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*Distant Past(s), Latest News:
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. CONSTRUCTING THE POLITICAL IN MYANMAR: REFLECTIONS ON THE FIELD THROUGH THE SCHOLARSHIP OF ROBERT H. TAYLOR

MYANMAR STATE AND TAYLOR'S "STATE IN MYANMAR"

Tin Maung Maung Than	1
SAYAR ROBERT H. TAYLOR AND THE MYANMAR ARMED FORCES	
Maung Aung Myoe	2
HOW PROFESSOR ROBERT TAYLOR AND HIS MYANMAR AUDIENCE INFLUENCED EACH OTHER	
Kyaw Yin Hlaing	2
A POLITICAL SCIENTIST AMONG THE HISTORIANS: POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY AS MYANMAR HISTORY IN THE WORK OF ROBERT H. TAYLOR	
Maitrii Aung-Thwin	2
ROBERT TAYLOR AND MYANMAR STUDIES: A REVIEW	
Ang Cheng Guan	3

2. WOMEN OF MYANMAR/BURMA: VOICES, VOCATIONS, AND VISIONS

WHO ARE MYANMAR'S FEMALE FARMERS?

Hilary Faxon & Pyo Let Han	3
FORGING MONASTIC CAREERS: MYANMAR-BURMESE BUDDHIST NUNS AND THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH THE SCRIPTURAL EXAMINATIONS	
Rachelle Saruya	3
"THE NEW BURMESE WOMEN" – REDEFINING THE MODERNITY WITH TECHNOLOGY	
Sandi Sein Thein	3
AUNG SAN SUU KYI: POLITICIAN OR ACTIVIST	
Mon Mon Myat	4
"THE LADY" RE-PRESENTED: MEDIA AND THE GENDERED POLITICS OF MYANMAR'S TRANSITION	
Lisa Brooten	4

3. FROM CRAWFURD TO LUCE: TOWARDS A GENEALOGY OF COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BURMA AND BEYOND

LUCE AND THE CREATION OF THE MONS AS A HISTORICAL SUBJECT

Patrick McCormick	5
THE DESCENT FROM DIPLOMACY: THE EMERGENCE OF BRITISH COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BURMA	
Stephen Lee Keck	5
COLONIAL BURMESE HISTORY IN EARLY MODERN THAI HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE THEORY OF THE MIGRATION OF THE TAI RACE	
Thanapas Dejpawuttikul	6

4. THE BURDEN/BENEFIT OF (OUR) HISTORY- PRECARITY AND YOUTH IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

COMING OF AGE IN HPA-AN: NAVIGATING A MORE COSMOPOLITAN MORALITY

Justine Chambers	6
ROADMAPS: PATHWAYS TO ADULTHOOD OF STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN MANDALAY	
Mya Thida Soe & War War Pyone	7
RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OR FAMILY PRESSURE? COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES OF DRUG AVOIDANCE AMONGST YOUTH FROM TWO MYANMAR CITIES	
Pwint Hlwar & Nyein Chan Oo	7
DYING TRADITION OR LIVING TRUTH? TRADITIONAL FESTIVALS OF THE YINBAW ETHNIC GROUP OF KAYAH STATE, NORTHEAST MYANMAR	
Aye Aye Aung & Lei Kay Thi	8
FURNIVAL'S FOLLY: INTERSECTIONALITY AND YOUTH IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR	
Mike Griffiths	8

5. PYU CITIES AND BAGAN: NEW INSIGHTS, NEW INITIATIVES

PYU INSCRIPTIONS ON MOLDED TABLETS: A WAY FORWARD?

Julian K. Wheatley.....	8
PROTECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MYANMAR	
Charlotte Galloway.....	9
A NEW HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHINESE INSCRIPTION OF BAGAN	
Liu Yun.....	9

6. MYANMAR/BURMA-INDIA CONNECTIONS AND BORDER AFFAIRS

KOLKATA-MYANMAR RELATIONS: POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

Amrita Dey.....	9
THE POTENTIALITIES AND CONSTRAINTS OF BORDER TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ALONG THE INDO-MYANMAR BORDER	
Deb Kumar Chakraborty.....	10
A POTENTIAL RAIL LINK BETWEEN BURMA AND INDIA	
Lindsay C. Stubbs & Pundarik Mukhopadhaya.....	10
THE ZO HNAHTHLAK AND THE 'BURMA MI' IN MIZORAM	
Anup Shekhar Chakraborty.....	10

7. MYANMAR/BURMA ON THE GLOBAL STAGE AND IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION AND CHINA'S ENTICEMENT: MYANMAR'S FOREIGN POLICY PREDICAMENT

Enze Han.....	11
THE ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS IN MYANMAR'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS (2008-2015)	
Pinitbhand Paribatra.....	11
FROM SILK ROAD TO BELT ROAD: INTERNET, INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF LIVELIHOOD TRANSITION IN BURMA AND THAILAND	
Mary Mostafanezhad & Roger Norum.....	11
ROHINGYA WOMEN'S LABOR AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DISPLACEMENT	
Shae Frydenlund.....	12

8. MYANMAR'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSITION UNDER NLD'S LEADERSHIP AND ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS

PRO-BUSINESS CIRCLES VS. INDIVIDUAL & CIVIL RIGHTS – A PERSPECTIVE ON LAND RIGHTS IN MYANMAR

Zaw Htet Aung.....	12
UNDERSTANDING THE NLD'S APPROACH OF REDUCED CONFRONTATION WITH THE MILITARY	
Richard Roewer.....	12
POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN MYANMAR SINCE 2016	
Khin Maung Nyo.....	13
LIBERALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR	
Ian Holliday.....	13

9A. LOCAL RESPONSES TO THE BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF BURMA

SUSPENSION, REINSTATEMENT, AND DISMISSAL: THE EXPERIENCE OF A BURMESE CLERK AND THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Takahiro Iwaki.....	14
BAPTIST KAREN INTELLECTUALS' PURSUIT OF OFFICIAL RECOGNITION IN BRITISH BURMA: PARTICIPATION IN THE 1881 CENSUS AND THE FORMATION OF THE KNA	
Hitomi Fujimura.....	14

9B. FILM SCREENING

GLIMMERS OF SUBJECTIVITY: KAREN WOMEN AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

Emily Hong & Mariangela Mihai Jordan.....	15
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10. NON-BURMAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR CONTACT WITH BURMESE/MYANMAR LANGUAGE

DANU, A 'NON-STANDARD' VARIETY OF BURMESE, BURMESE DIALECT OR ETHNIC MINORITY LANGUAGE?

Phyu Phyu Win.....	15
BASIC WORD ORDER IN TAI KHAMTI: LANGUAGE CONTACT WITH BURMESE	
Rikker Dockum.....	16
DIGLOSSIA IN JINGHPAW KACHIN AND THE DECAY OF GRAMMATICAL COMPLEXITY	
André Müller.....	16
THE AUTONYM OF KADU IN BURMA AND RELATED PLACE NAMES	
Keisuke Huziwara.....	16
WHAT'S IN A "WORD"? THE HIDDEN BURMANIZATION OF THE MON LANGUAGE	
Mathias Jenny.....	17

11A. VISUAL CULTURE IN BAGAN

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS ILLUSTRATED ON BAGAN MONUMENTS AND TEMPLES, 11TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY, CE.

Pyiet Phyo Kyaw & Arsenio Nicolas.....	17
IMAGERY OF THE INSIDE THIRTY-SEVEN LORDS AT THE SHWEZIGON, BAGAN	
Sally Bamford.....	18
CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAINTINGS OF THE ABEYADANAR TEMPLE IN BAGAN	
Tint Lwin.....	18

11B. RE-VISITING NE WIN AND NE WIN'S PERIOD

TWO RECENT BIOGRAPHIES OF NE WIN AND ENVER HOXHA JUXTAPOSED AND CONTRASTED

Myint Zan.....	18
SIGHTSEEING IN NE WIN'S BURMA: GLIMPSE INTO A FORGOTTEN HISTORY	
Martin Michalon.....	19

12 NEW APPROACHES TO OLD PROBLEMS: ARMED ACTORS AND CONFLICTS IN THE NEW MYANMAR

BURMA'S CONFLICTS: A SUBNATIONAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING PATTERNS OF MILITARIZED VIOLENCE

John Buchanan.....	19
NAVIGATING LIMINALITY: UNITED WA STATE ARMY (UWSA) POLITICAL PRACTICE 2014-2018	
Andrew Ong.....	20
A WAR OF WORDS. THE STRATEGY OF INSURGENT PUBLIC RELATIONS IN BURMA/MYANMAR	
David Scott Mathieson.....	20
POLITICAL LEGACY AND IMPLICATIONS OF REBEL GOVERNANCE IN THE TIME OF TRANSITION	
Kyungmee Kim.....	20

13. LOCALIZING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MODELS AND PRACTICES

THE YANGON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND THE RISE OF BURMA: REVIEW THE PAST FOR SUSTAINABLE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF MYANMAR

Prateep Chayalee.....	21
USE OF ELECTORAL LENS TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURMA: LESSONS FROM THE PAST GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1990, 2010 AND 2015	
Motohiko Osuka.....	21
THE 'VERNACULARISATION' OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN MYANMAR	
Amy Doffegnies & Tamas Wells.....	22
GENDER EQUALITY IN MYANMAR: LOCALIZING ECONOMIC MODELS TO DECOMPOSE GAPS	
Ngu Wah Win.....	22

14. CLAIMING THE “INTERSTICES”: THE EVOLVING SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

LARGE-SCALE LAND ACQUISITIONS FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MYANMAR: GENEALOGY AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

U San Thein & Jean-Christophe Diépart..... 23

THE NEW LAND FRONT: LAND ALLOCATIONS AT THE INTERSTICES

Céline Allaverdian..... 23

LAND TITLING WARFARE AND DOMINION: POST-CONFLICT TERRITORIALISATION PROCESSES AND LIVELIHOODS CHANGES IN EASTERN MYANMAR BORDERLAND

Maxime Boutry..... 24

“CONFLICT RUBBER” AND MILITARY-STATE MAKING IN A POST-WAR CONTEXT IN SOUTHEASTERN MYANMAR

Kevin M. Woods..... 24

15. MYANMAR/BURMA, ITS SOCIETY AND LINKS TO THE WIDER WORLD IN THE MIDDLE TO LATE MODERN PERIOD

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KINGDOMS OF AVA AND PEGU FOR EUROPEAN TRADING COMPANIES IN THE 18TH CENTURY

Adrien Marest..... 25

RECONSIDERING KING BADON’S EXERTIONS ON BUDDHISM IN MYANMAR IN THE LATE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURY

Khin Thidar..... 25

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER KING BADON (1782-1819)

Nant Aye Saw Nwe..... 25

16. DECENTRALIZATION IN MYANMAR: CHALLENGES, CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

THE 2008 CONSTITUTION AND DECENTRALIZATION

Tinzar Htun..... 26

ETHNIC ARMED ORGANISATION GOVERNANCE AND THE BUILDING OF A FEDERAL UNION

Kim Jolliffe..... 27

CHALLENGES AND AVENUES FOR NATURAL RESOURCES FEDERALISM

Maw Htun..... 27

LANGUAGE POLICY AND DECENTRALISATION - OPPORTUNITIES, PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES TO THE TEACHING OF ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: NATION-WIDE ISSUES AND THE KENG TUNG REGION CASE-STUDY

Nicolas Salem-Gervais..... 28

17. PORTRAYING MYANMAR/BURMA AND ITS DIVERSITY THROUGH BRUSH STROKES AND CAMERA SHOTS

A SURVEY OF THE 101 PEOPLES DEPICTED IN MURAL PAINTINGS WITH A FOCUS ON THE IRRAWADDY AND CHINDWIN RIVERS (17TH-18TH CENTURY AD)

Khin Lay Maung..... 28

ETHNIC MINORITIES IN MYANMAR ART: FROM ANTHROPOLOGY TO POLITICS

Marie-Pierre Mol..... 28

CAPTURING BURMA: REACTIVATING COLONIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES THROUGH THE BRITISH RAJ’S GAZE

Carmín Berchiolly..... 29

COMMODIFYING CULTURE: EXPLORING THE TEMPORALITIES OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND PHOTOGRAPHY TOURISM ON MYANMAR’S INLE LAKE

Anthea Snowsill..... 29

18. CIVIL SOCIETY AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

THE EMERGENCE, CROSSOVER, AND CONNECTION OF LOCAL NGOS IN MYANMAR

Yu Szu-Tu..... 30

TRANSFORMATION OF BUDDHIST ASSOCIATIONS INTO NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MYANMAR

Keiko Tosa..... 30

MUSLIM NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MYANMAR

Ayako Saito..... 30

LOCAL CIVIL SOCIETY-LED INITIATIVES FOR SECURING RIGHTS OF POOR CHILDREN IN MYANMAR: INDICATION FROM NORTHERN/SOUTHERN CSOS	
Makiko Takeda	31
IN THE WARDS OF MANDALAY: EVERYDAY URBAN GOVERNANCE IN A TIME OF TRANSFORMATION	
Jérémie Sanchez	31

19. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR: DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS

TREND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL TRANSITION IN CURRENT MYANMAR	
Li Chenyang	32
RHETORIC AND REALITIES; DICHOTOMIES IN CURRENT MYANMAR REFORMS	
Ko Ko Hlaing	32
ANALYSIS ON THE NLD GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO PEACE PROCESS IN MYANMAR	
Thida Tun	32
DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS OF POPULISM ATTITUDES IN DEMOCRATIZING MYANMAR	
Kong Jianxun	33
THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY: FROM MYANMAR'S SAFFRON REVOLUTION TO THE ROHINGYA ISSUE	
Zhu Xianghui	33
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS DURING THE ERA OF NLD GOVERNMENT	
Kong Peng	33
THE IMPLICATIONS OF ROHINGYA ISSUES FOR MYANMAR POLITICAL TRANSITION	
Meng Zijun	33

20. FRONTIERS AND THE FOREIGN: PLACE-MAKING AND THE GLOBAL IN MYANMAR'S COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL PAST

TROUBLE WITH THE FRONTIER: THE BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF TRADE IN THE CHINA-MYANMAR BORDERLAND REGION	
Wang Zhiwei	34
THE "BLASPHEMOUS" BOOK: THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE INDO-BURMAN RIOTS OF 1938	
Phyo Win Latt	34
NEVER THE RIGHT TIME: SETTLING BURMA'S HUAQIAO DUAL-NATIONALITY ISSUE, 1949-1980	
You Chenxue	35
FINDING THE NATIONAL IN MYANMAR'S FOREIGN POLICY HISTORY: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH	
Moe Thuzar	35

21. PERFORMING MUSIC AND EXPERIENCING SOUNDSCAPES IN MYANMAR/BURMA

ASPECTS OF MYANMAR HISTORY: CULTURE VALUE OF NATIONAL RACES OF LISU'S MUSIC AND DANCES IN KACHIN STATE IN MYANMAR	
Khin Saw Nwe	36
ORAL TRANSMISSION SYSTEM FOR BURMESE CLASSICAL SONGS: BAZAT-HSAING OR MOUTH-MUSIC FOR BURMESE HARP MUSIC	
Sayuri Inoue	36
MEDIATIONS OF "BUDDHIST" SOUND IN MANDALAY: THE CASE OF THE DHAMMA-DISTURBING DUTCHMAN	
Andrew Dicks	36
THE TRANCE-LIKE MARTIAL SOUNDS OF THE BURMESE HNE AND THAI PI CHAWA: FROM NAT BWE ACCOMPANIMENT TO THAI BOXING MUSIC	
Jon Fernquest	37
EXPERIENCE MACAU, TOUCHING MOMENTS: BURMESE MUSIC AND DANCE PERFORMANCES, IDENTITY NEGOTIATION, AND CITY TOURISM IN MACAU	
Hsin-chun Tasaw Lu	37

22. MYANMARESE TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY IN ASEAN: SOCIAL & CULTURAL CAPITALS, LANGUAGE POLICY, UPWARD MOBILITY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

RIDING THE TIDE OF TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY IN ASEAN: OFFLINE AND ONLINE SOCIO-CULTURAL CAPITALS OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS FROM MYANMAR – EXAMPLES FROM THAILAND AND SINGAPORE	
Morakot Meyer	38
OUT OF THE ORDINARY: THAI LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS IN LITTLE MYANMAR, MAHACHAI	
Wimonsiri Hemtanon	38
SEARCHING FOR SUSTAINABLE THAI LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING FOR UNSKILLED MIGRANT LABORERS FROM MYANMAR: SOME THOUGHTS FROM FIELDWORKS IN THAILAND	
Sophana Srichampa	39
LOCATING LEFT-BEHIND PEOPLE IN THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SCHEME: REFLECTIONS FROM A FIELD STUDY IN TWO VILLAGES IN MYAWLAMYINE	
Narumol Nirathron	39
CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: THE CASE OF MON STATE, MYANMAR	
Min Zarni Lin	39

23. CRAFT AND CRAFTSMEN/WOMEN ACROSS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF PRACTICES, QUOTIDIAN AND SACRED

WHAT'S BURMESE ABOUT BURMESE CRAFT BEER?	
Luke Corbin	40
LUNTAYA ACHEIK, MYANMAR'S WOVEN SIGNATURE: A JOURNEY OF ITS ENDURING PRODUCTION FROM MID-19TH CENTURY TO 21TH CENTURY	
Thweep (AKE) Rittinaphakorn	40
REVERSE GLASS PAINTINGS: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH	
Catherine Raymond	41

24. COMMUNITY & OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS); RESEARCH AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN CENTRAL MYANMAR

HEALTH RISK PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO MERCURY USE IN ARTISANAL MINING SITES IN MYANMAR	
Layhoon Lee & Hannah Speaks	41
LABOR MIGRATION AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH IN MYANMAR	
Heidi West	42
RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH IN MYANMAR	
Tomoyuki Shibata	42
UNDERSTANDING HEALTH SEEKING BEHAVIORS IN MYANMAR	
Devin Metoyer	42

25. RIVERS, ESTUARIES, AND LIVELIHOODS IN LOWER MYANMAR/BURMA

READING MYANMAR'S INLAND FISHERIES	
Stephen Campbell	43
SHARING THE RIVER, DIVIDING THE LAND: TERRITORIALITY AND VILLAGE SETTLEMENT IN PYI TAW HTAR KYUN, AYEYARWADY DELTA	
Benoit Ivars	43
INTERACTIVE VISUALIZATION OF SALWEEN BASIN DEVELOPMENT AND ITS AGGREGATE IMPACT ON THE THANLWIN ESTUARY	
Alan Potkin	43
ASSESSING POTENTIAL THREATS TO FISHERIES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AT THE THANLWIN RIVER ESTUARY	
Cherry Aung	44

26. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN MYANMAR/BURMA FROM THE AGE OF COLONIAL CARTOONS TO THE 21ST CENTURY'S CYBERWORLD

CARTOONS ON MYANMAR POLITICS (1915-1962)	
Khin Saw Mya Hnin	44
ON MONKS AND MEMES: BUDDHIST SATIRE IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR	
Thomas Patton	45
COMBATING CYBERCRIME IN MYANMAR: TRENDS AND CHALLENGES	
Lennon Y.C. Chang	45

27. THE AFFORDANCES OF BURMESE CITIZENSHIP: OPPORTUNITIES, EXCLUSIONS, AND CONTINGENCIES

SELF-RELIANCE AS A MECHANISM OF ENTITLEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR	
Gerard McCarthy	46
EXPLORING THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AFTER RELOCATION TO REBUILD LIVELIHOOD ASSETS IN LIEU OF STATE SUPPORT	
Gillian Cornish	46
TWO SIDES OF THE SAME ARAKANESE COIN: ETHNOGENESIS AS SCHISMOGENESIS BETWEEN/AMONGST 'RAKHINE' AND 'ROHINGYA'	
Kirt Mausert	46
BURMA'S BROKERED CITIZENSHIP: RESPONSIBILITY DISCOURSE AND THE POLITICS OF PASSAGE FOR THOSE OUTSIDE 'POLITICAL SOCIETY'	
Elliott Prasse-Freeman	47
NALEHMU: MYANMAR'S COMMON PRACTICE OF EVERYDAY POLITICS	
Layde Lin Roberts and Elizabeth Rhoads	47

28. SOCIO-LINGUISTICS STUDIES AND LEXICOGRAPHY

A STUDY OF THE MISTAKES MADE BY FOREIGN STUDENTS STUDYING MYANMAR AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE	
Kyi Kyi Moe	48
A SOCIOLINGUISTICS STUDY OF ENGLISH CODE-MIXING IN MYANMAR LANGUAGE BASED ON MYANMAR JOURNALS	
Mon Mon Aung	48
CORPUS STUDIES IN BURMESE - POSSIBILITIES AND PITFALLS	
Jennifer Lewis-Wong	48
THE MYANMAR ENGLISH DICTIONARY (MED) AT 25: TRENDS IN BURMESE LEXICOGRAPHY FOR THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD	
Nathan A. Waxman	49

29. ENVIRONMENTAL AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES IN MYANMAR (Roundtable Discussion)

Melissa Lenczewski	49
James L. Wilson	49
Wesley Swingley W	49
Laura Richards	49

30. THE ROHINGYA CRISIS

FROM "BENGALIS" IN U PHO KYAR'S TIME TESTING SHORT STORY TO "ROHINGYAS" IN REALITY: THE ROOTS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE MYANMAR LITERATURE	
Wathanyoo Phakthong	50
ROHINGYA CRISIS AND RAKHINE STATE POLITICS	
Costas Laoutides & Anthony Ware	50
BUDDHIST-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN BANGLADESH-MYANMAR BORDERLAND IN THE SHADOW OF THE ROHINGYA CRISIS	
Ishrat Hossain	51
CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND PEACEBUILDING INTERVENTION OPTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES WORKING IN RAKHINE STATE	
Anthony Ware	51

31. FROM SHADOW ECONOMY TO SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES: LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

ILLICIT ECONOMIC EXCHANGES ACROSS THE SINO-BURMESE BORDER DURING THE COLD WAR	
Wen-Chin Chang	51
LIVING SPACE AND MYANMAR-CHINESE IDENTIFICATION: A CASE STUDY OF MONGWUN-BURMA	
Hein Khaing	52
THE LABOUR MARKET IN MAE SOT (1990-2017) AND THAILAND'S NEW SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE POLICY	
Moe Thida Lwin	52
SPATIAL ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN MYANMAR	
John Walsh	52

32. DOCUMENTING, EXPLORING, AND SUPPORTING DISSENT IN MYANMAR/BURMA

THE BOLD AND BRAVE OF BURMA: A MICRO-LEVEL STUDY OF THE EARLY MOVERS OF DISSENT BETWEEN 1988-2011	
Jieun Baek	53
TRANSNATIONAL CIVIL REVOLT AGAINST NATIONAL MILITARY REGIME: EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF GRASSROOTS CONNECTIVITY OF JAPAN AND BURMA SINCE 1988	
Chinami Oka	53
POPULARIZING DISSENT: THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN MYANMAR	
Kyungmee Kim	54
INTRODUCING THE MYANMAR PROTEST EVENT DATASET: MOTIVATION, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROSPECTS	
Andy Buschmann	54

33. REIMAGINING PLURALISM – SHIFTING/PARALLEL IDENTITY BOUNDARIES AND PERFORMATIVITY IN MYANMAR

DISASTERS AND POST-SOCIALIST CITIZENSHIP IN MYANMAR	
Gerard McCarthy	55
HOW SHALL WE DIE NOW? THE RISE OF CO-OPERATIVE OF FUNERAL SERVICE SOCIETIES IN YANGON	
San San Oo	55
ARE WE TRAPPED IN THE HISTORY? ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS OTHERING IN MYANMAR	
Su Su Hlaing & Cho Cho Winn	55
SEEDS OF CHANGE: TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE PRACTICES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN KAYAH STATE	
Nilar Tin & Lwin Lwin Aung	56
PARAHITA AND PLACE: THE BOUNDARIES OF LOCALIZED WELFARE	
Mike Griffiths	56

34. ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY ACROSS BORDERS, TIME, AND FUNCTIONS

SUKHOTHAI VIHARAS: CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THAILAND AND MYANMAR	
Chotima Chaturawong	57
STUDY ON ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN NYAUNG U, MANDALAY DISTRICT	
Ei Kay Zin	57
STUDY ON ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERS OF VERNACULAR HOUSES IN SHANKALAY KYUN, MANDALAY	
Ye Yint Aung	57

35. ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE REVISITED THROUGH STATE/NON-STATE PERSPECTIVES

LOOTABLE RESOURCES IN SHAN BORDERLANDS: THE POLITICS OF EXTRACTION IN 'NON-STATE' SPACES, C.1880-1900	
Frances O'Morchoe	58
NORTHERN FOREST COMPLEX OR KACHIN LAND? CONSERVATION AND ETHNICITY AMID NORTHERN BURMA'S WAR	
Laur Kiik	58
ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN MYANMAR AND TRANSITION PROCESS	
Matthew Baird	59

36. PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL PRACTICES

CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENT OF MIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY: A CASE FROM MAGWAY REGION	
Soe Thet Nyo.....	59
NEGOTIATING MEDICAL EFFICACY IN THE CONTEXT OF AN EMERGING PAN-NATIONAL MEDICINE	
Céline Coderey.....	60
GENDER, MEDICINES AND CARE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF ANTIMICROBIALS IN YANGON	
Yuzana Khine Zaw.....	60

37. MYANMAR/BURMA'S PEACE PROCESS AND CEASEFIRE

CEASEFIRE EXTERNALITIES: A CASE STUDY OF ARMED CONFLICT IN MYANMAR	
Michal Kouřil.....	60
WHY IS PEACE ELUSIVE IN MYANMAR? AN ANSWER FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THAI PHILOSOPHER PRAWASE WASI	
Tony Waters & Somboon Panyakorn.....	61
EXPLORING INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS IN THE MYANMAR PEACE PROCESS	
Ashley South.....	61

38. MYANMAR'S SHIFTING MEDIA LANDSCAPE: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES (Roundtable Discussion)

Lisa Brooten.....	62
G. Venkiteswaran.....	62
Yan Naung Oak.....	62
Mon Mon Myat.....	62
Sarah Oh.....	62
Jennifer Leehey.....	62
Carine Jacquet.....	62

39. MYANMAR'S PILLARS RE-FRAMED

BUDDHIST NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AND THEIR USES AND ABUSES OF HISTORY	
Htet Min Lwin.....	62
BUDDHIST METAMORPHOSES OF MARXISM IN BURMA	
Hans-Bernd Zöllner.....	63
MYTHS AND FRAMING – RECONSTRUCTING THE TATMADAW	
Amara Thiha.....	63

40. PRESERVING BUILT HERITAGE ACROSS MYANMAR'S CULTURAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY: CASE STUDIES

ANCIENT FLOATING PAGODAS IN SAMKA AREA, SOUTHERN SHAN STATE	
Saung Hsu Pyae Kyaw.....	63
ARCHITECTURAL STUDY ON KAYAN TRADITIONAL HOUSES AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN LOIKAW, KAYAH STATE	
Zin Zin Win Moh.....	64
CONSERVATION OF DECORATIVE WOODWORK AT 19TH CENTURY SHWE-NANDAW MONASTERY IN MANDALAY	
Thandar Phyto & Ursula Strugala.....	64

41. FROM STATE BUILDING TO REFORM PROCESS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE *LONGUE DURÉE*

THE KONBAUNG STATE AND ITS BORDERLANDS	
Jörg Schendel.....	65
HOW STATE CAPACITY MATTERS: A STUDY OF THE COOPTATION AND COERCION OF ORGANIZED RELIGION IN BURMA/MYANMAR (1948-)	
Adam E. Howe.....	65
POSSESSION AND PERSUASION: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POWER TRANSITION	
Kihong Mun.....	65

42. STATE AUTHORITY, INSURGENCIES, AND DEVELOPMENT OF BORDERLANDS

THE MILITIA FIX: ORDERING SPACE AT THE MARGINS OF THE MYANMAR STATE

Patrick Meehan.....	66
AT THE MARGINS OF A “DEVELOPMENT DARLING:” SOVEREIGNTY, STATE-MAKING, AND DEVELOPMENT IN KAREN STATE	
Shona Loong.....	66
WHO WILL SECURE OUR LAND? NAVIGATING LAND ACCESS IN THE CEASEFIRE MIXED-CONTROL KAREN AREAS OF MYANMAR	
SiuSue Mark.....	67
THE RECENT (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF SHANNI ETHNICITY	
Justinas Stankus.....	67

43. AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND RESILIENCE OF COMMUNITIES ACROSS TIME

REORGANIZATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND RURAL AREAS DURING AND POST-WORLD WAR II: THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF TWO PADDY CULTIVATION SCHEMES

Asuka Mizuno.....	67
PROMOTING DISASTER RESILIENCE IN RURAL SETTLEMENTS: CASE STUDY FROM THE AYEYARWADY DELTA	
Tin Nwe Oo.....	68
BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAITHEL VILLAGES IN THE CHIN HILLS OF CHIN STATE IN MYANMAR	
Thura Aung.....	68

44. THE MYANMAR PUBLIC IN THE AGE OF ABUNDANCE AND MARKET ECONOMY

SOCIAL MARKETING STRATEGIES FOR BEHAVIOUR CHANGE OF DIABETIC PATIENTS IN YANGON REGION IN MYANMAR

Hein Latt.....	69
SERVICE QUALITY OF THE PRIVATE HOSPITAL SECTOR IN MANDALAY	
Aye Thu Htun.....	69
THE PRACTISE OF MAKING MERITS IN MYANMAR – IS THERE A GENERATION GAP? A CASE STUDY	
Thomas Bruhn.....	69

45. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND PEDAGOGY

A LINGUISTICS STUDY OF MYANMAR RHYMES IN THE NEW SYLLABUS FOR PRIMARY LEVEL STUDENTS IN MYANMAR

Soe Soe Myint & Sandar Htay.....	70
POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR MOTHER-TONGUE BASED EDUCATION IN MYANMAR: LESSONS FROM OTHER MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES	
Rosalie Metro.....	70
A BRIEF STUDY OF CURRENT LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC STATUS OF THE MON LANGUAGE	
Khin Khin Myint & Than Than Htay.....	70

46. BELIEF SYSTEMS, RELIGIOUS PRACTICES AND BEHAVIOURAL STUDIES

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE BELIEFS IN PLANTS AMONG MYANMAR AND THAI PEOPLE

Su Su Khin.....	71
BEYOND BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM: TWO NEW DIMENSIONS OF BURMESE RELIGIOSITY	
Mark Stanford.....	71
MYANMAR CULTURAL VALUES AND ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIORS	
Nyein Ma Ma.....	71

47. BOOK PRESENTATION

CITIZENSHIP IN MYANMAR: WAYS OF BEING IN AND FROM BURMA

Ashley South.....	72
-------------------	----

48. BOOK PRESENTATION

HAVE FUN IN BURMA

Rosalie Metro.....	72
--------------------	----

49. BOOK PRESENTATION

THE DAUGHTER: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI

Hans-Bernd Zöllner	73
--------------------------	----

ROUNDTABLE ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

U Ko Ko Hlaing (Center for Strategic and International Studies)	73
Lisa Brooten (Southern Illinois University)	73
John Brandon (Asia Foundation)	73
Sean Turnell (Myanmar Development Institute)	73

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3

1

**CONSTRUCTING THE POLITICAL IN MYANMAR: REFLECTIONS ON THE FIELD THROUGH THE
SCHOLARSHIP OF ROBERT H. TAYLOR**

Panel Organizer/Convener: Maitrii Aung-Thwin

Discussant: Robert H. Taylor

Grand Ballroom (4th floor)

One of the more enduring streams of scholarship that has defined Myanmar Studies has been the interest in the country's political affairs. Prior to 1988, Myanmar's presence as an interdisciplinary field did not figure prominently in professional journals, conference programs, or on the publication agendas of university presses. Nearly thirty years later, scholarship on Myanmar features regularly in some of the most prestigious journals and academic fora in Asian Studies. Most contemporary research on Myanmar reflects the political questions of our era: the prospect of democratic governance, the persistence of authoritarianism, human rights, ethnic politics and identity. For many in the field, to think about Myanmar is to think about the political.

Robert H. Taylor's research on the political in Myanmar has been at the core of these discussions, a foundational presence that stems from a prolific career that has spanned over forty-years and several continents. His seminal and most enduring work, *The State in Burma* was published just a year before the events of 1988 triggered the attention of English-language scholars, media, and aid agencies worldwide. Changing geo-political priorities at the end of the Cold War likely framed how this book and his subsequent work was read, interpreted and debated. The papers gathered here reflect upon these epistemological contexts through some of his more seminal writings and the often robust discussions that Taylor's work encouraged, a testament of his lasting contribution to the field of Myanmar Studies.

MYANMAR STATE AND TAYLOR'S "STATE IN MYANMAR"

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In the period spanning more than a millennium the state in Myanmar has undergone many different forms and function. Under dynastic rule, oftentimes interrupted by usurpers, the 'kings' exercised authority in and around 'royal capitals'. Meanwhile many 'nations' evolved from communities of different ethnic groups resulting in aspirations for separate statehood. "Unifiers" in the form of warrior kings hailing from lowland city states attempted to bring together the different nations under its rule by force of arm. Tensions between nations resulted in cycles of conflict and compromise among the contenders seeking to establish a dominant central state. When the British colonized Myanmar through three wars in the 19th century Myanmar's state building process was truncated. After independence in 1948 ethnic and ideological conflict manifested and still continue till the present day. All post-independence governments of Myanmar have embarked upon building a 'modern' state on their own terms, usually employ constitutional, legal and military means to forge 'unity' among ethnic nations. Taylor's seminal study of the evolution of state-building for nearly a century meticulously portrays the meandering process of state-building apparently at the expense of nation building. Eschewing a normative approach privileging the concept of a post-Westphalian 'nation state' the study captures the 'revealed preferences' of the ruling elite, dominated by leaders of the 'Bamar' nation, who relentlessly pursued the ideal of a unified Myanmar state without much success. The discussion will focus on state building in Myanmar informed by the narrative in Taylor's *"State in Myanmar"*.

SAYAR ROBERT H. TAYLOR AND THE MYANMAR ARMED FORCES

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Among prolific writers on scholarly papers and books on Myanmar, Robert Taylor stands out with his careful and superb analysis on politics, policies and personalities of the country, with his “The State in Myanmar” being the best known work. He has written more than a dozen of academic articles on the Tatmadaw (Myanmar Armed Forces) and its related issues, such as defence expenditure and security perception. His state-centered approach and structural analysis of the military’s political role as well as civil-military relations in Myanmar have certainly conformed to the Tatmadaw leadership’s perception and self-image at both individual and institutional levels; therefore, inviting a barrage of criticism from the anti-Tatmadaw camp. Meanwhile, after a brief but serious misunderstanding between him and the military authorities in late 1989 and early 1990, initially stirred up by All India Radio, Taylor was accorded a special status to visit the country. In addition, the military regime translated some of Taylor’s writing to be printed in the state-owned newspaper, which was regarded by anti-regime critics as the military government’s propaganda outlet. These activities had further invited accusation and labeling of Taylor as a military regime supporter or Tatmadaw sympathizer, overshadowing his academic contributions. This paper analyses Taylor’s contributions to the study of the Tatmadaw and how his analyses concur with political process in Myanmar.

HOW PROFESSOR ROBERT TAYLOR AND HIS MYANMAR AUDIENCE INFLUENCED EACH OTHER

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In the past, students of ethnicity in Myanmar often treated ethnic issues as if they were black and white matters. Many Burmese students I have worked with initially did not accept the idea that identities were constructed. I have personally witnessed how Professor Robert Taylor changed the way in which young Myanmar students viewed ethnicity, citizenship and race at summer school social science programs that he and I organized together between 2004 and 2010.

This paper will draw special attention to changes in oral and written discourses about ethnic politics composed by former Burmese students of Professor Taylor. The paper will draw on information gathered through interviews and textual analyses. The paper will also use information gathered through an experiment about Dr. Taylor’s influence on the way young people viewed ethnic politics by contrasting people who have participated in a seminar on Dr. Taylor’s work with those who have not. At the same time, the paper will show that the influence was not unidirectional. Questions raised by the students have influenced Professor Taylor as well. All in all, this paper will examine how Professor Taylor and his Myanmar audience influenced each other’s scholarship and by extension, the study of ethnic politics in Myanmar.

A POLITICAL SCIENTIST AMONG THE HISTORIANS: POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY AS MYANMAR HISTORY IN THE WORK OF ROBERT H. TAYLOR

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In the vast corpus of materials that represents Robert Taylor’s published and unpublished research, one form of studying Myanmar’s past, the political biography, represents an important genre of his approach to studying politics in Myanmar. From his 1974 unpublished dissertation to his 2015 study of General Ne Win, the political biography has been an important feature of Taylor’s research, reminding readers about the need to understand individuals in our study of Myanmar’s history. In many ways, Taylor represents the historian’s historian.

Given the ease at which individual agency can be overshadowed in the wake of big events, broad processes, and institutional dynamics, the political biography has enabled scholars like Taylor to focus on the particular circumstances of key political figures in Myanmar history, contributing to our understanding of the way seminal moments in history were experienced by individuals, bringing people back into history. More importantly, his historical profiles provided a way of examining political dynamics and historical contexts of the colonial and post-colonial eras. Drawing upon a commitment to rigorous archival work and context, Taylor often straddled the disciplinary borderlands of political science, history, and sociologist. This paper examines the methodological challenges of political biography and how Taylor navigated these hurdles through his work on U Saw, Dr. Maung Maung, and General Ne Win.

ROBERT TAYLOR AND MYANMAR STUDIES: A REVIEW

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For almost half a century, Professor Robert Taylor has written extensively on the modern history and politics of Burma and subsequently Myanmar. A beginner student's first encounter with (of Burma/Myanmar) through the work of Robert Taylor would most likely be from the second edition of 'In Search of Southeast Asia'. For others who stayed the course, it would be his much misunderstood 'The State of Burma' which was "uncritically assessed by colleagues who have framed his work within the debates over Myanmar's post-Cold War trajectory". This paper reviews Professor Taylor's life-long writings from the 1970s to the present and assesses his contribution to the field of Myanmar Studies.

2

WOMEN OF MYANMAR/BURMA: VOICES, VOCATIONS, AND VISIONS

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd floor)

WHO ARE MYANMAR'S FEMALE FARMERS?

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In this presentation, the authors will reflect on four years of research and activism conducted together with women farmers across Myanmar, offering a profile, a puzzle, and a project. We start by offering a profile of Myanmar's women farmers, documenting the way that gender structures access to land, labor, markets, technology, knowledge, community and authority in the rural places we have worked. We then present a puzzle: in contrast to referring to themselves as farmers, women frequently refer to themselves as workers, helpers or dependents. To illustrate the gap between အလုပ်သမား and လယ်သမား we contrast our experiences working with women in Lashio and Kyaukpadaung, highlighting the different characteristics of these types and the range of women's experiences in different places. Finally, we present insights from the project of mobilizing rural women as farmers and community leaders, recounting our own (not-always-successful) efforts to combat a politics of protection by supporting grassroots networks through consciousness-raising groups and a female farmer's forum, participatory photography and video projects, discussion seminars and advocacy to government.

FORGING MONASTIC CAREERS: MYANMAR-BURMESE BUDDHIST NUNS AND THEIR EXPERIENCES WITH THE SCRIPTURAL EXAMINATIONS

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This paper examines the educational trajectories of nine Myanmar-Burmese Buddhist nuns (*thilashin* သီလရှင်) amongst three different nunneries in Sagaing, Myanmar, focusing on their experiences with the monastic examinations. How do the exams regulate some nuns' lives and what are their attitudes towards them? Building off of Dhammasami (2004) and Kyaw's (2014) work on the history and pedagogical practices of monastic education, and Kawanami's (2013) pioneering work on the *thilashin*, I attempt to make audible the individual voices of a few nuns within a shared space that still allows for similarities and differences to emerge. I find not only to what degree nuns' education depends on the support from monks and the monks' willingness to teach them, but also highlight examples of the nuns' support to monks, arguing for the importance of studying these networks and relationships instead of nunneries and monasteries as isolated entities and monks and nuns as isolated figures. With textual analysis, I investigate the nuns' curriculum/syllabi and with ethnographic study of the classroom, and attempt a discussion of how some nuns negotiate and forge their monastic careers.

"THE NEW BURMESE WOMEN" – REDEFINING THE MODERNITY WITH TECHNOLOGY

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Recent upsurge of the mobile penetration and internet access enable the rural women population in Myanmar to participate and access the wider public sphere for the first time. This social connection has created the conditions in

which questioning the social norms and gender roles embedded in Myanmar for centuries may now be possible. New pivoting role, reproduction of new social norms, and identity reshaping have become part of an agenda in women's everyday discussions, a trend not limited to the urban upper middle class but also to rural women whose voices were hardly ever heard before. The paper addresses the question of how modernity, defined here as access to technology and capitalism, has enabled a silent majority of women to challenge long accepted traditions and social norms, and to highlight the struggles of women who face daily challenges. Data was collected through the meetings with 1,127 women from 15 townships, 3 States on GeekGirls Workshop Tour in 2016-2017.

Politics as a Vocation

AUNG SAN SUU KYI: POLITICIAN OR ACTIVIST

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Myanmar's opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi was seen by the world as a heroic activist or as a Nobel Peace Laureate for nonviolent struggle. In her person, western human rights activists saw an embodiment of themselves. In the context of the Rohingya crisis, her international image changed, from a saint to a demon and she was labelled, an ignoble laureate, due to what they perceived as her silence on the flight of more than 600,000 refugees from Western Myanmar to Bangladesh. This flight followed attacks by the Myanmar military. In this context the West questioned her moral conviction, and her icon status for human rights activists. This paper asks how the shift from international human rights' icon to demon occurred. An effective way to start doing this is to develop the classical sociologist Max Weber's definition of a politician from his essay Politics as Vocation. From Weber's perspective, this paper discusses what it means to be a politician, and what it means to be an activist.

"THE LADY" RE-PRESENTED: MEDIA AND THE GENDERED POLITICS OF MYANMAR'S TRANSITION

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Aung San Su Kyi's image as a powerful icon of democracy and human rights, built in large part through international media coverage, has now been badly tarnished in these same media by criticism of her silence over the high-profile plight of the Rohingya. Several prestigious awards presented to Aung San Suu Kyi have been rescinded, and some have called for a retraction of her Nobel Peace Prize. In response, Myanmar political leaders and local media have strongly criticized international media coverage, arguing that a pro-Rohingya bias ignores the victimization of Rakhine Buddhists. These critics represent Aung San Suu Kyi as a victim of international media that do not understand the precarity of her position vis-à-vis the military.

Myanmar offers a fascinating case study of the use of gendered discourse in the interests of geopolitical power struggles. Feminist scholars have mapped how gendered hierarchies function at multiple levels to maintain and challenge power, build and maintain national identity, and negotiate power relations. Drawing from this body of theory and employing feminist textual analysis, this research examines coverage of Aung San Su Kyi's response to the plight of the Rohingya in the global news outlets *The New York Times* and *Inter Press Service* (IPS), and national Myanmar newspapers in English aimed at international outreach. The paper assesses how gendered constructions of power and victimhood function to promote some policy options and global interests, while marginalizing others.

3

FROM CRAWFURD TO LUCE: TOWARDS A GENEALOGY OF COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BURMA AND BEYOND

Panel Organizer/Convener: Patrick McCormick

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd floor)

The scholarship of the British during the colonial period (1824-1948) has had a profound, lasting impact on the writing and study of Burmese pasts. For the past several decades, the project of historians of Burma has been to create an ever-more accurate understanding of the Burmese past by providing new evidence and interpretations of the

historical record. Scholars have paid much less attention to the question of who has set the terms of the conversation for Burmese history and how.

Early British scholars and observers set the terms of Burmese history through the conceptual tools, frameworks, and practices they brought to its study and writing. Moving away from seeing history as debates about facts, truth, and historicity, this collection of papers takes forward a conversation about the role of individual British diplomats, administrators, and scholars in creating Burmese history. Each of the participants considers a different facet of this process: the role of individual scholars and how their intellectual interests and frameworks have been instrumental to establishing views of Burma; how local scholars have adopted and adapted British ideas as part of their understanding of themselves and their history; and how Thai scholars took on British ideas to create a national past for themselves. These last two highlight how British interventions have been crucial to local projects of creating national pasts for newly-conceived nations.

This conversation is much needed now that Myanmar has begun to reengage with the outside world. Burma Studies is slowly moving out of decades of scholarly neglect after decades of difficult access. Burmese history can join the program long underway in neighboring countries of South and Southeast Asia of scholars reconsidering the “classical” work of the earliest Euro-American scholars.

LUCE AND THE CREATION OF THE MONS AS A HISTORICAL SUBJECT

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During the colonial era (1824-1948), the British wrested control of the interpretation of Burmese pasts out of the hands of the courts and other cultural elites. When British administrator-scholars began to write Burmese history, they introduced an idea of history—both as a set of practices and as a body of writing—as an object of scientific study. In the process, they also created new historical subjects, the “races” of the country. Pre-eminent among these were the Burmans, Mons, and Pyus, who had the longest written records. Today the Mons are known as one of the oldest peoples of Southeast Asia, the first evidence of whom comes from the sixth century AD in what is now Thailand, before their center of gravity moved west, but this was not always the case.

The British creation of the Mons as historical subjects, and the fact that Mon scholars and intellectuals today understand their own history largely through those lenses, marks a true break from the pre-colonial situation. While continuities stand between the people of the same name before and after the colonial era, much of how Mons understand themselves now finds its basis in British ideas and practices. I consider the effects of those ideas, primarily of race and nation, and the practice of equating language with race, as having primary importance in defining “the Mon” as subjects of history in ways that differ strikingly from the pre-colonial era. Today Mon history is an ethnic history, in which a unified, singulative Mon ethnic identity is projected into the past.

THE DESCENT FROM DIPLOMACY: THE EMERGENCE OF BRITISH COLONIAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN BURMA

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The British fascination with monarchies defined many of their colonial relationships. Imperial policymaker and diplomats (often one and the same) brought their preconceptions about social hierarchies—including monarchies—to their engagements with indigenous cultures. In this paper, I will investigate both the occasions and manner in which the British made early and formative encounters with the Court of Ava. The needs of imperial foreign policy were the occasion for these encounters, but one of their unexpected legacies was to shape British historical writing about the country. In order to depict these relationships, significant British writers who engaged Burma from the end of the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries, including Symes, Crawford, Phayre, Yule and others, will provide the basis for this discussion. These authors drew upon their direct experience in diplomatic missions, which enabled them to visit and then write in vivid detail about the Burmese court. In describing their experiences, they established narratives which would become judgements about Burma itself. Accordingly, British diplomats commented on the country’s social life as readily as they related what they had seen inside the court. In practice, their experiences virtually ensured that they would compare the presentation and realities of the monarchy with the current condition of the country, which they almost habitually reported to be backward, isolated and populated by people often indolent.

The discussion will offer the possibility that these early publications were formative for British historical writing about Burma. In addition, these narratives would later be augmented by a robust colonial interest in the archaeological

recovery of Burma's medieval past. In addition to the later realities of colonial governance (which eventually covered all of Burma), these practices had the effect of confirming a view that recent Burmese history was mostly a pathetic chronicle of a comparatively backward and decadent nation. Ironically, perhaps, it also meant that as Burma was made part of British India, narratives were being developed to show that the Court of Ava was "other" to what might be found under colonial governance in South Asia. Finally, investigating the "descent from diplomacy" will link these narratives to both the political impact of these encounters, but also to subsequent colonial conceptualization of Burma's history.

***COLONIAL BURMESE HISTORY IN EARLY MODERN THAI HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE THEORY OF THE
MIGRATION OF THE TAI RACE***

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The theory of the migration of the Tai race, which has been investigated by western scholars in Burma, has had an enormous impact on the structure of modern Thai historiography since late nineteenth century. On the one hand, it heavily affected Thai scholars' historical writings, which saw ethnic groups and neighboring states as having a role in the formation of the Tai principalities. On the other hand, these were ethnic groups who, in the eyes of western scholars, were already in what is now northern Thailand and the Chaopraya basin before the coming of the Thai people.

Inevitably, the early phase of Thai national historical writing depended on the inquiries into Burmese history by scholar-officials, especially the British. Their work was crucial to filling out the picture of the Thai past. By considering the development of modern Thai historiography in light of the transmission of colonial knowledge, this article argues for the centrality to Thai history of the British colonial narrative of migration of indigenous peoples in Burma. Moreover, the roles of different ethnic groups in forming political entities and cultures have also been problematic for elite Thai scholars, both in terms of the periodization of the Thai past, and in constructing the boundary of the Thai nation and culture. This narrative of migration bound the movement of various "ethnies," especially Mons, Burmans, Shans, and Yuns (Northern Thai) through their political and religious activities to the premodern Thai state.

This paper focusses on the role of prominent Thai elite scholars, particularly Prince Narathip and Prince Damrong, as mediators and reproducers of colonial knowledge and ethnic symbols. Through their work, the Burmese colonial historical narrative of "racial struggle" embedded in the "ethnies" of Burma was transmitted into the modern Thai historiographical space. Thai elite scholars' historical inquiries established the grounds for certain ethnic groups, both in legitimizing their identity, and in claiming their contributions to Thai society.

4

THE BURDEN/BENEFIT OF (OUR) HISTORY- PRECARITY AND YOUTH IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

Panel Organizer/Convener: Mike Griffiths

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd floor)

Emerging from decades of relative isolation from other countries, youth in contemporary Myanmar are both the products and producers of new identities, which both reflect and reshape older notions of pluralism. The burden or benefit (Hammack, 2010) of assigned identity is increasingly questioned: instead, as access to technology enables rapid interconnectivity with multiple alternative identities, so newer iterations emerge, which present a profound challenge to existing arrangements. Current identity constructs, institutionalized by government regulations and identity cards, fail to reflect the emergent self-identities, which themselves are the product of new precarities. The result then, is a proliferation of new identity formulations which project into the next generation of adults. What does being 'Karen' mean now, and what will it mean in the future? To what extent do the ethnic and religious inscriptions shape youth self-identity, compared with precarious living and digital alternatives?

COMING OF AGE IN HPA-AN: NAVIGATING A MORE COSMOPOLITAN MORALITY

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In the last five years Myanmar has experienced significant social, political and economic change. By drawing on sixteen months of participant observation in Hpa-an and its surrounding towns and villages, I offer an insight into

the complex modernising worlds of Plong Karen people in Myanmar and everyday understandings of morality as it is experienced in relation to family, work, school and everyday social life. This draws on the flourishing field of morality and ethics within anthropology (eg Laidlaw 2002, 2014; Robbins 2004, 2007) to give an insight into the changing moral terrain of the contemporary Karen experience in south-eastern Myanmar, and the everyday moral dilemmas and debates of people attempting to navigate the paradoxes of living in what is an increasingly global age. In the contemporary era, traditional Karen identities and understandings of what it means to be a 'good' man or woman are being contested, defended and re-imagined in a variety of ways. On the one hand their subjectivity is intertwined in strong rural social norms, customs and a celebration of 'traditional' notions of Karen identity. On the other hand, they are drawn into urban, transnational and mediated global spheres where value aspirations that emphasize individuality and personal transformation are tinged with an aura of possibility and danger. In Hpa-an, as in Myanmar more broadly, a Buddhist religious cosmological imaginary also heavily frames local culture and subject formation, colouring most aspects of quotidian social life. Examining the multiple moral social-scapes and broader historical and cultural transformations through which young Karen people move, I demonstrate some of the ways that Karen youth employ moral agency and creativity in navigating a more cosmopolitan morality.

ROADMAPS: PATHWAYS TO ADULthood OF STREET AND WORKING CHILDREN IN MANDALAY

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Millions of children throughout the world live on the street. UNICEF (1990) estimated that, there were 369 million poor children under age 15 in the cities of the developing world. Whilst several hypotheses have been advanced to explain the origins of street children, less is known of their trajectories into adulthood, and of the various influences shaping eventual adult identity. The number of street children in Myanmar is not known but estimated to be at least 30,000 although actual figures are likely to be much higher. Most children mentioned the need to support the family, and in many cases, the death of a parent or family member resulted in a change of economic circumstances, forcing the child onto the streets. In a few cases, family problems and abuse, especially from step-parents, resulted in children being forced out of the home, or running away from home (Griffiths, 2013). Anecdotal evidence from Myanmar suggest that few street or working children transition successfully into independent adulthood. Many remain institutional, either in military or penal system. However, this research draws on several case studies of successful transition into adulthood of street children. Analyzing, these narratives, we explore the process of both deconstruction and reconstruction of identity, and suggest wider application both for prevention and rehabilitation of street children, and for building resilience amongst a new generation of urbanized youth. This research examines identity shaping factors within shifting frames of risk, identifying pathways which enable some youth to successfully negotiate their way through street life in a way which enables re-integration into adult society.

RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OR FAMILY PRESSURE? COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES OF DRUG AVOIDANCE AMONGST YOUTH FROM TWO MYANMAR CITIES

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Myanmar's well-publicized drug problem derives from both production and consumption: whilst changes in patterns of use have occurred, and recent national drug policy has begun to shift towards rehabilitative models, substance abuse amongst youth remains a significant social issue. Easy availability of amphetamine based substances, as well as opiates, intersect with an increasing risk culture and fluidity of youth identity. Much research related to drug use has focused on the behaviors of drug users themselves. However, studies of avoidance behavior may indicate pathway to reduce overall drug abuse. Some investigators have shown that the social controls such religion and family has great influence over the drug use behavior of youth (Hadaway, Elifson & Petersen, 1984; Farrel & White, 1998). Although religion and family are known to act as strong social controls among Myanmar people, increase access to information and alternative cultural forms has led to rapidly changing the identity formation processes amongst Myanmar Youth. Using social control theory of Hirschi (Hirschi 1969) to analyze individual case studies of Youth from two Myanmar cities: Myitkyina in Kachin State and Hpa-an in Karen State, this paper will analyze the role of religion and family identity influencing over drug avoidance behavior of youth from Myanmar. As a new generation of youth emerges with differently constructed form, will they involve and re-shape the form of their new generation.

DYING TRADITION OR LIVING TRUTH? TRADITIONAL FESTIVALS OF THE YINBAW ETHNIC GROUP OF KAYAH STATE, NORTHEAST MYANMAR

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Festivals, deriving and assigning meaning to symbolic acts and performances, play a significant role in shaping and maintaining group identity (Douglas, Douglas, & Derrett, 2001). However, festival participation is diverse, with a variety of personal outcomes from participation in festivals including learning, acquired social and cultural capital, and pleasure. The festival is significant in its positioning of the audience as both producer and consumer of meaning and ritual, a phenomenon accelerated and replicated with increasing access to and use of digital media as a platform for social interaction. More well-known festivals in Myanmar, such as the Thingyan New Year festival, have undergone significant transformation in terms of participation and practice, with inevitable tensions between advocates of 'tradition' and a newer generation seeking alternative meanings. This paper explores the fluidity of meaning of the traditional festival of an ethnic group in Myanmar known as YinBaw, and the current ways in which the practice of the festival and its meanings are contested by different generations, both of whom essentially function as both producers and consumers of culture. In particular, this paper explores the dialectic between festival participation modes and identity construction: how participation modes are influenced by being Yin Baw, and how the festival participation modes, and contested meanings and symbols in turn influence the notion of what it means to be Yin Baw.

FURNIVAL'S FOLLY: INTERSECTIONALITY AND YOUTH IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

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Ethnic identity politics arguably constitute the greatest political challenge to Myanmar's democracy (Cheesman, 2017; Gravers, 2007), where colonial-era notions of difference and othering continue as the dominant discourse. An over-reliance on institutionally rooted, deterministic categories for identity has resulted in the maintenance, at great cost, of Furnival's 'medley' of pluralism, where individuals assigned to their 'group' maintain their prescribed place in society. Recent (and not to recent) events illustrate both the inadequacy and unsustainability of this approach (Cheesman & Farrelly, 2016). Although recent scholarship has challenged established modes of identity (Cheesman, 2002; Sadan, 2007), the role of intersectionality and performativity in both identity construction and othering have not been explored in the Myanmar context. How does, for example, gender intersect with geography, class and ethnicity in the process of influencing both self-identity and 'other' identity construction? Do factors other than 'assigned ethnicity' play a more significant role in identity construction? With the rapid growth of social media as a platform for constructed networks, youth identity in contemporary Myanmar is subject to multiple intersecting streams, many of which are themselves undergoing rapid transition. The instability of previously established identities does, in turn, offer possibilities for newer forms of plural belonging: popular culture, such as the Myanmar Idol reality show, sees juxtapositions of different identities, derived from ethnic background, diverse expressions of gender identity, and music and fashion style, challenging conceptions of what it means to be a young Burmese, Kachin, Chin or Karen, and in turn, potentially new iterations of what it means to be "Myanmar".

5

PYU CITIES AND BAGAN: NEW INSIGHTS, NEW INITIATIVES

Room 5 (4th floor)

PYU INSCRIPTIONS ON MOLDED TABLETS: A WAY FORWARD?

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The culture known as "Pyu" flourished in central Burma in the first millennium, prior to the ascendancy of the Burmese. Their language (also usually called Pyu) is known from some 130 inscriptions, a few of them long, most of them short. (The figure rises to almost 200 if the very short notations on bricks are included.) So far, progress in Pyu decipherment has been based mostly on bilingual or multilingual inscriptions, notably, the quadrilingual Myazedi

inscription which formed the basis of Blagden's ground-breaking study of the language over 100 years ago. However, extant multilingual inscriptions involving Pyu are very few in number, so further progress will have to be based on monolingual ones. This presentation reports on a study of a set of short Pyu monolingual inscriptions found on molded tablets (often called "votive tablets" in the literature). The study sought to use molded tablets inscribed in known languages, such as Pali, Old Mon and Old Burmese, as a template for discovering Pyu content.

The focus of this presentation will be on the prospects for further progress in the decipherment of Pyu, given the uncertainties involved in dealing with monolingual inscriptions and, in addition, the difficulty of interpreting even multilingual ones.

PROTECTING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MYANMAR

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Myanmar's transition to democracy has seen the profile of cultural heritage rise significantly. From the successful nomination of the Pyu Ancient Cities for UNESCO World Heritage listing, to the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Culture becoming a Member of ICOM, the management of Myanmar's cultural heritage has now become part of an international network. This brings with it obligations and expectations both within Myanmar and from the international community. This paper draws on my personal experience working with the Department of Archaeology and Museums, and outlines some key issues associated with managing cultural heritage within an environment of rapid change. These include capacity building, legal frameworks and management. In addition, recent changes to cultural property laws and their potential impact on the movement of cultural heritage are also addressed.

A NEW HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHINESE INSCRIPTION OF BAGAN

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The Chinese inscription at the Bagan Archaeological Museum, having on its reverse side a Pyu inscription, is tangible evidence of the long-established China-Myanmar relationship and its vicissitudes since the 13th century. Thanks mainly to the works by Taw Sein Ko in the 1910s and Chen Yi-Sein in 1960, this classic Chinese epigraph has been carefully read and studied. However, its historical background remains a mystery to scholars of today. By comparing the Chinese words at Bagan with those from the tablets of Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) preserved in China, this paper deals with Chinese sources, discusses a probable aspect of history that the Chinese inscription at Bagan was a vernacular translation of an imperial edict in Mongolian language issued by Kublai Khan.

6

MYANMAR/BURMA-INDIA CONNECTIONS AND BORDER AFFAIRS

Ballroom 1 (4th floor)

KOLKATA-MYANMAR RELATIONS: POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

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Numerous studies have proposed that India must use its soft power more effectively to strengthen itself regionally and as a federation. The present paper is an attempt to examine the prospects of strengthening India and Myanmar relations through Kolkata, given the historical ties between Kolkata and Yangon—a vibrant Burmese community in Barasat, a replica of Shwedagon Pagoda in the area, the growing craze for Burmese food and culture and the increasing use of the city for medical and education purposes.

Trade-wise, a large part of goods from Northeast India are brought through roads and railways of the narrow Siliguri corridor to Kolkata before they are transported through the Malacca Straits to Southeast Asia and China. West Bengal is the port of entry to land-locked states of Central India, Nepal and Bhutan. Kolkata is the metro-city with Wi-Fi connectivity on 4G, and presently, Myanmar Airways International has supplemented Air India's twice weekly service between Yangon and Kolkata to double the direct flights between the two cities.

THE POTENTIALITIES AND CONSTRAINTS OF BORDER TOURISM DEVELOPMENT ALONG THE INDO-MYANMAR BORDER

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The size and economic significance of travel and tourism have attracted the attention of many developing countries in promoting the tourism industry to stimulate their domestic economies. Tourism has emerged as one of the prospective sectors of industry in both India and Myanmar and is an important income source of both countries. The Indo-Myanmar border region is well known for its bio-diversities, rich culture, and border trade and heritage sites. The border region is also rich in geo-tourism, rural tourism, food tourism and other similar products. However, several factors pose a hindrance to the possible robust growth of tourism in the border regions. If the vast tourism potentials of the border region belonging to both countries are fully tapped and developed, within no time the region will attract more tourists than other similar regions. The study aims at locating the tourist products in the Patkai region, Moreh-Tamu sector and Zokhawthar-Rih sector. With an analysis of tourists' behavior and their responses towards tourist products, infrastructure and logistics, the study focuses on the identification of problems of tourism development in the region. The paper argues that if the tourism potentials of these areas are tapped this region can a hotspot for border tourism in the world, which can further boost sub-regional cooperation.

A POTENTIAL RAIL LINK BETWEEN BURMA AND INDIA

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Myanma Railways operates an extensive metre-gauge rail network, but at present there are no international links. A rail link between India and Burma was mooted as far back as 1899, but a railway linking the two countries has never been built. Indian Railways is building a line in Manipur State from Jiribam to Imphal, with plans to extend it to Moreh on the India/Burma border. Myanma Railways has plans for a line from Tamu (across the border from Moreh) to Mandalay, but construction of such a line is not imminent. The proposed line would possibly run from Tamu to Kalaymyo and then to Segyi to join the existing line from Kin U to Monywa. The current line from Segyi goes to Monywa and thence to Mandalay via Chaung U. The issue of gauge is important, as Indian Railways operates a predominantly broad-gauge network (1,676mm). A dual-gauge line from Moreh/Tamu to Mandalay is one option. There are strong economic arguments in favour of a rail link between India and Burma, particularly relating to the export of pulses from Burma to India. The presentation will conclude with some brief comments on the current state of Myanma Railways.

THE ZO HNAHTHLAK AND THE 'BURMA MI' IN MIZORAM

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The Zo *hnahtlak* (Zo/Mizo people) in the North East Indian state of Mizoram share muddled relations with the 'Burma mi' (Burmese people). The politics of *Panoptics* through the watchful eyes of the State, the Church and its agencies that I call the *Nexus of Patriarchy*¹ function as instruments of 'systemic or structural control'. The *Nexus of Patriarchy* in its attempt to build the 'Ideal Zo Christian State' selectively targets and inflicts community policing on the 'Burma mi' and project them as 'the nexus of evil'. There seems to be little public resistance to the activities of 'Community Policing' of the YMA, the MZP etc. The official opening of the porous borders between Mizoram (Indian state) and Burma in order to leverage the connections via the spectacted lens of India's Look East/Act East Policy adds much to the discomfiture. The discussions in the paper attempt to chart the same and glean into the furtive ways in which such fuzzy animosities travel into institutionalized religious and political arrangements and practices.

1. The Zo tribes and their sub clans form the majority and dominate all the socio-politico-eco-cultural arenas of the society. The Church and the State are the instruments through which the majority dictates their terms to the minorities including the women and Vais. I call the coalition of the majority, the church and the state the 'Nexus of Patriarchy' because it represents the functioning of the patriarchy which tries to dominate the others. The nexus of patriarchy dominates and marginalizes women and by the same token marginalizes the "others" –men and women inclusive.

***INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION AND CHINA'S ENTICEMENT: MYANMAR'S FOREIGN POLICY
PREDICAMENT*****Enze Han**

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Myanmar's foreign relations in the recent past have witnessed some major ups and downs, especially since the escalation of international condemnation of Aung San Suu Kyi's government's handling of the Rohingya crisis. On the other hand, the previous trend set by the Thein Sein government to distance Myanmar from China's economic domination seems to have been mostly reversed. This paper examines both the domestic political logics and the international relations dynamic that have generated predicament in Myanmar's alignment strategies. The paper argues that China has managed to convince Myanmar the benefits of a cordial bilateral relations would bring for the latter's economic development and internal peace process. However, China's continual support as well as Myanmar's perception of its indispensable role in the broader geostrategic competition between China and the West nonetheless have emboldened the Myanmar government and military to feel the country can be immune from international pressure for atrocities committed toward the Muslim minorities in the Rakhine State. This miscalculation has backfired and has further pushed Myanmar into China's orbit because of a renewed round of call for international sanction on the country that is facing internal ethnic strife and uncertain democratic transition.

THE ROLES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTORS IN MYANMAR'S DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS (2008-2015)**Pinitbhand Paribatra**

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Since 2008, Myanmar took an unprecedented stage of democratization. While many domestic factors have been widely discussed and studied, this research develops around the argument that international players have also played significant roles in the process of democratization and would be needed for a democratic system to be consolidated. While focusing on three folds of democratic processes in Myanmar (i.e. economic stability, peace process, and institutional capacity building), the research delves into the question: how do international actors (foreign governments as well as international organizations) play roles in Myanmar's democratization from 2008 to 2015? Specific focuses will be on foreign financial aids and development assistances to Myanmar during the period in the three mentioned areas. The research also compares and contrasts roles, rationales, and areas of interests of the international actors in the democratization process in Myanmar.

***FROM SILK ROAD TO BELT ROAD: INTERNET, INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF
LIVELIHOOD TRANSITION IN BURMA AND THAILAND*****Mary Mostafanezhad & Roger Norum**

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Since President Xi Jinping's unveiling of the Chinese government's One Belt One Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013, the multi-faceted initiative has been promoted as China's core regional development and foreign relations strategy. This presentation argues that the socio-ecological impacts of rapid internet infrastructure development linked to BRI intensifies ongoing shifts from small scale to plantation agriculture and village out-migration that have long threatened rural livelihoods throughout Southeast Asia. Through ethnographic fieldwork in Yangon and Chiang Mai, we bring a political ecology lens to emerging scholarship on BRI by presenting a multi-scalar analysis of BRI's impacts on small farmers' access to new markets and livelihood diversification. Prevailing wisdom suggests that expanding rural internet infrastructure will benefit residents by providing them with access to new markets and opportunities for livelihood diversification. We argue, rather, that through e.g. land grabs and a disproportionate benefit to elites, such rapid changes are intensifying social and ecological disparities between rural and urban residents, and within rural communities. We also discuss in the paper the ways in which BRI connectivities are furnishing access to new markets and new livelihoods, bringing into conversation data on land use, migration and urban-rural interaction. For example,

a number of farmers in these regions have been able to capitalise on internet affordances to transition some of their livelihoods to tourism-based economies.

ROHINGYA WOMEN'S LABOR AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DISPLACEMENT

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Following the violent, military-perpetrated displacement of over 700,000 Rohingyas from Rakhine state, many accounts have rightfully focused on how Rohingya livelihoods have been significantly eroded by the loss of land and means of production. This attention, however, has obscured another mode of economic marginalization: the particular conditions under which Rohingyas have been included within and excluded from labor markets, and with what effects. Institutional and legal discrimination, specifically mobility restrictions and arbitrary arrest, prevent Rohingyas in both Myanmar and Malaysia from adequately reproducing themselves through wage work, inducing what McIntyre and Nast call conditions of the 'necropolis'. The little participation in wage work they can access has been increasingly limited to dirty, dangerous, and low-paid jobs such as brickmaking, fish processing, and construction. In the meantime, Rohingya women absorb the high costs of displacement and abandonment through increased household labor activities alongside occasional participation in low-wage labor outside the home. Yet even as Rohingya populations are purposely destroyed, abandoned, and criminalized, their seeming irrelevance to capitalism nonetheless benefits a system of capitalist accumulation across South East Asia and beyond. Through their household labor and care work, Rohingya women support the children and relatives who toil as construction or meatpacking workers elsewhere. In this paper, I show how the social reproduction work of Rohingya women in Rakhine state, Myanmar and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia underpins capitalist accumulation in refugee host cities in Malaysia and the United States.

8

MYANMAR'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSITION UNDER NLD'S LEADERSHIP AND ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd floor)

PRO-BUSINESS CIRCLES VS. INDIVIDUAL & CIVIL RIGHTS – A PERSPECTIVE ON LAND RIGHTS IN MYANMAR

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Promoting some political and economic reform the Myanmar government has been striving, since 2010, to develop the economy by overhauling existing policies, laws & regulatory frameworks. Several laws & amendments have been passed over the period extending from 2012 to 2017 with an emphasis on land, forest, labor and civil societies' movement and also peace-process. Among the most noted ones are the laws for land sector & land rights organizations that are included in the Farmland Law (2012) & amendments (2017), the Vacant, Fallow & Virgin Land Management Law (2012) & amendments (2017), the Land Acquisition Bill (2017), the amendments to the Rights to Peaceful Assembly & Peaceful Processing Law (2018) and the Registration of Organizations Law (2014). The paper argues that these laws have so far failed to protect individual rights properly. Existing land-related laws favor large-scale businesses rather than smallholder farmers, pro-business rather than domestic assets protection, and industrialized economic promotion rather than cultural & indigenous rights. Added to this, it can be also argued that the current law makings & amending processes suppress the movements against civil societies either directly or indirectly. It is suggested here that the Myanmar government ought to balance the use of eminent domain on both individual and public interests to create better, stable legal & regulatory frameworks.

UNDERSTANDING THE NLD'S APPROACH OF REDUCED CONFRONTATION WITH THE MILITARY

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Academic analyses of Myanmar's political transformation process have increased significantly over the last ten years. One such analysis has suggested that the transformation in Myanmar is a case of regime maintenance, i.e. sustaining authoritarianism by creating institutions that facilitate elite-power sharing (Gandhi and Przeworski 2007).

Some scholars have, thus, described Myanmar's transformation as an 'institutionalisation of military dominance' (Nyein 2009; Bunte 2011; Huang 2013).

The assessment suggests that there is little room for political action on the part of the National League for Democracy (NLD), which assumed government in 2016. The legacy of the party as an opposition force that suffered grave human rights violations over more than two decades makes it unlikely that the party would easily be co-opted and yet the political record of its first two years in office offers little indication of opposition to the military and its proxy representatives. This is surprising since the case for regime maintenance suggests that the top-down transformation process has led to an advantageous position for the military, one that it would not give up even in the face of stronger opposition. What, if not the fear of an authoritarian resurgence, has informed the NLD's political strategy of avoiding direct confrontation?

The paper argues that other approaches have failed to answer this question sufficiently due to their almost exclusive focus on the position of the military. Rather, understanding the NLD's strategy of reduced confrontation necessitates a closer look at the party's own history, specifically its institutionalisation process under military rule.

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN MYANMAR SINCE 2016

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With the support of Myanmar people, NLD came into power in 2016. People place high expectations on the new civilian government. However, NLD has shown any clear economic strategy. Generally-speaking, the new government seems to move away from the poverty eradication policy followed by the former regime to adopt a more inclusive and sustainable development policy. Even though a twelve-point outline for economic policy was declared, the socio-economic development of the population seems to remain a lower priority for the government than peace and national reconciliation at least until 2018.

On the other hand, NLD has no experience in running the economy. The government lack of capacity leads to ineffective operation of agencies which cannot understand and respond to peoples' needs and voices. Ordinary people have not seen any tangible improvements in their lives.

Even though international organizations report favorably about the economic development of Myanmar, they advise for a speedier second wave of reforms. Expectations, function and capacity of the stakeholders need to be balanced in order to deliver better policies and actions for the economic development of Myanmar.

LIBERALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR

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Historic Myanmar elections in 2015 and the installation of a National League for Democracy government effectively led by Aung San Suu Kyi in 2016 contrast with ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in 2017. One critical question that now confronts the 50 million people of this Southeast Asian nation is whether the push for greater democracy is strong enough to prevail over a powerful military machine and undercurrents of intolerance. What are the prospects for liberal democracy in Myanmar? This paper addresses this question by examining historical conditions, constitutionalism, democracy, major political actors, ethnic conflict, and transitional justice. It presents a rich array of evidence focused on 88 in-depth interviews and three waves of surveys and survey experiments conducted in 2014-18. The analysis culminates in the concept of limited liberalism, which reflects a blend of liberal and illiberal attitudes. Its spread among politicians and citizens alike casts doubt on the prospects for liberal democracy in Myanmar.

9A

LOCAL RESPONSES TO THE BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF BURMA

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd floor)

SUSPENSION, REINSTATEMENT, AND DISMISSAL: THE EXPERIENCE OF A BURMESE CLERK AND THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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Many indigenous people of British Burma were employed as clerks or subordinate officials of various ranks in regional government agencies. This study introduces one of the documents about them in order to consider the significance of British colonial administration from the viewpoint of their Burmese employees. The document relates that a Burmese clerk at a registration office in the Thongwa district, Lower Burma, was dismissed and reinstated twice during 1893 and 1894, respectively due to the neglect of duty and the suspicion of being responsible for lost documents in the office. In the long petitions written by the clerk and submitted to his superiors, he not only resolutely insisted on his innocence but also blamed his immediate superior at the office for setting him up. Petitions made by subordinate officials or clerks in many cases have a similar phrasal structure in which the petitioner humbly begs their master or superiors for sanctioning their needs and claims. In this case, however, the petitioner follows the style of an ordinary petition on the one hand, and explicitly and amply protests his innocence in his own words on the other. Although it would be easy for officials in managerial posts, namely deputy commissioners or commissioners, to dismiss clerks, this case suggests that racial tension or conflict could occur in the grass-roots workplaces of the administration at the time of rapid transformation in colonial society.

BAPTIST KAREN INTELLECTUALS' PURSUIT OF OFFICIAL RECOGNITION IN BRITISH BURMA: PARTICIPATION IN THE 1881 CENSUS AND THE FORMATION OF THE KNA

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This study examines primary documents written in Sgaw Karen to discuss the political activities and intentions of Baptist Karen intellectuals in early 1880s Burma, including the formation of the Karen National Association (KNA). Although well-known among scholars as the first 'ethnic-oriented' modern organisation in Burma, there has been little empirical scrutiny of the KNA's organisational characteristics or purpose. This study argues that the birth of the KNA is related to the 1881 census.

In 1880, Baptist Karen intellectuals sought political recognition from British officers and requested an audience with the Viceroy of India, who was visiting Rangoon. After noting for the viceroy the considerable size of the Karen population, these intellectuals formed the KNA, but limited its membership to their friends and relatives. The organisation aimed to handle all negotiations with the British themselves.

The KNA participated in the census-taking, because they believed that the British hardly knew about the Karens, and they feared their population would be underrepresented in official documents. They submitted the number of their church members as the 'Karen population', meaning they emphasised the ethnic aspect to represent themselves, even though they knew the submitted number did not include non-Christian Karens.

Those findings suggest that, when the colonialists' ideas about ethnic groups in Burma were volatile, a census could be a sphere for negotiating the 'official population number' to represent locals themselves. Therefore, the KNA's activities in the early 1880s can be understood not only as merely ethnic-oriented or pro-British actions, but also as a means of political negotiation under the colonial rule of nineteenth century Burma.

9B

FILM SCREENING

Hosted by Ethnocine Collective
Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd Floor)

GLIMMERS OF SUBJECTIVITY: KAREN WOMEN AND THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE

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Ethnocine Collective hosts a screening and discussion of the short film NOBEL NOK DAH, which features the powerful stories of three Karen refugee women from Myanmar (Burma) who resettle to Central New York. Following the screening, the filmmakers will facilitate a workshop for those interested in using the film to spark conversations in their classrooms and communities. Film themes include forced migration and human rights, the refugee experience (camps and resettlement), gender, cultural shift and identity, storytelling & oral history, and coping & resilience. The event will introduce participants to the film discussion guide, a robust resource that features workshop outlines and discussion questions for multiple audiences as well as multimedia stories to accompany the short film.

Organized by Ethnocine Collective, a feminist filmmaking collective founded by women of color and queer-identified scholar-artist-activists.

About the film:

NOBEL NOK DAH (2015, 23 min) offers an intimate view into the lives of three refugee women from Burma, whose migratory paths cross in Thailand and eventually meet when they resettle to central New York. Drawing upon methods of feminist oral history and ethno-fiction, the film traces glimmers of subjectivity that complicate any singular narrative of the refugee experience. As camera movements follow the textures of everyday life and work, a weave of sensorial fragments immerse audiences in women's narratives of self, place, and belonging. Directed by Emily Hong, Mariangela Mihai and Miasarah Lai. World premiere: Athens Ethnographic Film Festival, Athens, Greece, 2015. International premiere, Human Rights Human Dignity International Film Festival, Yangon, Myanmar, 2016. Additional screenings include the Bangkok Underground Film Festival and at community venues with refugee audiences in Ithaca, Utica, and Buffalo, New York.

10

NON-BURMAN LANGUAGES AND THEIR CONTACT WITH BURMESE/MYANMAR LANGUAGE

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd floor)

DANU, A 'NON-STANDARD' VARIETY OF BURMESE, BURMESE DIALECT OR ETHNIC MINORITY LANGUAGE?

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There are many minorities and ethnic groups in Burma. Among them are Danu communities located close to Burmese lowlands, especially in Northern and Southern Shan States. The communities have their own culture, literature and language. Danu ethnic groups are mainly found in Naung-Cho in Northern Shan State and Pindaya, Ywa-Ngan, Taungyi, Kalaw, Aung-Ban in Southern Shan State. Danu population is around two hundred thousand. After the 2010 elections and under President Thein Sein's administration, Danu people obtained a relative autonomy and were allowed to hold a Danu traditional festival in their homeland, Pindaya. The Danu Taung-Yo's annual festival is now highly regarded among the festivals held in Burma. Besides cultural festivals, Danu communities also have a Danu literature, culture and Development Association in Naung-Cho where collections of Danu traditional songs, language glossary and syntax books and thesis for Danu language are preserved. For some linguist specialists Danu language is seen as a nonstandard variety of Burmese or a sort of Burmese dialect.

In my presentation, I would like to present the main features of the Danu annual festival and examine the specificities of Danu language based on data collected in the field.

BASIC WORD ORDER IN TAI KHAMTI: LANGUAGE CONTACT WITH BURMESE

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The issue of basic word order in Tai Khamti (hereafter Khamti) has been a topic of debate among linguists for decades. There is no question that historically, it would have been Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), like most Tai languages, but speakers also use Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order; apparently, due to contact with neighboring SOV languages. Needham's (1894) grammar states Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) is the basic word order in Khamti. Using data from her own fieldwork, Khanittanan (1986) argued that SVO was all but gone from Khamti, and had fully transitioned to SOV. Diller (1992) showed that the syntactic generalizations laid out by Needham do not always hold, and used data from other Tai languages of Northeast India to argue for pragmatically driven word order, rather than SOV as basic. Morey (2006) introduced extensive additional data from Northeast India, also arguing that Khamti's verb-final ordering is pragmatically driven.

The Khamti case presents an interesting opportunity to study language contact influence on basic word order. As it has speaker communities in two countries, India and Myanmar, in each country virtually all Khamti speakers are also native (or highly fluent) speakers of different SOV majority languages: Assamese in Northeast India and Burmese in Myanmar. This study updates the Khamti debate with data from a newly documented Khamti dialect spoken in the Upper Chindwin River Valley in northwest Myanmar, and gives the data sociolinguistic context. The data comes from a corpus of texts and more than 1,000 elicited sentences gathered between 2014 and 2017. Both word orders are present throughout the data, but the notion of Khamti having basic SVO ordering is a part of the linguistic identity of some community members. At the same time, speakers openly credit Burmese influence for what they see as an ongoing change. This raises the question of the time scale of this kind of change to basic word order, as if a change is indeed ongoing, it has been ongoing for well over a century, and across geographically disparate dialects. It also presents the opportunity for further focused study in order to examine whether the different SOV majority languages have influenced the Khamti dialects differently.

DIGLOSSIA IN JINGHPAW KACHIN AND THE DECAY OF GRAMMATICAL COMPLEXITY

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This study argues for the presence of diglossia in the Jinghpaw language, the existence of two distinct varieties which differ almost exclusively in the realm of agreement morphology, and attempts to answer how these systems developed diachronically.

Jinghpaw (Sino-Tibetan) is the *lingua franca* among the Kachin of Northern Myanmar and spoken by about 1 million people. In the late 19th century, when missionaries first described the language and produced a Bible translation, formal Jinghpaw had an extensive agreement system (DeLancey 2010, Dai 2012, Kurabe 2016). In modern colloquial Jinghpaw as well as in all non-standard dialects, this system has been reduced to a mere handful of forms, possibly due to intense language contact (van Driem 2001, Müller in press).

As is not uncommon in diglossia (Fishman 1967, Rowe & Grohmann 2013), the High and Low varieties are not discrete, but rather poles on a continuum: intermediate stages exist and are found in print media in both early 20th century texts as well as modern publications. In the spoken language, agreement marking is very rare, but not completely absent. This study explores the usage and emergence of these varieties by comparing the grammatical structures from different spoken and written genres and media, across different eras.

THE AUTONYM OF KADU IN BURMA AND RELATED PLACE NAMES

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Kadu (ISO 639-3 zkd) is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Northern Burma. Its autonym is /ʔəsàʔ/ in three major varieties: Setto Kadu, Moteik Kadu and Molang Kadu. From the linguistic point of view, this autonym can be reconstructable as *cak (henceforth referred to as SAK), which is, in turn, also related to Cak/Sak (ISO 639-3 chk) of Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bangladesh) and Northern Arakan (Burma) as well as Chakpa of Manipur (India).

Although the meaning of SAK is unknown, it is possible to point out several related place names in Northern Sagaing Division: Setto (cak-to) and Parthet (paa-sak) in Banmauk, Thetkhar (sak-khaa) in Indaw, and Namset (nam.-cak) and Manthet (man-sak) in Homalin. What is remarkable in this distribution is that except for Setto, where the

largest and the most vigorous Kadu community is found, in all the other places, Kadu speaking population is disappearing and people do not call themselves as SAK.

In conclusion, this paper argues that (i) SAK is once a widespread language in and around Northern Burma, (ii) its trace is still found in some place names in Northern Sagaing Division, and (iii) except for the core Kadu people, other Kadu people have replaced their original autonym with exonym in Shan or Burmese.

WHAT'S IN A "WORD"? THE HIDDEN BURMANIZATION OF THE MON LANGUAGE

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Burmese (Sino-Tibetan) influence is obvious in both lexical loans and structural replication in Mon (Austroasiatic), an expected outcome of centuries of contact between the two languages and their speakers. But the changes effected by contact are more fundamental, though not apparent at first sight. This study investigates changes on a less obvious level of the language structure, namely the (re)definition of "word" in Mon.

The word "word", although common in many languages, is not easily defined for any specific language, let alone cross-linguistically. Words are units characterized by grammatical, phonological, and semantic properties, and the domains do not necessarily coincide. One line of research investigates the question whether word domains are stable within a language (family) across time ("do words run in families?"), or whether they are prone to contact influence ("are words borrowed?"). Pilot studies have shown that grammatical and phonological word domains are rather stable within language families. The present study investigates changing word domains in Mon in contact with Burmese. The research is based on Mon inscriptions from the 6th century onwards, as well as modern texts and recordings. Data from other Austroasiatic languages is adduced for comparison. It turns out that Mon shows increasing convergence with Burmese also in terms of wordhood, both phonological and grammatical, reflecting prolonged intensive contact between the two languages.

The results of this study are not only relevant to the history of language contact in Myanmar, but also provide insights into comparative linguistic investigations in (the stability of) word domains in general.

11A

VISUAL CULTURE IN BAGAN

Room 5 (4th floor)

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS ILLUSTRATED ON BAGAN MONUMENTS AND TEMPLES, 11TH TO THE 13TH CENTURY, CE.

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Musical instruments illustrated as paintings, terracotta reliefs and glazed reliefs on the interior and exterior walls of Bagan monuments and temples provide a view of the musical practices during the Classical Bagan Period that are mostly related to Buddhist religious practices, as well as to the dramatic arts. Although the music itself can no longer be reconstructed, these musical images attest to their importance in Bagan society. There are many religious monuments where these mural depictions were drawn, painted and sculpted. These musical images had possibly a strong effect on the different societies and individuals of this period, as their abstract nature as well as religious and secular symbolisms may evoke thoughts and images in their minds and emotions. Some of these instruments are drums, flutes, cymbals, arched harps and gongs, painted as single instruments or in ensembles in two temples from the Early Bagan Period -- the *Nagayon Temple* and the *Abeyadana Temple* -- and in the 11th century West Phet Leik Temple and the 13th century Mingalarzedi Stupa. In terms of artistic styles, Indic influences are evident on Bagan Buddhist art and architecture from the 10th to the 11th century CE. In the succeeding centuries, motifs influenced by Chinese and indigenous styles can be discerned. This paper aims to contribute to the study of musical iconography, musical practices and visual arts in relation to the Buddhist traditions of the Bagan Period.

IMAGERY OF THE INSIDE THIRTY-SEVEN LORDS AT THE SHWEZIGON, BAGAN

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The great Shwezigon stupa on the bank of the Ayeyarwaddy River at Bagan has been an object of reverence for over 900 years. Quite aside from its importance as a major Buddhist monument, the Shwezigon is the home of a unique pantheon of nats — the Inside Thirty-Seven Lords — whose images were placed on and around the stupa itself.

Although these images —and their names — have much to tell us about spiritual practices at Bagan, until now there has been little analysis of their iconography or the significance of their placement in relation to the stupa itself. This paper will present the results of my PhD fieldwork research into this imagery at the Shwezigon, conducted with the assistance of the stupa's Trustees. In particular, while the positioning, posture and iconography of the majority of images reveals how their creators realised them according to their conceptualisation as guardians of Mt. Myinmo, the cosmic mountain in Burmese Buddhist cosmology; others represent tree spirits, indigenous guardian nats or important deities from the Hindu pantheon. All had a role to play as guardians of the stupa and its holy relics.

CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAINTINGS OF THE ABEYADANAR TEMPLE IN BAGAN

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This paper focuses on the role of paintings of the Abeyadanar temple located in Bagan. In Bagan, there are over two thousand and eight hundred *stupa* and temple. Among them, the Abeyadanar Temple is situated near Myin Kaba village. Hti Hlaing Shin later known as King Kyansittha built this pagoda in honor of his queen Abeyadanar. The temple is noted for his single opening temple (Tawa-gu) facing north. The temple is not like other temples and is unique because of the paintings located in the interior walls that reflect a blend of beliefs into of Mahayana, Theravada Buddhism as well as Hinduism and Devas. The paintings present the following iconography: the 550 *Jataka* with caption in ink, a Bodhisatta who plays an important role in Mahayana Buddhism, Hindu gods, and Taya Devi. This iconography attests to the varied situation in terms of religious worship during the Bagan period. The wall paintings, artistic value, and stucco ornamentations of the Abeyadanar Cave Temple are presented briefly. The paintings are also compared with those of Pathangyi Stupa No.78.

11B

RE-VISITING NE WIN AND NE WIN'S PERIOD

Room 5 (4th floor)

TWO RECENT BIOGRAPHIES OF NE WIN AND ENVER HOXHA JUXTAPOSED AND CONTRASTED

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In 2015 Robert Taylor's *General Ne Win: A Political Biography* was published. Within a year in 2016 an English translation of Blendi Fevziu's biography *Enver Hoxha: The Iron Fist of Albania* was also published.

The presentation will juxtapose and briefly compare and contrast the (arguable) similarities and differences between Albania and Burma under the rules of Hoxha (1944-1985) and Ne Win (for Ne Win his formal rule is between 1962 to 1988 but he continued to 'rule' or to 'guide' behind the scenes for about ten years after his 'retirement'). One possible source of comparison is that, in their different ways both Albania and Burma were considered to be 'isolationist' during the Ne Win and Hoxha years albeit the isolationist policies and practices of those two countries operate in different modes.

As for the subjects of the two biographies a contention if not an assertion will be made that while Blendi Fevziu's biography of Hoxha is extremely and justifiably critical of Hoxha, Taylor's biography of Ne Win is over-indulgent in that at times Taylor 'showers' or bestow excessive compliments on, if not praise of, Ne Win and his rule.

A few aspects of the treatment of Taylor and Fevziu on their 'subjects' will be contrasted. For a few decades now neither Albania nor Burma can be considered as practicing 'isolationism'. Though Albania no longer is Communist or totalitarian in Burma/ Myanmar as part of Ne Win's legacy praetorianism continues to be pervasive.

SIGHTSEEING IN NE WIN'S BURMA: GLIMPSE INTO A FORGOTTEN HISTORY

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What did international tourism in Burma look like under the Ne Win regime? Dazzled by its post-2010 increase, one often considers that tourism was non-existent between 1962 and 1988: retrospectively, one often deems Ne Win's Burma as too closed-up, too brutal for tourism. Or so we thought.

Indeed, our research casts a new light on this period. Based on statistical lexical analysis of 1960s to 1980s guidebooks and travelogues, as well as accessible – and inaccessible – archives, we show quite a different reality. It may push us to retrospectively nuance an oft-monolithic vision of the Ne Win era.

First of all, while post-1988 guidebooks were saturated with politics and debates about whether to visit or boycott the destination, 1970s and 1980s editions feature a strikingly faint political content, rather emphasizing the authenticity of a country “where time stopped”. When they do give a passing reference to politics, they are surprisingly forgiving to Ne Win's government; some even see some brighter prospects for Burma.

On the ground, tourism statistics were obviously low, but not much more alarmingly than in some other Southeast Asian countries and, until 1988, even went through a steady growth, lending hope to some observers. As for the visitors' profiles, independent travel shows an early rise, challenging the common representation of a group-only destination.

Lastly, it appears that after a long wariness towards tourism, the Ne Win government eventually saw it as an asset in the 1980s and launched a tourism development plan supported by the UN. Analyzing those reports gives a fascinating glimpse of the schizophrenia of the Ne Win government, stuck between paranoia, prestige and thirst for hard currencies on the one hand; the efforts and painful compromises of the UN mission on the other hand; and eventually failure of this international program.

12

NEW APPROACHES TO OLD PROBLEMS: ARMED ACTORS AND CONFLICTS IN THE NEW MYANMAR

Panel Organizer/Convener: John Buchanan

Ballroom 1 (4th floor)

Scholars characterized patterns of interaction between the Tatmadaw and ethnic armed organizations during the first ceasefire period (1989-2010) as “neither war, nor peace.” But after the 2010 reforms, several changes took place. Among these were the emergence of a formal peace negotiation process and the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement of 2015, both received widespread praise and massive financial support from international community. At the same time, militarized violence returned to northern Shan State and Kachin State and the ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) operating there have formed alliances, namely the Northern Alliance and the Federal Political Negotiation and Consultative Committee. Aside from reports by journalists and humanitarian, peace and development organizations, analysis of the recent patterns of conflict and the practices of conflict actors is limited.

This panel brings together scholars from various perspectives to present recent research aimed to provide insights useful for assessing current conflict related dynamics in Burma. Drawing on grounded research, the papers aims to provide new perspectives for examining changes and continuities in the patterns of interaction among the military, EAOs, the government and the communities in which they operate. This panel shows the need for engagement in both comparative and subnational analysis and historically informed and empirically grounded research.

BURMA'S CONFLICTS: A SUBNATIONAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING PATTERNS OF MILITARIZED VIOLENCE

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Burma's civil wars are long running and have sweeping impacts on society. The recent peace and conflict processes have spurred greater interest by humanitarian, development and peace organizations in conflict related-issues. Despite its longevity and the recent interest, analysis of current conflict dynamics has several gaps. One, analysis is often ahistorical, which makes assessing the significance of recent developments difficult. Two, analysis tends to

focus on trends common across Burma, thereby missing key elements specific to one or a few areas. By consequence, many trends in the use of militarized violence are not well understood.

This paper examines these shortcomings and their implications and provides a historically informed analysis that focuses on sub-national dynamics. The paper draws on empirics from Shan State and examines localized conflict dynamics that are not usually present in conflict analysis. It also aims to provide insights useful for analyzing conflict in other areas of Burma.

NAVIGATING LIMINALITY: UNITED WA STATE ARMY (UWSA) POLITICAL PRACTICE 2014-2018

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Commentaries in Myanmar have regarded the recent engagement of the UWSA in the peace process – its refusal to sign the NCA and support for the Northern Alliance – as a new obstacle to national reconciliation. Such acts however, are consistent with the UWSA's longstanding quest for autonomy and self-reliance. This paper examines the political practice of the UWSA in its recent engagement with the Myanmar government and other EAOs. I argue that the political situation of Wa Region and the UWSA can best be described as liminal, a status that is produced and maintained through political practices of connection and rupture. A framing of liminality avoids the analytical straitjackets of "rebel" or "non-state actor" commonly used to describe the UWSA. It also avoids presumptions of conflict resolution that view political stalemate as failure, and interpretive approaches that analyse the statements of UWSA leaders without grounding them in its actual political practice, both external and domestic. These practices include participation and withdrawal from peace talks, infrastructural development, and shuffles in political appointments. Instead, the liminal state is a productive one, holding potential for both integration into and autonomy from the Myanmar state, buttressing the UWSA's agency and strategic options.

A WAR OF WORDS. THE STRATEGY OF INSURGENT PUBLIC RELATIONS IN BURMA/MYANMAR

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Armed actors in civil wars talk to multiple audiences in different ways. As non-state actors in routine armed conflict with the state and faced with legal restrictions much ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) communication is necessarily clandestine. Much analysis of insurgency investigates political, economic and war-fighting goals and activities including the strategic use of violence against civilians. There needs to be greater understanding of the multiple interactions EAOs pursue with their own communities, the state, with foreign firms and international organizations. What is the public messaging of EAOs and how do they pursue 'insurgent public relations?'

By a textual analysis of statements and promotional material of several EAOs, such as the Arakan Army, Northern Alliance and several other groups this paper asks several questions of this phenomenon. Who are the targets of this strategic PR communication? What are its objectives, particularly though international relations diplomacy or localized messaging of warning civilians, appealing to recruitment and material support, stating grievances such as human rights violations or natural resource projects, or clarification of government misreporting or propaganda? What structures are in place in EAOs to pursue PR? What resources are diverted to emphasize the importance of PR? What social media strategies do EAOs pursue?

Using the emerging theories and case studies of rebel governance, this paper seeks to explore the place of Burma's civil war PR in broader conflict studies literature, and open avenues for understanding the past and present public presentation of rebellion inside Burma.

POLITICAL LEGACY AND IMPLICATIONS OF REBEL GOVERNANCE IN THE TIME OF TRANSITION

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Myanmar's decades-long civil war can be viewed as a struggle over post-independence statebuilding efforts in the country, which has been dominated by the Bamar-majority controlled military and challenged by ethnic minority groups who - through Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAOs) and political organisations - have offer a different vision for the State of Myanmar. Some of these EAOs articulated their vision for autonomous governance within a federal union many years ago and established institutional frameworks and governance practices for the provision of public services, notably in education and healthcare, for the civilian population in their areas of control. These various forms of what

has been academically termed ‘rebel governance’ have become an important part of the everyday lives of people in conflict-affected areas. The burgeoning research field of rebel governance provides insights into various governance practices by rebel groups across the world and examines its implications for conflict dynamics and post-war political processes, such as the devolution of power to states/regions in post-war political settlements and elections. Some existing research on Myanmar’s conflict has shed light on the relations between ethnic populations and the EAOs in areas of rebel control and the manifest identity politics used in these relations. This paper discusses on this issue and related research findings can explore a number of important questions. What are the origins and nature of non-state governance in Myanmar that vary across different regions and over time, and between EAOs? What are the political implications of these varying governance practices? How do governance practices transform during wartime and ceasefire periods? It is timely to consolidate existing knowledge on rebel governance in Myanmar and its prospects in this period of economic and political transition. Understanding the local emergence of alternate social order and political authority that challenge the State is crucial for academics and policy practitioners interested in Myanmar’s political landscape, conflict and development.

13

LOCALIZING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL MODELS AND PRACTICES

Ballroom 2 (4th floor)

THE YANGON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND THE RISE OF BURMA: REVIEW THE PAST FOR SUSTAINABLE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF MYANMAR

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This study is about the role of Yangon School of Economics (YSE) in terms of economic history and policy studies since establishment in 1923, or after three years of forming Yangon University. Interestingly, it found that the Yangon School of Economics (YSE) had its main role of Burmese policy recommendation and determination as well as producing many leading economists, especially the young economists of 1960s. Prominently, Professor Hla Myint who served as the second rector of Yangon University and a well-known pioneer of development economics. Moreover, the difference of economic development paradigms between market mechanism and government control has been fought since. However, when Burma (Myanmar) re-opened to the outside world in 2010, it was a good time to review economic development paradigms and related policies to serve long-run sustainability. Luckily, there are, at present, many regional and global co-operation frameworks that fit to this goal as Sustainable development Goals (SDGs) and (Aeyawadee – Chaopraya - Mekong Economic Cooperation (ACMES). As a result, any possible sustainable development policy would be reviewed and integrated based on its own strengthened contexts both locally and globally.

USE OF ELECTORAL LENS TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS IN BURMA: LESSONS FROM THE PAST GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1990, 2010 AND 2015

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Burma’s past elections were full of significant flaws and have been severely criticized by international communities. Although the last general election in 2015 was reported in the media as the first “free and fair” election in the recent history of the country, transparency, independence of the Union Election Commission (UEC), dominance of state media, mass disenfranchisement of voters and unreasonable eligibility for candidates have all remained as key issues, which in part violate the political rights of the people.

Electoral processes have been recognized as one of the important components to ensure human rights since it is often the only measure to reflect the views of lay citizens. Based on the established international norm stated in the UDHR, the past elections did not ensure the rights in Articles 1, 2, 7, 9, 21, and 30, whilst the fundamental principles enshrined in the ICCPR are also overlooked.

Against the backdrop of the unsecured elections, this paper aims to discuss the roles of international election observation to promote human rights of all people residing in Burma through electoral processes. International election

observation can enforce the transparency of the processes by reporting the situation, prevent the problems which occurred in past elections.

Consequently, the findings will highlight the importance of local initiatives and awareness to fulfill the international recommendation put forward by the Carter Center and EU EOM regarding the reform of relevant laws and regulations to be in place before elections in 2020.

THE 'VERNACULARISATION' OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN MYANMAR

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Social movements around the world often draw on the concept of human rights to both frame their struggles and also to enlist the support of international human rights and advocacy groups. There is a 'vernacularisation' of human rights as global norms are translated and adapted for local context and practice (Merry 2006). Yet what does a consideration of the temporal dimension of vernacularisation reveal? Using the example of meanings of human rights in Myanmar we argue that vernacularisation is a dynamic process. Over time, through different political contexts, political actors can emphasise different elements of the meaning of human rights, or alternatively decide to reject the concept of human rights. In particular we explore the shift in attention from international agencies, from the problem of military authoritarianism to the problem of violence against Muslim minorities, and how this catalysed a profound shift in the way human rights was 'vernacularised' by many local political and religious leaders in Myanmar. Attention to the temporal dimension of vernacularisation reveals the prominence of changing political calculation by knowledge brokers over time. Changing local political circumstances can lead knowledge brokers to use cultural arguments in different or even opposing ways.

GENDER EQUALITY IN MYANMAR: LOCALIZING ECONOMIC MODELS TO DECOMPOSE GAPS

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Gender inequality in Myanmar is depicted in many ways: on political process and governance, lowest percentage of women sitting in the national parliament or lack of woman participation in peace process often cited as indicators of inequality while on equal roles in the economy, very large differences between the male and female labor force participation rate (82% vs 54%) and high female underemployment (41% vs 35% of male) are often used as a source of concern. This paper further investigates the gender equality issue in Myanmar by using internationally-proven economic models to decompose the gaps between male and female categories particularly in the labor force. The recently available micro and macro-data sets of labor market in Myanmar are assessed in order to estimate the average extent of discrimination against female workers particularly in terms of gender wage differentials. The estimation procedure follows the classic *Blinder-Oaxaca* decomposition method to analyze a measure of discrimination within Myanmar labor force. Considering the gender parity in primary and secondary education and an even larger proportion of women in tertiary education, gender wage differential in Myanmar requires thorough investigation so as to recommend a number of policy options to reduce labor market constraints and therefore achieve gender equality goals in Myanmar.

14

CLAIMING THE "INTERSTICES": THE EVOLVING SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN-LAND RELATIONSHIPS IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

Panel Organizer/Convener: Céline Allaverdian & Maxime Boutry

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd floor)

In the democratization process started in 2010, land reforms are an important part of the political agenda consisting in building a federal, sovereign, national territory. These reforms, while reasserting the State as the ultimate owner of all land, head toward a systematic land use registration through titling (Farmland Law 2012), including formalization of "customary" systems (National Land Use Policy) or providing the way to claim massive tracts of so-called virgin, fallow and vacant land into productive assets (VFV laws). In areas still under control of Non-State ethnic

groups, local land use policies have been drafted (Mon and Chin) or already put in place (Karen land use policy) in an obvious effort of claiming territorial control over the borderlands.

The panel proposes to shed light on the sociocultural transformations occurring in the human-land relationship along the formalization effort stressed by the land reform. State and Non-State actors' control of the territory cannot be reduced to a top-down process, as they imply local transformations in terms of livelihoods, land management and land use but also in terms of the social relationship that local populations entertain with their land. This panel aims at emphasizing this latter kind of change, through empirical studies done throughout the country. The contributions explore how population live, use and cope with land appropriation at the "interstices" of the dominant systems. These "interstices" refer to those land caught in-between different regimes of governance (dual administration in the borderlands, transiting between customary and statutory systems) and under competing norms and claims (flooded and alluvial lands).

While upland tenure remained mostly under customary governance, formalization by the central State already started to compete with local norms. Recognition of local customary land tenure systems also underlines the diversity of those and, under the stress of formalization, their sometimes conflicting nature. In the lowlands, the land reform challenges decades of local arrangements mitigating a highly restrictive framework (where inheritance was the sole authorized kind of land transfer). In some borderlands, land long let aside by economic and political interests is now under greater appropriation efforts by local populations due to the opening of the country to new investments and an even more market-oriented economy.

The panel first aims to explore the mutations in land governance, as experienced by different communities (lowland rural households, upland minorities and interethnic communities of the borderlands). Second, the panel investigates the sociocultural reconfigurations resulting from these mutations: the individualization processes triggered by land formalization, the management of conflicts resulting from this formalization and the trajectories of sociocultural changes that unfold at the "interstices" of the dominant land tenure systems.

LARGE-SCALE LAND ACQUISITIONS FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN MYANMAR: GENEALOGY AND CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

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Large-scale land acquisitions driven by agro-industrial investors and companies have been central in the agrarian history of Myanmar. But quite often, these processes have resulted in institutional, economic and social crises and have jeopardized the rights to land and the livelihoods of smallholder farmers across the country.

The literature that documents the issues mainly consists of case studies, which provide key insights into particular cases but often fail to identify the main patterns and trends at country level. To fill the gap and inform policy dialogues on the subject matter, our contribution presents an updated synthesis of the ins and outs of large-scale land acquisition for agricultural development in Myanmar.

We trace a genealogy of agro-industrial land acquisition processes by situating the contexts in which they have been promoted from the colonial area until present day. Building on these multiple legacies, we examine the current institutional framework governing large-scale land acquisition and highlights the inconsistencies between the relevant land categories, laws and statutory authorities. By relying on an updated dataset of land use permits issued on Vacant, Fallow and Virgin (VfV) land from 1991 to 2016, we then paint a contemporary picture of land concessions. We analyse the dynamic, current magnitude, geographies and actors involved as well as the effectiveness of companies, entrepreneurs and other land use permit holders to develop VfV land. Eventually, we present the issues of land conflicts that crystallize the contradictions between the management of State land by the government through large-scale agricultural concessions and the rights to land and natural resources claimed by smallholder farmers. We discuss how previous and incumbent governments address the issues and provide a number of recommendations to revise legislation and practises in ways that is more inclusive of the peasantry.

THE NEW LAND FRONT: LAND ALLOCATIONS AT THE INTERSTICES

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Following the previous president U Thein Sein's pledge to "return confiscated lands to the original owners" and the newly-elected NLD government's promise to do the same and to distribute lands to landless, a high number of

initiatives have been launched throughout the country to prepare and implement land allocation processes. In a context of rural land scarcity, land allocations constitute an opportunity for local people to bring forward previous damages, reassert claims, or just simply try to improve their livelihoods. It also crystallizes an occasion to renegotiate rules concerning land and natural resource management, at a collective level, with the introduction of the new stakeholders of the land governance arena: newly established land reinvestigation committees, activists, local authorities, members of regional parliaments, local leaders (landowners, tenants, landless...), these stakeholders have created dynamic arenas to influence land allocation processes in different manners.

One of the prime targets of land confiscations that extensively took place in the last decades throughout Myanmar have been “interstitial” lands, i.e. those with unclear claims or “moveable” uses such as wetlands alternately used for farming and fishing, alluvial lands which appear and collapse, or un-surveyed lands where shifting cultivation prevails. It is also in these areas that land allocations are currently taking place.

Based on a study in various land allocation sites dealing with such “interstitial” spaces in Irrawaddy and Magwe regions, the paper explores how people are reshaping their relationship to land and the rules around access to lands – at individual and collective scales – through use of various legitimization grounds (anteriority of land use, presence of papers, economic needs, village “territories”...). Despite the diversity of cases, a common point in land allocation processes may perhaps be the emergence of new frontier dynamics, calling upon new ways to formalize and negotiate claims and address the interests of various stakeholders.

LAND TITLING WARFARE AND DOMINION: POST-CONFLICT TERRITORIALISATION PROCESSES AND LIVELIHOODS CHANGES IN EASTERN MYANMAR BORDERLAND

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The eastern border of Myanmar has been the theatre of a 63 years-long conflict between the central government and the armed branch of the Karen National Union (KNU). Thousands of villagers abandoned their land to take refuge in the mountains or flee to the Thai side of the border. Since the ceasefire signed between the central government of Myanmar and the KNU in 2012, many Karen villagers returned to their homeland. In the meantime, Myanmar government undertook important reforms notably in the land sector, with the promotion of a new land law (2012) that seeks to title agricultural land and deliver individual land use rights. Following this move, the KNU was the first of several ethnic groups to develop their own land use policy, and their own titling program. In dual-administration areas, the guerrilla subsequently transformed into a titling cum territorialisation “warfare”. While competing in distributing titles, both land use policies push for the recognition of individual land use rights over permanent agricultural land, while not recognizing shifting cultivation areas.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork done in Karen settlements of the Tanintharyi Region, this paper looks into livelihoods changes affecting Karen communities in the post-conflict era, from a subsistence-oriented and mobile agriculture toward a sedentary agriculture that struggles to integrate into the dominant cash economy. By examining the transformations affecting the Karen customary land tenure system and its formalization in-between central government and KNU land use policies, this paper further reflects on the post-military national construction and the obstacles that enduring ethnic politics continue to raise on the path to federalism and the strategies borderland population develop to maintain both their identity and their livelihoods.

“CONFLICT RUBBER” AND MILITARY-STATE MAKING IN A POST-WAR CONTEXT IN SOUTHEASTERN MYANMAR

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This paper presentation, based on field research data from 2015 and 2016, demonstrates that smallholder rubber expansion in a post-war setting in northern Tanintharyi Region in southeastern Myanmar has furthered military state-making. Rubber production in northern Tanintharyi by smallholder farmers and businessmen from Mon state, oftentimes supported by the Mon rebel group (the New Mon State Party, or NMSP), represents an important part of the wider permanent displacement of Karen (Kayin) communities from their customary lands. By locking in Mon land use and plantation ownership, smallholder rubber expansion is contributing to the erasure of Karen claims on lands that they previously inhabited but were forcibly removed from by the Tatmadaw during the previous period of war and counterinsurgency. This expansion has also served to advance the territorial control, authority and political legitimacy

of the Myanmar state and the NMSP in these areas. The Karen rebel group (the Karen National Union, or KNU) as a result can no longer operate in these newly-established Mon rubber territories. The result has been the foreclosing of post-conflict reconciliation and land restitution options for conflict-affected Karen populations, and further displacement of Karen villagers into roadside village hamlets under state authority.

15

MYANMAR/BURMA, ITS SOCIETY AND LINKS TO THE WIDER WORLD IN THE MIDDLE TO LATE MODERN PERIOD

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd floor)

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE KINGDOMS OF AVA AND PEGU FOR EUROPEAN TRADING COMPANIES IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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Several historians have researched the presence of European companies, notably the East India Company and the French India Company, in the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu in the 1750s. These researches have revealed the active involvement of Europeans in this period of conflict between these kingdoms. However, this decade was characterised by the progressive weakening of the English Indian Company and the impoverishment of the French Company. Therefore, we can ask ourselves, what were the reasons for such participation in the conflict of these kingdoms during this decade?

To understand the issues regarding what the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu represented for the French and English companies, it seems necessary to study the interactions with these companies before the 1750s. For this purpose, we will base on Early English Intercourse with Burma by D.G.E. Hall for the East India Company. And, for the French Indies Company, on the archives of the Procès-verbaux des délibérations du Conseil souverain de la Compagnie des Indes and the archives of Joseph-François Dupleix. In this way, we can observe the importance of trade and geo-strategical locality, as well as the function of the intermediaries who operated for the European trade companies in these kingdoms.

RECONSIDERING KING BADON'S EXERTIONS ON BUDDHISM IN MYANMAR IN THE LATE 18TH AND EARLY 19TH CENTURY

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Myanmar Kings worked to promote Buddhism in all conceivable ways. Of the kings of Myanmar, King Badon (1782-1819) had made more efforts such as sponsoring the ordination and training of six Singhalese monks into the Suddhama fraternity to develop Buddhism. But King Badon made remarks on some accounts of Buddha Discourses. He quoted various incidents from the Buddha's Life, Jataka stories and the Myanmar chronicles in support of his attitudes or to refute some popular beliefs. Monastic descriptions and Myanmar chronicle alleged that King Badon was a *Dhammavādī* – Orthodox in early periods of his reign because of his religious efforts but he was also *Micchavādī* – Heresy in later period of his reign because of his criticism on Buddha Discourses. From the point of view of scholars and laymen including learned monks, King Badon's views on Buddhism are perceived as contradictory till today. This research will be exploratory and explanatory and focuses on what the impacts of King Badon's exertions on Buddhism were on the society of his time. I attempt to contribute to the debate on whether King Badon is to be seen as an Orthodox Buddhist who advocated for more precise scriptural following of the doctrine, or his opinions and challenges to Buddhist practices of his time are to be seen as heretic in nature.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER KING BADON (1782-1819)

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King Badon or Bodawpaya (1782-1819) was the longest ruler of the Konbaung Dynasty. In such context, his reign was full of events whether they were political, economic, or social developments. Although the early days of his

political career were not peaceful, he eventually established peace and tranquility in his kingdom throughout his reign. General social and economic conditions for Myanmar people under his rule may have been rather favorable with the exception of the harsh labor conscription that occurred for the construction of the Pathodawgyi at Mingun. In the historiography, he does not seem to have been portrayed as a war-like king: he doesn't show his military might on the battle field and his heir, the Crown Prince, is the one who is successful in the invasion of the Rakhine region. Myanmar under King Badon may have reached the apex of its territorial dominance. Badon is also famous for the casting of a large bronze bell, and also for the collection of stone inscriptions scattered in Upper Myanmar. The latter were used as materials for the measurement of religious lands throughout the kingdom. He developed contacts with his neighbours: China and British-India. Other notable undertakings of Badon included the collecting of population census for increasing royal revenues and assessing the number of man power for royal construction, military expeditions, etc... Royal orders or edicts regulating commercial transaction, fire prevention, and circulation of minted coins as currency were also important steps in his administration of the kingdom. His actions also show that he was a traditionalist, believing in theory of universal monarch (*Sakyawade Min*), he held high esteem for white elephants, and passion for the glorious fame of kings founder of new city and new capital. That is why he ordered the building of new capital, Amarapura, soon after his accession.

16

DECENTRALIZATION IN MYANMAR: CHALLENGES, CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND VISIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Organizer/Convener: Maël Raynaud

Discussant: Michael Montesano, ISEAS, Singapore

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd floor)

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has declared, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the National Ceasefire Agreement (NCA), on October 15, 2017: « we will need to continue our dialogue on the division of power, allocation of resources and revenue between the Union, States and Regions, and the powers as described in the additional tables to the Constitution. These are about how we will divide our state powers in our future Federal Union. » The NCA itself states a general aim to “establish a union based on the principles of democracy and federalism in accordance with the outcomes of political dialogue and in the spirit of Panglong”. While an extensive literature exists on the different understandings that exist on the so-called Panglong Spirit, on the root causes and history of the agreement and the decades of conflict that Myanmar has witnessed ever since, as well as on the cultural, historical and political challenges facing the country, there is a scarcity of research and analysis on what decentralization and federalism may mean, practically, in the Burmese context, from a legal and constitutional stand point. The proposed panel will present recent and original research on the political, cultural, constitutional and administrative aspects of decentralization, considering the project of gradual decentralization promoted by the NLD government. A common approach of focusing on the existing constitutional and legal framework, an in depth study of the literature and rounds of interviews in Myanmar will be developed by the four panelists. The panel will be divided between two presentations on the constitutional framework, under the 2008 Constitution, and the concept of “asymmetrical decentralization”, followed by two case studies on natural resources management and education.

THE 2008 CONSTITUTION AND DECENTRALIZATION

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When the 2008 Constitution came into effect in 2011, the 14 States and Regions were equipped with respective parliaments and governments. Article 188 and its associated Schedule Two stipulates legislative power of sub-national parliaments in Myanmar while Schedule Five lists taxes which sub-national governments shall collect to generate revenues. Schedule Two, in forms, lays out the constitutional arrangement for federalism in Myanmar. Despite various challenges ranging from simple logistic issues such as human resources to constitutional power limitation, the 14 parliaments are already functioning, laying foundations for the political system of the future Myanmar. Schedule Two is discussed more for the issues that are not included in it, but the issues which are believed to bring Myanmar closer to a federal system, including education, natural resources management. Schedule Two and Schedule Five were

amended in 2015 with the purpose to allow more power to the local parliaments and governments. Despite very low publicity and insignificant success, the 2015 Amendment showed that the military is not against decentralization or probably federalism in the future. However, the political actors from all sides would need to make compromises and agree on political arrangements. This paper will discuss potential avenues for constitutional reform, and try and identify potential challenges, while measuring the degree to which decentralization can be pushed within the boundaries of the 2008 Constitution.

ETHNIC ARMED ORGANISATION GOVERNANCE AND THE BUILDING OF A FEDERAL UNION

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Far from representing “ungoverned spaces”, most of Myanmar’s conflict areas are home to a complex array of overlapping governance institutions, which have simultaneously resulted from, and played a central role in shaping, the civil war itself. Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAOs) all have some form of administration system for governing local populations and resources, though these vary greatly in their sophistication and institutional values. Vast areas populated by millions of people have never fully been under centralised state control; some EAOs have governed regions exclusively since 1950s, 1960s, or – in the case of the Karen National Union – since independence, in 1948. The most organised EAOs are civilian organisations first and foremost and have ministry-like line departments that provide basic services, collect taxes, administer justice, determine defence and security policy, and regulate the local economy. A successful transition to a democratic and federal union of Myanmar will depend on the inclusion of these institutions and the marginalised societies they govern in the country’s future. Coordination and cooperation between EAO governance bodies and those of the state has ebbed and flowed in different areas depending on localised political factors over the decades. Systematic efforts to increase these ties and gradually align policy objectives can be carried out during ceasefires, as has been seen in a number of sectors since 2011. More institutionalised and legally recognised relations could provide a foundation for more diverse and decentralised sectors that more effectively serve people’s needs and underpin a gradual transition towards peace.

CHALLENGES AND AVENUES FOR NATURAL RESOURCES FEDERALISM

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Myanmar is undergoing a complex transition and facing multifaceted challenges in both political and policy realms. The country faces dilemma between political expediency and policy innovation, having to decide which should be the priority in order to satisfy the parties involved in the peace process. Decades of economic mismanagement and authoritarian rules had resulted Myanmar to be in the bottom quantiles of almost all development indicators. Albeit with many flaws, the 2008 constitution created the political institutions at the union level to check and balance one another and the regional governments that played an increasing de facto role to decide the path of the local development. Successive governments’ over reliance on revenues from natural resources to run the government’s services had impeded the development of the other sectors within the economy. This has an implication as most of the natural resources such as minerals, hydro and forests were located mostly in areas where ethnic minority people live, and most of them are at war with the government over the self-determination and greater political autonomy. With the advent of Nation Wide Cease fire agreement, the parties involved in the NCA peace process started discussing about the principles to be adopted in the future federal union where the natural resources management will be one of the most contentious issue. However, having a technical understanding on the issue of the natural resource governance in a federal state could help all the parties in the NCA peace process to have an informed dialogue based on the applicable real world examples. Natural resource federalism look at the important policy decision in the natural resource governance to understand the options available for Myanmar.

**LANGUAGE POLICY AND DECENTRALISATION - OPPORTUNITIES, PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES TO THE
TEACHING OF ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: NATION-WIDE ISSUES AND THE KENG TUNG
REGION CASE-STUDY**

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The space devoted - or not - to the teaching of ethnic languages in public schools constitute a longstanding and contentious issue in Myanmar. While ethnic languages have been largely side-lined out of public education under the successive military governments, their return, as a subject, has been officially announced in June 2012 by the ministry of Education, shortly after the Thein Sein administration took office.

Advocated by many local and international actors, this shift in language-in-education policy is liable to have major implications in several dimensions of the Union of Myanmar's social and political life, such as contributing to maintain cultural and linguistic diversity, strengthening the access to education of ethnic minorities and promoting a sense of belonging to the Union.

About half a decade later - and while some are calling for a, much more ambitious, nation-wide Mother Tongue Based Education (MTBE) policy - on the ground, the consequences of this shift appear very heterogeneous: some groups are already effectively teaching their languages in as subjects in public schools, others have yet to start this process.

Indeed, the 100+ ethnic groups of the country are in very different places when it comes to their readiness to teach their respective languages. They all face a specific combination of challenges of different nature and magnitude, related to their specific socio-linguistic situations (homogeneity of language/dialects, geographical setting, and level of interest of the population, availability of human and pedagogical resources...)

In this presentation - and with a particular highlight on Kengtung and its region - we will try to better understand both the opportunities and the challenges to the teaching of ethnic languages in public schools, and the perspective of setting-up a MTBE system in Myanmar.

17

**PORTRAYING MYANMAR/BURMA AND ITS DIVERSITY THROUGH BRUSH STROKES AND CAMERA
SHOTS**

Room 5 (4th floor)

**A SURVEY OF THE 101 PEOPLES DEPICTED IN MURAL PAINTINGS WITH A FOCUS ON THE IRRRAWADDY AND
CHINDWIN RIVERS (17TH-18TH CENTURY AD)**

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In the 17th and 18th centuries A.D, especially the Nyaungyan period (1597 -1752), many murals found on the walls of temples along the Irrawaddy and Chindwin Rivers depicted figures drawn from a list of 101 peoples. The murals combined depictions of Buddhist events (*Jataka*) and figures representing ethnic diversity from nearby locations, such as Singyo Shwe-gu, Anient, (Yezagyo), Monywa zetawun (Salingyi) along the Chindwin River and Lawn U maw (Ywathit gyi) along the Irrawaddy River. Underpinning the narrative of these paintings are secular notions linking religious and ethnic communities. Dedications to various figures were also written with some ink-line inscription underneath the paintings. These paintings attest of early attempts by artists to depict ethnic groups in religious-themed murals. In time, changes in the depiction of these groups would occur at different periods. These murals provided a narrative of early ethnic diversity in those temples found along the rivers.

ETHNIC MINORITIES IN MYANMAR ART: FROM ANTHROPOLOGY TO POLITICS

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Since the distant past of the Pagan kingdom until today, Burmese rulers have strived to unify the country and build a common identity with a patchwork of ethnic groups. Among these groups, the Burmese majority consists only

of 60% of the population. The objective of this paper is to show the changes in the representation of the ethnic minorities in Myanmar art, from the modernist period to the contemporary.

From the beginning of the 20th century until recently, Burmese painters have represented ethnic minorities with an anthropologist's eye. However, after the end of censorship, Myanmar artists belonging to ethnic minorities started addressing political issues such as the civil war in the Border States and economic spoliation.

This paper will first study representations of the ethnic minorities in the works of early modernist artists such as U Ngwe Gaing and U Aung Khin as well as in the work of contemporary artists such as Tin Win. Secondly, it will review works of artists like Ko Z and Zoncy, respectively from Kachin state and from Tenasserim. These artists use various art forms such as, poetry, comics, paintings, installations and performance so as to raise awareness about the situation of the ethnic minorities. Lastly, this paper will present art works by contemporary Burmese artists like Wunna Aung and Thu Myat, which question the risk of dilution of the national culture, including the heritage of the ethnic minorities, in a globalised culture.

CAPTURING BURMA: REACTIVATING COLONIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES THROUGH THE BRITISH RAJ'S GAZE

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This thesis explores the marginally studied topic of Burmese photography from the colonial period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With a large emphasis on the oeuvres of the foreign photographers Felice Beato (1832 – 1909), Philipp Adolphe Klier (1845 – 1911), and D.A. Ahuja (? – ?), this study analyzes how visual representations of Burma's people were fabricated, mass-produced, and contextualized by foreign audiences to provide additional justification for the colonial mission.

By combining Edward Said's concept of orientalism with Laura Mulvey's concept of the gaze, this study considers how the British Empire looked upon and created a visual corpus of Burmese women and men as "the Other". This study argues that the creation and treatment of Burma's visual milieu was fully informed by an Orientalizing gaze that simultaneously commodified and fetishized the native population.

Further, this study applies Roland Barthes's concept of the myth and his semiological system to analyze and contextualize contemporary use of colonial images in "pop culture" merchandise created by foreign-owned businesses established in Myanmar in recent years. Additionally, this study contributes new findings based on archival and art historical research that helps clarify and establish a clearer biographical timeline for the photographers studied.

COMMODYFING CULTURE: EXPLORING THE TEMPORALITIES OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND PHOTOGRAPHY TOURISM ON MYANMAR'S INLE LAKE

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Inle Lake holds status as one of Myanmar's primary and most popular tourist destinations. Through stunning images of the region's main ethnic group – the Intha – participating in their 'timeless' and 'traditional' practices of fishing and floating agriculture, touristic advertisements of the lake commonly present idyllic and highly romanticized depictions of a world untouched, a time forgotten. Consequently, the lake, its inhabitants and their livelihoods are one of the most commonly photographed spectacles by tourists in the country, as any search of Myanmar on Instagram will reveal.

What role does the photograph play in shaping experience as a process of cultural production? In the framing of an image, how is time configured? What gets excluded from the frame of the image in the capturing of a spatiotemporal moment? And, how does the photo facilitate the emergence of symbolic and cultural commodities within the wider context of global tourist markets?

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork comprised of participant observation and interviews, as well as photographic visual analysis of popular Instagram pictures and accounts, this paper will explore the performances of time in cultural processes facilitated by tourist photography, and will unpack the photo itself as both a commodity and commodifier of culture.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4

18

CIVIL SOCIETY AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Ballroom 1 (4th floor)

THE EMERGENCE, CROSSOVER, AND CONNECTION OF LOCAL NGOS IN MYANMAR

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Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are civil society groups that focus on issues of development, human rights, and social changes, and the scale of operation of such groups can be generally divided into international and local NGOs. Most of the academic studies on Myanmar at the moment place focus on the nation's development and the process of democratization, and there are also some studies on important internal issues such as natural disasters, ethnic conflicts, and dam constructions. However, essays on the subject of NGOs in Myanmar are still quite scarce. Bearing this in mind, this paper is predominately based on the author's in-depth interviews and first-hand observations made in Myanmar in the recent years, with supplementing documents provided by local NGOs or work reports published on official websites. Departing from the following three facets: background of the emergence, crossover activities, and notable connections, a comprehensive analysis on local NGOs' development in Myanmar is proposed.

TRANSFORMATION OF BUDDHIST ASSOCIATIONS INTO NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MYANMAR

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In the late 1990s, a debate on whether a "civil society" exists in Myanmar took place. Steinberg (1998) describes the civil society in Myanmar as "a vein." He defines civil society as "those institutions and groupings that are outside of government," and emphasizes that the most important thing is its autonomy from the government, irrespective of the definition of autonomy (Steinberg 1998:2). After the establishment of these government-initiated NGOs such as the Myanmar Maternal and Child Welfare Association, and the Myanmar Red Cross, another boom in NGOs occurred at a more local level. The presentation focuses on the second boom in NGOs, which is the transformation of Buddhist Associations into Non-Governmental Organizations, especially by the case study of the Byanmasoe Association in Mandalay. which is supervised by Rev. Tekkha, Abbot of Wakinkon monastery. This is recognized as the first Buddhist association concerned with the transportation of dead and wounded people. Inspired by the Byanmasoe Association, more than 35 other major volunteer Buddhist associations dealing with matters of community welfare have been founded. In the presentation, I examine how Rev. Tekkha got the idea to engage with the issue of transportation of dead and wounded people, and how he created new interpretations of traditional ideas about dealing with death and the dead. The process of diffusing his new philosophy on merit-making will also be explored.

MUSLIM NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN MYANMAR

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This presentation focuses on the activities of Muslim non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Myanmar. One of the most famous religious NGOs in Myanmar is the Free Funeral Service Society (Yangon). It is large in scale, and Kyaw Thu, its founder and a renowned actor, was awarded the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 2015 for his charitable work. Following the transition to a democratic government in 2011, various other organizations, apart from government institutions, were established to conduct their activities. NGOs have since been active in various fields, especially for fulfilling people's socioeconomic needs.

We tend to pay more attention to Buddhism-related NGOs in Myanmar when discussing NGOs with a religious framework. However, Muslim NGOs can also be found there. Some have been established to conduct new activities

since the election of a democratic government; however, some organizations such as the Muslim Free Hospital in downtown Yangon were established during the late British colonial period. Some Muslim NGOs mutually support each other, while others focus on meeting the needs of the local community, such as vocational skills training, social welfare, and scholarships for poor students, irrespective of their religion or race.

Despite the rise of the recent anti-Muslim movements, a review of the activities of Muslim NGOs clarifies that relationships between Muslims and local community residents (Buddhists) are mostly positive. In this presentation, I will explain the activities of Muslim NGOs in detail and discuss their relationships with the local community.

***LOCAL CIVIL SOCIETY-LED INITIATIVES FOR SECURING RIGHTS OF POOR CHILDREN IN MYANMAR:
INDICATION FROM NORTHERN/SOUTHERN CSOS***

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The emergence and development of civil society in Myanmar increased significantly after the former government began political reforms in 2011. They have made significant contributions especially in the socio-environmental sphere and armed conflict areas for which the government has been unable or unwilling to address. Despite the advent of a new democratic administration which came to fruition in 2016, it has still not been easy to provide the citizens with adequate social services to ensure the minimum standard of living. Therefore, there have been a lot of civil society initiatives to bridge this huge gap left by the state. Recently, more and more civil society actors have been intensifying and expanding their activities, and some of them have been actively engaging in rights promotion and even national reconciliation.

This paper aims to discuss the importance of civil society initiatives to protect and promote children's rights in Myanmar. First, an overview of the contributions made by Northern and Southern CSOs is provided to highlight the differences and challenges unique to civil society in Myanmar. Then, a comparative case study based on two representative civil society groups in the education and health sectors is presented in relation to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) to shed light on their roles, scope, and capacity for securing the rights of these marginalized children. Having looked into the common areas of coverage, this paper argues that their major initiatives can be recognized within the five components – protection, assurance, provision, creation and promotion.

IN THE WARDS OF MANDALAY: EVERYDAY URBAN GOVERNANCE IN A TIME OF TRANSFORMATION

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Unlocked by ongoing political and economic transformations, urbanization in Myanmar is intensifying rapidly. While the process is sometimes believed to be a solution to Myanmar's challenges, Myanmar cities remain poorly equipped to cope with the pressure of growth. Pressing social and environmental challenges such as water provision, sanitation and solid waste management, are taking new dimensions under the partially-elected government. Often, these local governance challenges are not only technical but also political in nature, and offer insights into broader political-economic processes unfolding at the national level. Nevertheless, urban Myanmar has received little academic attention so far, and the issue of urban governance in particular is critically understudied.

Against this background and tentatively drawing conceptually on Partha Chatterjee's work on civil and political society, the paper offers insights into everyday governance in Mandalay in an attempt to contribute to emergent urban Myanmar studies. Special attention is paid to several processes unfolding at the ward level, where the General Administration Department's ward offices act as the interface between the State, the Municipality (MCDC), and the population. Everyday administration, ward elections, petitioning channels and community organization are thus explored, building on qualitative interviews with local authorities, civil society and the population performed between August 2017 and February 2018.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR: DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL FACTORS

Sessions I & II

Panel Organizer/Convener: Li Chenyang

Ballroom 2 (4th floor)

Myanmar has made tremendous strides in its democratization efforts since 2011. But with the NLD government's inauguration in 2016, Myanmar faces a number of tough challenges affecting its economic development and stabilization. The current unrest in Rakhine State, the military-civilian relationship, and the national reconciliation demand more insightful response from NLD government. Myanmar's political situation must be understood with reference to the domestic and international factors. On the basis of Myanmar's political arrangements, political culture as well as the experience of transition, the scholars from both China and Myanmar will assess whether the democratic consolidation can ultimately be achieved in the country.

TREND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL TRANSITION IN CURRENT MYANMAR

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Starting in the year 1988, Myanmar entered into a period of multi-party system during which political liberalism underwent a slow pace under the Tatmadaw regime. After U Thein Sein took the office in 2011, the dramatic movement of political reform labeled a new history of political liberalism where as NLD's landslide victory in 2015 General Election and 2016 change of ruling party marked a period of consolidating period of political transition in the country. This paper is to analyze the tendency of Myanmar's political democratization from the perspectives of economic development level, social classification, spread of modern political culture, maturity of political parties and leaders, central-local relations, and ethnic and religious tensions.

RHETORIC AND REALITIES; DICHOTOMIES IN CURRENT MYANMAR REFORMS

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Myanmar reforms under the NLD government has been facing complex situations and serious challenges. One of the underlying causes is dichotomies between rhetoric and realities encountered in various issues of reforms areas including Politics and Constitutional Amendment Efforts, Peace and Security, Economic and Financial reforms, and International Relations. Those dichotomies are derived from many factors such as different ideological convictions between previous and current governments, lack of experience and knowledge in transitional stage and public management, needs for situational analysis on down-to-earth reality checks. Anyway, the transition needs policy consistency, strong government, good governance, professional statecraft and farsightedness with political economic perspective. Capacity building and policy alignments should be required to carry out successful reforms.

ANALYSIS ON THE NLD GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO PEACE PROCESS IN MYANMAR

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After taking power in March 2016, the NLD government declared that its first priority was to achieve national reconciliation and build peace in the country. The USDP government had had considerable early success, agreeing bilateral ceasefire with fifteen armed groups between 2011 and 2013. On 15 October 2015, eight ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) signed a historic Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) with the Union government. The NCA provides a framework for Myanmar's peace process from ceasefire monitoring and verification to political dialogue. The NLD government has altered the mechanisms of the peace process. It dealt with ethnic issues from a structural approach. The NLD government also announced the new peace architecture in May, with three sets of structures: the NCA- mandated JMC and UPDJC; the new peace centre- NRPC; and a 21st Century Panglong peace conference preparatory committee and sub-committees. The first session of the 21st Century Panglong Conference was held in August 2016 and the second session of the Peace Conference was convened in May 2017. In February 2018,

the NMSP and LDU became the new signatories of the NCA. This paper attempts to analyze the NLD government's approach to the peace process, parties involved in the process and their interests and challenges associated with the peace process.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS OF POPULISM ATTITUDES IN DEMOCRATIZING MYANMAR

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Populism is theorized as a political ideology. It is operationalized in three dimensions: anti-establishment attitude, a preference for popular sovereignty, and a belief in the homogeneous virtuousness of the people. This study attempts to analysis how demographic factors, such as sex, age and education, affects the degree of these three dimensions of populism tendency.

THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY: FROM MYANMAR'S SAFFRON REVOLUTION TO THE ROHINGYA ISSUE

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The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a political commitment in order to address its four key concerns to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. After nearly fifty years of military rule, in August 2007 Myanmar Saffron Revolution was triggered by students, political activists, including Buddhist monks protesting the fuel prices rise. During June and October 2012, only one year after the historic democratic transition, inter-communal violence between Buddhists and Rohingyas left a number of people dead and displaced. In 2017, the tension persisted and has escalated to "genocide and "terrorist attack" level. Myanmar has been criticized by the international community for its crackdown campaign and gross human rights abuses. It is analyzed that the Myanmar government will handle the issue as it did to the Saffron Revolution, despite the western governments and media's claim for its failing to uphold R2P.

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS DURING THE ERA OF NLD GOVERNMENT

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Myanmar is the paradigmatic case of a "praetorian state" with low levels of political institutionalization and high levels of political mobilization, fragmented political parties and civilian elites, and a politically self-conscious military. The military had been controlling politics behind the scenes for half a century. The extraordinary durability of the military rule and the fact that the Tatmadaw was able to initiate a top-down transition in which it carved out political autonomy, substantial policy prerogatives, and veto powers contrasts with the experiences of other military regimes in Southeast Asia. This paper is to discuss the relations between the military and NLD government since 2016. No group can replace the presence of Myanmar's military bloc and the military's control in politics will continue for a long period.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF ROHINGYA ISSUES FOR MYANMAR POLITICAL TRANSITION

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The Rohingya issues, which pose threats to Myanmar national security, bring international pressure and leave the Tatmadaw a pretext to interfere in politics, are against Myanmar political transition.的。 The NLD Government is facing a dilemma. They would face international condemnations and sanctions if they ignore hardline actions from the Tatmadaw. Vice versa, they would lose domestic support.

FRONTIERS AND THE FOREIGN: PLACE-MAKING AND THE GLOBAL IN MYANMAR'S COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL PAST

Panel Organizer/Convener: Maitrii Aung-Thwin

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd floor)

Notions of subjects and citizens have been defined and understood in colonial and postcolonial Myanmar through the construction of "frontiers" and the "foreign". The establishment of boundaries to demarcate, attach, or separate Myanmar from surrounding states contributed to the framing of how landscapes, peoples, languages, cultures, and histories within these spatial boundaries would be understood. "Frontier Areas" were constituted by colonial officials in British Burma, a perception shaped by their proximity to Rangoon (the colonial center) and of the economic and strategic priorities associated with these territories. Ethnographies, surveys, and generations of scholarship would eventually contribute to reconstructing "frontier life", stretching their analysis to consider borderland areas as spaces with their own centers and peripheries.

In this sense, borders and other forms of place-making contributed to the way Myanmar was understood by social groups who infused meaning and affiliation to their environments (van Schendel 2015). Political debates, social issues, and forms of governance in colonial and postcolonial history contributed to the making of Myanmar as a "place" by giving it meaning that in turn generated perceptions of belonging, affiliation, and connection amongst communities.

Through studies of borderland commerce, religious encounters, immigrant relations, and the seeds of foreign policy, the four presentations examine socio-spatial relations in Myanmar via four dimensions: as a gateway to China, a religious contact zone, a destination for migrants, and as a member of the global community. Together, they draw attention to how different spatial referencing influenced conceptions of the foreign and frontier.

TROUBLE WITH THE FRONTIER: THE BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF TRADE IN THE CHINA-MYANMAR BORDERLAND REGION

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One of the major reasons why the British decided to annex Upper Burma was the possible existence of a backdoor route to the imagined markets of Southwest China. Despite controlling nearly the whole of Burma by the end of nineteenth century, the northern frontier of Burma appeared to be more a place of trouble than a source of commercial opportunity. The constant threat of rebels, diseases, and the unaccounted flow of commodities and humans in this unstable region constituted the everyday experiences of the British colonial rule in borderland Burma. Through examining colonial reports, accounts of missionaries and explorers, and relevant Burmese and Chinese sources, this paper aims to explore how the British were troubled by and attempted to deal with the problem of illicit commercial activities, why the British failed to establish preferred commercial connections with the Southwest China, and what the administration in a remote mountainous frontier meant to British imperial policies in Asia. In doing so, this project seeks to engage in the broader discussion of state-building and frontiers in colonial Southeast Asia.

THE "BLASPHEMOUS" BOOK: THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE INDO-BURMAN RIOTS OF 1938

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On 26 July 1938 a Buddhist crowd led by monks attacked members of Rangoon's Indian community and destroyed their property. The attacks developed into full-blown anti-Indian riots that lasted for about a month, spreading to other cities and towns, and resulting in 1,227 casualties. The immediate cause of the riots - as well as other grievances - has been attributed to the last section of a book titled Moulvi-Yogi Awada Sadan by Maung Shwe Hpi. Although the book has been considered the immediate cause of the riots (cited in both the Interim Report, the Final Report of the Burma Riot Inquiry Committee, and in current scholarship on the event), none of the studies on the topic (in both English and Burmese) have examined the specific content of one of the most notorious books in Burma's history. This is partly due to the scarce availability of the book and its somewhat inaccessible writing style that employed

jargon of the times. Delving into the context of the book will help us understand some aspects of the troublesome interactions between Buddhist and Muslim communities. This paper, which is a part of my PhD thesis, examines the contexts of the book, why Buddhists at that time found it blasphemous, what difficulties the British colonial administration faced in understanding the book, and the trial pursued against the author Maung Shwe Hpi.

NEVER THE RIGHT TIME: SETTLING BURMA'S HUAQIAO DUAL-NATIONALITY ISSUE, 1949-1980

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Between 1949 to 1980, the Chinese and Burmese governments deliberated over the prospect of granting dual-citizenship to the huaqiao (overseas Chinese) living in Burma. Although both sides had expressed an initial interest in recognizing dual-citizenship, official negotiations or formal diplomatic treaties were never secured. Nearly a quarter of a century earlier, the PRC had in fact hardened its stance on the huaqiao by refusing to recognize dual-citizenship in Burma, prompting the Burmese government to follow suit and reject dual-citizenship a few years later. By 1980 the People's Republic of China issued its first Nationality Law, effectively establishing a clearer line between Burma and China that in turn asserted a fixed understanding of Chinese citizenship in relation to the huaqiao. Though this episode in Myanmar-China diplomatic history appears to have ended relatively peacefully, its eventual resolution overshadowed the 1967 Maoist political upheaval, violent anti-Chinese riots, and broader political and socio-economic uncertainties characterizing Burma at the time. Moreover, this story also underscores the deepening challenges facing the Burmese government in connection to its frontier. Scholarship on the huaqiao dual-nationality issue concerning Burma is relatively scarce as compared to other Southeast Asian contexts. This paper explores and compares existing English and Chinese literature on the Huaqiao question as part of a broader study of Chinese-Myanmar border relations in the 1950s.

FINDING THE NATIONAL IN MYANMAR'S FOREIGN POLICY HISTORY: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH

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Narratives of Burma/Myanmar's contemporary political history reflects the conventional understanding of post-colonial independent nation-states striving for survival amidst Cold War tensions and struggling with colonial legacies, and tend to paint a nostalgic contrast between Burma's post-independence hey-day and the decades of authoritarian rule. But this model of historical narrative mainly presumes that the individuals at the forefront of constructing and mandating the country's foreign policy changed their views and attitudes to meet the exigencies of the times. However, the leaders of Burma's independence movement and the military leaders in later years both shared and were inspired by the same nationalist attitudes which were shaped by international ideological trends of the times. And Myanmar today finds its society at large harkening back to this oft-virulent strain of nationalism in coping with the forces of globalisation. This paper challenges the conventional narrative of Burmese foreign policy – and its diplomatic history – by a focused assessment of the existing historiography of Myanmar's diplomatic history in English and Burmese, to highlight the nexus of ideology (manifested as national interest), external influences or developments, and Burmese culture and identity in Myanmar's interactions with the world, all of which have shaped individual and collective sentiments to influence foreign policy formulation, and in turn the country's post-independence identity construction.

ASPECTS OF MYANMAR HISTORY: CULTURE VALUE OF NATIONAL RACES OF LISU'S MUSIC AND DANCES IN KACHIN STATE IN MYANMAR**Khin Saw Nwe**

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The objective of this paper is to introduce cultural aspects linked to national races of Myanmar. Among them, the historical culture of Lisu is here presented with a focus on Lisu's music and dances as documented in Kachin State. Lisu tribes are officially listed among the national races of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. The meaning of Lisu is stated in the research paper. Historical evidence documents the presence of Lisu tribes since the 9th century AD. Some background history of Lisu national races is developed in this paper, alongside with an examination of their ritual, customs, and musical instrument often made of wood and bamboo. The Kachin State is situated in the Northern Sector of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. This paper geographical focus is on Putao Township where a survey was carried out in 2014. A structured questionnaire was used to collect information and document the historical values of the development of Lisu's Music and Dances.

ORAL TRANSMISSION SYSTEM FOR BURMESE CLASSICAL SONGS: BAZAT-HSAING OR MOUTH-MUSIC FOR BURMESE HARP MUSIC**Sayuri Inoue**

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This paper explores *bazat-hsaing*, or mouth-music, for Burmese classical songs, especially for harp music. Mouth-music, the method of sharing or transmitting music to other musicians through oral notation, is widely used in many regions. For example, in the European tradition, this is called solmization, and uses (in English) do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, and ti. In Burma, mouth-music is called *bazat-hsaing*. Its words represent the playing patterns of instruments, including the tonic, tone, chord, melody, and rhythm of a song. It can convey the information of music without playing any instruments. Burmese classical music is transmitted mainly through oral expression, with written song texts used as support to remind musicians and notations used in some situations. Even when notations are used to teach, teachers usually explain the written music using *bazat-hsaing* to express how to play it. *Bazat-hsaing* is based on the structure of the instruments, such as the *saun-gauk* or harp and *hsaing-waing* or drum circle. In this paper, I will describe the basic *bazat-hsaing* system as it relates specially to harp music.

MEDIATIONS OF "BUDDHIST" SOUND IN MANDALAY: THE CASE OF THE DHAMMA-DISTURBING DUTCHMAN**Andrew Dicks**

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Around 10 PM on Friday, September 23, 2016, a sleepless Dutch tourist unplugged an amplifier broadcasting a live dhamma sermon from within a Buddhist community hall in Mandalay, Upper Myanmar (Burma). The offended monastics and lay people demanded his arrest and pressed charges. The Mandalay courts sentenced the tourist to three months in prison without bail (lowered from two years after pleading) for disturbing a religious assembly under Section 296 of the Burmese Penal Code. Upon release, the tourist was deported. However, following the lawsuit, community debate continued surrounding the hall's late night "noise" violation (Soe 2016). My research centers such diverging sensibilities and interpretations of Burmese Buddhist soundscapes (Asad 1993, Dicks 2015, Hirschkind 2006, Weiner 2014). In brief, a soundscape is "any acoustic field of study" that "consists of events *heard* not objects *seen*" (Schafer 1977, 7). I unpack the case of the Dhamma-disturbing Dutchman in order to develop a discussion surrounding soundscapes in Burmese religious practice. I organize this discussion with three frames: Pali textual, ethnographic, and

(post) colonial legal. By centering soundscapes and their mediations, I seek to contribute to the discussions of religious freedom in this new constitutional era of Myanmar (Burma).

***THE TRANCE-LIKE MARTIAL SOUNDS OF THE BURMESE HNE AND THAI PI CHAWA: FROM NAT BWE
ACCOMPANIMENT TO THAI BOXING MUSIC***

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Like the highland bagpipes of Scotland, the strident penetrating sounds of the Burmese *Hne* and Thai *Pi Chawa* have been heard above the din of battle and the wailing of grieving mourners at funerals for hundreds of years. More recently these double-reed aerophone musical instruments of Southeast Asian neighbours, Myanmar and Thailand, are seen accompanying Thai kickboxing in Thailand and local Nat Pwe spiritual festivals in Myanmar. Both instruments resemble the western oboe in timbre, but both have more distant historical roots and fulfil more traditional folk functions in societies around the world. What makes these distinct musical instruments similar yet different and how they are tied into historically evolving global performance repertoires of music is the subject of this paper.

***EXPERIENCE MACAU, TOUCHING MOMENTS: BURMESE MUSIC AND DANCE PERFORMANCES, IDENTITY
NEGOTIATION, AND CITY TOURISM IN MACAU***

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For decades Macau has been a favored destination for Burmese migrants, once as a refuge for persecuted Sino-Burmese groups and later as a hub for Burmese migrant workers—mostly ethnic Burmese, Chin, and Karen peoples. Today, over 50,000 of these migrants have reconfigured Macau in its quest for economic development. Additionally, the cultural forces, such as festival traditions and religious practices, brought by these Burmese groups have helped shape this booming port to become one of the world's most culturally diverse societies.

Today, Macau is famed for its thriving gambling industry and also as one of the world's richest cities. Nonetheless, Chinese rulers became aware of this city's emerging socio-economic crisis caused by its problematic gambling monopoly, which allegedly led to the outflow of capital and rampant corruption. In order to ensure sustainable development of cultural industries in this territory, they have taken actions to position Macau strategically as a "World Centre of Tourism and Leisure". In line with this policy, the local government has made efforts to enrich cultural tourism by involving local Burmese communities in organizing festivals and promoting more local tourist sites for tourists to experience the city.

This talk examines how music and dance are crucial to the festivalization that facilitates Macau's economic boom while providing these Burmese communities a window through which to negotiate identity. It also explores the ethnic politics emerging from the tensions generated in this festivalization process, as well as economic, political, and social forces that shaped the old patterns of interconnection.

22

**MYANMARESE TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY IN ASEAN: SOCIAL & CULTURAL CAPITALS, LANGUAGE
POLICY, UPWARD MOBILITY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION**

Panel Organizer/Convener: Morakot Meyer

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd floor)

This panel investigates current dynamism and issues regarding transnational migrant workers and transnational mobility from Myanmar in Thailand, Singapore, and Myanmar. With keen interests in promoting sustainable multicultural ASEAN --as well as--a fair and right based- migration governance in Thailand and ASEAN, the panel focuses on three related themes: (1). Cultural and social capitals of migrant workers and associated challenging issues; (2). The changing social and economic status of migrant workers against the backdrop of rising transnational community, and demands for language and multicultural competencies, and (3). Social protection of those in Myanmar who have been left behind by migrant workers. The theoretical framework of the panel covers a variety of subject fields, e.g., multicultural studies, transnationalism, social welfare, and socio-linguistics. The panel comprises of papers

all of which form part of a research cluster entitled “Human Mobility in ASEAN: Multiculturalism, Social Protection and Health System” which is a spearhead project on ASEAN of Research University Network, Thailand (RUN-ASEAN) funded by the Thailand Research Fund. Apart from unpacking the current developments of Myanmar Transnational Mobility in ASEAN, the panel seeks to give suggestions and policy recommendations for stakeholders both at the national and regional levels.

RIDING THE TIDE OF TRANSNATIONAL MOBILITY IN ASEAN: OFFLINE AND ONLINE SOCIO-CULTURAL CAPITALS OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS FROM MYANMAR – EXAMPLES FROM THAILAND AND SINGAPORE

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This paper studies what are social and cultural capitals necessary for successful transnational migration life in Thailand and Singapore as experienced by 20 female migrant workers from Myanmar. The paper also compares how female migrant workers gain and use these capitals for their transnational living and what are difficulties of gaining and using them in the two destination countries. Data of this paper derive from a combination of qualitative research methods conducted in Thailand and Singapore in 2018, i.e., semi-structured interviews, documentary research, and participant observation.

The paper identifies and compares variables from the domains of transnational migration, socio-economic conditions of Thailand and Singapore that influence what social and cultural capitals migrants need to have. It argues that socio-cultural capitals in physical space are increasingly inseparable from socio-cultural capitals made available by various agents on digital and social media platforms. The interplay between online and offline fields of transnationality has created more complex demands for social and cultural capitals both in the offline and online spaces of Singapore and Thailand among migrant workers. Practically, migrants’ cultural and social capitals are no longer limited to education; skills and familial supports they gained prior to their departures to their destinations, as well as experience, skills and knowledge they can acquire in the course of migration.

Interestingly, social policies and supports of sending-country governments become a significant social capital. However, migrants usually have difficulties to gain access and exert their influence.

To better promote sustainable transnational migration and migration governance in ASEAN, the article provides policy recommendations for enhancing social and cultural capital of transnational migrant workers.

OUT OF THE ORDINARY: THAI LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL OF FEMALE MIGRANT WORKERS IN LITTLE MYANMAR, MAHACHAI

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The number of Myanmar migrant workers increase dramatically in the past ten years. Mahachai, the port town west of Bangkok, is the area where the majority of Myanmar migrant workers relocated themselves based on the fishing industry.

Nearly zero knowledge of Thai language when most female migrant workers from Myanmar first arrived in Mahachai, this paper finds that they could pick up the Thai language systematically by learning on the job and self-studying. Direct and indirect support from various parties proved to be vital factors for their success. The language skills they acquired have enabled them to have more confidence in their workplaces, to insert themselves in the receiving country smoothly and conveniently, to gain access to further formal education out of work hours, and more importantly to empower them in seeking for upward mobility.

This paper explores how female Myanmar workers in Mahachai used Thai Language skills to achieve their higher-work status which prepared them to gear towards the societal mobility, and at the same time to gain other forms of social and cultural capital during their stay in Thailand. The paper employs qualitative research for unpacking the issue in the question using in-depth interviews with the migrants from different socio-economic backgrounds, focus groups, and participatory observation. The paper is theoretically informed by scholarly debates in the fields of transnational migration, social & cultural capital, and socio-linguistics.

SEARCHING FOR SUSTAINABLE THAI LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING FOR UNSKILLED MIGRANT LABORERS FROM MYANMAR: SOME THOUGHTS FROM FIELDWORKS IN THAILAND

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Various ethnic groups from Myanmar have found work in Thailand, the majority being Mon and Burmese in Samutsakhon province. As there is no Thai language and culture training available to unskilled migrant laborers prior to their commencing work in Thailand, they learn the Thai language on the job and socialize mostly with people from Myanmar. Unable to fully cope in Thai leaves these workers vulnerable to rights abuse and protection of the rights of migrant workers is a major issue.

Thailand is a monolingual country and has never had a language policy that systematically promotes bi/multilingualism and so most local Thais make little effort to learn any of the foreign languages commonly spoken in their midst despite there being numerous language training courses available to them. On the other hand, migrants who become proficient in Thai find that their status is greatly enhanced, as are opportunities for them to serve as liaison points and interpreters for their compatriots and others in the workplace, the justice system, in hospitals, and as teachers in informal classrooms for migrant children.

However, several critical issues related to language policy have come to head. These include the absence of a mechanism for formally recognizing language professions among transnational migrants from Myanmar and the like; insufficient numbers of teachers, interpreters, and translators in the languages of neighboring countries, etc. This string of problems calls for a sustainable Language policy for promoting transnational mobility and communities in Thailand.

This paper studies the interrelation between language and transnational mobility so as to propose some recommendations for the introduction of language policy in Thailand. The paper uses cases of migrant communities in Thailand as starting points for formulating preliminary suggestions for promoting a sustainable language policy for Thailand.

LOCATING LEFT-BEHIND PEOPLE IN THE SOCIAL PROTECTION SCHEME: REFLECTIONS FROM A FIELD STUDY IN TWO VILLAGES IN MYAWLAMYPINE

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With awareness of important roles of migration and its impacts, in particular, the impacts on the left-behind people, the paper proposes recommendations and considerations on social protection for migrants' families left behind. The paper is based on data collected from 6 case studies and 12 informants in two villages in Myawlamyine in March 2018 along with secondary data. The case studies are members of the families of which migrants leave for Thailand, each of which reveals positive impacts and challenges from migration. The paper presents migration situation, risks to families left behind, and the existing social protection system in Myanmar and proposed recommendation to reduce risks associated with migration.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: THE CASE OF MON STATE, MYANMAR

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This paper examines the process of labour migration and its consequences, both positive and negative, to their households and communities in Mon state by exploring its regulations and the role of remittances in their development. Mon State is the top-most region for migration in Myanmar – 21 percent of population from Mon State are moving out of the country, primarily to neighbouring Thailand. The results are based on a survey of 1680 households from 10 townships of Mon State in 2016 by using the sampling framework adopted in the population census of 2014, and also other quantitative and qualitative data on Mon State that provide key insights on migration patterns and its consequences. The findings from the study show that the migration has been beneficial for migrant household families from the Mon state. However, the migration process is mixed with formal and informal structures, which poses risks to the migrants and their family members making them highly vulnerable to experiencing possible negative outcomes of these risks. This paper also focuses on a set of policy issues surrounding migration governance and how to effectively manage the migration process and the reintegration of return migrants.

CRAFT AND CRAFTSMEN/WOMEN ACROSS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF PRACTICES, QUOTIDIAN AND SACRED

Moderator: Room 5 (4th floor)

WHAT'S BURMESE ABOUT BURMESE CRAFT BEER?

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The craft beer movement, originating in wealthy majority-White settler colonies such as the United States, Canada and Australia is rapidly spreading internationally with sectors now prospering across most of Southeast Asia. Myanmar too has its own booming “craft brewery” which has seen strong growth since launching in January 2016. My proposed paper is based on a year of ethnographic fieldwork with this brewery. It aims to contribute to the business history/anthropological literature of Myanmar and in so doing, also bring a Burma perspective to the nascent, voluminously growing craft beer literature.

It is concerned with Burmese drinking culture: What’s Burmese about Burmese craft beer? In understanding craft beer, most scholars adopt business history and economic approaches, producing useful conclusions on the how and why of the movement’s meteoric rise, but less often interrogating what it constitutes. A strong subfield of attention focuses on the cultural and societal aspects of the movement: class, gender and ideology, almost exclusively in the Global North and rarely situating craft beer in detail as beer, i.e. the wider category of drink in respective societies. To be brief, most of the findings in the craft beer literature are inapplicable to the way that craft beer is produced, consumed and considered in Burma.

The paper’s principal arguments stem from empirical observations diametrically opposed to “expectations”. Example observations include: 1) Producers and consumers of craft beer in Myanmar envision it as foreign; 2) The owners of the craft brewery are not interested in and cannot brew beer; 3) The Head Brewer of the brewery does not drink beer; 4) The floor staff of the brewery value their jobs for reasons of security; and 5) The vast majority of craft beer drinkers in Myanmar are upper societal elites. These observations combine to significantly problematise the common denominator authenticity so prevalent to definitions and analyses of the craft beer movement.

LUNTAYA ACHEIK, MYANMAR’S WOVEN SIGNATURE: A JOURNEY OF ITS ENDURING PRODUCTION FROM MID-19TH CENTURY TO 21TH CENTURY

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Throughout its dynamic history, the Myanmar people have always expressed their identity through their textiles and clothing. Among locally produced textiles, the silk tapestry-woven fabric with a distinctive wave-like pattern, known as “*Luntaya Acheik*” is a prominent example. In the past seventy years, this iconic textile has been widely regarded as one of Myanmar’s most recognized woven markers of identity.

Originating in the early 19th century, its usage was limited to the ruling class, dictated by court sumptuary laws. After the fall of the Mandalay court in 1885, its accessibility spread into different social classes. Nowadays, despite national political upheavals and socioeconomic changes, this treasured fabric has adapted into another identity-expressing role, that of popular formal wear for important events. The production history of *Luntaya Acheik* has followed the same pattern as its use, status and availability; from a highly skilled profession executed in guilds and exclusive workshops, to near extinction, and a present day revival into redefined entrepreneurial industry.

This paper is drawn from written archives, primary sources and textile collections, as well as extensive field research. It will explore the aesthetics and social significance of this complex cloth, and then examine the history of production, revival and regeneration, with a focus on modern interpretations, which have propelled *Luntaya Acheik* into the fast-moving contemporary marketplace and fashion scene of the 21st century.

REVERSE GLASS PAINTINGS: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

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Rarely considered within the realm of Mainland Southeast Asian Buddhist art, this medium of painting on a clear glass pane, which was then reversed, i.e., with the unpainted side outwards, was widely popular in the 19th and 20th centuries. Its origins could originally be traced from the 17th century as an element of the luxury item trade between European artists and Asian courts. Thereafter, it became one of numerous commodities produced specifically in China for export. In due course, the Chinese artisanal diaspora across India and Southeast Asia demonstrated this technique to local artisans who adapted it to their own culture. But prerequisite to wide-spread popularity was the creation of an industry manufacturing inexpensive sheet glass inside Asia.

Our 2014-2017 field research, mainly based on the Burmese tradition, was recently enlarged to encompass comparisons to forms and styles within the neighboring countries: Lan Na, Siam/Thailand, and Cambodia. Although presenting largely the same repertoire seen for centuries throughout Buddhist temples — Buddha images, episodes of Life of Buddha and of the Vessantara Jataka— particular representations specific to each country/culture have revealed a more complex iconographic landscape of Buddhist traditions and practices.

This paper is part of an on-going research and will be the subject of a coming exhibition and symposium in Fall 2018 at the NIU Art Gallery.

24

COMMUNITY & OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS (SDGS); RESEARCH AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN CENTRAL MYANMAR

Ballroom 1 (4th floor)

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set ambitious targets for improving health and wellbeing worldwide by 2030. Progress is being made, but rising incomes are often met with increasing inequality, and infrastructure improvements met with increasing pollution and waste coupled with growing susceptibility to natural disasters. In Myanmar, access to research-based capacity-building programs and public health education remains limited; hampering the ability of local experts to address challenges and measure progress toward the SDGs. Global Environmental Health LAB (GEH LAB), a US-based non-profit organization, is working to fill that gap through conducting collaborative public health-related research, scientific engagement, and capacity-building activities. GEH LAB has been working with partners in Mandalay and Magway Myanmar since 2015 on public health research projects and gathering evidence to support progress towards SDG 3: Good Health and WellBeing, SDG 6 Clean Water and Sanitation, SDG 10 Reduced Inequalities, and others.

The four projects on this panel address interconnected community and occupational health issues; 1. Mercury Use in Artisanal Mining; 2. Migration; 3. Maternal and Child Health; and 4. HealthCare Seeking Behavior. Epidemiological surveys collected in the Mandalay region between June 2016 and September 2017 highlight discrepancies in access, knowledge, perception, and quality of care for populations based on social determinants such as education, income and migration status. Across the studies, risk factors for children stood out in exposures through parents' occupation, water and sanitation access, and hygiene practices. The connections between these different studies shows the value of interdisciplinary collaborative research for public health in Myanmar.

HEALTH RISK PERCEPTIONS RELATED TO MERCURY USE IN ARTISANAL MINING SITES IN MYANMAR

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The harmful effects of mercury exposure on human health have been well documented. There are a number of occupational health hazards associated with artisanal and small-scale gold mining, for instance, insomnia, kidney disease and movement disorders. It is notable that women, including those of reproductive age, often perform the tasks which require directly handling mercury; for young children, exposure can result in neurological or systemic damage (World Health Organization 2016). In view of the risks, global efforts have been made to significantly reduce or ban the use of mercury (e.g. the Minamata Convention on Mercury). In Myanmar, the use of mercury in artisanal

gold mining sites remains a major problem. There is a gap in scientific literature on the extent of, and effects of mining with mercury in Myanmar. Awareness about the effects of the use of mercury has been gathered in an anecdotal, but not a systematic fashion. The objective of this research project, conducted in collaboration with Yadanabon University, is to understand the perceptions of hazards to public health in mining communities and other, non-mining communities, in the region (control group), and compare these perceptions with the known health risks of mercury use. A total of 180 people (n = 102 in an artisanal mining village, 78 in a non-mining village) participated in a survey about behavior patterns associated with mining, perceptions of health risks while handling mercury, as well as health symptoms. Preliminary results have identified apparent gaps in knowledge in both types of communities.

LABOR MIGRATION AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH IN MYANMAR

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This study compared internal migrants and non-migrants across a range of social determinants of health and health status indicators. A face-to-face epidemiological survey was conducted in Mandalay, Myanmar between July 2016 and January 2017. Of 552 respondents, 165 (29.9%) had experienced migration and 73.3% migrated for labor or economic related reasons. Our results show that there were no statistical differences between migrants and non-migrants across household income measures, pointing to interesting economic similarities between migrants and the general population. There were however, significant differences between migrants and non-migrants across a range of important areas related to healthy behavior; health status; and water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH). For example, migrants were three times less likely to have access to an improved source of drinking water (95% confidence interval (CI) 2.04-5.76; $p < 0.001$) and 2 times less likely to wash their hands with soap after using the toilet (95% CI 1.34-4.35; $p = 0.003$); two major contributing factors to childhood diarrhea, a leading cause of child mortality in Myanmar. While there were not significant differences in the number of antenatal visits, migrants were significantly less likely to receive a physical exam, gynecological exam, ultrasound, or HIV/STD testing during their pregnancy related visits ($p < 0.001$), demonstrating equity issues around quality and access. Our results point to the value of incorporating migration into a social determinants analysis as migrants performed significantly different across a range of indicators.

RISK FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH IN MYANMAR

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The study objective was to evaluate risk factors associated with maternal and child health in Myanmar. A total 274 mothers with children under five participated in an epidemiologic survey between July 2016 and September 2017 in Mandalay. Pregnant women seeking antenatal care visited a health facility 9 times on average. The main reasons for not seeking antenatal care included lack of transportation, no perceived necessity, and lack of financial resources. While women tended to follow a more balanced diet (78.4%) and take vitamins and supplements (84.2%) when pregnant, 63.2% and 64.2%, respectively, did not stop smoking tobacco and drinking alcohol during their pregnancy. 74.6% of women delivered their recent baby at health care facility, compared to 23.9% who gave birth at home. 94.1% of mothers, delivered the baby with skilled health personnel. 89.4% of women received postnatal care within 24 hours after delivery. Children were 4.5 and 3.6 times more like to have coughing if their mothers didn't breastfeed them or mothers didn't always wash hands with soap after defecation, respectively. Children were 15 times more like to have stomach-aches if the household used an unimproved source of drinking water. 13.3% and 19.6% of mothers didn't think that contaminated water and food could cause diarrhea, respectively and 9.8% did not believe diarrhea can be life threatening. Mothers' knowledge and behaviors as well as household environments need to be improved to promote maternal health and child health.

UNDERSTANDING HEALTH SEEKING BEHAVIORS IN MYANMAR

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The average healthy life expectancy in Myanmar is 57 years. There is limited quantitative data to assess the impact of healthcare seeking behaviors and the burden of disease in Myanmar. The purpose of this study was to identify associated factors in healthcare seeking behaviors in Mandalay, the second largest city in Myanmar. A total of 456 people (76.8% Female, 23.2% Male; average of 42 years) participated in a structured epidemiological survey between

June 2016 and January 2017. Having visited a health facility for a preventative check-up to avoid disease was significantly associated with factors such as poverty ($p = 0.05$), education ($p = 0.01$), and perceived health status ($p < 0.01$). The perception of regular check-ups being important in maintaining health was found to be associated with education ($p = 0.01$). The perception of having “very good” and “good” general health was significantly associated with having access to a pharmacy ($p < 0.01$, OR = 4.62), NGO ($p = 0.03$, OR = 0.02), pharmacist ($p = 0.01$, OR = 7.23), and a traditional healer ($p = 0.01$, OR = .07). The perception of having “fair” general health was significantly associated with having access to government health centers ($p = 0.04$, OR = 0.36), government physicians ($p = 0.05$, OR = 2.62), and private physicians ($p = 0.04$, OR = 2.29). Knowledge of perceived health status and health care accessibility is needed to identify potential public health interventions that can be applied to improve healthcare seeking behaviors.

25

RIVERS, ESTUARIES, AND LIVELIHOODS IN LOWER MYANMAR/BURMA

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd floor)

READING MYANMAR'S INLAND FISHERIES

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Interdisciplinary in scope, this paper takes up the 1950 short story “*Ko Danga*,” by Burmese author Kyay Ni, as a critical lens through which to approach the contemporary political economy of Myanmar’s inland fisheries. Due to its level of ethnographic detail, Kyay Ni’s account of the inland fisheries regime in early postcolonial Burma provides an effective historic baseline against which to assess more recent developments in this sector—developments that I outline herein based on author interviews and research trips to fishery locations in Ayeyarwady and Yangon regions. The paper argues, moreover, that Kyay Ni’s writing offers heterodox insights into contemporary political economic concerns, of relevance in Myanmar and more broadly.

SHARING THE RIVER, DIVIDING THE LAND: TERRITORIALITY AND VILLAGE SETTLEMENT IN PYI TAW HTAR KYUN, AYEYARWADY DELTA

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This paper explores the settlement and land access dynamics surrounding the appearance and disappearance of alluvial island-lands (‘*myei nu kyun*’) in Pyi Taw Htar, Township of Pantanaw (Irrawaddy Division). The village land boundary located in the middle of the Irrawaddy River has continually changed since its foundation. Drawing on a historical approach, this paper emphasizes the challenges and strategies of the villagers of Pyi Taw Htar to obtain rights to use and cultivate (‘*lok paing khwin*’) newly appearing lands. Specifically, it discusses the division of alluvial land between villages and the attempts to establish territorial sovereignty on the river. The definition of the village boundaries, the measuring of the deepest continuous channel of the river (‘*ye ne chaung*’) and the building of land distribution structures are sites for politics and clashing interests. Moving through a set of land contestations, the paper concludes that settlement and access to these new territorial spaces offer productive grounds from which to consider different perceptions of social and economic justice.

INTERACTIVE VISUALIZATION OF SALWEEN BASIN DEVELOPMENT AND ITS AGGREGATE IMPACT ON THE THANLWIN ESTUARY

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The Nujiang/Salween/Thanlwin (“NST”) is the only free-running, i.e., its mainstem still undammed, major river flowing through SE Asia: although significant water resources management schemes for the NST have been afoot for decades. Our previous research on Shan religious sites and artforms still extant now in Lan Na showed how central to their founding and flourishing was the mid-19th century exploitation of virgin teak forests there, and the exceedingly dangerous rafting of felled logs some 350 km through deeply-incised, essentially-uninhabited regions (which remain largely so) downriver to the British sawmills of Mawlamyine: both forests and sawmills now long-gone. And revealed

also how slender is the knowledge base on the ecology, hydrology, geology, ethnography, and cultural history of these reaches. Several prospective, highly-contentious hydropower projects lie within those deep and narrow canyons, as does the proposed offtake for an inter-basin transfer of NST waters to the drought afflicted Chaophraya river in Thailand. Their implementation, however, is not presently subject to any multi-riparian advisory or negotiation process agreement similar to the Mekong River Compact. Already, the NST estuary above and below Mawlamyine is apparently in some ecological distress, as evidenced by certain declining fisheries and increasing local sedimentation; and if the upstream projects move forward, such problems are likely to be exacerbated. Towards furthering the scholarly adoption of interactive visualization and online publication as a central objective of our work, this presentation will be the release of a new eBook encompassing the NST's existing and potential assets and the "problemscape" of their conservation and development.

ASSESSING POTENTIAL THREATS TO FISHERIES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AT THE THANLWIN RIVER ESTUARY

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These assessments presented in this study focus on the status of fishery resources and how in turn this status affects the socio-economic conditions of the fishery communities at the Thanlwin River estuary. The research was carried out in four villages on four river tributaries, and quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The Thanlwin estuary is well known for its fresh, brackish and marine water fisheries as the area receives fresh water discharge from rivers and tributaries along with tidal intrusion from the sea. A total of 72 species of fishes including fresh, brackish and marine fishes were recorded from the estuary. The local fishermen have been facing a decline in fish catches in the rivers and sea for the last ten to fifteen years. According to local people, some of the fish species are totally extinct and some are almost extinct. It is observed that over fishing, illegal fishing using small-sized mesh, bottom trawls, and poison, and illegal catching of the spawning fishes at the inner creek are the most significant threats that contribute to the depletion of fishes in these areas. Since the estuarine environment is subject to dynamic hydro-sedimentation, erosion and sedimentation are subsequently also changing. Together with a higher sedimentation and shallower depth of the water downstream, more intense dynamic rhythms are also observed leading to important potential threats and loss of the fishing grounds, habitats. Massive erosion, sand collecting, construction of a large bridge across the river and the changing course of flowing water may cause create higher accumulation of sediments downstream. As a result, local people try to adapt to these environmental changes, the adaptations in turn bringing about changes in their livelihoods.

26

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN MYANMAR/BURMA FROM THE AGE OF COLONIAL CARTOONS TO THE 21ST CENTURY'S CYBERWORLD

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd floor)

CARTOONS ON MYANMAR POLITICS (1915-1962)

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This paper "Cartoons on Myanmar Politics (1915-1962)" is a research on Myanmar cartoons based on a survey of media such as periodicals newspapers, journals, and magazines which were popular during the colonial era and after. Along with art forms like literature or music, media conveyed expressions of a growing nationalist sentiment at a time of struggle for independence. In the post-independence era too, cartoons and cartoonists were concerned about the country's politics and the socio-economic conditions of the population. In other words, this paper examines the information and contents provided by cartoons during a time period when norms of freedom of press and expression reached, it can be argued, a high momentum in the history of Myanmar. Whenever the political changes occurred and social movements broke out, cartoonists gave information on the situation of the nation to the general public through their cartoons. Primary sources and secondary sources, as well as photos, cartoons are cited for reference.

ON MONKS AND MEMES: BUDDHIST SATIRE IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

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Satirical cartoonists in Myanmar have been allowed varying degrees of flexibility in who and what they satirize depending on the socio-political climate of their times. But there is one segment of the population that has remained off-limits to overt public criticism: Buddhist monks. While politicians, public figures, and non-monastic Buddhist religious groups and individuals have been satirized in cartoons published in various forms of popular media over the past century, publicly satirizing the monastic sangha has remained taboo --- until now. Before the widespread adoption of the Internet, the government had a tight grip on publishing privileges. But unlike the current Chinese government, for instance, the Myanmar government has tread lightly in attempting to suppress a culture of satire, allowing citizens with mobile phones to contribute to a growing art of cultural satire mostly in the form of cartoons and memes. Satirical cartoons and, especially, memes aimed at ridiculing and exposing vices of specific monks or aspects of the monastic sangha seen as corrupt (morally, politically, economically) are being created, adapted, and shared widely across Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat. This paper will explore the history of religious satire in Myanmar, show how and why specific cartoons and memes are targeting certain segments of the monastic population, and argue how a positive reception of such satire bodes well for the future of freedom of expression in Myanmar.

COMBATING CYBERCRIME IN MYANMAR: TRENDS AND CHALLENGES

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With the opening of the mobile telecommunications market since 2014, Myanmar became the fourth fastest growing mobile market with an estimated 36 million mobile subscribers. However, the lack of familiarity with cybersecurity issues and low capacity in government and IT-dependent institutions means that cybercrime, cyberbullying and the on-line spread of hate speech have become serious risks for which the country is ill-prepared. Ethnic and religious minorities are particularly at risk of becoming targets of bullying and hate speech. Facebook posts have already added to intercommunal tensions and sparked violence against the Muslim Rohingya community in Rakhine State.

This paper will touch on the cybercrime and cyber security issues that Myanmar is facing. It will examine the trend and challenges of cybercrime in Myanmar, review the adequacy of existing laws and measures against cybercrime and propose feasible solutions to advance Myanmar's cyber security.

27

THE AFFORDANCES OF BURMESE CITIZENSHIP: OPPORTUNITIES, EXCLUSIONS, AND CONTINGENCIES

Panel Organizer/Convener: Elliott Prasse-Freeman

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd floor)

Many recent scholarly theorizations of citizenship in Burma begin with standards that ostensibly define the transcendental condition of citizenship, to then assess the degree to which the situation in Burma does not conform. For instance, those who consider "the social contract" as the normative model defining citizenship proceed to describe how Myanmar fails to fulfill the criteria. Those who adduce formal benchmarks – such as international law or Burma's Constitution – show how Burmese cannot access the 'rights' they are guaranteed. This panel diverges from these deductive models to explore citizenship as it is lived and imagined on the ground in Burma today. Burmese people with whom the panelists work often do not presume any 'social contract' nor do they think various laws describe conditions which are easily achieved let alone guaranteed. Instead, they create and inhabit ideas of what citizenship means for them which emerges out of their lived experiences. Hence, the panel focuses on the actual affordances of citizenship: what can individuals do with it, what opportunities does it provide, what duties does it insist upon, what material artifacts does it produce or require? These various questions are answered divergently depending on a number of different factors: gender, ethnicity, class, political commitments, etc. The panel also explores the intertwined question of how people imagine citizenship: is it bestowed from above (by the state in the form of an identification card)? Is it produced through some sort of labor (working 'for the nation')? Can it be forfeited (through what kinds of betrayals or abdications)? The contributions pursue this general line of inquiry through long-term ethnographic engagements with

places and peoples across Burma, and seek to generate new insights through critical comparison of their respective findings.

SELF-RELIANCE AS A MECHANISM OF ENTITLEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY MYANMAR

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How do contingent notions of entitlement from the state endure despite democratization? This paper explores how framing labour and financial contributions to local welfare and development initiatives as 'self-reliance' is paradoxically key to the 'politics of entitlement' (Li 2007) in contemporary Myanmar. Drawing on sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork and a 1000 household survey in central-east Myanmar, it shows how being seen to 'take responsibility' for local development through co-production of public goods is perceived as a key 'democratic' value upon which parliamentarians, state officials and local supporters determine communities collectively eligible for state development funding. Through case-studies of 'self-reliant' local public goods projects and related moral claim-making to state development funds, it shows how communities carefully frame themselves as 'doing it themselves' in order to render themselves morally legible to authorities and (hopefully) be seen as worthy to receive more significant support from the government. The paper shows that expanding state public goods and welfare provision can paradoxically reinforce rather than undermine performances of moral subjectivity that distinguish between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, perpetuating inequalities and rendering 'rights' or 'entitlement' from the democratic state contingent upon apparently 'virtuous' moral conduct.

EXPLORING THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AFTER RELOCATION TO REBUILD LIVELIHOOD ASSETS IN LIEU OF STATE SUPPORT

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Forced relocation has severe and long-lasting consequences for those affected, including detachment from familiar places and routines, loss of work and employment, social disarticulation, among other impacts. Relocation and resettlement literature typically focuses on a) the physical and economic reconstruction of communities, and b) supported livelihood restoration schemes that are resourced by external organisations (e.g. governments, private sector or supported in-kind by non-government organisations). There is an opportunity to better understand how relocatees create social aspects and a sense of belonging in a new place after being forced to move in a context where limited support for livelihood reconstruction is offered. My research uses a case study community created in 1991 after a large-scale relocation program in Yangon to explore the role of social capital and access to social networks for re-establishing livelihood assets and day-to-day functions where external support was scarce or non-existent. Conditions of the relocation scheme resulted in poor sanitation, inadequate shelter and access to water, and spatial marginalisation from established social networks and economic opportunities. In lieu of external livelihood restoration support, I present how reliance on particular social networks (through bonding, bridging and linking social capital) was essential for relocatees to develop strategies to create livelihood outcomes for themselves. In doing so, they detached any dependence on the state and autonomously created livelihood outcomes that secured them land, shelter, water, economic opportunities and various social assets. My presentation will focus specifically on the role of 'bridging' social capital and how these social networks across socio-cultural line enabled strategies for successful livelihood outcomes.

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME ARAKANESE COIN: ETHNOGENESIS AS SCHISMOGENESIS BETWEEN/AMONGST 'RAKHINE' AND 'ROHINGYA'

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The persecution of Arakanese Rohingya Muslims has been variously framed as an ethnic, communal, or sectarian conflict, and often as some hybrid blend of each. Remedies proposed have included restoring long denied rights of citizenship and "conflict sensitive development," addressed to the Rohingya and Rakhine as wholly distinct groups along racial and religious lines. In this paper, I attempt to show that such approaches only serve to buttress the Myanmar state's "national races" ideology, which has been promoted by the Bamar Tatmadaw through the institutions of the state as a means of developing an ethno-nationalist politics. Overlooked in many analyses of the situation are the processes by which race, religion, and ethnic identity have come to be laminated together through the Bamar state's

official ideology, and the conditions which make these processes effective. I consider here the evidence from comparative historical linguistics, archaeology, and the modern history of the Myanmar state to describe how both Rakhine and Rohingya nationalist partisans recapitulate the terms of the Bamar Tatmadaw's ideology, failing to escape the terms which hold both parties in conflict.

BURMA'S BROKERED CITIZENSHIP: RESPONSIBILITY DISCOURSE AND THE POLITICS OF PASSAGE FOR THOSE OUTSIDE 'POLITICAL SOCIETY'

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Fieldwork with Burmese peasants and peri-urban dwellers reveals that nominal citizens do not expect to participate in political processes. Rather, their citizenship experience appears closer to existing in what anthropologist Partha Chatterjee calls "political society," a domain in which individuals must form population groups through which they generate contingent and fleeting corporate claims to resources or opportunities. But closer scrutiny reveals that many Burmese find even that space out of reach; as a result, even if subjects self-organize they require intermediaries – brokers – to make citizenship-type claims. Activists "stand in front of the people," confronting those in power by asking 'who will take responsibility?' This question comes to mean: "who will insert themselves between the powerless on one side and the impersonal operations of the state and market on the other?" When activists respond, "We will take responsibility," they advance a different vision of citizenship, one that suggests that legal and regulatory processes are empty on their own, and must be intervened in. When such performatives are felicitous, the activists produce a conduit connecting the excluded to the realm of political society. Yet, while the activists' main goal, they say, is to get excluded people to stand for themselves – and sometimes this does occur – these excluded subjects find it difficult to remain in that domain without the continual assistance of the activists, whom they often attempt to install as new political patrons. More distressingly, brokerage, when executed by shortsighted or opportunistic activists, actually holds the excluded in their positions of exclusion. The paper will focus on the interface between activists and 'the people,' tracing the politics of passage that enables or constrains political claims making, reflecting on the emic concept of citizenship in contemporary Burma.

NALEHMU: MYANMAR'S COMMON PRACTICE OF EVERYDAY POLITICS

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Nalehmu, usually translated as understanding, is a personalized network of implicit mutual obligations, reciprocity and trust established through long term interactions. It can also be found in more fleeting interactions or contracts where the absence or unfairness of a regulatory environment compels ordinary people to establish an alternative common order. When official systems of governance repeatedly prove unpredictable, one's fate is in the hands of individuals and increasing mutual responsibility through networks of individuals is a reasonable long-term strategy. *Nalehmu* has thus become the mechanism for building bounded circles of accountability when the state has largely produced precarity, and generating belonging through relationships amongst and between those who may be otherwise deemed not to belong. These more intimate webs of relationships have and continue to create a sense of security by keeping individuals responsible to each other when there is no generalized trust or universal justice applicable to all regardless of social status.

Nalehmu has worked amongst equals and has enabled access, but has also perpetuated inequality in a polity that overwhelmingly privileges citizens and where citizenship is tied to race and religion. While *nalehmu* continues as a means of claiming space, access and belonging in communities, this claim to membership in a *nalehmu* bounded polity may be time bound. In a transitioning Myanmar, as those seen as rights holders in Myanmar society begin to claim the right to public services as citizens, taxpayers, etc. *nalehmu* may become further entrenched as a minority economy, the realm of those who cannot otherwise access public services and those who hold the keys to such services. In this way, as this paper explores, initiatives to eradicate corruption, clean up city sidewalks, standardize property holdings and regularize taxation may have the consequence of formalizing exclusion and further entrenching more extreme forms of corruption.

A STUDY OF THE MISTAKES MADE BY FOREIGN STUDENTS STUDYING MYANMAR AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE**Kyi Kyi Moe**

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This paper describes the common mistakes that the foreign students usually make in the pronunciation, written form and spoken form. The data will be collected from their performance in their classroom activities. It is hoped that this study is useful for foreign students who are studying Myanmar as a foreign language.

A SOCIOLINGUISTICS STUDY OF ENGLISH CODE-MIXING IN MYANMAR LANGUAGE BASED ON MYANMAR JOURNALS**Mon Mon Aung**

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This paper presents a sociolinguistics study of English code-mixing in Myanmar Language based on a review of Myanmar journals. The aim of this paper is to provide evidence of the use of English code-mixing in Myanmar language as one fact in the development of Myanmar language. Code-mixing is the mixing of two or more languages or language varieties in speech. While linguists who are primarily interested in the structure of code-mixing may have relatively little interest to separate code-mixing from code-switching, some sociolinguists have gone to great lengths to differentiate the two phenomena. For these scholars, code-switching is associated with particular pragmatic effects, discourse functions, or associations with group identity. In this tradition, the terms 'code-mixing' or 'language alternation' are used to describe more stable situations in which multiple languages are used without such pragmatic effects. In this paper, the reference materials used are Myanmar journals published in Myanmar language from 2016 to 2018 in Myanmar. This paper will analyze direct English code-mixing in Myanmar language from these journals and use transcript English code-mixing in Myanmar language. The research problems that this paper attempts to address are as follows: (1) Does English code-mixing in Myanmar language from Myanmar journals systematically use Myanmar Grammar or not; (2) Is English code-mixing in Myanmar language used or not to offer Myanmar social communication. This paper is focused on the descriptive research method aspects of sociolinguistics.

CORPUS STUDIES IN BURMESE - POSSIBILITIES AND PITFALLS**Jennifer Lewis-Wong**

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The use of large textual corpora in research is becoming increasingly widespread, not only in linguistics, but also in the social sciences and humanities, known as the "Digital Humanities". The development of such studies in a given language preresquires significant language-specific resources and tools, a non-trivial task for as yet under-resourced languages such as Burmese. This paper looks at the different issues specific to Burmese language corpora, from data collection and preprocessing, to analysis. Some aspects to be discussed are practical (finding and choosing text sources, legal aspects), or more technical (standardizing character encoding, orthographic variants), while others are linguistic, notably defining the minimal unit of analysis, the actual "words". Specific attention will be paid to the latter and how a choice of word tokenisation can meet different needs of different kinds of corpus use and analysis. We are particularly interested in how to define vocabulary units for learners of Burmese as a second language in a practical way. The paper will be illustrated by corpora created from literary texts, newspaper articles and TED Talk subtitles using various textual data analysis tools and software.

THE MYANMAR ENGLISH DICTIONARY (MED) AT 25: TRENDS IN BURMESE LEXICOGRAPHY FOR THE ANGLOPHONE WORLD

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The publication of the MED in 1993 represented a hallmark in the evolution of Burmese lexicography, particularly with regard to the Anglophone world. While not the first Burmese-English dictionary compiled by Burmese scholars, the MED constituted a major step forward in post-colonial lexicography, achieving a level of clarity, utility and comprehensiveness not always witnessed in dictionaries of Southern Asian languages.

The MED, which was in large part based on its predecessor and counterpart, the Myanmar- Myanmar Dictionary, represented an advance over its predecessors, including the landmark Judson dictionary, in three significant ways:

- * It introduced a radically novel, and arguably more phonologically transparent transcription system for the contemporary Burmese language, which admirably channels tonal graphemic elements of the script.

- * It presents etymologies of loan words, particularly the substantial component of words derived from the prestige Indic languages, Sanskrit and Pali.

- * It incorporated a substantial number of colloquial and technical words for technological, social and political concepts absent from legacy dictionaries.

We shall examine the continuing vitality of the MED, extolling its undeniable virtues and critiquing, in passing, its minor infirmities. We shall review the subsequent lexicographic projects undertaken in the ensuing 25 years, including a thesaurus, and in recent years, the implementation of online translation capabilities, including Google Translate. Finally, we shall take note of computational technology that is broadening the scope of Burmese etymology beyond the limited realm of transparent loanwords, into the emerging universe of linguistic reconstruction manifested in the *Burmish Etymological Database*.

29

ENVIRONMENTAL AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES IN MYANMAR (Roundtable Discussion)

Ballroom 1 (4th floor)

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Since Myanmar opened up they have been developing fast and the lack of basic information and regulations on environmental and sustainability issues which has already resulted in surface and groundwater pollution, increased air pollution, decreasing health, changes in biodiversity, and water shortages- just to name a few. This roundtable will explore the current and future environmental and sustainability topics facing Myanmar and to determine some solutions.

**FROM “BENGALIS” IN U PHO KYAR’S TIME TESTING SHORT STORY TO “ROHINGYAS” IN REALITY: THE
ROOTS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE MYANMAR LITERATURE**

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The resistance and denial movement towards Rohingyas in Myanmar’s society in the age of globalization did not recently occur. It inherited from the Myanmar people in the colonial period. Understanding the cause of the movement through didactic literature is a way to explain the thinking process of the Myanmar people towards the Rohingya people. This article analyzes U Pho Kyar’s *Time Testing Short Story* to point out that the work written in the colonial era presents the intellectual and positive characteristics via the native Myanmar people. The scenarios of life lessons in *Time Testing Short Story* are normally seen in the Jakata tales. However, the original aspect of this short story is a threat to the identities of Myanmar, which is considered a new plot during the colonial period. Another identity that the writer would like to counter is “Bengalis”. The writer created the stereotype for the characters of “Bengalis”. They were *competing—undermining—destroying* for protecting and nourishing the identities of Myanmar. The stereotype in his work became an exemplar for other authors who wished to criticize other identities that threatened those of Myanmar.

U Pho Kyar’s *Time Testing Short Story* has been used in extracurricular reading among Myanmar students from the colonial period to today. This results in the fact that the story has been constantly reread and has played its role as didactic literature. Also, it is used as a tool to instill the values of Myanmar, causing the work to easily overcome the border between simulacrum and reality. The hatred for “Bengalis” in *Time Testing Short Story* spreads towards the hatred for “Rohingyas” in the real world. This is because Rohingyas are grouped into Bengalis as well as having the same image of Bengalis in *Time Testing Short Story*.

ROHINGYA CRISIS AND RAKHINE STATE POLITICS

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This paper explores the tripartite conflict in Rakhine through the lenses of frame analysis. Competing historical narratives in Rakhine demonstrate the interpretative clash for control of the ‘facts’ about the origins, causes and actors driving the conflict. The interactive construction of meaning, involving both elites and masses (in different ways and modes), has been described as ‘collective framing’. It is argued that violent episodes in Rakhine history become coded and described against the frame of a macro conflict narrative. Collective framing redefines social conditions through a condensed and selective simplification process, which resonates certain objects, situations or experiences with a population’s cultural predispositions. Such a process constructs larger frames of meaning invested with notions of grievance. This redefinition of reality aims at mobilisation, by amplifying perceptions of injustice and subconscious emotional appeals for remedial action. The interactive nature of meaning construction is evident, in that the ‘meaning builders’ are themselves also consumers of the cultural and traditional meanings they seek to re-appropriate. The aim of these ‘entrepreneurs’ is to imbue narratives with their own values and tailor the direction of social action toward their political goals. The rapid introduction of modern forms of mass politics into an authoritarian society created the space for ethnic entrepreneurs to exploit group antipathies and pursue group action that could lead to forms of political violence. The continued emphasis on the ethnic composition of Myanmar in the public discourse has elevated the prospect of political violence being seen instrumentally as the means for party unity and electoral success. For example, the military-backed USDP party courted the Muslim vote in the 2010 elections in a manner that aggravated ethnic Rakhine fears, and Rakhine nationalist parties articulated positions opposed to Muslim interests. Thus, framing is a process of appropriating meaning, and it always occurs within the parameters of ideologies, cultural dispositions, and perceptions, from within and without.

BUDDHIST-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN BANGLADESH-MYANMAR BORDERLAND IN THE SHADOW OF THE ROHINGYA CRISIS

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In this research paper I will share the preliminary findings from my ongoing doctoral fieldwork on Buddhist-Muslim communal relations in the Bangladesh-Myanmar borderland. My research asks what explains the lack of concerted anti-Buddhist violence in Bangladesh despite large scale anti-Muslim violence across the border, a general prevalence of anti-Muslim sentiments in Buddhist majority countries in the region and an enormous presence of the Rohingya population in Bangladesh (not only since the outbreak of the latest Rohingya crisis in August 2017 but also from previous influxes in 2016, 2012, 1992 and 1978 respectively). The research also investigates why the Buddhist-Muslim communal dyad has remained largely inactive and politically irrelevant compared to the Hindu-Muslim one in Bangladesh or the Buddhist-Muslim one in Myanmar. More broadly, I aim to explain specific social and political conditions underlying the trajectories of communal dyads (i.e. when they become conflictual or otherwise) and to understand the determinants for intergroup coexistence. When we consider conflicting groups in pairs, what are the possible trajectories of communal or ethnic dyads within a given context and what counts for variations and transformations at specific temporal junctures?

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND PEACEBUILDING INTERVENTION OPTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES WORKING IN RAKHINE STATE

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Over 670,000 Muslim refugees have fled Rakhine State to Bangladesh since 25 August 2017 alone, taking the total displaced into Bangladesh to almost 1.1 million (registered by the Bangladesh Immigration and Passports Department). The Kaman aside, best estimates suggest less than 400,000 Muslims remain in Rakhine, over a quarter of those languishing since 2012 in camps for internally displaced people (IDP camps). Nonetheless, several hundred thousand Muslims have not at this point been displaced, and remain in village situations, mostly in northern townships within central Rakhine, rather than in northern Rakhine State. Based on a detailed analysis of the driver of this conflict, this paper explores a range of conflict transformation and peacebuilding intervention options that might be pursued by international development agencies working in these areas, with ethnic Rakhine and Muslim communities. Priority issues include stabilising relationships between the remaining communities, allowing restoration of non-violent basic engagement, and supporting any positive social change that might help facilitate acceptance of the potential return of refugees from Bangladesh. Development programming options will be explored through the lenses of 'everyday peace' and peacebuilding, building on remaining 'local capacities for peace', re-establishing back-channel communication, promoting non-violent conflict resolution processes, facilitating of the reimagination of identities, and supporting positive social change efforts.

31

FROM SHADOW ECONOMY TO SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES: LOOKING FOR OPPORTUNITIES ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd floor)

ILLICIT ECONOMIC EXCHANGES ACROSS THE SINO-BURMESE BORDER DURING THE COLD WAR

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From a non-state centric perspective, this paper aims to examine an understudied history of the economic exchanges between China and Burma via their shared border during the Cold War. While both Burma and China officially barred cross-border trade, the ban was not fully implemented because of the complex political situation along the border and of resource demands from both sides. Against this backdrop, borderlanders transformed the frontiers to alternative economic spaces to enhance their livelihoods whenever possible. Their engagement generated

circulations of a wide range of commodities, including salt, lard, cattle, salted pork and fish, animal hides, antlers, and agricultural produce from Burma; thermos bottles, bicycles, textile, bowls and plates, rubber shoes, pillow covers and sheets from China.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork in a range of border sites in Yunnan and northern Burma for several years, this paper explores the following question: How did the frontier people cope with the control and demands from the local authorities in order to process their engagement, by the local authorities belonging to the Chinese or Burmese governments, the Communist Party of Burma or ethnic armed groups in Burma? How did they transport purchased goods in connection with geographic factors in different places? How did they trade the goods in the market? Did the frontier economy affect other places beyond China and Burma? Recorded narratives from informants document their economic lives as well as their varied and innovative individualities. Furthermore, they illustrate nuances and ambivalence of the Cold War history that are often overlooked by the mainstream historiography focusing on the politics of global confrontation in light of ideological differences, the central state's foreign policies and national and regional security.

LIVING SPACE AND MYANMAR-CHINESE IDENTIFICATION: A CASE STUDY OF MONGWUN-BURMA

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Chinese Oversea / Huaren and Cross-border ethnic group belong to two different academic concepts, which based on the living space and form of both, while Mongwun-Burma is a Cross-border Chinese that combines the characteristics of Chinese Oversea/ Huaren and Cross-border ethnic groups (Kokang). The existing identity study focuses on the influence of history and the institution, but the case of Mongwun-Burma pointed out that living space and form are the most fundamental factors influencing identity construction. Mongwun-Burma's living space and the particularity of form make it produce regional identity and further produce the nation-state identity, but its ethnic identity is blurred and constructive; Not only open and welcoming to local culture, but also retain the confidence of inheriting the traditional culture.

THE LABOUR MARKET IN MAE SOT (1990-2017) AND THAILAND'S NEW SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE POLICY

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This paper analyzes the labour market of Mae Sot, Thailand, its strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and the threats it also constitutes for a sustainable strategy of economic development. The period of analysis is 1990-2017 because this was a period of rapid development along the border between Thailand and Myanmar. This period led to the establishment of a Special Economic Zone in Mae Sot, Thailand in 2015, which takes advantage of the displacement of people from neighboring areas of Myanmar. The focuses of the study are on the push and pull factors which led to the migration of probably more than 200,000 people from the interior of Myanmar to Mae Sot between 1990 and 2017 and its neighboring city across the border, Myawaddy, Myanmar. Theoretical models and empirical analysis using different kinds of data are used to review the various sectors and segments of the labor market which emerged during this period of rapid growth. A brief conclusion section addresses the future visibility of the new Special Economic Zone from the perspective of the labour market.

SPATIAL ECONOMIC INITIATIVES IN MYANMAR

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Governments may undertake spatial economic initiatives for a variety of reasons: to enhance regional development, to take advantage of a comparative advantage or for party political considerations. They may include special economic zones (SEZs) of various types, incentives for investment in specific activities and sites, new housing estates and the like. In the case of Myanmar, the situation is complicated by the fact that many parts of the country are beyond the effective reach of the state and are controlled or at least partially controlled by ethnic minority groups wishing to achieve autonomy. Consequently, some spatial initiatives are really attempts to use politically-charged space for supposedly economic purposes. For example, the Jiegao region on the border with China has been declared to be an SEZ of a type because it has permitted Chinese interests to control the important jade and amber markets there, which might otherwise have destabilising effects. A possible SEZ in Kachin State would operate for the same purpose

and the Kyaukphyu SEZ and gas pipe may be seen as extrusions of Chinese territory into Myanmar, although this is of course contested. More conventionally, the Thilawa SEZ south of Yangon is intended to be a magnet for Japanese investment in the country and this vision is becoming a reality; by contrast, the long-awaited Dawei SEZ which is supposed to do the same for Thai investment remains far from completion. The Asian Highway Network, which will build transportation infrastructure better linking Myanmar to its neighbours, provides further spurs to reorganizing economic initiatives in the country. This paper documents spatial initiatives in the country in the context of remaking the economy in a different form than the colonial state imposed upon the people of Myanmar and incorporates political as well as economic analysis. It is argued that the eclectic approach to spatial initiatives both exposes the lack of an overall, centralised strategy for the economy but also indicates in some cases a sophisticated approach to dealing with difficult problems.

32

DOCUMENTING, EXPLORING, AND SUPPORTING DISSENT IN MYANMAR/BURMA

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd floor)

THE BOLD AND BRAVE OF BURMA: A MICRO-LEVEL STUDY OF THE EARLY MOVERS OF DISSENT BETWEEN 1988-2011

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In the high-risk environment of authoritarian regimes, why do some people dissent while others do not? Specifically, what motivates some people to be the *first* to dissent when there is no safety in numbers, and no guarantee that others will join? The willingness of some individuals to seemingly disregard the high personal risk of dissent, evincing a willingness to bear costs, puzzles scholars in the social sciences. This question is important because the kind of mass protests that end authoritarian regimes cannot happen without first dissenters.

This thesis asks, in situations when public dissent has not yet scaled into the mass mobilization that provides safety in numbers, why do individuals mobilize against authoritarian regimes at high personal risk? Even though not all sparks of dissent will light a proverbial fire, understanding the conditions under which such sparks are likely to arise is an important area of scholarly inquiry. While extant literature abounds with competing explanations for dissent escalation at the macro-level, scholarly knowledge of individual acts of dissent are decidedly limited. To appreciate escalatory dynamics at the micro-level, one ought to understand the primary human agents at the initial stages of dissent.

Based on several dozen semi-structured interviews from two rounds of fieldwork, this paper will present preliminary findings that endeavor to understand what motivated individuals who were first and early participants of political dissent events in Myanmar between 1988-2011.

TRANSNATIONAL CIVIL REVOLT AGAINST NATIONAL MILITARY REGIME: EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF GRASSROOTS CONNECTIVITY OF JAPAN AND BURMA SINCE 1988

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This research presents an alternative way of looking at the contemporary history of Japan and Burma by tracing the emergence and development of cooperation between Japanese civil activists and Burmese refugees and activists in their transnational civil activism against the Burmese military since 1988. In particular, this research examines the history of unofficial time and space, and thereby uncovers a new Japanese-Burmese connectivity at the non-state level. This non-state connectivity has been invisible in the mainstream historiography of Japan and Burma, which often focuses on their state-level relations in official time and space, and is founded largely on World War II and its legacy. Their grassroots cooperation began in the Thai-Burmese border areas and Japan in 1988, expanded in Japan in the 2000s, and has further developed in Burma since 2011. While major Japanese international NGOs and NPOs in Burma have hardly expressed a political identity on military rule and democratisation, the grassroots organisations of Japanese and Burmese civil activists in Japan have maintained their strong political identity by strategically working with Burmese refugees and activists in exile outside Burma particularly until 2011. The findings of the Japanese-Burmese non-state

cooperatism were enabled by interviews conducted with nine Japanese civil activists in Tokyo and Osaka in April 2016, and their published and unpublished materials, including newsletters, websites, blogs and a pamphlet.

POPULARIZING DISSENT: THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN VIOLENT AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN MYANMAR

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Recent civil war scholarship has increasingly considered the salience of non-violent, mass-based resistance against the state, as a peaceful alternative to violent resistance. Building on the social psychology literature, the paper focuses on the shared beliefs and ideas as nuts and bolts of social processes of civil war, and explores the interplay between non-violent, ethnic activism and armed resistance born out of the societies affected by violent conflict. In Myanmar, human rights activism has emerged from ethnic-based rights organisations by dissident activists that later expanded across the country advocating for civilian protection in conflict, land rights, environmental protection, gender equality, and ethnic equal rights. In this case, diffusion of activism has intensified concerns about social justice and demands on the greater political inclusion, but the effect of popularisation of dissent appears divergent on the popular endorsement for armed resistance.

INTRODUCING THE MYANMAR PROTEST EVENT DATASET: MOTIVATION, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROSPECTS

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This article presents the “*Myanmar Protest Event Dataset*”, a unique open-access dataset on protest assemblies in transitional Myanmar/Burma. The data contents are derived from the most visible forms of assembly (demonstrations, protest marches, and labor strikes) and were collected through a protest event analysis of local news reports. The coded variables range from information on the actual moment of the protest event (participants, issue, duration, location, ...) to the aftermath (legal consequences for protesters, successful claims, ...). Besides a concise description of the research design and data collection process, the methodological strengths and weaknesses are discussed. Moreover, it will be demonstrated how protest data can be informative for various research questions and how it can be triangulated with other data in a mixed-methods research designs.

33

REIMAGINING PLURALISM – SHIFTING/PARALLEL IDENTITY BOUNDARIES AND PERFORMATIVITY IN MYANMAR

Organizer: Mike Griffiths

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd floor)

Debates on post-work futures, requiring significant redistributive arrangements, are currently re-shaping the landscape of welfare. However, the requisite political capital for redistributive welfare economies rely in many cases on stable notions of plurality in a given context, whereby redistributive claims are sustained across different socio-ethnic categories.

This challenges the potential of redistributive politics in contexts where functioning concepts of pluralism do not sustain such mutuality, and instead veer towards exclusive claims, or the denial of the claims of others. In the Myanmar context, the future of any redistributive settlement is reliant on new articulations of plurality, which provide avenues for reciprocity and mutuality not contained within the current ethno-religious frameworks.

This panel highlights three potential sources for re-imagining pluralism: emergent welfare organizations, which increasingly traverse ethnic and religious boundaries in favour of stronger identities of place. Secondly, re-visioning of dominant narratives of othering and identity, with a view to drawing on suppressed, minority voices as counter-narratives. Thirdly, greater attentiveness to performativity and identity, with a particular emphasis on elements of performativity which create space for different identity constructs.

DISASTERS AND POST-SOCIALIST CITIZENSHIP IN MYANMAR

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How does the absence of the state during disasters shape notions of citizenship in a post-socialist context? Socialist-era expectations of state redistribution often constrain the ability of subsequent governments to outsource welfare obligations to its citizens (Collier 2012, Ganey 2005). Focusing on Myanmar, this paper explores how the inadequacy of relief efforts by the post-socialist regime during successive disasters has generated popular notions of citizenship obligations beyond the state. Drawing on participant observation conducted by the author with welfare groups as they responded to the devastation of 2015 Cyclone Komen as well as secondary research from 2008 Cyclone Nargis, it recounts how capitalist entrepreneurs and ordinary people have repeatedly filled the gap left by the absence of the state in relief efforts. Tracing these outpourings of assistance to the authoritarian mode of welfare capitalism which deliberately off-put redistributive obligations to private and non-state actors following the collapse of socialism in 1988, it reveals the physical, organisational and symbolic labour required to stretch idioms and circuits of solidarity to the trans-local needy in contemporary Myanmar. The paper concludes that notions of moral citizenship popularised during disasters have the potential to durably shape distributive politics, resulting in continued underfunding of social protection in Myanmar despite the transition to civilian rule.

HOW SHALL WE DIE NOW? THE RISE OF CO-OPERATIVE OF FUNERAL SERVICE SOCIETIES IN YANGON

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Whilst death has always been a significant rites of passages for human beings, the performance of funeral rites continues to change as changes social structures, often linked to the effects of urbanization, place pressure on human and physical resources. The pace of change is often rapid: in Japan, the performance of traditional funeral rites has become increasingly professionalized, professional style (Toshie, 1997). In the same way, in Thailand, the emergence of professional, one-stop service funeral services cater to urban populations unable to draw on traditions of reciprocity more prevalent in rural areas, with a resultant increased financial burden, particularly for urban poor (Warita Sinthuyont, 2008), a situation reflected in other Southeast Asian countries (Timbol, M. P. F and Caballero, R. T, 2014). Myanmar is currently undergoing rapid urbanization, and as a consequence funeral practices are also changing in urban context, where, like other countries, the rising cost of funerals has increased significantly. However, in contrast to other countries, instead of greater professionalization and monetization of funeral services, Myanmar has seen the emergence of voluntary funeral services, such as the Free Funeral Service of Yangon. These organizations are typically locally established, and provide assistance to community members in the event of death of a family member. In most cases, assistance, and voluntary participation are undertaken by people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, demonstrating a plurality of identity founded on a strong identity of place, and around a common need. In this way, voluntary funeral associations demonstrate a kind of associational politics, crossing ethnic and religious boundaries, even in the performance of funeral rites. This paper explores the dynamics of the emergence of these organizations, and the ways in which they express modes of belonging and co-operation which offer new models for plurality.

ARE WE TRAPPED IN THE HISTORY? ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS OTHERING IN MYANMAR

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Myanmar has seen as resurgence of nationalism and ethnic identity politics following the 2010 general election. The rise of nationalist Buddhism is particularly prominent and making the protection of Burmese, race and religion a case of national law with the nationwide instigation of protecting nationals and Buddhism upholding rhetoric of “Protecting Ahmyo Batha Thathana” (M.J.Walton, 2012). Populist support for this movement is based on extreme othering: in this case of Muslims by Buddhist communities. However, such othering is not only a recent phenomenon, nor it is limited only to Buddhist and Muslim communities. Arguably, the foundation of many of Myanmar’s extreme forms of othering can be traced to the original design for plural society published during the colonial era (Lee, 2009), where the process of codification of difference was institutionalized in the service of governance. These codified forms enable the legitimization of histories which in turn are used to legitimize self-identity and othering. Most of the theories of othering define othering as “a process by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up a numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe problematic and/or inferior characteristics

to these subordinate groups. Such discursive processes affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate (Jensen, 2010a)". However, this paper will explore the role of histories and narratives in shaping both ethnic self-identity and identity construction of the others. This is particularly relevant where the boundaries of identity in contemporary Myanmar are increasingly fluid and contested. To what forms of everyday expressions of ethnic identity reinforce or challenge dominant narratives? To what extent are inter-generational, usually oral histories being reshaped and applied to self and other identity construction in contemporary Myanmar? What new narratives offer different trajectories for identity construction and othering in contemporary Myanmar and where do these narratives exist?

SEEDS OF CHANGE: TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE PRACTICES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN KAYAH STATE

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With both rising food demands, and an increase in globalization and mechanization, there is a corresponding focus on increasing productivity in the agricultural sector. With changes in technology and market demands, some in rural communities perceive modernization threat to traditional ways of life, and in turn, a critical element of self-identity. This locates choices concerning agricultural practices beyond simple limits of productivity and profits: farming is not just a livelihood, but is an intrinsic, performative element of self-identity. Ethnic identity is the extent to which one identifies with, or is identified with, a particular group, based on often arbitrary socio-linguistic, or biological criteria (Phinney, 1996). However, increasingly, theories of performativity are being applied to notions of self-identity (Butler, 2015), and this paper applies performativity to a study of how the practice of agriculture is seen as a performative element critical to self-identity: that I farm this way because of who I am, and that I am who I am because I farm this way (Ilgen & Schneider, 1991; Motowidlo, Borman, & Schmit, 1997). This research examines the iterative relationship between practices and identity: the influence of traditional agriculture practices on ethnic identity constructive and the influence of ethnic self-identity on choice of practices. How does being Yin Baw influence the practice of agriculture? What is the role of agricultural practices in sustainable ethnic identity? By exploring this intersection of livelihoods, identity and performativity, this paper also examines how the inter-relationships between them are changing from generation to generation, generating new, and potentially unstable identities.

PARAHITA AND PLACE: THE BOUNDARIES OF LOCALIZED WELFARE

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Although much of the current focus of social protection in Myanmar is on centralized modes of redistribution, expressed through universal benefits, recent research demonstrates the high prevalence, and considerable redistributive practice of localized, community based organizations, typically organized around *parahita*-inspired principles (Griffiths, 2017a; McCarthy, 2016). Whilst representing a modest and localized practice of redistribution, these organizations nonetheless embody a peculiar emergent politics, deriving legitimacy from the widely known, but also widely defined concept of *parahita*-loosely defined as altruism. The emergence of these organizations in more sophisticated forms within the last decade has taken place against a sustained absence of State intervention, increasing inequalities and precarious living, and incremental changes to association laws. By occupying an operational space located between formal religious institutions (such as the village monastery), village administration and traditions of reciprocity, these organizations have in essence created a new, albeit contested space for belonging, largely build around identity of place. Membership of the organization is voluntary, and at times costly in terms of voluntary time commitments: welfare is provided on the basis of belonging to the village. This very localized social contract, built around the performance of *parahita* and linked to an identity of place, offers new possibilities for the wider regional and national social contracts much needed for both welfare development and political arrangements such as federalism. This research explores the nature of *parahita* claims, the limits and boundaries of localized welfare arrangements, and the possibilities for articulation of redistributive claims which originate outside established boundaries of locality, ethnicity and religion (Butler, 2015; Ferguson, 2015)

SUKHOTHAI VIHARAS: CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THAILAND AND MYANMAR**Chotima Chaturawong**

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The paper focuses on architecture of *viharas* (assembly hall) in Sukhothai, built in the fourteenth century at monastic compounds located outside the inner historic town to the west and east. They differed from other *viharas* as they were the most important architecture in a compound and had a Buddha shrine to its rear as a chamber built with durable material, namely brick. These *viharas* were likely inspired by architecture of the Mon. The Mon, Burmese, and Tai Yuan of northern Thailand had a custom to separate a place for a Buddha image from that of lay people in houses and religious architecture. *Viharas* of Sukhothai and Lanna in northern Thailand had a role as a *dhammasala* of the Mon and Burmese. The *vihara* at Wat Traphang Thong Lang [Monastery of the Coral-tree Pond] in Sukhothai likely represented the Sudhammasala in the Tavatimsa Heaven where Sakka and devas gather to listen to and discuss about *dhamma*. Two ends of the arch on the Buddha chamber's exterior walls were adorned with reliefs of kinaras facing inward which likewise decorated the arches of Pagan mural paintings. This Sukhothai *vihara* architecture reflects cultural relations among the Mon, the Thai of Sukhothai, the Tai Yuan of Lanna, and the Burmese of Pagan.

STUDY ON ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS IN NYAUNG U, MANDALAY DISTRICT**Ei Kay Zin**

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British rule in Myanmar lasted from 1886 to 1945. The British colonial administration left many historic buildings with beautiful architecture in Myanmar. British-built structures used native practice construction techniques with local rich natural materials, a combination that made buildings last long and now turn them into heritage buildings.

Bagan – Nyaung U township is famous for many historical religious buildings and pagodas. But the site is also the location of other historical buildings such as residential, commercial, institutional, educational and etc., which were built by the colonialists. Unfortunately, there are no records as to the original ownership of these buildings. Therefore, there is a need to preserve the architectural heritage of colonial buildings in Nyaung U. The main purpose of this research is to reveal the historic buildings (residential buildings) built in colonial times in Nyaung U and to promote the public awareness on the city's heritage.

Factors such as location, boundaries, administration, population, geographical condition, trade and production, culture and religions during colonial period did have an influence on the building design. In this paper, spatial utilization, form composition, lighting, ventilation, material usage and building elements of the buildings are all factors also included for analysis. As for building elements, stair, roof, window, door, floor and other decorative ornamentations are considered for analysis. This paper emphasizes the following issues: How to disseminate knowledge about the value of architecture and colonial architectural features to our generation? And how to protect these structures by using the most relevant construction techniques for the benefit of the present and future generations and making sure the historic beautiful architecture of the buildings is not lost?

STUDY ON ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERS OF VERNACULAR HOUSES IN SHANKALAY KYUN, MANDALAY**Ye Yint Aung**

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Shankalay Kyun Village, an area annually flooded in Amarapura Township, Mandalay, is a settlement that was established as an elephant shelter during the reign of King Bodawpaya and which has continuously developed since that time. In order to mitigate the risks of annual floods, a significant number of stilt wooden houses were built in this area. Nowadays, it has become a well-developed village which is alive with agriculture and some traditional home industries, like wood carving and bronze casting.

Since spatial patterns of dwellings can reveal and reflect the domestic lifestyle of local people, this purpose of the research will be focused on the spatial aspects of vernacular houses in Shankalay Kyun Village. This study is based on both a literature review and some empirical data including interviews, field survey, and observation of vernacular houses in the village surveyed. The paper seeks to investigate the function of spaces in the dwelling which ones are essential for the daily routine of local people and how they are used in the daily life. This paper aims to understand the lifestyle of local people, to promote public awareness on the need to maintain the character of vernacular houses, and, finally, to offer a reliable documentation for future studies.

35

ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE REVISITED THROUGH STATE/NON-STATE PERSPECTIVES

Ballroom 1 (3rd Floor)

LOOTABLE RESOURCES IN SHAN BORDERLANDS: THE POLITICS OF EXTRACTION IN 'NON-STATE' SPACES, C.1880-1900

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This paper explores how relationships forged between borderland populations and central states are shaped by the type of resource endowments in Burma's borderland localities. In Wa and Lahu areas of the Qing-Burmese borderland in the late nineteenth century, lowland states were mainly interested in minerals. Mines were more easily worked by indigenous people, which gave local leaders greater scope to broker with state actors, enabling them to retain greater autonomy. In contrast, further south, Lahu populations in southern Shan State were not able to negotiate state encroachment in the same way because the main resource sought by Siam and the British was teak. Teak extraction was more capital-intensive, so it was harder for the Lahu to extract value from it. These dynamics have had a lasting legacy on the varying degrees of agency and autonomy of borderland populations.

These dynamics provide an important critique to the 'anti-state' narrative of Scott's work on Zomia. Groups which were incorporated into the state (e.g. Lahu regions in southern Shan State) may have been anti-state but had little power to check processes of state consolidation, whereas the Wa communities further north – so often depicted as anti-state, highly autonomous zones – were actually empowered not through state evasion but through engagement with the state. This provides a way of challenging the problematic binaries constructed between state/non (or anti-) state spaces. This is a historical case study that speaks to the social science literature around 'institutions of extraction', offering an important bridge between political science and the humanities.

NORTHERN FOREST COMPLEX OR KACHIN LAND? CONSERVATION AND ETHNICITY AMID NORTHERN BURMA'S WAR

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How does Burma inspire encounters between disparate parts of humankind? When do these encounters result in conflict, cooperation, or awkward gap? Based on altogether twenty months of ethnographic fieldwork between 2010 and 2018 in the Kachin region, this paper explores the meeting between an ethnic national movement and global nature conservation. The Kachin borderland knows decades of military oppression, the massive grabbing of jade and other natural resources, and the current war that has displaced a hundred thousand people. This land also keeps vast ancient forests and diverse life-forms that have inspired major Western-based nature conservation organizations to commit to developing a national park, a biosphere reserve, "the world's largest tiger reserve," and other protected areas. This paper discusses transnational conservation's arrival to this land, specifically how the state-allied and landscape-oriented conservation actors – both expats and local-country citizens – encounter native ethnic patriots, for whom here is not a forest complex, but the cosmologically central, endangered homeland of a separate nation. This paper thus asks: What kinds of worlds are the Kachin nationalists and the transnational conservationists trying to create here, as they both target native people, landscapes, and wildlife with a sense of emergency and morality? Moreover, amid northern Burma's war, many more world-making projects meet – several native ethnic group's political rise, farming

people's life-projects, Myanmar Army's military-state-making, and animals', plants', and other nature's world-makings. What does northern Burma become when such disparate actors meet?

ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN MYANMAR AND TRANSITION PROCESS

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Since the beginning of the transition process in 2012, sustainable development and environmental governance have been a priority. Under President U Thein Sein new environmental laws were passed including the Environmental Conservation Law 2012 and the Environmental Conservation Rules 2014 and policies were developed on green economy, climate change and energy. Following the 2016 election and the election of the National League for Democracy government, these environmental governance reforms continued.

The paper will examine the development of environmental governance in Myanmar and how this intersects with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations in 2015. The author will provide an overview of the current environmental governance system in Myanmar, with a particular focus on the environmental impact assessment process of major projects. The paper will use short case studies on the development of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) in Dawei and Kyauk Phyu and hydropower development. The paper will identify key issues on environmental governance and how these have been dealt with during the transition process.

Finally, the paper will look at the relationship between the Union government and the States and Territories and how the competing interests are threatening environmental governance and harming the environment. At present, the Union level makes most planning and environmental decisions, any move to a more decentralised approach will have significant ramifications for good environmental governance.

36

PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL PRACTICES

Ballroom 2 (3rd Floor)

CHILDCARE ARRANGEMENT OF MIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS IN THE GARMENT INDUSTRY: A CASE FROM MAGWAY REGION

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Extreme weather, drought, water scarcity, and natural disasters have become major risks for the people living in dry zone (Magway Region) and their livelihood. Food insecurity and lack of job opportunities push women of the Magway Region to migrate to industrial zones in Yangon Region in order to survive, often leaving the weaker family members behind. As the number of garment industries increased in the Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zone and elsewhere in Myanmar, female labour force was much in demand. Even though most female workers coming from the countryside were considered as unskilled, the garment industries saw this labour force for their manual skills. This pull factor attracted women from the dry zone to work in the garment factories in Hlaing Thar Yar industrial zone and other zones.

Even though the migration examined here is a domestic migration occurring within the country, cultural and social practices in the dry zone and slum area in Hlaing Thar Yar are not the same. Migrant women workers have to adjust to a new working environment and a different culture. Living conditions are also very different especially for those who have to take care of their children. Migrant women workers in garment factories have often flexible working hours. In some case, they have to quit their job or get support from the family members for childcare because there are no childcare facilities available in garment factories. This paper attempts to analyze different childcare arrangements, how each of them affect migrant women workers, the relationships with family members, and the nature of distance mothering when children have to be left behind.

NEGOTIATING MEDICAL EFFICACY IN THE CONTEXT OF AN EMERGING PAN-NATIONAL MEDICINE

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In the post-independence context dominated on the one hand by a strong nationalistic spirit and, on the other hand, by the increasing worldwide hegemony of biomedicine, the Burmese central government decided to valorise and improve traditional medicine by integrating it within the national health system beside biomedicine. This activated a process of standardisation and regulation of the different aspects of this medicine including the production, the circulation and the distribution of medical products.

In this paper, I intend to discuss two points. First, the regulations established by the government are motivated by the intent to comply with the international standards established by the WHO aimed at guaranteeing safety and quality. I argue that they also emerge from the need to neutralize esoteric aspects of traditional medicine perceived as a potential threat for the state's authority and the wish to integrate the different minority regions into the nation through the creation of pan-national medicine presented as 'Myanmar'. Second, attesting that the degree of the regulations implementation is often low, I wish to show how taking advantage of the weaknesses of the controls, healers and manufacturers navigate the boundaries between licit and illicit to protect their formula and maintain the uniqueness, attractiveness and, in a way, the efficacy, of their products.

GENDER, MEDICINES AND CARE: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF ANTIMICROBIALS IN YANGON

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Antimicrobials are central to peoples' daily care seeking practices. Antimicrobial resistance (AMR) threatens these practices by undermining the effectiveness of medicines. Although several national governments and international organizations have declared antimicrobial resistance (AMR) as a global health emergency, as of today, little to no antimicrobial related activities are present in Myanmar's human health sector. Moreover, antimicrobials are easily accessible through the largely unregulated private sector which may function entirely separate from public health care. Care practices in Myanmar's informal and private sector are yet to be explored. Furthermore, care is gendered in Myanmar as women traditionally act as gate keepers for households' health. The Burmese word for women "a myo tha mee" translates to 'daughter of the race', signifying someone who protects the race through rearing her children within Burmese traditions. Hence, I am interested in exploring the role of women as mediators of tradition and care within the household. Through ethnographic inspired fieldwork, I aim to understand: how people engage with and understand antimicrobials by conducting a medicine survey and participant observation of care practices within households; how these medicines shape care practices elsewhere by following individuals to other care providers during illness episodes; and how gender shapes these practices by focusing on women's care practices in relation to their families. My research seeks not only to address the gap in healthcare research beyond biomedical and public health perspectives in Myanmar but also to provide in-depth insights into people's day-to-day lives, particularly while the country is undergoing rapid social, political, and economic changes.

37

MYANMAR/BURMA'S PEACE PROCESS AND CEASEFIRE

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd Floor)

CEASEFIRE EXTERNALITIES: A CASE STUDY OF ARMED CONFLICT IN MYANMAR

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As David Keen noted: "Part of the function of war may be that it offers a more promising environment for the pursuit of aims that are also prominent in peacetime". That means that theoretically for some armed groups keeping a war going and evading peace may be a higher priority than winning it.

In Myanmar, some armed groups consented to accept the Tatmadaw's proposal and became People Militia Forces (PMF) or later Border Guard Forces (BGF). These ceasefire agreements had literally no positive impact on the on-going armed conflict. Quite the contrary, PMF and BGF are nowadays notorious for taxing the local population in their controlled area, drug trafficking, and illegal gambling, logging and human rights abuses, which can also be described as a ceasefire externality.

For the analysis of this case study, a comparison of the ceasefire, respectively the transformation of armed groups, into the Border Guard Forces, and the People Militia Forces in the monitored region, will be used to demonstrate whether or not it had any influence on any of those ceasefire externalities. The comparison will relate to the period before and after the formation of these transformed groups. A short introduction into the history and development of the armed conflict in Myanmar will briefly outline this issue.

Resources for this contribution are the UNODC, ONCB Annual Reports, and interviews from the monitored region where fieldwork was conducted in 2016, 2017 and 2018. Respondents include ethnic armed groups, the Royal Thai Army and academics focusing on drug geopolitics within the Golden Triangle.

WHY IS PEACE ELUSIVE IN MYANMAR? AN ANSWER FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THAI PHILOSOPHER

PRAWASE WASI

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Unity issues bedevil Myanmar. Since before independence multiple "armed ethnic groups" have sought power and autonomy. Multiple attempts have been made to unify the country focused by efforts to provide economic development, and democratic "good governance". The reforms are derived from rational theories of democracy, socialism, federalism, and economics borrowed from the west and which are assumed to obey natural laws. These policies James Scott (1999:3) calls "high modernism" and assume scientific planning. But despite 200 years of efforts of the British colonialists, Burmese nationalists, Chinese military interests, United Nations agencies and others proffering high modernist savvy a peaceful and prosperous Myanmar is not yet created.

Thai philosopher Dr. Prawase Wasi's social theory does not have the technocratic formulas of high modernity at its center. Rather he focuses first on Southeast Asian notions of power and authority. Prawase describes "self-forming groups" at the base of society, which have an abstract "*Taam*" which floats above a "Base" composed of the "self-forming groups. Self-forming groups include villages, clans, ethnies, etc. which generate an abstract *Taam* of shared values, principles and morals. Connecting these *Taam* to the Base is a Stupa, which for Prawase is made up of five social institutions where governance resides: economy, marketplace, education, system, politics, administrative apparatus, and justice system. We apply the model to modern Myanmar and find that there is no single Base united by a shared *Taam*. Perhaps this is why peace is elusive in Myanmar.

EXPLORING INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS IN THE MYANMAR PEACE PROCESS

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The Myanmar Interim Arrangements Research Project (MIARP) is funded by the Joint Peace Fund. We are undertaking research on Interim Arrangements (IAs) in the peace process, and by the time of the conference will have produced a report and recommendations.

'Interim Arrangements' means different things to different stakeholders. MIARP has adopted the following working definition of Interim Arrangements: "Service delivery and governance in conflict-affected areas, including the relationship between EAOs and government systems, during the period of initial ceasefires and comprehensive political settlement." We aim to develop a better understanding of IAs, based on discussions with Ethnic Armed Organisations, Myanmar government and Tatmadaw, conflict-affected communities, civil society actors, political parties, and international agencies, including in-depth field research undertaken in late 2017 and early 2018 in southern Shan, Karen and Mon States, and Tanintharyi Region. We will relate different stakeholders' understandings of and actions in relation to Interim Arrangements to the developing academic and policy literatures on 'rebel rulers' and 'hybrid governance' and peace arrangements.

The paper will be based on our report, and will recommend how Ethnic Armed Organisations, the Myanmar government and international donors can support equitable and effective governance and services delivery in conflict-affected areas, particularly where authority is contested between government and non-state armed groups (areas of

‘mixed administration’). Interim Arrangements are partly defined by the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA). However, IAs also covers many issues not included in the NCA. Furthermore, IAs are also relevant in areas where EAOs have not signed the NCA.

38

MYANMAR'S SHIFTING MEDIA LANDSCAPE: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES (Roundtable Discussion)

Lisa Brooten (Organizer)

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd Floor)

Lisa Brooten
G. Venkiteswaran
Yan Naung Oak
Mon Mon Myat
Sarah Oh
Jennifer Leehey
Carine Jacquet

This roundtable will begin with key observations from a select group of Myanmar media scholars, journalists, and reform advocates, all contributors to the forthcoming edited collection Myanmar Media in Transition. Panelists will provide an update on media’s role in the current transition period, the situation media and media practitioners themselves face, and brief key points in their area of expertise regarding the role of media during this current period of change. We define “media” beyond “journalism,” and will overview the performing and creative media arts as well as news media.

After a brief run-down of key points from roundtable participants, the remainder of the panel time will be devoted to follow-up questions and discussion between panelists and the audience.

39

MYANMAR'S PILLARS RE-FRAMED

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd Floor)

BUDDHIST NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AND THEIR USES AND ABUSES OF HISTORY

Htet Min Lwin

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In a sermon delivered at the military training school, the former vice-chair of the now-renamed MaBaTha movement, Sitagu Sayadaw, preached it was rather a negligible sin if soldiers killed or had to kill people of non-Buddhist faith, recounting the story of Sinhalese King Dutthagamani. This links the military to the larger idea of protecting race and religion. In doing so, he justifies his claims by referring to writings and sermons of the famous Ashin Janakābhivamsa of Amarapura and pushes therefore the narrative back into history through the association with a ‘proto’ MaBaTha movement from the 1950s. The master narrative underpinned by the saying that “to protect race and religion is in accord with the Buddha’s teachings” has reached a new level at which “to protect race and religion is in accord with the Theravada tradition and respected senior monks within the Burmese order”. Based on a discourse analysis of the two sermons of Sitagu and Ashin Janakābhivamsa, this paper will show that this justification is an utter abuse of history. The paper will also explain that the discourse of Janakābhivamsa promoted Buddhism within the Buddhist community while teaching the followers of the Buddhist faith to respect other faith groups and acceptance of diversity. I argue that today’s Buddhist extremists that are spreading hate messages are different from the Buddhist nationalists that were actively involved in promoting Buddhism in the 1940s and 1950s. While the latter groups should be viewed as Buddhist

nationalists with multicultural mindset, the former group is merely a group of Buddhist extremists with mono-cultural mindset.

BUDDHIST METAMORPHOSES OF MARXISM IN BURMA

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The year 2018 marks the 200th anniversary of Karl Marx' birth. The ideas of the philosopher cum revolutionary did not just influence the course of European history but influenced the anti-colonial movements in many countries as well. The paper will provide an overview on the Marx reception in Burma from the 1930s onwards and its modifications after independence by the governments until 1988.

MYTHS AND FRAMING – RECONSTRUCTING THE TATMADAW

Amara Thiha

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For the past 30 years, Myanmar Armed Forces - "Tatmadaw" - has been ideologically reconstructed for the nation-building project of the regime. Using myths and historical framings, this reconstruction has transformed both the institutional values of Tatmadaw and its role within the public sphere. The idea of "Tatmadaw" has been framed beyond the notion of Armed Forces "Sit Tat" to become the ideology itself. Understanding on how knowledge and ideas of/about "Tatmadaw" have been constructed within Tatmadaw during the past decades is the missing puzzle when it comes to address contemporary nationalism. This study attempts to examine the question of how knowledge of today's Tatmadaw has been constructed and framed with myths, ideology, institutional and organizational reforms in order to shape national identities. Official documents of the Tatmadaw, speeches, articles and web content generated from the Tatmadaw were studied to address this epistemological enquiry.

Using the myths and reinterpreting the Burman-centric historical texts, the Tatmadaw draws its bloodline back to the 11th Century and used warrior kings as symbols of the Tatmadaw. The "Tatmadaw" is framed so as to represent the longest established institution in Myanmar and overcome the ideological and institutional constraints laid down by the BIA/BDA. Taking a bold step, The Tatmadaw has transformed itself into the centre of gravity of the contemporary Myanmar nationalism and nation building process.

40

PRESERVING BUILT HERITAGE ACROSS MYANMAR'S CULTURAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY: CASE STUDIES

Room 5 (4th floor)

ANCIENT FLOATING PAGODAS IN SAMKA AREA, SOUTHERN SHAN STATE

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In Myanmar, there are many religious monuments, secular buildings imbued with cultural history, and historic and natural sites. Architectural heritage is the mirror of specific eras and it plays an important role in the history of every nation. Religious monuments are important for every nation and should be conserved as significant features of the built environment in every country. In this paper, I examine ancient floating religious structures in Samka Village, Southern Shan State, Myanmar, from an architectural point of view.

Tai-Yunn people are one group among many Shan communities. They are believed to have come from Thailand. Their culture, art, and architecture have received due attention. Among the many sites of significance, one is the focus of this presentation. Although Samka MyoMa village was flooded of Lake Inle in 1973, it had been known as an ancient town (believed to date back to 1479) which became the trade center for the area. The built remains of the village are therefore proof of the former glory of Tai-Yunn communities.

While most of the site is now destroyed and has lost many of its historic and cultural values, conservation should nevertheless be conducted and facilities provided for visitors without losing the character of cultural heritage.

In the final part of this paper, suggestions and recommendations are presented for heritage conservation of these ancient historical structures.

ARCHITECTURAL STUDY ON KAYAN TRADITIONAL HOUSES AND ITS COMPOUNDS IN LOIKAW, KAYAH STATE

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The Kayan, better known as the group in which women wear the brass neck coils, are a sub-group of Red Karen (Karen people), a Tibeto-Burman ethnic minority of Myanmar. According to Kayan traditions, the Kayan settled in the Demawso area of Karenni State (Kayah State) in 739AD. Today, they are to be found in Karenni (Kayah) State around Demawso and Loikaw, in the southern region of Shan State and Pyinmana and Karen's Than Daung Township.

Besides this historical and geographical background, one of the defining features of the group is its traditional architecture, which play here like everywhere else an important role. Nowadays, there is a growing concern that Kayan traditional houses will disappear. Therefore, the need to preserve the cultural heritage of Kayan Ethnic is high. There is also a need to conserve and maintain Kayan traditional houses and give greater exposure about Kayan cultural heritage. The main purpose of this research is to examine the traditions of Kayan groups and their houses from an architectural point of view and also to find the relationship between tangible and intangible values of cultural heritage.

Kayan traditional houses in Loikaw Township are built with local materials such as pine, timber, bamboo, palm and thatch. In this paper, factors such as space utilization, building form, lighting and ventilation, orientation, construction materials and construction techniques of Kayan houses are analyzed. More traditional factors influencing the building of these houses are also examined. Lastly, this paper attempts to address the following issues: How to conserve the original culture of these houses although the surrounding environment develops? How to encourage conservation practices for these houses? And how to preserve cultural characteristics of Kayan ethnic groups?

CONSERVATION OF DECORATIVE WOODWORK AT 19TH CENTURY SHWE-NANDAW MONASTERY IN MANDALAY

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The decorative scheme of the Shwe-nandaw Monastery reflects the uniqueness of the monastery as the only surviving teak building of Mandalay's former royal palace: such complexity and richness was indeed reserved to high ranking status. The iconographic scheme is based on deep symbolism with devotional, ceremonial and protective features of Myanmar/Burmese folklore rendered through an outstanding level of craftsmanship. Carving decorations, many originally lacquered and gilded, display intricate figurative and vegetal designs and are the subject of our conservation program. This is mainly focused on monastery's veranda, the most deteriorated part due to weathering exposure and anthropic damaging. The conservation process aims to bring back to its former status the original carved surfaces dramatically obscured by thick crusty coats of crude oil applied as preserving treatments for decades; to stop and prevent termite infestation; and to restore physical stability of the wood and traces of lacquer. World Monuments Fund's Shwe-nandaw Kyaung project is developed with the permission of the Mandalay Regional Government and in conjunction with the Department of Archaeology and National Museum. The conservation of decorative woodwork is in collaboration with students from Mandalay universities with an aim to build local capacity and sustainability in future conservation projects.

FROM STATE BUILDING TO REFORM PROCESS: PERSPECTIVES ON THE *LONGUE DURÉE*

Ballroom 1 (4th Floor)

THE KONBAUNG STATE AND ITS BORDERLANDS

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Recent debates on the understanding of space, state, and society, particularly in the mountainous areas of Asia, have emphasized the fractiousness and fluidity of social and geographic structures. Such approaches seek to distance themselves from the rigidities of state frameworks, be they colonial or national, and of academic “area studies” as well. One important plank of this new wave separates non-state hill populations from the (valley) states and statelets on the lower slopes.

This paper will attempt a degree of cross-fertilization between such recent broad approaches on the one hand and material on Burmese and Southeast Asian state formation on the other. I will seek to tease out how precolonial political and administrative structures have been conceptualized, both historically and academically, and relate them to the claim of widespread statelessness. I will further attempt to analyze how the control of critical resources and the conduct of trade with and through the borderlands—particularly the Kachin area in the north of Burma—reflects on and influences the role and limitations of the Burmese state. This, I shall argue, foreshadowed the structure of colonial and postcolonial “borderlands” and helped conceptualize the Southeast Asian state beyond the mountains.

HOW STATE CAPACITY MATTERS: A STUDY OF THE COOPTATION AND COERCION OF ORGANIZED RELIGION IN BURMA/MYANMAR (1948-)

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The following paper analyzes the contentious relationship between post-independence authoritarian regimes in Burma/Myanmar and organized Buddhism since 1948. Specifically, it examines long-term patterns of regime cooptation and coercion, arguing that a legacy of low state capacity explains why successive Burmese regimes have sought to repeatedly apply coercive force against religious organizations, despite the negative domestic and international consequences of pursuing these policies. Lacking the capacity to bring organized religion under their thumb through policies of cooptation (Sangha councils, patronage), successive Burmese military regimes have repeatedly resorted to violent crackdowns against Buddhist monks, a pattern culminating in the country’s transformational Saffron Revolution. Over the *longue durée*, regime-led violence against monks has undermined the former’s domestic and international legitimacy, making authoritarian governance in Burma an increasingly tenuous proposition. In an era of authoritarian entrenchment in both Southeast Asia and other parts of the Global South, a thorough historical exploration of the complex relationship between authoritarian regimes and organized Buddhism in Burma/Myanmar enhances our understanding of the various tools regime elites have employed to manage threats to their rule emanating from domestic religious organizations.

POSSESSION AND PERSUASION: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POWER TRANSITION

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In the process of authoritarian regime transitions, how authoritarians deal with the balance between the fixation on power and the relaxation over control for their favourable conditions of power transfer? The paper explores how broader shifts in the underlying political-economic structure in Myanmar has been able to facilitate the process of political transition. Although the country has started a process of political transition by exercising some democratic institutional tools such as elections, it is often argued that the transition has proceeded without a substantial reshuffling

of political orders. In this regard, the paper would argue that the perspective from political-economy could provide more historically rooted explanations on the authoritarian strength by dominating the country's economic power. Since the military government failed their socialist economic policies in the 1980s, the new military power has initiated partial economic liberalisation which gave birth to the military-mediated capitalism. The research considers the domination over the economic power has been able to provide the military significant strength allowing them to lead an overall political power transformation process by forging favorable environment for power transition. In doing so, I would see that this view could provide plausible explanations on a case of non-crisis regime transition.

42

STATE AUTHORITY, INSURGENCIES, AND DEVELOPMENT OF BORDERLANDS

Ballroom 2 (4th Floor)

THE MILITIA FIX: ORDERING SPACE AT THE MARGINS OF THE MYANMAR STATE

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Drawing upon extensive fieldwork, this paper analyses the role that state-sanctioned militias have played in embedding state authority and capitalist social relations in Myanmar's conflict-affected borderlands since the late 1980s, focusing specifically on Shan State. The paper develops the concept of the 'militia fix' to analyse the ambiguous and often contradictory roles that militias have played in shaping borderland governance structures and patterns of violence and accumulation. I argue that the deployment of militias has provided the state with a 'spatial fix' by providing an expedient mechanism through which the Myanmar army has sought to extend an apparatus of surveillance and control into areas where state authority has historically been weak. However, the paper also reveals how purposeful attempts by the army to extend state authority by governing through militias have been 'bent' by the multiple interests and forms of agency that have coalesced around this strategy, fixing in place diverse and enduring informal brokerage arrangements that have reinvigorated, rather than overcome, the centrifugal forces that have defined Myanmar's borderlands for so long. Exploring these tensions offers important insights into the enduring violence, instability and fragmented power structures in Myanmar's borderlands and their impact on the country's fragile peace process.

AT THE MARGINS OF A "DEVELOPMENT DARLING:" SOVEREIGNTY, STATE-MAKING, AND DEVELOPMENT IN KAREN STATE

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In recent years, Myanmar has received substantial amounts of development aid from states keen to support its "political transition." Yet even as the central government announces grand plans for the country hinging on the legitimacy and resources they have received from foreign donors, anxieties remain in Myanmar's ethnic minority-dominated borderlands, where a simmering mistrust of the central government persists. Development in Myanmar's borderlands can therefore be read as a state-led attempt to consolidate its authority over marginal spaces.

This paper is based on preliminary doctoral research that proposes an ethnographic approach to the intersections between development and state-making in Karen State. Karen State emerged from six decades of civil war in 2012, during which local populations could access state functions, such as health and education, through opposition groups and organisations that operated from across the Thai border. In this context, I aim to understand how the international development regime intersects with these already-existing and highly politicised forms of assistance in relation to the area's history as a space that has only recently been fully incorporated into state structures. I hope to account for the effects of development projects in Karen State on local people and forms of socio-political life, and the way in which civil society organisations have negotiated these dynamics. Theoretically speaking, by foregrounding local organisations that insist on pursuing development on their own terms, this research offers an alternative perspective on literature in political geography and critical development studies that has presumed a congruence between development and state-making.

WHO WILL SECURE OUR LAND? NAVIGATING LAND ACCESS IN THE CEASEFIRE MIXED-CONTROL KAREN AREAS OF MYANMAR

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After over six-decades of civil war, the Government of Myanmar (GOM) and eight ethnic armed organizations (EAOs), out of over twenty major ones, signed a partial national ceasefire agreement (NCA) in October 2015. This marked a new phase of heightened state-building, as the government further extended its administration into areas formerly controlled by EAOs, many of which had longer and more accepted presences in local communities. This followed earlier patterns seen by the government after successive military wins and bi-lateral ceasefires signed from 1989 to 1995, and especially since those signed from 2011 to 2012. The merging of government and EAO administration created mixed-control areas that present new difficulties for local communities as they strive to secure their lives and livelihoods. These new realities are not only acting on local communities, they are also challenged by peoples' agency. This results in a range of responses: compliance with state law, rejection of it or appeals to both as part of a risk diversification strategy. Focusing on the ceasefire mixed-control Karen areas of Myanmar, this paper unpacks the factors that shape community responses with respect to securing land tenure, the most important asset to their livelihoods. Its findings call for a more locally-embedded approach to rebuilding political

THE RECENT (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF SHANNI ETHNICITY

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Ethnicity is a dynamic, constantly evolving property with identity and culture as its building blocks. According to Professor Nagel, it is through the construction of these two components that a group addresses the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning. Shanni (aka "Red Shans") ethnicity is an outcome of action as people (re)shape their culture and self-definition.

It is being made increasingly clear that Red Shans are one of the 135 officially recognised ethnic groups of Burma, they have a common history and origin myth, shared language, literature, culture and homeland. Shanni leaders are looking back into group's ethno-genesis and negotiating indigeneity in Kachin state. Since 2012, noticeable political and military actors have emerged claiming to represent Shannis and calling for their own state within northern Burma. Besides the acts of agency and facts of history, ethnicity is also influenced by external political and social processes, such as intensified hostilities between the Tatmadaw and Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO). As learnt during a fieldwork in 2018, a handful of Red Shan intellectuals see a window of opportunity, apparently opened by the state authorities, and waste no time in seizing it.

In my presentation I will review the current process of (re)construction of Shanni ethnicity and make special notice of individual contributions by Shanni anthropologist Dr. Hla Maw Maw and esteemed artist U Say Wam Fah.

43

AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND RESILIENCE OF COMMUNITIES ACROSS TIME

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd Floor)

REORGANIZATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATE AND RURAL AREAS DURING AND POST-WORLD WAR II: THROUGH THE ANALYSIS OF TWO PADDY CULTIVATION SCHEMES

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Although it is not very well known, two paddy cultivation schemes were enforced during and post-World War II. The first scheme was announced in 1944 by the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture with Minister Thakin Tan Tun under the Ba Maw government. The second scheme was implemented by the AFPFL government immediately after independence in January 1948. These schemes were intended to cover the whole of Burma proper, though it might have been impossible to implement them consistently. Both schemes intended to compel people in rural areas to organise themselves into village agricultural committees, to allot centrally-planned quotas of paddy acreage to each

village agricultural committee, and to offer agricultural loans to cultivators. Every landlord was obliged to rent his or her land to tenants, and village agricultural committees were expected to assist in the execution of the schemes, including helping with finding tenants for land when landlords could not find tenants by themselves, preparing lists of such lands or available workers, collecting rent and revenue, etc.

These schemes had two aspects: the first was organising and mobilising people in rural areas and the second was partial land reform. This presentation analyses these schemes with unused materials kept in the National Archive Department in Myanmar. By doing this, I intend to locate the meaning of these schemes in the historical context and to shed light on how groups, through these schemes, used their positions of power to try to incorporate the mass population and build on their power within the power vacuum era.

PROMOTING DISASTER RESILIENCE IN RURAL SETTLEMENTS: CASE STUDY FROM THE AYEYARWADY DELTA

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With little awareness on disaster preparedness, disaster management, and limited investment in disaster risk reduction, rural communities usually suffer the most from disasters and their aftermath: loss of lives and properties and destruction of the environment are the most visible of these consequences. Myanmar is one of Southeast Asia's countries most prone to disaster risks which explain why casualties occur every year because of lack of proper management. For instance, 121 people died and 1,624,389 people were displaced in the 2015 floods, whilst 8 people died and 234,000 were displaced during those of 2016. Rural communities living in poverty who recover from social conflicts face a double catastrophe and are therefore the most vulnerable. Despite their tragic dimension the disasters above mentioned also offer indication that resilience in response to external stress plays a significant role in minimizing disaster impact.

This paper aims to examine disaster resilience among rural communities in the Ayeyarwady Delta region in Lower Myanmar. It discusses disaster risks in rural villages and their causes ranging from pre-existing vulnerability and hazard. Disaster management, disaster governance and local response are responses to risk and disaster that lead to adaptive capacity for building resilience. A disaster resilience framework is developed based on the strengths and weaknesses of disaster resilient communities in the different countries and applied to the Zalun Township, Ayeyarwady Delta. The framework clearly shows the requirements of resilience in Ayeyarwady region. Moreover, the findings confirm that local knowledge, local institutions and infrastructures are important factors for improving the resilience system. Therefore, this study is an attempt to facilitate decision-making for policy makers when appropriate intervention is to be implemented for promoting resilience in disaster prone regions.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAITHEL VILLAGES IN THE CHIN HILLS OF CHIN STATE IN MYANMAR

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The Chin State is situated in Chin Hills. In Myanmar, Chin people predominantly inhabit Chin State, which is located in the north-west part of the country, bordering Bangladesh to the west and India to the north. The Chin State is divided into two divisions: the Northern and Southern division. A Socio-economic study of Falam Township was carried out in 2014. A structured questionnaire was used to collect information. A sample of 30 households in 6 villages was selected. A house-to-house visit was made by 2 interviewers in order to document the historical, social, and cultural aspects of these villages. Among all these villages, the name of the village, Paithel, is explained briefly in this paper.

SOCIAL MARKETING STRATEGIES FOR BEHAVIOUR CHANGE OF DIABETIC PATIENTS IN YANGON REGION IN MYANMAR**Hein Latt**

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In Myanmar, diabetes, heart diseases cancer and chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases have become a significant burden for the health system, just like in developed and other developing countries. As statement of the problem, the present paper seeks to analyze Myanmar's culture and situation in relation to behavior change of diabetic patients. This was done by conducting a survey. The papers also addresses the scope and limitations of the study by focusing on social marketing strategies for behavior change of diabetic patients in Yangon Region and analyzes the influencing factors.

SERVICE QUALITY OF THE PRIVATE HOSPITAL SECTOR IN MANDALAY**Aye Thu Htun**

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This study attempts to gauge the level of service quality of private hospital sector in Mandalay, Myanmar. Descriptive method and analytical method are used in this study. A two-stage random sampling method is also employed. A total of 210 in-patients aged above 18 from selected hospitals responded to the survey for collection of primary data. Secondary data are obtained from relevant text books, articles, journals, and internet websites. SURVQUAL model that includes reliability, empathy, assurance, responsiveness and tangibility dimensions is used to assess the patients' perception and their expectation of service quality provided by selected private hospitals. The study shows that the average ratings for positive perception were higher than the average expectation ratings in all five dimensions of service quality except tangible dimension. Overall, patients' satisfaction level with all services provided by private hospitals in Mandalay is high, except for tangibles.

THE PRACTISE OF MAKING MERITS IN MYANMAR – IS THERE A GENERATION GAP? A CASE STUDY**Thomas Bruhn**

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The objective of this case study is to explore the practical application of "earning merits" in modern Myanmar through the evaluation of answers given in a questionnaire and by participant observation in Yangon and around.

My paper, presented on 17th February this year at the "International Conference on Burma/Myanmar Studies" at the University of Mandalay, "Making Merits (Puñña) in Modern Myanmar Society - Will It Stand the Test of Time?" in the session "Buddhism in Transitional Myanmar" has given the theoretical background.

This case study now is a qualitative research follow-up and will be conducted during April 2018. It is estimated that 40 randomly selected persons of different age and different education - residing in Yangon as well as in the countryside - will answer the questionnaire. After that, the author - as (moderate) participant observer - will join events, where "earning merits" is practiced. The outcome will show if a generation gap can be suspected or not, and how it seems to manifest. This may finally show whether traditional values or foreign and modern influences are stronger in the respective generations.

A LINGUISTICS STUDY OF MYANMAR RHYMES IN THE NEW SYLLABUS FOR PRIMARY LEVEL STUDENTS IN MYANMAR**Soe Soe Myint & Sandar Htay**

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Teaching children to sing songs and recite the rhymes is a joyful exercise for the school children. Teaching rhymes is to develop not only their oral fluency but also their language acquisition skills. This descriptive-quantitative study aims to illustrate to what extent Myanmar rhymes in the primary level are effective on learning Myanmar as a first language. The data was collected from the primary level (Grade – 1) Myanmar prescribed text-book which has been newly designed during the recent transition period. The rhymes were analyzed by focusing on the teaching objectives from the linguistic point of view: phonological, morphological, lexical, and semantic analysis. The findings are then discussed with a particular focus on how the choice of word and structure of the rhymes affect the way of learning Myanmar language. It was found that the rhymes aim not only at teaching the pronunciation, spelling and vocabulary but also teaching morals and manners. It is hoped that the study will be useful for those who are studying in general linguistic analysis and those who are in the field of teaching and learning Myanmar as a first language as well as a foreign language.

POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR MOTHER-TONGUE BASED EDUCATION IN MYANMAR: LESSONS FROM OTHER MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES**Rosalie Metro**

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In the post-2010 wave of educational reforms, Mother Tongue-Based Education (MTBE) has emerged as one possibility (South & Lall, 2016). In this model, children begin their education with their mother tongue as the language of instruction, and gradually learn a second language common in their country (for ethnic minority children, Burmese), which eventually becomes the medium of instruction.

MTBE promises both political and educational benefits. Scholars agree that second language acquisition is more successful when students are literate in their first language (Benson, 2004; Cummins, 2000). Politically, MTBE represents a step away from the mono-culturalism that characterized education under military rule.

Myanmar's government recently affirmed the right to study one's mother tongue and promised to devote resources to the teaching of ethnic languages (Ministry of Education, 2016). However, opposition activists such as the National Network for Education Reform have countered that the

In this debate over language policy, one missing piece has been lessons from the implementation of MTBE in other multilingual societies. I will present a literature review highlighting the complexities that have emerged around identity, pedagogy, logistics, and resources in places such as Nigeria, Kenya, and Papua New Guinea. (Igboanusi & Peter, 2016; Malone & Paraide, 2011; Nyaga & Anthonissen, 2007). Thus I hope to clarify potential obstacles relevant in the Myanmar case.

A BRIEF STUDY OF CURRENT LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC STATUS OF THE MON LANGUAGE**Khin Khin Myint & Than Than Htay**

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The Mon language is spoken by Mon people, one of the major ethnic groups in Myanmar. This paper is an attempt to investigate the current linguistic and sociolinguistic status of the Mon language. This research paper aims to find out the extent to which the language is used, who the speakers are, and whether it is an endangered language or not. This research paper applies the theories of Robert D. Putnam and Michael E. Krauss. Data were collected in three cities: Yangon (Myanmar's commercial capital), Mawlamyaing (Mon State's capital) and Mudon (a city of the Mon State), by means of conversational interviews and survey questionnaire. The subjects are the age group of 25-35. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to a better knowledge of the Mon language and linguistic studies.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE BELIEFS IN PLANTS AMONG MYANMAR AND THAI PEOPLE**Su Su Khin**

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Nowadays, technologies are well advanced and people prefer scientific approach to tradition. However, most Myanmar and Thai people are still keen on following traditions and beliefs. This study aims to investigate the similarities and differences between the Myanmar and Thai people when it comes to beliefs in plants. This study deals with auspicious and inauspicious plants based on the beliefs of Myanmar people. Auspicious and inauspicious plants are categorized according to three aspects: religious belief, pronunciation, and meaning. Beliefs among Myanmar and Thai people seem to be different as they belong to different language communities. It is hoped that the present study will be useful for language learners and those who are trying to widen their knowledge on culture and traditions of Myanmar as well as Thai.

BEYOND BUDDHISM AND ANIMISM: TWO NEW DIMENSIONS OF BURMESE RELIGIOSITY**Mark Stanford**

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Anthropologists have long debated how best to characterise religious systems present in Buddhist societies: Do Buddhism and animism constitute two distinct religions, two aspects of the same religion, or should the distinction itself be jettisoned? Based on a large-scale psychometric survey conducted online in Myanmar in 2017, this paper presents evidence for a new way of characterising Burmese religiosity. The results suggest that there may be two nearly orthogonal dimensions of religiosity in Myanmar, but that they are not Buddhism and animism. Instead, they seem to represent functionally distinct forms of both, loosely corresponding to a 'transactional' and an 'authority-based' mode. Putting these in the context of recent developments in moral psychology and the cognitive science of religion, the paper argues that this distinction may shed light not only on religion in Myanmar, but on similar patterns across the Buddhist world and beyond.

MYANMAR CULTURAL VALUES AND ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIORS**Nyein Ma Ma**

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This paper presents Myanmar cultural values based on Hofstede's framework of six dimensions: Power Distance Acceptance, Individualism and Collectivism, Masculinity and Femininity, Risk Avoidance, Long-term or short-term orientation, Indulgence and Restraint. The research was conducted in 2011 on the organizational behavior of Myanmar individuals. The original research focuses more heavily on the personal level by measuring levels of mindfulness and self-awareness among the Myanmar workforce in and out of Myanmar in order to understand how these variables impact the flexibility of Myanmar employees in developing favorable organizational behavior. The findings are based on structured questionnaires developed around the six collective cultural values of Myanmar workforce rather than the original VSM. There is limited number of research made on Myanmar cultural values; hence, this research was mainly done by collecting data from the field (primary research) supported by only a few secondary sources. Respondents to the survey were educated Myanmar working in different parts of the world, ranging from interns to experienced professionals. Comparisons on the likely differences of cultural values held by Myanmar nationals residing in the country and in other countries are not taken into consideration in this research. The purpose of the research is not simply to highlight the need to understand Myanmar cultural values but also to emphasize how personalities and cultural values differ and how these criteria have an impact on the behavior of diverse workforce in multi-national organizations.

47

BOOK PRESENTATION

Junior Ballroom 1 (3rd Floor)

CITIZENSHIP IN MYANMAR: WAYS OF BEING IN AND FROM BURMA

Ashley South

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Myanmar is going through a period of profound and contested transition. The country has experienced widespread if sometimes uneven reforms, including the start of a peace process between the government and Myanmar Army, and some two dozen ethnic armed organizations, which had long been fighting for greater autonomy from the militarized and Burman-dominated state.

This book brings together chapters by Burmese and foreign experts, and contributions from community and political leaders, who discuss the meaning of citizenship in Myanmar/Burma. The book explores citizenship in relation to three broad categories: issues of identity and conflict; debates around concepts and practices of citizenship; and inter- and intra-community issues, including Buddhist-Muslim relations. This is the first volume to address these issues, understanding and resolving which will be central to Myanmar's continued transition away from violence and authoritarianism.

48

BOOK PRESENTATION

Junior Ballroom 2 (3rd Floor)

HAVE FUN IN BURMA

Rosalie Metro

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Adela Frost wants to do something with her life. When a chance encounter and a haunting dream steer her toward distant Burma, she decides to spend the summer after high school volunteering in a Buddhist monastery. Adela finds fresh confidence as she immerses herself in her new environment, teaching English to the monks and studying meditation with the wise abbot. Then there's her secret romance with Thiha, an ex-political prisoner with a shadowy past.

But when some of the monks express support for the persecution of the country's Rohingya Muslim minority, Adela glimpses the turmoil that lies beneath Burma's tranquil surface. While investigating the country's complex history, she becomes determined to help stop communal violence. With Thiha's assistance, she concocts a scheme that quickly spirals out of control. Adela must decide whether to back down or double down, while protecting those she cares about from the backlash of Buddhist and Muslim extremists. Set against the backdrop of Burma's fractured transition to democracy, this coming-of-age story weaves critiques of "voluntourism" and humanitarian intervention into a young woman's quest for connection across cultural boundaries. This work of literary fiction will fascinate Southeast Asia buffs and anyone interested in places where the truth is bitterly contested territory.

BOOK PRESENTATION

Junior Ballroom 3 (3rd Floor)

THE DAUGHTER: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF AUNG SAN SUU KYI**Hans-Bernd Zöllner**

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(A translated and updated version of Die Tochter, by Zöllner and Ebbighausen)

As the Rohingya crisis exploded, longtime observers of Myanmar were shocked to see Aung San Suu Kyi, champion for the causes of liberal democracy and human rights, stand by as atrocities tore through the western reaches of her country. *The Daughter* is a timely in-depth exploration of this icon-turned-leader and of the people, ideas, and experiences that have shaped her political identity. What emerges is not a shift in ideology but a consistent picture of the contrasts and multidimensionality that have defined her—prisoner and leader, principled resistor and pragmatic politician, the Lady and Mother Suu.

Newly translated and updated from the original German, *The Daughter* is essential reading for the professionals, journalists, and other observers seeking to understand Aung San Suu Kyi's role in Myanmar. Dozens of photos complement the nuanced analysis and further illustrate the lifelong political journey of Aung San Suu Kyi.

ROUNDTABLE ON CURRENT AFFAIRS

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