



1	Editorial	4	Research Modules in WP3	11	Selected Publications of
2	CRISEA Briefing Session for EEAS, 19 June 2018	9	Recent publications		CRISEA Researchers 2017-2018
3	Focus on Work Package 3 The Liberal State and its Discontents	10	A conversation with Professor Amitav Acharya	15	List of Researchers in CRISEA
				16	CRISEA in Two Graphs

EDITORIAL

THE OVER SEVENTY RESEARCHERS involved in CRISEA share a common dedication in conducting their research, one which unites them whether they are Asian or European. Their common focus on Southeast Asia is driven by their sense of the intrinsic importance of the most diverse, but also, arguably, the most dynamic region in the contemporary world. CRISEA research is also driven by the sentiment that Southeast Asia represents a microcosm of global society, a 'regional theatre' in which the forces shaping our world are at play. Thus the study – within a Southeast Asian framework – of a number of burning issues with global dimensions may allow us to draw insights with pertinence beyond the region.

Since the beginning of our project, within the last year, developments in Southeast Asia have made CRISEA's research of even greater potential salience. In Myanmar the world has witnessed an exodus of biblical proportions from Rakhine State, with over 700,000 people being registered as refugees in Bangladesh and the terms "ethnic cleansing" and "genocidal acts" evoked by the UN, and rejected by the Myanmar authorities. In Cambodia the main opposition party was banned prior to legislative elections enabling the existing government to reinforce its position. In the Philippines, the self-proclaimed "war on drugs" has resulted in over 12,000 documented extra-judicial killings. Meanwhile, in Malaysia a peaceful transfer of power to an opposition has occurred after some sixty years of the same ruling coalition. How can these events be interpreted? It is our view that they all involve questions concerning the nature of the contemporary State(s), a subject that exercises the minds of observers worldwide.

CRISEA's Work Package 3 on the challenges to the liberal

state is the subject of this second newsletter. As Tomas Larsson argues in his presentation, authoritarian types of populism, intolerant forms of religious ethno-nationalism and the rise of authoritarian strongmen are not peculiar to Southeast Asia. Yet, as Amitav Acharya suggests in his interview below, the forms they take may be specific and historically contingent to the region itself.

Researchers in WP3 not only look at actors and structures, the common concern of the social sciences, they also look at political culture by situating challenges to the liberal state in the *longue durée* of historical contingency. Prompted by Brexit and the election of Donald Trump there has been a veritable explosion in studies of the rise of global populism with leading publishers producing hefty handbooks on the subject, transforming the study of the phenomenon into a sub-discipline in its own right. Yet, while examining the place of actors and social forces, the terrain in which populist demand emerges and populist supply develops – specifically the place of the State – is often neglected. With its diversity of State models and regime types, Southeast Asia provides a laboratory for the kind of comparative interdisciplinary analysis CRISEA is well placed to undertake. CRISEA researchers will include issues of authoritarianism, threats to liberal values and prevailing narratives on, and concerns about, persecution and human rights violations in their work. The objective is to look towards the future and to contribute to formulating appropriate policy responses.

David Camroux
Dissemination Coordinator

First CRISEA Briefing Session for the EEAS: *The Influence of China on Southeast Asia*

CHAIRIED BY JACQUES LEIDER, CRISEA's first Briefing Session for the EEAS was held in Brussels on 19th June 2018 and involved three researchers from Work Package 5 (The Region) drawn from three of the key disciplines in the CRISEA project: economics, international relations and social history.

Françoise Nicolas (IFRI, France) presented research on "Assessing Chinese Investments in Southeast Asia", a subject of increasing importance in the context of Sino-American rivalry. Underpinned by an impressive statistical apparatus Dr Nicolas, director of IFRI's Asia Centre, underlined the opportunity costs of Southeast Asia's dependence on the Chinese economic locomotive. At the same time as benefiting from their happy geographical proximity, Southeast Asian countries seek to maintain a degree of autonomy from their cumbersome northern neighbour.

Dominik Mierzejewski (University of Lodz, Poland) in his presentation on "Local Governments in China's Policy Towards ASEAN: Roles, Structures and Implications", indeed, underlined the 'balancing act' required in Southeast Asia. His presentation, based on intensive field-work in Yunnan province, provided a fascinating insight into an often neglected subject, namely, the foreign economic policies pursued by China's provinces

and local governments. To simplify, policies announced in Beijing in relation to the immediate neighbours to the south (particularly Myanmar) may not necessarily be those pursued by the provincial government in Kunming. Moreover non-state actors may be pursuing their own regional agenda.

Danny Wong Tze Ken (University of Malaya, Malaysia) in his broad brushstroke presentation demonstrated one of CRISEA's great strengths, the ability to contextualize present developments in the historical *longue durée*. His presentation on the "The Resurgence of China and Its Influence on Ethnic Chinese Communities in ASEAN", situated the present context in which ethnic Chinese communities are potential two way relays between China and their ancestral homeland. However in relation to previous periods those of Chinese ancestry were "essential outsiders", to use Anthony Reid's felicitous phrase, they were outsiders subject to period bouts of anti-Chinese sentiment. Today, by dint of China's harmonious (?) rise they are "essential insiders"

The three presentations were followed by a lively discussion with staff not only from the EEAS, but also from several European Commission DGs, discussions in which Yves Goudineau and David Camroux also participated.

PAST EVENTS

- Terence Gomez had a meeting this summer with H.E Maria Castillo Fernandez, head of the EU delegation to Malaysia, in order to discuss the organization of CRISEA Dissemination Workshop 2 and a Policy Briefing scheduled in July 2019.
- CRISEA (WP3) co-sponsored a workshop on '*Démocratie illibérale*' ou '*électoratisme autoritaire*' en Asie du Sud-est?' in Paris (Sciences Po) on 23rd May 2018. Papers were given by Elsa La Faye de Micheaux, Eugénie Mérieau and David Camroux. The workshop was chaired by Sophie Boisseau du Rocher.
- Carl Middleton, co-coordinator of WP1 (The Environment), organized on 3rd September 2018 a public seminar at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok on "Understanding the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Framework and China's role in the Mekong Region".
- Jayeel Cornelio met on 9th October 2018 with H.E Franz Jessen, head of the EU delegation to the Philippines to discuss the organization of CRISEA Dissemination Workshop 1 and a Policy Briefing scheduled in mid-February 2019.
- CRISEA (WP3) co-sponsored a meeting/debate with June Sirikan Charoensiri in Paris (Sciences Po) on *Thailand: Towards a General Election under Martial Law?* on 7th November 2018 with June Sirikan Charoensiri. Eugénie Mérieau was the discussant and François Bafail, the chair.
- David Camroux met on 8th November with H.E. Bruno Angelet, head of the EU delegation in Vietnam, to discuss CRISEA activities in relation in Vietnam.
- Ateneo de Manila University organized on 16th November the Second International Conference in European Studies in Southeast Asia around the theme *Comparing Regionalism: The European Union as Reference Point in Integrating Regions*. Organized by Marissa Paderon from Ateneo a number of CRISEA scholars from outside the Philippines participated: Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Evelyn Devadason, Do Ta Khanh, Natthanan Kunnamas.

The Liberal State and its Discontents in Southeast Asia

FAR FROM ENJOYING A triumphal “end of history,” the liberal–democratic state and liberalism as an ideology are currently being challenged on a number of fronts across the world. Authoritarian populism of the left and the right, intolerant forms of religious nationalisms, the rise of authoritarian strongmen—these are all rightly perceived as direct attacks on liberal political values. What has surprised observers in recent years is that these tendencies are manifested also in societies in Europe and North America that were presumed to be consolidated liberal democracies and global champions of political (and economic) liberalism. It is therefore fair to say that the West is becoming more “like” Southeast Asia, where the liberal state and liberalism as an ideology have never achieved hegemonic status. Indeed, it has rightly 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 that were common throughout the region in the 1960s, as exemplified by Hun Sen in Cambodia, Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, and Prayut Chan-ocha in Thailand.

Yet Southeast Asian states frequently combine liberal and illiberal elements in unexpected and incongruous ways. Note, for instance, that Singapore is regarded as a world leader in rule of law, yet it continues to criminalize male homosexuality. Or, to take another example, that Cambodia, which has a poor record in terms of democracy and the rule of law is regarded as liberal when it comes to state regulation of religion and sexuality.

In WP3 we therefore hope that the study of Southeast Asian politics, using the liberal state as a conceptual focal point, will speak to broader debates about the drivers and dynamics of political contestation and change, in the past as well as in the present. We seek 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.

We have divided the work into four clusters. The first cluster is focused on popular and populist challenges to the liberal state. Here we will explore how the legitimacy of rival conceptions of “the people” and its “others” have been—and remain—the object of intense political struggles, the outcomes of which have important consequences for who gets to enjoy citizenship and what such membership entails. The second cluster focuses on religion and its relationship to the state and to nationalism. It is particularly concerned with how state actors manage religious demands and challenges to their authority and legitimacy. The third cluster is devoted to the interaction between political regimes and civil society movements. Contestation over the liberal state in contemporary Southeast Asia frequently pits authoritarian governments that seek to legitimate themselves by appealing to “traditional” values and particularistic ideologies against advocates of universal values, often expressed in the liberal language of individual rights and freedoms. The fourth and final cluster pays analytical attention to state institutions. Among the more striking developments in recent decades has been the diffusion and adoption throughout Southeast Asia of formal institutional arrangements that are (ostensibly) designed to safeguard the rights and freedoms of citizens, including but not limited to constitutional courts and human rights commissions. There is a pressing need to understand what role these and other institutions play in contemporary Southeast Asian politics.

WP3 brings together scholars trained in multiple social-science disciplines – including political science, history, and anthropology – whose expertise covers virtually every country in Southeast Asia.

Tomas Larsson
Leader Work Package 3

FUTURE EVENTS

- EEAS Policy Briefing In Brussels, 30 January 2019.
- Dissemination Workshop 1 followed by a Policy Briefing in Manila, 12th – 14th February 2019.
- CRISEA WP3 Workshop, University of Cambridge, 17th – 18th April 2019.
- 2nd CRISEA Research Workshop, 25th –26th May 2019, Procida, Italy
- CRISEA Panels at *EuroSEAS*, Humbolt University, Berlin, 10th –13th September 2019.

Contesting the Liberal State

Individual Research Projects

VANINA BOUTE (CASE/EFEO)

Local power in Southeast Asia: Legitimation of new elites at the Lao borders



Since the 1980s, particularly in the framework of the socialist regimes in Vietnam and Laos (although this was also true of Thailand), the advent of greater bureaucratic control of the full extent of national territories, including the most remote districts has paved the way for the implementation of coercive

rural development policies. Concomitantly social engineering measures have been conceived that aim to integrate ethnic minorities in the “national culture.” However, this ongoing drive for national integration is by no means close to achieving its overall objective, at a time when the centralizing process commanded by the state is faced with increasing competition due to the prospect of regional integration in ASEAN and the development of cross-border dynamics on a growing scale. New towns that are emerging in northern Laos, as they are in most of the regions of continental Southeast Asia, particularly on borders, are characterized by a highly varied mix of populations: peoples from the plains and the hills, Buddhists and non-Buddhists, rice paddy cultivators and slash-and-burn farmers etc. States are not so much the embodiment of centralizing power but rather another actors, which obviously continue to play a crucial role, notably in a transnational framework that has allowed for a widespread redeployment of local initiatives and a resurgence of “local power.” My research project involves observing the emergence of local elites in these new spaces will allow us to understand the networks of influence (economic, political, cultural) that are developing. This anthropological study will focus in particular on studying the forms of legitimization of these new elites through their use of ritual—patronage of Buddhist ceremonies, creation of ethnic ceremonies, etc. This research project seeks to shed new light on the sources of political legitimacy in contemporary Laos, and on the emergence of forms of power that potentially compete with those of ruling elites.

MARCO BUNTE (GIGA/MONASH/HAMBURG)

National Human Rights Commissions in Southeast Asia: Origins, mandates and impacts

Nearly half of the Southeast Asian states have established national human rights commissions: Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines and Thailand have at some point in their history established these institutions. This is remarkable, since most of these states are not liberal democracies, which normally use these institutions to shield citizen rights

from state intervention. Moreover, all these states have a more or less dismal human rights record. So, the establishment of these institutions becomes even more perplexing. National Human Rights Commissions are often described as a bridge between international human rights norms and local implementation. Nevertheless, they can evolve into to some extent domestic actors in their own right and

influence State compliance with human rights norms. This research project explores the historical and political origins of national human rights commissions in Southeast Asia, the nature and scope of their mandates and their level of independence, and, finally, their impact on political discourses and practices in the region. With regards to the latter, this project will develop a conceptual framework to assess the effectiveness of Southeast Asia’s national human rights commissions.

Myanmar’s Military: ‘Caretaking’ or ‘Murdering’ Democratisation?

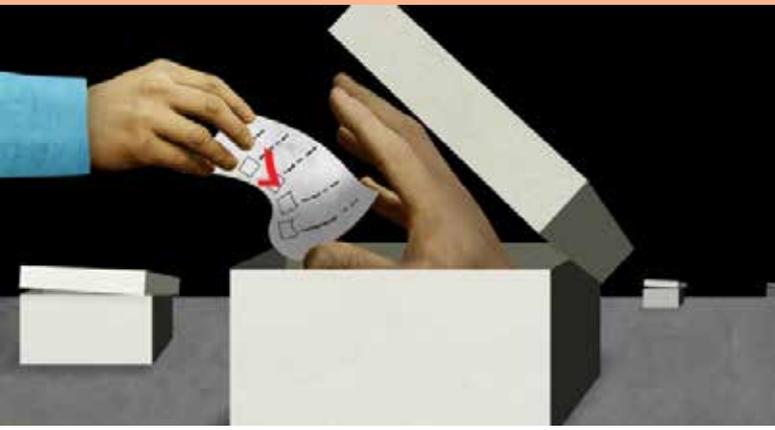
Since its transition from direct military rule in 2011, Myanmar has seen a number of liberalising reforms in the political and economic spheres. These reforms culminated in the “free but not fair” elections in November 2015. Ostensibly, these brought the oppositional National League for Democracy (NLD) under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi to power. The reforms also led to a recalibration of foreign policy and opening up to the West. Yet, despite the establishment of a form of “civil-military cohabitation,” an assessment of the overall trajectory of Burmese political development remains contentious in scholarly circles. How can we characterise civil-military relations since 2011? Is the military a guardian, caretaker, or moderator? What roles does the military play in the current cohabitation with the civilian government? What is the impact of military involvement on democratisation? The research tries to answer these questions by examining the role of the military with regard to three interlinked issue areas: civil liberties and political freedoms; the development of political parties and civil society; and, finally, peace-building and security.

DAVID CAMROUX (SCIENCES PO/EFEO)

Illiberal democracy in Southeast Asia and ASEAN’s collective norms

This research project seeks to reinterpret the ASEAN narrative and to determine, to what extent the ASEAN praxis





of consensus around the lowest common denominator has made the illiberal state the *de facto* regional norm in Southeast Asia. In the ASEAN Charter, which came into force in December 2008, the “strengthening of democracy” is listed 7th amongst 15 purposes and adherence to the principles of democracy is again listed 7th amongst 14 principles. This low priority would seem to reflect, not only the collective choice of the ten ASEAN members, but also the reality in individual ASEAN member states. For its fifty years of existence the median regime type amongst the ten ASEAN members is that of a semi-democratic/hybrid/semi-authoritarian form. While correlation does not necessarily imply causation, this observation raises the question of whether there is a link between membership of ASEAN and regime type. Can the character of political regimes be explained with reference only to domestic dynamics in individual member states? Or is the prevalence of illiberal democratic regimes in Southeast Asia linked to the nature of ASEAN as a regional organization and to its historical trajectory (including its relations with great powers)? The project also seeks to answer the question, to what extent can the roots of ASEAN’s apparent political illiberalism be found in Southeast Asian forms of pan-Asianism?

LISANDRO (LELOY) CLAUDIO (ATENEO DE MANILA)

The re-erosion of the Philippine liberal state?

Liberalism has played a central role in the formation of the modern Philippine state. In short, in the 19th century, liberalism was the language of nation-building, and in the 20th century it became the discourse of statecraft. Despite its deep historic roots, political liberalism in the Philippines remains a fragile experiment. This research project will examine the two major challenges to Philippine liberalism in the past half century: the assault on liberal institutions by President Ferdinand Marcos in the 1970s and President Rodrigo Duterte’s in the present period. It seeks to explain why the most liberal democratic state in Southeast Asia undergoes this kind of democratic crisis. It also compares, and contrasts, the differing approaches that Marcos and Duterte have taken as they challenge the Philippine liberal tradition. Marcos’s was a slow, deliberate destruction and exploitation of the constitutional system, done through legal tact and the



systematic corruption of the military. Duterte, on the other hand, can be seen as a kind political storm-trooper and a disruptor—a populist who thrives on unconventionality.

IZA HUSSIN (CAMBRIDGE)

Reasons of State: Making sense of the supernatural in Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia

This project explores the making of public reason and unreason in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia?. This is undertaken through the study of state explanations of natural and political disasters, of plane crashes, of spectacular corruption, of national security catastrophes. The project involves using political ethnography, media and communications analysis, and data mining of domestic and regional web material in multiple languages. It asks 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? Fundamentally, this is a project aimed at exploring how Southeast Asian states make sense, without assuming either that they do, or that they conform to a particular liberal and post-Enlightenment version of sense and rationality. Examining public reason and unreason provide a lens into the rich and understudied worlds of logic, explanation, and credulity, and may help us understand the techniques and stakes of political communication at a time when incredulity seems the only rational response.

TOMAS LARSSON (CAMBRIDGE)

Royal succession and the politics of religious purification in contemporary Thailand

Since the 2014 military coup in Thailand, ruling political elites have been engaged in a variety of initiatives aimed at reforming the relationship between the Thai state and the Buddhist *Sangha*. These efforts have been dramatically intensified in the wake of the passing of King Bhumiphon (Rama IX) in October 2016 and the subsequent ascension to the throne by his son, Vajiralongkorn (Rama X). Through a variety of means and in a number of different arenas, the military-dominated state—and the new king—have asserted their power and control over the ecclesiastical realm. These related developments may be viewed as part of a conservative backlash against more “liberal” approaches to religion-state relations that had been initiated in the 1990s. More specifically, they constitute attempts to generate religious legitimacy for the military junta and, more significantly, for the new king, by “purifying” religion in ways that re-enact pre-modern scripts of righteous Buddhist kingship. Paradoxically, this is done, in part, by seeking to introduce quintessentially modern standards of “good governance”

and transparency into the administration of the *Sangha* and its (extensive) material assets. This research project aims to assess whether the reform efforts of the new reign signify a more fundamental transformation of *sangha*-state relations, with implications for religious and other liberties in contemporary Thailand.

RACHEL LEOW (CAMBRIDGE)

Transnational conceptions of 'the people' in early 20th century Southeast Asia

This project undertakes a limited examination of three different transnational strands of 'the people' in early 20th century Southeast Asia, when national borders did not yet exist in the form they take today. It also seeks to analyze how earlier constituencies of

'peoples' implied configurations of territory and space that were fundamentally different from the postcolonial nation-state. These are: 1) The people as *huaqiao* (overseas Chinese), 2) the people as *ummah* (the community of Muslims), and 3) the people as 'the masses'. The purpose will be to demonstrate some of the ambiguities in the concept of 'the people,' paying special attention to examples where they do not in any way conform to the territories of contemporary nation-states in Southeast Asia. The articulation of these three transnational conceptions of 'the people' will be approached through an in-depth study of a small number of writers and intellectuals who were active in Southeast Asia in the early 20th century, highlighting the tensions between these three strands of 'the people' that emerge within their thought, politics, and bodies of writing. The focus will be on the elements of their thinking that pertain to people and place, in other words the alternative geographical boundaries that their conceptions of the people imply. These transnational conceptions will, finally, be contrasted with a fourth conception of "the people" as a "national" people in the postcolonial state of Malaysia, where arguably these different conceptions of political community meet most problematically and often acrimoniously in a history chequered by Islamic illiberalism, anti-Chinese discrimination, and virulent anti-communism. In this way this project hopes to offer a novel account of some of the historical forces that have shaped one of the modern states in Southeast Asia, i.e. Malaysia, and which have contributed to some of the "discontents" concerning the legitimacy of the postcolonial state.

RÉMY MADINIER (CASE-CNRS/EFEO)

Contesting the Pancasila State in Indonesia

Adopted in 1945, at the time of independence, the Indonesian official ideology enshrines as the first of its five principles (*Pancasila*) "the Belief in One Almighty God" (*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*), as the foundation of the Indonesian nation. This original formula, unprecedented in the history of religious management by a modern state, is based on



spiritual inventiveness and great political pragmatism. Inspired by a plurality of spiritual references, Pancasila founded a religious status quo still in force today: Indonesia which has the world's largest Muslim population equally recognized six religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Confucianism), despite large demographic differences. As noted by Karel Steenbrink (2015), Pancasila is different from Japanese civil religion or Shinto, because it is a modern creation, did not develop over centuries, and originated in a clear pluriformity of religious convictions within the country and was placed alongside the existing religions. But like American civil religion, Pancasila is a mythical and ritual instrument to bind a diverse nation together. But this original ideology, at the core of the Indonesia liberal state has from the outset been challenged by some of the representatives of political Islam. In minority, the latter have failed to challenge the Pancasila with an Islamic State.

With this historical background in mind, this research project explores contemporary dynamics of political contestation over religion-state relations in Indonesia. It focuses on recent developments that signal a defense of "traditional" understandings of Pancasila, as well as developments that suggest that the original model is being "liberalised." As for the former, an important organization to promote Pancasila was recently launched on presidential instruction with the support of the Military. With regards to the latter, a governmental decree and then the Supreme Court allowed Indonesian citizens to have their "traditional beliefs" (*aliran kepercayaan*) mentioned on their identity cards in place of one of the six recognized religions. In the future, it has been suggested, Indonesian citizens may even be allowed to indicate no religious affiliation on their identity cards, breaking with an obligation in force since 1966. Taken together, these developments are a cause of great anxiety among proponents of conservative Islam—including but not limited to militant Islamist networks—because they could allow Indonesians to escape otherwise growing pressures towards orthopraxy within the Muslim community.

EUGÉNIE MÉRIEAU (GÖTTINGEN/EFEO)

Dual states and constitutionalism: Theory from Southeast Asia

The objective of this research project is to develop new insights about the politics of the rule of law, based on experiences of constitutionalization in Southeast Asia. Prominent scholars of law have highlighted the dualistic character of the



state, contrasting the “normative” (rule of law) state with a “prerogative” (arbitrary) state (Fraenkel 1941), and the legal system that operates in “normal” circumstances versus the legal system that operates in times of “emergency” (Ferejohn and Pasquino 2004). In a similar vein, this research project will theorize the existence of

a “deep constitution” embedded in the “visible” constitutional framework that regulates a “deep state” that is in permanent coexistence and competition with the “regular” state. In order to do this, it will use an in-depth case study of Thailand, currently the only full-fledged military dictatorship in the world, as its point of departure. The dismissal, both through military and judicial means, of almost all elected leaders throughout Thailand’s political history has sparked debate about the existence of a “deep state” opposed to the rise of electoral politics. It is seen as being autonomous from the elected government, and endowed with veto powers over it. In contrast with conventional understandings of the deep state— as a shadowy network of security agencies and their operative – this project approaches the deep state as one that is grounded in law. In the Thai case, the deep state arguably developed out of provisions for martial law that were enacted in 1914, and which have subsequently been built into the modern constitutional order. In order to extend the research beyond Thailand, this project will analyze the emergency or “raison d’état” provisions found in other constitutional systems in Southeast Asia. The analytical implications of the project is that rather than focusing on whether states are liberal or non-liberal, democratic or authoritarian, placing states on a continuum – based on the potentialities offered by the emergency provisions found in different constitutional orders – may provide a more salient heuristic framework.

PHAM QUYNH PHUONG (VASS)

Negotiating with the State: State-society relations and the rise of LGBT movement in Vietnam

Over the past decade, Vietnamese society has witnessed the emergence of a vibrant LGBT movement, which has been instrumental in changing social perceptions of sexual diversity, as well as in gaining official recognition of LGBT rights. The State has lifted the ban on gay marriage and has allowed sex reassignment surgery. On the diplomatic front, the Vietnamese government in 2014 and 2016 voted in favor of UN resolutions on anti-discrimination against LGBT persons. The Communist party-state of Vietnam, which is often labeled as a serious human rights violator, has thus emerged as one of the most progressive countries in Southeast Asia on LGBT issues. This research project explores the underlying dynamics that caused this shift in official attitudes towards LGBT issues. In particular it highlights the central role played by Vietnamese



LGBT activists, and offers an analysis of their strategies for gaining access to and persuading state actors. It also seeks to understand the state’s responses to this social movement. This research project seeks to shed important new light on the nature of state-society relations in Vietnam, and on the pragmatic nature of the Vietnamese state as it negotiates new challenges to the legitimacy of its policies and practices.

VATTHANA PHOLSENA (CASE/EFEO)

Citizenship, belonging, and urban diversity in Laos

A growing number of social scientists have recently focused on relations of coexistence and accommodation whereby ordinary people of diverse backgrounds manage differences and interact meaningfully in multicultural societies. But while much of the recent work on coexistence and urban diversity has focused on self-proclaimed multicultural Western and Asian countries, it neglects everyday interactions in nation-states that are as ethnically and culturally diverse, but where multiculturalism as ideology, policy, and practice is all but alien. This description fits the political life and social fabric of several Southeast Asian countries wherein (mostly unofficial and unrecognized) politics of majority-minority is a dominant feature. Post-independence, rulers in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam have politically relied upon and culturally favored a particular ethnic group – Khmer, Lao, Bamar, (Central) Thai, or Kinh, respectively – in their pursuit of national homogeneity, thus discriminating against and labelling other linguistic, ethnic, or religious groups as ‘minorities’. In other words, these regimes have attempted to transform historically multi-ethnic societies into mono-cultural nation-states. The project will focus on Laos where half of the population (encompassing dozens of ethnic groups) does not belong to the ethnic Lao majority. However, the ethnicity and cultural markers of the ethnic Lao have become ‘national’ since independence in 1975; those of non-ethnic Lao communities meanwhile have been confined outside the cultural mainstream, either to be gradually assimilated or turned into folklore commodities as tokens of the country’s ‘multi-ethnic representation of the national community’.

The project conceives the idea of citizenship as both political-legal (conferring formal state membership with rights and duties) and socio-cultural (in terms of identity and belonging). This project aims to investigate familiarity and the means pursued to create a sense of belonging in multiethnic towns in Laos where the predominant state ideology towards

cultural diversity has been one of assimilation. What kinds of convivial interactions, if any, are produced in an environment where socially-accepted behavior favors a dominant group? How are tensions grappled within a society where intercultural know-how is limited and practices of cultural accommodation are not institutionalized?

KRISTIAN STOKKE & AUNG SOE MYINT (OSLO)

Democratic transition or autocratic reforms? The character and outcome of the democratic opening in Burma/Myanmar



Following five decades of military dictatorship, Myanmar saw a democratic opening after the change of government in 2011. The government of President Thein Sein and the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP) initiated a series of reforms in favour of formal democracy, economic liberalization and ceasefire agreements.

This created, both new political spaces and also strategic dilemmas for political parties, ethnic organizations and civil society bodies. It also altered Myanmar's foreign relations, where Western states moved from imposing economic and military sanctions towards normalized diplomatic and economic relations after 2011. These reforms created optimism about the prospects for democratization, peace and development, but there were also critical questions about the character and substance of the democratic opening. The USDP government and the military showed little willingness to move beyond limited reform. They chose not to initiate constitutional changes in favour of democratic control over the military and substantive devolution of power within a federal state. By 2013 the reform process seemed to have stalled. The political parties and popular movements that had championed the causes of democracy and federalism in opposition to the military regime remained politically excluded. Moreover the benefits of economic growth and the negative impacts of investment projects were geographically and socially uneven. The critical question that emerged in this situation was whether Myanmar's reforms constituted a democratic transition or, rather, a top-down process of concessions aimed at sustaining autocratic power with increased domestic and international legitimacy. If, as today seems likely, Myanmar can best be understood as a case of autocratic reforms, what are the implications in terms of potential outcomes? What do autocratic reforms entail in terms of civil/military-, central/local- and state/society-relations? What, more specifically, are the prospects for progress towards substantive democracy and communal peace? Will the reforming autocratic state be able to prevent the formation and mobilization of broad popular alliances?

JÉRÔME TADIÉ (IRD/EFEO)

Accessing the State? NGOs, civil society, and access to power in everyday Jakarta

This research project focuses on three different NGOs that engage in advocacy for the urban poor in contemporary Jakarta. These NGOs have developed different types of strategies in order to achieve their goals, experiencing different degrees of success. One NGO uses both formal and informal relationships and has developed complex networks. Weaving ties with some of the governors of Jakarta, sometimes in opposition with them, it uses both academic networks, technical specialists, as well as informal ties within the city government. Another NGO was in constant opposition with the local government until its leader suddenly decided to participate in a government-led council. A third NGO pursued a more partisan approach, seeking to leverage its links to a major political Islamist party, in a more or less hidden way. These three different NGOs thus give different examples of how the urban poor—or their NGO representatives—seek to negotiate state power at the local level in Jakarta. It is in these types of negotiations in local contexts that the nature of state power in Indonesia is revealed, beyond the official image, highlighting the central role of political informality in general and interpersonal relationships in particular.

ANDREAS UFEN (GIGA/HAMBURG)

Populism in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is fertile ground for populism. Would-be populists in the region have the advantage that national oligarchies are more often than not extraordinarily corrupt; political parties are weak; personalization is strong; trust in public institutions and democracy is low; high crime rates raise the demand for strongmen politicians; high poverty rates enhance the role of Robin Hood politicians. Moreover, the colonial past and global capitalism produce easy targets such as Western powers, the UN, the EU and their collaborators within the country. But in contrast to many European countries, populists in Southeast Asia often have a problem in defining "the people", especially in ethno-nationalist terms because of multicultural, multiethnic legacies and the existence of weak nation states. This research project seeks to answer key questions about the forms of populism in Southeast Asia. Since the concept of populism has been developed in American and European contexts, do we need to adapt some of the main defining features of this concept if we "travel" to Southeast Asia? How, for example, are "the elite" and "the people" conceived of in Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia against the background of specific traditions of nationalism and multi-ethnicity? What policies are typically promoted by Southeast Asian populists? Does it make sense to differentiate between right-wing and left-wing populism? What role do political parties and institutions such as electoral and government systems play? What are the socio-economic and cultural causes of populism and who are the supporters of Southeast Asian populists? In order to answer these questions a mix of campaign observation, interviews, and discourse and policy analysis will be employed.

JÖRG WISCHERMANN (GIGA/HAMBURG)

Protest and State reaction: an intra-regional comparison (Vietnam, Indonesia)

This research project, which is a cooperation project with Dang Thi Viet Phuong (VASS/Hanoi) and George Martin Sirait (Atma Jaya University, Jakarta), analyses different types of protest in Vietnam and Indonesia in the 2016–2017 period and the ensuing state responses to such protests. The project has two main aims. First, to identify, through newspaper reports, any protest event where the protest targets the state/government, and where such a protest involves more than three people. Second, to identify all forms of state reactions to such protests. The data set, based on the results of the “Protest Event Analysis”, will allow us to form a comprehensive picture of protest as a form of (conflicting) interest articulation and subsequent state reactions to those forms of protest in both countries. This will allow the research project to address a number of theoretically significant questions. Are state reactions conditioned by regime type? In other words,

does the authoritarian one-party state (Vietnam) react differently to protests than an electoral democracy (Indonesia)? Or are state reactions primarily conditioned by the fact that both states are capitalist states, that as such share particular in-built biases?



RECENT PUBLICATIONS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS SERIES

The university press of CRISEA’s British partner, the University of Cambridge, has just launched a wide-ranging new series of extended essays/short monographs on Southeast Asia, available both as e-books and as printed volumes. The series, *Elements of Politics and Society in Southeast Asia*, is edited by Edward Aspinall & Meredith Weiss.

The first four volumes already published are:

- Kenneth Tan, *Singapore: Identity, Brand, Power*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Jamie Davidson, *Indonesia: Twenty Years of Democracy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Aurel Croissant, *Civil-Military Relations in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Mathew Davies, *Ritual and Region: The Invention of ASEAN*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

SEATIDE-SILKWORM BOOK SERIES

Also led by the EFEO and involving a number of researchers now keenly involved in CRISEA, a previous EC supported FP7 project, SEATIDE, published in October 2018 the third edited volume in its series:

- Silvia Vignato & Matteo Carlo Alcano (eds) *Searching for Work: Small-Scale Mobility and Unskilled Labor in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2018.

The first two volumes in the series are:

- Ooi Keat Gin & Volker Grabowsky (eds), *Ethnic and Religious Identities and Integration in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2017.
- Silvia Vignato (ed.) *Dreams of Prosperity: Inequality and Integration in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2018.

The series editors are Yves Goudineau, Andrew Hardy and Chayan Vaddhanaphuti.

A Conversation with **Amitav Acharya**, Chairperson of CRISEA's International Academic Advisory Board



DAVID CAMROUX

Amitav, as one of the rare scholars, not only capable of an overview of ten countries who are members of ASEAN, but also of Southeast Asia as a region within a global context, my deliberately provocative questions concern developments in Southeast in relation to what is seen worldwide variously as the rise of populism, electoral authoritarianism, and as is the subject of CRISEA's WP 3, the challenges to the liberal State.

Europeans, in particular saw, the 2015 election of Daw Aung Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy as announcing a democratic dawn in Myanmar after more than sixty years of military rule. Were we naive? Does the acquiescence of the de facto president of Myanmar in the expulsion of some 700,000 Rohingya, and what the UN has described as the genocide of this population, suggest that she in fact may share the authoritarian Bamar chauvinism of her military predecessors, and that her democratic credentials are somewhat of a sham?

AMITAV ACHARYA

Many people, both in the West (not in EU alone) and in Southeast Asia, overestimated the extent of change in Myanmar. The Myanmar constitution and civil-military relations in the country imposed serious constraints on the independence of a democratically-elected civilian government, especially in handling a very sensitive issue like the Rohingya. Aung San Suu Kyi's leadership in dealing with this issue has been genuinely disappointing, but not entirely surprising. She has been more primarily concerned with keeping her party and herself in power. I don't think we can go as far as to say that she shares the "authoritarian Bamar chauvinism" of her military predecessors. But she might have acted out of political (mis)calculation that the domestic political benefits of taking on the military over the Rohingya issue are far less than acquiescing with the murder and expulsion of the Rohingya. She might have (again, miscalculating) felt that the international community would "understand" her inaction as the result of the dominant role of the military and forgive her. In any case, it was poor judgment and leadership.

DAVID CAMROUX

The recent elections in Cambodia and the delays (and the machinations) by the civilianized military regime in Thailand would suggest that Fukuyama's 'end of history' thesis (i.e. the inevitability of pluralist democracy) is so much hype in the Southeast Asian context. Is that indeed the case?

AMITAV ACHARYA

The Fukuyama "end of history" thesis was overblown, even by the standards of post-Cold War Western triumphalism. We have a long history of pundits using a moment of hope or crisis in international affairs to present a grand trend or thesis about where history is headed. Unfortunately, policy magazines and populist publishers pick up these ideas because they sell. Southeast Asia is no stranger to authoritarianism and "strongman rule". Even when there are elections, the politics is illiberal. Moreover, Southeast Asia has also historically shown that a newly democratic regime, once it settles into power, can "backslide" into different degrees of authoritarian rule with the excuse of providing a modicum of stability and economic growth. This happened after decolonization in many Southeast Asian countries, such as in the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Cambodia after the UN-supervised elections in 1993 is no exception. The danger is that it is happening today in Myanmar and may happen in Indonesia. The Philippines may also go that way, unless Duterte's successor turns out to be very different.

But I should stress that these trends have little to do with the populism we now see in the West. We should not assume that Southeast Asia is somehow caught up in a global trend. Rather we should see this as a historical pattern in Southeast Asia, and more generally, in different parts of the developing world.

DAVID CAMROUX

In this somber landscape, the Malaysian legislative elections of May 2018 saw the first election of an opposition coalition since the country's independence, more than a half-century previously. For you, is this result an aberration or a harbinger of future political change in Southeast Asia?

AMITAV ACHARYA

At this point, I see Malaysia as a case in itself. There have been some suggestions that it might have a contagion effect and challenge the one-party system in Singapore. But the two countries are quite different. In Malaysia, the major immediate catalyst for change was blatant corruption of the Najib regime. Also, much depends on how political trends in Malaysia play out, especially whether there is a peaceful transfer of power to Anwar and his coalition, and that the ruling coalition stays united and performs credibly in ensuring economic and political reform in an ethnically inclusive and progressive ways. These are big ifs. But if Malaysia remains peaceful and democratic, it will have an impact on the region.

Selected Publications of **CRISEA** Researchers

BOISSEAU DU ROCHER, SOPHIE (FRANCE)

- “Coopération scientifique en mer de Chine du Sud: nouvel axe de la diplomatie sécuritaire chinoise?” in Nathalie Fau & Benoît de Tréglodé (eds) *Mers d’Asie du Sud-Est: Coopération, intégration et sécurité*, Paris: CNRS Editions, 2018.
- “Les Rohingya et les hoquets de l’histoire”, *Politique Internationale* 157, Autumn 2017.

BOUTÉ, VANINA (FRANCE)

- *Mirroring Power. Ethnogenesis on the margins of the Lao State*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2018.
- “Relations de travail dans le Laos rural : économie morale paysanne et éthique de l’entrepreneur”, *Autrepart*, n°84, 2018.

BUADAENG, KWANCHEWAN (THAILAND)

- “The Leke Religious Movement of the Karen in the Thailand-Myanmar Borderland: Deterritorialization and Diversification,” in Ooi Keat Gin & Volker Grabowsky (eds) *Ethnic and Religious Identities and Integration in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2017, pp. 241-279.
- “A Karen Charismatic Monk and Connectivity across the Thai-Myanmar Borderland” in Paul Cohen (ed.) *Charismatic Monks of Lanna Buddhism*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2017, pp. 147-170.

BUNTE, MARCO (GERMANY/MALAYSIA)

- (with Björn Dressel (eds.)), *Politics and Constitutions in Southeast Asia*, London: Routledge, 2017.
- “Building Governance From Scratch: Myanmar and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)”, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(2), 2017: 230-251.
- “Perilous Presidentialism or Precarious Powersharing? Hybrid Regime Dynamics in Myanmar” *Contemporary Politics*, 24(3), 2017: 346-360.

CAMROUX, DAVID (FRANCE)

- “Duterte, un cas d’école” in Bertrand Badie & Dominique Vidal (eds) *Le retour des populismes*, Paris: La Découverte, 2018, pp. 214-220.
- “ASEAN is Indonesia’s past, not its future”, *East Asia Forum*, 22nd August, 2018 (<http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2018/08/22/asean-is-indonesias-past-not-its-future/>)

CERIMELE, MICHELA (ITALY)

- (with Pietro P. Masina) “Patterns of Industrialization and the State of Industrial Labour in Post-WTO-Accession Vietnam”, *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 17 (2), 2018: 289-323.
- ‘Informalising the Formal: Work and the Dual Dormitory Labour Regime in Hanoi’s Thang Long Industrial Park’, in Silvia Vignato & Matteo C. Alcano (eds), *Searching for Work: Small-Scale Mobility and Unskilled Labor in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2018. pp. 215-249.

CLAUDIO, LISANDRO (PHILIPPINES)

- “Defending Liberalism in *the Global South*: Notes From Duterte’s Philippines.” *The Global South* 11(2), 2017.
- *Jose Rizal: Liberalism and the Paradox of Coloniality*, Basingstoke UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

CORNELIO, JAYEEL (PHILIPPINES)

- “Religion and civic engagement: The case of Iglesia ni Cristo in the Philippines.” *Religion, State and Society* 45 (1) 2017: 1-16.
- “Young people and the challenges of religious education in the Philippines” in Fabrizio Meroni (ed), *Youth, Catholic Church and Religions in Asia*. Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 2018. pp. 79-112.
- “Jesus is Lord: The indigenization of megachurch Christianity in the Philippines” in Terence Chong (ed.) *Pentecostal Megachurches in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: ISEAS Publishing 2018, pp. 127-155.

DEVADASON, EVELYN (MALAYSIA)

- “Malaysia: trade, foreign direct investment and regional integration”, in Roderick-James MacDonald (ed.) *Southeast Asia and the ASEAN Economic Community: Potential and Opportunities*, Basingstoke UK: Palgrave MacMillan (forthcoming).
- “ASEAN’s experience in trade liberalization”, *Asia-Europe Institute (Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence Newsletter)*, University of Malaya, (forthcoming).

ĐỖ TÁ KHÁNH (VIETNAM)

- (with Pietro Masina (eds)) *Công nghiệp hóa và lao động ở Việt Nam (Industrialization and Labour in Vietnam)*, Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House, 2017.

FAU, NATHALIE (FRANCE)

- (with Benoit de Trégoldé, (eds)), *Mers d'Asie du sud-est : Coopérations, intégrations et sécurités*, Paris: CNRS édition, 2018.
- “Les zones communes de développement dans le golfe de Thaïlande : un modèle de coopération ?”, in Eric Mottet, Frédéric Lasserre & Barthelemy Courmont (eds), *Géopolitique de la mer de Chine méridionale, Eaux troubles en Asie du Sud-Est*, Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Québec, 2018, pp. 139–157.

GOMEZ, TERENCE (MALAYSIA)

- (with Kee Cheok Cheong & Vamsi Vakulabharanam) (eds), *China, India and ASEAN: Paths to Development and State-Society Relations*, London: Routledge, 2018.
- (with Jesrina Ann Xavier), “Still an ethnic enterprise after a generational change? Indian-owned SMEs in Malaysia”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 49 (2) June 2018: 297–322.

GRABOWSKY, VOLKER (GERMANY)

- (with Ooi Keat Gin (eds)), *Ethnic and Religious Identities and Integration in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2017.
- “The Ethno-Religious Identity of the Tai People in Sipsong Panna and its Resurgence in Recent Manuscripts”, in Desley Goldston (ed), *Engaging Asia: Essays on Laos and Beyond in Honour of Martin Stuart-Fox*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2018, pp. 290–322.

HANSEN, ARVE (NORWAY)

- (with Nielsen, Kenneth Bo (eds)), *Cars, Automobility and Development in Asia: Wheels of Change*. London: Routledge, 2017.
- “Meat consumption and capitalist development: The meatification of food provision and practice in Vietnam”, *Geoforum*. ISSN 0016-7185. 93, s 57– 68. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2018.05.008>

HUSSIN, IZA (GREAT BRITAIN)

- “The New Global Politics of Religion: Religious Harmony, Public Order, and Securitisation in the Post-colony,” *Journal of Religious and Political Practice*, 4(1), 2018, pp. 93–106.

KAMIŃSKI, TOMAS (POLAND)

- (with Małgorzata Pietrasiak (eds)), *Paradiplomacy in Asia: Case Studies of China, India and Russia* (in Polish), Lodz: University of Lodz Publishing House, 2018.

LARSSON, TOMAS (GREAT BRITAIN)

- “The political economy of state patronage of religion: Evidence from Thailand” *International Political Science Review*, Online first, 20 June, 2018DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512118770178>
- “In search of liberalism: Ideological traditions, translations, and troubles in Thailand” *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 32(3), 2017: 531–561.

MADINIER, RÉMY (FRANCE)

- “Le gouverneur, la sourate et l'islamiste adultère : retour sur l'affaire Ahok”, *Archipel*, 95, May 2018.
- “Indonésie, une démocratie menacée par l'instrumentalisation du mieux-disant islamique”, *Etudes*, April 2018.

MASINA, PIETRO (ITALY)

- (with Michela Cerimele) “Patterns of industrialization and the state of industrial labour in post-WTO accession Vietnam”, *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 17 (2), 2018.
- “An Uneven development trap in Southeast Asia and its implications for labour”, in Silvia Vignato & Matteo C. Alcano (eds), *Searching for Work: Small-Scale Mobility and Unskilled Labor in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2018. pp. 251–279.

MENDES, NUNO CANAS (PORTUGAL)

- (with Luís Bernardino) *Timor-Leste: das forças de guerrilha às FDTL, Uma transformação que espantou o mundo* (Timor-Leste: From Guerrilla Warfare to the Defence Forces), Lisbon: Mercado do Livro, 2018.
- (with Carlos Piteira, Irene Rodrigues & Teresa de Almeida e Silva), *Antologia sobre a Ásia Contemporânea: Perspetivas de Investigação no Instituto do Oriente* (An Anthology of Studies on Contemporary Asia), Lisbon: ISCSP-Universidade de Lisboa.

MÉRIEAU, EUGÉNIE (FRANCE)

- *Idées reçues sur la Thaïlande*, Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu, 2018
- *Les Thaïlandais : lignes de vie d'un peuple*, Paris: Ateliers Henry Dougier: 2018.

MIDDLETON, CARL (THAILAND)

- (with Rebecca Elmhirst & Supang Chantavanich (eds)), *Living with Floods in a Mobile Southeast Asia: A Political Ecology of Vulnerability, Migration and Environmental Change*. London: Routledge/Earthscan, 2018.
- (with Lamb, V., Schoenberger, L & Un, B.) “Gendered eviction, protest, and recovery: A feminist political ecology engagement with the work of men and women in rebuilding state and land relations in rural Cambodia” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 44(6) 2017: 1215–1234. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2017.1311868>
- “Water, Rivers and Dams” in Philip Hirsch (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of the Environment in Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 204–223.

MIERZEJEWSKI, DOMINIK (POLAND)

- (with Bartosz Kowalski), *China's Selective Identities. State, Ideology and Culture*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- “The Role of Local Governments in the New Silk Road”, in Carmen Mendes ed), *China's New Silk Road. An Emerging World Order*, London: Routledge, 2018, pp. 135–151.

NGUYEN BICH THUAN (VIETNAM)

- “Financial security for social welfare system: Some theoretical issues”, *European Studies Review*, No.4/2018.
- (with Ngo Ngan Ha) “Socio – economic changes and its effects on the conception of fatherhood and masculinity in Western societies, *European Studies Review*, No.1/2017.

PERKASA, VIDHYANDIKA (INDONESIA)

- “Colliding Disaster: Conflict and Tsunami in the Context of Human Security In Aceh Indonesia”, in Carolina G Hernandez, Eun Mee Kim, Yoichi Mine, Ren Xiao (eds). *Human Security and Cross-Border Cooperation in East Asia*, Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 87–110.
- (with Medelina Hendytio, Arya Fernandes, Noory Okthariza & Alif Satria), *Politik Identitas dan Akar Konflik dalam Pilkada Serentak: Potensi dan Mitigasi Konflik* (Identity Politics and Root Causes of Conflict in Simultaneous Local Elections: Potential and Conflict Mitigation). Jakarta: CSIS, 2018.

PHAM QUYNH PHUONG (VIETNAM)

- “Transgender Persons in Contemporary Vietnam: Marginalisation and Livelihood Challenges”. *Vietnamese Social Sciences*, No 1, 2017.
- “Gia đình cùng giới: hiện thực xã hội và một số vấn đề lý luận cơ bản” (Same sex marriage: theories and social reality). *Tạp chí Gia đình và Giới* (Journal of Gender and Family Studies), No 4/2017.

PIETRASIAK, MAŁGORZATA (POLAND)

- *Trudne pojednanie. Dyplomacja w procesie normalizacji stosunków amerykańsko-wietnamskich* (Difficult reconciliation. Diplomacy in the Process of the Normalization of American–Vietnamese Relationships), Lodz: University of Lodz Publishing House, 2017.
- (with Tomasz Kamiński (eds)), *Paradiplomacy in Asia. Case Studies of China, India and Russia*, (in Polish), Lodz: University of Lodz Publishing House, 2018.

PHOLSENA, VATTHANA (FRANCE)

- (with Vanina Bouté (eds.)). *Changing Lives. Society, Politics, and Culture in a Post-Socialist State*, Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2018.
- “State formation, social hierarchies, and ethnic dynamics: a case from upland Laos”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 41 (7), 2017: 1294–1311.

POTAPOHN, MANOJ (THAILAND)

- (with Terdsak Yano) “Livestock trade and disease control in and along the borders of Myanmar–Thailand”, unpublished paper at the TDRI: Thailand Development Research Institute panel at the *SEASIA 2017 Conference* held by The Consortium for Southeast Asian Studies in Asia (SEASIA) 2017 – December 17, 2017 Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand
- “What is likely to happen to Myanmar’s livestock industry in the future,” unpublished paper at *2nd BRACIF Conference*, Aichi Gakuin University, Nagoya, Japan, 7 July 2018.

TABACCO, GIACOMO (ITALY)

- “Navigating extractive informality in the Indonesian gold-rich borderlands, the case of West Aceh, sent to The Extractive Industries and Society (EXIS) within and Beyond the ‘Rainy Mountains’: Rethinking Circulation, Access to Work and Mining in West Aceh, Indonesia”, in Silvia Vignato & Matteo C. Alcano (eds), *Searching for Work: Small-Scale Mobility and Unskilled Labor in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2018.
- “‘When I saw the elephants’: Extraction of Minerals and Gendered Precariousness in the Acehnese Landscapes”, *Antropologia Rivista fondata da Ugo Fabietti*, 5 (1) 2018: 97–112.

TAPPE, OLIVIER (GERMANY)

- “On the Right Track? The Lao People’s Democratic Republic in 2017”, in Daljit Singh & Malcolm Cook (eds), *Southeast Asian Affairs 2018*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2018, pp. 169–183.
- “Frontier as Civilization? Sociocultural Dynamics in the Uplands of Southeast Asia” in Johann Arnason & Chris Hann (eds), *Anthropology and Civilizational Analysis – Eurasian Explorations*, Albany NY: SUNY Press, 2018, pp.193–218.

THITIBORDIN, AMNUAVVIT (THAILAND)

- Book review “Bradley Camp Davis. “Imperial Bandits Outlaws and Rebels in the China–Vietnam Borderland. ”Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017. *SOJOURN Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 33 (2), July 2018).
- “Teak: From Export Commodity to Nature Conservancy in Thailand,” unpublished paper presented at a workshop for the book project *Natural Heritage in Southeast Asia: Law, Power and Identity*, Mandalay, Myanmar. 26–28 May 2018.

UFEN, ANDREAS (GERMANY)

- “Party Presidentialization in Post-Suharto Indonesia”, *Contemporary Politics*, 3, 2018: 306–324.
- “Bumiputera Developmentalism and Politicized Islam in Malaysia” in Romeo Orlandi, Romeo (ed.) *Le anime dello sviluppo* (The Souls of Development), Bologna: AREL–il Mulino.
- “Political Finance and Corruption in Southeast Asia: Causes and Challenges”, in Marie dela Rama & Chris Rowley (eds.), *The Changing Face of Corruption in the Asia Pacific: Current Perspectives and Future Challenges*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2017, pp. 23–33.

VALENTE, ANDREA (PORTUGAL)

- “Energy Cooperation vs. Resource Nationalism in Southeast Asia”, in Carlos Piteira, Irene Rodrigues & Teresa de Almeida e Silva (eds), *Antologia sobre a Ásia Contemporânea: Perspetivas de Investigação no Instituto do Oriente* (An Anthology of Studies on Contemporary Asia), Lisbon: ISCSP–Universidade de Lisboa, pp. 135–156.
- “‘Connecting connectivities’: How small countries can fit in China’s grand strategy”, unpublished paper, *Global Forum on Energy Security*, Beijing, June 2018.

VAN DER PUTTEN, JAN (GERMANY)

- “Surfing the literary waves of Insular Southeast Asia”, in Tan Huism *Language Ecology* (eds), *Tales of the Malay World: Manuscripts and Early Books*. Singapore: National Library Board, 2018, pp. 9–23.
- “How to dictate and survive life in the tropics: Malay–Dutch language guides to minimise communication”, in Kees Versteegh (ed.), *Language Ecology*, special issue *Language of Empire, Language of Power*, December 2018 , pp. 42–59.

VIGNATO, SILVIA (ITALY)

- *Dreams of Prosperity: Inequality and Integration in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2018.
- (with Matteo C. Alcano (eds)), *Searching for Work: Small-Scale Mobility and Unskilled Labor in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books/EFEO, 2018.

VU NGOC QUYEN (VIETNAM)

- “Liên kết dọc giữa doanh nghiệp và nông dân: lý thuyết và thực tiễn ở Việt Nam” [Firm–farm Linkages in Vietnam: Theoretical and Practical Issues]. *Thông tin Khoa học xã hội* [Social Sciences Information], 2018 5(425): 14–20.
- “Public administration reform in Quang Ninh province: suggestions for better service provision at the provincial administration center”, *Vietnam’s Socio-economic Development*, 22(90), 2017: 43–52.

LIST OF RESEARCHERS IN CRISEA



École française d'Extrême-Orient, France:

- Yves Goudineau, Coordinator
- Jacques Leider, Scientific Coordinator
- David Camroux, Dissemination Coordinator
- Andrew Hardy, Special Advisor
- François Bafoil (Sciences Po)
- Sophie Boisseau du Rocher, Leader of WP5 (IFRI)
- Vanina Bouté (CNRS-CASE)
- Olivier Evrard (IRD)
- Rémy Madinier (CNRS-CASE)
- Vatthana Pholsena (CNRS-CASE)
- Jérôme Tadié (IRD)



University of Hamburg, Germany:

- Volker Grabowsky, Leader of WP4
- Monika Arnez
- Marco Bunte (GIGA)
- Janina Pawels (GIGA)
- Oliver Tappe (University of Cologne)
- Andreas Ufen (GIGA)
- Jan van der Putten
- Jorg Wischermann (GIGA)



The University of Naples L'Orientale, Italy:

- Pietro Masina, Co-leader of WP2
- Dennis Arnold (University of Amsterdam)
- Michela Cerimele
- Antonia Soriente
- Giacomo Tabacco (University of Milano Bicocca)
- Silvia Vignato (University of Milano Bicocca)



The Institute of Social and Political Sciences, Portugal

- Paulo Castro Seixas
- Nuno Canas Mendes
- Andreia Valente



The University of Lodz, Poland:

- Tomasz Kaminski, Co-leader of WP1
- Dominik Mierzejewski
- Małgorzata Pietrasiak
- Edyta Roszko (University of Copenhagen)
- Michał Zaręba



The University of Oslo, Norway:

- Kristian Stokke
- Arve Hansen
- Hege Merete Knutsen



The University of Cambridge, UK:

- Tomas Larsson, Leader of WP3
- Iza Hussin
- Rachel Leow
- Natasha Pairaudeau



The University of Chiang Mai, Thailand:

- Chayan Vaddhanaphuti, Leader of WP1
- Kwanchewan Buadaeng
- Natthanan Kunnamas, Co-leader of WP5 (University of Chulalongkorn)
- Prasit Leepreecha
- Carl Middleton, Co-leader of WP1 (University of Chulalongkorn)
- Manoj Potapongh
- Amnuayvit Thitibordin (Kamnoetvidya Science Academy)



The Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia:

- Medelina K. Hendytio, Leader of WP6
- Yose Rizal Damuri
- Vidhyandika D. Perkasa



Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines:

- Jayeel Serrano Cornelio, Co-leader of WP4
- Filomeno Aguilar
- Lisandro Claudio
- Leonardo A. Lanzona
- Marissa Maricosa Paderon



The University of Malaya, Malaysia:

- Edmund Terence Gomez, Leader of WP2
- V.G.R. Chandran
- Evelyn S. Devadason
- Nathalie Fau (CNRS-CASE)
- Danny Wong Tze Ken



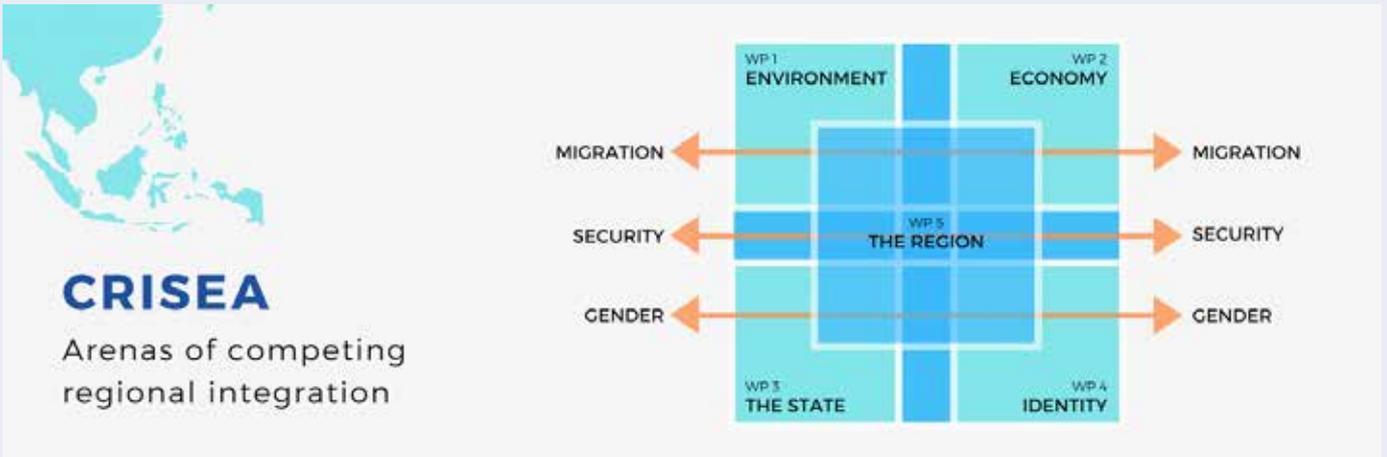
Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Vietnam:

- Pham Quynh Phuong, Co-leader of WP3
- Dao The Duc
- Do Ta Khanh
- Hoang Cam
- Nguyen An Ha
- Nguyen Bich Thuan
- Nguyen Phuong Dung
- Pham Anh Tuan
- Vu Ngoc Quyen



Mandalay University, Myanmar:

- Moe Ma Ma, Co-leader of WP5
- Aye Aye Myat
- Thida Tun
- Kyawt Kyawt Khine



Disciplinary Breakdown of **CRISEA** Researchers

