

POL388H1F: Politics and Government of Southeast Asia

Faculty of Arts and Science, Department of Political Science,

University of Toronto, Fall 2021

Class: Monday 4-6pm, BL 313 (Claude T. Bissell Building)

Instructor: Mark Winward

Office: SS3007

Office Hours: Thursdays, 12-1:30

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Introduction:

This course provides an overview of political regimes in Southeast Asia, as well as some of the main issues that shape its political life. The class is divided into two parts. The first part examines the differing trajectory of Southeast Asian states, such as their varying regime types and legacies of internal violence. This section focuses especially on pre-colonial and colonial state structures, the nature of independence movements, post-independence struggles for power, and the effect of the Cold War in the region. This section also overviews regional cooperation through the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The second half of the course examines contemporary issues facing Southeast Asian states. This includes separatism, crime and corruption, human rights, economic and state development, Covid-19, and developments in the South China Sea. By the end of the class, students will have a firm grasp of the issues facing the region.

Assignments in the class are intended to have students deepen their understanding of a Southeast Asian country of their choice, beyond what is covered in the syllabus. Assignments include a media portfolio, essay proposal, and final research essay. The course also has a short map quiz and final exam.

Readings:

All materials are available online through quercus. There is no need to purchase materials for this course.

Contact Policy and Office Hours

I am available through email at mark.winward@mail.utoronto.ca. My office hours will be 12:00-1:30, in **room TBA**. I am comfortable meeting both face to face, as well as virtually during this time frame. If you prefer to meet virtually, please schedule a meeting ahead of time via email. I try to respond to all emails within 24 hours, excluding over weekends. If I do not respond to an email after two workdays, please follow up. This is not me ignoring your email, it is more likely it being buried.

Please note that office hours are reserved for you. If you are looking for help in the course, or to discuss any topics further, please stop by. Do not hesitate if it appears I am working, unless I am with another

student. As a general rule, any question or answer that requires more than 3 sentences is probably best discussed in office hours.

Assignments

- Map Quiz (5%) – Sept 27
- Essay Proposal and annotated bibliography (15%) – Oct 18
- Media Portfolio (20%) – Nov 1
- Research essay (35%) – Dec 6
- Final exam (25%) – to be scheduled by the registrar

Map Quiz:

Part of understanding a region is understanding where things are! This quiz will be held in class on September 27. Students will be given a blank map and have to identify each state in Southeast Asia.

Essay Proposal and Annotated Bibliography:

This assignment is intended to generate early feedback on the research essay, and ensure research is on track. Students are asked to submit a short (300 word) proposal for their essay (see below). This proposal should identify a clear research question, as well as at least two potential answers (hypotheses) and how they may answer the identified question.

In addition, students are asked to submit an annotated bibliography of at least four peer-reviewed sources, *none of which should be drawn from the syllabus*. Students should briefly (~3 sentences) address how the source is likely to be useful in addressing the research question of the essay. Note that the annotated bibliography is not included in the wordcount of the proposal, above.

The proposal and annotated bibliography is due on October 18.

Media Portfolio:

This assignment is intended to familiarize students with cotemporary issues in a Southeast Asian state of their choice. Students are required to follow at least one independent media outlet from the country of their choice (a partial list will be posted to quercus following the first class). From the September 27 to October 25, inclusive, students are asked to track three different major issues in the country of their choice, as reported by the media outlets of this country. On November 6, students are asked to submit a portfolio of their findings. This will include:

- A summary of the issues and their evolution over the previous four weeks. This summary should be ~600 words, with ~200 words dedicated to each of the three issues you choose to focus on.
- A sample of the articles on which you based your summary. This should include 1 article, per issue, from each of the 4 weeks over which this assignment takes place (I recommend saving these as PDFs when you read them)

Portfolios will be evaluated based on the extent to which the summary accurately tracks the issues in question, as well as by the relative importance of the issues at the time of writing.

Portfolios are due November 1.

Research Essay

This assignment is intended to allow students to explore a major issue in a Southeast Asian state of their choice. All essays should include a substantive research question, as well as a clearly articulated answer (ie: a thesis statement that is subsequently supported). Essays should be 2000 words, excluding bibliography.

A strong essay will have a clearly articulated question and thesis that is supported by a variety of academic sources. They should also consider at least one alternative explanation. More information on essays will be provided in the first two weeks of class. A few sample essay topics are included below. Students are encouraged to consult with the professor if they are having difficulty articulating a research question.

Sample questions:

What is the biggest barrier to human rights development in [country]?

Is [country] likely to become more/less democratic in the immediate future?

What is the most likely path to/biggest barrier to greater economic development in [country]?

How is [country] likely to respond to climate change within the next twenty years?

Essays are due December 6.

Final Exam:

The final exam will be scheduled by the registrar and take place during the exam period. The exam will focus on regional trends and issues affecting multiple countries. For the exam, students will be provided a list of three long form (essay) questions, of which they must answer two. More information on the exam and expectations will be provided in class.

Assignment Submission, Late Policy, Extensions, and Appeals:

In an effort to conserve paper, all assignment are to be submitted virtually via quercus. The submission deadline is midnight, the day of which the assignment is due. If you have issues submitting assignments virtually, please let me know prior to the due date so we can work out an acceptable accommodation.

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool 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 tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Students who do not wish to use this program may speak to the instructor about alternative procedures prior to the assignment deadline.

Late assignments will be penalized five percent per day, including weekends.

If you require an accommodation, the best practice is to contact me prior to the assignment deadline. Short extensions can usually be accommodated. Longer extensions will often need completion of the ACORN online absence declaration. I cannot grant extensions beyond the end of the term. It should be

noted that we do not yet fully know the challenges we may all face over the coming term. *If you think you need an extension, ask!* I cannot help unless I know there's an issue.

Should you wish to appeal a grade, you must provide one page justification for the appeal, to be submitted over email. This justification should directly address the grader's comments, showing how they are not an adequate representation of the paper. Appeals must be submitted within two weeks of receiving the graded copy. Students are strongly encouraged to take a few days to reflect on the provided comments before submitting an appeal.

Academic Integrity:

Students are expected to follow University of Toronto's *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters* (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). Failure to conform to the expectations in this document could lead to severe consequences. If you have any questions on Academic integrity, please contact the instructor. It is the rule book for academic behaviour at the U of T, and you are expected to know the rules. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgment.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
 - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
 - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while "editing".
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else's answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor's notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

Remember, Plagiarism is a serious academic offence 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>.

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).

Class Schedule and Required Readings:

***Note: we will not be having a makeup class for the Thanksgiving holiday.**

Part 1: Evolution of a Region

Sept 13: Preamble/ what is SE Asia?

- 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>

Sept 20: From pre-colonial to independence

- Scott, James C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press – *chapter 3*
- Slater, Dan. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. *chapter 3*

Optional:

Loos, Tamara. 2008. "A History of Sex and the State in Southeast Asia: Class, Intimacy, and Invisibility," *Citizenship Studies* 12:1, 27-43

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

Sept 27: Post-independence trajectories - regime type

- Slater *Ordering Power* – chapters 4-6 (focus on argument, not all details)

Recommended (note: this is a good study text!):

Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. "Understanding Political Change in Southeast Asia," in Bertrand, *Political Change in Southeast Asia*, 17-30

Oct 4: The Cold War in Southeast Asia

- Robinson, Geoffrey. 2018. *The Killing Season: The History of the Indonesian Massacres, 1965-66*. Chapter 4 "Cold War"
- Kiernan, Ben. "Introduction: Conflict in Cambodia, 1945-2002" *Critical Asian Studies* 34(4): 483-495

No class Oct 11

Oct 18: SE Asian regionalism/ASEAN

- Alice D. Ba. 2009. (Re)Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Region, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 17-41
- Acharya, Amitav. 2000. *Construction a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order* chapter 2.

Part 2: Contemporary Challenges

Oct 25: Separatism and autonomy:

- Bertrand, Jacques. 2021. *Democracy and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters on Mindanao and Cordillera.

Nov 1 : Crime and Corruption

- 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
- Jacqui Baker & Sarah Milne (2015) Dirty Money States: Illicit Economies and the State in Southeast Asia, *Critical Asian Studies*, 47:2, 151-176

FALL READING WEEK

Nov 15: Human Rights

- Mary P. Callahan. 2003. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press - Introduction
- Bertrand, Jacques. 2008. "Ethnic Conflicts in Indonesia: National Models, Critical Junctures, and the Timing of Violence" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8:425-449

Nov 22: Economic development and state capacity

- Larsson, Tomas. 2013. "The Strong and the Weak: Ups and Downs of State Capacity in Southeast Asia" *Asian Politics & Policy* 5(3):337-358
- Edmund Malesky and Francis Hutchinson, 2016. "Varieties of Disappointment: Why Has Decentralization not Delivered on its Promises in Southeast Asia?", *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*

Nov 29: Covid in SE Asia

- TBA – we want the most up to date information possible.

Dec 6: Wrap up – regional trajectories and coming confrontations

- David Shambaugh. 2018. "U.S.-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Power Shift or Competitive Coexistence?" *International Security* 42(4): 85-127
- Hong Liu and Guanie Lim. 2018. "The Political Economy of Rising China in Southeast Asia" *Journal of Contemporary China*.