

Mobilizing for Elections

Patronage and Political Machines in Southeast Asia

EDWARD ASPINALL

Australian National University

MEREDITH L. WEISS

University at Albany, State University of New York

ALLEN HICKEN

University of Michigan

PAUL D. HUTCHCROFT

Australian National University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009074827

DOI: 10.1017/9781009075015

© Edward Aspinall, Meredith L. Weiss, Allen Hicken, and Paul D. Hutchcroft 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022

First paperback edition 2024

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

NAMES: Aspinall, Edward, author. | Weiss, Meredith L. (Meredith Leigh), 1972- author. | Hicken, Allen, 1969- author. | Hutchcroft, Paul D. (Paul David), author.

TITLE: Mobilizing for elections : patronage and political machines in Southeast Asia / Edward Aspinall, Meredith L. Weiss, Allen Hicken, Paul D. Hutchcroft.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2021063115 (print) | LCCN 2021063116 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316513804 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009074827 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009075015 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Politics, Practical--Southeast Asia--Case studies. | Patron and client--Southeast Asia--Case studies. | Southeast Asia--Politics and government--1945--Case studies. | BISAC:

POLITICAL SCIENCE / World / General

CLASSIFICATION: LCC JQ750.A91 A78 2022 (print) | LCC JQ750.A91 (ebook) | DDC 320.959-dc23/eng/20220304

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021063115>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021063116>

ISBN 978-1-316-51380-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-009-07482-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page vi
<i>List of Tables</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	viii
<i>List of Terms and Acronyms</i>	xi
1 Patronage and Political Machines in Southeast Asia	i
2 Historical and Institutional Foundations: States, Parties, Constituencies for Patronage, and Electoral Systems	31
3 Mobilization Networks and Patterns of Patronage: National Parties, Ad Hoc Teams, and Local Machines	67
4 Targeting Individuals: Don't You Forget about Me	99
5 Targeting Groups: Pork Barreling and Club Goods	125
6 Hijacked Programs: Using Public Policy for Patronage Purposes	150
7 Patronage and Identity: Domesticating Difference	176
8 Subnational Variation: Violence, Hierarchy, and Islands of Exception	204
9 Conclusion: Patterns, Permutations, and Reform Prospects	235
<i>Appendix A: Surveys</i>	257
<i>Appendix B: Subnational Government and Electoral Systems</i>	265
<i>Bibliography</i>	273
<i>Index</i>	297