



**SEAREG 2025 Summer Conference**

Mahidol University  
Bangkok, Thailand  
July 7-9, 2025

**Monday, July 7, 2025**

13:00-16:00 **Cultural Excursion**

[The Grand Palace](#)

*Pick up at 13:00 at Sukosol Hotel; drop off at Sukosol at 16:00*

18:00-20:00 **Opening Dinner**

Sukosol Hotel

Room Preamkamol

*477 Thanon Si Ayutthaya, Thanon Phaya Thai, Ratchathewi, Bangkok 10400, Thailand*

**Tuesday, July 8, 2025**

Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University

*6 Yothi Rd, Thung Phaya Thai, Ratchathewi, Bangkok 10400*

*(Unless otherwise noted)*

8:00 Transportation leaves from Sukosol Hotel to conference facility

8:30-9:00 **Coffee**

*Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

9:00-9:20 **Welcome and Opening Remarks**

Professor Piyamitr Sritara, MD, FRCP

President, Mahidol University

Eddy Malesky

Duke Center for International Development, Chair of the SEAREG Council

*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

9:20-10:40 **SEAREG Fellow Presentation #1**

**Yilin Su, University College London:** "Fake News Labels and Public Opinion in Nondemocracies: Evidence from Singapore."

*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

10:40-11:00 Break

11:00-12:20 **SEAREG Fellow Presentation #2**

**Attawat Assavanadda, the University of Hong Kong:** "The Tie that Still Binds: Chinese Ethnicity and Enduring Affinity with China."

*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*



- 12:20-13:30     **Lunch**  
*Room 301, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 13:30-14:30     **State of the Field, Keynote Address**  
Brenda Yeoh Saw Ai  
Research Leader, Asian Migration Cluster at the Asia Research Institute  
National University of Singapore  
*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 14:30-14:50     Break
- 14:50-16:10     **SEAREG Professionalization Seminar #1**  
Discussion on selected papers  
*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- Pavan Mano, King's College London:** "A Genealogy of Antipoliticization and its Effects on LGBT Organizing in Singapore."
- Limeng Ong, American University of Phnom Penh:** Personalization, Regime Cohesion, and Electoral Strength in Autocratic Regimes: Cambodia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective."
- Clara Siagian, Universitas Indonesia.** "Beyond right to city: Narratives of Eviction and Ethical Claims-Making among Relocated Residents of Jakarta's Social Housing."
- 16:10-16:30     Break
- 16:30-17:30     **Poster Session**  
*Rooms 301-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 18:30-20:00     **Banquet Dinner**  
The Bangkok Heritage  
*2 Aram Si Alley, Thung Phaya Thai, Ratchathewi, Bangkok 10400, Thailand*

**Wednesday, July 9, 2025**

Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University  
6 Yothi Rd, Thung Phaya Thai, Ratchathewi, Bangkok 10400  
(Unless otherwise noted)

- 8:00             Transportation leaves from Sukosol Hotel to conference facility
- 8:30-9:00       **Coffee**  
*Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*



- 9:00-10:00     **State of Region, Keynote Address**  
 Danny Quah  
 Li Ka Shing Professor in Economics  
 Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy  
 National University of Singapore  
*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 10:00-10:20     Break
- 10:20-11:40     **SEAREG Fellow Presentation #3**  
**Rune Wriedt Larsen, London School of Economics.** “The Organisational Origins of Onset: Communist Civil War in the Philippines and Thailand after the Second World War.”  
*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 11:40-12:50     Lunch  
*Room 301, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 12:50-14:10     **SEAREG Professionalization Seminar #2**  
 What is the SEAREG model? A Professionalization Workshop  
 SEAREG Council (Risa Toha, Tom Pepinsky, Nico Ravanilla, Paul Schuler, Kai Ostwald)  
*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*
- 14:10-14:20     Break
- 14:20-15:30     **SEAREG Thematic Sessions**  
**Session #1, 2, 3**  
*Rooms 301-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

**Session #1: Religion, Masculinity, and the Global Politics of Democracy Promotion**

*Room 301, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

**Description**

This panel brings together new research on the international and domestic forces shaping democratic development, legitimacy, and identity formation in Southeast Asia and beyond. One paper investigates the limits of Indonesia and Turkey’s emerging role as promoters of democracy in a post-American world. Another unpacks the evolving political role of religious sermons in Indonesia, examining how clerical messaging influences trust in religious authority. A third paper explores the layered and contested narratives of Igorot masculinity in the Philippines, revealing how indigenous identities are reshaped by modern media and labor dynamics. Together, the papers speak to how global ideologies and local practices intersect to reconfigure political authority, belonging, and representation.

**Discussants**

Tom Pepinsky, Cornell University; Nico Ravanilla, University of California San Diego.



### Panelists

Angguntari C. Sari, Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, Indonesia. *The Role of US, Indonesia, and Turkey in Promoting Democracy Abroad.*

- Does the reduction of US commitment to spread values globally translate into a greater role of middle power?

Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo, National University of Singapore. *Political Sermon, Political Islam, and Trust in Religious Authorities: Evidence from Indonesia.*

- How do political sermons influence voters' trust in religious authorities?

Orville Tatcho, University of the Philippines Baguio. *Tropes and Notions of Igorot Masculinity: From Tradition to Contemporary Images.*

- This study traces and describes the tropes and notions of Igorot masculinity in an attempt to understand their sources, continuities, and changes. Igorots are indigenous peoples residing in the Cordillera region of northern Philippines.

### Session #2: Institutional Power and Policy Adaptation in Southeast Asia

Room 302, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University

### Description

This panel examines how institutions, elite power, and public engagement shape policy development and governance across diverse Southeast Asian contexts. The papers analyze Malaysia's evolving foreign policy toward China through systemic, domestic, and leadership lenses; the political economy behind Thailand's stalled energy transition despite market and environmental imperatives; how electoral law reforms and strategic behavior sustain Singapore's dominant-party system; and how law reform processes in Vietnam reveal shifts in political participation and legitimation strategies. Together, these studies illuminate how power relations and institutional design drive policy continuity and change, offering comparative insights into the region's political dynamics amid global and domestic pressures.

### Discussants

Edmund Malesky, Duke University; Kai Ostwald, University of British Columbia

### Panelists

Tu Phuong Nguyen, University of Melbourne. *Law Reform and Shifting Modes of Political Participation in Vietnam.*

- This paper examines continuities and changes in law reform processes and citizens' political participation in Vietnam with a focus on the Law on Social Insurance.

Mohamad Ikhrum Mohamad Ridzuan, University Malaysia Sabah. *Malaysia's Foreign Policy Towards China: Three Levels Of Analysis.*

- Which factors have motivated the continuity and change in Malaysian's policy towards China from the Mahathir era until now?



Danny Marks, Dublin City University. *The Political Economy of Thailand's Unjust and Stalled Energy Transition.*

- Despite abundant solar resources and strong market pressures, the country's energy transition remains stalled. This study applies a political economy framework informed by Gramscian concepts to understand this paradox.

Steven Oliver, National University of Singapore. *Reassessing the Mechanical Effects of Manipulating Electoral Laws in Singapore*

- This paper examines how electoral rules can reinforce dominant-party systems, reassessing previous work about how a key electoral reform that introduced multi-member districts with plurality party block voting rules and its mechanical effects have reinforced dominant-party rule in Singapore.

### **Session #3: Thai Politics, Representation, and Historical Reckoning**

*Room 303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

#### **Description**

This panel explores the intersection of party politics, historical memory, and cultural representation in Thailand and Myanmar. The papers highlight how formal and informal institutions, political discourse, and cultural narratives shape democratic development and state legitimacy. Topics range from the unintended effects of party finance laws in Thailand to the contested meanings of ethnic unity in Myanmar, and the state's reimagining of Bangkok's street food culture as a tool of soft power. Together, these papers offer fresh insight into how political legitimacy is constructed, contested, and symbolically encoded in Southeast Asia.

#### **Discussants**

Paul Schuler, University of Arizona; Kikue Hamayotsu, Northern Illinois University

#### **Panelists**

Punchada Sirivunnabood, Mahidol University. *The Development of Party Finance in Thailand.*

- The Political Party Development Fund in Thailand aims to reduce the influence of business conglomerates over parties by receiving funds from the state. It has been a double-edged sword—while it aims to support the development of political parties by requiring the establishment of local branches and recruiting members, it encourages small and new parties to maximize funding by creating many inactive branches and registering fake members.

Ponpavi Sangsuradej, University of London. *Counter Histories as Resistance: The Panglong Promises, Historical (Re)collections, and Ethnic Struggles in Myanmar.*

- This paper explores the impact of the critical period from 1945 to 1947 in Burma, marked by intense negotiations over independence and the involvement of ethnic minorities in pivotal events such as the Second Panglong Conference. The recollection of this period, as presented in centralized platforms such as school curricula and state speeches, continues to play a role in the disenfranchisement of the nation's minority populations.



Vannaporn Phongpheng, Mahidol University. *Bangkok as a 'World Gastronomic City:' The Representation of Street Food Culture for Sustainable Development.*

- This research seeks to explore how the cultural image of Bangkok's street food is represented as a 'World Gastronomic City' in publications created by TAT/BMA from 1998 to 2023.

15:30-15:45      Break

15:45-16:00      **Wrap-up and Reflections**  
*Room 302-303, Faculty of Dentistry, Mahidol University*

16:30-17:30      **Cultural Excursion**  
Jim Thompson Museum  
*Transfer from conference venue and to hotel at conclusion*