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The Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre

The Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre (SEAC) at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) is an interdisciplinary research centre whose special contribution to Southeast Asian Studies stems from the signature strengths of the LSE in the social sciences. Academic staff affiliated with the Centre have diverse research interests across the region and are drawn from such disciplines and departments as Anthropology, Economic History, Gender Studies, Geography, Government, International Development, International History, International Relations, and Religion and Global Society. Key research areas of special interest for the Centre include:

- The social, political, and policy challenges generated by rapid economic, environmental, demographic, and technological change in Southeast Asia;
- The impact of geopolitical tensions and geoeconomic competition on Southeast Asia;
- Democracy, dictatorship, political change, and conflict in Southeast Asia;

- The dynamics of urbanization in Southeast Asia:
- The mosaic of gender, ethnic, and religious identities in Southeast Asia.

Pushing the Boundaries of Research on Southeast Asia

Academic staff affiliated with the Centre are prolific and prominent scholars in their respective fields of study, and they and their work have been consulted by institutions as varied as the Asian Development Bank, the Asia Foundation, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the Ford Foundation, Oxfam, the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, the UNHCR, the US State Department, and the World Bank. The Centre has four core aims:

- To serve as a gateway and hub for Southeast Asian Studies in the UK and Europe
- To promote research on Southeast Asia by LSE staff and students
- To facilitate learning about Southeast Asia at the LSE
- To share knowledge and understanding of Southeast Asia beyond the LSE

Notes from the Director's Chair

John T. Sidel

A full year has elapsed since I assumed the directorship of the LSE's Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre, and much has happened over the intervening twelve months, across Southeast Asia, in the field of Southeast Asian Studies, and at the Centre itself. Across the region, Southeast Asian economies have maintained an average of more than 4% GDP growth per annum over 2023-2024 in the face of the economic slowdown in China and continuing problems with inflation and instability in world markets. As in the pre-pandemic years of somewhat greater economic dynamism, this growth has been very uneven in terms of individual country performance, intra-regional disparities within countries, and socioeconomic inequalities within the societies of the region. Across Southeast Asia, moreover, continuing economic growth has been accompanied by persistent problems of labour exploitation, pollution, and environmental degradation, and by enduring pockets of poverty amidst increasing prosperity for the region's expanding middle classes.

Over the past year, the region's continuing economic dynamism in the face of global challenges and constraints has not been matched or mirrored in the political realm. Instead, the past twelve months have seen the success of entrenched political rule in the face of ongoing demographic, economic, social, and technological change. In Cambodia, long-time strongman Hun Sen passed on the premiership to his son Hun Manet in August 2023, enabling a smooth dynastic transition under continuing CPP rule. In Vietnam, the death of long-time Communist Party General Secretary Nguyễn Phú Trọng in July 2024 paved the way for former security czar – and, since May 2024, President – Tô Lâm to ascend to the Party leadership and begin to consolidate power. In Singapore, long-time PAP leader and Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong passed the baton to his protégé Lawrence Wong, a former under the leadership of General Min Aung Hlaing has persisted in the face of impressive gains by armed insurgent forces and amidst rumours of internal dissatisfaction within the Army itself.

The engineering of continuity from above rather than change from below has likewise been the rule in the oligarchical democracies of the region. Two-term Indonesian president Joko Widodo ('Jokowi') helped to secure the victory of Defence Minister Prabowo Subianto in the February 2024 presidential elections, with his own son Gibran Rakabuming Raka elected as vice-president as part of the bargain between the former rivals. In the Philippines, 2023-2024 saw the continuing consolidation of power by recently elected President Ferdinand 'Bongbong' Marcos, Jr., whose father served as president from 1966 through early 1986, including nearly fourteen years of martial law rule.

In Thailand, interference by the military, the monarchy, and the courts prevented the reformist Move Forward Party from forming a government after its first-place showing in the May 2023 elections and eventually forced the dissolution of the party in August 2024. The Pheu Thai Party of controversial former prime minister Thaksin Shinawatra has been allowed to form a government, but only in condominium with parties closely intertwined with the establishment and under terms dictated by the military and the monarchy. In Malaysia, constraints on political change are likewise in evidence, with long-time oppositionist Anwar Ibrahim only retaining the premiership since 2022 through an opportunistic coalition with UMNO, the party machine entrenched in power from 1959 through 2018. All in all, the past year has not seen much positive movement towards greater pluralism, competition, participation, transparency, or accountability in political and public life across Southeast Asia.

Against this backdrop, scholars and other interested observers of Southeast Asia may take some comfort in the continuing vitality and vibrancy of Southeast Asian Studies as a field of serious research and analysis, as evidenced in the publication of a diverse range of articles, books, and reports across a broad set of academic disciplines and beyond. The years 2023 and 2024, for example, have seen the publication of no less than five impressive and important new books – by Mark Dizon, Kristie Patricia Flannery, Adrian De Leon, Diego Javier Luis, and Stephanie Joy Mawson – which individually and together have dramatically expanded and enhanced our understanding of the colonial history of the Philippines. The past year has likewise seen the publication of major scholarly studies on topics as varied as electoral politics in the democracies of the region, public health challenges in Vietnam, armed conflict in Myanmar, and a diverse range of other topics of current interest. In June 2024, for example, the Vancouver-based journal Pacific Affairs published a special issue focused on the impact of hydropower dam projects in China, Laos, and Cambodia on the Mekong River, its flora and fauna, and the fishing communities who depend on its shifting flows and bounties for their livelihoods. The depth, nuance, and sophistication of such recent scholarship on these complex issues is truly impressive.

Over the past year, academic debates about Southeast Asian cultures and histories have also occasionally attracted public attention around the world. Claims in the 2022 Netflix series Ancient Apocalypse and by Indonesian researchers in a 2023 article in the journal Archaeological Prospection that the Gunung Padang site in West Java is the world's "oldest pyramid" attracted considerable controversy among scholars, generating news reports in publications like The Observer and leading to a retraction by the journal. Competing theories concerning the origins and isolation of the Punan Batu people living in the rainforests of eastern Indonesian Borneo (Kalimantan Timur) likewise featured in a September 2023 front-page story in The New York Times. For Southeast Asianists, it is perhaps heartening – or at least in itself interesting if not unproblematic – that in far-flung places like

London and New York there is still some public interest (however fleeting) in the Palaeolithic history and indigenous peoples of the region. The Orientalists have not yet eaten the last cannibal after all!

Beyond the ivory tower, moreover, non-academic research on Southeast Asia over the past twelve months has been equally impressive and illuminating. Over 2023-2024, investigative journalists have expanded our awareness of labour exploitation in various parts of Southeast Asia in connection with the digital economy, most notoriously in 'scam factories' hidden in enclosed compounds within which working conditions compared to slavery have belatedly attracted police intervention and public attention. Over the past year, moreover, the investigative journalist Ian Urbina and his Outlaw Ocean Project followed up on their previous revelations of labour exploitation on Thai fishing fleets with new reports on the exploitation of Southeast Asian fishermen on Chinese fishing fleets, not only in the South China Sea but also off the Pacific coast of South America.

Meanwhile, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and other organizations have continued to document human rights where Southeast Asian migrant workers are subjected to human trafficking and exploitation. NGOs like The Gecko Project and Mongabay have kept tracking the corruption, deforestation, environmental degradation, and exploitation involved in the expansion of logging operations and palm oil plantations across areas of the region such as the provinces of Indonesian Borneo. and International Studies (CSIS), has been meticulously tracing its maritime Southeast Asian neighbours over territorial claims, shipping lanes, commercial fishing and oil exploration rights, and tech outfits like TeleGeography have been regularly updating their maps of the submarine fibre-optic cables connecting Southeast Asia to the global circuitries of the Internet. Never before has so much information about Southeast Asia been so readily available around the world, for better and, as the late great Southeast

Against this backdrop, the work of the LSE's Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre over the past twelve months has proceeded on multiple fronts in its efforts to serve as a hub for Southeast Asian Studies in London, the UK, and Europe as a whole. Over the course of the 2023-2024 academic year, we organized weekly talks covering a diverse range of disciplines, themes, and countries across Southeast Asia, in many cases spotlighting – and 'launching' – newly published books by leading scholars of the region. We also hosted special events focused on 'hot topics', with roundtable discussions on the political succession from Hun Sen to Hun Manet in Cambodia (November 2023) and the elections in Indonesia (February 2024), the ongoing conflict in Myanmar (June 2024), plus our annual Southeast Asia Forum on the challenges of sustainable economic growth in the region (May 2024).

Such efforts to sponsor and spotlight the latest research on Southeast Asia have extended to our blog series, our working paper series, and, most recently, our new podcast series, 'Dialogues on Southeast Asia', which is available via the New Books Network on platforms like Spotify. Highlights include a

new working paper co-authored by LSE Geography Professor Neil Lee on Singapore's success in promoting the digital economy, and podcast interviews with other LSE colleagues on peatland wildfires in Borneo (Dr. Thomas Smith), the Wa State of northern Myanmar (Dr. Hans Steinmuller), and the history of the Sino-Vietnamese border (Dr. Qingfei Yin), plus a special podcast interview on recent trends in Malaysian politics with Professor Meredith Weiss (SUNY Albany). Through in-person and online participation in our events, through our blog, podcast, and working papers series, and through Visiting Fellows like Professor Deepanshu Mohan of Jindal Global University in New Delhi, India, the Centre has reached out to include Southeast Asia experts and interested audiences from across the globe.

At the same time, the Centre has worked to address student interests and needs related to the study of Southeast Asia, both within the LSE and beyond. We have provided research funding for MSc dissertations and, more generously, for PhD students working on the region. We have supported the London Burma Reading Group in its efforts to build and sustain a community of scholars and others interested in research and discussions related to Myanmar. We ran two special reading group sessions for Indonesian students – at the LSE and beyond – interested in revisiting the historic events of October 1965 and May 1998, whose significance has long been misrepresented in official accounts and otherwise misunderstood despite the availability of in-depth scholarly research and analysis. We also hosted a special day-long workshop for PhD students working on Southeast Asia from across the UK.

Finally, the past twelve months have also seen the Centre engage in broader outreach beyond the realm of academic research. LSE scholars working on Southeast Asia have long engaged with government agencies, multilateral institutions, NGOs, and other organizations interested in the region, and the Centre has begun to explore new kinds of institutional engagements along these lines as well. In March 2024, the Centre ran a three-day special training course for diplomats at the UK's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) focused on Southeast Asia, with members of LSE academic staff affiliated with the Centre giving lectures and answering questions relating to UK foreign policy towards the region. We hope that this new initiative will lead to further such engagements over the years ahead, both with the new British government and with other institutional partners as well.

Overall, the 2023-2024 academic year has been a very busy, productive, exciting, and enjoyable one for me as the new director of the LSE's Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre. Here I have been very lucky to be able to draw on the considerable pool of 'local talent' among LSE academic staff and students working on Southeast Asia, the institution-building work of the previous Centre director Hyun Bang Shin and our Centre Manager Katie Boulton, and the support of the Centre's Management Committee and its Advisory Board. Over the past year, moreover, I have relied very heavily on Katie Boulton and then, since January 2024, Jessica Landas as Centre Manager, Meutia Sukma as Events and Communications Assistant, and Canpu Sun as our Graduate Intern for their generous advice and assistance in the running a diverse set of activities and events, and I owe them a huge debt of gratitude. With events and activities for the 2024-2025 academic year already under planning and in prospect, I am very much looking forward to the year ahead at the Centre and to reporting and reflecting once again on our work in a year's time.

People at the Centre



John Sidel
Centre Director

Professor Sidel is Sir Patrick Gillam Chair in International and Comparative Politics (Joint appt. LSE Government & LSE IR) and Director of the Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre. He received his BA and MA from Yale University and his PhD from Cornell University. He is the author of Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines (Stanford University Press, 1999); (with Eva-Lotta Hedman) Philippine Politics and Society in the Twentieth Century: Colonial Legacies, Postcolonial Trajectories (Routledge, 2000), Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia (Cornell University Press, 2006), The Islamist Threat in Southeast Asia: A Reassessment (East-West Center, 2007); (with Jaime Faustino) Thinking and Working Politically in Development: Coalitions for Change in the Philippines (The Asia Foundation, 2019), and Republicanism, Communism, Islam: Cosmopolitan Origins of Revolution in Southeast Asia (Cornell University Press, 2021).



Katie Boulton
Centre Manager

Katie is SEAC's Centre Manager and oversees the Centre's day-to-day operation, including administration of financial, human and physical resources, implementation of events and programmes, and managing communications and outreach strategies, including publications, in addition to supporting the Centre Director with strategic planning, stakeholder engagement and reporting. Katie has worked in Higher Education for the past nine years, particularly supporting postgraduate and extended education study, most recently for the International Inequalities Institute at LSE.



Jessica Landas
Centre Manager
(Maternity Cover)

Jessica is the Centre Manager covering for Katie Boulton from December 2023. Jessica has worked in Higher Education for the past two and a half years. She completed her MSc Human Rights at LSE in 2021.



Meutia Sukma
Communications and Events
Assistant

Meutia is an MSc in Environment and Development student at LSE and has experience in communications work and event management. Her previous work with an environmental organisation focused on programme development and sustainable land use in the Asia Pacific region.



Canpu Sun Events Assistant – Graduate Intern

Canpu has recently completed an MSc in International Relations at the LSE. She has also previously worked for higher education institutions, thinktanks and international organisations. She is passionate about security and development related issues, covering transnational crime, terrorism and conflict.

SEAC Management Committee

The Management Committee convenes and communicates to oversee and advance the Centre's agenda and to help ensure that the Centre's activities and resources are effectively managed in accordance with the Centre's objectives and the School's policies and guidelines. The Committee is also expected to provide consultation for the Centre's direction and development and to make other contributions to the Centre's activities through the advice and assistance of its members.

- Professor John Sidel (Chair; Centre Director)
- Katie Boulton (Centre Manager)
- Professor Hyun Bang Shin (SEAC Associate;
 Professor of Geography and Urban Studies; Head of the Department of Geography and Environment)
- Dr. Qingfei Yin (SEAC Associate; Department of International History)
- Dr Hans Steinmuller (SEAC Associate; Department of Anthropology)
- Professor Kent Deng (SEAC Associate; Department of Economic History)

SEAC Advisory Board

The Advisory Board provides independent and external advice and general guidance to SEAC to help ensure robust programming, research agendas, outreach, and increased support for the Centre.

- Professor Jonathan Rigg (Chair; Chair in Human Geography, University of Bristol)
- Professor Anne Booth (Emeritus Professor of Economics, SOAS)
- Professor Chua Beng Huat (Emeritus Professor, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, NUS)
- Dr Suraya Ismail (Research Director, Khazanah Research Institute)
- Professor John Sidel (Centre Director)
- Katie Boulton (Centre Manager)



Anne Booth is Emeritus Professor of Economics at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (SOAS). Anne graduated from Victoria University, Wellington, and then did graduate work at the Australian National University. She subsequently taught at the University of Singapore for three years before returning to the ANU as a research fellow. In 1991, she accepted a chair at SOAS, University of London. She was awarded a Lee Kong Chian fellowship in 2015/16. Anne has had a long-standing interest in economic development in Asia, with a particular focus on Indonesia. Her most recent book, *Living Standards in Southeast Asia: Changes over the Long Twentieth Century, 1900-2015*, was published by Amsterdam University Press in 2019.



Chua Beng Huat is Emeritus Professor, Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore and Visiting Fellow, School of Social Sciences and the Urban Institute, Singapore Management University. His published work includes Political Legitimacy and Housing: Stakeholding in Singapore (Routledge, 1997), Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore (Routledge, 2002), Life Is Not Complete Without Shopping: Consumption Culture in Singapore (NUS Press, 2003), Elections as Popular Culture in Asia (Routledge, 2007), Structure, Audience and Soft Power in East Asian Pop Culture (Hong Kong University Press, 2012), and Liberalism Disavowed: Communitarianism and State Capitalism in Singapore (NUS Press, 2017).



Jonathan Rigg is Chair in Human Geography at the University of Bristol and Professor in the Department of Geography at the National University of Singapore. Prior to that, he was Head of the Geography Department at Durham University in the UK. He was also a lecturer at the School of Oriental & African Studies, London University, a British Academy Post-Doctoral Research Fellow and PhD student. He was Director of the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore from 2016–2019.



Collin Liu is the Chief Operating and Sustainability Officer and a member of the Regional Management Council at Rajah & Tann Asia, the largest leading legal network in Southeast Asia. Prior to his current role, Collin was COO and a member of the Management Committee of Baker McKenzie Asia, led business development and marketing at Allen & Gledhill LLP and PwC Singapore, and practised as an international tax consultant in London and Singapore. A qualified chartered accountant, Collin has more than 25 years of operational, management and governance experience. Collin serves on the board of The Arts House Ltd and a director with Citystate Capital Asia Pte. Ltd. He previously served as Chair and Trustee of The Singapore LSE Trust, President of the LSE Alumni Association of Singapore, Vice-Chair of the LSE Alumni Association (London), and is a lifelong volunteer with various cultural and charitable causes. He graduated with honours in Economics from the LSE.



Suraya Ismail is Director of Research at Khazanah Research Institute (KRI), a not-for-profit public policy research institute in Malaysia. She is a council member of the National Costs of Living Council (NACCOL), Ministry of Domestic Trade and Costs of Living (KPDN), and a member of the Panel of Experts (POE), Ministry of Housing and Local Government (KPKT). She has served as a Visiting Scholar at the Centre of Housing and Planning (CCHP), University of Cambridge. She has authored and co-authored book-length policy reports, published chapters in academic books and journals, provided policy briefs for governments at home and abroad, and was involved in collaborative work with agencies such as the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), UN-Habitat, Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) and Fundacion Metropoli. Suraya was educated at the University of Reading, the University of Malaya and the Bartlett School, UCL. Her research interests include the history of economic growth; housing, cities and regional development, theory of the firm and institutional economics. She is a Chartered Surveyor with the Royal Institute of Surveyors, Malaysia (RISM).

LSE SEAC Associates



Catherine Allerton is Professor and Head of Department in the Department of Anthropology, LSE. She is a specialist in the anthropology of island Southeast Asia, with research interests in children and childhoods, migration, kinship, place and landscape.



Laura Antona is Assistant Professor in Human Geography at the LSE. She is a feminist geographer whose research is centred on labour migration, forced migrant removal, and violence in the Southeast Asian region. Laura's work both draws upon and contributes to feminist political economy, urban geography, and critical migration studies, while centring methodological innovation.



Lei (Alice) Bian is Policy Fellow at the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment at the LSE. Her research expertise lies in climate, health and the environment, with a particular focus on food security and nutrition and healthy ageing. She is the principal investigator for a British Academy ODA Challenge-Oriented research project on the role of mangroves in improving marine food security and nutrition in coastal marinescapes in Palawan, the Philippines, supported under the UK Government's International Science Partnerships Fund. Before joining LSE, she worked at several international organisations, including the Asian Development Bank, the World Health Organization, and Clean Air Asia, with a regional focus on Central Asia, Southeast Asia and China. She holds a BA in History and Philosophy of Science, and Economics and a Master of Food and Resource Economics from the University of British Columbia and an MSc in Global Energy and Climate Policy from SOAS, University of London.



Fenella Cannell is Associate Professor in the LSE's Department of Anthropology and is a specialist in Southeast Asian anthropology. Her research explores the ways in which people have come to think about "culture" in postcolonial societies and focuses on women's lives and arranged marriages, spirit-mediumship, saints' cults and religion, and popular performances, including transvestite beauty contests. She has also carried out historical research on the Philippines, especially on education, kinship, and gender in the American colonial period.



Chris Chaplin is an Assistant Professorial Research Fellow in the Religion and Global Society Research Unit at the LSE. He has spent over fourteen years working on the region in both academic and other professional roles and specialises in the anthropology of maritime Southeast Asia. His research focuses on the convergence between global religious doctrines and local understandings of piety and faith, and how these influence contemporary ideas of religious belonging, solidarity, and social activism.



Kent Deng is Professor in Economic History in the LSE Department of Economic History. He leads the LSE postgraduate module "Economic Development of East and Southeast Asia", and his research interests and writing include the rise of the literati in the economic life of pre-modern China and the maritime economic history of Asia.



Tim Forsyth is Professor of Environment and Development at LSE. He has six years' work and professional experience within Southeast Asia and is fluent in Thai with skills in Bahasa Indonesia and Burmese. His research focuses on the politics of environmental policymaking, with a particular interest in understanding local environmental risk and livelihoods and reflecting this knowledge in global environmental policies and assessments.



Jürgen Haacke is Associate Professor in International Relations at LSE. He teaches and researches on the international relations of Southeast Asia, especially the foreign and security policies of Southeast Asian states, the role and policies of major powers in relation to the ASEAN region, and regional multilateral cooperation. He has published particularly widely on ASEAN and Myanmar's foreign policy. From August 2016 until July 2018 Dr Haacke was Director of LSE SEAC.



Nicholas Long is Associate Professor of Anthropology at LSE. He works on the anthropology of Indonesia and the Malay World (with a particular interest in Indonesia's Riau Archipelago), and on responses to COVID-19 in the UK and Aotearoa New Zealand. He won the 2019 Stirling Prize for Best Published Work in Psychological Anthropology for his article 'Suggestions of Power: Searching for Efficacy in Indonesia's Hypnosis Boom'. He is currently conducting an ESRC-funded ethnographic study of Indonesia's hypnosis and hypnotherapy circuit.



Sharmila Parmanand is an Assistant Professor and Programme Director for the MSc in Gender, Development and Globalisation degree at LSE. Her research examines the colonial histories and gendered logics that underpin development and humanitarian interventions in the Global South, with a focus on the politics of knowledge production and feminist entanglements with the state on issues such as migration, gender-based violence, precarious labour, economic restructuring and social protection. She also studies connections between gender and populism and gender and political dynasties in the Philippines. She is a member of the editorial board of the Anti-Trafficking Review.



James Putzel is Professor of Development Studies in the International Development Department, LSE, where he served as head of Department 1999-2001 and Director of the Crisis States Research Centre from 2001-2011 and now directs the MSc in Development Studies. He is well-known for his research in the Philippines where he has maintained active research since 1984. His articles and books on Southeast Asia have examined agrarian reform, developmental states, democratic transitions, social capital, development aid, NGOs and civil society, nationalism, armed conflict, communist movements, the role of political Islam and the rise of rightist populist politics.



Kirsten Schulze is a Professor in International History at the London School of Economics. She works on ethno-religious violence, communal and separatist conflicts, as well as militant Islamism in Indonesia. She is the author of *Contesting Indonesia: Islamist, Separatist, and Communal Conflict in Indonesia since 1945* (Cornell University Press 2024) as well as numerous articles on local jihad in Ambon and Poso, Indonesian jihadi training camps home and abroad, and how Aceh moved from conflict to peace.



Hyun Bang Shin is a former SEAC Director (2018-2023) and currently serves as Professor of Geography and Urban Studies and Head of the Department of Geography and Environment. His scholarly work focuses on urban transformations, gentrification, and the socio-political dynamics of urban development, with an emphasis on Asian cities. His research examines the impacts of neoliberal and developmental urbanism and the role of state-led urbanization in shaping contemporary urban landscapes. He is the author of Global Gentrifications: Uneven Development and Displacement (2015, Policy Press), co-author of Planetary Gentrification (2016, Polity Press). and (co-)editor of Neoliberal Urbanism, Contested Cities and Housing in Asia (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), Covid-19 in Southeast Asia: Insights for a Post-pandemic World (LSE Press, 2022), and The Political Economy of Megaprojects in Asia (Routledge, in press).



Thomas Smith is Assistant Professor in Environmental Geography at LSE. He teaches a number of environmental courses, focusing on innovative technology-enhanced experiential learning and field-based education in geography. He joined the Department in 2018, having previously been a Lecturer at King's College London. He holds a PhD in Physical Geography from King's College London and has held Visiting Fellow posts at the National University of Singapore, Monash University Malaysia, University of Wollongong (Australia) and Universiti Brunei Darussalam.



Hans Steinmüller is Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology, LSE and a specialist in the anthropology of China. He has conducted long-term fieldwork in Hubei Province (central China) and in the Wa hills of the China-Myanmar border. Publications include the monograph Communities of Complicity (Berghahn 2013), and more recently special issues on Governing Opacity (Ethnos 2023) and Crises of Care in China Today (China Quarterly 2023). He is editor of Social Analysis and convenor of the MSc programme 'China in Comparative Perspective'.



Qingfei Yin is Assistant Professor of International History (China and the World) at LSE. A historian of contemporary China and inter-Asian relations, her research focuses on China's relations with its Asian neighbours, Asian borderlands, and the Cold War in Asia. Her book State Building in Cold War Asia: Comrades and Competitors on the Sino-Vietnamese Border was published by Cambridge University Press in 2024. Her current research projects focus on how capitalist Southeast Asian countries shaped China during the latter's early reform era in the 1980s and the historical memory of the Sino-Vietnamese Cold War partnership in the two countries.

Non-LSE SEAC Associates



Duncan McCargo is Director of the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies and Professor of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen. He previously held professorial appointments at the University of Leeds and at Columbia University, where he co-founded the New York Southeast Asia Network. He works on the comparative politics of Southeast Asia, especially Thailand. His most recent books are *Fighting for Virtue: Justice and Politics in Thailand* (Cornell 2019) and *Future Forward: The Rise and Fall of a Thai Political Party* (with Anyarat Chattharakul, NIAS, 2020).



Deirdre McKay is Professor of Sustainable Development at Keele University, and past Chair of the Association of Southeast Asian Studies UK (ASEAS UK). Her research draws on both social/cultural geography and social anthropology to explore people's place-based experiences of globalisation and development. She has done fieldwork is in areas of the global South and also with migrant communities from developing areas who have moved into the world's major cities. Much of her work has been conducted with people who originate in indigenous villages in the northern Philippines and she is also working on place-based and place-making projects with diverse communities in the UK.



Catalina Ortiz is Associate Professor at the Development Planning Unit at University College London. Catalina is committed to a negotiated co-production of urban space grounded on ethics of care and engaged scholarship. Using decolonial and critical urban theory through knowledge co-production methodologies, Catalina engages with critical urban pedagogies, planning for equality, and southern urbanisms in Latin America and Southeast Asia.



Sin Yee Koh is Senior Assistant Professor of Asian Migration, Mobility and Diaspora at the Institute of Asian Studies, Universiti Brunei Darussalam; and Adjunct Senior Research Fellow at the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Monash University Malaysia. She is a human geographer working at the intersections of migration studies and urban studies. Her work uses the lens of migration and mobility to understand the circulations of people, capital, and aspirations in and through cities. She has published on migration and colonial legacies, academic and teacher expatriate mobilities, migration and urban intermediaries, lifestyle migration-led urban speculation, cities and the super-rich, and the globalisation of real estate.



Danny Quah is Li Ka Shing Professor in Economics and Dean at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, NUS. His work is organized around world order, economic growth and development, and inequality and income mobility. He analyses the supply and demand of international systems, taking into account the preferences of Great Powers and the needs of the global community. His research on income mobility challenges conventional narratives on inequality, highlighting the broad diversity of economic experiences across nations. As Commissioner on the Spence-Stiglitz Commission and LSE's Global Economic Governance Commission, and member of World Bank President's Economic Advisory Panel, he seeks to influence global economic transformation. He holds advisory roles with organisations like the World Economic Forum, UNDP, and a range of agencies and ministries, helping shape global economic and geopolitical discourse.



Yimin Zhao is Assistant Professor in Department of Geography, Durham University. His research focuses on urban periphery and the state in China and Asia, particularly through the analytical lenses of language, materiality and everyday life. After previous investigations of Beijing's green belts and the Jiehebu area, his current research develops along two lines of inquiry, one attending to the infrastructural lives of authoritarianism and the other looking into the urban mechanisms of "Global China." He is an editor of City, and a corresponding editor of International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.

Visiting Fellows

SEAC was delighted to welcome one Visiting Professor during the 2023/24 year:



Professor Deepanshu Mohan

Deepanshu Professor Mohan is Professor of Economics and Dean, IDEAS, Office of Interdisciplinary Studies, O.P. Jindal Global University (JGU), New Delhi, India. He is Director, Centre for New Economics Studies, Jindal School of Liberal Arts, and a Senior Research Fellow, International Institute of Higher Education at JGU. Prof Deepanshu was a Visiting Fellow at SEAC in April-May 2024. His research at SEAC focused on the post-pandemic livelihood transition of street vendors in city-markets across Cambodia's Phnom Penh area.

Deepanshu published three blogposts on his research in the Southeast Asia Blog:

- Resilience Amidst Adversity: Understanding Cambodia's Informal Sector in the Wake of COVID-19
- Struggles and Strength: The Story of Cambodia's Female Street Vendors
- Cambodia's Street Vendors: The Economic Realities of Cambodian Street Vendors Post-COVID19

SEAC's Visiting Appointment scheme provides an opportunity for visiting researchers to spend normally 6-12 weeks at SEAC and LSE, benefitting from access to LSE facilities and events, along with opportunities for networking and collaboration across the LSE community. Visiting researchers form an integral part of SEAC's research culture and community, delivering talks, writing blogposts and working papers, and otherwise participating in SEAC events and activities. All applications for visiting fellowships go through a rigorous panel assessment, and opportunities are competitive. Applicants are selected based on the strength of their proposals.

LSE-Southeast Asia Early Career Researcher (ECR) Network

SEAC's ECR Network has continued to grow in the past year, with 314 members who have research interests across the region and actively engage via dedicated events, ECR newsletters, and social media promotion.

Being part of the ECR Network has really benefited my research. I've been able to present findings from one study at LSE. The regular newsletter also helps me keep abreast of new and exciting work on Southeast Asia, as well as conferences, workshops and other opportunities.

- Sol Iglesias, PhD, ECR Network Member

ECR Network Members



Below is a screenshot of the SEAC interactive global map of network members (accessible at lse.ac.uk/seac/people/ECR-Network), which permits anybody to search by country specialism, locate researchers with similar interests, and promote increased collaboration and scholarly work on Southeast Asia.



Staff Feature: Qingfei Yin



Since 2021, I have been an Assistant Professor of International History at the LSE and an Associate of the Southeast Asia Centre and a member of the Centre's Management Committee. A historian of China-Southeast Asia relations, Asian borderlands, and the Cold War in Asia, I have pursued a research agenda driven by a core question: How did the Cold War politics intertwine with other historical forces in shaping the consolidation and expansion of modern states in Asia?

My forthcoming book State Building in Cold War Asia: Comrades and Competitors on the Sino-Vietnamese Border will be published by the Cambridge University Press later this year. The book is the first monographlength history on the fractious twentieth-century Sino-Vietnamese relationship that makes extensive use of both central and local archival sources on both sides. The work presents an international history from below about how the Cold War magnified and distorted state building in places where political authority had historically been weak. Through a process that I characterize as 'joint state invasion,' the Cold War partnership between Beijing and Hanoi did indeed strengthen the presence and authority of the Chinese and Vietnamese states in the border area during the period examined in the book, 1949-1975. Yet it did not do so in a coherent or linear manner because of the concurrent trends of nationalism, internationalism, and transnational localism. The state project of the 'nationalization' of territory, resources, and people sometimes reinforced, yet was often at odds with the party's cause of the 'internationalization' of socialism. Transnational localism, namely the border people's endeavours to preserve local family, cultural, and economic connections across the state perimeter

dampened and even undermined both the nationalist and internationalist agenda.

While existing scholarship largely adopts a leadership-centred approach, State Building in Cold War Asia offer a border-focused yet transnational narrative of one of the most intense and volatile inter-Asian relations during the Cold War, using primary sources in both Chinese and Vietnamese. Digging into the "cracks" of official archives and mining published materials, my research yields a bracingly original study of how the Cold War became a constituent part of the broader experience of Asian societies in the second half of the twentieth century. Communist institutions as well as the discourse of 'socialist brotherhood' became tools for postcolonial elites to assert control over societies at the margins and to symbolize sovereign equality. In this regard, the revolutionary regimes were conformist, accepting and implementing a pan-global understanding of borders. This project not only examines state-building in highlands, lowlands, and maritime borders in a comparative light but also challenges the established practice in area studies that treats the state-building in East Asia and Southeast Asia as separate subjects, instead emphasizing a 'spill-over' effect and the international dimension of modern state-building. Bringing together the transnational, national, and local histories, this book highlights the importance of examining the mundane, everyday aspects of the territorialization of state and the development of international relations.

With the imminent publication of my book, I am currently pursuing two new projects related to the history of China-Southeast Asia relations. The first one, titled 'Building Mao's Maritime Railway: A Global History of China's Ocean Shipping during the Cold War', departs from the existing literature on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) maritime power that focuses exclusively on the emergence of a Chinese blue water navy and explores instead the driving forces of the development of China's ocean shipping industry during the Cold War, from 1949 to 1979. By studying several shipping companies and agencies created or controlled by the PRC, I highlight that Beijing's response to the U.S.-Republic of China joint naval blockade and later the trade embargo following Chinese intervention into the Korean War profoundly shaped the PRC's economic trajectory and its economic statecraft towards the outside world. China's diplomacy towards Southeast Asia around

the issue of commercial shipping was crucial for the country's strategy to mitigate the impact of Cold War economic warfare. The project also reassesses Cold War China's economic relations with the world market despite the country's pursuit of self-reliance under Mao.

A second project, tentatively titled 'Re-engaging Familiar Strangers: Capitalist Southeast Asia and China's Reform', weaves together six stories about the diplomatic, social, and transnational connections between China and capitalist Southeast Asian countries from the 1970s to the 1990s. Existing historiography on China's economic reforms mostly focuses on key historical figures such as Deng Xiaoping and China's reopening to the West. In this master narrative of the transition from East-West conflict to East-West rapprochement, the role of capitalist Southeast Asia has been obscured. This Great Power-centred history fails to answer many questions that are important, especially in light of the increasingly deep engagement between China and Southeast Asia at various levels today. Given China's unabated support for radical leftist movements in Southeast Asia until the early 1980s, how did capitalist Southeast Asian countries perceive and manage the consequences of re-engaging China? How did ASEAN cautiously engage China and manage China's influence in the efforts to end the decades-long conflict in Indochina? Given the fact that China and many Southeast Asian countries were competitors for the export of raw materials on the international market, how did capitalist Southeast Asia evaluate the economic ramifications of China's opening to the world economy? This project, by answering these questions, re-emphasizes the regional and inter-Asian dynamics during China's early reform era.

With the escalating geopolitical and geoeconomic competition between Beijing and Washington, it is fascinating to observe how regional powers perceive the risk and opportunities created by the shifting world order. I look forward to contributing to the scholarly dialogue on this critical topic with my continuing historical research into the China-Southeast Asia relationship.

SEAC Support for Students

PhD Research Support Fund

SEAC provides financial support to LSE doctoral students through the Fieldwork Support Fund and the Conference Fund. The Fieldwork Support fund provides funding to fieldwork based in the Southeast Asia region to cover travel, accommodation, subsistence, local services (e.g., transcription/translation) and/or purchase of research materials. The Conference Fund provides support to enable conference participation (for example, presenting a paper or speaking) and covers conference fees, travel, and accommodation. These two funds are intended to help doctoral students advance their research

and networks and to support the next generation of Southeast Asia scholars.

In 2023-24, fieldwork support was made to Meshal Alkhowaiter (Government), Hadrien Saperstein (International Relations), Joel Chong (Government), Tony Neil (International Development), Capucine Riom (Geography and Environment), and Omar Nasr (International History). Conference support was made to Morris Chan (Government), Meshal Alkhowaiter (Government), Marco Del Gallo (Anthropology), and Tiffany Lau (Government).



I attended my first Southeast Asia studies conference thanks to SEAC PhD Conference Fund. The support was instrumental in assisting me to have the opportunity to interact with academic peers and broaden my horizon in the discipline.

- Morris Chan (Department of Government)



I am very grateful to SEAC for supporting me to attend the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) 2024 conference in Barcelona to present the paper "Dishonest Debt: the Case of Informal Fishing Economies in Jakarta.

- Marco Del Gallo (Department of Anthropology)



"I am entirely indebted to the LSE SEAC Team for their support through the PhD Fieldwork Grant. The funds allowed me to conduct long-term in-country research on the Indonesian maritime-related government institutions—TNI-AL and BAKAMLA— by way of establishing new connections with government officials. The funds also permitted reaffirmation of relations with old and new acquaintances within Indonesian academic circles and think thank space. The quality of the research has grown in spades as a result of this fieldwork."

-Hadrien Saperstein (Department of International Relations)

PhD Student Workshop

SEAC hosted a workshop for PhD students across the UK working on Southeast Asia on 6 June 2024. The workshop was designed to allow 18 UK university-based research students working on the region to present their work among their peers for feedback and to provide a broader opportunity for sharing ideas and information related to ongoing doctoral research focused on Southeast Asia.

Dynamics of Political Power and Influence

Morris Chan (LSE), "An Autocratic Peasantry? Relationships between Economic Dependence on the State and Pro-Regime Voting Behaviour in Malaysia"

Tony Neill (LSE), "Rebirth of the 'Bo': Charismatic Revolutionary Commanders as 'Strongmen' in South-Eastern Myanmar"

Tiffany Lau (LSE), "Understanding Perceptions of Online Chinese Propaganda in Southeast Asia"

Dynamics of Economic, Education, Environmental, Labour, and Land Policy

Meshal Alkhowaiter (LSE), "Voices of Change: Exploring Sentiment Shifts and Responsibility Attribution in Singapore's Labour Debate"

Dan Adams (Newcastle University), "The Role of Capital in Indonesian Intercultural Adjustment in UK Higher Education"

Maria Carmen Fernandez (University of Cambridge), "Negotiating Appropriate Land Tenure and Redistributive Justice Mechanisms in the Bangsamoro: Localizing Agrarian Politics in Muslim Mindanao"

Dynamics of Early Modern and Modern Economic and Social History

Judy Law (University of Warwick), "Southern Fujianese Merchants in Southeast Asia and Their Impact on Zhangzhou Porcelain Trade (Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Centuries)

Nitya Gundu (University of Warwick), "Threading the Globe: Kalamkari Cloth in Seventeenth-Century Southeast Asia"

Jeremy Goh (University of Warwick), "Chinese Big Business in the British Straits Settlements: The Transnational Enterprises of Lim Peng Siang (1904-1941)"

Dynamics of Political Mobilization

Rune Larsen (LSE), "The Organisational Origins of Onset: Communist Civil War in the Philippines and Thailand after the Second World War"

Wichuta Teeratanabodee (University of Cambridge), "The Milk Tea Alliance: Transnational Public Sphere and Collective Imagination in East and Southeast Asia"

Ploykamol Suwantawit (University of Liverpool), "Fandom in Action: Mobilisation of Thai Youth in the 2020-2021 Anti-Government Protests"

Dynamics of Environmental, Health, and Housing Policy

Irna Nurlina Masron (Birkbeck, University of London), "Subaltern Urbanisms: The Politics of Heritage and Housing in Jakarta's Urban Kampungs"

Hanh-An Trinh (LSE), "The Unanticipated Inauguration of Buildings: Towards an Infrastructure of Housing Development From a Case in Hai Phong, Vietnam"

Dynamics of Late Colonial and Cold War Political History

Joko Susanto (University of Cambridge), "From 'Kemadjoean' to 'Indonesia Maju': Changes and Continuities in the Idea of Progress in Modern Indonesian Nationalism"

Quah Say Jye (University of Cambridge), "The Anatomy of Worldmaking: Sukarno, Untimeliness, and Anticolonialism in Postcolonial Indonesia"

Ha Chae Kyoun (University of Cambridge), "Ideology, Security, and Regionalism: South Korea's Strategic Interest in Southeast Asia During the Early Cold War Era"

Nathaniel Lai (University of Cambridge), "The 'Stars' Aligned? Journalism and Gender in Cold War Southeast Asia and Hong Kong, c. 1949-1963"

"As PhD Southeast Asianists working in UK institutions, it is rare to be able to present our work to so many other fellow Southeast Asianists. The workshop provided a valuable opportunity to showcase our work to and get feedback from audiences with such specialist knowledge. It was refreshing to not have to justify our choice to research Southeast Asia! I had many fruitful conversations and made many great connections at the workshop and I am really looking forward to the next one. Very grateful to Prof Sidel for doing this for us!" -Tiffany Lau (LSE)

"It was a great opportunity to meet and learn from like-minded researchers from different universities in the UK." -Meshal Alkhowaiter (LSE)

"I had an opportunity to present my project on transnational connections and solidarities in East and Southeast Asia at the SEAC-hosted PhD Student Workshop in June 2024. This workshop proved to be an invaluable platform, offering insightful feedback that helped sharpen my doctoral research and prepare me for fieldwork in Asia. Given the relatively small community of

Southeast Asianists in the UK, the workshop was also a fantastic opportunity to connect with fellow PhD students from diverse disciplines who share geographical focus. A heartfelt thank you to SEAC for this opportunity!"

-Wichuta Teeratanabodee (University of Cambridge)

"We were a group of PhD students who suggested that the LSE Southeast Asia Centre could serve as a point of contact for building a stronger sense of community and connection among the PhD students studying Southeast Asia in the UK and beyond. In response to this suggestion the Centre went above and beyond, organising a full-day conference full of exciting presentations and discussions of PhD research on topics ranging from climate change to armed mobilisation, from colonial history to online propaganda. More importantly, the day created new contacts among PhD students based at a range of universities across the UK who all share an excitement about the region. Based on the turnout, this will hopefully turn into an annual tradition." -Rune Larsen (LSE)

PhD Student Research Profile: Tony Neill



Rethinking civil war: learning from Myanmar's armed group bureaucrats, combatants and their political constituents

I started my fieldwork at the close of the monsoon in late 2022. Eighteen months earlier, a military coup had precipitated nationwide protest and an ongoing revolutionary situation. Chao Tzang Yawnghwe, an ex-combatant, Shan prince and son of Burma's first president, reflected in 1987 after four decades of conflict that the civil war was fought across two axes: control of the centre by majoritarian Burmese groups and the degree of power of constituent parts in the periphery by ethnic minorities. A liminal period post-coup reset the historical contours of the conflict in early 2021, as protests erupted and, in response to violent repression, mass armed mobilisation spread nationwide.

Against this backdrop, I moved to the town of Mae Sot on the Thai-Burma border, a site of anti-regime resistance. As I met political exiles, they would identify by the different waves of political crisis that had led to their arrival. My fieldwork revolved around investigating two interconnected assumptions in the study of civil war. The first was how different technologies of warfare structure spatial relations in specific ways. Guerilla warfare is said to have a spatial foundation where there are areas of state and armed group control and contested spaces in between. The second was the relationship between armed orders and their political constituencies in conflict zones. Typologies based on binary dimensions such as territorial control or rebel "order" versus "disorder" failed to capture the diversity of sovereign formations and the complex relations and institutions that constitute relations between armed groups and civilians in Myanmar.

Over eighteen months I interviewed members of resistance networks and armed groups spanning several hundred kilometers along the Thai-Myanmar border, travelling up and down mountainous tracts on a dilapidated Honda scooter. I interviewed people who

lived in de facto parastates, and under multiple and overlapping armed authorities. I also taught political science to young adults in educational institutions run by the Karen National Union, an armed group that controls large areas of southeastern Myanmar.

Armed group bureaucrats taught me to rethink structural spatial ontologies of geometric dividing lines in civil war. These spaces and their shifting contours are dynamic and shaped by agency and carefully crafted repertories used by armed groups to engage civilian populations and project power across contested spaces, or actively inscribe and monopolise territory. Armed groups mobilise different institutions such as taxation, justice and administration across contested spaces to engage inhabitants in ways that are mutual and recursive and confer localised legitimacy and often place them in positions of moral authority.

By teaching in armed group educational institutions, I unwittingly became immersed in a site of ideological production, becoming part of the ethno-nationalist political project I was studying. This attuned me to processes of inter-subjective meaning-making between authorities and their young constituents. Under the jungle canopy, the school day started at 4am, with a military parade followed by prayers. The institutional objectives were service to the community, the revolution and the making of subjects.

Myanmar is one of the world's least reported conflicts and yet one of the most violent. The junta has lost control of over eighty cities and more than half of the country, despite analysts and social scientists predicting otherwise. My fieldwork – which was supported by the Southeast Asia Centre -- provides an answer through the durable ways in which insurgency and social life are co-constituted and how governmental repertoires that armed authorities employ to engage their political constituencies outperform those of a predatory state.

Master's Dissertation Fieldwork Grants

SEAC was delighted to receive many competitive applications for the 2023/24 Southeast Asia Student Dissertation Fieldwork Grants. The 13 student awardees were selected based on the strength of their applications and their proposed dissertation fieldwork and research. The grant provides up to a maximum of £500 per awardee towards research expenses, which can go towards categories like accommodation, subsistence, and local services such as translation or transcription. The Dissertation Fieldwork Grant scheme is supported by Arvind Khattar, whose generous gift has helped SEAC to further develop its research activities.



Hannah Gwynneth Pimentel

Degree: MSc in Political Science and

Political Economy

Proposed fieldwork location: Philippines

Topic: Political Alignment Dynamics and Fiscal Surpluses: Insights from Local

Governance in the Philippines

Dissertation title: Fiscal Policies in Clientelistic
Democracies: The Impact of Political Families and
Party Alliances on Budget Surpluses in Philippine Local
Governments

In Philippine local governments, mayors and vice mayors must have aligned preferences for expenditure policies to advance, because the vice-mayor-led council can veto the mayor's budget proposal. Using data from 1634 local government units recorded for 28 years, this dissertation finds that family-related pairs reduce the budget surplus by 4 percentage points, while party-allied pairs have no significant effect. While family pairs could improve public goods provision through higher spending, political families are associated with worse democratic quality and higher economic inequality.



Naura Haryanto

Degree: MSc in International Social and Public Policy (Non-Governmental Organisations)

Proposed fieldwork location: Indonesia
Topic: Unpacking the Role and Approach
of Gender-Focused NGOs in Sexual and
Gender-Based Violence Policy Change
Malayan Indian Anti-colonialism

Dissertation title: "Creating our own vehicle": Unpacking the advocacy strategies of Indonesian women's movement towards sexual and gender-based violence policy change

This study examines how Indonesian women's movement has utilised its roles, approaches, and strategies to advocate for policy changes on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Through interviews with 12 NGO activists and feminists involved in and contributed to the passage of Indonesia's first specific laws addressing domestic and sexual violence, the research applies the political process model to analyse advocacy strategies.

Findings reveal that the movement created its own policy windows, mobilised collective action by dividing roles across lobbying and drafting legislation, as well as combated narrative challenges through counter-narrative campaigning.



Sahil Bhagat

Degree: Columbia-LSE Dual MA/MSc in International and World History Proposed fieldwork location: Malaysia Topic: Spice Bombs on the Plantation: Transnational Connectivities of Malayan

Indian Anti-colonialism

Dissertation title: Spice Bombs on the Plantation: Transnational Connectivities of Malayan Indian Anti-Colonialism

My thesis focused on resistance networks amongst Malayan Indian plantation labouring communities in 1930s and 40s Malaya. Taking the 1947 Kedah Strikes as a case study, I ask how plantation communities communicated with and interpreted regional social, religious and political

movements to reproduce their own form of anti-colonial expression. Utilising English, Malay and Tamil sources, I argue that plantations became spaces for activists to centre local issues within wider nationalist politics while also acting as a laboratory for the colonial government to experiment with anti-colonial policing methods that would be applied to the later Malayan Emergency.



Collin TEO Jun Kai

Degree: LSE-PKU Double MSc Degree in

International Affairs

Proposed fieldwork location: Singapore

and Maryland, USA

Topic: How the Vietnam War Shaped Singapore-US Relations in its Formative

Years, 1965-68

As Singapore gained independence in 1965, the Americans committed their first troops to Vietnam. This paper explores how the war impacted the Singapore-US relationship from 1965 to 1968. It eventually finds that the impact was mostly in the economic and socio-political domains, although even that remained marginal compared to other broader structural factors shaping the relationship.



Amanda Fidelino

Degree: MSc Political Sociology

Proposed fieldwork location:

Philippines

Topic: How does the new Metro Manila middle class view institutional changes in the post-EDSA normative order?

Dissertation title: "Constitutionalism from the People: An Investigation of Metro Manila Middle-Class Perspectives on the 1987 Constitution and Its Proposed Amendments in the Post-People Power Era"

Originally adopted to restore democracy as a response to Ferdinand Marcos Sr.'s dictatorship, the 1987 Philippine Constitution's legitimacy has been questioned amidst the election of his son, Ferdinand Marcos Jr., to the presidency in 2022. The middle class, a significant demographic responsible for ratifying constitutional amendments, has played a pivotal role in the Philippines' democratic fabric. As another Marcos rules under a constitution that had

repudiated his father, the study explores non-institutional actors' perspectives to better understand the Constitution beyond the state at a critical juncture in Philippine democracy.



Yuyang Chen

Degree: LSE-Peking University Double

MSc in International Affairs

Proposed fieldwork location: China (in

person) and Indonesia (Remote)

Topic: Struggle and Adaptation: Identity of Indonesian Chinese 'Returnees' in the

1950s and 1960s

Dissertation title: Struggle and Adaptation: Identity Shifts of Chinese 'Returnees' from Indonesia in the 1950s and 1960s

The dissertation investigates the identity transformations of Indonesian returnees during the 1950s and 1960s. It argues Chinese government's pragmatic approach to the returnees determined both policy shifts and the development of their identities at various stages. While 'cultural shock' compounded the difficulties of assimilation, the reason that returnees remained isolated from mainland Chinese society was largely because of the government's strategy of leveraging the returnees' potential utility rather than integrating them into the local community.



Khairin Amin

Degree: MSc Social and Cultural

Psychology

Proposed fieldwork location: Malaysia

Topic: Mental Health Conceptions in

Malaysia: A social representational

study of a multi-ethnic context

Dissertation title: Mental Health Conceptions in Malaysia: A Social Representational Study of a Multi-Ethnic Context.

In brief, the research explores how Malaysia's Malays, Chinese, and Indians perceive and manage mental health. Using the semiotic prism approach, it examines the influence of cultural beliefs, religious practices, and societal pressures on mental health perceptions and help-

seeking behaviours. The research offers insights into cognitive polyphasia, where traditional and professional perspectives coexist, emphasising the need for culturally sensitive mental health strategies to promote well-being and reduce stigma.



Regina Jessica Angeline

Degree: MSc Regulation (Government and Law)

Proposed fieldwork location: Indonesia **Topic:** Women in Regulating an Empty Land: The Case of Indonesia's Ibu Kota

Nusantara



Nurfitriyana Riyadi

Degree: MSc Behavioural Science Proposed fieldwork location: Indonesia Topic: Digital discourse on social media amongst Indonesian netizens



Ferth Vandensteen Manaysay

Degree: MSc Environmental Policy and

Regulation

Proposed fieldwork location: Vietnam

and Philippines

Topic: Envisioning a transition towards a circular plastics economy: Policy narratives in the extended producer responsibility regulations of Vietnam and the Philippines



Dissertation title: Bearing in Mind the Online Audience: The Impact of Nudge on Online Toxicity among Indonesian Social Media Users

This dissertation explored the impact of nudge, a behavioural science intervention, on online toxicity (i.e. comments on the internet that are impolite, rude, or unreasonable, capable of making people leave the discussion). A between-subject online experiment, simulating a social media environment and involving 192 Indonesians, revealed that the proposed nudge did not significantly influence the toxic behaviour. The findings suggested potential challenges in designing interventions for a politically-polarised social media user population, and some leeway in which behavioural lenses could further help in addressing the issue.



Luca Fraticelli

Degree: MSc Environmental Policy and Regulation

Proposed fieldwork location: Malaysia, in person

Topic: Nuclear empowerment in ASEAN:

the case of Malaysia



Ryan Taehyoung Kim

Degree: MSc Development Management Proposed fieldwork location: Vietnam Topic: Assessing the Anti-Money Laundering (AML) and Counter-Terrorism Financing (CTF) Measures for Economic Development in Southeast Asia.



Jake Chavara

Degree: MSc Development Management Proposed fieldwork location: Leyte, **Philippines**

Topic: Balancing People, Profit & Planet: Unpacking Livelihood Co-benefits in Philippine Blue Carbon Projects

Postgraduate Dissertation Prize

The LSE Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre Postgraduate Dissertation Prize on Southeast Asia showcases outstanding social science research on Southeast Asia from LSE postgraduate students. Submissions were received from across LSE departments, all of which were at first-class level.



Winner

Hong Kai Koh

MSc International and Asian History

Department of International History

Dissertation title:

Commissioned Knowledge – Local Elite Collaboration in Colonial Knowledge Formation in the Mui Tsai Commission in British Malaya (1936-1937)



"I am honored and very grateful to receive the 2022/2023 SEAC Postgraduate Dissertation Prize. This prize would not have been possible without the invaluable and kind support from my supervisor, Dr Qingfei Yin. I would also like to thank my peers and friends around me, both in London and back in Singapore who have been my pillars of support in this process. I am also grateful for the solid academic foundations that my professors back in the National University of Singapore History Department have instilled in me, which gave me a solid foundation to conduct my MSc dissertation."



Highly Commended

Yohana Parida Kristina

MSc Development Studies

Department of International Development

Dissertation title:

Women Survive, Women Provide: An Analysis of Women's Empowerment Pathways by Women-Led Social Enterprises in Indonesia

Burma Reading Group

By Theint Theint Thu

This year, the London Burma Reading Group achieved notable success. In November 2023, the group held its first networking event of the year, with over 40 attendees. The event was attended by a diverse group of those interested in Myanmar, including students. development practitioners, activists, journalists, and medical professionals. Additionally, we hosted three PhD students based in the U.K. and Europe, who separately presented their current research. With ample time for discussion, the group consistently provided useful feedback, exchanged contacts, and highlighted potential ways forward for research. The reading group also hosted a talk by Dr. Htwe Htwe Thein, from Curtin University, who discussed her research into business and human rights, with particular relevance to the ongoing situation. The group is the only academic space in London where scholars of Myanmar can come together from various fields. The group

provides a space for interdisciplinary discussions to be held with regards to Myanmar. While over half would identify themselves as social scientists, the group also sees consistent engagements from students and professionals from the fields of science, medicine, and the arts. The multisectoral participation allowed for the development of fruitful and well-rounded conversations in engaging with the country's current and past situations. Perhaps more importantly, attendees have also said that the group facilitates a much-needed role to help students keep up with recent scholarship and the changing research environment. This was particularly true for masters' students from Myanmar who have had their education cut short by political developments in the country. For them, not only did the group provide a space for academic discussions and the showcasing of research, but it also served to further pique their interest in the social sciences.



SEAC Café

The SEAC Café was a series of informal small group sessions for open discussion on Southeast Asia topics. Over the course of the year, LSE students were given the opportunity to engage with LSE SEAC Associates in an array of fields to learn more about their specialism and approach and to understand better pressing regional issues and insights.



"I like how SEAC Cafe makes expert insights on SEAs accessible for students from different disciplines.

- SEAC Café attendee

Prof. Kent Deng

Area of Expertise: Economic growth and development, Reforms and modernisation in East Asia, Maritime history of Asia

2 May 2024

Dr. Chris Chaplin

Area of Expertise: Religious social movements, Southeast Asia Islam & politics, Migration, Indonesia, Malaysia 8 May 2024

Dr. Laura Antona

Area of Expertise: Migration, violence, domestic labour, home, Southeast Asia 16 May 2024

Dr. Qingfei Yin

Area of Expertise: Cold War, Borderlands, Vietnam, China-Southeast Asia Relations 20 May 2024

Prof. John Sidel

Area of Expertise: Southeast Asia, Philippines, Indonesia, Local politics, Policy reform advocacy, Transport/infrastructure

22 May 2024

Prof. Hyun Bang Shin

Area of Expertise: Urban Political Economy,
Gentrification, Housing, Urbanisation, Southeast Asia,
East Asia
28 March 2023



FCDO Training Course

In March 2024, SEAC conducted a three-day Practitioner Training Course for the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) with British diplomats focusing on Southeast Asia. The lectures were delivered by SEAC Director Professor John Sidel, SEAC Associates Professor Tim Forsyth, Professor Hyun Bang Shin, Professor Kirsten Schulze, Dr. Chris Chaplin, and Dr. Jurgen Haacke, and Dr.

Neil Loughlin of City, University of London. Topics covered a wide range of disciplines such as history, religion, society, politics, economics, development, environment, urban, and comparative studies. The training was well-received by the participants, and the Centre looks forward to further engagements with government agencies, multilateral institutions, NGOs, and other institutions in the future.

"Brilliant initiative to engage with some of the top Southeast Asian scholars"

"Loads of useful background and some key insights for my work. Strengths were the depth and range of knowledge of the lecturers."

"Valuable overview of a diverse and complex region, with focused insights into specific geographies and thematics."

"I gained a good overview of SEA history, the broad sweeps of economic development, religious change etc. I particularly enjoyed the lectures of Kirsten Schulze and Tim Forsyth."

Academic Engagement

2023-2024 Events

In 2023/24, the Centre hosted both in-person and online events featuring a diverse set of speakers and audiences from across the LSE, UK, Southeast Asia, and other countries. Events included lectures, roundtable discussions, workshops, reading group seminars, and seminars.



27 September 2023
Building Peace, Rebuilding
Patriarchy: The Failure of Gender
Interventions in Timor-Leste

Dr Melissa Johnston (University of Queensland) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



4 October 2023
Resource Nationalism in
Indonesia: Booms, Big Business,
and the State

Dr Eve Warburton (Australian National University) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



11 October 2023

Malaysia's rise as an Islamic financial frontier

Professor Jessie P.H. Poon (University of Buffalo (SUNY) Professor Hyun Bang Shin (LSE)



19 October 2023
Rendering the Southeast Asian
smallholder 'social'

Professor Jonathan Rigg (University of Bristol) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



25 October 2023
Branding Authoritarian Nations:
Political Legitimation and
Strategic National Myths in
Military-Ruled Thailand (Book
launch)

Dr Petra Alderman (University of Birmingham) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



1 November 2023
Rights Refused: Grassroots
Activism and State Violence in
Myanmar

Dr Elliott Prasse-Freeman (National University of Singapore) Dr Hans Steinmüller (LSE)



8 November 2023
China, Japan, and the United
States and Infrastructure in
Southeast Asia: The Geopolitics
of Transportation and
Telecommunications Development
in the Philippines

Professor John Sidel (LSE)
Dr Sharmila Parmanand (LSE)



15 November 2023 Consumer Socialism and Vietnam's New Middle Classes

Arve Hansen (University of Oslo) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



23 November 2023

London Burma Reading Group



29 November 2023 Some People Need Killing: A Memoir of Murder in the Philippines

Patricia Evangelista Professor John Sidel (LSE)



6 December 2023
The 2024 Presidential Elections in Indonesia: Do they Matter?

Dr Marcus Mietzner (Australian National University)

Professor John Sidel (LSE)



17 January 2024
The Drama of Dictatorship: Martial
Law and the Communist Parties of
the Philippines

Dr Joseph Scalice (Hong Kong Baptist University) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



22 January 2024
A Forward-Looking
Conversation with Thanathorn
Juangroongruangkit on Thailand's
Past, Present, and Future

Thanathorn Juangroongruangkit
Dr Petra Alderman (University of
Birmingham)
Professor Duncan McCargo (Nanyang
Technological University)
Professor John Sidel (LSE)



24 January 2024
The start-up state? Strategic
economic development in digital
tech in Singapore

Professor Neil Lee (LSE)
Augustin Boey (National University of Singapore)
Metta Ni (LSE)
Professor John Sidel (LSE)



29 January 2024
Kissinger's Air War: US and
South Vietnamese Bombing of
Cambodian Civilians, 1969-1973

Dr Steve Heder (SOAS)
Professor John Sidel (LSE)



31 January 2024

Development in Spirit: Religious

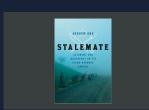
Transformation and Everyday

Politics in Vietnam's Highlands

Dr Seb Rumsby (University of Birmingham) Professor Catherine Allerton (LSE) Dr Hans Steinmüller (LSE)



2 February 2024 London Burma Reading Group: Trade and Institutional Change: A Historical Analysis of Colonial Expansion in Burma and Siam, 1852-1900



7 February 2024 Insurgent Autonomy: The United Wa State Army and Region-making in Highland Myanmar

Dr Andrew Ong (Nanyang Technological University)

Dr Hans Steinmüller (LSE)



12 February 2024 Rama X: The Thai Monarchy under King Vajiralongkorn

Pavin Chachavalpongpun (Kyoto University) Dr Qingfei Yin (LSE)



14 February 2024

Transforming Rural Southeast Asia

Professor Tania Murray Li (University of Toronto) Catherine Allerton (LSE)



21 February 2024
Roundtable Discussion on the Indonesian Elections: Process, Outcome, Implications

Ben Bland (Chatham House)
Sofie Syarief (Goldsmiths University of London)
Professor Sarah Shair-Rosenfield
(University of York)

Professor John Sidel (LSE)



22 February 2024 London Burma Reading Group: Cartographical History of Burma during the 19 Century



28 February 2024
The Politics of Socialist
Internationalism in Decolonising
Southeast Asia

Dr Su Lin Lewis (University of Bristol) Professor John Sidel (LSE) Professor Hyun Bang Shin (LSE)



6 March 2024
South by Southeast? Burma/
Myanmar Through Indonesian and
Indian Ocean Lenses, Darkly

Professor John Sidel (LSE)
Dr Avinash Paliwal (SOAS)
Professor Michael Charney (SOAS)
Dr Anja Karlsson Franck (University of
Gothenburg)
Dr Nilanjan Sarkar (LSE)
Chelsea Ngoc Minh Nguyen
Professor Hyun Bang Shin (LSE)



13 March 2024

Queer Indonesian Muslims:

Navigating Gender, Sexuality, and

Dr Diego Garcia (University of Nottingham) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



19 March 2024
How have some villages remained peaceful in violent-prone areas?
Factors affecting variations in the nature, intensity of violence, and coping strategies in post-coup
Myanmar

Professor Ardeth Maung Thawnghmung (University of Massachusetts Lowell) Dr Hans Steinmüller (LSE)



21 March 2024 London Burma Reading Group: From unarmed to armed resistance

- the anti-coup in Myanmar



27 March 2024 Inter-Asia Seminar Series: Cold War and Asia Modernity

Dr Seung-Ook Lee (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology) Professor Nianshen Song (Tsinghua University) Chelsea Ngoc Minh Nguyen Professor Hyun Bang Shin (LSE)



29 April 2024 Re-globalization, Geopolitics and Southeast Asia

Nick Bisley (La Trobe University) Professor John Sidel (LSE)



1 May 2024 Indonesia 1965 Reading Group



15 May 2024

Becoming Jihadis: Radicalization
and Commitment in

Southeast Asia

Julie Chernov Hwang (Goucher College) Dr Kirsten Schulze (LSE)



23 May 2024

Southeast Asia Forum 2024: The

Challenges of Sustainable Growth
in Southeast Asia

Jomo Kwame Sundaram (Khazanah Institute)
Yu-leng Khor (Singapore Institute of International Affairs)
Vü-Thành Tu-Anh (Fulbright School of Public Policy and Management)
Dr. Eve Warburton (Australian National University)
Professor John Sidel (LSE)



30 May 2024 Inter-Asia Seminar Series: Youth In Search Of A Future: Living Precariously In Compounded Crisis

Dr Mohd Amirul Rafiq Abu Rahim (Khazanah Research Institute) Professor Pun Ngai (Lingnan University) Professor Shakuntala Banaji (LSE) Professor Bingchun Meng (LSE) Professor Hyun Bang Shin (LSE)



6 June 2024
PhD Student Workshop



12 June 2024 Roundtable: Prospects for Peace in Myanmar

Lway Mownt Noon (University of York)
Vicky Bowman CMG (Myanmar Centre for
Responsible Business)
Dr David Brenner (University of Sussex)
Khin Thet San (Council for Scholars At
Risk)
Dr Petra Alderman (University of
Birmingham)
Dr Claire Smith (University of York)



11 July 2024 Indonesia 1998 Reading Group

Special Events

Over the course of the 2023-2024 academic year, the Centre hosted a series of special events reacting to recent developments in Southeast Asia and/or responding to requests from Southeast Asian students at the LSE. In November 2023, for example, the Centre organized a special roundtable discussion on the recent dynastic succession from long-time prime minister Hun Sen to his son Hun Manet in Cambodia, with leading specialists on Cambodia providing expert analysis. In January 2024, moreover, the Centre hosted a special event on the strong showing of the Move Forward Party in the 2023 Thai elections, with a talk by Thanatorn Juangroongruangkit, the leader of Move Forward's original incarnation, the Future Forward Party. In February 2024, the Centre similarly sponsored a roundtable discussion on the Indonesian elections, with contributions by experts in the UK and Indonesia. Finally, in June 2024, the Centre hosted a roundtable on the ongoing conflict in Myanmar organized by Dr. Claire Smith (University of York) and Dr. Petra Alderman (University of Birmingham). The participants in these events allowed the Centre to provide a venue for in-depth analysis and discussion of important contemporary developments and trends in Southeast Asia, with leading specialists sharing their expert knowledge and insights.

In May and July 2024, moreover, the Centre ran two special reading group sessions in response to requests from Indonesian students to provide a venue for in-depth discussion of important moments in the recent history of their country. In May 2024, Indonesian students from the LSE and elsewhere in London and beyond met to discuss two major books focused on the historic events of 30 September – 1 October 1965 which precipitated the anti-communist pogroms of late 1965 and early 1966, the forced dissolution of the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), the fall of Indonesia's first president, Soekarno, and the assumption of power by Army general Suharto, who ruled Indonesia from 1966 through May 1998. In July 2024, Indonesian students from the LSE and beyond

convened again to discuss scholarly analysis of the events of May 1998 which led to the fall of Suharto and the onset of a transition from authoritarian rule in Indonesia, with special attention paid to the role in these events played by Prabowo Subianto, who was elected to the Indonesian presidency earlier this year. Thanks to the interest and initiative of the students, the Centre was able to provide a safe space for indepth and unrestricted discussion of sensitive issues in recent Indonesian history which have long been misrepresented and misunderstood.

SEAC ANNUAL REPORT 23/24 29

Southeast Asia Forum

The LSE Southeast Asia Forum is SEAC's annual flagship event, designed to bring together leading Southeast Asia experts to present cutting-edge research and analysis of critical issues in the region.

Southeast Asia is a region well-known for its economic dynamism, high growth rates, and increasing prosperity. But today the region faces unprecedented challenges amidst

Pragmatism

volatility in world markets, global climate crisis, and rising geopolitical tensions. This year's Southeast Asia Forum on 23 May 2024 featured four experts on the economies of the region to discuss the challenges of sustainable growth in Southeast Asia.



Thursday 23 May, 9.00am to
10.30am

South by Southeast? From
Miracle and Debacle to

Speaker: Jomo Kwame Sundaram (Khazanah Institute)

Chair: Prof. John Sidel (LSE)

The 1993 World Bank publication of The East Asian Miracle celebrated the region's rapid growth and transformation but also obscured important variations within. Japan's endaka and Big Bang ended its postwar boom and anticipated the 1997 East Asian financial debacle. Meanwhile, coerced economic liberalization from the 1980s gave way to an era of globalization in a seemingly unipolar world following the West's victory in the Cold War. But liberalization and globalization's downsides soon accelerated U-turns. American sovereigntism was soon eroded by some consequences of its unipolar hegemony. Earlier liberalization and globalization also undermined industrial capitalism in favour of financialization. Capturing rents for wealth concentration has accelerated with enabling changes in the rule of law. Most of Southeast Asia remains focused on generating wealth, jobs, and revenue. But the 'New Cold War' is forcing Southeast Asian nations to take sides as the rules of engagement become fluid. Already Southeast Asian countries are implementing measures previously deemed to be unthinkable, measures which may well provide policy inspiration if not leadership to the Global South.



Thursday 23 May, 10:45am12:15pm
Southeast Asia's Green Supply
Chains

Speaker: Yu-leng Khor (Singapore Institute of International Affairs) Chair: Prof. John Sidel (LSE)

In Southeast Asia, environmental, labour and human rights (broadly 'green') questions have been met by rising scepticism and worry about trade protectionism, just when the region's record of containing deforestation and its "green premiums" or profits from stricter (Western) criteria exports have never been better. Drawing on fifteen years of observations while embedded with valuechains, this paper provides an analysis of key drivers and contexts informing forecasting for selected sustainable products from Southeast Asia: the ubiquitous palm oil (claimed to be in half of many supermarket products), natural rubber (used in gloves and tires), and solar panels. Beyond traditional supply-and-demand factors, the paper examines how oligopolies, oligarchies, and opinions impact the outlook. A hot topic is the EU's regulatory push for smallholder-farmer inclusive supplies that are free of deforestation. How are Southeast Asians responding? Let's consider why Indonesian tycoons and Thailand's smallholders may be in pole position, how market share relates to market reputation, and the impact of US-China trade war issues. The paper also touches on the latest observations on 'green' chemicals and 'green' data centres in Malaysia, China's 'green' (or not) BRI supply chains in Indonesia, and why China might desire certifications for a spiky stinky fruit.



Thursday 23 May, 2:00pm-3:30pm
Whither Reform? The Political
Economy of Vietnam's Economic
Reforms since Doi Moi

Speaker: Vũ-Thành Tự-Anh (Fulbright School of Public Policy and Management)

Chair: Prof. John Sidel (LSE)

This paper analyses the feasibility and prospects of "second-round reform" in Vietnam. From the perspective of neoclassical economics, Vietnam can definitely maintain an economic growth rate of 7-8% in the next two decades, thereby achieving the goal of becoming a high-income country by 2019. However, from a political economy perspective, this goal is much more challenging. The Vietnamese party-state's overarching goal is to achieve high rates of economic growth in order to maintain its performance legitimacy, while keeping intact its absolute political power. This fundamental political economy dilemma explains why Vietnam has adopted market-oriented reforms, compromised private ownership, allowed the functioning of markets to a certain extent, and actively integrated into the world economy. But, at the same time, the Vietnamese party-state has always tried to maintain a large SOE sector despite its indisputable inefficiency, and found various ways to subsidize and shield this sector from international competition even after Vietnam became a member of the WTO and joined CP-TPP.

This dualistic nature of Vietnam's socialist-oriented market economy explains why the domestic private sector – the most significant contributor to Vietnam's GDP growth, government budget, and new job creation – has been divided into two distinct groups. A small group of oligarchs with close ties to the party-state system has increasingly dominated economic activities, even in some areas considered to be of strategic importance, such as aviation and resource exploitation. The remaining 98% of private firms, including small and medium-sized enterprises, face discrimination and difficulties in accessing land, credit, and business opportunities. When the state economic sector is still considered the

backbone of the economy, when a minority of oligarchs continuously expand through rent-seeking mainly in the real estate and financial sectors, and when the domestic private sector – despite its significant contribution to the economy – is rhetorically promoted but discriminated against in reality, there are many reasons to doubt the future of "second-round reform" in Vietnam.



Thursday 23 May, 3:45pm-5:15pm Jokowi's Industrial Legacy: A Critical Reflection on 'Success' in Indonesia's Natural Resource Sector

Speaker: Dr. Eve Warburton (Australian National University) Chair: Prof. John Sidel (LSE)

One of the principal economic legacies of Indonesian President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) is a (re)turn to resourcebased industrialization. Over the course of his second and final term in office (2019-2024), state revenues have risen spectacularly on the back of the country's mineral product exports, the result of a strict ban on the export of raw nickel ores that compelled domestic and foreign businesses to invest downstream. In the short term, added value from processed mineral exports improved the country's balance of trade and helped Indonesia reach upper middle-income status in 2023a major achievement for Jokowi in the twilight years of his presidency. A longer-term goal is for the nickel smelting sector to feed into a domestic electric vehicle (EV) battery industry that would place Indonesia at the economic centre of the region's green energy transition. Thus, for the president and his ministers, downstream industrialisation is a major economic success story and source of nationalist pride.

This paper examines Jokowi's industrial legacy in the resource sectors, asking how and for whom 'success' is measured. In doing so, the goal is to not only reflect critically on one of the president's chief economic interventions, but also to bring into focus the nature of economic governance during his tenure. The paper points to four factors that help to explain the remarkable growth

of Indonesia's downstream industry since 2020, each of which is integral to the political economy of development under Jokowi more generally: the embrace of Chinese capital, the political rise and embeddedness of domestic extractive interests, recentralisation of economic governance, and the dismantling of accountability mechanisms to ensure unencumbered distribution of land and licenses. Then, having explained both the realisation of this downstream intervention, and the political economy conditions upon which it depended,

the paper then reflects on what 'success' looks like for those at the periphery of Indonesia's industrial boom, at sites of extraction and production. The paper suggests that Jokowi's industrial legacy is an inequitable one. While major domestic firms are reaping the benefits of resource-based industrialization, downstream expansion has generated a predictable set of negative externalities—from human and labour rights abuses to land conflict and serious environmental damage.

IMAGE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA FORUM 2024



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Southeast Asia Working Paper Series

The Southeast Asia Working Paper Series was launched in April 2022, showcasing work-in-progress research by the SEAC community. Working papers published under this Series are treated as 'workin-progress', pre-publication versions of academic papers, and therefore as 'drafts' that receive feedback and are subject to future revision.

The Series is an open platform for critical and constructive dialogues on region-related affairs and is open to contributions from all disciplines that SEAC engages with. The following Working Papers have been published this year:



Paper No. 11, June 2024
The Scale-up State: Singapore's Industrial Policy for the Digital Economy

Neil Lee, Metta Ni, Augustin Boey

The Singaporean state has played a crucial role in the country's economic development. This led to concerns that a state-steered economy would be unable to develop fast-changing, disruptive sectors that are reliant on individual entrepreneurship, such as digital technology. Yet Singapore has become a world leader in the scaling of digital technology firms. In this paper, we consider how this happened. We show that advances in ICT opened a window of locational opportunity in digital tech, which was spotted by Singaporean policymakers open to experimentation. A distinctive 'Singapore model' developed to take advantage of this opportunity, exploiting Singapore's geographical position, open economy, and business environment but combining this with active state intervention. To address coordination problems in the creation of an entrepreneurial ecosystem, Singaporean policymakers worked through a process we term 'network coordination' across the whole of government. While overall rates of entrepreneurship remain low, the country has been successful at scaling firms in the digital technology sector. These primarily focused on consumer applications and non-Singaporean markets, but there has been little development in frontier 'deep tech'.



Paper No.10, May 2024 Firms' Perceptions of Obstacles To Business: The Case of Cambodia

Marinella Boccia, Simona Iammarino, Chanmony Sean, Naron Veung

This paper explores the factors affecting firms' perception on how important barriers to innovation are in the case of Cambodia. In particular, the study aims to bring the characteristics of Cambodian enterprises to the fore, shedding light on two issues: what the characteristics associated with firm's perceptions of barriers to their economic and business operations are, and whether differences among their geographical location exist in relation to their assessment of how important such obstacles are. By using data from the World Bank Enterprise Survey 2016 in Cambodia, as well as information drawn from the previous wave of the same survey, the econometric analysis considers the complementarity among different types of obstacles highlighted in the empirical literature as being important from drawing policy implications.



Paper No.9, September 2023

'Seasons of the Anthropocene': Politicisation of the Haze Season in Southeast Asia

Helena Varkkey, Felicia Liu, Thomas Smith, & Sophie Trott

In the last three decades, a new 'haze season' has emerged in Indonesian, Malaysian, and Singaporean societies to signify the recurring air pollution episode caused by the widespread burning of tropical peatlands. This study delves into the discursive framework of 'seasonality' surrounding the societal perception and response to haze, exploring 'haze season' as an adaptation context and 'haze' as a mitigation strategy. Deploying a three-step methodology, this paper identifies and analyses key storylines used by various political actors to attribute meaning to haze, namely (1) 'it keeps coming back', (2) 'it will go away', and (3) 'it is normal'. Different political actors deploy these storylines for distinct purposes. The objectives of storyline deployment align mostly between governments and corporations seeking to explain, legitimise, and detract from mitigation inefficiencies and adaptation inadequacies, with civil society organisations being the sole challenges and critique of this patronage network structures, where governments and companies tolerate unsustainable agroforestry practices leading to haze. The study underscores the significance of understanding the politics involved in constructing 'seasons of the Anthropocene'. Divergent framing of seasonality by different actors reveals the underlying mechanisms influencing environmental change mitigation and adaptation. The construction of Anthropocene seasons can be a double-edged sword, with familiarisation enhancing societal preparedness, while normalisation can lead to desensitisation and inertia towards mitigation. Untangling the divergent pathways of politicising Anthropocene seasonalities holds the key to determining whether and how societies can build a 'liveable future'. By grasping the dynamics of the 'haze season' discourse, we can project effective environmental action and address the challenges posed by recurring haze episodes.



Paper No.8, August 2023 Questioning the traditional narrative over contemporary urban development in the Javanese royal city

Ofita Purwani

The recent spectacularized development in the Gulf cities of the Middle East and North Africa has brought into view its contradictory logic of urban change. The cities in that region are highly entrepreneurial, ambitious, and futuristic (Kanna, 2011), yet this happens in and through the longstanding tradition of monarchical power (Molotch and Ponzini, 2019). Royal authority is expressed in modern and globalized forms. Is this the case in other contexts where urban change proceeds in the context of royal influence? This paper addresses this question by looking at the city of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Although Indonesia is a democracy, in Yogyakarta, the royal family retains a strong presence in and influence over the city. That influence, however, manifests itself not in a futuristic way, as in the cities of the Gulf, but through traditionalized discourses and forms. Moreover, while urban development in Gulf cities is often legitimized by using a globalized and future-oriented vision, in Yogyakarta, change is legitimized by recourse to traditional narratives set within the symbolic authority of royalty. This paper explores why Yogyakarta's urban change proceeds in and through this royalistic logic. It does so by examining the historical background and current cultural and socioeconomic context of urban change, including relevant legal and planning issues. I conclude that the persistence of traditionalized reasoning and expression in Yogyakarta is intensified in inverse proportion to the purchase of monarchical power. Although urban change is framed through royal reasoning, that reasoning is itself shaped by funding opportunities, legal constraints, and global and local forces. Unlike Gulf cities, which benefit from oil wealth and deregulated economic zoning, Yogyakarta has limited funding from the central government and limited opportunity for foreign investment. These economic constraints intensify traditionalism and a specific form of urban royal expression, all through the opportunities offered through the cultural economy of heritage.

34 PUBLICATIONS

SEAC Associates – Publications

Research Articles and News Articles

Catherine Allerton, "Discordant temporalities of migration and childhood," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Volume 29, Number 4 (2023), pp. 763 - 783.

Laura Antona, "Geographies of Possession: Domestic Workers' Shifting Owners and Ghostly Encounters in Singapore," *Annals of the American* Association of Geographers, Volume 114, Number 5 (2024), pp. 943 - 957.

Laura Antona, "Gendered disciplinary apparatuses and carceral domesticities in Singapore's labour-migration regime," *Environment and Planning D*, Volume 41, Number 6 (2023), pp. 931-1093.

Neil Lee, Metta Ni, and Augustin Boey, The scaleup state: Singapore's industrial policy for the digital economy (London: LSE Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre Working Paper Series, 2024.

Nicholas J. Long, "The Ideal of Intellectual Exchange: Study Abroad, Affect and the Ambivalences of Citizenship in Post-Suharto Indonesia," in Jacob Copeman, Nicholas J. Long, Lam Minh Chau, Joanna Cook, and Magnus Marsden (eds.), An Anthropology of Intellectual Exchange: Interactions, Transactions, and Ethics in Asia and Beyond (New York: Berghanh Books, 2023), pp. 257-279.

Sharmila Parmanand, "Shape-shifting and Strategic In/visibility: Comparing Sex Work Activism in Singapore and the Philippines," *Trans: Trans-Regional and –National Studies of Southeast Asia*, Volume 12, Number 1 (2024), pp. 27-44.

Kirsten E. Schulze, Contesting Indonesia: Islamist, Separatist, and Communal Violence since 1945. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2024.

Petchpilai Lattanan, Puttaporn Areeprachakun, Areerut Ptnukao, Pannee Cheewinsiriwat, John Barlow, Hyun Bang Shin, and Jonathan Rigg, "From Causality to Blame: Exploring Flooding, Factories and Land Conversion in Eastern Thailand," *Australian Geographer*, Volume 55, Number 2 (2024), pp. 203-227.

Do Young Oh and Hyun Bang Shin, "University as Real Estate Developer: Comparative Perspectives from the Global East," *Geoforum*, 144 (2023), pp. 1-12.

John T. Sidel. Republikanisme, Komunisme, Islam: Asal-Usul Kosmopolitan Revolusioner di Asia Tenggara. Jakarta: GDN Press, 2024. Translated by Keenan Nasution.

Jürgen Haacke, "ASEAN and Conflict Management," in Jörn Dosch and Frederick Kliem (eds.), *The Elgar Companion to ASEAN* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2023), pp. 76-92.

Hans J. Steinmüller, "State, Mind, and Legibility without Writing in the Wa State of Myanmar," *Ethnos*, Volume 88, Number 4 (2023), pp. 774-796.

Qingfei Yin, "Between the mountains, the city, and the world: the microhistory of a 'Small Third Front' Chinese arsenal during revolution and reform," *Labor History*, Volume 65, Number 4 (2023), pp. 457-475.

LSE Southeast Asia Blog

Blog list from Sep 2023 to July 2024

 Jim Scott in memoriam, Southeast Asian studies in perpetuum

Author: John Sidel

Cambodia's Street Vendors: The Economic Realities of Cambodian Street Vendors Post-COVID19

Author: Deepanshu Mohan

Struggles and Strength: The Story of Cambodia's Female Street Vendors

Author: Deepanshu Mohan

Resilience Amidst Adversity: Understanding Cambodia's Informal Sector in the Wake of COVID-19

Author: Deepanshu Mohan

Myanmar's civil society in turbulent times: outside-in and inside-out

Author: Maaike Matelski

Southeast Asia Artificial Intelligence Governance Guide in Formation: Picking no side among global powers?

Author: Grace Yuehan Wang

Dwelling in the uninhabitable Jakarta: notes from the field

Author: Marco Del Gallo

(Un)contested accumulation by reclamation in Jakarta Bay

Author: Henrico Saeran

 The Impact of Human Rights on Social Responsibility Policies on Small-Scale Fishing Communities in Indonesia

Author: Eko Octavianus

Book Review: The Coalitions Presidents Make: Presidential Power and its Limits in Democratic Indonesia by Marcus Mietzner

Author: Yen Nie YONG

Book Review: Building Socialism: The Afterlife of East German Architecture in Urban Vietnam by Christina Schwenkel

Author: Xue Xuan

Institutional foot-dragging in Myanmar: International Financial Institutions and structures of ignorance

Author: Dominique Dillabough-Lefebvre

Burma to Myanmar Exhibition

Author: Minn Tent Bo

Finding the Ghosts of Malaysian Anti-colonial Resistance: The Archival Afterlives of a Lost Future

Author: Armand Azra bin Azlira

Legal Provisions for Pets and Other Animals in Myanmar

Author: Aye Mar Win

Book Review: Incomplete Conquests: The Limits of Spanish Empire in the Seventeenth-Century Philippines by Stephanie Joy Mawson

Author: Cai Barias

 Book review: Subversive Archaism: Troubling Traditionalists and the Politics of National Heritage by Michael Herzfeld

Author: Olivia Porter

'Infernal Damnation': Sküm, Punk and the Political in Burma

Author: Tobiasz Targosz

The 'Burma Baptist Chronicle' of 1963

Author: Alexandra Kaloyanides

Understanding Indonesian Conservatives and Liberals' Moral Perspectives on the #SahkanRUUPKS Campaign

Author: Yenuarizki Soedjoko

The Last Malay Enclave in Kuala Lumpur: Urban Renewal, Resistance and the Symbolic Dispossession

Author: Jiajun Deng

Book review: Indigenizing the Cold War: Nation-Building by the Border Patrol Police in Thailand

Author: Xu Peng

36 PUBLICATIONS

The gig economy as a stepping stone: Career trajectories of online platform workers in Indonesia

Author: Muhammad Yorga Permana

■ The paradox of social insurance reform in Vietnam

Author: Tu Phuong Nguyen

The Bowring Treaty of 1855 and the Transformation of Siamese (Thai) Foreign Policies towards Britain

Author: Wisarut Junsook

Interethnic Friendships under Ethnically Segregated Education Pathways

Author: Hanson Chong Zhi Zheng

- Emerging Fintech Possibilities and Impediments in the Southeast Asian Economy Author: Harsh Mahaseth
- Book Review: Rights Refused: Grassroots Activism and State Violence in Myanmar by Elliott Prasse-Freeman

Author: Thanapat Chatinakrob

The Struggle for Women's Reproductive Rights;
 A Southeast Asian Perspective

Author: Mava Bofa

 Book Review: Development in Spirit: Religious Transformation and Everyday Politics in Vietnam's Highlands by Seb Rumsby

Author: Phill Wilcox

Planting Seeds for the Future of Malaysian Workers

Author: Wen Huei Chang, Qi Cheng Lee

Visualising Societal Harms of Al

Author: Dr Jun-E Tan

 Building Malaysian Resilience by Committing to Inclusive Social Protection

Author: Hawati Abdul Hamid

Inclusion and Beyond: Extending the Terms of Urban Future-Making in Malaysia

Author: Prof Tim Bunnell

Infrastructures of potable water and counterinsurgency in Metro Manila

Author: Cla Ruzol

The Rise of the Youth Movement in Thailand: The Double Layers of the Intergenerational Political Clash between the Cold War Boomer's Gerontocratic State and the 'Zoomers'

Author: Kanokrat Lertchoosakul

Book Review: The Candidate's Dilemma: Anticorruptionism and Money Politics in Indonesian Election Campaigns by Elisabeth Kramer

Author: Ahmad Rizky M. Umar

- Southeast Asian Studies at the LSE: Historical Legacies, Enduring Structures, New Directions Author: John T. Sidel
- A history of Philippine Independence Day
 Author: Luis Zuriel P. Domingo
- How Do Southeast Asian Cities Cope with Crises?

Author: Melinda Martinus

Podcast

DIALOGUES ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

Dialogues on Southeast Asia is a podcast hosted by the Centre which features discussions with specialists in diverse disciplines and with different kinds of expertise on the countries of the region and Southeast Asia as a whole.

How – How Much – has Malaysian Politics Changed Since 2018, and Why?

10 August 2024

In this episode, host LSE Southeast Asia Centre Director John Sidel speaks with Meredith Weiss, Professor of Political Science at SUNY Albany and a leading specialist on Malaysian politics. In the interview, Professor Weiss provides in-depth analysis and insights with regard to the complex patterns of continuity and change in Malaysian politics since the watershed election of 2018.

On Sino-Vietnamese Border Relations

31 July 2024

In this episode, host SEAC Director John Sidel talks with Dr Qingfei Yin, SEAC Associate and Assistant Professor of International History at LSE. Dr Qingfei Yin talks about her new book State Building in Cold War Asia Comrades and Competitors on the Sino-Vietnamese Border (due out with Cambridge University Press in August 2024), explains how she became interested in her research on China and Vietnam relations and the borderlands between the two countries, and discusses other projects she has begun working on beyond her forthcoming book.

Discussing the Intricacies of Wa State as a Borderland between China and Myanmar 11 June 2024

In this episode, host SEAC Director John Sidel talks with Dr Hans Steinmüller, SEAC Associate and Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the LSE.

Discussing The Environmental Challenges of Southeast Asia

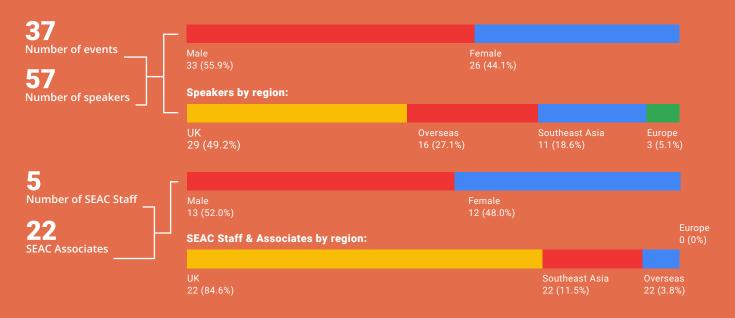
17 May 2024

In this episode, host Professor John Sidel talks with Dr Thomas Smith, Associate Professor in Environmental Geography at the LSE, about the unique features and significance of Southeast Asia within a global environmental landscape.

EDI at the Centre

be seen in our events programme, where we welcome a diverse range of speakers to the Centre to discuss regional topics from a variety of backgrounds, approaches, and academic disciplines. Decentring knowledge production and access to knowledge is core to the Centre's approach. We are pleased to report on our Equity, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) at the Centre, and in particular, to share statistics on our speakers: SEAC approached all its work

approach can particularly be seen in our events programme, where we welcome a diverse range of speakers to the Centre to discuss regional topics from a variety of backgrounds, approaches, and access to knowledge is core to the Centre's approach. We are pleased to report on our Equity, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI) at the Centre, and in particular, to share statistics on our speakers:



Outreach and Engagement

Student Engagement

LSE's student body comprises around 6% of students from Southeast Asia, with 9.5% of undergraduate students from Southeast Asia, reflecting the region's diversity, culture, and peoples. As Southeast Asia's hub at LSE, SEAC continues to actively engage with Southeast Asian students, particularly with LSE Students' Union societies related to Southeast Asia:

- **ASEAN Society**
- **Filipino Society**
- Malaysia Club
- **Singapore Society**
- **Indonesian Society**
- **Thai Society**
- **Vietnamese Society**

		2023-	2024
		UG	PG
	Myanmar	1	6
sia	Thailand	49	45
st A	Laos	0	1
Jea	Vietnam	22	7
Student numbers from Southeast Asia	Cambodia	1	3
J S	Malaysia	245	36
froi	Singapore	238	56
ers	Brunei	5	1
d I	Indonesia	14	54
t nu	Philippines	4	12
den	Timor Leste	0	0
Stu	TOTAL	579	221
Sti	TOTAL	579	221

39 EDI AT THE CENTRE





Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre

London School of Economics and Political Science

Autumn

20CT

Joe Studwell UK's Overseas Development Institute

A Sunny Place For Shady People? Singapore As a Conduit For Illicit Financial Flows and Cross-Border Crime

9 OCT

Michael Herzfeld Harvard University

The Crypto-Colonial Heritage of Modern Island

9 OCT

Professor Ward Berenschot University of Amsterdam

Colonial Debris: The Struggle For Land and Citizenship in Indonesia

16 OCT

Professor Enze Han University of Hong Kong

The Ripple Effect: China's Complex Presence in Southeast Asia

23 OCT

Professor Kirsten Schulze LSE, SEAC Associate

'Book Talk - Contesting Indonesia: Islamist, Separatist and Communal Violence since 1945'

30 OCT

Professor Thitinan Pongsudhirak Chulalongkom University

Coups and Crises in Myanmar and Thailand: Implications for Southeast Asia/ASEAN and Beyond

13 NOV

Li Tana Australian National University

Understanding Vietnamese History With a View From the Sea

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Professor Marina Wekler Cornell University

Kretek Capitalism: Making, Marketing, and Consuming Clove Cigarettes in Indonesia



4 DEC

Alex Millbrook Kalayaan

Susan Cueva Southeast and East Asian Women's Association

Marissa Begonia Voice of Domestic Workers

Shiela "Cielo" Esperanza Tilan Filipino Domestic Workers Association

Florence Cayboen Filipino Domestic Workers Association

Understanding and Challenging the Exploitation of Filipina Domestic Workers in the UK: A Roundtable Discussion

The London School of Economics and Political Science

LSE is a global community of people and ideas in the heart of central London. We're a specialist social sciences university, ranking sixth in the world in the QS World University Rankings by Subject 2024 and as the top university in London in the Complete University Guide 2025. LSE's motto "rerum cognoscere causas" means "to know the causes of things". It was chosen to support the School's founding purpose, "for the betterment of society". Our ambition today is to be the leading social science university with the greatest global impact. Led by our new President and Vice Chancellor, Professor Larry Kramer who joined LSE in April 2024.

International Outlook

We are committed to building a vibrant, equitable and truly inclusive environment for staff and students from all over the world. We have partnerships with globally renowned universities spanning Europe, Africa, America and Asia including CIVICA - The European University of Social Sciences. In the UK, we are part of the Russell Group, the Aspect social science research commercialisation network, and the launch of SHAPE – Social sciences, Humanities and the Arts for People and the Economy.

An LSE Education

We help students prepare for bright futures in world-changing roles. A rigorous social science education is designed to stretch students intellectually through specialist undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, executive education, distance learning and summer schools. LSE students are members of one of the largest economic and social science libraries in the world. Initiatives such as LSE LIFE, the PhD Academy, Student Futures, Careers, Volunteering and Generate provide academic, personal and professional support for students too. The student-led Houghton Street Press is one of many ways LSE students engage with the world.

Research and Society

LSE academics conduct social science research that makes a lasting impact on society. This means students are taught by academics that regularly advise international bodies and governments, and who are also vocal in the media on current news. The 2021 Research Excellence Framework, a national evaluation exercise, ranked LSE as a top university for research quality and impact. We're continuously expanding our research horizon to reflect and aid the changing society around us. Our current Understanding Global Politics initiative brings together LSE research to shed light on the topic.

SUPPORT US 41



Support Us

As the primary hub for Southeast Asia research in the UK, SEAC seeks funding to help support its mission. The Centre is looking to engage in individual and long-term partnerships to drive the work of the Centre and to work together to promote research on Southeast Asia. Without generous support, this vital hub for academic research on Southeast Asia would be lost, marginalising scholarship on the region and limiting possibilities for learning and exchange. The generous support of funders will allow SEAC to continue its work and impact, through our funding priorities. Below is an illustration of how your support can help us:

- £1000 will enable an undergraduate or
 Master's student to undertake dissertation
 research in Southeast Asia
- £5000 will enable the Centre to host a small workshop with participants from Southeast Asia.
- £5000-10,000 grant will fund a PhD student's fieldwork in Southeast Asia.
- £10-20,000 will provide seed funding for LSE academic staff research projects in Southeast Asia.

- £20,000 will enable the Centre to host a conference with public lectures focused on major contemporary issues in Southeast Asia.
- **£**110,000 will pay for a fully-funded PhD for a UK student focused on Southeast Asia
- £175,000 will pay for a fully-funded PhD for a student from Southeast Asia
- £10 million will serve as a long-term endowment to allow the Centre to survive for years to come.



LSE Saw Swee Hock Southeast Asia Centre (SEAC)

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