

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POL388

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Fall 2020

Mondays, 4:00-6:00pm

Instructor: Jessica Soedirgo

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Office hours: Wednesdays 3:30-4:30 pm EST (virtual) or by appointment

Course Description

This course is an introduction to the politics and governments of Southeast Asia, one of the world's most diverse regions in terms of regimes, ethnic and religious composition, and levels of economic development. In this course, we will leverage this regional diversity to study key questions in political science including:

- Why do some states democratize while others do not?
- What explains economic development or stagnation?
- Why and how does political violence occur?
- How do individuals navigate contemporary political and economic structures?

This course will mainly focus on contemporary politics in Southeast Asia, though we will also explore the broad contours of the colonial experience and its impact. Further, although we survey the region as a whole, this course will focus more deeply on Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam. Assignments and class materials are designed to provide students with theoretical and applied research skills.

Course Delivery and Format

There will thus be **two components** to the class:

- 1) A **video lecture** which students must watch before attending the seminar portion of the class. Video lectures will be available for asynchronous viewing and will range between 30-50 minutes.

- 2) A **seminar-style** discussion on the assigned readings that will take place synchronously. Seminars will be scheduled during the allotted class time (Mondays 4-6). I will be dividing you into seminar groups to make the synchronous discussion period more manageable (It's difficult to actively engage in a room with 60 other people!).

Course Requirements

Course Requirement	Percentage of Total Grade	Due Date
Participation	20%	N/A
Critical Reading Summaries	10%	N/A
Research Essay Outline + Annotated Bibliography	15%	October 19
Research Essay	30%	November 16
Policy Briefing Note	25%	December 7

Class Participation (20%): Active participation is expected in this course. Because we are adjusting to learning in the time of Covid-19, participation can take several forms. These include:

- Answering and asking questions during the seminar portion of the class
- Recording a video comment for the class discussion if you live in a time zone that makes it difficult to participate synchronously.
- Demonstrating familiarity with the week's readings in classroom comments.
- Contributing to class polls/quizlets.
- Answering surprise quizzes.

Critical Summaries x 2 (5% each): Students will write two short critical reflections during the duration of the semester. **Students can submit up to 3 critical summaries and I will include the top 2 grades in your final mark.** Each reflection should focus on one journal article or chapter of a book that is *not* the textbook. Students should feel free to reference other readings in the syllabus if they wish. Students may write on a reading from any week, excluding the first week and last week. Students can only turn in one reflection in any given week and the essay must be on one that week's readings. Essays from previous weeks will not be accepted. For each short piece, students will critically reflect on the theme and/or debates of the reading. Each critical summary should identify the:

1. Research Question: What is the question or topic that the author is trying to answer or explore?
2. Thesis of the reading (and main arguments): what is the main message the author is trying to convey?
3. Evidence: What are the cases and observations used to support the arguments and thesis?
4. Contribution: What debates is the author(s) contributing to? Who is the author speaking to?
5. Critique: How convincing do you find the arguments? What did you like/dislike? What aspects do the author overlook?

An example will be posted on Quercus. Please also read the assigned piece by Amelia Hoover Green on how to read journal articles. Each critical reflection should be no longer than 500 words.

Research Paper Outline and Annotated Bibliography (15%): The paper outline and annotated bibliography will be due approximately one month prior to the deadline of the final research paper. Together, the assignment should be 3-4 pages in length, double spaced. In the outline, you must include a thesis statement, your supporting arguments (including some preliminary evidence for your claims). The annotated bibliography should include at least 5 sources and a two-sentence explanation of why the source contributes to the research paper's overall argument.

Research Paper (30%): For their research paper, students will analyze a country in Southeast Asia. Using the theoretical approaches and empirical material taught in the course to answer a research question on the topic of democratization, authoritarian resilience, nationalism, or ethnic violence. The final paper should be between 2000-2,500 words (approximately 8-10 double-spaced pages), excluding footnotes and bibliography. A detailed assignment sheet and a list of suggested cases will be made available early in the course. There will be an opportunity to revise the paper to incorporate feedback from the instructor once returned. Revised papers (with attached memo) are due on December 9th, no exceptions.

Policy Briefing Note (25%): Students will write a policy briefing note addressing a contemporary issue in the Southeast Asia region. These topics will include the South China Sea, human rights, or violence. Policy briefings provide short, policy-relevant papers and recommendations to a general audience. Policy briefings should be a maximum of 1500 words, excluding footnotes and bibliography. A detailed assignment sheet and some examples will be made available in late October.

Learning and Teaching During a Pandemic

Over the last few months, covid-19 has changed the way we live. For many of us, it has changed the way we mourn, our level of economic security, our caregiving responsibilities, and of course the ways we learn. I have sought to make this course as flexible as possible and to add opportunities to drop or revise your assignments. All reading material and added software will be available for free to keep costs as low as possible. But even with these added considerations, I know it will be an adjustment and I know it will be hard. If you are struggling with the material or if your circumstances make it very difficult to learn, please let me know if you feel comfortable. You do not owe me information about your health (mental or physical) or your personal circumstances, but you are welcome to share those with me. I will not judge you and will do my best to help you if I am in the position to do so! I cannot even try to help you if I am not aware of an issue. Please do not suffer in silence. I will extend grace and I hope you will do the same as I adjust to teaching online.

Course Policies

Readings:

The following book is required reading for the course:

- **Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.** Electronic book available on U of T libraries.

All other readings will be made available on Quercus (see below).

Quercus

We are using Quercus in this course. You should access the course regularly to check for announcements, broadcasts, etc. You will need your UTORid and password. Log in at <http://q.utoronto.ca>.

If you are new to Quercus, please refer to the Student Guide for help <https://q.utoronto.ca/courses/46670/pages/student-guide> or contact q.help@utoronto.ca

Assignment submission guidelines

Students must submit an electronic copy of the assignment on Quercus by **6 pm on the due date** for it to be considered as “on time.”

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Electronic submission in Quercus is integrated with Turnitin. If you wish to opt out of Turnitin, please let your instructor know.

As technology (and people) can make errors, please keep draft work and hard copies of your essays and assignments before handing in your work to the TA or Instructor. All essays and assignments should be kept until grades have been posted on Acorn.

Course Communication

It is your responsibility to check your *University of Toronto email* **and** your *Quercus inbox* for communication about the course. This is especially the case given that this class will be taking place online.

The Digital Divide

If you have limited access to the internet or to a laptop/computer, please let me know as early as possible so we can come up with suitable accommodations. All communications on this matter will be kept confidential. If I do not know what is going on, I will be unable to help you succeed, so please get in touch!

Extensions for Written Work

Short extensions will be considered upon provision of appropriate documentation (with the exception of the ‘life happens’ extension). If students anticipate needing an extension, they should email the course instructor as soon as possible. Extensions cannot be granted by instructors beyond the end of term.

Late Penalty

Late assignments will be penalized two percent per day (including weekends).

'Life Happens' Extension Freebie

Sometimes life happens! Students are allowed to request a 2-day extension without explanation or documentation. To use this extension, students should email the course instructor (jessica.soedirgo@utoronto.ca) with the subject line "Life Happens" and a 2-day extension will be automatically applied without any questions. Late penalties will begin to accrue after the two days have passed.

Grade Appeals

Students who believe that a grade does not reflect his or her performance in an assignment can ask for it to be remarked. All grade appeals should be made in writing. A student disputing a grade should first speak to the course instructor and then write a brief memo explaining why he or she should have received a higher grade. I will only make appointments with students after a brief "cool down" period of 3 days. I will respond in writing. Appeals must be filed within three weeks of receiving the mark or before final marks are due to the registrar.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is fundamental to learning and achieving course goals. The assignments in this course are designed to give you an opportunity to learn important skills and concepts over the course of your degree by making honest attempts through your own thinking, writing, and hard work.

Students are expected to know what constitutes academic integrity. Familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto's [*Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*](#).

Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism, please see "Writing at the University of Toronto": <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

If you have any questions about academic integrity, please do not hesitate to contact the instructor.

Digital Code of Conduct

As we are learning online, students are expected to respect the privacy of their instructors, TAs, and classmates. This is especially important because many students may be learning remotely from outside Canada and can face serious consequences if their comments are publicly disseminated. To keep our students safe from harassment, students are forbidden from:

- Recording class sessions without permission.
- Sharing recordings made by the instructor or others not in enrolled in the class.
- Sharing other students' personal information revealed in class.
- Harassing fellow students.
- Sharing remote participation links and passwords with those not enrolled in class to prevent "zoom bombing", harassment, and surveillance of your fellow students.

If you have questions about whether or not certain behavior is appropriate, please contact your instructor.

Equity

The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

Accessibility Services

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility and meeting the diverse learning styles and needs of students who require such accommodation. If you require such accommodation or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility services (<https://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/Home.htm>) as soon as possible (accessibility.services@utoronto.ca or 416-978-8060).

Lecture and Reading Schedule:

Introduction

Week 1. September 14 Introduction and Conceptualizing Southeast Asia

Required:

Donald K. Emmerson. 1984. "Southeast Asia: What's in a Name?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 15 (1), pp. 1-21.

Amelia Hoover Green (2013). "How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps." <https://www.ameliahoovergreen.com/uploads/9/3/0/9/93091546/howtoread.pdf>

Recommended:

Ruth McVey. 1995. "Continuity and Change in Southeast Asian Studies." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 26(1): 1-9.

Democracy and Authoritarianism

Week 2. September 21 Authoritarian Resilience in Singapore

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Singapore" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 108-120.

Fareed Zakaria and Lee Kuan Yew. 1994. "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew." *Foreign Affairs* 73:2, 109-126.

Netina Tan. 2020. "Digital Learning and extending electoral authoritarianism in Singapore." *Democratization*, doi: [10.1080/13510347.2020.1770731](https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2020.1770731).

Recommended:

Garry Rodan. 2008. "Singapore 'exceptionalism'? Authoritarian rule and state transformation" in *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose*, eds. Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman. London, New York: Routledge, pp. 231-251.

Elvin Ong. 2015. "Complementary Institutions in Authoritarian Regimes: The Everyday Politics of Constituency Service in Singapore." *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 15(3): pp. 361-390.

Week 3. September 28 (Democratic?) Transition and Reform in Malaysia

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Malaysia" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 92-108.

Sophie Lemière. 2018. "The Downfall of Malaysia's Ruling Party." *Journal of Democracy*, 29(4): pp. 114-128.

Recommended:

Edmun Terence Gomez. "Resisting the Fall: The Single Dominant Party, Policies and Elections in Malaysia" *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 46, no. 4: pp. 570-590.

Sebastian Dettman. 2020. "Authoritarian innovations and democratic reform in the 'New Malaysia.'" *Democratization*, doi: [10.1080/13510347.2019.1705791](https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2019.1705791)

Week 4. October 5 Democratic Instability in Thailand

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Thailand" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 133-140.

Erik Kuhonta and Aim Sinpeng. 2014. "Democratic Regression in Thailand: The Ambivalent Role of Civil Society and Political Institutions" *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, vol. 36, no. 3: pp. 333-355.

James Ockey. 2020. "Thailand in 2019: An Election, A Coronation, and Two Summits." *Asian Survey*, 60(1): pp. 117-124.

**** Week. 5 - October 12 – Thanksgiving. No class****

Conflict and Violence

Week 6. October 19 Explaining Mass Killings in Indonesia

Required:

#Bertrand, Jacques. “Indonesia and Timor-Leste” in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 41-70.

Jess Melvin. 2017. “Mechanics of Mass Murder: A Case for Understanding the Indonesian Killings as Genocide.” *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19(4), pp. 487-511.

Mark Winward. 2020. “Intelligence Capacity and Mass Violence: Evidence from Indonesia.” *Comparative Political Studies*. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020938072>

Recommended:

Vanessa Hearman. 2018. *Unmarked Graves: Death and Survival in the Anti-Communist Violence in East Java*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Geoffrey B. Robinson. 2018. *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66*.

Week 7. October 26 Communal Conflict in Myanmar

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. “Burma/Myanmar” in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 190-208.

Ardeth Maung Thawngmung. 2012. “The Dilemmas of Burma’s Multinational Society,” in *Multination States in Asia: Accommodation or Resistance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6 (pp. 136-163).

Gerry van Klinken and Su Mon Thazin Aung. 2017. “The Contentious Politics of Anti-Muslim Scapegoating in Myanmar.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47(3): pp. 353-375.

Political Economy

Week 8. November 2 Economic Development in Vietnam

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "Vietnam" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 149-164.

Anne Booth. 1999. "Initial Conditions and Miraculous Growth: Why is South East Asia Different From Taiwan and South Korea?" *World Development*, 27(2): pp. 301-321.

Melanie Beresford. 2008. "Doi Moi in review: The challenges of building market socialism in Vietnam." *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 38(2): pp. 221-243.

Recommended:

Edmund J. Malesky, Regina M. Abrami, and Yu Zheng. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single-Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." *Comparative Politics* 43(4): pp. 401-419.

Tuong Vu. 2010. *Paths to Development in Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

****Week 9 - November 9 – Reading week, no class****

Week 10. November 16 Clientelism in the Philippines

****Research Essay Due Today****

Required:

Bertrand, Jacques. "The Philippines" in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. pp. 71-91.

Julio C. Teehankee. 2013. "Clientelism and party politics in the Philippines" in *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. London: Routledge. Chapter 10 (pp. 186-214).

Cesi Cruz, Julien Labonne, Pablo Querubin. 2020. "Social Network Structures and the Politics of Public Goods Provision: Evidence from the Philippines." *American Political Science Review*, 114(2): pp. 486-501.

Recommended:

Paul D. Hutchcroft. 2000. "Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords: Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900-1913." *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59(2), pp. 277-306.

Edward Aspinall and Allen Hicken. 2020. "Guns for hire and enduring machines: clientelism beyond parties in Indonesia and the Philippines." *Democratization*, 27(1): pp. 137-156.

Transnational Issues

Week 11. November 23 ASEAN

Required:

Amitav Archarya. 2007. "ASEAN at 40: Mid-Life Rejuvenation?" *Foreign Affairs*,
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2007-08-15/asean-40-mid-life-rejuvenation>

Alice Ba. 2010. "Regional Security in East Asia: ASEAN's Value Added and Limitations." *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 29(3): pp. 115-130.

Recommended:

Aarie Glas. 2017. "Habits of Peace: Long-term regional cooperation in Southeast Asia." *European Journal of International Relations*, 23(4): pp. 833-856.

Week 12. November 30 Illicit Actors and Crime in Southeast Asia

Required:

Diana Kim. 2020. *Empires of Vice: The Rise of Opium Prohibition across Southeast Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 28-53)

Ursula E. Daxecker and Brandon C. Prins. 2016. "The Politicization of Crime: Electoral Competition and the Supply of Maritime Piracy in Indonesia." *Public Choice*, 169, pp. 375-393.

Recommended:

Yuhki Tajima. 2018. "Political Development and the Fragmentation of Protection Markets: Politically Affiliated Gangs in Indonesia." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62(5): pp. 1100-1126.

Week 13. December 7 Wrap-Up

****Policy Papers Due Today****