



IIAS Workshop  
3-4 November 2014

# Communities in between

Redefining social spaces  
in Southeast Asian borderlands

Institut d'Asie Orientale (IAO)  
15 Parvis René Descartes  
Lyon, France

Organised by the Institute of East Asian Studies (IAO)  
and the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS)  
Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation  
For more information visit: [www.rethinking.asia](http://www.rethinking.asia)  
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## WORD OF WELCOME

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The International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) received support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for a two-year pilot initiative aimed at strengthening and redirecting Asian studies. Its long-term scholarly objective is to frame the contours of global knowledge about Asia “after area studies,” linking emerging fields and scholars through real and virtual spaces of engagement and interaction, enabling them to identify new ways to link disciplines with deep area knowledge and language competence while drawing on technology to create new global sites for networking among Asian studies scholars.

Within this programme, the Institute of East Asian Studies (IAO-ENS Lyon) is in charge of the Forum “*Asian Spatialities 3: Across Southeast Asian Borderlands*” that will challenge the artificial boundaries dividing Asia. These divisions not only mask the varied commonalities that transcend such boundaries, they also reinforce the marginalization of people who live in the so-called border areas. Yet, a better appreciation of these “transitional zones” is critical to our understanding of processes of social and cultural changes in the states lying beyond them, a focus that remains peripheral to traditional “area” studies. This is particularly true of the so-called region of Southeast Asia, squeezed between two predominant regions dominated by India and China, which appears to have been the poor relative of Asian studies over the past decades. Recent economic and geopolitical developments associated with the growth of China have revived long-standing linkages and created new forms of connections across the “Southeast Asian region” in both its maritime and continental configurations, thereby renewing scholarly and political interest for this area.

For the first workshop of this Forum, “**Communities in Between: Redefining Social Spaces in Southeast Asian Borderlands**,” we are delighted to welcome outstanding scholars from all over the world to provoke thoughts on how to “rethink Southeast Asia”. Our wish is to consolidate a transnational network of academic institutions and scholars capable of challenging the standard boundaries of the field by generating new paradigms and methodologies that go beyond geographical and disciplinary barriers. This two-day workshop will not only be an opportunity to share our respective work, but also to brainstorm and to open critical dialogue on the new contours of Southeast Asian studies. Of course, students are more than welcome to come and join us in enriching the debate.

Welcome to the Institute of East Asian Studies, we hope you will enjoy this workshop!

*Danielle TAN, in the name of IAO and IIAS*

## THE OBJECTIVE OF THE WORKSHOP

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The workshop “**Communities in Between: Redefining Social Spaces in Southeast Asian Borderlands**” will study Southeast Asia based on networks, processes, transitions, polyvalence, and fluidity, in opposition with the concepts of the “nation-state” or the “region”. The participants will revisit state-society relations through the perspective of the borderlands as they can be seen as products of a social and political negotiation of space. They will highlight the ongoing deep transformation of statehood, citizenship, sovereignty and identity formations along routes and borders across Southeast Asia. While globalization theories have put emphasis on the dissolutions of borders, the waning of the state power, as well as the destruction of local traditions and communities, this workshop seeks to unravel the ways in which everyday practices of peripheral subjects intersect with central powers, thus producing heterogeneous scenarios of manoeuvring, negotiation, collaboration, and resistance. The contributions will show how peripheral subjects are increasingly engaging in processes of globalization and development, and concomitantly, how the state engages in projecting frontier areas into national territory, using the new spaces thus produced as means of reinforcement of state authority.

## PROGRAMME

MONDAY, 3 NOVEMBER 2014	
<b>10:15 – 10:30</b>	<b>REGISTRATION</b>
<b>10:30 – 10:45</b>	<b>WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS</b> <b>CHRISTINE CORNET</b> , Université Lyon 2, Deputy Director of IAO <b>DANIELLE TAN</b> , Sciences Po Lyon-IAO
<b>10:45 – 12:00</b>	<b>KEYNOTE ADDRESS</b>
10:45	<i>Sources of Legitimation for Communities in Between</i> <b>JANET STURGEON</b> (Simon Fraser University, Canada)
11:30	Question & Answer
<b>12:00 – 14:00</b>	<b>LUNCH</b>
<b>14:00 – 17:30</b>	<b>PANEL 1</b> <b>STATE-FORMATION AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE MARGINS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA</b>
	<b>CHAIRPERSON   JEAN MICHAUD</b> (Université Laval, Canada)
14:00 – 14:30	<i>Social Change and State Emergence in Times of War and Revolution: Insights from a Border Region in Laos</i> <b>VATTHANA PHOLSENA</b> (IAO-National University of Singapore)
14:30 – 15:00	Question and Answer
15:00 – 15:30	<i>Frontier Colonialisation: Agrarian Expansion and Militarization in the Indonesia-Malaysia Borderlands</i> <b>MICHAEL EILENBERG</b> (Aarhus University, Denmark)
15:30 – 16:00	Question & Answer
<b>16:00 – 16:30</b>	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>
16:30 – 17:00	<i>The Navel of the Nation: Centering, Territorializing and Enclosing Vietnam's Margins</i> <b>OSCAR SALEMINK</b> (University of Copenhagen) and <b>EDYTA ROSZKO</b> (Durham University)
17:00 – 17:30	Question & Answer
<b>17:30</b>	<b>END OF DAY ONE</b>
<b>19:30</b>	<b>Conference dinner (for speakers, chairpersons and invited guests only)</b>

## PROGRAMME

TUESDAY, 4 NOVEMBER	
<b>10:00 – 12:00</b>	<b>PANEL 2</b> <b>FRONTIER ENCOUNTERS, EXCHANGES, AND FRICTIONS</b> <b>CHAIRPERSON   Danielle Tan</b> (Sciences Po Lyon-IAO)
10:00 – 10:30	<i>Smuggling or not Smuggling? Balancing Powers between Chinese Traders and Vietnamese Law-Enforcement Agents</i> <b>CAROLINE GRILLOT</b> (Max Planck Institute, Germany)
10:30 -11:00	Question & Answer
11:00 -11:30	<i>Working through “Exceptional” Space: A Case of Women Migrant Workers in Mae Sot, Thailand</i> <b>KYOKO KUSAKABE</b> (Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand)
11:30 – 12:00	Question & Answer
<b>12:00 – 14:00</b>	<b>LUNCH</b>
<b>14:00 – 16:00</b>	<b>PANEL 3</b> <b>RELIGIOUS-BASED MOBILIZATION BETWEEN RADICALIZATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM</b> <b>CHAIRPERSON   ALEXANDRA DE MERSAN</b> (INALCO-CASE, Paris)
14:00 – 14:30	<i>Southeast Asian Islam: Boundaries of an Imagined Community</i> <b>RÉMY MADINIER</b> (Centre Asie du Sud-Est, CNRS-EHESS – Seatide – IAO)
14:30 – 15:00	Question and Answer
15:00 – 15:30	<i>The Culture and Landscape of the Humanitarian Economy among the Karen (Kayin) in the Borderland of Southeast Myanmar and Northwestern Thailand</i> <b>ALEXANDER HORSTMANN</b> (University of Copenhagen)
15:30 – 16:00	Question and Answer
<b>16:00 – 16:30</b>	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>
<b>16:30 – 17:30</b>	<b>ROUND TABLE ON RESHAPING SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES</b> <b>CHAIRPERSON   OSCAR SALEMINK</b> (University of Copenhagen)
<b>17:30</b>	<b>END OF CONFERENCE</b>
<b>19:30</b>	<b>Conference Dinner (for speakers, chairpersons and invited guests only)</b>

## PRESENTATIONS

### KEYNOTE ADDRESS

#### *Sources of Legitimation for Communities in Between*

**JANET STURGEON**

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Borderland communities In Southeast Asia, many of them ethnic minority, operate in rapidly changing social and political economic contexts, including new national policies, increasing regional infrastructure, and growing markets. Minority communities also respond to multiple sources of legitimation, such as the desire for national inclusion, the lure of modernization, and their own cultural and spiritual understandings of belonging in the world. Drawing on Lefevbre's notions of absolute and abstract space, this paper traces changing sources of legitimation for Akha farmers in upland Xishuangbanna (Sipsongpanna), China, whose livelihoods stretch into neighbouring Burma, and for Shan migrants from Burma working in Thailand. These cases represent two extremes of possibilities, with Akha increasingly enclosed in Chinese national space, and Shan increasingly belonging nowhere. The cases both point to the deepening of capitalist relations and spaces and the huge variability of contingent outcomes for "communities in between".

**Janet STURGEON** received her doctorate from the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies in 2000. Since 2004 she has been in the geography department at Simon Fraser University, where she is now an Associate Professor. Her work looks at access to resources and landscape transformations among ethnic minority peoples along the borders of China, Laos, Thailand, and Burma. She is interested in how borders are constituted and transgressed, and how globalization is changing livelihoods and identities for farmers. Sturgeon's research has brought to light the complex and unintended outcomes of regionalization. She has published numerous articles and a book, *Border Landscapes: the Politics of Akha Land Use in China and Thailand* (University of Washington Press, 2005).

## PANEL 1

### STATE-FORMATION AND INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE MARGINS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

#### ***Social Change and State Emergence in Times of War and Revolution: Insights from a Border Region in Laos***

VATTHANA PHOLSENA

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This paper investigates the course of action that the Lao and Vietnamese Communist movements undertook during these conflicts to expand their military rule and to legitimise their political claims over Sepon (a border region in Laos), the population of which had never before known such a direct form of control. The Lao revolutionary project of state-making in essence began in the so-called peripheral uplands, such as Sepon, then reached across the country after the Communist victory in 1975. The edification of “a new people” was also part and parcel of making “the state” as a material reality and an ideological idea. The latter realisation took advantage in Sepon of pre-existing political territories and the ethnic dynamics that ran through them, which the Communists perpetuated.

**Pholsena VATTHANA** is a research fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS). In 2013, she returned to the Department of Southeast Asian Studies at NUS as an Associate Professor. Her current research covers the social history of the Vietnam Wars from the vantage point of the Lao-Vietnamese borderlands, and the nexus between state, local elite, and ethnicity in post-socialist Laos. More generally, her research interests include the processes of state and social formation in borderlands, the interaction between the past and personal and collective memories, and post-socialism in Asia. She is mostly known for her work entitled *Post-war Laos. The Politics of Culture, History and Identity* (ISEAS-Cornell University Press, 2006). She recently published *Interactions with a Violent Past. Reading Post-Conflict Landscapes in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam* (NUS Press, 2013, with Oliver Tappe, eds.).



# ***Frontier Colonialisation: Agrarian expansion and Militarization in the Indonesia-Malaysia Borderlands***

**MICHAEL EILENBERG**

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Throughout history the Indonesian state has struggled to assert control over its borders and accompanying natural resources, using the arguments of national security and promotion of development to the 'estranged and backward' frontier inhabitants. As part of this pragmatic strategy in frontier colonization and resource extraction successive Indonesian governments have since the late 1960s allocated large-scale timber and plantation concessions along the resource-rich border on the island of Borneo to military entrepreneurs and private companies. Long stretches of Indonesian-Malaysian border are still widely forested and contain large patches of land classified in government policy narratives as 'sleeping', 'waste' or 'idle,' while the sparse population is classified as 'uncivilized.' This paper highlight the multiple meanings and imaginaries associated with regions where resource frontiers and national borders interlock. Particularly, how frontiers as zones of transition are created and transformed through state policies and local/global mediations. The paper examines the frontier constellation that combines resource extraction and sovereign politics, which is found repeated along other resource-rich Southeast Asian borderlands. It is argued that scrutinizing this specific frontier constellation could create new insight into how contemporary processes of agricultural expansion in Southeast Asia often is justified through discourses of sovereignty and security.

**Michael EILENBERG** is Assistant Professor in Anthropology at Aarhus University. His primary research interests' center on issues of state formation, sovereignty, autonomy, citizenship, agrarian expansion and climate politics in frontier regions of Southeast Asia. In particular he investigates state-society dynamics in the Malaysian and Indonesian borderlands on the island of Borneo. Within this research frame, he has been dealing with different transnational processes such as illicit cross-border trade, labour migration, and other kinds of cross-border movements. Especially the anthropology of borderlands and borders is central to his analysis of the different practices and strategies taking place along Southeast Asia's borders. This approach shows how seemingly marginal and isolated populations, such as many border people, are shaped in national and transnational dialogues. He is the author of *At the Edges of States. Dynamics of State Formation in the Indonesian Borderlands* (Brill, 2012).

## ***The Navel of the Nation: Centering, Territorializing and Enclosing Vietnam's Margins***

OSCAR SALEMINK, University of Copenhagen, [o.salemink@anthro.ku.dk](mailto:o.salemink@anthro.ku.dk)

and

EDYTA ROSZKO, Durham University, [edyta.roszko@durham.ac.uk](mailto:edyta.roszko@durham.ac.uk)

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Like most Southeast Asian states, the Vietnamese state traces its origins in the lowlands, but its assertion as a modern, postcolonial state requires it to project itself outward into the highlands (from the 1940s onward) and increasingly into the sea. Vietnam's territorial map consequently expanded to not only include the highlands, but more recently the sea and its islands/islets as well, with the island of Lý Sơn—which is considered as a historic and contemporary stepping stone to the Paracels—in the middle of Vietnam's imagined land/sea map, as a figurative cartographic navel of the national body. Discursively, these territorial shifts were marked by stories about the “autonomous” village shielded by a bamboo hedge as the basis for the nation in the lowlands (“*Phép vua thừa lệ làng*” – The king's privilege yields to village custom); about the (eternal) “great solidarity” [“*đại đoàn kết*”] between the diverse ethnic groups with the Việt and vice versa in the highlands, during and after the successive wars for independence and reunification; and about the most recent ‘turn towards the home islands [“*hướng về biển đảo quê hương*”] and the idea of Vietnam as a “*nước biển*” [lit. “sea country” but better a sea-oriented country], which is a contemporary invention of tradition that discursively places Vietnam in Tony Reid's Malay World. Based on our respective empirical material about highlands, lowlands and maritime spaces, we would argue that these outward projections of the nation and the state on the one hand involve a decentering of the center but on the other hand lead to enclosures and appropriations of terrestrial and maritime commons and both the domestication and instrumentalization of highland and maritime populations which are drawn into the center. Theoretically, such a paper would speak to the work on state territory (Thongchai Winichakul, Goscha), on state territorialization (Peluso & Vandergeest; Scott), on nationalism as performance (Anderson; Butler), and on enclosures (Ostrom; Jeffrey, McFarlane & Vasudevan, etc).

**Oscar SALEMINK** is Professor in the Anthropology of Asia at the University of Copenhagen. Until February 2011, he was Professor of Social Anthropology at VU University in Amsterdam. He received his doctoral degree from the University of Amsterdam, based on research on Vietnam's Central Highlands. From 1996 through 2001 I was responsible for grant portfolios in higher education, arts and culture and sustainable development in Thailand and Vietnam on behalf of The Ford Foundation. He has published on processes of ethnic identification and classification; the history of anthropology; development and civil society; human security and human rights; cultural heritage; and religious and ritual transformations. Recent book-length publications include *Colonial Subjects* (1999); *Vietnam's Cultural Diversity* (2001); *The Ethnography of Vietnam's Central Highlanders* (2003); *The Development of Religion, the Religion of Development* (2004); *A World of Insecurity: Anthropological perspectives on human security* (2010).

**Edyta ROSZKO** received her doctoral degree in 2011 from Martin Luther University – Halle Wittenberg. From 2006 to 2009 she was also a Doctoral Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle. Before coming to Durham as a Marie Curie Research Fellow to work on her project *Maritime Enclosures. Fishing communities facing the effects of the South China Sea dispute*, Edyta was an Assistant Lecturer at the Department of Anthropology of the University of Copenhagen and a Rechtskulturen (Legal Culture) Postdoctoral Fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (Institute of Advanced Studies) and an Associate Fellow at Humboldt School of Law in Berlin.

## PANEL 2

### FRONTIER ENCOUNTERS, EXCHANGES, AND FRICTIONS

#### ***Smuggling or not Smuggling? Balancing Powers between Chinese Traders and Vietnamese Law-Enforcement Agents***

CAROLINE GRILLOT

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In Móng Cái, a small border town and an international gate located in northeast Vietnam, the main economic activities center around cross border-trade with China. During daytime, hundreds of Chinese traders settle in the local markets to conduct their business with Vietnamese customers, under various sets of rules, adjusting to long-established practices and hasty upheavals. However, the dynamic of border activities must comply with national security concerns that are regularly at stake. The obvious antagonism between border control that could guaranty state sovereignty and the regional economic development is revealed in trade practices. Daily collaboration between Chinese and Vietnamese traders always entails sensitive aspects, and the uneasiness and feeling of insecurity that already frame business deals is exacerbated by uneven and (perceived as) unfair attitude of the local authorities. Drawing on local discourses about the official versus actual purposes of the Vietnamese and Chinese states regarding cross-border trade control, particularly smuggling, this presentation will reveal the ambiguity of local policies. Experiences of Chinese traders show how they constantly challenge and negotiate with state officers and Vietnamese negotiators to pursue their commercial project whereas enduring a constant pressure that virtually constrains them to maintain a commercial partnership with Vietnam under specific conditions. A description of blurry aspect of Móng Cái's market management will illustrate a fragile balance of powers regularly renegotiated or left in the blur, which navigates between rules, threat, resistance and submission.

**Caroline GRILLOT** is an anthropologist and Sinologist. He received her PhD in Anthropology from Macquarie University, Sydney and VU University in Amsterdam. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Halle, Germany). Her research focuses primarily on the social margins in China and Southeast Asia. She is the author of *Volées, Envolées, Convolées, les fiancées vietnamiennes en Chine* (Connaissances et Savoirs, 2010).

## ***Working through “Exceptional” Space: A Case of Women Migrant Workers in Mae Sot, Thailand***

**KYOKO KUSAKABE**

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This paper argues that the ways in which Burmese women migrant workers are able to manage their childcare responsibilities by juggling support between both sides of the border dividing Thailand and Burma (Myanmar) constitutes an “an exceptional space” where they are able to better circumvent state control. We deploy Scott’s (2009) argument that ethnic groups use “terrains of friction” to keep the state at arm’s length, and analyze borderland around Mae Sot as such an area where migrants are able to create their own space. The study is based on empirical research with migrant women employed in the factories located in the border town of Mae Sot, Thailand which is adjacent to the Burmese city of Myawaddy. We carried out in-depth interviews with 133 workers as well as a survey questionnaire with 504 workers about how they managed their child bearing and child care activities, and compared their experiences with those of Burmese migrant workers working in factories in the centerland provinces around Bangkok. The paper argues that, as proposed by Mezzara and Nelson (2012) borders create an exceptional space where intersecting power relations of domination and resistance are more vividly experienced and observed, and we would maintain, are also sites where gender roles and norms can be challenged or transformed as women seek to comply with their reproductive as well as their productive responsibilities.

**Kyoko KUSAKABE** is an Associate Professor in Gender and Development Studies at the Asian Institute of Technology, Thailand. She teaches post-graduate courses, carries out research and outreach activities in the areas of economic empowerment of women focusing on various countries in Asia. Her recent research is on gender issues in labour migration, mobility and border studies.

### PANEL 3

#### RELIGIOUS-BASED MOBILIZATION BETWEEN RADICALIZATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM

##### ***Southeast Asian Islam: Boundaries of an Imagined Community***

RÉMY MADINIER

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This paper discusses the formation and evolution of an Islamic imagined community in Southeast Asia. It shows how Muslim transnational networks have had limited influence in the region and never really managed to supplant the nation-state borders inherited from colonization. Since the pan-Islamists in the late nineteenth century to the recent attempts to create an Islamic state in Southeast Asia with the Daulah Islamiyah Nusanantara, these networks have been challenged by regional and national identities, which forced them to remain in a primarily symbolic register.

**Remy MADINIER** is a research fellow at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS). He is co-director of the Centre Asie du Sud-Est (CASE-EHESS) and the Institute for the Study of Islam and the Muslim world (IISMM-EHESS). He dedicated his doctoral thesis to the history of Muslim democracy in Indonesia. He has published several books on contemporary history of Islam in Indonesia, including *The End of Innocence? Indonesian Islam and the Temptations of Radicalism* (NUS Press, 2011, co-written with Andrée Feillard). He now works on the history of Muslim-Christian relations in Southeast Asia.

##### ***The Culture and Landscape of the Humanitarian Economy among the Karen (Kayin) in the Borderland of Southeast Myanmar and Northwestern Thailand***

ALEXANDER HORSTMANN

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In this chapter, I provide a concise map of faith-based and secular humanitarian assistance to the Karen in the Thai-Myanmar borderland to show the emergence and development of a humanitarian economy for Karen villagers in Southeast Myanmar and in the nine refugee camps in Northwestern Thailand. By humanitarianism, I understand a culture of humanitarian aid, compassion and relief, but prefer a broad definition that includes agency from emergency health care to advocacy work, such as training for documentation of human rights violations. I suggest that decades of civil war and repression in

Southeast Burma have created a particular landscape of humanitarianism in the borderlands of Southeast Burma and Northwestern Thailand that is characterized by a dense presence of local and international humanitarian organizations. I advance the thesis that humanitarianism takes over state functions in the social services as the economy, health and education sector in Southeast Burma have largely collapsed. Humanitarianism thus contributes in a crucial way to the consolidation of social support networks of Karen villagers and a parallel state or self-governance of the Karen in the context of open state terror and hostility.

**Alexander HORSTMANN** is a social anthropologist. He received his PhD from the University of Bielefeld (2000) with a work on Buddhist and Islamic movements in Southern Thailand. His research interests include the study of religious and ethnic diversity in Southeast Asia and in a comparative perspective, Islam, Theravada Buddhism, Christianity (especially Pentecostalism and Charismatic Movements), autochthonous religion (spirit beliefs), modernity, violence, and border régimes. He is interested in the manifestations of world religions in the local context and in the encounters of the local and the global, globalization of religion and the impact of modern media.

## ABOUT THE CHAIRPERSON

**Jean MICHAUD** (PhD Montréal 1995) is professor of social anthropology at Université Laval, in Canada. He specializes in critical anthropology and the peoples of the Southeast Asian Massif. He is the author of *'Incidental' Ethnographers. French Catholic Missions on the Tonkin-Yunnan Frontier, 1880-1930* (Brill 2007), *The A to Z of the People of the Southeast Asian Massif* (Scarecrow Press 2009), coeditor of *Moving Mountains: Ethnicity and Livelihoods in Highland China, Vietnam, and Laos* (UBC Press 2011), and co-author with Sarah Turner and Christine Bonnin of *Frontier Livelihoods: Hmong in the Sino-Vietnamese Borderlands* (University of Washington Press 2015).

**Danielle Tan** is currently teaching Political Science and Asian Studies at Sciences Po Lyons (France). She is also Research Associate at Lyons Institute of East Asian Studies (IAO-CNRS). Previously, she had the opportunity to pursue her postdoctoral research at IIAS and at the Australian National University. She received her PhD in Political Science from Sciences Po/CERI (Paris) in December 2011. Her dissertation (in French) was entitled *"From Communism to Neoliberalism: the Part Played by Chinese Networks in the Transformation of the State in Laos."* She is currently co-editing a volume with Pál Nyíri (VU Amsterdam) gathering together the most recent research on the renewed Chinese presence in Southeast Asia: *How Chinese Engagements Are Transforming Southeast Asia. People, Money, Ideas and their Effects* (on-going peer-review, University of Washington Press).

**Alexandra DE MERSAN**, anthropologist, is associate professor at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO, Paris). She is an associate member of the Centre Asie du Sud-Est (CASE-CNRS, Paris). She has a PhD in Social Anthropology from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris). Since her doctoral dissertation, untitled: *"Ritual space and the Making of a Locality. Contribution to the Ethnography of the Arakanese Population of Contemporary Burma"* (in French), she has been working on issues of territory and religion in Buddhist societies, mostly among Arakanese. Her research in Burma has also covered such topics as ritual, migration and socio-religious dynamics, ethnicity and nation-building.

## HOW TO GO TO

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