Reproduced from The 3rd ASEAN Reader, compiled by Ooi Kee Beng, Sanchita Basu Das, Terence Chong, Malcolm Cook, Cassey Lee and Michael Yeo (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2015). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. Individual articles are available at <a href="http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg">http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg</a>

# Bibliography

### A

- Abad, M.C. "The Role of ASEAN in Security Multilateralism: ZOPFAN, TAC and SEANWFZ". Conference paper, the ASEAN Regional Forum Professional Development Program for Foreign Affairs and Defense Officials, Banda Seri Begawan, Brunei, 23–28 April 2000.
- Abbas, Zaffar. "Analysis: Musharrafs Kashmir Risk". BBC News, 18 December 2003.
- Abbot, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance". *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (2000): 421–56.
- Abe, Shinzo. Keynote address, Shangri-La Dialogue 2014, Singapore, 30 May 2014.
- Acemoglu, D. and J.A. Robinson. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty.* New York: Crown Business, 2012.
- Acharya, Amitav. "Regional Institutions and Asian Security Order: Norms, Power, and Prospects for Peaceful Change". In Asian Security Order: Instrumental and Normative Features, edited by Muthiah Alagappa. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Acharya, Amitav. "Ideas, Identity, and Institution-Building". *The Pacific Review* 10, no. 3 (1997): 319–46.
- Acharya, Amitav. "Realism, Institutionalism, and the Asian Economic Crisis". Contemporary Southeast Asia 21, no. 1 (1999): 1–29.
- Acharya, Amitav. Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia. London: Routledge, 2001.
- ADB (Asian Development Bank). "Asia Regional Integration Center". In Asian Development Bank <a href="http://aric.adb.org/FTAbyCountryAll.php">http://aric.adb.org/FTAbyCountryAll.php</a>>.
- ADB (Asian Development Bank). *Emerging Asian Regionalism: A Partnership for Shared Prosperity*. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2008.
- ADB (Asian Development Bank). Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific 2008. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2008.
- ADB (Asian Development Bank). "Exchange Rate Cooperation: Is East Asia Ready?". In *Asia Economic Monitor*. Manila: Asian Development Bank, December 2010.
- ADB (Asian Development Bank). Institutions for Regional Integration: Towards an Asian Economic Community. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2010.
- Aldaba, Rafaelita M., Josef T. Yap, and Peter A. Petri. "The AEC and Investment and Capital Flows". In *Realizing the ASEAN Economic Community: A Comprehensive Assessment*, edited by Michael G. Plummer and Chia Siow Yue. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.

- Alagappa, M. "Asean Institutional Framework and Modus Operandi: Recommendations for Change". In ASEAN at the Crossroads: Obstacles, Options & Opportunities in Economic Cooperation, edited by N. Sopiee, C.L. See, and L.S. Jin. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies, 1987.
- Aleinikoff, T.A. "Between National and Postnational: Membership in the United States". In *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States*, edited by C. Joppke and E. Morawska. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Allen, Nathan. "From Patronage Machine to Partisan Melee: Subnational Corruption and the Evolution of the Indonesian Party System". *Pacific Affairs* 87, no. 2 (2014): 221–45.
- Almonte, Jose T. *Towards One Southeast Asia: Collected Speeches*. Quezon City: Institute of Strategic and Development Studies, 2004.
- Amador, Julio S. "ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community: An Assessment of Its Institutional Prospects". Pasay City, Philippines: Foreign Service Institute, 28 February 2011.
- Amarapibal, A, A. Beesey, and A. Germershausen. "Irregular Immigration into Thailand". In Unauthorized Migration in Southeast Asia, edited by G. Battistella and M.M.B. Asis. Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2003.
- AMIC (Asian Media Information and Communication Centre). "2nd ASEAN Media Forum". In *Asian Media and Communication Centre*, 8 November 2010 <a href="http://amic.org.sg/blog/2010/11/08/2nd-asean-media-forum/">http://amic.org.sg/blog/2010/11/08/2nd-asean-media-forum/</a>> (accessed 4 October 2011).
- Amin, Shahid M. Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Andaya, Barbara. "Contextualising the Global: Exploring the Roots of Pentecostalism in Malaysia and Indonesia". Conference paper, Symposium on Management and Marketing of Globalising Asian Religions, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 11–14 August 2009.
- Anderson, Allan. An Introduction to Pentecostalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Anderson, Allan. To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Anderson, Benedict. "Cacique Democracy and the Philippines: Origins and Dreams". New Left Review 169 (May–June 1988): 3–33.
- Anderson, Robert M. Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1979.
- Ando, M. and F. Kimura. "The Formation of International Production and Distribution Networks in East Asia". In *International Trade in East Asia* (NBER-East Asia Seminar on Economics Volume 14), edited by T. Ito and A. Rose. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Anthony, Mely C. "ASEAN: How to Engage or Cooperate". Conference paper, ASEAN-ISIS Conference on ASEAN 2020: Vision, Crises and Change, Singapore, 21–22 July 1999.
- Antkiewicz, A. and J. Whalley. "China's New Regional Trade Agreements". *The World Economy* 28, no. 10 (October 2005): 1539–57.
- Arase, David. "Non-Traditional Security in China-ASEAN Cooperation: The Institutionalization of Regional Security Cooperation and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism". *Asian Survey* 50, no. 4 (2010): 808–83.
- Arndt, Sven. "Global Production Networks and Regional Integration". Working Paper 2003-12. Claremont, CA: Claremont McKenna College, Lowe Institute of Political Economy, 2003.
- Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal. "Chairperson's Statement of the 12th ASEAN Summit: One Caring and Sharing Community". In ASEAN Secretariat, 13 January 2007 <a href="http://www.asean.org/news/item/chairperson-s-statement-of-the-12th-asean-summit-he-the-president-gloria-macapagal-arroyo-one-caring-and-sharing-community">http://www.asean.org/ news/item/chairperson-s-statement-of-the-12th-asean-summit-he-the-president-gloriamacapagal-arroyo-one-caring-and-sharing-community> (accessed April 26, 2010).

- ASEAN Inter-parliamentary Myanmar Caucus. "Open Letter to the Heads of Government of ASEAN, China and India". In ASEAN Parliamentarians for Human Rights, August 2007 <a href="http://www.aseanmp.org/news/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/china\_appeal.pdf">http://www.aseanmp.org/news/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/china\_appeal.pdf</a>>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Overview: Association of Southeast Asian Nations". < http://www.aseansec. org/64.htm> (accessed 19 September 2007).
- ASEAN Secretariat. "The ASEAN Regional Forum: A Concept Paper". <a href="http://aseanregionalforum.asean.org/files/library/Terms%20of%20References%20and%20">http://aseanregionalforum.asean.org/files/library/Terms%20of%20References%20and%20</a> Concept%20Paper%20Paper%20of%20ARF.pdf> (accessed 30 April 2013).
- ASEAN Secretariat. "The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Plan of Action." <a href="http://www.asean.org/news/item/the-asean-socio-cultural-community-ascc-plan-of-action">http://www.asean.org/news/item/the-asean-socio-cultural-community-ascc-plan-of-action</a>>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Joint Communique The First ASEAN Heads of Government Meeting Bali, 23–24 February 1976". 23–24 February 1976 <a href="http://www.asean.org/news/item/jointcommunique-the-first-asean-heads-of-government-meeting-bali-23-24-february-1976">http://www.asean.org/news/item/jointcommunique-the-first-asean-heads-of-government-meeting-bali-23-24-february-1976</a>>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "The Declaration of ASEAN Concord, Bali, 24 February 1976". In ASEAN Documents Series 1967–1986. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1986.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Inaugural Meeting on the Establishment of ASEAN-Pakistan Sectoral Dialogue Relations". ASEAN Joint Press Statement, Islamabad, 5–7 November 1997.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "The ASEAN Troika: Concept Paper". Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 1999.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "First Meeting of the ASEAN-Pakistan Joint Sectoral Cooperation Committee". ASEAN Joint Press Statement, Bali, 5 February 1999.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Declaration of ASEAN Concord II". 7 October 2003. < http://www.asean. org/news/item/declaration-of-asean-concord-ii-bali-concord-ii>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Action Plan for ASEAN Air Transport Integration and Liberalization". In ASEAN Documents Series 2004. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2005.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2007.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations". 20 November 2007 <a href="http://www.asean.org/asean/asean-charter/asean-charter/">http://www.asean.org/asean/asean-charter/asean-charter/</a>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Chief Reminds Rudd of Traditional ASEAN Lead Role in Region". 13 June 2008 <www.aseansec.org/21639.htm> (accessed May 2011).
- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint" in *Roadmap for an ASEAN* Community 2009–2015. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2009.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint". In *Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009–2015*. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2009.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint". In *Roadmap for an ASEAN Community 2009–2015*. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2009.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Dispute Settlement System. Jakarta: The ASEAN Secretariat, 2009.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Annual Report 2009–2010. Jakarta: The ASEAN Secretariat, 2010.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Economic Community Scorecard. Jakarta: The ASEAN Secretariat, 2010.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Regional Guidelines on Competition Policy. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2010.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "Joint Ministerial Statement of the 13th ASEAN+3 Finance Ministers' Meeting". Joint ministerial statement, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, 2 May 2010.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Economic Community Factbook. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2011.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Infrastructure Fund Targets US\$13 billion towards ASEAN Connectivity". 30 September 2011 <a href="http://www.asean.org/news/asean-secretariat-news/item/asean-infrastructure-fund-targets-us13-billion-towards-asean-connectivity">http://www.asean.org/news/asean-secretariat-news/item/asean-infrastructure-fund-targets-us13-billion-towards-asean-connectivity</a>.

- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Framework for Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership". 17 November 2011 <a href="http://www.asean.org/news/item/asean-framework-for-regional-comprehensive-economic-partnership">http://www.asean.org/news/item/asean-framework-for-regional-comprehensive-economic-partnership</a>>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Curriculum Sourcebook. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2012.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Economic Community Scorecard: Charting Progress Toward Regional Economic Integration, Phase I (2008–2009) and Phase II (2010–2011). Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2012.
- ASEAN Secretariat. "ASEAN Human Rights Declaration". 18 November 2012 <http://www.asean.org/news/asean-statement-communiques/item/asean-human-rights-declaration>.
- ASEAN Secretariat. ASEAN Community Progress Monitoring System: Full Report 2012. Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2013.
- ASEAN Secretariat. Mid-Term Review of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint (2009–2015). Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2014.
- ASEAN Studies Centre. The ASEAN Community: Unblocking the Roadblocks (Report No. 1). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.
- Asia Pulse (Rhodes, Australia). "Japan to Urge Chinese Restraint in Territory Rows", 20 July 2011.
- Asian and Pacific Migration Journal. "Special Issue: International Migration and Data Sources in Asia". *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 17, no. 3–4 (2008): 231–438.
- Asian Development Bank Institute. ASEAN 2030: Towards a Borderless Economic Community. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, 2014.
- Asian News Network. "Top Muslim Body Lays Down Law in Indonesia", 30 July 2005.
- Asian Wall Street Journal. "ASEAN Ministers Converge in Manila for Yearly Meeting", 27 July 1998.
- Asis, Maruja M.B. "Recent trends in international Migration in Asia and the Pacific". Asia-Pacific Population Journal 29, no. 3 (2005): 15–38.
- Asis, Maruja M.B. and Graziano Battistella. "Multicultural Realities and Membership: States, Migrations and Citizenship in Asia". In *Migration and Diversity in Asian Contexts*, edited by Lai Ah Eng, Francis L. Collins, and Brenda S.A Yeoh. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Aspinall, Edward. Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Aspinall, Edward and Marcus Mietzner, eds. Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions, and Society. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010.
- Aspinall, Edward and Marcus Mietzner. "Indonesian Politics in 2014: Democracy's Close Call". *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 50, no. 3 (2014): 347–69.
- Athukorala, Prema-Chandra and Archanun Kohpaiboon. "Global Production Sharing, Trade Patterns, and Industrialization in Southeast Asia". In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Economies*, edited by Ian Coxhead. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.
- Athukorala, Prema-Chandra. "Production Networks and Trade Patterns in East Asia: Regionalization or Globalization?". ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration no. 56. Manila: Asian Development Bank, August 2010.
- Athukorala, Prema-Chandra and Hal Hill. "Asian Trade: Long-Term Patterns and Policy Issues". *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature* 24, no. 2 (2009): 52–82.
- Athukorala, Prema-Chandra and Archanun Kohpaiboon. "Intra-regional Trade in East Asia: The Decoupling Fallacy, Crisis and Policy Challenges". ADBI Working Paper no. 177. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, December 2009.

- Austria, Myrna S. The Pattern of Intra-ASEAN Trade in the Priority Goods Sector. REPSF Project no. 03/006e, 2004 <a href="http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/priority\_goods\_sector.pdf">http://www.ausaid.gov.au/publications/pdf/priority\_goods\_sector.pdf</a>> (accessed 15 April 2011).
- Austria, Myrna S. "Non-Tariff Barriers: A Challenge to Achieving the ASEAN Economic Community". In *The ASEAN Economic Community: A Work in Progress*, edited by Sanchita Basu Das, Jayant Menon, Rodolfo Severino, and Omkar Lal Srestha. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Ayoob, Mohammed. "Subaltern Realism: International Relations Theory Meets the Third World". In *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, edited by Stephanie G Neuman. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.

#### B

- Ba, A.D. "ASEAN in East Asia" In *People's ASEAN and Government's ASEAN* (RSIS Monograph no. 11), edited by H. Katsumata and S.S. Tan. Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2007.
- Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz. "Decisions and Non-Decisions: An Analytical Framework". *American Political Science Review* 57, no. 3 (September 1963), 632–42.
- Baker, Chris and Pasuk Phongphaichit. A History of Thailand. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Baldwin, R. "21st Century Regionalism: Filling the Gap between 21st Century Trade and 20th Century Trade Rules". CEPR Policy Insight no. 56. London: Centre for Economic Policy Research, May 2011.
- Balassa, B. "Exports, Policy Choices and Economic Growth in Developing Countries after the 1973 Oil Shock". *Journal of Development Economics* 18, no. 2 (1985): 23–35.
- Bangkok Post. "Pakistan, Musharraf to Fly in for Official Visit: Tour of Region Aims to Boost ASEAN Ties", 31 March 2000.
- Bangkok Post. "Clinton Urges ASEAN Unity over Islands", 13 July 2012.
- Bangkok Post. "Civil Groups Reject 'Flawed' Human Rights Declaration Draft", 25 September 2012.
- Banskota, Narottam P. Building a South Asian Economic Community. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.
- Bank for International Settlements. "European Bank Funding and Deleveraging". *BIS Quarterly Review* (March 2012).
- Bardhan, P. and D. Mookherjee. *Decentralization and Local Governance in Developing Countries:* A Comparative Perspective. Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 2006.
- Basu Das, Sanchita. "RCEP: Going Beyond Asean+1 FTAs". ISEAS Perspective. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 17 August 2012.
- Basu Das, Sanchita. "Understanding the MPAC". In *Enhancing ASEAN's Connectivity*, edited by Sanchita Basu Das. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Basu Das, Sanchita. "Conclusion and Policy Recommendations". In *Enhancing ASEAN's Connectivity*, edited by Sanchita Basu Das. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Basu Das, Sanchita. "RCEP and TPP: Comparisons and Concerns". ISEAS Perspective 2013/2. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2013.
- Basu Das, Sanchita, Jayant Menon, Rodolfo C. Severino, and Omkar Lal Shrestha, eds. *The* ASEAN Economic Community: A Work in Progress (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013).

- Basu Das, Sanchita and Lee Poh Onn. *Malaysia's Socio-Economic Transformation: Ideas for the Next Decade*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- Basu Das, Sanchita and Hnin Wint Nyunt Hman. "The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP): Economic and Strategic Implications for the Asia-Pacific". ISEAS Perspective. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies: 23 July 2012.
- Battistella, G. and M.M.B. Asis. *The Crisis and Migration in Asia*. Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 1998.
- Battistella, G, M.M.B. Asis, and C. Abubakar. "Migration from the Philippines to Malaysia: An Exploratory Study". Research Report Submitted to the International Organization for Migration. Quezon City: Scalabrini Migration Center, 1997.
- BBC News. "Pakistani Premier Holds Talks with Leaders", 14 May 1999.
- *BBC News.* "President Aquino Says Tackling Corruption Key to Growth", 12 November 2011 <a href="http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12708841">http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12708841</a> (accessed 23 November 2012).
- Beeson, Mark. "ASEAN Plus Three and the Rise of Reactionary Regionalism". Contemporary Southeast Asia 25, no. 2 (2003): 251–68.
- Beeson, Mark. "East Asia, the International Financial Institutions and Regional Regulatory Reform: A Review of the Issues". *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy* 8, no. 3 (2003): 305–26.
- Beeson, Mark. "Japan and Southeast Asia: The Lineaments of Quasi-Hegemony". In *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: An Introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Beeson, Mark. "Southeast Asia and the Politics of Vulnerability". *Third World Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (2002): 549–64.
- Beine, M., F. Docquier, and H. Rapoport. "Brain Drain and Economic Growth: Theory and Evidence". *Journal of Development Economics* 64, no.1 (2001): 275-289.
- Bello, Walden. "East Asia: On the Eve of the Great Transformation?". Review of International Political Economy 5, no 3 (1998): 424-44.
- Berger, Mark. "APEC and its Enemies: The Failure of the New Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific". *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 5 (1999): 1013-1030.
- Bernama (Malaysia). "Pakistan Desires Closer Relations with Malaysia: Sattar", 13 October 2001.
- Bhabha, J. "Trafficking, Smuggling, and Human Rights". In Migration Information Source, 1 March 2005 <a href="http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/trafficking-smuggling-and-humanrights">http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/trafficking-smuggling-and-humanrights</a>.
- Bhattacharya, Pallab. "Rise above Political Divide to Promote Economy". *Daily Star* (India), 12 November 2003.
- Bhattasali, D., L. Shantong, and W. Martin. *China's Accession to the World Trade Organisation, Policy Reform and Poverty Reduction.* Washington, D.C.: World Bank and Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Bisley, Nick. *Building Asia's Security* (Adelphi Book no. 408). London: Routledge for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2009.
- Bisley, Nick and Malcolm Cook. "How the East Asia Summit Can Achieve its Potential". ISEAS Perspective 2014/56. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- Blair, Dennis C. and John T. Hanley. "From Wheels to Webs: Reconstructing Asia-Pacific Security Arrangements". *The Washington Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 7–18.
- Booth, A. "Education and Economic Development in Southeast Asia: Myths and Realities." In Southeast Asia Paper Tigers? From Miracle to Debacle and Beyond, edited by K.S. Jomo. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Boudreau, Vincent. *Grass Roots and Cadre in the Protest Movement*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2001.

- Boudreau, Vincent. "Elections, Repression, and Authoritarian Survival in Post-Transition Indonesia and the Philippines". *The Pacific Review* 22, no. 2 (2009*a*): 233–53.
- Boudreau, Vincent. Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009b.
- Bower, Ernest. "The U.S.-ASEAN Relationship in 2030". Southeast Asia from the Corner of 18th & K Streets 3, no. 9 (10 May 2012): 1–5.
- Bower, Ernest Z. and Murray Hiebert. *Developing an Enduring Strategy for ASEAN*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2012.
- Bowie, Katherine A. *Rituals of National Identity: An Anthropology of the State and the Village Scout Movement in Thailand.* Chiang Mai and New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Bramwell, Bill. "Selecting Policy Instruments for Sustainable Tourism". In *Global Tourism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by William F. Theobald. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998.
- Brilliantes, A. "Redemocratization and Decentralization in the Philippines: The Increasing Leadership Role of NGOs". International Review of Administrative Sciences 60, no. 4 (1997): 575–86.
- Brooks, D., R. Hasan, J.W. Lee, H. Son, and J. Zhuang. "Closing Development Gaps: Challenges and Policy Options". ADB Economics Working Paper Series no. 209. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2010.
- Browne, Andrew. "Asia Ponders U.S. Role Amid Syria Strife; Doubts Rise in Asia Over U.S. Move to Rebalance Security Obligations Toward the Region". *Wall Street Journal*, 10 September 2013.
- Budijanto, Bambang. "Evangelicals and Politics in Indonesia: The Case of Surakarta". In *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Asia*, edited by David H. Lumsdaine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Buehler, Michael. "Married with Children". In *Inside Indonesia* 112 (April–June 2013) <http://www.insideindonesia.org/married-with-children>.
- Business Line (India). "Pak Seeks Better Access to Indian Markets", 8 July 2003.
- Bünte, Marco. "Decentralization and Democratic Governance in Southeast Asia: Theoretical Views, Conceptual Pitfalls and Empirical Ambiguities". In *The Crisis of Democratic Governance in Southeast Asia*, edited by Aurel Croissant and Marco Bünte. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

#### С

- Caballero-Anthony, Mely. *Regional Security in Southeast Asia: Beyond the ASEAN Way.* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- *CafeF.* "Thu tuong noi ve no xau va cac giai phap xu ly [P.M. addresses bad debts and solutions]", 19 November 2014 <http://cafef.vn/tai-chinh-ngan-hang/thu-tuong-noi-ve-no-xau-va-cac-giai-phap-xu-ly-201411191657077674.chn> (accessed 9 March 2015).
- Calimag, Melvin G. "Intel Prepares to Close Philippine Plant". Bloomberg Businessweek, 7 April 2008 <a href="http://www.businessweek.com/stories/2008-04-07/intel-prepares-to-close-philippine-plantbusinessweek-business-news-stock-market-and-financial-advice">http://www.businessweek.com/stories/2008-04-07/intel-prepares-to-close-philippine-plantbusinessweek-business-news-stock-market-and-financial-advice</a>>.
- Callick, R. "Rudd's Asian vision quietly buried". *The Australian*, 21 June 2010 <www. theaustralian.com.au/news/world/kevin-rudds-asian-vision-quietly-buried/story-e6frg6so-1225881987040> (accessed May 2011).
- Caporaso, James A. "International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations". *International Organization* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 599–632.
- Case, William. "Low-Quality Democracy and Varied Authoritarianism: Elites and Regimes in Southeast Asia Today". *The Pacific Review* 22, no. 3 (2009): 255–69.

- Case, William. "Transition from Single-Party Dominance? New Data from Malaysia". *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2010): 91–126.
- Castles, S. "Globalization and Migration: some Pressing Contradictions". In *Ethnicity and Globalization*, edited by Stephen Castles. London: Sage Publications, 2000.
- Castles, S. and M.J. Miller. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 4th ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Cha, Victor D. "Complex Patchworks: U.S. Alliances as Part of Asia's Regional Architecture". *Asia Policy* 11, no. 1 (2011): 27–50.
- Chalermpalanupap, Termsak. "Institutional Reform: One Charter, Three Communities, Many Challenges". In *Hard Choices: Security, Democracy and Regionalism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Donald K. Emmerson. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.
- Chalermpalanupap, Termsak. "Challenges Facing the New ASEAN Secretary-General". ISEAS Perspective 2013/7. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Chan, Steve. China, the US and the Power-Transition Theory: A Critique. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Cheow, Eric T.C. "East Asia Summit's Birthing Pains". Straits Times, 22 February 2005.
- Chia, Siow Yue. "Trade, Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Development of Southeast Asia". *The Pacific Review* 12, no. 2 (1999): 249–70.
- Chia, Siow Yue. "Economic cooperation and integration in East Asia". *Asia-Pacific Review* 11, no.1 (2004): 1–19.
- Chia, Siow Yue. "Free Flow of Skilled Labour in the AEC". In *Toward a Competitive ASEAN Single Market: Sectoral Analysis*, edited by Shujiro Urata and Misa Okabe. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2011.
- Chia, Siow Yue. "The Asean Economic Community: Progress, Challenges, and Prospects". ADBI Working Paper no. 440. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, 2013.
- Chia, Siow Yue. "Free Flow of Skilled Labour in Asean". In *ASEAN Economic Community Scorecard: Performance and Perception*, edited by Sanchita Basu Das. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Child Rights Information Network (CRIN). "Brunei Darussalam: National Laws", 12 January 2012 <a href="http://www.crin.org/resources/infodetail.asp?id=27116">http://www.crin.org/resources/infodetail.asp?id=27116</a>>.
- Chin, Kin Wah. "The Constellation of ASEAN Institutions". In *ASEAN: A Bibliography*, compiled by Patricia Lim Pui Huen. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1984.
- Chin, Kin Wah. "Consolidation and Institution-Building in ASEAN". Conference paper, ASEAN-ISIS Colloquium on New Directions for ASEAN, Singapore, 12–14 September 1994.
- Chin, Kin Wah. "Introduction: ASEAN Facing the Fifth Decade". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 29, no. 3 (2007): 395–405.
- *China Development Gateway.* "The Chinese Premier's US\$140 billion trips abroad", 26 December 2014 <a href="http://en.chinagate.cn/2014-12/26/content\_34416924.htm">http://en.chinagate.cn/2014-12/26/content\_34416924.htm</a>>.
- *China News Online.* "First Round of the US-China Economic Dialogue: Other Important Issues Discussed Besides the Moon", 29 July 2009 <a href="http://www.chinanews.com.cn/gn/news/2009/07-29/1794984.shtml">http://www.chinanews.com.cn/gn/news/2009/07-29/1794984.shtml</a>>.
- China View. "China, Singapore Hold Joint Anti-Terror Training Exercises", 18 June 2009 <a href="http://news.xinhuanet.com/English/2009-06/18/content\_11563925.htm">http://news.xinhuanet.com/English/2009-06/18/content\_11563925.htm</a>>.
- Chinadaily.com.cn. "Think Tanks in China, ASEAN to Deepen Ties", 30 March 2010.
- Chong, Ja Ian. "The Collective Influence of Smaller States in the US-China Security Dilemma". Asia-Pacific Bulletin no. 193. Washington, D.C.: East-West Center, 2012.

- Chong, Terence. "Filling the Moral Void: The Christian Right and the State in Singapore". *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 41, no. 4 (2011*a*): 566–83.
- Chong, Terence. "Executive Summary". In An ASEAN Community for All: Exploring the Scope for Civil Society Engagement, edited by Terence Chong and Stephanie Elies. Singapore: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011.
- Chong, Terence and Hui Yew-Foong. Different Under God: A Survey of Church-going Protestants in Singapore. Singapore. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Chong, Terence and Daniel P.S. Goh. "Asian Pentecostalism: Renewals, Megachurches, and Social Engagement". In *Routledge Handbook of Religions in Asia*, edited by Bryan S. Turner and Oscar Salemink. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Chongkittavorn, Kavi. "Split between ASEAN Leaders and Civil Society Groups Widens". The Nation, 12 October 2009 <a href="http://www.nationmultimedia.com/2009/10/12/opinion/opinion\_30114237.php">http://www.nationmultimedia.com/2009/10/12/opinion/opinion\_30114237.php</a>> (accessed 4 October 2011).
- Chongkittavorn, Kavi. "Can ASEAN Centrality Be Maintained at East Asia Summit?". *The Nation*, 7 November 2011 <a href="http://www.nationmultimedia.com/opinion/Can-Asean-centrality-be-maintained-at-East-Asia-Su-30169339.html">http://www.nationmultimedia.com/opinion/Can-Asean-centrality-be-maintained-at-East-Asia-Su-30169339.html</a>>.
- Chung, Chien-Peng. "China and Japan in 'ASEAN Plus' Multilateral Arrangements: Raining on the Other Guy's Parade". *Asian Survey* 53, no. 5 (2013): 801–24.
- Ciociari, John D. "Chiang Mai Initiative Multilateralization". *Asian Survey* 51, no. 5 (September/ October 2011): 926–52.
- Chirathivat, Suthiphand and Piti Srisangnam. "The 2030 Architecture of Association of Southeast Asian Nations Free Trade Agreements". ADBI Working Paper no. 419. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, 2013.
- Clarke, Gerard. "The Evolving ASEAN Human Rights System: The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration of 2012". Northwestern Journal of International Human Rights 11, no. 1 (2012): 1–27.
- Clinton, Hillary. "America's Pacific Century". *Foreign Policy*, November 2011 <a href="http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/">http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/10/11/americas-pacific-century/</a>.
- Cockburn, Andrew. "21st Century Slaves". National Geographic, 2–29 September 2003.
- Cohen, J. and Peterson, S. Administrative Decentralization, Strategies for Developing Countries. West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1999.
- Collins, Alan. "A People Oriented ASEAN: A Door Ajar or Closed for Civil Society Organizations?". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 30, no. 2 (2008): 313–31.
- Collins, Alan. Building a People-Oriented Security Community the Asean Way. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.
- Commission on Growth and Development. *The Growth Report: Strategies for Sustained Growth and Inclusive Development*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2008.
- Cook, Malcolm. "Manila right on the money with banking reforms". *The Straits Times*, 27 November 2014.
- Cox, Harvey. Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century. London: Cassell, 1996.

#### D

- *Daily News* (Sri Lanka). "ASEAN and SAARC Hold Consultations in New York", 22 November 2001.
- Dancel, Raul. "The Philippines is Asia's Second-Fastest Growing Economy in 2014 after China". *The Straits Times*, 29 January 2015.

- Damuri, Yose Rizal. "21st Century Regionalism and Production Sharing Practice". Centre for Trade and Economic Integration Working Paper no. 04/2012. Geneva: Graduate Institute Geneva, 2012.
- Damuri, Yose Rizal. "Managing Integration in East Asia: Behind Border Issues in Japan-ASEAN Trade Agreements". In *ASEAN-Japan Relations*, edited by Takashi Shiraishi and Takaaki Kojima. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- Dash, Kishore C. "The Political Economy of Regional Cooperation in South Asia". *Pacific Affairs* 69, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 185–209.
- Datta-Ray, Sunanda Kisor. "China and India: Sailing Closer?". South China Morning Post, 18 November 2003.
- De Castro, Renato Cruz. "The 1997 Financial Crisis and the Revival of Populism/ Neo-Populism in 2lst Century Philippine Politics". *Asian Survey* 47, no. 6 (2007): 930–51.
- De Castro, Renato Cruz. "The US-Philippine Alliance: An Evolving Hedge against an Emerging China Challenge". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 31, no. 3 (December 2009): 399–423.
- De Mello, L.R. "Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries and Growth: A Selective Survey". *Journal of Development Studies* 34, no. 1 (1997): 1–34.
- Dee, P. "Services Liberalization towards an ASEAN Economic Community". In *Towards a Competitive ASEAN Single Market: Sectoral Analysis*, ERIA Research Project Report 2010 no. 3, edited by S. Urata and M. Okabe. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2011.
- Dees, S., F. di Mauro, M.H. Pesaran, and L.V. Smith. "Exploring the International Linkages in the Euro Area: A Global VAR Analysis". *Journal of Applied Econometrics* 22, no. 1 (2007): 1–38.
- Del Callar, Michaela. "China Not Keen on Code of Conduct in the South China Sea DFA Chief". GMA News, 5 June 2014.
- Diamond, L. "Indonesia's Place in Global Democracy". In Problems of Democratization in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions and Society, edited by Aspinall, E. and Mietzner, M. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010, pp. 21–49.
- Diamond, Louise and John McDonald. "Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace". Washington D.C.: Institute for Multi-Track Diplomacy, 1993.
- Dick, H.W. and P.J. Rimmer. "Beyond the Third World City: The New Urban Geography of South-East Asia". *Urban Studies* 35, no. 12 (1998): 2303–21.
- Dobell, G. "Asia Community: Rudd Moves On". Lowy Interpreter, 31 May 2009.
- Douglas, Ngaire and Norman Douglas. "Tourism in South and Southeast Asia: Historical Dimensions" In *Tourism in South and Southeast Asia: Issues and Cases*, edited by C. Michael Hall and Stephen Page. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000.
- Duffield, John. "What are International Institutions?". International Studies Review 9 (2007): 1–22.

#### Е

*Economist.* "Divided We Stagger: ASEAN in Crisis", 18 August 2012.

- Edwards, S. "Openness, Productivity and Growth: What Do We Really Know?". NBER Working Paper no. 5978. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1997.
- Eichengreen, B. and Y.C. Park. "Why Has There Been Less Financial Integration in Asia Than in Europe?". MAS Staff Paper no. 28. Singapore: Monetary Authority of Singapore, February 2004.
- Eichengreen, B., D. Park, and K. Shin. "Growth Slowdown Redux: New Evidence on the Middle

Income Trap". NBER Working Paper Series no. 18673. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2013 <a href="http://www.nber.org/papers/w18673">http://www.nber.org/papers/w18673</a>> (accessed 8 May 2014).

- Emmers, Ralf and Tan See Seng. "The ASEAN Regional Forum and Preventive Diplomacy: Built to Fail?". *Asian Security* 7, no. 1 (March 2011): 44–60.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "Region and Recalcitrance: Rethinking Democracy through Southeast Asia". *Pacific Review* 8, no. 2 (1995): 223–48.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "Challenging ASEAN: A 'Topological' View". In *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 29, no. 3 (2007): 424–46.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "ASEAN's "Black Swans"". Journal of Democracy 19, no. 3 (2008): 70-84.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "Challenging ASEAN: The US Pivot through Southeast Asia's Eyes". *Global Asia* 7, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 22–27.
- Emmerson, Donald K. "Challenging ASEAN: The American Pivot in Southeast Asia". East Asia Forum, 1 January 2013.
- ERIA. "Mid-Term Review of the Implementation of AEC Blueprint: Executive Summary". Jakarta: ERIA, 2012 <a href="http://www.eria.org/Mid-Term%20Review%20of%20the%20">http://www.eria.org/Mid-Term%20Review%20of%20the%20</a> Implementation%20of%20AEC%20Blue%20Print-Executive%20Summary.pdf>.
- ERIA. "Mid-term Review of the Implementation of AEI Blueprint: Executive Summary". Jakarta: ERIA, 2012 <a href="http://www.eria.org/publications/key\_reports/mid-term-review-of-the-implementation-of-aec-blueprint-executive-summary.html">http://www.eria.org/publications/key\_reports/mid-term-review-of-the-implementation-of-aec-blueprint-executive-summary.html</a>>.
- European Chamber of Commerce in China. "European Business in China Position Paper 2010/2011". Beijing: European Chamber of Commerce in China, 2010 <a href="http://www.europeanchamber.com.cn/images/documents/marketing\_department/beijing/publications/2010/executive\_summary.pdf">http://www.europeanchamber.com.cn/images/documents/marketing\_department/beijing/publications/2010/executive\_summary.pdf</a>>.
- Evans, Thammy. "The PRC's Relationship with the ASEAN Regional Forum: Realpolitik, Regime Theory, or a Continuation of the Sinic Zone of Influence System?". *Modern Asian Studies* 37, no. 3 (July 2003): 737–63.

#### F

- Faist, T. "Internationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture". WPTC-99-08. University of Bremen: Institute for Intercultural and International Studies, 1999.
- Falk, Richard. "Regionalism and World Order After the Cold War". In *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, edited by Björn Hettne, András Inotai, and Osvaldo Sunkel. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.
- Feder, G. "On Exports and Economic Growth". Journal of Development Economics 12 (1982): 59-73.
- Feenstra, R. and G. Hanson. "Global Production Sharing and Rising Inequality: A Survey of Trade and Wages". In *Handbook of International Trade*, edited by E.K. Choi and J. Harrigan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003.
- Freistein, K. "ASEAN after the Bali Summit 2003: From Paralysis to New Life?". *European Journal* of East Asian Studies 4, no. 2 (2005): 177–204.
- Frost, E. "Australia's Proposal for an 'Asia Pacific Community': Issues and Prospects". Research Paper for the Australian Parliament no. 10. Canberra: Department of Parliamentary Services, Parliament of Australia, 2009–2010, 2009.
- Fionna, Ulla. "Jokowi's First Months: Compromise Cabinet, Subsidy Cuts, and Corrupt Coalition". ISEAS Perspective no. 6. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015.
- Firman, T. "Demographic Patterns of Indonesia's Urbanisation, 2000-2010: Continuity and

Change at the Macro-level". Conference paper, "40 per cent of the World: Population Change, Human Capital and Development in China, India and Indonesia", Singapore, 22–24 May 2013.

- Flam, H. "Product Markets and 1992: Full Integration, Large Gains". Journal of Economic Perspectives 6 (1992): 7-30.
- Frankema, E. and J.T. Lindblad. "Technological Development and Economic Growth in Indonesia and Thailand since 1950". *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 23, no. 3 (2006): 303–24.
- *Freedom House* (New York). "Analysis: Freedom in the World Historical Rankings", <a href="http://www.freedomhouse.org">http://www.freedomhouse.org</a>> (Last accessed 27 September 2007).
- Friedman, Milton. Essays in Positive Economics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Fukunaga, Yoshifumi and Ikumo Isono. "Taking ASEAN+1 FTAs towards the RCEP: A Mapping Study". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2013-02. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2013.

#### G

- Gao, Zhiguo and Bing Jia. "The Nine-Dash Line in the South China Sea: History, Status, and Implications". *The American Journal of International Law* 107, no. 95 (2013): 98-124.
- Ghazali, Musa. "Sipadan: An Over-Exploited Scuba Diving Paradise". In *Marine Ecotourism*, edited by Garrod Briar and Julie C. Wilson. Sydney: Channel View, 2003.
- Glassman, Jim. ""The Provinces Elect Governments, Bangkok Overthrows Them": Urbanity, Class, and Post-Democracy in Thailand". *Urban Studies* 47, no 6. (2010): 1301–23.
- *Global Times.* "SE Asia tests China's diplomatic creativity", 10 October 2013 <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/816722.shtml>.
- Goh, Daniel P.S. "State and Social Christianity in Postcolonial Singapore". SOJOURN: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia 25, no. 1 (2010): 54–89.
- Goh, Evelyn. "ASEAN's Adventures". The National Interest, no. 94 (2008): 62-63.
- Goh, Evelyn. "Evaluating Southeast Asian Strategies for Managing Great Power Resurgence". Conference paper, "The Growth of Chinese Power and Changing Security Dynamics in Asia", Singapore, 22 February 2013.
- Gonçalves, Marisa. "Ex-Guerrillas Threaten Political Stability in East Timor". *Global Voices*, 1 April 2014 <a href="http://globalvoicesonline.org/2014/04/01/ex-guerrillas-threaten-political-stability-in-east-timor/">http://globalvoicesonline.org/2014/04/01/ex-guerrillas-threaten-political-stability-in-east-timor/</a>.
- Graham, Euan. "Southeast Asia in the US Rebalance: Perceptions from a Divided Region". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 35, no. 3 (2013): 305–32.
- Greene, M., N. Dihel, P. Kowalski, and D. Lippoldt. "China's Trade and Growth: Impact on Selected OECD Countries". OECD Trade Policy Working Paper no. 44. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2006.
- *GSO* (General Statistics Office of Vietnam). "Statistical Yearbook of Vietnam 2009". Ha Noi: Statistical Publishing House, 2010.
- *GSO* (General Statistics Office of Vietnam). "Statistical Yearbook of Vietnam 2013". Hanoi: Statistical Publishing House, 2014.
- Guina, Carolina S. "The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community". In ASEAN Community: Unblocking the Roadblocks, edited by the ASEAN Studies Centre. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.
- Gurtov, M. China and Southeast Asia. The Politics of Survival. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.
- Gyngell, Allan. "Design Faults: The Asia Pacific's Regional Architecture". Lowy Institute Policy Brief, July 2007. Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2007.

#### Η

- Haacke, J. "Regional Security Institutions: ASEAN, ARF, SCO and KEDO". In *Asian Security Reassessed*, edited by S. Hoadley and J. Rueland. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.
- Habermas, Jurgen. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. "Reorganising Political Power in Indonesia: A Reconsideration of So-Called "Democratic Transitions"". *The Pacific Review* 16, no. 4 (2003): 591–611.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. "Decentralisation and Democracy in Indonesia: A Critique of Neo-Institutionalist Perspectives". *Development and Change*, 35, no. 4 (2004): 697–718.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia Perspective. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. "Democracy and Money Politics: The Case of Indonesia". In *Routledge Handbook* of *Southeast Asian Politics*, edited by Richard Robison. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Haggard, Stephan. "The Organizational Architecture of the Asia-Pacific: Insights from the New Institutionalism". ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration no. 71. Manila: Asian Development Bank, January 2011.
- Hall, C. Michael. "Sex Tourism in South-East Asia". In *Tourism in Less Developed Countries*, edited by David Harrison. New York: Halsted Press, 1992.
- Hardoy, Jaime and David Satterthwaite, eds. Small and Intermediate Urban Centres: Their Role in National and Regional Development in the Third World. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986.
- Hartnett, Daniel. "The PLA's Domestic and Foreign Activities and Orientation", Hearing of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission on China's Military and Security Activities Abroad. Washington, D.C.: U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 4 March 2009 <a href="http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2009hearings/written\_testimonies/09\_03\_04\_wrts/09\_03\_04\_hartnett\_statement.pdf">http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2009hearings/written\_testimonies/09\_03\_04\_wrts/09\_03\_04\_hartnett\_statement.pdf</a>.
- Hamid, Abdul. "A Family Matter: Political Corruption in Banten, Indonesia". Asian Politics & Policy 6, no. 4 (2014): 577–93.
- Hatoyama, Y. Speech given at sixteenth International Conference on the Future of Asia, 15 November 2009.
- Heath, Timothy. "Diplomacy Work Forum: Xi Steps Up Efforts to Shape a China-Centered Regional Order". *China Brief* 13, no. 22 (2013): 6–10.
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta. "Contesting State and Civil Society: Southeast Asian Trajectories". Modern Asian Studies 35, no. 4 (2001): 921–51.
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta. In the Name of Civil Society: From Free Election Movements to People Power in the Philippines. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.
- Hefner, Robert. Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Helpman, E. and P.R. Krugman. Market Structure and Foreign Trade: Increasing Returns, Imperfect Competition, and the International Economy. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985.
- Henderson, Jeannie. "Reassessing ASEAN". Adelphi Paper 328. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1997.
- Henderson, Joan C. "Regionalisation and Tourism: The Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore Growth Triangle". *Current Issues in Tourism* 4, no. 2-4 (2001): 78–93.
- Henderson, Joan C. "The Politics of Tourism in Myanmar". *Current Issues in Tourism* 6, no. 2 (2003): 97–118.

- Hernandez, C. "Institution Building through an ASEAN Charter". *Panorama* 1 (August 2007): 9–52.
- Heryanto, Ariel and Vedi, Hadiz. "Post-Authoritarian Indonesia". Critical Asian Studies 37, no. 2 (2005): 251–75.
- Hew, Denis. "Towards an ASEAN Economic Community by 2015". In ASEAN Community: Unblocking the Roadblocks, edited by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.
- Hewison, Kevin. "Political Space in Southeast Asia: 'Asian-style' and Other Democracies". *Democratization* 6, no. 1 (1999): 224–45.
- Hewison, Kevin. "Thailand: Boom, Bust, and Recovery". In *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia: Markets, Power, and Contestation*, edited by Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Hewison, K. and M. Connors. "Introduction: Thailand and the "Good Coup". Journal of Contemporary Asia 38, no. 1 (2008): 1–10.
- Hill, David. The Press in New Order Indonesia. Jakarta: Equinox, 2006.
- Hill, Hal and Jayant Menon. "ASEAN Economic Integration: Features, Fulfillments, Failures and the Future". ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration no. 69. Manila: Asian Development Bank, December 2010.
- Hill, Hal and Jayant Menon. "Financial Safety Nets in Asia: Genesis, Evolution, Adequacy, and Way Forward". ADBI Working Paper no. 395. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, 2012.
- Hill, Hal. "Is There a Southeast Asia Model of Development?". *Malaysian Journal of Economic Affairs* 51, Special Issue (2014): 89–111.
- Hill, Hal, ed. *Regional Dynamics in a Decentralized Indonesia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- *Hindustan Times* (India). "Pak for free trade with India through SAARC process", 27 December 2003.
- Hindustan Times (India). "India Calls for Single SAARC Currency, Unified Tariff", 2 January 2004.
- Hitchcock, Michael, Victor T. King, and Michael J.G. Parnwell, eds. *Tourism in Southeast-Asia*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Hitchcock Michael and I Nyoman Darma Putra. "The Bali Bombings: Tourism Crisis Management and Conflict Avoidance". *Current Issues in Tourism* 8, no. 1 (2005): 62–76.
- Ho, Benjamin. "ASEAN Centrality: A Year of Big Power Transitions". *East Asia Forum*, 6 March 2012 <a href="http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/03/06/asean-centrality-a-year-of-big-power-transitions/">http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/03/06/asean-centrality-a-year-of-big-power-transitions/</a>>.
- Hong, Joshua Young-gi. "Evangelicals and the Democratisation of South Korea since 1987". In Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Asia, edited by David H. Lumsdaine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Hook, Glenn. "The East Asian Economic Caucus: A Case of Reactive Subregionalism?". In Subregionalism and World Order, edited by Glenn Hook and Ian Kearns. London: Macmillan, 1999.
- Horn, Henrik, Petros C. Mavroidis, and André Sapir. "Beyond the WTO? An Anatomy of EU and U.S. Preferential Trade Agreements". *The World Economy* 33, no. 11 (November 2010): 1565–88.
- House of Representatives, the Philippines. *Sixteenth Congress, First Regular Session*. Manila: Republic of the Philippines, 2013 <a href="http://www.congress.gov.ph/download/basic\_16/HB00837.pdf">http://www.congress.gov.ph/download/basic\_16/HB00837.pdf</a>> (accessed 8 April 2014).

- Huang, Alexander Chieh-cheng. "Taiwan in an Asian "Game of Thrones"". Asia Policy, no. 15 (January 2013): 18–20.
- Huff, W.G. "What is the Singapore Model of Development?". Cambridge Journal of Economics 19 (1995): 735–59.
- Human Rights Watch. "Thailand: Rebels Escalate Killings of Teachers", 17 December 2012 <a href="http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/12/17/thailand-rebels-escalate-killings-teachers">http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/12/17/thailand-rebels-escalate-killings-teachers</a>.
- Huntington, S. P. The Third Wave: Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Hutchcroft, P. D. "The Arroyo Imbroglio in the Philippines". Journal of Democracy 19, no. 1 (2008): 141-55.
- Hutchcroft, Paul D. and Joel Rocamora. "Patronage-Based Parties and the Democratic Deficit in the Philippines: Origins, Evolution, and the Imperatives of Reform". In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics*, edited by Richard Robison. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2012.

## I

- Ianchovichina, E. and Martin, W. "Trade Liberalisation in China's Accession to the World Trade Organisation". World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2623. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, June 2001.
- iLaw. "Report on Lèse Majesté Prisoners after 2014 Coup". In *iLaw*, 16 July 2014 <a href="http://freedom.ilaw.or.th/en/blog/report-l%C3%A8se-majest%C3%A9-prisoners-after-2014-coup">http://coup</a> (accessed 16 March 2015).
- India Express. "Pakistan Urges ASEAN to Admit it as a Dialogue Partner", 16 December 2003.
- Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. *Know Your ASEAN*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007.
- International Crisis Group. "Resolving Timor-Leste's Crisis". Asia Report no. 120, 10 October 2006.
- International Crisis Group. "Bridging Thailand's Deep Divide". Asia Report no. 192, 5 July 2010.
- International Crisis Group. "Indonesia: Dynamics of Violence in Papua". Asia Report no. 232, 9 August 2012.
- International Crisis Group. "Myanmar: Storm Clouds on the Horizon". Asia Report no. 238, 12 November 2012.
- International Crisis Group. "A Coup Ordained? Thailand's Prospects for Stability". Asia Report no. 263, 3 December 2014.
- IMF (International Monetary Fund). "Indonesia: Selected Issues". IMF Country Report no. 11/310. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund, October 2011.
- IOM (International Organization for Migration). *Situation Report on International Migration in East and South-East Asia.* Bangkok: International Organization for Migration, Regional Office for Southeast Asia, 2008.
- Ishii, R., F. Hossain and C. Rees. "Participation in Decentralized Local Governance: Two Contrasting Cases from the Philippines". *Public Organization Review* 7, no. 4 (2007): 359–73.

## J

Jain, R.K., ed. China and Malaysia. New Delhi: Radiant, 1984.

*Jakarta Post.* "China closer to South China Sea Code of Conduct, Marty Says", 3 May 2013 <www. thejakartapost.com/news/2013/05/03/ china-closer-south-china-sea-code-conduct-martysays.html>.

- Jarasa, Juanito. "The ASEAN Troika on Cambodia: A Philippine Perspective". In *The Next Stage: Preventive Diplomacy and Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific*, edited by Desmond Ball and Amitav Acharya. Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University, 1999.
- Jawhar Hassan, Mohamed. "Trust-Building in Southeast Asia: What Made it Possible?". *Global Asia* 8, no. 3 (2013): 52–56.
- Jenkins, Philip. *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Johnston, T. and K. Brown. "First Day of ASEAN Summit Hits Snags on Human Rights, Other Issues". *The Washington Post*, 24 October 2009 <a href="http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/23/AR2009102303710.html">http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/23/AR2009102303710.html</a>> (accessed 4 October 2011).
- Jones, David Martin. "Security and Democracy: The ASEAN Charter and the Dilemmas of Regionalism in South-East Asia". *International Affairs* 84, no. 4 (2008): 735–56.
- Jones, David Martin and Michael L. R. Smith. "Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order". *International Security* 32, no. 1 (2007): 148–84.
- Jones, Gavin W. "The Thoroughgoing Urbanisation of East and South-east Asia". Asia Pacific Viewpoint 38, no. 3 (1997): 237–50.
- Jones, Gavin W. "Urbanisation and Development in Southeast Asia". *Malaysian Journal of Economic Affairs* 51, no. 1 (2014): 103–20.
- Joppke, C. and E. Morawska. "Integrating immigrants in liberal Nation-states: Policies and Practices". In *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-states*, edited by C. Joppke and E. Morawska. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Jory, Patrick. "Thailand Enters the Interregnum". ISEAS Perspective 2014/54. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- Joy, P.A. SAARC and Trade Development. New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1996.

#### K

Kakuchi, S. "Japan Strives to Adapt to a Strong China". Asia Times Online, 2 April 2003.

- Kammen, Douglas. "Subordinating Timor: Central Authority and the Origin of Communal Identities in East Timor". *Bijdragen tot de Tal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 166, no. 2/3 (2010): 244–69.
- Kassim, Yang Razali. "ASEAN Community: Losing Grip over Vision 2015?". RSIS Commentaries 87/ 2011. Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, June 2011.
- Katsumata, H. "Reconstruction of Diplomatic Norms in Southeast Asia: The Case of Strict Adherence to the ASEAN Way". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25, no. 1 (2003): 104–21.
- Kawai, Masahiro and Ganeshan Wignaraja. "Regionalism as an Engine of Multilateralism: the Case for a Single East-Asian FTA". ADB Working Paper on Regional Economic Integration no. 14. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, February 2008.
- Kawai, Masahiro and Ganeshan Wignaraja, eds. Asia's Free Trade Agreements: How is Business Responding? Cheltenham: Asian Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank Institute with Edward Elgar Publishing, 2011.
- Kawasaki, Tsuyoshi. "Neither Skepticism nor Romanticism: The ASEAN Regional Forum as a Solution for the Asia-Pacific Assurance Game". *The Pacific Review* 19, no. 2 (2006): 219–37.
- Keizai Sangy-sho. *Tsusho Hakusho*. Tokyo: Keizai Sangyo-sho [Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry], 2005.
- Keohane, Robert O. "Multilateralism: An Agenda for Research". International Journal 45, no. 4 (1990): 731–64.

- Keohane, Robert O. and Lisa Martin. "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory". International Security 20, no. 1 (1995): 39-51.
- Kessler, Christl and Jürgen Rüland. *Give Jesus a Hand!: Charismatic Christians: Populist Religion and Politics in the Philippines.* Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008.
- Keyes, Charles. Finding Their Voice: Northeastern Villagers and the Thai State. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2014.
- Khalik, Abdul. "ISEAS Chief says ASEAN Charter an Achievement". Jakarta Post, 17 January 2008 <a href="http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/01/17/iseas-chief-says-asean-charter-achievement.html">http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2008/01/17/iseas-chief-says-asean-charterachievement.html</a> (accessed 2 June 2008).
- Khoman, S. "Education". In *Thailand after the Crisis*, edited by Peter Warr. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Kim, Jae Cheol. "Politics of Regionalism in East Asia: The Case of the East Asia Summit". Asian Perspective 34, no. 3 (2010): 113–36.
- Kim, M.-J. "Gender, Motherhood, and Citizenship of international Marriage Migrants: Maternal Citizenship of Filipinas in south Korea". Conference paper, annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Boston, 31 July 2008 <a href="http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p243042.inex.html">http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p243042.inex.html</a>> (accessed 6 August 2009).
- Kim, S., J. Lee, and K. Shin. "Regional and Global Financial Integration in East Asia". In *China, Asia, and the New World Economy*, edited by B. Eichengreen, C. Wyplosz, and Y.C. Park. London: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Kimeny, M.S. and P. Meagher. Devolution and Development, Governance Prospects in Decentralizing States. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Kimura, Fukunari. "Japan's Mission on Constructing a New International Economic Order". Japan Economic Currents no. 81. Tokyo: Keizai Koho Center, March 2012.
- Kimura, Fukunari. "Reconstructing the Concept of 'Single Market and Production Base' for ASEAN beyond 2015". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2013-25. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2013.
- Kimura, Fukunari, Y. Takahashi, and K. Hayakawa. "Fragmentation and Parts and Components Trade: Comparison between East Asia and Europe". *The North American Journal of Economics* and Finance 18, no. 1 (2007): 23–40.
- Koh, Jonathan and Andrea Feldman Mowerman. "Towards a Truly Seamless Single Windows and Trade Facilitation Regime in ASEAN Beyond 2015". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2013-29. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2013.
- Koh, T., W. Woon, A. Tan, and Chan Sze-Wei. "Charter Makes ASEAN Stronger, More United and Effective". *The Straits Times*, 8 August 2007.
- Koning, Juliette. "Business, Belief and Belonging: Small Business Owners and Conversion to Charismatic Christianity". In *Chinese Indonesians and Regime Chang*, edited by Marleen Dieleman, Juliette Koning, and Peter Post. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Kraft, Herman Joseph S. "Driving East Asian Regionalism: The Reconstruction of ASEAN's Identity". In ASEAN and the Institutionalization of East Asia, edited by Ralf Emmers. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Krongkaew, Medhi. "The Political Economy of Decentralization in Thailand". Southeast Asian Affairs (1995): 343-61.
- Krugman, P. R. "The Myth of Asia's Miracle". Foreign Affairs 73, no. 6 (1994): 62-68.
- Kuik, Cheng-Chwee. "Multilateralism in China's ASEAN Policy: Its Evolution, Characteristics, Aspirations". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 27, no. 1 (2005): 102–22.
- Kumar, N. "Investment Cooperation and Liberalization in ASEAN+6". In Deepening Economic

Integration in East Asia: The ASEAN Economic Community and Beyond, edited by H. Soesastro. ERIA Research Project Report 2007, no. 1-2. Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) and Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), 2008.

- Kwan, C.H. Yen Bloc: Toward Economic Integration in Asia. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
- Kyodo News. "Thaksin to give economics lecture in Phnom Pehn", 8 November 2009.
- Kyodo News. "ASEAN Needs 'More Effective' Code with China over Sea Row", 10 July 2013.

L

- LaFranchi, Howard. "Obama Cancels Asia Trip: Is the U.S. 'Pivot' in Jeopardy?". Christian Science Monitor, 4 October 2013.
- Lane, Max. Decentralization and its Discontents: An Essay on Class, Political Agency and National Perspective in Indonesian Politics. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014.
- Lane, Max. "A Jokowi Party? Reflections on the State of Elite Politics in Indonesia". ISEAS Perspective 2015/17. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015.
- Lardy, N. Integrating China into the Global Economy. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2002.
- Laske, Tomke and Stefan Herold. "An Observation Station for Culture and Tourism in Vietnam: A Forum for World Heritage and Public Participation". In *The Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation*, edited by David Harrison and Michael Hitchcock. Cleveland, Buffalo and Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2005.
- Lasswell, Harold. Politics: Who Gets What, When and How. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936.
- Le, Hong Hiep. "Navigating the Crisis: The VCP's Recent Efforts in Restructuring the Economy and Fighting Corruption". In *Southeast Asian Affairs 2013*, edited by D. Singh. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013*a*.
- Le, Hong Hiep. "Vietnam's Hedging Strategy against China since Normalization". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 35, no. 3 (2013b): 333–68.
- Lee, Cassey and Yoshifumi Fukunaga. "AEC Mid-term Review on Competition Policy". Unpublished paper. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2012.
- Lee, Cassey and Yoshifumi Fukunaga. "Competition Policy Challenges of a Single Market and Production Base". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2013-17. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2013.
- Lee, Hock Guan. "Introduction: Civil Society in Southeast Asia". In *Civil Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Lee Hock Guan. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.
- Lee, Jaehyon. "Prospects for Korean-Southeast Asia Relations". In *Regional Outlook: Southeast Asia 2010–2011*, edited by Michael Montesano and Lee Poh Onn. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010.
- Lee, Kuan Yew. From Third World to First: The Singapore Story: 1965–2000. Memoirs of Lee Kuan Yew (vol. II). Singapore: Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Pte Ltd, 2000.
- Lee, Siew Hua and Susan Long. "The Rise of the Megachurch: Gospel & Glitz". The Straits Times, 17 July 2010.
- Legaspi, E.P. "SEACA holds Burma/Myanmar Country Processes on ASEAN". In *South East Asian Committee for Advocacy*, 14 September 2009 <a href="http://seaca.net/viewArticle.php?aID=1042">http://seaca.net/viewArticle.php?aID=1042</a> (accessed 4 October 2011).
- Leifer, Michael. "Expanding horizons in Southeast Asia?" In *Southeast Asian Affairs 1994*, edited by Daljit Singh. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1994.
- Leifer, Michael. "The ASEAN Regional Forum: Extending ASEAN's Model of Regional

Security". Adelphi Paper 295. Oxford: International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and Oxford University Press, 1996.

- Leifer, Michael. "The ASEAN Peace Process: A Category Mistake". The Pacific Review 12, no. 1 (1999): 25–38.
- Lewis, David. "Civil Society in Non-Western Contexts: Reflections on the 'Usefulness' of a Concept". Civil Society Working Paper no. 13. London: Centre for Civil Society, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2001.
- Lim, H. "Policy Recommendation to Facilitate Implementation". In *Deepening Economic Integration in East Asia: ASEAN Economic Community and Beyond*, edited by Hadi Soesastro. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2008.
- Lim, H. K. Speech, the PECC–SINCPEC–INCPEC Conference on Asia-Pacific Economic Integration and Connectivity: Pathways for Resilience and Inclusive Growth, Singapore, 22–23 February 2013.
- Lim, Kit Siang. Unmasking Najib. Kuala Lumpur: Research for Social Advancement, 2009.
- Lim, Lin Lean, ed. *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia.* Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1998.
- Lim, May-Ann. "Civil Society and the ASEAN Community". In An ASEAN Community for All: Exploring the Scope for Civil Society Engagement, edited by Terence Chong and Stephanie Elies. Singapore: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2011.
- Lloyd, Peter J. *The Future of CER: A Single Market for Australia and New Zealand*. New Zealand: Institute of Policy Studies (University of Wellington), 1991.
- Lloyd, Peter J. "What Is a Single Market? An Application to the Case of ASEAN". ASEAN Economic Bulletin 22, no. 3 (2005): 251–65.
- Lu, Zhouwei. Fei Chuantong Anquan Lun [On Non-Traditional Security]. Beijing: Shishi Chubanshe, 2003.
- Lucas, R.E. "On the Mechanics of Economic Development". *Journal of Monetary Economics* 22, no. 1 (1988): 3–42.
- Luce, Edward. "India Forsakes World Trade Organisation for Bilateral Trade Deals with Neighbours". *Financial Times*, 16 October 2003.
- Luce, Edward and John Thornhill. "East Asia Seeks its Own Voice". *Financial Times*, 14 May 2001.

#### Μ

- Madison, James. James Madison: Writings. Edited by Jack N. Rakove. New York: Library of America, 1999.
- Magadia, José. "Contemporary Civil Society in the Philippines". Southeast Asian Affairs (1999): 252–68.
- Maier, Charles S. "The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II". In *Between Power and Plenty: Foreign Economic Policies of Advanced Industrial States*, edited by Peter J. Katzenstein. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- Majumder, Sanjoy. "South Asian Summit Hopes". BBC News, 2 January 2004.
- Martin, L. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism". *International Organization* 46, no. 4 (1992): 765–92.
- Martinez, Patricia. "Islam, Constitutional Democracy and the Islamic State in Malaysia". In *Civil Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Lee Hock Guan. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004.

- Matsubara, Ryuichiro. *Shohi Shihonshugi No Yukue* [Whither Consumer Capitalism?]. Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 2000.
- Mattoo, A. "China's Accession to the WTO: The Services Dimension". *Journal of International Economic Law* 6, no. 2 (2003): 299–339.
- McCargo, Duncan and Ukrist Pathmanand. *The Thaksinization of Thailand*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2005.
- McCargo, Duncan. *Mapping National Anxieties: Thailand's Southern Conflict*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2012.
- McGee, T.G. The Southeast Asian City: A Social Geography of the Primate Cities of Southeast Asia. London: Bell, 1967.
- McGee, T.G. "The Emergence of Desa-kota Regions in Asia: Expanding a Hypothesis". In *The Extended Metropolis: Settlement Transition in Asia*, edited by Norton Ginsburg, Bruce Koppel, and Terence G. McGee. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991.
- McGillivray, Mark. "Measuring Non-Economic Well-being Achievement". Review of Income and Wealth 51, no. 2 (2005): 337–64.
- McGillivray, Mark, Simon Feeny, and Sasi Iamsiraroj. "Understanding the ASEAN Development Gap". In *Narrowing the Development Gap in ASEAN: Drivers and Policy Options*, edited by Mark McGillivray and David Carpenter. Oxford: Routledge, 2013.
- McRae, Dave. "Indonesian Politics in 2013: The Emergence of New Leadership?" Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies 49, no. 3 (2013): 289–304.
- Medeiros, Evan S. and M. Taylor Fravel. "China's New Diplomacy". Foreign Affairs 82, no. 6 (November/December 2003): 22–35.
- Medvedev, Denis. "Beyond Trade: The Impact Of Preferential Agreements on Foreign Direct Investment Inflows". World Bank Working Paper no. 4065. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2006.
- Menon, Jayant. "Dealing with the Proliferation of Bilateral Trade Agreements: Consolidation, Multilateralization, Harmonization or Dilution?" ERD Working Paper no. 123. Manila: Asian Development Bank, September 2008.
- Menon, Jayant. "Narrowing the Development Divide in ASEAN: The Role of Policy". ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration no. 100. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2012.
- Menon, Jayant and Aekapol Chongvilaivan. "Southeast Asia Beyond the Global Financial Crisis: Managing Capital Flows". *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 28, no. 2 (2011): 107–14.
- Menon, Jayant and Anna Melendez. "Trade and Investment in the Greater Mekong Subregion: Remaining Challenges and Unfinished Policy Agenda". ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration no. 78. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2011.
- Menon, Jayant and Thiam Hee Ng. "Impact of Eurozone Financial Shocks on Southeast Asian Economies". *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies* 30, no. 2 (2013): 179–200.
- Menzies, Arthur. "Arthur Menzies/Ottawa, 18.3.59, 172. PM 434/10/1 Pt 2". National Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Mietzner, Marcus. "Jokowi: Rise of a Polite Populist". In *Inside Indonesia* 116 (April/June 2014) <a href="http://www.insideindonesia.org/jokowi-rise-of-a-polite-populist">http://www.insideindonesia.org/jokowi-rise-of-a-polite-populist</a>.
- Mietzner, Marcus. "Indonesia's 2014 Elections: How Jokowi Won and Democracy Survived". Journal of Democracy 25, no. 4 (2014): 111–25.
- Ministry of Finance, Vietnam. Nam 2015 Tap Trung Tai Co Cau Doanh Nghiep Nha Nuoc [Government to Focus on Restructuring SOEs in 2015]. Hanoi: Government of Vietnam, 2015 <a href="http://www.mof.gov.vn/portal/page/portal/mof\_vn/1539781?pers\_id=2177014&item\_id=158447520&p\_details=1">http://www.mof.gov.vn/portal/page/portal/mof\_vn/1539781?pers\_id=2177014&item\_id=158447520&p\_details=1</a>>.

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand. Non-Paper on the Flexible Engagement Approach. Bangkok: Government of Thailand, 1998.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China. China's Position Paper on Enhanced Cooperation in the Field of Non-Traditional Security Issues. Beijing: Government of the People's Republic of China, 2002 <a href="http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/gjs/gjzzyhy/2612/2614/t15318.htm">http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/gjs/gjzzyhy/2612/2614/t15318.htm</a>>.
- Ministry of Trade and Industry, Singapore. *Factsheet on the Regional Comprehensive Partnership* (*RCEP*). Singapore: Government of Singapore, November 2012 <a href="http://www.fta.gov.sg/press\_release%5CFACTSHEET%20ON%20RCEP\_final.pdf">http://www.fta.gov.sg/press\_release%5CFACTSHEET%20ON%20RCEP\_final.pdf</a> (accessed on 31 December 2012).
- Miller, Donald E. and Tetsunao Yamamori. *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Moe, Wai. "Civil Society Representatives Challenge Asean Leaders on Burma". *The Irrawaddy*, 28 February 2009 <a href="http://www2.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art\_id=15212">http://www2.irrawaddy.org/article.php?art\_id=15212</a>>.
- Mok, Connie and Terry Lam. "Vietnam's Tourism Identity: Its Potential and Challenges". In *Tourism in Southeast Asia*, edited by K.C. Chon. New York: Haworth, 2000.
- Montesano, Michael J. "Political Contests in the Advent of Bangkok's 19 September Putsch". In *Divided Over Thaksin: Thailand's Coup and Problematic Transition*, edited by John Funston. Singapore and Chiang Mai: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Silkworm Books, 2009.
- Montesano, Michael J. "Praetorianism and 'the People' in Late-Bhumibol Thailand". SEATIDE Online Paper no.10. Paris: Integration in Southeast Asia: Trajectories of Inclusion, Dynamics of Exclusion, February 2015 <a href="http://www.seatide.eu/?content=activitiesandresults&group=3">http://www.seatide.eu/?content=activitiesandresults&group=3</a>>.
- Morada, Noel M. "ASEAN at 40: Prospects for Community Building in Southeast Asia". Asia-Pacific Review 15, no. 1 (2008): 36–55.
- Mulvenon, James. "Chairman Hu and the PLA's "New Historic Missions"". China Leadership Monitor, no. 27 (Winter 2009).
- Mundell, R. A. "A Theory of Optimum Currency Areas". American Economic Review 51, no. 4 (1961): 657–65.
- Murthy, Gautam. "ASEAN Ties: India Must Look to the East with Greater Vision". *Business Line*, 31 December 2003.

#### Ν

- Nagata, Judith. "Authority and Democracy in Malaysian and Indonesian Islamic Movements". In *Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia*, edited by Johan Saravanamuttu. Oxford: Routledge, 2010.
- Narine, Shaun. "ASEAN in the Aftermath: The Consequences of the East Asian Economic Crisis". *Global Governance* 8, no. 2 (2002): 179–94.
- Narine, Shaun. *Explaining ASEAN: regionalism in Southeast Asia*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002.
- Narine, Shaun. (2008*a*) "Forty Years of ASEAN: A Historical Review". *The Pacific Review* 21, no. 4 (2008): 411–30.
- Narine, Shaun. "From Conflict to Collaboration: Institution-Building in East Asia". *Behind the Headlines* 65, no. 5 (2008): 1–22.
- Narine, Shaun. "ASEAN in the Twenty-First Century: A Sceptical Review". Cambridge Review of International Affairs 22, no. 3 (2009): 369–86.
- Narjoko, D., P. Intal, and L. Hin. "Assessing the Implementation of AEC Blueprint: Some Insights from the ERIA Analytical Scorecard Studies". Background Paper for Chapters 1 and 2 ASEAN 2030 Study. 19 September 2011.

- National Bureau of Asian Research. "Roundtable Regional Perspectives on US Strategic Rebalancing". Asia Policy 15, no. 1 (January 2013): 1–44.
- Nesadurai, Helen. "Attempting Developmental Regionalism through AFTA: The Domestic Sources of Regional Governance". *Third World Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2003): 235–54.
- Nesadurai, Helen. "Enhancing the Institutional Framework for AEC Implementation: Designing Institutions that are Effective and Politically Feasible". In *The ASEAN Economic Community: A Work in Progress*, edited by Sanchita Basu Das, Jayant Menon, Rodolfo Severino, and Omkar Lal Srestha. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- New Straits Times. "Thailand to Pursue "Constructive Intervention" Policy", 8 June 1998.
- Nikomborirak, Deunden and Supunnavadee Jitdumrong, "An Assessment of Services Sector Liberalization in Asean". In *ASEAN Economic Community Scorecard: Performance and Perception*, edited by Sanchita Basu Das. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Noland, Marcus. "The Philippines in the Asian Financial Crisis: How the Sick Man Avoided Pneumonia". *Asian Survey* 40, no. 3 (2000): 401–12.

North, Douglass C. "Institutions." Journal of Economic Perspectives 5, no. 1 (1991): 97–112.

#### 0

- Ockey, J. "Change and Continuity in the Thai Political Party System". Asian Survey 43, no. 4 (2003): 663–89.
- O'Donnell, G. and P.C. Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). "Competitive Neutrality: Maintaining a Level Playing Field between Public and Private Business". Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Publishing, 2012.
- Office of the Press Secretary, the Philippines. *Backgrounder: ASEAN in Brief*. Manila: Government of the Philippines, 2009 <a href="http://www.ops.gov.ph/asean2009/backgrounder.htm">http://www.ops.gov.ph/asean2009/backgrounder.htm</a>.
- Ooi, Kee Beng, Johan Saravanamuttu, and Lee Hock Guan. *March 8: Eclipsing May 13.* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.
- Ooi, Kee Beng. *Lost in Transition. Malaysia under Abdullah.* Singapore and Petaling Jaya: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2008.
- Ooi, Kee Beng. Arrested Reform. The Undoing of Abdullah Badawi. Kuala Lumpur: Research for Social Advancement, 2009.
- Ooi, Kee Beng. *Between UMNO and a Hard Place*. Singapore and Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Research for Social Advancement, 2010.
- Ooi, Kee Beng. "Malaysia's BN Stays in Power, but Deep Changes Have Nevertheless Occurred". ISEAS Perspective 2013/38. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Ooi Kee Beng. The Eurasian Core and Its Edges: Dialogues with Wang Gungwu on the History of the World. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015.
- Organski, A.F.K. and Jacek Kugler. The War Ledger. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.
- Osborne, Milton. "The Paramount Power: China and the Countries of Southeast Asia". Lowy Institute Paper 11. Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2006.
- Oye, K. "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies". *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (1985): 1–24.

#### Р

Pajon, Celine. "Japan and the South China Sea: Forging Strategic Partnership in a Divided Region". *Asie. Visions* 60, January 2013.

Pakistan Times. "Pakistan Looks Forward to Joining ASEAN", 16 December 2003.

- Park, Yung Chul. Economic Liberalization and Integration in East Asia: A Post-Crisis Paradigm. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Park, Yung Chul et al. "Combined Study on Assessing the Financial Landscape and Formulating Milestones for Monetary and Financial Integration in ASEAN". Mimeo, Bank Indonesia, 2011.
- Patra, Paduka Osman. "The Making of the ASEAN Charter 7". In *The Making of the ASEAN Charter*, edited by T. Koh, R. G. Manalo, and W. Woon. Singapore: World Scientific, 2009.
- Pawakapan, Puangthong. "Multiple Targets of Thailand's Martial Law". ISEAS Perspective 2015/15. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015.
- Paulson, Henry. "A Strategic Economic Engagement: Strengthening US-Chinese Ties". Foreign Affairs 87, no. 5 (September/October 2008): 59–77.
- Pellan, Marie and Wong Man Heong. "Trade Facilitation in ASEAN and ASEAN+1 FTAs: An Analysis of Provisions and Progress". In ASEAN+1 FTAs and Global Value Chains in East Asia (ERIA Research Project Report 2010–29), edited by C. Findlay. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2011.
- Pempel, T.J. "Conclusion: Tentativeness and Tensions in the Construction of an Asian Region". In *Remapping East Asia*, edited by T.J. Pempel. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Peng, Dajin. "Invisible Linkages: A Regional Perspective of East Asia Political Economy". International Studies Quarterly 46 (2002): 423–47.
- Peng, Frank Fan and Alan Hao Yang. "Nihon-ASEAN Yukokyoryoku 40 Shunen". Mondai to Kenkyu 42, no. 4 (October 2013): 145–82.
- Pesaran, M.H., T. Schuermann, and S.M. Weiner. "Modeling Regional Interdependencies Using a Global Error- Correcting Macroeconometric Model". *Journal of Business and Economic Statistics* 22, no. 2 (2004): 129–62.
- Phan, Diep and Ian Coxhead. "Education in Southeast Asia: Investments, Achievements, and Returns". In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Economics*, edited by Ian Coxhead. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Phanatsanasee, Suphaphon et al. "สุรุปสถิดิเหตุการณ์ความไม่สงบในพื้นที่จังหวัดชายแดนภาคใต้ ประจำปี 2557: ปีที่มีจำนวนเหตุการณ์น้อยที่สุดในรอบ 11 ปี" [2014 Summary Statistics on Violent Incidents in the Southern Border Provinces: The Year with the Lowest Number of Incidents in 11 Years]. In *Deep South Watch, Deep South Incident Database*, 27 December 2014 < http:// www.deepsouthwatch.org/en/node/6596> (accessed 16 March 2015).
- Pasuk, Phongpaichit and Chris Baker. Thaksin. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2009.
- Plummer, Michael G. "FDI Effects of ASEAN Integration". Conference paper, Festschrift for Rachel McCulloch, International Business School, Brandeis University, Massachusetts, 2007.
- Polidano, Charles. "Measuring Public Sector Capacity". World Development 28, no. 5 (2000): 805–22.
- Pomfret, R. "Asian Regionalism: Threat to the WTO-based Trading System or Paper Tiger?". In VoxEU, Centre for Economic Policy Research, 22 June 2007 <a href="http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/309">http://www.voxeu.org/index.php?q=node/309</a>>.
- Pongsapich, Amara. "Politics of Civil Society". Southeast Asian Affairs 1999, edited by John Funston and Daljit Singh. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999.
- Puska, Susan M. "SARS 2003–2004: Case Study in Crisis Management". In *Chinese National Security Decision-Making under Stress*, edited by Andrew Scobell and Larry M. Wortzel. Carlisle, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army War College, 2005.

Putnam, Robert. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

## Q

- Quayle, Linda. "Promoting "Diplomatic" or "Cosmopolitan" Culture?: Interrogating ASEAN-Focused Communication Initiatives". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 35, no. 1 (April 2013): 104–28.
- Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert. Contested Democracy and the Left in the Philippines after Marcos. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2008.

### R

- Raipuria, Kalyan. "SAARC in the New Millennium: Need for Financial Vision". South Asian Survey 8, no. 1 (2001): 17–36.
- Rapkin, David P. "The United States, Japan, and the Power to Block: the APEC and AMF Cases". *The Pacific Review* 14, no. 3 (2001): 373–410.
- Rathus, John. Japan, China, and Networked Regionalism in East Asia. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Ravenhill, John. "Fighting Irrelevance: An Economic Community 'With ASEAN Characteristics'". *The Pacific Review* 21, no. 4 (2008): 469–88.
- Ravenhill, John. "A Three Bloc World? The New East Asian Regionalism". International Relations of the Asia Pacific 2, no. 2 (2002): 167–95.
- Ravenhill, John. "The New Bilateralism in the Asia Pacific". *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (2003): 299–318.
- Razali Kassim Yang. "Tsunami: Nature's Test for ASEAN's New Leadership". IDSS Commentaries 03/2005. Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2005.
- Razak, Ahmad Fuzi Abdul. "Facing Unfair Criticisms". In *The Making of the ASEAN Charter*, edited by Tommy Koh, Rosario G. Manalo, and Walter Woon. World Scientific, 2009.
- Razak, Najib. "Malaysian Chairmanship of ASEAN". Address, the National Colloquium, Kuala Lumpur, 8 April 2014.
- Rebelo, S. "Long-run Policy Analysis and Long-run Growth". *Journal of Political Economy* 99, no. 3 (1991): 500–21.
- Richter, Linda K. The Politics of Tourism in Asia. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989.
- Richter, Linda K. "Political Instability and Tourism in the Third World". In *Tourism in the Less Developed Countries*, edited by David Harrison. New York: Halsted Press, 1992.
- Richter, Linda K. "Tourism Policy-Making in South-East Asia". In *Tourism in Southeast Asia*, edited by Michael Hitchcock, Victor T. King, and Michael J.G. Parnwell. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Richter, Linda K. "After Political Turmoil: The Lessons of Rebuilding Tourism in Three Asian Countries". *Journal of Travel Research* 38, no. 1 (1999): 41–45.
- Richter, Linda K. "Not a Minor Problem: Developing Travel Policy for the Welfare of Children". *Tourism Analysis* 10, no. 1 (2005): 27–36.
- Richter, Linda K. "Tourism Policy-Making in Southeast Asia: A Twenty-First Century Perspective". In *Tourism in Southeast Asia: Challenges and New Directions*, edited by Michael Hitchcock, Victor T. King, and Michael Parnwell. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press, 2008.
- Richter, Linda K. and William L. Waugh Jr. "Terrorism and Tourism as Logical Companions". In *Managing Tourism*, edited by Se Medlik. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1991.

- Richter, Linda K. and Richter, William L. "Human Trafficking, Globalisation and Ethics". PA Times 26, no. 2 (2003) < http://64.91.242.87/patimes/archives/2003/02/ss2\_richter.html>.
- Rimmer, Peter J. and Dick Howard. *The City in Southeast Asia: Patterns, Processes and Policy.* Singapore: NUS Press, 2009.
- Roberts, Christopher. ASEAN's Myanmar Crisis: Challenges to the Pursuit of a Security Community. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010.
- Roberts, Christopher. ASEAN Regionalism: Cooperation, Values and Institutionalisation. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012.
- Robinson, Joshua. "The 20 fastest-growing economies this year". *Bloomberg News*, 25 February 2015.
- Robinson, Mark. "The Growth of Indonesian Pentecostalism". In *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia*, edited by Allan Anderson and Edmund Tang. Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2005.
- Robison, Richard, Mark Beeson, Kanishka Jayasuriya, and Hyuk-Rae Kim. *Politics and Markets in the Wake of the Asian Crisis*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Robison, Richard and Vedi R. Hadiz. "Indonesia: Crisis, Oligarchy, and Reform". In *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: Markets, Power, and Contestation*, edited by Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Rodan, Garry. The Political Economy of Singapore's Industrialization: National State and International Capital. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989.
- Rodan, Garry. "Singapore: Globalisation, the State, and Politics". In *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: Markets, Power, and Contestation*, edited by Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Rodan, Garry and Caroline Hughes. "Accountability Coalitions in the Southeast Asian Context". In *The Politics of Accountability in Southeast Asia: The Dominance of Moral Ideologies*, edited by Garry Rodan and Caroline Hughes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Rodrik, Dani. "The New Global Economy and Developing Countries: Making Openness Work". Overseas Development Council Policy Essay no. 24. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1999.
- Rodrik, Dani. In Search of Prosperity: Analytical Narratives on Economic Growth. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Romer, P.M. "Increasing Returns and Long Run Growth". Journal of Political Economy 94, no. 5 (1986): 1002–37.
- Romualdez, Babe G. "Bright Prospects for BPO Industry". *The Philippine Star*, 10 February 2015.
- Rondinelli, D. and S. Cheema. Decentralizing Governance: Emerging Concepts and Practices. New York: Brookings Institution Press, 2007.
- Rowley, Anthony. "What the TPP Is Really About". Business Times (Singapore), 2 February 2011.
- Rudd, Kevin. "It's Time to Build an Asia Pacific Community". Address, the Asia Society, Australasia Centre, Sydney, 4 June 2008 < http://asiasociety.org/policy-politics/governance/global/kevin-rudd-toward-asia-pacific-union>.
- Rudd, Kevin. "Address at Shangri-La Dialogue". Address, the Eighth International Institute of Strategic Studies Asian Security Summit, Singapore, 29 May 2009 <www.iiss.org/conferences/the-shagri-la-dialogue/shangri-la-dialogue-2009/plenary-session-speeches-2009/opening-remarks-and-keynote-address/keynote-address-kevin-rudd/>.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution". *International Organization* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 561–98.

S

- SMRC (Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting). Survei Nasional Pemilihan Presiden, 30 Juni– 3 Juli 2014 [National Survey Presidential Election, 30 June–3 July 2014]. Jakarta: Saiful Mujani Research and Consulting, 2014.
- Sally, Razeen. "Regional Economic Integration in Asia: The Track Record and Prospects". ECIPE Occasional Paper no. 2/2010. Brussels: European Centre for Political Economy, 2010 <http://www.ecipe.org/app/uploads/2014/12/regional-economic-integration-in-asiathe-track-record-and-prospects.pdf>.
- Sally, Razeen. "Chinese Trade Policy after (Almost) Ten Years in the WTO: A Post-Crisis Stocktake". ECIPE Occasional Paper no. 2/2011. Brussels: European Centre for International Political Economy, 2011.
- Sally, Razeen. "ASEAN FTAs: State of Play and Outlook for ASEAN's Regional and Global Integration". In *The ASEAN Economic Community: A Work in Progress*, edited by S. B. Das, J. Menon, R. Severino, and O. L. Srestha. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Samuels, Richard. Securing Japan: Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Saravanamuttu, Johan, H.G. Lee, and M.N.M. Osman. *Coalitions in Collision. Malaysia's* 13<sup>th</sup> *General Elections.* Singapore and Petaling Jaya: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2015.
- Saunders, Graham. "Early Travelers in Borneo". In *Tourism in South-East Asia*, edited by M. Hitchcock, V. T. King, and M. J.G. Parnwell. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Saunders, Phillip. "The Rebalance to Asia: US-China Relations and Regional Security". Strategic Forum no. 281. Washington, D.C.: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 2013.
- Saw, Swee-Hock and K. Kesavapany. *Malaysia: Recent Trends and Challenges*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.
- Scheiner, Charles. "Can the Petroleum Fund exorcise the resource curse from Timor-Leste?". *La'o Hamutuk*, 1 June 2014 <a href="http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/exor/14ExorcisePaper.htm">http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/exor/14ExorcisePaper.htm</a>.
- Schulte Nordholt, Henk. "Decentralisation in Indonesia: Less State, More Democracy?". In *Politicising Democracy, the New Local Politics of Democratization*, edited by J. Hariss, K. Stokke, and O. Tornquist. London: Palgrave, 2004.
- Schwartz, A. and R. Villinger. "Integrating Southeast Asian Economies". *The McKinsey Quarterly* no. 1 (2004): 37–47.
- Scissors, Derek. "Deng Undone: The Costs of Halting Market Reform in China". *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 3 (May/June 2009): 24–39.
- Sen Gupta, Bhabani. "India in the Twenty-first Century". *International Affairs* 73, no. 2 (1997): 297–314.
- Severino, Rodolfo C. Southeast Asia in search of an ASEAN Community. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2006.
- Severino, Rodolfo C. "ASEAN Beyond Forty: Towards Political and Economic Integration". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 29, no. 3 (2007): 406–23.
- Severino, Rodolfo C. "Politics of Association of Southeast Asian Nations Economic Cooperation". *Asian Economic Policy Review* 6, no. 1 (2011): 22–38.
- Shaw, Brian J. "Diverging Identities in a Dynamic Region". In Southeast Asian Culture and Heritage in a Globalising World: Diverging Identities in a Dynamic Region, edited by R. Ismail, B. J. Shaw, and Ooi G. L. London: Ashgate, 2009.

- Shiraishi, Masaya. Nihon No Senryakteki Patonashippu Gaiko. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Ajia Taiheiyo Kenkyu Senta, 2014.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. "The Third Wave: Southeast Asia and Middle Class Formation in the Making of a Region". In *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism*, edited by P. J. Katzenstein and T. Shiraishi. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Shiraishi, Takashi. "Introduction: The Rise of Middle Classes in Southeast Asia". In *The Rise of the Middle Classes in Southeast Asia*, edited by T. Shiraishi and P. Phongpaichit. Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2008.
- Shute, Nancy. "Of Birds and Men: A Deadly Virus is Brewing in Asia. Could This Be the Next Killer Pandemic?". U.S. News and World Report 138, no. 12 (4 April 2005): 40–47.
- Sidel, John T. Capital, Coercion, and Crime. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Sidel, John T. "Bossism and Democracy in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia: Towards an Alternative Understanding of Local Strongmen". In *Politicising Democracy: The New Local Politics of Democratisation*, edited by J. Harriss, K. Stokke, and O. Törnquist. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Simorangkir, Iskandar. "AEC and Monetary Integration". In Managing Regional and Global Governance in Asia: Opportunities and Challenges for the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). Jakarta: Bank Indonesia, 2011.
- Singapore Department of Statistics. *Census of Population 2010: Statistical Release 1 Demographic Characteristics, Education, Language and Religion.* Singapore: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Singapore, 2011.
- Siregar, Reza and Akkharaphol Chabchitrchaidol. "Enhancing the Effectiveness of CMIM and AMRO: Selected Immediate Challenges and Tasks". ADBI Working Paper no. 403. Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute, 2013.
- Slater, Dan. "Indonesia's Accountability Trap: Party Cartels and Presidential Power after Democratic Transition". *Indonesia* 78 (2004): 61–92.
- Smith, James K. A. "The Spirits of the Prophets are Subject to the Prophets: Global Pentecostalism and the Re-enchantment of Critique". *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 109, no. 4 (2010): 677–93.
- Smith, Robert C. "Migrant Membership as an Instituted Process: Transnationalization, the State and Extra-Territorial Conduct of Mexican Politics". *International Migration Review* 37, no. 2 (2003): 297–343.
- Snidal, Duncan. "Coordination versus Prisoners' Dilemma: implications for inter- national cooperation and regimes". American Political Science Review 79, no. 4 (1985): 923–42.
- So, Sokbunthoeun. "The Cambodia-Thailand Conflict: A Test for ASEAN". Asia-Pacific Bulletin no. 44. Washington: East-West Center, 2009.
- SOCA (Senior Official's Committee for ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Council) Chair, Indonesia. "Report of the SOCA Chair to the ASCC Council". Confidential report, 8<sup>th</sup> Senior Officials Committee for the ASCC and 5<sup>th</sup> ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Council, 29 April 2011, Jakarta.
- Soesastro, Hadi. "Regional Integration in East Asia: Achievements and Future Prospects". *Asian Economic Policy Review* 1, no. 2 (2006): 215–34.
- Soesastro, Hadi. "Implementing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint". In Deepening Economic Integration in East Asian — The ASEAN Economic Community and Beyond (ERIA Research Project 2007, no. 1-2), edited by Hadi Soesastro. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2007.

Soesastro, Hadi. "Implementing the Asean Economic Community Blueprint". ASEAN

*Community: Unblocking the Roadblocks* (ASEAN Studies Centre Report no. 1). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008.

- Solidarity for Asian People's Advocacy Task Force on ASEAN and Human Rights. A Commission Shrouded in Secrecy: A Performance Report on the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights 2010–2011. Bangkok: Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development, 2012.
- Solow, Robert M. "Technical Change and the Aggregate Production Function". *Review of Economics and Statistics* 39 (1957): 312–20.
- Stein, Arthur A. "Coordination and collaboration: regimes in an anarchic world". In *International Regimes*, edited by S. Krasner. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Steinberg, David. Burma/Myanmar: What Everyone Needs to Know, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Sarah Stewart. "Asia's Military Governments Meet as Pakistan Leader Arrives in Myanmar". Agence France Presse, 1 May 2001.
- Stockwell, A.J. "Early Tourism in Malaya". In *Tourism in South-East Asia*, edited by M. Hitchcock, V.T. King, and M.J.G. Parnwell. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Storey, Ian. "Asean is a House Divided". Wall Street Journal, 14 June 2012.
- Storey, Ian. "South China Sea: Glacial Progress Amid On-Going Tensions". In CSCAP Regional Security Outlook 2014, edited by R. Huisken. Kuala Lumpur: Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, 2013.
- Straits Times. "Japan Warns That South China Sea Row Could Damage Regional Stability", 19 November 2012 <a href="http://www.straitstimes.com/breaking-news/se-asia/story/japan-warns-south-china-sea-row-could-damage-regional-stability-20121119">http://www.straitstimes.com/breaking-news/se-asia/story/japan-warns-south-china-sea-row-could-damage-regional-stability-20121119</a> (accessed 30 April 2013).
- Streckfuss, David. "An 'Ethnic' Reading of 'Thai' History in the Twilight of the Century-Old Official 'Thai' National Model". *South East Asia Research* 20, no. 3 (2012): 305–27.
- Stubbs, Richard. "ASEAN Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?". Asian Survey 42, no. 3 (2002): 440–55.
- Sudo, Sueo. Japan's ASEAN Policy. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2015.
- Sukma, Rizal. "Political Development: A Democracy Agenda for ASEAN". In *Hard Choices:* Security, Democracy, and Regionalism in Southeast Asia, edited by D.K. Emmerson. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009.
- Sukma, Rizal. "ASEAN Beyond 2015: The Imperatives for Further Institutional Changes". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2014-01. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2014.
- Sutter, Robert. "The Obama Administration and US Policy in Asia". *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 31, no. 2 (2009): 189–216.

#### Т

- Tan, Alan Khee-Jin. "Prospects for a Single Aviation Market in Southeast Asia". Annals of Air and Space Law 34 (2009): 253–83.
- Tan, Alan Khee-Jin. "Toward a Single Aviation Market in ASEAN: Regulatory Reform and Industry Challenges". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2013-22. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2013.
- Tan, See Seng. "Talking Their Walk? The Evolution of Defence Regionalism in Southeast Asia". *Asian Security* 8, no. 3 (2012): 232–50.
- Tang, Jiaxuan. Speech, the Ninth ARF Foreign Ministers' Meeting, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, 31 July 2002 <a href="http://www.china-un.ch/eng/ljzg/zgwjzc/t85873.htm">http://www.china-un.ch/eng/ljzg/zgwjzc/t85873.htm</a>.

- Tarling, Nicholas. Southeast Asia and the Great Powers. London & New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Tay, Simon. "The Environment and Security in Southeast Asia". In *Beyond the Crisis: Challenges* and Opportunities, edited by M.C. Anthony and M.J. Hassan. Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Strategic and International Studies, 2001.
- Taylor, Robert H. *The State in Myanmar*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2009.
- Tocqueville, Alexander de. Democracy in America. New York: Harper Perennial, 1969 [1835].
- Tejapira, Kasian. "The Post-Modernization of Thainess". In *House of Glass: Culture, Modernity, and the State in Southeast Asia*, edited by Yao Souchou. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2001.
- Teo, P., T.C. Chang, and K.C. Ho, eds. *Interconnected Worlds: Tourism in Southeast Asia*. Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2001.
- Thabchumpon, Naruemon and Duncan McCargo. "Urbanized Villagers in the 2010 Thai Redshirt Protests: Not Just Poor Farmers?". *Asian Survey* 51, no. 6 (2011): 993–1018.
- Than, Mya. Myanmar in ASEAN: Regional Cooperation Experience. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005.
- Thayer, Carlyle A. "China's 'New Security Concept' and Southeast Asia". In *Asia-Pacific Security: Policy Challenges*, edited by David W. Lovell. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.
- Thee, Kian Wie. "The major channels of international technology transfer to Indonesia: an assessment." *Journal of the Asia-Pacific Economy* 10, no. 2 (2005): 214–36.
- Thio, Li-Ann. "377A serves public morality: NMP Thio Li-Ann". In *The Online Citizen*, 23 October 2007 <a href="http://theonlinecitizen.com/2007/10/377a-serves-public-morality-nmp-thio-li-ann">http://theonlinecitizen.com/2007/10/377a-serves-public-morality-nmp-thio-li-ann</a>> (accessed 10 May 2010).
- Thompson, Mark R. The Anti-Marcos Struggle: Personalistic Rule and Democratic Transition in the *Philippines*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Thompson, Mark R. "The Dialectic of 'Good Governance' and Democracy in Southeast Asia: Globalized Discourses and Local Responses". *Globality Studies Journal* 10, no. 4 (2007): 1–19.
- Thuzar, Moe. "Thinking and Feeling ASEAN: The Challenges of Integration and Identity". In Building ASEAN Identity on a Transnational Dimension, edited by Y. Kikuchi and V. Popovski. Tokyo: United Nations University, 2014.
- Tiezzi, Shannon. "The Philippines' UNCLOS claim and the PR battle against China". *The Diplomat*, 1 April 2014.
- Tilleke and Gibbins International Ltd. "Movement of Natural Persons under AEC: Labor Market Issues", 14 February 2012 <a href="http://www.tilleke.com/resources/movement-natural-persons-under-aec-labor-market-issues">http://www.tilleke.com/resources/movement-natural-persons-under-aec-labor-market-issues> (accessed 29 February 2012).</a>
- Tilleke and Gibbins International Ltd. "ASEAN Economic Community 2015 and Thailand", 13 February 2012 <a href="http://www.tilleke.com/resources/asean-economic-community-2015-and-thailand">http://www.tilleke.com/resources/asean-economic-community-2015and-thailand> (accessed 1 March 2012).
- Timmer, Marcel P. "Indonesia's Ascent on the Technology Ladder: Capital Stock and Total Factor Productivity in Indonesian Manufacturing, 1975–95". *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 35, no. 1 (1999): 75–97.
- Togo, Kazuhiko. "Japan and the Security Structures of Multilateralism". In *East Asian Multilateralism: Prospect for Regional Stability*, edited by Kent E. Calder and Francis Fukuyama. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2008.
- Tow, William T. and Brendan Taylor. "What Is Asian Security Architecture?". *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 1 (2010): 95–116.

- Trading Economics. "Malaysia Government Debt to GDP". In *Trading Economics* <a href="http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malaysia/government-debt-to-gdp">http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malaysia/government-debt-to-gdp</a>> (accessed 5 May 2015).
- Transparency International. *Corruption Perception Index 2011*. Berlin: Transparency International, 2012.
- Treisman, Daniel. *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Tsuda, Takeyuki. "Local Citizenship and Foreign Workers in Japan". *Japan Focus*, 26 May 2008 <a href="http://www.japanfocus.org/-takeyuki-tsuda=2762">http://www.japanfocus.org/-takeyuki-tsuda=2762</a> (accessed 6 August 2009).
- Tsuda, Takeyuki. Strangers in the Ethnic Homeland: Japanese Brazilian Return Migration in Transnational Perspective. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Turner, Mark. "Whatever Happened to Deconcentration? Recent Initiatives in Cambodia". *Public Administration and Development* 22, no. 4 (2002): 353–64.

#### U

- UDHR (The Universal Declaration of Human Rights) Articles. "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" <a href="http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/">http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/</a>>.
- Urata, Shujiro. "Japan's Trade Policy with Asia". Public Policy Review 10, no. 1 (2014): 1-31.
- UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development). *Handbook of Statistics* 2005: International Trade in Services. New York and Geneva: United Nations Publication, 2005.
- UNESCAP (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific). *Looking into Pandora's Box: The Social Implications of International Migration in Asia.* Bangkok: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 2008.
- United Nations Population Division. *World Urbanisation Prospects: The 2011 Revision*. New York: United Nations Population Division, 2011.
- United Nations Rule of Law. "What is the Rule of Law?". In *United Nations Rule of Law*. <a href="http://www.unrol.org/article.aspx?article\_id=3>">http://www.unrol.org/article.aspx?article\_id=3></a>.
- United States Department of Defense. "Sustaining US Global Leadership: Priorities for 21st Century Defense". In *United States Department of Defense*, January 2012 <www.defense.gov/news/Defense\_Strategic\_Guidance.pdf>.
- United States Mission to ASEAN. "U.S. Engagement with ASEAN". In *United States Mission to ASEAN*<www.asean.usmission.gov/mission/participation.html>.
- USTR (United States Special Trade Representative). "2010 National Trade Estimate Report on Foreign Trade Barriers: China". In *Office of the United States Trade Representative*, 2010 < https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/uploads/reports/2010/NTE/2010\_NTE\_China\_final.pdf >.

#### V

- Vasavakul, T. "Rethinking the Philosophy of Central-Local Relations in Post-Central-Planning in Vietnam" In *Central-Local Relations in Asia Pacific: Convergence or Divergence*, edited by M. Turner. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Vaughn, Bruce. "East Asia Summit: Issues for Congress". In CRS (Congressional Research Service) Report for Congress, 9 December 2005 <a href="http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/58236.pdf">http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/58236.pdf</a>>.
- Vietnam Customs. "Sor Bộ Tình Hình Xuất Khẩu, Nhập Khẩu Hàng Hoá Của Việt Nam Tháng 12 Và 12 Tháng Năm 2014 [Overview of Vietnam's Imports – Exports in December 2014 and the Year 2014]". In Hải quan Việt Nam, 26 January 2015 <a href="http://www.customs.gov.vn/Lists/ThongKeHaiQuan/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=795">http://www.customs.gov.vn/Lists/ThongKeHaiQuan/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=795</a>> (accessed 10 March 2015).

Vietnamese News Agency. "ASEAN-China Consultation on COC Opens", 9 July 2012 <http://

en.vietnamplus.vn/Home/ASEANChina-consultation-on-COC-opens/20127/27213. vnplus> (accessed 30 April 2013).

Vining, Daniel R. "The Growth of Core Regions in the Third World". Scientific American 252, no. 4 (1985): 42–49.

#### W

- Wacker, Grant. "Are the Golden Oldies Still Worth Playing? Reflections on History Writing Among Early Pentecostals". *Pneuma* 8, no. 2 (1986): 81–100.
- Wain, Barry. "Manila's Bungle in the South China Sea". *Far Eastern Economic Review* 171, no. 1 (January/February 2008): 45–48.
- Wain, Barry. "Viewpoint: Closing the ASEAN door on Timor-Leste". Straits Times, 5 May 2011.
- Walker, Andrew. *Thailand's Political Peasants: Power in the Modern Rural Economy*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012.
- Wang, Yuzhu and Sarah Y. Tong. "China-ASEAN FTA Changes ASEAN's Perspective on China". *East Asian Policy* 2, no. 2 (2010): 47–54.
- Wan, Ming. "The Great Recession and China's Policy toward Asian Regionalism". Asian Survey 50, no. 3 (May/June 2010): 520–38.
- Wanhill, Stephen. 1998 "The Role of Government Incentives". In *Global Tourism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, edited by William F. Theobald. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1998.
- Weber, Max. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. London: Routledge, 1991 [1948].
- Webster, Douglas. "Mega-Urbanisation in ASEAN: New phenomenon or transitional phase to the 'Los Angeles World City'?" In *The Mega-Urban Regions of Southeast Asia*, edited by T.G. McGee and Ira M. Robinson. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995.
- Wei, Yan. "A Broader Asia without China". Beijing Review, 20 September 2007.
- Weiner, M. "Empirical Democratic Theory". In *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries*, edited by M. Weiner and E. Ozbudun. Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.
- Weingast, B. "Second Generation Fiscal Federalism: Implications for Decentralized Democratic governance and Economic Development". Working Paper. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, Stanford University, 2006.
- Weiss, Meredith L. and Saliha Hassan, eds. Social Movements in Malaysia: From Moral Communities to NGOs. London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003.
- Welsh, Bridget. "Divided or Together? Southeast Asia in 2012". In *Southeast Asian Affairs 2013*, edited by Daljit Singh. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013.
- Wermelinger, Martin. "Features of Post-Crisis Protectionism in Asia and the Pacific". ARTNet Working Paper Series no. 97. Bangkok: ARTNet, 2011.
- Wichit, Chaitrong. "Japan and China Vie to Be Top Contributor to Regional Fund". *The Nation* (Bangkok), 10 April 2009.
- Wihardja, Maria Monica. "Financial Integration Challenges in ASEAN beyond 2015". ERIA Discussion Paper no. 2013-27. Jakarta: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia, 2013.
- White, Hugh. The China Choice. Sydney: Black Inc, 2012.
- Williams, J. and B.D. Wright. *Storage and Commodity Markets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Winters, Jeffrey. Oligarchy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Winters, Jeffrey. "Oligarchs and Oligarchy in Southeast Asia". In *Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Politics*, edited by Richard Robison. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2012.

- Wiyono, Gani. "Pentecostals in Indonesia". In Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia, edited by Allan Anderson and Edmund Tang. Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2005.
- Woo, Y. Pau and J. Wilson. *New Directions for APEC's Trade Facilitation Agenda*. Vancouver: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 2000.
- World Bank. East Asia Decentralizes: Making Local Government Work. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2005.
- World Bank. A Survey of Non-Tariff Measures in the East Asia and Pacific Region. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2008.
- World Bank. World Development Report 2009: Reshaping Economic Geography. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2009.
- World Bank. Investing Across Borders: Indicators of Foreign Direct Regulations in 87 Economies. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2010.
- World Bank. Doing Business 2013. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2012.
- World Bank and OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). *A Framework for the Design and Implementation of Competition Law and Policy*. Washington DC and Paris: World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1999.
- World Christian Database. "World Christian Database". 2005. Brill and Center for the Study of Global Christianity at Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary <a href="http://www.worldchristiandatabase.org/wcd/">http://www.worldchristiandatabase.org/wcd/</a>>.
- WTO (World Trade Organisation). "Trade Policy Review: China (2010)". 2010 <https://www. wto.org/english/tratop\_e/tpr\_e/tp330\_e.htm>.

### Х

- Xia, Liping. "Prospects for Cooperative Security in East Asia: Chinese Perspectives". Conference paper, the Second Collaborative Workshop on East Asia Regional Security Futures, Nautilus Institute-Center for American Studies, Fudan University, Shanghai, 3–4 March 2001.
- Xinhua News Agency (China). "ASEAN Driving Force in Community Building: Susilo", 11 December 2005 <a href="http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-12/11/content\_3906618">http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2005-12/11/content\_3906618</a>. htm> (accessed May 2011).
- Xinhua News Service (China). "China Vows to Enhance Political Trust, Policy Coordination with ASEAN: Premier", 20 November 2007.
- Xinhua Online (China). "习近平阐明中国和平发展原则底线 [Xi Jinping Explains the Principled Bottom Line in China's Peaceful Development]", 30 January 2013 < http://www.chinanews.com/gn/2013/01-31/4535125.shtml>.
- Xinhua (China). "China Warns Against Rush to Set Code of Conduct in South China Sea", 5 August 2013.
- Xinhua (China). "Premier Li's Keynote Speech at 10th China-ASEAN Expo", 4 September 2013.
- Xinhua (China). "China Vows to Build Community of Common Destiny with ASEAN", 3 October 2013 <a href="http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-10/03/c\_132770494">http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-10/03/c\_132770494</a>. htm> (accessed 21 March 2014).
- Xinhua (China). "Full Text of Chinese FM's Signed Article on Int'l Rule of Law," 24 October 2014 <a href="http://en.people.cn/n/2014/1024/c90883-8799769-2.html">http://en.people.cn/n/2014/1024/c90883-8799769-2.html</a>.

Y

- Yahya, Faizal. "Pakistan, SAARC and ASEAN Relations". Contemporary Southeast Asia 26, no. 2 (2004): 346–75.
- Yachi, Shotaro. "More Proactive Contribution to Peace" Changes Japan's Diplomacy: Abe Administration's Policy Toward Asia and the United States". *Diplomacy*, no. 20 (April 12, 2014).
- Yeo, Tricia. *The Road to Reform. Pakatan Rakyat in Selangor.* Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2010.
- Yeoh, Oon. *Tipping Points. Viewpoints on the Reasons for and Impact of the March 8 Election Earthquake.* Petaling Jaya: The Edge Communications, 2008.
- Yeoh, Oon. Najib's First 100 Days. No Honeymoon. Petaling Jaya: Gerakbudaya Enterprise, 2009.
- Yi, Wang. "Exploring the Path of Major Country Diplomacy with Chinese Characteristics". Remarks, Second World Peace Forum, Tsinghua University, Beijing, 27 June 2013.
- Yomiuri Shimbun (Japan). Japan-Philippines Summit (July 2013), 28 July 2013.
- Yuan, Jing-Dong. Asia-Pacific Security: China's Conditional Multilateralism and Great Power Entente. Carlisle, Penn.: U.S. Army War College Strategic Studies Institute, January 2000.
- Yuzawa, Takeshi. "Japan's Changing Conception of the ASEAN Regional Forum: From an Optimistic Liberal to a Pessimistic Realist Perspective". *Pacific Review* 18, no. 4 (2005): 463– 97.
- Yuzawa, Takeshi. Japan's Security Policy and the ASEAN Regional Forum: The Search for Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific. London: Routledge, 2007.

## Z

- Zhang, Zhaoyong, Kiyotaka Sato, and Michael McAleer. "Is East Asia an Optimal Currency Area?". Working Paper no. 37. Kitakyushu, Japan: International Centre for the Study of East Asian Development, 2001.
- Zhuang, J., H. Gunatilake, Y. Niimi, M.E. Khan, Y. Jiang, R. Hasan, N. Khor, A. Lagman-Martin, P. Bracey, and B. Huang. "Financial Sector Development, Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction: A Literature Review". ADB Economics Working Paper no. 173. Manila: Asian Development Bank, 2009.