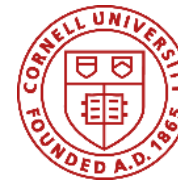
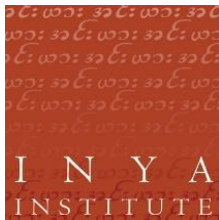


2024 International Interdisciplinary Conference on Myanmar's Borderlands

Past, Present, and Future

June 17-19, 2024

Conference Organizers



Cornell University

Location

Faculty of Political Science
6th Floor | 7th Floor | 12th Floor | 13th Floor
Chulalongkorn University

MONDAY JUNE 17, 2024

Pre-Conference Event		
10:00	17:30	Registration of Conference Participants (13 th Floor)
10:00	12:00	2023-2024 Mvanmar’s Borderlands Research and Mentoring Workshop Smart Room 710/1 7 th Floor Zoom Room A Final Presentations by Myanmar Junior Researchers supported by the Inya Institute Open to Conference Presenters

Conference Program		
14:00	15:00	CONFERENCE OPENING CEREMONY
		Kasem Suwanagul Hall 13th Floor Zoom Room A
		Dr. Pavika Sriratanaban, Associate Prof., Director of the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University Dr. Prakorn Siriprakob, Associate Prof., Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University Keynote Speech: Dr. Pinkaew Laungaramsri, Prof., Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Chiang Mai University
15:00	15:30	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)
15:30	17:00	PANEL SESSION 1
17:30	19:30	Dinner Reception 13 th Floor

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024

8:30	17:00	Registration of Conference Participants (13 th Floor)
9:00	10:30	PANEL SESSION 2
10:30	10:45	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)
10:45	12:15	PANEL SESSION 3
12:15	13:45	Lunch (13 th Floor)
13:45	15:15	PANEL SESSION 4
		MOVIE PRESENTATION
15:15	15:30	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)
15:30	17:00	PANEL SESSION 5
		BOOK PRESENTATION

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19, 2024

08:30	12:00	Registration of Conference Participants (13 th Floor)
09:00	10:30	PANEL SESSION 6
		ROUNDTABLE
10:30	11:00	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)
11:00	12:30	PLENARY SESSION
		Kasem Suwanagul Hall 13th Floor Zoom Room A
		Prof. Wen-Chin Chang, Academia Sinica, Taipei Prof. Yos Santasombat, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai Dr. Su-Ann Oh, Independent Scholar, Singapore Prof. Naruemon Thabchumpon, Asia Research Center for Migration, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok Moderator: Assistant Prof. Jiraporn Laocharoenwong, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University

MONDAY JUNE 17, 2024

Pre-Conference Event

10:00	17:30	Registration of Conference Participants
10:00	12:00	2023-2024 Myanmar’s Borderlands Research and Mentoring Workshop Smart Room 710/1 7 th Floor Zoom Room A Final Presentations by Myanmar Junior Researchers supported by the Inya Institute Open to Conference Presenters

Conference Program

14:00	15:00	CONFERENCE OPENING Kasem Suwanagul Hall 13 th Floor Zoom Room A Dr. Pavika Sriratanaban, Associate Prof., Director of the Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University Dr. Prakorn Siriprakob, Associate Prof., Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University Keynote Speech: Dr. Pinkaew Laungaramsri, Prof., Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Chiang Mai University Presentation Title: "Dark Zomia: Myanmar Frontier and the Chinese Enclosure"				
15:00	15:30	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)				
15:30	17:00	PANEL SESSION 1				
		Hybrid				
		Panel 1A Zoom Room A	Panel 1B Zoom Room B	Panel 1C Zoom Room C	Panel 1D Zoom Room D	Panel 1E Zoom Room E
		Malai Huvanandana Room (12 th Fl.)	Poli Sci Alumni Room (12 th Fl.)	Smart Room 710/1 (7 th Fl.)	Room 615 (6 th Fl.)	Room 614 (6 th Fl.)
		Shifting Governance and Power Dynamics in Myanmar's Contested Borderlands	Humanitarian Relief and Refugees in Myanmar’s Borderlands	British-Burma Colonial Borders and their Governance	Im/mobility: Experiences of Transition, Displacement, and Stuckness in the Borderlands of Myanmar	Current Challenges and New Perspectives in Education Provision in the Borderlands
		Panel Organizer: Tabea C. Pauli <i>Sponsored by the Asia Foundation</i>	Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Panel Organizer: Joshua Mitchell	Chair: TBA
		The Myanmar Borderlands as an Energy Transition ‘Sacrifice Zone’ – A Case Study of Rare Earth Mining in Kachin State Dang Seng Lawn	Unveiling Human Rights Challenges in Myanmar's Borderland B. Lora Christyanti and Emmy Taurina Adriani	Empire’s Limit: Shan States and the Anglo-Sino Diplomacy regarding Burma (1885-1886) Qi Liu	Unexpected Immobility: Finding Purpose and Identity Among Kachin in Chiang Mai Stephen Zau Zin Myat	Continuing Post-secondary Education for Conflict-induced Displaced Persons from Karenni (Kayah) State along the Thai-Myanmar Border Khu David Ta Keh, Hnin Ei Wai Lwin, and Andrew Wai Phyo Kyaw
		Resistance and the Cost of the Coup in Chin State, Myanmar June N.S	Refugee Protection and Resettlement in the Aftermath of the Myanmar Coup: Experiences of Displaced Individuals Seeking Sanctuary in Thailand Tin Maung Htwe	A Peaceful Coalition: The Negotiation Game Between the Qing and British Empires in Burma and the Reshaping of the Sino-Burmese Frontier Order, 1885–1886 Hanxiao Song	Border Crossing as Therapeutic Mobility: Addiction, Rehabilitation, and Migration in the Borderlands of Burma Joshua Mitchell	Challenges of Access to Continuous Quality Secondary Education Among Displaced Communities Along the Myanmar-Thai Border After Military Coup Shwin Thant Lei & Khin Yadana Kyaw

		Governing at the Margins: A Patchwork of Policies and Practices in the Rohingya Refugee Response in Bangladesh	Unseen refugees	Shananigans in the Borderlands of Burma: The Shan Rebellion of 1902-1904	Strangers at Home: Development, Displacement, and Fear among the Lisu on the China-Myanmar Border	Teacher Training in Storytelling and Place-based Education: A Case Study and Initial Reflection
		Tasnia Khandaker Prova	Wae Win Khaing and Sai Kyi Zin Soe	Andrew John Walker	Ting-Hui Lau	Yi Li
		Asia's Cyber Con: Exposing the Billion-Dollar Online Scam Epidemic	“No Recognition, No Participation”: Tracing the Political Lives of Refugees in the Thai-Myanmar Borderlands	The Burma-Yunnan Frontier Meetings and the Unwritten Rules of Governance, 1902-1940	Discussant:	New Paradigm of Education Provision in borders (Thai-Myanmar-China) in Post-coup Myanmar
		Laure Siegel and WU Qin	Carrie Perkins	Jonathan Chen	Jasnea Sarma	Ah Sai
						Higher Education Pathways for Refugee Students along the Thai-Myanmar Border
						Sa Phyo Arkar Myo Hlaing and Andrew Wai Phyo Kyaw
17:30	19:30	Dinner Reception 13 th Floor				

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024

8:30	17:00	Registration of Conference Participants				
9:00	10:30	PANEL SESSION 2				
		Hybrid				
		Panel 2A Zoom Room A	Panel 2B Zoom Room B	Panel 2C Zoom Room C	Panel 2D Zoom Room D	Panel 2E Zoom Room E
		Malai Huvanandana Room (12 th Fl.)	Poli Sci Alumni Room (12 th Fl.)	Room 614 (6 th Fl.)	Room 615 (6 th Fl.)	Smart Room 710/1 (7 th Fl.)
		Geopolitics of the Myanmar-China Border: From the Kachin to the Greater Mekong Region	Community Cohesion, Development, and Resilience across Tangible/Intangible Borders (I)	Transnational Solidarity and Cross-Border Mobilization	Manuscript Culture and Religion in the Borderlands	Rights, Opportunities and Access to Education in Borderlands
		Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Panel organizer: Pau Sian Lian <i>Sponsored by the Yangon Cosmopolitan University</i>
		Living along and Living with the Border: The Post-pandemic Border Regime(s) between China and Myanmar	Changing Identities and Conflicting Homelands in the Indo-Myanmar Borderland	Gen Z Myanmar Diaspora in the Digital Borderlands: 1.5 Generation Refugee-Background Youth in the US and Their Transnational Activist Networks	The Preservation of Buddhist Piety in the Peripheries: Shan Buddhism across the Myanmar-China border	Conflict and Displacement in Pekon Township: Navigating Educational Access in Conflict Setting
		Zhuo Niu	Parijat Goswami	Rosalie Metro	Olivia Porter	Felicita

		Analysing the Implications of Kuomintang Invasion to Myanmar Political Landscape: A Comprehensive Analysis Maung Maung Oo	Solidarity and Shared Identity beyond Borders: Narratives from Borderland Communities along the Indo-Myanmar Border Ketoukhrie-ü and A.G. Samuel	The Evolution of Cyber Activism in Burma from the 1990s to the Post-2021 Coup Era Zar Ti Nwe Nu Aung	Murray Manuscripts at the British Library Maria Kekki	A Study on Access to Education of Burmese Refugee Children in Mizoram, India Khin Mon Lin, Mary & Ei Ei
		Navigating Sino-Myanmar Relations through the Waters of the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Otto	Indigenous Knowledge, Resilience and Imaginations in the Naga Borderlands Jack Jenkins Hill and Athong Makury	Burmese Exile Activism in Thailand Sarah Riebel	Surveying Manuscripts Collections for Future Digitization across the Greater Shan Country Francois Tainturier	Rights of Myanmar Youth Refugees in Mizoram: Access to Education Mawite & Areng
		Mediator for Autonomy: The KIO’s Facilitation of Cross-border Economic Activity in Mai Ja Yang, Kachin State, Myanmar Nu Ra Lashi		Beyond the Boundaries: Analyzing the Impacts of Myanmar’s Diaspora Activism in Thailand Htet Lynn Oo	Shan Manuscript Textiles at The British Library Maria Kekki and Methaporn Singhanan	Kachin Students' Perspectives on Peace Education Curriculum at the Higher Education Level in Mai Ja Yang, Kachin State, Myanmar Ning Shan, Ah San & Seng
				‘Rebel/Insurgent’ Cosmopolitanism: Imagining and Living Spaces of Rebellion on the Hukawng Borderworlds between India, Burma, and China Jasnea Sarma		Discussants Louise and Magnolia
10:30	10:45	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)				
10:45	12:15	PANEL SESSION 3				
		Hybrid				
		Panel 3A Zoom Room A	Panel 3B Zoom Room B	Panel 3C Zoom Room C	Panel 3D Zoom Room D	Panel 3E Zoom Room E
		Malai Huvanandana Room (12 th Fl.)	Poli Sci Alumni Room (12 th Fl.)	Smart Room 710/1 (7 th Fl.)	Room 615 (6 th Fl.)	Room 614 (6 th Fl.)
		Challenges to Public Health in Myanmar’s Borderlands Chair: TBA	Community Cohesion, Development, and Resilience across Tangible/Intangible Borders (II) Chair: TBA	Women’s Everyday Experience, Resilience, and Agency in the Borderlands Chair: TBA	Land and Natural Resource Governance in the Ethnic Borderlands Panel Organizer: Kevin Woods	Perspectives on Rohingya Issues Chair: TBA
		Myanmar’s Participation and Effectiveness in Human Trafficking Prevention: Levels-of-Analysis Ying Yi Kuo	Inter-Communal and Social Cohesion: Good Practices, Barriers, and Opportunities Thae Ma Ma Zin	The Impact of War on Karenni Women Sophia	Recurring Ruptures in Land Relations in War and Ceasefire in Kawthoolei, Southeastern Myanmar Kevin Woods	Voices Unveiled: Rohingya Perceptions Amidst the Arakan Army-Myanmar Military Conflict Maria

		A Closer Look: Case Studies on the Mental Health Challenges among Refugees Ashe Chakhesang	Mon migrant worker networks and community development through resource transaction in Samut Nakhon province, Thailand Kamonwan Roengsumran	Weaponizing Femininity on the China-Myanmar Borderlands: Trafficking Development and Bordered Illegality Guosheng Fu and Elena Shih	Resisting the Ravage: A Comparative Study of Civil Society Responses to Mining Operations in Myanmar Aye Mon Thu	Human Right, International Law, and Rohingya: Legal Perspectives on Climate Change Refugee Ahmad Sabirin
		Evaluating the Right to a Healthy Environment for Internally Displaced Persons in Karen State Kyaw Lwin & Bhone Myat Min Thant	Unraveling the Financial Strategies of Workers in Mae Sot: Social Capital as Social Networks of Labor Migration Perspective on Remittance Patterns and Socio-Economic Impact Tin Maung Htwe	Everyday Transnationalism: Indigenous Women's Transnational and Trans-Indigenous Activist Connections in Northern Thailand and the Thai-Burma Border Hannah El-Silimy	Land Commodification in Southern Ye Township, Mon State, Myanmar Ba Nyar Oo	
				Livelihood Struggles Amidst Intentional Disregards: Role of Social Capital in Adaptive Resilience as Witnessed through Women's Post-coup Experiences in Mae Sot Su Myat Thwe	Local Resistance against Banana Grabbing in a Village in Northern Myanmar's Kachin State Seng Li	
12:15	13:45	Lunch (13 th Floor)				
13:45	15:15	PANEL SESSION 4				
		Hybrid				MOVIE PRESENTATION (ONLINE)
		Panel 4A Zoom Room A	Panel 4B Zoom B	Panel 4C Zoom Room C	Panel 4D Zoom Room D	Panel 4E Zoom Room E
		Malai Huvanandana Room (12 th Fl.)	Poli Sci Alumni Room (12 th Fl.)	Room 615 (6 th Fl.)	Room 614 (6 th Fl.)	Smart Room 710/1 (7 th Fl.)
		Migrant and Exiled Communities in Thailand: Place-making and Challenges to Human Security Chair: TBA	State Boundary-Making vs. Cross-Border Communities Chair: TBA	Shaping Agency and Governance of Land and Natural Resources in the Borderlands Chair: TBA	Ethno-Historical Dynamics in Myanmar's Borderlands Chair: TBA	The Ice-Cream Sellers A Film by Sohel Rahman
		Everyday Bordering and Myanmar Migrants in Mae Sot, Thailand Sai Phyo Zin Aung	Pliable Borders and Containable Borderlands in South and Southeast Asia Nyi Nyi Kyaw	Natural Resources Governance and Conservation: A Case Study of the Anal Naga Trans Border Tribe, Manipur Momo	Understanding Fragility and Conflict: A Comprehensive Ethno-Historical Analysis of Security Challenges in Myanmar's Borderlands Mohammad Danish	Film Synopsis After the Rohingya genocide, two little siblings began their new life by selling cheap ice-cream
		Disconnected but Connected Practices between Myanmar and Thailand: Focusing on Migrants from Myanmar in Mae Sot, Thailand After the Coup Eunjeong Lee	Border Worldmaking: State Violence, Solidarity, and Relational Space on the Thai-Myanmar Border Shona Loong	Christianity and Conservation in the Uplands of Southeast Asia Kimberly Roberts	Navigating the Crossroads: An Examination of Myanmar's Borderlands in Historical, Contemporary, and Future Perspectives Mohamad Zreik and Wynn Marlar	

		The Nexus of Legality and Human Security: Informal Coping Strategies among Shan Migrants in Chiang Mai	India-Myanmar borderlands: the Singpho and Lisu spatialities across the Patkai Bum	Land Tenure Transformation in the Naga Self-Administered Zone: Legal Pluralism and Accumulation in a Multi-Ethnic Upland Frontier Before/ After the Coup	Challenging Identities and Borders: Citizenship and Ethnicity in the Indo-Myanmar Borderlands	door to door in the world’s largest refugee camp in Bangladesh in a desperate attempt to earn enough money to bribe officials for the release of their father from prison in Myanmar.	
		Cho Zin Thet	Karin Dean	JK	Arunava Banerjee and Shounak B. Chowdhury		
		Visualizing Myanmar Communities in Chiang Mai Past and Present	Against the Heartland/Borderland Divide: Configuring Anya as an Internal Frontier	Seeds of Resistance: Agrarian Justice, Rural Activism, and Military Dictatorship on the China-Myanmar Border			
		Mathias Jenny, Alice Vittrant, Nathi	Stéphen Huard	Sinwa Naw			
		Burmese Exiles in Mae Sot: Navigating Transnational Political Challenges		From Karen Relational Ontologies to Agro-Industrial Ecologies and the Refugee Camp In-between			
		Zar Ti Nwe Nu Aung		Terese V. Gagnon			
15:15	15:30	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)					
15:30	17:00	PANEL SESSION 5				BOOK PRESENTATION	
		Hybrid					
		Panel 5A Zoom Room A	Panel 5B Zoom Room B	Panel 5C Zoom Room C	Panel 5D Zoom Room D		
		Conference room: TBA	Conference room: TBA	Conference room: TBA	Conference room: TBA		
		Everyday Lives, Homes, and Borderlands’ Communities	Migrant Labor and Labor Markets in the Borderlands	Nation-building and Nationalism in the Borderlands	A Sense of Place and Belonging in the Chiang Tung Borderland		
		Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Author: Klemens Karlsson		
		Impacts of Modern Housing on the Ethnic Culture of the Wa People in Yunnan, China: Perspectives from Hearth Transformations	Neighborhood Effect of China on the Production of Space of the Thai-Myanmar Border SEZs from the Perspective of Border Migration	Talking Nationalisms in Burma: Kachin Concepts of Nation, State, and Liberation	Book Presentation: An interdisciplinary study about the meaning Tai Khuen people project onto their home, which includes cultural, religious, and historical aspects of their place.		
		Shuwei Yang and Satoshi Yokoyama	Tingyu Hou	Laur Kiik			
	Living along Borders: Boundaries of Housing and Homing Refugee Families	Political Ecology of Burmese Migration to Bangkok in the Context of Climate Change, Agrarian Change and Armed Conflict	Rethinking Transnationalism: Reconstructing National Identity of Chin Communities in Mizoram State of India				
	Miriam Jaehn	Kevin Michael Woods, Carl Middleton, Thiri, and Orapan Pratomlek	Salai Vanni Bawi				

		Analyzing the Role of Segmented Labor Markets and Institutional Constructs in Cross-Border Labor Mobility, Dynamics, and Local Governance along the Sino-Myanmar Frontier: Implications for Migrant Workforces Tin Maung Htwe	Building the CNF/A: Long Preparation, 1988-1995 Annie (Lei) Tong		
			Whose Bhamo? Whose Myitkyina? Narratives of Belonging in the 1946 Wilkie Report Georg Bauer		

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19, 2024

08:30	12:00	Registration of Conference Participants			
09:00	10:30	PANEL SESSION 6			ROUNDTABLE 1
		Hybrid			
		Panel 6A Zoom Room A	Panel 6B Zoom Room B	Panel 6C Zoom Room C	Zoom Room D
		Conference room: TBA	Conference room: TBA	Conference room: TBA	Conference room: TBA
		Latest Post-coup Developments in Myanmar’s Borderlands	From Imperialism to Sovereignty: Borderlands’ Infrastructures and their Development in Historical Perspective	Border Regime and Security along the India-Bangladesh-Myanmar Border	Research and Learning in Myanmar’s Borderlands
		Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Chair: TBA	Roundtable Organizers: Shona Loong & Anders Möller
		Securing the Borders for China and India: Engagements with Myanmar	The Effectiveness of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative in the Myanmar Borderlands	Strip Maps, Boundary Pillars, and Border Making in Post-Colonial India	
		Sonam Diki Lama	Péter Klemensits	Anand Damodaran	Participants: Radka Antalikova Dang Seng Lawn Representative from the Chin State Academic Research Network Anders Kirsten Møller
		A New Wave of Violence: Myanmar’s Military Actions on Non-state Armed Groups in the Post-coup Period	The Burma-China Railway Revisited: British Imperial Space and Infrastructure at the Turn of the Twentieth Century	Replication of Border Fencing Mechanisms in India's Borderlands: Case Studies of Bangladesh and Myanmar	
		Minju Kwon and May	Dominiquo DeAngelo Santistevan	Dipannita Maria Bagh	

		A Whole Society Approach to Address Myanmar’s Escalating Crisis Supang Chantavanich & Naruemon Thabchumpon	Shwe Kokko Special Economic Zone: Quest for Un/ruling “Frontier” in the Thai-Myanmar Borders Joseph	Evolving Indo-Myanmar Border Regime in Comparison to the Economic Interests Meghashree Buragohain and Tania Afruz		
				Frontiers of Influence: Geopolitics on Myanmar's Borderlands and India's Strategic Interplay Imtiaz Ahmed		
10:30	11:00	Coffee and Tea Break (7 th and 12 th floors)				
11:00	12:30	PLENARY SESSION				
		Kasem Suwanagul Hall 13 th Floor Zoom Room A				
		Prof. Wen-Chin Chang, Academia Sinica, Taipei Prof. Yos Santasombat, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai Dr. Su-Ann Oh, Independent Scholar, Singapore Prof. Naruemon Thabchumpon, Asia Research Center for Migration, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok Moderator: Assistant Prof. Jiraporn Laocharoenwong, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University				

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General Information

Code of Conduct

For security reasons, we invite you not to share any information about this conference beyond the circle of its organizers, presenters, and attendees.

The situation in Myanmar has been considerably worsening for the past few months. Some of those present at the conference live, work, and will return there after the conference and any information shared on social media involving these presenters could potentially be harmful to them. For security reasons, refrain from taking close-up pictures or videos of presenters during the conference and uploading them on the internet, social media, and in the public domain. This is also valid for screenshots.

Likewise, refrain from citing conference presentations or participants unless they have explicitly granted permission for their views and words to be used in this manner. Some participants are using pseudonyms, and we kindly ask that you respect their preference to keep their real names private.

Additionally, please avoid sharing this program, which contains participants' names, outside of the conference. Furthermore, we expect all participants to be treated equally and respectfully, regardless of race, ethnicity, national origin, citizenship, language, political or other opinions, gender identity and expression, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance, age, religion, or economic class.

Conference Organizing Committee

Prof. Naruemon Thabchumpon, ARCM-CE, Chulalongkorn University

Prof. Supang Chantavanich, ARCM-CE, Chulalongkorn University

Dr. Jiraporn Laocharoenwong, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University

Dr. Bhanubhatra Jittiang, MAIDS-GRID, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University

Dr. Francois Tainturier, Inya Institute

The 2024 International Interdisciplinary Conference on Myanmar's Borderlands is organized thanks to the tremendous support from Cornell University's Southeast Asia Program and, notably, Dr. Thamora Fishel and Ava White.

We thank the Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University for the support of the Conference Venues and the Asian Research Center for Migration at the Institute of Asian Studies for the support of this conference.

We thank the U.S. Department of Education for the generous support provided for covering most of the logistical cost of this conference and covering all stipends offered to the 20 Myanmar junior researchers participating in the conference in-person.

We are grateful to Prof. Pinkaew Laungaramsri, Prof. Yos Santasombat, Dr. Wen-Chin Chang, and Dr. Su-Ann Oh for accepting our invitation to join this conference.

We also thank the Inya Institute's team and the team of Chulalongkorn volunteers, including Vit Vacharakirin, Andrew Wai Phyo Kyaw, and Supitsara Tovanaronte for their assistance in making this conference possible.

In-Person Participation

Registration

The registration desk will be located on the 13th floor, Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University.

It will be open during the following hours:

Monday, June 17: 10:00am-17:30pm

Tuesday, June 18: 8:30am-17:00pm

Wednesday, June 19: 8:30am-12:00pm

Conference Room Location

As indicated in the detailed conference program at the beginning of this program.

Meals

The dinner reception (Monday, June 17) and buffet lunch (Tuesday, June 18) will be served on the 13th floor of the Faculty of Political Science. Coffee breaks will be served on the 12th and 7th floors of the Faculty of Political Science.

Presentation

For in-person presenters, presentation files are to be sent to the following email address

myanmarborderlandsconference@gmail.com (either directly or through file transfer, like WeTransfer and other similar platforms). Presentation files will then be uploaded in the computer used in the conference room in which presenters will present their papers. We also ask in-person presenters to bring their presentation files saved in a USB key in case the file earlier transmitted wouldn't show properly on the computer of the conference room.

Online participants will share their presentations from the zoom room's screen sharing mode.

Online Participation

Presenters joining the conference online are invited to access the zoom rooms through the links provided below.

Refer to the conference program to identify which zoom room you are invited to access as an online presenter or you are interested in joining as an observer.

Room A, Conference Opening, and Plenary Session

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/82679248116?pwd=V7GK5JMa3aN8q0ePAdRFAYl6EKIt5L.1>

Room B

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/88035351989?pwd=LDDbsy79Cs8OpDur1iyaHKEkw9AQ2j.1>

Room C

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/89649341723?pwd=eCy5RBDugG9wkqzGoa6j1CKvi0Reyb.1>

Room D

<https://us06web.zoom.us/j/84621305565?pwd=yn2OID1TNkVsmtCuQJg9y1G6ibM4Uu.1>

Room E

<https://cornell.zoom.us/j/95345174682?pwd=VGNuYTNkaUh5U2Y4ajVIU1VjekU3Zz09>

Please remember that only conference presenters and attendees who are fully registered will be allowed to access the zoom room. You will be able to enter the conference Zoom room **only** by using the name you have mentioned in the Google registration form. Make sure that your Zoom profile matches the name provided when you filled in the Google registration form.

We recommend online participants to enter the zoom room **10mn** before the actual start of the panel.

The conference will not be recorded.



Cornell University



International Interdisciplinary Conference on Myanmar's Borderlands 2024

Opening remark



Assoc. Prof. Pavika Sriratanaban, Ph.D.
Director of the Institute of Asian Studies
Chulalongkorn University



Assoc. Prof. Prakorn Siriprakob, Ph.D.
Dean, Faculty of Political Science
Chulalongkorn University

Dark Zomia: Myanmar Frontier and the Chinese Enclosure

Keynote Speaker



Prof. Pinkeaw Laungaramsri, Ph.D
Chiangmai University, Thailand

Monday June 17th, 14.00-15.00 (Bangkok time)
Kasem Suvannagul Hall 13th floor,
Faculty of Political Science,
Chulalongkorn University

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 1A | Zoom Room A | Malai Huvanandana Room (12th Fl.)

Shifting Governance and Power Dynamics in Myanmar's Contested Borderlands

Panel Organizer/Convener: Tabea Campbell Pauli

(Panel sponsored by the Asia Foundation)

Myanmar's borderlands reflect a history of political instability, armed conflict, inequal development and displacement, and informal economic activity. Large areas near Myanmar's borders have experienced informal and mixed governance and control, across a patchwork of Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAOs), militia groups and criminal gangs. These dynamics have only been exacerbated since the military coup in February 2021, with existing conflict actors joined by new armed groups, and a broad collapse of effective and legitimate governance of Myanmar's border areas. Local communities have borne the brunt of these dynamics, resulting in increases to levels of poverty, displacement, and the numbers of violence and death.

Our panel brings together four speakers to provide an update of shifting borderland governance and power dynamics in post-coup Myanmar. The political instability that has engulfed the country since the coup has had profound implications for its border regions, where Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs) and militias have taken on increased responsibility for local governance and provision of public services. In the midst of this upheaval, local communities navigate complexity in everyday interactions with social, political and economic systems at the border. The presentations delve into how these political dynamics shape the daily lives of those in the borderlands, and the broader implications for Myanmar's stability, development and relations with its neighboring countries. Case studies highlight changes on the northern border region with China, the western border region with India and Bangladesh, and the eastern border region with Thailand.

The research is part of the X-Border Local Research Network, a UK-funded initiative committed to emphasise the need for local knowledge and analysis to be reflected in international responses to conflict and support to peacebuilding. The panel offers valuable insights for researchers, policymakers, and advocates alike.

Changing Power Dynamics in Kachin State's Border Areas

Dang Seng Lawn (Kachinland Research Center)

In 2020, Kachinland Research Centre carried out an extensive research initiative to explore political, economic and conflict dynamics along Myanmar's northeastern border with China. The resulting report and forthcoming journal article highlight how increased cross-border flows of investment and commodities interact with deeply rooted conflict histories, and how local communities, ethnic armed organizations, militia groups, the Myanmar military and Chinese businesses interact in everyday life.

In 2024, further research has been undertaken to assess how post-coup conflict patterns have changed the political economy of this region. The research has examined new and existing illicit and criminal cross-border activities that grow in the rollback of central government control and rule of law, and what the implications are for local, national, and regional stakeholders. Ground-level data collection in Kan Pai Ti and Sandung revealed regional dynamics interacting with local conflict and economic factors; how the local community, different militia groups, Tatmadaw and Chinese investment and businesses interact with each other in everyday life. The new research findings, from field work undertaken between December 2023-April 2024, will be presented at the International Inter-disciplinary Myanmar Borderlands Conference, and will be detailed in a forthcoming research report.

Keywords: Communities; cross-border economy; governance

Resistance and the Cost of the Coup in Chin State, Myanmar

June N.S (Independent researcher)

The research explores conflict and instability in Chin State, Myanmar's western border region with India, since the 2021 military coup. It examines shifts in the political economy of local armed and resistance actors, and explores the current challenges facing thousands of displaced people and refugees in the border region.

The violent crackdowns that followed the Myanmar military's coup d'état in February 2021 led many civilians in Chin State, a region in the west of the country which borders India and Bangladesh, to take up weapons and defend themselves. Suffering high numbers of arbitrary attacks on civilians, Chin State has seen hundreds of deaths and tens of thousands of individuals displaced in the past two years. Conflict continues as local groups resist the Myanmar military in the absence of any political solution or decisive military victory. Airstrikes and arson attacks by Myanmar forces have led to the destruction of thousands of civilian homes, religious and community buildings, and crops and livestock.

This report provides an update on the situation facing many communities along the Myanmar/India border. The data and insights, reveal the evolving landscape of armed and political actors and the shifting balance of power within Chin State. It also spotlights the situation faced by thousands of Chin civilians displaced by violence, seeking refuge along the India-Myanmar border. Its key findings, underpinned by detailed contextual analysis, provide evidence for humanitarians and development policymakers seeking to improve support to conflict-affected populations.

Keywords: Communities; forced displacement; refugee; humanitarian; development

Governing at the Margins: A Patchwork of Policies and Practices in the Rohingya Refugee Response in Bangladesh

Tasnia Khandaker Prova (BRAC University, Bangladesh)

Six years after the forced displacement of over a million Rohingya people from Myanmar, the day-to-day support required by Rohingya refugees and humanitarian actors in Bangladesh remains a challenge for the country's government.

This report analyses the policymaking environment surrounding the Rohingya refugee response in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh. Support has been provided by the Bangladesh government and its key aid partners have supported the response for decades, with the numbers of refugees increasing rapidly following mass atrocities committed by the Myanmar military against Rohingya in Rakhine State in 2017.

In 2022, the Centre for Peace and Justice, BRAC University in partnership with The Asia Foundation, undertook an analysis of governance and decision-making surrounding the refugee response, with a particular focus on the sporadic and often opaque ways that refugee camp policies are developed and communicated to camp residents. The research unearthed an 'ad hoc' system of governance mechanisms used by the Bangladesh government, and their uneven implementation, which have significant impacts on the everyday lives of refugees and on the work of humanitarian responders.

Keywords: Governance; Rohingya refugees; forced displacement; humanitarian assistance

Asia's Cyber Con: Exposing the Billion-Dollar Online Scam Epidemic at the Thai-Myanmar border

WU Qin and Laure Siegel (Visual Rebellion) (Online)

The research is an in-depth investigation of cross-border scams in Myanmar's eastern borderland, shedding light on criminal activities that not only jeopardize the lives of countless trafficked victims but also pose a significant international security threat. This research addresses the historical scale of illegal trafficking involving people,

goods, and capital. Focusing on Myanmar's eastern borderland of Myawaddy-Mae Sot, the research explores the global implications of local conflicts and illicit activities, illustrating how the flows and connections between people and funding contribute to sustaining instability on the ground.

This research not only uncovers the layers of complexity surrounding cross-border scams such as the operational mechanisms and the misuse of public infrastructures by a wide range of actors involved, but also serves as a vital resource for policymakers seeking to address the far-reaching consequences of this booming scamming industry.

Keywords: Illicit economy; cross-border scams; trafficking

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 1B | Zoom Room B | Poli Sci Alumni Room (12th Fl.)

Humanitarian Relief and Refugees in Myanmar's Borderlands

Unveiling Human Rights Challenges in Myanmar's Borderland

B. Lora Christyanti and Emmy Taurina Adriani (Independent Researchers)

The borderland demarcates a region characterized by marginalization and an imminent risk of human rights violations. Concurrently, Myanmar contends with substantial challenges in upholding human rights standards, primarily attributable to the influence of military governance. Hence, an in-depth exploration of human rights within the Myanmar borderland assumes critical importance for enriching the broader field of human rights studies.

This paper seeks to elucidate the human rights conditions in the Myanmar borderland, aiming to analyze how the enforcement of human rights manifests in this distinctive context.

Employing a socio-legal research approach, this study systematically reviews human rights instruments, pertinent research papers, and recent news articles germane to the human rights situation in the study area.

The empirical findings of this study serve to underscore the profoundly disconcerting nature of the human rights situation in the Myanmar borderland. Evident within these findings are reported violations of a grave nature, notably encompassing the forced displacement of communities stemming from armed conflict and government policies. Moreover, the discernible manifestations of conflict-related abuses, exhibited in diverse forms, further contribute to the alarming characterization of the human rights landscape in the specified region. The study also meticulously addresses issues that impact the Rohingya minority, encompassing persecution and discrimination.

Beyond the immediate scope, it is imperative to recognize that these intricate human rights predicaments extend their ramifications to Myanmar's diplomatic engagements and geopolitical relations. Neighboring countries such as Bangladesh, China, Laos, and Thailand are entwined in the broader discourse as the human rights conditions within the Myanmar borderland reverberate across regional boundaries, influencing international relations and cooperation. In elucidating these complex interplays, this paper provides a comprehensive and scholarly understanding of the dynamics of human rights in the Myanmar borderland.

Keywords: Myanmar; borderland; periphery; human rights

Refugee Protection and Resettlement in the Aftermath of the Myanmar Coup: A Study of the Experiences of Displaced Individuals Seeking Sanctuary in Thailand

Tin Maung Htwe (Chiang Mai University)

This research undertakes a comprehensive exploration of the intricate dynamics surrounding the protection and resettlement of refugees in the aftermath of the Myanmar coup, with a specific focus on the experiences of individuals who have been forcibly displaced and are seeking sanctuary in Thailand. Within a geopolitical context characterized by pervasive political instability, violence, and insecurity, this study delves into the pivotal role of legal frameworks and operational practices in ensuring the rights and well-being of displaced populations.

The theoretical underpinning of this investigation draws from the established domains of "Refugee Studies" and "Human Rights Theory." These theoretical frameworks serve as lenses through which to analyze the repercussions of the Myanmar coup on the patterns of refugee and displaced persons influx into Thailand. This inquiry encompasses a rigorous examination of the legal foundations embedded in international conventions, particularly the 1951 Refugee Convention, and Thai domestic legislation, with a keen focus on their adaptation and implementation following the coup. Furthermore, this research meticulously evaluates the multifaceted challenges and opportunities inherent in the practical execution of these legal provisions and the resultant ramifications on the lives of those uprooted from Myanmar.

By virtue of its methodology, this study adopts a deeply humanistic approach, leveraging case studies and personal narratives to provide a vivid portrayal of the lived experiences of refugees and IDPs. These accounts illuminate the circumstances that led to their displacement, as well as their encounters with the Thai legal and resettlement apparatus. This approach facilitates a holistic comprehension of the intricate struggles and enduring resilience exhibited by those directly affected by the coup.

The findings generated by this research underscore the imperative of a synchronized response involving Thai authorities, international organizations, and civil society actors to address the unique challenges precipitated by the coup.

Keywords: Refugee protection; resettlement; Myanmar Coup; borderlands; displacement; human rights

Unseen refugees

Wae Win Khaing (Asian Institute of Technology; University of Manitoba) and Sai Kyi Zin Soe (University of Sydney)

A Karenni village situated on the Myanmar-Thailand border was bombed in 2022 by the Myanmar military with the escalation of bombardment. This assault triggered the displacement of thousands of individuals seeking refuge in the terrain of the nearby mountain of neighbouring Thailand. After a series of relocations, they finally settled near the official refugee camp located in Ban Mai Nai Soi, Mae Hong Son Province. However, they were not recognized as refugees or asylum seekers although Thailand has 90,801 Myanmar refugees living in nine temporary shelters since the mid-1980s (UNHCR 2023). Since Thailand has not ratified the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, the registration of new refugees has been significantly restricted since 2008 (UNHCR 2023). The recently displaced individuals faced more challenges than finding a refuge within a year. They were excluded from the services available in the refugee camps, including education services for the children, although the Royal Thai Government (RTG)'s "education for all" policy states that refugee children and asylum seekers can enroll in public schools. Moreover, the Thai authority forced them to evacuate from their temporary settlement area before 15 January 2024. Besides, as the armed conflict continues to rage within the Karenni State, the destiny of these displaced individuals, particularly the futures of numerous children, hangs in uncertainty.

Thus, the paper will highlight the lived experiences of individuals with their challenges and desires with a series of photos. The paper will not only contribute to the broader discourse on forced migration but also underscore the pressing need for a concerted humanitarian response. It calls for an urgent reassessment of refugee policies and support systems to ensure the dignity and rights of all displaced individuals are upheld during such critical times.

UNHCR. 2023. "Thailand Fact Sheet 30 September 2023." _Bangkok: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Keywords: Formal and informal governance of borderlands; formal and non-formal education in borderlands; Myanmar; Karenni; conflict induced displacement

"No Recognition, No Participation": Tracing the Political Lives of Refugees in the Thai-Myanmar Borderlands

Carrie Perkins (University of California-Irvine)

"No Recognition, No Participation" is a phrase made popular by Min Ko Naing, an 8888 Uprising leader who urged the Burmese public to adopt a "no recognition, no participation" stance to the military regime in wake of the February 2021 coup d'état. This phrase encapsulates the stance of those participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Myanmar and is often accompanied by expressions of resistance such as pot-banging, staged mass "car breakdowns", three-finger salutes, red-ribbon campaigns, and silent strikes. In the context of refugees forced to flee Myanmar, "No Recognition, No Participation" holds a double meaning. For those living in closed refugee camps or without legal status in Thailand, it describes the experience of precarity that often accompanies a lack of official recognition by the government.

This paper will explore resistance and autonomy for those displaced by Myanmar's civil war and argue for a reimagining of refugee policy in Thailand. Drawing on fieldwork conducted between 2021 to 2023 with refugees living in one of the largest refugee camps on the Thai-Myanmar border, this paper seeks to highlight both the experience of those living in a refugee camp seeking legal status as well as strategies for moving towards a resolution. By tracing the socio-political history of conflict along the Thai-Myanmar border as well as a summary of the events that led to the recent military coup, this paper also seeks to ask how Thailand and the greater ASEAN community might work towards a regularization campaign for refugees.

Keywords: Refugees; Myanmar; Thailand; migration; forced migration

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 1C | Zoom Room C | Smart Room 710/1 (7th Floor)

British-Burma Colonial Borders and their Governance

Empire's Limit: Shan States and the Anglo-Sino Diplomacy regarding Burma (1885-1886)

Qi Liu (Xiamen University)

This paper explores how Britain's perceptions over Shan States influenced her diplomacy with China regarding Burma. After the Third Anglo-Burmese War, with limited military and police force available, the Indian Government chose to maintain Burmese Shan States's autonomy rather than imposing direct rule as they did in Upper Burma. For establishing a buffer area between British Burma and French Indo-China, Britain determined to ceded the three Shan States, who either paid dividing allegiances to Burma and China, or newly submitted to Siam, to China in the negotiations with the latter.

Yet, for many people in London, China was the no little threat to the empire. The Franco-Sino war resulted by non-official border conflicts ended less than a year ago still haunted Britain. For the British empire, being dragged into a war with China in the periphery of the empire by minor frontier conflicts was a trajectory too dreadful to be repeated. On particularly, after the pacification of dacoits in Upper Burma turned to a disaster, and rumours claiming China would secretly supply Shan States with weapons and ammunitions like she did to Black Flags in Tonkin, Britain was desperate for an understanding with China over Burma. The territorial concession and other measures able to save face of the Qing Court finally helped the Liberal Government strike a deal with China.

By shedding light on Britain's Shan States policy and its influence on the Sino-Anglo diplomacy concerning Burma, this paper provides understandings on relations between empires in Southeast Asia and the significance of the Burmese Shan States as an overlapping frontier between empires.

Keywords: Burmese Shan States; Third Anglo-Burmese War; Yunnan-Burma borderland; Sino-Anglo Relations

A Peaceful Coalition: The Negotiation Game Between the Qing and British Empires in Burma and the Reshaping of the Sino-Burmese Frontier Order, 1885–1886

Hanxiao Song (University of Macau)

In the late 19th century, Qing China was long considered weak and passive in the global diplomatic stage. However, in the southwest borderland of the Qing Empire, British were facing tough and fierce Chinese intervention when annexing Burma. Chinese diplomats found an apt rhetoric to legitimize their suzerainty upon Burma, albeit nominal, over neighboring states within the traditional Confucian world order, as the middle kingdom, and the Westphalian system, exerting pressure on Britain to achieve diplomatic objectives.

Based on Chinese and British sources, this article intends to reexamine the Chinese diplomatic performance during the Sino-British negotiation from 1885 to 1886. It not only continued the peace along the Sino-Burmese frontier but also laid the foundation for reshaping the order of the borderland, serving as a driving event for the expansion of the British Empire and the Qing Empire into the region. At the same time, this article does not overlook the significant role of the people in the borderland, such as Kachins, and Shans, as they played a crucial role in advancing negotiations and the signing of the convention in various aspects.

Keywords: Burmah Convention; Qing-Burma; China-Britain; frontier; tributary system; imperialism

Shananigans in the Borderlands of Burma: The Shan Rebellion of 1902-1904

Andrew John Walker (Monash University) (online)

The Shan have long been a disruptive force on the edge of the empire. This paper examines one example of this disruption: the Shan rebellion in northern Siam from 1902 to 1904. The paper explores how the rebellion's multinational networks (which included the exiled Burmese prince, Myingoon Min) shaped the politics of the borderlands between Burma, Siam and French Indochina. Previous accounts of the Shan rebellion have focussed on its role in the creation of the modern Siamese state.

My analysis adopts a different frame of reference, situating the rebellion in the context of the region's competitive borderland politics, a new geopolitics that emerged following the collapse of Burmese power during the nineteenth century. The Shan rebellion broke out at the intersection of British, French and Siamese colonial competition and it was energised by some distinctive features of borderlands governance: overlapping sovereignty and seditious state-making.

Keywords: Shan; rebellion; borderlands; Myingoon

The Burma-Yunnan Frontier Meetings and the Unwritten Rules of Governance, 1902-1940

Jonathan Chen (National University of Singapore)

Frontier meetings were an avenue, at the sub-national level, to ameliorate border tensions and partially resolve important questions of principle and procedures that still remained, after years of discussions, in a state of uncertainty. The Burma-Yunnan Frontier Meetings, which occurred periodically since 1902, was an initiative first undertaken by the British authorities to settle cases of governance relating to the Kachins on both sides of the border. Despite difficulties in coming to an agreement on various matters between the Chinese and the British,

it fulfilled an important objective of acting as a safety-valve and an informal working machinery for the settlement of disputes, especially those pertaining to matters of jurisdiction and customary law.

This paper explores how these frontier meetings between British and Chinese representatives at the provincial level developed in scope and volume to cover difficult cases in which consensus are based on precedents and agreements but were never formally confirmed by means of a written agreement. These cases include the perennial question of joint surveys, the composition of the frontier courts, the extent of jurisdiction regarding personnel and land, as well as questions regarding the interpretation of rules and the application of the principle of tribal responsibility.

The paper seeks to shed light on this little-known process of borderland negotiation and highlight the role of local and regional authorities in shaping the landscape of unwritten rules and autonomy in the Burma-Yunnan borderland such as Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Superintendents, Consuls on the British side and the Sub-Prefects and District Magistrates on the Chinese side.

Keywords: Frontier meetings; sub-national; informal governance; jurisdiction; law

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 1D | Zoom Room D | Room 615 (6th Fl.)

Im/mobility: Experiences of Transition, Displacement, and Stuckness in the Borderlands of Myanmar

Panel Organizer/Convener: Joshua Mitchell

Discussant: Jasnea Sarma

This panel focuses on the existential and experiential dimensions of immobility in Myanmar's borderlands. Studies of migration tend to focus on the drivers of migration, while neglecting the study of forces and structures that restrict mobility. Scholarship on the highlands of Southeast Asia, has also tended to emphasize the historical fluidity of the region. As a result, these studies tend to focus on those who move, rather than on those who don't. In contrast, the papers in this panel build on extensive fieldwork and emerging studies to explore how people living in the borderlands of Myanmar experience, navigate, and understand immobility (Schewel 2019; Jensen 2019).

Attending to experiences of transition, displacement, bureaucratization, and stuckness, we explore immobility not as a singular event, but as an ongoing process that resonates through space, time, and people. More specifically, we examine the relationship between structural and existential dimensions of immobility: how, we ask, do different possibilities of movement shape different possibilities for imagining and living life in the borderlands. Stephen explores the experiences of Kachin who came to Thailand with the intension of transitioning to another place for asylum or work yet ended up staying in Thailand. Mitchell investigates how drug users living at the Sino-Burmese border travel periodically to China to recover from addiction and what happens when this mobility is curtailed. Lau, focusing on the Lisu living in the Nu River Valley, an Indigenous majority region officially part of China bordering north-eastern Myanmar, studies how Chinese development has enclosed Chinese Lisu lives and the existential displacement associated with this enclosure.

Together, these papers bring novel perspectives on the borderlands of Myanmar as it is lived and traversed, highlighting the role of immobility rather than fluidity in the borders of nations.

Unexpected Immobility: Finding Purpose and Identity among Kachin in Chiang Mai

Stephen Zau Zin Myat (Chiang Mai University) (online)

This paper is an exploration of the existential and experiential dimensions of im/mobility within the Kachin diaspora community in Chiang Mai. While initially arriving with plans for temporary employment or onward migration to a third country, many Kachin individuals found themselves unexpectedly rooted in Thailand.

They've settled down, started families, and institutionalized their status in Thailand. Yet given their original intentions of transition, many of these migrants view their current situation with exasperation. They feel stuck. In contrast, their offspring, who have only lived in Thailand, view their situation differently. This is exemplified by intergenerational differences in migrants' relationship to Kachin identity. While parents strive to maintain Kachin identity, their children increasingly identify with Thai culture, feeling detached from their Kachin heritage. The transition from temporary migrants to embedded residents reflects a profound shift in perception. As aspirations for mobility give way to the reality of prolonged stay, a generation gap emerges in response to this situation.

Attending to lived experience, this paper examines how the Kachin diaspora make sense of their unintended settlement in Thailand. More specifically, I explore the role of Christianity in providing meaning and purpose amidst uncertainty. Through beliefs in divine purpose and plans, the older generation of migrants reinterpret their prolonged stay as part of a larger existential journey, transitioning from a temporary existence to a deeper sense of rootedness. On the other hand, as the younger generation distances itself from religious narratives, alternative frameworks for understanding and navigating identity and purpose emerge.

By attending to the complexities of transition, displacement, and the search for identity, this paper contributes to the broader discourse on immobility and belonging in Myanmar's borderlands. It underscores the nuanced ways in which individuals navigate existential dilemmas and construct meaning within the context of unexpected immobility.

Keywords: Kachin diaspora; ethnic identity; religious beliefs; transition; immobility; generational gap; Chiang Mai; Christianity

Border Crossing as Therapeutic Mobility: Addiction, Rehabilitation, and Migration in the Borderlands of Burma

Joshua Mitchell (Cornell University)

Myanmar drug users living in the Sino-Burmese borderlands frequently cross into China to work as migrant laborers. While these migrations are often economically motivated, they also tend to be motivated by efforts to recover from drug addiction and find refuge from war. These border crossings have become increasingly difficult. Routinely invoking the migrant as a threat to national health and security, authorities have increasingly tightened border security. More recently, these efforts reached fever pitch and a fence was quickly erected across most of Myanmar's northeastern border. For ordinary people, crossing the border became virtually impossible for more than a year.

Attending to this moment of immobility, this talk examines how shifting border dynamics have shaped patterns of drug consumption and migration amongst recovering addicts living in the Sino-Burmese borderlands. Drawing on daily observations and life histories conducted in a Christian rehabilitation center at the border, I explore how drug users developed therapeutic strategies of mobility and what happened when this mobility was curtailed. Highlighting how the border opens up and forecloses therapeutic possibilities, this talk expands conversations on the relationship between borders, health, and migration. Ultimately, I suggest explorations of how the border can function as a social determinant of health.

Keywords: Addiction; rehabilitation; migration; health; borders

Strangers at Home: Development, Displacement, and Fear among the Lisu on the China-Myanmar Border

Ting-Hui Lau (National University of Singapore)

In the last four decades, rapid Chinese development has dramatically transformed the social, physical, and geographical landscapes of the Nu River Valley—a region officially part of Chinese sovereign territory bordering northern Myanmar. The Lisu—a transnational Indigenous community and the largest ethnic group in this region—have been profoundly affected by these changes as they transition from subsistence farming to

becoming wage workers for the Chinese economy. Historically, Lisu in the Valley moved fluidly across national borders to find work and do business, pursue religious education, marry and visit kin, and flee violence. But the hardening of state boundaries as well as relative political and economic stability in China has made such fluid movements both less attractive and less feasible for many Chinese Lisu. Yet, despite being physically rooted in their homes, many Lisu talk about feeling disoriented. The world, as many elder Lisu say, has turned upside down. They live, they say, in the age of change (*hanre ake po la wa*).

In this paper, I explore what it means to be displaced while being in place. Drawing on over a decade of engagement and two years of continuous fieldwork with Lisu subsistence farmers in the Valley, I argue that development processes and ideologies have resulted in many Lisu feeling like strangers in their own homes. I focus in particular on Lisu feelings of fear as they stop being able to recognize their homes, friends, and even themselves. This paper highlights the psychic, affective, and existential dimensions of dislocation. My analysis expands understandings of the bureaucratization of borders, highlighting the social violence of such reification processes.

Keywords: Development; fear; Lisu; dislocation; Nu River Valley

MONDAY, JUNE 17, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 1E | Zoom Room E | Room 614 (6th Fl.)

Current Challenges and New Perspectives in Education Provision in the Borderlands

Continuing Post-Secondary Education for Conflict-induced Displaced Persons from Karenni (Kayah) State along the Thai-Myanmar Border

Khu David Ta Keh (Parami University), Hnin Ei Wai Lwin (Parami University), and Andrew Wai Phyo Kyaw (Chulalongkorn University)

Post-secondary education plays a vital role to nurture emerging young leaders in the temporary shelter that fills the gap of human resource shortage in non-formal schools in the camp where those graduates have become teachers and administrators, likewise in the camp-based organizations. Despite facing mounting challenges by post-secondary schools including limited financial resources, human capital, opportunities for further studies and security concerns, those schools continue to accommodate displaced young people in the camp ensuring access to education and continuous learning. Due to the intensification of clashes among resistance groups and military across Karenni (Kayah) State since the military coup of 2021 in Myanmar, locals have fled their homeland to seek refuge in urban areas of Myanmar, the borderline and temporary shelters in Thailand. So, this research utilizes qualitative exploratory research with Key Information Interviews (KIIs) and Subject Interviews with school operators and students from the borderline of Myanmar and the temporary shelter in Thailand to understand how those post-secondary schools manage to offer continuing education for those displaced in need of education during the move.

The preliminary findings suggest that a few airstrikes by the military to the hidden schools in the borderline that damaged the school buildings, more importantly fear or mental conditions of displaced students were observed after the attacks. Apart from insecure living in the jungle, displaced people have no means of income to generate and finance their livelihood, but are mainly supported by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) through funding and donations. Eventually, increasing enrolment of students in the borderline and the temporary camp due to lacking other activities for young people has challenged post-secondary schools to ensure accepting and offering fundamental education to all young displaced people.

Keywords: Continuing post-secondary education; emergency education; conflict induced displacement; Karenni (Kayah) State

Challenges of Access to Continuous Quality Secondary Education among Displaced Communities along the Myanmar-Thai Border after 2021 Military Coup

Shwin Thant Lei & Khin Yadana Kyaw (Parami University)

Improving education quality and accessibility are essential for reducing poverty, developing human capital, and fostering a peaceful and prosperous future. The 2021 military coup in Myanmar has had devastating effects on access to a quality continuous education system, particularly for displaced communities residing along the Myanmar-Thai border. For example, in Mae Sot, the coup has caused a sharp increase in the number of students at 65 schools in Tak provenance due to the continuing exodus of people from Myanmar. Many schools are unable to accept new enrollments for the up-coming term because of the inadequate infrastructure, learning materials, and admission costs have exceeded available resources, leading to challenges in accessing the quality of education. Furthermore, because of their unofficial status in Thailand, Myanmar students have difficulty to maintain their learning and continuing education for higher education. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the challenges faced by displaced students in accessing continuous and quality secondary education following the 2021 military coup.

The study examines barriers and disruptions confronted by displaced communities along the Myanmar-Thai border including schools' closures, teachers and students' displacement, deteriorating infrastructure, insecurity and instability in the region. Qualitative data collection methods, including interviews, surveys and focus group discussions in three schools that exist between the Myanmar-Thai border are connected for this study. These methods allow us to get a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by displaced communities in accessing continuous and quality secondary education.

The findings of this study reveals a complex web of structural and socioeconomic issues hindering the quality education along the Myanmar-Thai border following the 2021 military coup. Moreover, the findings highlight that inadequate infrastructure, scarce learning resources, and shortage of qualified teachers affect education quality. Urgent interventions are needed to address these complex challenges.

Keywords: Displaced communities; education accessibility; 2021 military coup; Myanmar-Thai border

Teacher Training in Storytelling and Place-based Education: A Case Study and Initial Reflection

Yi Li (Aberystwyth University)

How can education continue in times of crisis and among marginalised groups? How can students contribute to the development of alternative learning materials that best engage their own communities and their surrounding environment? An initiative has been established to encourage place-based education and storytelling methods among Myanmar teachers and community workers working with vulnerable children, as well as border communities, that have been impacted severely by ongoing civil wars.

This presentation aims to introduce this educational training initiative for Myanmar educational practitioners and Internet content creators, who are either in conflict zones and the ethnic autonomous areas within Myanmar, or in exile across the border in Thailand. It reviews a series of workshops conducted in the Netherlands, the UK and Thailand, in-person or online over the past year. Furthermore, as facilitators of this initiative with diverse perspectives, we want to share our own reflections on pedagogical approaches and the nuanced relationship between the Global North and South that underlines this educational practice.

Keywords: Education; training; storytelling; place-based

New Paradigm of Education Provision in borders (Thai-Myanmar-China) in Post-coup Myanmar

Ah Sai (Chiang Mai University)

Education of more than 13 million of children and young people including tertiary education was interrupted first global pandemic followed by coup d'état in February 2021. As state education system collapsed, CDM teachers and students were moved to safer regions: borders. New paradigm of education emerged within three-year of military coup in borders (Thai-Myanmar and China-Myanmar borders).

This article seeks to contribute a deeper understanding and factors as well as comprehensive review different forms of education architectures in border regions for education provisions amidst prolonged conflicts in Myanmar. It also investigates motivation and challenges during development processes alongside challenges and adaptability respond to the crisis situation by different education organisations and institutions including small unit of community-based schools in borders.

This qualitative research mainly based on an empirical data as a 'lived experiences' of the researcher who has been working on teacher education, curriculum development, and education policy advocacy for more than 18 years with marginalised ethnic education organisations, education in emergencies and conflicts. In-depth interview and focus-group interview with 10-12 gate-keepers from grassroot ethnic education organisations and community-based education will be integrated and analysed. A significant contribution of this research is to explore an effective collaboration mechanism for a new emerging architecture of education provisions by various non-state actors in borders.

Keywords: Right to Education; Resource Mobilization; Negotiation; Education in Emergencies

Higher Education Pathways for Refugee Students along the Thai-Myanmar Border

Sa Phyo Arkar Myo Hlaing (University of Sussex) and Andrew Wai Phyo Kyaw (Chulalongkorn University)

The refugee camps along the Thai Myanmar border have existed since 1984, accommodating a multi-generational population unable to repatriate due to the recurring conflict and political instability in Myanmar. This situation was exacerbated by the recent 2021 coup, resulting in an influx of displaced individuals into Thailand, both to the established camps and beyond. While basic services, such as education and healthcare, are in place within the camps, there is a growing imperative to expand these provisions to meet the increasing needs of the refugee population. Despite this, recent educational initiatives and scholarships have predominantly emphasized students from mainland Myanmar. Consequently, there is a notable dearth of attention to the educational requirements – particularly higher education – of refugee students along the Thai Myanmar border. Through the employment of semi-structured interviews, this research endeavors to deeply scrutinize the mechanisms through which refugee students navigate access to higher education.

By mapping out the complexities of their higher education pathways, including the barriers they encounter and the milestones they achieve, this study aims to provide empirical insights essential for formulating recommendations designed to enhance the efficacy of international educational initiatives. These recommendations are crafted to address the educational disparities confronting this marginalized demographic, thereby contributing to the amelioration of their educational outcomes and broader socio-economic integration.

Keywords: Higher education; scholarships; refugee; Thai-Myanmar

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 2A | Zoom Room A | Malai Huvanandana Room (12th Fl.)

Living along and Living with the Border: The Post-Pandemic Border Regime(s) between China and Myanmar

Zhuo Niu (Graduate School of East Asian Studies, Free University of Berlin)

Ruili city, located in the southwest corner of Yunnan province, serves as a focal point for extensive cross-border activities between China and Myanmar, including migration, trade, and illicit economies. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, the 169.8 km Ruili-Myanmar border was characterized by porosity and flexibility. Individuals from both sides traversed the border through informal and unregistered pathways, reflecting historical and ethnic proximity among the people residing in this border region. However, COVID-19 imposed a significant transformation in the border regime in Ruili, resulting in considerable regulation of cross-border activities. Back then, China closed its border with Myanmar, deporting individuals from Myanmar without proper documents. Subsequently, the entire border area was fortified with hard fences and camera surveillance, symbolizing a shift toward territorialized sovereignty. In January 2023, China reopened borders with Myanmar, officially signaling the end of the Zero-COVID policy in Ruili. However, the Myanmar authority simultaneously tightened its border policy, categorizing Myanmar citizens into "border residents" and "non-border residents" and implementing distinct documentation and bureaucratic procedures for each category. The post-pandemic border policies adopted by both sides have increased regulation of the China-Myanmar border, introducing new dynamics in the lives of Myanmar individuals residing and working in Ruili.

In this article, I aim to respond several questions: How has the border regime in Ruili changed throughout COVID-19? In what ways are these changes intertwined with the territorialized sovereignty of both the Chinese and Myanmar authorities? How do individuals from Myanmar understand and cope with the new border regimes? And, how is the historical and ethnic proximity subject to changes due to the newly-built border walls? These enquiries intend to provide a timely account of the dynamics of the multilayered border regime(s) between China and Myanmar, exemplified by concrete life realities of those live along and live with the border.

Keywords: China-Myanmar border; Ruili; Post-pandemic border regime; Territorialized sovereignty; proximity

Analysing the Implications of Kuomintang Invasion to Myanmar Political Landscape: A Comprehensive Analysis

Maung Maung Oo (Center for Research Policy and Innovation, Burmese American Community Institute)

This paper analyzes the legacy of the Kuomintang invasion of Myanmar's political landscape. After being defeated by the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War, the last Kuomintang forces from Yunnan province entered Myanmar to establish a military stronghold in Shan State with American assistance to continue fighting against the communist government in China. This attempt by Kuomintang Remnants in Shan State has transformed the political, social, and conflict dynamics of Myanmar's civil war with the expansion of Myanmar's military in politics, the introduction of cultural militarization on the borderlands, bringing illegal and illicit economies, including opium and drug trafficking, to Shan States and border areas, and effectively fueling the civil war, which was nearly ended in the early 1950s, by providing arms and funding to ethnic minority insurgents to fight against the government.

The legacy of the Kuomintang inclusion can be seen in modern Myanmar politics including unending civil war, military domination in politics, and divided political society with a lack of institutional tolerance creating Myanmar as the hub of the security issues in Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Kuomintang; Myanmar; invasion; legacy; insurgents; Shan State; military stronghold; cultural militarization; Myanmar civil war; ethnic politics; opium and drug trafficking

Navigating Sino-Myanmar Relations through the Waters of the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Otto (Mae Fah Luang University)

The State Administrative Council (SAC), established as the Burmese military junta in 2021, encountered initial challenges in asserting control over Myanmar domestically and internationally. This study examines the SAC's diplomatic trajectory, marked by its struggle to regain a UN General Assembly seat and an initial frostiness in Sino-Myanmar relations due to disruptions in economic plans. Notably, the SAC's alignment with Russia contributed to a perceptible shift in China's stance.

The focal point of this analysis is Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC), where the SAC, in recent years, despite Myanmar's historically limited role in the Mekong River Commission, is trying to assume a vocal and leading role and re-engaged China through riverine diplomacy. This strategic utilization of water diplomacy was evident in the 2022 7th Lancang-Mekong Cooperation meetings in Bagan, Myanmar. Through the meeting, SAC emphasized regional cooperation and highlighted China's pivotal role in riverine governance. The SAC's participation and cheerleading in this context depart from Myanmar's past positions.

Thus, this study delves into the SAC's strategic utilization of the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) as a diplomatic instrument for regional overtures. It probes the nuanced interplay between the SAC's diplomatic maneuvers and China's broader economic strategies. By scrutinizing the SAC's engagement in water diplomacy, the research aims to examine on to the dynamics of Myanmar's position in the Greater Mekong Sub-region and its relationship with China's overarching economic agenda. The study would also shed light on how the peripherality in Myanmar never remains constant; it could be brought into the center through power and diplomatic overtures.

Keywords: Sino-Myanmar relations; Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC); Mekong River; Greater Mekong Sub-Region; Chinese-led development schemes

Mediator for Autonomy: The KIO's Facilitation of Cross-border Economic Activity in Mai Ja Yang, Kachin State, Myanmar Nu Ra Lashi (Chiang Mai University)

This paper examines the KIO's (Kachin Independence Organization) governance and the mechanisms that the KIO has applied to facilitate the cross-border sugarcane contract farming in Mai Ja Yang, Kachin state, Myanmar as well as to comprehend the connection between rebel governance and economic activity. In addition, this sugarcane contract farming is exercising under non-state armed group, KIO controlled areas, after ceasefire agreement was signed in 1994 between Burmese military government and KIO.

This research found that the sugarcane contract farming is utilized to counterbalance Burmese military's state-building, after the ceasefire, the state has controlled the Kachin-China border through the creation of market and finance capital networks with the Chinese, especially logging and industrial agriculture concession in order to govern the Kachin-China border and weaken the ethnic armed group (KIO)'s legitimacy and territories. KIO as mediator involving in sugarcane contract farming is in order to promote its Cillian's' livelihood, the purpose of countering military's state-building's political-economic expansion and to enhance KIO administration and civil services along the Kachin-China border.

Keywords: Armed capitalism; KIO's governance system; Chinese direct investment; cross-border sugarcane contract farming; social-economic relation

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 2B | Zoom Room B | Poli Sci Alumni Room (12th Fl.)

Community Cohesion, Development, and Resilience across Tangible/Intangible Borders (I)

Changing Identities and Conflicting Homelands in the Indo-Myanmar Borderland

Parijat Goswami (National Institute of Technology, Silchar) (online)

Chin-Mizo-Kuki or Zo people is a constellation of kindred tribes to be found along the Indo-Myanmar border. This affiliation is reflected in the congenial excerpts from their oral tales, particularly those pertaining to the origin and lineage. Even after settling across multiple state borders, these tribes share an ethnocultural bond with each other. There exist fringe groups within this constellation that aspire for political autonomy within one administrative unit.

A tiny section of Mizo Christians from the Zo collective tribes have given prominence to the lost tribe theory in accentuating their Israelite ancestry. The lost tribe theory culminates from the originary tale of Manmasi or Manasia, purportedly resembling tribal patriarch Manasseh of Judah. Accordingly, this Jewish faith group of Bnei Menashe urges to make aliyah to Israel and regards it as their original homeland.

My paper questions how the matter of 'homeland' has been tentatively proposed by different clans in identifying themselves. Both the Zo cognate tribes and the Bnei Menashe predicate their identity on the same oral exhibits of customary laws and rituals. While the Bnei Menashe's claim rejects the idea of Zo provincial homeland, the Zo Christians question their cross boundary mobility. This paper challenges the paradigm of notional homeland(s) based on clan chauvinism, and ethnic identity. How do their collective narratives work in building a modern Judaic identity? What is the relation between their ethnicity with regards to a new 'pan national' identity? In light of these, how has ethnic history changed from colonial and modern times in view of effective state borders. This paper will build up on these parameters with the help of documentary records of fringe groups insisting on a unified homeland and interviews with the Bnei Menashe community members.

Keywords: Ethnicity; pan-nationalism; Zo-land; lost tribe

Solidarity and Shared Identity beyond Borders: Narratives from Borderland Communities along the Indo-Myanmar Border

Ketoukhrie-ü (Kohima College) and A.G. Samuel (Patkai Christian College)

Solidarity, belongingness and shared identity among borderland communities are important topics in many borderland studies (McConnachie 2018), (Kipgen & Chowdhury 2019). The fluid identity among the borderland communities across the international boundary makes for an interesting study. Several studies on belongingness, connectivity and shared culture among borderland communities along Indo-Myanmar borderlands have emerged (Sharma 2011), (Pau 2019), (Saikia & Chaudhury 2020), (Ziipao 2022). However, most of these studies are one-sided since they only focused on communities living on one side of the border.

This paper examines the existing literature centred on such borderland communities and tries to position the Nagas and Chin-Kuki Zo group living along the Indo-Myanmar border and explore such shared identity and solidarity among these borderland communities.

Based on fieldwork conducted in India and Myanmar, this article shows how these ethnic groups residing in India and Myanmar, share a sense of belongingness and shared identity despite the imposed international boundary line. This trans-border community has evolved a variety of mechanisms and agencies through which the sense of belongingness and identity is maintained and strengthened. However, such a sense of belongingness and shared identity is multi-layered and fluid, especially due to the changing socio-economic and political dynamics. Moreover, there are many factors cementing or challenging such solidarities across borders.

Keywords: Belongingness; solidarity; shared identity; borderland communities; Indo-Myanmar Borderland; Nagas; Chin-Kuki Zo

Indigenous Knowledge, Resilience and Imaginations in the Naga Borderlands

Jack Jenkins Hill (University College London) and Athong Makury (Resource Rights for the Indigenous People, RRTIP) (online)

Nagaland straddles the border between India and Myanmar. An ancestral territory home to over forty Naga tribes, who have maintained indigenous knowledge, democratic institutions and customary forest management systems, Nagaland harbors a cultural landscape of biodiverse forests, farms and waterbodies. Despite the local governance systems that have sustained lives, lands and livelihoods for generations, intensifying impacts of climate change, armed conflict and market integration threaten this landscape and the communities within it.

This conference paper, based on extensive ethnographic research in both Eastern Nagaland (Burma) and Western Nagaland (India) explores indigenous knowledge and practices of Naga communities and the ways in which they are deployed to reinforce resilience against impending threats, and reshape a landscape under immense pressure in the imaginations of local populations.

Keywords: Indigenous knowledge; Nagaland; India; Myanmar; climate change; resilience

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 2C | Zoom Room C | Room 614 (6th Fl.)

Transnational Solidarity and Cross-Border Mobilization

Gen Z Myanmar Diaspora in the Digital Borderlands: 1.5 Generation Refugee-Background Youth in the US and Their Transnational Activist Networks

Rosalie Metro (University of Missouri-Columbia) (online)

This paper explores the post-coup transnational activist networks of Myanmar refugee-background youth, highlighting their digital and physical involvement in Southeast Asian border spaces. I draw on research about Myanmar's diasporic digital networks (e.g., Aziz, 2022) and theories of youth in borderlands more generally (Spyrou & Christou, 2015) to understand the experiences of 1.5 generation immigrants to the US (those who migrated between the ages of 5 and 15, and are currently in their twenties).

In this qualitative study, I interview these youth about their educational and life experiences, investigating how they conceptualize their involvement in their ethnic communities and their relationships to peers situated in different physical locations. How do global economic realities condition those relationships and the impact of their collective activism? I find that many of these youth are connected via social media and online platforms to peers across the world who share aspects of their ethnic and cultural identities. Besides sharing in online fora, some travel back to (or hope to travel to back to) Southeast Asia to strengthen those connections and to do service or educational projects; some fundraise to support projects in their homelands. They learn from and bring knowledge to peers, creating educational spaces of their own design. Understanding these networks is relevant not only to Myanmar's movements for political change, but also to youth around the world in conflict-affected environments.

Aziz, A. (2022). Power geometries of mediated care: (re) mapping transnational families and immobility of Rohingya diaspora in a digital age. *Media, Culture, & Society* (44)5, 967-985.

Keywords: Refugee; digital; diaspora; Myanmar; youth

The Evolution of Cyber Activism in Burma from the 1990s to the Post-2021 Coup Era

Zar Ti Nwe Nu Aung (Chiang Mai University)

Online activism has existed as a form of resistance in Burma's politics since the 1990s. The exodus of Burma citizens, especially after the 1988 uprising, started using the internet as a platform to continue their fight against the dictatorship from the outside of the country via internet campaigns and petitions. Due to having no internet inside Burma during the 1990s, the cyberactivism around Burma's democracy started outside the country. From the moments of "Free Burma" movements in the 1990s, 2007 Saffron Revolutions to the 2021 coup, these online social movements were led by youths and exiled students.

During the 2021 coup and the on-ground flash mob strikes, the youths of Burma actively participated in cyber activism and movements with more colorful features, resulting in various pro-democracy movement outcomes. Burmese youths utilized the hashtag and posted #What'shappeninginMyanmar to inform the rest of the world about the country's everyday bloodshed. What's more, using the internet and transnational political networks, cyber activism becomes more transnational, contributing non-violence creative expression of resistance inside Burma and around the world.

Through the interviews with exiled groups trying to impact Burma's resistance through online in Thailand and content analysis on social media, this study will examine the strategies of cyber activism after the 2021 coup in Burma with the introduction its evolution since the 1990s. What's more, it will discuss how they may be connected between more extensive Burmese transnational networks and underground networks in Burma with diverse strategies, practices, and activities. Essentially, the research will investigate the political agency of online activism, their roles, and their impacts on the politics of resistance in Burma.

Keywords: Burma; exile politics; transnationalism; political agency; Mae Sot; political instability; Thailand

Burmese Exile Activism in Thailand

Sarah Riebel (University of Konstanz)

The paper aims to examine the relationship between exile and activism for activists from Myanmar who fled the country because of the attempted 2021 military coup. The forced exile of activists from Myanmar to Thailand is no new phenomenon and has a complex history. Until today a lot of activists from past conflicts and resistance movements are active advocates and support the current anti-coup struggles. Through encounters with activists and (I)NGOs during a twelve-month research stay, in Thailand - predominantly Mae Sot - the ethnographic research sheds light on the various activities and challenges Myanmar activists in exile deal with. In addition, I examine how the history of protest and revolution in Myanmar has shaped the discourse and activist diaspora in Thailand from past to present.

Due to political developments, numerous people have been forced to flee Myanmar since decades. Therefore, many organizations supporting Myanmar people have settled in the border areas. Activists face many hardships, from the fears and insecurities resulting from their status as "illegals", to (mental) health problems, lack of future prospects and much more. The exiled community and (inter)national researchers were always writing and advocating against the government historic and political accounts and creating alternative narratives. One example is the Assistance Association for Political Prisoners Burma, due to their research and documenting efforts they challenge these accounts and provide and visualize alternative knowledge in their Mae Sot based museum and on their homepage. Independent news media groups like "The Irrawaddy", which was founded 1993 by a group of journalists in Thai exile, show these historical conjunctures, and the importance of the exiled community for past and current historical and political debates and knowledge making in and outside the

country. Furthermore, these dynamics are fueled by (new) creative methods of protest and advocacy in a transnational setting.

Keywords: Activism; exile; history; diaspora; coup; protest; revolution; narratives; Mae Sot; Myanmar; Thailand

Beyond the Boundaries: Analyzing the Impacts of Myanmar's Diaspora Activism in Thailand

Htet Lynn Oo (Chulalongkorn University)

In the 21st century, diaspora communities have emerged as pivotal agents for change within their host countries, prompting governments to explore strategic engagements with these communities. While the concept of diaspora is multifaceted and dynamic, a common thread is the strong attachment and loyalty of these communities to their respective countries. Myanmar has witnessed successive waves of diaspora communities, categorized by factors such as political identity, ethnic affiliation, and geographical location.

Despite the growing significance of diaspora communities in Myanmar, there remains a dearth of comprehensive studies on this subject. After the military coup, the role of diaspora communities has become crucial, yet the scholarly attention in this area remains limited. Thailand hosts a considerable number of diasporas, encompassing political, conflict-driven, economic, and social diasporas. This research focuses on the political diaspora within Thailand, with an emphasis on communities in Chiang Mai and Mae Sot. Utilizing a methodological approach involving key informant interviews and participant observation, the research aims to address the implications of diaspora activism and its agency in Thailand for Myanmar's contemporary political context.

The study seeks to uncover the motivations and aspirations driving the diaspora in Thailand, examining the levels of influence they wield and the leverage they possess. Furthermore, the research explores the significance of proximity for diaspora communities, shedding light on the intricate dynamics of their engagement with the political landscape of Myanmar. By delving into the complexities of Myanmar's diaspora activism in Thailand, this research contributes to a nuanced understanding of the impacts, motivations, and agency of these communities, particularly within the evolving political context of Myanmar. The findings promise to illuminate the role diaspora communities play as catalysts for change and shed light on the potential avenues for strategic collaboration between host countries and diaspora groups.

Keywords: Diaspora activism; political diaspora; Thailand; influence; near diaspora

'Rebel/Insurgent' Cosmopolitanism: Imagining and living with spaces of rebellion on the Hukawng borderworlds between India, Burma and China

Jasnea Sarma (University of Zurich)

Multiple closely collaborating indigenous and ethnic armed organizations (EOs) — Kachin, Assamese, Arakanese, Chin, Naga, Manipuri, and Mizo among others, have been actively mobile across the Hukawng Valley between India, Myanmar, and China since the late 1970s. Widely labelled 'militants', 'insurgents' and 'rebels' in both literature and media, and escaping to seek political refuge across borders and collaborate with other 'rebels', they have been a target for various security and cross border counterinsurgencies across India and Myanmar. This paper posits that such rebel and insurgent mobility, belonging, placemaking and solidarity, often theorised as 'rebel sanctuaries', or 'insurgent' operations by states and international organisations, in reality, transcended the transactional politics of the transfer of arms, drugs, and revolutionary exchanges; but in fact, occupied — and produced — deeply cosmopolitan borderworlds of *culture, connection and care*. Although counterintuitive in the jungled terrains of the Hukawng borders, this cosmopolitanism, I argue, were not unlike what modern international students might experience in major multicultural cities like Singapore, London, and NYC thereby turning 'remote' and 'dangerous' spaces into multicultural zones of knowledge, personal, familial, historical, and cultural transmissions. In doing so, this paper problematises the image of the rebel camp/sanctuary and conceptualizes the Hukawng borderlands between India, Myanmar, and China — as a

convergent borderworld of both 'rebel' but also 'security' cosmopolitanisms — that was — and still is, in perpetual schism, and which generates particular subjectivities from 'rebels' and security personnel in an inter-Asian territory.

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 2D | Zoom Room D | Room 615 (6th Fl.)

Manuscript Culture and Religion in the Borderlands

The Preservation of Buddhist Piety in the Peripheries: Shan Buddhism across the Myanmar-China border

Olivia Porter (University of Oxford, University of Roehampton)

The Shan borderlands, which lie on the peripheries of the Burmese, Chinese, and Thai nation states, have long been thought of as zones of refuges for heterodox religious groups pushed out by the central authorities in their respective nation states. But is this really the case? Through multisite ethnographic fieldwork in Shan State, Kachin State, and new translations of key Zawti texts, my doctoral fieldwork on the Tai Zawti Theravada Buddhist tradition has revealed that the Shan borderlands have in fact preserved one of the strictest forms of lay Buddhism in the world. The Tai Zawti are a monastic and lay community closely associated with the Tai (known as the Shan in Myanmar, Dai in China, Tai Yai in Thailand) ethnolinguistic group who live throughout the borders of mainland Southeast Asia, Southwestern China, and Northeast India.

While in most forms of Buddhism, monks are seen as the preservers and preachers of orthodoxy, here lay poets called *zare*, compose and perform *lik long*, complex vernacular 'poetic dharma' texts to audiences of pious lay Buddhists. *Lik long* literature stands out as distinctive in its lay orientation and complexity, despite its vernacular rendering, and its origins in Pali canonical and commentarial material, more commonly associated with monasticism. *Lik long* in the Shan borderlands is performed to groups of lay people bound by precepts stricter than those followed by many monastics elsewhere.

In this paper, I shall introduce the Tai Zawti Buddhist tradition, a historically cross-border community which belongs to the Shan Theravada tradition more broadly and explore how the porous borderlands have helped preserve this distinctive cultural and religious tradition. I shall also consider how the current crisis in Myanmar, and China's response to the crisis, might impact the distinctive religious practises and traditions that have been preserved along the fraught socio-political border.

Keywords: Shan Buddhism; Myanmar-China border; Shan studies; Theravada Buddhism; vernacular texts

Murray Manuscripts at the British Library

Maria Kekki (British Library)

The Murray manuscripts are an exceptional collection of manuscripts in Arakanese from the 18th century. Collected and probably commissioned to be copied by John Murray (1745-1822) in Bengal in the 1770s-80s they include a wide range of topics. The material, writing style, binding and alignment are an amalgam of traditions that are now considered as separate, Burmese and Bengali. The two are further bound together in the manuscripts with the presence of some Bengali text. Murray furthermore had some of these manuscripts translated into Persian, now found in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

Rather than a border or peripheral area, Arakan was an important centre for commerce, administration and culture where present day hard boundaries between modern nation states and national cultures did not originally exist. This invaluable collection of manuscripts is an important part of the cultural heritage of the region. The Murray manuscript collection is currently being digitised by the British Library so that they can be studied across the globe.

Keywords: Arakan; Arakanese; manuscripts; John Murray

Surveying Manuscripts Collections for Future Digitization across the Greater Shan country

François Tainturier (Inya Institute)

This paper presents the preliminary findings of a survey on manuscript collections conducted in three locations of the Greater Shan country: south and eastern areas of Taung-gyi, north-western area of Kengtung, and area of Mae Hong Son. This is part of a larger research project on manuscript collections started in 2018 in Northern Shan State at the Punlong Monastery, located near Kyaukme.

With little pre-existing knowledge on these collections, the objective of this survey is to assess the historical and cultural significance of these manuscript collections held at monasteries, identify those which warrants digitization, and preserve them in a digital format while ensuring the original manuscripts are properly maintained by their custodians. More broadly, it is also an attempt to understand the local ecosystem sustained around these manuscripts by the monks and *care* and the transnational moves across the Thailand-Burma border they have enabled.

Keywords: Shan culture; Manuscript culture; Shan borderlands; Thai-Myanmar border

Shan Manuscript Textiles at The British Library

Maria Kekki (British Library) and Methaporn Singhanan (Chiang Mai University)

A recent project that researched Southeast Asian manuscript textiles at the British Library made several interesting discoveries about the origin of the manuscript textiles and subsequently the associated trade connections. The Shan manuscript collection at the British Library includes many scroll books that have sewn-in textile covers. In most cases these covers were found to be machine-woven Manchester cotton, probably produced for the Burmese and Indian markets. The manuscripts came to the Library at many different points of time in the 19th-20th centuries and from many different locations, from Shan State, Northern Thailand and Yunnan. While the manuscripts were locally made, their textile covers had travelled far and wide and exemplify the localisation of global commodities and tastes in what are now considered to be remote parts of Southeast Asia. This presentation is co-presented with Methaporn Singhanan, Chevening Fellow at the British Library in 2022-23.

Keywords: Shan; manuscripts; textiles; trade

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 2E | Zoom Room E | Smart Room 710/1 (7th Fl.)

Rights, Opportunities and Access to Education in Borderlands (online)

Panel Organizer: Pau Sian Lian

Discussants: Louise and Magnolia (in-person)

Sponsored by the Yangon Cosmopolitan University

Despite its abundant natural and human resources, Myanmar has struggled to address political turmoil and conflicts throughout its history. The country has witnessed three military coups, with the latest occurring amid the challenges posed by the Covid-19 pandemic, leaving Myanmar weakened and vulnerable. Amidst various sectors affected, the education system has been profoundly impacted at all levels, from basic to higher education. The military's strict restrictions on the Civil Disobedience Movement have rendered the education system inaccessible, pushing communities to innovate alternative platforms. Many students have sought refuge

in neighboring countries for educational access, while schools under the ethnic resistance organizations' (EROs) control area face constant threats, including airstrikes, communication shutdowns, and other challenges.

This panel, featuring interdisciplinary perspectives from local academic researchers in Myanmar, focuses on rights, opportunities, and access to education in Myanmar borderlands. The first paper explores how the Pekon Township community navigates educational challenges during armed conflicts when the state fails to provide education between 2021 and 2023. The second paper examines barriers and facilitators influencing Burmese refugee children's access to schools in Mizoram state, India, considering language barriers, socio-cultural adjustments, and institutional support. Beyond access, the third paper delves into the rights of Myanmar youth refugees, highlighting challenges in obtaining proper documentation that hinders their ability to secure employment and other opportunities. The last paper discusses the comprehension of peace education as a means of promoting sustainable peace through higher education curricula in Kachin State, Myanmar.

This panel provides a comprehensive overview of the current education situation in Myanmar's borderlands, addressing rights, opportunities, access, and the content of education.

Keywords: Education; access; opportunities; peace; rights

Conflict and Displacement in Pekon Township: Navigating Educational Access in Conflict Setting Felicita

Pekon Township has become a conflict zone, along with Karenni State, which has emerged as a hub for active armed resistance following the coup in 2021. Since May 2021, frequent clashes have occurred between the military and armed resistance groups in Pekon and Moe Bye. In 2023, only three state schools (primary, middle, and high schools) and a handful of monastic schools have cautiously reopened with restricted hours in specific areas of Pekon Township.

This study examines how the community in Pekon Township navigates educational pathways for children in the midst of armed conflicts when the State fails to provide education between 2021 and 2023. The study draws on secondary sources and interviews with individuals affected or displaced by armed conflicts, as well as educators. Despite the challenges, the community has established schools in areas where state schools are closed. Some individuals have resorted to state schools, monastic institutions, and community-based schools, or even sending their children to other cities. However, ongoing clashes, including artillery shelling, airstrikes, bombings, security threats, and attacks on schools, coupled with economic constraints, continue to disrupt children's education. This paper presents a case study of Pekon Township to explore education dynamics in a conflict setting.

Keywords: Education; conflict; Pekon; access; displacement

A Study on Access to Education of Burmese Refugee Children in Mizoram, India Khin Mon Lin, Mary & Ei Ei

Refugee education is an important issue, particularly in regions such as Mizoram, India that has been hosting a significant number of refugees from neighboring countries, such as Myanmar. According to UNHCR, over 40,000 refugees from Myanmar, particularly in regions like Chin State and Sagaing Region, have been taking shelter in Mizoram since the military coup.

The study examines the barriers and facilitators influencing Burmese refugee children's access to schools in Mizoram, considering factors such as language barriers, socio-cultural adjustments and institutional support. In the context of non-formal education, the study examines camp-specific initiatives offering Myanmar curriculum under NUG's interim education program that contribute to the educational landscape of Burmese refugee children.

The study aims at analyzing the qualitative data through observations and in-depth interviews with refugee children, teachers, parents, and other relevant stakeholders involved in refugee education to shed light on multifaceted barriers and opportunities that impede the process of education for refugees while also emphasizing the necessity of effective policy interventions.

Keywords: Mizoram; education; policy; refugee; opportunities

Rights of Myanmar Youth Refugees in Mizoram: Access to Education
Mawite & Areng

The accessibility of higher education for Myanmar youth refugees in Mizoram is a significant challenge due to the lack of formal recognition and financial concerns. Young refugees consistently identify the difficulty of obtaining recognition for their existing qualifications as a serious challenge. If the financial concerns can be addressed, it is likely that many refugees would be able to take advantage of higher education opportunities and improve their prospects for the future. However, after completing their education, many young refugees in Mizoram face a challenge in obtaining proper documentation, which makes it hard for them to secure employment and other opportunities.

In this research, qualitative data were gathered through interviews with youth refugees who were already in higher education and were employed in NGO and stakeholders involved in initiatives promoting refugees' access to higher education. Education is a fundamental human right recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1954 Refugee Convention, yet many Myanmar youth refugees in Mizoram face obstacles in accessing higher education opportunities. The paper also recommends providing legal recognition to refugees, increasing funding for education, improving resources, and involving local communities in education initiatives to improve access to education for Myanmar youth refugees and ensure their academic and personal development.

Keywords: Education, youth, refugees, challenges, Myanmar

Kachin Students' Perspectives on Peace Education Curriculum at the Higher Education Level in
Mai Ja Yang, Kachin State, Myanmar
Ning Shan, Ah San, and Seng

Education is crucial for promoting peace and healing, as well as for addressing the underlying conditions that contribute to violent conflict. In Myanmar, the education system has long been inefficient due to military rule and conflicts over autonomy. Given that the majority of the population in Kachin State resides in rural areas, education has not been prioritized, and the current curriculum lacks peace education. Consequently, Kachin students do not have a proper understanding of peace. This study explores Kachin students' comprehension of peace education as a means of promoting sustainable peace through higher education curricula in Kachin State, Myanmar. Qualitative methods were employed to gather information on how education can be utilized to promote sustainable peace, and to suggest ways to achieve this goal through higher education curricula. The research seeks to contribute to the development of a more inclusive educational framework, empowering Kachin students to actively participate in building and sustaining peace in their communities.

Keywords: Peace, education, Kachin, priority, sustainability

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 10:45-12:15

Panel 3A | Zoom Room A | Malai Huvanandana Room (12th Fl.)

Myanmar's Participation and Effectiveness in Human Trafficking Prevention: Levels-of-Analysis

Ying-Yi Kuo (National Chung Hsing University)

Being geographically adjacent with each other, Southeast Asian Countries face challenges in border management; additionally, the regional integration in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) makes transnational crimes, such as human trafficking, more prevalent. Recognizing the severity of human trafficking, ASEAN member states have initiated efforts to establish relevant mechanisms, for example, "ASEAN Declaration to Combat Transnational Crime". However, according to the "Global Slavery Index" by the "Walk Free Foundation," the responses and effectiveness of respective governments are uneven at present, with Myanmar showing the least progress. This could be attributed to the policies of the ruling government or the inadequacy of ASEAN's collective declarations. Due to significant internal variations among Southeast Asian countries, even though they share the common issue of human trafficking, each nation's experiences in human trafficking vary, some experience sexual exploitation, while others, like Myanmar, face issues involving the trafficking of individuals into armed conflicts. This diversity of challenges contributes to the inefficiency of ASEAN in establishing regime against human trafficking.

Therefore, this article aims to discuss the blind sides in Myanmar's efforts to combat human trafficking, evaluate the government's functions, and provide potential collaborative strategies for human trafficking prevention in the Southeast Asian region. The discussion on Myanmar's governance of human trafficking will shed the light on two aspects with Levels-of-Analysis: firstly, in the domestic governance, it will compare the approaches of the civilian government and the junta government in addressing human trafficking issues to analyze their involvement in international cooperation to evaluate Myanmar's capability in human trafficking prevention. Secondly, in the regional governance level, examining whether ASEAN's declarations on human trafficking align with Myanmar's domestic demands to discuss the limitations of collective action on human trafficking prevention.

Keywords: Human trafficking; Myanmar; ASEAN; transnational governance; child labor; women trafficking; organizational crime

A Closer Look: Case Studies on the Mental Health Challenges among Refugees

Ashe Chakhesang (Payap University) (online)

This study addresses the critical issue of forced displacement affecting a staggering 108.4 million individuals globally, as highlighted in the 2023 UNHCR report. The imperative to understand and address the emotional and cognitive well-being of those encountering adversities such as conflict, violence, and mistreatment is underscored by the immense scale of the global refugee crisis.

Amid the intricate challenges faced by refugees along the Thai-Myanmar border, mental health emerges as a vital focus necessitating comprehensive exploration. This research aims to delve into the nuanced experiences of individuals within this refugee community, shedding light on the mental health challenges they face during displacement. The Thai-Myanmar border has long served as a refuge for those fleeing conflict and persecution, providing a unique context for understanding the mental well-being of displaced populations.

Employing a case study approach, this research seeks to unravel the diverse and intricate mental health trajectories of refugees, considering factors such as trauma, displacement, and the uncertainties associated with their status. Through qualitative research methodologies, the study will delve into the personal narratives of refugees, exploring the psychosocial dimensions of their experiences. The case study findings aim not only to contribute to the academic discourse on mental health challenges but also to provide actionable insights for policymakers, mental health professionals, and organizations working with refugees in the region.

By offering a closer examination of the lived experiences of refugees on the Thai-Myanmar border, this research seeks to inform targeted interventions and support systems addressing the unique mental health needs of this

displaced population. Ultimately, the research aspires to amplify the voices of those whose mental health struggles are often overlooked, fostering a deeper understanding of the challenges they face and advocating for initiatives that promote the well-being and resilience of refugees along the Thai-Myanmar border.

Keywords: Displacement; refugee; mental health; Thai-Myanmar border; wellbeing

Evaluating the Right to a Healthy Environment for Internally Displaced Persons in Karen State
Kyaw Lwin (Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University) & Bhone Myat Min Thant (Independent Researcher)

In the period of conflict that followed Myanmar's Spring Revolution and military coup in 2021, "Evaluating the Right to a Healthy Environment for Internally Displaced Persons in Karen State" examines the significant concern about internally displaced people in Karen State. The civil war in Myanmar emerged as a result of the repressive practices and human rights violations perpetrated by the Myanmar military. Subsequently, it escalated into an armed conflict involving various ethnic revolutionary organizations (EROs), the People's Defense Force (PDF), and the Myanmar military. The regions of Karen State were significantly affected by the armed conflict. Regrettably, during the period spanning from February 1, 2021, to April 30, 2023, Karen State experienced a substantial number of approximately 5,000 armed confrontations between the Myanmar Military Council and Revolutionary Forces. The belligerent behavior exhibited by the Military Council, characterized by executing more than 250 aerial attacks within the region, exacerbated the circumstances. Consequently, a significant number exceeding 120,000 individuals residing in Karen State were compelled to evacuate and seek refuge near the Thai border.

This study seeks to critically assess the extent to which the right of internally displaced individuals to a healthy environment is being safeguarded, taking into account the ongoing conflicts and environmental challenges prevalent in the region. This research paper aims to examine the process of thematic analysis by utilizing qualitative-based research methods, specifically employing purposive and snowball sampling techniques for conducting interviews in the Thai-Myanmar Border area.

Keywords: Right to a healthy environment; humanitarian aid; internally displaced persons; Karen State

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 10:45-12:15

Panel 3B | Zoom Room B | Poli Sci Alumni Room (12th Fl.)

Community Cohesion, Development, and Resilience across Tangible/Intangible Borders (II)

Inter-Communal and Social Cohesion: Good Practices, Barriers and Opportunities
Thae Ma Ma Zin (Thabyay Education Foundation)

The current study explored the barriers and opportunities for social cohesion among communities in Myanmar's central and northern Rakhine State, a region marked by conflict, poverty and impacts of climate change. The study employed qualitative methods, namely focus group discussions and individual interviews, with 37 participants from various ethnic and religious backgrounds across Sittwe, Minbya, Mrauk-U, Kyauktaw and Buthidaung townships.

The study identified four main findings: (1) the Muslim community faces extensive discrimination and inequalities from the state, affecting their sense of belonging and identity; (2) religion enhances intra-group bonds but poses barriers to inter-group relations; (3) historical and cultural awareness is crucial for fostering mutual respect and understanding among different communities, as well as challenging stereotypes and the use of derogatory terms; and (4) shared struggles and cooperative efforts in times of disasters can create opportunities for positive interactions and trust-building. The study then puts forward a number of

recommendations for improving social cohesion and inter-communal relations in the region, such as promoting inclusive and equitable access to basic services, facilitating inter-faith dialogue and education, raising awareness of diverse histories and cultures, and supporting joint initiatives and events that address common challenges and interests.

The findings and recommendations of this study are not only beneficial for communities in central and northern Rakhine State, but also provide valuable insights for local and international development agencies working in the region. By understanding the complexities of social cohesion and inter-communal relations, these agencies can design and implement more effective and context-specific programs and interventions.

Keywords: Barriers; opportunities; social cohesion; social marginalization; racial discrimination

Mon migrant worker networks and community development through resource transaction in Samut Nakhon province, Thailand

Kamonwan Roengsumran (Chulalongkorn University)

This research examines the role of migrant worker networks in community development through the resource transfer process in the context of Samut Sakhon province, Thailand. This study shows that transferring financial and social resources in the community results in positive outcomes leading to community development. This study also identifies various factors influencing those transfers. Online surveys were conducted randomly with a wide range of 94 respondents living in several communities in Samut Sakhon Province to enable validation of qualitative data collected for this study. In-depth interviews conducted with 6 Mon migrant workers working and living in Samut Sakhon province (3 members and 3 non-members of self- help groups), semi-structured interviews with 5 community leaders or individuals working for Mon groups, observation and participation observation were also employed for this study.

Findings show that resource transfers within the community in the destination country (Samut Sakhon province) engaged by Mon migrant worker networks led to Mon community development. Close ties (family and friends) and organizational ties (Mon self-help groups) engaged in the process of resource transfers through provision of financial support, donations; sharing information, knowledge, perceptions, and experiences within networks; participating in community events; and joining self-help groups. Those actions brought about local community development in Samut Sakon, since the outcomes of social and financial resources transfer represented strengthened solidarity and high levels of agency, which generated community development, as Bhattacharyya (1995) addresses that high levels of solidarity and agency can bring about community development. However, the process of resource transfers was influenced by several factors: social and cultural contexts (social circumstances, the COVID-19 pandemic, and collective cultural values and beliefs). Facilitating factors (roles and leadership within groups, stimulating mechanisms (imitation, modularity, and socialization), the internet and social media, trust and social networks (as social capital) and hindering factors (Thai laws/regulations and power relations within groups and within the networks of migrant workers) were also affected the resource transfers in the community of Samut Sakhon province.

Keywords: Migrant worker network; Mon ethnicity; In-country Resource transfer; Community Development

Unraveling the Financial Strategies of Myanmar Migrant Workers in Mae Sot, Thailand: Social Capital as Social Networks of Labor Migration Perspective on Remittance Patterns and Socio-Economic Impact

Tin Maung Htwe (Pyin-Nya-Man-Daing Programme / Mahidol University)

In the contemporary globalized context, labor migration significantly shapes economies in both countries of origin and destination. Myanmar, facing political turmoil and economic challenges since the 2021 coup, witnessed a considerable influx of its movement into Thailand. This research aims to comprehensively examine

the financial strategies of Myanmar migrant workers in Mae Sot, Thailand focusing the flow of remittances. By analyzing the social capital theory, the study intends to shed light on the multifaceted interactions between migrants and social network. Research shall prove valuable insights into the transformative impact of migration on economic and social landscapes. The primary research objective is to explore the remittance patterns and financial decision-making of Myanmar migrant workers in Mae Sot, Thailand.

This paper has been working paper supported by Pyin-Nya-Man-Daing Programme and mentored by Mahidol University. In the wake of the 2021 political and economic challenges in Myanmar, a substantial wave of citizens migrated to Thailand, particularly to Mae Sot city. This research sets out to investigate the financial strategies of Myanmar migrant workers in Mae Sot, with a particular emphasis on their remittance patterns. Through the lens of social capital theory, this study aims to discern the factors shaping remittance behavior and the financial decision-making of migrants. Additionally, it endeavors to delve into the impact of remittances on the economies of both Myanmar and Thailand, as well as on the well-being of migrant workers and their families. Employing qualitative research methods, this study seeks to provide valuable insights into the dynamics of migration and to offer policy and intervention implications for labor migration in Southeast Asia.

Keywords: Migration; Thailand; financial strategies

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 10:45-12:15

Panel 3C | Zoom Room C | Smart Room 710/1 (7th Fl.)

Women’s Everyday Experience, Resilience, and Agency in the Borderlands

The Impact of War on Karenni Women
Sophia (Chiang Mai University) (online)

Over seven decades, different armed actors of Karenni resistance have fought against the heavy militarization of Burmese Military in the area. This continued armed conflict has its significance as autonomous resistance as well as flaws in its own resistance resulting from militarized patriarchy. The conflicts directly affected to the women’s daily experience in different aspect of life. According to Karenni National Women’s Organization (KNWO), the situation affected by the military coup in February 2021 has also impacted hundreds of thousands of populations in Karenni State. The Karenni people have been forced to flee their villages due to clashes between the Burmese military and the local resistance groups. Displaced women, and children are at an increased risk during a humanitarian crisis. There is multiple pressure on the women to find ways to meet the basic needs for themselves and the community (Hedstrom & Olivious, 2020).

According to the Kayan Women’s Organization (KyWO) brief report about women in Karenni Stat in June 2023, most of the area in Karenni are experiencing armed conflicts and women are facing different forms of human right violations and abuse. In this situation, women are losing their houses and property, gendered based violence including sexual violence, harassment and domestic violence. Additionally, the consequence of reproductive health, other safety and security problem as an impact of war (Kayan Women’s Organziation, June 2023). To gain a deeper understanding of the experience of women during conflicts in Karenni State, the paper shed light on the everyday experience of women in different aspects such as displacement, Food crisis and water shortage, health, education and the safety during displacement. This paper relates to the author’s current Master research which seeks to understand how Karenni women are experiencing decades of war and its impact on them.

Keywords: Karenni; women; conflicts; war; displacement

Weaponizing Femininity on the China-Myanmar Borderlands: Trafficking Development and Bordered Illegality

Guosheng Fu and Elena Shih (Brown University)

On the China-Myanmar border, abundant promises of economic development built into China's "One Belt One Road Initiative" clash with a decades long history of heroin trafficking from the Golden Triangle, militarized displacement from the Myanmar military junta, and ethnic disenfranchisement of ethnic minority populations via illegal land-grabs, an HIV/AIDS epidemic, and high rates of intravenous drug use. This paper regards each of the former as difference kinds of "organized crime"—some state sponsored, others via criminal syndicates. The overwhelming Chinese central government policy has been one of incarceration alongside fortified border policies in an attempt to restrict the movement of people, despite the movement of goods, capital, and infrastructure development in the area.

Most contemporary policy concerns focus on men as vectors of crime and disease, while women are only considered worthy of discussion if they are victims needing assistance (see, for instance, the China National Plan of Action to Combat Human Trafficking (2008). Demographically, these villages are undergoing large shifts in gender, following the epidemic levels of HIV infection upwards of 80% in some villages. Ethnographically, the authors, who have worked as researchers and cultural activists in the area since 2006, begin this paper with a simple, yet un-discussed reality: for many Jingpo ethnic husband and wife couples who are arrested for drug trafficking, the wife agrees to take a heavier jail sentence with the belief that her husband will have greater earning power with his early release. The results are a drastic reformulation of gender, sexuality, and family roles on the China-Myanmar border in light of organized crime and criminalization.

Keywords: Human trafficking; Ruili City; China-Myanmar border; femininity

Everyday Transnationalism: Indigenous Women's Transnational and Trans-Indigenous Activist Connections in Northern Thailand and the Thai-Burma Border

Hannah El-Silimy (Independent Researcher) (online)

In this paper I discuss Indigenous women's participation in trans-Indigenous and transnational coalitions in Northern Thailand, at the Thai-Burma border and in anti-authoritarian protests. I argue that participation in trans-Indigenous and transnational alliances is a way of resisting the colonial and authoritarian state's attempts to control and manage Indigenous women's lives in the region. The transnational and trans-Indigenous strategies highlighted in this chapter include trans-Indigenous participation in cross-border trainings and workshops as a way of enacting self and community empowerment, as well as building spaces of inter-Indigenous solidarity and exchange. In addition, I highlight the role of transnational Indigenous and allied campaigns in the region, including anti-authoritarian movements in Thailand and Burma in the post military coup environments in 2014 and 2021 respectively.

This paper considers Indigenous ontologies in transnational social movements and strategies of resisting the colonial global order. In particular, this paper seeks to move towards a decolonial approach towards discussing transnational social movements, highlights Indigenous women's activism and agency under authoritarian and neocolonial conditions, and identifies transnationalism and trans-Indigeneity as a key strategy in resisting state violence and control for Indigenous peoples in this region.

Keywords: Indigenous women; transnationalism; trans-indigeneity; Thai-Burma border

Livelihood Struggles Amidst Intentional Disregards: Role of Social Capital in Adaptive Resilience as Witnessed through Myanmar Women's Post-Coup Experiences in Mae Sot, Thailand

Su Myat Thwe (Chulalongkorn University)

Cycle of migration to Thailand from Myanmar has special history with many intersecting factors of forced migration and new trend emerges following 1st February 2021. This paper examines the livelihood struggles of displaced Myanmar women in Mae Sot, Thailand. Through a gendered intersectionality lens, the research explores how their marginalized identities (woman, Myanmar national, displaced individual, migrant worker) create intersecting vulnerabilities across various dimensions, including food, health, and personal security.

The study reveals the crucial role of social capital in fostering resilience and empowerment among these women, enabling them to navigate complex challenges and adapt to their precarious situation. By leveraging social networks, community organizations, and religious institutions, displaced women access resources, share knowledge, solve problems collaboratively, and build a sense of belonging and support. This highlights the critical role of collective action and collaboration in building resilience and achieving sustainable livelihoods in the face of conflict-induced displacement.

Keywords: Conflict-induced displacement; cross-border livelihoods; human security; intersectionality; social capital

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 10:45-12:15

Panel 3D | Zoom Room D | Room 615 (6th Fl.)

Land and Natural Resource Governance in the Ethnic Borderlands

Panel Organizer/Convener: Kevin Michael Woods

Recurring Ruptures in Land Relations in War and Ceasefire in Kawthoolei, Southeastern Myanmar

Kevin Michael Woods (East-West Center)

Relations to land and forests in Karen rebel territory (known as “Kawthoolei”) in southeastern Myanmar have undergone recurrent ruptures during the past three decades of war and ceasefire. Community-based field research with Karen youth leaders and rebel forest and agricultural department staff took place in 19 Karen villages within 6 KNU districts from 2020 to 2023. Based on focus group discussions and a literature review, we found that logging operations throughout the 1990s and 2000s commercialized counterinsurgency against the main rebel group, the Karen National Union (KNU), by deforesting guerilla habitat and transforming political insurgency into profiteering. KNU’s ceasefire in 2012, which created greater political stability and human security, led to a new rupture in relations to land and rebellion through the expansion of smallholder cash cropping. Our village study sites, which comprised of a mix of existing village households, war returnees, and new migrants, transformed their rotational rice (“khu”) fields in communal forests into private household property with KNU land titles to grow non-edible crops for the market, such as cassava, corn, and cardamom.

The paper discusses the implications for the armed struggle for self-determination in Kawthoolei of the rapid transition from a more subsistence-based economy under customary tenure rights to a cash cropping one upholding private land ownership. Our findings raise critical questions on how these ruptures may undermine the resurgence of the traditional Karen governance system (“kaw”), exemplified by the Salween Peace Park, as embodiments of customary rights and bottom-up political federalism.

Keywords: Land; conflict; cash cropping; Karen

Resisting the Ravage: A Comparative Study of Civil Society Responses to Mining Operations in Myanmar

Aye Mon Thu (Chiang Mai University)

This research paper examines the dynamics of resistance and advocacy against mining operations threatening Myanmar's livelihoods and ecological integrity. Set against the backdrop of ethnic conflict, border politics, and authoritarian governance, the study focuses on two key regions: (1) the Tanintharyi region, impacted by Tin and tungsten mining operations invested by Thai companies, and (2) the Kachin state, affected by Chinese rare earth mining. These two regions, with their distinct geopolitical and ethnic landscapes, highlight the complexities Civil Society faces in resisting mining activities.

The methodology includes a comprehensive literature review, stakeholder analysis, and in-depth interviews to understand the factors hindering resistance strategies. Political ecology, environmental justice, and social change theory underpin the theoretical approach and conceptualization to analyze Myanmar's mining sector's political economy and geopolitical and socio-environmental dynamics. This research contributes to understanding civil society strategies and limitations and advocating for environmental justice. It offers insights into how local and international entities can better support these resistance efforts and inform authorities on responsible regulation of mining investments.

Keywords: Mining operation; natural resources; environmental justice; political ecology; resistance strategy

Land Commodification in Southern Ye Township, Mon State, Myanmar

Ba Nyar Oo (Chiang Mai University)

Myanmar's political transition in 2011 has been praised by the international community, and it has encouraged the inflow of investment. A number of laws and policies were reformed, including the Farmland Act, the VFV Law, and the Investment Law. Yet this reform has impacted land in rural areas. The research study presented here critically examines a stone mining project planned in Magyi village tract in southern Ye Township in Mon State in 2019 which involved, the company purchasing agricultural land and village land.

This research examines how the ceasefire agreement with NMSP instigated land dynamics in the southern area of Ye Township, the process of land commodification by a stone mining project in Magyi village, and how communities mobilize and de-commodify land to protect their rights. This case study is conceptualized by the working of commodification by Karl Polanyi and the processes of variegated capitalism. This study uses a qualitative approach by conducting online and phone interviews with a case study of a stone mining project. Secondary data was also collected from various sources from conducting literature review.

The key findings show that the mining project had detrimental impacts on the community in different ways, such as tension among fellow villagers, the loss of their permanent agriculture job, and forced village relocation. In addition, land formalization processes underway and the bilateral ceasefire and national peace process made land more easily accessible to wealthy outsiders, resulting in villagers fearing land appropriations. Villagers' coping mechanism to these pressures included wage labor, becoming migrant workers in Thailand, or migrating to other areas. Communities resistance emerged to de-commodify their land and protect their communities. They claimed customary rights as a way to de-commodify land, learning from other communities on how to mobilize rights to their customary land and management practices.

Keywords: Commodification; land rights; peace process; investment; political transition

Local Resistance against Banana Grabbing in a Village in Northern Myanmar's Kachin State

Seng Li (Chiang Mai University)

Chinese agricultural investment in tissue-culture banana plantations is one of the most hotly debated land issues in Kachin State, Myanmar's northernmost region. Banana plantation investment is usually followed by land and environmental problems in the area, in terms of forced displacement of local communities, livelihood loss for

local communities, and environmental degradation, as well as resentment of local communities and conflict with investors in terms of access and exclusion to land and resource use.

This study explores these issues through a case study on the grassroots resistance of a local community against a joint-venture investment in a banana plantation in a village in Waingmaw Township that stole their land. This study sheds light on the resistance strategies of local communities and the political opportunities that contribute to the success and failure of resistance. In addition, the roles of religious institutions, civil societies, and local authorities are also analyzed to understand their mobilization throughout the local community's land struggle against tissue-culture banana plantations.

Keywords: Land acquisition; tissue banana plantations; resistance; resources mobilization

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 10:45-12:15

Panel 3E | Zoom Room E | Room 614 (6th Fl.)

Perspectives on Rohingya Issues

Voices Unveiled: Rohingya Perceptions amidst the Arakan Army-Myanmar Military Conflict
Maria (University of Montana)

Following clearance operations by the Myanmar military in 2017, the Rohingya have become synonymous with global injustice. Yet little research to date has explored diverse Rohingya voices, including perspectives current conflicts and future governance in Rakhine State. This ongoing study examines the nuanced perceptions within the Rohingya community amidst the ongoing conflict between the Arakan Army and the Myanmar Military. Focusing on the potential impacts of the Arakan Army's success or failure and the legitimacy of the National Unity Government (NUG), the research delves into the aspirations, needs, and experiences of the Rohingya during this tumultuous period.

Through the lens of transitional justice, the study employs in-depth, unstructured interviews with Rohingya community members inside and outside Myanmar as well as media analysis to understand external narratives and community perceptions of conflict, the potential outcomes, and the broader revolutionary context. Moreover, the study investigates the aspirations, needs, and actions identified by the Rohingya community during this period, with a specific focus on land justice and reparations. The article emphasizes the importance of amplifying the voices of a marginalized community and contributing essential insights that can inform policies, international interventions, and community-driven initiatives. In essence, this research is a call to action, paving the way for a more inclusive and informed dialogue around the Rohingya crisis and advocating for a more equitable and just future.

Keywords: Rohingya; Ongoing Conflict; Transitional Justice; Reparation

Human Right, International Law, and Rohingya: Legal Perspectives on Climate Change Refugee
Ahmad Sabirin (Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia)

This paper is to examine whether climate change-induced displacement is legal under international law, and whether Rohingya displacement can be categorized as climate change-induced, and what the solution to the problem might be, using a human rights approach or a national legislative and international law approach. This paper uses a literature review and legal normative approach by reviewing international legal regulations and international human rights law in relation to each other.

The provisional finding of this paper is that many Rohingya continue to flee to safer countries, often taking enormous risks, including crossing dangerous seas. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), more than 3,500 Rohingya attempted deadly sea crossings in 2022, a 360 per cent increase

compared to 2021. At least 348 Rohingya died during sea crossings in 2022. The impacts of climate change could be characterized as 'persecution', the Refugee Convention requires such persecution to be on account of an individual's race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership of a particular social group. Persecution alone is not enough. The difficulty here is that the impacts of climate change are largely indiscriminate, rather than tied to particular characteristics such as a person's background or beliefs. The term 'climate change refugee' is sometimes used to describe someone who has been forced to flee their home due to the impacts of climate change. While this label may be useful from a political standpoint, as it highlights some of the most extreme ways in which climate change will affect human societies, it is legally and conceptually flawed.

Keywords: Climate change; international law; Rohingya

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 13:45-15:15

Panel 4A | Zoom Room A | Malai Huvanandana Room (12th Fl.)

Migrant and Exiled Communities in Thailand: Place-making and Challenges to Human Security

Everyday Bordering and Myanmar Migrants in Mae Sot, Thailand
Sai Phyo Zin Aung (Chiang Mai University)

Mae Sot, the Thai-Myanmar border town, is an economic hub that attracts migrants from Myanmar who seek job opportunities or escape from armed conflicts inside Myanmar. However, many migrants in Mae Sot are still irregular migrants. Due to the lack of documentation, those migrants are facing challenges and exploitations in their everyday lives. Therefore, I try to understand the way that migrants are bordered through their everyday life activities and the struggles and exploitations that those migrants are facing in border areas.

By applying the concept of everyday bordering, this paper highlights how irregular migrants in Mae Sot are facing everyday bordering and are being taken advantage of by different actors. According to Yuval-Davis et al. (2019), everyday bordering is the bordering process that has been constructed to create hostile environments to make an impact on the lives of migrants and illegal border crossers. Drawing on this concept, this paper found that migrants in Mae Sot are encountering everyday bordering via public reporting, via police and bureaucrats, and via ID documents that are utilised by the Thai state. Additionally, migrants are being exploited by different actors, including police, brokers, and employers, due to their irregular statuses. Through the fieldwork, this work reveals the interaction between people in the community and how migrants navigate their lives in the community to deal with the situation of being bordered.

Keywords: Irregular migrants; everyday bordering; exploitation; Mae Sot

Disconnected but Connected Practices between Myanmar and Thailand: Focusing on Migrants from Myanmar in Mae Sot, Thailand After the Coup
Eunjeong Lee (Seoul National University)

Since the 2021 military-led coup in Myanmar, migration from Myanmar to Thailand has accelerated. Previous research on Myanmar political refugees in Mae Sot has focused on the after the 8888 uprising in 1988 from Myanmar. In this study, I focus on the changes in migration patterns, lives, interactions with existing political refugees, and their ongoing connections to their homeland of Myanmar migrants after the coup in 2021 mainly from Mae Sot, Thailand.

Mae Sot is a border town adjacent to Myanmar's Ayeyarwady Region and prior political refugees from 1988 have continued to serve as leaders of the Myanmar migrant community in Mae Sot. It is noteworthy that even after the coup, a large number of political refugees who participated in the "Spring Revolution" have moved to

Mae Sot, Thailand. It is important to understand why they moved to Mae Sot, what their lives are like, and how they continue to connect with their homeland. As political refugees are also multi-purpose migrants, it is also necessary to understand their economic activities as well as their political activities.

In this study, I will focus on three questions. First, how did migrants from Myanmar migrate to Mae Sot after the coup d'état in 2021? What are the political and economic lives of migrants from Myanmar after migrating to Mae Sot? And how do they seek and practice ongoing connections to their homeland and third countries in Mae Sot, Thailand? The research methodology will synthesize existing literature on political refugees in Mae Sot and compare the political and economic activities of Myanmar-origin migrants in Mae Sot since the coup with those identified through fieldwork scheduled for February 2024. From the fieldwork, I will include participatory observation and in-depth interviews with Myanmar migrants who migrated after the coup.

Keywords: Political refugees; coup; migration; practice; Myanmar; Mae Sot; Thailand

The Nexus of Legality and Human Security: Informal Coping Strategies among Shan Migrants in Chiang Mai
Cho Zin Thet (Chiang Mai University)

The modern notion of border has transformed the meaning of mobility and migration to a great extent. The lived experiences of migrants in dealing with foreign state bureaucracies to attain the legality of their existence are rather complex. Thailand’s changing immigration policies, which are primarily driven by economic and political circumstances within the state as well as cross-border and inter-state relations with Myanmar, impose more difficulties to migrants to take formal and legal paths to ensure their well-being in Thailand. This study delves into the informal strategies employed by undocumented Shan migrants to access human security in Thailand. Departing from the conventional refugee-labour migrant, this research will consider all migrants of Shan ethnicity from Myanmar under one rubric to reflect the complexity of empirical reality. The primary objectives of this study are to describe the lived experiences of undocumented Shan migrants regarding their access to human security, to explore the practical strategies they employ in their daily lives to access human security, and to analyze the nexus between legality and human security among this population in Thailand. Through ethnographic fieldwork and life-story interviews with Shan migrants in Chiang Mai, this study argues that social capital and collectivism act as a crucial safety net when the lack of documentation renders individuals vulnerable and fosters antagonistic relations with the state.

Keywords: Illegal border migration; human security; colonial legacy; Shan migrants; Thailand

Visualizing Myanmar Communities in Chiang Mai Past and Present
Mathias Jenny (Chiang Mai University) and Alice Vittrant (University Lyon 2)

Chiang Mai has for many centuries been a hub and melting pot of peoples, cultures, and languages, many with long-standing connections to present-day Myanmar. This Franco-Thai collaboration project (University of Lyon 2 and Chiang Mai University), focuses on the retention and changes of language use in the city of Chiang Mai. Based on a survey of different ethnic communities and complemented with published historical, linguistic, and social studies resources, the project aims at producing a comprehensive overview of the actual cultural and linguistic landscape in Chiang Mai, linking information of language use with paths of migration as documented, remembered, or hidden in local legends.

The first phase of the project focuses on religious institutions. Temples, churches, and mosques are places where cultural heritage is retained, making them ideal starting points in investigating retention and loss of features. On the practical side, these places are easily accessible and convenient to find interview partners. The research area will later be extended to other communal places, such as markets, villages, and others.

The investigation is conducted in two complementary parts, one sociolinguistic, the other linguistic. Questionnaires for both parts are designed to collect data on language use, cultural practices, and connections to the putative or known original homelands. The linguistic questionnaires are compiled in a way that they reveal

influences from other languages in different domains of use. Thai and Burmese are used as languages of communication in most cases. The two-year project (2024-2025) will produce an interactive map providing information for each site covering the social setting and ethnic identity, domains of language use, and retained and adopted cultural and linguistic practices. Linguistic data given for each group include word lists and basic grammatical and conversational patterns. In this talk, the project team will present preliminary results and the detailed methodology.

Keywords: Myanmar communities; Chiang Mai; culture and language use; migration and adaptation

Burmese Exiles in Mae Sot: Navigating Transnational Political Challenges

Zar Ti Nwe Nu Aung (Chiang Mai University)

Whenever there is political unrest in Burma, the borderland, Mae Sot has been the preferred spot for political activists and civil society communities since the 1960s period. As scholars, political activists, journalists, humanitarian workers, or refugees, they mostly relocated and are exiled to Mae Sot to continue their political activities. They constructed their own spheres there and attempted to connect with Burma's political movement. Following the 2021 coup in Burma, Thailand witnessed another mass wave of Burmese exiled migration. Through the legal or illegal routes, these exiles relocated to Mae Sot where they can do transnational political activities at the border.

The findings in this article are analyzed through the data collection at the border with semi-structured interviews, a year-long participant observation and in-depth life story interviews of ex-political prisoners. Even though these exiles moved to Mae Sot to escape human rights violations, arbitrary arrests, and restrictions on free speech in Burma, their lives in Mae Sot aren't easy either. They face constant threats of arrest, detention, and deportation. What's more, ethnic and ideological divisions among the exiled community make things even more complicated. The security risk from both Burma and Thailand militaries also limits their political space and puts their safety at risk. Despite all these challenges, these exiles keep working on their resistance movement with other transnational networks at the border.

By using the concept of transnational political activism, this article will find out why Burmese exiles choose Mae Sot during political instability, looking into their coping strategies for transnational political space. It also explores different motivations of their transnational political activism at the border despite pressure from both home and host countries.

Keywords: Burma; exile politics; transnationalism; political agency; Mae Sot; political instability; Thailand

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 13:45-15:15

Panel 4B | Zoom Room B | Poli Sci Alumni Room (12th Fl.)

State Boundary-Making vs. Cross-Border Communities

Pliable Borders and Containable Borderlands in South and Southeast Asia

Nyi Nyi Kyaw (Chiang Mai University)

Sizable work inspired by geographic, sociological, and anthropological imaginations emphasize the fluidity and permeability of borders and the liveliness and vibrancy of borderlands, often underestimating the ability of states to regulate, police, and control their borders and borderlands on their side. In contrast, considerable political science research informed by realist, militarized worldviews highlights the criminalization and securitization of outsiders by states, tending to take it for granted that those states maintain total dominion over their borders and the borderlands on their side. The first literature is under-statist or under-appreciative of the reach and powers of the state, while the latter pays little attention to the survival, self-sufficiency, and

lived coping mechanisms of forced migrants crossing the borders by any means and staying put in the borderlands of their host or transit country or countries.

In this largely statist paper concerned with rationalities and practices of the state, I argue that many borders may be trespassable for forced migrants but borderlands on the side of the host or transit country or countries are still containable. I trace, compare, and contrast the ways Thailand, Bangladesh, and India — rather unwillingly — receive (forced) migrants from Myanmar and allow them to stay inside or outside refugee camps.

I first argue that the three borders are relatively trespassable and left under-guarded at times by their respective states, rendering the borders pliable inwards. I then contend that those three South and Southeast Asian states are doing so not necessarily out of sympathy for forced migrants from Myanmar fleeing to them but due to trust in their ability to contain their borderlands after allowing the forced migrants in.

Keywords: Borders; borderlands; Southeast Asia; South Asia; Myanmar; Thailand; Bangladesh; India

Border Worldmaking: State Violence, Solidarity, and Relational Space on the Thai-Myanmar Border

Shona Loong (University of Zurich)

For nearly a decade before the 2021 coup, foreign donors poured money into Myanmar, some of which was earmarked for civil society “inside” the country. This move sidelined well-established Karen organisations along the Thai-Myanmar border, many of which had refused to follow the funds “inside” Myanmar. Based on research done at the time, this paper explores why and how border organisations sought to carve out, maintain, and expand an interstitial space between Thailand and Myanmar – a “borderworld” (Sadan 2013) – through which they could evade the Myanmar state.

Drawing from critical development studies and political geography, this paper proceeds in three parts. First, it examines donors’ attitudes towards civil society in Myanmar, which were shaped by global norms in international development and an optimism towards the National League for Democracy government. Conversely, donors were relatively inattentive to how Myanmar’s borderlands had been shaped by protracted state violence. Second, contra donors’ assumptions that growing the civil society landscape “inside” Myanmar could hasten Myanmar’s so-called transition to democracy, this paper shows why state violence could be challenged more robustly through the space of the Thai-Myanmar borderworld, where border organisations had created social relations that were less tethered to the Myanmar state. Third, this paper examines donors’ roles in preventing border organisations from building networks “inside” Myanmar. While this has much to do with the state, I propose that donors also played a role by – sometimes inadvertently – glossing over the extent to which state violence has shaped society. In so doing, donors constrained the extent to which Karen organisations “inside” Myanmar and on the border could act in solidarity with one another. Hence, while border organisations sought to expand the Thai-Myanmar borderworld, the state and donors, acting in concert, constrained it.

Keywords: Conflict; politics of development; civil society; Karen State; political geography

India-Myanmar borderlands: The Singpho and Lisu Spatialities across the Patkai Bum

Karin Dean (Tallinn University) (online)

The presentation focuses on the contemporary cross-border spatialities at the Upper Myanmar –India borderlands across the Patkai range between Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, India, and Myanmar’s Kachin State and Sagaing Region.

The spaces of mountainous terrain that in the past have hosted key migration routes and the World War II passageways, continue to connect the contemporary Lisu and the Singpho communities even if in largely dispersed and networked manner. The presentation focuses on the changing cross- border topographical

practices by these communities across the Patkai Bum range, in the context of the past mobilities, the Kachin ethno-political mobilization, and the state-led efforts on both sides to impose new identities and connectivities.

Against the Heartland/Borderland Divide: Configuring Anya as an Internal Frontier

Stéphen Huard (IRD)

What is the difference between borderlands and heartlands? In Burma/Myanmar, this distinction is at least predicated on the idea of a socio-ecological divide between central lowlands and peripheral uplands configured as a political opposition of conquest and resistance. Mandy Sadan (2013) has helped us rethink and historicize the hostilities between the political heartland of Burma and one of its most important peripheries. Prolonging this call historicizing clearcut oppositions and categories, this paper explores the process of internal colonization at play in Myanmar heartland. This approach was triggered by an enigma: how did the people of Anya come to engage in a direct fight against the military takeover?

Taking this enigma head-on requires to configure the current events as the latest episode of an ongoing history. It calls for analysing how previous experiences of violence, agrarian dispossession, the variegated nature of the local forces, and the diverse forms of sovereignty in the region are shaping political territories. If Anya appeared as a pacified, rural, traditional and Buddhist space until the coup – where the military regime seemed to have a certain legitimacy because it offered a system of co-optation and recruitment – we now need a new way of thinking about this area. Drawing from Kopytoff's work on the formation of African societies (1987), I propose to configure the hotbeds of Anya resistance as an internal frontier: a space of internal colonization where violence, dispossession and migration shape the making of fragmented political territories.

Keywords: Heartland; colonisation; internal frontier

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 13:45-15:15

Panel 4C | Zoom Room C | Room 615 (6th Fl.)

Shaping Agency and Governance of Land and Natural Resources in the Borderlands

Natural Resources Governance and Conservation: A Case Study of the Anal Naga Trans Border Tribe, Manipur

Momo (Tata Institute of Social Sciences, School of Social Work)

This research article delves into an in-depth exploration of natural resources governance and protection, with a specific focus on the indigenous worldview and knowledge practices of the Anal Naga Tribe at both local and tribal levels. The study investigates whether the Anals, inhabitants of the hill areas of Manipur, offer an environmentally sustainable alternative governance system. Adopting a holistic approach, influenced by scholars such as Lele (2020) and Datta (2019), and applying a global South indigenous lens, including perspectives from Smith (2012), Julian Go (2016), Cajete (2022), and Fisher (1994), along with insights within the framework proposed by Akhup (2015), the research seeks to comprehend forest governance in the Manipur hill landscape. By incorporating indigenous knowledge, customary practices, and perspectives from within the community, the study underscores the significance of the indigenous worldview in empowering the Anal community to protect their shared resources.

Against the backdrop of the changing dynamics in Northeast India, bordering Myanmar, and influenced by state development initiatives aligned with the Act East Policy, Neoliberalism, and the recent implementation of the Environment (Protection) Amendment Rule 2023, the Anals persist in upholding their indigenous knowledge systems, customary practices, and self-autonomous governance rooted in principles such as community ownership, sustainability, and adaptability.

The paper contends that these principles align with Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional justice framework, integrating economic (distributive justice), cultural (recognition justice), and political (participatory justice) dimensions, thereby advancing environmental justice in border areas. The research findings are based on an intensive six-month fieldwork initiative conducted in the Chandel district, a primary area of Anal settlement, spanning the Chandel and Chakpikarong sub-divisions in Manipur bordering Myanmar.

Keywords: Governing commons (natural resources); environment protection; indigenous knowledge system; and environmental justice

Christianity and Conservation in the Uplands of Southeast Asia

Kimberly Roberts (York Centre for Asian Research)

Political ecology has long ignored the role of religion in nature-society relationships. Yet, in the uplands of Southeast Asia the protestant Christian global diaspora community that grew from the colonial legacy of missionaries has shaped and continues to shape environmental conservation and stewardship narratives and practices.

This research paper is part of a larger project that asks how the colonial legacy of Christian protestant missionaries has shaped natural resource use in the borderlands of Myanmar. To answer this question, I first look at the historical pattern of missionaries in the region and their sending organizations, institutional agendas, and what tentmaking strategies were used, if any. Building on a historized understanding of Christian communities in the borderlands, I then compare ethnographic research from a non-denominational protestant network of villages in Chin State, Myanmar and from an American Baptist network of villages on the Thailand/Myanmar border.

In comparing these case studies, I will discuss the different ways they have adopted, transformed, and internalized a Christian theology and how it shapes community agricultural, conservation, conflict resolution, and community organizing practices. This is important, because in a heightened era of environmental degradation, not only do socio-economic and developmental practices matter, but religion also intersects with land use and conservation.

Keywords: Missionaries; uplands; environmental stewardship; Christianity; conservation

Land Tenure Transformation in the Naga Self-Administered Zone in Myanmar: A Case Study of Legal Pluralism and Accumulation in a Multi-Ethnic Upland Frontier Before and After the Coup JK (Chiang Mai University)

During Myanmar's period of democratic and economic transition (2010 – 2021), significant land reform initiatives were launched, introducing new land-related laws and policies such as the Farmland Law (2012) and the contentious Vacant, Fallow, and Virgin Land Management Law. These legislative reforms played a pivotal role in the transformation of customary land holdings into state-recognized private property, albeit without acknowledging customary land tenure rights comprehensively, especially in regions where customary land tenure predated the establishment of state administration and institutions. Civil Society Organizations focused intensely on advocating for the recognition of customary land tenure, particularly in upland areas, while local populations in certain upland regions navigated the complexities of both customary and statutory ownership rights.

In the first part, this paper delves into the historical background of the studied area, exploring the evolution into a multi-ethnic community and legal pluralism, tracing the historical settlements of the Kuki and various Naga tribes. It examines the factors driving in-and-out migration in the region and investigates how these dynamics have shaped land ownership and tenure in the multi-ethnic setting of the Naga Self-Administered Zone (SAZ) in Northern Sagaing, Myanmar, which shares a border with the Naga people in India. Furthermore, the study

scrutinizes the implications of state-backed land formalization, specifically through frontier town development and land reform, on land-use transformations and tenure dynamics in upland society.

The second part of the paper addresses the economic challenges and the resurgence of upland rice cultivation following the coup. It highlights instances of local land appropriation, resulting in the accumulation of land by community elites who leverage both formal and informal legal frameworks, encompassing customary and statutory laws, amidst the economic hardships and remoteness of the area post-coup. Consequently, some families within the same community face land loss to wealthy elites seeking to amass land and financial capital through land expropriation.

Keywords: Frontier town development; multi-ethnic community; customary land tenure; accumulation; post coup dynamics

Seeds of Resistance: Agrarian Justice, Rural Activism, and Military Dictatorship on the China-Myanmar Border

Sinwa Naw (Sophia University) (online)

How can one create agrarian justice amid ethnic war and military dictatorship? Various political leaders in Myanmar (Burma) have collectively long neglected agrarian issues. The three main pillars of Myanmar's politics and conflict – the enduring military regimes, the anti-military democracy movement, and the armed movements of minority ethno-nationalists – have consistently overlooked rural land rights. In response, in the last two decades, a rurally-oriented grassroots political activism has emerged, both in ethnic-majority and ethnic-minority areas of this diverse country. Research literature on Myanmar's agrarian struggles has explored the implications of democratization, but paid less attention to ethno-nationalism.

What strategies do activists use in fighting agrarian injustice in ethnic-minority Myanmar? How do activists navigate between the rural farmers and the clashing military-political leaders? This study explores such questions among the ethnic-minority Kachin people on the China-Myanmar border. There, recent alliances between farmers and activists have generated a new agrarian discourse that is propelling grassroots resistance against political elites. Non-state activism has become a tool for civil society groups and agrarian communities to counter injustices that Myanmar's minority ethnonationalist and democracy leaders have ignored. This activism has given hope to victims of violent land grabbing and prompted collective action, but struggles and often gets caught in-between the diverse military, pro-democracy, and ethno-nationalist forces.

This talk explores rural resistance strategies and its challenges by drawing on personal participation in farmer-and-activist alliances against land grabs. Based on my fieldnotes, experiences, and interviews while participating in these struggles as an ethnic Kachin activist-scholar, I analyse three cases of resistance: against tissue-banana plantations, against rare-earth elements mining, and against hydraulic gold mining.

Keywords: Agrarian (in)justice; grassroots political activism; democratization; ethno-nationalism

From Karen Relational Ontologies to Agro-Industrial Ecologies and the Refugee Camp In-between

Terese V. Gagnon (The University of North Carolina)

My current book project focuses on Indigenous Karen refugees' movements with their plants, seeds, and agricultural practices across spaces of home and exile. In it, I illustrate the ways in which the space of Mae La refugee camp in Thailand imposes biocultural transformations that reshape relations between humans and plants, including the phenomenon that I term "agricultural forgetting." In this chapter, I zoom out from proceeding discussions of agricultural forgetting in the camp to show the broader significance of these changes in more-than-human relations on the border. I do so by situating them within the regional context of depeasantization and growing inequality along the Thailand-Myanmar forest-agricultural frontier.

Building upon the existing literature on precarious migrant labor in the Mae Sot Special Economic Zone, located near Mae La camp, I argue that the camp and its social and spatial dimensions help to facilitate the transition of Karen subsistence farmers into members of the global precariat. Central to this transition is the camp's role in transforming complex subsistence agricultural practices and biodiverse landscapes into simplified agro-industrial ecologies.

Engaging with the scholarship of Anna Tsing, I analyze camp residents' shifting ideas about "not work", encompassing labor that brings joy and connection and "work", or labor that is alienating (Tsing 2015, 68, 78). I explore these distinctions as they emerge through micro-level engagements between people and plants. I consider how shifting ideas about labor and property are bound up with the "salvage accumulation" (Tsing 2015) of capitalist value through Karen Indigenous knowledge and non-human process. I analyze how these dynamics intersect with the simultaneous "savage sorting" (Sassen 2010) that renders many Karen refugee bodies temporarily usable and then disposable as migrant laborers on industrial monocrop farms near the refugee camp.

Keywords: Refugeehood; dispossession; food and agriculture; precarity; labor; plant-human relationships

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 13:45-15:15

Panel 4D | Zoom Room D | Room 614 (6th Fl.)

Ethno-Historical Dynamics in Myanmar's Borderlands

Understanding Fragility and Conflict: A Comprehensive Ethno-Historical Analysis of Security Challenges in Myanmar's Borderlands

Mohammad Danish

Myanmar's diverse borderlands, rich in ethno-histories, have long grappled with complex security challenges. This interdisciplinary study delves into this intricate landscape, employing a comprehensive ethnohistorical approach. Through meticulous exploration of local narratives, cultural practices, and historical experiences, it aims to shed light on the root causes and manifestations of contemporary security issues.

Key questions investigated include:

- How have historical processes shaped current intergroup dynamics and power imbalances in the borderlands, including colonialism and state formation?
- How do diverse ethno-cultural identities and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms play into contemporary security challenges?
- What are the social, economic, and environmental factors exacerbating vulnerability and fueling conflict in these regions?
- How can the perspectives and experiences of different borderland communities inform more effective and inclusive security strategies?

Through rigorous historical analysis and intricate ethnographic insights, this research unpicks the interwoven threads that have woven the fabric of instability in these contested zones. It interrogates how historical processes, from the vestiges of colonialism to the shifting sands of state formation, have molded intergroup dynamics and fostered lingering power imbalances. It meticulously examines how diverse ethno-cultural identities and traditional conflict resolution mechanisms intertwine with contemporary security concerns, shaping perceptions of threat and vulnerability. By weaving together local narratives, cultural practices, and historical experiences, the study delves into the social, economic, and environmental factors that exacerbate insecurity and fuel conflict.

Keywords: Security dilemma; ethnic conflicts; intra-state war; refugee crisis; military coup; internal displacement; cultural & and racial differences; orthodox approach; hard power diplomacy

Navigating the Crossroads: An Examination of Myanmar's Borderlands in Historical, Contemporary, and Future Perspectives

Mohamad Zreik (Sun-Yat-sen University) and Wynn Marlar (Huazhong University of Science and Technology) (online)

This paper provides a comprehensive analysis of Myanmar's borderlands, delving into their historical contexts, current challenges, and future prospects. The intricate tapestry of Myanmar's borderlands is explored through a multidisciplinary lens, focusing on the unique socio-political, economic, and cultural dynamics that have shaped these regions. Historically, Myanmar's borderlands have been arenas of complex interactions among various ethnic groups, colonial powers, and the central government, leading to a legacy of conflict and cultural richness. In the contemporary context, these regions are characterized by ongoing conflicts, economic underdevelopment, and humanitarian crises, all of which are compounded by the country's political instability.

The study also projects future scenarios, considering the impact of global trends, potential policy shifts, and the role of international actors. This paper aims to provide a nuanced understanding of the borderlands, highlighting the need for inclusive and sustainable approaches in addressing the challenges they face.

Keywords: Myanmar borderlands; ethnic conflict; historical analysis; socio-political dynamics; future prospects

Challenging Identities and Borders: Citizenship and Ethnicity in the Indo-Myanmar Borderlands

Arunava Banerjee (Ashoka University) and Shounak Banerjee Chowdhury (Amity University-Kolkata) (online)

This study delves into the intricate dynamics of identity formation among diverse ethnic groups residing on the India-Myanmar border. The tumultuous history of parallel governments and insurgencies in the region has led to the emergence of fragmented sovereignty. The subsequent assertion of exclusive ethnic homelands, replacing the once-inclusive spaces, has triggered the displacement of minority populations and indigenous religions. This displacement has resulted in both international and internal migrations, as people seek refuge in neighbouring areas to escape violence. The region, characterized by ethnic-territoriality and conflicts, raises contentious issues related to citizenship. Porous borders have facilitated a routine of cross-border experiences, contributing to conflicts driven by the pursuit of ethnic homelands. These displacements complicate the citizenship question, prompting a reassessment of the indigeneity of the displaced populations. This question, in itself, creates a contested space where the rights of the 'other' are often questioned in terms of land and ownership, perpetuating an association with ethno-domination.

Keywords: Indigeneity; displacement; citizenship law

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 13:45-15:15

MOVIE PRESENTATION

Panel 4E | Zoom Room E | Smart Room 710/1 (7th Fl.)

The Ice-Cream Sellers

Sohel Rahman (Film-maker, Writer, and Journalist)

The Ice Cream Sellers (75") tells the story of two little siblings and the genocide survivors of the Rohingya community who fled from Myanmar into Bangladesh after a brutal genocide. While most of the Rohingya people were exhausted from the weight of their trauma, the two siblings began their new life with hard work, selling cheap ice-cream door to door in the world's largest refugee camp in a desperate attempt to earn enough money to bribe officials for the release of their father from prison in Myanmar.

The film invites the audience to become a part of the journey of two children across the refugee camp in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh, just as the director himself was invited and received intimate access into their journey of life. The film portrays a story of tragedy and loss, courage, and suffering. On one hand, we have parents' harrowing tales of their flight from their homeland, and on the other, we see laughter and the irrepressible spirit of the children.

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 5A | Zoom Room A | Malai Huvanandana Room (12th Fl.)
Everyday Lives, Homes, and Borderlands' Communities

Impacts of Modern Housing on the Ethnic Culture of the Wa People in Yunnan, China: Perspectives from Hearth Transformations

Shuwei Yang and Satoshi Yokoyama (Nagoya University) (online)

The Wa, an ethnic group residing in the mountainous regions along the Myanmar-China border, is formally recognized as an ethnic minority in both countries (Fiskesjö, 2021). Since the initiation of the "Wa Mountain Happiness Project" in 2012, more than 8,000 households in Cangyuan Wa Autonomous County, Yunnan, have moved to new government-sponsored housing (Cui & Mu, 2015). This study explores the cultural transformation in H village, one of the Wa ethnic communities in Cangyuan County, which relocated from traditional to modern housing five years after resettlement. In total, surveys were conducted in 37 households, including house measurements and interviews, with a particular focus on the cancellation of the central hearth in the provided housing, a crucial element in traditional Wa homes.

Qualitative and statistical analyses based on these survey data were conducted subsequently. The results indicated that 72% of households reinstated the hearth, also showing a significant correlation to the age of the household head. Despite the high rate of reinstallation, the way hearths are installed in both provided and newly built houses suggests a functional shift, transitioning from hearth's multifaceted role in cooking, heating, religious practices, and socializing, to being predominantly used for cooking. This change suggests a deconstruction of the spatial experience rooted in traditional settings, with the social significance of the hearth diminishing. Furthermore, the spatial orders associated with the hearth defining where men or women, young or old, should stay, are being lost in the Wa's sense of place.

In conclusion, this study raises concerns that housing projects neglecting ethnic traditions and local contexts could accelerate the erosion of living cultures and ethnic identities of the Wa people living in the borderlands of China.

Keywords: Wa ethnic group; ethnic culture; hearth; housing; Myanmar-China border

Living along Borders: Boundaries of Housing and Homing Refugee Families

Miriam Jaehn (Kyoto University)

Refugee camps are conceptualized as temporary spaces, housings for refugees. Yet, refugees have been living in camps and settlements along borders for decades. In effect, refugees re-make family and community in these spaces. In this paper, I will look at the boundaries that refugees encounter and negotiate in re-making home

and family at the fringes of two nation-states as their displacement shifts from an emergency to a protracted state of living.

Based on comparative ethnographic fieldwork at the Thai-Myanmar border and the Bangladesh-Myanmar border, I will address three conceptual issues: First, what are borderlands and borders? Second, how to understand family in this context? Third, what role does housing and the creation of homes play in the reconceptualization of family along borders? I will argue that despite limits placed on refugees by their host states in creating homes and doing family in borderlands, refugees work towards mending disrupted family life and creating homely spaces within the housings available to them. Yet, conditions of displacement in borderlands continue to cause friction and tension within the family and to the creation of a home. Hence, to overcome the boundaries of homing, refugee families often live in a translocal/-national condition in which first, home(land) and family are an imaginary of the past and future. But, second, these notions also gain new meaning: Family and home are not contained within one household and are congruent to each other. In contrast, they become stretched across space and lived in multiple places. As such, home may not necessarily be experienced as a permanent condition but still lived in the present moment. Practices of doing and re-making family in and across these places demonstrate the potential for new homes in yet temporary and hostile spaces.

Keywords: Home; family; camp; settlement; Bangladesh-Myanmar; Thai-Myanmar; borderland

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 5B | Zoom Room B | Poli Sci Alumni Room

Migrant Labor and Labor Markets in the Borderlands

Neighborhood Effect of China on the Production of Space of the Thai-Myanmar Border SEZs from the Perspective of Border Migration

Tingyu Hou (Ochanomizu University) (online)

The Thai-Myanmar border has experienced rapid industrial growth since the late 1990s. Then the Thai cabinet approved an industrial cluster development plan to establish 10 Special Economic Zones (SEZs) in borderlands including Mae Sot to connect with China's Belt and Road initiative in 2015. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of political and economic Burmese refugees live in the border area and become the main source of labor for the border's labor-intensive industries. Since the military coup in Myanmar on February 1, 2021, the border crises have grown more dire. Boundary spaces are the primary sites where state power is enacted and realized (Pitch, 2007), while migrants as actors also reconstruct border space in the process of practical interaction (Campbell, 2018). Moreover, asymmetrical neighboring countries transcend the borders and have the "neighborhood effect" along the border (Enze, 2019). Thus, in the space of Thai-Myanmar border SEZs, how is China's neighborhood effect released and what impact does it have from the perspective of migration? Regarding the question, this paper has found that the neighborhood effect of China released through the porous border has shaped the space of the border SEZs based on the relevant literature, participant observation of practices of border migration, and interviews with the migrant workers' support group in Mae Sot. For one thing, the Chinese government has adopted multi-track diplomacy towards Myanmar to balance its interests, but this has intensified the internal conflicts in Myanmar and the instability in its border areas, causing more refugees to flee across the border. For another, Chinese sub-regional infrastructure projects have become the booster for Thailand and Myanmar to use state power to deprive Burmese migrants of legal status, squeezing the geographical and political border as well as the internal borders, thus reinforcing the "in-between" status of the migrants, impacting the reconstruction of space in border SEZs.

Keywords: Neighborhood effect; production of space; SEZs; border migration

The Political Ecology of Burmese Migration to Bangkok in the Context of Climate Change, Agrarian Change and Armed Conflict

Kevin Michael Woods (East-West Center), Carl Middleton (Chulalongkorn University), Thiri (Chulalongkorn University), and Orapan Pratomlek (Chulalongkorn University)

The climate crisis and transnational migration have become prominent global issues, leading some alarmists to warn against a flood of “climate refugees”. Global institutions and think tanks have produced many recent reports outlining how we must improve our “climate security” and migration policies to withstand these threat multipliers. Hidden behind an almost singular focus on climate instability, the reports also tend to avoid approaches that address human security and justice for those made most vulnerable. Our ongoing mixed methods research project that began in December 2022 explores the multiple and overlapping drivers of Burmese migration to Bangkok, Thailand within the context of climate change, agrarian change and armed conflict.

We conducted in-depth interviews with key experts in Bangkok on Burmese migrants, interviews with migrant community leaders, and three sets of different focus group discussions with several Burmese migrant communities about their current experience living in Bangkok, reasons for migrating, and future aspirations. Our initial findings point to Burmese migrants’ challenges in Thailand due to the language barrier and prejudice, their mounting economic challenges from Myanmar’s political crisis, and multiple threats from environmental change and agrarian transformation in their home villages. We argue that these compounding and cross-cutting factors cannot be satisfactorily explained by climate change nor addressed by migration policy alone.

Keywords: Migration; climate change; agrarian change; armed conflict

Analyzing the Role of Segmented Labor Markets and Institutional Constructs in Cross-Border Labor Mobility, Dynamics, and Local Governance along the Sino-Myanmar Frontier: Implications for Migrant Workforces

Tin Maung Htwe (Chiang Mai University)

The border region between China and Myanmar has experienced a marked escalation in labor migration, predominantly characterized by the transference of workers from Myanmar into China, however, China to Myanmar has certain amount of population through Chinese investment in Myanmar border city. This scholarly inquiry aims to rigorously evaluate the pertinence and efficacy of the Dual Labor Market Theory, originating from the seminal work of sociologist Michael J. Piore, as an analytical framework to decipher the intricacies of transboundary labor migration in this specific locale. The paramount objective is to elucidate the influence of dual labor markets within host nations on the decision-making paradigms, labor market dynamics, employment conditions, and local governance experiences of migratory laborers in the both sides of Sino-Myanmar boundary areas.

This investigation adopts an integrative and comprehensive methodological approach, amalgamating both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. The quantitative aspect involves an in-depth analysis of migration trends, available labor market statistics, and wage disparity data. Concurrently, the qualitative dimension encompasses in-depth interviews, focus group interviews and thorough document analysis. The foundational theoretical scaffold of this study is the Dual Labor Market Theory, which offers a critical lens for the interpretation and synthesis of empirical findings.

The primary objective of research is to elucidate the ramifications of dual labor markets within host nations on the decision-making paradigms, labor market dynamics, employment conditions, and local governance experiences of migratory laborers straddling both sides of the Sino-Myanmar border regions and the broader Mekong territory. This research endeavor aspires to make a substantial contribution by means of an exhaustive

exploration into the structural constituents that configure the experiences of migrant laborers in the Sino-Myanmar region. It seeks to cast light on labor mobility patterns, the dynamics of labor governance, and their profound consequences.

Keywords: Sino-Myanmar; investment; migration; borderlands

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 15:30-17:00

Panel 5C | Zoom Room C | Room 615 (6th Fl.)

Nation-building and Nationalism in the Borderlands

Talking Nationalisms in Burma: Kachin Concepts of Nation, State, and Liberation

Laur Kiik (Tokyo University)

How do Kachin people talk politics? How do indigenous concepts shape armed nationalist movements? In the struggles, wars, and political shifts in Burma and its borderlands now, the Kachin national movement has again emerged as a leading force. Understanding such ethno-national movements on their own terms helps understand where Burma as a whole may be moving. After several decades of ethno-political war, how have Kachin Jinghpaw language terms for identity, territory, and revolution changed? Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork among Kachin people since 2010 and a basic etymological study, this paper discusses Kachin Jinghpaw language terms for identity, territory, and revolution. It focuses on a few keywords that appear most often in everyday political talk, such as "nation", "country", and "liberation". Such concepts have evolved from older political models, within the decades-long ethnonational revolution movement, and in relations with Tai (Shan) models, Burmese nationalism, and Christian theology. These concepts anchor both popular worldviews and future visions, as well as sensitive debates, for example, about Kachin internal cultural variation and the region's inter-ethnic relations.

Keywords: Kachin; politics; nationalism; ontology

Rethinking Transnationalism: Reconstructing National Identity of Chin Communities in Mizoram State of India

Salai Vanni Bawi (Chiang Mai University)

This research focuses on the Chin diaspora in Mizoram state of India, those who originate in the Chin state of Myanmar. This research will situate them into the wider diaspora literature and transnationalism studies. Drawing attention to Chin refugees and exiled political activists, this article presents the role of the Chin diaspora in Mizoram and their response to the refugee crisis in Myanmar, Bangladesh, and Manipur of India. It explores their migration patterns and maps out their transnational networks. In fact, this research intends to investigate the relationship between the refugees and the chin diaspora in the borderlands of India and Myanmar.

This research was conducted in October 2023 in Mizoram and continuous collection of Data by Chin Media Network members who fled to Mizoram in India. This research also reflects the dynamic of transnational humanitarian action of Mizo Communities and highlights the recent political crisis in Myanmar. The research argues that it is a crucial entry point to understanding the effectiveness of humanitarian action based on the social and cultural factors in transnational activism. In fact, this research hopes to bring a piece of new knowledge contribution to transnationalism studies in the context of Mizoram, India.

Keywords: Transnationalism; identity; refugee; Mizoram; Myanmar

Building the CNF/A: Long Preparation, 1988-1995

Annie (Lei) Tong (Northern Illinois University)

This paper examines the insurgent resilience of the Chin National Front (CNF) and its armed wing—the Chin National Army (CNA) from 1988 to the mid-1990s. Namely, why had the CNF/A taken so many years to materialize on the western border of Myanmar and remained operationally stagnant despite the relatively weak state repression?

Unsatisfied with existing theories and empirical observations that are either systematically challenged by the EAO anomalies in other regions of Myanmar or too sketchy about CNF/A earlier trajectories, I contend that the Chin EAO's marginal accesses to lootable resources and the market held the key to explanation. I explore the processes in which these conduits shaped CNF/A's performances in both resisting state penetration and exercising local governance. As part of my comparative studies on the association between insurgent performances and insurgent access to lootable resources and the market of illicit economies in the context of Burma/Myanmar, this paper tests the generalizability of my argument through qualitative analysis. Data were mainly drawn from secondary literature that is complemented by primary documents and original on-line interviews with regional-based expert informants.

These methods and data allow me to verify my explanatory variables while holding confounding elements constant. Class structures of the Chin and their trans-boundary kinships, together with CNF/A's urban-centric strategy, however, cannot be ruled out as confounding variables for collaborating with my independent variables during this period.

Keywords: Insurgent resilience; EAO; CNF/A; lootable resources; market; class structures; urban-centrality

Whose Bhamo? Whose Myitkyina? Narratives of Belonging in the 1946 Wilkie Report

Georg Bauer (University of Vienna) (online)

In early 1946, Ralph Scudamore Wilkie of the Burma Frontier Service toured parts of Bhamo, Myitkyina and Katha Districts to find out whether the local population wished to be administratively fully included in the Frontier Areas Administration, or only partially and to participate in the Legislature of Burma Proper in Rangoon. The population of the areas included Kachins, Shans, and Bamars. Especially for Kachin leaders, the question of under which administration Bhamo and Myitkyina towns and their surrounding plains should fall, was essential at the time, as they thought that in order to build a modern society and institutions, they needed to have control over these two towns and plains.

While the specific legal questions never were to be resolved before independence, the report is still a highly relevant source, as the same question was central to the negotiations about, and establishment of, the Kachin State, e.g. at the second Panglong Conference in 1947, or in the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry. The detailed summaries and accounts of the interviews conducted in over 170 village tracts contained in the report give important insight into the thinking of local leaders of the time.

It thus represents a unique source about the origins of questions that lie at the heart of the ethnic strife in Burma until today: conflicting views and narratives of belonging, which this paper aims to analyze. This can help us better understand these conflicts - and hence the constitutional negotiations within the Revolution of today.

Keywords: Kachinland; Kachin State; belonging; Myitkyina; Bhamo; narratives; ethnic conflict; nationalism; federalism; independence; state-building; nation-building

TUESDAY JUNE 18, 2024, 15:30-17:00

BOOK PRESENTATION

Panel 5D | Zoom Room D | Smart Room 710/1 (7th Fl.)

A Sense of Place and Belonging in the Chiang Tung Borderland

Klemens Karlsson (Chiang Mai University)

This presentation introduces my forthcoming book *A Sense of Place and Belonging: The Chiang Tung Borderland of Northern Southeast Asia*, published by Northern Illinois University Press (NIU Press). This book will describe the long and troublesome history of Chiang Tung (also called Keng Tung, Kyangtong), located in the Eastern Shan State of Myanmar between the more dominant nations of the Burmese, the Chinese, and the Siamese. The majority of residents in Chiang Tung call themselves Tai Khuen or simply Khuen, an ethnic group within the larger group of Tai-speaking peoples, often merely classified as belonging to the larger Shan ethnic group.

A sense of place refers to the physical place and how people endow the place with significance and meaning. It is an interdisciplinary study about the meaning people project onto their home, which includes cultural, religious, and historical aspects of their place. It presents Tai Khuen culture, connecting the local with the global, the present with the past, and tradition with change and transformation.

It will describe the connection between the Tai people and the indigenous Tai Loi (Lua) people, who have played a significant role in the origin and early history of Chiang Tung, but still today plays a symbolic role participating in the Songkran festivities which testifies to the dependence and loyalty between them relating to ownership and rights to land. The Songkran festival will also testify to the merging of the Indian and the indigenous monsoon culture and to understand the complex connection between tradition and change in religious culture. It explores the relationship between Buddhism and the cult of territory spirits and what happened when the Khuen traditional religious culture became isolated from the rest of Lan Na culture during the Konbaung and colonial times.

Keywords: Ethno-history of borderlands; Tai Khuen; Tai Loi; Lua/Lawa; Shan; Thingyan

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 6A | Zoom Room A | Mala Huvanandana Room (12th Fl.)

Latest Post-coup Developments in Myanmar's Borderlands

Securing the Borders for China and India: Engagements with Myanmar

Sonam Diki Lama (University of Hyderabad) (online)

Myanmar holds geopolitical significance for Asia since the colonial period. As a country east of India and South of China, it impacts security in the Indian Ocean as well as its borders with the two Asian giants. However, Myanmar has been in a state of protracted civil war and military rule since its independence. Myanmar suffered considerably as countries retreated their investments, international organisations condemned Human Rights violations, and economic sanctions were issued against the junta. As different external actors reacted to the junta's position China remains the largest foreign investor.

This paper attempts to locate and analyse the current geopolitical equation around Myanmar and its engagement with China and India. Here, the narratives of Act East for Delhi and Chinese Dream for Beijing have materialised as developmental and connectivity projects. The projects have their security challenges, which are internal to Myanmar and are exacerbated by the regional geo-politics and geo-economics of the Indian Ocean. Operation 1027, the Three Brotherhood Alliance and resistance to the military junta by other Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAO) have problematised the relationship further. China as well as India is perplexed with incomplete developmental projects in the country. The paper will analyse the positions taken by India and China to engage with the vast borders it shares with Myanmar. The ethnic violence, drugs, trafficking, and schemes like 'pig butchering' are dealt with to secure the Act East policy as well as the Chinese Dream.

Keywords: Geopolitics; India-China; traditional and non-traditional security

A New Wave of Violence: Myanmar's Military Actions on Non-State Armed Groups in the Post-Coup Period

Minju Kwon and May (Chapman University)

Why does the Myanmar government tend to attack certain non-state armed groups compared to others? While existing studies on internal armed conflicts in Myanmar examined conflict dynamics and peace processes between the government and non-state armed groups, few studies have investigated the changes after the 2021 Myanmar coup. This paper examines patterns of the government's military actions toward non-state armed groups compared to the pre-coup period. We argue that the patterns have changed in terms of its targets and methods, but not its reactions to international criticism. We analyze sources from domestic and international media, including Myanmar's state-owned media Global News Light of Myanmar, as well as official reports from the United Nations and non-government organizations. First, we find that the Karen National Union and Kachin Independence Army remain the most targeted groups, but the People Defense Force-major Burmese is more targeted during the post-coup period. Second, the government continuously uses existing four-cut strategies (access to food, finances, intelligence, and recruits) but shows a higher frequency of airstrikes, especially after the second anniversary of the coup in February 2023. Third, the government's reaction to criticism has not significantly changed before and after the coup. We claim that these patterns demonstrate the military government's threat perception of the increasing influence of non-state armed groups in the context of its lacked domestic legitimacy. This paper contributes to the literature on internal armed conflicts and border studies by focusing on the impact of the coup on internal armed conflicts and providing an analysis of the recent situation in Myanmar.

Keywords: Coup; internal armed conflict; non-state armed groups; military action; airstrike

A Whole Society Approach to Address Myanmar's Escalating Crisis

Supang Chantavanich & Naruemon Thabchumpon (Chulalongkorn University)

The armed conflicts between the military government and the ethnic groups in Myanmar have escalated in 2024, leading to massive cross border migration between Myanmar -Thailand and Myanmar -India. It is estimated that more than 1,000,000 persons from Myanmar have evacuated to Thailand. The Myanmar conscription of young men is another current significant push factor for massive displacement to Thailand. Such situation certainly needs humanitarian assistance according to the UN Global Compact on Migration 2018. In the Global Compact, A "whole of society" approach is defined as "broad multi-stakeholder partnerships to address migration in all its dimensions by including migrants, diasporas, local communities, civil society, academia, the private sector, parliamentarians, trade unions, national human rights institutions, the media and other relevant stakeholders in migration governance."(GCM, 2018:para. 15).

Following this approach, we believe that regionally, engagement from ASEAN countries is required as a shared responsibility with Thailand. The outflows of displaced people are "mixed flows" of political dissidents who seek short-term asylum near border areas and inner towns, less-skilled workers who look for employment as migrant workers in Thailand as well as educated migrants who prefer to be employed as expats in Thailand or other third countries. Such combinations become a challenge for policy makers and practitioners on relevant assistance and intervention. Protection needs of the various groups, possible "good practices" for assistance and engagement at both national and regional will be explored.

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19, 2024, 9:00-10:30

From Imperialism to Sovereignty: Borderlands' Infrastructures and their Development in Historical Perspective

The Effectiveness of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative in the Myanmar Borderlands

Péter Klemensits (John von Neumann University)

Southeast Asia is an important region of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), in which Myanmar plays a key role due to its geopolitical importance. China is a major supporter of the Myanmar junta, and has for decades placed great emphasis on developing its economic ties with the Southeast Asian country, especially in the regions bordering China. With the establishment of the China-Myanmar Economic Corridor and the infrastructure projects planned within this framework, Beijing primarily wanted to resolve the conflicts in the country, but has met with a mixed response in Myanmar. In most cases, the projects have been hampered by the fact that they have affected areas dominated by ethnic minorities opposed to the central government and where local people have expressed various concerns about the developments, while the civil war situation following the military coup in 2021 has further worsened the prospects of resolving issues in conflict-affected areas.

The aim of this presentation is to take an interdisciplinary approach to the question of the effectiveness of BRI projects in Myanmar's border regions affected by armed and social conflict, emphasizing the perspective of local communities. This includes a detailed description of the Chinese projects launched or planned in the country, the position of the central government of Myanmar, the attitude of local communities, and then the political, economic, environmental, etc., considerations. Aspects of how they have impacted on the development of the border regions and, where relevant, how they have contributed to the integration of these regions and, finally, how effective they have been from the perspective of the local population will also be revealed.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative; Myanmar; China; Borderlands; infrastructure development

The Burma-China Railway Revisited: British Imperial Space and Infrastructure at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Dominiquo DeAngelo Santistevan (University of Chicago)

Nineteenth century European "New Imperialism" marks a period of intense political-territorial tension resulting in the transformation and demarcation of borders in mainland Southeast Asia. Though borders and the constitutive "border spaces" remained in flux during the following decades, much of the territorial reshuffling drew to a close during the opening years of the twentieth century in what may be called the terminus of the age of European territorial expansion. What were the conditions of this transformation, how was it institutionalized, and how might the subsequent stability of this arrangement be explained? Rather than asking how borders demarcate difference, I flip the question and ask how and by what means that division of difference is maintained. While the annexation of Upper Burma marks one moment of imperial political appropriation, the consolidation of regional territorial stability, marks another moment establishing an inter-imperial "order" existing at the system level. Reflecting on the historical case of the Burma-Yunnan Railroad—dismissed by Lord Curzon in 1901 only to be revived prior to the outbreak of the Second World War—, this paper argues that a further developed concept of order derived from this later moment of inter-imperial consolidation explains the railroad project's checkered history while also providing context for better understanding the emergent international conditions that contextualize Burma's later alignment with the Japanese Empire as well as the tumultuous events of Burma's post-war development.

Keywords: Infrastructure; order; war; appropriation; territory; investment; capitalism

Shwe Kokko Special Economic Zone: Quest for Un/ruling “Frontier” in the Thai-Myanmar Borders
Joseph (Chiang Mai University)

This study delves into the complex reality of the Shwe Kokko Special Economic Zone (SKKSEZ) in the Thai-Myanmar borders, known as the online scamming industrial enclave of the Karen Border Guard Force (KBGF) and the Hong Kong-registered and Bangkok-based Chinese company, “Yatai International Holding Group.” Most media outlets and recent studies popularize this KBGF enclave as a “sovereignty vacuum” and “lawless” area in the Thai-Myanmar borderland due to the influx of Chinese migration and illicit business activities. However, my recent fieldwork highlights that this borderland is a significant “contested authority” among the central and periphery state-like entities. James C. Scott (2009) also claimed that most nation-states have tried to govern the “frontier” by establishing armed border posts, moving “loyal populations” there, and relocating or driving away “disloyal populations” by building roads to the borders. That phenomenon created a new political hierarchy and shifted social orders on certain populations.

In this study, I expand on recent research in the social inquiry of the “governing frontier” that has advanced the concept of “graduated sovereignty” (Ong, 2000) and examine how the conflict dynamics in the “frontier” remake the “flexible zone” of “frontier” in market-oriented agenda through the formation of “contested authority” among state-like entities. Furthermore, I will analyze the disaggregated actors of state-like entities to attempt the closer reality of this social phenomenon in borderland. To conclude, I will portray the existing dynamics of social and political orders in this enclave that reproduce certain sovereignty in the borderland area of the Thai-Myanmar to debunk the “sovereignty vacuum” concept.

Keywords: Frontier governance; contested authorities; Karen Border Guard Force; sovereignty; borderland; Myanmar; Thailand

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Panel 6C | Zoom Room C | Room 615 (6th Fl.)

Border Regime and Security along the India-Bangladesh-Myanmar Border

Strip Maps, Boundary Pillars and Border Making in Post-Colonial India
Anand Damodaran (University of Hyderabad)

The present day boundary line that separates India and Myanmar is a descendant of colonial demarcations as well as post-colonial boundary making and regulations. In 1937 British India was divided from Burma. This paper will focus on the historical process of border making by the Indian state post-independence.

The study is based on archives of the Indian state from the period after decolonization. These are a series of internal correspondences, negotiations and discussions within the state regarding the demarcation of the boundary line.

The paper intends to explore the decision making process of the Indian state by placing the correspondences in the context of colonial regulations and boundary making and trace the connections and shifts in Post-Colonial India’s negotiations on creating and regulating the borderland. The intention here is to illustrate how the state is not a monolithic entity by focusing on the intricacies of this process. The boundary making process and in general the state is defined by internal contradictions, negotiations, and competing interests. After Indian independence from colonial rule the newly formed Indian Union went through a period of defining and demarcating its territorial extent.

Understanding this process of territorial definition is integral to studying the mid 20th century history of post-colonial state formation.

Keywords: Borderlands; Indo-Myanmar border; post-colonial India

Evolving Indo-Myanmar Border Regime in Comparison to the Economic Interests

Dipannita Maria Bagh (North-Eastern Hill University) (online)

A political border is a crucial geopolitical delineation, marking the boundaries between sovereign states. In the contemporary world, states have elevated borders to the status of a "sacrosanct" concept, symbolizing sovereignty. However, this symbolism often fails to garner approval from communities straddling the border, as their cultural ties transcend political divisions. India's eastern and north-eastern boundaries, particularly with Bangladesh and Myanmar, exemplify this complexity. India shares a 4096 km and 1643 km long territorial boundary with Bangladesh and Myanmar, respectively. They are characterized by a unique history, ethnic composition, colonial legacy, and contemporary security and federal challenges. Although the border with Bangladesh is fenced and secured, managing the border with Myanmar effectively has been challenging, given ethnic tensions, separatist movements, and extensive military deployment—the latter being one of the longest in post-colonial Asia. Since the military coup in Myanmar in February 2021, there has been a concerning surge in illegal activities such as drug and weapons smuggling, along with an uncontrolled influx of refugees into India, raising alarm for the Union government in New Delhi. The ethnic crises in Manipur in May 2023 further exacerbated the situation, prompting New Delhi to propose the emulation of the India-Bangladesh border model, advocating for the erection of fences and the termination of the Free Movement Regime (FMR) with Myanmar to curb migration. In light of these developments, this paper aims to investigate the success of the India-Bangladesh border and its impact on borderland communities therein. Additionally, it seeks to assess the limitations of fenced boundaries, testing this approach against the backdrop of the India-Myanmar border and the disapproval voiced by borderland communities. While fencing the border formalises the nation-state's territorial rights, it also challenges the coexistence shared by these borderland communities.

Keywords: Ethno-history of borderland communities; migration; fencing; India-Myanmar; India-Bangladesh; federalism

Evolving Indo-Myanmar Border Regime in Comparison to the Economic Interests

Meghashree Buragohain and Tania Afruz (Cotton University) (online)

India-Myanmar relations are tied by strong commonalities between history and culture. The relationship reached its height after the 1990s economic reforms in India and the launch of the Look East Policy (LEP). After renaming LEP to Act East Policy (AEP), India aimed to integrate its northeastern region as a gateway towards the Southeast Asian Nations. Since then, India and Myanmar have been keen on discussing issues related to the border, to ensure peace, stability and economic development inside and along the border. However, a key contention exists between India's intended security regime for the Indo-Myanmar border and its economic agenda owing to long-standing cross-border issues in the region. International regimes are a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge (Krasner 1983). Consequently, the border regime of each country is followed by certain assumptions based on issues of concern regarding border management and neighbouring countries. Within the border security framework of India, the Northeastern borderlands with Myanmar have been marked by complex administrative boundaries of Border States. Initiated in the 1970s, the Indo-Myanmar border has been formally dictated by a distinct Free-Movement Regime (FMR) implemented in 2018, to complement its Act-East Policy. However, due to rising concerns about security and the changing regime in Myanmar, there has been a shift in India's approach to discontinuing the FMR and replacing it with stringent border control along the Indian side. This paper aims to understand the Indian approach to the border security regime in the larger scheme of international regime theory. This paper will be an analytical comparison of the evolving security concerns for the region against its economic agenda and FMR on the Indo-Myanmar border.

Keywords: Border regime; Northeast Region; LEP; FMR

Frontiers of Influence: Geopolitics on Myanmar's Borderlands and India's Strategic Interplay
Imtiaz Ahmed (Aligarh Muslim University) (online)

This research paper delves into the intricate geopolitics unfolding within Myanmar's borderlands and examines the strategic interplay between Myanmar and India. As these border regions evolve as critical arenas of influence, the study aims to address the following research questions:

1. How do geopolitical dynamics manifest in Myanmar's borderlands, and what are the key factors shaping these realities?
2. What is the nature and extent of India's strategic involvement in Myanmar's borderlands, and how does it impact regional stability and bilateral relations?
3. How do historical, cultural, and economic factors contribute to these border regions' geopolitical significance for Myanmar and India?

This research's theoretical framework encompasses regional geopolitics, strategic studies, and international relations. By drawing on geopolitical theories, the study seeks to unravel the complexities inherent in the borderlands, providing insights into the power dynamics, security considerations, and economic interests that drive the interactions between Myanmar and India. Additionally, the research employs a historical perspective to contextualise the contemporary geopolitical landscape and discern patterns that may shape future developments.

This research endeavours to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the geopolitical dynamics in Myanmar's borderlands and the nuanced role played by India, offering valuable insights for policymakers, scholars, and practitioners involved in shaping regional diplomacy and security strategies.

Keywords: Geopolitics; Myanmar borderlands; India strategic interplay; regional dynamics; security; economic interests; international relations; historical context

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19, 2024, 9:00-10:30

Roundtable | Zoom Room D | Smart Room 710/1 (7th Fl.)

Research and Learning in Myanmar's Borderlands

Roundtable Organizers: Shona Loong (University of Zurich) and Anders Kirstein Møller (National University of Singapore)

This roundtable seeks to bring together researchers whose work spans both academic and non-academic worlds, and in so doing, contribute to wider debates about the production of knowledge about Myanmar and its borderlands. Resistance to the 2021 coup has shifted the context of research about Myanmar in various ways. On one hand, the escalating conflict has created numerous challenges for the safety of researchers and their participants. On the other hand, there has also been an enormous demand for research, as a tool for advocacy, activism, and capacity-building. Even so, the practice of research is not new to many actors in Myanmar's borderlands, who used research to further the goals of borderland communities even before the coup. In this context, research is rarely done purely for academic purposes, but as a means of making visible the voices of many who have been marginalized by the central state. We hope to create further conversations between those who consider themselves researchers and learners, regardless of whether they are housed in academic institutions, think-tanks, community-based organizations, or activist groups.

Roundtable participants will be asked to reflect on the following questions, in the context of their own experiences to answer them.

- What does research mean to you, your community, and/or the communities that you work with?
- What is the role of research in advocating for borderland communities? How does the process of doing research with borderland communities differ from doing research with communities in central Myanmar?
- How can researchers in/on Myanmar borderlands find ways of applying their knowledge on the ground?

- How should donors, university-based researchers, and international stakeholders engage with borderland researchers and research institutions?

Keywords: Research; policy; research ethics; advocacy

Plenary Session



Cornell University

International Interdisciplinary Conference
on Myanmar's Borderlands 2024

Plenary Session

Prof. Wen-Chin Chang, Ph.D.
Academia Sinica, Taipei



Su-Ann Oh, Ph.D.
Independent Scholar, Singapore



Prof. Yos Santasombat, Ph.D.
Chiangmai University, Thailand



Assoc. Prof. Naruemon Thabchumpon, Ph.D.
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand



Moderator



Asst. Prof. Jiraporn Laocharoenwong, Ph.D.
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Wednesday June 19th, 11.00-12.30 (Bangkok time)
Kasem Suvannagul Hall 13th floor,
Faculty of Political Science,
Chulalongkorn University