

POLITICS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

GOVT 391 - 07 (15894)

Fall 2017

Small Physics Lab 111

Tuesday & Thursday 11:00 am - 12:20 pm

INSTRUCTOR : S.P. Harish
DEPARTMENT : Government, William & Mary
OFFICE : Rm 357, Tyler Hall
EMAIL : spharish@wm.edu
OFFICE HOURS : Tue, Thu: 3:30pm - 5pm (or by appointment)

Course Overview & Objectives

This class is an introduction to Southeast Asian politics. In the first half of the class, we will discuss the politics of various Southeast Asian countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand & Myanmar. While these countries will give you a good foundation to understand Southeast Asia, you are encouraged to read more broadly about the issues. In the second half of the class, we will focus on thematic issues that affect the region: autocratic survival, democratization, economic development, identity politics, rebellion and political violence. During each thematic week, we will discuss the current theoretical literature and use empirical examples from different Southeast Asian countries to answer important political and economic questions. The course readings will use a combination of individual country studies, statistical data and inference, field experiments, qualitative case comparisons, and historical maps.

At the end of the course, you will (1) gain a good understanding of the historical and contemporary issues surrounding Southeast Asian politics; (2) compare and contrast the experiences of different Southeast Asian countries to advance a theoretical argument; and (3) acquire up-to-date knowledge on the field of Southeast Asian politics and its contribution to our understanding of important political science theories.

Required Book

The following book will be used extensively in this course. It will also serve as a good reference if you conduct further research in the field of Southeast Asian politics.

- D.R. Sardesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013

Class Requirements & Expectation

The course will be taught using a combination of lectures and class discussions.

Grading

In Class Midterm Exam, 12 Oct 2017, 25% The midterm will test the material covered in the first part of the class. It will cover the lectures, readings and any documentaries shown before that date. The exam will be a mixture of a map quiz, short-answer and essay questions.

Country Report, DUE DATE: 7 Dec 2017, 30% The country report will require you to write a report on one Southeast Asian country (from Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar) covering *five* out of the six themes we discuss in this course. You will be assigned the country for the report (through a lottery). Each theme should be discussed for about 2 pages (double-spaced). In the report, you will need to draw on both the required and recommended readings for that specific country/theme, and also do your own research (i.e. additional readings and news articles). You are encouraged to come to my office hours to discuss the themes and additional readings for your country report.

Take Home Final, DUE DATE: 18 Dec 2017, 30% The final exam will be a take-home exam that will cover all the lectures, readings and documentaries shown in class. The exam will consist only of essay questions. You can consult your own lecture notes, readings and documentaries to answer the exam. The final exam will be made available on **5 Dec 2017** and is due on **18 Dec 2017**.

Class Participation, 15% Participation in class is critical to doing well in this course. You are required to read the week's material before class, and come prepared to ask questions and engage in a constructive discussion. I encourage you to ask questions and make your opinion heard at any time during the class.

GOVT Omnibus Study (optional), 1% Optional extra credit for participating in the GOVT Omnibus Study: The Department of Government runs a collaborative subject pool for survey and experimental research conducted by students and faculty. To help introduce you to the field of political science and earn extra credit for this course, you will have the opportunity to participate as a subject in a research project this semester. Doing so will contribute to the efforts of your fellow W&M students and faculty members in Government. Completing the requirements to earn extra credit will involve taking a survey and possibly participating in a session with student or faculty researchers. Typically, the commitment is about an hour of your time. An alternative assignment will be offered to students who do not want to participate in the Omnibus Project or who are not old enough to participate (you must be 18 years of age), but who still would like to seek extra credit. The maximum amount of extra credit available is 1 percentage point toward your final semester grade.

I will base final course grades on the following scale, with partial-percents typically rounded to the nearest full percent: A 100-93, A- 92-90, B+ 89-88, B 87-83, B- 82-80, C+ 79-78, C 77-73, C- 72-70, D+ 69-68, D 67-63, D- 62-60, F < 60.

Class Attendance

We will meet on twice a week during the semester. You can expect me to come prepared to lecture, conduct discussions, and answer any queries you have on the reading material. During each class, I will work to provide you with an environment where you can ask interesting questions and engage in a constructive discussion. While attendance is not mandatory, it is encouraged as your class participation grade is dependent on your presence. Note also that the midterm and final exam will rely on the lectures, documentaries and class discussions.

Classroom Policy

The classroom is a place of learning and I expect all of us to strive towards making the class an enjoyable academic environment. It is important that all of us: (1) arrive on time each week; (2) be respectful towards each other in our comments; and (3) turn off or put our cell phones on vibrate mode. You can use other electronic devices such as laptops for note-taking in class as long as it does not distract your fellow classmates or disrupt the class.

Communication

You are encouraged to attend office hours to clarify any of the classroom material and discuss your assignments. You can also send me questions over email, but please include the course number and your full name in the subject header. Note that questions and discussion points made over email or during office hours will *not* count towards class participation. If you wish to make an appointment outside of my office hours, I will need you to email me at least 48 hours before our meeting. Between Mon 9am - Fri 5pm, you can expect me to reply to emails within 24 hours. If you do not receive a response by then, please send me a reminder. I will respond to all emails received after Friday 5pm on Monday.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

William & Mary accommodates students with disabilities in accordance with federal laws and university policy. Any student who feels she or he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis should contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) staff at 221-2509 or at sas@wm.edu. An official letter from SAS is required before students can receive an accommodation.

Academic Misconduct

Please familiarize yourself with the University's policies for academic integrity. Answers to questions on cheating, plagiarism, or other types of academic dishonesty are available on the William & Mary Honor Councils web site (<http://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/studentconduct/honorcodeandcouncils/honorcode/index.php>) and the Honor Code section of the Student Handbook. If I discover any academic misconduct, I will initiate an Honor Council proceeding and recommend that the student receive an F for the course.

Summary of Important Dates

8 September 2017 Add/drop deadline

12 Oct 2017 In-class Midterm

27 Oct 2017 Withdraw deadline

7 Dec 2017 Country report due

18 Dec 2017 Final take-home exam due

Documentaries

During the course, I will show you (parts of) important documentaries on Southeast Asian politics. These are intended to give you an understanding of the historical and contemporary issues that affect the region. They include:

- A Fractured Nation - Malaysia PRU13, Bersih 4 and Red Shirt Rally Timeline
- They Call It Myanmar Lifting the Curtain (2012)
- Inside Story - Is Thailand on its way back to democracy?
- The History of Singapore: The Accidental Nation (Part 2)

Class Schedule

Week 1, 31 Aug 2017 - Introduction

Week 2, 5 Sep 2017 & 7 Sep 2017 - Early Southeast Asia

Required

- D.R. Sardesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, chapters 1-4
- James C. Scott. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, p.1-61

Recommended

- Ruth McVey. "Change and Continuity in Southeast Asian Studies." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26.1 (1995), pp. 1-9

Week 3, 12 Sep 2017 & 14 Sep 2017 - Malaysia & Philippines

Required

- D.R. Sardesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, chapters 8,13 & p.173-176
- Dan Slater. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36.1 (2003), pp. 81-101
- Dan Slater. "Southeast Asia: Strong-State Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore." *Journal of Democracy* 23.2 (2012), pp. 19-33
- Paul D. Hutchcroft. "The Arroyo Imbroglia in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy* 19.1 (2008), pp. 141-155

Recommended

- Judith A. Nagata. "What Is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society." *American Ethnologist* 1.2 (1974), pp. 331–350
- Edmund Terence Gomez and K.S. Jomo. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*. Second. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 10-27
- Benedict J. Kerkvliet. *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, p.249-269
- Benedict Anderson. "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams." *New Left Review* (1988)

Week 4, 19 Sep 2017 & 21 Sep 2017 - Indonesia & Myanmar

Required

- D.R. Sardesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, chapters 14,15,20 & 22
- Ross H. McLeod. "Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption." *Agenda* 7.2 (2000), pp. 99–112
- William R. Liddle. "The Politics of Shared Growth: Some Indonesian Cases." *Comparative Politics* (1987)
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing. "Setting the Rules for Survival: Why the Burmese Military Regime Survives in an Age of Democratization." *The Pacific Review* 22.3 (2009), pp. 271–291

Recommended

- Donald L. Horowitz. *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p.1-29, 207-260
- Mary P. Callahan. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003, p.1-20, 204-228

Week 5, 26 Sep 2017 & 28 Sep 2017 - Thailand & Vietnam

Required

- D.R. Sardesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, chapters 11,21 & p.111-117,165-172,316-330.
- Joel Sawat Selway. "Electoral Reform and Public Policy Outcomes in Thailand: The Politics of the 30-Baht Health Scheme." *World Politics* 63.1 (2011), pp. 165–202
- Duncan McCargo. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand." *Pacific Review* 18.4 (2005), pp. 499–519
- Edmund J. Malesky, Regina M. Abrami, and Yu Zheng. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." *Comparative Politics* 43.4 (2011), pp. 401–419

Recommended

- William J. Duiker. *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996, p. 215-253
- Veerayooth Kanchoochat and Kevin Hewison. "Introduction: Understanding Thailand's Politics." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.3 (2016), pp. 371-387

Week 6, 3 Oct 2017 & 5 Oct 2017 - Singapore

On 5 Oct 2017 we will have a lottery for the country reports.

Required

- D.R. Sardesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2013, p.301-310
- Natasha Hamilton-Hart. "The Singapore State Revisited." *Pacific Review* 13.2 (2000), pp. 195-216
- Beng Huat Chua. "The Cultural Logic of a Capitalist Single-Party State, Singapore." *Postcolonial Studies* 13.4 (2010), pp. 335-350

Recommended

- Michael D. Barr. "Ordinary Singapore: The Decline of Singapore Exceptionalism." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.1 (2016), pp. 1-17

Week 7, 10 Oct 2017 & 12 Oct 2017 - Midterm Review & Midterm

The in-class midterm will be held on 12 Oct 2017

Week 8, 19 Oct 2017 - Comparative Analysis

There is no class on 17 Oct 2017 (Fall Break)

Required

- David Collier. "The Comparative Method." : *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. ed. by Ada W. Finifter. Washington DC: American Political Science Association, 1993
- James D. Fearon. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science." *World Politics* 43.2 (1991), pp. 169-195
- James Mahoney. "Strategies of Causal Assessment in Comparative Historical Analysis." : *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Ed. by James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 337-372

Recommended

- Arendt Lijphart. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *American Political Science Review* 65 (1971), pp. 682-693

Week 9, 24 Oct 2017 & 26 Oct 2017 - Autocratic Survival

Required

- Jason Brownlee. “Bound to Rule: Party Institutions and Regime Trajectories in Malaysia and the Philippines.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8.1 (2008), pp. 89–118
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing. “Setting the Rules for Survival: Why the Burmese Military Regime Survives in an Age of Democratization.” *The Pacific Review* 22.3 (2009), pp. 271–291
- Dan Slater. “Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia.” *Comparative Politics* 36.1 (2003), pp. 81–101

Recommended

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. “Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.” *Journal of Democracy* 13.2 (2002), pp. 51–65

Week 10, 31 Oct 2017 & 2 Nov 2017 - Democratization

Required

- Thomas B. Pepinsky. *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2009, Chapters 1 & 6
- Dan Slater. “Southeast Asia: Strong-State Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore.” *Journal of Democracy* 23.2 (2012), pp. 19–33
- Edward Aspinall. *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Stanford University Press, 2005, Chapters 1 & 8

Recommended

- William Case, ed. *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*. Routledge, 2015

Week 11, 7 Nov 2017 & 9 Nov 2017 - Economic Development

Required

- Hal Hill. “Towards a Political Economy Explanation of Rapid Growth in ASEAN: A Survey and Analysis.” *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 14.2 (1997), pp. 131–149
- Paul Krugman. “The Myth of Asia’s Miracle.” *Foreign Affairs* 73.6 (1994), pp. 62–78
- Richard F. Doner. “Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 50.4 (2011), pp. 818–849
- Gregory W. Noble and John Ravenhill. “Cause and Consequences of the Asian Financial Crisis.” : *The Asian Financial Crisis and the Architecture of Global Finance*. Ed. by Gregory W. Noble and John Ravenhill. Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 1–35

Recommended

- Stephan Haggard. “Institutions and Growth in East Asia.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38.4 (2004), pp. 53–81
- Anne Booth. “Initial Conditions and Miraculous Growth: Why is South East Asia Different From Taiwan and South Korea?” *World Development* 27.2 (1999), pp. 301–321

Week 12, 14 Nov 2017 & 16 Nov 2017 - Identity Politics

Required

- David Brown. *The State and Ethnic Politics in SouthEast Asia*. Routledge, 1997, chapter 1
- Edward Aspinall. “Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11.2 (2011), pp. 289–319
- Thomas B. Pepinsky, R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. “Testing Islam’s Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56.3 (2012), pp. 584–600

Recommended

- Kanchan Chandra. “What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006), pp. 397–424
- Adam Burke. “New Political Space, Old Tensions: History, Identity and Violence in Rakhine State, Myanmar.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38.2 (2016), pp. 258–283

Week 13, 21 Nov 2017 & 23 Nov 2017 - THANKSGIVING BREAK

Week 14, 28 Nov 2017 & 30 Nov 2017 - Rebellion & Political Violence

Required

- Clive J. Christie. *A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism*. New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998, chapter 1
- Edward Aspinall. “The Construction of Grievance.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51.6 (2007), pp. 950–972
- Yuhki Tajima. “The Institutional Basis of Intercommunal Order: Evidence from Indonesia’s Democratic Transition.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57.1 (2013), pp. 104–119
- S.P.Harish. “Ethnic or Religious Cleavage? Investigating the Nature of the Conflict in Southern Thailand.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28.1 (2006), pp. 48–69

Recommended

- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55.2 (2011), pp. 201–218
- Edward Aspinall. *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia*. Stanford University Press, 2009

Week 15, 5 Dec 2017 & 7 Dec 2017 - International Relations & Review

The distribution of take-home final will be on 5 Dec 2017 in class (due on 18 Dec 2017).
The country report is due on 7 Dec 2017.

Required

- Catharin Dalpino. "US Security Relations with Southeast Asia in the Trump Administration." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 39.1 (2017), pp. 3–8
- Bill Hayton. *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia*. Yale University Press, 2014

Recommended

- Walter Lohman. "The Trump Administration's Trade Policy and the Implications for Southeast Asia." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 39.1 (2017), pp. 36–41
- Laely Nurhidayah, Shawkat Alam, and Zada Lipman. "The Influence of International Law upon ASEAN Approaches in Addressing Transboundary Haze Pollution in Southeast Asia." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 37.2 (2015), pp. 183–210
- Robert D. Kaplan. *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific*. Random House, 2015

References

- [1] Benedict Anderson. “Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams.” *New Left Review* (1988).
- [2] Edward Aspinall. “Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11.2 (2011), pp. 289–319.
- [3] Edward Aspinall. *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia*. Stanford University Press, 2009.
- [4] Edward Aspinall. *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*. Stanford University Press, 2005.
- [5] Edward Aspinall. “The Construction of Grievance.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51.6 (2007), pp. 950–972.
- [6] Michael D. Barr. “Ordinary Singapore: The Decline of Singapore Exceptionalism.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.1 (2016), pp. 1–17.
- [7] Anne Booth. “Initial Conditions and Miraculous Growth: Why is South East Asia Different From Taiwan and South Korea?” *World Development* 27.2 (1999), pp. 301–321.
- [8] David Brown. *The State and Ethnic Politics in SouthEast Asia*. Routledge, 1997.
- [9] Jason Brownlee. “Bound to Rule: Party Institutions and Regime Trajectories in Malaysia and the Philippines.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8.1 (2008), pp. 89–118.
- [10] Adam Burke. “New Political Space, Old Tensions: History, Identity and Violence in Rakhine State, Myanmar.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38.2 (2016), pp. 258–283.
- [11] Mary P. Callahan. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- [12] William Case, ed. *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*. Routledge, 2015.
- [13] Kanchan Chandra. “What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006), pp. 397–424.
- [14] Clive J. Christie. *A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism*. New York: I.B.Tauris, 1998.
- [15] Beng Huat Chua. “The Cultural Logic of a Capitalist Single-Party State, Singapore.” *Postcolonial Studies* 13.4 (2010), pp. 335–350.
- [16] David Collier. “The Comparative Method.” : *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Ed. by Ada W. Finifter. Washington DC: American Political Science Association, 1993.
- [17] Catharin Dalpino. “US Security Relations with Southeast Asia in the Trump Administration.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 39.1 (2017), pp. 3–8.
- [18] Richard F. Doner. “Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 50.4 (2011), pp. 818–849.
- [19] William J. Duiker. *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.
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- [21] Edmund Terence Gomez and K.S. Jomo. *Malaysia’s Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*. Second. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- [22] Stephan Haggard. “Institutions and Growth in East Asia.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38.4 (2004), pp. 53–81.

- [23] Natasha Hamilton-Hart. "The Singapore State Revisited." *Pacific Review* 13.2 (2000), pp. 195–216.
- [24] Bill Hayton. *The South China Sea: The Struggle for Power in Asia*. Yale University Press, 2014.
- [25] Hal Hill. "Towards a Political Economy Explanation of Rapid Growth in ASEAN: A Survey and Analysis." *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 14.2 (1997), pp. 131–149.
- [26] Kyaw Yin Hlaing. "Setting the Rules for Survival: Why the Burmese Military Regime Survives in an Age of Democratization." *The Pacific Review* 22.3 (2009), pp. 271–291.
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- [29] Veerayooth Kanchoochat and Kevin Hewison. "Introduction: Understanding Thailand's Politics." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.3 (2016), pp. 371–387.
- [30] Robert D. Kaplan. *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific*. Random House, 2015.
- [31] Benedict J. Kerkvliet. *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- [32] Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55.2 (2011), pp. 201–218.
- [33] Paul Krugman. "The Myth of Asia's Miracle." *Foreign Affairs* 73.6 (1994), pp. 62–78.
- [34] Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13.2 (2002), pp. 51–65.
- [35] William R. Liddle. "The Politics of Shared Growth: Some Indonesian Cases." *Comparative Politics* (1987).
- [36] Arendt Lijphart. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." *American Political Science Review* 65 (1971), pp. 682–693.
- [37] Walter Lohman. "The Trump Administration's Trade Policy and the Implications for Southeast Asia." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 39.1 (2017), pp. 36–41.
- [38] James Mahoney. "Strategies of Causal Assessment in Comparative Historical Analysis." : *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Ed. by James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 337–372.
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- [40] Duncan McCargo. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand." *Pacific Review* 18.4 (2005), pp. 499–519.
- [41] Ross H. McLeod. "Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption." *Agenda* 7.2 (2000), pp. 99–112.
- [42] Ruth McVey. "Change and Continuity in Southeast Asian Studies." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26.1 (1995), pp. 1–9.
- [43] Judith A. Nagata. "What Is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society." *American Ethnologist* 1.2 (1974), pp. 331–350.

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- [47] Thomas B. Pepinsky, R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. "Testing Islam's Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia." *American Journal of Political Science* 56.3 (2012), pp. 584–600.
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- [49] James C. Scott. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- [50] Joel Sawat Selway. "Electoral Reform and Public Policy Outcomes in Thailand: The Politics of the 30-Baht Health Scheme." *World Politics* 63.1 (2011), pp. 165–202.
- [51] Dan Slater. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36.1 (2003), pp. 81–101.
- [52] Dan Slater. "Southeast Asia: Strong-State Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore." *Journal of Democracy* 23.2 (2012), pp. 19–33.
- [53] S.P.Harish. "Ethnic or Religious Cleavage? Investigating the Nature of the Conflict in Southern Thailand." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 28.1 (2006), pp. 48–69.
- [54] Yuhki Tajima. "The Institutional Basis of Intercommunal Order: Evidence from Indonesia's Democratic Transition." *American Journal of Political Science* 57.1 (2013), pp. 104–119.