

POL 388H1F:
Politics and Government of Southeast Asia
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto

Administrative Details:

Term: Fall 2023
Times: Mondays, 5-7PM EST
Location: TBC

Instructor: Cheng Xu
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Office Hours: By Appointment

Course Overview:

This course provides comparative analysis of the politics and socio-economic issues of Southeast Asian states while recognizing both the patterns and diversity of the region. While many countries experienced centuries of colonial rule, others were also indirectly affected. From decolonization to the rise of nationalism and communism in the early twentieth century transformed the region's political systems in fundamental ways. The Cold War, during which the United States and the Soviet Union competed on a global scale, also divided the region along political lines which shaped the social and political development of the states in the region.

Furthermore, industrialization and rapid economic growth transformed many countries from peasant societies to modern, urban, and industrial countries. Yet the vast political and economic changes occurred unevenly both across the region, as well as within the countries themselves resulting in various modes of contention from protest to civil war, some of which are still ongoing to this day. All these forces of change have greatly influenced the political systems in the region, the ways in which groups and individuals participate in politics, and the degree to which political institutions are representative. The course offers an analysis of the political systems of the region with an emphasis on understanding political change and its relationship to socio-economic transformation. The broad questions to be explored in this course include How can we characterize the various political systems of the region? How can we explain why and how they have changed? How Are they developing political systems that reflect their unique historical and cultural experiences? How has the vast socio-economic transformation of the region influenced politics?

Requirements:

Grading criteria for the course will be in the following areas:

1. **Participation and in class discussions (20%):** student-led discussion is critical to the success of a seminar course. To those ends, students will be assessed on their attendance, their level of participation, and their degree of preparation for class discussions.
2. **Map Quiz (5%):** A map quiz will be delivered at the beginning of the second seminar (week 2) of the course where students will be required to identify the eleven countries in Southeast Asia and their corresponding capitals on a provided blank map. The intent behind this exercise is to encourage students to look at the physical and political boundaries of the region and consider the impact of geography on the politics of Southeast Asia.

3. **Thematic Reflect and Connect Paper (15%):** A 1000-word, double-spaced paper that critically engages with the students' assigned week of readings in the thematic portion of the course (weeks 2-6).
 - a. Students are to analyze all four readings for the week by identifying key arguments of each author, as well as the similarities and differences between the authors' perspectives or approaches.
 - b. Students will then identify a current event, development, or issue taking place in a Southeast Asian country, or the region more broadly that is related to the week's theme, and analyze how the concepts and insights from the readings can shed light on or provide context for understanding the current event. Students should reflect on where the authors' perspectives are helpful in understanding the current event and where gaps remain.
 - c. Papers must be uploaded onto Quercus before noon the day of each session that is reviewed.
4. **Country Analysis Policy Proposal (15%):** A 1000-word, double-spaced policy proposal that aims to address an ongoing challenge with the country case study that the student is assigned by engaging with the readings on that country (weeks 7-11).
 - a. Students must first identify the social or political challenge that emerges out of the set of readings for that country case study. In so doing, students should develop the historical context, consider the causes, stakeholders, and potential consequences of this issue.
 - b. By incorporating insights from the readings, students should develop a policy proposal that addresses the identified issue in the chosen country. The proposal should include clear goals, actionable steps, potential challenges, and anticipated outcomes. Students must justify their recommendations and highlight the potential risks and drawbacks of their proposal.
 - c. Papers must be uploaded onto Quercus before noon the day of each session that is reviewed.
5. **Research paper proposal (5%):** A 1-2-page proposal or outline that includes a research question, tentative thesis statement, proposed case selections and sources that students intend to use for their major research paper. This proposal is for the purpose of receiving feedback and guidance on the final assignment and will not be graded on content, but only on completion.
6. **Major research paper (40%):** a 6,000-word, double-spaced paper that addresses a major question in the study of Southeast Asia. This paper can engage in a single-case study, or comparative analysis of two or more cases. The paper should be written in the form of an academic article, meaning it should include a brief literature review, a theoretical argument, and an empirical test of the theory. Paper topics must be approved in advance. The final paper will be **due one week after the final class**.

Accessibility in the Classroom for Students:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you believe accessibility accommodations of any kind can be helpful to you in succeeding in this course, please contact Accessibility Services at

accessibility.services@utoronto.ca as soon as possible. If you are unable to register with Accessibility Services for any reason with respect to any of the due dates outlined in this course, accommodation can still be provided to you. Please consult with the course instructor for your specific needs. Remember, there are **NO REQUIREMENTS FOR DISCLOSURE** of any accessibility challenges you are facing to receive accommodation.

No late penalties will be applied to missed due dates: if you are unable to meet the due date of an assignment, please consult with the course instructor for an alternative due date or extension that works for you. Please note that although there will not be any late penalties for your assignments, we, as evaluators, will still have to meet our own deadlines for submission of grades. As such, there is a limit to the extension we can provide before we must submit a zero grade to the department for missed assignments and evaluations at the end of the course. If you are unable to submit assignments by the conclusion of the course, you can still petition your registrar, with justification, to submit assignments for grading beyond the end of the session. However, this course of action should only be used as a last resort, and they are usually only granted under exceptional circumstances.

Participation can take various forms. Please consult with the course instructor for alternate forms of participation evaluation if you are unable to attend tutorials or require participation accommodations.

Mental Health:

Students are highly encouraged to prioritize their own mental health over any individual assignments. If you find yourself becoming emotionally distressed or overwhelmed any time throughout the course, please do not hesitate to reach out to the course instructor for help accessing mental health services. Additionally, a list of mental health resources will be posted for students on Quercus should they choose to access them confidentially. Once again, there will be **NO REQUIREMENT FOR DISCLOSURE** of any challenges you are facing.

Academic Honesty:

Plagiarism is a major academic offense and will be treated accordingly. Students are required to familiarize themselves with and conform to the University of Toronto's policies on Academic Honesty, available at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/newstudents/transition/academic/plagiarism>. In addition, students should consult Margaret Proctor's guide on "How Not to Plagiarize," available at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

Ouriginal: 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>).

Required Reading:

Quercus will be used to manage the course and readings. Specific and additional readings will be noted on the semester-specific schedules posted to Quercus.

Week 1: Course Overview and Introduction

No Readings

Week 2: Patterns of Politics and Transformation in Southeast Asia

Beeson, M. (2002). Southeast Asia and the politics of vulnerability. *Third World Quarterly*, 23(3), 549-564.

Hawes, G., & Liu, H. (1993). Explaining the dynamics of the Southeast Asian political economy: state, society, and the search for economic growth. *World Politics*, 45(4), 629-660.

Rajah, A. (1999). Southeast Asia: Comparatist Errors and the Construction of a Region. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 27(1), 41-53.

Caballero-Anthony, M. (2005). Political Transitions in Southeast Asia. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2005(1), 24-44.

Week 3: Colonialism and Nationalism

Stoler, A. (1992). Sexual affronts and racial frontiers: European identities and the cultural politics of exclusions in colonial Southeast Asia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34(3), 514-551.

Kim, W. (2009). Rethinking colonialism and the origins of the developmental state in East Asia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 39(3), 382-399.

Reid, A. (2010). *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press. Ch 1 and 2.

Sidel, J. (2012). The Fate of Nationalism in the New States: Southeast Asia in Comparative Historical Perspective. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 54(1), 114-144.

Week 4: The Cold War and Communism

Stubbs, R. (1999). War and economic development: Export-oriented industrialization in East and Southeast Asia. *Comparative Politics*, 337-355.

Hack, K., & Wade, G. (2009). The origins of the Southeast Asian Cold War. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 40(3), 441-448.

Berger, M. T. (2003). Decolonisation, modernisation and nation-building: Political development theory and the appeal of communism in Southeast Asia, 1945–1975. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 34(3), 421-448.

Nordholt, H. S. (2016). Shining Futures, Imminent Dangers: New Nation-States and Mass Violence in Southeast Asia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 44(6), 711-724.

Week 5: Democratization and Regime Change

Jayasuriya, K., & Rodan, G. (2007). Beyond hybrid regimes: More participation, less contestation in Southeast Asia. *Democratization*, 14(5), 773-794.

Ufen, A. (2008). Political party and party system institutionalization in Southeast Asia: lessons for democratic consolidation in Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand. *Pacific Review*, 21(3), 327-350.

Morgenbesser, L., & Pepinsky, T. B. (2019). Elections as causes of democratization: Southeast Asia in comparative perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(1), 3-35.

Curato, N., & Fossati, D. (2020). Authoritarian Innovations: Crafting support for a less democratic Southeast Asia. *Democratization*, 27(6), 1006-1020.

Week 6: Identity, Contention, and Political Violence

Lande, C. H. (1999). Ethnic conflict, ethnic accommodation, and nation-building in Southeast Asia. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 33(4), 89-117.

Clarke, G. (2001). From ethnocide to ethnodevelopment? Ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples in Southeast Asia. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(3), 413-436.

Slater, D. (2009). Revolutions, crackdowns, and quiescence: Communal elites and democratic mobilization in Southeast Asia. *American Journal of Sociology*, 115(1), 203-254.

Bertrand, Jacques & Cheng Xu. (2023). "Indigenous Groups and Ethnic Minorities". In *Routledge Handbook of Civil and Uncivil Society in Southeast Asia*, edited by Eva Hansson and Meredith Weiss. London: Routledge, 242-259.

Week 7: Indonesia

Aspinall, E. (2010). Indonesia: the irony of success. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(2), 20-34.

Bertrand, J. (2008). Ethnic conflicts in Indonesia: national models, critical junctures, and the timing of violence. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 8(3), 425-449.

Fukuoka, Y. (2012). Politics, business and the state in post-Soeharto Indonesia. *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, 34(1), 80-100.

Viartasiwi, N. (2018). The politics of history in West Papua-Indonesia conflict. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 26(1), 141-159.

Week 8: Malaysia

Brown, G. K. (2010). Legible pluralism: The politics of ethnic and religious identification in Malaysia. *Ethnopolitics*, 9(1), 31-52.

Gomez, E. T. (2016). Resisting the fall: The single dominant party, policies and elections in Malaysia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 46(4), 570-590.

Segawa, N. (2017). Double-layered ethnic politics in Malaysia: national integration, ethnic unity and social stability. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 55(1), 63-81.

Balasubramaniam, V. (2007). A divided nation: Malay political dominance, Bumiputera material advancement and national identity in Malaysia. *National Identities*, 9(1), 35-48.

Week 9: Philippines

Quimpo, N. G. (2016). Oligarchic rule, ethnocratic tendencies, and armed conflict in the Philippines. *Post-conflict development in East Asia*, 137-153.

Rogers, S. (2004). Philippine politics and the rule of law. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(4), 111-125.

Teehankee, J. C. (2018). Political dynasties in the legislature. *Routledge handbook of the contemporary Philippines*, 85-96.

Hutchcroft, P. D., & Rocamora, J. (2003). Strong demands and weak institutions: The origins and evolution of the democratic deficit in the Philippines. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, 3(2), 259-292.

Reading Week Break

Week 10: Myanmar

Chow, J. T., & Easley, L. E. (2016). Persuading pariahs: Myanmar's strategic decision to pursue reform and opening. *Pacific Affairs*, 89(3), 521-542.

Dunford, M. R. (2019). Indigeneity, ethnopolitics, and taingyintha: Myanmar and the global Indigenous Peoples' movement. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 50(1), 51-67.

Harrison, A. P., & Kyed, H. M. (2019). Ceasefire state-making and justice provision by ethnic armed groups in Southeast Myanmar. *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 34(2), 290-326.

Thawngmung, A. M., Thazin Aung, S. M., Moo Paw, N. M., & Boughton, D. (2023). "Water in One Hand, Fire in the Other:" Coping with Multiple Crises in Post-coup Burma/Myanmar. *Critical Asian Studies*, 1-24.

Week 11: Thailand

McCargo, D. (2005). Network monarchy and legitimacy crises in Thailand. *The Pacific Review*, 18(4), 499-519.

Kuhonta, E. M., & Sinpeng, A. (2014). Democratic regression in Thailand: The ambivalent role of civil society and political institutions. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 333-355.

Chambers, P., & Waitoolkiat, N. (2016). The resilience of monarchised military in Thailand. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 46(3), 425-444.

Pitidol, T. (2016). Redefining democratic discourse in Thailand's civil society. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 46(3), 520-537.

Week 12: Conclusion and Wrap-Up

No Readings