Toby Carroll, Shahar Hameiri, and Lee Jones (eds), *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia: Politics and Uneven Development Under Hyperglobalisation*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, xxvi + 412 pp. ISBN: 9783030282547, price: EUR 31.19 (paperback), EUR 24.60 (ebook).

Changes in the global political economy have affected and transformed the Global South. This is particularly true in Southeast Asia, where postcolonial state building and integration into the orbit of market capitalism and governance have resulted in various development trajectories and challenges. A thorough, sober appraisal of this phenomenon, avoiding naïve liberal optimism and gloomy prognosis, is needed. This is what Toby Carroll, Shahar Hameiri, Lee Jones, and many other contributors offer in this edited volume.

As a treatise on the political economy of Southeast Asia, this book is also the most up-to-date manifesto of the Marxist Murdoch School of Asian political studies—the first edition was published more than two decades ago (Rodan, Hewison and Robison 1997). This expansive volume, which covers topics ranging from classical political economy, regime transition, populism, popular struggles, gender, and political ecology, among others, in 15 chapters, delivers what it promises.

The three editors start the volume strong by laying out the School's theoretical position. In Chapter 1, Shahar Hameiri and Lee Jones differentiate the Murdoch School in the study of political economy from Weberian and institutionalist approaches, and define the former as 'the insistence that political outcomes are primarily determined by struggles between socio-political forces' (p. 15) largely characterized in terms of class. Toby Carroll follows up this conversation by applying the School's framework to analyze political and development trajectories across Southeast Asia. True to the spirit of the School, he examines these trajectories by linking political shifts with larger structural changes, such as capitalist development, class relations, and social changes.

Chapters 3–8 cover topics on economic development and governance. Garry Rodan and Jacqui Baker present an alternative account of political regimes in Southeast Asia in Chapter 3, the Modes of Participation (MOP) framework, which looks at how struggles among competing social forces and non-democratic ideologies of representation preclude the possibility of a more participatory and equal democracy. In Chapter 4, Caroline Hughes examines transitions from state socialism in Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Myanmar, showing the tumultuous march toward authoritarian capitalism in these countries and the social costs it incurs for the marginalized. Chapter 5, by Nathan Quimpo, shifts the discussion to the rise and fall of the Left across Southeast Asia, coupled with a diagnosis of the factors accounting for the Left's defeat in the region. In

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Chapter 6, Richard Robison and Vedi Hadiz tackle a current topic: populism. They show the ambivalent nature of populism in relation to democratic deepening and redistributive demands in Southeast Asia. Faris Al-Fadhat reorients the Murdoch School's domestic focus by connecting it with studies on the internationalization of capital in Chapter 7. Lee Jones and Shahar Hameiri take on a similar task by studying the embedding of neoliberal governance in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Chapters 9–12 interrogate the nexus between capital, state, and society. Juanita Elias gives a Murdoch School take on the gender question in Chapter 9. Transcending mainstream gender analyses and their preoccupations with representations and political aesthetics, she centers a Marxist lens on gender issues by looking at social reproduction, feminized labor, and crisis of care. In chapter 10, Kelly Gerard and Charanpal Bal highlight various issues concerning labor migration in Southeast Asia, looking at its evolution and covering both low-wage and high-wage migrations. Chapter 11, by Jane Hutchison and Ian Wilson, focuses on another politically-active marginalized group, the urban poor, and their savviness in the everyday struggle for livelihood and resources in Jakarta and Manila. Then, in Chapter 12, Andrew Rosser discusses the intermingling dynamics between traditional (the West and Japan) and emerging (most notably China) donors and domestic political and economic configurations in Southeast Asian countries.

The final part of the volume scrutinizes capital-state-nature relations. In Chapter 13, Pascale Hatcher looks at the governance and neoliberalization of extractive industries in the region. Philip Hirsch enriches the discussion in this part by examining the classic topic of land resources and agrarian change and relations under capitalist development across the region in Chapter 14. Finally, Paul Gellert tackles the emerging issues of environmental degradation and climate change from a critical, structuralist perspective in Chapter 15.

Overall, the book combines coherent theoretical positions with relevant case studies and topics from Southeast Asia. Moving away from country-based methodological nationalism, it emphasizes common threads across the region. This work also shows the continuing relevance of Southeast Asia in critical social science fields for theory testing and theory building. This might sound too celebratory, but this edited volume is simply top-notch. I find it difficult to point out other edited volumes with similar theoretical ambitions and detailed knowledge of the region. Moreover, the book's analytical and empirical rigor is also an example of good critical social science, especially amidst the rising popularity of what some colleagues have described as postmodern, theoretically-unsound, empirically-lazy, and ideologically-laden "Grievance Studies" (Pluckrose and Lindsay 2020).

Nevertheless, some criticism of the volume—and the Murdoch School itself—is in order. First, the volume's genre of Marxist political economy overlooks many strands within Marxist social science and studies on Asia. While I appreciate that the volume's focus is to fight against mainstream Weberian and institutionalist explanations of Southeast Asia, I do think that a closer conversation with other types of Marxist political economy of Southeast Asia, such as Intan Suwandi's (2019) work on economic imperialism in Indonesia, will be beneficial to strengthen the volume's arguments.

Secondly, it also pays too little attention to the role of ideology and ideas. This blind spot, in my view, is emblematic of the Murdoch School approach. It leaves many important aspects of Southeast Asian politics and society undertheorized, such as the persistence of conservative ethos and, at the same time, populist spirit in countries across the region. In other words, a critical materialist approach that is attentive to ideational dimensions of political economy is long overdue. Perhaps Murdoch School scholars and readers (including myself) can use insights from leading critical accounts on ideology (Robin 2018; Wood 2008) in their future works.

But notwithstanding these criticisms, the edited volume deserves our utmost appreciation for its excellent scholarship and high standard. It is a must read for anyone interested in political economy, development studies, and Southeast Asia. Three cheers for the book and the Murdoch School!

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