

Assessment of APISA, Asian Political and International Studies Association

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Background

The Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) is an “academic organization dealing with political and international studies, [.. and serving] as an academic community for scholars working on Asia. (www.apisanet.com)” Even though APISA membership is primarily Asian, it is the focus, not the members’ nationality that determines the identity of APISA.

The model of APISA is from Western academic disciplinary institutions, but its focus and mission of APISA is better defined than that of most of its Western counterparts. While the clear mission is to promote theoretically informed comparative scholarship based on the Asian experience, its programs define its focus to the study of conflict and peace, democracy and governance, development, and area studies. APISA is governed by an Executive Committee whose members are elected by members (who have paid their membership fees), and the selection is endorsed by the APISA biannual Congress. The Executive Committee elects the President and an Executive Secretary from among themselves. APISA has since April 2006 been incorporated as a non-profit organisation under the Companies Ordinance (chapter 32) of Hong Kong. APISA has an agreement with the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) to administer Sida-funding for APISA.

APISA started its operations in 2003, even though it was formally established in 2001. Its activities include biannual congresses, regional workshops and capacity-building workshops, publications, and joint research. Sida has supported these activities from the very beginning. In fact, in addition to voluntary work by the prime organizers and members of APISA, Sida has funded almost the entire operational budget of APISA.

The support to APISA’s work for comparative political and international studies is motivated by the need of such scholarship, and by the fact that APISA focuses its activities on areas which build capacity in the areas of good governance, human rights, and gender equality, areas which are part of Sida’s regional strategy for Southeast Asia. Despite the sensitive nature of many of these objectives, Sida’s support to APISA is not seen as intrusive or sensitive, and APISA’s role, despite its foreign funding, has never been perceived as problematic by the members of APISA interviewed for this assessment. APISA also participates in a Sida-funded South-South Collaboration programme together with the Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Latin American Council for Social Sciences (CLACSO). However, the role of APISA in this collaboration has been found asymmetric by the members of APISA interviewed for this assessment, due to the assumed asymmetry (unfavourable to APISA) in the funding of the three organizations.

Aim of the assessment

The terms of reference defines the focus of this assessment as follows. The task is to asses:

1. The scientific quality of APISA production and activities
2. The importance of APISA for political and international studies in the region
3. the adequacy of the current organisation for the purpose of promoting social science studies in the area of political and international studies in the Asian region.

The main task is to appraise the quality of APISA promoted scientific publications. Here the question can be divided into two questions: Are APISA publications of high quality, and how much do APISA and the Sida support to it promote this quality. These two questions are not identical as APISA could be publishing output of established top scholars in its less visible working papers series and this could have the consequence of leaving less time for top scholars for publications in established international outlets. As a result APISA publications would be of good quality, but they would actually contribute to a poorer scholarship by diverting time of top scholars from high quality work to work with less prestigious scholarly objectives.

While the assessment of the scientific quality of APISA promoted publications will concentrate on the quality of the output, the texts published by APISA (question 1a), the issue of how the activity contributes to quality (question 1b) will also be focused on. The main object of this assessment of the first issue (question 1a) will be the publications of APISA, as listed in annex 1. In addition to these, the assessment has identified publications that people closely involved in APISA activities have published. International publications give a good indication of the quality of work that takes place within the looser framework of APISA: This more general assessment is needed since work in scientific associations is at best when it inspires people involved to scientific innovations and new ideas. These innovations and ideas will be published in the best possible outlets, not in working papers series, and the better the idea is, the better outlet will be chosen. Too much focus on the working papers series would also not be useful for the fact that some of the publications in the series do not have any strong association with the APISA. At worst, they are articles that have been rejected in a proper journal, then submitted to a working papers series, by people who have never been promoted or supported by APISA. In other words, APISA does not promote research only by offering work in process as an outlet for publication.

The issue of how APISA promotes quality will be studied by looking at to what degree APISA's reviewing and editing of publications involves actual "research training" and polishing of publications, how many scholars get to publish internationally and in established outlets through the activities and publications of APISA, to what degree APISA conventions and regional conferences result in high level publications, and how much research capacity is built by the capacity-building workshops.

The second question on the importance of APISA will be treated as a matter of whose attention APISA gets and what kind of scholars it attracts. The issue of how recognized and how known the association is will be dealt with.

Thirdly, the adequacy of the current organization will be looked at by examining how well this organization suits to the APISA mission of promoting quality in political and international studies scholarship.

Operationalization and Method of Assessment

Due to the level of APISA scholarship and due to the variety of research approaches, paradigms and schools of thought there is a need to operationalize and measure quality also by using some objective quantitative indicators of quality and scholarly relevance. One most commonly used measure of relevance is the number of citations (impact factor) each publication or author gets in listed international journals. Without anyone quoting and referring to one's work, it would be difficult to claim relevance in international scientific debate. The most well-known of the lists of international scholarly journals is the Social Science Citation Index, which lists journals of scholarly relevance, and publishes statistics of citations each article and author gets in these journals. It must be noted that this list is not perfect, there tends to be an American bias in the listing of relevant journals. There are also some journals that have not wanted to list with the Social Science Citation Index (Contemporary Southeast Asia, for example), and this has reduced the reliability of this listing. However, it is still considered the best available list of international journals, and thus despite its imperfections it is normally considered by evaluators of scientific relevance, as the best source. More general problem is the fact that Journal-based impact factor does not consider citations and references made in books. There are scholars who prefer book publications, and thus have a lower impact factor than their relevance would warrant. Yet, books that get cited in journals affect the author's impact factor.

Relevance and the number of citations do not guarantee quality. There are articles that get high numbers of citations simply because so many scholars want to show how wrong the argument is. However, the assessment of quality of articles and authors can utilize impact factor indirectly. Most scholars are conscious of the fact that impact factor is an important consideration in the assessment of scholarly relevance. Thus most scholars try to publish in the most relevant (high impact) journals. Rejection rate is relatively high in all journals listed by the Social Science Citation Index. However, rejection rates in journals with highest impact factors are extremely high, over 95%.¹ Taken that these journals are peer reviewed, the rejection rate will be a good indicator of quality of publications in high impact journals. This will be used in this assessment in several ways. On the one hand, APISA publications can be ranked in accordance with the impact factor of their publication outlets. When assessing the quality of scholars I will firstly look at how often this scholar gets to publish in listed journals, and then look at the times he/she publishes in the top journals (as ranked by Social Science Impact Factor).

Since impact factor-based assessment of relevance and quality only gives numbers that are difficult to interpret, this assessment uses two reference groups. On the one hand, APISA quality is related to impact factor calculations of the University of Stockholm. As the university in the Swedish capital city, the city of Sida, this could give a good point of comparison for the quality of APISA scholarship. Furthermore, I have taken the members of the ASEAN Regional Forum's Expert/Eminent Persons group (ARF/EEP) as a point of comparison. As

¹ There are no statistics available on rejection rates. The assessment of rejection rates in top journals is based on the authors' experience as a member of the editorial committee of the Journal of Peace Research. Rejection rate is sometimes over 95% only if one counts decisions to re-invite the manuscript for a new review as "rejection".

will be noted in the assessment of the reach and importance of APISA for Asian Political Scientists, APISA has not managed to attract EEPs in APISA activities.²

Since analysing the produce of scholars takes a lot of time, I have chosen 4 full professors (out of a total of 9) as a sample of the department of political science, University of Stockholm and the group of EEPs.³ The selection of the sample is made randomly by using the surname of the professor as the criterion. Social Science Citation Index lists authors by their surname and initial of the first name. Making sure that the publication listed by the index is by the one that is being evaluated and not by someone else with the same surname and initial, will take time, if the surname of the professor is a very common one. For example, the name of APISA's Executive Secretary (Singh H) gave 4610 entries (articles). This is why he could not be taken in the sample of APISA executives. The sample of the Stockholm professors, thus used an estimation of the rareness of the surname as the random criterion. The names of EEPs are not publicly available.⁴ This is why the author made the selection of the sample from the members of the group that he saw in the first meeting of the EEPs in Kuala Lumpur, in October 2005. The selection followed the principle of rareness of the surname and the country representation. The country representation principle rules out the possibility of two EEPs from one country. Furthermore, the main countries involved in APISA work were selected. Finally, for the sake of fairness, one of the EEPs had to be selected from the countries less known for their scholarly excellence and another from a well established country. The selection of the APISA sample was also based on the person's centrality in APISA work (however, Hari Singh was not selected in the sample due to the practical problem related to the commonness of his surname). In addition to this selection of individuals, all the APISA publications were assessed of their relevance and quality.

While quantitative measures give some indications on the quality of APISA publications, qualitative evaluation of the texts will be the main method of assessment of the quality. A distinction has been made between papers already published in peer-reviewed international journals (these can be assessed quantitatively and qualitatively) and unpublished work. In the case of the former, assessment can utilize also the quantitative measurement of quality and relevance, whereas in the latter case the relation to relevant theories and other qualitative aspects of the papers will be assessed in addition to the quality and relevance.

The assessment of the contribution of APISA to the build-up of scholarly quality will also utilize quantitative measures, related to impacts. If APISA publications enable people with no previous experience in international publication to publish internationally in listed or top journals, we can claim that APISA promotion of scholarly capacity has succeeded in promoting quality. Also if APISA outlets manage to produce internationally established scholarship by people from areas where academic standards are usually poor, APISA has succeeded.

² Prof. Amitav Acharya is an exception. He is an EEP as well as an active member of the executive board of APISA.

³ The identity of the randomly selected scholars was revealed in the draft version for the sake of replication. However, in this public version the names have been left out for the sake of prudence, especially for those not under assessment.

⁴ EEPs are selected by ARF member countries. Each member country can nominate up to five EEPs.

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Furthermore, interviews with people who have participated in the capacity-building workshops, or have published or presented conference papers with APISA have been conducted in Burma/Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. These interviews give the assessment perspectives on the procedures and mechanisms of capacity building. Quality of commenting and reviewing of publications and presentations gives an idea of the contribution APISA has on quality. Furthermore, if themes that APISA chooses for its conventions and for its regional workshops inspire publications afterwards, this also suggests that APISA events do build scholarly capacity and quality.

The reading of APISA production has also been used as one of the methods of assessing what kinds of people are attracted to APISA activities. Furthermore, looking at the publication profiles of members of APISA Executive Committee, the assessment will be able to judge the theoretical/methodological profile and the school of thought that are influential in APISA. By theoretical profile we mean here the way in which theory is used in a scholar's work. Does the scholar use the theory to get analytical distance from the everyday concepts and conceptions on politics and international affairs, or is the scholarship thin on theory? School of thought refers to the selection of theoretical and methodological tools in scholars' work. Furthermore, in the assessment of what kind of scholars APISA attracts, I will look at the topics that APISA promotes; what is the main focus of the association within the field of political science and international studies? I have also looked at how relevant APISA is to political scientists in various parts of Asia. Finally when assessing the relevance of APISA, I will also look into the issue of the relevance of APISA scholarship for the advice of decision-makers. Asia has a relatively developed system of academic advising of politicians and administrators of political and international issues. How does APISA relate to that system? In addition to the reading of APISA publications, the assessment of APISA's role is also based on the interviews

The third question on how suitable is APISA's organization to the mission of producing and promoting high quality scholarship and being relevant to political scientists focused on Asia, focuses on the relationship between and within different programs, the relationships between APISA members of various countries, the relationship between APISA and its sponsors, especially Sida. All this will be viewed from the perspective of APISA's mission to promote quality of scholarship in political and international studies.

The scientific quality of APISA production and activities

APISA publications, lists of abstracts from APISA congresses, program schedules for capacity building workshops, and regional workshop programmes reveal that APISA output is generally relatively theoretical, and focused on relatively sensitive issues of democracy, good governance, conflict and repression. Theoretical and analytical distance from the policy-making approach to politics and international relations, as well as courage to tackle sensitive issues have been largely missing from Asian scholarship and thus the focus of attention of APISA is highly welcome.

Publications in established international scholarly outlets

APISA's senior scholars are top international names in the field of International Studies and Politics, and especially in topics of International Relations Theory

and democracy and governance issues in Asia. APISA's main comparative advantage within Asian political science is in the theoretical issues. Theoretical competence, here, refers to ability to critically assess the concepts that everyday political and international debate operates with, ability to be transparent with the assumptions different political understandings are based on and the ability to mobilize analytical apparatuses for generalizations. By being critical towards ones conceptual tools, and underlining assumptions, one will be able to see what political orientations are acceptable for their own merit and which simply derive from the power political needs of the elites that dominate political discourses. Ability to generalize again makes it possible to carry lessons from one case to another. This enables political thinkers to know, not only what has been the practice in the region, but deriving from other regions, what could be possible. While Asian scholarship in Political Science and international relations has been very atheoretical, APISA has clearly managed to put theoretical discussions back to Asian political studies. By doing so, APISA has managed to bring theoretical and methodological tools to Asian political sciences. At the same time, APISA's comparative advantage has not been in directly policy-relevant advisory type of scholarship. The fact that APISA has not attracted the main international relationists of the ASEAN Regional Forum's Expert/Eminent Persons group (with the exception to Amitav Acharya) has reduced the association's public visibility.

This might be because of the fact that the socialization of theoretical concepts takes some time, and during this time theoretical inputs are not communicated in the community of policy-makers. In time, with theoretical interventions APISA can produce interpretations of politics and international relations that represent higher levels of understanding. APISA's theoretical innovations, for example the healthy criticism of many "objective realities" of world politics, are likely to influence Asian students and liberate them from the securitized⁵ mind-set of the current Asian senior officials and politicians. For example, the very simple assumption that ethnic diversity equals with conflict potential and conflict potential means a justification for a greater role for the military, is something that theoretical conflict studies already rejects⁶, but which is still very prevalent in Asia. This is an assumption that seems to be less common among the theoretically informed APISA members and their students. But it will take time before the generation that now is studying under APISA scholars itself is in leading senior positions. Thus the socialization effects of some of the theoretical inputs of APISA could be a matter of a generation rather than a matter of years. A hastier influence could be achieved if APISA was well connected in the Ivy League of Asian policy advisors. However, so far this has not succeeded. Asian advisory systems have been criticised for conservative power plays and for always using the same experts who in some countries no longer have much

⁵ Securitization is a framing of politics, where issue areas are seen as security matters. The framing of politics as a security matter offers rulers opportunities to use stronger means in the name of security, for example against their political opponents.

⁶ According to global generalizations, ethnic bipolarity is more dangerous to social stability than ethnic diversity. Even in Southeast Asia, it is often the bipolar regions where fighting is most intense (Maluku/Mindanao: Christians vs. Muslims; Aceh/Mindanao/Papua/Karen/Taiwan: separatists/independence movement vs. supporters of integration, Kalimantan/Papua/Pattani: indigenous vs. migrants) while the genuinely diverse areas, such as Northern Sumatra or Mandalay tend to be more quiet. If there is a risk of domestic conflict, empirical generalizations suggest that military power is not efficient in dealing with it. A global calculation based on Correlates of War dataset reveals that the risk for a citizen of dying in a war is more than double in the citizen lives under a military rule, rather than in a democracy.

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scholarly credibility. The alternative channel of regional academic recognition that APISA offers for political scientists could be useful also for the renewal and scholarly development of the advisory systems in Asia.

A short look at the general level of publications of central figures of APISA can utilize the quantitative measurements explicated in the methodological chapter. A quantitative assessment reveals that the publications by APISA's members of the executive committee compare favourably in terms of quality as well as in terms of relevance with those of political scientists of the University of Stockholm. What is surprising is that in terms of scientific quality and scholarly relevance, APISA's top names were clearly better than the famous scholars that are regularly used for national and regional advisory roles.

As mentioned in the methodology chapter, quality can be measured not only by the number of publications in the listed journals, but also by looking at whether the members of APISA manage to publish in the most prestigious ones. APISA scholars have managed to publish in the best and the second best international studies journals (International Security & International Organization)⁷, and in the two most prestigious area studies journals for the study of the entire region of Asia (Journal of Asian Studies & Pacific Review)⁸, while none of the APISA scholars have published in the top two political science journals. In comparison although some of the EEPs have published in top two area studies journals, neither the professors of Stockholm nor the EEP randomly selected for this assessment have managed to get published in top political science or international relations journals. Thus also by looking at this measure, one has to conclude that APISA membership represents scholarly quality and relevance within the scientific community.

⁷ Social Science Citation Index lists American Journal of International Law as the second most cited journal in international relations, but this journal is, naturally, not available as a publication outlet for political scientists.

⁸ Again journals that are not Asia-related and those dealing only with parts of Asia are not counted in here.

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Table 1: Quality and Relevance at Stockholm University

Professor	Citations (=relevance, The higher the number of articles citing the publications of the scholar, the higher his/her relevance)	Articles in SSCI listed journals (Academic quality, the higher the number of articles in listed publications, the higher the quality)
Stockholm 1	218	4
Stockholm 2	28	4
Stockholm 3	24	0
Stockholm 4	4	1

Table 2: Quality and Relevance Among APISA's Active Members

Professor	Citations	Articles in SSCI listed journals
APISA 1	300	33
APISA 2	118	33
APISA 3	75	12
APISA 4	0	0

Table 3: Quality and Relevance Among ARF/EEP Members

Professor	Citations	Articles in SSCI listed journals
EEP 1	103	9
EEP 2	24	4
EEP 3	19	3
EEP 4	0	0

Looking at the quality of publication, our indicators give us the following ranking order to members of APISA and members of their European and Asian reference group. According to this indicator APISA clearly has a higher quality than the Department of Political Science in Stockholm, or the group of ARF advisers. The three best APISA scholars take the three top places in the measurement of quality. At the same time the standard of APISA quality is slightly unequal.

Table 4: Ranking of APISA, Stockholm and EEP scholars

1. APISA 1
2. APISA 2
3. APISA 3
4. EEP 1
5. EEP 2
6. EEP 3
7. Stockholm 1
8. Stockholm 2
9. Stockholm 4
10. Stockholm 3, APISA 4, EEP 4

If one looks at relevance in the global scientific community, APISA members still seem to compare favourably to its control groups. As can be seen in table 5, APISA members take the first, and third and the fifth place when relevance of scholarship is being measured. Again it can, however, be said that the aim of national representativeness and the necessity to involve also people from less developed Asian countries does influence the evenness of scholarly relevance. However, some of the worse performers were not necessarily from less developed Asian countries, and thus the unequal level of scholarly relevance of some APISA members can also be a result of less successful engagement of political scientists of highest quality from outside the core (founding) ASEAN countries.

Table 5: Ranking of APISA, EEP and Stockholm Sample Groups: Scholarly relevance

1. APISA 1
2. Stockholm 1
3. APISA 2
4. EEP 1
5. APISA 3
6. Stockholm 2
7. EEP 2, Stockholm 3
8. EEP 3
9. Stockholm 4
10. APISA 4, EEP 4

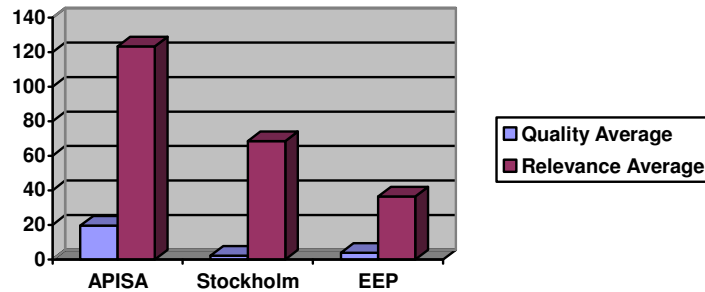
Already these rank orderings reveal that APISA has quality and relevance, when it comes to its most active participants. However, if measured by arithmetic averages, this becomes even clearer.⁹ APISA sample clearly outperforms its control groups in terms of academic relevance, the frequency that a scholar is being cited in major international scholarly journals, and quality, i.e. the ability of the scholar to publish in the most demanding peer reviewed journals.

Table 6: Quality and Relevance Averages: APISA, Stockholm & EEP¹⁰

⁹ Yet one could say that the ability of one scholar, Amitav Acharya, has a strong influence in the APISA averages, as we only look at the four most visible APISA scholars.

¹⁰ It is possible to compare quality averages of one group and quality averages of another group, or relevance averages of groups. However, one cannot compare quality and relevance averages with each others. The fact that relevance averages are higher than

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The quality of the key people in APISA reflects the quality of editing and reviewing of APISA workshop and conference presentations. Interviews reveal that many younger political scientists and international relationists felt that they benefited tremendously from the reviewing processes related to conferences and working papers publications. In short, APISA is generally in very good hands, and this is generally reflected in APISA activities. Further analysis of the APISA output will qualify this general assessment.

APISA publications in established international publication outlets

A collection of APISA conference presentations from the first congress and from a regional workshop in 2005, have been published in a special edition of the *Pacific Review*, the second best area studies journal for the study of the entire Asian region. This is a major achievement in terms of quality. An average Asian professor in a capital city university gets to publish only once in his/her career in a journal as prestigious as this journal. In universities outside the capital city area, it is very uncommon for professors to publish in top international journals. None of the authors of this special issue were completely inexperienced scholars.¹¹ One was, however a PhD student, and several were assistant professors and there were several authors who only had published once or twice in listed international journals. Lifting these people to the level where they can publish in a top journal is an important achievement by APISA.

The *Pacific Review* special issue is focussed on the core issue of Asian International Relations (IR) theory development. It looks at the emerging debates: the historically hegemonic realist debate that views Asian international relations from the perspective of objective power capacities, and the challenging constructivist debate that recognizes the fact that Asian international relations are also built on constructed realities (not only objective). In the challenging view, identities of the collective actors of international relations, norms and collective perceptions/interpretations of the international relations realities are meaningful and important. While it is very important that Asian IR theory has developed from the Realist consensus into a more diverse direction, one can also note that the APISA *Pacific Review* special issue also reflects certain limitations in the Asian IR debate. As one of the authors of the volume mentions, variations in the Asian debate are mainly in the ontology of IR, in questions related to the nature of international relations. For example, the theoretical program of constructivists has mainly had the impact of showing new issues that also need to be taken into

quality averages simply says that more of scholars' publications are cited than they are being published. The fact that good articles often get cited several times already explains this.

¹¹ There were two authors whose publication record could not be investigated due to their common surnames (Eaton, Kawasaki).

account as important elements in international politics. However, the core of the program is epistemic: if the social reality is constructed in the minds of social actors, the relationship between knowledge and reality becomes fundamentally different from what the objectivist scholarship has suggested. Engaging the epistemic program of constructivism and expanding it towards critical analysis of the hegemonic social constructions could further add to the fruitful diversity of Asian IR theory debate. Furthermore, even the ontological constructivism is limited in variety. As pointed out by See Seng Tan's excellent article in the special issue, it seems like the Asian brand of constructivism, led by a fantastic scholar Amitav Acharya, has perhaps too much assumed the priority of states as actors of international relations. A critical debate on the importance of non-state actors in issues, such as conflict resolution, is very important at the time when Asian security is mainly threatened by transnational and sub-national separatist and terrorist groups, when conflict resolution utilizes mainly the courage of officials acting in their private capacity, and when solutions to conflicts are found in informal meetings, mediated by international non-governmental organizations.

The book manuscript "Why Is There No Non-Western International Relations Theory" is, according to interview material among APISA executives, also heading towards an international outlet, the Sage. While a comparative dataset on the scholarly relevance of book publishers does not exist, it is clear that Sage is one of the main outlets, and that only very good quality manuscripts are accepted by the peer review process of this publisher. Furthermore, three of the authors of this manuscript have never before published anything in listed international journals. In addition, many of the authors come from educationally less-established countries or weaker universities from outside the better-resourced capital cities. It seems that this book project, as a theory building and capacity building exercise, is, along with the Pacific Review special issue, an exceptionally successful undertaking.

In terms of theory development, the manuscript "Why Is There No Non-Western IR Theory" has the same merits and limitations as the Pacific Review special edition. However, the nature of this manuscript is very self-critical. Sometimes, it seems that there is no reason to underplay the Asian innovation in the development of IR theory. Many such innovations have been "westernised" by people who might express the ideas more elegantly than their original inventors. In some cases Asian innovations have been brilliant, but they have not fitted into the disciplinary or professional settings that the Western mainstream theories are accustomed to. Many theoretical innovations have been presented by statesmen, rather than scholars (in some cases their origin has been a scholar). Such innovations have later then been "theorized" by western writers, who thereby become the origins of theory even though the idea might have come from elsewhere. Thus, it seems that the pessimism of the manuscript is not warranted: Asia does have a role in the development of the IR theory. However, a critical analysis of the obstacles of a greater Asian role in the development of IR theory is useful and the interventions in the manuscript are generally brilliant (even if the version I have been given is not entirely completed). The pessimism of this manuscript can be seen as one side of the coin while the more optimistic approach presenting the Asian (the non-existent?) theory debate of the Pacific Review special edition is the other side.

The manuscript "South Asian Conceptions of International Relations: Search for Alternative Paradigms", is a collection of papers submitted already in 2003. However, despite the delay in publication, a selection from this collection will undoubtedly end up being published in high profile international outlet. While some of the papers in this collection do not seem to reach to the level of quality

needed for international publications, it is clear that many of them do. A selection from the first and third (+ one from the fourth) could make up a good book, offering both Asian IR theory, and an expanded treatment of the constructivist paradigm. This volume could address the issue mentioned with regard to the Pacific Review special issue. It expands the traditional ontological treatment of constructivist empirical generalizations on international relations into a direction where hegemonic constructions are being criticised (Ramakrishnan, Satter, Seethi, Basim, Chatterjee Quayes, Khan, Liyanage).

Papers from the Second APISA Congress in Hong Kong in November 2005 were published in *Policy and Society*; Volume 24, no 3; Faculty Journal at the University of Sydney. This journal is not listed by the Social Science Citation Index and it is not of the same top quality as journals that are listed, let alone journals like the Pacific Review, which are on the top of the list. Yet, this publication is of good quality and also promotes a couple of authors with no previous publication record. The outlet of this publication is not ambitious and the topics of the special issue are perhaps less central to the build-up of the theory of governance. At the same time, this publication deals with highly policy-relevant topics related to government-market-relations, including corruption and public sector reform. From the point of view of policy-relevance, this publication is very important.

The collection on Current International Studies in Northeast Asia, however, is a collection with a slightly different purpose. It is clear that this collection will not be published internationally. Instead the intention must have been to map out the state of the art of IR scholarship in the sub-region. Thus it is probably not interesting to look at that collection of papers as something relevant for the assessment of scientific quality of APISA.

In conclusion, the value of APISA's publications in established publication outlets to the generation of quality of Asian political science and international studies scholarship is crucial. By aiming at top international publications that use strict processes of peer reviewing, and reject a high percentage of submitted manuscripts, APISA can ensure the quality of its output. Also for the partners, following the development of the quality of APISA's production is easy, if APISA influences in the main academic markets, rather than creating a market of its own by publishing in its own outlets. However, when aiming at top journals and publishing houses, one has to remember that success comes with time. IT sometimes takes 2-3 years before journals publish a manuscript that has arrive to the peer review process, while good books can take up to 6-7 years (but more normally 1-2 years) before they appear on the shelves of book stores.

Right now the success of APISA in the international academic community is very impressive, mostly because of the Pacific Review special issue, Sage book manuscript and the potential manuscript on South Asia.

Working Papers

The style of the working papers is literary review-like. None of them are real studies, but instead, seem, like introductory chapters of books. The profile of the publication series is theoretical. Furthermore, publications are focussed on relatively sensitive issues. In order to avoid polemic style or activist publications this profile is good from an academic point of view. In order to touch sensitive issues like student activism, ethnic conflict, public policy conflict management, dangers of decentralisation, inter-state security issues, security and strategic interests, East Asian regional security order, democratic consolidation foreign direct investment in Burma/Myanmar and Vietnam, and state formation, one has to have strong theoretical tools in order to get analytical distance from the topic.

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Otherwise, one easily becomes influenced by ideological and emotional discourses. None of the working papers can be accused of being ideological or polemic. I think this is the main strength of the outlet: it helps Asia-scholars to explore more theoretical ways of approaching sensitive political issues and might promote some new capacity in a relatively atheoretical and conservative or carefully focusing Asian academic community.

The idea of the APISA working papers series is to offer an outlet for work in process, and thus contribute to high quality publications in international outlets. As such the quality of the publications is generally good, but not at the level or format where these texts could readily be published in major international scholarly journals. Interviews reveal that the editorial process for less experienced scholars is highly educational. The executive secretary does most of the reviewing and suggests changes, while in many cases it seems that he uses the executive committee also as an editorial committee and as reviewers. All in all, people who have published in the series considered the editorial process useful and quality-building. Five of the authors are established scholars, with a lot of publications in established outlets both before and after the publication in the APISA working papers series, while four of the authors of the working papers had never published in listed journals.

In terms of research strategy, the review-like working papers have not helped the less experienced scholars much in developing their analytical tools for a real research publication. However, the review of literature and theory might have helped them to map out the existing scholarship on their topic. However, none of them have managed to develop their ideas of the working paper publication into an article published in a major journal. Yet, one must recognize the fact that it can take two, even three years at worst, to get manuscripts published after submitting them to a journal. Thus, some of them might still appear in major journals.

None of the working papers had been cited in journals listed by the Social Science Citation Index, which reveals that, as a working paper series, this outlet does not have much international scholarly relevance. Furthermore, if one looks at the topics of individual working papers it seems that, with the exception of two working papers (Amer & Gomez), the author has not yet made a major publication on the topic in any of the listed journals. Does this mean that the outlet does not really perform its task as a springboard to highest quality publications?

Another critical discovery of the working papers series is the fact that they did not seem to be part of an active collaboration project. Instead the system was just that individual scholars were paid for writing about a topic, and the only real competence building component of the exercise was the editorial process and the communication between the editor and reviewers and the author.

All in all, despite the relatively high quality of the working papers, the assessment of the publication outlet leaves me in doubt of its function and relevance. Why would people like Professor Ganesan, Dr. Amer or Prof. Gomez, who frequently publish in major international journals, want to publish in a series that is not being cited in international publications? Should they put their energy to a working papers series? Will that and the fact that an established scholar has to edit this series, contribute to quality, or does it take resources from something more important from the point of view of the promotion of scholarly quality? Because of the ambiguity over the contribution of this element in APISA work, it would seem that resources would be better spent in some other elements of APISA work. The preparation of publications in outlets like the Pacific Review, or Sage book series would certainly be a more cost efficient investment in the quality of Asian Political Science and International Relations scholarship. Advice

given to inexperienced scholars publishing in the APISA working papers series is naturally important, but that sort of advice could also be given in capacity-building workshops and in relation to conference presentations.

Importance of APISA for political and international studies in the region

Interviews conducted for this assessment, revealed that APISA's importance for political and international studies in Asia is felt strongly. Those who had collaborated with the Association tended to have only positive things to say. Younger scholars and scholars less tightly connected with the international scholarly community tended to emphasize the importance of the support they had received in finalizing their workshop presentations, conference papers or publications. More senior scholars, again, appreciated the high level of scholarship and the opportunities for top level publishing in APISA's book or special issue projects.

Random interviewing of political scientists and international relationists, however, revealed that APISA's visibility is limited. It seems that APISA reaches most of the "generalists", who have a good command of the various research topics, and analytical approaches, and who are familiar with scholarly mainstreams and their challenges. However, scholars who intensively worked with a margin of political science and were more committed to only one set of methodological and theoretical approaches, tended to have more distance from APISA. This is perhaps natural and even desirable: by focusing on something that is common for most political scientists and international relationists makes APISA relevant to more scholars. Attempting to reach out to more focuses could hamper the scientific quality of APISA work.

APISA's main strength has been governance studies, democracy studies and especially international relations and conflict studies. In these topics it is clear that the group of scholars that APISA unites have a comparative advantage in the region and in some cases internationally. Other issue-areas are represented and especially development studies-oriented political science seems to be on the rise. Otherwise, APISA does not very much appeal to the students of classical study of political systems, scholars of international political economy, and many other topics.

Another limitation in the visibility and relevance for political and international studies specialists was that APISA is found relevant mainly by people who have a theoretical orientation to research. Atheoretical scholarship does not seem to have much space in the publications, conferences, or workshops of the association. Perhaps this, too, is for the best. APISA has a niche in Asian political science and IR scholarship. In an area where atheoretical research has blindly reinforced political concepts and approaches to the understanding of politics by the elites, it is important that there is an association that wants to inject some theoretical insights to political thinking.

Furthermore, APISA is sometimes seen as an organization that focuses on issues that are not always considered politically correct. While APISA definitely does not have an activist profile, and while sensitive issues tend to be approached with the use of strong theoretical perspectives, the focuses that raise issues such as conflicts, corruption, authoritarianism are perhaps a bit alien to some Asian political scientists. If one studies the professional histories of the key actors of APISA, one can understand the resentment APISA has towards the norms of political correctness and towards the limited sphere of interests in traditional, authoritarian, Asian political science scholarship. Again the fact that

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APISA offers something else – cool theoretical analysis of sensitive topics – than traditional political science in the region, might be a good thing. Offering something that already exists would not make APISA relevant. Offering something that not everybody feels is proper to study, makes the association more relevant for the rapidly democratizing and politically opening Asian countries.

The fact that APISA is focused on theoretical insights, and that it does not care for the traditional political correctness, probably contributes to the sad fact that APISA's relevance to the semi-official advisory systems of Asian states, is limited. While scholars influencing CSCAP, ASEAN ISIS, ARF/EEP, and other academic advisory bodies are almost the same people, APISA's central actors, with the exception to the EEP member, Amitav Acharya, do not belong to the advisory bodies, while the EEPs and other advisers generally do not participate actively in APISA work. It has been suggested that this is because of the lack of administrative resources. The lack of sufficient secretarial staff, absence of flashy homepages, and the less lavish settings for conferences, makes APISA unable to attract the big names of the Asian political and diplomatic advisory system. This is a problem; not only because APISA would need the big names, but more, because the Asian advisory systems would badly need the perspectives of leading APISA scholars. Asian political advisory systems work well in some countries (Indonesia, for example) and there is dynamism and merit-based consideration of intellectual resources to be used. However, in some other countries, top intellectuals of the 1970s have managed to consolidate their positions, as regular policy consultants, and advisers of governments. Once they have managed this they have used their energy to maintain their prestigious positions by downplaying everyone that can threaten their intellectual authority. In these countries, the academic input comes from the 1970s and represents more authoritarian and narrow view of politics than the views of the governments they advise. Instead of offering something new, these EEPs offer something very old, and contribute nothing to the progress of Asia. Because of this, capacity building and new visions and approaches of APISA could be useful. APISA could offer alternatives to poor academic advisorship, but for this APISA would need to be visible in the political Ivy League of IR and political science scholars. The Ivy League does not need the resources of APISA, but in some countries it would badly need the intellectual excellence of the association.

While APISA is sometimes considered progressive in terms of the selection of topics for analysis, APISA does not have an activist profile. APISA's scholarship is anything but polemic activism. This could be the reason why there is surprisingly little connections between the formerly Sida-supported Southeast Asian Conflict Studies Network (SEACSN) and APISA. The former was sometimes considered having a less scholarly profile, with some of its members being labelled almost as activists. This harmful profile has been avoided by APISA, and this might be the reason for the relatively loose ties between APISA and the SEACSN.

Finally, when looking at the limits of relevance of APISA to Asian political scientists and international relationists, one has to pay attention to geographical limitations. While Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, and perhaps India and Japan are well represented by top scholars, Korea, China, Indonesia, and even Thailand, one of the countries with a strong political science tradition, and countries like Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Burma/Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, are too much outside the horizon of APISA. Strong efforts are made to involve Korea and Pakistan to some success, but a better involvement and geographical representation would be needed. This requires much more administrative

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resources, however, perhaps even a slightly more decentralized, even sub-regionalized administration of the association.

In short, APISA seems to have its important role as a link between political scientists/international relationists, and as a generator of new theoretical perspectives to the Asian scholarly community. APISA's limits of relevance reflect the limitations of its administrative resources. Perhaps, the main issue where APISA could do better would be to try to create stronger links towards the politically influential Asian political scientists and international relationists. Many informants interviewed for this assessment tended to undermine the potential usefulness of APISA for these people: "The Ivy League does not need our support." However, given the large need for theoretical inputs and new thinking, in the Asian advisory network, one should not think the Ivy League would not need APISA's intellectual capacity and its new ideas and innovations. Thus, the approach towards the EEPs should not be done on the EEP terms, APISA scholars should come with their own identity, and their own ideas. An approach towards the politically important scholars would require some new administrative resources, but it would be important. This importance would not be in terms of injecting specific ideological or political views – APISA is not an activist association – but it would be in the form of new ways of thinking, new tools for analysing politics.

Adequacy of the current organisation for the purpose of promoting social science studies in the area of political and international studies in the Asian region

The ability of APISA to produce good quality scholarship will always depend more on the quality of persons involved, than on quality of the administrative arrangements. Currently the two main administrative limitations that limit the ability of good people to do good work are related to the fact that almost all of the administration is taken care of by one person, Dr. Hari Singh. While interviews revealed the total confidence of APISA members on this person, there is only so much one person can do in terms of technical administration.

On the one hand, the scarcity of administrative resources is related to the fact that APISA cannot hire what it would consider an adequate technical secretarial staff that would take care of the technical challenges of the administration of the association. This puts a considerable constraint to the shoulders of the executive secretary, which has to be the secretariat and an executive secretary at the same time. This is naturally not an optimal solution, as expensive time of a highly qualified professional goes also to less demanding technical tasks. On the other hand the scarcity of administrative resources is related to the relatively high level of centralization in the organization of the association. It is difficult to commit others to share the administration in a situation of scarcity of administrative resources. Yet, this could be the partial solution to the administrative dilemma. Decentralization is already happening in the delegation of authority and responsibility to the APISA programs. Editing and commenting papers of program-specific events takes place in the program, while the executive secretary plays a supporting role. However, decentralization has not advanced very much towards sub-regional directions. APISA has organized regional workshops, and in these cases regional organizations have been in the driver's seat. However, in absence of such organization in parts of Asia, regional workshops tend to be most successful in the core areas of APISA activity. Taken the small number of key people running the association and taken the fact that nobody can be a specialist in the entire Asia, it is clear that APISA's problems in reaching intellectuals in certain areas of Asia, and the fact that in some countries the best political scientists or international relationists have never even heard about APISA, are related to the relative centralism in the administration of the association. It seems that also this situation is improving, though.

In order to get multipliers to the effects of APISA, the work of the association should be visible. Currently, the association has an adequate internet presence, but its administration is almost entirely in the hands of the executive secretary. As a result, the site cannot be used to facilitate day-to-day activities. APISA internet presence does not have portal-based information services for its members, it does not have mailing lists, it does not offer conference access for conference and workshop participants to conference papers, and it does not have rosters of scholars, themes, or research areas. Furthermore, following the APISA pages over the years has revealed that updating the pages has not always been fast. In absence of technical secretarial staff, these problems will be unlikely to improve.

APISA's representational system is based on a very conventional system. The association is governed by an Executive Committee whose members are elected by members (who have paid their membership fees), and the selection is

endorsed by the APISA biannual Congress.¹² The Executive Committee elects the President and an Executive Secretary from among themselves. The president is, as a rule, the person who will host the next APISA congress. This decision shows the compromise the association has had to make between representational and action oriented logic. The most favoured political scientist will not be able to lead the association unless he/she is committed to work for the association (and organize the next congress). APISA has since April 2006 been incorporated as a non-profit organisation under the Companies Ordinance (chapter 32) of Hong Kong. APISA has an agreement with the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM) to administer Sida-funding for APISA. However, APISA statutes define that APISA is managed by its Executive Committee, its President and Executive Secretary, not the UKM. This has been found slightly problematic by some of the APISA members and executives. What if the executive secretary wants to resign, will the university then nominate someone to lead the organization and manage the funds? Most of all, the arrangement creates problems with the excessive university bureaucracy all over Asia, and beyond. Simple payments might be difficult to make in time, and this often means that the organizers of activities often need to act as bankers who lend money to the association without interest (until the university reimburses them, that is if the receipts have not been lost), and accept transaction costs as personal expenditure. From the point of view of flexibility, a system that would allow APISA an independent financial identity would be a better one, while the oversight could be organized by the use of a sponsor-nominated auditing arrangement.

By far the greatest organizational challenge to APISA's mission to promote high quality political science and international studies scholarship has been the fact that APISA's activities have had a too short planning and implementation cycle. Good quality, and high-level publishing, let alone inspiring conferences all require time for planning. However, in the current system of APISA funding, activities are not confirmed in time and some activities have had to be postponed at the last moment. This relates to the short cycle of financial commitment. During my visit in March, funding for activities for this year had not yet been confirmed. Also the records of the latest meeting of the executive committee revealed problems in this respect.

Conclusions and Recommendations

All in all, APISA has been a success. It is run by scholars whose scientific quality and scholarly relevance is superior. Yet the quality has varied from Asian sub-region to sub-region. In other words, while in its main areas of operation APISA has managed to get the best scholars involved, in some other areas and countries, best scholars have remained outside the association.

APISA's main strength has been in the promotion of theoretically informed scholarship of issues that formerly have been considered sensitive and not "politically correct"¹³ objects of analysis. In this way APISA has managed to

¹² What would happen if the congress decided not to endorse the choice of the members of the association is not known. Theoretically this would result in a new election process, but in reality, it would be very difficult to imagine that the congress would make any other decisions after reaching affirmative ones.

¹³ "Political correctness" here, refers to an approach where critical approaches and approaches that reveal problems in Asian societies, are not considered "proper", in a scholarly journal.

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create new perspectives and theoretical tools for the analysis of the political realities of the democratizing Asia. International relations and conflict analysis has been at the core of the focus of APISA. Also challenges of democracy have been a central theme.

The best indication of APISA's promotion of quality has been related to its publications in established international publication outlets. The fact that APISA-publications have been the best publications to many Asian (and European, American and Australian) scholars testify to the success of the scholarly debates in APISA events, and to the efficiency of the editing practices and capacity of the main organizers of APISA events, and the editors of APISA books and special issues of journals.

While many of the working papers have also been of high quality and none have been substandard, they have not contributed sufficiently to quality or relevance in APISA work. While the commenting of papers of less experienced scholars or scholars from less established regions has been fruitful, working papers have generally not led to high level publications. Thus they have not really delivered what was expected from them. Furthermore they have not involved as much exchange of ideas as workshops and conferences have. Especially in comparison to the publications in established international journals and with top publishing houses, the value of the working papers has been limited.

Asian academic community is full of rough diamonds, scholars with solid expertise on their topic and brilliant ideas, which, however, they often present in less than elegant manners. Therefore, APISA could use the resources used for the publication of the working papers into editing and language revision services in Asia. This editing should aim at helping young Asian scholars or scholars from weaker academic communities get published in established journals and publication houses. Furthermore, collaborative publication projects should be resourced. These projects would combine the experience of top Asia-scholars with the expertise of these rough diamonds. This would take a lot of time of the senior partners of cooperation, but with adequate resourcing this should be possible. In conflict research publications collaboration between scholars of conflict areas (which almost always get less resources for education, let alone for sensitive topics such as conflict research) who necessarily have an intimate understanding of the conflict realities, and senior scholars with experience in analysing and utilizing this experience, collaboration could also be mutually beneficial.

Furthermore, instead of a working papers series, APISA could consider developing a journal of its own. New journal (Asian Journal of Politics and International Relations) could assume the profile of APISA and promote theoretically advanced Asia-specific scholarship, and it would not bar issues that traditionally felt sensitive. The concept should be to create an outlet that dares to be slightly less "politically correct" in focus, and dares to focus on issues that especially East and Southeast Asian political debate avoids; problems of democracy, corruption, securitization of politics, etc. This focus could easily spring from the profile of APISA. It could also accept articles with a global focus, if the lessons for the global generalizations were from the Asian debate. This would complement the atheoretical approach of *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, and the "politically correct" *Asian Journal of Political Science*. The concept should also be that this new journal should compete in global markets of publication. Unlike the Asian Journal of Political Science and Contemporary Southeast Asia, this journal should be listed in the main social science indexes and it should aim at high relevance, which could then be measured by a high impact factor.

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Launching of this journal would require additional resources, but those resources could be another multiplier effect for the good work of APISA.

APISA should try to reach the countries that are less represented in APISA work. This should not take place by assuming lower standards, but instead by trying to decentralize the organization geographically by giving more responsibilities to intensively publishing scholars in Asian sub-regions and countries where APISA has been less active. Furthermore, APISA should try to reach the politically important scholars in Asian political advisory bodies. This would be important for the revitalization of the advisory systems, and for the penetration of theoretically more informed debates to influential circles of political scientists.

The association should have technical resources to update and take care of the APISA internet presence and APISA information functions. The internet pages would also require faster internet hosting, and a person to take care of the updating and maintenance of the internet presence. Furthermore, in order to give an impression of the association as a professional, quality-oriented setup, it would need administrative capacity for technical secretarial functions, like answering the phone and receiving membership applications and answering questions related to APISA. For this the technical secretariat could probably need to be strengthened.

Finally, Sida should offer longer term financial commitments to APISA in order to enable decent conditions for long term planning of scientific work. High quality of scientific work requires longer term planning. This is possible only if Sida commits to the funding of APISA for a number of years at a time.

Annex 1: TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ASIAN POLITICAL AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES ASSOCIATION (APISA)

Background

The Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) was initiated in 2001. Its mission is to promote research, teaching and publication in political and international studies in and on Asia, and to promote cooperation and exchanges among individual researchers and institutions.

APISA's main activity is regional workshops, where researchers from different parts of Asia meet and discuss research on specific themes to allow for comparative studies. Since 2003, APISA has held a number of workshops and two congresses (see Annex 1). The workshops have each gathered some 20 to 25 scholars, whereas some 100 scholars have attended the congresses on each occasion. A third congress is planned for November 2007. Papers presented at the workshops and the congresses have been published as proceedings, separate papers and/or have been submitted as manuscripts with international publishers (see Annex 2).

Sida has supported APISA since its inauguration in 2001. The support is motivated by the need to promote comparative studies in political science in Asia. Such research has been in short supply in the region, and especially so in South and East Asia. In addition, one of APISA's focus areas is peace and conflict studies, and the research addresses problems of good governance, human rights, and gender equality, areas which are all identified by Sida's regional strategy for Southeast Asia as areas for development cooperation. APISA also participates in a Sida-funded South-South Collaboration programme together with the Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Latin American Council for Social Sciences (CLACSO).

APISA is governed by an Executive Committee whose members are elected by the Congress. The Executive Committee in turn elects a President and an Executive Secretary. APISA has since April 2006 been incorporated as a non-profit organisation under the Companies Ordinance (chapter 32) of Hong Kong. APISA has an agreement with the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia to administer Sida-funding for APISA.

Aim of the assessment

APISA is a small and rather new organisation. Nevertheless, a number of academic papers and publications have by now materialised. The primary objective of this assessment is to appraise the quality of APISA promoted scientific papers. In addition, the aim is to review the functioning of the organisation and its activities.

The assignment

The assignment consists of three parts:

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Firstly, the task is to assess the scientific quality of APISA papers produced for and presented at APISA arranged workshops and congresses. This constitutes the main part of the assessment.

The papers should be categorized into their respective subject areas, and their relevance in an international context should be determined. Of particular interest is the extent of publications addressing issues of peace and conflict and their quality and importance.

Papers identified as APISA products are listed in Annex 2. In addition, there may be other papers produced in connection to APISA activities, published internationally or as working papers; to the extent possible these should be identified by the reviewer and included in the assessment.

A distinction should be made between papers already published in peer-reviewed international journals, where primarily questions such as research focus and relevance for the scientific debate and the region should be reviewed, and conference papers not yet published, where in addition, method, relation to relevant theories, and other qualitative aspects of the papers should be assessed.

Secondly, the assessment should briefly explore the importance of APISA for political and international studies in the region. Which categories of scholars from which academic environments are involved in APISA activities? How known and recognised is APISA in general among political scientists internationally and in the region?

This task includes identifying and categorising scholars involved in APISA activities, and their academic affiliation. The extent to which APISA has reached and mobilised scholars from countries where this scientific field has a comparatively weak position, is of particular importance in this respect.

Thirdly, in conjunction with this, the assessment should briefly address the adequacy of the current organisation for the purpose of promoting social science studies in the area of political and international studies in the Asian region.

How well does the network reach out to the relevant researchers in the region? What are the experiences of APISA's capacity to organise the various workshops and congresses? What, if any, are the major short-comings in the current mode of operating the network? What can be recommended for the future in terms of modifying the organisation? Should the network attempt to broaden its scope and regional outreach, or rather limit the ambitions?

Method, time schedule and reporting

The study should be performed largely as a desk-study of the relevant publications and working papers, and by exploring the internet (APISA has its own web-site at www.apisanet.com). In addition, interviews with relevant APISA stakeholders in Bangkok, *Kuala Lumpur*, *Singapore* and possibly also *Indonesia*, should be performed. In addition, interviews by e-mail may be a way to assess some of the organisational aspects.

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A maximum of 15 full time work days are required for the assignment, including time spent on interviews in the region, and the writing up of the report; see further the budget in Annex 3.

Visits to the region will take place in late February/early March.

The report shall be written in English and comprise around 20 pages, excluding annexes. In addition, a summary of two pages should be included. A draft report should be submitted to Sida by March 31 2007, and the final report is due within a week after comments have been submitted by Sida.

Annex 2: References

Social Science Citation Index Database.

APISA Papers and Publications:

+ CD-ROM: Proceedings of Asian Political and International Studies Association, Second Congress;

APISA Working Paper no 1; Edmund Terence Gomez, *The State, Democracy, Equity, and Identity: Ethnic Conflict in Malaysia and Sri Lanka*, October 2004;

APISA Working Paper No 2; Ang Ming Chee, *Political Structure and Public Policy Conflict Management: A Comparative Study on Thailand and Malaysia*, October 2004;

APISA Working Paper no 3; Sol Iglesias, *On New Dangers of Decentralisation*, October 2004;

APISA Working Paper no 4; Ramses Amer, *The China-Vietnam Relationship: Assessing a Turbulent Quarter of a Century, 1975-2000*; October 2004;

APISA Working Paper no 5; Arvind Kumar, *India's Security and Strategic Interests in Southeast Asia*, July 2005;

APISA Working Paper no 6; Gaye Christoffersen, *ASEAN Plus Three in the Construction of an East Asian Regional Security Order*, July 2005;

APISA Working Paper no 7; N. Ganesan, *Appraising Democratic Consolidation in Thailand under Thaksin*, July 2005;

APISA Working Paper no 8; Meredith L. Weiss, *The Campus as Crucible: Student Activism in Malaysia*, July 2005;

APISA Working Paper no 9; Wah Wah Maung, *The Role of Foreign Direct Investment in Myanmar and Vietnam*, July 2005;

APISA Working Paper no 10; Andy Mickey Choong Tek Choy, *Consolidating the State. Re-examining State Formation in Malaysia and Singapore*, September 2006;

Conference programme and papers from APISA Regional Workshop on *South Asian Conceptions of International Relations: Search for Alternative Paradigms*, October 2003;

Conference proceedings: *Why is there No Non-Western International Relations Theory? Reflections on and from Asia*; Regional Workshop in Singapore, July 2005;

The Pacific Review; Special Issue: *Theorizing Southeast Asian Relations: Emerging Debates*, Volume 19, no 2, June 2006 (*papers presented at the first APISA congress in Singapore in November 2003 and the Regional Workshop in Singapore in July 2005*);

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Policy and Society; Volume 24, no 3; Faculty Journal at the University of Sydney, found at www.econ.usyd.edu.au/policyandsociety/vol24no3; papers from the Second APISA Congress in Hong Kong in November 2005;

Conference programme and papers from APISA Regional Workshop on Current International Relations Studies in Northeast Asia, November 2004;

Other documentation:

+List of abstracts from second APISA congress, *Governance Dilemmas in Asia; Public Action in a Competitive and Insecure World*, Hong Kong November 2005;

Program schedule and list of participants for Capacity Building Workshop: Research. Training and University Administration in Asia, Kuala Lumpur, October 2006;

Minutes of the Seventh Executive Committee Meeting, Kuala Lumpur, 11 October 2006;

Memorandum and Articles of Association of Asian Political and International Studies Association Limited, 18 April 2006.

Annex 3: List of People interviewed (either in person, on the phone or through Email)

Australia

Dr. Kanishka Jayasuriya,
Principal Senior Research Fellow,
Asia Research Centre,
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Professor Javed Maswood,
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Dr. Mohamed Mijarul Quayes,
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Dhaka

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Dr. Azman Ahmad,
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Universiti Brunei Darussalam,

Dr. Pushpa Thambipillai,
Dept of Public Policy,
Faculty of Business, Economics and Policy Studies,
Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Burma/Myanmar

Mr. Zin Linn
Director
Media & Information Unit
National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma

Maung Maung
Burma activist and consultant

Nyunt Tin
Ambassador
Former Director
Myanmar ISIS

Kyee Myint
Director
Myanmar ISIS

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Peking University,

Dr. Yang Hong Shan,
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Dr. Tiejun Zhang
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Visiting Fellow, Waseda University

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Dr. Dorj Shurkhuu,
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Assessment of APISA

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National University of Singapore,

Associate Professor Lee Lai To,
Head,
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