

Electoral Malpractice in Asia

Bending the Rules

edited by
Netina Tan and
Kharis Templeman



BOULDER
LONDON

Published in the United States of America in 2023 by
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
1800 30th Street, Suite 314, Boulder, Colorado 80301
www.rienner.com

and in the United Kingdom by
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
Gray's Inn House, 127 Clerkenwell Road, London EC1 5DB
www.eurospanbookstore.com/rienner

© 2023 by Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Tan, Netina, editor. | Templeman, Kharis, editor.

Title: Electoral malpractice in Asia : bending the rules / edited by Netina
Tan and Kharis Templeman.

Description: Boulder, Colorado : Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2023. |
Includes bibliographical references. | Summary: "Systematically compares
the quality of elections across eleven democracies and electoral
autocracies in Asia"— Provided by publisher.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023000978 (print) | LCCN 2023000979 (ebook) | ISBN
9781955055963 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781685852931 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Elections—Corrupt practices—Asia.

Classification: LCC JQ38 .E46 2023 (print) | LCC JQ38 (ebook) | DDC
324.95—dc23/eng/20230323

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023000978>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023000979>

British Cataloguing in Publication Data

A Cataloguing in Publication record for this book
is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound in the United States of America



The paper used in this publication meets the requirements
of the American National Standard for Permanence of
Paper for Printed Library Materials Z39.48-1992.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
------------------------	-----

1 Electoral Malpractice in Asia: The Menu of Manipulation <i>Kharis Templeman and Netina Tan</i>	1
---	---

**PART 1 RULING PARTY ACTORS:
CHOOSING FROM THE INCUMBENTS' TOOLKIT**

2 Japan: Manipulating (on) the Margins <i>Kenneth Mori McElwain and Tomoshi Yoshikawa</i>	27
3 South Korea: Neither Free nor Fair <i>Jong-sung You</i>	43
4 Taiwan: Raising the Bar <i>Kharis Templeman</i>	65
5 Mongolia: When Manipulation Backfires <i>Michael Seeberg</i>	89
6 Singapore: Tilting the Playing Field <i>Netina Tan</i>	107
7 Malaysia: When the Whole Menu Is Not Enough <i>Kai Ostwald</i>	127
8 Cambodia: When the Gloves Come Off <i>Max Grömping</i>	145

PART 2 LOCAL AND UNELECTED ACTORS:
MANIPULATION WITHOUT INCUMBENTS

- 9 Indonesia: Different Actors, Different Tools 169
Seth Soderborg
- 10 The Philippines: Democracy in Distress 199
Cleo Calimbahin
- 11 Myanmar: Invisible Intimidation 219
Elin Bjarnegård
- 12 Thailand: The Uses and Abuses of Electoral Reforms 241
Joel Selway

PART 3 CONCLUSION

- 13 Electoral Malpractice: 255
The Consequences for Democracy in Asia
Kharis Templeman and Netina Tan

- List of Acronyms* 283
- Bibliography* 287
- List of Contributors* 311
- Index* 313
- About the Book* 327