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## Outline

Context: pluralism and colonialism

Illiberal constitutionalism and developing/maturing democracies

Separation of powers and concerns

Civil-common law divide

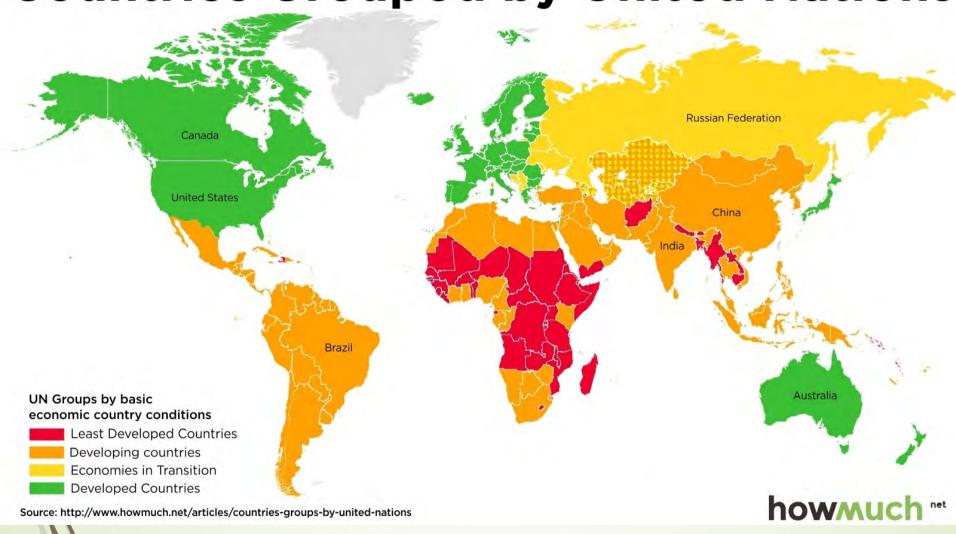
Regional integration and ASEAN

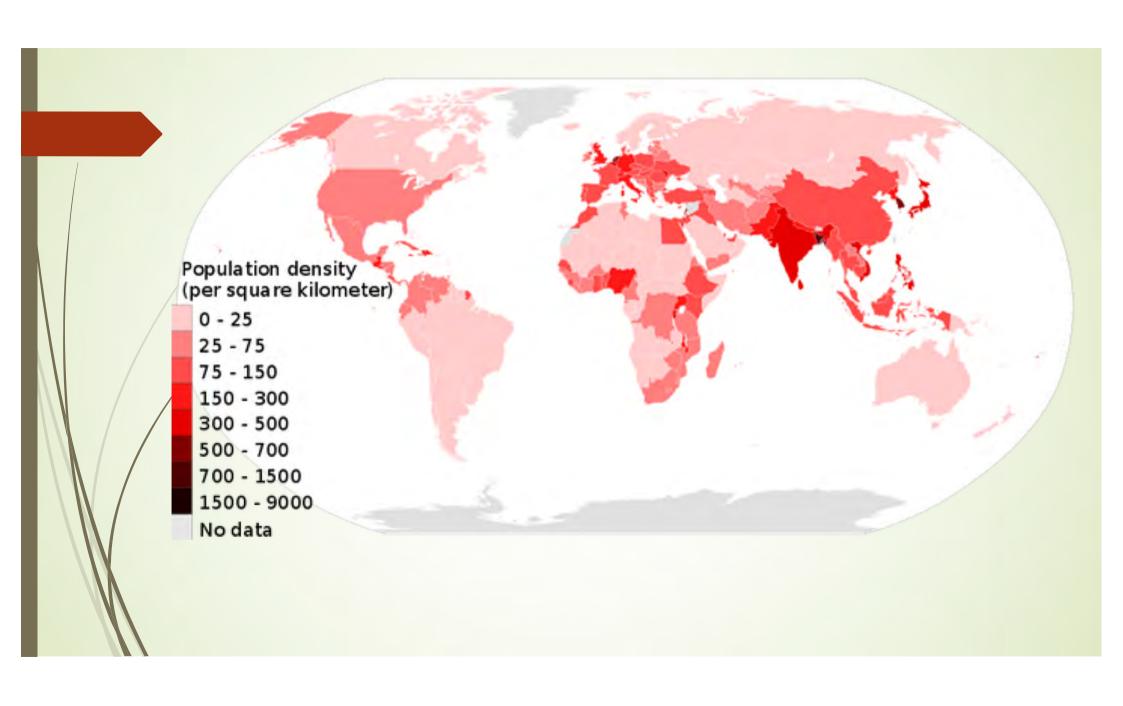


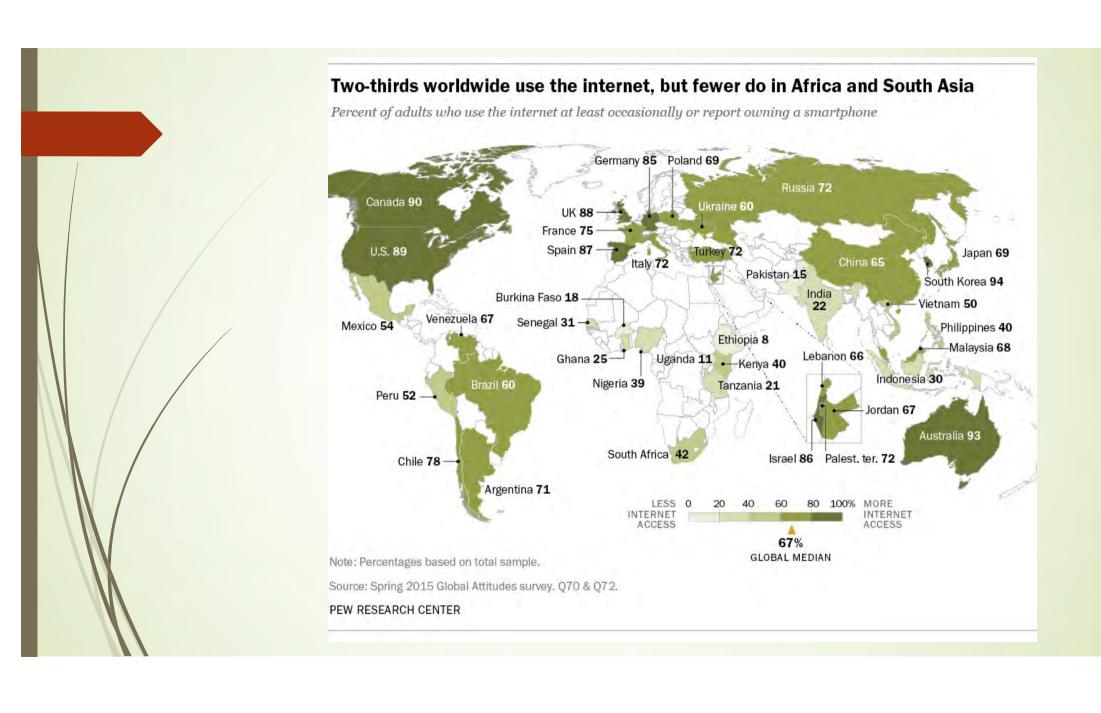
(South East)
Asia as a
plural
pluralist
region

- Ethnic
- Religious
- Linguistic
- Economic
- Political

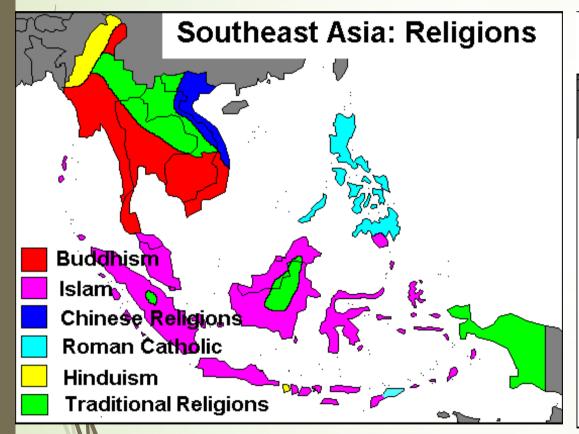
# **Countries Grouped by United Nations**

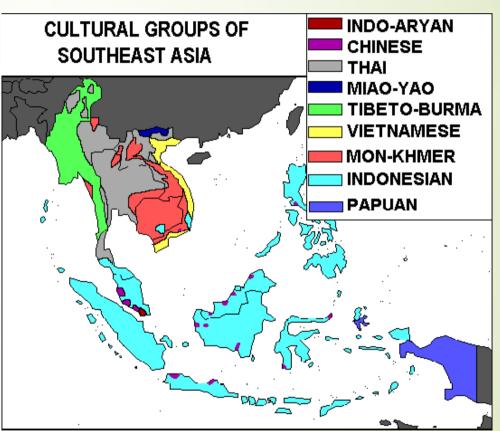












# Historical contingencies: colonialization

Colonial control across most of the region during 19th/early 20th century

Even non-colonized countries not immune from 'Western' influences/pressures



# Post-independence developments

- Post WWII: brief flowering of liberal parliamentary constitutionalism
- ▶ 1960s-1970s: defining period of Asian Developmental State
  - "The Asian Developmental State typically embodied all or most of: executive-centred government, uncontrolled administrative discretion; strong or unquestionable personal or party rule; government interference in economic and social affairs; restriction of basic freedoms, the media, elements of political opposition and judicial and legal professional independence; persistent attacks on or total submergence of the rule of law; and the backing of a powerful military branch."
  - Drivers: the 'red scare' (cf. McCarthyism); developmental imperatives
- New Asian constitutionalism (post-1989 era)
  - People power, democratic revolutions (e.g. Indonesia, South Korea, Taiwan)
  - But sometimes regressive developments (e.g. Thailand, Philippines)

# Legacy issues

- Constitutional arrangements: e.g. Westminster system
- Legal culture:
  - Executive domination,
  - Respect for authority
  - Premium placed on social stability and security
  - Perception of law's relevance in organizing society and economy
- Developmental imperative and role of the State in fostering economic growth
- Legal tradition: civil v common (more later)
- Relatively young legal systems, no common legal heritage – contrast Western Europe, US

# Illiberal constitutionalism

- Stronger presence of the State and (moral) values in public law
- Contrast liberal (Western) constitutionalism: normative individualism, 'neutral' state
- Two versions (cf. Thio)
  - Communitarian
  - Theocratic

# Communitarian constitutionalism

- Pre-eminence of collectivists values, e.g. social harmony, cultural identity, patriotism, economic development
  - "Thick" conception of the "good society" expressed in Constitution or related documents
  - Incl. environmental conservation
- Discourse centred on responsibilities, public goods rather than individual autonomy, rights
- Often results in strong States (governments) to keep the nation on course in realizing the community ideals

# Theocratic constitutionalism

- Breaks "public domain = secular v private domain = religion" dichotomy
- No single approach: spectrum of State/religion arrangements
- Example: Malaysia
  - Art 3(1): "Islam is the religion of the federation; but other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony".
  - Art 11(1) and (4): right to profess and practice religion, BUT legislation "may control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the religion of Islam."
  - Art 112(1A): regular courts "shall have no jurisdiction in respect of any matter within the jurisdiction of the Syariah courts."
  - Art 160(2): "Malay means a person who professes the religion of Islam..."

# Separation of powers

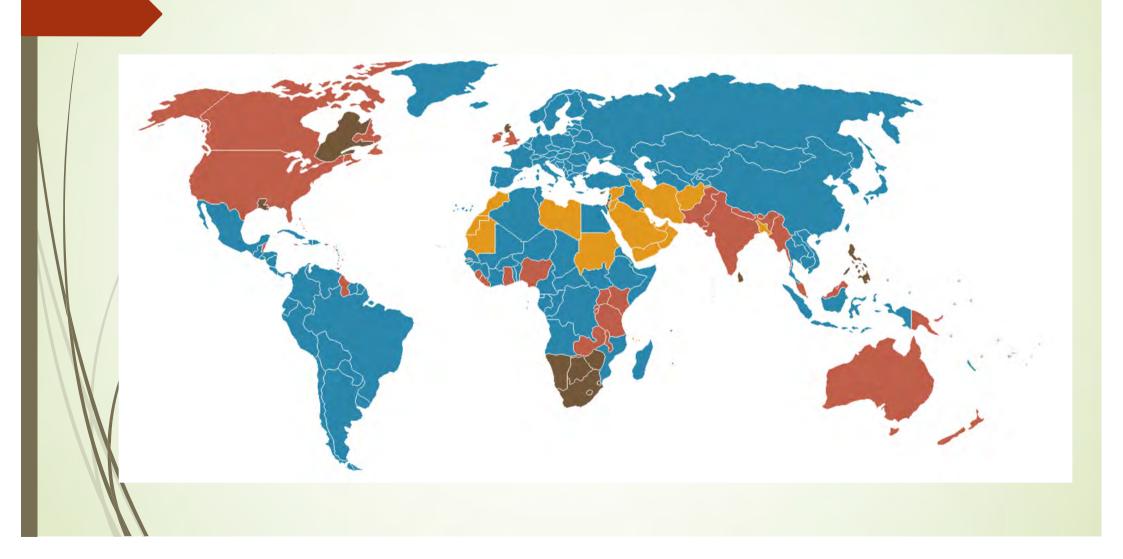
- Linked to Rule of Law, democracy, constitutionalism (contrast absolutist rule)
- Classic trias politica: legislature, executive and judiciary
- Structuring the relationship between the branches
  - Autonomy and inter-dependence, checks and balances
  - Executive-legislature: parliamentary v presidential systems
    - Note: hybrids (e.g. Indonesia)

## Concerns

- Dominance of forces beyond the conventional trias politica
  - Monarchy: e.g. Thailand, Japan, Malaysia
  - Military: e.g. Myanmar, Thailand, Philippines
  - Political parties: Communist regimes (China, Vietnam, Laos) and beyond (e.g. Japan, Singapore)
- Judicial independence
- Corruption / weak enforcement of legislation



# Civil-common law divide



# Transplantation of legal traditions

- Colonial legacy for most of (South East) Asia
- Japan, China, Thailand: 'voluntary' adoption, preference for civil law tradition
- Myanmar, Hong Kong: reasserting and maintaining membership of the common law family

Sources of law and legal method

- Statute v case law
  - Ideology of codification as opposed to amount and degree of authority of legislation
  - Positivism and separation of powers
  - Stare decisis /ratio but note jurisprudence constante, 'guiding cases'
- Custom
- Role of doctrine

# Ways of thinking

- Inductive v deductive
- Facts v principles
- Equity / pragmatism v rules/formalism
  - "Legal minds in civil-law jurisdictions like to think that their system is more stable and fairer than common-law systems, because laws are stated explicitly and are easier to discern. But English lawyers take pride in the flexibility of their system, because it can quickly adapt to circumstance without the need for Parliament to enact legislation." [The Economist Explains, 16 July 2013]

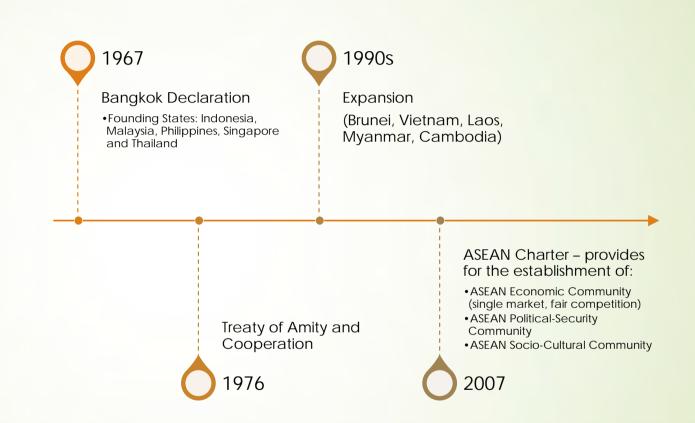
# Judges and judicial organization

- Creative developer of legal rules v. "mouthpiece of the law"
  - Note open-ended provisions in civilian codes, e.g. Art 9 Philippines CC: "No judge or court shall decline to render judgment by reason of the silence, obscurity or insufficiency of the laws."
  - But enduring dominant folklore
- Education and career
- Judicial organization and specialization
  - Bifurcated structures in civil law countries: regular / administrative courts

# Beyond the civil-common law dichotomy

- Classic mix: common/civil
  - Philippines
- Contemporary mixes:
  - Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, Sri Lanka....
  - Reflects customary ('adat') origins of home-grown legal order
  - Prominent position for religious norms and institutional structures alongside secular rules and structures





# **Evolution**

# Governance framework

Chaired by rotating presidency, supported by secretariat (Jakarta)

**ASEAN Summit** 

ASEAN Community Councils and Sectoral Ministerial Bodies

Consultation and consensus

Non-intervention (e.g. Myanmar) and political/peaceful resolution of conflicts



- Weak institutional infrastructure
- Weak enforcement and dispute resolution mechanisms
- Diverging national priorities
- Pluralism (political, economic, social, legal)
- Dealing with China and South China Sea maritime claims

# Prospects

### **ASEAN ECONOMY**

### **ASEAN GDP 2007-2014:**



US\$2.57

ASEAN GDP in 2014 almost doubled to over US\$2.57 trillion

76%increase in GDP per capita In current USS

2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014

In 2014, ASEAN economy was: 3rd largest in Asia 7th largest in the world



Source: ASEAN Statistics and International Monetary Fund

### **ASEAN POPULATION**

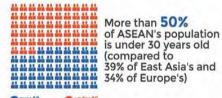
### 3rd largest in the world in 2014



1,259 million million



million million



Source: ASEAN Statistics and UN, World Population Prospects