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 **NIAS** *nytt*

# Asia Insights



**The threatened male intellectual – gender in Asian Studies**

**Gendering Asia. An introduction**

**Thinking (again) about gender in Asia**

**The Real and the True: Neo-liberalism and differentiated gender governance in Vietnam**

**Islamic Veiling: Religious devotion and sexual morality among Minangkabau adolescent girls in West Sumatra, Indonesia**

**The Thai parliamentary election 2005: A gendered perspective on democracy and political parties**

**Gender, corruption and anti-corruption in China**

**Human trafficking and civil society in South Asia**

**THEME:**  
**Gendering Asia**

# Asia Insights

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The emergence of gender research over the past 40 years has convincingly shown that it is hard, if not to say impossible, to find social arenas, phenomenon or processes where gender does not matter or that are not permeated by notions of masculinity and femininity. The articles in this issue of NIASnytt reflect the wide range of gender perspectives in Asian studies. Thematically and geographically the contributions cover a wide spectra: veiling in Sumatra, Thai party politics, corruption in China and human trafficking. This diversity is, however, held together by the common ambition of analysing how these practices and institutions are gendered.

The present issue of *NIASnytt – Asia Insights* also presents three academic, Asia-related networks dedicated to gender issues.

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## Nordic Partners

AS of January 2005, Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Copenhagen University (KU), and Lund University (LU) as founding partners cooperate to ensure that NIAS continues as an independent Nordic research institute hosted at the KU. In conjunction with this, the Nordic NIAS Council has been established to strengthen interdisciplinary collaboration between Nordic Asian Studies environments. NIAS is financed by the Nordic Council of Ministers and the above mentioned partners.

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# The threatened male intellectual – gender in Asian Studies

Although I risk offending intelligent readers of *NIASnytt*, I venture the supposition that it is not quite unlikely that many otherwise faithful readers will not read the articles in this issue. I suspect they will cast a glance at the theme of the issue, realize that it is concerned with gender and cast it aside. In this instance, that would be a mistake.

What is gender? What does gender have to do with Asian studies? Why are there increasing numbers of scholars (female and male) who are using gender – the study of women *and* men – as an analytical tool in their efforts to further our understanding of Asia? Is this a fad?

Take, for example, the rapid modernization process in the People's Republic of China. How is such a process related to men *and* women? Literary scholars Cai Rong and Zhong Xueping argue that China's modernity as a hybrid of colonial influence, communism and global postmodernism has marginalized and dcentered the male intellectual. Building on the work of Cai and Zhong, Signe Poulsen of Roskilde University in Denmark has recently analysed the short story *Panic* by Liang Xiaosheng as a reflection of cultural changes in China.

*Panic* tells the story of Yao Chungang, a 45-year-old civil servant struggling with the consequences of the radical changes brought about by market reform. As he tries to understand the social game of the market economy, he gradually lets go of his communist morals and beliefs. His main motivation to adapt to the ways of the new market-oriented society is the woman Qu Xiujian at whom he aims his hopes and masculine desires. She is, in her own words, 'an absolutely liberated woman'. However, because Yao Chungang sees himself as a victim of ruthless modernization, successful women such as Qu Xiujian become a provocation and a threat to his masculine identity. The articles in this issue of *NIASnytt* provide other examples of how the modernizing and globalizing of Asia are systematically gendered processes.

The multiple ways in which gender and Asia are related is significantly reflected in the 46,300,000 results of a Google search I recently made on the words 'gender' and 'Asia'. Among the first ten results is not only information about a conference held by NIAS, but also access to the highly recommendable online journal *INTERSECTIONS: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*.

Not all information on gender and Asia is as easily accessible as the articles in online journals. The *New Asia Insights Gender Portal* currently being developed by NIAS LINC (NIAS Library and Information Centre) aims to facilitate easy access to high quality information on gender issues in Asia. *The Gender Portal* is part of NIAS LINC's Asia Portal Project. The project vision is to create a Nordic virtual research library and information system for Asian studies. The library will enable users to find rich information from library collections, research databases, electronic documents and e-journals in one place.

In short, it can be seen that the study of gender in Asia is not a fad. On the contrary, concepts of gender are increasingly being used in Asian studies *because* of the enhanced insights they provide to our understandings of Asia.

Enjoy your reading!



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# Gendering Asia. An introduction

By Sylva Frisk

*The emergence of gender research over the past 40 years has convincingly shown that it is hard, if not to say impossible, to find social arenas, phenomenon or processes where gender does not matter or that are not permeated by notions of masculinity and femininity. The articles in this issue of NIASnytt reflect the wide range of gender perspectives in Asian studies. Thematically and geographically the contributions cover a wide spectra: veiling in Sumatra, Thai party politics, corruption in China and human trafficking. This diversity is, however, held together by the common ambition of analysing how these practices and institutions are gendered.*

The articles originate from a conference held by the Gendering Asia Network in May 2005 (more about the network on p. 21). We open the issue with short summaries of the two keynote addresses. First, Maila Stivens discusses the trajectories of the concept of gender in the Asian context. She argues for the importance of understanding structural transformations, on a global and local level, as thoroughly gendered processes. She also discusses the ambivalent and contested introduction of 'gender' as a concept into Asia and the diversity of meanings being ascribed to the concept locally. Subsequently, Nguyen-vo Thu-huong, focuses on the sex market in Vietnam. Through an examination of governmental intervention in the practices of commercial sex through public health and rehabilitation, Nguyen-vo explores how the government shapes and produces intimate desires of men and women.

These two keynote summaries are followed by several articles by conference participants. Lyn Parker presents an analysis of the practice of veiling in Minang society in West Sumatra. Here there is a clear link to Stivens's discussion of modernisation as a gendered process. Parker shows that

veiling can not be understood as simply a woman's issue. On the contrary, veiling clearly expresses gendered conceptions of morality, sexuality and modernity.

The two following articles take us to the sphere of politics. In the first article Elin Bjarnegård uses the case of the Thai parliamentary election in 2005 to argue for the gendering of political institutions. She suggests that in order to understand the dominance of men in the Thai parliament we need to understand that political power is not gender neutral – it is, in Thai society, constructed as a male attribute. The second article on the theme of politics is by Qi Wang who takes on one of the major problems in Chinese politics today – corruption. She focuses on the discursive production of corruption as a gendered phenomenon by analysing stories about corruption. Wang argues that although more men than women make themselves guilty of corruption, the source of both men's and women's corruption is located in the female gender. Whereas corrupted males are viewed as victims of women's bad influence, corrupt women are seen as their own source of moral corruption.

Finally, Faisal Yousaf closes the theme of Gendering Asia

with an article on human trafficking in Asia. Yousaf provides an overview of the role of South Asian civil society organisations, in particular NGOs, in the work against human trafficking. He outlines some of the problems that NGOs face in their battle against human trafficking, but also some of the innovative and creative practices that may also serve as inspiration to organisations outside the region.

This collection of articles, however varied in their themes and contexts, contributes to the gendering of our knowledge about Asia. We hope that this issue will inspire scholars to participate in the Second Gendering Asia Conference that will be held in May/June 2007 in Akureyri, Iceland on the theme 'Modernity and Gendered Vulnerabilities in Asia'.

# Thinking (again) about gender in Asia

By Maila Stivens

*The invitation to look at the gendering of Asia led me to muse on the many adventures of the concept 'gender' in the region and the complex terrains that we enter when trying to talk about gendering Asia and gendering modernity in Asia. 'Gender', 'women', 'men', 'masculinities' and 'femininities' are charged but elusive concepts: what then are the implications of working our way through the changing, shifting and highly contested meanings of the term 'gender', not least in their political contexts, when thinking about the gendering of modern Asia?*

Elsewhere I have discussed the issues involved in engendering modernity, looking at the problems of viewing modernity from both a gendered and non-Eurocentric standpoint (Stivens 1998). I have argued for understanding the modernising and the globalising of Asia as systematically gendered processes: the issue is not the effects or the impact of such change on gender relations, but how we can understand structural transformations as thoroughly gendered processes. In spite of a rich feminist literature, we have continuing problems with the ongoing and often systematic marginalisation and invisibility of women – and of men as gendered beings – both in social theory debates about contemporary global processes and debates about social change in Asia. How do we conceive of the relationships between gender and modernity, modernities and globalisations, especially in relation to problems in posing 'multiple modernities' and problems in conceptualising gender relations in relation to such relativised and pluralised modernities? There are many awkward issues in addressing relationships between arguments about gendering modernity/modernity/modernities. Proposals that the societies we are looking at have been fully

formed within the modern over several centuries at least, and are comprised of it, can be conceptually helpful.

What kinds of models do we have available to us globally and locally to think about 'sex/woman/women/gender' and 'public/private' at this conjuncture? How useful, and how problematic, is it to import 'gender' – an English word (and arguably a Western concept) – into other localities?

***Does the use of the term 'gender' imply any escape from the earlier westcentric hegemony of terms like 'woman'?***

And is the use of the term 'gender' in its current formulations just another aspect of globalism itself? This is not to suggest that we reject the term, but to explore its many uses within the new global order.

I argue that 'gender', as a modern if not postmodern term, has taken on a series of meanings within Asia. Among women's groups, scholars and those delivering 'development', the translation and use of the imported English term 'gender' have been contested: for scholars the incorporation of the category 'gender' into a range of academic disciplines has challenged many of their central paradigms. The resulting critical,

highly self-reflective practices have stretched and reconfigured the androcentric paradigms of a number of disciplines, and in turn have been continuously reshaped by that process of interchange. But they have also threatened to construct new hegemonies, imposing the term 'gender' in contexts where it has little meaning or may not translate at all (see Jackson 2004).

***For activists, 'gender' has often been imported into Asia as a seemingly less overtly 'political', feminist and confrontational term than woman/women; contradictorily, some may see it as providing more political 'space' for negotiation with conservative political forces.***

For globally and locally-based development bodies and NGOs, the concept of 'gender' has acquired many contested meanings (cf Cornwall 2001); but in practice it often loses this sophistication (ibid), to be read again as 'woman'.

'Gender' has clearly gone both regional and global: it has also been increasingly indigenised, albeit in highly contested and unstable forms. Our task is to explore some of this diversity.

continued on p. 19



**Maila Stivens** is Director of Gender Studies at the University of Melbourne. She has carried out research on middle-class kinship in Sydney; in Malaysia on matrilineal, Negeri Sembilan; on modernity, work and family among the new Malay middle classes; the Asian Famil; Family Values East and West; and New Asian Childhoods. Her main publications include *Malay Peasant Women and the Land* (with Jomo Sundaram and Cecilia Ng, Zed 1994); *Matriliny and Modernity: Sexual Politics and Social Change in Rural Malaysia* (Allen and Unwin 1996); and two co-edited volumes *Gender and Power in Affluent Asia* (Routledge 1998) and *Human Rights and Gender Politics: Asia-Pacific Perspectives* (Routledge 2000).



**Nguyen-vo Thu-huong** works at the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures, Asian American Studies, Southeast Asian Studies, UCLA; she is currently teaching issues of globalization and Vietnamese Studies. She is working on a manuscript tentatively entitled 'The Real and the True: Commercial Sex, Popular Culture, and the Governance of Neo-liberal Freedoms in Vietnam'.

# The Real and the True: Neo-liberalism and differentiated gender governance in Vietnam

By **Nguyen-vo Thu-huong**

*Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff name our global moment neo-liberal globalization in which the 'rights' of businesses and consumers are guaranteed by law to 'possess, to signify, to consume, to choose' (2001: 40). How would a government govern with these neo-liberalist freedoms?*

Vietnam in the late 1980s 'opened up' and joined the global economy after decades of war and socialism, making it a good case study of how a national government adapts to the market and its insistence on the freedom to choose for entrepreneurs and consumers who may operate in not just the national context but a transnational one. Examining governmental intervention in the practices of commercial sex through public health and rehabilitation, I explore how the government shapes, directs, or produces, the now privatized intimate desires of men and women, some of whom are more able than others to fulfill their senses of who they are in relation to these desires through neo-liberal freedoms of the market. I make the case that to govern for the market it adopts, the government has devised ways to produce senses of the real as well as the true.

*Governing for the neo-liberal transnational market requires both a 'realist' recognition and promotion of market freedoms on the one hand, and on the other hand, measures of repression based on notions of the true – to Vietnamese traditionalism in this case – in order to ensure different kinds of consumers and producers in the same market.*

It is a paradoxical mode of governing for the market: in order to render the nation modern, and integral to the global economy, government must also represent the same nation as traditional marked symbolically through the marketing of traditional femininity as what Vietnam can offer the global economy.

## **Choice and empiricist expert knowledge: the production of a differentiated citizenry in public health measures**

One government-run peer education leader tells female sex workers,

you must use condoms, because otherwise, you will infect your clients, and they will infect their wives, and their wives will transmit it to their children. The whole nation will die of this disease. (Interview, 1 June 1996, HCMC).

The linkage allows the sex worker's body to be targeted in clinical procedures like testing and medication, or even traumatizing and invasive ones like abortion. Most sex workers (the majority of whom are women) come from the lower classes in Vietnam's new economy.

In contrast, male clients are assumed to be consumers with desires naturalized in physiological terms. Self-help manuals, advice programs and columns (published or broadcast by quasi-state entities) target

urban women of the middling and moneyed classes, and advise them on how they could make themselves and sex in the home appealing for their men in competition with the 'dirty' sex available in the marketplace. How they improve themselves becomes a project drawing on 'expert' knowledge on health, diet, cosmetology, and sexology. Many of these self-improvement projects not only require the consumption of knowledge but also of other products and services in the market place.

## **Coercion, culture, and global economics: the carceral logic of rehabilitation**

Arrested sex workers are forcibly committed and incarcerated in camps for the duration of their 'administrative' sentence which could last anywhere from 3 months, to 28 months. The camps' vocational training program is borrowed from the mode of transnational sub-contracted piece-rate production. The values of labour transmitted are those sought by this system of transnational production – individual incentive and accountability in low-pay piece-rate, dexterity, docility – the packaging of which usually comes under labels of true traditional Vietnamese femininity. In short, the government reproduces choice

**continued on p. 19**

# Islamic Veiling: Religious devotion and sexual morality among Minangkabau adolescent girls in West Sumatra, Indonesia

By Lyn Parker

*The jilbab, the Indonesian version of the Islamic veil or head-scarf, has become increasingly common in many parts of Indonesia over the last quarter-century; its adoption as everyday wear in Indonesia can be seen as part of the so-called Islamic resurgence worldwide. Recently, many schools in West Sumatra, including many state schools, have made Islamic dress compulsory as school uniform for girls. The uniform consists of the jilbab, a long skirt and the baju kurung, or long-sleeved tunic. This article examines young women's attitudes towards jilbab-wearing, both at school and for everyday wear, and is based upon fieldwork conducted in West Sumatra in 2004.*

The school principals argued that the decision to adopt the new uniforms was part of the national move towards regional autonomy and the local push to 'return to the *nagari*' (the traditional Minang village) in West Sumatra. They claimed that the *jilbab* is part of traditional Minangkabau dress, and that its adoption goes hand-in-hand with the revival of *adat* (custom) and the return to the *surau* (traditional Islamic prayer-house). However, schoolgirls and young women discussed the *jilbab* as the Islamic veil, not as part of Minang dress or identity.

## Religious devotion

The *jilbab* is generally seen as a public statement and symbol of the wearer's devotion to Islam. Many girls now have to wear the *jilbab* to school, so for them the material question is whether or not to wear it in non-school everyday life. A female student who attended a state academic school, where the *jilbab* was compulsory, but who did not wear the *jilbab* outside school, explained,

People who wear a *jilbab* should really have a strong grip on

religion, they should follow Allah's commands, avoid His prohibitions, they should have a commitment to guarding the good name of religion and the good name of the *jilbab* that they wear. The *jilbab* is not just a symbol. Now we see lots of people wearing the *jilbab* but their behaviour is not fitting for someone who's wearing a *jilbab*. For instance, the clothing of someone who's wearing a *jilbab* should not show the form of the body. (Interview 25.8.04)

Many girls commented on how the *jilbab* has a disciplining function while one is wearing it: it helps girls remember to be well behaved. Because the *jilbab* restricts neck mobility and head movement, it constantly makes the wearer aware of her own body. Wearing the *jilbab* encourages girls to be good: to be more careful, more devout, more polite and respectful, less flirtatious. It imposes its own discipline. Another girl in the same school, who also does not wear the *jilbab* outside school, said:

First, it's a rule of our religion, and second, it really comes from our hearts. If we wear the *jilbab*, it's just a piece of cloth, but it's heavy. If we wear it, ... we change drastically. We have to be

responsible for ourselves if we wear it. The *jilbab* – it's not just a symbol, it constrains us. The *jilbab* is not just on the outside, but in our hearts. (Interview 25.8.04)

## **Women and girls voluntarily wear the jilbab as an outward expression of their individual, interior faith, devotion and submission to Islam.**

In this, *jilbab*-wearing is an expression of agency, enabling them to (re)produce symbolic meaning and religious and social identity.

## Sexual morality

Mosques and schools teach that women must 'Cover your *aurat*!' (*Tutuplah auratmu!*). *Aurat* is a complex Arabic term often translated as nakedness; it refers to those areas of the body (for both males and females) that should be covered. Minang girls almost unanimously emphasize that the chief function of the *jilbab* is to enable them to obey this injunction. However, the issues of the extent of the area of the body and the company in which the *aurat* must be covered are contested. A common



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understanding is that the *aurat* extends from the hair to the feet for women, and from the navel to the knees for men. The standard answer I received to my questions about the meaning of the *jilbab* and why girls did or did not wear it was that the *jilbab* covers the *aurat* (nakedness). An example of this common response was this by a student at a top state academic school: 'The *jilbab* is something for covering the *aurat* so that females will not be too much seen by guys (*cowok*) or anyone.' (Interview 29.8.04).

Girls thus consider that veiling has to do with seeing and being seen, with covering and being covered, and hence with sexuality and gender relations, sexual morality, propriety and public virtue.

***Many girls talk about the jilbab as a protection from the male gaze, from unwanted male advances and from sexual harassment.***

Photo: Lyn Parker



While it was generally admitted that females as well as males experienced sexual desire (*hawa nafsu*), girls also thought that girls were better than boys at controlling it. One student said,

If we wear the *jilbab*, we must wear it from inside and from outside, that is a must. As the Muslim community, it's not just a matter of wearing the *jilbab*, but our way of speaking will be looked at by others. Other people will pay attention to our speech, our behaviour ...

Apart from covering the *aurat*, for sure the *jilbab* enhances other people's view of us. Usually if we as Muslim girls wear the *jilbab*, then if there is a guy bothering us, he will look at us, and then he will feel reluctant to bother us. (Interview 27.8.04)

Many people point out disapprovingly the contradiction when girls wear a *jilbab* on top and tight or hipster jeans below, showing their body shape, their midriff, lower back and their navel. Schoolgirls frequently

offered this comment on wearing revealing clothes: 'If a girl has shown her *aurat* and is then attacked, possibly it is her own fault – why did she arouse male desire?' (Interview 3.9.04).

### **Moral panic**

I collected hundreds of essays from students, and most students chose to write about 'The Problems Faced by Minang Young People'. The standard claims were that the morals of young people were 'lacking' (*kurang*) or 'rotten' (*merosot*), that 'the cultural forms of foreign cultures – among them, free socializing (*pergaulan bebas*), tight clothing, narcotics and strong drink' – were 'cutting down' or corrupting the morals of the young.<sup>1</sup> Most students explicitly linked the decline in morals to the negative influence of the West and globalization, and posited a causal link between lack of parental attention, the negative influence of Western media, and inadequate religious commitment (*keimaman*) on the one hand and undesirable practices such as wearing tight clothing and showing one's *aurat*, free sex, drug abuse and criminal behaviour (such as rape) on the other. Students did not often discuss the *jilbab* in their essays, but almost all mentioned the issue of tight clothing and of 'showing the *aurat*'.<sup>2</sup>

The solution was invariably to strengthen religious commitment and to build a moral fortress (*benteng*) against the negative incursions of the West through a revived *adat*, and for young women to choose the right path of modest dress, polite language and proper respect.

***There is a moral panic about issues such as young women's dress and socializing in West Sumatra.***





Photo: Lyn Parker

A Puritan Islamic discourse reinforces *adat* (customary) teachings that young women should be protected, stay at home and behave modestly. Young women are responsible for the purity and strength of their matriline and more generally for the moral fibre of Minang society. *Jilbab*-wearing is seen by authority figures as a way to build a moral fortress against the temptations of revealing dress, free socializing and pre-marital sex. The public discourse surrounding *jilbab*-wearing in West Sumatra has become such that it is quite difficult for women, especially young women, to argue against wearing the *jilbab*. The strength of the symbolic connection between *jilbab*-wearing and sexual morality means that girls who do not wear the *jilbab* are risking their reputation as 'good girls'.

The consensus is that wearing the *jilbab* must come

from the heart, that it is a matter of faith and devotion, and that outer behaviour should be consonant with inner submission to God. There is also the emphasis on covering the *aurat* and offering protection from the male gaze, from sexual harassment and even attack. This is a discourse that effectively creates a superior female moral identity in opposition to a morally suspect Other. Sometimes this Other is identified as a predatory opposite sex; sometimes this Other is an unidentified moral disorder characterized by 'free socializing', lecherous 'looking', sexual harassment and practices such as kissing and embracing right through to sexual promiscuity or '*free seks*', often associated with the West. By wearing the *jilbab*, girls create social and moral order, insisting on their own virtue through invisibility and inaccessibility to

boys. The *jilbab* enables them to operate in the potentially morally suspect world with moral rectitude and respectability.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The quotations are from one unexceptional essay by a student in the penultimate year of a top state academic school (my translation).

<sup>2</sup> A typical paragraph is: Formerly, young people in Minang wore dress called the *baju kurung*. This clothing was in accord with our norms because it covered the *aurat*. Nowadays, it is very rare to find young women who wear the *baju kurung* or at least Muslim clothing for covering the *aurat*. For them, 'it is not the time for wearing loose clothes'. In fact, we hear and see that tight clothing, among other things, gives rise to criminal behaviour such as abductions and rape.



Elin Bjarnegård is a Ph. D. Candidate and teacher at the Department of Government and at the Centre for Gender Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden. Her research concerns democratization processes and political parties from a gendered perspective and includes a statistical analysis as well as a case study of party politics in Thailand. The election analysis that this article draws upon constitutes part of her dissertation project and will be included, in a more complete version, in the forthcoming *Gendering Asia* publication 'Gendered Inequalities'.

# The Thai parliamentary election 2005: A gendered perspective on democracy and political parties

By Elin Bjarnegård

*By any measurement, the political world in Thailand has undergone far-reaching changes during the past two decades: the ousting of the military as a political force, the demonstrations by the masses on the streets of Bangkok, a severe economic crisis and a subsequent political reform and new constitution. Then a new party – Thai Rak Thai – emerged on the Thai political scene before the first election under the new constitution in 2001. Thai Rak Thai was founded by the previously well-known businessman and telecommunications magnate gone politician, Thaksin Shinawatra. This new party recruited a number of well-known politicians from old parties and won a landslide victory in the election of 2001. In the midst of severe criticism and allegations from media, academics and activists concerning corruption, personalist rule, populist policies, and a disregard for human rights, Thai Rak Thai managed to gain even more popularity among Thai voters.*

The election on 6 February 2005 turned out to be another tremendous success for Thai Rak Thai and a downright catastrophe for many other parties, new and old. This democratic development, the economic crisis that perhaps enabled the first landslide victory of the Thai Rak Thai, the subsequent near disintegration of opposition, and the threat this potentially poses to continued democratic development has, not surprisingly, been in focus in many reports (Anek 1997; Hewison 1997; Pasuk 2000; McCargo 2002). My dissertation project also focuses on democratic development and election results, but it looks at these phenomena from a slightly different perspective. The new and still emerging democracy of Thailand makes an interesting case study for the gendered study of deceptively gender neutral concepts, such as democratization, political parties, and elections.

In my project, gendering these political phenomena

implies placing a gendered lens on the, arguably, most important mainstream political actors, namely the political parties. The study of the political party is, of course, quite common in political science, due to its central position in most political regimes, especially the democratic regime. However, studies of political parties have, for the most part, been 'malestream' and gender-blind, despite the seemingly obvious fact that men disproportionately dominate political parties. The studies that do problematize gender relations in the political sphere at large generally do this by focusing on women as potential political actors – which of course is a long needed perspective. The consequence, however, is that there is an increasing number of studies about the agency of rather marginalized groups of women activists, but far fewer studies that focus on the center of power: the political party.

*The mechanisms of the political party seldom fall*

*within the scope of gendered studies in political science.*

*Men are, of course, just as gendered beings as are women, and the fact that political power is often constructed as a male attribute, is consequently as gendered a phenomenon as the political powerlessness of women.*

Drude Dahlerup is one researcher who acknowledges the political parties as the most relevant actors. 'In almost all political systems, no matter what the electoral regime, it is the political parties, not the voters, which are the real gatekeepers in regard to elected offices. Consequently, party nomination practices should be kept in focus' (Dahlerup 2003: 5). I thus attempt to fill this research gap by gendering the study of political parties and elections in a newly democratized setting. Drawing from theories of representation, it seems that by focusing on the masculine bodies that political parties are, I

shall at the same time study the center of power *and* problematize this very center from a gendered perspective.

### The gendered results of the Thai parliamentary election

The first task in analyzing an election from a gendered perspective is to take a second look at the election result, dividing it by sex. This will also be the focus of the remainder of this article. Already such a numerical exercise gives us new information about the political sphere in Thailand, information that will eventually constitute the groundwork for my more intensive study of men and power within the Thai party system.

The representation of women in the Thai parliament has increased slightly with each election, and thus it follows a general worldwide trend. Having said this, it should also be noted that this increase certainly is marginal and not at all at level with developments in many other parts of the world. Male dominance is still strong in the Thai parliament, with around 90% of parliamentarians being men.

An expansion of the units of analysis is needed. Instead of analysing only the elected representatives, all the candidates presented by each party will be

scrutinized. Who is elected is – to some extent – determined by the voters and the general election results. Whom the voters have to choose between, however, is determined by the political parties. The remainder of the analysis will thus focus on the total number of constituency candidates (party list candidates are excluded here for limitation reasons) in Thailand and the possible discrepancies that are visible between the candidates and the successfully elected representatives.

The table below shows the distribution of male and female candidates and representatives per party. When presenting the gender proportions, the percentages represent the proportion of men rather than, as customary, the proportion of women. This is a simple way to illustrate the continued male dominance in Thai politics.

In retrospect we can confirm the suspicion that the largest threshold for women to become politicians in constituencies lies with being selected as candidates. This finding holds true regardless of party.

***The male dominance in the winning Thai Rak Thai party is slightly lower among candidates as well as among elected representatives than is the case in the other***

***parties, but its gendered victory is, in contrast to its electoral landslide victory, slim.***

The proportion of male and female candidates being elected is roughly the same in the constituencies, and even slightly higher among women since 25%, or 46 out of 180, of the women candidates were elected, as compared to 23%, 354 out of 1526, of male candidates. Thus the fact that there are only 46 women representatives is, in this first step, best explained by the fact that political parties only put forward 180 women candidates while there are almost ten times as many men standing for election.

***Though it is much harder to become a constituency candidate as a woman, it seems as though, once you are there, you are not discriminated against by being put in constituencies where it is difficult or impossible to gain a seat. Nor does it seem like voters shun constituencies that have a woman candidate.***

It can be concluded that the selection process in the constituencies is a gendered one, since the parties still choose so few women as political candidates overall. What I need to focus my attention on now is understanding the processes that condition the parties' selection of candidates. Thus, the main problem is not how and where women are placed when they are selected, but why women are not selected to become constituency candidates in the first place. There are several possible hypotheses that will guide my future case study of Thai party politics to explain this. For instance, there are mechanisms at play rewarding those who have

### Representatives and candidates by gender in the constituency based election system.

*Seats won by party and by gender in the constituency system*

	Candidates			Representatives		
	F	M	% M	F	M	% M
Chart Thai	24	248	91.2%	2	16	88.9%
Democrats	39	357	90.2%	6	64	91.4%
TRT	46	355	88.5%	37	273	88.1%
Mahachon	27	288	91.4%	1	1	50.0%
Other parties	44	278	86.3%	0	0	0
Total	180	1526	89.4%	46	354	88.5%

Source: ETC



Election campaign in Thailand. (Photo: Rasidan bin Muhamad Ramly)

been in politics for a long time. Even though a new party, the now ruling Thai Rak Thai, was founded shortly after the constitution most of its politicians were active in other parties before. The recruitment base, even for newly instituted parties, thus consists of the old, pre-democratic elite. In addition, despite new parties, party fractions and local voting canvasser networks (*rabop hua khanaen*) remain largely unchanged. This, in turn, is closely related to the fact that the party's choice of candidate might be influenced by other structural factors that

democratization did not manage to eradicate: political corruption and the patronage system. Corruption and vote buying are still rampant before and during Thai elections, despite the well publicized aim of the constitution to limit such practices. Unveiling the gendered perspective of such mechanisms within the Thai political party context is the next step in my ongoing research.

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# Gender, corruption and anti-corruption in China

By Qi Wang

*Corruption stories are not merely 'objective' depictions of corruption cases. Rather, they are a contested site, where power-based relations are produced and reproduced. A critical reading of official and media representations of corruption cases reveals not only the explicit, sometimes subtle, gender subtexts that permeate these writings, but also the gendered makeup of the current Chinese corruption discourses.*

## Who is corrupted?

Corruption is one of the major problems challenging the Communist Party's legitimacy and the prospect of good governance in China. The battle against corruption is waged in both action and words. While corrupt officials are punished, many corruption cases are exposed and scrutinized in the official channels and the mass media as well. These corruption stories serve several purposes. They diagnose corruption sources, detect moral defects, sound warning signals and thus function as a kind of preventative 'educational material'. The official corruption writings also showcase the party's determination to deal with the problem and the achievements that have been made. Over the past couple of decades, a considerable body of work has emerged documenting 'systematic differences in behavioral characteristics across gender' (Dollar et al. 1999). Women 'are less involved in bribery and are less likely to condone bribery taking'. Corruption 'is less severe where women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats and senior positions in the government bureaucracy, and comprising a larger share of the labor force' (Swamy et al. 2001). The greater the representation of women in

parliament is, the lower the level of corruption will be (Dollar et al. 1999).

China is one of the most corrupt countries in the world. In China, more men than women are involved in major corruption cases. In 2003 alone, thirteen high-ranking party/government officials were convicted of corruption. None of them were women. Only a few recently exposed corruption scandals involved a female official.

## Where does corruption come from?

In China, the root of corruption is mainly identified at two levels. At the structural level, factors such as the lack of check and control on the exercise of political and administrative power, the weakness of the legal system and the involvement of government officials in business are singled out. At the individual level, corruption is seen as an ultimate consequence of moral bankruptcy and self-indulgency of party/government officials. How can an official, presumably clean and honest in the beginning, develop deviant behaviour and become corrupt? This question figures centrally in the official and media corruption stories.

Corruption in China involves a reciprocal exchange of power, money and sex.

Dishonest officials collect money extravagantly. They then spend the money lavishly in order to satisfy their ego and feed their pride.

***It is quite common that corrupt officials pursue sexual pleasure through affairs or concubinage, and the phenomenon pertains to both men and women.***

However, men and women are treated differently in corruption stories. In the case of a male official, the ultimate source of moral pollution, i.e. the cause of his moral bankruptcy, lies in the women around him, say his mistress. In other words, there is an assumed lineal causal relationship between an official's moral degeneration and his indulgence in sexually attractive women in the official and media corruption stories. Corruption, from this point of view, stems from women's bad influence on men and is closely associated with men's obsession for women.

In a special column on the Chinese Internet website [www.people.com.cn](http://www.people.com.cn), for instance, the mistresses of corrupt officials, whoever they might be, are portrayed as dangerous sirens. Under the headline 'Mistresses of Corrupt Officials: Catalyst to and Beneficiary of Corruption', the stories presented here



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repeatedly illustrate how these mistresses have, with their hazardous sexual power, led their male patrons astray and hence caused the fatal downfall of these men. Another type of corruption story is the confession of an official convicted of corruption. In confessions, convicted officials tell their own stories. They, too, often attribute their own moral bankruptcy to the sexual power or bad influence of their mistresses.

*Former vice minister of Public Security Li Jizhou, for instance, claimed that he was driven into power abuse and embezzlement by the affection for his mistress Li Sha'na. 'I fell in love with her, and it was for her sake that I began to misuse my power, intervening in local police investigations and taking bribes.'*<sup>1</sup>

In the official memos on the Cheng Kejie case, the Discipline Supervision Committee of the Party's Central Committee underlined the fact that Cheng planned to leave his family for his mistress Li Ping, implying that Cheng would not have gone so far, had he not met Li Ping and promised to live with her in luxury and comfort.<sup>2</sup>

In stories about corrupt female officials, however, their male lovers (sexual partners) were much less visible. Little was mentioned about them. Even if a woman has committed corruption crimes under the influence of her lover (partner), she herself and her 'moral weakness' are to blame. Moreover, in these stories, the relationship between a female patron and her male lover is very often premised on an evident gender stereotype. That is to say, the woman is described as a scheming, shameless creature who trades her body for

pleasure, personal favour or other goods, whereas the man is without blame. In so doing, the stories negate the logic that the men could possibly pollute women morally. Women are the source of their own moral corruption.

#### **How to curb corruption?**

Corruption in present China is not an isolated, individual act. Chinese officials 'are committed to their family and other members of their social networks' (Kwong 1997:88). In order to look after their loved ones, dishonest officials '[use] their influence and [break] administrative rules and even laws' (ibid.). Very often, corruption is conducted jointly by male officials and their spouses. As a public saying says, 'behind every corrupt male official there stands a corrupt wife'. Over the last five years, a number of high officials' wives have been convicted for corruption or implicated in corruption crimes.

Women hence occupy a dual role in Chinese anti-corruption rhetoric and practices. On the one hand, wives of corrupt officials, as in the case of mistresses, are accorded an immoral image and hence held responsible for their husbands' misconduct. A male official's degeneration into corruption, from this point of view, is a result of either his wife pushing him into this or his failure to discipline his wife. According to an internal estimation made by the Discipline Supervision Department of the party organization in Wenzhou, up to one third of the corruption convicted officials in Wenzhou "fell into the water" due to the bad influence from home.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, wives – also family members – of party/government officials are seen as potential 'combatants' in the

battle against corruption. The idea is that if women behind powerful men were equipped with strong morals, they would be able to watch over their men and exert a positive influence on them. Recently, study classes targeted at wives of party/government officials have taken place in different areas across the country. The national women's organization, the All-China Women's Federation, also launched a nationwide educational campaign targeted at women under the slogan 'the family should be a harbour of clean-government, not a sink of corruption'. The aim is to turn wives and family members of party/government officials into moral police at home. With the erection of this 'defense line' in private homes, the Party hopes to thwart the 'buds' of corruption long before they sprout.

The 'honour' and responsibility placed upon women is, however, not remunerative. While powerful men are well paid to do their job and some of them misuse their power, women are expected to be the Party's watchdog for free. Moreover, the Party's counting on women in anti-corruption campaigns does not necessarily imply women's moral superiority over men. In the Party's eyes, women could only perform the supervision tasks at home, if they were indoctrinated with the Party's moral principles.

#### **Conclusion**

The patriarchal idea of women's polluting power, as manifested in the current Chinese corruption stories, is not new. It echoes the tradition of blaming imperial consorts for dynasty downfall in Chinese imperial history and the Chinese Communist Party's self-perception as morally superior vanguards of society. A critical

reading of corruption stories in China shows how gender power relations are produced and reproduced through gender stereotyping in textual representation. Despite the concentration of men in corruption cases, the source of moral corruption is located in women, the female gender.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> See [www.people.com.cn/GB/shehui/212/2304/3332/20011107/600048.html](http://www.people.com.cn/GB/shehui/212/2304/3332/20011107/600048.html).

<sup>2</sup> Chen was former vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and governor of Guangxi Provincial Government. He was executed in September 1999 for corruption crime.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://unn.people.com.cn/GB/14748/2922189.html>

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# Human trafficking and civil society in South Asia

## Responses, best practices and future challenges

By **Faisal Yousaf**

*The role of civil society organisations, particularly NGOs, has been significant in confronting human trafficking. NGOs have helped to understand the scope of the problem, have provided access to specific data, and draft reports that are later relied upon by governments, the public and the United Nations agencies. Civil society organisations have generally led the way in encouraging governments in South Asia to address the problem. NGOs have carried the main burden in reaching out to trafficked persons and raising public awareness, typically with little governmental support and at great risk of danger. The NGO activities focus on health services, legal assistance, rescue and rehabilitation, repatriation, policy advocacy and capacity building.*

Civil society involvement in this area is quite recent and there are several gaps in terms of their policies, programmes and services. Several organisations focus more on raising awareness about human trafficking than on the provision of material assistance or repatriation of trafficking victims which requires specialized skills and resources. However, the organisations in the region have established some very innovative best practices that have been replicated globally.

### **Human trafficking: the South Asian landscape**

Human trafficking is a global phenomenon today and the third largest form of transnational organised crime after arms and drugs. Researchers differ on the numbers of women trafficked. United Nations (UN) reports estimate that 4 million women have been trafficked from one country to another and within countries. An estimated 800,000 to 900,000 people are trafficked across international borders each year and an untold number

trafficked within their own countries.<sup>1</sup> According to UNICEF, human trafficking has now become an international industry worth 10 billion dollars.<sup>2</sup>

In the South Asian context, human trafficking is complex and multifaceted, simultaneously a development problem and a criminal justice problem. Pakistan was blacklisted by the US State Department in 2001 owing to its poor record to combat human trafficking.<sup>3</sup> In May 2005, the US threatened to impose economic sanctions on India if it failed to check human trafficking.<sup>4</sup>

The main destination of people from South Asia is the Middle East, but many stay within India and Pakistan. At least 20,000 women and children are being trafficked from the region every year, ending up mainly as prostitutes and forced labourers.<sup>5</sup> From Bangladesh alone, an estimated 10,000–20,000 women and girls are trafficked annually to India, Pakistan, Bahrain, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).<sup>6</sup> Estimates also suggest that from Bangladesh about 300,000 women and children have been trafficked to India and 200,000 to Pakistan for the

### **South Asian human trafficking profile**

Countries	Tier Ranking
Bangladesh	2
India	2-watch list
Nepal	2
Pakistan	2-watch list
Sri Lanka	2

Source: Trafficking in Persons Report 2004, the US Department of State.



A survey of South Asian NGOs and their services<sup>10</sup>

Countries	Prevention	Rescue & Reintegration	Rehabilitation	Protection	Repatriation	Total
Bangladesh	67	6	3	3	1	80
India	14	10	13	9	1	47*
Nepal	35	12	8	16	8	79
Pakistan	12	3	3	5	0	23
Sri Lanka	13	2	2	1	0	18

\*organisations working in more than one thematic area.

last few years.<sup>7</sup> In addition, between 100,000 and 200,000 Nepali women and girls are said to be working in India's sex industry.<sup>8</sup> A relatively small number of women and girls are trafficked through Bangladesh from Burma to India. Young boys from South Asia are also trafficked into the UAE, Oman and Qatar and forced to work as camel jockeys.<sup>9</sup> After some time, the trafficked persons may prefer to stay away from their original community despite the exploitation and harm they have suffered. The options for returning home may involve further stigmatisation, lack of control over their lives and limited or no opportunities for economic survival. Many trafficked persons remain migrants, often moving on to less exploitative situations. What is clear is that a trafficking episode changes a person's situation for life.

#### The mosaic of civil society responses

Response to human trafficking in the region has generally been slow and confined to only the national level. However, increasing national, regional and international awareness of the issue has helped to build political will on the part of the countries in the region to address the problem over the past few years.

This has forced the South Asian governments into making progress in combating trafficking. The governments have passed new legislation; conducted high-profile anti-trafficking campaigns to raise public awareness; developed training programs for police, immigration and judicial officials; created national task forces and action plans; and promoted sensitive treatment for victims.

Every major anti-trafficking initiative in the region has been led by civil society groups. Representatives from people's organisations and governments participated in the preparation of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Convention on preventing and combatting trafficking in women and children for prostitution. In Pakistan, NGOs spearheaded the process of legislation, policy development and capacity building of the relevant law enforcement and border control authorities.

Generally the NGO initiatives have centred on the five main areas: prevention, protection, rescue, rehabilitation and repatriation.

#### Gaps and challenges

**Lack of regional strategy:** There is a lack of a coherent regional strategy to programme different activities and actions both at the

levels of governments and NGOs. There are several parallel anti-trafficking programmes in the region, which are not coordinated despite the fact that the problem is very regional in scope and magnitude.

**Selective funding programs:** The major donor-supported programs in the region have selectively targeted the specific countries in the region while the trafficking issue has spread all over the region from Bangladesh to Pakistan and from Nepal to India. For example, USAID has been supporting a South Asia Regional Initiative/Equity (SARI/Q) Program. The program targets Nepal, India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. However, it does not include Pakistan where the trafficking has direct links to Bangladesh.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, an Asian Development Program on human trafficking called RETA did not include Pakistan and Sri Lanka.<sup>12</sup>

**Coordination gaps:** Coordination is a good way to share, cooperate and avoid replications of valuable resources. There are coordination gaps in the overall civil society initiatives at the country and regional levels.

**Less focus on repatriation of trafficked victims:** There are only a few organisations providing repatriation assistance to the victims of trafficking in the

region. According to an Asian Partnership for Development (APHD) study, only 10 organisations out of a total of 250 are working on the repatriation aspect. There is no organisation working on repatriation in Pakistan or Sri Lanka.<sup>13</sup>

### International best practices

South Asian civil society organisations have pioneered several innovative and creative practices, which are replicated within the region and elsewhere in the world.

**India:** Whereas the Indian Government's efforts to combat trafficking are not very consistent, Indian NGOs are leading in the world in their activities to fight trafficking. CHILDLINE, a project of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, is managed jointly by four model NGOs. It is a 24-hour toll-free telephone helpline that is accessible to any child or adult who needs help in a situation of distress.<sup>14</sup>

**Bangladesh:** The International Organisation for Migration coordinated Bangladesh Counter Trafficking Thematic Group (BCTTC) has become the most-cited international best practice. This working group is a combined initiative of some thirty civil society/NGO organisations working to conceptualise and map out the trafficking paradigm. The work of the group is being replicated in Pakistan with the formation of Pakistan Counter Trafficking Thematic Group.

**Nepal:** The Office of the National Rapporteur on Trafficking in Women and Children (ONTR) was established in 2002 by the Memorandum of Understanding between the Nepalese Ministry of Women, Children and Social

Welfare and the Nepal Human Rights Commission. The establishment of the ONRT has become an effective mechanism for advocacy and lobbying at the national, regional and international levels on issues related to trafficking.

**Pakistan:** Insar Burney Welfare Trust is one of the pioneer organisations that started raising a voice on the issue of human trafficking when some Bangladeshi women were recovered from the dens of traffickers in Pakistan. The organisation is working with the police and local authorities to rescue trafficked persons not only from Pakistan but also from other countries such as the UAE and European countries.<sup>15</sup> The trust's work has also been showcased as the best practice in the State of Trafficking in Persons report annually published by the US government.

**Sri Lanka:** Women and girls from Sri Lanka are trafficked into Saudi Arabia. After consistent advocacy and campaigning by the NGOs in Sri Lanka, the Government of Saudi Arabia has opened an information centre in Sri Lanka to provide briefings for foreign workers on their rights and responsibilities in Saudi Arabia.

### Policy Recommendations to Strengthen the Role of Civil Society

- Develop compatible databases of abused, exploited and trafficked children, with information on age, gender and nationality, which should allow better identification of national trends and indicators.
- Develop new institutional arrangement frameworks to promote regional cooperation.

- Civil society organisations can reorient their programs towards integrating national law enforcement agencies into their activities. NGOs have the potential to become a bridge between the law enforcement agencies of the countries in the region. They can facilitate the regional meetings of law and police officials on a regular basis. A similar initiative has recently been launched in Mekong region comprising Cambodia, China, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand and Vietnam.<sup>16</sup>
- Enhance and expand activities in the area of repatriation of trafficked victims.
- Advocate for the establishment of national offices of Rapporteurs on Trafficking in Women and Children similar to the one in Nepal and a regional office for a SAARC Rapporteur.
- Involve the private sector in the region to confront this growing problem. A good example is Microsoft, which has recently introduced a computer system designed to let police agencies share information for tracking online child predators. The Child Exploitation Tracking System, or CETS, was fashioned in collaboration with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and the Toronto Police Service.<sup>17</sup> Similarly MTV has launched an anti-trafficking campaign financially supported by SIDA (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency).<sup>18</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The figures are quoted from the latest US State Department Report on Trafficking in Persons 2004.

<sup>2</sup> [www.hdfnet.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=message&messageID\\_221173&lang=en&cat\\_id=70-21k](http://www.hdfnet.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=message&messageID_221173&lang=en&cat_id=70-21k)

<sup>3</sup> <http://in.rediff.com/us/2001/jul/13us1.htm>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.sariq.org/news.asp>

<sup>5</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south-asia/2820161.stm>

<sup>3</sup> <http://gvnet.com/humantrafficking/Bangladesh.htm>

<sup>7</sup> [http://www.unicef.org/media/media\\_23464.html](http://www.unicef.org/media/media_23464.html)

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.unicef.org/media/media\\_26692.html](http://www.unicef.org/media/media_26692.html)

<sup>10</sup> I was involved in the survey aimed at developing a directory of NGOs working on human trafficking in South Asia. The initiative was supported by Bangkok-based APHD. For more details see [www.aphd.or.th](http://www.aphd.or.th).

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.irex.org/programs/sariq/index.asp>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.adb.org/Gender/reta5948.asp>

<sup>13</sup> This conclusion is based on the survey under the APHD's regional trafficking program. For more details please see [www.aphd.or.th](http://www.aphd.or.th).

<sup>14</sup> The information is based on a survey Caritas Pakistan undertook as part of its regional trafficking program in which I was also involved.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.ansarburney.org/about.htm>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.globalhealth.org/news/article/5806>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.microsoft.com/presspass/press/2005/apr05/04-07CETSPR.asp>

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.animusassociation.org/en/news.html>

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## continued from p. 6

in the market supported by the medical discourse of the real, as well as coercion exemplified by rehabilitative incarceration supported by the culturalist discourse of the true, both of which are products of governance in an economy connected to the global neo-liberal economy.

## Author's note

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See p. 27 for the full story.



## Introducing the 'Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Network'

The 'Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Network' (WAGNet) was inaugurated at the Second International Convention of Asia Scholars held in Berlin in August 2001. The founding members of the Network were motivated into action by the relative invisibility of women's and gender studies scholarship at the biannual conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies held in Torino, Italy, in August 2000. As a group, we felt that as the study of women and gender now has a prominent and permanent place both in the academy and in the field of Chinese studies, it would be important to provide a network to facilitate communication and co-operation. We considered this especially important because of the disciplinary, linguistic, and national boundaries that continue to divide the field of women and gender in Chinese studies. Our aim was to make it possible for people working in diverse disciplines, ranging from archaeology to globalisation and development studies, in diverse languages, ranging from English and German to Chinese and Russian, and in diverse national environments, to find common concerns, priorities, and interests.

### **Website and listserv**

Since August 2001, our website ([www.wagnet.ox.ac.uk](http://www.wagnet.ox.ac.uk)) has functioned as a central site for communication and interaction. Since then, more than 200 members from many different countries have joined the Network. The website provides members with information about upcoming workshops and conferences, and recent publications in all European languages. The website facilitates communication and exchange of ideas, and thereby fosters a stimulating environment for research. We also have a very active 'listserv', where all members can freely submit messages and share ideas and information.

### **Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Review (WAGRev)**

This summer we are going to launch a new project called Women and Gender in Chinese Studies Review (WAGRev), a bilingual (English and Chinese) online review journal. We want WAGRev to become a major site for the introduction and discussion of new publications in the field of China-related women and gender studies across lingual boundaries.

### **European Association of Chinese Studies**

Besides the website and the listserv, WAGNet has engaged in a number of initiatives. At the 2002 European Association of China Studies (EACS) conference in Moscow and the 2004 EACS conference in Heidelberg, WAGNet organised a separate 'women and gender' panel. These panels provided invaluable opportunities for the presentation of recent research, the exchange of ideas and experiences, and the forging of new collaborations. Some of the papers from the 'women and gender' section of the Heidelberg conference appeared earlier this year in a separate issue of *Berliner China Hefte*, which is edited by two WAGNet members. At the recently held ICAS conference (Shanghai, 2005), members of the WAGNet community also presented papers on a range of topics.

### **Graduate Student Conferences**

While these large conferences provided a platform for the presentation of recent work in the field of women and gender in China to large audiences, we have also tried to provide opportunities for more in-depth discussion and small-scale collaboration. We are particularly proud of the two Graduate Student Conferences organised by WAGNet. After the initiative taken by Dr. Harriet Zurndorfer (Leiden University) to organise a two-day workshop for graduate students working in the fields of women and gender in China in 1998, the members of the steering committee of WAGNet organised a second workshop

in Oxford in September 2003. We selected thirteen doctoral students from an impressive range of submissions, and invited discussants from around the UK to offer comments on their works. In the informal atmosphere of the workshop, and the beautiful surroundings of Oxford, every single member of the group, participants and discussants alike, felt newly stimulated, rewarded and refreshed. The Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, which had generously sponsored us for the Oxford workshop, agreed to a further workshop, this time organised in Prague (in January 2005). Our aim here was especially to strengthen our ties with the sinological communities of Eastern Europe, and to introduce students and colleagues in Eastern Europe to the ideas and approaches that inform our work on women and gender. The workshop in Prague, organised by Professor Olga Lomova in conjunction with WAGNet, was another tremendous success, with participants not just from Eastern Europe, but also from the United States and Asia. After receiving the encouraging feedback from everyone, we are now planning to organise a fourth graduate student workshop in January 2008 in Bremen.

### Members

While WAGNet was initially established as a Network to strengthen the European community of scholars working within the field of women and gender, it has rapidly grown beyond European boundaries. WAGNet has members from all over the world, although for practical reasons those who have been involved in the organisational aspects of the Network (notably those who are part of the small steering group that meets roughly once a year) have been based in Europe.

We would, however, be delighted to welcome more members from all parts of the world, so spread the word, and sign up! Even better, do participate and use the listserv for any announcements about activities at your institution or in your neighbourhood, or for thoughts you wish to share or any discussion you would like to initiate! Simply send a message to: [wagnet@listserv.warwick.ac.uk](mailto:wagnet@listserv.warwick.ac.uk) and it will be distributed to all members!

We look forward to hearing from you all!

Maria Jaschok, Oxford University and Anne Gerritsen, Warwick University for WAGNet

WAGNet website <http://www.wagnet.ox.ac.uk>

WAGNet listserv [wagnet@listserv.warwick.ac.uk](mailto:wagnet@listserv.warwick.ac.uk)

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## The Gendering Asia Network

The Gendering Asia Network provides a forum for exchange of knowledge and contacts among scholars and students working on gender and Asia.

The Network aims to strengthen research and teaching on gender and Asia in the Nordic countries by facilitating contacts both internally among Nordic scholars and students, and also externally between academia in the Nordic countries and our counterparts in Asia and elsewhere in the world.

Currently, the main Network activity is to convene Gendering Asia conferences. The first conference was held in 2005 in Sweden. The second conference will be held in May/June 2007 in Akureyri, Iceland on the theme *Modernity and Gendered Vulnerabilities in Asia*. The invited keynote speakers are Professor Josephine Chuen-juei Ho, National Central University, Chungli, Taiwan and Professor Naila Kabeer, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK.

For more information, see the Network website at [www.nias.ku.dk/genderingasia](http://www.nias.ku.dk/genderingasia)



# The Swedish Gender and Development Network (GADNET)

GADNET consists of more than 80 researchers and doctorate students with specific research interests in gender and development, located within many different disciplines at 16 Swedish universities and university colleges. This truly multi-disciplinary network consists of local networks, led by nodes at several universities and university colleges. Disciplinary sub-networks have also been formed. The *nodes* represent the local networks at national network meetings, which are held to plan and organize the activities (e.g. workshops, seminars, conferences) of GADNET. The overarching goal of GADNET is to create and maintain a national research community of Swedish researchers, with research interests in gender and development issues, connected to each other through the network.

## The stated objectives of GADNET are to

- support, encourage and connect Swedish gender and development researchers from different disciplines and universities;
- be a channel for researchers in developing countries to participate in dialogues with Swedish researchers;
- promote conceptual, theoretical and methodological discussions and development across disciplines;
- contribute to the knowledge and understanding of gender and development issues amongst gender studies researchers and other scholars, students, an interested public and practitioners within development cooperation.

The Dream-Catcher workshops are intended to be think-tanks for the members of GADNET and Centre for Global Gender Studies (CGGS). The 2004 Dream-Catcher arranged in late August 2004 focused on *Citizenship, Rights and Gender Justice*.

In March 2005 GADNET arranged the first international conference on the theme *Negotiating Gender Justice*. Twelve feminist researchers from the South contributed with commissioned papers. This occasion was of vital importance to GADNET as it offered an excellent opportunity not only to meet other Swedish researchers, but also to meet gender and development researchers from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The second international conference **A World in Transition: New Challenges for Gender Justice** will be held in New Delhi on 13–15 December 2006. The innovative point of departure is to arrange the conference in cooperation with another partner in the South. This time with the **Centre for Women's Development Studies** (CWDS) in Delhi. GADNET emphasizes the importance of improving the horizontal dialogue between and among researchers in Sweden and the global South. Locating this conference in Asia – the next ones will be organized in Latin America (2008) and in Africa (2010) – makes it more accessible for Southern researchers to participate. The conference in India will address six sub-themes: *Political Restructuring, Gender, Conflict and Violence, Body Politics, Sexualities and Rights, Gender, Globalization and Livelihoods, Culture, Media and Identity Politics, and Global Feminist Knowledge Production*.

GADNET secretariat is placed at the Centre for Global Gender Studies, School of Global Studies, Göteborg University. The network is financed by Sida/SAREC.

For more information and membership, see GADNET's homepage: [www.globe.gu.se/gadnet/](http://www.globe.gu.se/gadnet/)  
E-mail-address: [info@cggs.gu.se](mailto:info@cggs.gu.se)

# The Sino–Nordic Women and Gender Studies Conferences

## *Comparing China and the Nordic countries*

The aim of the Sino–Nordic Women and Gender Studies conferences is to compare China and the Nordic countries. The conferences develop transnational, cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspectives on studies of women and gender within and between the Chinese and Nordic environments and include both theoretical and policy relevant research.

The conferences bring together Chinese and Nordic, scholars working primarily on their own, but also on each other's countries. Participants from other parts of the world are also welcome. By engaging in cross-cultural comparisons, the conferences aim to facilitate constructive and thought-provoking dialogues and discussions. Unquestioned assumptions are challenged and stimulus provided to view one's own society from alternative perspectives.

The Nordic countries and China differ in many ways, but there are also similarities. It could be argued that there are greater similarities between China and the Nordic countries – such as the strong and interventionist role of the state – than there are between China and the USA, for instance. Another similarity between China and the Nordic countries is a strong political commitment to creating gender equality, as well as the high degree of cooperation between women's organizations and the state. On the other hand, there are obviously also many differences regarding the ways in which the state intervenes in people's lives, and in the extent to which gender equality has been achieved. These differences and similarities are related to the legal, political, social and economic systems of China and the Nordic countries, and to the global context in which they operate.

Regarding studies of women and gender, the topics addressed in the Nordic countries and in China, and the methodologies and theoretical approaches that are used also partially overlap. Many Chinese and Nordic researchers use theories that originate from other contexts. These theories have then been indigenized into something Chinese or Nordic. But how is this done in practice? And what are the consequences of acceptance or rejection of 'foreign' theories?

The conferences are organized by the Nordic Centre, Fudan University, China and NIAS and take place alternately in collaboration with a Chinese or Nordic host institution.

*China Women's News*  
coverage of the First Sino–  
Nordic Women & Gender  
Studies Conference,

- The first conference on the theme of Gender and Politics was held at Fudan University, Shanghai in November 2002.
- The second conference on Gender and Human Rights in China and the Nordic Countries was held at Malmö University, Sweden, August 2005.
- The third conference will be held in China in 2008 on the theme of Gender & Globalization. The conference will be hosted by the Gender and Participation Research Center at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences.



中国妇女报 2002年11月25日 星期一

本报北京11月24日讯(记者宋美娅) 11月19日至22日,“北欧—中国妇女/性别研究国际研讨会”在上海复旦大学召开,50多位中国和北欧从事妇女政治参与和社会活动研究的学者,以及女性从政人员和妇女活动家汇集在一起,共同交流和探讨女性参与政治及社会活动的理论和实践经验。

这次国际学术研讨会着眼于中国与北欧各国的社会性别与社会参与,其目的是以跨国界、跨文化、跨学科的多元视角,来审视女权主义挑战公私分界理论对北欧各国及中国的作用与意义。这次研讨会讨论的问题包括:社会性别理论如何影响公共政策;女性参政的途径和条件;如何区分对妇女暴力的公私领域界线;青年一代性别观念的调查分析等。会议还讨论了北欧与中国致力于民间社会活动的人是怎样以各自的背景出发来看待这些问题的。

北欧国家均是社会主义国家,在世界范围内,北欧男女平等的水平和妇女解放的程度都是比较高的,北欧妇女组织的情况与中国很相似,比较、探讨妇女组织的发展历程,对我们认识妇女组织的

北欧—中国妇女/性别研究国际研讨会将在上海召开

借鉴经验 促进发展



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Skills for Asia

**NIAS SUPRA supports graduate and postgraduate students resident in the Nordic countries who have been admitted to a university MA or PhD programme and are actively carrying out work in Asian studies.**

**Join the NIAS SUPRA club!**

**The NIAS SUPRA was initiated in 1993. The programme is open to students resident in the Nordic countries who have been admitted to a university MA or PhD programme and who actively carry out work on an Asian topic. To become a member of the NIAS SUPRA programme, the students must register their project and CV in NIAS's contact database ([www.nias.ku.dk/contactdb](http://www.nias.ku.dk/contactdb)).**

## **NIAS SUPRA package**

### **Scholarships for visiting MA students and PhD candidates**

We offer two kinds of scholarships to the student members of the SUPRA programme:

- **Fully-financed Nordic Scholarships for members of Nordic NIAS Council**  
For students affiliated with institutions that are members of the Nordic NIAS Council (see [www.nias.ku.dk](http://www.nias.ku.dk)). All scholarships cover travel expenses, accommodation and full board at 'Nordisk Kollegium'.
- **Öresund Scholarships for students from Lund University.** NIAS will reimburse daily commuting costs.
- **Students from non-members of Nordic NIAS Council are welcome at NIAS, but will have to pay for accommodation and transportation.**

**Deadlines in 2006:**      **1 September for visits during October–December 2006**  
   **1 December for visits during January–April 2007**

Application forms are available at [www.nias.ku.dk/supra](http://www.nias.ku.dk/supra)

### **Services**

The librarians at NIAS offer a comprehensive introduction to the resources at NIAS LINC to holders of scholarships, who will also have at their disposal a suitably equipped workplace. They will be able to interact with NIAS researchers and will have the opportunity to participate in the various activities at NIAS while being here.

NIAS LINC – NIAS Library and Information Centre is an open-access library. See [www.niaslinc.dk](http://www.niaslinc.dk)

Other services include thesis advice, invitations to participate in courses and workshops, the possibility of having one's PhD thesis published by NIAS Press as a monograph, discount on NIAS Press publications, and the supply, free of charge, of *NIASnytt – Asia Insights*, NIAS's magazine on Asian affairs, and NIAS Update, NIAS's electronic student newsletter on Asian studies.

#### **NEW!**

**Students from member institutions of the 'Nordic NIAS Council' ([www.nias.ku.dk/nnc](http://www.nias.ku.dk/nnc)) will have priority access to fully-financed NIAS SUPRA scholarships.**

#### **WORKPLACE**

**For SUPRA students living in or near Copenhagen, there is a possibility of applying for a workplace ('studieplads') at NIAS which enables you to become part of the Asia research environment at the institute.**



## Staff news



**Jeffrey Friedman**, University of Copenhagen, worked at NIAS from April till June. He has a Bachelor Degree in Japanese Studies. The topic of his Master's thesis is 'The interrelations between pre-modern visual culture of the Edo period and *manga*, Japanese comics'.



**Lau Øfjord Blaxekjær** has a Bachelor degree in Political Science from University of Copenhagen, and is currently writing his MSc thesis on democratic paradoxes in the Japanese political system. Before joining NIAS, he worked six months as a trainee at the Embassy of Denmark in Japan, where he also conducted several interviews with politicians and experts for his thesis. From September he will study for the MSc in Asian Politics at School of Oriental and African Studies in London.



Dr. **Zhang Naihua**, Assistant Professor at Florida Atlantic University, was NIAS's guest scholar in May/June, collaborating with NIAS Senior Researcher Cecilia Milwertz. She is a sociologist whose main work is on the Chinese women's movement and women's organizations including both the party-state All China Women's Federation and the NGOs. Through her scholarship and association with the Chinese Society for Women's Studies, an academic organization based in the United States and aimed at promoting the study of Chinese women and gender issues, she plays an important part in the development of women's and gender studies in China.

## Recent visitors



Professor **Sucha Singh Gill** from the Department of Economics at Punjabi University in Patiala, India, and NIAS's guest scholar in June, is one of the foremost social scientists in India when it comes to the analysis of agricultural transformation and rural change with a specialization on Punjab and Northwest Indian agriculture. During his stay in Scandinavia, he had a work place at the Department of Sociology at Lund University, where he was collaborating with Professor Staffan Lindberg. -Prof. Gill photographed with Stig T. Madsen, NIAS.



Ms. **Nguyen Thi Phuong Loan** (left) and Ms. **Nguyen Thi Hai Linh** from the Center for Information and Documentation at the Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM), Hanoi, took part in a training course at the NIAS Library and Information Centre (NIAS Linc), in June. The study tour was organized by NIAS under the CIEM/NIAS Project 'Strengthening the Development Research and Policy Analysis Capacity of the CIEM' (under the PRG III) and Component 5: Business Sector Research (under the BSPS) funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Denmark. The two guest librarians were photographed together with Anja Møller Rasmussen, NIAS LINC.



# New Asian Dynamics in Science, Technology and Innovation

Gilleleje, Denmark, 27–29 September 2006

What forces are driving the Asian advancements in science, technology and innovation? What are the obstacles and threats to continued growth and further improvements in fields hitherto strongly dominated by American and European actors? And what are the implications for Europe and the Nordic countries?

To discuss these and other related questions is the purpose of a three-day conference in Gilleleje: New Asian Dynamics in Science, Technology and Innovation. The participants are researchers and other specialists (including PhD candidates) from the Nordic countries and elsewhere who will take part in cross-disciplinary sessions and panels to facilitate exciting and inspiring conclusions.

For list of participants, abstracts, themes etc.  
[www.asiandynamics.niasconferences.dk](http://www.asiandynamics.niasconferences.dk)



# Do Asian studies know where they are going?

**This question will be debated at a Nordic conference and PhD workshop in Turku, Finland, on 5–9 November 2006.**

Over the recent years, researchers in the Asian Studies environment have become increasingly aware that an important turning point is nearing. A tremendous outpour in academic production has ended the era of the generalists in the field. There is an onslaught of research output which presents a challenge to researchers in the field. But in stead of sinking into narrow specializations or drown under the weight of raw data, Asian studies must face the challenge in a constructive manner. No longer can the generalist pretend to master all (or enough) of the details and complexity that the many nations in Asia represent. Neither can researchers in Asian studies hide behind closed doors, speaking only within their own ranks to fellow specialists, and refuse to engage with developments in other areas of the humanities and the social sciences. Researchers in Asian Studies need to participate on an equal ground with other fields, even if that means abandoning the protection of regional studies for the more daunting task of engaging with debates in anthropology, gender studies, environmental studies, medical history, global history, film theory, post-colonial or post-modernist studies.

Several international conferences have debated these issues in the past years, and now it is time to discuss where Asian studies in the Nordic region are going. For this purpose a number international speakers will attend the conference in Turku and present their views and understandings of the future of Asian studies. Furthermore, the conference presents a unique roundtable event where experts from the Nordic Asian studies environments will discuss these issues and present possible ways of addressing current and future challenges.

Future researchers in Asian studies are central to this debate. Hence, a PhD workshop is organized in conjunction with the conference. The workshop benefits from the presence of the international and Nordic experts who will actively take part in the workshop programme. The workshop will give each PhD student a chance to discuss their research projects and their methodological questions and relate these to the debates raised at the conference. The outcome will be a heightened awareness of and expertise on ways of applying the social science and humanistic theories in an Asian context. In addition, further tutoring is given on various practical issues like the Internet sources available in this scientific field and how to get one's research published (the programme is worth 7.5 ECTS)

The conference and workshop is organized on behalf of the Nordic NIAS Council (NNC) and is the first annual conference on Asian studies in the Nordic region. After the conference the NNC will hold its second annual meeting.

Martin Bech,  
Project Coordinator, NIAS



Photo: (www.sxc.hu; user: lotushead)

**Asian Studies at a Turning Point:**  
*Tandem walk or boxing match  
between social sciences and  
humanities?*

**What?**

Conference and PhD workshop

**When?**

5–9 November 2006

**Where?**

University of Turku, Finland

**Information:**

[www.asianstudies.niasconfernces.dk](http://www.asianstudies.niasconfernces.dk)

# Recent visitors



**Anita Bergsveen** from the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, held a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in the beginning of June. She is writing an MA thesis on *Practical and Political Strategies of Migrant Women in Beijing*.



**Cecilia Bergstedt** from the Department of Social Anthropology, Göteborg University (left), and **Saara Nokelainen** from the Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Tampere, held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in April. Cecilia's Ph.D. project is on *Gendered Land and Meaningful Gender: A Study of Land and Gender in Rural Northern Vietnam*; Saara is working on an MA thesis on *The Mekong River Commission Action and Function Challenged: The Significance of Inter-governmentalism in the Yali Falls Case*.



A guest at CBS, **Dr Zou Keyuan** also took part in a roundtable discussion with a presentation on *Prospects for the Settlement of the South China Sea Dispute* at NIAS on 5 May. He is Senior Research Fellow, East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore.



**Jayasinghe Nishali** from the Centre for International Health at the University of Bergen, and **Renuka Priyantha** from the Department of Public Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in March/April. Jayasinghe is writing an MA thesis on *Exploring Health Related Issues of Landmine Victims in Sri Lanka*. Renuka's MA thesis is on *Challenges of Implementing New Public Management Initiatives in Developing Countries (Sri Lanka)*.



**Jin Jinan (Kim Ginam)** from the Institute of East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University, held a SUPRA Øresund Scholarship in February/March. He is preparing a project on *North Korea* together with Geir Helgesen, NIAS.



**Janne Rovio** from the Department of Media Culture, University of Tampere, held a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in the beginning of June. He is writing on a Ph.D. thesis on *Ethics of the Spear – Mythos of Martial Arts Violence in American Cinema*.



**Helena Magnusson** from the Center for Feminist Social Studies at Örebro University (left), and **Helena Löthman** from Institute of Oriental Languages, Stockholm University, held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in May. Helena Magnusson is working on a Ph.D. thesis on *The Female Migrant Labour Market: Constraints and Opportunities in the Case of Manufacturing Export Processing in Shenzhen, Guangdong, China*; Helena Löthman is working on a Ph.D. project on *No Job, No Independence? Women On and Off the Labour Market in Beijing and Tianjin*.



**Mikael Weissmann** from the Department of Peace and Development Research (Padrigu) at Göteborg University held a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship 6-19 March. He is carrying out a Ph.D. project on *Informal Networks in the Asia Pacific Region*.



**Asad Ali Durrani** from the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights, University of Oslo, held a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in May. He is writing an MA thesis on *State Enforcement of Human Rights: A Case for Constitutionalism and Rule of Law in South Asia*.



**Jakob Mark** from the Institute of Political Science, University of Aarhus, and **Stephanie Lee** from Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in April. Stephanie is writing an MA thesis on *Child Soldiers in Sri Lanka*; Jakob is working on an MAtesis on *Sino-American Relations in the Context of Resource Conflicts*.



**Joly Khatun** from the Department of Art and Culture Studies, University of Jyväskylä (left), and **Christina Moen** from the Institute of Sociology, NTNU, held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in February/March. Joly is writing an MA thesis entitled *A Study of Culture and Globalization*, focusing on South Asia; Christina is writing an MA thesis on *From Economic Rise to Expansionism? Chinese Foreign Policy*.



**Anja Lillegraven** from the Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo, and **Md. Kh. Nahiduzzaman** from the Department of Geography, NTNU, held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in February. Anja is writing an MA thesis on *Socio-cultural Change and its Impact on the Human Rights of the Chewong, an Indigenous Minority Group of Peninsular Malaysia*; Md. Nahiduzzaman is writing an MA thesis on *Theories and Reality! The Role of Actors in Housing the Urban Poor in the Fringe Areas of Dhaka City – A Case of the Duaripara Slum Area*.



**Linda Rønning** from the Department of Development Studies at NTNU held a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in May. Linda Rønning is working on an MA thesis on *Female Workers in Foreign Industry, China: Changing Lives and Values in a Globalizing World?*



**Elina Randell** from the University of Vaasa held a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in March. Elina Randell is writing an MA thesis entitled *Entrepreneurship in South Korea*.

### The Asia Intelligence Service

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**Aila Pullinen** from the Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, and **Simo Salmela** from the International School of Social Sciences (ISSS), University of Tampere, held each a SUPRA Nordic Scholarship in June. Aila is writing an MA thesis on *Embroidery and Ethnic Identity: A Vanishing Craft of the Mangghuer Minority*; Simo is working on an MA thesis on *Chinese Immigration to Finland – Reasons and Consequences*.



## *Gendering Asia* ~ a NIAS Press series on gender intersections

**Gendering Asia** is a groundbreaking series addressing gender issues in Asia. This addresses the ways in which power and the constructions of gender, sex, sexuality, and the body are intertwined with one another and pervade contemporary Asian societies. The series invites discussion of how people shape their identities as females or males and, at the same time, become shaped by the very societies in which they live. The series is concerned with the region as a whole in order to capture the wide range of understandings and practices that are found in East, Southeast, and South Asian societies with respect to gendered roles and relations in various social, political, religious, and economic contexts. **Gendering Asia** is, then, a multidisciplinary series that explores theoretical, empirical, and methodological issues in the social sciences.

Serious book proposals are welcome from authors wherever they are in the world. To do so, please contact one of the series editors:

**Wil Burghoorn**, Senior Lecturer, Center for Asian Studies, Gothenburg University, Sweden (wil.burghoorn@ceas.gu.se)

**Cecilia Milwertz**, Senior Researcher, NIAS (milwertz@nias.ku.dk)

**Helle Rydstrom**, Associate Professor, Center for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund University, Sweden (helry@tema.liu.se)

For more information on the book series (including details of its advisory board as well as its associated scholarly network and conferences), please visit: [www.nias.ku.dk/GenderingAsia/BookSeries](http://www.nias.ku.dk/GenderingAsia/BookSeries)

The first book in this series is expected in December 2006:

***Making Fields of Merit***  
**Buddhist Nuns and Gendered Orders in Thailand**  
**Monica Lindberg Falk**

Religion plays a central role in Thai society with Buddhism intertwined in the daily lives of the people. Religion also plays an important role in establishing gender boundaries. The growth in recent decades of self-governing nunneries and the increasing interest of Thai women in a Buddhist monastic life are notable changes in the religion-gender dynamic.

*Gendering Asia*, 1; December 2006; 320 pp., illus.; Hbk • 87-91114-65-9 • £45



### Other titles on gender-related issues published earlier by NIAS Press

---	Gender Practices in Contemporary Vietnam:2	Lisa Drummond & Helle Rydstrom (eds)	2004	286 pp	Pbk	87-91114-72-1
ViT 2	Women's Bodies, Women's Worries: Health and Family Planning in a Vietnamese Rural Commune	Tine Gammeltoft	1999	278 pp	Hbk	0-7007-1111-2
SAT 6	Women in Islamic Societies	Bo Utas	1984	252 pp	Pbk	0-7007-0154-0
SAT 7	Women in Rural China: Policy towards women before and after the Cultural Revolution	V. Hemmel & P. Sindbjerg	1984	165 pp	Pbk	0-7007-0164-8
SAT 15	Renegotiating Local Values: Working Women and Foreign Industry in Malaysia	M. Lie & R. Lund	1994	175 pp	Pbk	0-7007-0280-6
SAT 27	Women and Households in Indonesia: Cultural Notions and Social Practices	J. Koning et al.	2000	208 pp	Hbk	0-7007-1156-2
SAT 30	Coming of Age in South and Southeast Asia: Youth, Courtship and Sexuality	L. Manderson & P. Liamputtong	2001	320 pp	Hbk	0-7007-1399-9
M 72	Organising Women's Protest: A Study of Political Styles in Two South Indian Activist Groups	Eldrid Mageli	1997	288 pp	Hbk	0-7007-0431-0
M 74	Accepting Population Control: Urban Chinese Women and the One-Child Family Policy	Cecilia Nathansen Milwertz	1996	280 pp	Pbk	0-7007-0457-4
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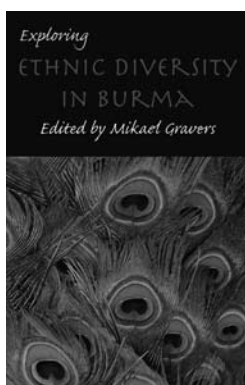
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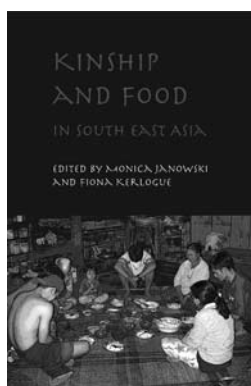
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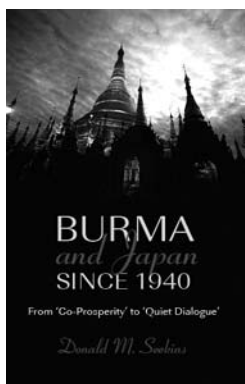
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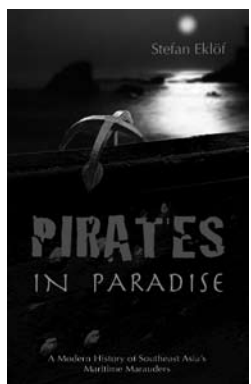
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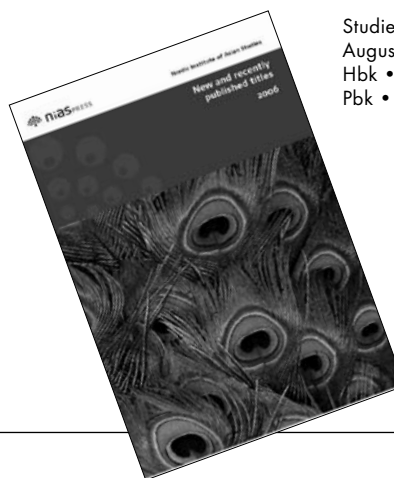
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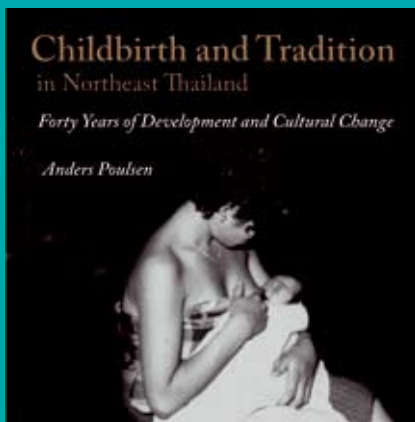
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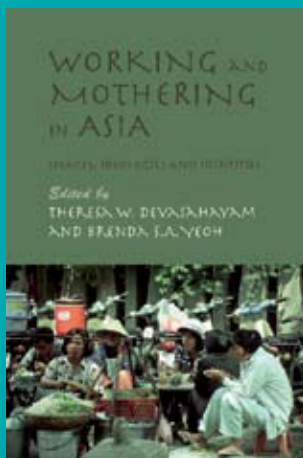
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