

Asian Survey (ISSN 0004-4687, electronic ISSN 1533-838X) is published bimonthly six times a year by the University of California Press, 155 Grand Avenue, Suite 400, Oakland, CA 94612-3758. Periodicals postage paid at Oakland, CA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Asian Survey*, University of California Press, 155 Grand Avenue, Suite 400, Oakland, CA 94612-3758 Att.: Subscriptions, or e-mail at customerservice@ucpress.edu. Canadian GST 89626 2698 RT.

For subscription and single-issue orders and claims information, see <http://as.ucpress.edu/content/subscriptions-and-single-issues>. Domestic claims for non-receipt of issue must be made within 90 days of the mail date, overseas claims within 180 days. Mail dates can be checked here: <https://www.ucpress.edu/journals/schedule-of-releases>. UC Press does not begin accepting claims for an issue until thirty (30) days after the mail date.

Articles in *Asian Survey* do not necessarily represent the views of the editors or the University of California. Although the editors are responsible for their selection and acceptance, responsibility for the opinions expressed and the accuracy of statements contained in articles rests with their authors.

SUBMISSIONS AND EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE: Please send to *Asian Survey*, University of California, IEAS, 1995 University Avenue, Ste. 510, Berkeley, CA 94720-2318, asiansurvey@berkeley.edu. Unpublished manuscripts not under consideration elsewhere are welcomed, up to 9,000 words maximum including notes, on contemporary political, social, economic, and strategic developments in Asia. DOUBLE SPACE text and footnotes (no in-text citations); place all tables and figures at end of paper. For style sheet, contact us or see <http://as.ucpress.edu/content/submit>. E-mail submission required but include street mailing address. Format for text and tables: Win/MS Word.

Copying and permissions notice: Authorization to copy article content beyond fair use (as specified in Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law) for internal or personal use, or the internal or personal use of specific clients, is granted by The Regents of the University of California for libraries and other users, provided that they are registered with and pay the specified fee through the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC), www.copyright.com. To reach the CCC's Customer Service Department, phone 978-750-8400 or write to info@copyright.com. Permission to distribute electronically, republish, resell, or re-purpose material from 2001 forward, as well as requests for article reprints or offprints, can be fulfilled online through the CCC's Rightslink service, available at <http://as.ucpress.edu/content/permissions>. All other permissions and licensing inquiries may be submitted through University of California Press's Reprints and Permissions web page, <https://www.ucpress.edu/journals/reprints-permissions>, or via email: jpermissions@ucpress.edu.

Printed by *The Sheridan Press* on Forest-Stewardship Council®-certified paper.

© 2020 by *The Regents of the University of California*. All rights reserved.

EDITOR

UK HEO, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

EDITORIAL STAFF

DAVID FRASER, Managing Editor

EDITORIAL BOARD

CELESTE ARRINGTON, George Washington University

NAVNITA CHADHA BEHERA, University of Delhi, India

THOMAS BERGER, Boston University

RIKHIL BHAVNANI, University of Wisconsin-Madison

VICTOR CHA, Georgetown University

STEVE CHAN, University of Colorado

PRADEEP K. CHHIBBER, *University of California-Berkeley**

TUN-JEN CHENG, College of William and Mary

JA IAN CHONG, National University of Singapore, Singapore

JAE HO CHUNG, Seoul National University, Korea

JAMIE DAVIDSON, National University of Singapore, Singapore

YI FENG, Claremont University

SUMIT GANGULY, Indiana University

SHALE HOROWITZ, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

CHI HUANG, National Chengchi University, Taiwan

WONJAE HWANG, University of Tennessee

CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT, Centre de Recherches Internationales de Sciences Po, France

AYESHA JALAL, Tufts University

HYUN-CHIN LIM, Seoul National University, Korea

DAVID KANG, Southern California University

SCOTT KASTNER, Maryland University

JOHN LIE, *University of California-Berkeley**

DUNCAN McCARGO, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

ANDREW MERTHA, Johns Hopkins University/SAIS

DOMINIK M. MÜLLER, Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nuremberg (FAU), Germany

IRFAN NOORUDDIN, Georgetown University

KEVIN J. O'BRIEN, *University of California-Berkeley**

SAADIA M. PEKKANEN, University of Washington

T. J. PEMPEL, *University of California-Berkeley**

MARGARET ROBERTS, University of California-San Diego

TERENCE ROEHRIG, Naval War College

FRANCES MCCALL ROSENBLUTH, Yale University

FARZANA SHAIKH, Chatham House, UK

JOHN T. SIDEL, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK

DANIEL M. SMITH, Harvard University

ALEXANDER TAN, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

JESSICA TEETS, Middlebury College

EMMANUEL TEITELBAUM, George Washington University

ASHUTOSH VARSHNEY, Brown University

ANDREW WEDEMAN, Georgia State University

CHUNG-LI WU, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

YU-SHAN WU, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

YI EDWARD YANG, James Madison University

O. FIONA YAP, Australian National University, Australia

WEN-HSIN YEH, *University of California-Berkeley**

NIRA WICKRAMASINGHE, Leiden University, Netherlands

SEONGYI YUN, Kyung Hee University, Korea

**University of California, Berkeley, Faculty Advisory Committee*