a large amount of herbs, food plants, and spices only produced in SEA region and are now widely planted in Taiwan. Despite the legal concerns, there are increasing numbers of restaurants serve SEA cuisine largely merged around the train stations of major cities and the neighborhood of immigrant communities. The culinary spectrum in Taiwan has never been more colorful and diverse. The special exhibition of "The Taste of Hometown: Southeast Asia Flavors" not only shows the perspectives of flavor realm and culinary territory come across Taiwan society, but also displays how the diversity and complexity of SEA region food culture reshape the appearances of cultural diversity of Taiwan, and thus, represent a new integration of the balance between natural environment and cultural inclusion in present Taiwan.

#### › The Multi-Scalar Online and Offline Space of Jewelry Trade: The Experiences of Myanmar Jewellers in Border Cities of Yunnan Province, China

Tingshu Zhu *Mahidol University*

In Dehong Prefecture of Yunnan Province near the China-Myanmar border, jewellers from Myanmar constitute a dominant migrant group, and they mainly live in Mangshi City, Ruili City and Yingjiang County of the prefecture. The earliest group of Myanmar jewellers arrived in Ruili City in the 1980s as the the Reform and Opening-up Policy of China encouraged border trade to boost its domestic economy. Since then, jewelry markets have been established in Ruili City and later in Mangshi City and Yingjiang County following the fast development of the trade. Since the 2000s, online jewelry trade has gained in popularity and significance in the jewelry trade of these three cities, and conventional markets suffer from decreasing trade volume as local economy is struggling. This new way of doing business brings both opportunities and challenges to the Myanmar jewellers. On the one hand, online trade allows them the reach more buyers beyond the conventional markets, on the other, the lack of language proficiency in Chinese and social networks put them at a disadvantage when competing with the Chinese jewellers. By using the theory of spatial scale advocated by Neil Brenner (2004) and the hypothesis of the linkage between migrants and city regeneration that is proposed by Nina Glick Schiller (2011), this

paper intends to demonstrate not only the ways of adaptation and integration of Myanmar jewellers in Dehong Prefecture, but also the changing role and significance of Myanmar jewellers in the jewelry trade, as one of the economic pillars, of the prefecture.

---

## The Politics and Governance of Palm Oil Expansion in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.404
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Ward Berenschot <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Contention and Collusion: Protesting Palm Oil Expansion in Central Kalimantan

Ward Berenschot *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

The rapid expansion of oil palm plantations in Indonesia has led to a wave of conflicts between rural communities and companies, sparked by grievances over, among others, loss of access to land, inadequate compensation and poor labour conditions. So far these conflicts have been mainly studied through case studies. This article aims to identify general patterns of trajectories and outcomes of palm oil conflicts by discussing nineteen conflicts between rural communities and palm oil companies occurring in Central Kalimantan between 2005 and 2018. We use a combination of fieldwork, reports written by NGO activists and newspaper reports to detail the strategies that communities and companies adopt. We observe that community collective action generally has limited impact despite the widely shared grievances over the way in which companies establish and manage oil palm plantations. We argue that this limited success rate is not just due to the inadequacies of legal frameworks but also to the way in which Indonesia's democratization process has fostered collusion between local powerholders and palm oil companies.

#### › Oil Palm Complexity in Indonesia: Evidence from Sulawesi

Mukrimin *University of Western Australia*

This paper attempts to explore some of the major developments in the oil palm (OP) industry in Indonesia and its impacts on a community. OP industry continues to expand in this country due to the needs for crude oil palm and crude palm kernel oil, combined with cheap labour costs, massive lands, and tropical climate and soil condition, and demands both domestically and globally. Private enterprises and smallholders continue to dominate the OP sector, from upstream to downstream. A new trend is the rise of smallholder plantations. By employing ethnographic tools of inquiry, I argue that the PO industry has brought significant impacts on and contributed to the transformation of the newly established district of West Sulawesi, North Mamuju. Empirically, investments needs and communities' attraction on oil palm, local governments continue to convince that the sector is the only shortcut for development. It is the vision of local actors to create North Mamuju as the centre for oil palm producers in the East Indonesian region. These patterns, consequently, feature the complexity of oil palm industry in Indonesia.

#### › Palm Oil Expansion and Consolidation of State Power in Papua Province of Indonesia

Nanang Kurniawan *Universitas Gadjah Mada*

Expansion of palm oil plantation in Indonesia has been much seen as an effort to enhance economic development. This paper challenges this view by discussing how palm oil expansion plays a role not only to establish economic but also political order. We particularly focus on palm oil expansion and land dispossession in a context of emerging nationalist mobilisation with secessionist demand to explore the connection between capital accumulation and consolidation of the state. Drawing on the case of large scale palm oil expansion under Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate (MIFEE) in Merauke District, Papua Province of Indonesia, we seek to understand the process of state's internal territorialisation—control over natural resources and people who use them. We show how palm oil expansion in Papua, supported by both national and national elites, has been used by the national government as a political strategy to address secessionist movement by expanding its ability to reach area defined by the state as "marginal land". This strategy involves building coalition with local elites to implement national policy on palm oil, establishment of new administration as well as security forces units, and in-migration of non-Papuan palm oil workers. In this paper, we use Allen and Cochrane's (2010) concept of assemblage of state power and topological geography which focuses on the ability of central authorities to reach directly into the politics of the region and to make itself present at a distance. We argue that palm oil expansion in Merauke District works through the ability of the central government to link its agendas and political interests with local networks of power both through legal and illegal practices.

› **RSPO's FPIC Policy, Indigeneity and Land Rights: A Study of the Impact of FPIC on Palm Oil Conflicts in Indonesia**

Afrizal *Universitas Andalas*

Massive and escalative oil palm related conflicts happen in developing countries developed oil palm plantations carried out by industrial plantation companies. In general, the main issue is recognition and respect of indigenous peoples' rights to land and forest based on tradition. International indigenous rights activists advocate palm oil plantation business actors and their customers to apply the concept Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) to address land release related conflicts. Roundtable and Sustainable Palm Oil (RSPO) has implemented the FPIC in its standard since 2005 and the FPIC implementation guidelines have also been developed and disseminated. This article scrutinizes the use of the RSPO FPIC standard to mitigate oil palm related conflicts in Indonesia by oil palm grower companies and impacted peoples. The article advances an argument that leverage of RSPO FPIC policy should not only be based on incidents of impacted people's grievances related to land acquisitions but also on the extent to which it empowers affected peoples to obtain their right to lands recognized and respected by oil palm grower companies.

---

## Scholars in Emerging Archaeological Researches in the Philippines 2

LOCATION Room 1.405  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER Kristine Kate A. Lim *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

› **Adding to Archaeological Chronologies in Island Southeast Asia through Newly-Discovered Sites in Southeastern Mindanao, Philippines**

Anna Pineda *University of the Philippines, Diliman*

With the currently thriving archaeological studies in Island Southeast Asia, we are now in the position to assess how communities adapt to environmental change and societal stresses through time. It also opens new insights on the chronology of various archaeological sites. And while this is particularly true in many areas throughout the Philippines, studies on the island of Mindanao—especially at its southern area—is still relatively at its initial stages. This paper will provide results for a recent archaeological survey done in Southeastern Mindanao. These sites will be situated within the previously limited archaeological and historical researches within the area, while also comparing them to other sites throughout the Philippines and Island Southeast Asia. We can tentatively expand on human interactions and chronologically relate it with our current understanding of Island Southeast Asian record.

› **An Overview of the Vulnerabilities of Maritime Cultural Landscapes in the Philippines**

Kristine Kate A. Lim *Freie Universitat Berlin*

At present, there are a few types of research that examine the influence and impact of human activities and natural hazards focused on archaeological heritage seascapes in the Philippines. Often, vulnerability assessments pertaining to maritime and coastal landscapes do not necessarily account the cultural aspect in the discussion and predominantly has an environmental perspective. Accordingly, those that conduct vulnerability assessments in maritime and coastal communities are also focused on the impacts of climate change to coastal integrity, coral degradation, fish loss and consequently food security. These assessment tools lack discussion on how such phenomena affect our heritage systems especially in present-day shorelines that are more susceptible to climate change and other anthropogenic signals. If ever heritage systems make it to the discussion, they are also geared towards the understanding of the impacts of natural disasters on built and natural heritage and lately, a growing interest on incorporating Indigenous knowledge and nothing on Philippine archaeological resources.

While those mentioned are surely a priority, one must also be able to account for an archaeological perspective in the conduct of vulnerability assessments in maritime and coastal sites. Archaeology as a discipline of human and material science with long-term data on human-environment interactions can go beyond this short-term and seemingly one-sided understanding of such occurrence and discuss systems of culture-environment change in aid of not only heritage conservation and management but also a holistic disaster risk reduction management plan.

Here, I will give an overview of these gaps and salient points that need to drawn-out in several studies and projects and show some archaeological examples that need our attention. With an interdisciplinary and integrated approach, this study is relevant in putting forward solutions and the understanding of human cultures in the context of pressing global issues.

› **Developing a System for Cultural Heritage Management Applications for Prehistoric Sites and Materials of Cagayan Valley, Luzon Island, Philippines**

Caroline Marie Q. Lising *Ateneo de Manila University*

There is a need to develop and create a system for cultural heritage management applications for the province of Cagayan Valley, Philippines, which will serve as a platform upon which implementation of CRM plans and projects will be based. Cagayan Valley is a known location of numerous and the oldest archaeological sites in the country dating to the Middle Pleistocene. The master thesis of this candidate has shown that no comprehensive cultural resource management plan exists for the Cagayan province sites, hence the necessity for this project. The method to be employed mainly includes studying how other countries of similar socio-economic contexts with the Philippines have addressed their sites of similar characteristics. Two world-renowned Pleistocene sites—Sangiran in Indonesia, and Dmanisi in the Republic of Georgia—have been chosen as models to see how these have managed, protected and preserved, the information about them disseminated, and the involvement of stakeholders in the process. It aims to identify best practices in cultural heritage management based on historical as well as contemporary situations, to determine which of these best practices can be adopted for implementation in the Cagayan Valley, and what innovations can be made and applied to the context of the Cagayan Valley sites. Another reason for choosing these two sites is that both have produced similar faunal and lithic materials that have been found in sites in the Cagayan Valley, and lastly, both sites in these 2 countries are known to have implemented their own cultural heritage management strategies for a considerable period of time now. In the Philippines, the oldest human remains in the country to date have been found in Callao Cave, Peñablanca, Cagayan Province, dating to 67,000 kya (Mijares 2009). These Callao human fossils have recently been assigned a new species, *Homo luzonensis* (Detroit et al 2019). Although no human remains have yet been published from the Rizal, Kalinga site in the western border of Cagayan Valley, lithic materials and fauna that have been found and dated to 709 kya (Ingicco et al 2018) convince researchers that the humans that made these stone tools would have been *Homo erectus*, the same species in Sangiran and Dmanisi.

› **Exploring How Humans Adapted to the Tropical Environment of Palawan Island During Prehistory and How They Used Its Resources**

Hermine Xhaufclair *University of Cambridge*

Lithic industries in Southeast Asia are characterised broadly speaking by the paucity of formal tool types and simple production techniques. It has been suggested that this might be the consequence of an adaptation to the tropical environment in which human groups lived and that stone artefacts were complemented by a more complex industry made of bamboo. Use-wear analyses of stone tools seem to support this interpretation as many of them show traces related to plant processing. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether these traces are the result of manufacturing bamboo tools or if they are in fact related to processing other plants. In order to know if bamboo processing has a specific signature and can be distinguished from use-wear resulting from working other plants, I built up a reference collection by conducting experiments in Makiling Forest Reserve (Luzon Island). To be realistic, these were based on activities recorded in the field among Pala'wan communities (Palawan Island) who use wild plants on a daily basis. This approach led to the identification of a particular wear resulting from processing bamboo, as well as from other plants such as palms, banana trees and pandan. Using this new analytical tool, I studied artefacts from Tabon Cave dating to late Pleistocene (40-30,000 BP). The tools displayed evidence for processing different plants, such as palms, rattan and Donax. I also observed use-pattern related to different activities, including plant splitting and thinning fibres. These results, together with other recent discoveries, are beginning to challenge the bamboo hypothesis *sensu stricto* and show that prehistoric people adapted to the forests of SE Asia in a more holistic way, using a wide range of plant resources.

› **Lessons from Interpret Europe: Adapting Heritage Interpretation and Alternative Education in the Philippines**

Andrea Natasha E. Kintanar *University of the Philippines*

Tuklas Pilipinas Society is a non-profit organisation that aims to spread awareness of archaeological heritage in the Philippines through alternative education and public archaeology. The group has been adapting lessons from Interpret Europe for Heritage Interpretation strategies, which they have also integrated with their own ideas. This presentation discusses various examples of public archaeology conducted by Tuklas in the Philippines, that have been effective in engaging local communities in heritage management and preservation of their archaeological sites. The different projects of Tuklas have close involvement of the local and national government. With this, the group has been able to review the government's implementation and initiatives. As with most public archaeology efforts, Tuklas emphasizes the importance of close interaction between the local community, archaeologists, and heritage practitioners in the course of their work.

› **Paleogeography and Human Mobility in Island Southeast Asia from the Late Pleistocene through the Mid-Holocene**

Emil Charles R. Robles *University of the Philippines*

Recent discoveries of new hominin species in Island Southeast Asia have highlighted the importance of the region in our understanding of the human past. Different species of the genus *Homo* have colonized the islands in spite of the need for oftentimes long sea crossings. A Geographic Information System approach to understanding palaeogeography, palaeoenvironments, and mobility through these island environments is presented here for Island Southeast Asia. This approach is undertaken using different spatial analytical tools in GRASS GIS. Paleogeographic changes due to Quaternary sea level changes are modeled using present-day bathymetric and topographic datasets. Resulting palaeogeographic models coupled with the palaeoenvironmental datasets are used to analyse mobility to different parts of the region. Resulting models show that during the Pleistocene through the mid-Holocene Island Southeast Asia experienced massive changes in the distribution of land and the oceans. This, in turn, have significant implications in our understanding of the history of human presence in the region and how they colonized and moved to the islands.

## The Challenges Ahead and Future Trajectories of Indonesia's Defence and Security 2

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Keoni Marzuki <i>Nanyang Technological University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › **Assessing the Threats of Returnees and Deportees from Syria**

Chaula Anindya *Nanyang Technological University*

This article seeks to assess the potential threats posed by returnees and deportees in Indonesia. National Police Chief Tito Karnavian claimed over 1100 Indonesians have emigrated to Syria. Of those, 500 people remain in Syria, 103 have been killed in Syria, and around 500 people have returned to Indonesia. Their return to Indonesia has raised concerns about the likelihood of terror plots by both returnees and deportees. However, will they pose an immediate threat to the country? This article will use the framework of Daniel Byman (2016) on the potential danger and the actual threat posed by returning foreign fighters. The assessment will be based on the number of attacks done by returnees and deportees since the beginning of the Syrian war, legal frameworks, and deradicalisation programmes. This article suggests that the actual threats posed by returnees and deportees remain low given the historical yardstick and newly ratified law on terrorism. Indonesia must enhance law enforcement, as well as addressing the problems of prison management and deradicalisation programmes to prevent greater potential threats.

#### › **Mapping the Role of Women in (Counter-)Violent Extremism in Poso: Preliminary Findings**

Mohammad Zaki Arrobi *Universitas Gajah Mada*

Muhammad Najib Azca *Universitas Gajah Mada*

The article will present preliminary findings of ongoing research on the role of women in (counter) violent extremism in Poso. It attempts to identify and to understand the various roles played out by women in the violent extremist groups in post-conflict Poso. It will also critically evaluate the current programs of deradicalization by state and non-state actors that targeting the (former) violent extremist both men and women. Contrary to the dominant discourse that locates women as merely the victim of violent extremist groups and ideology, the study attempts to look at the women's agency and gender dynamics both in violent extremism and in counter violent extremism. The study has three main research questions that we seek to address: (1) how is the map of actor and group within women's supporter of violent extremism?; (2) how are the roles of women in violent extremist groups and how their role shaped by gender dynamics?; (3) what are the key factors (push & pull factor) that promote and prevent women from involving in violent extremist groups? The research found that the involvement of women in violent extremist groups in Poso can be described into four different categories, such as active supporter, active preventer, passive supporter, and passive preventer. Each category has a different degree of agency both in supporting and preventing violent extremism at the family, community, and society level. Meanwhile, we identified three key drivers of women's support and prevention for violent extremism, namely revenge, ideology, a combination of both, and pragmatism.

#### › **Reinforcing the Status Quo? Indonesia's Global Maritime Fulcrum and Its Implication to the Defence Sector**

Keoni Marzuki *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*

This article investigates the defence aspect of the GMF, arguably one of the more understudied topic and least understood aspect of the concept. Specifically, this article seeks to examine whether the GMF concept effect changes to Indonesia's defence sector or otherwise and to what extent does it impact the defence sector if any. This article discusses several vital aspects within Indonesia's defence sector, namely strategic and defence outlook, defence procurement and spending priorities, defence doctrine and strategy, and deployment patterns of the military, and assess if any changes have taken place following the adoption of GMF. This article argues that while the concept instil greater awareness of the maritime domain in Indonesia's strategic thinking, its impact in the defence sector is limited due to a host of factors, such as the administration almost exclusive focus on the economic aspect of the GMF; the indirect involvement and shifting priorities of the concept's principal architects, particularly in policy implementation; the Widodo's administration business-as-usual approach in defence policy programmes that often conflict or irrelevant to the GMF; and some institutional impediments in the defence establishment.

#### › **"Suara Nahdlatul Ulama" in the Fight Against Radicalism and Extremism: Case Study of NU Online**

Syafiq Hasyim *Nanyang Technological University*

This paper presents a case study of NU online in its role in providing online narrative and discourse about Islam and Nahdlatul Ulama's teaching for the members of this organisation in particular and Indonesian Muslims, in general, to fight against Islamic radicalism and extremism. At the beginning of its establishment, the NU online has no particular mission to fight against radicalism and extremism, but its main concern was rather to empower and protect the members of Nahdlatul Ulama from the prolific influence of other online media. This paper, therefore, considers the importance of elaborating the history of NU online-establishment, mission, daily operation and actors behind the NU online. As the largest Muslim organisation in Indonesia, Nahdlatul Ulama has been left behind other Muslim

organisations in benefitting online media for their da'wa activism. This paper explains that the onset of NU online is kind of a mimicry movement within Nahdlatul Ulama to the success of Islamist organisations in their da'wa activism through online media. This paper also tries to portray the expansion of NU online coverage from the providers of general issues on Islam and Nahdlatul Ulama to the providers of alternative and particular online materials for combating radicalism and extremism. The transition of the NU online from internal media-online to public online-media is also given special attention in this paper. Last but not least, this paper examines the role of young people within the NU online to lift the leverage of this online media from an underdog to top online media position in readership among Islamic online media in Indonesia.

### ➤ **The Role of the Indonesian Military in Indonesia's Foreign Policy Formulation: The Case of the South China Sea**

Tiola *Nanyang Technological University*

As the largest state in ASEAN, Indonesia and its foreign policy in the South China Sea play a key role in shaping the region's dynamics. While numerous studies have been published on the issue, few have explored the role of the Indonesian Military (Tentara Nasional Indonesia – TNI) in the formulation of such policies. Indonesia's foreign policy itself is rarely a product of pure realism, but rather a result of internal dynamics and power struggles between various state institutions. However, beyond the bureaucratic infighting at the executive level, the TNI appears to have been influential in the issue – despite the law which bans them from participating in politics. In 2014, for instance, General Moeldoko, then-commander in chief of the TNI, stated that "Indonesia is dismayed ... that China has included parts of the Natuna Islands [an Indonesian regency located in the South China Sea] within the nine-dash line, thus apparently claiming a segment of Indonesia's Riau Islands province as its territory." This stands in contrast with the government's official stance, which emphasises that Indonesia does not have any overlapping territorial claim with China. Moreover, the TNI is also frequently involved in the deliberation process related to the South China Sea. The paper will explore the extent to which the military is influential in the formulation of Indonesia's policies in the South China Sea. In so doing, I will identify key foreign policies related to the issue – such as accelerated military build-up in Natuna; as well as decisions related to joint military training with ASEAN and the United States – and examine the dynamic between the military and the executive bodies in producing these policies. The paper will then examine the implications and 'lesson learned' from the case for other ASEAN countries.

.....

## **The Sociality of Infrastructure-Mediated Development: Dynamics of In/Exclusion in Southeast Asia ②**

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Panarai Ostapirat <i>Thammasat University</i> Richard L. MacDonald <i>Goldsmiths, University of London</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### ➤ **Digital Inclusion in Remote Villages in Malaysia: A Rural-Urban, Ethnic or Political Divide?**

Christine Horn *Swinburne University of Technology*

Most Southeast Asian countries have made rapid progress in the uptake of ICTs and use of the internet, and Malaysia's remote Indigenous communities have not been exempt from this process. However, differences in access between urban, rural and remote areas remain significant across Southeast Asia. The lack of reliable and affordable ICT infrastructure is a key barrier to full participation in the digital world, and a key determinant of social and economic disadvantage for rural and remote communities. This impacts on the ways people engage with ICTs and the benefits they can derive from their use.

At first glance the main barriers in providing access to remote communities appear to be technical, with remote location, geography and weather complicating the provision of technology. However, there are also political obstacles, as the provision of infrastructure to some villages under Malaysia's Universal Service Provision suggests. The lack of transparency and community involvement in the process of infrastructure planning leads to inequitable distribution of projects. The lack of maintenance for existing infrastructure and obscure channels of responsibility in the case of breakdown prevent members of the community to become involved. Three years of research between 2015 and 2017, including in-depth interviews, observational data and a baseline survey form the background to this paper on the dynamics of digital inclusion in remote Sarawak.

#### ➤ **Ethnic Inclusive ICT Policy: Politics of Digitizing Ethnic Tai Scripts in Vietnam**

Yukti Mukdawijitra *Thammasat University*

Focusing on ethnic Tai in northwestern Vietnam, I examine how Vietnam's ICT policy facilitates the Tai to build and use the font of their ancient scripts and how the Tai apply this policy to serve their cultural demand. The policy on ethnic script in Vietnam has long

developed since the 1950s. Currently, the ethnic minorities have built fonts for typing their traditional scripts. The ecology of Tai fonts in Vietnam is diverse due to the political formation of Tai chiefdom in the past that caused the diversity of Tai dialects and scripts. Nowadays, three sets of Tai fonts in the Unicode were disseminated—Viettai, Tai Viet, and Lai Tay—for typing three different Tai dialects and scripts. Based on the framework of linguistic ideology and digital ethnography, identity and politics of ethnic script that persist from the past are crucial to the emerging revival and the digitization of Tai writings. The politics of Tai fonts is a result of “the powers of association” that demonstrates how society as well as power are “in the hands of the people; each of these people may act in different ways” (Latour 1986: 267). As a result, rather than the diffusion of the policy from the government downward, I investigate how the government agents, the international NGOs, the local government, and the local intellectuals and villagers “translate” and “displace” the ICT policy, limited funding, and material conditions to create and use Tai fonts.

### › Invisible Money and the “Financially Invisibles”: Digital Payment and Financial Inclusion in Lao PDR

Panarai Ostapirat *Thammasat University*

This presentation engages with one of the goals of Lao PDR’s Financial Inclusion Roadmap (2016-2020): reducing the percentage of those who are ‘excluded’ from access to financial services. Considering that the Roadmap has been promoted as an outcome of an evidence-based policy development process, it is interesting to explore how institutional dialogues between international development organisations, Lao government agencies and private financial sectors have envisioned an idea of financial in/exclusion. The presentation traces back to FinScope survey (2014), the country’s benchmark survey on financial access, usage and attitudes to financial services. The survey illustrates how financial inclusion in Laos is largely driven by informal financial services whilst a quarter of respondents are classified as ‘excluded’ from both formal and informal services. By dismissing savings and credits among kin and social networks, the survey does not only understate the role of local financial practices but is also inclined to render the ‘unbanked’ a ‘financially invisible’ population. (Musaraj and Small 2018)

Drawing on anthropological approach to the materiality of documents (Hull 2012) and a more recent use of documents as a source for ethnographic research on finance (Tischer, Maurer and Leaver 2018), this presentation situates the development of digital payment eco-system as one of the tasks set out to enhance access to formal financial services. It discusses the contingencies of discursive practices embedded in global, state and private sectors’ campaigns to transform financial infrastructure. Finally it looks at the prospect and challenges of these emerging forms of ‘invisible’ money in fostering a more financially visible population for a more inclusive Lao society.

.....

## Engaging Universals: Traveling Concepts and Practices in Contemporary Southeast Asia ②

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Catherine Scheer <i>École Française d’Extrême-Orient</i> Sina Emde <i>Heidelberg University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Intermediaries as Translators: Vernacularizing Rule of Law as Development in Myanmar

Kristina Simion *The Australian National University*

This paper examines the ways in which development intermediaries function as translators of rule of law through a case study of the way the concept was presented by foreign development actors in Myanmar after political transition in 2011. I draw on a framework of ‘vernacularization’ to analyse how intermediaries translate rule of law at the intersection of Law and Society scholarship on justice reform and legal anthropology. The paper contributes to such debates by illustrating the ways in which intermediaries contribute to recursive translations – from the ‘middle-up’ - rather than falling into encapsulated ‘global’ to ‘local’ relationships. Through ethnographic observations and in-depth qualitative interviews collected in Myanmar it shows how intermediaries are powerful in their role as translators: they infuse their own values, buffer conversations, and substitute content where they consider this necessary. This highlights how the collision of norms and priorities, and the appropriation of new concepts for local uses is a key feature of development intervention. The paper shows that the unintended consequences of foreign rule of law assistance, in this case, is ‘rule of law’ with an authoritarian cast.

## › Traveling Models of “Dealing with the Past”: The Making of a Memorial Site Between Germany and Cambodia

Sina Emde *Heidelberg University*

In the context of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) the German Civil Peace service funded a number of positions for German peace workers to advise and support Cambodian non-governmental organizations in their transitional justice work emerging with the tribunal. Most of the German volunteers stayed in the country for two to four years, some even longer, working with the same NGO throughout. This paper looks at the processes that were involved in these long term engagements and the projects that emerged from these collaborations with a special focus on one Cambodian Youth NGO at a particular site in rural Cambodia. Drawing on Andrea Behrends', Sung-Joon Park's and Richard Rottenburg's work on unexpected outcomes of travelling models in conflict management I ask what technologies and concepts of dealing with the past were introduced to Cambodian spaces and places of memory and what expected and unexpected processes they set in motion I suggest that German volunteers and donors were heavily influenced by their own history and models of dealing with the past (*Vergangenheitsaufarbeitung*) in post-war Germany with a strong focus on the materialities and testimonies of memory. These technologies and programs were familiar to many older Cambodians from the earlier memory work of the socialist state of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, but neglected intangible forms of remembering violence and dealing with the past prevalent in the county. Nevertheless, their implementation contributed to the emergence of new memoryscapes where old and new forms of memory entangled and engendered realms of transgenerational memory in unforeseen ways.

.....

## Identity: Forging Regional Belonging in Southeast Asia ②

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Volker Grabowsky <i>Universität Hamburg</i>
DISCUSSANT	Yves Goudineau <i>École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Accounting for Applications and Appeals: Identity Economy Among Ethnically Diverse Civil Society Organizations in Urban Sarawak

Asmus Rungby *University of Copenhagen*

Decades of urbanization in the Malaysia's Bornean states has led to the rapid growth of Kuching, the state capital of Sarawak, bringing with it the emergence of ethnically diverse civil society organizations who employ novel articulations of ethnic, regional, and professional identities. Based on long-term fieldwork among these civil society organizations in Kuching this article proposes a new analytical frame, Identity economy, for attending to these new interplays of multiple identity categories in empirical detail. I argue that by thinking in terms of economy, in the sense of a Derridean textual economy, it becomes possible to examine identity language with greater attention to organizations' use of regional, statist, professional, and ideological identities. This argument proceeds through two phases. First, I show how Kuching's civil society organizations employ complex and often shifting uses of identity language and survey the expansive literature on identity in Borneo to demonstrate how this empirical material exemplifies and exacerbates long-standing problems of scholarly terminology for identity issues in Bornean anthropology. Second, I delve further into the Kuching's civil society organizations' increasing use of regional (Kuching, Sarawak, Borneo) and professional identities to demonstrate how these appeals are both instrumental applications of meaningful impactful language and reflects Sarawakian regional antipathies towards the Malaysian federal government. This framework, I conclude, enables a deeper understanding of how Kuching's ethnically diverse civil society organizations form appeals via plural identities for their multifarious agendas by both building on and intervening in long-standing anthropological debates on identity in Borneo.

#### › Democratic Kampuchea's Revolutionary Terror in the 1970s: The Role of the Cambodian Youth in State Supported and Grassroots Violence

Volker Grabowsky *Universität Hamburg*

This presentation seeks to analyse how the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea led by Pol Pot exploited the idealism of the Cambodian youth for their political ends. It also aims to investigate how far the violence of the 1970s was instigated by the Communist leadership and to what extent local "grassroots" actors played a more decisive role. The project will study the mechanisms of recruitment of cadres and soldiers into the military and political apparatus of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and its mass organizations. Special attention is given to the relationship between young people from rural areas (belonging to the privileged category of "old people") and their peers who came from resettled urban families ("new people") and were stigmatized as class enemies. The role of young people – male and female – as spies and informants, as members of the army, and as security guards will be examined as well.

Apart from a survey of the published literature, the researcher will conduct archival research in Phnom Penh. Field trips to Anlong Veng and Pailin, where thousands of ex-Khmer Rouge families have been resettled, will be made to conduct semi-structured interviews with former Khmer Rouge cadres and soldiers as well as with their victims.

› **Ethno-Religious Entanglements, Tensions, and Violence in the Bengal-Burma Borderlands (Chittagong and Sittway Districts) 1920–1960**

Jacques Leider *Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*

The border region of Bangladesh and Myanmar has been the theatre of three mass flights during the last 30 years linked to accusations of systematic state-persecution against the Muslims in North Rakhine State (now widely known as Rohingyas) allegedly perpetrated by the Myanmar state. The present project addresses the historical roots of economic tensions, social disruption and political violence that form part of the historical background of the contemporary conundrum and investigates how violence is linked to identity formations. The presentation at this panel will introduce the competition of local elites in the spatial context of a contested border area and track a timeline that includes the late colonial and early independence period with WW II forming a central disruptive moment producing and feeding a continuum of ongoing violence. Exploring the origins of an ongoing, but poorly documented conflict that has pitted ethno-religious groups against each other and against the state does not only make the collection and analysis of historical facts an important task, it invites also a critical awareness of the nature of sources which do generally report from a far distant centre and blur thus the visibility and audibility of processes, actors and voices.

› **Local Lao Identity and Vietnamese Labour Mobility: The Case of the Tin Mines in Khammouane, Laos**

Oliver Tappe *Universität Hamburg*

Artisanal tin mining formed part of the livelihoods of the population of the Nam Phathaene valley (Khammouane Province, central Laos) since precolonial times. In the 1920s, the French established industrial mining in the valley. Lao labour shortage was met with the recruitment of Vietnamese workers. Ever since the region was marked by the co-presence of industrial, small-scale and artisanal mining. This paper investigates the lifeworlds of Lao peasant-miners and Vietnamese labour migrants in the tin mines of Khammouane, and discusses questions of local and regional identity.

› **Malayness on Stage: Cultural Spectacle and Identity Formation in the Malay World A Re-Emerging Riau Sultan Providing a Modern Islamic Touch to Traditional Malay Customs**

Alan Darmawan *Universität Hamburg*

Jan van der Putten *Universität Hamburg*

The early nineteenth century witnessed the division of the Malay kingdoms situated in the Malacca Straits region into the British and the Dutch colonial spheres of influence. This separation has had profound consequences for the post-colonial nation-states in Southeast Asia until the present day. The Malaysian Federation of National Writers (GAPENA) made attempts in the 1980s to repair cultural connections between Indonesia and Malaysia, which in the following decade was continued in a series of dialogues and art festivals organized to boost a transnational Malay movement. This way Malay activists and performers try to strengthen Malay brotherhood across national borders and embody the imagination of Malayness through aesthetic representations in stage performances. Across the border, changes in Indonesian politics triggered the development of Malayness as an overall identity of the Sumatra Island. Administrative decentralization programmes provide opportunities for national and transnational bonding to connect more intensely with the Malay world at large and conclude agreements with economic partners in the neighboring countries building on a shared identity of Melayu serumpun. Implementing such decentralization programmes, the Indonesian provinces in Sumatra have ambitions to become the cultural homeland of the Malays. In such reconfigurations of cultural identity we argue that the provinces of Riau and the Riau Islands are both in a contest to obtain this denomination of homeland. Dialogues and festivals that move around in South Thailand, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo and Sumatra function to promote and endorse such vision. Our research focuses on efforts taking place in the Riau Islands in the form of the art festivals. More particularly, it deals with how youngsters in the Riau islands, who are not necessarily ethnic Malays, perform Malayness at festivals in the neighboring regions and countries. Another part of the research deals with how two other elements of the configuration of traditional Malay identity, Islam and Royalty, are reinvented in the Riau Islands.

› **The Rise of Militant Christianity in the Philippines**

Jayeel Cornelio *Ateneo de Manila University*

This presentation offers new ways of critically assessing the vibrancy of Christianity in the Philippines. The premise is that it is diverse. While it is important to discuss the fortunes of Catholicism, the dominant religion, it is also crucial for new analyses to factor in the emergence of new religious groups. The first point is that this diversity is militant. In the literature, Militant Christianity refers to fundamentalism and its triumphalist disposition toward different spheres of society. These facets have some local resonances. Although many new Christian groups have emerged over the years, their general theological character is fundamentalist, which spills over into their political choices. In this sense, the religious economy, while competitive, also has a predictable trait. The second characteristic is that it is global. The global expansion of many groups has been made possible by the movement of Filipinos to work around the world. But explaining it only in this manner is no longer adequate. The global character of Filipino Christianity is a result too of a postcolonial assertion. Many religious leaders are convinced that Filipinos have a calling to evangelize the world. The sacralisation of Filipino citizenship inverts the shame that used to accompany its global labor force. This presentation will focus on the religious frames surrounding Southeast Asia.

› **We're Not Europeans After All: Consumption, Performativity and Southeast Asian Identity Among Filipino Migrants in Brussels and Paris**

Aaron Raphael Ponce *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

Current literature focuses on the historical Anglo-Europeanisation of Filipino cultural identity as a result of colonial contact with Spain and the United States, whereby language, aesthetics, architecture, religious values and consumer behavior is influenced by Spanish Catholicism and American consumerism, thus resulting in the notion of similarity and sympathy with these Western societies (see Guéraiche, 2013). In the context of migration, the ability to speak American-style English and resonance with Catholic values has been conventionally interpreted as a tool of integration among first-generation Filipino migrant workers as well as second- and succeeding generation Filipinos in Europe and the United States, who use their familiarity with these systems as a means to distinguish themselves from other Asian migrant communities (Aguilar 1996; Gonzales, 1998; Wolf, 2002). In these cases, the Americanization of language and cultural capital is seen as a factor leading to cultural and political dissonance between Filipino migrants and other communities from Southeast Asia, especially in Anglophone countries.

Using results gained from two years of participant observation among first- and second-generation Filipino migrants in Paris and Brussels, and interpreted through the lens of urban anthropology and the sociology of migration, this paper has two aims. First, it seeks to demonstrate that in non-Anglophone environments where American cultural influence is minimal (particularly in francophone Paris and Brussels), Filipino migrants reconstruct their Southeast Asian identity as a tool to integrate with their host societies, especially capitalizing on the stereotype of the Asian as a hard worker and model minority. Second, we shall demonstrate how this has fostered transnational ties between Filipino migrants and other Southeast Asian migrant groups (particularly the Vietnamese and Thai) to facilitate the creation of distinctly Southeast Asian spaces, commercial trade, and cultural performativity in these Franco-European cosmopolitan centers. In the end, this paper shall also present how Filipino migrants together with other Southeast Asian migrant groups rely on these cross-community ties, especially with regards to the flow of material goods, forging a distinct diasporic Southeast Asian identity separate from the complexities of the geo-political ties in the Southeast Asian region.

.....

## **Borneo and Beyond: Connecting the Local and the Global in Borneo's Past 2**

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Jennifer R. Morris <i>National University of Singapore</i> Valerie Mashman <i>Sarawak Museum Campus Project</i>

### **ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### **PAPERS**

› **Disruptions from the "In-Between": Locating Borneo and Its Agency in British Colonial Fiction**

Marijke Denger *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

My paper interrogates the representation of Borneo and its so-called 'subalterns' in two canonical examples of Anglophone literature concerned with the region, Joseph Conrad's *Almayer's Folly* (1895) and Somerset Maugham's "Before the Party" (1922). Reading the selected texts against the historical backdrop of Borneo's key position in global networks of economic and cultural exchange, I argue that they represent a form of Bornean agency that itself transcends literal and symbolic boundaries. In relation to *Almayer's Folly*, I will focus on the mixed-race character of Nina, who illustrates how the connection between the local and the global is inherent to Bornean identity. Specifically, I will analyse Nina's development from a doubly marginalised individual into the voice of a highly potent 'in-between', from where questions of selfhood and belonging can be renegotiated irrespective of existing national and social divides. With regard to "Before the Party", I move from the issue of individual agency to an examination of the agency wielded by Borneo itself. As Maugham's short story evidences both through its plot and its narrative structure, the geographical and climatic characteristics of the island not only impact on the British colonisers while on the ground. They also reach out into the metropole, haunting the characters' lives after their return to England and disrupting the very social order that underpins their supposed superiority over their non-Western subjugates.

› **From a Cave in Kansas to the Bodleian at Oxford: The Quest for Documentation on the Colonial Period in "British" Borneo**

Michael Leigh *University of Melbourne*

Much has been written about the colonial period, relying upon extensive interviews with leading participants. However gaining written documentation, and records of the 'deals' that were brokered, has been more elusive. We have been involved in a search for written documentation from a wide variety of sources. As a result a wealth of documents have been copied and lodged with the Sarawak State Archives. These include records from the UK National Archives [including the 'migrated archives' special collection] and the

Rhodes House papers now at the Bodleian Library. From the US National Archives are de-classified records from the CIA, the State Department, the US Consulate Kuching, plus USAF aerial photography of Japanese occupied Borneo. Files copied from the Australian War Memorial and National Archives added significantly to this collection. This two decade long program has been supported by the State Library of Sarawak, the Sarawak Foundation, the Tun Jugah Foundation and the Universiti Sarawak Malaysia. This paper highlights the wealth of historical documents now available for perusal in Kuching, and the challenges locating those invaluable materials.

› **South Borneo as an Ancient Sprachbund Area**

Alexander Adelaar *University of Melbourne & Palacký University Olomouc*

In South Borneo there are some unusual linguistic features shared among languages that are adjacent but belong to different genetic microgroups. These languages are Banjar Malay (a Malayic language), Ngaju (West Barito) and Maanyan (South East Barito). The same features also appear in Malagasy. They include the following ones:

Ngaju buah 'hit, affected' and Ma'anyan wuah '1. affected, hit; 2. correct, hitting the mark' are function words. Malagasy vua has the same meaning as Ma'anyan wuah, and vua- is a verbal prefix indicating that an activity was carried out successfully. These words (and prefix) do not reflect Proto Malayo-Polynesian *\*buaq* 'fruit' but were borrowed from Banjar Malay. The latter has buah which means 'fruit' but also became a function word indicating that some activity was successful (Indonesian berhasil).

Both Ngaju and Ma'anyan exhibit "nasal spread": if the initial consonant of a word with an intermediate y becomes nasalised, this y as a rule also becomes nasalised and changes into ny, e.g. prefixation of N- to the Ma'anyan root wayat yields manyat 'to pay'. In Malagasy, nasal spread has usually become invisible because of subsequent changes but is still detectable in certain roots. In Banjar Malay the phenomenon appears in some isolated cases but it never became regular.

In Ma'anyan, historical *\*s* became h in all positions of the word, e.g. *\*sungay* 'river' became hungey, *\*asiq* 'love' became ahi, *\*lawas* 'long time' became lawah. This change also applies to Ngaju but not to *\*s* at the beginning of a word. In Malagasy the same change took place but s was re-introduced already very early onwards through Malay influence. In Banjar Malay the change happened frequently but not regularly, e.g. *\*so'al* 'question' became hual, *\*sampai* 'until' became hampai.

The fact that these features are also shared with Malagasy gives us an indication of the time depth involved in their origin and spread, as contacts between the peoples of South Borneo and Malagasy speakers were severed when the latter migrated to East Africa some 13 centuries ago. It shows us that already before that time there must have been close contacts among the various ethnic groups in the Barito region (including the Malagasy) and between these groups and the Malay metropole.

› **The Credit Unions: In Between Social and Commercial Business in West Kalimantan**

Aji Prasetya Wahyu Utama *University of Agder*

Since its introduction in 1970s, Credit Unions (CUs) was spreading out in Indonesia, mainly in West Kalimantan. The Catholic missionaries and local activists, together, led introducing CUs amid marginal, remote and poor communities. Indeed, the mission is covering social and moral purposes, not just preparing financial services, but, providing financial education to reduce poverty as well as bringing an opportunity to reach a prosperity living. It was following an original idea from the founder, Raiffeisen in Germany who create kind of credit cooperatives to address poverty problem, especially releasing them from loan sharks dependency. In case of West Kalimantan, the idea was carried to reduce the domination of tokey (the boss) among their anak-buah (clients). CUs emerged as a new patron, providing capital access and replacing roles of the Bank that absent in the rural areas. Becoming one of the main financial services in the region, CUs have been growing rapidly, covering financial services both in rural and urban areas. The development reached its peak since introducing of palm oil business as a new cash crop production. Too many success stories are written, yet, there is remaining poverty problem left. During my ethnographic research, I find that there were remaining poverty and inequality issue, rising in the era of commercial economy. It is almost 50 years since the CUs introduced. Can we say that CUs were unsuccessfully tackling the poverty problem, instead, it turned on a new problem, namely inequality. In the paper, I want to try linking it with the major problem usually faced by a growing micro-financial service. Some scholars called it mission drift (Mersland & Strøm, 2014), paradigm shift (Robinson, 2001), or commercialization. If it also occurs to CUs, then, the question is why they have to be shifted. Then, what interesting in this topic is about the possibility of CUs to become a new market invisible hand that driving frontier communities to act unstructurally based on market logic.

.....

**New Area Studies and Southeast Asia**

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Round Table
CONVENERS	Claudia Derichs <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Vincent Houben <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

**ABSTRACT**

This round table looks at Southeast Asian Studies in the light of the upsurge of New Area Studies. The relevance and future of Area Studies have over the last few years been the object of much theoretical discussion – among others within

the framework of a special Area Studies funding line of the German federal ministry of education and other programs elsewhere. From these discussions, a range of publications has emerged, which try to set the agenda for the near future. In Berlin, we have started to outline our idea of New Area Studies. We consider it essential that the international scholarly community of Southeast Asian Studies, while being assembled in Berlin, is informed about these developments and has a chance to critically reflect upon the most pertinent issues.

The round table discussion brings together staff members in Southeast Asian Studies from German universities with colleagues from international institutions, who have all actively contributed to the debate on New Area Studies. Topics to be addressed are the relationship between Area Studies and the disciplines, new institutional formats of Area Studies, the role of the 'local' and the 'transregional' in Area Studies research, as well as the effects a growing politicization of academic life has on Area Studies.

#### PARTICIPANTS

- › Benjamin Baumann *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*
- › Claudia Derichs *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*
- › James Fox *Australian National University*
- › Martina Padmanabhan *University of Passau*
- › Peter A. Jackson *Australian National University*
- › Rachel Harrison *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*
- › Vincent Houben *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

# Session 9

FRIDAY 09:00–10:30

---

Room 1.101	Recent Politico-Legal Change for the Lives of Labour Migrants in Southeast Asia
Room 1.102	The Liberal State and Its Discontents in Southeast Asia
Room 1.103	Armed Groups, State-Making Practices and Civilian Agency in the Borderlands ①
Room 1.201	Queer (In)visibility in Southeast Asia: Class, Politics, and Global Sexual Health ①
Room 1.204	The Politics of Engagement: Southeast Asian Diasporas in Relation to Home Countries ①
Room 1.308	Future Making Along Southeast Asian Frontiers
Room 1.401	Upland Pioneers: Future Aspirations, Moral Imaginaries and Emerging Religiosities in Southeast Asia ①
Room 1.403	Spirited Politics: Spirit Discourses and National Trauma in Thailand
Room 1.404	Ambiguous Eating and Bodies in Global Asia: Perspectives from Critical Food and Development Studies
Room 1.406	Social Protection: Understanding the New Politics and Practices of Distribution in South East Asia ①
Room 1.501	Charity and Volunteerism in Southeast Asia
Room 1.502	Studying Social Silence and Agency in Southeast Asia: Politics and Strategies of the Unspoken
Room 1.503	<b>LABORATORY</b> Bourdieu, Religious Fields and Social Power in Mainland Southeast Asia ①
Room 1.504	Critical Perspectives on Penalty in Southeast Asia ①
Room 1.505	Incorporating the Foreign: The Social Meaning of Imported Goods in Eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste
Room 1.506	Reinventing Museums in Southeast Asia from the Colonial to the National, the Regional to the Global
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	Challenges to the Future of ASEAN

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/9](http://euroseas2019.org/session/9)

# Recent Politico-Legal Change for the Lives of Labour Migrants in Southeast Asia

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Antje Missbach <i>Monash University</i> Wayne Palmer <i>Bina Nusantara University</i>

## ABSTRACT

The multi-directional nature of labour migration flows around the globe has resulted in an increasing number of countries, including in Southeast Asia, having become both senders and receivers of migrants. But academic studies tend to identify countries according to a neat sending/receiving binary when in fact they are both. These states also tend to see themselves primarily as 'senders' and so prioritize policy development and implementation in response to the experience of outgoing migrants. In the process, these states often overlook legal obligations that they then have to incoming migrants, including migrant workers, refugees, international students and spouses. As part of an attempt to examine the phenomenon, this panel focuses on experiences in Southeast Asian countries. Papers will cover one or more of the following topics: migration patterns and related rights issues, regulatory frameworks for migration; and/or history of the sending/receiving binary's role in migration policy.

## PAPERS

### › Democratisation and Immigrants' Welfare Rights in Southeast Asia

Jakob Henninger *University of Bremen*

This paper seeks to situate the case of Southeast Asia in the comparative literature explaining immigrants' welfare rights. Theories proposed by this – largely Eurocentric – literature often rely on liberal democratic institutions in the explanations they propose. In the absence of well-functioning democratic institutions, crucial parts of the mechanisms leading towards an extension of rights don't work as postulated by the literature: Public opinion, for example, does not change policy makers' preferences in the same way and interest groups don't have the same means to lobby for their ideas.

In Southeast Asia, immigrants' welfare rights have been expanding in several countries. Why is this the case? Using newly collected comparative data on the welfare rights of immigrants in the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) for the years 1980-2018, the paper first quantifies changes in immigrants' welfare rights in the region and assesses whether they correlate with democratisation. The analysis is complemented by two case studies on Malaysia and Thailand, both being countries which grant at least some immigrant workers access to their social insurance systems. The paper will attempt to trace the political processes leading to the inclusion of immigrants in these systems with a special focus on the roles of civil society organisations and trade unions.

### › Indonesian Women Migrant Workers: Standing in the Midst of Femininity and Masculinity

Elisabeth Adyiningtyas Satya Dewi *Parahyangan Catholic University*

This paper discusses the experiences of Indonesian women migrants from a range of different countries and pays attention to the impact of their absence on gender roles in their own households and wider communities back home. Global economic development has encouraged a large group of women from the Indonesia to work in the global north, where they are gainfully employed to perform roles in line with the socially accepted gender roles for women in many parts of the world. In labor-sending countries, it is clear that the migration has created 'vacancies', as the migrant workers ask other women to fill in the 'void' caused by their absence. At the same time, the migrants' spouses continue life and work as usual in those communities, prompting a lively debate amongst scholars of international relations about the different ways in which migration for overseas employment masculinizes the role of migrant women and their female employers. Focusing on Indonesia, I show that female employers argue that Indonesia women's migration and entrance into domestic work constitute an international division of reproductive labour. purchase the low-wage services of migrant Indonesia domestic workers to perform reproductive labour, and that they simultaneously buy the even lower-wage services of poorer women in Indonesia to replace the roles played by the migrants. As a result, the migrant women's spouses retain their status as the head of the household, which, I argue, is a another aspect of the international division of reproductive labour that deserves our attention.

### › Myanmar's Emigration Policies and Practices in Transition

Sirada Khemanitthathai *University of London*

Myanmar's well-known political instability, civil conflict, and poor governance, which also negatively affect its economic structure, have been resulting in more than four million emigrants. Since Thein Sein's administration, Myanmar has been under the early stage of emigration policies' reformation of which some examples include establishing migrant-related government agencies, revising regulations, engaging with multilateral migration regime, and being more positively active in bilateral arrangements regarding migrant workers. Emigration is also utilised to negatively respond to receiving states' action, particularly several temporary bans on officially sending migrant workers. Moreover, the government has shifted the perception towards migrants despite the existence of mixed-migration of ethnic minorities.

I argue that the reform of international migration arrangements is the part of the extensive political transition, mainly during Thein Sein administration, which reflects the country's new foreign policy objectives. The effects of the country's transition have spilt over into

the international migration arrangements mainly to be a more active migrant-sending state with further liberal emigration policies and practices. The paper demonstrates three main ways of how the emigration policies during the transition period implied foreign policy goals. The first way is the normalisation of emigration policies in order to purposefully pursue the international standard as a tool to engage with the international community. The second one is that the reform of migration management indirectly expressed the altered perceptions towards the problem of ethnic politics. Myanmar's ethnic politics landscape and political transition may have secured the regime so sufficiently that the government has transformed perceptions towards the majority of its emigrants. The last point is that Myanmar as a migrant-sending state exercises its agency through a set of policies which is not powerful but symbolic. It is worth noting that the paper applies the state-centric perspective, focusing on how the government presents its intentions through the national-level policies and practices, and do not investigate the effectiveness of regulations on migration.

### › **Transcultural Lives of Myanmar Migrant Children in Thailand: Self-Identity and Sense of Belonging**

Gunnar Stange *University of Vienna*

Globalization and international mobility have led people to settle in vastly different cultural contexts. Transnationally situated families resulting from migration are becoming a more regular feature of children's lives in today's world. Thailand is one of three major economies in Southeast Asia and hosts over a half of the region's migrant workers. An influx of migrant workers from neighbouring countries has been noticeable and the flow has increased continuously. In 2018, there were three million migrants living in Thailand and an estimated 300,000 of those were children. It has been noted that migration experiences constitute substantial interferences in children's psychological development and well-being given the environmental and cultural changes they are exposed to. However, despite this trend, very few researches focus on children. Language and language acquisition are central issues in debates about transculturation, cultural identity in transnational migration, as well as integration in host countries. Notably, an importance of acquiring the language of the host country is acknowledged and has become a core element of today's integration policies in many European immigration countries. However, this challenge is a largely overlooked dimension of the migration policies of Thailand and several other countries in Southeast Asia. Taking up the example of Myanmar migrant children, this study contributes to the current debates on transnational family migration by arguing for the centrality of language acquisition in the everyday lives and identities of young migrants.

.....

## **The Liberal State and Its Discontents in Southeast Asia**

<b>LOCATION</b>	Room 1.102
<b>TYPE</b>	Single Panel
<b>CONVENER</b>	Tomas Larsson <i>University of Cambridge</i>
<b>DISCUSSANT</b>	Rachel Leow <i>University of Cambridge</i>

### **ABSTRACT**

It has been argued that Southeast Asia is in the vanguard of a worldwide move towards illiberal and authoritarian forms of politics. In recent years the region has notably witnessed a return to forms of strongman politics reminiscent of those that were common throughout the region in the 1960s. Yet Southeast Asian states frequently combine liberal and illiberal elements in unexpected and incongruous ways. With these developments in mind and using the liberal state as a conceptual focal point, this panel seeks to answer questions about how Southeast Asian political actors struggle to shape political institutions, policies, and practices in ways that have implications for the character of the state on dimensions of relevance to liberal concerns broadly conceived. How are popular and populist movements and leaders contesting rival conceptions of "the people" and its "others," and with what consequences? How are political actors managing religious demands and challenges to the state's authority and legitimacy? How far are civil society activists advocating universal values, often articulated in the liberal language of individual rights and freedoms, able to establish and defend islands of liberalism within otherwise undemocratic and illiberal regimes? To what extent are formal institutional arrangements that are (ostensibly) designed to safeguard the rights and freedoms of citizens, such as constitutional courts, able to fulfil such roles?

### **PAPERS**

#### › **Autocratization Through Judicial Review**

Eugénie Mérieau *University of Göttingen*

It is often assumed that the process of autocratization entails the silencing of courts and independent constitutional organs of checks and balances, or, in other terms, a generalized attack on the mechanism of judicial review. Yet Southeast Asia provides a counter-narrative to that understanding, being a region where rising authoritarianism coexists with the expansion of judicial review. Indeed, with the expansion of judicial review from the end of the 2000s onwards (sometimes referred to as "judicialization of politics"), Southeast Asian constitutions have empowered courts to dissolve political parties (Cambodia, Thailand) and to protect the impunity

of the military (Myanmar, Thailand). Meanwhile, courts have remained deferential in relation to the judicial review of emergencies (Singapore, Thailand). The Southeast Asian case-studies show how detailed constitutions providing for constitutional courts, usually hailed as the symbols of democratization, can in fact strengthen the process of autocratization.

#### › National Human Rights Institutions in Southeast Asia

Marco Bünthe *Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nürnberg*

A main concern of liberalism is to construct institutions that protect individual freedom by limiting and checking state power. National Human Rights Institutions are core institutions to protect the individual rights, including civil liberties and political, economic and social rights. A number of Southeast Asian states have established human rights institutions. The composition, mandate and effect of these institutions vary tremendously. The paper looks into the origins and mandate of the National Human Rights Institutions and tries to assess their effectiveness.

#### › Polyvalent Populism in Southeast Asia

Andreas Ufen *German Institute of Global and Area Studies*

In recent years, three prototypical examples of populism in Southeast Asia have emerged: Thaksin, Prabowo and Duterte. The paper shows that it is neither an exclusionary right-wing populism like in Europe nor an inclusionary left-wing populism such as in Latin America. It is a form of anti-democratic right-wing populism with some leftist and neoliberal leanings, weak ethno-nationalist foundations, and inconsistent policy initiatives. This polyvalent populism is a result of cultural legacies (especially the weakening of the political left), personalist political parties, the crisis of liberal reformism to which populism serves as a counter-ideology, the economic interests of oligarchs, and the typical constraints of middle-income countries dependently integrated into global markets and with large segments of the population living in poverty or belonging to a middle class threatened by social decline.

#### › Reasons of State: Making Sense in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia

Iza Hussin *University of Cambridge*

What varieties of explanation do state outlets deploy, of what kinds of reason and unreason do these comprise, and what expectations of credulity and response do they contain? How do these reflect, feed or refract prevailing explanations in the public sphere? How do state discourses respond to public varieties of unreason, particularly where the supernatural is concerned? This paper compares the politics of the supernatural in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore, in light of scholarship on the place of the supernatural in the study of politics, and with particular attention to recent events in the public sphere in each case.

---

## Armed Groups, State-Making Practices and Civilian Agency in the Borderlands 1

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Annika Pohl Harrisson <i>Aarhus University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Helene Maria Kyed <i>Danish Institute for International Studies</i>

### ABSTRACT

Substantial areas of the borderlands in Southeast Asia are not under official state control. This is usually the result of armed resistance by various ethnic armed organisations (EAOs) in pursuit of self-determination in their claimed ethnic territories. Despite current ceasefire agreements, these territories today remain contested with conflicting claims to, and competition for, governance and resource extraction in the borderlands of Southeast Asia. Conceptualising the state not as a clearly defined entity but as in the making, performative and subject to ongoing negotiation, the panel invites contributions based on ethnographic research that challenge imaginaries of local communities as static, homogenous and devoid of agency. Key themes discussed by the panel include (but are not limited to) questions around the localised production of legitimacy and how local communities negotiate state-society relations in their everyday practices.

### PAPERS

#### › At the Mountains of Resistance: The Struggle of the Kabalukan Communities

Georgi Engelbrecht *European Union*

President Rodrigo Duterte is spearheading efforts to finally bring long-lasting peace to Mindanao. His handling of the two largest Moro Revolutionary Fronts - the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) - has so far produced some positive results. The pinnacle of the peace process is the formation of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) which has three years to take charge of the autonomous Bangsamoro region. However, the

Bangsamoro struggle has moved away from one direction and one mainstream rebel group – the MILF - towards several branches. As a result, human security on the ground and even the absence of hostilities is not a given. From 2011 onwards, a splinter armed group called the BIFF – until now outside of the peace process, even though in talks with the MILF to come back to the mainstream movement - had been active in the remote areas of Maguindanao province, Philippines. At some point it was considered the “vanguard” of the Moro resistance, particularly after the peace talks seemed to stagnate and not move properly. With the presidency of Duterte a breakthrough was achieved, but many things remain unclear. As late as March 2019 several military offensives in Maguindanao led to the displacement of thousands. The present situation on the ground is often very complicated and different layers of armed violence, armed groups, and governance systems will be challenging the implementation period of the peace agreements. In the middle of it are the communities who are experiencing war over and over, despite formal peace. This paper will look at a particular geographical cluster and re-visit communities in which the author had tried to set-up a zone of peace in early 2013 with local civil society partners. This micro-study of intervention and subsequent analysis of violence and the navigation of communities in the middle of the storm could draw some lessons for peace-building initiatives of the future and throw a light on the evolution and regression of armed conflict.

› **Encompassed State-Making in Southeast Myanmar**

Annika Pohl Harrison *Aarhus University*

This paper explores the processes of state-making by the New Mon State Party (NMSP), an ethnic armed organization (EAO) that claims to represent the Mon people in Southeast Myanmar, and which has fought the Myanmar military to pursue self-representation for the past 50 years. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, the paper focuses on a specific area that is encompassed by three states in the making: the NMSP, the official Myanmar state and another EAO, the Karen National Union (KNU). The article shows that NMSP state-making happens neither in parallel to nor through a simple separation from the Myanmar government and the KNU, but through different forms of encompassment. I introduce the concept of ‘encompassed state-making’ to capture the simultaneous mimicry and opposition of the NMSP’s state-making practices in relation to the other two states. The article, in addition, explores how Mon villagers navigate life in the context of encompassed states. I argue that while the NMSP is seen as the legitimate ruler, pragmatic engagement with other states is a condition of living in an encompassed state.

› **Legacies of Conflict at the Indo-Burmese Frontier: Manhood, Frontier, and Prolonged Ceasefire in Nagaland, India**

Matthew Wilkinson *University of New South Wales*

The Indian state of Nagaland is emerging from a decades long conflict between the government of India and various insurgent actors in the state. Presently, a number of ceasefires have ‘frozen’ much of this conflict, and the state is witness to a tense peace that is only occasionally broken. My research considers the dynamic relationships between ceasefire, the changing nature of the frontier, and the changing roles of men in Naga society as the state experiences this shift from violent conflict to (relative) peace. Ultimately, I seek to understand how the changing nature of conflict in Nagaland shape local ideas about men’s roles as guardians, protectors, and custodians of Naga territory, society, and culture. In other words, how does perpetual ceasefire shape the experiences of men in a borderland where life has, until very recently, been defined by armed conflict? I argue that as Nagaland experiences the transition from conflict to post-conflict, men’s ambitions in the state are less focused on violent insurgent politics, although violent insurgency is indeed still present, and more focused on de-territorialized cosmopolitan engagements with India and the wider world. Amongst this change, new contestations emerge, between traditional men’s roles and modern politics, between ethno-nationalism and de-territorialized ambitions, and ultimately between ideologies informed by the realities of conflict, and ideologies informed by the possibilities associated with peace.

.....

**Queer (In)visibility in Southeast Asia: Class, Politics, and Global Sexual Health 1**

LOCATION Room 1.201  
 TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)  
 CONVENER Sylvia Tidey *University of Virginia*

**ABSTRACT**

How do sensationalist concerns with gay men’s sex parties relate to upper class anxieties? How do class distinctions work to exclude transgender women from LGBT HIV-related care? What new opportunities for queer belonging, desire, and exclusion do digital media platforms offer? What are possibilities for Muslim queer care, belonging, and politics in an increasingly hardliner Islamic contexts? How do global sexual health discourses create new queer categorizations?

Through questions such as these, this panel addresses queer (in)visibility in twenty-first century Southeast Asia at the intersection of class, politics, and global sexual health. For queer Southeast Asians, frictions between moral, political, and economic ideologies and practices affect possibilities for being and belonging in multiple and often contradictory ways. While rights-based activism, global health concerns, and an expansion of the middle classes have opened up new avenues for queer visibility and relationality, they have obscured others. While increasing homo- and transphobia threaten queer

social, political, and actual lives, contemporary processes of marginalization also present new opportunities for interstitial connections and organization.

The members of this panel combine their disciplinary insights from the arts, anthropology, and queer studies by drawing on their work in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand. In so doing, they turn to the topic of queer Southeast Asian (in)visibility to look for forms of Southeast Asian queerness both highlighted and neglected in the hegemonic ontological and ideological perspectives of liberal economics, liberal humanism, and global health discourses. By attending to such processes of making visible and rendering invisible, we commit to queering the transnational turn (Chiang and Wong 2016). One that refuses a Euro-centric perspective in rendering Southeast Asian queerness as mere empirical objects of study severed from “theory” proper (Chen 2010). Instead, we deploy our commitment to a Southeast Asian queer regionalism (Martin et al. 2008: 15) as a means for rethinking queer possibilities for being, community, and politics.

## PAPERS

### › **From White to White: Media Advertising, Online Content, East Asian Pop and Changes in Aesthetic Preferences Among Gay Filipino Youth**

Aaron Raphael Ponce *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

Studies on Philippine queer masculinity focusing on sexual preferences of gay Filipino males often note that the concept of traditional manliness and machismo has been regarded as the most sexually desirable, as sexual intercourse between homosexual men with overtly feminized features and behaviors is seen as akin to relations with women (Ricordeau. 2013: p. 427). In terms of globalization and the transnational flow of images facilitated by increased migrant mobility and developments in social media, the white Anglo-European male is often described as the epitome of this desired masculinity, as he not only has physiological qualities deemed more “macho,” but access to intimacy with Western males also represents the aspirational value of upward economic mobility associated with the ability to travel and the cosmopolitanism of being able to access the Western cultural sphere (Benedicto, 2008; Manalansan, 2003; Teunis, 2007).

However, recent studies suggest that the hegemony of white masculinity as a sexual ideal is beginning to wane among Southeast Asian gay males, with the advent of two media trends. First, heavy advertising from cosmetic companies active in Southeast Asia such as Pond’s have increasingly pushed East Asian (Chinese and Japanese) facial features and fair skin as the new standards for beauty. Second, the massive popularity of boy bands from China, Japan and Korea among Southeast Asian audiences have been observed to change perceptions of male sexual desirability away from Western machismo, to a more feminized aesthetic involving men patronizing cosmetics (among them skin bleaching products) and achieving quasi-androgynous features (Song, 2016; Ainslie, 2017; Kang, 2018).

Looking through the lenses of visual anthropology as well as gender and mass communication studies this paper thus aims to demonstrate two evolutions in Filipino gay aesthetic preferences: first, that contemporary media and social networks have shifted focus from Western models of masculinity to East Asian male aesthetics, albeit retaining the heavy cultural connotations of fair skin. Second, this shift to the glorification of the East Asian male is not a mere change of sexual preference, but represents a deference to East Asian cultural hegemony, as seen not only in media patronage but consumption patterns among the youth as well. We aim to do this through a comparative discourse and image analysis of three media avenues: first, through images and narratives shared in popular gay groups found on Facebook and channels in Youtube; second, a comparison of the gay male body in queer Filipino cinema from popular films in the past thirty years; and finally, a comparison of images of masculinity in cosmetic product advertising targeting youth vis-à-vis changes in consumer response and patronage.

### › **MSM Peer Counseling and the Dispositions of Care in HIV Prevention in the Philippines**

Richard Karl Deang *University of Virginia*

New practices of care are emerging from the critical biopolitical moment of the Philippines, which has the fastest HIV infection growth rate in the Asia-Pacific region in addition to a state-sanctioned war on drugs. In this paper I focus on LoveYourself, a volunteer-based HIV organization in Manila catering primarily to “men who have sex with men” (MSM). LoveYourself distinguishes itself from other providers of HIV prevention services through its “promise of service” to its clients: “iniingatan at inaasikaso.” The two verbs in this slogan, “ingat” and “asikaso,” are both translations of the verb “to care,” but “ingat” can also mean “to value” and “to protect,” and “asikaso” (from the Spanish “hacer caso,” or “to heed”) can also mean “to attend to” and “to pay attention to.” They are also often contrasted with “alaga,” a translation of “care” that also means “to provide the needs of” (a child, for example). How do “ingat” and “asikaso” compare with forms of healthcare provided by traditional providers like the social hygiene clinic, which traces its roots in the American colonial public health system? How do HIV prevention counselors’ practices of empathy, friendship, and belonging come together with the aims of global health intervention within the fifteen-minute duration of an HIV prevention counseling session? Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Manila, I aim to explore not only the effects of these embodied linguistic constitutions of care on the HIV/AIDS epidemic but also the ways in which these practices can be transposed outside HIV prevention work to replace practices of apathy, enmity, and alienation in the ongoing war on drugs and other similar public health interventions.

### › **Politics in the Cracks: Indonesian Muslim Queer Communal Care and Belonging**

Ferdiansyah Thajib *Freie Universität Berlin*

In this panel presentation, I explore how Muslim queer communal belonging in Indonesia are partly sustained and complicated by practical, emotional, and ethical manifestations of care. I understand that although as affective dynamics, senses of belonging and care are often entangled in the remaking of everyday life among those whom I encountered during fieldwork, they are irreducible to each other. To capture the political implications of these everyday happenings as a necessarily incomplete process, I convey ‘interstitial’ as an intersecting characteristic that makes up Muslim queer communal, political engagement. By interstitial, I mean an affective quality

of a sociality which tends to dwell in the status of in-betweenness rather than moving towards a categorical understanding. They are forms of affiliation that neither offer finality nor clear teleological aims. By inhabiting neither a public nor a private site; and being neither a fully banished nor liberated social space, Muslim queer subjectivities are collectively engaging in what they loosely describe as a community space (*ruang komunitas*). The 'space' within this community space does not only pertain to a physical location but also points to the roles of self-organized groups to collectively cope with rampant marginalization. This way, Muslim queer communities are not only occupying the cracks of formal political structure which neglects and abuses them, and but also inserting themselves in the fissures created by wider queer movements within in the country, the region and beyond.

### › Transparency and MSM in Indonesia

Benjamin Hegarty *University of Melbourne*

This paper charts a genealogy of the category MSM (men who have sex with men) in Indonesia. A bulk of the work conducted by NGO workers at the intersection of discourses of transnational global health/LGBT rights involves counting, categorization and verification. Their efforts offer the insight not only that categories and enumeration make up people or constitute populations, but that these practices are inseparable from transparency as a moral concern in postauthoritarian Indonesia. As exemplary objects of scrutiny, attending to the efforts to undertake documentation by activists working at the intersection of LGBT rights/global health offers a perspective on emergent modes of exclusion and belonging in postauthoritarian contexts more generally.

---

## The Politics of Engagement: Southeast Asian Diasporas in Relation to Home Countries 1

LOCATION Room 1.204

TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)

CONVENERS Fridus Steijlen *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*  
Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz *University of Warsaw*  
Helena Patzer *Polish Academy of Sciences*

### ABSTRACT

Diasporas originating from Southeast Asian countries form one of the largest mobile communities in the contemporary world, with the Filipino diaspora numbering at least 11 million, and the Vietnamese diaspora 4 million. While the phenomenon of migrant engagement in activities directed towards countries of origins have been long discussed in migration studies, the ongoing processes of transnationalization of migrant communities (Portes, Guarnizo, Landolt 1999), facilitated by the development of instant communication and digital platforms, provide a novel area for investigation. In our panel we would like to address the following question: how are the more 'traditional' areas of diasporic engagement addressed in the digital era?

By 'traditional' areas of diaspora activity, we mean:

- political activism, commonly directed towards changing the status quo in the country of origin (pro-democratic movement),
- economic engagement, involving a broad range of phenomena, such as investments and transnational entrepreneurship,
- social activism, of various degrees of institutionalization (from traditional "hometown associations" to development initiatives and digital activism).

In our panel we engage with presentations which focus on the above-mentioned phenomena, especially from a transnational or diasporic perspective, and are both research-informed and embedded in the theoretical perspective.

### PAPERS

#### › Burmese Political Refugee Returnees and Development in Myanmar

Jae Hyun Park *University of Sussex*

One of the solutions proposed to solve the current global refugee crisis is to regard refugees as a development issue in order to better address the protracted nature of displacement. However, many of these discussions revolve around refugee integration and searching for ways for them to contribute to development in the host country, as opposed to being a burden to the economy. What about refugees and development in their home country? How do transnational refugee returnees act as active agents of change in their home

country? This paper aims to address this question through a group of Burmese political refugees who returned to Myanmar from South Korea.

Comprising mostly the dominant Bamar ethnic group, the refugees initially came to South Korea as migrant workers but were recognised as refugees sur place for reasons of their political opinion against the military rule. Following the recent political developments in Myanmar, a few of them have returned or are planning to return to Myanmar, after about 20 years of living in South Korea. In South Korea they not only engaged in diasporic political activities but also involved in migrant labour rights movement, human rights issues of South Korea, and providing humanitarian aid to Burmese refugees in other countries. Much of this took place through close interactions with the Korean civil society.

With concepts and theories on migration-development nexus, social remittance, and transnationalism as a background, research was conducted in South Korea and Myanmar from spring to fall 2018 with transnational refugee returnees and key stakeholders in their lives as the Korean civil society, religious groups, academia, and the government. Research methods included life story interviews using participatory approaches, reflective practice, and observations. Grounded theory was used to collect and analyse the data as well as in participatory co-analysis exercises with the participants. Participants shared stories on the choices, factors, interactions in their life trajectories that led to transitions, what they brought back to Myanmar and the links to this with what they perceive as the crucial development needs of Myanmar. A participatory approach to the methods was necessary and relevant not only in line with the research topic but also to the relationship between the researcher, a government officer, and the participants.

Upon return to Myanmar the refugee returnees, rather than engaging in party politics in continuation of their diasporic political activities, have found other means to be politically involved through working in businesses, education and civic or community organisations, but with a strong focus on a wide range of development issues. Korean language, education, personal networks, changes in values and personalities acquired during their time in South Korea have been identified as key factors to this process. Although most changes in the returnees and the subsequent changes they brought to Myanmar were positive, an issue that had been formerly excluded as falling outside the scope of research emerged during the research process: perceptions on the Rohingya crisis. The diverging perceptions between the refugee returnees and the Korean civil society has even given rise to conflict, two groups previously thought of as having had a close exchange of ideas and values spanning over two decades.

#### › **Creating Paradise: Development Ideas Mobilizing the Filipino Diaspora**

Helena Patzer *Polish Academy of Sciences*

The paper analyzes the development engagement of the Filipino diaspora, focusing especially on the US migrant community and its transnational connections. It offers a two-fold perspective: first it looks at how transnational communities are mobilized by the idea of development and how migrants thus become development agents in their home countries. Secondly, it takes a closer look at the imaginaries created through such an engagement: a long-lost childhood paradise, a new model of society free of corruption, poverty, and suffering, a place which one can retire in. The paper is based on long-term research on transnational connections, development, and care in the Philippine diaspora in the US.

#### › **From Long Distance Nationalism to Development Aid: Moluccans in the Netherlands Connecting to Their Land of Origin**

Fridus Steijlen *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*

When Moluccans arrived in the Netherlands the idea was that they would only stay temporarily. Their own idea was that they would return to the Free South Moluccan Republic (Republik Maluku Selatan, RMS) in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. This RMS, proclaimed in 1950 as a reaction to the collapse of an Indonesian federal state was the reason for the Dutch government to bring Moluccans temporarily to the Netherlands.

Already from the beginning of their stay in the Netherlands Moluccans set up two different kind of organizations that connected them to the Moluccas. First organizations based on village of origin, used to fulfil the role of village elders in the Netherlands. Secondly organizations that supported the RMS struggle. The first 3 decades RMS politics, a form of long distance nationalism, dominated the position of Moluccans in the Netherlands and their orientation on the Moluccas as well as on the Dutch society.

After a radical height in the political struggle in the mid-seventies, the political orientation slowly made path for other ways of connecting to the Moluccas. Slowly starting with visiting the Moluccan islands from the mid-seventies on, more and more Moluccans became involved in development aid projects. Starting with support on village level in the form of water supply, bridges and renovation of churches, the development aid developed to a variety with (individual) projects aiming at educational support, support for disabled persons, safe homes for girls experiencing sexual harassments to structural improvement of sustainable harvest of species and annual medical visits and consultations by Dutch doctors.

In his talk Fridus Steijlen will describe how this transformation from long distance nationalism to development aid came about. He also will argue why we can read the involvement in development aid as a continuation of the connectedness with the Moluccas that nourished the long distance nationalism in the first three decades.

# Future Making Along Southeast Asian Frontiers

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Kristina Großmann <i>University of Passau</i> Michaela Haug <i>University of Cologne</i>

## ABSTRACT

In this panel we explore frontiers as sites of future making. Frontiers constitute spaces where intense and often highly conflictual negotiations between various actors from different scales are taking place – struggling over access to resources, identities, development goals and different visions of the future.

Initially introduced by Turner (1893) to explore the specific situation of territorial conquest of the American Middle West, the frontier concept is used by numerous scholars to analyze social, political, economic and environmental transformations in rural and remote regions in Southeast Asia. Frontiers are thereby understood as processes of territorial expansion, as actual borderlines or in terms of social relations and hence as socially constructed. Focusing on specific actors, Li (2014) explores an “indigenous frontier” while other authors distinguish e.g. between “capitalist frontiers” (Tsing 2005), “frontiers of control” (Geiger 2008) or “conservation frontiers” (Acciaoli and Sabharwal 2017). Most accounts of frontiers focus on the attempts of powerful administrators, politicians or entrepreneurs to inscribe their visions of development into an allegedly wilderness with abundant resources. But the people inhabiting these regions imagined as frontiers also have their own aspirations for the future.

We invite papers that provide examples of future visions expressed by rather marginalized voices along frontiers all over Southeast Asia to develop a more comprehensive account and a comparative perspective on future making along Southeast Asian frontiers.

## PAPERS

### › A Past for the Future? Heritage, Identity and Future Making at the Upper Mahakam

Christian Oesterheld *Mahidol University*

This paper discusses visions of normative, or ‘preferred’ futures at a classical frontier region of Indonesian Borneo. Mahakam Ulu (or “Mahulu”) regency in East Kalimantan province, established in May 2013, is one of the most recent results of administrative proliferation in Indonesia. Bordering North-, West and Central Kalimantan, as well as the Malaysian state of Sarawak, the regency is at the fringes of the Indonesian state – and at once at the very heart of the island of Borneo, being one of the last ‘white spots’ on Dutch colonial maps until the late 19th century. Based on interview data from a number of fieldtrips to all five districts of Mahulu regency (between 2013 and 2019), this paper presents future scenarios as they are envisioned by local people of diverse socio-economic backgrounds, including government officials, teachers and students, members of the old aristocracy (hipui) and common farmers, religious leaders and ritual specialists. My interviews have revealed the past(s) of the region to be a significant marker in relation to development plans and imaginations of the future. Public memory and cultural sites have been important in the grassroots driven process of administrative proliferation and are currently rediscovered (and reinvented) in a wide arena of identity negotiation vis-à-vis neighbouring regencies and ‘Indonesian’ traditions.

### › Frontier-Making and Temporalities of Landscape in West Kalimantan, Indonesia

Timo Kaartinen *University of Helsinki*

Turner’s frontier thesis raises an empirical question: what kinds of demographic and spatial dynamics arise from capitalist expansion? The paper discusses this question in the context of West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Defined as a precipice between a densely populated space of settlers and empty land that is open to future settlement, frontier is a good description of many situations created by the expansion of rubber and oil palm cultivation. After giving an overview of such developments, I ask what happens when different frontier processes are present in the same space. Drawing from fieldwork in the Upper Kapuas Regency near the Malaysian border, I argue that the space of future settlement is always created by political acts: assessments of the land’s ecological state or value, security policies along national borders, the planting of monocrops that signify private or corporate land claims, and map-making that reveals or conceals the affordances for frontier-making in the landscape. The demographic decline of longhouse-dwelling people in Upper Kapuas makes them particularly vulnerable to such frontier-making, but owing to their history of shifting cultivation and resettlement they have various ways of countering it by historicizing the landscape and creating signs that project its value into the future.

### › Jumping and Filling in the Blanks: Speculation and Anticipation on the Ayeyarwady River Land Frontier, Myanmar

Benoit Ivars *University of Cologne*

This paper deals with people’s orientations – speculation, anticipation, planning – on the alluvial lands and islands of the Ayeyarwady River. Villagers who inhabit and cultivate on these unstable, yet very fertile spots of land, are always on the lookout for signs of land erosion and accretion. The frontier is continually happening as the river itself creates large events and structures, in the form of

land appearance and disappearance, that villagers have to deal with on a constant basis. In many instances, villagers have to move backwards or forwards on the river, occasioning endless conflicts between neighboring communities for access to “new” land. Landscape and the people, sediments, grasses, and the river are active participants in the making of a frontier of “potentialities”. In this paper, I look to the materiality of the terrain and “new” land potentials as an object and opportunity in speculation and anticipation schemes, by which villagers try to maintain continuity in their lives. I reflect on the emic concepts of “jumping” and “filling in the blanks” to reflect on the ways people plan and orientate in a landscape where land access is only temporary and precarious. I discuss the role of the river and “new” land in shaping the lives of the people.

### › Reclaiming the Frontier: The Recognition of Adat Forest as an Opportunity to Challenge Extractive Regimes

Siti Maimunah *University of Passau*

The Indonesian government is supporting extractives, such as mining, logging, and large plantations, as part of a national framework and commodity-based approach to national growth. Indonesian extractive regimes play a key role in the formation of the country's economic and political order and are supported by global and regional forces. Government provides the huge of land for extractive projects by create resource frontier, include on the digenous people territory. Seeing the land and forest ecosystem as commodities create a space of desire, an imagined project that enfolds the space and time to compose a frontier. Switching/ Turning nature into commodities creates resource frontier which are composed of historical resource extraction in Indonesia from underground raw materials digging, the massive ground level of rain forest logging and monoculture trees plantation to the air surface as a source of the carbon trading. Indigenous people in Indonesia experiences how the frontier visit and revisit their territory through state regulation. The state asings land concessions to the corporation, overtakes the customary forest and create conflicts. Massive criticism and legal action have been raised at the ignorance towards environmental destruction, agrarian conflicts and civil society demands for agrarian reform. In 2013, the Indonesian constitutional court decided that the state should release customary forest from the state forest. In response, the Indonesian government in 2015 initiated an agrarian reform program which recognises adat (customary) forest. This paper will explore the different perspectives, expectations, and approaches of the 2015 agrarian reform by the Indonesian government and civil society and analyzes the potential challenge for extractive regimes.

.....

## Upland Pioneers: Future Aspirations, Moral Imaginaries and Emerging Religiosities in Southeast Asia ❶

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Oliver Tappe <i>University of Hamburg</i> Rosalie Stolz <i>University of Cologne</i>
DISCUSSANT	Guido Sprenger <i>University of Heidelberg</i>

### ABSTRACT

Ten years after the publication of James Scott's (2009) widely received “The Art of Not Being Governed”, the image of the “state evading” anarchic uplander, though subject to much debate, continues to shape our imaginations of the socio-political dynamics in upland Southeast Asia. In order to open up new conceptual terrains we propose to substitute this image by the trope of the “upland pioneer” that encapsulates the idea that the people of upland SEA maintain a “pioneering ethos” (Pierre Petit) and a future-orientation shaped by both hope and uncertainty. Instead of discussing responses, resistance, and other ‘re’-active positions towards external forces – from the developmental nation-state to global capitalism – we shift our focus more consequentially to proactive attitudes and practices that shape the relationship between upland communities and the external forces. We wish to illuminate the manifold practices of imagining worthwhile futures, initiating and shaping socio-economic change, and gauging its cosmological and moral dimensions that are currently taking place in the uplands of mainland Southeast Asia.

We aim to explore two intersecting layers of future-making: Aspirations of economic development and emerging religiosities. The corresponding dialectic between sociocultural change and an assumed moral order is of particular concern here: How do pioneers fathom and re-configure economic and religious frontiers – and handle the moral ambiguities of breaking new ground? The materiality of moral ambiguity and the transformation of spiritual landscapes provide hitherto under-researched fields of empirical investigation. This change of perspective, inspired by anthropological approaches to hope and the good, renders visible the diversity of forms of engagements with “development” and “the state”, conflicting and plural value-regimes, religious and cosmological transformations.

We aim to gather ethnographically-based contributions that engage with processes and conundrums of future-making in upland Southeast Asia. In particular, we encourage fresh perspectives on exploring uplanders' aspirations and imaginations as well as local narratives and practices that underlie (economic and religious) future-making strategies.

## PAPERS

### › **Cross-Border Ethnic Networks and Human Trafficking: The Case of the Hmong Along the Sino-Vietnamese Border**

Jili Zhu *Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences*

Tam Ngo *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Ethnic and Religious Diversity*

In October 2012, Sao, a beautiful 25 year old Hmong woman, was sold to China. The person who sold her was none other than her own husband and the father of her three year old son. In the following months, Sao was traded several times among Hmong human traffickers across southwest China until a Han farmer family in Hebei provinces bought her for their son.

China's growing demand for women, as brides and sex slave, resulted from the country's one child-policy and its alarming gender imbalance constitutes the basic cause for the trafficking of tens of thousands Vietnamese women to China in the last decades. Although Vietnamese victims of human trafficking can be from all ethnic and social background, Hmong women comprise an unusually high percentage in this disturbing development. The direct cause for the suffering that Sao and thousands of Hmong women have to go through, however, lay in the transnational nature of their own ethnic group.

This article documents the ordeal that Sao has gone through from the moment her husband brought her to China to the moment she was rescued by the Chinese and Vietnamese authorities. Through a close examination of this empirical case of cross-border human trafficking, the article aims to provide analysis of a number of issues. 1) The transnational nature of Hmong ethnic networks and trust that give rise to a range of possible illicit cross-border transaction including human trafficking. 2) The legal and cultural demarcation of national sovereignty were done without taking into the interest of national minority and their transnational linkages, thus lead to ineffective combatting of human trafficking.

### › **Pioneers of the Plantation Economy: Militarism, Dispossession, and the Limits of Growth in the WA State of Myanmar**

Hans Steinmuller *London School of Economics and Political Science*

The characteristic mobility of highland populations in Southeast Asia relied to a large extent on their particular adaption to an ecological environment: swidden cultivation of tubers on mountain slopes. And this ecology corresponded to a general cosmology in which potency was limitless, or at least had no fixed and delimited precinct (as did the rice paddies and Buddhist realms in the valleys). Military state building, modern transport, and new crops and agricultural technologies have effectively ended swidden cultivation. In this presentation, I follow the pioneers of the plantation economy in the Wa State of Myanmar, who dispossess local populations of their land and employ them as plantation labour. The limits of growth and potency they encounter are a) in the natural environment and b) in the resistance of local populations. Yet, even though there are such limits, the potency to which these pioneers aspire is still limitless. In this presentation I present the elements of this new potency, that is based on a new economy of life.

### › **"Sert Has Gone": Reconciling Cosmological Conundrums on a Ridgetop in Laos**

Paul-David Lutz *University of Sydney*

This paper is built on a year of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2017-18 in the ethnic Khmu hamlet of Baan Kak (a pseudonym) in Laos' northernmost province of Phongsali. The paper sketches local efforts to square pre-existing politico-cosmological commitments with the political, economic and ontological claims emanating from the developmentalist state and globalized capitalism. As Khmu, the people of Baan Kak have traditionally viewed their destinies as intimately intertwined with energetic forces/"spiritual" vectors (hmaal, hrooy) ultimately embedded in the landscape of their mountain ridge (rngong). At the same time, and as long-standing supporters of Laos' socialist revolution, the Khmu of Baan Kak have increasingly intertwined their aspirations with the modernizing states' promise of prosperity – even as efforts to fulfil this promise have faltered and/or transformed their "spiritual landscape" in ways that have challenged both pre-existing livelihoods and politico-cosmological arrangements.

Drawing on my PhD ethnography, the paper examines the proactive ways local Khmu have sought to interpret, manage and mitigate the moral ambiguities and tensions arising from this conundrum. In doing so, it contributes to further upsetting simplistic juxtapositions of state-society, tradition-modernity, and resistance-subordination.

The paper concludes by suggesting that the (albeit precarious) persistence of key cosmological commitments have helped the Khmu of Baan Kak construct a narrative that reconciles the intense ambivalences inherent in their own role as harbingers, implementers, victims and beneficiaries of Laos' ongoing modernization.

# Spirited Politics: Spirit Discourses and National Trauma in Thailand

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Megan Sinnott <i>Georgia State University</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Kanya Wattanagun <i>Chulalongkorn University</i> Peter A. Jackson <i>Australian National University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Ghosts and spirits are ever-present in the Thai landscape, evident in the ubiquitous spirit shrines and offerings that dot the countryside and cities. Spirits are part of everyday life; they are propitiated, worshipped, loved, feared, and dreaded. Spirits are so central to the everyday experiences of many people that any account of religion and culture in Thailand is not complete without an accounting of how the spirit world informs both personal experience and ideological structures. This panel explores multiple ways in which spirit beliefs and practices in Thailand evolve and transform in response to changing social contexts. Spirits are evoked by the state to bolster hegemony, such the practice of state actors sponsoring particular shrines (to royal historical figures, mythical figures, Indic deities, and local spirits). Spirits are also evoked by the general public in response to social crises, regional identities, and traumatic events. This panel will explore a range of spirit beliefs in Thailand and examine their connections to local social and political events and discourses. Topics will include the state's efforts to monopolize local spirit festivals and rituals, the Thai public's reliance on spirit discourses to address national traumas and crises, and the production of new practices and beliefs in response to changing social conditions.

## PAPERS

### › An Ambivalent Mode of Believing: "Cheua" in Thai Spirit Beliefs

Kanya Wattanagun *Chulalongkorn University*

The Anglo-American term "believe" inadequately denotes the way in which spirit beliefs are held and practiced in present-day Thailand. Used in the context of Judeo-Christian monotheism, "believe" connotes a commitment to a certain faith. Later on under the influence of scientific rationalism, the term implies an acceptance of a truth claim that has not been verified. "Believe" in the western context consistently denotes a strong conviction that something is true, which further implies the rejection of the truth claims that contradict the held belief. Given these underlying meanings, I argue that the term "believe" cannot do justice to an ambivalent way in which numerous Thai people hold and practice spirit beliefs in present-day Thailand. I contend that "cheua", in several cases, conveys speaker's acceptance that a proposition is plausible and worth considering rather than his or her complete certainty in the veracity of the held belief. Therefore, "cheua" in these cases does not entail a rejection of other possibilities. I delineate this argument by looking into the phii pop tradition among the northeastern Thai folk and the cave rescue in Chiang Rai in 2018.

### › Ghost Aesthetics: Child-Spirit Imagery and Materialization in Thailand

Megan Sinnott *Georgia State University*

The rise in the popularity of both formal rituals to appease fetal spirits and the growing commercialization of child spirit "dolls" raises questions about the emergence of new spirit beliefs and practices, and their significance within current socio-economic contexts in Thailand. The growth and innovation of widespread and diverse practices associated with propitiation and "adoption" of child spirits in Thailand has been significant within roughly the past two decades. These innovative practices synthesize Thai traditional beliefs of "kumanthong," (fetal/child spirit amulets) with both regional spiritual trends, such as formal fetal propitiation and adoption rites at Buddhist temples, and commodification and marketing of material spiritual objects. Belief in "kumanthong," or fetal spirits is possibly centuries old, but recent developments in the promotion of Buddhist temple propitiation rituals and the widespread popularity of "adopting" child spirits by middle class and young Thais introduces new dynamics to these practices. This paper traces the movement of the materialization or representation of these child spirits, from amulets made from human flesh, to formalized figurines endowed with spiritual essence, to commercially produced "luk-thep" dolls. These aesthetic and material shifts in representation, materialized through the human production of sacred objects, trace a movement to increasingly commodified and "respectable" relationships to the sacred.

### › Sovereigns of Care: Spirits as a Geopolitical Apparatus of Health

Bo Kyeong Seo *Yonsei University*

Drawing on spirit mediums' and their devotees' ritual practices centered on care and protection in northern Thailand, this paper explores the uncharted interfaces between biopolitical governing and the realm of potency. The analytic possibility that biopower offers to anthropology is not just that it confirms the menace of sovereign power that can produce a sort of people who are deemed killable, but it allows us to reconsider localized forms of sovereignty in which power over life and death is operational. In this paper, I map Shan migrants' experiences of violence and affliction in the borderlands between Burma and Thailand and show how spirits operate as a deified sovereignty. Human life is under the influence of these malleable and ambivalent forces, and both sovereign states and sacred forces can exercise the double movement of power over life. By focusing on improvised ritual repertoires and everyday forms of devotion that aim to secure a flow of life-giving welfare, I discuss how the potency of spirits produces different possibilities of

care for the self and others. Within this potency-centered view, power relations are reconfigured by the desire to care which is based on mutuality, responsiveness, and shared incompetence rather than dominance.

---

## Ambiguous Eating and Bodies in Global Asia: Perspectives from Critical Food and Development Studies

LOCATION	Room 1.404
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Judith Ehlert <i>University of Vienna</i> Nora Faltmann <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>

### ABSTRACT

The globalisation of the agro- and food systems have touched down and acquired new and huge markets in Asia, characterized by potent and aspirational consumers. Global economic integration is coupled with a growing commercial and consumerist interest in the body – also in the body that eats and is being fed. Striving Asian markets have thus attracted growing investment capital in the fields of body and beauty industries, retail, convenience food, gastronomic franchising and industrial branding. In the midst of nutrition transitions, regulatory policies and development interventions target persisting malnutrition, food-related diseases and food insecurities.

Having been subject to food insecurity over decades, consumers increasingly have to manoeuvre within diversifying food options coupled with questions of access and exclusion, conflicting food, body and health discourses and in a context in which consumption and production systematically decouple. It is the transgressive nature of food, its delineation, crossing and exceeding of spatial, discursive, behavioural and material boundaries (Jenks, 2003; Goodman and Sage, 2014; Ehlert and Faltmann, forthcoming 2018) that make this panel focus on 'food anxieties' to stress the ambiguous nature of the relationship between humans and food. Food, its consumption and surrounding discourses offer insights into people's class-based, racialized and gendered embeddedness within global capitalist food systems. Moreover, it can be academically approached within codes of body ideals and conduct (Lupton, 1996; Probyn, 2000; Cairns and Johnston, 2015), social norms, taboos on food provisioning and responsibility (DeVault 1994) and productivity and governance (Featherstone, 1991; Foucault, 1977, 1978).

What forms of agency and new ways to connect to food do people pursue in their everyday lives in times where contradicting messages and normative accounts circulate, issued by the food industry, the media and developmental policies? How do governments, industries as well as notions and practices of development shape the structural conditions and ambiguities of transitioning food systems?

This panel invites papers that in one way or another relate to such conflictive moments and contexts of agency and structural power over what and how people consume food in Asia. Invitations from scholars working in the broad fields of critical food and development studies promises to open up space for constructive discussions from various disciplinary backgrounds and theoretical perspectives. We are looking for papers that focus (but are not limited to) on the following topics:

(Gendered) Food-related self-objectification, body policing and eating disorders; Food Safety and Food Insecurity; Food Waste; Counter Narratives and hegemonies: Social food movements, food policies and agro-food industries; Human-animal relations/animal welfare.

### PAPERS

#### › Food Safety in Ho Chi Minh City's Markets: Chemicals, Negotiating Trust, and the Politics of Place

Nora Faltmann *University of Vienna*

The presented research constitutes part of the dissertation 'Food Safety in Vietnam's changing Urban Foodscape – Of Body Politics, Access and 'Beautiful' Carrots in Ho Chi Minh City'. Set at the city's market places, the presentation explores how issues of food safety (an toàn th?c ph?m) are perceived and negotiated in these marketscapes. Food safety issues discussed here predominantly relate to questions of food origin and chemical contamination. The contribution discusses how food safety concerns are negotiated through relations to trusted vendors and through physical attributes of food. In particular, questions of embodied knowledge in the identification of safe food are analysed. Moreover, the presentation looks at attempts by control bodies to test the quality and safety of food on markets. As the fear of chemicals in food is closely tied to the places of origin, I then go on to discuss what I have come

to refer to as the politics of place around food safety. Tied to societal discourses on what constitutes safe and trustworthy food, I examine cases in which food safety debates touch on and are inherently about something other than food – in the case of food origin, this particular relates to the reputation of China in Vietnam. Food safety concerns are brought out to be a social phenomenon that permeates social relations, rather than a something people negotiate in isolation. Moreover, the social embeddedness of people's everyday food shopping routines contrast governmental advice on 'rational' consumer behaviour, hence weaving in the emerging consumer discourse in Vietnam and its implications for food safety issues.

### › Informal Approaches to Countering Dietary Deskillling of the Next Generation in Cambodia's Food System

Hart Feuer *Kyoto University*

Past interventionist policies to improve youth dietary behaviors have been a mixed success. In the last century, many countries have promoted food education programs for youth. Much hope has been placed on formal (school-based) pedagogy, ranging from home economics to the more vanguard initiatives in the Nordic countries and 'sensory food education' (Éducation sensorielle) in France. While some of these policies have helped dull certain harmful dietary trends, multilateral agencies consistently document how the negative impacts of the nutrition transition continue to impair youth food skills even in relatively successful countries. Simultaneously, many countries in the global south lack the public resources and the urgency to contemplate proactively managing the consequences of decreasing food literacy. In Cambodia, persisting rurality and poverty still elevate the value of skills such as foraging, food preservation, medicinal food knowledge, cooking, and parsimonious consumption. As a consequence, the small resources directed at this issue in government and civil society tend to focus on counteracting negative external dietary influences (such as "Western" food) rather than also exploring what contributes to positive lifelong food learning. Past research has similarly studied the harmful impacts of food marketing to children, disrupted family lifestyles, the decline in domestic skills, and rise of convenience stores and fast food restaurants (e.g. Jaffe and Gertler 2006). In this paper, in contrast, I channel attention toward the assemblage of young people's food-related skills and their embeddedness in particular foodscapes. Through innovative benchmarking activities conducted with pupils in four Cambodian provinces, which measure food skills that are indispensable for thriving in the Cambodian agri-food system, I argue that 'supportive' food environments and social recognition of food skills are essential dimensions of lifelong culinary and nutritional skill acquisition.

In my past research, I have sought out successful and constructive models of healthy food environments and identified many in surprising places: under-served urban neighborhoods, textile factory slums, and small towns, in addition to rural areas. With this research, I am adding demographic and family dimensions to this picture, and in doing so also recognizing agency and strategic behavior of youth. With this, I can more directly point to the value of informal and passive approaches to building, or at least maintaining, everyday dietary skills. Places such as Cambodia, where diets are still healthy and food awareness among youth is relatively high without formal food education, can help suggest proactive measures for managing the nutrition transition in the global south while also inspiring critical reflection about the institutional approaches more common in the industrial north.

### › Rice Ambivalence: Food, Body and Value Among the Mentawaians in Siberut Island, Indonesia

Darmanto Darmanto *Leiden University*

This paper examines ambivalent relation between the Mentawaians and rice in Siberut Island, Indonesia. As tubers eater, the Mentawaians consider rice as prestigious, desirable and more delicious comestible than, but lack of richer properties of, traditional staple food. They love the sweetness of rice but claim the grain would not satisfy their body. They are keen to be rice cultivators but have always failed to produce it sufficiently. The paper finds that rice production on the island is largely tied to imbalance of state-society power, depends on uneven development projects, and requires hierarchal social organization, while rice consumption is strongly associated with the emergence of social inequality as only few Mentawaians, who obtain benefit from newly state and market institutions, can afford and consume rice regularly. Rice is also referred to the staple of sareu (non-Mentawaians, but particularly of Minangkabau people), the powerful and dominant ethnic neighbours, that have politically and economically mediated the Mentawaians and external world. Rice ambivalence, this paper argues, lies on the fact that its production and consumption have little contribution to the production of the Mentawaians' body, generate social hierarchy, and undermine their most important value: egalitarianism. Further, this paper will contribute to discussion how ambivalence toward food is linked to the role of food in the production of personhood and social value (s).

### › The Power of Food: Perspectives on Health and Access Among Chinese Participants of a Us Farmers Market Incentive Program

Juliet Tempest *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

The truth is that we need food; food therefore has power over us. Any insinuation of non-humans' power tends to invoke Actor-Network Theory (ANT), provoking ontological debates. I seek to make more modest claims about the world than ANT implies with its emphasis on 'agency', the false friend with which 'power' has been confused. I differentiate power from agency by focusing on the role of food during my ethnographic fieldwork distributing fruit and vegetable vouchers to Chinese-born participants in a Washington, DC, farmers market incentive program.

This paper outlines three scaffolding levels of food's power: the power to 1) make us produce and consume; then 2) make us well or not; and 3) help them make us do things. The first level corresponds to the draw of free produce among my interlocutors; its theoretical analogue is the presumption of food's 'agency'—or what I deem 'power'—within Actor-Network Theory. Applying this reimagined ANT, food is presented as an actor in the network of individual health, based on interlocutors' comments regarding food's therapeutic and toxic powers that blend tenets of Western and Traditional Chinese Medicine; such accounts of medical pluralism demonstrate the second level as well as the third, given internalization of new medical discourses. Exercises of biopower and power pure and simple rely on states and other agents leveraging this power of food to affect our health, evident in encouraging incentive program participants to consume more fruits and vegetables or threatening to withhold vouchers for disorderly conduct in the queue. Investigation of this last level thinks with and against Foucault, using the salient framework of biopower yet highlighting the role of resources over discourse in

engendering unequal power dynamics. The argument meanwhile operates from the premise that the material and symbolic aspects of food's power mutually reinforce each other.

---

## Social Protection: Understanding the New Politics and Practices of Distribution in South East Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Gerben Nooteboom <i>University of Amsterdam</i> John McCarthy <i>Australian National University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Ward Berenschot <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>

### ABSTRACT

In Southeast Asia we have seen the rapid rise of social protection schemes that offer basic coverage to the very poor. The spread of national social protection schemes follows (global) models for providing conditional cash and basic health insurance and seeks to address the critical political and social questions posed by persistent poverty and rising inequality. While much of the academic literature has focused on the technical aspects of program development and controversies over design and implementation, to date there are few studies of the politics and social-cultural adaptation processes associated with these programmes and their effects on food security and (rural) poverty. This panel will explore the rising popularity, the effectiveness and local social-cultural adaptation processes involved in the rise of social protection. SPPs pose a number of key questions for political scientists, anthropologists and geographers. For instance, why are social protection policies spreading so rapidly? Why these particular models? How does a particular politics of knowledge within state and donor policy communities lead to the uptake of particular policy models? To what degree do SPPs provide a means of managing the politics of poverty? How does the adoption of social protection policies play into patterns of electoral populism and patronage politics? What shapes the politics of distribution at the local level? How do the rationalities of governmentized systems shape patterns of distribution and lead to patterns of inclusion and exclusion? How effective are social protection policies in fighting food insecurity?

This panel will focus on the implications of the new rationalities of social assistance, (standardizing methodologies for targeting and implementation) that have emerged and the new politics of distribution that accompany them. We invite papers for this session that examine key themes from a social or political perspective, and/or address the question of how social protection address policies address livelihoods concerns in the Global South.

### PAPERS

#### › Implications of Vulnerability and Social Protection Programs for Young People in Mountain Java

Lisa Woodward *Murdoch University*

An assumption of the Indonesian government's social assistance programs, including Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs), the Family Hope Program (PKH) and the Clever Indonesia Card (KIP), is that young people will be supported to develop their 'human capital' (knowledge and skills), and secure employment that brings material wealth and breaks the cycle of intergenerational poverty. While well designed and targeted social protection systems can and do play a significant role in alleviating poverty in the short term by boosting economic growth in developing countries, the long-term impacts and contributions of social protection policies for wellbeing in low and middle income groups are less well understood. This has led to concerns about the potential for social assistance programs to reduce intergenerational poverty and promote social inclusion because underlying drivers and structural causes of poverty remain.

The research upon which this presentation is based is part of a wider Australia Research Council project investigating the impacts and effectiveness of SPPs in Indonesia. This component explores the realities of young people residing in vulnerable households in villages in mountain Java and aligns their experiences with a critical analysis of SPPs and the social and political economic drivers of poverty and vulnerability in rural Indonesia. It argues that a range of additional measures are necessary to overcome intergenerational transmission of poverty and vulnerability.

This presentation addresses the following questions: What are the underlying structural drivers perpetuating intergenerational poverty and vulnerability in mountain Java? How do household vulnerabilities impact upon young people's options and attitudes towards education and pursuing rural livelihoods? How effectively do key social protection programs assist young people from vulnerable households to improve rural livelihoods? Are social protection programs 'a silver bullet' for overcoming intergenerational poverty in rural Indonesia?

› **Maritime Livelihoods and Social Protection in Southeast Sulawesi**

Andrew McWilliam *Western Sydney University*

As the largest archipelagic state in the world with the fourth largest population (260million), it is not surprising that the Indonesian fisheries sector is a vitally important agro-ecology in the national economy. Fish and seafood consumption now provide 50% of national protein supply and per capital consumption is rising. At the same time the rapid industrial development of the country and associated habitat destruction, overfishing and unsustainable fishing practices, is placing increasing pressure on fisheries stocks and the capacity of small scale fishing communities to derive their livelihoods directly from diverse fishing activity. In this paper I focus on the results of recent research into Sama bajo maritime livelihoods in Southeast Sulawesi and the impact of both formal and informal social protection policies in alleviating poverty on the margins. The paper highlights the complex moral economies of Sama bajo fishing livelihoods where social protection is mediated through clientalism and indebtedness.

› **The Conditional Cash Transfer on the Ground: Experience of the Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines**

Marie Bembie Girado *University of Sydney*

The social protection policy by means of conditional cash transfer (CCT) program rapidly expanded in the Philippines since it was first introduced in the country in 2007. This aims at giving social assistance to the poor by providing cash to beneficiary households and responding to their immediate needs while promoting social development through human capital accumulation. In 2018, the government expanded the program reaching a total of almost twenty one (21) million Filipino beneficiaries. More than a decade after, how close is the program in achieving its goals to alleviate the poor's immediate needs and break the intergenerational cycle of poverty? The current statistics says that 21.6 percent share of the Philippine population lives below the poverty line, one of the highest poverty rate in Southeast Asia. Poverty problem remained stagnated as one in five of the country's 106 million people live in extreme poverty, getting by on less than two dollars per day.

Gleaning from the poverty track of the Philippines despite the expanded coverage of the conditional cash transfers merits a query on how the assumption of addressing poverty works on the ground. This social protection mechanism aims to reduce the poorest households' vulnerability to shocks and build human capital by smoothing consumption and sustaining expenditure on social welfare. The study will look at how the CCT works among beneficiaries, zooming into its effect on food security and livelihood from socio-cultural perspective among Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines, comprising fifteen percent of the population and representing the poorest sector in the country. Using ethnographic case study method, this study will look at the spending and consumption patterns of the beneficiaries in some of the poorest indigenous communities in the Philippines. Primarily, the study will focus on how the program affects food poverty and whether the program goes beyond the social welfare aims to promote livelihood among beneficiaries.

› **Travelling Technologies and Moving Ideas: Conditional Cash Transfers, Targeting Technologies, and the Depoliticisation of Poverty in Indonesia**

Gerben Nooteboom *University of Amsterdam*

In the last decade, the government of Indonesia has embarked on large social projects to fight poverty. Many of these programmes focus on health, education and on social assistance to the poor. The programmes are based on travelling global ideas and simplifications for poverty eradication (so-called magic bullets) and accompanied by technologies of measurement, implementation and evaluation. Although these programmes and technologies appear neutral, they bear implicit assumptions about the nature of poverty, governability, and (market-based) solutions. As a policy model, they obscure political dimensions of inequality and poverty by rendering developmental problems technical. Travelling models are attractive for politicians, appear politically neutral, obscure complex political dimensions on the ground and produce paradoxical social effects.

In this paper, we look at the travelling model of Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) and its transformative power in Indonesia. CCTs are a powerful example of magic bullet thinking and of travelling ideas in the world of development and anti-poverty governance today. Key questions for this paper are how these ideas travel, why they become popular among policy makers, how they render complex socio-political problems technical, and what social consequences they produce. The paper will focus on the genealogy of CCT adoption and implementation in Indonesia and includes case study material from its implementation based on long-term fieldwork in rural Java.



## Charity and Volunteerism in Southeast Asia

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Kerstin Schiele <i>University of Bonn</i> Sara Ann Swenson <i>Syracuse University</i>

### ABSTRACT

As economies across Southeast Asia rapidly expand and change, social service needs are also growing. In response, local volunteerism is on the rise. Through this panel, presenters will compare international and grassroots charity programs in Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thailand. Papers will include ethnographic research on nation-wide youth charity programs

by the Communist Party of Vietnam, Catholic housing cooperatives in the Philippines, humanitarian organizations working with refugees in Thailand, and Buddhist “charity tours” to visit ethnic minority groups in Vietnam.

The panel will examine how local and grassroots volunteer initiatives challenge academic critiques of humanitarianism as flowing from the Global North to Global South. Presenters will also compare how charity groups respond to social service needs produced through unique local, national, and religious contexts. Finally, panelists will consider how charity and volunteerism are shaped – productively or destructively – by national visions of civic duty and ethnic status.

## PAPERS

### › **Domestic Volunteering in Vietnam**

Kerstin Schiele *University of Bonn*

Discussions on volunteering are not only omnipresent within the global north but also in a country in the global south like Vietnam. There are two main types of volunteering in Vietnam: international and domestic. The introduction of doi moi builds up the environment for intensive volunteering activities of both types although volunteering has long traditions even in societies with a strong socialist party like Vietnam. The sector of volunteering consists, for example, of mass organizations run by the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), social and religious groups or private initiatives and self-organized projects to support people in need. Private initiatives and self-organized projects are often initialized by Vietnamese youth. There are various examples of domestic volunteering by youth in the media which illustrate the existence of a vivid public discourse on domestic volunteering. In my presentation, I will address my new research project on the discourse of domestic volunteering in Vietnam and how an analysis of the discourse helps to reveal the different actors involved and the inherent power structures. The analysis will lay open how citizens use the discourse of power to initiate and self-organize projects for people in need.

### › **Grassroots and International Charity Collaborations in Vietnam**

Sara Ann Swenson *Syracuse University*

Overseas Vietnamese and American war veterans play an active role among international humanitarian efforts in contemporary Vietnam. This paper explores how these international volunteers collaborate with grassroots charities at past war sites where volunteers from both countries have personal histories. Drawing on eighteen months of ethnographic research on charities in Vietnam, I analyze data from five humanitarian organizations which support impoverished children, people with disabilities, and Agent Orange victims in south and central Vietnam. Two groups are US-based, and three groups are local Vietnamese charities. Groups collaborate on infrastructural projects such as building schools, vocational training centers, and medical facilities in rural provinces. However, volunteers’ reasons for joining projects, and visions of what futures are created by these projects, differ drastically depending on their personal, religious, and national backgrounds. I apply Edward Soja’s concept of “Third Space” to analyze how different memories, religious cosmologies, and social imaginaries of Vietnam work in tandem to effectuate new material realities in this rapidly developing nation.

### › **Victim to Helper, Evangelized to Evangelizer: Christian Karen Refugees Reimagine Their Roles**

Terese Gagnon *Syracuse University*

Here I explore the numerous ways in which Christian Karen refugees from Myanmar living in Mae La refugee camp in Thailand defy narratives that represent them as victims within humanitarian regimes and as the “redeemed souls” of Christian evangelism. Camp residents do this in large part through (re)appropriating the language and spirit of aid and missionization and—through their actions and self-understanding—recasting themselves as the helpers rather than the needy. I investigate how those I spoke with envision themselves and their futures not based on assumptions of victimhood but rather through fulfilling social scripts of service: to their local community in the camp, to their ethnic-national Karen community, and to the abstract global community. I explore the second life of humanitarian and missionizing impulses, begun in the global North, that take on new character as they are interpreted and put into action by the very people who are initially cast as their objects. I question whether such an adoption of these ethos is substantively and theologically transformative to the core of the Geist themselves.

### › **“We Do Good with Our Hearts”: The Volunteer Politics of Ritual Labour for King and Nation in Present-Day Thailand**

Irene Stengs *Meertens Instituut & Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

Somewhere in spring 2017, a new royal volunteer organization was established under the auspices of King Vajiralongkorn, the “we do good with our hearts volunteers” (jit asa raw tham khwam di duai hua jai), or jit asa. Originally dedicated to work “for father” in the context of the cremation of King Bhumibol, the organization has grown tremendously, now volunteering in all sorts of work dedicated ‘for the good’ of the new king or the nation. Important events that gave the volunteers a prominent national visibility were the 66th birthday of the King Vajiralongkorn, and the rescue of the Thai youth football team (the Wild Boars) from the Tham Luang Cave. So far, four million people are reported to have registered. The upcoming coronation (4-6 May 2019) will be the next occasion for the organization to present itself.

The jit asa evokes associations with the 1970s Village Scouts movement (see Bowie 1997). Both organizations are nationwide and adult (men and women) oriented, bearing likeness to Boy Scouts in performance and appearance; both reserve a central symbolical role for “gifts from the king” (phrathachathan) as part of their initiation rituals. Paraphrasing Bowie on the Village Scouts, the jit asa are engaged in apparently innocent street-and-canal cleaning projects, or guiding traffic. While the Village Scouts were an anti-communist and, in the end, violent movement and the jit asa is pro-monarchy without an explicit ideology, the paper suggests to take the politics behind the jit asa seriously, placing these in the context of the increasing militarization of the Thai monarchy.

# Studying Social Silence and Agency in Southeast Asia: Politics and Strategies of the Unspoken

LOCATION	Room 1.502
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Annemarie Samuels <i>Leiden University</i> Grace Leksana <i>Leiden University</i>

## ABSTRACT

This panel reflects on the multifaceted presences of social silence in the face of political exclusion in Southeast Asia. While silence is often associated mainly with the result of oppression or repression, this panel deliberately shifts the focus to the active ways in which people maintain silences to sustain their everyday lives and social worlds. Recent approaches in anthropology theorize silence as a presence rather than an absence. Bringing these insights to bear on the politics of exclusion and “othering” that haunt the public spheres of many Southeast Asian countries, we ask: When, how and why has silence been a strategy for ordinary people, historically and in the present? How do such strategies interact with social and political forces of exclusion? How does the navigation of silence and speech relate to the politics of visibility and transparency? We also reflect on the ethical, epistemological, and methodological conundrums of studying the unspoken in politically sensitive contexts. How do we encounter silences, and to what extent may we interpret them? How do we respect silences in our writing and which silences may better not be probed at all? Aiming to bring together scholars studying different countries in Southeast Asia, who draw on their own research experience in reflecting on the unspoken and unspeakable, this panel contributes to a growing academic attention to the range of relations between silence and politics.

## PAPERS

### › **Between Structural Othering and Local Agency: Silence, Remembering and Narratives of 1965 Violence in East Java**

Grace Leksana *Leiden University*

This paper will explore how silence became part of memories of 1965 violence among the rural community in East Java. The military-led violence occurred nationwide in Indonesia, targeting members of communist and leftist organizations, including their families, supporters, even those who did not have a direct relation to such organizations. An estimation of 500.000 to one million people were killed, and others experienced gross human rights violations throughout 1965-66. The violence was also followed by massive rural transformation and agrarian policy as an effect of Indonesia's capitalistic turn in 1966. Since then, the state had constructed anti-communist collective memory, leading to social and political exclusion of the accused. Through my case study in Donomulyo district, Malang, East Java, we will see that the political exclusion that was constructed by the state did not necessarily resonate in the exact same way at the local levels. Here, Donomulyo reflects a sense of local agency against the structural othering of accused communists – and within this agency, silence seems to be one of their strategies. In this case, silence was not related with fear created through repression by the state. It was also not a complete absence of the past as an expression of traumatic behavior. On the contrary, the silence that I encounter was a surviving mechanism, a navigation device, to be able to continue their daily lives within such massive changes in their village.

### › **Silence and Care at the End of Life: Narratives of Advanced Illness in Indonesia**

Annemarie Samuels *Leiden University*

Silences within narratives may harbor a multiplicity of other narratives, some told and some untold. In this paper, I will reflect on silences around approaching death of people with advanced illness in Indonesia. Rather than openly discussing the possibility of dying, caregivers and patients silently discern signs, while often subjunctively holding on to the possibility of healing. Sometimes relatives only recognize the silent signs of approaching death in retrospect. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Indonesia, this paper discusses the ways in which listening to silent signs may be acts of care. It moreover underscores that listening to silences within narratives is crucial to the social scientific analysis of care.

### › **Silencing Suffering, Occluding Dissent: Narratives of Love and Sacrifice in Vietnam**

Merav Shohet *Boston University*

In Vietnam, sacrifice (*hy sinh*) refers not just to patriotic acts, but also to practices and affective stances that embrace pervasive and relatively silent suffering (Shohet 2018). Theorizing silence as a fully social and communicative presence in the everyday (Weller 2017), this paper excavates how a patriotic former war prisoner and combatant whose biography was embroiled in his nation's history frames his own and Vietnam's past as filled with both ordinary ('home-front') and extraordinary ('battlefront') sacrifices. In attending to his narrative's form as well as content, and to the ways in which he names or excludes certain protagonists and events in his account, I highlight which aspects of Vietnam's nationalist history are tellable, and which remain strategically untold to avoid dangerous dissent. This in turn illuminates the political and gendered dimensions of love and care in Vietnam, and the ways that narrative silences reify – but also subtly contest – hegemonic accounts of the nation's past struggles and present developmentalist aspirations.

## › The Multiple “Voices” of Social Silences: Youth Citizenship in Myanmar

Wendy Choo *University of Auckland*

Citizenship is a critical component of statebuilding and peacebuilding in conflict-affected contexts, yet it is also the most neglected. In this presentation, I conceive the state as a membership organisation and statebuilding as the socio-political process of constituting legitimate governance. Citizenship then, in this context, is both the instrument and object of social closure for the state as an association of citizens. Taking a critical realist, ethnographic case study approach, my PhD thesis examines youth citizenship in postcolonial, conflict-affected Myanmar in order to understand the nature of postcolonial citizenship and the ways in which it is produced. For this presentation, I reflect on the empirical findings gathered from 5 months of fieldwork and 20 photo-elicitation interviews with Myanmar youth in Yangon and Mawlamyine from November 2017–April 2018, as the Rohingya crisis raged on in the background. I discuss how I encountered the silences and how these silences ‘spoke’ to me through the theoretical concepts that I drew on to interpret them. Specifically, I draw on Walton’s theorization of Burman-ness as whiteness and Bob Jessop’s strategic relational approach to understand two different types of ‘silences’ among my Myanmar youth participants that became particularly visible during my fieldwork: the ‘silence’ of Bamar Myanmar citizens regarding ethnicity in their identity and the ‘silence’ of Muslim Myanmar citizens regarding their religion in their identity narratives. While the ‘silence’ of Bamar Myanmar citizens reflected their dominance in the ethnocentric state, the ‘silence’ of Muslim Myanmar citizens spoke to their marginalization from the national imagination. The structural preference of the Myanmar state for Buddhist citizens of ‘indigenous races’ contributed to Muslim Myanmar citizens’ need to be visible about their citizenship affiliations and silent about their cultural identities.

---

## Bourdieu, Religious Fields and Social Power in Mainland Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Laboratory (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Benjamin Baumann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Erick White <i>University of Michigan</i>

### ABSTRACT

Inspired by Stanley Tambiah’s seminal ethnography of spirit cults and the religious field in Northeast Thailand, scholars of religion in mainland Southeast Asia have since the 1970s intermittently deployed the idea of the “religious field” to analyze religious diversity, hierarchy and opposition within particular national settings. Scholarship about the religious fields of Southeast Asia, however, has rarely engaged with Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological theorizing of social fields or the subsequent work on social field theory which has flowed from his work. This laboratory will ask scholars of religion in Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos to bring these two trajectories of scholarship into critical conversation. What theoretical, analytical and methodological similarities and differences unite and divide the conceptualizations of a religious field by Tambiah and Bourdieu? How can the conceptual vocabularies and analytic models of Bourdieu and others theorists of social fields enrich the interpretation of religious structures, hierarchies, complementarities and contestation in modern and pre-modern Southeast Asia? What are the limitations of applying sociological theories of social fields in Southeast Asia given that they have primarily emerged and been applied to societies of the modern industrial Christian West? How does the unique historical, religious and socio-political dynamics of colonialism, nation-building and the revival of various religious traditions in Southeast Asia suggest productive ways in which Bourdieu’s theorizing of social fields need to be revised and re-imagined in a global era?

This laboratory will establish a dialogue between junior and senior scholars of religion, anthropology and sociology who research contrasting domains, fields and dynamics of social power and religiosity in contemporary mainland Southeast Asia. By thinking comparatively both within national settings and across the mainland region, the laboratory seeks to develop a more robust, critical and nuanced conceptual and analytic vocabulary through which to advance the comparative study of religious pluralism, social power and historical agency in Southeast Asian and beyond.

### PAPERS

#### › Bourdieu, Religious Fields and the New Thai Buddhist Pantheon

Erick White *University of Michigan*

Applying Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of the religious field to the contemporary Thai religious landscape necessitates re-examining changes in the pantheon of supernatural beings within contemporary Thai Buddhism. My participation in this laboratory discussion will center around rethinking contemporary Thai religious cosmology in the service of critically reflecting on the value of Bourdieu’s ideas about fields, capital and habitus in the analysis of religious organization and practice.

› **Buddhism and Society in Laos**

Boike Rehbein *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

The paper argues that religion can be linked to social structures and especially habitus very much in the same way that Bourdieu linked taste and esthetic judgement to French social structure in the late 1960s. However, since Southeast Asian societies differ significantly from France, Bourdieu's interpretation of social structure has to be modified. The historical dimension and the weak national integration of Southeast Asian states has to be taken into account. This is especially true for Laos. The paper will present a conceptual solution to both problems and briefly outline empirical results based on that solution. The argument will be restricted to Buddhism. The integration of the large variety of beliefs into Bourdieu's framework remains a challenge, which will be addressed briefly.

› **Fields, Function Systems and the Hegemonic Constructions of Buddhism in Vietnamese Buddhism**

Alexander Soucy *Saint Mary's University*

Vietnamese Buddhist reformers in the first part of the twentieth century bought into a modernist construction of Buddhism that created differentiations between Buddhist and non-Buddhist and created orthodoxies. This process has been highly political as well as involving gendered discourses that marginalised the way that women practiced. Drawing on Bourdieu's notions of fields in combination with Niklas Laumann and Peter Beyer's notions of function systems, I will discuss the way that these overlapping theories explain the hegemonic nature of the marginalizing processes in the development of Buddhist orthodoxy in Vietnam.

› **Possession Cults in Burma/Myanmar: Religious Fields and Buddhization**

Niklas Foxeus *Stockholm University*

This paper will examine possession cults in Burma/Myanmar and how the religious field has been restructured, as novel forms of possession rituals for the guardians of the treasure trove emerged in the early 1990s in response to the development of a market economy and other factors. These novel cults represent a reformed, "purified," ethicized version of the "traditional" cult of the 37 Lords.

› **Thailand's "Mystic Field"**

Benjamin Baumann *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

This paper asks whether Bourdieu's field theory is productively applicable to the booming of professional spirit mediumship in contemporary Thailand. Are we witnessing the emergence of a 'mystic field' that co-exists with the religious field of Thai Buddhism? More specifically, the paper addresses the growing visibility of queer spirit mediums and asks whether gender ambiguity represents a field specific form of 'mystic capital' that is transformable into economic capital.

› **The "Field" of Health in Myanmar: Healing Practices Examined Through the Lens of Bourdieu's Field Theory**

Celine Coderey *National University of Singapore*

Grounded on my fieldwork among Buddhist communities of Rakhine State (Western Myanmar), my paper examines the different healing practices forming the local 'field of health'. My goal is two-fold. Firstly, I will discuss how most healers combine different trainings and practices so as to enlarge their range of action and to increase their legitimacy. Secondly, I will show how patients make their choice among different healers thus contributing to position them within that field.

› **The Religion of Burma Seen from the Spirit Worship Perspective**

Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière *French National Center for Scientific Research*

Burmese normative perspectives on religion do not as a rule include spirit worship practice in their scope. This presentation aims at showing that the worship of the Thirty-seven Lords that amounts for these practice - its institution and dynamics - is better understood as part and parcel of the religious field.

.....

**Critical Perspectives on Penalty in Southeast Asia 1**

LOCATION Room 1.504  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)  
CONVENER Andrew M. Jefferson *Dignity—Danish Institute Against Torture*

**ABSTRACT**

In this double panel we aim to bring together a range of contributions about the way penalty is constituted, expressed, experienced, legitimated or regulated across SE Asia. Punishment is an under-researched theme in the region especially from a comparative, field-based perspective. What role does it play? What form does it take? And what behaviours or identities are primarily targeted, for what reasons? Punishment is typically encoded within legal systems and institutionalised within criminal justice systems, but it is also expressed corporeally and symbolically by nations, communities and families with

violence often a more or less legitimate feature. We welcome contributions on criminal justice systems and transitional justice mechanisms but we are also interested in tracing trends of popular punitiveness and punitive imaginaries and their pernicious effects. We especially encourage early career researchers to submit abstracts.

## PAPERS

### › **Embedded Moralities in Social Media and the Philippine War on Drugs**

Karl Arvin Hapal *University of the Philippines*

Recently, Facebook has become ubiquitous as platform for the exchange and shaping of public opinion and politics in the Philippines – albeit not without notoriety. In the Philippines, this dual-edged potentiality of social media has come to fore during the 2016 presidential elections social media became arenas not only for impassionate and, at times, bitter political debates, but also the rise of support for extra-judicial measures to address the problems of country such as illegal drugs. This became especially apparent soon after Duterte's ascension to the presidency when the social media sites became laden with support for the government's bloody war on drugs, seemingly embedded with anti-human rights sentiment. This presentation aims to explain the seemingly overwhelming support for the government's war on drugs in Facebook. This will be accomplished by critically examining the implicit discourses within the comments section of news posted in Facebook about two sensational cases of extra-judicial killings in 2017: Kian de los Santos and former Mayor Rolando Espinosa. The process of examination of these comments or texts will draw inspiration from James Scott's (1990) concept of "hidden transcripts" and then attempt to outline moral categories embedded in them. The presentation will also draw inspiration from what Tadiar's (2009) calls "historical experience". By drawing from Tadiar (2009), the presentation treats the discourses in social media as manifestations of historical continuities, particularly that of class antagonisms.

### › **Gendered Justice: Socio-Legal Perspectives on Myanmar's Criminal Justice System**

Ergun Cakal *Dignity—Danish Institute Against Torture*

Criminal justice policies and processes, internationally, have long been devoid of gendered sensitivities and perspectives. Experiences of historically-marginalised groups coming into conflict with the law, namely women and people identified or identifying as a sexual minority, have not been adequately appreciated and, in turn, warranted protections have not been afforded. Research in this area has also lagged. Despite the comparably overrepresentation of incarcerated women in Myanmar, as elsewhere in South East Asia, the necessary research elucidating the factors feeding this state of affairs has not been forthcoming. Accordingly, as part of the Legacies of Detention in Myanmar Project, we have turned our attention to key issues including legislative (e.g. rights frameworks and criminalization) as well as institutional and cultural structures and practices (e.g. procedural and social discrimination) at the intersection of gender and the criminal justice system, more broadly. Delimited to women and sexual minorities in Myanmar, this research is looking at the underlying causes of arrest, pre-trial detention and prison sentences as well as the specific rules and regulations with respect to imprisonment from a gendered lens. The paper will present the rationale of the case-study, challenges of implementation and preliminary findings.

### › **Obo Central Prison: Persistence and Mutation of a Necropolitical Infrastructure**

Tomas Max Martin *Dignity—Danish Institute Against Torture*

Obo Central Prison was built in 1992 as the fist of the Burmese military clenched hard against the protesting public and their growing call for democracy. The new lemon slice-shaped prison, put up to replace the old (pre)colonial jail inside Mandalay Palace, signified the military's prime and prototypical manifestation of a modern and secure carceral estate. Over the next two decades, this semicircle structure was rolled out as the infrastructural reference model for all new prison constructions in Myanmar. Based on ethnographic material from an ongoing research project on the legacies of detention in Myanmar, the paper develops a 'history of the present' analysis of Obo prison. Interviews with i) the prison officers (who played a leading part in the building process); ii) the autochthonous political prisoners (who moved into the new buildings and began to tinker with them); and iii) the engineers (who struggled to roll out the Mandalay model in unwelcome contexts) weave together a telling genealogy of Obo Central Prison as a significant necropolitical infrastructure in Myanmar's penal landscape – not least in terms of its role as a hub for the extraction of prisoner labour. In conclusion, the paper considers the contradictions, ambiguities and complexities of how Obo Central Prison seeks to appropriate a new role as a reformist institution and transform its deep history of repression by renovating service facilities and introducing 21st century technologies of care and control in close collaboration with international actors.

---

## **Incorporating the Foreign: The Social Meaning of Imported Goods in Eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste**

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Emilie Wellfelt <i>Stockholm University</i> Hans Hägerdal <i>Linnaeus University</i>

## ABSTRACT

This panel draws attention to the role of material culture in social interactions and in historical practices in eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste. We are specifically interested in imported objects and the ways particular categories of foreign objects become a 'social currency'. To speak with Arjun Appadurai (1986), certain things have social life – but how can we understand this life of things? What things appeal enough to gain social life in the receiving communities? What are the results/consequences of the social lives of imported things?

Working in a European-Amerindian context, the historian Marcy Norton has discussed potential processes behind the transfer of objects across the Atlantic Ocean (Norton 2012). She argues that there might be universal elements that make a category of objects desirable to humans. There might also exist convergences between cultures which allows an object to be valued and attributed meaning in the same way in both contexts. Marshall Sahlins (1999) has labelled a third process 'commodity indigenization'. In this case, the receiving culture assimilates objects on its own terms, providing meaning according to its pre-existing conceptual world. Another possibility is that meanings travel with objects: in this option the 'giving' culture's use and practices pertaining to an object migrates with the object. In actuality, some or all these processes will coexist. The point is that things and meanings, may, but do not necessarily, travel together.

There is rich evidence in the literature for the importance of foreign material culture in eastern Indonesia and Timor-Leste, hence the focus on this region. The interdisciplinary panel brings together scholars from history, anthropology and human geography, presenting case studies that illuminate significant aspects of foreign objects and foreign approaches to natural resources.

## PAPERS

### › A World of Clothes: Indian Textiles and the Germination of Polities in Eastern Indonesia

Hans Hägerdal *Linnaeus University*

The early modern period saw a very comprehensive import of textiles from South Asia to the Malay Archipelago. Such cloths could be high-quality products which were coveted as status items as far as Maluku and beyond, such as the well-known patola (double-woven ikat). The imported goods also included less expensive cotton cloths. This trade has a long history that goes back before the advent of European economic and political interference. Europeans, especially the VOC, tried to control the trade flows with varying success. The paper discusses how the import of Indian textiles underpinned political structures and networks in Nusa Tenggara Timor and Maluku from the 16th to the 19th centuries, analyzing the way that import goods was indigenized and became important symbols for authority and redistribution, something that is mirrored in early-modern (mostly European) documents as well as later tradition. Through this, we may discern how a consumer culture developed in a mainly non-Western context which was however connected to early colonial economic management and shipping.

### › Exploring the Question of Moko in Alor-Pantar

Emilie Wellfelt *Stockholm University*

Starting from the assumption that foreign objects historically had a variety of trajectories as people incorporated them into local cultures across the eastern Indonesian archipelago, this paper explores the role of moko in the Alor-Pantar area. Moko are hourglass-shaped metal drums, imported from Java and elsewhere, that hold a significant position in local customs and practices among ethnolinguistic groups inhabiting the eastern extremes of the Sunda islands.

In his article 'The Social Value of Elephant Tusks and Bronze Drums among Certain Societies in Eastern Indonesia' (2016), Leonard Andaya argued that the symbolism of elephants and drums in India and mainland Southeast Asia travelled with the objects. Through long term trade contacts 'the symbolism associated with these objects in those regions would have been absorbed by certain eastern Indonesian societies based on their use of one or both of these specific objects as representations of elite status and authority and as a symbol of fertility' (Andaya 2016: 66).

This paper presents an alternative to Andaya's theory. The investigation draws on extensive anthropological and historical research in the area (Wellfelt 2016). Knowledge based on fieldwork at the micro level enables a nuanced analysis that considers local variations. The original data is paired with comparative readings of research on foreign objects and social meanings in other parts of eastern Indonesia.

### › The Long-Barrelled Musket as Weapon and Revered Object Among the Atoin Pah Meto of Timor

James Fox *Australian National University*

The starting point of this presentation is Salomon Muller's early 19th century assertion that "...the trade in flintlock rifles is the most advantageous trade that can be conducted on Timor..." Muller goes on to elaborate on this assertion insisting that the rifle or musket was an indispensable element of Atoin Pah Meto male identity. Significantly, from the 19th century onwards, virtually all representations of the Meto-Timorese are of warriors with their rifles.

The introduction of this object by the Topasses or Black Portuguese mestizos in the 16th century produced a transformation in Timorese society. The musket became a sought-after trade item but within a relatively short time, the Meto began manufacturing their

own crude long-barrelled weaponry. By the time of the arrival of the Dutch in the middle of the 17th century, they possessed enough fire-power to repel the initial incursions into the interior by the Dutch East India Company.

The musket also helped propel an expansion of the Atoin Pah Meto throughout west Timor allowing them to assimilate other populations with less access to such weapons. In time, the musket (kenat in Uab Meto) became a revered object and the subject of ritual poetry. This paper explores aspects of the complex story of the Timorese musket and is intended to initiate further investigations.

### › The Social Life of Carbon in Timor-Leste

Lisa Palmer *University of Melbourne*

Through preliminary empirical work into the 'materiality' of place-based carbon, this presentation examines the entangled market and non-market variables of a reforestation program in the Matebian mountain range in eastern Timor-Leste, a project financed by a voluntary carbon offset program (WithOneSeed/CarbonSocial). The program is asserted to provide viable and environmentally sustainable livelihoods by restoring watershed services, enhancing farm productivity, improving access to cultural resources and, and contributing to more diversified local economic markets, skills and participation. The long-term aim is to assist Timor Leste to become carbon neutral and hence leverage the ongoing sale of the country's carbon offsets. By exploring the extent to which we can discern in this program a process of commodity indigenization, and reflecting on the entanglements of such reforestation projects with colonial plantations on the island, my aim is to pull apart (and together) the various logics and values associated with the social life of carbon in Timor-Leste. What exactly I ask is being transformed in these processes and what is travelling with it?

.....

## Reinventing Museums in Southeast Asia from the Colonial to the National, the Regional to the Global

LOCATION	Room 1.506
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Emily W. Stokes-Rees <i>Syracuse University</i> Pearlie Rose Baluyut <i>State University of New York</i>

### ABSTRACT

Characterized by their strategic location, colonial legacies, and newly industrialized and transnational economies, the mainland and maritime nations of Southeast Asia witnessed the emergence of museums in the 20th century, attesting to a robust if not profitable cultural infrastructure with tangible and intangible impact within and beyond the region. Inextricably linked to notions of progress, modern museums provided the necessary visibility, a projection of a decolonized, democratic, and developed nation. Yet the diverse ethnic, socio-economic, and political character of each nation challenged the narrative of nationalism, which, according to Benedict Anderson, “dreams of purities.” While state-sponsored museums unified discrepant material culture whose apotheosis was a distinct yet imagined national identity, recent curatorial and programmatic activities demonstrate the opposite to accommodate, integrate, and express multivalent citizenship, belonging, and meaning. Indeed, a greater cultural cooperation within and among nations has resulted in a dynamic exchange of ideas, objects, and labor. This panel seeks papers that explore the significant role of museums in Southeast Asia, considering their (trans)formation in a colonial, national, regional, and/or global context. Recognizing museums as (re)sources of power, we are interested in deepening our understanding of institutional policies and practices, such as acquisition, collection, preservation, exhibition, and education. Moreover, we wish to interrogate the contradictions inherent in this enterprise, as well as potential challenges and crises as contemporary art fairs and biennials take center stage.

### PAPERS

#### › Curating the Sacred, Enchanting the Ordinary: Things, Practices, and Local Museums in Northeast Thailand

Siriporn Srisinurai *Thammasat University*

This research examines problematic relationships between colonialism, knowledge, and curatorial practices as these relate to collections that are concerned, or linked, with “the sacred” in local museums in Northeast Thailand. Major arguments of this qualitative research are about seeing local museums as “museum entanglements” and “entangled museums.” Firstly, instead of seeing local museums as either “non-professional” or “non-western” museums, the research proposes to understand them as situated in the colonial contexts of Southeast Asia, and to see their practices as responses to, and interlocutors in dialogue with prior museums that collect and curate the same material collections, and have been influenced by colonialism and nationalism. Secondly, instead of seeing these local museums exclusively as “indigenous museums,” it proposes to see them as “entangled museums” that are a result of co-existences and interactions of different kinds of knowledge, which diversely derive from religion, magic, and science. In Northeast Thailand, curating sacred things such as religious statues, palm-leaf manuscripts, and standing stones, involves dealing with epistemic differences that lead

to diverse dialogic practices dedicated to the sacred (e.g. merit making and worshipping). These practices sometimes appear alongside scientific museum practices (e.g. cataloguing, preservation, and exhibiting). Local museums, therefore, not only critique influences of nationalism and colonialism in institutional museums, they also reflect some alternatives and entanglements with museum knowledge from various sources. As such, they shed light on the diversity and dynamics of museums in relation to colonialism and its legacies.

› **Reinventing Museums in the Context of Global Tourism: A Comparative Study of War-Related Museums in East Asia and Southeast Asia**

Bui Thanh Huong *Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University*  
 Kaori Yoshida *Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University*

With ever-increasing cross-border mobility, the entanglements between tourism and heritage are becoming extremely complex. The growing recognition of the material culture of the twentieth century has kept histories of war and hostility alive, constantly fueling feelings of anger, fear, and hatred. Recent development of museums in East and Southeast Asia demonstrates this trend. The memories of past human experiences are recalled through contemporary interactions with physical places and landscapes (Smith, 2006). Heritage also plays a majorly important part in the process of trying to distance independent Southeast Asian states from their former colonial powers (Hitchcock, King, & Parnwell, 2009). In many national museums, official narratives are highly selective, where the authorized attitudes to the past contribute to “the effort to create more purely nationalistic narratives” (Long, 2012, p. 212). Museums, as a source of power, are commonly used to build patriotism at the domestic level and potentially spread propaganda to international visitors (Timothy & Boyd, 2006). Our study investigates the discrepancies inherent in authorized narratives of war-related museums in East Asia (Japan and South Korea) and Southeast Asia (Vietnam and Cambodia). By comparing the official narratives of the same events across museums in different countries, this paper illustrates how international tourism contributes to the process of reinventing museums from national and regional levels, as well as the process of de-colonization through narratives in these museums.

› **The Buddha in Glass Cases**

Justin McDaniel *University of Pennsylvania*

Over the past 30 years, there has been a proliferation in the number of small Buddhist museums throughout Asia and especially in Southeast Asia. While many of these museums are connected to individual monasteries and promote a highly specific vision of Buddhism in particular place, several have attempted to create ecumenical spaces and a comprehensive vision of the Buddhist past. This paper explores localism and translocalism in the formation of Buddhist museums, as well as the very idea of secular and pan-Asian ecumenical Buddhist museums outside of the sectarian affiliation of previous museums.

.....

**Challenges to the Future of ASEAN**

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Fernan Talamayan <i>National Chiao Tung University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Andreas Stoffers <i>Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung</i>

**ABSTRACT**

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2015 established the ASEAN Community, Asia’s first regional community, and celebrated 50 years of overcoming the challenges of an extremely diverse region. While the ASEAN’s achievements are worth the praise it has garnered in the past, the future of the region seems to be anything but smooth sailing. This panel looks at some of the most pressing challenges that the ASEAN may face in the future, as echoed by many scholars of the region. The papers in this panel will examine the ASEAN principles of regional order vis-à-vis its relevance to the present context, the challenges of climate change and the commitments of the region to address this, and the Chinese factor in the development of the member states’ foreign policies.

**PAPERS**

› **Accelerating Climate Action in the ASEAN: Challenges and Mitigation Opportunities for a High-Risk Region**

John Lee Candelaria *Hiroshima University*

The Global Climate Risk Index lists Myanmar, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam among the world’s ten countries most affected by climate change, while the United Nations’ Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports the risk of coastal flooding to be worst in Southeast Asia, with Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines suffering the brunt of this impending disaster. The ASEAN seem to be responding in earnest attention: ASEAN countries have asserted a certain level of commitment to this global concern, with nine out of ten members of the ASEAN being parties to the Paris Agreement, while all members have pledged their own Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) to address climate change. Singapore, as the 2018 ASEAN Chair, has led the Climate Action Package Initiative to

ramp up actions to address climate change. But more needs to be done in the regional level to accelerate climate action in this high-risk region. Using the lens of climate justice, this paper aims to examine the NDCs of ASEAN member states and the issues that hound the achievement of these commitments, in hope that a regional agenda be established to chart the actions and strategies of the region. After all, climate change does not distinguish geographic and political boundaries, and thus, merits a transnational approach.

#### › **The ASEAN Way: Ontological (In)Security in the Troubled Waters**

Denson Acomular *National University, Manila*

The ASEAN Way has been developed in the 1990s as a double principle of non-interference and consensus and has been the unifying norm among the member states of the ASEAN. Today the principle seems to be in question as to how the concerned parties are able to channel ASEAN influence over assertive China on the South China Sea. As such, this paper aims to analyze the ASEAN Way as a source of ontological (in)security of the region. Ontological Security is the ability of the “self” to maintain its cohesiveness over the disruptive external environment. Failure to attain such would incur insecurity and would leave the “self” reduced of its agency. To solve this, the “self” derives ontological security from self-assuring and other-assuring actions which are the narratives and routines respectively. Therefore, the research will look into the current territorial and maritime policies of the organization and the corresponding dominant narratives of each member states. The test of ASEAN relevance and influence in the region hangs on its capacity to attain its self-security. The question now begs whether the ASEAN Way works for or against this cause.

#### › **The South China Sea Dispute: Examining Duterte’s Foreign Policy Shift in the Context of the China-ASEAN Geopolitics**

Fernan Talamayan *National Chiao Tung University*

Recent developments between China and the Philippines paint a rosy picture of cooperation that is closer than ever, with Philippine President Duterte’s move towards the emerging regional power that postures a foreign policy shift for many is too close for comfort. In this paper, the author argues that the emergence of China as a political and economic hegemon through its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the ambiguous position of the ASEAN and the U.S. in the territorial dispute in the South China Sea have influenced the Duterte administration to shift its stance towards a neighbor that seems closer to home. This relationship will be explained through a historical approach that could provide insights as to the possibilities of this connection between the two countries. Also, recognizing that the only way to understand an actor is by examining its relation to the actions of other actors (Blanchard and Colin, 2017), this paper follows up on the existing studies on the geopolitics of China’s Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI) as it describes the relational actions of each country involved in the South China Sea dispute.

#### › **Towards Greater Political Participation from Below: Rethinking the Role of Filipino Smallholder Farmers in the Age of ASEAN Economic Integration**

John Raymond B. Jison *University of the Philippines Los Baños*

During the 12th Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Summit held in Cebu City, Philippines, the ASEAN Member-States envisioned an integrated ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) by 2015 that aims to create a globally competitive single market and production, which shall materialize through the integration of their economies. However, the ASEAN economic integration is foreseen by some to be detrimental to smallholder farmers rather than beneficial. For one, the agricultural system in the Philippines remains to be underdeveloped, rendering local smallholder farmers ill-equipped to compete in the free market. For another, the influx of cheaper agricultural imports in the local economy let alone the agricultural sector’s loss of competitiveness leaves the fate of local farmers hanging in the balance.

This paper aims to shed light on two themes. Firstly, an analysis of the current state of Philippine agriculture and plight of the smallholder farmers in the Philippines is imperative in understanding the roots and nature of problems faced by the sector, as well as prospects for development or underdevelopment. Finally, the concept of participatory governance is discussed vis-a-vis the political economy of knowledge and access to information to reimagine the role of the smallholder farmers in the implementation of food and agriculture targets that are identified in the AEC Blueprint. This paper employs valuable concepts taken from David Easton’s systems theory and Antonio Gramsci’s theory of cultural hegemony.

# Session 10

FRIDAY 11:00–12:30

---

Room 1.101	Activists in Transition: Progressive Politics in Democratic Indonesia
Room 1.102	ASEAN Decision-Making and Policy Change in Southeast Asia
Room 1.103	Armed Groups, State-Making Practices and Civilian Agency in the Borderlands ②
Room 1.201	Queer (In)visibility in Southeast Asia: Class, Politics, and Global Sexual Health ②
Room 1.204	The Politics of Engagement: Southeast Asian Diasporas in Relation to Home Countries ②
Room 1.308	The Philippines and Its Global Entanglements: Decentering the Knowledge Production About Religion in Asia
Room 1.401	Upland Pioneers: Future Aspirations, Moral Imaginaries and Emerging Religiosities in Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.403	(Re)assembling the Moments of Thai-European Encounters in History
Room 1.404	Power Dressing: Clothing and Ornament as Amulet
Room 1.405	Chinese Religions in Southeast Asia
Room 1.406	Social Protection: Understanding the New Politics and Practices of Distribution in South East Asia ②
Room 1.501	Industry 4.0 in Southeast Asia: Strategies and Implications
Room 1.503	<b>LABORATORY</b> Bourdieu, Religious Fields and Social Power in Mainland Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.504	Critical Perspectives on Penalty in Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.505	Indonesian Maritime State: Shaping Military Professionalism
Room 1.506	Two-Wheeled Tensions in Urban Southeast Asia: Motorbike Taxis, App-Based Services, and the Politics of Mobility
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>ROUND TABLE</b> Current and Future Challenges of Regional Integration in Southeast Asia

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/10](http://euroseas2019.org/session/10)

## Activists in Transition: Progressive Politics in Democratic Indonesia

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Michele Ford <i>University of Sydney</i>
DISCUSSANT	Olle Törnquist <i>University of Oslo</i>

### ABSTRACT

Studies of regime change have shown that progressive social movements disseminate ideas about democracy amongst the wider population and mobilize opposition to undemocratic regimes. Less attention has been paid to the fate of social movements once that regime change occurs. Focusing on the students, labour, the urban poor and the anti-corruption movement, the papers in this panel track the trajectory of different social movements' engagement in the political sphere from the short-lived period of openness in the late 1980s–early 1990s and the twenty-year anniversary of the fall of Indonesia's New Order regime in 2018. In locating progressive social movements at the center of their analysis, they do not seek to privilege them to the exclusion of elite proponents of democracy. Many have argued that the country is controlled by an oligarchy whose powerbase is rooted in pre-democratic times, and even assessments that challenge the fatalism of such accounts acknowledge the ongoing influence of long-established political and economic elites. There are also deep-seated features of Indonesia's political system, like clientalism, that hinder democratic practice. Nevertheless, progressive social movements have continued to fight for what Beetham (1999, 91) describes as the "basic" principles of democracy, namely "control by citizens over their collective affairs and equality between citizens in the exercise of that control."

### PAPERS

#### › **Activists in Transition: Social Movements and Democratization in Indonesia**

Michele Ford *University of Sydney*

Collectively, progressive social movements have played a critical role over in ensuring that different groups of citizens can engage directly in—and benefit from—Indonesia's political process in a way that was not possible under authoritarianism. However, their individual roles have been different, with some playing a decisive role in the destabilization of the regime and others serving as bell-weepers of the advancement, or otherwise, of Indonesia's democracy in the decades since. Equally importantly, democratization has affected social movements differently depending on the form taken by each movement during the New Order period, their capacity to navigate the opportunities and challenges presented by regime change and the actions of successive democratically elected governments, but also of influential counter-movements. This paper examines the collective contribution of progressive social movements to Indonesia's transition to democracy and their collective fate in the decades since. Having explained how we understand the relationship between social movements and democratic transition, it examines the role of progressive social movements as a driver of democratization and common patterns of engagement with a newly democratic state.

#### › **Democratization and Indonesia's Anti-Corruption Movement**

Elisabeth Kramer *University of Sydney*

This paper asks what role the anti-corruption movement has played in driving democratic processes in Indonesia since the New Order and, conversely, how the movement has fared in the post-Reformasi era. Interrogating this relationship provides an opportunity to understand why corruption continues to exist, and in some cases thrive, in Indonesia today despite very prominent and vocal anti-corruption advocacy from activists. This paper asserts two key arguments. Firstly, it contends that anti-corruption protests, though stifled during the New Order, contributed to the broader movement for Reformasi that forced Suharto's resignation in 1998. Secondly, the paper asserts that although Reformasi has afforded the anti-corruption movement more political space to organize and vocalize dissent, it has not been smooth sailing. The anti-corruption movement continues to demand fairer and more democratic government but faces institutional and structural barriers to progress. The challenges faced by anti-corruption activists in advocating for better transparency and accountability processes reflect an ultimately incomplete project of democratization in Indonesia—a project that has stalled in recent years.

#### › **Student Movements and Indonesia's Democratic Transition**

Yatun Sastramidjaja *University of Amsterdam*

This paper traces the changing political role of student movements in the context of democratic transition, from "political vanguard" that pushed the struggle against Suharto's New Order regime, to "orphans of democracy" that led an increasingly marginalized political existence. The student movement's origins in authoritarianism – including the historical myths created around its collective identity as a united "moral force" and "agents of change" – made it difficult for post-New Order student movements to adjust to the new democratic conditions, where the expanded political freedoms reduce the need for students to act on behalf of "the people." Democratization thus made the student movement irrelevant, and what remains of it has since struggled to forge a new identity for itself. Recently, the 2019 elections provided a new momentum for student activists to make themselves heard, while simultaneously distancing themselves

from the “practical politics” of the elections. Rather, many rallied behind the grander cause of the “unfinished struggle for (economic) independence,” which they often framed in terms of Sukarnoist ideology. By thus bypassing the democratic political arena, the student movement created a new role for itself in revisiting old themes of struggle, yet in doing so repeated self-defeating patterns.

### › Urban Poor Activism and Political Agency in Post-New Order Indonesia

Ian Wilson *Murdoch University*

Post-authoritarian Indonesia has experienced increases in levels of urban poverty and income inequality, yet not seen the kinds of mass movements of the urban poor experienced elsewhere. Applying a social relational understanding of the poor as a class that depends upon more powerful actors to secure everyday needs, it is argued in the paper that urban poor agency and activism in Indonesia remains shaped and constrained by the condition constitutive of poverty. It has operated on two main fronts. The first is the politics of the everyday, the incremental and fragmented daily struggles to get by. The second is in ‘defensive’ forms of action, involving defending gains and responding individually or collectively to immediate threats to livelihoods, assets and security. Because modes of adverse socioeconomic incorporation are both complex and risky, the urban poor have little choice but to hedge their bets via multiple strategies with respect to both resources and alliances, which helps to explain seemingly contradictory political allegiances. Engagement in electoral politics has focused on the identification of ‘pro-poor’ champions within political elites and increasingly the use of political contracts as a means of extracting concessions and redistributions. Both have had decidedly mixed results

.....

## ASEAN Decision-Making and Policy Change in Southeast Asia

LOCATION	Room 1.102
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Lukas Maximilian Müller <i>University of Freiburg</i>
DISCUSSANT	Bridget Welsh <i>National Taiwan University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Long criticized as a talk shop, ASEAN has made significant progress both in the regularization of its decision-making procedures as well as its reach into various policy areas. Regional-level decision making, particularly since the establishment of the ASEAN charter, is increasingly having an effect on ASEAN’s member states and their national policies. Progress has been made in all of ASEAN’s three pillars, although to varying degrees. The ASEAN Economic Community has been the policy area with the most political traction, as can be seen in several areas such as competition policy and the ASEAN Trade in Goods Agreement (ATIGA). Progress within the political-security and socio-cultural pillars of the organization has been more modest, but observation suggests an increasing regionalization of decisionmaking in these areas as well. Incoherence remains on some contentious issues, most visible in the Philippine turnaround on the South China Sea in 2017 and continued regional inactivity in the Rohingya humanitarian crisis.

The increased policy importance of the regional level can at least partly be tied to changing norms and mechanisms in regional decision-making. Beyond the much-noted ASEAN Way and its emphasis on consensus and non-intervention, ASEAN utilizes a variety of informal and semi-formal decision-making mechanisms to address emerging regional issues. One such example is the chairmanship of the organization, which has a profound effect on ASEAN’s agenda. Another one is the ASEAN sectoral bodies, which partly provide the agenda for the ministerial meetings and summits from the bottom up. Civil society increasingly plays a role at different stages, providing inputs and monitoring outcomes of regional negotiations and activities. External partners also affect ASEAN’s policies to varying degrees, due to the organization’s strong commitment to external economic and political relations.

### PAPERS

#### › ASEAN and Its Participation in Fostering International Cooperation in Criminal Matters

Angela Leonor Aguinaldo *Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law*

Since its inception, ASEAN has taken a strong political position against terrorism and transnational crime. ASEAN and its member states believe that transnational crime and terrorism are threats to regional security and stability. In view thereof, ASEAN has come up with different declarations, treaties, and the like that should foster stronger cooperation. This includes stronger commitments with its dialogue partners, such as the European Union, for example, to foster more effective cooperation in the prevention, investigation, prosecution, and punishment of terrorism and transnational crime.

While within the Association itself, there are a lot of declarations and soft law arrangements on international cooperation in criminal matters, there has only been a few identifiable treaties and agreements. There have been proposals since 1967 for an extradition

treaty, for example, but until now, no formal agreement has been reached. At most, one can identify the 2004 ASEAN Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty as the ASEAN legal framework that allows cross-border collection and exchange of information and evidence among the member states.

A closer look into the aforementioned treaty provides some interesting insights as regards its development and implementation. Through a comparative criminal law approach that not only looks into both the regional and member state level frameworks but also the law in the books vs. the law in practice, certain observations can be made as regards how ASEAN and its member states make the system work, and at the same time, considerations for the further development of international cooperation in criminal matters.

#### › **Chairship System and Decision-Making by Consensus in International Agreements: The Case of ASEAN**

Sanae Suzuki *Institute of Developing Economies*

How are different positions reconciled under decision making by consensus in international agreements? This article aims to answer this question. Consensus rule provides each participant a veto, which risks resulting in non-agreement. Taking ASEAN as a case study of international organizations that have adopted consensus rule as the main decision-making procedure, this article presents the chairship system as an analytical scheme to examine how different positions are or are not reconciled under consensus rule. The system is based on conventional knowledge regarding the chair in international conference, which can be defined as an institution where the role of the chair is taken by one member state in an international organization and plays a role in agenda-setting. The agenda-setting power given to the chair varies across organizations. This article assumes that the chair in ASEAN is given a relatively strong agenda-setting power to enable the chair to reach agreements and bias such agreements in its own favor.

#### › **TBA**

Lukas Maximilian Müller *University of Freiburg*

#### › **TBA**

Ricarda Gerlach *University of Vienna*

#### › **TBA**

Yung-Yung Chang *Freie Universität Berlin*

---

## **Armed Groups, State-Making Practices and Civilian Agency in the Borderlands 2**

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Annika Pohl Harrisson <i>Aarhus University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Helene Maria Kyed <i>Danish Institute for International Studies</i>

#### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

#### PAPERS

#### › **Shall We Dance? Conflict and the Neglected Legacies of Civil Pluralism in the Asian Hinterland**

Hjorleifur Jonsson *Arizona State University*

My case draws on ethnohistorical work involving Mien ethnic minority peoples in Thailand and Laos during 1870-1975 and on field research in Thailand since 1990. In Laos, the Mien formed an ethnic militia while nothing of the sort happened in Thailand. I explore the contrast as an angle on state-margin relations. What are the strategies used, past or present, to entangle the margins and the state, and why does ethnic dance seem so appropriate nowadays? I suggest that civil pluralism is an ordinary practice that was foundational to the shaping of the SEAsia's diversity, and that cases of political breakdown deserve careful study as individual anomalies and not regular occurrences. Western scholarship on Southeast Asia made ethnic tensions seem ordinary. Anthropological theory and research contributed greatly to the silencing of legacies of interethnic entanglements in the region, because of the quest for ethnic groups as a research topic. If instead multiethnic networks are the analytical starting point, what are the implications for an understanding of the region, history, and individual countries?

#### › **Shifting Battleground: Peace Dialogue, Self-Determination and Armed Group in Southern Thailand**

Rungrawee Chalermripinyorat *Australian National University*

This paper investigates the significant turn towards peacebuilding of the Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN), the main armed separatist group currently active in southern Thailand. This is a long-standing conflict, which is the unfinished legacy of the colonial era. The

predominantly Malay Muslim region, historically known as Patani sultanate, was annexed to the Buddhist majority Thailand as a result of a treaty between Thailand and the Great Britain, which controlled the Malay Peninsula in the early twentieth century. The latest episode of violent rebellion dramatically surged in 2004. Thus far, nearly 7,000 people have been killed and 13,000 injured in the violent conflict. Following the launching of 2013 formalised peace dialogue, we have witnessed the scaling down of armed rebellion, perceived by the fighters as “jihad”, in parallel with the pursuit of peace process. Besides, there has also been an increasing emphasis on the secular discourse of the rights to self-determination. Based on dozens of interviews with leaders and members of key liberation groups, particularly Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN), and rare primary documents produced by the movements, I contend that the BRN has adapted to the changing political opportunities and seeking legitimacy from outsiders has become part of its political project more than previously. This shift demonstrates that it is vitally important to contextualise violent extremism and genuine openness of political space for negotiation could help bring about moderation.

---

## Queer (In)visibility in Southeast Asia: Class, Politics, and Global Sexual Health 2

LOCATION Room 1.201  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER Sylvia Tidey *University of Virginia*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Bodily Negotiations of Belonging and Religious Sensitivity Among Waria in Java and West Papua, Indonesia

Terje Toomistu *University of Tartu*

Indonesian male-bodied and feminine identified subjects who are locally and internationally increasingly known as waria – a portmanteau word derived from Indonesian words wanita (woman) and pria (man) – claim to have the heart and soul of a woman. While waria form a visible social category, they suffer from various prevailing stigmas, of which a remarkable share derives from the cultural assumptions embedded in Islamic morality.

In line with the rest of the society, of which around 87% are Muslim, majority of waria also identify as Muslim. While most waria do not feel comfortable practicing their religion in public mosques, many describe their subjectivity along with the distinction between their male bodies and the inner sense of gender as something “given” from God. Subsequently, permanent bodily modifications are associated with the notion of sin, making this one of the main reasons why most waria shy away from the idea of gender reassignment surgery.

Following anthropological fieldwork among waria in the cities of Yogyakarta in Java and Sorong in West Papua between 2010 and 2018, I address waria bodily negotiations against their religious sensitivity and aspirations for belonging, on both the communal and national levels. I focus on the narrations by waria addressing their spiritually driven sentiments in relation to their bodies and the sense of gender. I also outline the case of Pondok Pesantren Al-Fatah Waria (Koranic school for waria) in Yogyakarta that was attacked by Islamic extremist organization Front Jihad Islam in 2016. While Pesantren is a place of community building and learning, it is also the means to strive for belonging to Indonesian (Muslim) society.

#### › “They’re Just Too Lower Class”: Queer Inclusion and Exclusion in HIV-Related Care in Indonesia

Sylvia Tidey *University of Virginia*

In this paper I consider various means by which queer Indonesians are made to feel (un)welcome in HIV-related care settings in a wider context of conflicting care regimes. In particular, I explore how among queer Indonesians the snub of being seen as “too lower class” works to exclude certain queer Indonesians from vital health-related services. Amidst an increasing HIV epidemic that disproportionately affects waria (Indonesian transgender women), teaching adherence to the stringent regimen of antiretroviral medication forms an important part of trainings waria undergo. Couched in rhetoric of individualized self-valuation, these trainings aim to impose an inflexible conception of clock time over the more pliant conceptions of “rubber time” that generally characterize the flows of many waria everyday lives. Ultimately, so goes the promise of biomedical care, such retemporalization ensures the particular “good” of having a long life. However, as I will show, the conceptions of self and temporal outlooks of biomedical care fit uneasily with the complexities of care and contradictions between different regimes of care that waria navigate. For example, the self-acceptance and openness encouraged in HIV trainings contradict the silencing and opacity necessary for the maintenance of family ties. Furthermore, subtle forms of class-related stigmatization among HIV-positive queer Indonesians, suggest not everyone is thought to be equally deserving of care. The unquestioned biomedical good of having a long life, then, loses appeal when the life it promises is one without family – by blood or by choice.

› **“Ugliness” as Pathways to Intimacy: On Deception and Disclosure Among Gay Filipino Men on Dating Apps in Manila and Los Angeles**

Paul Michael Atienza *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Thinking through what affect does on mobile digital media platforms, this paper seeks to catalogue what sociologist Adi Kuntsman (2012) calls “affective fabrics.” These are intense yet ephemeral lived and deeply felt everyday sociality of connections often sensed through words or structures circulating through the use of the mobile media device. Working with Mia Mingus’ claim that ugliness is vital in the age of social media, I offer stories from my larger multi-sited ethnography focused on the digital lives of gay Filipino men. I focus on their discussions of and interviews from posers, poz men, and those in open relationships within the situatedness of geolocative dating apps in Manila and Los Angeles. I suggest that these three “deviant” figures offer distinct strategies in resisting established norms of attractiveness and desirability on these digital platforms. Through the poser’s intent to deceive, the poz man’s open declaration of his HIV seropositive status, and those who admit to an open relationship while seeking other sexual partners, I claim that these figures short-circuit a system that rewards certain digitized bodies as more valued than others. I assert the queer possibilities of deception and disclosure through the lens of affects, feelings, and emotions.

.....

**The Politics of Engagement: Southeast Asian Diasporas in Relation to Home Countries 2**

LOCATION Room 1.204

TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)

CONVENERS Fridus Steijlen *Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies*  
Grażyna Szymańska-Matusiewicz *University of Warsaw*  
Helena Patzer *Polish Academy of Sciences*

ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

PAPERS

› **Negotiating Diasporic Homeland: The Homogenization and Fragmentation of Transnational Engagement of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Berlin**

Jessica Steinman *University Leipzig*

In Berlin, after the fall of the Wall, thousands of contract workers, who are linked to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, stayed in the then reunified Germany alongside with thousands of Vietnamese boat people who are linked to the former Republic of Vietnam. Thus, Berlin became the host of two Vietnamese communities. Until today, significant tensions between two groups of Vietnamese continue to exist. Despite the emergence of a transnational community of Vietnamese, the space created by the Vietnamese in the east of Berlin is still heavily influenced by its socialist characteristics while the space created by the Vietnamese in the west of Berlin is heavily influenced by the communist/anti-communist dichotomy. The existing and ever-evolving transnational social spaces and transnational social fields also provided a structure for new migrants in the Vietnamese community. Thus, the socialist characteristic of the Vietnamese community in the east of Berlin and the anticommunist characteristic of the Vietnamese in the West of Berlin continue to have a significant role in current migrants’ transnational engagement with the home country. In this paper, through ethnographic fieldwork, I seek to understand how the homogenization and fragmentation of the Vietnamese communities in Berlin affect the way in which the Vietnamese Diaspora engage in political and social activism in regard to the home country.

› **Overseas Online Publishing: A Challenging Solution for the Transnational Vietnamese Literature**

Hao Phan *Northern Illinois University*

Since 1975, the overseas Vietnamese communities have produced a large body of literary works that is highly transnational in its nature. This literature reflects not only life experiences of the Vietnamese immigrants but also many facets of the reality in their home country, past and present. Positioning itself in the Western world, the overseas literature has better access to new literary styles and theories that it can introduce to the literature in Vietnam. Nowadays, meetings between the overseas writers and the writers living in Vietnam also take place often, both inside and outside the country. The transnational characteristics of the overseas Vietnamese literature are however most vividly reflected through its publishing activities, especially its online publishing industry. For the last decade, the overseas online publishing industry has provided an important platform for creative freedom that is much needed, given the political situation in Vietnam, to both the overseas Vietnamese writers and the writers in Vietnam. In this paper I will discuss the transnational characteristics of the overseas online publishing industry for Vietnamese literature. I will show that unlike the mainstream online publishing industry in Western countries, which are mainly driven by economic reasons, the online publishing industry of the

Vietnamese immigrants exist mainly as a result of political circumstances. I will then present the advantages and disadvantages of the overseas online publishing industry with regard to Vietnamese literature.

In writing the paper, I found the theoretical framework proposed by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai in dealing with what he calls "global cultural flows" is useful. Appadurai's concepts of "mediascapes" and "ideoscapes," in particular, can place this study in a larger context of the complex global today. Most of the data used in this paper are based on my observations as a librarian, who is also a Vietnamese writer living in America.

### ➤ **Social Media and Political Engagement of the Vietnamese Diaspora in Poland**

An Nguyen Huu

Social media as a means to participate in political affairs has been recently discussed in social sciences. A number of empirical studies have shown the positive relationship between the political engagements and the usage of Facebook, which is the largest social media platform in the world. In this paper, I investigate the way in which the Vietnamese diaspora in Poland uses Facebook to engage in political life. Facebook turns out to be as an effective way for Vietnamese-origin migrants' political engagement, which is considered as a sensitive issue in the daily life of the Vietnamese people.

.....

## **The Philippines and Its Global Entanglements: Decentering the Knowledge Production About Religion in Asia**

<b>LOCATION</b>	Room 1.308
<b>TYPE</b>	Single Panel
<b>CONVENERS</b>	Deirdre de la Cruz <i>University of Michigan</i> Giovanni Maltese <i>University of Hamburg</i>
<b>DISCUSSANT</b>	Giovanni Maltese <i>University of Hamburg</i>

### **ABSTRACT**

The Philippines – colloquially dubbed “Asian’s only Christian nation” – has always been a site of diverse religious encounters: between indigenous religions, Islam, Iberian and American Catholicism, Protestantism, indigenous Christian and non-Christian traditions, as well as various Charismatic movements. At the same time, it has been a marginal space, at the geographical margin of Asia and the intellectual margins of scholarship on religion in Southeast Asia and the study of Christianity and Islam. The panel brings together innovative papers on religion in the Philippines, arguing that the country is a promising field for both, the interdisciplinary study of religion in general and the study of religions (i.e. specific religious movements). Discussing Muslim, Christian and Spiritist movements in past and present with a special focus on their emergence as a product of global entanglements, rather than as a peripheral phenomenon or as an export-product from the so-called West or the Middle East, it will contribute to decenter the current knowledge production on religion in Asia.

### **PAPERS**

#### ➤ **“How to Sell Jesus”: Mediatization Perspectives to the Philippine Roman Catholic Church**

Kerstin Radde-Antweiler *Universität Bremen*

The Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines has a wide media ensemble, ranging from classical websites of the dioceses, to different news magazines such as CBCP monitor, CBCP news, Tapat News, Tapat Tabloid, to Tapat TV, TV Maria, Radio Veritas Asia or to newer forms such as Jungle News. Most of them have their own Facebook offshoots. So at first glance, social media seem to have arrived in the world of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines or as one interviewee of the official media organization puts it: “by going into media, because we believe that media is very compassing, it’s the arena of battle in the world today. So, if we can influence people in the work of transformation leading to a NEW kind of (...) Christianity... that could be best, I think.” From his perspective, especially social media can be help for the church to have an active part in society. For example, regarding the relevance and the success of CBCP news via Facebook : “... that partly is because we give people their democracy (...) because they cannot do in in a public space... so they do it there. There, they can do it.” Furthermore, speaking about the future of their media work, he stressed that they “will be shifting to an online church but with church values... we believe it will help so much in SHAPING public opinion.. I mean, you shape public opinion; you shape actually the future... of this country, of these people. You’ll help a lot.”

However, in addition to the role or status of social media within the church, we can observe something else: social media is used as a tool to actively build up the hegemonic statues of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines. In contrast to that, the aim of the media organization by El-Shaddai shows a different use, intention and understanding of media. El-Shaddai is using media primarily to “spread the word of Brother Mike” to their people who could not attend the service. They show – especially in contrast to the more word-focused work of the official CBCP media organization – a more sophisticated use of social media, for example by working with

audio and video files by transferring whole rituals such as prayers, services etc. on social media. However, they are using social media strictly as a transmission of a fixed media content, which is produced and restricted by the inner group of Brother Mike. Content of the produced media is limited to religious topics and does not include explicit references to societal topics as we have seen in the CBCP media organization. So, the question arises how different Roman Catholic media organizations produce as well as reproduce religious authority – and in line with that, a hegemonic narrative of Roman Catholicism – in the Philippines?

› **Space and Power: Religious Worlding and the Rise of Iglesia Ni Cristo**

Jayeel Cornelio *Ateneo de Manila University*

This presentation advances the concept of religious worlding as a way to approach religious change in the Philippines. Its interest lies in the involvement of religious groups in the process of urbanization. Specifically, it focuses on the fortunes of Iglesia ni Cristo (Church of Christ), one of the fastest-growing indigenous churches in the world today. To celebrate its 100th anniversary in 2014, INC inaugurated Ciudad de Victoria. The complex, fully owned by INC's New Era University, is home to the Philippine Arena, the Philippine Sports Stadium, a botanical attraction called The Garden, and some local industries. Construction is underway too for residences, an hospital, and the new campus of New Era University.

Located in Bulacan (north of Metro Manila), Ciudad de Victoria is unprecedented as far as any other religion in the Philippines is concerned. The centerpiece of the entire complex is the Philippine Arena, the world's largest indoor stadium with a seating capacity of 55,000. Its enormity is not the only reason it has drawn the "world's attention to the Philippines". Its construction was made possible by a consortium of global and local developers, architects, and landscape designers, including Populous, among the world's biggest architecture firms. Today, Philippine Arena is not just a place of worship for INC. It has hosted international celebrities and sporting events, and is even slated to be the site of the opening of the 2019 Southeast Asian Games.

As the rest of this presentation will show, INC's architectural developments are not only about accommodating their many members during the church's special gatherings. It is in this manner that I am advancing my initial work on religious worlding to reflect on power. From the name itself to the process involved in constructing the entire complex, Ciudad de Victoria asserts power in a two-fold manner. One, it presents INC as a world religion. Two, it centers the Philippines as a site of world Christianity. But this is not inclusive inasmuch as the space might be open for the use of non-members. At a closer look, this two-fold assertion of power echoes the theological narrative of INC as the one, true church in the last days, which is to arise in the Far East. This empirical attention on INC's architectural developments advances much of the prevailing discussion about the religious group that is too often focused on their controversies, political involvements, or how different they are from mainstream Christianity.

› **Transnational Filipinos and Gendered Time Lags: Age-Related Notions of Gender Among Catholic Filipinos in Copenhagen, Denmark**

Astrid Krabbe Trolle *University of Copenhagen*

Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) have supplied the Philippines with religious and economic remittances for several decades, expanding the social and religious boundaries of Philippine nationhood to countries such as Denmark. This presentation zooms in on the Catholic OFWs located in Copenhagen and their gendered profile. I discuss how the transnational Filipinos perform notions of gender tied to different age-related positions in their Catholic environments. My analysis rests on three cases of performed gender; 1) notions of gender related to Filipina migrants in the Danish secular public, 2) embodied gender in the Filipino Catholic congregations in Copenhagen, 3) gender expectations tied to age and time among Filipinas in a particular Catholic parish. I analyse these three case studies through the concept of gendered time lags in the Filipino diaspora, arguing that different generations of Filipinos apply gender through acts of repetitive recognition of time and life cycle within the Catholic tradition. The Filipino diaspora in Denmark has two distinct social profiles; the permanent residents and the temporary au pairs on a two-year residence permit. These two profiles convey shifting gender identities related to time and tradition. The presentation aims to uncover how gender and transnational religious activities inform each other by placing both in a time-related scheme of life-cycle trajectories for the OFWs.

.....

## Upland Pioneers: Future Aspirations, Moral Imaginaries and Emerging Religiosities in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.401
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Oliver Tappe <i>University of Hamburg</i> Rosalie Stolz <i>University of Cologne</i>
DISCUSSANT	Guido Sprenger <i>University of Heidelberg</i>

ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

PAPERS

› **Hmong Christian Pioneers in Vietnam's Highlands: Competing, Cooperating with and Mimicking State Governance**

Seb Rumsby *University of Warwick*

This paper focuses on the role of new Hmong religious leaders – predominantly young men – who have embraced Protestant Christianity and played an important role in spreading its influence across Vietnam's northern and Central highlands over the past thirty years. In doing so, these pastors and evangelists have directly challenged the authority of previously established Hmong local elites (shamans and clan elders) whose legitimacy rested on either traditional religious authority or state patronage, causing significant social conflict along the way. In areas where the majority of Hmong have converted, some new Christian pioneers have gained a local elite status as brokers and spokespersons for their community, enjoying a potent combination of spiritual authority, strong external networks and financial success. By focusing on three such leaders, this paper explores the surprising ways in which Christian elites may compete with, cooperate with or mimic state forms of governance, and the effects of such tactics on wider state-civil society relations. These case studies highlight the agency of aspiring Christian pioneers, the degree of political manoeuvring space available to non-state actors in a supposedly authoritarian state, and the ongoing tensions and contestations within the Hmong community in Vietnam.

› **Making Future in the Politics of Belonging: Religiosity, Tradition, and Lisu Self-Representations in Northern Myanmar**

Ying Diao *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*

The majority of the Burmese Lisu reside in the country's northern Kachin States where this inconspicuous Christian people are also known as one of the six Kachin sub-groups. In contrast to the aspirations of the dominant Jinghpaw to use Christianity for social mobilization of nationalism in the politics of integration, Lisu people's future-making strategies as reflected in their public self-representations involved both maintaining religious independence while claiming belonging to the nation as obedient citizens with recognizable ethno-cultural characteristics. The reintroduction of pre-Christian traditions back to the church, however, imposed moral ambiguities to the Christian communities concerning the destructive power of secular practices toward Christian values and experiences. Drawing on the investigation of Lisu Literacy Centennial (2017) and other recent mega cultural events, in this article I examine how Lisu Protestants re-conceptualized distinct categories of religion and culture (litpix) that work in the mutually reinforcing way in the construction of contemporary ethnoreligious identity against the background of post-2011 ethnic politics. In the sections below, I first show how former missionaries' attitudes towards indigenous traditions led to the historical divide between Christian and traditionalist practices. I then turn to the recent Lisu (Kachin) cultural revival movement in which cultural preservation and standardization occupied a prominent place. Finally, I comparatively look into the Centennial and similar Lisu transnational cultural events to analyze how a modality of mutual dependence between Christian formality and cultural performance in the public space offers a framework for the Lisu to perceive their place against other Kachin groups, in the Burmese majority society, and with the Lisu across borders. I argue that the juxtaposition of Christian and traditional practices in the public performance has been essential to the Lisu elites' struggles for ethnic and political legitimacy for a promising future.

› **Religious Implications of Some Upland Societies in Northern Laos**

Vanina Bouté *Centre Asie du Sud-Est*

As a communist state, Laos did not set up atheism in absolute principle: unlike China or Cambodia, the takeover by the Communists Pathet Lao in 1975 quickly gave up rejecting religion, and tried instead to integrate Buddhism into its Marxist reading of the country's development and as a factor of cultural unification faced with the country's ethnic diversity (Stuart-Fox and Bucknell, 1982; Evans, 1998). While officially promoting the diversity of the various ethnic groups of the country, the recognized place for the religions of these populations (subsumed under an ad hoc created category "satsana phi", "spirits cults") has been singularly restricted. Often confused with "traditions" (hit khong), folklorized, what become today these religions "other" than Buddhism? This presentation will attempt to answer this question by presenting the different contemporary responses given by three Northern Lao upland societies to this imposed tradition / religion articulation.

.....

**(Re)assembling the Moments of Thai-European Encounters in History**

LOCATION	Room 1.403
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Karin Zackari <i>Lund University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Preedee Hongson

ABSTRACT

The Thai-European encounters have been viewed as historical events subjected to certain discourses. The encounters themselves have been considered under discursive practices conditioned by human agencies. While this approach may have helped clear-up the confusion on the "ambiguous" appearance of the modern Thai self, it has not explained much the material aspects of the moments of encounters. When the Thai agents encounter Europe, what kind of social order and

relation is re-created, and how does this newly created social order and relation affect the state of being of the Thai agent? The papers presented in this panel propose to re-evaluate the conceptual status of the Thai-European encounters in history by examining the historical events from the ontological point of view focusing on the material relations and organisations. The papers draw on differing accounts starting at the beginning of the 20th century, when Siamese authorities and Intelligentsias travelled to Europe with the explicit goal of establishing state relations, and receiving western educations, to the Cold War era when a group of new Thai middle class came to Europe as students and as political exiles, and to the more contemporary religious encounters and the globally migrating working class. Through these various historical moments and various contexts of Thai-European encounters, the panel hopes to create a new critical lens that can be used to understand the cultural encounters in the broader area of Southeast Asian studies.

## PAPERS

### › **Forested Encounters: British Foresters, Siamese Bureaucracy, and the Formation of Forestry as an Expertise**

Tinakrit Sireerat *Cornell University*

Historians of forestry in Thailand have emphasized the significance of Thai-European encounters in the production of forest knowledges during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the other hand, several works also highlight the correlation between the rise of forestry and the attempt of Thailand to increase its political power into its relatively autonomous vassal state of Lanna, which forms the northern region of Thailand today. Yet, previous scholarship has inadequately paid attention to how the knowledge was being produced, and thereby mistakenly assuming forestry to be a universal knowledge readily transferrable from Europe to other places. This narrative of knowledge transfer, however, fails to consider the interaction between forest knowledge and bureaucratic structure and obscures other dynamics of knowledge production, especially the coproduction of forest knowledges and the Thai nation.

Drawing upon analytical tools from Science and Technology Studies (STS), I aim to foreground the power dynamics that conditioned the ways forestry was formed as an expertise and an administrative structure in Thailand. Rather than a transfer, I argue that the process was actually an invention, and despite the name "forestry," it was a different form of expertise catered to the needs of diverse actors who advocated for different forms of forest knowledges and practices. As the production of forest knowledges was simultaneous with the production of the Thai nation, I will show that the very contentious nature of forest knowledges continued to shape and reshape Thailand's administrative structure, and the ways in which the Thai nation positioned itself vis-à-vis the Lanna Kingdom, European powers, and the forests.

### › **Travel Cinemas and the Assemblage of Europe's Romance in Thailand**

Pasoot Lasuka *Chiang Mai University*

"Europe" has always been an important geocultural space in Thai film culture. The space has often been used to create a distinct film narrative which projects the romantic moments and experiences of the Thai lover characters. However, these romantic moments in Thai travel films often occur in either similar places or situations. In this paper, I examine how travel films and other moving-image medias came together over the course of the production history to visually form "Europe's romantic aesthetic". Locating these films and moving-image medias in the context of the country's expanding economy after World War II, I also look at how this romantic aesthetic of Europe created by the film and moving-image cultures could have shaped modern tourism in Thailand, especially how Thai people conceive the values of the places and events in European countries.

### › **Works of Ong-ard Satrabhandhu and Le Corbusier: Evidence of Crypto-Colonialism in Thailand**

Supasai Vongkulbhisal *University of Washington*

Direct assimilation of Modern European architecture has emerged in Thailand since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even though Thailand was never formally colonized by any of the Western countries, "Thai identities" or "Thai-ness" has still inevitably encountered and absorbed multiple fractured cultural and racial identities from the Western nations. One example of these is the formation of high Modern architecture associated with the Imperialist countries, which inform the concept of *siwilai*, a distinctive Thai conception of civilization formulated by Siamese aristocrats who received education abroad. Thus, parts of Thai architectural products cultivated from the nineteenth century onwards can be asserted as an outcome of "Semi-Colonialism" or "Crypto-Colonialism." This proposal argues that Thai architectural identity is comprised of two major components: one is an identity directly claimed from its independence and the other is an identity indirectly claimed from an intrusive colonial power developed in Thailand. These visible cultural transmissions are found in the works of a Thai architect, Ongard Satrabhandhu, in his practices particularly from the 1960s to the 1990s. Guaranteed by his promoted position as a Thai national artist in a field of contemporary architecture, Satrabhandhu's works not only allowed Modernism to enter into the Thai architectural tradition but also highlighted the differences in the constant exchanges and the re-definition of originality and assimilation placed on Thai architectural identity. By examining the transculturation of Western ideology in Thai architectural context via an architectonic comparison between the works of Ongard Satrabhandhu and the works of Le Corbusier, a French-Swiss architect who Satrabhandhu draws from; this proposal reveals a new colonial dimension in investigating colonialism through the formation of Neo-traditional Siamese architectural style in Thailand during the twentieth century.

## Power Dressing: Clothing and Ornament as Amulet

LOCATION	Room 1.404
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Florina H. Capistrano-Baker <i>City University of New York</i>
DISCUSSANT	Mark Johnson <i>University of London</i>

### ABSTRACT

"...it is worn like an idea, that of a terrific power, for it is enough to be seen for this power to be demonstrated" (Roland Barthes, *The Language of Fashion*, 2015, p. 56).

It has been argued that some forms of jewelry and specialized garments trace their origins to magical purposes. This panel retrieves the genealogy of instances of Southeast Asian clothing, personal adornment, and architectural ornament from present-day (often) secularized iterations to earlier expressions of faith in supernatural powers. Speakers address factors and processes that endow material things with amuletic qualities. Do apotropaic powers derive from formal characteristics such as shape, design, or composition? How does color, or the mind's perception of it, contribute to an object's efficacy? How are meanings and notions of power negotiated, enhanced, or negated as various objects transition from sacred to secular and vice versa? Specific materials such as gold and silver; or semi-precious gems such as jade, pearls, and coral, among others, were traditionally believed to protect, prolong life, or cure illness before their transformation into contemporary expressions of secular power and wealth. What were the basis for their early association with spiritual power and their present-day function as tangible markers of economic status? How do group affiliations, conceptual associations, or performative actions impact these processes?

### PAPERS

#### › Faith and Filigree, Gold Jewelry and Identity: Transforming Spiritual and Secular Power

Florina H. Capistrano-Baker *City University of New York*

The use of personal adornments as expressions of spiritual or temporal power as well as individual or group identity occurs across various cultures and time periods. In the Philippines, jewelry traditions express group affiliation, social status, religious beliefs, and more. Styles and materials utilized for attire and accessories vary according to different geographic regions. In this presentation, I address lowland jewelry traditions and attempt to retrieve, in particular, the genealogy of Hispano-Filipino expressions in gold. Among the earliest documentation of Philippine gold ornaments are sixteenth-century Spanish colonial accounts and illustrations of lowland Tagalog and Visayan inhabitants in sumptuous garments with lavish layers of gold adornments encircling the neck, arms, legs and fingers. After the conversion of lowland populations to Christianity, these ostentatious displays of gold jewelry gave way to western expressions of Catholic piety. I examine, in particular, the (r)evolving spiritual and secular meanings imbricated in the gold filigree beads and ornate pendant medallions popularly known as the tamborin and relicario – descendants of the apotropaic reliquary and Catholic rosary.

#### › Notes on the Significance of Morinda and Other Reds in the Bagobo Textile Hierarchy

Cherubim Quizon *Seton Hall University*

The magical and spiritual power of red cloth has a long and complex story in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. The revolutionary reds in flags, banners and amulets that sustained indigenous bodies in colonial struggles, for instance, have been studied semiotically through the lens of epigraphy and textual expressions of popular spirituality/peasant culture. But how can these insights be used to understand the broader significance of red cloth among indigenous peoples, from contemporary sumptuary rules to the secret uses of red cloth in healing or paramilitary practices? This paper suggests that these semiotic domains may be bridged by a direct engagement with extant textile practices, an engagement that considers elements of change as equally relevant as perceived cultural continuity. Focusing on the Bagobo and the material origins of red in this community's past and current clothing practices, this paper argues that reliance on luck and prowess in achieving redness is central to the color's meanings. Moreover, the properties of the dye plant Morinda when applied to indigenous threads creates conditions that metonymically and procedurally link redness with effort and efficacy. Ethnographic perspectives alongside a consideration of museological evidence from colonial contexts in the late 19th to early 20th centuries will be used to explain resilience in the color's importance in Bagobo textile aesthetics.

#### › Spirit Medium's Costumes in the Worship of Mother Goddesses in Vietnam: Colors and Spiritual Powers

Huong Thi My Doan *Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies*

Observing costumes of the spirit Mediums in ritual practices in the worship of Mother Goddesses in Vietnam, one notes eye-catching colors with the repeated use of red and gold, green, blue, white. The costumes are ornamented with decorative patterns, motifs, and images of sacred animals such as dragons, turtles, phoenixes, peacocks. Other motifs associated with spirituality include letters, clouds, chrysanthemums, and tiger's faces. These eye-catching designs can be understood as a way to attract the attention of the Gods' souls, whereby the Gods can recognize and come (descend on earth) or enter (incarnate) into the body of the spirit Mediums who are performing the rituals. So, are there any specific standards for colors, shapes, patterns, and personal adornments in the spirit Medium's

costumes? Are these costumes merely a way of expressing or honoring beauty or is there another concept of spirituality at play? Is attracting the Gods a way to express the notion of power not only of the Gods, but also of the person wearing that costume? This presentation will examine the relationship between the conventions of color, decorative patterns, and spiritual concepts in costumes. I will examine how spiritual meanings and power transform secular materials with supernatural power as a costume is placed over the spirit Medium's shoulders to start the ceremony.

› **"Wearing Letters and "Attiring Texts" as Talismans in 18th-Century Bali"**

Kaja McGowan *Cornell University*

In a Balinese version of the Panji texts called Malat, a major kidung poem of the 18th century, a Prince from the Kingdom of Daha, Java, travels to "Malayu" to search for his lost sister. Upon arrival, he is adopted by the old king of Malayu, whom he consequently succeeds as ruler. Returning in disguise to Java, the young king lands at Tuban, an old royal port city on the north coast of Java part of the Kingdom of Majapahit. In oral renditions of this episode, Malayu and Java are identified, and "Jawa" merges with Bali, indeed "mirrors" Bali through a coastal port of the same name, Tuban. The Malat, in its role in Majapahit discourse, is concerned with these topics of "Jawa" and "Malayu" as defining both the inside and the outside of Bali's world. It does not qualify its interest in religious terms, but rather through commodities like cloth. When torn pieces of patterned cloth converge in these texts with talismanic and healing properties, then the realm of healers (balian), both Hindu and Muslim can be seen to vie for superiority. An essential part of what makes these practices, both Hindu and Islamic, merge, their boundaries of efficaciousness rendered permeable, is through their shared belief in the magic of patterned cloth, foreign or domestic, and the hold it has over the body and the land through intimate rituals of literacy: "wearing letters" and "attiring texts" as talismans.

.....

## Chinese Religions in Southeast Asia

LOCATION            Room 1.405  
TYPE                Single Panel  
CONVENER         Lin Yu Sheng *Academia Sinica*

### ABSTRACT

There is a long history of Chinese in *Nanyang*, or South Seas since their ancestors migrated there. They brought along their belief once they settle in the 'new land'. Studies on Chinese religions or beliefs in Southeast Asia tend to take them as tools of Chinese identities in the diasporic context. However, this paradigm neglects their interactions with local societies and supposes an unchangeable 'Chinese-ness'. The purpose of this panel is to challenge this paradigm and focus on how the 'Chinese-ness' were contested when Chinese religions or beliefs encountered with non-Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Three panelists will present their work on the contemporary and historical Chinese religious practices in Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

### PAPERS

› **Confucianism in Indonesia: Monotheism or Polytheism?**

Yeh-Ying Shen *National University of Singapore*

As we can see, two Confucian-based faiths appear in the society of Indonesian Chinese. One is the religion of Confucianism (Agama Konghucu, also known as MATAKIN), which was locally established by Peranakan Chinese in 1918. The other is Yiguan Dao, which came from Taiwan since 1950. The two faiths differ in their theological systems which present distinct possibilities of Confucianism among the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia.

MATAKIN is the social production of Indonesia's religious background. Its doctrines were clearly defined during the New Order era. In order to keep a legal position in Indonesia, MATAKIN became an absolute monotheistic religion, in accordance with the official philosophical theory of Indonesia (Pacasila). The only God in MATAKIN is "Heaven" and Confucius becomes a prophet. Yiguan Dao, however, regards Confucianism as the mainstream but also brings along the Chinese tradition of aggregation of three teachings, namely Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. Since social morality and ethics are the essence of Confucianism. MATAKIN focuses on practicing secular morals and rarely discusses the transcendence of religious experiences. Yet, moral practice in Yiguan Dao is the approach to achieve the extreme gospel, not the gospel itself. Yiguan Dao also views transcendent power as an important part of devotees' religious experiences. Both of them have moderately developed in the society of Indonesian Chinese. By examining MATAKIN and Yiguan Dao in Indonesia, we could discover that each of them has different groups of the ethnic Chinese followers due to the distinct theological systems

› **Phota Tosae Worship in Phuket Island, Thailand**

Lin Yu Sheng *Academia Sinica*

In Malaysia, there are many studies about Datuk Gong, which is mainly Muslim deities worship by ethnic Chinese. Scholars indicate its origin and development mainly because of their settlement in the Malay world and intensifying Malay nationalism. However, similar worships are not limited in Malaysia, but they exist in Indonesia or Thailand. In Phuket, South Thailand, there are also many Muslim deities called "To". In this research, I will focus on one of those 'Tos', ToSae, or Phota ToSae, which is mainly based on Phuket Town. By analyzing three different patterns of its development in Phuket, I aim to reveal the similarities and differences of Muslim deities worship between their developments in South Thailand and Malaysia.

› **Temple Worship and Historical Reasons: A Case Study of the Goddess of Mercy Ritual in a Kelantan Chinese Village**

Siew Boon Lew *National University of Singapore*

Pulai village is located in Kelantan, Malaysia. It was a settlement of Hakka immigrants from southern China. Although they suffered from local political disorder and difficulty in making living after migrating, they remain their faith to their ancestral gods. According to the villagers, Pulai village has a six-centuries long rich history. Over the centuries, they continuously held the ritual ceremony of Guanyin festival annually to comfort their predicament. The Guanyin is the main Goddess worshiped in the Shui Yue Gong (Water Moon Temple). However, there are also other Gods worshiped in the temple. This paper is focused on three parts of the ritual ceremony, namely 'Inviting Gods', "Procession Gods" and "Worshiping Heaven and Earth" to discuss my research finding.

In this paper, I will show the history of the village and relate it to the temple and the Guanyin festival. The origin Pulai temple and its belief have a close relationship with region and trade network. Besides the narrative stories from the villagers, I also included the newspapers collection and Chinese classical texts to analyses the historical phenomenon of Pulai temple.

.....

**Social Protection: Understanding the New Politics and Practices of Distribution in South East Asia ②**

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Gerben Nooteboom <i>University of Amsterdam</i> John McCarthy <i>Australian National University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Ward Berenschot <i>Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies</i>

**ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

**PAPERS**

› **Environmental Degradation and Livelihood Precarity in an Indonesian Coastal Community**

Carol Warren *Murdoch University*

This presentation focuses on the livelihood impacts of resource decline and the complexity of interpreting questions of poverty, food insecurity and social protection in settings where an ambiguous sense of 'precarity' poses so many shades of grey for measuring and responding to household and community livelihood trajectories. The presentation is based on research concerning the impacts of the decline of local fisheries on livelihoods in a west Balinese coastal community, as a case study of the precarity arising from environmental degradation increasingly affecting resource dependent communities in rural Indonesia.

The case study tracks the rise and decline of local livelihoods in a formerly 'left behind' (desa tertinggal) west Bali fishing community over four decades, and assesses the gaps in Indonesian social protection policies that have so far failed to take account of dramatic shifts in environmental conditions. Alongside vulnerability to life cycle crises of illness, disability and death, a broader state of precarity arising from the collapse of the Bali Strait fishery leaves the majority of villagers with few options that offer the prospect of a 'sustainable' future to support local communities.

The unravelling of the local economy as a consequence of overfishing and climate change does not fit neatly into conventional transition or stages of poverty scenarios. Nor have narrowly targeted social protection policies to date been adequate to address livelihood support needs. The mismatch between standardised and narrowly targeted social protection approaches which fail to take account of broader forms of precarity related to resource decline provokes widespread disenchantment with government policy and practice. It also raises important questions about the adequacy of current definitions and measures of poverty and vulnerability and their implications for distributional politics going forward, when 'the end of land' (Li, 2014), forests and capture fisheries has to be faced.

› **In Search of Social Protection: The Government of Poverty and the Evolution of Entitlements on Indonesia's Rural Periphery**

John McCarthy *Australian National University*

In response to enduring problems of poverty across the global south, social protection policies (SPPs) have emerged as the main policy approach, with over 60 countries now implementing Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) programs. The literature has discussed the benefits of SPPs, the politics that surround them, and the implementation problems affecting them. Yet, few studies have examined how CCTs work as distributional systems on the ground. Indonesia is developing the world's second-most extensive CCT system, This study looks at the case of CCTs in the Indonesian province of Aceh. It combines ethnographic and survey approaches to examine the processes shaping patterns of entitlements and enfranchisement within pockets of deprivation in this Indonesian periphery. This paper argues that the technologies of government that CCTs employ, specifically econometric targeting, involve a particular politics of knowledge that has constitutive effects. While offering an apparent means of reducing the poverty headcount and assisting many poor families, the system provides opaque methods and processes and contributes to the unequal and contested politics of distribution found across rural

› **"Mere Attaining Is Not Prospering": Experiences of Rising Social Protection and Declining Prosperity in North Jakarta**

Sarah Kennedy Bates *Harvard University*

Democratic Indonesia, particularly under the Presidency Joko Widodo (2014-), has seen a significant expansion in formal social security programs to support health, education and nutrition outcomes, especially for the nation's poor. This paper explores perceptions of such programs amongst poor and working class communities in North Jakarta in the context of the 2019 Presidential Election, and understandings of how social protection has transformed since the fall of the Suharto Regime (1965-1998). Although families and communities have access to an array of relatively new services and supplementary income mechanisms, support for and the efficacy of these programs has been undermined by pervasive class hierarchies in access and service quality, as well as the emergence of new vulnerabilities in adjacent arenas of household economic life. New forms of food and employment insecurity, and the capacity of the middle class to better navigate the complexities of the system and exclusively capture quality 'public' services, have meant that improvements in social protection have not been accompanied by increased feelings of security from poverty. A perceived growing instability in living standards is pervasive and expanding social security programs have not produced 'prosperity', but rather the need for new household strategies to attain 'sufficiency'.

› **The Social Policy Revolution and the Rural Poor: Household Vulnerability, Food Security and the Politics of Social Protection in 21st Century Indonesia**

Gerben Nooteboom *University of Amsterdam*

While States across the global south are embracing large social protection schemes, structural inequality and poverty remain critical problems. This paper considers the case of Indonesia, studying how new vulnerabilities drive food poverty and exploring the encounter between the social policy revolution and the rural poor.

Social protection programs have become the world's favourite anti-poverty approach. These involve new rationalities for addressing poverty and provoke a new politics of distribution. This entails shifting from viewing productivist practices as the means for dealing with poverty to seeing distributional practices as the best possible solution for the poor (Ferguson 2015). While this opens up an aspirational space for a new politics of distribution, it remains to be seen whether or how these solutions work out: how they will affect the poor and vulnerable in challenging circumstances.

In the case of Indonesian poverty, inequality and highly concentrated asset ownership are highly political issues. The government of Indonesia has borrowed global SPP frameworks. The current president has consolidated and expanded various programs, increasing the budget on social protection programs by 32.8 %. Indonesia is now developing the world's second largest conditional cash transfer (CCT). With growing public expenditures devoted to social protection, these programs (SPPs) have become a critical feature of the new policy landscape in contemporary Indonesia.

Critical questions can be asked concerning whether this global model – with its econometric approach and material definition of poverty – fits the Indonesian context. How and to what extent do the new and massive social protection schemes meet the needs of the poor? What social consequences are produced in this encounter between (global) and national social protection schemes and local specificities? Why is this solution politically attractive? While cash transfers to the poor offer an apparent means of reducing the poverty head count, will they eradicate poverty in the long run? To what degree do SPPs address the structural causes of rural poverty or change the social, political and economic contexts that generate risk? Moreover, how are these distributional programs working out in the messy circumstances where the poor access benefits?

.....

## Industry 4.0 in Southeast Asia: Strategies and Implications

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Arndt Graf <i>Goethe University Frankfurt</i>

## ABSTRACT

In recent years, many governments in Southeast Asia have embraced the keyword “Industry 4.0” to label their strategies for digital industries, e-government, e-commerce and digital social media and services. Examples are “Malaysia 4”, “Making Indonesia 4.0”, “Singapore: Smart City, Smart Nation”, or “Thailand 4.0”. This panel seeks to venture into various aspects of the claimed “new era of the 4th industrial revolution” in Southeast Asia. Of particular interest are on the one hand analyses of economic and political strategies around “Industry 4.0”, and on the other studies of intended as well as unintended economic, social, cultural, and political implications.

## PAPERS

### › Digital Capitalism in Indonesia

Jacqueline Hicks *University of Nottingham*

Data lies at the heart of future industrial development, yet questions around who owns personal data, who has the right to exploit it, and how its value should be shared are not yet settled. Within the context of a fierce international struggle between US Big Tech firms and national governments, this presentation looks at how Indonesia is handling these issues. As a country with an enormous digitally connected population, do its citizens enjoy adequate protections on the personal data they produce? Who profits most from the data produced here, and how could involvement in the international circuits of digital capitalism affect the country's future?

### › Digital Inclusion: Are Remote Communities Benefiting?

Christine Horn *Swinburne University of Technology*

For rural and remote communities in Malaysia, the inclusion in the digital economy through the growing reach of mobile phone networks promises social, professional and economic opportunities. New technologies are eagerly taken up by people living in these areas, but does this mean that opportunities will actually materialise?

This presentation discusses research that investigated the uptake of digital technologies in remote Malaysia between 2015 and 2017 to study the ways in which people use such technologies and the kinds of benefits they derive from their use.

Our data suggests that while people are keen engage with new technologies, the engagements are often limited to some few practices including social networks and communications tools. Other more sophisticated practices are less common even though they promise greater benefit. These include practices such as online banking, the use of e-government sites and more. This paper presents several approaches as to the causes of this disconnect using actor-network theory and concepts derived from theories around the diffusion of innovation.

### › Southeast Asian Studies in the Era of “Industry 4.0”: Trends and Implications

Arndt Graf *Goethe University of Frankfurt*

Strategies to boost the digital economy have become an important part of government policies in most countries of Southeast Asia. Often, this is signified with the term “Industry 4.0” after the concept “Industrie 4.0” first announced by Kagermann/Lukas/Wahlster in 2011. The difference to the American concept of “Internet-of-Things (IoT)” is that in “Industrie 4.0” also the “Internet-of-Services (IoS)” is included. Hence, services such as Social Media, online shopping, digital finance, online cultural, political, and religious platforms are all covered under the umbrella term “Industry 4.0”. This paper enquires major trends in recent related research in Southeast Asian Studies, identifying key issues and disciplinary settings. The second part of the paper focuses then on the current integration of related issues in selected curricula of Bachelor and Master programs of Southeast Asian Studies, and hence on the impact of “Industry 4.0” on the core structures of the field.

### › Strategies to Boost Digital Economy Towards Making Indonesia 4.0

Siska Premida Wardani *Goethe University of Frankfurt*

In April 2018, the government of Indonesia officially released the program of Making Indonesia 4.0 as a response to the global trend of Industry 4.0. One part of succeeding the program is by developing digital economy in the country. Digital economy can be defined as economic and social activities involving the trade of goods and services in which knowledge and information technology play a significant role, using the internet and connected devices. Indonesia's digital economy was predicted to become the largest in Southeast Asia, with values multiplying from USD 27 billion in 2018 to USD 100 billion by 2025 (Google & Temasek, 2018, 6). This new economy has been increasingly contributing to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) over the years, from 7.3 per cent in 2017 and projected to be 12 per cent by 2020. To support the growth and the development of the digital economy towards the national agenda of Making Indonesia 4.0, the government has set up several fundamental strategies, both political and economic ones. This paper is intended to examine those strategies and to investigate the challenges in carrying them out. This research is qualitative research which employs data from various sources such as government regulations, online and printed media, as well as textbooks.

## Bourdieu, Religious Fields and Social Power in Mainland Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Laboratory (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Benjamin Baumann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Erick White <i>University of Michigan</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Bourdieu, Religious Fields and the New Thai Buddhist Pantheon

Erick White *University of Michigan*

Applying Pierre Bourdieu's theories of the religious field to the contemporary Thai religious landscape necessitates re-examining changes in the pantheon of supernatural beings within contemporary Thai Buddhism. My participation in this laboratory discussion will center around rethinking contemporary Thai religious cosmology in the service of critically reflecting on the value of Bourdieu's ideas about fields, capital and habitus in the analysis of religious organization and practice.

#### › Buddhism and Society in Laos

Boike Rehbein *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

The paper argues that religion can be linked to social structures and especially habitus very much in the same way that Bourdieu linked taste and esthetic judgement to French social structure in the late 1960s. However, since Southeast Asian societies differ significantly from France, Bourdieu's interpretation of social structure has to be modified. The historical dimension and the weak national integration of Southeast Asian states has to be taken into account. This is especially true for Laos. The paper will present a conceptual solution to both problems and briefly outline empirical results based on that solution. The argument will be restricted to Buddhism. The integration of the large variety of beliefs into Bourdieu's framework remains a challenge, which will be addressed briefly.

#### › Fields, Function Systems and the Hegemonic Constructions of Buddhism in Vietnamese Buddhism

Alexander Soucy *Saint Mary's University*

Vietnamese Buddhist reformers in the first part of the twentieth century bought into a modernist construction of Buddhism that created differentiations between Buddhist and non-Buddhist and created orthodoxies. This process has been highly political as well as involving gendered discourses that marginalised the way that women practiced. Drawing on Bourdieu's notions of fields in combination with Niklas Laumann and Peter Beyer's notions of function systems, I will discuss the way that these overlapping theories explain the hegemonic nature of the marginalizing processes in the development of Buddhist orthodoxy in Vietnam.

#### › Possession Cults in Burma/Myanmar: Religious Fields and Buddhization

Niklas Foxeus *Stockholm University*

This paper will examine possession cults in Burma/Myanmar and how the religious field has been restructured, as novel forms of possession rituals for the guardians of the treasure trove emerged in the early 1990s in response to the development of a market economy and other factors. These novel cults represent a reformed, "purified," ethicized version of the "traditional" cult of the 37 Lords.

#### › Thailand's "Mystic Field"

Benjamin Baumann *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

This paper asks whether Bourdieu's field theory is productively applicable to the booming of professional spirit mediumship in contemporary Thailand. Are we witnessing the emergence of a 'mystic field' that co-exists with the religious field of Thai Buddhism? More specifically, the paper addresses the growing visibility of queer spirit mediums and asks whether gender ambiguity represents a field specific form of 'mystic capital' that is transformable into economic capital.

#### › The "Field" of Health in Myanmar: Healing Practices Examined Through the Lens of Bourdieu's Field Theory

Celine Coderey *National University of Singapore*

Grounded on my fieldwork among Buddhist communities of Rakhine State (Western Myanmar), my paper examines the different healing practices forming the local 'field of health'. My goal is two-fold. Firstly, I will discuss how most healers combine different trainings and practices so as to enlarge their range of action and to increase their legitimacy. Secondly, I will show how patients make their choice among different healers thus contributing to position them within that field.

› **The Religion of Burma Seen from the Spirit Worship Perspective**

Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière *French National Center for Scientific Research*

Burmese normative perspectives on religion do not as a rule include spirit worship practice in their scope. This presentation aims at showing that the worship of the Thirty-seven Lords that amounts for these practice - its institution and dynamics - is better understood as part and parcel of the religious field.

---

## Critical Perspectives on Penalty in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION Room 1.504  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER Andrew M. Jefferson *Dignity—Danish Institute Against Torture*

ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

PAPERS

› **Deciphering Sites and Sensing Prison Climates: The Public and Personal Faces of Carceral Contexts in the Philippines**

Andrew M. Jefferson *Dignity—Danish Institute Against Torture*

This paper examines public and personal images of penalty in the Philippines as articulated in official media and in interviews with prison officers. It considers projected images and contingent realities. The public and personal faces and the attitudes and perspectives revealed form part of the backdrop against which human rights interventions take place in prisons and are therefore important to understand. The public faces of the Bureau of Corrections (BuCor) will be contrasted with that of the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology (BJMP), the two bodies running penal institutions in the Philippines. Interview material addressing the dilemmas faced by prison staff representing these bodies (care versus control; distance versus closeness; intimacy versus professionalism) will be analysed. This data suggests it makes little sense to talk about the prison officer or the state official. If staff embody the state (or the institution) they do so in their own peculiar ways. The paper aims to make a contribution to the way we can understand prisons in SE Asia in their own terms and not simply as expressions of failure to live up to international norms and standards.

› **“Lumugar Ka.” Alternative Narratives in Enduring Emotional Labor: Professionalism and Coping Among Officers in a Philippine City Jail**

Hannah Nario-Lopez *University of the Philippines*

This paper analyzes the narratives on emotional labor (Hochschild 1983) among officers operating an overpopulated and undermanned Philippine city jail with dilapidated facilities. A year’s worth of qualitative data point that emotional labor is highly stressful but essential. Emotions in jail work are generally disallowed. According to the officers, in their profession, feelings must be kept personal and kept from the workplace. Because of this, both good and bad emotions are continually subdued under the principles “professionalism.” However, further interrogations reveal that officers do not necessarily disbar emotions but instead carefully deploy it to navigate their positions relative to higher-ranking officials, co-officers, and detainees (gangs). A fascinating point raised by officers, which can be seen as an alternative view to understand emotional labor, is that even though emotional management is draining, they are willing to continue enduring emotional labor because it is seen as an integral part of their profession. With these findings, this paper forwards critical reflections on the unintended consequences of the country’s inadequacy to respond to the strains of its justice system.

---

## Indonesian Maritime State: Shaping Military Professionalism

LOCATION Room 1.505  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENERS Anton Aliabbas *Paramadina University*  
Shiskha Prabawaningtyas *Paramadina University*

## ABSTRACT

This panel aims to follow up discussion took place at the 2017 EuroSEAS Conference in Oxford on the panel of Indonesia perspective on military professionalism under democratic control. The 2017 panel concluded two challenges that require further discussion. First is the existing gap between policy orientation and implementation. Secondly the absence of institution's memories provides lucrative "hybrid space" for such rent-seeker within state building architecture to undermine the intended functional role of state-institutions.

The objective of this panel will further examine the approaches to address the two challenges of minimizing the gap and locating the hybrid space in shaping Indonesian military professionalism. The construction of Indonesian Maritime State is placed as a geopolitical state-position in projecting the posture and competence of Indonesian military professionalism. However, shaping military professionalism should be put as a national interest in order to survive in the dynamic of borderless global order that relies on the logic of interconnected and interdependent. This shaping includes identifying and locating the compatible approach to reform security sector in Indonesian context. The discussion to find the compatible approaches is structured into four thematic issues, which are 1) Policy and implementation, 2) Structure and Posture, 3) Military Capability and Competence, 4) Policy oversights. The elaboration of those four themes encourages trans- or inter- disciplinary approach in order to have a holistic, comprehensive and integration views to address problem of shaping Indonesian military professionalism under democratic control.

The organizing of the follow up panel at the 2019 EuroSEAS Conference in Berlin expects to create an international academic space for feedbacks and comments to the manuscript before plan of publication. The manuscript represents new insight and perspective of Indonesian young scholars on the development of Indonesian military transformation.

## PAPERS

### › "Bottleneck" in Indonesian Military Career Management

Anton Aliabbas *Paramadina University*

Up-and-stay structure is one of career flow structure that is used by many foreign militaries including Indonesia. According to Harry A Thie et al (1994:79), by applying this structure, accumulation of 'deadwood' within the organisation might occur. The study examines practical implication of current design of soldier career management in the Indonesian Army (2015-2017). During 2013-2014, the Army has revised three primary documents regarding soldier career management. The documents were the Army Doctrine on Personnel, Army Main Guideline Book on Personnel, and Technical Guidance Book on Army Officer Career Management. The study finds the new framework contributes to promotion bottleneck in high-ranking Army's soldiers. The study also indicates that the up-and-stay structure creates a deficit of lower-ranking soldiers. Implications for conceptual, practical and recommendations for future studies are discussed.

### › Indonesia's Defence Diplomacy Transformation: The Post New Order Dynamics

Frega Wenas Inkiriwang *London School of Economics and Political Science*

This paper attempts to analyse the transformation of Indonesia's Defence Diplomacy in the Post New Order period. In this period, there was a significant development in the country. The military which was used as a political tool by the authoritarian regime underwent a fundamental reform. The process was supported by the military leaders which resulted in the issuance of the new Law on Indonesian National Defence Forces in 2004. This legal basis has since guided how the Indonesian military operates in dealing with external and internal security threats and curbed the socio-political role of the Indonesian military which is associated with the New Order period. However, it has not specifically touched upon the implementation of defence diplomacy, which has significantly increased within the last decade.

Therefore, the paper scrutinises the transformation of Indonesia's defence diplomacy by comparing the development under different administrations in the Post New Order era. In examining this transformation, the paper firstly highlights the policy crafted by various administrations. This paper also identifies the process of incorporating defence diplomacy in numerous defence white papers in the Post New Order period, which has become the reflection of Indonesia's defence policy. And subsequently, the paper observes how Indonesia has implemented its defence diplomacy over time by focusing on three key aspects, the actors, the activities and the formats.

An examination of Indonesia's defence diplomacy transformation in the Post New Order era is critical to help understand how Indonesia has developed its engagement with external partners through diplomacy by using its military, as one of the national instruments. Hence, this paper offers an alternate approach in studying Indonesia's defence diplomacy under democratic control.

### › Maritime Perspective on Indonesian Defence White Paper

Anton Aliabbas *Paramadina University*

Shiskha Prabawaningtyas *Paramadina University*

Indonesian Defence White Paper published in the years of 1995, 1997, 2003, 2008, 2014, and 2015 should be constructed and functioned as a legal based guideline to Indonesia's state building as a maritime state after the introduction of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas in 1982 and accepts the territorial sovereignty of Indonesia at seas. As a country consists of 17,508 islands and locates in geostrategic position between Indian and Pacific Ocean, the functions of the sea is at the core debate of state building of becoming a maritime state. Mahan (1890), Till (2009), and Salim (2015) conclude and list preconditions of what constitute a maritime state by building its maritime power. Defence White Paper functions as a state's grand strategic plan in projecting the Indonesian maritime power including its defence capability. This paper aims to locate the gap between policy orientation and

implementation in building Indonesian maritime state by applying the narrative analysis to the six publication of White Defence Paper. By addressing the gap, this paper seeks to locate the hybrid space that undermine the Indonesian state building to be a maritime state.

---

## Two-Wheeled Tensions in Urban Southeast Asia: Motorbike Taxis, App-Based Services, and the Politics of Mobility

LOCATION Room 1.506  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENERS Arve Hansen *University of Oslo*  
Sarah Turner *McGill University*

### ABSTRACT

As state officials, planners, and developers rush to 'modernise' Southeast Asia's capital cities the mobilities of daily city life, including the complex movements of people, objects, and information become the object of transportation policies and Master Plans. In this session, we draw attention to the kinetic underclass (Cresswell 2012) or mobility poor (Eidse et al. 2016), focusing on informal motorbike taxi drivers in three Southeast Asian capital cities, namely Hanoi, Bangkok, and Jakarta. We explore the ways by which government policies, splintered accessibility, the newly arrived app-based competitors, and growing car cultures are shaping, impacting, and at times displacing livelihoods options for different groups of drivers. In Hanoi, we examine the mobility injustices that *xe ôm* (traditional motorbike taxi drivers) are facing with recent and forthcoming modernisation plans and policies for the city, as well as tensions due to increasing competition from young, app-savvy GrabBike rivals. We then focus on Hanoi's motorbike food delivery services and the challenges drivers are facing as commercial 'sharing' services are expanding into this domain. In Bangkok, we investigate debates regarding formalization and informalization, and new commercial 'sharing' platforms such as Uber, GrabTaxi and GoBike. Analyzing the conflict of conventional versus online-based motorbike taxi services in Jakarta, we highlight the competing economic moralities invoked by drivers, operators, clients, and policy makers. By doing so, we raise questions regarding the nature of transport and mobility justice, the right to mobility, the relationships between mobility and informal urban livelihood options, and the struggles of the urban mobile workforce.

### PAPERS

#### › Contesting Vietnam's Plans for Modern Mobilities: Informal Motorbike Taxi Drivers' Strategies on Hanoi's Streets

Sarah Turner *McGill University*

In their efforts to create a modern, prosperous, and 'civilized' capital city, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam's central government and Hanoi's municipal authorities are conceiving an urban space replete with security, orderliness, and modernity. This state imaginary privileges 'modern' mobilities with highways, expressways, and an elevated metro system all being championed, while so called 'traditional' means of moving around the city, like informal transportation, are strongly discouraged and marginalised. Moreover, Hanoi officials are considering banning motorbikes from downtown streets by 2030, in a city where the majority of the 7.5 million population travels by motorbike. Such plans and visions threaten the livelihoods of thousands of informal motorbike taxi drivers (locally known as *xe ôm*).

Drawing on mobilities and everyday politics literatures, and ethnographic fieldwork with *xe ôm* drivers, recent app-based competitors, customers, and planners, I argue that the state's discourse of modernity creates specific mobility experiences, rhythms, and frictions for *xe ôm* drivers. These drivers must negotiate emerging, often conflicting, policies curbing their mobilities and excessive police 'fees', as well as new app-based competitors. Nonetheless, *xe ôm* drivers have reacted with subtle everyday politics tactics including performing 'identity management' with police, information gathering via social networks, and inventive efforts to maintain a loyal customer base. This paper thus highlights how marginalised individuals can push back against mobility injustices embedded in a politically socialist space.

#### › From Territory to Algorithm: Shifting Moral Grounds in Jakarta's Motorbike Taxi Industry

Mechthild von Vacano *Freie Universität Berlin*

In 2015, taxi drivers across the globe were protesting the expansion of on-demand ride service like Uber. Simultaneously Jakarta's streets were the site of a similar, though structurally different contestation among two-wheeled taxi drivers. In contrast to their four-wheeled equivalents, motorbike taxis (*ojek*) lack official recognition as public transport and constitute a classic example of the so-called 'informal' economy in Indonesia. Ever since their emergence in the 1970s, conventional *ojek* services have never been regulated by the state, but organized by a system of neighbourhood-based waiting posts with distinct rules for membership and customer pick-ups. This system was challenged, when the Indonesian start-up GoJek began to adapt the global model of ride-sharing platforms to the local

motorbike taxi market – soon to be followed by other regional and global players. In Jakarta application-based ojek services expanded rapidly during the first half of 2015. Conventional ojek drivers soon felt threatened by this new business model and organized in protest to keep GoJek and the like from entering their territories. Some resorted to physical violence, and soon a public debate on 'ojek versus GoJek' unfolded. In negotiating their conflict of interest, stakeholders on both sides invoked different ideals of economic participation.

Drawing on ethnographic research in a Jakartan neighbourhood and the analysis of local media coverage, this paper examines the social, economic, and political claims by drivers, operators, clients, and policy makers. Furthermore, it suggests reading the 'ojek versus GoJek' debate as epitome of diverse economic moralities currently contested in urban Indonesia.

### › **Meals on Wheels: Competing Forms of Food Delivery in Hanoi's System of Moto-Mobility**

Arve Hansen *University of Oslo*

Arve Hansen  
Centre for Development and the Environment  
University of Oslo

Nguyen Tuan Anh  
University of Social Sciences and Humanities  
Vietnam National University

Luu Khanh Linh  
University of Social Sciences and Humanities  
Vietnam National University

Platform capitalism has entered the streetscapes of Vietnamese cities and in a few years become deeply embedded in urban everyday mobilities. Particularly vehicle sharing services have become immensely popular. They compete with already existing services, and represent a process of commercialization of the sector. In a sense, the platform services contribute with a more formal version of largely informal employment, but the livelihoods of the drivers often remain just as precarious as is the case for traditional xe om drivers. Recently, the platform companies have also branched out into food delivery, again entering into competition with existing and less formal services. Indeed, the combination of a strong culture of eating out and the 'system of moto-mobility' has led to a culture for take-away and delivery where motorbikes take on center stage. This paper approaches competing forms of food delivery in Hanoi. By combining a mobilities and food practices approach, and based on interviews with food vendors, delivery workers and consumers, it interrogates the changing geographies and mobilities of food in Vietnam's capital city.

.....

## **Current and Future Challenges of Regional Integration in Southeast Asia**

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Round Table
CONVENER	Jacques Leider <i>École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>

### ABSTRACT

For the last decades, Southeast Asia (SEA) has experienced different modes of existence as a "region". One can follow the progressively established institutional framework of ASEAN, with its successes and uncertainties, which represents an ideal of regional identity. But scholars also observe and analyze the ongoing evolution of major economic, political and cultural change, driven by numerous state and non-state actors, and the accelerated globalization of the region which has been brought about by a plurality of newly created internal and external connections. What is at stake is not only the ASEAN's political agenda, but also the integration of macro-level data on flows of goods, capital, people, knowledge, political models, ideologies etc., and the action of external forces driving SEA's regional integration, China's rise in particular. Several burning issues are directly linked to the challenges of regionalisation – regional security and environment, transnational labor mobility, uneven development induced by regional integration, contested ASEAN centrality, etc. To consider current and future challenges of SEA integration, the roundtable will adopt an interdisciplinary approach with micro-studies specialists from the social sciences and humanities and analysts of macro-phenomena in international relations and political economy specialized in different parts of SEA.

### PARTICIPANTS

- › **Jacques Leider** *Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*
- › **Pietro P. Masina** *University of Naples L'Orientale*
- › **Sophie Boisseau du Rocher** *Institut Français des Relations Internationales*

- › Tomasz Kaminski *University of Lodz*
- › Volker Grabowsky *University of Hamburg*
- › Yves Goudineau *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*

# Session 11

FRIDAY 13:30–15:00

---

Room 1.101	<b>Rethinking Southeast Asian Mega-Cities</b>
Room 1.102	<b>China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): Bridging Disciplines, Theories and Methods in the Research on Its Impacts on Southeast Asia? ①</b>
Room 1.103	<b>The Mobility of Infrastructure</b>
Room 1.201	<b>Spicy (Dis)connections: Routes, Values and Imaginaries</b>
Room 1.204	<b>New Intimacies in Southeast Asia: Mediating Affective Relations Between People, Places and Things ①</b>
Room 1.308	<b>Locating Zomias Wet and Dry: Stateless Spaces in Maritime and Mainland Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.401	<b>Beyond Wage Labour: An Inclusive Approach to Work and Its Implications for the Emergence of New Workers' Alliances in Urban Southeast Asia</b>
Room 1.403	<b>The Cultural Contexts of Disease in Southeast Asia: Bile Duct Cancer in Northeast Thailand and Lao PDR</b>
Room 1.405	<b>Already Southern China or Still Northern Southeast Asia? Local Engagements with and Translations of Chinese Regional Aspirations in the Upper Mekong Region ①</b>
Room 1.406	<b>Body Techniques, Emergence and Decline of Social Categories ①</b>
Room 1.501	<b>Censorship of the Arts in Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.502	<b>Sonic Entanglements: Sound, Archive, and Acoustic Historiographies in Southeast Asia ①</b>
Room 1.503	<b>Translation, Globalization and Indonesian Literature: Islands of Imagination?</b>
Room 1.505	<b>Emerging Scholarship on Myanmar's Chin State: Interdisciplinary Perspectives</b>
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia</b>

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/11](http://euroseas2019.org/session/11)

# Rethinking Southeast Asian Mega-Cities

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Sandra Kurfürst <i>University of Cologne</i> Tamaki Endo <i>Saitama University</i>

## ABSTRACT

With rapid economic growth, many mega cities in Asia have become global hubs of finance, production and consumption. They also serve as leading centers of economic growth in the world and show interconnected dynamics with strong economic and social networks among these cities. These cities are experiencing 'compressed development' of economy and society resulting in multi-layered stratification. Under such circumstances, the mega-cities of Southeast Asia face complex challenges and rapid change that municipalities, national governments, civil society and urbanites have to deal with.

The 21st century has been termed the "Asian urban century" with half of the urban world population living in Asia (UN-Habitat 2012: 28). Roy (2014: 14) comprehends the Asian urban century as the "historical conjuncture", at which the urban becomes a matter of government. Urbanism then is "produced through the practice of statecraft and the apparatus of planning" (Roy 2014: 14).

Against this backdrop we would like to rethink Southeast Asian mega-cities from a geographical comparative and interdisciplinary perspective. The urbanization of Southeast Asia was led by dynamics of interconnected cross-border investment and economic activities, sociopolitical and cultural changes. We look for idiosyncrasies and commonalities across cities. We invite papers comprising empirical case studies and theoretical reflections on Southeast Asian mega-cities from the social sciences, such as economics, political science, sociology, and area studies.

## PAPERS

### › From a "Danger Zone" to a "Dead Zone": The Politics of Space and "Relocatees" in Manila

Tomonori Ishioka *Nihon University*

From a danger zone to a dead zone': this is an idiom used by residents who live in relocation sites that are located in mountainous areas far from Manila in reference to their plight. Such residents are 'relocatees' who have arrived from squatter areas of urban centres. Since the commencement of the Aquino administration in 2010, gentrification has accelerated at the centre of Manila, and the urban poor living in designated 'danger zone' areas, namely, individuals who occupy public places such as esteros, railroad tracks, garbage dumps and riverbanks, have been faced with mass evictions. This seems to be a policy implemented to protect people from disasters such as typhoons and earthquakes; however, in reality, many of the targeted residents interpret it as a method to expel the urban poor from the city centre. They claim that relocation sites are a 'dead zone', namely, far more severe than a 'danger zone' because such sites have no employment prospects, inadequate social services and weak infrastructures. Furthermore, most importantly, residents have lost their accustomed lifestyles in the squatter settings and have been thrown into uprooted conditions (Bourdieu 2004). The following two issues are significant. First, household structure has been forcibly changed, and separate couple residences have resulted from forced migration. Husbands stay in Manila for work; wives and children live in the relocation areas. Second, relocation sites have no visitors. Previously, squatter areas, visitors in the form of brothers, sisters and friends from provinces would come to stay while seeking employment. These visitors participated in daily activities such as babysitting and shopping to maintain the routines of poor urban families. Such visitors no longer visit the relocation sites owing to the dearth of opportunities. This is evident from the fact that the average number of family members in squatter areas is seven, whereas the number in relocation sites is four. The habitus that the residents have embodied in the squatter areas holds no currency in the relocation sites. Subsequently, the site becomes a 'dead zone'. This paper examines the politics of space from the perspective of 'relocatees' through an ethnographic inquiry.

### › Informality at Crossroad? Dynamics Between Inclusion and Exclusion in Case of Bangkok

Tamaki Endo *Saitama University*

With rapid economic development, Bangkok and BMR (Bangkok Mega Region) have become global hubs of finance, production and consumption, attracting the global investors and emerging upper class, but at the same time, exhibiting the continuous expansion of the informal economy and settlements. As the result, the city is showing multi-layered stratification, and inequality within Bangkok has been widening since 2010s. Adding to that, the recent private-led development is drastically changing city's landscape and therefore accelerating this phenomenon.

This paper will analyze the recent complex dynamics of exclusion and inclusion of 'informality' of the city. From the perspective of the urban lower class, urban informality -either in terms of occupations or residences- provide multiple functions such as absorbing the shocks from urban risks (Endo and Shibuya 2019), enable flexible adjustments for their needs in the survival of urban life, opportunities for social mobility and upgrading and so on (Endo 2014). Due to the fact that majority of labour force in Thailand is still in the informal employment, there has been policy shift to expand social security coverage, especially for the self-employed. It can be said that these are the attempts to include informal economy workers into the formal mechanisms. However, if we look at actual urban governance and urban redevelopment projects led by private sectors, the spaces for informality are rapidly eroded and sometime forcedly pushed

out by evicting vendors, fresh markets and slum communities. Middle class join the discourse of 'protecting modern beautiful city' through SNS and support this harsh attitude towards urban informality.

The urban economy can not be sustained without labour of lower class and they are surely one of the contributors for macro economy. However, 'informality' which has been the source of alternative mechanism for their survival, because of the lack of formal institutional supports, is now under threat. This might cause the destructions of social networks, limitation of the resource allocations for lower class and therefore create another social conflicts among social classes. Finding balance between interests of multiple actors in urban redevelopment and governance will be key for better well-being of residents and make city livable.

### › Reconfiguring Urban Development: Activating Alternatives in a Philippine Market Trade

B. Lynne Milgram *Ontario College of Art and Design University*

With growing Global South urbanization governments are revamping urban renewal by privileging large-scale projects and face lifting so-called problematic areas such as informally-spacialized street and public market trades (Brenner, Marcuse, Mayer 2012). This agenda is evident in the northern Philippines where in 2016 the Benguet provincial government attempted to unilaterally move vegetable traders from the region's key wholesale market – the La Trinidad Vegetable Trading Post (LTVTP) – to its new mega-facility, the Benguet Agri Pinoy Tading Center (BAPTC). This move would have disenfranchised a range of suppliers' "informally-fashioned" produce sourcing integral to ensuring LTVTP wholesalers' commodity flows. Rather than imposing a hegemonic vision of appropriate "cityness," Robinson (2006) suggests an "ordinary city" perspective that enables space for urban diversity – a local "reterritorialization" that best meets urbanites subsistence needs across sectors.

This paper engages this issue by analyzing the edgy side roads LTVTP marketers used to defeat the government's market relocation efforts. I argue that marketers combine "advocacy" (petitions) and "everyday" politics (occupying public space) (Kerkvliet 2009) to sustain the personalized and sometimes extralegal practices that secure their livelihoods while contributing to the city's economy. To promote their cause, LTVTP marketers launched civil law suits and appeals, obtained Restraining Orders and operationalized their supplier networks across "gray spaces" of trade (Yiftachel 2012). That Benguet officials sanctioned the simultaneous operation of both wholesale vegetable markets in 2018 highlights government complicity in formalizing informality and extralegality as urban organizing logics when it is to their advantage (Roy 2005). LTVTP marketers' advocacy thus materializes how civic engagement can be effectively negotiated when competing ideologies clash over livelihood rights and how to structure a inclusive urban texture.

### › Urban Informalities and the Politics of Space in Southeast Asian Mega-Cities

Sandra Kurfürst *University of Cologne*

Although highly contested and often criticized for its indistinct analytical value, urban informalities are still existent, both in theory and in practice. Since the benchmark publication of Ananya Roy and Al Sayyad (2004) research on urban informalities has flourished. Many of those works consider informality as an idiom of planning (Roy 2009), encroachment of the ordinary (Bayad 2004) or a way of knowing the city (McFarlane 2012). However, while there seems to be at least some agreement on what informality is, the urban as an object of study has become highly questioned as the urban fabric expands onto the whole planet (Brenner 2013). This paper sets out to discuss some pertinent ideas on what the city constitutes, while highlighting the idiosyncrasies of Southeast Asian urbanism. It does so by focusing on the politics of space in Mainland Southeast Asia with a special focus on Hanoi.

.....

## China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): Bridging Disciplines, Theories and Methods in the Research on Its Impacts on Southeast Asia? ①

LOCATION Room 1.102  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 1)  
CONVENER Alfred Gerstl *Palacký University Olomouc*

### ABSTRACT

China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is still work in progress. However, this multi-billion dollar project already impacts economically and strategically on all participating regions and countries. Southeast Asia is particularly affected, as both the land-based and the maritime silk road pass through the region. Consequently, economists, human geographers, cultural anthropologists, sociologists, Area Studies, Sinology, International Relations scholars, experts from Global History and other disciplines examine the implications of BRI at different levels of analysis, e.g. the region, individual countries, cities or local communities. The assessments so far differ grossly between those which see BRI – in line with the Chinese official voices – as a new, alternative Southern driven version of globalization, those which see it as the onset of a new imperialism, and those which see the rise of a culturally different mode of international relations, based on traditional Chinese concepts.

This panel aims to discuss different disciplinary, theoretical and methodological approaches to understand the ramifications of BRI on Southeast Asian politics, economics, culture and society. The strengths and weaknesses of mono-dis-

ciplinary approaches will be critically reflected. An objective is to debate whether applying inter- and transdisciplinary approaches can help us shedding new lights on BRI. The panel asks which disciplinary and theoretical combinations are both scientifically sound and provide analytically an added value. Other questions are, inter alia, how inter-disciplinary research on BRI can be promoted and how journal editors or funding institutions react to inter-disciplinary research articles and projects.

We invite scholars from all fields examining various or specific impacts of BRI both from a disciplinary and inter-disciplinary perspective.

## PAPERS

### › **BRI and the Use(s) of History**

Marina Kaneti *National University of Singapore*

Ever since it was officially announced in 2013, the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) has been framed in the image of the ancient Silk Road, particularly what the initiative's architects call the Silk Road Spirit of "peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit." In emulating a centuries-old history of global interconnectivity, the BRI is envisioned as means to "strengthen exchanges and mutual learning between different civilizations, and promote world peace and development. Given the explicit emphasis on ancient connectivities, how can we think about the role of history in legitimizing progress and visions for the future? How does the construction and representation of memory inform geopolitical ambitions and foreign relations?

While the majority of scholars and analysts of the BRI have largely focused on the role of investments and infrastructure as part of the initiative, this paper discusses how an approach combining political theory, history, memory and visual studies sheds light on the BRI in the context of emerging geopolitical alliances and visions for future interactions. Starting with the premise that the history associated with the ancient Silk Road is not exclusively or only Chinese, I argue that the conceptualizations and representations of past interactions, especially in South Asia and along the Maritime Silk Road, can also be seen as sites for the (de)construction of memory, (re) appropriation of meanings, localization of narratives, and resistance to tendencies for universalization and exceptionalism. While many such aspects can only be explored by simultaneously engaging tools from different disciplines, the paper also discusses the challenges and opportunities presented by the use of interdisciplinary methodology.

### › **Spaces of Capital: Uneven Geographical Development and the Belt and Road Initiative in Laos**

Samantha Webb *University of Sydney*

While the dominant rhetoric around China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) posits it as a geopolitical masterplan, I argue this is an abstraction that ignores the fundamental capitalist logic to which China is bound. It is therefore necessary to situate the BRI within the global capitalist system, both historically and conjuncturally, to better understand the BRI as spatial-temporal fix for China's crisis of overaccumulation. Historically, China's present situation of overaccumulation of capital and limited opportunities for profitable investment can be traced to its own integration into the world capitalist system from the late 1970s onwards, and the role that China played in absorbing the surplus capital of wealthy, western countries including the US, Europe and also Japan, as well as the way the global recession of 2008 drove China to implement huge fiscal stimulus. Conjuncturally, it must also be acknowledged that the BRI is only possible due to the ongoing existence of underdevelopment within countries across the world who are the recipients of Chinese surplus capital. Far from the underdevelopment of these countries being due to a lack of integration into the global capitalist system, these countries are systemically underdeveloped as a result of their integration into the capitalist system. In exploring these concepts of uneven and combined development in relation to the BRI, this article undertakes an incorporated comparison of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos (Laos PDR), a small, landlocked nation and former French colony in Southeast Asia that is currently the recipient of a \$6 billion Chinese BRI infrastructure project. The China-Laos railway is an integral segment of a high-speed railway that will eventually connect China to Singapore, via Laos, Thailand and Malaysia, with varied social, economic and environmental consequences for those countries and their people. The BRI is therefore both a product of historical uneven and combined development, while also contributing to new patterns of uneven and combined development in the contemporary global capitalist system.

### › **The Chinese Belt-And-Road Initiative (BRI) and Its Impact on Democratization and De-Democratization Processes in Southeast Asia**

Wolfram Schaffar *University of Passau*

Since the launch of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative, academics and analysts debate about the character and impact of Chinese economic activities on the political situation of the recipient countries. The debate centers around the question in how far China - apart from an economic agenda - exports its authoritarian development model as an alternative, non-liberal, state-centered development paradigm and thus contributes to processes of de-democratization. Xi Jinping and other political leaders have remained ambiguous about the question, whether China is actively exporting the its political system. Yet, in the EU's most recent strategy paper, the European Commission acknowledged China not only as a strategic partner, but also as a systemic rival.

As a matter of fact, the implementation of the BRI coincides with a global wave of authoritarianism and the majority of countries which are committed to the project, are authoritarian regimes. But even worse: in some countries, the shift from a liberal democratic towards an authoritarian regime seems to be directly connected with the re-orientation towards China and its BRI activities. Prominent examples are Thailand, Myanmar and the Philippines.

In my paper I will discuss the examples of Thailand, the Philippines and Myanmar and explore, in how far the process of de-democratization and the establishment of authoritarian regimes can be linked to Chinese influence. I will map the different modes of Chinese influence and show that it varies greatly from country to country - from restrained commercial presence to more or less direct

intervention in internal security affairs. Drawing on Neo-Gramscian theories of International Relations, however, I will argue that the variety of political conflicts and processes cannot be fully explained by the external impact of Chinese foreign policy. Rather, the data supports analyses which highlight the interplay between external and internal factors, arguably with a primacy of internal factors.

---

## The Mobility of Infrastructure

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Christina Schwenkel <i>University of California, Riverside</i> Kirsten Endres <i>Max-Planck-Gesellschaft</i>

### ABSTRACT

Studies of infrastructure that have grown exponentially in the humanities and social sciences in recent years have been much less pronounced in research on Southeast Asia. This panel asks how “infrastructure” as method, theory, and object of inquiry might be a fruitful site for the investigation of contemporary Southeast Asian societies undergoing rapid social, political, and economic change. It proposes to do so through the conceptual framework of mobility in order to think in more multifaceted ways about the spatiality and temporality of modern infrastructures in Southeast Asia today. In the literature, infrastructures are typically identified as built material systems—both technical and social—that facilitate the movement of capital, people, goods, technologies, and services, also across borders. This approach tends to privilege fixed nodes in larger nested systems. Here, presenters shift the analysis to mobilities and circulations across time and space to bring an attention to infrastructure as process: of becoming and undoing, of constitution and reconstitution, of materiality and im-materiality. This analytical focus allows other types of geographically dispersed or discontinuous infrastructure to emerge as sites of inquiry: digital, migrant, and financial infrastructures, for example, to encourage new conversations about colonial and postcolonial histories of infrastructural power and violence. Panelists will bring multi-disciplinary perspectives and methods from across peninsular and mainland Southeast Asia—including trans-Asian linkages between Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Indonesia—to bear on the ways mobility refracts gendered, racialized, and classed relations of power that underpin public-private infrastructures and their associated state and non-state actors.

### PAPERS

#### › A Brief History of Lao Infrastructure: Looking Back and Far Ahead

Hans Lipp *Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen*

Doing research about the past of Lao infrastructure there are not so many written sources available. Most of the documented Lao infrastructural history began in 19th century with French colonial administration integrating kingdoms and principalities into French Indochina. Existing structures and planning have been mostly based on the country's integration into what was formerly seen to be the regional French sphere of interests. Today, the game has changed and so have the players. Technological options are different and so are the needs of economy, both national and supra-regional. This paper asks: What does the infrastructural future of one of the world's poorest economies currently look like? What role do emerging economic neighbors and international super powers play to shape the future of a country romanticized by writers as a kind of Shangri La, Laos is experiencing a fast growing population, as well as environmental and economic change. To what extent is it possible for the population to participate in infrastructural change in the face of weak structures of civil society?

#### › Hijacking Area Studies: Ethnographic Approaches to Southeast Asian Airlines

Jane Ferguson *Australian National University*

Area Studies, by definition, conjure ideas of emplaced knowledge; in-depth interdisciplinary understanding of language, history, culture and politics of a nation or region. Where detractors might see this approach as overly empirical, therefore precluding theoretical sophistication, others argue that “places” are either artificially constructed, or that processes of globalisation have obliterated the cultural zone. But what if we turn an ethnographic eye to those very processes and technologies themselves? Can Area Studies take to the air, and if so, what are the attendant challenges and benefits? Based on ethnography amongst airline customer service workers, ground and cabin crews in Thailand and Myanmar, this research examines the airline cabin as a field for ethnographic study, and as an emplaced site for political and cultural processes. With participant observation-based knowledge of Southeast Asian cabin crews, interview material with cabin crew and hijackers, this paper examines the 1990 hijack of Thai Airways TG 305 from an emplaced cultural perspective.

› **Mobile Technologies and Their Inequalities: The Export of Platte to Vietnam**

Christina Schwenkel *University of California, Riverside*

This paper examines the production of new infrastructural spaces in postwar Vietnam through North-South technology transfers between socialist countries. There is arguably no other construction material more ubiquitous in Southeast Asia than cement. As a marker of modernity, cement is the primary ingredient in concrete, the technology most often used in public infrastructure projects to construct major highways, dams, bridges, and housing. Cement is not only a technical or alchemical substance, but also a political matter: it has been used to build empires and utopias, as well as to subvert them. Historically, cement has operated as a technology of subjectification in some instances, and that of liberation in others. In this paper, I examine the export of concrete technologies to Vietnam by the GDR as part of its modernist fantasy to build a new society in the global South through prefabricated panel technologies, or Platte. Vast power asymmetries underpinned these transfers, which were framed as projects of horizontal solidarity. Focusing on Vinh City, I show how concrete served as a binding agent to draw materials, people, and visions together into new social and infrastructural arrangements that were fraught with gender and racial inequalities.



**Spicy (Dis)connections: Routes, Values and Imaginaries**

LOCATION            Room 1.201  
TYPE                Single Panel  
CONVENERS        Annuska Derks *University of Zurich*  
                         Sarah Turner *McGill University*

**ABSTRACT**

Throughout its long history, the spice trade has shaped land, politics, and society, while capturing imaginations across the globe. Spices played an important role in European explorations and colonization of Southeast Asia from the 16th century onwards, and the spice trade has been argued to be one of the oldest links between the East and the West, connecting Asia with the Mediterranean through the precious fragrances of cinnamon, cardamom, star anise, pepper, cloves and more. While spices have since lost their status as symbol of luxury, their flavors, fragrances, colors, and medicinal benefits continue to sell globally, while providing important livelihood opportunities for cultivators. This panel focuses on the contemporary routes, values, and imaginaries of spices in and from contemporary Southeast Asia, while also highlighting the diverse connections and disconnections within spice networks. We ask: What can the spice trade tell us about connections between lowland and highland Southeast Asia, neighboring countries, and producers and consumers more generally? How do expanding global markets for spices, (changing) consumer desires, and the international political economy influence producer livelihoods and lifeworlds? What roles do origins, uses, and botanical taxonomies play in assessments of quality and imaginaries of geography? And how do state policies, development interventions, but also forces of nature, such as extreme weather events, impact spice options and benefits? By exploring these questions, the panel members seek to explore the (in)distinctiveness of particular spices on the global market and the various ways in which spices (dis)connect people from different parts of the world.

**PAPERS**

› **Cassia Distinctions: The Making of an Indigenous Spice in Northern Vietnam**

Annuska Derks *University of Zurich*

In upland northern Vietnam ethnic minority farmers are cultivating what some global retailers refer to as the 'champagne of cinnamon'. However, a closer examination reveals that this spice is not 'true cinnamon' but cassia, with the exact species remaining uncertain. Drawing on commodity chain literature and debates over the creation of value and quality, we investigate the making of 'Vietnamese cinnamon' as it moves from the hills in northern Vietnam to soup bowls in Vietnam and supermarket shelves in northern America and explore how different actors define 'Vietnamese cinnamon' and infuse it with specific, also contradictory values. Based on multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork over a four-year period, we reveal how this globally traded spice is cultivated and integrated into complex commodity chains, how the creation of value occurs along these chains, and the various ways in which different actors, from botanists and ethnic minority farmers to state agencies and NGOs to global retailers, highlight or contest the uniqueness of this particular spice.

› **Nature's Gift or Unstable Commodity? Dealing with Marginality in the Vietnamese Star Anise Commodity Chain**

Matthew Parsfield *University of Zurich*

A situation of multiple marginality is presented in the commodity chain of Vietnamese star anise along the Vietnamese border with China. A globally marginal commodity is cultivated and traded by ethnic minority people whose economic and social position is marginal, vis-à-vis the multi-ethnic Vietnamese nation and the Chinese-dominated market for their produce. However, this marginality

has positive as well as negative effects, with some aspects of this marginality being utilised so as to contribute to the value of the commodity and the livelihoods of those who depend on it. The ambiguous role of marginality is traced through the tension of star anise's dual status as both "nature's gift" and an "unstable commodity". The commodity's fluctuating yields and prices are attributed by some to geographical marginality and low-tech production methods, while upland cultivators and traders prize the naturalness of a crop that is relatively easy to produce and whose underdeveloped market affords them certain trading advantages or niches. Ethnographic material is presented from fieldwork in Lang Son province in upland Vietnam which depicts daily engagement with marginality through what the author posits as a "strategic border identity" of actors who cope with and exploit their marginal economic, social, and geographical status.

### › **Rolling the Dice with Spice: How Ethnic Minority Cardamom Farmers are Gambling Against the Odds**

Patrick Slack *McGill University*

This paper examines the climatic and state-imposed vulnerability that ethnic minority households cultivating black cardamom in upland Vietnam face and the variety of ways that households are forced to gamble with their livelihoods. This paper provides a nuanced case study of cardamom cultivator livelihoods; those who comprise the first node in black cardamom commodity chains originating from Vietnam.

The ethnic minority farmers who comprise this first node are having to find sources of cash more than ever before due to the increased state push for market integration, especially state programmes encouraging farmers to rely on hybrid rice and corn seeds which must be bought yearly, along with agrochemical inputs. Many upland minority households have turned to cultivating and trading black cardamom to supply the much-needed cash their lives increasingly require. Unlike many crops, cardamom requires consistent closed-canopy forest cover to thrive, serving as a unique opportunity for both income generation and forest conservation. This enthusiasm for cultivating black cardamom and the environmental requirement for closed- canopy forest appears to be having intriguing impacts on land-use and land-cover change (LULCC) in the northern Vietnamese borderlands in addition to other government forestry initiatives and community-level forest protection.

Although there is much potential for cardamom as a sustainable livelihood strategy, government interventions and extreme weather events are leaving households extremely vulnerable and susceptible to risk. In this paper I will explore the numerous shocks that black cardamom cultivators face in a northern district of Lao Cai province, putting livelihood and food security at stake.

### › **Spice Trade Struggles: Ethnic Minority Farmers and Cardamom Cultivation Complexities in Upland Vietnam**

Sarah Turner *McGill University*

Across the Sino-Vietnamese borderlands, rural livelihoods and social relations are in a state of flux. While some upland societies have been cautious about altering long-standing practices that have suited them for generations, others have embraced new prospects offered by agrarian transformations, far-reaching commodity markets, market liberalization, and new infrastructure and communications technology. The dilemmas created by this merging of customary and modern principles and practices are especially palpable in the case of the commoditization of upland non-timber forest products such as black cardamom (*Amomum aromaticum*).

Demand for this high-value spice has risen steadily over the last three decades, and many ethnic minority farmers have seized the opportunity to cultivate cardamom under the forest canopy. In Vietnam, black cardamom is transported to the lowlands by way of intermediaries, or, more frequently, is exported to China along complex commodity chains that also incorporate cardamom grown in Yunnan's borderlands. Trade occurs via webs of social relationships, uneven power structures, and differing economic returns among actors who compete to access key resources along the way.

This paper investigates the power relations among the different actors involved in these commodity chains, with a focus on Hmong and Yao cultivators and the concerns they face regarding the commoditization of this crop in the Vietnam borderlands. An increase in extreme weather events and a lack of control over market processes mean that cultivators are sometimes abandoning cardamom cultivation when they perceive the risks too great or the returns on their labour too low. Ethnic minority cultivators are savvy when it comes to making a living and do not unduly endanger their culture or identity. This paper examines to what degree they are willing to seize these new borderland trade opportunities, as well as the limits of their engagement.

.....

## **New Intimacies in Southeast Asia: Mediating Affective Relations Between People, Places and Things ①**

LOCATION	Room 1.204
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Bart Barendregt <i>Leiden University</i> Martin Slama <i>Austrian Academy of Sciences</i>

## ABSTRACT

This panel starts from the observation that in many parts of the world and in Southeast Asia in particular intimacies and forms of mediation are closely linked. People use various kinds of media – old and new, social or mass media, and often a mix of them – to relate to each other in an intimate way. Think here of ongoing communication between members of diasporic families, seekers of digitally facilitated romantic and/or sexual encounters and, in the realm of religion, online followers of particular preachers. However, the panel does not only focus on interpersonal intimacies as such but also attempts to explore intimate relations that people develop – in and through mediations – with places and things, which leads the panel to consider phenomena ranging from highly valued online gifts and halal speed dating to the commodification of Sufi symbols and the intimacy of haunted houses. The panel is thus also interested in research on affective ways of belonging and identification and how they become newly mediated today. Moreover, it seeks to trace Southeast Asian encounters, sites and materialities where the intimate – often due to mediation – unexpectedly emerges.

## PAPERS

### › **Hopeless Romantics: Competing Secular and Islamic Narratives in the Lives of Malay-Muslim Women Romance Novel Readers**

Alicia Izharuddin *University of Malaya*

Emerging literature on religious and ethical imperfection argues that moral failure can in fact be productive. Failure reveals the often unstable, incoherent, and multidimensional Muslim selves who are impacted differentially by Islamic revivalism. It shows that Muslims are also significantly affected by “nonreligious” and “secular” ways of being due to contingencies and different life priorities. My paper investigates the role of failure in the personal and religious lives of Malay-Muslim women and their media practices. I am interested in their cultivation of ethical subjectivities as romance readers in times of personal crisis and argue that romantic novels compete with Islamic narratives in the lives of Malay-Muslim women in Malaysia who search for meaning and fulfillment.

### › **“Indonesia Will Lead the Muslim Word”: Myth, Mediation, and Affective Identification with the Ummah Among Indonesian Netizens**

Silvia Ilonka Wolf *Freie Universität Berlin*

Studies of how Muslim identities are formed and expressed online often tend to juxtapose global identity versus national identity. While some have argued that the Internet has created a “virtual ummah”, others emphasize that interactions on the Internet remain primarily local in character. This paper offers a different argument by examining the online circulation and reception of three Indonesian narratives about Indonesia’s role within the larger ummah. The first narrative is based on a speech held by a Palestinian sheikh during his visit to a mosque in Yogyakarta, in which he suggested that Indonesians will liberate Palestine and the occupied Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. In the second narrative five ordinary Palestinian citizens have reported that the aforementioned vision came to them in their dreams. The third narrative tells about a Saudi Islamic scholar who encountered the Prophet Muhammad in his dream and was told by him that Indonesia will eventually lead the Muslim world. How are these narratives received by netizens on YouTube? How does the remediation of the narratives impact Indonesian Muslim youth’s identification with the global ummah and with the Indonesian nation, respectively? I argue that the global imagined community of ummah and the national imagined community can reinforce one another through such narratives. Moreover, instead of resorting to a shared mythical past, as theorists of the nation have often pointed to, in this case it is the future that is mythified. It is through this mythification of an aspirational future and in relation to an overarching imagined community that the nation gains its significance.

### › **The Seal of Sainthood: Circulations, Affective Mediations, and Anxieties of Estrangement**

Ismail Alatas *New York University*

This paper observes the reproduction and circulation of a peculiar Hadrami intercessory seal, the various affective mediations it performs, and the anxieties it generates in contemporary Indonesia. Produced in a variety of colors and designs, the seal is made up of three basic invariant elements: the Arabic alphabet h, the numerals 110 and 1030. Signifying the spiritual and intercessory power of two Hadrami scholars and saints, i.e. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Alawi al-Haddad (d. 1720) and ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Habashi (d. 1912), the seal can be found across the Indian Ocean, in places with a substantial Hadrami diasporic population. As a reproducible semiotic form, the seal facilitates the circulation of a theology of sainthood -- including the notion of saintly power and spiritual inheritance (wiratha) -- and has served as a trademark of the ‘Alawiyya Sufi order. Nevertheless, the seal has been used for various purposes, from protective charm to logo of religious institutions, and social media avatars. In Indonesia, the seal has been commodified into hangable artworks, clocks, pendants, enamel pins, rings, jackets, and stickers.

Observing the contemporary circulation of the seal, this paper looks at how the seal mediates different kinds of intimacy, from spiritual attachment to deceased “friends of God” to a longing for the Hadramawt as an ancestral homeland (for Indonesian of Hadrami origins) and pilgrimage destination. The rapid circulation of the seal has provoked a strong reaction from those who deem idolatrous the act of invoking and seeking protection from an entity other than God. In mediating intimacy with the saints, these critics argue that the seal performs the work of estranging people from the divine.

# Locating Zomias Wet and Dry: Stateless Spaces in Maritime and Mainland Southeast Asia 1

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Masao Imamura <i>Yamagata University</i> Noboru Ishikawa <i>Kyoto University</i>

## ABSTRACT

How can Southeast Asia be researched and written differently, as we move our input focus away from the state. Looking at Southeast Asia from blurred thresholds between the state and non-state space, this panel shows different ways to write histories, peoples and geographies.

Stateless times and spaces are not anomalies or aberrations in the long history and diverse geography of Southeast Asia. While the stateless is a central theme for Southeast Asia Studies (Scott 2009, Reid 2015), empirical studies of stateless spaces—how they emerge, transform and collapse—are still rare.

In this panel we will show the historical and geographical vicissitudes of the stateless in Southeast Asia through six case studies, using historical and ethnographic methods, covering both mainland and maritime regions. These studies also show that stateless spaces—dry and wet *zomias*—take a variety of forms. The three studies on mainland will examine how hill-plain relations changed in post-1945 contexts. The studies from maritime will identify four ecological types of wet *zomia* (riparian, brackish, pelagic and littoral) and illuminate how they facilitate different modes of mobility and network.

## PAPERS

### › Political Genealogy of Creolism: The Sea Peoples' Arts of Coping with the Authorities in Southeast Asian Maritime World

Kazufumi Nagatsu *Toyo University*

This presentation examines the ethnogenesis of "sea peoples" and its political environments in the Southeast Asian maritime world. The Southeast Asian maritime world is defined as a socio-cultural ecosphere of Southeast Asia, which is tightly bound through the seas. Geographically, it consists of the insular and adjacent coasts of the continent. The "sea people" in this presentation designates a prototypical group of peoples who emerged on the basis of the ecological environment of Southeast Asian maritime world, i.e., an archipelagic terrain predominantly characterized by tropical seas and rainforests. The discussion focuses on the Bajau (or Sama). The discussion focuses on the Bajau (or Sama). With an approximate population of 1,100,000, most of the Bajau live along coasts or on islands. Their settlements are widely dispersed over the southern Philippines, Sabah, Malaysia, and eastern Indonesia. Their livelihood is generally based on sea-oriented activities such as fishing, cultivation of coconut palms, and marine trade. The presentation aims at 1) demonstrating the geo-demographic features of the Bajau's diasporic distribution and population flow, 2) tracing the ethnogenesis of the Bajau as a creole sea people, and 3) exploring their interactions with local authorities to draw the political settings whereby such an ethnogenesis has repeatedly occurred.

### › Semi-Nomadic Fishing Communities and State Development During the Angkor Era

Veronica Walker Vadillo *University of Helsinki*

Since the discovery of the Angkor civilization on the shorelines of the Tonle Sap Lake, it has been assumed that rivers played an important role in the establishment of this polity. However, rivers and the communities that exploited their resources have largely been ignored in previous academic research, which has seen stronger focus on land remains. This has resulted in a biased interpretation of the data, favouring approaches that recognise Angkor as a mainly agrarian state. While the role of agriculture is certainly of great importance, novel research conducted during my doctoral studies suggests that the presence of semi-nomadic fishing communities played a key role in the establishment of Angkor, and that strategies of cost signalling were implemented by the kings to exert their influence over these semi-nomadic communities. Their importance for the state lied in their role in capturing fish during the short fishing season, which coincided with the rice harvest, a time when the majority of Angkor's man-power was tied to the land. These fishing communities had to travel hundreds of kilometres annually to the Tonle Sap Lake following fish migration patterns, while at the same time land-based communities travelled to the lake to obtain the fish needed to produce prahok, a fermented fish paste that is at the heart of Khmer cuisine. This gathering provided opportunities for human interaction and likely acted as a conduit for culture dispersal and knowledge transfer.

This paper seeks to analyse how ecological pressure affected the relationship between the Angkorian state and semi-nomadic fishing communities within the framework of Scott's *Zomias*. It is expected that by understanding the ways in which the kings of Angkor tried to guarantee the annual return of semi-nomadic fishing communities into the Tonle Sap, we can gain a new perspective on how regional polities incorporated peripheral communities into their state projects.

## › **Wet Zomia, Watersheds and Connectivity in Malaysian Borneo**

Noboru Ishikawa *Kyoto University*

This paper critically questions the dominance of state-centered perspective in the study of maritime Southeast Asia, that tends to emphasize differences between upriver (hulu) and downriver (hilir) socio-cultural formations. Based on a long-term field research in central Sarawak, Malaysia, I argue that such a binary model has understated empirical diversity and dynamics, thus leading to partial understanding of maritime societies in Southeast Asia.

Cases abound. Studies from Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula, and islands including Borneo have shown earlier cities and states formed at the port and the river-mouth rather than the upriver interior. Royal chronicles such as hikayat and colonial documents have also been employed to illustrate and perpetuate the conventional understanding of the politico-economic relationship between hulu and hilir. The differences between the two spaces have thus become a priori assumption and permeated discussions on political status, economic development, agricultural mode, social mobility, civilizational worldview, religion, and kinship system of maritime Southeast Asia. In such a binary view, a frontier region is portrayed as a periphery as opposed to the political, economic, and cultural center in the lowland coastal area. The peoples of non-state space who predated or exist outside the sphere of the downriver political power are either marginalized or essentialized.

Through an ethnographic study of Borneo, particular based on field data concerning people's migration history, ethnic and kin relations, and trading, I aim to rethink the existing upriver-downriver binary so as to present an alternative approach to better comprehend the social formation and capture the diversity of maritime Southeast Asia.

---

## **Beyond Wage Labour: An Inclusive Approach to Work and Its Implications for the Emergence of New Workers' Alliances in Urban Southeast Asia**

LOCATION Room 1.401

TYPE Single Panel

CONVENERS Mark Philip Stadler *University of Copenhagen*  
Mechthild von Vacano *Freie Universität Berlin*

### ABSTRACT

If economies of the global North are assessed to be entering a post-wage era, where are all those other economies going which have never fully been dominated by formal, waged labour? How can we grasp the structural changes of work and work relationships in geographic contexts which are largely characterized by economic activities dubbed 'informal'? Based on an inclusive approach to work which encompasses all kinds of provisioning and caring, this panel draws attention to the multifarious forms of work in urban(izing) Southeast Asia. It seeks to examine the on-the-ground negotiations of different forms of work – from formal employment to microbusiness; from entrepreneurship to hustling; from service jobs to (un-paid) care work – and invites empirically founded assessments of current labour trends in the urban centres of the region.

On a second level, the panel raises the question of labour mobilization: If classical modes of union organization depend on formal employment relationships, how can workers collectively represent their interests beyond these specific conditions? What empirical examples of 'informal' workers' or cross-sector alliances does Southeast Asia have to offer? And what are the organizational forms to foster these alliances (NGOs, CSOs, unions, confederations, social movements, etc.)? Inspired by the Indonesian "rakyat pekerja" (working people) approach, which seeks to unite the struggles of (female) domestic workers, migrant workers, fishermen, farmers, and workers in the classic sense, the panel will discuss the political challenges and potentials of grassroots mobilization based on an inclusive understanding of work.

We are interested in conceptual and empirical contributions from scholars engaged in the study of (plural forms of) work in urban Southeast Asia and welcome papers on the political potential of non- traditional / cross-sector workers' alliances.

### PAPERS

#### › **Everyday Work in the Urban Kampung: Weighting Livelihood Options and Visions of a "Good Life" in a South Jakarta Neighbourhood**

Mechthild von Vacano *Freie Universität Berlin*

Academic studies on work in the Global South tend to focus on labour conditions and economic 'development' rather than the social qualities and subjective experiences of work. But work belongs as much to the spheres of everyday life as it does to the macro-structural context. It is an economic practice which – for most people – serves to secure a livelihood. However, even under destitute conditions, work still constitutes a socio-cultural activity which cannot be reduced to mere necessity. As numerous or limited the actual

livelihood opportunities for anyone may be people still actively shape their lives by negotiating their options, needs, and aspirations embedded in specific social contexts. These negotiations expand beyond questions of 'good' or 'decent work' into the wider realm of visions for a 'good life'.

Examining the emic evaluations of different livelihood options, this paper seeks to analyse the multiplex and often contradictory values which shape the economic everyday life in a lower to lower-middle class neighbourhood in South Jakarta: How valuable is formal security in an environment of economic instability? How desirable is the promise of a stable income as opposed to the contingent opportunities of doing business? What kind of economic behaviour is expected to be rewarded – materially or immaterially in the present and the future?

### › Pursuing Protection and Welfare Through Drivers' Association: The Case of Go-Jek Indonesia

Ayunita Nur Rohanawati *Universitas Islam Indonesia*

Rizky Septiana Widyaningtyas *Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia*

Go-Jek, an Indonesian transportation startup company, has been growing rapidly. Currently, more than a million drivers are associated with the company across the country based on what it is called as "a cooperation agreement", not "an employment agreement". Although a number of researches has shown that the use of online application provided by Go-Jek has managed to increase drivers' income, the pattern of cooperation which is based on profit sharing (without costs sharing and adequate protection) seems to put the drivers in a vulnerable position. In addition, Go-Jek often changes unilaterally the provisions of tariffs and incentives which is detrimental to drivers, due to the weak bargaining position of the drivers. In this unequal working relationship, the state is expected to be present in providing legal protection for the drivers against the company's policies. As a response, the Government of Indonesia has issued several regulations governing online transportation from 2016 to 2019. In fact, those regulations were considered to be contradictory to drivers' expectations and after massive protests mobilised by drivers' associations they were finally revoked. The associations were initially emerged as an informal community for circulating and exchanging information, sharing knowledge and experiences, as well as providing assistance in the case of emergency. Besides those internal roles within the members, drivers' associations also play an essential role in strengthening the position of drivers in face of external actors, be them the company, the government, or conventional taxi drivers as the competitor. This paper employs a socio-legal approach to examine: first, the extent to which driver associations may influence the government policies regarding online transportation that is in favor the drivers' interests; second, the prospect of legal architecture for the association to be effective in pursuing protection for and improvement the wealth of the online drivers in Indonesia.

### › Urban Confederation Progressive Responses to the Informal Working People Sector in Urban Areas in Indonesia

Mark Philip Stadler *University of Copenhagen*

The various forms of informal work are not fully explored in theory yet, especially with respect to the Southeast Asian city. The Confederation of Indonesian Peoples' Movements (Konfederasi Pergerakan Rakyat Indonesia; KPRI) is trying to include all forms of work and labor into its agenda by giving social movements, civil society organizations, federations, unions and loosely organized groups as well as individuals access to membership. Among others are the urban poor, fishermen, migrant workers, laborers, native cultural (minority) groups. With theoretical approaches to urbanization as "urban growth machine" and the people working in the informal sector as "working people" (in contrast to the classic Marxian worker/laborer), the avant-garde leadership of KPRI seeks to (re-)unite people from all kinds of backgrounds who work in order to make a living, but whose work is not formalized with work contracts (f.x. ice/street food vendors, becak drivers) or whose work is not usually regarded as work (such as the time mothers spend nursing). The confederation is aimed at being a vehicle to join forces of interest groups and give them a possible role in politics. At one point, KPRI aims to have a representation in all Indonesian provinces in order to fulfill one of the various conditions to register as official political party. This presentation will give detailed insight into the theoretical concepts of the "working people" and "urban growth machine". At the same time, KPRI will be analyzed as a social movement in the making and contextualized in the wider area of civil society in Indonesia.

### › "We Don't Like the Word Worker": Negotiating Labor Rights at Sub-Regional Meetings in South and Southeast Asia

Marie Larsson *Stockholm University*

This paper explores the relationship between transnational and localized activism among home-based workers who have joined in the sub-regional network of HomeNet Southeast Asia. The members of the network are mainly women who work from their houses (or nearby), either as dependent piece-rate employees working for an employer and independent own-account laborers (the self-employed). I am especially interested in the emergence of a common identity despite the diversity among the workers in the form of different gender ideologies and protest traditions. Based on fieldwork at international meetings in South and Southeast Asia, I discuss the construction of a sense of togetherness by referring to peoples' participation in common "political practices" (Eschle & Maiguashca 2010) such as advocacy, knowledge production and service provisions. There are also, as mentioned, tensions and divergencies between the members, and therefore negotiations and translations of the meaning of home-based work formed a large part of the activities within the network. I also suggest that there have been changes over time that can be seen in that the international campaigns for the rights of the piece-rate workers of the 1980s and 1990s have been replaced by a growing focus on service provisions and social enterprises, which I argue are closely connected to hegemonic neoliberal discourses on entrepreneurship.

# The Cultural Contexts of Disease in Southeast Asia: Bile Duct Cancer in Northeast Thailand and Lao PDR

LOCATION Room 1.403  
TYPE Single Panel  
CONVENER Rachel Harrison *University of London*

## ABSTRACT

Bile duct cancer (cholangiocarcinoma, abbreviated to CCA) is a rare disease in most parts of the world; but in the Mekhong delta areas of mainland South East Asia its high prevalence comes from chronic liver fluke infection. Medical evidence suggests that fluke infestation deriving from the centuries-old cultural tradition of eating raw, partially cooked or fermented river fish results in chronic bile duct inflammation leading to cancer in ca. 1–4% of cases. In Thailand this translates to around 20,000 deaths per year, with an estimated similar number in Lao PDR. The slow development of CCA remains asymptomatic until the later stages of the disease, as a result of which few can be effectively treated. It is also largely a disease of the poor and of rural communities who have little access to healthcare.

CCA frustrates medical specialists because the eradication of OV infection would prevent most cases altogether, hence saving thousands from dying a painful death. From their perspective, if only people would stop consuming raw fish, then the cancer rates would drop drastically. The complexity of the problem is not, however, solely a medical one. Much more, it is one that clearly requires a respectful and ethical engagement across disciplines and between people, recognizing our subjectivity as humans. The problem of CCA calls for interdisciplinary collaboration between medicine, the social sciences and the humanities – between the fields of public health and hygiene, epidemiology, parasitology, biochemistry, religious and spiritual belief patterns, history, geography, anthropology ecology, psychology, phenomenology, socio- linguistics, postcolonial theory, literature, the arts and cultural studies. But it also calls yet more urgently for an openness to dialogue and a willingness to listen to the Other. Decades of top-down public healthcare in Thailand have located the needs and cultural practices of rural rice-farming communities as irrelevant and symptomatic of a lack of “civilization”. And Bangkok-centric views of the regions affected by this disease can “classify” them almost sub-human. Only by fully and respectfully engaging with the grassroots populations that are most vulnerable to this disease – and to many others – can we make an ethical contribution to intervention.

## PAPERS

### › Co-Becoming in a Shore Zone: Human, Fish, Snail and Liver Fluke in the Shadow of Hydropower Development

Visisya Pinthongvijayakul *Australian National University*

The prevalence of Cholangiocarcinoma (CCA), or bile duct cancer, is increasing around the world. The highest reported CCA incidence internationally is in Northeast Thailand (Isan), totaling 118.5 per 100,000 in Khon Kaen Province, which is some 100 times higher than the global rate. CCA in the region is associated with infection by the liver fluke (*Opisthorchis viverrini*) through raw fish consumption, a common dietary practice among villagers. Although major medical interventions have been attempted in recent decades to stop people from eating raw fish, the number of patients with bile duct infection and CCA has remained prominent.

The paper aims to look more broadly at biocultural assemblages of raw fish consumption in Isan. Drawing some literature on reservoir influences on disease transmission from parasitology and human geography into conversation with the naturecultural notion of “contact zone,” I explore my data on human and nonhuman lives around the fresh water shore in Khon Kaen. I argue that state’s infrastructural development that has shifted landscape and waterscape has spawned contact zones in which human, fish, snail, and liver fluke are mobilized and meet up. They become “messmates” as a result of dam construction. The paper shows that human health cannot be fully grasped without considering changes in ecologies and the assemblages of biocultural makeup in the region’s waterways.

### › Eating in Northeast Thailand: A Short Documentary

Edoardo Siani *Kyoto University*

This short documentary explores the culture of eating in Northeast Thailand.

### › On Isan Villagers’ Understandings of Food and Health: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Saowanee T. Alexander *Ubon Ratchathani University*

The Northeastern region of Thailand, known as Isan, is the poorest in the country. Its people are often looked down upon as ignorant and backward. It has also been the country’s political hotbed. In terms of health, Isan has the largest number of liver-fluke induced bile-duct cancer (Banchob & Chawalit, 2008). The main risk factor is consumption of cyprinoid fishes. To many Thais, Isan is not only a problem child, but also a sick one. Despite aggressive healthcare campaigns against raw fish consumption, many especially those from the lower echelon of the society, who have little choice when it comes to food, continue to practice this eating habit. Many of them are villagers living in areas where fresh cyprinoid fishes are available. The research was conducted in order to understand beliefs and values that contribute to people’s decision to eat raw fish. The data came from interviews with villagers living along the Mun River and

observations of their daily-life routines. Interview data was analyzed for linguistic manifestations of deep-rooted sociocultural beliefs and assumptions about food and health.

### › Participatory Art and Self-Expression Workshops as Tools for Health Promotion

Pierre Echaubard *Mahidol University*

Rachel Harrison *University of London*

To date public health campaigns and medical engagement with patients in Thailand have been largely characterised by a top-down approach, in keeping with a more widespread, hierarchical social structure that tends to place rural citizens as socially inferior. This is reflected in interpersonal relations where open self-expression and agency among grassroots communities in formal contexts, such as engagement with local authorities, education and health officials, and even NGOs, has tended to be impeded. Furthermore, the relationship that pertains between the Thai state, centred in Bangkok, and the peripheral, rural hinterland of Isan is one of inequality, with the former deeming the latter to be culturally and civilisationally inferior (*pa thuean*). The practice of raw and fermented fish consumption that has long characterised Isan and Lao PDR is not shared by other regions of the country, which sees it as indicative of a lack of modernity and sophistication. The historically hierarchical nature of Theravada Buddhist society in Thailand has also tended to impede self-expression and agency among grassroots communities in formal contexts, such as engagement with local authorities, education and health officials.

While the difficulty of setting in place real and lasting grassroots engagement in public health campaigns in Thailand represents a significant barrier to sustainable health development, it also represents an opportunity to explore innovative and effective ways in which the voices of those deemed at risk can be expressed and listened to with respect. This paper describes a process through which new forms of self-expression ranging from visual arts, writing, filming, music play and self-reflection workshops are implemented in community contexts for actively involving grassroots communities in their own healthcare and well-being. The participatory process is described and analyzed. We also used a culturally contextualized version of Antonovsky's Sense of Coherence SOC-13 questionnaire to: 1) initiate self-reflection and 2) assess a community's sense of coherence used as a proxy for adaptive capacity and resilience. Comparing SOC among communities will help better understand how these forms of public engagement can be adapted and improved depending on the community's SOC. The intended outcome of this work is to enable local communities in Isan and Lao PDR to contribute to and direct public health interventions in ways that are most meaningful to their everyday realities and health priorities.

.....

## Already Southern China or Still Northern Southeast Asia? Local Engagements with and Translations of Chinese Regional Aspirations in the Upper Mekong Region 1

LOCATION	Room 1.405
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Simon Rowedder <i>National University of Singapore</i>

### ABSTRACT

Like elsewhere in the world, Southeast Asia has been witnessing an ever-growing Chinese geo-economic presence, ranging from large-scale resource extraction, Special Economic Zones (SEZ) to rapidly expanding infrastructure projects, also leading to unprecedented Chinese urban structures of supermarkets, hospitals, clinics, hotels, guesthouses, entertainment venues, restaurants or car repair shops in previously rather rural settings. Within Southeast Asia, it is arguably the borderlands of the Chinese province of Yunnan, Laos, Myanmar and Thailand— the Upper Mekong Region or the Thai-Yunnan Borderland—where these recent dynamics are most visible as well as mostly discussed.

Looking at Chinese ambitions in northern Laos, for instance, there is a burgeoning scholarship on Chinese “enclaves” and “instant cities” (Nyíri 2012, 2017; Tan 2017) which see Laos’ national sovereignty undermined or “commodified” primarily in exceptional spaces such as SEZs (Laungaramsri 2015), indicating China’s “soft extraterritoriality” (Lyttleton and Nyíri 2011). Proceeding from recent research in northern Laos and northern Thailand, this panel seeks to bring together further regional ethnographically informed case studies to reflect a more nuanced and grounded research on everyday encounters—involving a diverse range of both Chinese and local actors—in rather non-exceptional, thus ordinary and mundane, localities and settings. This panel will pay closer attention to ways whereby Chinese newcomers, more established Chinese residents and local dwellers from a multitude of ethnicities—including Chinese descent—imagine, articulate and concretely live this Chinese presence on the ground, which do not necessarily exclusively entail antagonism.

Along the conceptually broad, and thus interdisciplinary, nexus of borders, mobility and (new) infrastructures, this panel is particularly interested in how this broad range of actors, both local and Chinese, engage with and discursively translate larger Chinese ideological vocabularies and visions of modernity, development, globalisation (i.e. “globalisation with Chinese characteristics” *zhongguo tese quanqiuhua*) as well as infrastructural connectivity, recently formulated as the “Belt and

Road Initiative". In doing this, this panel hopes to contribute to a more profound understanding of local quotidian borderland realities variably affected by, and responding to, increasingly influential Chinese regional and global aspirations.

## PAPERS

### › **Engaging Backwardness: Tai Lue Youth and the Transformation of the Frontier in Southwest China**

Roger Casas *Austrian Academy of Sciences*

Since the start of the 'Reform and Opening-up' period in late-1970s China, Sipsong Panna (Ch.: Xishuangbanna), a small frontier prefecture in southwest of Yunnan Province, has become an important tourist spot as well as a key trade hub in the Economic Quadrangle, and is at present one of the fastest-developing areas in the 'Thai-Yunnan Borderlands' (Tapp 2010). Thanks to their ancient cultural connections with populations in countries of mainland Southeast Asia and to the commodification of their Buddhist traditions, the Tai Lue (Ch.: Daizu), previously the socially and politically dominant group in the region, are at the centre of these transformations.

This paper takes an ethnographically informed look at the demands imposed by tradition and modernity upon the Tai Lue of Sipsong Panna, through a focus on the aspirations and multicultural experiences of local youth. As citizens of the People's Republic, and through their participation in public education and social media, these youngsters are expected to become civilized consumers in a globalization 'with Chinese characteristics.' While partially responding to such expectations, Tai Lue youngsters actively engage in the construction of their own idiosyncratic forms of 'being modern,' relocating value in their localities and rejecting or outright ignoring claims of cultural inferiority. Beyond an alleged conflict between essentialized forms of economic and political identity, this presentation offers a dynamic picture of emerging and perhaps transitory 'structures of feeling' (Williams 1977) among Tai Lue youth in a context of rapid and profound change.

### › **"If I Learn Chinese, I'll Never Be out of a Job": Encountering China in Luang Prabang**

Phill Wilcox *Bielefeld University*

China in Laos is a subject on which everyone in Laos seemingly has an opinion. Often these are expressed in very binary terms, with China placed as an almost neo-colonial power seeking to take over more of the territory of Laos. These stereotypes tell us something of popular perceptions but on closer reflection, they obscure as much or more than they demonstrate. Many of the same critical voices of China in Laos look to China as a developed country, seek to learn Chinese and study or work in China. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in and around Luang Prabang, this paper argues that local encounters with China in Laos are far more nuanced, pragmatic and ambivalent than they often first appear. It contends that while this is not a relationship of economic equals, China is taking an increasingly prominent role in the landscape of Laos both in ways that are tangible and intangible, and that life decisions among particularly Lao youth are made increasingly in relation to China. This will become increasingly apparent as China's presence and influence in Laos becomes even more of a reality with the coming Lao-China Railway. This paper seeks to interrogate critically the binary ways that people describe interactions with China, arguing that a detailed consideration of local perceptions of China in Laos demonstrates a nuanced, sometimes contradictory and emerging picture of reworking identities and aspirations on the ground in Laos.

### › **"Soon, We Might Be Part of Southern China!": Cross-Border Traders' Engagements with "the Chinese" Along the Kunming-Bangkok Highway**

Simon Rowedder *National University of Singapore*

Constituting parts of the "Kunming-Bangkok Highway", northern Thailand and northern Laos have been witnessing an ever-growing Chinese geo-economic presence, ranging from large-scale resource extraction, Special Economic Zones (SEZs), increasingly Chinese landscapes of commerce, urbanization and tourism to rapidly expanding infrastructure projects.

Going beyond understanding these newly intensified Chinese dynamics through the prism of potentially emerging Chinese "enclaves" and "instant cities" (Nyíri 2012, 2017; Tan 2017), this paper jumps down the scale to focus on the emergence of both Laotian and Thai small-scale cross-border traders who frequently cross over to China. I pay attention to how they discursively frame and practically shape their interactions with their Chinese suppliers and entrepreneurs in general. I also closely examine the ways whereby these traders make sense of the intensifying Chinese economic, social and cultural presence. While expressing some anxiety—half-jokingly, half-seriously lamenting that their localities might be part of Southern China soon—most of my informants highlight at the same time the numerous opportunities China has to offer—for their current livelihoods, and particularly for the younger generation eager to acquire education in China. This calls for a more ethnographically informed, closer reading of superficially often negatively articulated local accounts of "the Chinese"—to unpack the intricacies, seeming contradictions and potential struggles in their narratives. In doing this, this case study is intended to contribute to a more profound understanding of local quotidian borderland realities amidst rapidly shifting ecological, urban, and socio-economic landscapes gradually gravitated towards China.

# Body Techniques, Emergence and Decline of Social Categories 1

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENER	Jean-Marc de Grave <i>Université d'Aix-Marseille</i>
DISCUSSANT	Jean-Marc de Grave <i>Université d'Aix-Marseille</i>

## ABSTRACT

Techniques can be gradually transformed by diffusion or integration. They can influence, modify and replace others. They often accompany a previous, concomitant or posterior modification of a socially anchored value system or of disembodied ideologies seeking to inscribe themselves within constituted human communities. The panel aims to describe such techniques, striving to highlight the processes and groups concerned by these body techniques: diffusion, reception, implantation, modes of transmission, transpositions, adaptations, modifications. The description of such a perpetuation aims to grasp their role in the emergence or on the contrary the decline of a given social class or category. The goal here is to strengthen the understanding of social facts through the study of techniques and of their modes of transmission. Concomitantly we aim to set more precisely the role of practices (techniques, transmission, relationships) with regard to the ideological dimension (ideas, value systems). The body techniques considered can be of different natures (artistic, martial, technological, agrarian...), come from any region of Southeast Asia and concerning different disciplinary approaches.

## PAPERS

### › Embodied Ideology and Body Techniques: The Art of Avoiding Violence of the Travelling Merchants' Guards in Late Qing Northern China for a Comparative Study with the Southeast Asian World of Trade

Laurent Chircop-Reyes *Université d'Aix-Marseille*

With the intention of doing a comparative geographical approach with the South-Est Asian world of trade's phenomenon, this presentation aims to discuss about the role of the practices of the travelling merchants' guards in terms of socially anchored value systems in Late Qing Northern China. It would in particular highlight the description of local defensive techniques shaped by a certain ideology, which may takes or had took part in a pacifying process between traders and brigands. Thus, the body techniques concerned in this study and paradoxically defined by its practitioners as an efficient fighting system are seems not be taught to nourish free will, aggressiveness and impulsiveness, but to build a body socially rationalised to avoid violence for the interest of the groups involved. Therefore, to find or to keep a social coherence the techniques are then gradually transformed and those practices can modify the social values as well. In a larger scale, the presentation would like to describe such process in order to grasp to what extent body techniques can be determinants in the emergence or the decline of a social class, category or any given group in a historical perspective, as well as contemporary period in Asian societies.

### › Ritual Practice and Social Identity, Takachiho's Yokagura (Japan) and Balinese Legong in Comparison

Borsotti Marty *Université d'Aix-Marseille*

The purpose of my presentation is to showcase through a comparison that transmission of peculiar body techniques has a role in the negotiation of the identity of a local village. Whether Japanese or Balinese, folk performing arts embody the cultural diversity and social identity of a small locality in response to a broader administrative structure. Takachiho's Yokagura and Balinese Legong are two folk performing arts which have a particular identity and are an object of transmission in rural villages. Styles and traditions of those dances embody the cultural identity of each village. Thus, they represent one marker of the diversity between villages. Transmission of style and tradition means the cultural and social differentiation of a village from another. Each of the five villages forming the municipality of Takachiho, in the Japanese island of Kyushu, has its own unique tradition of Yokagura, an agrarian ritual dance, performed once a year in each hamlet. In the near future, those diverse styles will risk facing an amalgamation tendency due to the progressive depopulation of the region. Although preservation of the styles is assured by a village association, people having the knowledge and abilities to dance the full corpus are getting fewer.

Legong dances face a similar situation. Legon are usually performed during festivals or religious events and showcase mythical stories or natural elements. Originally villages throughout Bali used to have their own dancing styles and traditions. Recently, the situation that has been observed is a tendency to a standardization under two main styles, taught at the Indonesian University of Arts in Bali. Preservation of a style implies the safe keeping of a local culture and the memory of ancestors. One of the challenges faced by locals is to combine adaptation and preservation of traditions in relation to the modernization and centralization of the country.

### › Weaving and Fabrics in the Age of Tourism in a WA-Paraok Village

Sarah Coulouma *Université d'Aix-Marseille*

As part of the development of tourism activities since the 2000s, residents of the Wengding Wa-Paraok village started to market and diversify their textile creations. Weaving and fabrics have become the most important local handicrafts and practices for a large number of women in the village, both in terms of the time given to this activity and the income generated by the sale of the artefacts produced. Different fabrics from those typical of the locality - by their forms, weaving techniques, patterns, uses - appeared at the turn of the twenty-first century. The transformation of this mainly domestic activity into a predominantly commercial activity seems to have

implications for the organisation of household chores within families that are most invested in this activity. On another hand, from a collective point of view, if it induces economic tensions between different households, they are rebalanced by the maintenance of networks of exchanges and mutual aid based on sustainable activities (such as agricultural work or building maintenance). In addition, this marketing of fabrics in the village also contributes to the development of a new weaving technique and therefore new forms of learning of technical know-how, as well as the emergence of specialists for their manufacture. This presentation will describe the technological innovations and social changes ongoing in Wengding, and will attempt to answer the following question: how resilient are the social organisation and values shared by villagers when facing tourism development?

---

## Censorship of the Arts in Southeast Asia ①

LOCATION	Room 1.501
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Rosalía Engchuan <i>Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology</i> Taufiq Hanafi <i>Leiden University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Our panel aims to bring together scholars from various disciplines with original research on censorship of the arts across Southeast Asia. Through our case studies we share insights on art practitioners' experience and negotiation of various kinds of censorship during the creative process. Bringing together case studies from diverse national contexts, our panel attempts to identify family resemblances by engaging with the following dimensions of censorship:

- acts and mechanisms of censorship,
- censorship machineries and institutions,
- alleged and underlying narratives of justification,
- entanglements with political, religious, social and market conditions,
- productive dimensions of censorship and their materialization,
- the changing nature of censorship in the digital age.

To address these (and further) questions, this panel invites contributions on censorship of the arts with the aim to generate publications that further and nuance theoretical engagements with censorship from a Southeast Asian perspective.

### PAPERS

#### › Félix Resurrección Hidalgo's "The Church Against the State": Conspiracy, Controversy, and Censorship in Colonial and Contemporary Philippines

Pearlie Rose Baluyut *State University of New York at Oneonta*

A 19th-century Propaganda Movement member, Filipino painter Félix Resurrección Hidalgo painted Governor-General Manuel de Bustillo Bustamante's 1719 assassination inside the Palacio Real in Manila. Sent by Spain to investigate the colony's royal treasury usurped by the friars, the governor charged Archbishop de la Cuesta, as well as the civilians who sought sanctuary inside the Church, with conspiracy. The Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Recollects retaliated by rallying the conspirators to kill Bustamante. Bustamante, however, was not the first of the gubernatorial casualties in an epoch of monastic supremacy. Visualizing the imminent self-destruction of the Spanish empire through its representatives, Hidalgo titled the painting *The Church Against the State*. Fearing controversy due to his personal ties with and professional sanctions by the Church, Hidalgo hid the painting in his atelier in Paris after its exhibition at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904, and it would remain in obscurity in the hands of his heir. Since the painting's rediscovery and change of ownership, individuals and institutions changed the title to *The Assassination of Governor Bustamante* or *The Tragedy of Governor Bustamante* in an effort to disassociate the Church from its nefarious crime. From a painterly critique of sacred and secular power gone awry to a national treasure inside a museum, the aesthetic object transformed from an irreverent representation of the longstanding conflict between two colonial powers into a negotiated relationship of subversion, sacrifice, and surrender. This paper explores censorship through the lens of agency and authority in Félix Resurrección Hidalgo's monumental canvas.

#### › Heboh Sastra 1968: Censorship of Short Story "Langit Makin Mendung" by Kipandjikusmin (The First Court Case in Literary Works and Changing Literature Trends in Post-1965 Indonesia)

Indra Sarathan *Universitas Padjadjaran*

This paper discusses an event in Indonesian literary history known as Heboh Sastra 1968, the first court case in literary works and trigger of changing literature trends in post-1965 in Indonesia. This event began with the controversy over the short story *Langit Makin Mendung* (1968) by Kipandjikusmin which was published in the August 1968 edition of *Sastra* magazine. At the insistence of people who

were angry about the story Langit Makin Mendung (LMM) The North Sumatra High Prosecutor Office has banned the publication and withdrawal of the magazine circulation because it is considered insulting to Islam.

### › The Securitisation of Fake News in Singapore

Ric Neo *University of Hong Kong*

Employing the securitisation theory advanced by the Copenhagen School, this article seeks to critically evaluate the security discourses in Singapore regarding the issue of deliberate online falsehoods, or 'fake news'. It seeks to address two key questions: first, can the theory provide empirical insights illuminating the heightened political salience of the issue of fake news in the country? Second, how can this study contribute to the development and advance our understanding of the securitisation framework?

The securitisation of a political issue gives credence to the urgent need for emergency measures and the mobilisation of resources – and often by suspending due political process – to resolve a purported existential threat. In this article, I show that the securitisation of fake news by the Singapore government has allowed it to consolidate political power, increase regulatory oversight on social media and censor criticisms against the state ahead of the conduct of national elections. In addition, this study contributes to the discussion on the applicability of securitisation theory beyond a Western or Euro-centric political context. It shows that a successful securitisation move requires the acquiescence of the audience in an authoritarian regime just as much as it would in a democracy.

.....

## Sonic Entanglements: Sound, Archive, and Acoustic Historiographies in Southeast Asia 1

LOCATION	Room 1.502
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 1)
CONVENERS	Barbara Titus <i>University of Amsterdam</i> meLê yamomo <i>University of Amsterdam</i>

### ABSTRACT

Sound studies and sound history now asserts itself as a crucial discipline, yet Mark Smith (2004) noted the absence of historical work on non-Western sounds, and Veit Erlmann (2004) raise the absence of “current debates of Third World scholars interested in auditory perception.” This panel brings together into conversation cultural historians, musicologists, and sound scholars working on sound history, epistemologies of listening, and theoretical ontologies of the sound archives about SEA. The panel critiques Benedict Anderson’s (1991) notion of modernity built on print capitalism, and engages sound history in exploring acoustemology (acoustic epistemology) as a decolonial methodology in understanding SEA modernities. This is critical if we are to consider that in the colonial territories, less than ten percent were literate to the printed language (Ricklefs et al. 2010, Nathan 1922). Thus, this print illiteracy is used to justify the absence of subaltern SEA ‘voices’ in modern historiography. Taking this into consideration, this double panel of six presenters will address three overarching themes:

**\*\*Acoustic Mobilities.\*\*** What paradigmatic shifts transpired with the reconfiguration of new modes of mobilities and communication technology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? In rethinking about early sound historiographies of SEA, how do we account for the social lives of human laborers, socio- cultural actors, and sound objects migrating to different regions, nations, and institutions in Southeast Asia?

**\*\*Sonic Knowledge.\*\*** How did the early sound recordings constitute and construct knowledges and understandings of modernities in SEA: i.e. ‘modern’ race epistemologies, notions of modern state (and/or urban) institutions and citizenship, and the emergence of a transnational cultural/media industry? How did the materiality of the early sound technologies mediate sonic discourses of global modernities among communities in the SEA? How do we take into account the mediality of the early recording technologies as the very epistemes of SEA modernities?

**\*\*Listening Societies/Communities.\*\*** How did listening constitute the imagined (trans)national and translocal communities in SEA? What theoretical tools and methodologies can we employ to better understand these transregional conditions and processes? In working with nation-based sound archives: How do we engage the materials that are stored in archives of the different post-imperial centers and peripheries, and on the other hand, documents catalogued in different languages of the postcolonial societies and previous colonizers? Furthermore, how do we deal with the challenges in the limits of their institutional and ‘ownership’ policies?

## PAPERS

### › Performing vs. Recording: The Sound of Modern Bali

Citra Aryandari *Indonesian Institute of the Arts, Yogyakarta*

This paper will discuss my personal experiences when conducting research in a traditional village ancient Balinese named Tenganan Pegringsingan. At the time I was very impressed with their ability to maintain the tradition since the 11th century. The village was surrounded by beautiful sounds during ritual ceremony and I intend to record and not allowed for reasons that sacred rites are not properly recorded, even so we could always enjoy the sound during the ritual ceremony and it is recorded unconsciously. The memory of sound will always be played when the ceremony held.

On the other hand modern Balinese through government program often hold music festivals, which eventually formed a uniform musical pattern, this happens because there is legitimation sounds pattern which is recorded with the latest technology and is used as a reference. and impoverishment of musical styles emerged.

Based on Adorno's point of view of Aesthetic Concepts of Aura I will compare, how memory is recorded in a performing vs sound recording associated with intertwined hegemony. This paper will use an interdisciplinary perspective to answer the anxieties that arise during the ethnography research.

### › Sound-Matter of Cultural Memory: The Transmediatization of Cebuano Folk Dance Kuradang and Folk Song Alimukoy

Jose S. Buenconsejo *University of the Philippines*

The global marketing of Euro-American audio hardware in the first half of 20th century, such as the gramophone and commercial radio in the Philippines meant the immediate appropriation of local music and dance traditions, the repertoires of which were either enriched or impoverished. The category "art music," the emergent taste of the Tagalog bourgeoisie, became possible when "classical" music training equipped composers to elevate folk music and dance such as kundiman, balitao, and danza Filipina as fodder to the nascent capitalist enterprises including sheet music industry. Unlike music repertoires of the said genres, however, the appropriation of traditional dance rhythms as "software" commodities for these consumer household gadgets seemed to induce the reverse in that the complex, subtle patterned dance movements in live dance performance was reduced to "caricaturish" versions, a good example of which is Max Surban's "kuradang." Nonetheless, these contemporized versions of tradition are convenient functional music objects--now disseminated through YouTube--that are useful in celebratory rural events at present. Kuradang is even used since 2015 as a convenient social identity marker in local government-initiated street dancing in Bohol province. This paper argues that the durability of these traditions is remarkable and goes against the cultural grey out postulated by critics of globalization though to a certain extent the encroachment of foreign musical idioms into local soundscapes did hinder musical creativity. The case of Yoyoy Villame's nonsensical songs is instructive here. His initial appropriation of folksong "Alimukoy" (1971) was followed by the hilarious "Butsekik" and "Mutokoy" songs. At present this has degraded into vapid creations such as Lito Camo's Otso Otso electronic dance and Surban's "Gitik Gitik" song used in Khvan's surreal film "Howling Wilderness."

I posit that the durability of traditions is maintained by the "recollective" cultural memory in the media (as agents), but at the same time heavily constrained by new, xenocentric, fashionable habits and trends that ironically limited the autochthonous musical innovations had these been left to find their own freedoms.

.....

## Translation, Globalization and Indonesian Literature: Islands of Imagination?

LOCATION	Room 1.503
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Stephen Epstein <i>Victoria University of Wellington</i>

### ABSTRACT

In recent years, Indonesian literature has become increasingly implicated in global consciousness: a growing international awareness of the nation's literary riches led to Indonesia becoming the Guest of Honour at the 2015 Frankfurt Book Fair and the Market Focus country at the 2019 London Book Fair. In 2016, Eka Kurniawan became the first Indonesian author to be nominated for the Man Booker International Prize for *\*Man Tiger (Lelaki Harimau)\**. Translation grants under the auspices of the National Book Committee of the Ministry of Education and Culture seek to foster the production of work that reaches foreign audiences and implicitly serve as a tool of soft power as Indonesian actors strive to put themselves "on the map".

Simultaneously, local productions draw on settings that move beyond the nation's borders to enhance a global imagination among Indonesian readers: Islamic popular literature encourages the envisioning of participation in a wider realm of fellow believers; the "Metropop" of Ilana Tan's Seasons series provides romantic global escape, while Intan Paramaditha's far more sophisticated choose-your-own adventure novel *\*Gentayangan (The Wandering)\**, the winner of Tempo's 2017 award for

best piece of prose fiction, uses international settings to explore themes of cosmopolitanism, displacement, nomadism, and transgression. In this panel, presenters will engage with the complexities of these trends to consider the impact of global imaginings upon Indonesia, how writers and institutions situate themselves in a worldwide landscape, and how national and transnational forces structure the global circulation of Indonesian literature.

## PAPERS

### › Cosmopolitanism in Indonesian Women's Writings

Silvia Mayasari-Hoffert *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*

Since the fall of the New Order government in 1998 and the publication of Ayu Utami's *Saman* that year, Indonesian women have increasingly found global acceptance, often taking centre stage in international literature festivals. Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba* (2012) and Leila Chudori's *Home* (2012) took the Frankfurt Book Fair 2015 by storm. The novels, published but two months apart, share noteworthy similarities: each features a well-read man exiled because of an alleged affiliation with the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), whose story is seen from the perspective of a woman in his life who later takes the brunt of the allegations decades after the anti-leftist purge of 1965-66. Secondly, both texts repeatedly reference the *Mahabharata*. Because of these similarities, *Amba* and *Home* are often discussed together. In each case, the female protagonist matures amidst cultural and political collisions into a cosmopolitan-minded woman well-versed in her local cultural heritage. Notions of cosmopolitanism are central to both novels and deployed by their authors not only to negotiate a neutral position in a country gripped by the Red Scare, but also to aim at a global readership and put Indonesian literature on the world map. Through a close reading of *Amba* and *Home*, this paper examines the pattern of these critically acclaimed novels by Indonesian women writers and their rise to global fame.

### › Put on Your Red Shoes: Cosmopolitanism, Translation and Intan Paramaditha's "Gentayangan"

Stephen Epstein *Victoria University of Wellington*

Similar to Laksmi Pamuntjak's *Amba (The Question of Red)* (2012) and Leila Chudori's *Home* (2012), also discussed in this panel, Intan Paramaditha's novel *Gentayangan: Pilih Sendiri Petualangan Sepatu Merahmu (The Wandering: Choose Your Own Red Shoe Adventure)*, the winner of Tempo's 2017 award for best piece of prose fiction, explores themes of displacement and cosmopolitanism from an Indonesian perspective. More insistently, however, the text deploys the international settings of its sophisticated, sarcastic and ultimately sensitive "choose-your-own adventure" format to treat the transgressive and nomadic freedom of its protagonist, gifted with a pair of magical shoes by the devil, as blessing and curse. Nonetheless, the text's second-person voice invites the reader to sympathise and, indeed, to become this "disobedient woman," a figure that is the hallmark of Intan Paramaditha's fiction. What does this act of direct involvement mean for the act of translation? In this paper, I offer an in-depth reading of this remarkable text and explore the challenges and rewards of bringing it into English (forthcoming in February 2020 with Harvill Secker), amidst increasing attempts to draw international attention to Indonesian literature. In particular, I address the processes through which respectful translation and collaboration with the author seek to mirror aspects of the novel itself.

.....

## Emerging Scholarship on Myanmar's Chin State: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Sena Galazzi <i>School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>
DISCUSSANT	Mark Vicol <i>Wageningen University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Chin State is a predominantly Christian State rich in ethnic and linguistic diversity found in North-Western Myanmar, a region which for a number of reasons has lagged behind Myanmar's overall economic development. Chin State is experiencing fast social, political, and agricultural transformations which are having an impact on traditional indigenous practices and cultures, livelihood and social justice strategies, relationships to land and the environment, and to the multiplicity of Chin histories. The recent arrival of large international aid and development programs in the region has also been contributing to a variety of socio-political shifts, where international humanitarian organisations have been embedding themselves into Chin spaces via a number of different programs, methods, and affective practices. The expansion of the international humanitarian regime in Chin State is also tethered to a complex legacy of interactions between "The International" and the Chin, such as vestiges of British Colonialism and Christian missionary activities.

By presenting six interdisciplinary papers that look at Chin State from a variety of critical perspectives across the Humanities and Social Sciences, this panel aims to open up scholarly spaces of conversations around Chin State, an area significantly understudied in the field of contemporary Burma Studies. In particular, the panel proposes a nuanced and

inquisitive debate around the ways in which gender, post-colonial theory, religion, law, and politics entwine with and relate to contemporary Chin identities, indigenous practices, ideas and projects for 'development', and an overall tumultuous relationship with the Burmanising Myanmar State.

## PAPERS

### › **Chin/Zomi as Indigenous Peoples: Facing Forced Assimilation Within State Education Systems in Burma/Myanmar?** Rachel Fleming

Asia is home to more than two-thirds of the world's Indigenous Peoples, yet many States deny them legal recognition as such. In some cases – including Burma/Myanmar – States' unwillingness to formally recognise indigenous identity is rooted in nation-building endeavours centred on the cultural superiority of dominant groups. This in turn leads to assimilationist educational policies which promote the cultures, histories and languages of those dominant groups to the exclusion of Indigenous Peoples.

Drawing on the international legal concept of Indigenous Peoples as it pertains to Chin/Zomi peoples, this paper aims to address the question of whether they are facing forced assimilation within the contemporary education setting in Burma/Myanmar. The meaning of forced assimilation of Indigenous Peoples under international law is examined, utilising the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as the primary framework of legal analysis. The interpretative nexus between systemic discrimination and denying the right to education for Indigenous Peoples is explored, to allow for a more nuanced understanding of practices which may constitute forced assimilation.

This research includes analysis of military-run residential facilities called Border Areas National Races Youth Development Training Schools in Burma/Myanmar, usually referred to by the Burmese acronym of NaTaLa; a schooling system that is little known even within the country. The systemic discrimination experienced by Chin/Zomi Indigenous Peoples coupled with barriers to the availability and accessibility of primary and secondary education results in impoverished families having little choice but to send their children to NaTaLa to be educated. Within this system they are subjected to immense pressure to assimilate into the dominant culture. Over time, this may result in cultural dislocation and loss of cultural identity for Chin/Zomi, who are arguably facing an insidious form of forced assimilation.

### › **Customary Tenure and Land-Use Practices in the Chin Hills: A Case for Recognition to Secure Upland Livelihoods in Myanmar**

Laura Kmoch *Chalmers University of Technology*

Competing interests in land and environmental resources fuel contestation over land governance and contemporary shifts in land-use practices in South East Asia. In upland Myanmar, as elsewhere, there is no one correct answer to the question of how, by whom and for which purpose land and environmental resources should be used. Yet, this question should be of central concern for land-use decision making, as enacted answers will determine how land-use benefits and burdens will be allocated among different stakeholder groups in the future. To date, Myanmar's Chin communities predominantly manage land and environment resources according to customary tenure and land-use practices. Limited official recognition of these practices, in conjunctions with recent national-level legislative changes and ambitions to amplify donor and investment activities have, however, sparked concern that such actions will trigger land-change processes with potentially unjust outcomes. This empirical paper takes these concerns and calls for a greater recognition of customary tenure and land-use practices in Myanmar seriously. We depart from survey data and income accounts of 94 households from northern Chin State, to explore: (i) how access to different types of land and environmental resources is currently governed; (ii) which land-use practices and management activities dominate households' use of different types of land; and (iii) which thereby derived incomes such as food, fodder, fuel and timber products sustain households' livelihoods in the study area. Our results indicate that respondents' land and environmental resource claims relied primarily on village level customary rules, where many households did not possess any formal property titles. Households derived vital ecosystem services from both currently active and fallow or forested plots of land, but annual and tree crops from privately managed swidden fields and home gardens dominated households' land-based income. We juxtapose these empirical findings with propositions for socio-economic development and a state-driven formalisation of land-rights in Myanmar, to discuss the latter's possible consequences for rural households' livelihood security. And we argue, that land-use decisions should indeed be grounded in greater recognition of existing tenure and land-use practices in the Chin Hills, to avoid outcomes that are detrimental to the livelihood security and aspirations of those rural people, who are already among the most marginalized in upland Myanmar.

### › **Land Enclosures and Indigenous Mobilization in Chin State: A Border Studies Perspective**

Rainer Einzenberger *University of Vienna*

Chin State has experienced major changes in recent years, similar to other states and regions in Myanmar. Many border areas are facing increasing pressure on land and natural resources, as a result of economic liberalization (beginning in the 1990s and gaining momentum after the recent ceasefire agreements), growing foreign investment, and regional integration. While the Thai-Burma border or China-Burma border has been subject to extensive research, the Indo-Burma border, including Chin State, has been largely neglected. For this reason, a multi-sited field research was conducted from 2015-2017 in Chin State, Sagaing Region and Yangon over several months, focusing on conflicts over land and natural resources and local responses. The qualitative research adopted the concept of the frontier, emerging from the field of border-studies, to understand processes of incorporation and negotiation in peripheral upland areas. The paper argues that contrary to the general perception in the political centers, Chin State is also experiencing land enclosures and dispossession, although to a lesser extent than other ethnic states (such as Kachin State). Nevertheless, in recent years local activists and civil society groups increasingly resist dispossession and enclosures. The causes of enclosures are diverse and include militarization, privatization, green grabbing, urbanization, infrastructure development and resource exploitation. In response, local actors increasingly draw in indigenous peoples rights frameworks, insisting on the recognition of customary land tenure and autonomy concerning the

governance of land and resources. Yet, indigenous mobilization in Chin State (and Myanmar in general) is still in an early stage, facing many challenges.

### › Treading Lightly: Changing Aid Spaces in Chin State

Sena Galazzi *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

This paper looks at the expansion of international aid industry in Myanmar's Chin State, attempting to provide an initial sketch of what changing spaces of aid might mean for locally meaningful development in the region. The paper situates changing aid spaces in the context of a long-standing involvement of a variety of internal-external actors, with a particular focus on the affective economy of these changes. The increasing international funding that is becoming available is resulting in a number of visible and less visible changes. Whilst on one side new offices have opened, existing ones have enlarged their operations, and the number of professionally trained development workers has increased, shifts in emotional practices and affective contexts surrounding this work are also substantial, and all contribute to having a notable impact on civil society and extensive pre-existing networks of local priorities and organisations. The paper provides an outline of what some of these changes might mean for people in Chin State, a place with a unique history and vibrant indigenous heritage that does not always fit in neatly with either development programming nor much capitalist modernity; a place where the Myanmar State's expansion is both limited but also growing and – importantly – is entangled with a multi-faceted web of inter-ethnic and pan-nationalist diversity; a place with a long, complex, and constantly evolving relationship with the 'International'. The paper's theoretical framework thus locates these changes not merely within contemporary transformations occurring in Myanmar as a whole since a supposedly recent 'opening up', but very much as part of a locally Chin-centred process of complex and multifaceted relationships with the 'International'.

---

## Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Sriprapha Petcharamesree <i>Mahidol University</i>
DISCUSSANTS	Bridget Welsh <i>National Taiwan University</i> Sriprapha Petcharamesree <i>Mahidol University</i>

### ABSTRACT

In the space of 10 years after the entry into force of the ASEAN Charter, the human rights situation in Southeast Asia changed dramatically from one of cautious optimism to something which may fairly be described as desperate. The preamble of the Charter stated that they were: "Adhering to the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and good governance, respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms" A sense that the region was moving forward in a progressive manner vis a vis human rights was further enhanced by the adoption of the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration in 2012.

Today, the human rights situation in the region is dire. We witness the democratic deficit in different countries raging from flawed elections in Cambodia to the rise of Islamist extremism which is influencing mainstream politics in Indonesia and populism in the Philippines and this not to mention military regime in Thailand. The list continues; but there is one underlying theme and that is the region is becoming more and more authoritarian. Strong government with limited personal freedoms and democratic spaces appear to be the order of the day.

The panel aims to examine this phenomenon by bringing together regional experts to discuss a thorough scrutiny of authoritarianism in Southeast Asia. Each speaker will analyse his/her subject matter within the context of how it is created and affected by an authoritarian regime.

### PAPERS

#### › Authoritarianism, an Obstacle of Liberal Democracy in Thailand

Eakpant Pindavanija *Shape-SEA Program*

It has been almost five years that Thailand is ruled by military regime, and it seems that most of the Thais could tolerate the undemocratic government too well. The pro-liberal democratic movements that aim to defy against the coup resistance have been suppressed by various means including by the use of force and strategic lawsuit against the public participation. Many of them are imprisoned or fled abroad. The control and censorship of the mainstream media is another tool that the military junta has been using to legitimise the regime, legitimacy which is being supported by the laws issued by appointed Thailand's National Legislative Assembly (NLA). Over three hundred acts were approved by NLA in the past four years and eight months. More over National Council for Peace

and Order (NCPO) established by the coup makers continue to exercise the extreme dictatorial law of the Article 44 from the 2014 interim constitution despite the promulgation of 2017 Constitution. Even though, the date for the upcoming election has just been recently announced to be March 24, 2019, but there are a lot of uncertainty of how much the election could be free and fair under the extremely high degree of military control. The phenomenon described is not just a temporary symptom of authoritarianism in Thai society but it a permanent situation of the Thai politics in which authoritarian elements have been always present, easily justified by the military junta that the main purpose of exercising power against the Pro-democratic activists is to maintain peace and stability of the Nation, justification that many Thai dictators enjoy. The toleration if not acceptance of the authoritarian environment shapes up certain attitude that contributes to the clashes of the political ideologies between authoritarianism and liberal democracy throughout the development of democracy in Thailand. The paper argues that the clashes of ideologies continue to reinforce a deeply divided society that Thailand has been in for decades. The up-coming elections, if it happens and not free and fair, just provides another proof to the military ruler that elections is a problem in Thailand, it may not lead to a more democratic society.

### › **Has the General Election of 2018 Truly Rid Malaysia of Authoritarianism?**

Azmi bin Sharom *University of Malaya*

On 9 May 2018, Malaysia witnessed for the first time in its history a change in government. For sixty-one years, the same government had passed laws which can be described as authoritarian. The loss of independence in agencies meant to keep a check on government behaviour, such as the judiciary, anti-corruption agency and Attorney General's Chambers added to the steady erosion of human rights and democracy in the country. Furthermore, the print and broadcast media were very tightly controlled by the government so that dissenting opinions were difficult to come by. And the Election Commission was complicit in the practice of gerrymandering meaning that areas considered pro-government were disproportionately represented in Parliament. This made what occurred in 2018 not just historical but also extremely surprising. The manner with which change occurred; with no violence and very few displays of civil disobedience meant that Malaysia became an example of how despite the odds, the democratic process can still work peacefully. The euphoria was intoxicating and the sense that the country was going to move towards a more democratic, inclusive, non-corrupt and just future was tangible. It did not take long before this euphoria changed into disappointment. The slow process of repealing repressive laws; the back pedalling of promises to ratify international human rights laws; and the seeming capitulation of the government to the baser motivations of the country; racism and religious extremism, has meant that there is uncertainty about the future of Malaysia. This paper will examine the events of the past year to see whether the hopes for a more democratic and progressive country was just a false dawn; and if so, what can be done to ensure that Malaysia does not go back to its authoritarian past.

### › **Jokowi's "Authoritarian" Policies: An Illiberal Turn or Pragmatism in Indonesian Binary Politics?**

Deasy Simandjuntak *Yusof Ishak Institute*

In the recent years, some Western observers of Indonesian politics have highlighted what they perceive as a decline of democracy in the country whose democracy has been deemed the most consolidated in the region. Dubbed with a myriad of somewhat verbose terminologies ranging from "authoritarian" and "illiberal" turn, "illiberal tendencies" to "statist-nationalist ideological orientation", the current situation, according to these observers, is exemplified by, for example, the President's reliance on Pancasila and the principle of "unity in diversity" to curb his Islamist enemies – a policy reminiscent of the harsher tactics used by Soeharto's authoritarian regime-, the President's growing closeness to the military, and his choice of Ma'ruf Amin, a conservative senior Muslim cleric, as his running-mate for the 2019 presidential election. However, have the President's policies really indicated an ideological turn? With the election approaching, politics are geared towards winning the elections and consequently reduced into mere electoral strategies. This is understandable, as Indonesian political "spectrum" lacks ideological contestation with parties having no clear platform. If there is an "ideological cleavage" worth mentioning, it would be that some parties use Islam while others rely on Pancasila nationalism to mobilize followers. In this simplified binarism, Jokowi, due to his supporting parties, came to exemplify the latter. Prabowo, with his mobilization of religious sentiment, is seen as pro-Islam, despite himself lacking Islamic credibility. Consequently, the second binarism is between those for and against the status quo, or in the election context, between Jokowi and Prabowo. With abstention severely discouraged, the space for a "third politics" is non-existent. As Jokowi is both a pragmatic statesman, who has focused on economy during his tenure, and a politician who aspires a re-election, his recent foray into "hypernationalism" should be seen as a pragmatic move rather than an ideological turn.

# Session 12

FRIDAY 15:30–17:00

---

Room 1.101	Religious Minorities and Democracy in Southeast Asia: New Trajectories and New Approaches
Room 1.102	China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): Bridging Disciplines, Theories and Methods in the Research on Its Impacts on Southeast Asia? ②
Room 1.103	20 Years After Reformasi: Democratisation and the Politics of In/Exclusion in Indonesia and Malaysia
Room 1.201	Sub-National Conflict, Clientelism and State Formation
Room 1.204	New Intimacies in Southeast Asia: Mediating Affective Relations Between People, Places and Things ②
Room 1.308	Locating Zomias Wet and Dry: Stateless Spaces in Maritime and Mainland Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.405	Already Southern China or Still Northern Southeast Asia? Local Engagements with and Translations of Chinese Regional Aspirations in the Upper Mekong Region ②
Room 1.406	Body Techniques, Emergence and Decline of Social Categories ②
Room 1.501	Censorship of the Arts in Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.502	Sonic Entanglements: Sound, Archive, and Acoustic Historiographies in Southeast Asia ②
Room 1.503	Revolutionising Print, Revolutionary Politics: Printed Matter and Politics in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore, 1850s–1970s
Room 1.504	Southeast Asian Grassroots Peacebuilding: Perspectives on Indonesia and Timor-Leste Relationship
Room 1.505	"Development" Appropriation in Myanmar: Partnership, Contestation
Fritz-Reuter-Saal	<b>LABORATORY</b> Presentation of Laboratory Results

---

Check the up-to-date program for this session online: [euroseas2019.org/session/12](http://euroseas2019.org/session/12)

# Religious Minorities and Democracy in Southeast Asia: New Trajectories and New Approaches

LOCATION	Room 1.101
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Chiara Formichi <i>Cornell University</i> Kikue Hamayotsu <i>Northern Illinois University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Chiara Formichi <i>Cornell University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Newly emerging democracies in Southeast Asia have grappled with the deep-seated questions and predicaments that pertain to the legal status and living conditions of religious minority communities. This panel seeks to explore the causes, processes, and consequences of various ways in which a respective regime – both secular and religious authorities – attempt to exclude and/or include religious minorities in the context of political transition and social transformation. The primary country cases to be examined include: Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Singapore. Through anthropological, historical and political analysis, the case studies intend to offer not only new empirical findings from the region, but also new analytical approaches, methods, and theories to gain a deeper understanding of the broad questions of minority and civil rights, nation-building, and democracy and religion.

## PAPERS

### › **Authoritarianism and Religious Minorities: Shi'ites in Singapore and Malaysia**

Walid Jumblatt Bin Abdullah *Nanyang Technological University*

This paper analyzes the predicament of the Shi'ite community in Singapore and Malaysia. I make the following claims. Firstly, Shi'ites in both Singapore and Malaysia have had more space to practice their faith, ironically, when the electoral arena has been less competitive, and when the states have been more authoritarian. When the previous ruling Barisan Nasional's rule became more tenuous in Malaysia, prior to the victory of the Pakatan Harapan (PH) coalition, the ruling Malay elites turned to ethno-nationalism, which involved emphasizing a particular orthodoxy (Sunni-Shafie), Shi'ites were at the receiving end of the increased discrimination and even repression. In Singapore, however, Shi'ites have steadily been given mainstream attention and there is no significant Sunni-Shi'ite tension to speak of. Secondly, I postulate that regime types in and by themselves do not guarantee better or worse treatment for religious minorities within the Islamic faith. Rather, what matters more is ideological predispositions of religious elites, or the *ulam*, and their concomitant interactions with the state.

### › **Making the Majority in the Name of Islam: Democratization, Moderate-Radial Coalition and Religious Intolerance in Indonesia**

Kikue Hamayotsu *Northern Illinois University*

Scholars and observers in the field of Indonesian studies have paid increasing attention to a trend called a "conservative turn" or "religious intolerance" in the Indonesian democracy and Islam. The trend is mostly considered a result of the rising influence of fringe radical groups in civil society or an instrumental use of such groups and religion in general by secular political elites in pursuing state power.

This paper seeks to offer an alternative explanation for the increasing trend of religious intolerance in the process of democratic consolidation, based on my fieldwork and comparative case studies of collective violence against religious minorities, both Muslim and non-Muslim, across West Java. I argue that anti-minority violence is likely to occur when traditional religious elites forge an informal coalition to certify radical elements in the name of defending the majority religion – Islam -- in the face of mounting challenges to the institutional foundations of their religious authority and power. In the context of consolidating democracy that has privileged secular elites, non-Muslim capitals, as well as liberal elements, the traditional religious elites seek to mobilize religious sentiments and collective identity to rally for the Muslim majority. Those religious elites tend to be exceptionally hostile to the concept of religious pluralism, because, as Saba Mahmood aptly argued, they perceive religious pluralism as a political ideology and a tool to bolster the positions of minorities and secular elites who, in their view, have dominated the Indonesian state, economy, and nation-building.

### › **Minority Candidate and Muslim Voting Behavior: Evidence from Indonesia**

Nathanael Sumaktoyo *University of Notre Dame*

How do Muslims in a Muslim-majority society respond to an ethnic and religious minority political candidate? To the extent that there is an opposition to the candidate, would such an opposition be driven more by the candidate's ethnicity or religion? The existing literature offers few insights on these questions, as it largely focuses on the U.S. or Western countries, and few studies examine how Muslims in a Muslim society evaluate minority candidates. Taking advantage of the presence of an ethnic and religious minority candidate in a gubernatorial election in Indonesian capital Jakarta and employing both observational and experimental designs, I find that ethnic considerations drive voters' choices more than religious ones. Ethnic sentiment and the candidate's ethnic background negatively affected voter support for the candidate more than religious sentiment and the candidate's religious background. This finding holds

even after accounting for voters' religiosity and religious tolerance. I discuss how these findings inform our understanding of Muslim voting behavior and religious mobilization in Muslim countries.

---

## China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI): Bridging Disciplines, Theories and Methods in the Research on Its Impacts on Southeast Asia? ②

LOCATION Room 1.102  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER Alfred Gerstl *Palacký University Olomouc*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › China's Grand Strategy and the Possible Geopolitical Consequences of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road for the Philippines

Peter Klemensits *Pallas Athene Geopolitical Research Institute*

The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road was launched by China in 2013 as part of its ambitious Belt and Road (BRI) mega project. Southeast Asian countries have shown great enthusiasm for the Chinese plans, because they hope to benefit enormously in economic terms from the success of the BRI. At the same time, the Maritime Silk Road has great significance in a geopolitical sense, because it has become the decisive element of Chinese grand strategy. Especially in the case of ASEAN countries, it has a greater strategic goal: reinforcing China's economic and political influence in the region. In the case of the Philippines, after the election of President Rodrigo Duterte in June 2016, the country became one of the main supporters of the Maritime Silk Road, as the new president realized that the improvement of economic relations with China was of strategic importance. His "turn to China" policy has become an important pillar of his foreign and economic policies, since Chinese investments could help to achieve the hoped-for development of the Philippines, while redefining its relations with the major powers.

Based on an interdisciplinary approach, the paper will provide a summary of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road and especially the Philippines' place in the Chinese plans. It will then discuss in detail the aims of the Duterte administration, in political and economic terms alike. The results and the anticipated consequences of the new prosperous partnership between the Philippines and China – namely the agreements and the initiated projects – will also be assessed. According to the paper's conclusion, Chinese investments can make a great contribution to the development of the Philippines in the long run, but the successful realization of Duterte's plans will depend on the skills of his government in managing serious foreign and internal political challenges.

#### › Issues in Dealing with the Maritime Silk Road

Padraig Lysaght *University of Vienna*

When working on the themes of the Maritime Silk Road, the South China Sea and Insular Studies, there are a number of methodological and theory based challenges, which are worth to be considered. Starting from a Global History viewpoint and examining various sources, this paper addresses a number of these challenges that should not be ignored when diving deeper into the theme. While today more often than not Chinese sources on the South China Sea are regarded very critically, up to a certain point in time they are the only existing and accessible ones. The paper provides a brief overview as to why that is so, which developments have to be taken into account and what the potential impact and pitfalls linked to the source materials are. Maps and cartographic traditions, diverse cultural impacts and the philosophies behind them are taken into account. The three most relevant systems for the region will be compared, i.e. the Chinese Tributary System, the South and SouthEast Asian Mandala System and the European Westphalian system. The 'sea' as a space is also a major source of uncertainty, especially when it comes to theoretical frameworks concerning space. The sea as space is also not as monolithic as it might seem, a complex ecosystem on the one hand, a network of sea lanes and unexplored reaches on the other are just two aspects of a highly important and everchanging space. Therefore it is important to reexamine the routes of theoretical concepts for the space of the sea and to give some thought on when and what ends these concepts were created. These are just some questions affecting multiple disciplines dealing with the Maritime Silk Road.

#### › Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam in the Belt and Road Initiative: A Critical Appraisal of the Concept of Hedging

Alfred Gerstl *Palacký University Olomouc*

Hedging has become a highly popular concept in the analysis of state behavior in Southeast Asia. Many International Relations scholars agree that the Southeast Asian nations neither bandwagon with China or the United States nor balance against one of these two great powers. It seems to be almost a strategic – and analytical – dogma that the Southeast Asian governments deliberately refuse to choose sides. This strategy allows the small and middle powers to secure economic and security benefits both from Beijing and Washington.

Hedging also helps the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to expand its strategic leeway: ASEAN aims to engage as many great powers as possible in the regional architecture, thus reducing the threat that one actor becomes dominant. All in all, hedging can be described as a realistic, pragmatic, but sometimes also opportunistic foreign policy strategy to deal with power imbalances and insecurities.

This presentation will critically question the underlying theoretical assumptions of various hedging approaches and discuss conceptual and methodological challenges for making hedging operationalizable. It will thereby stress the importance of combining economic and security criteria, but also of including the perceptions of a great power by the political elites and the broad public to gain a comprehensive view of the relations of a state with its key partners and opponents. Insights drawn from the relations of Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam with China in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) demonstrate that economically China's importance increases significantly. However, the case studies also illustrate that Beijing is not a hegemonic economic power; Japan, the European Union, South Korea and the United States are important players, too. In regard to security cooperation, the US and, albeit to a much lesser extent, Japan remain the key partners. In the conclusion, the example of the territorial dispute in the South China Sea will be used to discuss how sustainable a hedging strategy can be in a long-term perspective.

### › Theorizing Belt and Road Initiative as Economic Statecraft: The Case of Sino-Vietnamese Relations

Mária Strašáková *Palacký University Olomouc*

The fact that states have often deployed economic and financial tools to achieve their foreign policy goals is nothing new and China has been no exception. Indeed, as China's economic power has risen, its leaders have started reassessing ways to transform China's wealth into diplomatic influence. Hence, this paper argues that Belt and Road Initiative, launched in 2013, can be theorised as the use of economic statecraft by China to shape the attitudes and policies of other countries. Grounding the analysis in Armijo's and Katada's analytical framework of three dimensions of economic statecraft of offensive and defensive dichotomy, bilateral and systemic level, and last but not least financial and monetary tools, the objective of this paper is twofold. First, it aims to analyze China's use of economic statecraft to pursue its foreign policy interests in general (on the systemic level) and more concretely on the case of Vietnam (bilateral level). Secondly, this article sheds light on the challenges of the implementation of Belt and Road Initiative in Vietnam. Extant literature suggests that it is easier for China to influence smaller economies in Southeast Asia through economic statecraft than that of larger countries. However, our research shows that China's economic statecraft could be counter-productive in diplomacy in weaker states as China's coercion, positive or negative, could exacerbate anxiety, generate backlashes, and trigger balancing/ hedging responses both domestically and internationally. This is even more prominent in relations where countries share strained historical relations and are burdened by collective memories and anti-Chinese sentiments.

---

## 20 Years After Reformasi: Democratisation and the Politics of In/Exclusion in Indonesia and Malaysia

LOCATION	Room 1.103
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Azmil Tayeb <i>University of Science, Malaysia</i> Hew Wai Weng <i>National University of Malaysia</i>
DISCUSSANT	Saskia Schäfer <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

### ABSTRACT

Amidst financial crises, reformasi (reformation) movements kicked off in Indonesia and Malaysia in 1998, which had contributed to the fall of New Order Regime in Indonesia and to the weakening of the ruling regime in Malaysia (which was finally voted out by most Malaysians in 2018). The opening up of democratic space, on one hand, leads to the growth of various inclusive and progressive social movements; yet on the other hand, it also allows exclusive and conservative social forces to become more visible and influential. It is what Karl Popper terms as 'the paradox of tolerance' which might be detrimental to the overall wellbeing of the democracy itself. In Muslim-majority Malaysia and Indonesia, amidst the growing visible discourses of liberal ideas, pluralistic forces and LGBT rights, we witness an increase in the politics of othering (against certain ethnic, religious, sexual minorities) and the instrumentalisation of ethno-religious issues to mobilise people. In other words, how different groups make use of the democratising space, both online and offline, to claim or to defend their 'rights'? What are the religious, political and socio-economic reasons behind such politics of inclusion and exclusion in democratising Malaysia and Indonesia? This panel welcomes papers from different disciplinary background to examine the prospects and challenges of democratisation, and examine the roles and impacts of diverse social and political actors in Indonesia and Malaysia since 1998. It focuses on Malaysia and Indonesia, but we also welcome related contributions on other countries in Southeast Asia.

### › Bringing Trans-Women Back to “Fitrah”: Social Engineering Through Religious Education and the Use of Islamic ALMS in Malaysia

Timea Greta Biro *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology*

Since the spectacular downfall of the “eternal” UMNO/BN government in May 2018, the Malaysian socio-political landscape has been fiercely contested by competing and often vocally expressed normative ideas, with diverse voices articulating conflicting visions for a “New Malaysia” (Malaysia Baru), enabled by newly (re)opened democratic spaces in what may (or may not) become a “post-authoritarian” Malaysian public sphere. Among others, clashes unfold between proponents of an approach to Islamic governance that is calling for strengthening a monolithic and exclusionary understanding of Islam, and social actors advocating for minority rights and more pluralistically oriented social citizenship and democratic values. Sexual minorities are at the centre of controversial debates between state-Islamic authorities, government and civil society agents and members of community based NGOs working with marginalized populations. Based on a year of ethnographic fieldwork in 2017/8, Timea Greta Biro’s paper examines interface situations between state-Islamic bureaucracies and Muslim trans-women, focusing in particular on government attempts to “rehabilitate” transgender people (i.e. bringing them back to the “normal” heterosexual state, fitrah, enabling “good Muslims citizenship”), which are partly enacted through educational measures funded by state-administered Islamic alms (zakat). The paper elucidates the complex ways trans-women negotiate or resist the course and outcomes of such “moral conversion” projects and their wider context of structural exclusion, while they also utilize democratizing spaces to exercise their own agency and claim their rights to publicly recognized social citizenship.

### › Democratization and the Politics of Blasphemy in Indonesia and Malaysia

Azmil Tayeb *University of Science, Malaysia*

Hew Wai Weng *National University of Malaysia*

One crucial aspect of democratization is the opening up of political space that allows various groups to mobilize and make their demands heard. In Indonesia, the Reformasi era after 1998 provides a fertile environment for political Islam to thrive. The post-1998 democratization process in Indonesia has largely empowered Muslim activists especially those who were politically marginalized during the New Order era. Meanwhile in Malaysia, Islam has long been an integral part of the political landscape as the country experienced the Islamic resurgent wave in the late 1970s. UMNO and PAS, two Malay-Muslim political parties, competed with each other to be the sole authority of Islam in Malaysia. On 9 May 2018, the Malaysian voters chose to change the federal government, which was hitherto dominated by the Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition for the past sixty years. One repercussion of the change of federal government is the heightened perception of threats against the special position of Malays and Islam in Malaysia, namely due to the more ethnically-mixed composition of the new ruling coalition, Pakatan Harapan (PH) and its “anti-Islamic” policies. Instead of empowerment, the process of democratization in Malaysia, as ushered in by the change of federal government in 2018, has created a deep sense of insecurity among the Malay-Muslim community, most of whom did not vote for the PH government in the last election. This paper looks at the effects of democratization on Islamic political activism in Indonesia and Malaysia through the politics of religious blasphemy, in particular how charges of blasphemy have increased exponentially during the Reformasi era for both countries. According to Setara Institute, there have been 97 blasphemy cases between 1965 and 2017 in Indonesia (since the enactment of the 1965 Blasphemy Law), and an astounding 88 of them took place after 1998. In Malaysia, according to the Malaysian Royal Police, 929 reports have been lodged so far over insults on Islam, Prophet Muhammad and his wife, Siti Aisyah. The PH government is currently mulling a religious blasphemy law akin to the one in Indonesia. This paper argues that the rise of blasphemy politics is driven by empowered Islamic activists in Indonesia and the pervasive insecurity of the Malay-Muslim community in Malaysia, enabled by the process of democratization in both countries. It also examines the role of social media and Islamic preachers in shaping Muslim opinions on religious blasphemy.

### › Reformasi and the City: Urban Development Politics in Indonesia After 1998

Rita Padawangi *Singapore University of Social Sciences*

After Reformasi, political reform in Indonesia had brought changes to local politics. Decentralization led to cities’ and regencies’ local autonomy in planning and budgeting, as well as direct elections of mayors and regents. While these changes seem to reflect democracy across scales from the national to the local, there needs to be further examination on the spatial manifestations of these processes. How democratic are urban development politics in Indonesia evolve after Reformasi? In examining urban development politics, in this paper I look at decision-making processes of urban-scale development projects, with specific focus on housing and public spaces in Jakarta and Surabaya. Prior to Reformasi, Suharto’s oppressive New Order regime had already ushered an exponential growth of urban population and areas, infrastructure projects, and service provisions in support of Indonesia’s immersion into the global economy. After Reformasi, perceived urban development in cities have propelled local leaders into national fame, which indicates political appeal incentives for elected officials to implement tangible development projects. In spite of notable transformations after Reformasi in terms of budget transparency and advocacy, popular emphases on visual appearances, service delivery and infrastructure developments have obscured the fact that processes and actors behind urban developments keep remnants of the New Order era. Meanwhile, although civil society groups can carve spaces of resistance in the city through progressive initiatives, comparable opportunities also apply to sectarian groups within the civil society. Furthermore, the extensive commodification of urban spaces continue to constrain and co-opt the role of civil society groups in urban development.

# Sub-National Conflict, Clientelism and State Formation

LOCATION	Room 1.201
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	James Scambray <i>RMIT University</i>

## ABSTRACT

Sub-national conflict and clientelist politics are widely acknowledged as significant obstacles to development and stability across South East Asia. Apart from separatist movements in southern Thailand and Myanmar, a number of sporadic, highly localised but endemic conflicts smoulder across the region, ranging from clan feuds in the Philippines, inter-village conflict in East Timor and the localised feuds in Indonesia sometimes referred to as *tawuran*. These low-level conflicts are often driven by local issues such as land or water disputes or inter-family tensions, yet may assume the appearance of broader narratives such as religion, ethnicity and political party rivalry. Dominant state centric portrayals of this conflict across the region commonly draw on reductive local/national or state presence/state absence dichotomies. Such scholarship rarely directly engages with the structure of political orders, the multiplicity of agents involved in violence and the presence of dynamic, subnational political relationships that give rise to distinct and recurring conflicts. At the same time, while it is often acknowledged that clientelist politics can lead to conflict, such as electoral violence, clientelist literature rarely directly engages with conflict. An emerging sub-national politics perspective, however, sees both conflict and clientelism as closely connected. This perspective, informed by political geography, explicitly interprets statehood and governance as a function of social relationships. Variations in informal governance and conflict intersect through competition over local power, state consolidation and political order. While a state might have low capacity or be ineffectual in terms of monopolising violence, they may nonetheless draw on a variety of sub-national alliances with non-state actors to organise communities politically or mobilise for violence. These non-state actors may in turn leverage these alliances for jobs, public goods or development assistance. Through this framework, conflict can be viewed as an integral process in state formation.

This panel convenes scholars working across the different scales and types of conflict, clientelist practices and governance in South East Asia. The aim is to compare and contrast the different ways in which sub-national conflict and actors articulate with national level formal and informal politics and actors. It seeks to answer the key questions of:

1. What are the links between clientelist politics and conflict?
2. How are local-level conflicts linked to broader national narratives?
3. What is the role of sub-national actors in these conflicts?

## PAPERS

### › Clientelism and Intra-Religious Tension in Post-Conflict Society: The Religious Authority Expansion in Aceh

Yogi Setya Permana *Indonesian Institute of Sciences*

Most studies on clientelism in contemporary Indonesian politics is more eager to highlight the aspects that appear in the electoral contestation such as the practice of money politics and vote buying. It is quite rare to find studies that discuss clientelism and conflict. This is ironic because arguably, tensions and conflicts that occur in the Indonesian sub-national are caused by the struggle for distribution of resources involving informal political settings such as clientelist relations. Therefore, the Aceh case provides an opportunity to enrich the discussion toward the relations between clientelism and conflict. It is because, in the Aceh post-conflict context, there is inevitable competition between societal groups to compete for political power and economic resources. Traditional ulama emerged as one of the prominent political force in contemporary Aceh than previous decades. The traditional ulama are vital agency under the sharia project because they have a solid grassroots support and extensive network compare with other Islamic groups in Aceh such as the reformist-modernist and Salafi-Wahabi. They supposed to be an active agent for peace rather than contribute to social tension. However, I would argue that the expansion of traditional ulama into power politics pave the way to intra-religious tension in Aceh. Their political interest which is intertwines with state-based clientelism contribute to producing discriminative fatwa and intolerance actions toward intra-religious minorities.

### › Lottery of Power, Lottery of Guns: Pulling the Strings in Mindanao?

Georgi Engelbrecht *European Union*

Years after the signing of two peace agreements between the Philippine Government (GPH) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), some gains of the peace process have been undoubtedly visible in parts of the future Bangsamoro whilst violence and armed conflicts did continue in some others. The envisioned "normalization" in Mindanao has arguably not been fully realized yet, in spite of the objective of both GPH and MILF and the recent proper kick-off of various interventions. Witnesses to the armed conflicts in Mindanao point out that after the ebb of horizontal violence, a flow of vertical violence follows, with perhaps a small period of absence of hostilities in between or subsequent. The flow could be equally reversed. Thus, the boundaries between conflict and post-conflict, security and insecurity, and state of exception and normalization are exceptionally fluid in the Bangsamoro. Case in point could be the resurgence of clan feuds or *ridos* in Bangsamoro areas following the establishment of the Bangsamoro Transition Authority (BTA) –

despite Martial Law and the early stages of transition. Interestingly, the other perceived source of instability in Mindanao – the armed groups – hasn't been studied with respect to their formation or continuous allure. These armed groups have often very local origins, which raises the question of their emergence and relationship with local leaders – not only local communities. Noteworthy is also their clannish structure, which has implications for studies of recruitment but also their ability to survive, thrive and expand within the specific local contexts. This paper aims to analyse several cases of violence in the Bangsamoro region between 2012 and 2019 and draw common factors. The distinction between horizontal violence, i.e. ridos and vertical violence, i.e. state-rebel conflict are hereby only secondary. If the clan or the "datu" is indeed the point of success or failure of absence of hostilities between warring parties, protracted inability to find conflict resolution or the re-emergence of feuding, then the implications for local peace-building are immense. Either their monopoly of violence will be tamed or broken by the state (not clear as of now with Duterte's Martial Law) or they will adapt to a non-violent, non-oppressive state of benign leaders. In other words, are the "guns, goons and gold" rulers passé, or is the concept only revamped, being in the end responsible for peace and war in the barangays of Bangsamoro.

› **Sub-National Conflict, Clientelism and State Formation in East Timor**

James Scambary *RMIT University*

.....

## **New Intimacies in Southeast Asia: Mediating Affective Relations Between People, Places and Things 2**

LOCATION Room 1.204  
TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENERS Bart Barendregt *Leiden University*  
Martin Slama *Austrian Academy of Sciences*

**ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

**PAPERS**

› **Haunted Trees: Spatial Intimacy in Urban Hanoi**

Gertrud Huwelmeier *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

This paper explores the performance of popular religious practices at a "haunted" tree in urban Hanoi. Considered as sacred by the local population, the tree and a shrine in its huge trunk mediate between this world and the otherworld. In the early 1960s, a maternity hospital was constructed in the immediate vicinity of the tree. To this day, women pray at the shrine before and after childbirth. As abortions are also performed in the hospital, the tree has come to be regarded by Hanoians as a home for unredeemed souls. The history of the tree and narratives about its existence, however, predate the hospital and refer to the arrival of migrants from India in the early 1900s. They lived on the territory of the current clinic, bred cows in the area, and established a temple next to the huge tree. Indians, like many other non-Vietnamese members of the urban population, left Hanoi after independence (1954). Based on ethnographic fieldwork, I argue that the sacred tree in urban Hanoi is a place where infant death and abortion are ritually commemorated. Moreover, it serves as a landmark, reminding locals of the former Indian inhabitants of the city. The tree should therefore be considered as a shrine, a locality where affective relations are created and fostered through prayers and offerings, i.e. are mediated between people, place and material objects. As this paper will demonstrate, the haunted tree is a contested icon of different time periods, French colonialism, high socialism, and the manifold dynamics of market socialism shaping Vietnamese society today.

› **Intimate Encounters: The Production of Empty Spaces and the Proliferation of Ghosts in Indonesia**

Martin Slama *Austrian Academy of Sciences*

The paper is concerned with a phenomenon in urban Indonesia that one can describe as the production of empty spaces: warehouses, apartment towers, housing estates etc. have been built on an increasing scale, but at least some and sometimes many of them remain empty. The paper thus engages with the following paradox: In one of the most densely populated areas of the world, one can find a lot of buildings, many of them recently constructed, that are not inhabited by people, while in the lower-class kampung living space is extremely limited and has to be shared by a large part of Indonesia's population. The paper proceeds by asking how this empty (but for most people unachievable) space is charged with meaning which leads the discussion to consider encounters with ghosts and how religious specialists deal with them. In fact, intimate encounters between ghosts and humans as well as between people of different religious and class backgrounds seem to be crucial in this regard. Moreover, in Indonesia today, popular culture is equally occupied with ghosts, particularly the country's film industry with ghost movies belonging to its most successful productions. The theme of an empty house that is haunted one can also encounter on social media platforms that feature distinct ghost genres, such as short ghost buster videos. By looking at these offline and online phenomena the paper aims at developing an understanding of how contemporary urban

inequalities are spiritually constructed by way of intimate encounters located in private spaces and the realm of the uncanny at the same time.

› **Strings of Sorrow, Songs of Yore: Mediating Place and Belonging Through the Classical Guitar Songs of Southern Sumatra**

Bart Barendregt *Leiden University*

Classical guitar music is the soundtrack of a Southern Sumatran landscape that over the last hundred years or so has been thoroughly transformed, both by internal and external migration and mobility, highland people's urge to constantly settle new lands and a general move to the large city. Guitar music (known variously as gitar tunggal, lagu batang hari Sembilan or rejang) helps to contemplate and comment upon such changes. Almost each and every single area in the Southern Sumatran provinces of Lampung, Bengkulu, and South Sumatra proper has its own distinctive guitar music, building on a set of area specific melodies and tunings, and accompanying verses in the local vernacular that tell a nostalgic story of times long bygone, villages no longer there, and people sorely missed. Such songs of collective nostalgia romanticize rural areas, as symbols of an earlier, more pristine way of life, providing its listeners with a certainty that the present and the future seems to lack. By emphasizing the simplicity of life in the traditional village rather than modern values and progress, a counter-modernist historical consciousness firmly seems posited.

Recording and mediating these area specific songs music through initially cassette, Video CD and lately social media has ironically mostly taken place in Southern Sumatra's larger cities providing today's city dwellers with a kind of immediate intimacy: a portable landscape ready to be activated any time, any place. As places in the highlands are no longer exclusively real-time spaces, home now might be constructed and shared through a sentimental song, downloaded and streamed in a single moment, instantly bringing back the times of yore.

.....

## Locating Zomias Wet and Dry: Stateless Spaces in Maritime and Mainland Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.308
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Masao Imamura <i>Yamagata University</i> Noboru Ishikawa <i>Kyoto University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

› **Centrality of Christian Conversion to Kachin Nation Making**

Masao Imamura *Yamagata University*

Two hundred years ago, countless small-scale autonomous polities existed between empires in Southeast Asia. During the past two centuries, these in-between spaces and middle grounds have been transformed into peripheries within nation-states in two centuries. Studies of this historical transformation tend to pay little attention to the religious conversions that have taken place among the inhabitants of these spaces. Take the Kachin people of Myanmar for example. Since the Kachin first encountered Protestant missions in the 19th century, the vast majority has converted to Christianity. The highly acclaimed monographs about the Kachin (Leach 1964; Sadan 2013), however, do not consider this Christianization as a significant historical event. While acknowledged as a historical fact, it tends to be seen as a superficial and derivative diversion. Contrary to these views, this paper addresses enduring secularist bias in the academic scholarship and offers a corrective towards a more balanced perspective, without endorsing the evangelical historiography, which is dominant and popular among the Kachin. Christianity has been a unique provider of multiple resources, very useful to an ethno-linguistic group like the Kachin, who find themselves increasingly marginalized under the new nation-state regime. Protestantism in particular has provided provide a minority group with a series of modernizing tools, ideas, and practices. While Christianity's power has diminished dramatically in Europe during the secular age, its practical and symbolic resourcefulness appeal have made the religion extremely appealing in places like highland Myanmar where secular institutions such as public schools and government services have not been widely available. Conversion to Christianity should be understood as an adaptive action to delineate social boundary and establish a distinct and legible nation.

› **From Refuge to Bride Source: Marriage and Migration Among the Lahu Across the Myanmar-China Border**

Mio Horie *Nagoya University*

The history of the Lahu people, who mostly reside in the mountainous area of China-Myanmar-Thailand border, can be understood as a series of southwestward migrations. According to Lahu men living in southwestern Yunnan: "All the strong ones fled to the south, only the weak ones like us remain here." The deep forests of northern Myanmar were to Lahu in China attractive as a suitable place for

escape as they faced political and economic disturbances. While communism and collectivism were the main causes of Lahu's migration first, the strengthening of the Chinese economy and the shortage of women later effectively pulled many Lahu back into Han-dominant areas of China. As China suffered from a shortage of marriageable women, Lahu women became affordable alternatives. Because the one-child policy was not strictly implemented among many of the ethnic minority groups, the imbalance of gender ratio did not immediately become an acute problem among the Lahu. Han men's demand for Lahu women led to the shortage of brides for Lahu men in Yunnan, so Lahu women in Myanmar in turn became a new alternative source. Currently, many Lahu women from the Wa region in northern Myanmar cross the border to get married in Yunnan. This presentation will describe the transition of the space on the China-Myanmar border from a space for refuge to a source of brides.

➤ **Mekong Delta as a Wet Zomia**

Hisashi Shimojo *University of Shizuoka*

The Mekong Delta, most parts of which are today located in Southern Vietnam, is considered to have been a “water frontier” in the pre-colonial era (Li Tana 2004). The fluidity of the soil, caused by continuous erosions from river and sea water, makes land-based movement and habitation difficult. Historically, the Mekong Delta was a far-away periphery from the kingdoms in both Cambodia and Vietnam. By taking advantage of the fluid watery environment, however, certain groups of people with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds from various regions flowed there continuously via river and sea, and participated in commercial activities to connect Southeast Asia with East Asia. After modern canal constructions and paddy cultivations were promoted by France in the late 19th Century, cultivable land rapidly expanded, and many migrants came from Vietnam and the coastal regions of China. Since then, the Delta has been developed as one of the world's leading rice-producing areas, along with complexly stratified multi-ethnic societies connected with the rice-based economy. Although it has been suggested by previous studies that the Delta, which experienced political turbulence originating from colonial development, warfare, and socialism, has lost the characteristic of being at the periphery since modern state formation, this presentation challenges this idea by focusing on stateless spaces where local people pursued survival strategies, even after the establishment of the nation-states.

➤ **Narratives and Meta-Narratives of Lawa-Tai (Thai) Relations: An Analysis of the Historical Vicissitudes of a Hill-Plain Relationship**

Akiko Iijima *Toyo Bunko*

While existing studies typically portray Lawa as a pitiful hill tribe (chao khao) and present an ahistorical picture of the small population, archival research covering a wide range of available sources reveal long and complex processes of modernistic segregation, during which (part of) the Lawa gradually came to be understood as a hilltribe. During this process, they were differentiated from the Tai and lumped together with other upland groups who had begun entering the Thai kingdom in the nineteenth century. While this transformation of the Lawa was taking place, the Tai, of multi-ethnic origin (including the Lawa), have become a “civilized” urban people (khon mueang). The Tai-Lawa relationship, originally egalitarian and symbiotic, has been thus bifurcated, due to multiple influences including Theravada Buddhism and academic ethnology. At the end of this historical process are the two dichotomous categories, which continued to be reproduced in both popular and academic publications today.

.....

## **Already Southern China or Still Northern Southeast Asia? Local Engagements with and Translations of Chinese Regional Aspirations in the Upper Mekong Region 2**

LOCATION            Room 1.405  
TYPE                Double Panel (Part 2)  
CONVENER         Simon Rowedder *National University of Singapore*

**ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

**PAPERS**

➤ **China-Thailand Relations Through the Prism of Migration**

Enze Han *University of Hong Kong*

This paper studies current People's Republic of China and Thailand relations through the prism of migration. As a country with a long history of Chinese migration and a sizeable portion of its population identified as Sino-Thai, how Thai society perceives contemporary Chinese investment, arrivals of unprecedented number of Chinese visitors as well as sizable migrant labor should be examined through historically contextualized memories of Chinese immigration to Siam. We should think of migration as historically chained events, and earlier waves of migration affect how later migrants are received and perceived. The paper argues we cannot discuss contemporary migration and their reception by the host state, as well as the relationship between the sending and receiving states, without considering how past migration shapes the ways the contemporary is perceived. In the context of China and Thailand relations, we

have to keep in mind the long history of Chinese migration and at times hostile policies the Thai government had implemented to deal with such large number of migrants. Anti-Chinese rhetoric thus has a historical root in the migration history in Thailand, and one can argue they still frame some of the explicit or implicit Sinophobia within Thai society. Such historical legacies and the peculiar status of the Sino-Thai thus have created a varied reaction towards the recent Chinese presence in Thailand, ranging from a new wave of re-Sinification among some Sino-Thai to retrace their Chinese roots to others who have made conscious differentiation from the PRC "Chinese-ness."

› **People-To-People Science and Technology Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics: The Case of Sino-Thai Vocational Cooperation**

Vorawan Wannalak *University of Potsdam*

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has been promoted for infrastructure network between China and its neighboring countries along the BRI. The Thai-China high-speed railway project is one of the showcase projects and it is presented as the backbone route that will connect Southeast Asia to China and Europe. The plan is to boost growth and to reduce domestic logistics costs for Thai entrepreneurs as well as to accomplish the Thailand's Transport Infrastructure Development Master Plan 2015-2022. Also, it is to promote the environmentally friendly technology in transportation. Although project implementation at the official level is slowly progressing when compared to neighboring countries (i.e. Laos and Cambodia), however, there is continuous development at people-to-people level.

In 2016, the Luban Workshop was established at the Ayutthaya Technical College Thailand. This is the first Luban Workshop outside China which aims to promote China's 'going global' strategies and support technical education cooperation between China and other countries. The Luban Workshop in Thailand is the collaboration between the Tianjin Bohai Vocational Technical College, sponsored by Tianjin Bohai Chemical Industry (Group) Company Limited, and the Ayutthaya Technical College. The Luban Workshop is a pilot center which provides training in highspeed railway system, new energy automobile, software embedded system, mechatronic and robotics. In addition, the promotion of vocational education between Thailand and China is supported by the Maritime Silk Road Confucius Center under the supervision of Phra Prommakalachan (Chao Khun Thongchai), a well-respected Buddhist monk in the Thai Chinese community. In 2018, the China Educational Daily reported that the Luban Workshop in Thailand provided vocational training to more than 2,000 students and it has also provided opportunities for students from other neighboring countries, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and Cambodia.

This paper would like to examine how the Chinese ideology and strategies under the BRI is translated by different local actors in the area of vocational education cooperation and what is the synergy between the national policy and the BRI strategies. The paper will present a case study of the Luban Workshop which is promoted as a pilot project for Chinese technological transfer in response to the BRI.

.....

**Body Techniques, Emergence and Decline of Social Categories 2**

LOCATION	Room 1.406
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENER	Jean-Marc de Grave <i>Université d'Aix-Marseille</i>
DISCUSSANT	Jean-Marc de Grave <i>Université d'Aix-Marseille</i>

**ABSTRACT**

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

**PAPERS**

› **Body Rituals, Body Techniques: Heterodoxy and Islam on Java**

Volker Gottowik *Frankfurt University*

In Central Java, a number of pilgrimage sites exist that are visited by pilgrims of both sexes either to communicate with each other sexually or, in the case of male pilgrims, to have sexual contacts with prostitutes. These heterodox ritual practices have received widespread public attention in Indonesia since they became a mass phenomenon in the 1980s and 1990s. As these practices are clearly at odds with the value system of the majority society, some anthropologist trace them back to Indonesia's Hindu-Buddhist past and especially to tantric currents. This paper examines the above mentioned heterodox ritual practices as "tantric fragments" that have lost their ideological dimension but are still productive in social and religious terms. It shows how these rituals contribute as body techniques to the formation of the Abangan (Clifford Geertz) as a particular social group within Islam and to the maintenance of Indonesia as a syncretic and pluralistic society.

› **Comparison Between Javanese Court Dance and Classical Indian Dance Bharatanatyam: Social, Pedagogical and Aesthetic Changes**

Julie Rocton *Université d'Aix-Marseille*

As pointed by Felicia Hughes-Freeland in *Embodied Communities: Dance Traditions and change in Java* (2008), Javanese court dance and classical Indian dance bharatanatyam, as classicized and reinvented artistic practices, show several similarities. In addition to sharing the same ambiguous status between dance and theatre categories and some common repertoire topics from Hindu mythology, these two practices, evolving from a colonial to a post-colonial context, have contributed to the construction of a nation state, respectively Indonesian and Indian, as embodied symbol. In the first half of the 20th century, both went through an evolution of their practice context that led to major shifts, under foreign influences: institutionalization, status of practitioners, socio-economic conditions and performance spaces changes. This paper will aim to go further than a mere anecdotal comparison, by analysing these different changes and their impact on body techniques, on transmission and on the general aesthetics of these practices.

› **Training the Body, Forging the Soul: Japanese Military Training and Indonesian Elite Recruits**

Edouard L'Hérissou *French National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations*

This presentation will deal with wartime Japanese military training provided to Indonesian recruits, especially within the PETA, focusing on gymnastics. Through a multi-scaled analysis, it will appear that the structure displayed by the Japanese in Indonesia was based on the establishment of rural training centres in Japan, and that the Indonesian recruits later became the core and head of Indonesian army. Thus they developed both a Japanese-styled mindset and body that produced a feeling of being part of a new military elite.

---

## Censorship of the Arts in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION Room 1.501

TYPE Double Panel (Part 2)

CONVENERS Rosalia Engchuan *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology*  
Taufiq Hanafi *Leiden University*

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

› **A Case Study from Indonesian Film Communities: Conceptualizing Film Censorship as a Relational Socio-Technical Process**

Rosalia Engchuan *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology*

In the case of film censorship one might first think of the state as an actor from outside, acting upon the film and film practitioners. However, looking at film as the fruit stemming from a successful actor-network of film production, external state censorship is only the very last step in a long and highly complex entanglement of processes. Taking on a broader scope, scholars have looked at funding and market structures, as well as internalized mechanisms of "self-censorship". Overcoming binaries between censors and the censored, I propose a processual relational perspective, shifting the unit of analysis to a relational process of interaction entangled in multiple networks (state bureaucracy, international film festival politics, values and norms etc.). Rather than making a distinction between repressive censorship by the state and structural censorship omnipresent in society, I conceptualize state censorship internal to - in fact part of - socio-technical networks of film production. Drawing on a relational ontology and Simondon's notion of technics, I will conceptualize censorship as a relationally constituted configuration that is always circumstantial. Based on a relational ethnography, "an ethnographic method that works with the relational and processual nature of social reality" (Desmond 2014:1) my paper will think through the multitude of actors - human, technical and more-than-human - involved in the actor-network of film production and derive conceptual implications for thinking about the characteristics, mechanisms and processes of film censorship.

› **Allah! What Do You See in Our Society?**

Niti Pawakapan *Chulalongkorn University*

Sorayut Aiem-Ueayut *Freie Universität Berlin*

After independence from Britain in 1957, Malaysia has been faced with racial tensions, in particular between the Malay, Chinese, Indian (Tamil) and Others. Islam has played a crucial role in the political justification for elevating the Malays and their socio-cultural form and economic interests to the level of a patriotic majority high above other ethnic and non-Islamic groups. Politicized Islam is

a critical concept that has received scholarly attention and helps articulate the unrealized promise of equitable racial and religious interrelationship in Malaysia.

This paper presents some ideas on how Islam is used to justify privileging the Malay or the Islamic group. More importantly, it examines the political use of aesthetics by Islam to justify control over the social-life of non-Malays. The topic discussed is based on a visual anthropological enquiry and argues that the reconstruction of the pavement around the Brickfields/Little India in Kuala Lumpur is an attempt to curb or reduce the space for polytheism, which is on display through artistic roadside shrines and deity figures.

The paper highlights three sub-topics, firstly, the Islamic monotheistic system is the central but invisible code underlying urban development discourse that claims to unify society through censorship of other faith. Secondly, the roadside shrines in Brickfield represent the affirmative space for the other gods that co-exist as one, specifically Hindu gods and Chinese Taoism. Hence the shrines are considered an eyesore under modern Islamic culture, which view them as dirty and as symbols of uncivilized society. Lastly, the roadside shrines are the sensual objects extending human finitude of non-Islamic groups with alternatively embedded narration within an Islamic majority society. In this sense, the paper argues, the pavement in little India can be conceptualized as a battlefield, a zone of contestation (and attempt at reconstruction) of different modes of visual bonds, display site for polytheistic eyes and Islam's desire for their purification. Finally, this study develops the idea of politicized Islam within the area of art and politics to contribute to a more vivid understanding of Malaysia's racial tension.

### › Censorship Mechanism Under the New Order Indonesia, 1970–1980

Taufiq Hanafi *Leiden University*

Much has been said about censorship and its important role in defining New Order orthodoxy—a colonial inheritance that stemmed from anxiety and fear of the political consequences that could undermine the authoritarian regime. The mechanism of censorship, however, was overlooked and remains underexplored. My research finds that the Attorney General, to which the state delegated solely the authority of censorship, possessed a wide range of abilities in managing and utilizing its overwhelming control to supervise, censor, and ban. It involved an interlaced system of editors, publishers, and bureaucrats, and worked with authors as much as against them and helped to improve literary works to conform to the state views or standards. Similar to Darnton's finding about censorship in France during the years before the revolution of 1789, censorship under the New Order Indonesia also drove authors/editors/publishers and censors together rather than apart. In this regard, this paper aims to investigate the censorship machinery that the state operated, including its form and agencies, in order to identify the institutional framework undergirding the mechanism of surveillance and control utilized by the state in relation to book banning.

---

## Sonic Entanglements: Sound, Archive, and Acoustic Historiographies in Southeast Asia 2

LOCATION	Room 1.502
TYPE	Double Panel (Part 2)
CONVENERS	Barbara Titus <i>University of Amsterdam</i> meLê yamomo <i>University of Amsterdam</i>

### ABSTRACT

Please refer to Part 1 of this panel in the previous session.

### PAPERS

#### › Psychoacoustics and Beyond: Examining the Sonus of the Philippine National Anthem

Rameses De Jesus *University of the Philippines*

Psychoacoustics has helped us understand a great deal about the psychological and physiological processes associated with our perception and experience of sound; however, we have fewer discussions about the processes of the personal interpretation of sound. The interpretation of stimuli (whether visual, tactile, sonic, etc.) employs a great deal of subjectivity, along with the utilization of senses, employment of acquired related information or experience (e.g. aesthetic knowledge), capacities for evaluation (e.g. physiological/intellectual acuity), and the attributions, conjectures, or extrapolations being associated with the stimuli. National anthems are a particular case of sonic stimuli that elicit unique inward and outward responses from constituents and non-constituents, which raise points of interest for practitioners of various fields such as psychology, cultural anthropology, and music. For instance, let us consider how a national anthem comes to mean what it does, as we imbue it with individual and collective significance to be something that reflects identity and community, compels reverence from constituents, elicits or challenges laws, signifies pride and distinction, or symbolizes nationhood. The concept of sonus in yamomo's (2018) framework of the Anthropology of Sound helps fill the gap in understanding the interpretation and meaning-creation of sound and music. The Philippine national anthem, embedded in its socio-political history and context, is examined as a case in this discussion.

› **Radio Broadcasting and Colonial Power in the Dutch East Indies**

Vincent Kuitenbrouwer *Universiteit van Amsterdam*

The advent of radio broadcasting had a big impact on the Dutch East Indies in the interwar years. The medium-wave station Nederlandsch-Indische Omroep Maatschappij (NIROM) attracted many listeners from the archipelago with its combination of ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern’ programs. Considering this success, members of the contemporary Dutch colonial regime believed that the new medium could seriously influence power hierarchies and as a result radio was both celebrated and feared by them. This paper explores how these ambivalent visions of radio broadcasting translated into attempts from the colonial administration to control broadcasts in order to protect and strengthen the status quo.

Central to this paper are the archives of the Advisory Council of NIROM, that was responsible for monitoring and censoring radio broadcasts in the Dutch East Indies. By using them I will not only reveal the fundamental views on the societal impact of radio amongst colonial elites, but also reflect on the limits of their power. On the one hand there was censorship, that was aimed to prevent radio to undermine the colonial hierarchies. On the other hand radio amateurs, who organized in clubs, were quite influential in determining the programme of NIROM. Particular focus will be given to Indonesian agency and music broadcasts on the so-called ‘Eastern’ programme, both traditionalistic and modernistic styles. The members of the Advisory Council extensively discussed this topic, but the sources reveal a profound ambivalence.

› **The Genealogy of Dutch Colonial Knowledge of Javanese Gamelans: A Reappraisal of Post-Colonial Approach**

Sri Margana *University of Leiden*

The works of Jaap Kunst on the indigenous music in the Indian archipelago has opened the eyes of western scholars of the prolific nature of Asian traditional music instruments. After the publication of *The Music of Java* and his long involvement in the academic teaching in the University of Amsterdam he introduced the term ‘ethnomusicology’ as a new concept and the subject of music studies in western academic worlds. It lifted the Asian music instrument up to equally level with the western music instruments. The involvement of the Western scholars in compiling and studying indigenous arts and cultures of the colonized society during the colonial period has been examined narrowly from the post-colonial perspective. The western knowledge production of the colonial society was regarded as systematic movement of the western orientalism. However the case of Jaap Kunst exploration of Javanese music might be a peculiar case which raise question of the adequacy of the approach. The way Jaap Kunst building the connection with his subject of research and his indigenous counterparts is the subject of scrutiny. This paper will examine the genealogy of the Dutch colonial knowledge of Javanese gamelans with special reference to the Jaap Kunst academic endeavors and knowledge production. The overflowed correspondences by Jaap Kunst with his Javanese counterparts will be the main references employed in this study.

.....

**Revolutionising Print, Revolutionary Politics: Printed Matter and Politics in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore, 1850s–1970s**

**LOCATION** Room 1.503  
**TYPE** Single Panel  
**CONVENERS** Nadirah Norruddin *National Library of Singapore*  
Nasri Shah *Malay Heritage Centre*

**ABSTRACT**

The role of printing and publishing in colonial and independence movements within the Malay world has been extensively documented. From William Roff’s study of print and Malay nationalism in the 1960s, to Benedict Anderson’s notion of “print capitalism” in the 1980s, the printed press, mainly in the form of the newspaper and periodical, has been convincingly argued to have provided a social, linguistic and political coherency to various independence movements in Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. However, scant attention has been given to the wider breadth of print culture that emerged at the turn of the twentieth-century, in the run up to decolonisation in the respective countries, including: anti-colonial political brochures, feminist newsletters, comics, underground weeklies during the Second World War, post-war lifestyle and literary magazines and others. Consequently, such printed matter is often relegated to the margins – sometimes literally – of the study of print and politics in the Malay world in order to privilege a unitary view of independence politics in the abovementioned countries.

In the wake of a resurgent interest in the print history of the Malay world, this panel seeks to relook such printed matter in these regions (including, but not limited to, brochures, flyers, magazines, handwritten presses, advertisements) in order to widen the narrative of print and politics in the Malay world. How can the expansive, and sometimes contradictory print culture of this region enrich and complicate our understanding of Malay modernity, particularly amidst decolonisation and independence? How was print culture during this time assimilated and understood in existing indigenous modes of knowl-

edge production in these territories? Most importantly, what are the divergences and convergences in the medium of the printed press across Dutch- and British-occupied Southeast Asia and what does this ultimately reveal to us about print as a medium? This panel welcomes contributions from a wide array of disciplines, such as media studies, gender studies, design and others, that are focused on the study of the above material and issues.

## PAPERS

### › In Sickness and in Health: Malay Print Advertisements ca. 1930s

Nasri Shah *Malay Heritage Centre*

The 1920s to 1930s marked a watershed in the history of the Malay-language printed press in Singapore and Malaysia, as a result of the establishment of various weekly and monthly periodicals by the local Malay community including *Saudara* (1928), *Warta Malaya* (1930), *Majlis* (1932) and *Utusan Melayu* (1939), amongst various others. Notably, these periodicals differed from their predecessors in that they created a deliberate space for the articulation of various political and commercial expressions of Malay modernity. The political intent behind this transformation, in the lead up to the consolidation of the Malay independence movement, has been studied to a significant extent by historians - the visual culture of these periodicals, however, less so. This task is complicated by the unclear, and at times seemingly contradictory, relationship between the written contents of the press and its visual elements, particularly during the graphic boom of the 1930s.

This presentation proposes to study this relationship between text and image by focusing on various Malay-language health and patent medicine advertisements produced between the late 1920s to 1930s. Specifically, this presentation looks at these advertisements' concurrence with the construction of embodied Malay political and economic subjectivities in other media during this time, in order to consider the possible equivalences (or disjunctions) that can be drawn from comparing the two. For example, what can the analysis of visual tropes of health and vitality reveal about discourses of the Malay body - collective or otherwise - during this time? More importantly, might we posit a relationship between text and image that exceeds the illustrative to one that is mutually, politically catalysing?

### › Reporting on Neighbors' Troubles: Asian Communist Movement in the Eyes of the Singapore Press, 1926–1932

Kankan Xie *Peking University*

Historians frequently suggest that British Malaya was embedded in the Chinese and Indonesian communist networks because of the colony's strategic location and immigrant communities' close connections with their places of origin. While such writings often indicate close interactions existed among political movements of China, Malaya, and Indonesia around this time, scholars have rarely approached the subject beyond the vaguely articulated "influence" and "networks." By juxtaposing the three places at the same historical moment, this paper explores how and why the Singapore press reported on communist activities extensively elsewhere even before local communist parties (such as the MCP) firmly established themselves.

Specifically, this research focuses on discussing two cases: (1) how the Singapore media reacted to Indonesia's 1926/27 communist revolts; and (2) how Singapore newspapers reported on the arrest and trial of Lefranc Ducroux, a French Comintern agent who was sent to Malaya with the hope of connecting local leftwing organizations to the global network in 1931. I argue that the press created a sort of anxiety that "neighbors' troubles" could penetrate to Malaya through immigrant communities and the Comintern-led networks. Such a discourse resonated with the colonial administration's fear of the communist movement throughout the globe. Although the communist threat was still largely negligible from a strictly local perspective, the British government adopted preemptive measures against various nascent leftwing movements, which left a long-term repercussion in the politics of the region.

### › Slogans, Caricature, and Feuilleton: The Print Culture of Revolutionary Press in Colonial Indonesia

Rianne Subijanto *City University of New York*

For three centuries prior to the Indonesian national revolution, local challenges to Dutch imperialism had been sporadic and traditional, and mostly involved wars that were led by princes and religious leaders. During the 1920s, however, lower class people organized a popular, national, and global revolutionary resistance against Dutch rule under the umbrella of the communist movement. Rather than resort to weapons and warfare, the resistance movement developed collective, non-violent actions around new emerging communicative technologies and practices that included public debates, popular journalism, schools, arts, literature, and transport. This paper examines one of the movement's main revolutionary newspapers, *Sinar Hindia* (1918-1926).

In the historiography of Indonesian nationalism and the press, much has been made of the vernacular press and its role in the emergence of national consciousness. However, this work has not typically distinguished between the vernacular press and the self-identified "revolutionary press," which emerged during the early communist movement in 1920s. In this paper, I analyze *Sinar Hindia*'s three genres outside of its article-length news and analysis, namely slogans, caricature, and feuilleton. These three genres uncover the period's distinctive textual and visual rhetoric and discourses that express communist anticolonial cultures of resistance. The careful choice of vocabulary and images borrows the language and rhetoric of the enlightenment and communism and demonstrates practices of translation and adaptation of local and global cultural sources of resistance from previous movements. Through these practices, anticolonial struggles against Dutch rule should thus be seen as responses to both local and global challenges, i.e. Dutch colonialism at home and global capitalism. While existing literature has highlighted the importance of this movement for the emergence of national consciousness and anticolonial struggles in pre-independence Indonesia, this paper reveals its larger role in the global development of enlightenment projects.

# Southeast Asian Grassroots Peacebuilding: Perspectives on Indonesia and Timor-Leste Relationship

LOCATION	Room 1.504
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENER	Andrey Damaledo <i>Kyoto University</i>

## ABSTRACT

The relationship between Indonesia and East Timor changed dramatically in 1999 when a majority of the East Timor population voted to reject the status of Special Autonomy within Indonesia. The departure of the Indonesian military was accompanied by widespread killings, the forced evacuation of thousands of East Timorese, and the destruction of 70 per cent of the territory's public infrastructure. Despite this violent and destructive separation, Indonesia is now one of Timor-Leste's major bilateral partners. In 2017, total trade between the two countries reached a value of US\$580 million—a significant increase from US\$175 million in 2010. There are around 9000 Indonesians currently living in Timor-Leste, making them the largest immigrant group in the country. Bilateral engagements have also been manifested in various sectors that led scholars to argue that Indonesia and Timor-Leste remain intricately entwined at the political, cultural and personal levels in many ways. Little attention, however, has been paid to the way these relationships evolved, been sustained and continued to develop. This panel invites contributions from scholars whose work touches on these issues and other issues related to Indonesia and Timor-Leste relationship beyond the institutional channels of trade, aid and investment. It seeks to contribute to scholarly debates on peacebuilding, particularly on grassroots channels of engagement such as objects, ideas, images, symbols, media, memories, and metaphors, in which people use to sustain or rebuild their relationships.

## PAPERS

### › Bonds and Boundaries: Social Trauma and Repair in an East Timorese Society

Victoria Kumala Sakti *Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity*

Transitional justice mechanisms, such as trials and truth commissions, are commonly set up to assist societies emerging from violent pasts. This process is often conflated with the metaphor of psychological wound and healing while operating within a limited time frame. What happens after these mechanisms end or when they fail to achieve the often-ambitious goals of justice and reconciliation? This presentation draws from long-term and multi-sited ethnographic research and discusses the ways societies deal with the echoes of violence against the backdrop of widespread impunity and unresolved conflicts. The ethnography focuses on the case of Timor-Leste after the chaotic end to Indonesia's 24-year occupation in 1999. Among the legacies of violence are the large-scale deaths of civilians, severe disruptions of kinship and cultural ties, and prolonged displacement of segments of the East Timorese population in West Timor, Indonesia. The paper examines how Meto speaking communities in Oecussi district, an enclave located entirely in West Timor, and among the newly established diaspora across the border remember their experiences of violence and rebuild everyday lives. It explores people's serious efforts in restoring relationships with their ancestors, with the dead victims of the occupation, with the land, and amongst each other. The study weaves the experiences of the East Timorese in dealing with social trauma together with current theorising on the linkages of violence, memory and emotion, and on social repair.

### › Dismissing Development Across West and East Timor

Wendy Asche *University of Queensland*

Notions of upward linear development as part of the 'global project of modernity' are challenged by academics (inter alia: Ferguson 1995; Tsing 2005; Li 2007; Bulloch 2017) and the people who are targets of national and international development projects. I present a case study based on fieldwork in West Timor, Indonesia, which will exemplify some of the 'frictions' faced by local groups engaged in an international development project. The project was intended to unite West and East Timor through cultural exchange and the construction of two museums in both locations. The inter-linkage was to be mediated through the shared material culture of weaving, involving NGOs from the two countries, facilitated by a Dutch museum. The project's planned trajectory was hampered by conflicting expectations, excessive bureaucratic requirements, disparity in the political balance of organisations involved and Dutch, Indonesian and East Timorese historical legacies of colonialism and war.

### › Harvest of the Palm in East Timor and Indonesian West Timor

Andrey Damaledo *Kyoto University*

In his classic *Harvest of the Palm*, Fox argues that 'lontar production provides (a) time to engage in a variety of activities, (b) the ability to alter, at some risk, other aspects of the economy and, with this ability, (c) the means to adapt these subsystems, in a reasonably short time, to changing conditions (1977: 40). Fox developed this argument based in his comparative analysis the lontar economy in among the Rotenese and the Savunese and the swidden economy of those of the Sumbanese and West Timorese. This paper takes Fox's idea further by exploring the lontar economy among different communities in East Timor and West Timor. It focuses on lontar mode of production and the reproduction the lontar juice into the local gin (tua sabu in East Timor and sopi in West Timor). The aim of this paper is to analyse the diversity of palm production and reproduction and how it contributes to different modes of livelihood adaptation and potential cross-border engagement.

## “Development” Appropriation in Myanmar: Partnership, Contestation

LOCATION	Room 1.505
TYPE	Single Panel
CONVENERS	Kristina Simion <i>Australian National University</i> Tomas Cole <i>Stockholm University</i>
DISCUSSANT	Alexander Horstmann <i>Tallinn University</i>

### ABSTRACT

Various forms of development assistance to Myanmar accelerated after political transition in 2011. Within the confines of foreign funded programs and projects actors have sought to aid the country’s lack of land rights, peace, rule of law, environmental conservation, women’s rights, and so on.

This panel critically explores how internationally funded development and conservation projects and initiatives that carry a specific model are appropriated by local actors in Myanmar, sometimes to shore up the legitimacy and authority of certain groups on the local scale, other times “reputationally laundered” from signs of foreign involvement due to nationalist sentiments and endemic xenophobia.

The development models the panel seeks to address could include, but are not limited to:

- Peace
- Land
- Law
- Environment
- Gender
- Conservation

The panel approaches the idea of development in Myanmar from an interdisciplinary and critical political-anthropological perspective that question the donors and the construction of ‘global’ models and then examine the end users of such models. Raising these questions in a fragile political environment can reveal uncanny links of state-/military partnerships with NGOs, development agencies, activist groups and venture capitalists and reiterative cycles of contestation and opportunity.

### PAPERS

#### › “They Do Not Have Wide Eyes”: The “Local Turn” in International Development and Its Implications for Civil Society in Karen State, Myanmar

Shona Loong *University of Oxford*

International development actors increasingly recognise the centrality of the “local” to achieving global goals. They encourage partnerships between themselves, local civil society, and local authorities in the name of achieving poverty reduction, and define organisational strengthening for local actors as an end goal. Good governance programming, widespread since the 1990s, now operates at a finer scale. Amid this “local turn” in international development, this paper discusses the interface between civil society and development actors in Hpa-An, the capital of government-controlled Karen State. Whereas Karen civil society was once dominated by border-based organisations with largely S’gaw Karen leaders, the international development regime offers P’wo Karen civil society leaders inside Burma/Myanmar new pathways to political agency. These P’wo Karen leaders are critical of the Burmese government and the Karen National Union—and find that the international development regime offers resources for pursuing change outside these frameworks. However, by asking civil society to play up the “local” dimensions of their work, the development regime keeps Hpa-An’s civil society at arms length from the centres of political power, reinforcing an uneven geography of power between Myanmar’s centre and periphery. Moreover, the fragmentation of Hpa-An’s civil society into multiple issue-based consortiums distances civil society actors within Myanmar from their border-based counterparts, who aspire to a more comprehensive political vision for the Karen. In Myanmar, the “local turn” in international development could extend the logic of divide-and-rule, entrenching differences not only between Burmans and non-Burmans, but also between Karen people.

#### › “We Are Like Blood Relations”: Negotiating Ethnic Inclusion in Myanmar’s Curriculum Revision

Rosalie Metro *University of Missouri*

Since 2014, the Myanmar Ministry of Education (MOE) has been working with an assortment of inter-governmental organizations to revise school curricula, with one of the stated goals being to improve “inclusivity by ensuring representation from different ethnic groups” (Higgins et al., 2016, p. 114). Thus far, kindergarten, first, and second grade textbooks and teacher guides prepared by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) have been approved by the MOE and put into use. These curricula represent a fascinating arena for the contestation of national identity. Whereas JICA, the World Bank, and other international partners involved in education reform prioritize social inclusion, ethnic diversity, and peace, the old textbooks presented an overwhelmingly Burman-centric,

Buddhist-dominated, Burmese-speaking national identity which fomented conflict (Salem-Gervais & Metro, 2013). Therefore, the international and local consultants who developed the new curricula faced the difficult task of appropriating the ideology of ethnic inclusion in a way that was palatable to the MOE, in a political climate in which maintaining the boundaries of the nation has taken on fresh importance. The new curricula illustrates the risks and compromises inherent in that endeavor. As an anthropologist of education, I use critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003) to compare the old and new textbooks' treatment of national and ethnic identity. I argue that the ideology of inclusion has been unevenly appropriated, resulting in contradictory messages that, ultimately, maintain Burman-centrism in schooling.

➤ **“We Shall Decide Our Political Destiny”: The Desire for Modernity and Revolutionary Commitments in a Large-Scale Conservation Project in Southeast Myanmar**

Tomas Cole *Stockholm University*

In this paper I take my point of departure in the Salween Peace Park in southeast Myanmar to explore how global conservation initiatives are doubly captured by local actors. The first capture I demonstrate comes in how global efforts to protect biodiversity are being turned by the non-government armed groups the Karen National Union (KNU) and their affiliated ecological activist into something more than conservation. These initiatives are, in the face of creeping Myanmar state territorialisation in the wake of the 2012 ceasefire, increasingly being hooked onto KNU's seven-decade long struggle for self-determination in what I call liberation conservation. The second capture I demonstrate comes in how this re-purposed 'liberation conservation' is itself being turned to local needs and desires by the indigenous, almost entirely subsistence farming, peoples that now find themselves living within the Salween Peace Park. Here I show the friction created when ecological activist's priorities of protecting biodiversity and 'local traditions' rub against local people's hopes and dreams to, at least in part, escape their current poverty, the desire for modernity, and their considerable skepticism to the KNU, and authority in general. However, in doing this I want to move away from more dualistic conceptions that seek to place 'the people' in opposition to a rapacious and exploitative 'indigenous elite'. My ethnography suggests something closer what Alpa Shah (2013) calls the intimacy of insurgency. These frictions occur in intimate relations, often described in kinship terms, of squabbles between family members – people tied together by continued revolutionary commitments to the long struggle against the Myanmar Army and toward self-determination.

.....

## Presentation of Laboratory Results

LOCATION	Fritz-Reuter-Saal
TYPE	Laboratory
CONVENER	Benjamin Baumann <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i>

### ABSTRACT

In this concluding session, all Laboratory conveners will give short summaries of the results achieved in their respective Laboratories. Members of the audience will then have the opportunity to ask questions and discuss these results with the conveners.