

## INDEX

Notes are indicated by page and note number, for example, “44n6” means note 6 on page 44.

### A

Amyotha Hluttaw *see* Hluttaw

Anthias, Floya, 71

anti-Muslim sentiment, 177–82, 233, 254, 255, 358–9

arguments for, in Myanmar, 288, 289–93, 294

Buddhist–Muslim violence, 6, 14–15, 16, 149–54, 207–9, 245–6, 250–1, 359

ISIS and community distrust of Muslims, 288, 292, 294, 296, 300–1, 323

Islamophobia, 149, 290, 293–4, 302, 359

Islamophobia industry, 295–6, 297, 303

media stories on Muslim terrorism threats, 297–8

non-meritorious social actions ascribed to Muslims, 323

parallels between discourses in Myanmar and elsewhere, 286, 287–8, 293–300, 302–4

perceived threat of Islam, 287–94, 359

*see also* Buddhist nationalism

Arakan Army, 41, 338

Arakan kingdoms, 184, 188

Arakan League for Democracy, 182–4

Arakan National Council, 183

Arakan National Party (Rakhine National Party), 140, 152, 177–8, 181–5  
as Buddhist-nationalist alternative party, 189–91  
election results (2015), 177–8, 185–9, 193–4

Arakan Patriotic Party, 184, 195n4

armed forces of Myanmar (Tatmadaw), 4

Bureau of Special Operations, 8–9

Commander-in-Chief powers, 8

education, 171–2

elections and, 164, 171–3

ethnic composition, 12

federalism and, 37–8

“four cuts” strategy, 121, 125

historic vision of, 56–7

officers’ dual roles, 4

operations against KIA, 35, 48, 62

paternalism, 71

peace talks and, 25–7, 31, 35–8, 40–2, 356

- political involvement (citizens' views), 277, 280
- Regional Commands, 8
- role under Constitution (2008), 4, 8, 35
- seats in parliament, 12, 44n7, 171, 214
- solutions to conflict, 355–7
- warnings to media groups, 41
- women in, 86n10
- armed groups *see* ethnic armed groups
- As'ad, Muhammad Uhaib, 107, 113
- Ashin Wirathu, 6, 149, 152, 153
- Asia Foundation, 281n7
- Asia World, 92
- Asian Barometer Survey (2015), Myanmar
- conflict-aversion and recognition, 265–6, 279–80, 360
- ethnicity, 266–71
- governance and political culture, 276–9, 280
- methodology, 262–5
- religion, 271–6, 280
- Asian Development Bank, 236
- Asian Network for Free Elections, 170
- Aspinall, Edward, 107, 113
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations Summits, 5
- Aung Min, 79
- executive mandate, 30, 33, 44n6
- peace plan and, 11, 26, 30–1, 33, 38, 206
- Aung Naing, 254
- Aung Naing Oo, 26
- Aung Nyein, 203
- Aung Sa, 95
- Aung San, 7, 52–4, 95, 253
- Aung San Suu Kyi, 6, 7, 12, 13–14, 85n1, 112
- on communal violence, 245–6, 250
- on “free men”, 255
- ineligibility for presidency, 154
- NCA and peace dialogue, 155
- rubbish collection, 313–14
- see also* National League for Democracy
- Aung Thaung, 30
- Australia, 169
- Aye Maung, 183
- Aye Thar Aung, 182
- B**
- Bamar
- Burman paternalism/chauvinism, 56
- perceptions of equality/inequality, 266–71
- political protection of, 233, 253–4, 255
- self-identity, 272
- social hierarchical thinking, 56–7
- views on governance and political culture, 277–9
- see also* Buddhist nationalism
- Bangladesh
- displaced persons from Myanmar, 14–15, 336, 339–40, 341
- illegal immigrants in Myanmar, 14, 151, 326, 339
- relations with Myanmar, 335–6, 345
- see also* borderlands, Myanmar–Bangladesh
- banks, 230
- “Bengali” designation, 151, 153, 159n19, 181 *see also* Rohingya
- Bleich, Erik, 293
- Border Areas Development, 95, 97
- Border Guard Force, 8, 29, 61
- borderland conflicts
- Bangladesh border, 336, 340
- Chinese border, 8–10
- CPB role, 56–7

- Hluttaw response to, 200, 205–7  
 Thai border, 10–11
- borderlands, Myanmar–Bangladesh  
 conflicts, 336, 340  
 geopolitics, 334–6, 345  
 recommendations for management  
 and security, 343–5  
 threat perception, 336–7  
 threat perception in Bangladesh,  
 339–42  
 threat perception in Myanmar,  
 337–9
- borders  
 versus frontiers, 93–4  
 militarized, 304–5
- Buddhism  
 perceived threat of Islam to, 290–4,  
 323–4  
 protection of, 208–9, 233, 253–4,  
 323, 327
- Buddhist citizens  
 religiosity, 273  
 self-identity, 272  
 Taungoo family case study, 325–7  
 traditional values, 274  
 views on governance and political  
 culture, 276–9  
 views on role of religion in society,  
 273–6
- Buddhist institutions and social  
 welfare, 317–21, 327–8
- Buddhist morality, 189–90, 360  
 contrasted with Muslim practices,  
 322–3  
 and social welfare, 317–21, 327–8
- Buddhist–Muslim violence, 6,  
 14–15, 16, 149–54, 207–9, 245–6,  
 250–1, 359 *see also* anti-Muslim  
 sentiment
- Buddhist nationalism, 6, 14, 15, 56,  
 149–53, 323–4  
 in 2015 election, 178, 179–80  
 in 2015 election in Rakhine State,  
 181–9  
 laws on protection of race and  
 religion, 208–9, 233, 323  
 principles and Buddhist morality,  
 189–91  
*see also* Bamar; MaBaTha
- Bureau of Special Operations No. 1,  
 8–9
- Burma  
 Frontier Areas, 52–3  
 independence, 52–4 *see also*  
 Panglong Agreement (1947)  
 pre-colonial period, 52  
*see also* Myanmar
- Burma Relief Center, 102
- Burma Socialist Programme Party  
 (BSPP) period, 315
- business reforms, 228–31, 236, 237
- Buy Buddhist campaign, 149
- Byama-so, 318–19
- by-elections (2012), 5, 13, 154, 173
- C**
- capacity building, 99, 102, 115n8,  
 156, 164, 166 *see also* civil society  
 organizations
- Carter Center, 170
- Cathcart, Gregory S  
 chapter by, 17, 121–36  
 referenced, 355
- ceasefire agreements with EAGs,  
 7–11, 25, 29, 30, 47–8, 95–6, 355–6  
 Kachin, 7–8, 9, 47–8, 60–1, 62, 142  
 Karen, 123  
 Kokang, 9–10  
 landmine issues and, 123, 125  
 nationwide *see* Nationwide  
 Ceasefire Agreement  
 Shan State, 96–7, 100, 103  
 Wa, 10

- see also* peace talks and agreements (2011–15)
- ceasefire capitalism, 60, 92–3, 94, 112–13 *see also* state control
- census (2014)
- controversy over, 303
  - gaps in, 148
  - Rakhine State, 148, 150–1
- Central Bank, 230, 236
- Central Committee on Land Administration, 204
- centre of policy community, defined, 28
- cetana*, 253–6
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh, 354
- Chao, En-Chieh, 295, 296, 297
- Chaw Chaw Sein
- chapter by, 17, 163–76
  - referenced, 365n1
- Cheesman, Nick
- chapter by, 18, 353–66
  - referenced, 72, 227, 235
- Chie Ikeya, 72
- Chin people, 95
- Chin State elections (2015), 140
- China
- relations with Myanmar, 10
  - ties with Myanmar ethnic groups, 9–10
  - trade with, 8, 9
  - trafficking in women to, 81–2
- Chit Win
- chapter by, 17, 199–220
  - referenced, 222, 223, 356, 357
- Christians, 15, 208
- Christiansen, Thomas, 36, 38
- “chronic emergency”, 121–2, 125, 126–8
- citizens’ views *see* Asian Barometer Survey (2015), Myanmar
- citizenship
- citizens’ views on, 273
  - concept of, 62
  - discrimination against Rohingya, 151–2, 181, 339, 344, 358
  - notions of, 360
  - status and statelessness, 150–4
- civil society and the state
- Myanmar, 315–16
  - Taungoo, 317–19, 321–4
- civil society organizations
- activities causing tension, 106
  - community-based organizations, 316
  - community protection and, 127
  - elections and, 166, 168, 169–71
  - funding, 102
  - laws concerning, 232
  - political socialization agents, 99, 101, 102, 104–5, 113
  - see also* welfare groups
- civilian self-protection *see* community protection
- Committee for the Protection of Race and Religion, 15 *see also* MaBaTha
- Committee Representing the People’s Parliament, 182
- communal violence
- Burmese democracy movement reactions to, 245–6, 253–7
  - Hluttaw response to, 200, 207–9, 213
  - in Meiktila, 15, 207, 208, 245, 250
  - Western aid worker reactions to, 246, 250–2
  - see also* Buddhist–Muslim violence; religious conflict
- communist Pa-O *see* Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO)

- Communist Party of Burma (CPB), 7, 10, 56–7, 95, 100
- community-based organizations, 316 *see also* civil society organizations; welfare groups
- community protection
- patron-client ties, 126–7
  - strategies, 122, 127–8, 129, 131–2
- concepts, “essentially contested”, 247, 248, 257
- conflict
- among institutions of state, 224–8
  - community protection in, 122, 126–9, 131–2
  - drivers of, 49–50
  - economic reforms and, 228–31
  - elections and, 139, 141–2
  - gender and, 67–73, 77–8
  - Hluttaw response *see* Hluttaw response to conflicts
  - parliamentary role in, 201–2
  - politics/“the political” and, 353–62
  - social reforms and, 231–3
  - views on (cross-national comparison), 266
  - views on (Myanmar citizens), 265–6, 279–81, 360
  - violence and, 354–5
  - see also* armed forces of Myanmar; ethnic armed groups; female soldiers; Kachin conflict
- Constitution (2008)
- armed forces role, 4, 8, 35
  - change process, 140
  - codification, 214
  - “crimes committed during conflict” clauses, 75, 85n5
  - legislature and, 202–3
  - reform, 62, 154–5, 156, 225
  - state ownership of resources, 59
  - see also* Myanmar government
- Constitutional Tribunal, 227–8
- contempt of court law, 227
- courts, 222, 225, 227–8, 234–5
- Cover, Robert, 222, 357
- Crouch, Melissa
- chapter by, 17, 221–41
  - referenced, 14, 227, 233, 357–8
- D**
- DanChurchAid, 122
- Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy, 169
- Das, Veena, 93
- de-mining *see under* landmine use
- “demobilize, disarm, reintegration” (DDR) policy, 26, 31
- democracy
- Burmese democracy movement, 253–4
  - citizens’ views on, 275–6, 280
  - concepts of, 246–9, 252, 254, 255, 257–8, 359
  - CSO promotion of, 99, 101, 102, 104–5, 115n8
  - democratization narratives, 250–7, 359
  - pro-democracy camp, southern Shan State, 101
- Democracy for Ethnic Minorities Organization (DEMO), 99, 101, 102
- Democracy Reporting International, 169
- Department for International Development (UK), 169
- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia), 169
- Department of Immigration and Population (Myanmar), 146
- Department of Social Welfare (Myanmar), 122, 123

“disciplined democracy”, 254  
 discrimination *see* anti-Muslim  
   sentiment; ethnic minorities;  
   inequality  
 displaced persons  
   in Bangladesh, 14–15, 336, 340,  
   347n13  
   exiles from Myanmar, 4  
   internally displaced, 8, 14–15,  
   150–1, 153  
   in Thailand, 4, 11  
   *see also* Rohingya  
 drug lords *see* frontier strongmen  
 drug trafficking, 10, 92, 97, 100, 337  
 Duffield, Mark, 122, 126

**E**

East Asia Summits, 5  
 economic reforms, 228–31, 236, 237  
 economic vulnerability, citizens’  
   views on, 269–70, 275  
 economy, informal, 78, 81–2, 127  
 education law, 232–3  
 Egretau, Renaud, 149, 203, 302  
 88 Generation Group, 101, 106  
 elections (prior to 2010), 164–5, 171,  
   172  
   election commissions, 164–5, 173  
   Rakhine political parties, 182–3  
 elections (2010), 5, 12, 99, 100, 107,  
   111, 145  
   electoral commission, 165, 174  
   Muslim participation, 181  
   RNDP and, 182  
   *see also* by-elections (2012)  
 elections (2015), 5–6, 11, 13, 99, 100,  
   107–8, 111  
   armed forces (Tatmadaw) and, 164,  
   172–3  
   Buddhist nationalism in *see*  
   Buddhist nationalism

cancellations, 144–8  
 challenges, 163–4, 166–8  
 conduct of, 140–1, 144–8, 165–71,  
   172–3  
 conflict and, 139, 141–2  
 credibility, 139, 140, 147, 155–6,  
   163–4, 166, 168, 170, 172, 173  
 disenfranchised groups, 15, 149–54,  
   168, 178, 181, 226  
 electoral commission *see* Union  
   Election Commission  
 funding, 167  
 international agencies’ assistance,  
   164, 169–71  
 international observers, 164, 169–71  
 peace process and, 142–8  
 Rakhine State *see* Rakhine State  
   elections (2015)  
   reforms, 156–7  
   results, 140–1, 163  
 electoral commissions, 164–5  
   members, 173–4  
   UEC *see* Union Election  
   Commission  
 electoral reform, 156–7, 225–6  
 enrichment *see* wealth (enrichment)  
 entrepreneurs, 92  
 equality *see* inequality  
 “equality” narrative in  
   democratization, 256–7  
 “essentially contested concepts”, 247,  
   248, 257  
 ethnic armed groups (EAGs), 3–4,  
   7–11, 30  
   ceasefires *see* ceasefire agreements  
   with EAGs  
   co-optation into frontier  
   management, 93–4, 107–14  
   community support for, 60, 82–3,  
   84  
   deeds of commitment, 123

patron-client relationships, 126–7  
 peace talks and, 11, 25–7, 29–31, 34–42  
 rivalry amongst, 97, 99, 100, 101, 106  
 in southern Shan State *see* Shan State, southern  
 unlawful associations, 39–41, 42  
*see also* political violence

ethnic identity  
 conflict and, 49–52  
 ethnicity as identity marker, 272  
 Kachin nationalism and, 52–4, 58–60  
 territorial claims and, 59

ethnic minorities, 345  
 alliance groups, 35  
 Bamar attitudes to, 56  
 China's ties with, 9–10  
 democratization and, 250, 252  
 discrimination against, 54–6, 250  
 economic vulnerability, 269–70  
 elected representatives, 13, 141, 206–7 *see also* Arakan National Party; ethnic political parties  
 perceptions of equality/inequality, 266–71, 274–5, 280  
 political issues and, 12  
 self-determination *see* self-determination ambitions  
 self-identity, 272  
 Shan State *see* Pa-O people; Shan people  
 summit meetings, 39–41, 42  
 views on governance and political culture, 277–9  
*see also* anti-Muslim sentiment; religious conflict; Rohingya

ethnic nationalism  
 Kachin, 52–4, 55, 58–60, 62–3  
 women's roles in upholding, 71–2, 76, 80, 82, 83–5

*see also* Buddhist nationalism  
 ethnic political parties, 141, 154, 177–80, 182–4, 188, 191 *see also* *names of parties*  
 Euro-Burma Office, 30  
 European Union, 169, 170  
 exiles and migrants from Myanmar, 4  
*see also* displaced persons  
 extractive industries, 8, 60, 92, 97, 103  
*see also* mining laws; resources

## F

Farrelly, Nicholas  
 chapter by, 3–21  
 referenced, 7, 14, 142

federalism, 26, 29, 31, 36–8, 42, 154  
 armed forces (Tatmadaw) attitude to, 37–8  
 citizens' views on, 270  
 Panglong Agreement (1947) and, 52–4, 55

female soldiers  
 contribution of, 80, 84–5  
 excluded from combat, 77–8, 86n10  
 motivation, 76, 82, 83, 85n7  
 in Tatmadaw, 86n10  
*see also* women

feminist political economy analysis, 68, 69, 70, 73–4, 80, 82, 84 *see also* gendered insecurity and gendered relations

financial institutions, 230

Fink, Christina, 202–3

floods, 5

foreign grants  
 to civil society organizations, 102  
 in peace process, 34, 44n6

foreign investment laws, 228–31, 237  
 “four cuts” (Myanmar army strategy), 121, 125

Freedon, Michael, 248–9

freedom of speech, 232  
 Frontier Areas, Burma, 52–3  
 frontier strongmen, 92  
   devolution of state management to,  
   93, 94, 101, 102–4, 107–14  
 frontiers versus borders, 93–4 *see also*  
   borderland conflicts; borders  
 funeral associations, 318, 319–20 *see*  
   *also* welfare groups

## G

Gallie, Walter Bryce, 247, 248–9  
 gender analysis in Myanmar studies,  
 71–3  
 gender equality/inequality *see*  
   inequality  
 gendered insecurity and gendered  
 relations  
   in the community, 78–80  
   in the household, 69, 82–3  
   in IDP camps, 80–2  
   research studies, 68–9, 71–3  
   at the state level, 75–6  
   violence and, 69, 73–4, 79–80, 361  
   within KIA, 77–8  
 General Administration Department  
 (Myanmar), 146  
 general elections *see* elections  
 Geneva Call, 123  
 Golden Island Hotel Group, 103  
 governance reforms, 224–8  
 governing roles  
   female representation in, 70  
   leadership style, 253, 254–5  
   women excluded from, 70, 72–3, 75,  
   78–80, 83  
   women leaders, 85n1  
 government of Myanmar *see*  
   Myanmar government  
 greed as driver of conflict, 49–50

grievance as driver of conflict, 49–50,  
 51, 55–8  
*gumsa vs gumlao*, 57–8

## H

Harn Yawngnwe, 30  
 Harriden, Jessica, 72  
 Hedström, Jenny  
   chapter by, 17, 67–89  
   referenced, 9, 361  
 Heizman, Rik, 296–7  
 Hkyet Hting Nan, 206  
 Hla Maung Swe, 33  
 Hla Pe, 95  
 Hluttaw  
   characteristics, 213–14, 215, 223  
   establishment and challenges,  
   202–3  
   lawmaking process, 225, 235–6,  
   357–8  
   speakers' role, 213, 215  
   voting methods, 217n24  
   *see also* legislation  
 Hluttaw response to conflicts  
   borderland conflicts and peace  
   negotiations, 200, 205–7  
   communal violence, 200, 207–9, 213  
   non-partisan approach, 205, 209–11,  
   215, 356–7  
   public complaints and petitions,  
   212–13  
   public consultation, 211, 235  
   questions and motions as  
   legislative tools, 207, 211–13  
   record, 356–8  
   resource-based disputes, 200,  
   203–5, 213  
   speakers' role, 213, 215  
 Holocaust and the “politics of  
 memory”, 304



- households  
 female-headed households, 68, 76, 82–3  
 gendered insecurity and gendered relations, 69, 82–3
- Htin Kyaw, 6
- Huang, Kai-Ping  
 chapter by, 18, 261–83  
 referenced, 11, 54, 360, 361
- human rights principles, 251–2, 254
- I**
- identity markers, 272 *see also* ethnic identity
- ideologies of sociopolitical organization, 56–8, 61–3
- Indophobia, 149, 302
- inequality  
 citizens' views on, 266–71, 274–5, 280  
 gender equality indicators, 76  
 institutionalized discrimination, 54–6, 69  
 of women, 68, 69–70, 73–4, 75–6, 83, 361  
*see also* gendered insecurity and gendered relations; women
- informal economy, 78, 81–2, 127
- insecurity *see* gendered insecurity and gendered relations
- internally displaced persons, 8, 14–15, 150–1, 153
- internally displaced persons' camps  
 electoral arrangements, 153  
 gendered roles in, 80, 81  
 security concerns of women, 81–2
- international agencies  
 2015 election and, 169–71  
 in borderlands, 343  
 non-government organisations, 102, 105, 107, 123, 235–6
- reactions to communal violence, 246, 250–2
- International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 169
- international funding *see* foreign grants
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 169
- International Republican Institute, 169, 281n7
- investment laws, 228–31, 237
- Islam  
 perceived threat to Buddhism, 290–4, 323–4  
*see also* anti-Muslim sentiment; Muslims
- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), 288, 292, 294, 296, 300–1, 323
- Islamophobia, 149, 290, 293–4, 302, 359
- industry of, 295–6, 297, 303  
*see also* anti-Muslim sentiment
- J**
- Jacob, Cecilia, 124
- Joint Monitoring Committee, 155
- Jolliffe, Kim, 126, 132
- judiciary, 227–8
- K**
- Kachin conflict, 31, 35, 47, 142, 360–1  
 Burman paternalism/chauvinism and, 56–7, 60  
 ceasefire agreements, 7–8, 9, 47–8, 60–1, 62, 142  
 community support for, 60, 82–3, 84  
 control of territory and resources, 58–60  
 discrimination as cause, 54–6

- framed as ethnic conflict, 49–52, 360–1
- framed as resource-driven conflict, 48, 59–60
- fundamental issues, 61–3
- historical narratives and, 52–4
- Panglong Agreement (1947) and, 52–4, 55
- women's participation in, 69, 70, 77–8, 79–80, 361
- see also* Kachin Independence Army
- Kachin Independence Army, 31, 35, 58, 68
- accord (2013), 62
- ceasefire agreement (1994–2011), 7–8, 9, 47–8, 60–1, 62, 142
- peace agreement (2015) and, 11, 62
- return to conflict, 8–9, 48, 54, 61
- women soldiers *see* female soldiers
- women's supporting roles, 77–8, 80, 82, 83–5, 361
- Kachin Independence Organisation, 39–40, 54, 58, 68
- ceasefire agreement (1994–2011), 47–8, 60–1, 62, 142
- census enumeration prevented by, 148
- community support for, 60, 82–3
- role of, 80
- women's roles in, 77–8
- Kachin people
- ethnic identification, 52–4, 55
- impact of war, 8–9, 58, 80–3
- nationalism, 52–4, 55, 58–60, 62–3
- Panglong Agreement (1947), 95
- self-determination denied, 55–6, 60–3
- sense of collective identity, 58
- significance of territory, 55, 58–60
- social ideals, 56–7
- views in the peace process, 79
- Kachin State
- census (2014), 148
- conflict *see* Kachin conflict
- elections (2015), 140, 146
- female-headed households, 68, 76, 82–3
- gender-based violence, 74, 79, 80–2
- gender differences in society, 68, 76
- people *see* Kachin people
- shadow economy, 78, 81–2
- Special Region 2, 9
- Kachin State Peace and Development Council, 4
- Kachin women *see under* Kachin conflict; women
- Kachin Women's Association, 68, 78
- Kachin Women's Association Thailand, 68
- Kachin Women's Union, 68
- Kaman people, 14–15, 150, 153
- Karen National Liberation Army (KNLA)
- census enumeration prevented by, 148
- elections (2015) and, 146
- Karen National Union, 30, 34, 39–40, 62, 123
- Karen people, 52, 95, 317 *see also* Kayin people
- Kaung Rwai Social Action Network (KRSAN), 99, 101, 102, 104–5, 106
- Kayah people, 10–11
- Kayah State elections (2015), 140, 145
- Kayin people, 10–11 *see also* Karen people
- Kayin State
- census (2014), 148
- elections (2015), 140, 146
- Kearns, Thomas R, 222, 236
- Khan, Helal Mohammed
- chapter by, 18, 333–50

Khin Aung Myint, 4–5, 13, 16  
 Khin Maung Aye, 327  
 Khin Maung Latt, 115n14  
 Khin Yi, 33  
 Khun Sa, 100  
 Knowledge, Attitude, and Practices  
   (KAP) surveys on landmine use,  
   122, 129  
 Kokang rebel forces (1950s), 85n1  
 Kokang Region, Shan State, 9–10  
   *see also* Myanmar National  
   Democratic Alliance Army  
 Korf, Benedikt, 93  
 Kyauk Sein Nagar (Gems) Limited,  
   103  
 Kyaw Sein, 95  
 Kyaw Yin Hlaing, 33

## L

labour organizations, 232  
 Lake Inle, 91, 103, 115n14  
 land tenure and use, 12  
   Hluttaw response to land grabbing,  
   200, 203–5, 213  
   laws, 229–30  
   *see also* territory, control of  
 landmine accidents and deaths, 121,  
   125, 128, 129, 131  
 landmine use  
   behavioural change, 122, 123, 131–2  
   for community protection, 122,  
   128–30, 132  
   de-mining, 123–5  
   information sharing about, 130–1  
   international responses, 122, 123  
   minimization of, 131–2  
   NCA and, 125  
   population surveys, 122  
   purposes, 122, 125–6, 128–30  
   risk assessment, 122, 128–30  
   risk education, 123, 124, 131–2

language education policy, 12  
 Laoutides, Costas  
   chapter by, 17, 47–65  
   referenced, 139, 360–1  
 Lashio, Shan State, 15, 291  
 law reform, 221, 223–4, 233–7 *see also*  
   legislation  
 Law Yone, 253  
 Le Muer, Pierre-Yves, 93–4  
 leadership *see* governing roles  
 Lean, Nathan, 297  
 legislation  
   contempt of court law, 227  
   economic reforms, 228–31, 236, 237  
   finality clauses, 234–5  
   lawmaking process, 225, 235–6  
   laws on protection of race and  
   religion, 208–9, 233, 323  
   publication of, 223–4  
   social reforms, 231–3, 236  
   structural governance reforms,  
   224–8  
   *see also* law reform  
 legislatures, 201–2  
   of Myanmar *see* Hluttaw  
 Lidauer, Michael  
   chapter by, 17, 139–61  
   referenced, 12, 167, 225, 353  
 “listening project” on anti-Muslim  
   discourses, 285–6, 289–90  
   findings *see under* anti-Muslim  
   sentiment  
 Lo Hsing Han, 92

## M

MaBaTha, 15, 149, 153, 179, 290, 302,  
   323 *see also* Buddhist nationalism  
 Mahn Aung Tin Myint, 207  
 Maung Maung Saw, 195n4

- McCarthy, Gerard  
 chapter by, 18, 313–31  
 referenced, 360
- media  
 armed forces (Tatmadaw) and, 41  
 laws concerning, 232  
 stories on Muslim terrorism threat,  
 297–8  
 views on peace process, 34, 42  
*see also* social media
- Meiktila, 15, 207, 208, 245, 250
- Mi Mi Khaing, 72
- migrants and exiles from Myanmar, 4  
*see also* displaced persons
- military forces *see* armed forces of  
 Myanmar (Tatmadaw)
- militia *see* ethnic armed groups
- Min Aung Hlaing, 8, 172
- Min Zaw Oo, 33
- Mine Risk Education Working Group,  
 122, 123, 133n3
- mines (landmines) *see* landmine  
 accidents and deaths; landmine  
 use
- mining laws, 231 *see also* extractive  
 industries; resources
- Mon National Party, 167–8
- Mon people, 10–11
- Mon State elections (2015), 140, 145
- Mong Tai Army, 100
- monks  
 donations to, 322, 325–6  
 political activism, 6, 149, 152, 153,  
 323–4  
 respect for, 113, 324  
 social welfare activities, 322  
*see also* religious organizations
- Mouffe, Chantal, 354, 357
- Muslims, 13, 14–15, 208  
 disenfranchisement of, 15, 149–54,  
 178, 181, 226
- ISIS and community distrust of  
 Muslims, 288, 292, 294, 296,  
 300–1, 323
- NLD pro-Muslim image, 178,  
 179–80
- population of Rakhine State, 150–3,  
 343
- social actions contrasted with those  
 of Buddhists, 322–3
- tolerance towards, 14, 179, 289–90,  
 295
- views/violence against *see* anti-  
 Muslim sentiment  
*see also* Rohingya
- Myanmar army *see* armed forces of  
 Myanmar (Tatmadaw)
- Myanmar citizens' views *see* Asian  
 Barometer Survey (2015),  
 Myanmar
- Myanmar Egress, 30, 101
- Myanmar government, 3–7, 11–14  
 citizens' views on governance and  
 political culture, 276–9  
 committee processes, 234–5  
 ethnic group violence and, 7–11  
 executive power, 226  
 issues faced, 12  
 military support for, 8, 12  
 peace-making efforts *see* peace talks  
 and agreements  
 relations with Bangladesh, 335–6,  
 345  
 relations with China, 10  
*see also* Burma; Constitution (2008);  
 Hluttaw; political system of  
 Myanmar; state control; state/  
 regional-level governments;  
 Thein Sein government
- Myanmar legislature *see* Hluttaw
- Myanmar Mine Action Centre, 124

- Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army, 9–10, 31, 36, 41, 142
- Myanmar Peace Center (MPC), 11, 27, 101  
goals, 34  
international support for, 32  
membership, 33–4, 41–2  
negotiation and decision-making approach, 28, 36–42, 44n6  
power of, 34  
role, 32–3, 35, 41–2, 124  
stakeholders, 34–6
- Myanmar Press Council, 41, 166
- Myanmar Stock Exchange, 231
- Myanmar studies, gender perspective in, 71–3
- Myanmar Update conferences, 16
- Myint Swe, 6
- Myitkyina, 8–9
- myo-saunt-upade* (laws on protection of race and religion), 208–9, 233, 323
- N**
- Nang Hern Kham, 85n1
- narcotics *see* drug trafficking
- narrative approach, 246–9
- National Defence and Security Council, 35, 38, 44n5, 44n8
- National Defence College, 171
- National Democratic Alliance Army (NDAA), 146, 148
- National Democratic Institute (NDI), 169
- National Endowment for Democracy (NED), 102, 263
- National League for Democracy (NLD)  
1990s and 2000s, 314  
by-elections (2012), 5, 13  
charitable welfare initiatives, 321  
elections (1990), 164–5  
elections (2010), 5, 12, 165  
elections (2015), 5–6, 11, 13, 108, 112, 140, 163  
elections (2015) in Rakhine State, 179–80, 185–94  
in government, 6–7, 11–14, 18, 141  
NCA and peace dialogue, 155  
pro-Muslim image, 178, 179–80  
in southern Shan State, 101
- National United Party of Arakan, 183
- National Unity Party, 182, 195n4
- nationalism, 272  
inherently gendered, 71–3  
*see also* Buddhist nationalism;  
ethnic nationalism
- nationalist Pa-O *see* Pa-O National Organization (PNLO)
- Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement, 11, 31, 205  
consequent dialogues, 155, 205–7  
landmine use and, 125, 132  
participants, 26, 39–40, 62, 114, 143, 157n4  
*see also* peace talks and agreements (2011–15)
- Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team, 11, 35, 39–41
- Nay Win Tun, 92, 103, 104, 107
- Ne Win, 7, 44n4
- negotiation and decision-making in general, 28, 32, 38–9  
MPC approach, 28, 36–41
- Neuhold, Christine, 36, 38
- 969 movement, 149, 290
- Norway, 169
- Nu, U, 253

**O**

- Oo Tha Tun, 182
- Open Society Foundation, 102
- opium interests *see* drug trafficking
- Organization for the Protection of Race and Religion (MaBaTha), 15, 149, 153, 179, 290, 302, 323 *see also* Buddhist nationalism
- the Other, fear of, 300–1, 305n2

**P**

- Pa-O National Army, 92, 110, 116n27 *see also* Nay Win Tun
- Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO), 98–9, 101
  - ceasefire agreement (1994), 103–4
  - ceasefire agreement (2015), 114
  - rivalry with other groups, 100, 106
  - UPNO and, 114
- Pa-O National Organization (PNO), 95, 98–9, 101
  - areas of control, 96
  - attitude to KRSAN, 105
  - business operations, 103
  - ceasefire agreement (1991), 96, 103
  - control of village leaders, 108–11, 113
  - election performance, 107–8, 111–13, 116n22
  - in frontier pacification, 103–4
  - rivalry with other groups, 97, 99, 100, 106
  - tangible benefits for Pa-O community, 113–14
- Pa-O people, 95
  - political groups, 98–9, 101 *see also* Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO); Pa-O National Organization (PNO)
  - relationship with Shan, 95, 97 *see also* Shan State, southern
- Pa-O Self-Administered Zone, 93, 116n22
  - political order, 103–5, 111–14
  - village tract system, 108–11
- Pa-Oh Youth Organization (PYO), 99, 101, 102
- Pan Zagar activist group, 295–6
- Pandey, Gyanendra, 303, 305n2
- Panglong Agreement (1947), 7, 52–4, 55, 95
- parahita*, 317–19
- Parami Development Network (PDN), 99, 101, 113
- parliaments, 201–2
  - of Myanmar. *see* Hluttaw
- Patent, Jason D, 248
- patron-client relationships, 126–7
- patronage *see* ceasefire capitalism; foreign grants
- peace related to gender equality, 76
- peace talks and agreements (2011–15)
  - election process and, 142–4
  - Hluttaw response to, 200, 205–7
  - Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement *see* Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
  - negotiation and decision-making approaches, 28, 36–42, 44n6
  - process, 11, 25–7, 29–31, 356
  - women omitted from talks, 77, 79 *see also* ceasefire agreements with EAGs; Myanmar Peace Center
- people trafficking, 74, 81–2, 83
  - anti-trafficking law, 235
- piecemeal approach in negotiation, 28, 38–9
  - employed by MPC, 28, 36–41, 42
- policy community, 28, 32, 42 *see also* Myanmar Peace Center
- political economy
  - conducive to state control *see* ceasefire capitalism

CSOs and, 102, 105  
 political exiles *see* exiles and migrants  
   from Myanmar  
 political groups in southern Shan  
   State  
   international civil society  
   organizations, 102, 105  
   Pa-O community, 97–9, 101  
   political order, 103–7, 111–14  
   Shan community, 97, 99–101  
 political socialization agents, 99, 102,  
   104–5  
 political system of Myanmar  
   citizens' views on governance and  
   political culture, 276–81  
   ethnic group representation, 12–13  
   groups not well-represented, 13  
   partisanship and religion (survey  
   results), 276  
   *see also* elections  
 political violence  
   defined, 69  
   use of force for a cause (survey  
   results), 278–9  
   women's participation/support, 69,  
   70, 72, 76, 77–8, 80, 83–5  
   *see also* Kachin conflict  
 "politics of memory", 304  
 politics/"the political", 353–62  
   distinction between "politics" and  
   "the political", 354–5  
   influence of Buddhist networks,  
   323–4  
   the nonpolitical, 357–9, 362  
   notions of, 321–4, 327–8  
   undecided voters, 325–7  
 Poole, Deborah, 93  
 poverty and violence, 68, 73–4, 81–2,  
   83, 84  
 power, exercise of  
   arbitrary, 121, 126

soft power, 112, 113–14  
*see also* sociopolitical organization;  
   state control  
 presidential powers, 226  
 Program for the Progress of the  
   Border Areas and National Races  
   Development, 95, 97  
 protest rights, 232  
 Pyidaungsu Hluttaw *see* Hluttaw  
 Pyithu Hluttaw *see* Hluttaw

## R

Raeymaekers, Timothy, 93  
 Rakhine Action Plan, 339, 344  
 Rakhine National Party, 170  
 Rakhine National Party (Arakan  
   National Party), 140, 152, 177–8,  
   181–5  
   as Buddhist-nationalist alternative  
   party, 189–91  
   election results (2015), 177–8, 185–9,  
   193–4  
 Rakhine Nationalities Development  
   Party (RNDF), 182–4, 338  
 Rakhine State, 4  
   census (2014), 148, 150–1  
   districts, 195n1  
   Muslim population, 150–3, 343  
   political parties, 181–5 *see also*  
   Rakhine National Party  
   religious conflict, 6, 14–15, 338  
   separatist movements, 338  
 Rakhine State elections (2015)  
   ANP and Rakhine ethno-  
   nationalism, 181–5  
   ANP as alternative to NLD, 189–91  
   disenfranchisement, 152–4, 181  
   results, 177–80, 185–9  
   voting patterns, 193–4  
 Rakhine State National Force Party,  
   184, 195n4

- rape *see* sexual violence
- religion
- citizens' views on, 271–6, 280
  - Religion of Peace website, 295, 297
  - religious conflict, 6, 14–15, 149, 150–3, 245–6, 250–1, 262, 271 *see also* communal violence
  - religious minorities, 15, 208–9 *see also* ethnic minorities; Muslims
  - religious organizations
    - political and social activism, 321–3
    - social welfare services, 317–21, 327, 360
    - see also* Buddhist nationalism; monks
  - religious tolerance, 14, 179, 289–90, 295
  - resource-based disputes, 48, 51, 55, 58–60
    - Hluttaw response to, 200, 203–5, 213
  - resources
    - control of, 59, 97
    - insurgent financing from, 59
    - royalty distribution, 12
    - see also* extractive industries
  - Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS), 101, 106
    - ceasefire agreement (2011), 92, 100
    - relationship with SNLD, 111–12
    - see also* Shan State Army — South
  - rights of individuals, 232–3
  - rights to organize and protest, 232
  - Rohingya, 14, 334
    - designations (Rohingya/Bengali), 14, 151, 153, 159n19, 181
    - discrimination against, 250, 339, 340, 341, 358
    - exoduses to Bangladesh, 14–15, 336, 340, 341
    - franchise and citizenship, 151–2, 181, 339, 344, 358
    - self-identification, 148, 151
    - solutions for plight of, 343–5
  - Rohingya Solidarity Organisation (RSO), 338
  - Ruby Dragon group of companies, 92, 103
- S**
- Saha, Jonathan, 72
  - Sai Leik, 170
  - Sai Mauk Kham, 31
  - Salai Ngung Lian, 33
  - Sao Yawd Serk, 100
  - Sarat, Austin, 222, 236
  - Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, 303
  - Schissler, Matt
    - chapter by, 14, 18, 285–311
    - referenced, 127, 129, 149, 361
  - Schmitt, Carl, 365n2
  - self-administered zones, 226 *see also* Pa-O Self-Administered Zone
  - self-determination ambitions, 154
    - Arakanese political parties, 184–5
    - citizens' views on, 270–1
    - Kachin, 55–6, 60–3
    - Pa-O, 101, 113
    - Shan, 111, 112
  - self-protection (communities) *see* community protection
  - 17(1) issue (unlawful association), 39–41, 42
  - sexual violence, 71–4, 79–82
    - absence of legal protection, 75
    - in IDP camps, 81–2
    - inequality and, 75
    - in Kachin State, 74
  - shadow economies, 78, 81–2, 127
  - Shan National United Front, 100 *see also* Shan State Army
  - Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP), 100, 101, 147



- election performance, 111, 113
- Shan Nationalities League for Democracy (SNLD), 100, 101, 147, 170
- election performance, 111, 141
- relationship with RCSS/SSA-S, 111–12
- Shan people, 10–11
  - ethnic armed groups, 99–100 *see also* Shan State Army
  - relationship with Pa-O, 95, 97
  - Taungoo family case study, 325–7
- Shan State, 4
  - ceasefire capitalism, 92–3, 94, 101, 112–13
  - communities *see* Pa-O people; Shan people
  - consequences of war, 8–9
  - elections (2015), 140–1, 145–7
  - Kokang Region conflict, 9–10
  - religious conflict, 15
  - Special Region 1, 10
  - Special Region 3, 96
  - Special Region 6, 96, 99
  - Wa armed groups, 7, 10
  - see also* Pa-O Self-Administered Zone
- Shan State, southern
  - elections (2015), 111–12
  - ethnic struggle, 95–7
  - political actors, 97–102, 111–12
  - political order, 103–7, 111–14
  - rivalry among ethnic armed groups, 97, 99, 100, 101, 106
- Shan State Army
  - areas of control, 96, 97
  - ceasefire agreement (1989), 96, 100
  - rivalry with other groups, 97, 100
  - see also* Restoration Council of Shan State
- Shan State Army — North, 147
- Shan State Army — South (SSA-S)
  - ceasefire agreement (2011), 92, 100
  - establishment, 97, 100
  - relationship with SNLD, 111–12
  - rivalry with other groups, 100, 101, 106
- Shan State Independence Army, 100
  - see also* Shan State Army
- Shan State Nationalities Liberation Organization (SSNLO), 98 *see also* Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO)
- Shan State Nationalities People's Liberation Organization (SSNPLO), 98
  - areas of control, 96
  - ceasefire agreement (1994), 96
  - rivalry with other groups, 97, 99
- Shan State Restoration Council, 100
  - see also* Restoration Council of Shan State
- Shanland Nationalities Liberation Front (SNLF), 98 *see also* Pa-O National Organization (PNO)
- Shwe Mann, 5, 13, 44n6, 164, 204, 205–6, 209
- smuggling, 100 *see also* drug trafficking; people trafficking
- social media dissemination of anti-Muslim sentiment, 294–8, 323
- social reforms, 231–3, 236
- social services, 315–16
- socio-economic inequality *see* inequality; poverty
- sociopolitical organization
  - control over territory, 59–60
  - Kachin/Burman ideological differences, 56–8, 61–3
- Soe Thein, 30, 33
- soft power, 112, 113–14
- Soros, George, 102

- South, Ashley, 127, 128, 129
- Southeast Asian Games, 5
- Special Economic Zones, 230
- state control
- borders versus frontiers, 93–4
  - ceasefire capitalism and, 60, 92–3, 94, 112–13
  - divide-and-rule strategy, 97, 99, 103–4, 106
  - through co-optation of local armed groups, 93–4, 101, 102–14
  - see also* Myanmar government
- state control, opposition to *see* ethnic armed groups; Kachin conflict; self-determination ambitions
- State Counsellor, 12
- State Law and Order Restoration Council, 95, 100, 103, 114n7
- State Peace and Development Council, 4, 13, 223, 254
- state/regional-level governments
- devolution of powers to (issue), 12, 225
  - peace talks and, 29
- Steinberg, David, 315
- Stock Exchange, 231
- Su Mon Thazin Aung
- chapter by, 17, 25–46
  - referenced, 11, 356
- Supreme Court, 227, 228
- surveys of Myanmar citizens, 264, 281n7
- ABS *see* Asian Barometer Survey (2015), Myanmar
  - “listening project” on anti-Muslim discourses *see* anti-Muslim sentiment
- T**
- Ta’ang National Liberation Army, 31, 41
- Taiwan Foundation for Democracy, 263
- Tatmadaw *see* armed forces of Myanmar (Tatmadaw)
- Taungoo
- family life, 325–7
  - political and social activism, 321–4
  - population characteristics, 317
  - religious institutions, 317–19
  - welfare groups and services, 317–21
- territory, control of, 58–60 *see also* land tenure and use
- Tha Kalei, 99
- Thailand
- border region conflicts, 10
  - displaced persons from Myanmar, 4, 11
- Than Tun
- chapter by, 177–98, 365n1
  - referenced, 358, 360, 365n1
- Tharaphi Than, 302
- Thein Sein, 4
- Thein Sein government, 4–5, 12, 14
- “disciplined democracy”, 254
  - elections *see* elections (2015)
  - ethnic policy, 29
  - executive power, 226
  - law reform process, 235
  - martial law, 142
  - MPC influence, 32–3, 35
  - peace-making process, 11, 25–6, 29–31, 41–2, 142, 205, 206
  - see also* Myanmar Peace Center
- Thein Soe, 165
- Thein Zaw, 30, 31
- Tiger Head *see* Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP)
- Tigyit coal and power project, 106
- Tin Aye, 165, 166
- Tin Htut, 204

Tin Maung Than, 33  
 Top White Tiger Company, 111  
 trade, 8, 9  
 trafficking *see* drug trafficking; people trafficking  
 True, Jacqui, 70, 73

## U

UNICEF, 122  
 Union Election Commission (UEC),  
   140, 144, 145, 147, 154, 156,  
   164–8, 225  
   international assistance to, 169–71  
   members, 174  
   similar institutions, 164–5  
   *see also* elections (2015)  
 Union Pa-O National Organization  
   (UPNO), 99, 101, 108, 114, 115n9  
 Union Parliament *see* Hluttaw  
 Union Peace Conference (2016), 155  
 Union Peacemaking Central  
   Committee, 31, 205  
 Union Peacemaking Working  
   Committee, 31, 32, 33, 41, 44n6,  
   205  
 Union Political Dialogue Joint  
   Committee, 155  
 Union Solidarity and Development  
   Association (USDA), 114n7  
 Union Solidarity and Development  
   Party (USDP), 5, 101, 140–1  
   as Buddhist alternative to NLD,  
   190–2  
   charitable welfare initiatives, 321  
   CSOs and, 106  
   elections (2010), 12, 111, 115n7, 165,  
   181  
   elections (2015), 112, 152, 168  
   elections (2015) in Rakhine State,  
   178, 181, 185–94  
   government, 5, 12–13, 189–90

  patronage of Buddhism, 324  
 unions, 232  
 United Kingdom, 169  
 United Nationalities Alliance, 167  
 United Nationalities Federal Council,  
   35  
 United Nations Committee on the  
   Rights of the Child, 123  
 United Nations Convention on the  
   Rights of the Child, 235  
 United States of America  
   anti-Muslim sentiment, 287–8, 294,  
   295–6, 297  
 United Wa State Army (UWSA), 7, 10,  
   11, 35–6  
   census and, 148  
   elections (2015) and, 146  
   unity and benevolence, 253–6  
 Unlawful Associations Act (1908),  
   39–41, 42  
 USAID, 169

## V

Vahu Development Institute, 30  
 Van Thio, Henry, 6  
 village tract system, 108–11, 113  
 violence  
   material basis for, 68, 73–4, 81–2,  
   83, 84  
   nonpolitical response to conflict,  
   354–5  
   against Rohingya *see* Rohingya  
   use of force for a cause (survey  
   results), 278–9  
   against women, 71, 73–4, 79–82  
   *see also* Buddhist–Muslim violence;  
   communal violence; political  
   violence; sexual violence  
 Volunteer Service Overseas, 102

**W**

- Wa people, 10, 40 *see also* United Wa State Army
- Wa Self-Administered Division (SAD), 146, 148
- war, 7–11 *see also* ceasefire agreements with EAGs; Kachin conflict; peace talks and agreements (2011–15); violence
- Ware, Anthony  
chapter by, 17, 47–65  
referenced, 139, 360–1
- warlords *see* frontier strongmen
- wealth (enrichment), 7, 8, 60 *see also* ceasefire capitalism
- Weber, Max, 354
- welfare groups, 315–16, 327, 360  
Buddhist-imbued services in Taungoo, 317–21  
political and social activism, 321–3
- Wells, Tamas  
chapter by, 14, 18, 245–60  
referenced, 307n23, 326, 359, 360
- Welsh, Bridget  
chapter by, 18, 261–83  
referenced, 11, 54, 360, 361
- White Tiger Party *see* Shan Nationalities Democratic Party (SNDP)
- Wirathu (preacher) *see* Ashin Wirathu
- women  
ethnic nationalism and, 71–2, 76, 80, 82, 83–5  
exclusion from leadership roles, 70, 72–3, 75, 78–80, 83  
exclusion from peace talks, 77, 79  
gender equality indicators, 76  
inequality of, 68, 69–70, 73–6, 83, 361  
leaders (as anomalies), 85n1  
physical security of, 76, 80–2

- seen as “needing protection”, 71–2, 77, 79
- structural inequalities and, 69–70
- studies with a gender perspective, 72
- support for Kachin conflict *see under* Kachin Independence Army
- traditional roles, 77–8, 80, 81  
as victims, 67  
violence against, 71, 73–4, 79–82  
*see also* female soldiers
- Wong Pak Nun, 94, 101, 103
- World Economic Forum, 5
- Wunna Maung Lwin, 303
- Wunna, U, 254

**Y**

- Yang, Olive, 85n1
- Yangon School of Political Science, 263
- Yawnghwe, Samara, 95
- youth  
CSOs and, 102, 104–5, 113
- Yue, Ricky  
chapter by, 17, 91–119  
referenced, 127, 226
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, 71