Conflict in Myanmar
The ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment. The Institute’s research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publishing, an established academic press, has issued more than 2,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publishing works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.
CONTENTS

List of Maps viii
List of Tables viii
List of Figures ix
Acknowledgements xi
Contributors and Editors xiii

Part I Introduction
1. Myanmar’s conflicted politics 3
   Nicholas Farrelly

Part II War and Order
2. The politics of policymaking in transitional government:
   A case study of the ethnic peace process in Myanmar 25
   Su Mon Thazin Aung

3. Reexamining the centrality of ethnic identity to the Kachin conflict 47
   Costas Laoutides and Anthony Ware

4. A feminist political economy analysis of insecurity and violence in Kachin State 67
   Jenny Hedström
<p>| Chapter |
|------------------|------------------|
| 5. Pacifying the margins: The Pa-O Self-Administered Zone and the political order in southern Shan State | 91 |
| Ricky Yue |
| 6. Landmines as a form of community protection in eastern Myanmar | 121 |
| Gregory S. Cathcart |
| <strong>Part III  Elections and After</strong> |
| 7. The 2015 elections and conflict dynamics in Myanmar | 139 |
| Michael Lidauer |
| 8. Institutions in Myanmar’s 2015 election: The election commission, international agencies, and the military | 163 |
| Chaw Chaw Sein |
| 9. Ethnicity and Buddhist nationalism in the 2015 Rakhine State election results | 177 |
| Than Tun |
| 10. The Hluttaw and conflicts in Myanmar | 199 |
| Chit Win |
| 11. Legislating reform? Law and conflict in Myanmar | 221 |
| Melissa Crouch |
| <strong>Part IV  Us and Them</strong> |
| 12. Making sense of reactions to communal violence in Myanmar | 245 |
| Tamas Wells |
| 13. Public perceptions of a divided Myanmar: Findings from the 2015 Myanmar Asian Barometer Survey | 261 |
| Bridget Welsh and Kai-Ping Huang |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>On Islamophobes and Holocaust deniers: Making sense of violence, in Myanmar and elsewhere</td>
<td>Matt Schissler</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Buddhist welfare and the limits of big ‘P’ politics in provincial Myanmar</td>
<td>Gerard McCarthy</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Threat perceptions in the Myanmar–Bangladesh borderlands</td>
<td>Helal Mohammed Khan</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part V</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Myanmar and the promise of the political</td>
<td>Nick Cheesman</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Abbreviations and Key Terms**  

**Index**
LIST OF MAPS

5.1 The locations of the main ceasefire groups in Shan State 96
16.1 Security forces’ combing operations: Bandarban (Bangladesh) 2015 342

LIST OF TABLES

4.1 Female representation in local- and national-level governance, 2014 70
4.2 Reports of conflict-related gender-based violence in Kachin State 74
4.3 Gender equality indicators, Kachin State 76
5.1 The pro-establishment camp versus pro-democracy camp, southern Shan State 101
9.1 Percentage votes for main parties for Pyithu Hluttaw in Rakhine State 192
9.2 Percentage votes for main parties for Amyotha Hluttaw in Rakhine State 193
9.3 Percentage votes for main parties for the State Hluttaw in Rakhine State 194
16.1 Major conflicts along the Myanmar–Bangladesh border (1978–2014) 340
LIST OF FIGURES

5.1 The evolution of the PNO and the PNLO 98
5.2 The political order in Pa-O areas before 2010 104
5.3 A different political economy driving power from the bottom 105
5.4 The political landscape in the southern Shan State 107
10.1 Non-partisan legislature, 2011–14 210
10.2 Questions and motions, 2011–14 (per session, per legislature) 212
13.1 Views of conflict (% agree) cross-national comparison 266
13.2 Ethnic backgrounds 267
13.3 Equal treatment between ethnic communities (% agree) 268
13.4 Economic vulnerability 269
13.5 Income distribution unfair (% agree) 270
13.6 Support autonomy (% agree) 271
13.7 Self-identity 272
13.8 Traditional values 274
13.9 Equal treatment between religious communities (% agree) 275
13.10 Partisanship and religion 276
13.11 Government responsiveness (% agree) 277
13.12 Military involvement in politics (% agree) 277
13.13 Support for systemic change 278
13.14 Use force for a cause 279
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The June 2015 Myanmar/Burma Update conference at the Australian National University (ANU) was the most significant event of its kind since the Update series began in 1999. Commencing with a keynote address by the then-Speaker of the Upper House of the Myanmar legislature, U Khin Aung Myint, it brought together academics, researchers, policymakers and politicians from Myanmar and abroad for two full days of intense discussion and debate at a time of unprecedented political and economic change in Myanmar.

To the great credit of the ANU, the Update was supported almost entirely by funding from within the University. The conference convenors, who are also the editors of *Conflict in Myanmar*, are tremendously grateful to the ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, and the Research School of Asia and the Pacific for their generous financial support for the conference, as well as to Veronica Taylor, the College Dean, and Michael Wesley, the Bell School Director, for their personal commitment to making the event a success.

The 2015 Update rested heavily on the organising skills of the Bell School events team, among whom Kerrie Hogan and Trish Sullivan deserve special mention for their tireless efforts and leadership. Sandy Hawke, the ANU VIP visits coordinator, ably guided the organisers through the mysteries of protocol. James Giggacher, the editor of the New Mandala website, handled media inquiries and podcasting with finesse. Luke Hambly put together the conference photo exhibit. The newly established ANU Myanmar Students’ Association was actively involved throughout, organising a roundtable and hosting a friendly Myanmar language session at the end of the first day. The convenors and editors look forward to the Association’s continued participation in future conferences and thank its members for their enthusiasm. They also especially acknowledge the

This edited volume, and the series in which it is the latest installment, has been made possible only with the cooperation of many persons. Above all, the editors wish to thank Allison Ley for her dedicated work in laying out the text. They also are grateful to Belinda Henwood for copyediting and Sherrey Quinn for indexing, which the ANU Myanmar Research Centre funded, again with generous support from the College of Asia and the Pacific. The Department of Political and Social Change provided its staff all the time and resources necessary to ensure the book’s prompt and high quality completion. We thank Greg Fealy, the Head of Department, for his encouragement, and for the Department’s ongoing commitment to the conference series.

Last but by no means least the editors are very grateful to Ng Kok Kiong and Rahilah Yusuf at ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute (formerly Institute of Southeast Asian Studies) in Singapore for their interest in the ANU’s work on Myanmar, and for their professionalism, thanks to which the ISEAS Myanmar Update Series has gone from strength to strength. The current volume is the largest and most ambitious to date, and we look forward to working closely with our colleagues at ISEAS towards even greater things in years ahead.
CONTRIBUTORS AND EDITORS

Gregory S. Cathcart is an international development consultant specializing in community responses to landmine usage in Southeast Asia.

Chaw Chaw Sein is a Professor and Head of the Department of International Relations, University of Yangon.

Nick Cheesman is a Fellow in the Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University, and convenor of the 2015 Myanmar/Burma Update.

Chit Win is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University.

Melissa Crouch is a Lecturer in the Faculty of Law, University of New South Wales.

Nicholas Farrelly is a Fellow in the Coral Bell School of Asia Pacific Affairs, Australian National University, and Director of the ANU Myanmar Research Centre.

Jenny Hedström is a doctoral candidate in politics and international relations at Monash University.

Kai-Ping Huang is a postdoctoral fellow in the Center for East Asia Democratic Studies, National Taiwan University.

Helal Mohammed Khan is the Director, International Research Initiative Bangladesh and a Chevening scholar at the University of Edinburgh.
**Costas Laoutides** is a Lecturer in International Relations at Deakin University.

**Michael Lidauer** is the Senior Elections and Conflict Advisor in Myanmar for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems.

**Gerard McCarthy** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University, and Visiting Fellow in the Department of International Relations, University of Yangon.

**Matt Schissler** is a doctoral student in anthropology at the University of Michigan.

**Su Mon Thazin Aung** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Hong Kong.

**Than Tun** is an Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Political and Social Change, Australian National University.

**Anthony Ware** is a Senior Lecturer in International and Community Development at Deakin University.

**Tamas Wells** is a doctoral candidate in politics at the University of Melbourne.

**Bridget Welsh** is a Professor of Political Science at Ipek University, a Senior Research Associate in the Center for East Asia Democratic Studies, National Taiwan University, and a member of the Asian Barometer Survey.

**Ricky Yue** is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Politics, Languages and International Studies, University of Bath.