

POSC/INST 290:

The Politics of Southeast Asia: From colonialism to globalization

Course Meeting: MR 1:30 – 2:45 pm
Denny Hall Room 104

Professor: Rachel Jacobs
Office Hours (Denny Hall 007)
Monday 3:00 – 5:00 pm
Thursday 10:30 – 11:30 am

This course is intended to be an overview of the politics of Southeast Asia. It will cover the developments over the 20th and 21st century from the colonial period, to independence, and now to growing regional inter-dependence. We will focus on maritime Southeast Asia – Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and East Timor – and mainland Southeast Asia – Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. These countries each have a unique and interesting political history, but have also been shaped by common influences through religion, trade, colonialism, and globalization. Contemporary Southeast Asia is home to some of the fastest growing economies of the world, hubs of global trade and finance, but also rising threats from non-state actors, ethnic violence, and democratic backsliding.

The course centers around these core questions: 1) What makes a region? 2) How do we understand Southeast Asia in contemporary politics? 3) What factors shape post-colonial politics? 4) How have global human rights and local histories shaped regional politics? 5) How is the region responding to growing Chinese influence?

The first half of the course will cover the independence period and post-colonial history of the region. The second half will focus on regional themes and on-going issues. The major issues will be nationalism, mass atrocity, statelessness and migration, regional integration, trade, maritime disputes, and human rights.

Course objectives:

The objective of this course is to improve critical thinking and analytical writing skills through the study of Southeast Asian Politics. By the end of the course, students should be able to ask informed questions and have the social science skills to answer those questions well. There is a heavy emphasis on writing in the course that is designed to improve students writing and editing skills, as well as learning to give constructive feedback. Substantively, students should be able to answer the following questions by the end of the semester:

- What are the key issues in contemporary Southeast Asia?
- What kind of actors are Southeast Asian nations in world politics? What kind of actor is the region in world politics?
- What are the effects of decolonization on domestic politics?
- How do global political dynamics shape regional affairs?
- What can we learn about global politics from studying a region?

Course Requirements:

This class will emphasize answering big questions through research and writing. There will be a few shorter assignments based on the readings throughout the semester as well as steps toward a final research paper. At the start of the semester there will be a short map quiz. As this is a course about regional politics, it is important that you have a sense where places are located. There will be two midterms, one on each section of the course.

Assignments:	% of grade	Due:
<i>Map Quiz</i>	5%	September 19
<i>Midterm</i>	20%	October 31
<i>Response papers (2)</i>	10% each	Until Nov 14; Dec 9
<i>Paper Proposal</i>	5%	October 14
<i>Peer Review</i>	5%	December 2
<i>Final Paper</i>	30%	December 19
<i>Participation</i>	15%	On-going

Final Paper

For your final paper you should address an issue of your choosing in at least one Southeast Asian country. At the beginning of the semester, you will pick a case (current or historical) that you will gather information on throughout the semester. The goal is for you to develop expertise in this particular issue or country. The paper itself should address a key question about the domestic politics of a country (or between countries), while using the case to demonstrate or inform your argument. The paper process will be the basis of several assignments throughout the course as the goal is to get more familiar with the research and writing process as well.

At the end of the semester you will have the opportunity to share your expertise in the topic you choose to research. The class will have a roundtable on issues in Southeast Asian politics where you present what you found in your research papers. Participation in the roundtable will count toward 5% of your paper grade. A draft of your paper will be due on December 2 for the peer review activity – while these drafts will not be graded, turning in a working draft will count toward 5% of your final paper grade.

Paper proposal

Within the first 6 weeks, please turn in a short (approximately 1 page) proposal for your research paper. These should include: the question you want to answer, how you think you might answer it, what kinds of materials you'll need to write a good paper, and why the case helps answer your question. These are meant to get you thinking early about what will make a great paper. This can be turned in any time up until the deadline on October 14.

Peer Review

After turning in the paper draft, you will be paired up with classmates for an in-class peer review. The goal of the peer review process is to improve your writing and editing skills by engaging with your classmates' work. Asking questions and critiquing others' writing is an

important skill that will serve to make you a better editor of your own work as well. You will be given guidelines for the review in class. You should respond to the feedback from the reviews in the final version of their papers.

Response Papers

Short response papers will be required for two of the thematic sections of the course that engage with that week's readings (in the second half of the course). Please pick two areas that you would be most interested in or that would be most helpful to your research paper. Papers should offer critiques of the arguments put forward and put different arguments in conversation with each other. Response papers should not just summarize the readings. Each should be 2-4 pages (double spaced)

Course participation

Participation: Participation in discussion is important. We will be discussing some challenging topics and I want to hear what you think about the concepts, what makes sense and what doesn't, and how you think about these issues. More importantly, participating in class will allow you to engage with your classmates and learn from each other. You will each be focusing on different cases throughout the semester, so you can share what you're learning about them and how the different concepts can be applied.

Required texts

Other articles and book chapters will be available through Moodle.

- D. R. SarDesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Seventh Edition. New York, Routledge

If you are unfamiliar with the region, I highly recommend:

- Milton E. Osborne, 2013. *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*. Crows Nest, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.
- Norman G Emmerson, and David Chandler, 2014. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*. Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press.

Attendance

I will take attendance at the start of class each session, so late arrival to class will count as half of a missed class. I will allow up to **two unexcused absences** during the semester, however any unexcused absence after that will result in a 0 participation grade that day. Of course, if you are sick or another situation arises, please contact me as soon as possible so we can discuss an alternative

Late work

Due dates for all assignments are indicated in the syllabus. Any work turned in after the deadline will be subject to a deduction in points. Each day that an assignment is late (or any part of a day) will result in a deduction of 1/3 letter grade (e.g. a B+ would become a B). In cases of emergencies or extenuating circumstances, please contact me as soon as possible.

Email policy

Please feel free to email me with questions. I will do my best to respond to you within 24 hours. However, I cannot answer questions about assignments the day that they are due: please prepare ahead of time and check with me beforehand. If you have questions about a grade or wish to have a re-grade, please wait 48 hours and write a 1-page memo outlining why you think the grade is incorrect.

For longer questions, please come talk to me in office hours or make an appointment to meet if you cannot make it to the regularly scheduled office hours.

Office Hours

I have drop-in office hours on Monday afternoon and Thursday morning (see times above). If those times do not work, please contact me to make an appointment for another time. Please feel free to come talk to me about the course material or any questions you may have.

Classroom expectations

Please come to class having done the reading for that day and be ready to share your critiques, opinions, or concerns about any of the books or articles assigned. Keep in mind the case for your paper as you're reading as well to ask yourself if the reading explains or deepens your understanding of the case you're researching.

Technology in the classroom can be a great tool; however, texting, social media, outside reading (or outside YouTube viewing) are not conducive to the learning environment. It will make it very challenging to pay attention to the class and is extremely distracting to your fellow students if you are using your computer or phones for other purposes. You may use laptops in class if you prefer to take typed notes, but if you are texting or on social media, you will lose participation points for the day.

Accommodating Students with Disabilities

Dickinson values diverse types of learners and is committed to ensuring that each student is afforded equitable access to participate in all learning experiences. If you have (or think you may have) a learning difference or a disability – including a mental health, medical, or physical impairment – that would hinder your access to learning or demonstrating knowledge in this class, please contact Access and Disability Services (ADS). They will confidentially explain the accommodation request process and the type of documentation that Dean and Director Marni Jones will need to determine your eligibility for reasonable accommodations. To learn more about available supports, go to www.dickinson.edu/access, email access@dickinson.edu, call (717)245-1734, or go to ADS in Old West (lower level), Room 005.

If you've already been granted accommodations at Dickinson, please let me know as soon as possible so that we can meet to review your Accommodation Letter and complete your Blue Forms. If you will need test proctoring from ADS, remember that you will need to provide them with at least one week's notice.

Class Schedule:

Introduction

Week of Sept 2:

Monday: Welcome and Introduction to the class

Thursday: What is Southeast Asia?

- Donald Emmerson, 1984. "What's in the Name 'Southeast Asia'?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 15: 1-21
- SarDesai, Ch. 1

Part 1: Political histories

Week of Sept 9:

Monday: The Philippines: Colonialism and Cacique Democracy

- SarDesai, Ch. 13
- Benedict Anderson, 1988 "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams." *New Left Review* I 169: 3-31
- Optional: Paul D. Hutchcroft, 2008. "The Arroyo Imbroglio in the Philippines." *Journal of Democracy* 19:1, 141-155.

Thursday: Independence, democracy, and democratic backsliding

- SarDesai, Ch. 19
- Cesi Cruz, 2019. "Social Networks and the Targeting of Vote Buying." *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(3), 382–411 *on Moodle **skip the Model Specification section
- "The International Criminal Court moved to investigate Duterte. Now he wants out." *Washington Post* March 18, 2018
https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/the-international-criminal-court-moved-to-investigate-duterte-now-he-wants-out/2018/03/14/

Week of Sept 16:

Monday: Indonesia: Colonialism and the roots of nationalism

- SarDesai Ch. 7 (Dutch East Indies), 14 (Nationalist Movement)

Thursday: Dictatorship and transition to democracy

- SarDesai Ch. 22
- Edward Aspinall, 2015. "The Surprising Democratic Behemoth: Indonesia in Comparative Asian Perspective." *Journal of Asian Studies* 74;4. 889-902
- Ross McLeod, 2000. "Soeharto's Indonesia: A Better Class of Corruption" *Agenda* 7;2, 99-112
- Optional: Tom Pepinsky, 2019. "Indonesia's Getting a New Capital City ?!?"
<https://tompepinsky.com/2019/08/26/indonesias-getting-a-new-capital-city/>
- **Map Quiz – in class**

Week of Sept 23:

Monday: Malaysia: Nationalism, independence, and emergency

- SarDesai Ch. 8
- A. B., Shamsul, 2001. 'A History of an Identity, an Identity of a History: The Idea and Practice of 'Malayness' in Malaysia Reconsidered.' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. 32, No. 3 pp. 355-366.
- Dan Slater, 2012. "Strong-State Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore." *Journal of Democracy* 23:2, 19-33.

Thursday: Singapore

- Natasha Hamilton-Hart, 2000. "The Singapore State Revisited" *Pacific Review* 13;2 pp. 195-216
- Fareed Zakaria and Lee Kuan Yew, 1994. "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew." *Foreign Affairs* 73:2, 109-126.

Week of Sept 30: *some schedule shifts TBD due to holidays

Monday, TBD: Myanmar: Colonialism, occupation, and independence

- SarDesai, Ch. 9
- Mary P. Callahan. 2003. *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1-20, plus optional 21 – 44.
- Maitrii Aung-Thwin, 2003. "Genealogy of a Rebellion Narrative: Law, Ethnology and Culture in Colonial Burma" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 34 (3), pp 393–419

Thursday: Dictatorship and crisis

- Kyaw Yin Hlaing. 2009. "Setting the Rules for Survival: Why the Burmese Military Regime Survives in an Age of Democratization," *Pacific Review* 22(3): 271-291.
- Ardeth Maung Thawngmung. 2011. "The Politics of Everyday Life in Twenty-First Century Myanmar." *Journal of Asian Studies* 70(3): 641-656.

Week of Oct 7:

Monday: Thailand: Independence in the Colonial Era:

- SarDesai, Ch. 10
- Thongchai Winichakul, 1994. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* University of Hawaii Press, Introduction and Chapter 8.

Thursday: Monarchy and mobilization in the modern era

- Kevin Hewison and Kengkij Kitirianglarp . 2010. "'Thai-Style Democracy': The Royalist Struggle for Thailand's Politics." In *Saying the Unsayable: Monarchy and Democracy in Thailand*, ed. Søren Ivarsson and Lotte Isager. Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 179-202
- Optional: Thongchai Winichakul. "Remembering/ Silencing the Traumatic Past: the Ambivalent Memories of the October 1976 Massacre in Bangkok" in *Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos*, ed. Charles F Keyes and Shigeharu Tanabe: Routledge/ Curzon, pp. 243-283.

Week of Oct 14:

Monday: French Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos): Colonialism, nationalism, and communist roots

Deadline for paper proposals due (10/14, early submissions welcome)

- SarDesai, Ch. 10, 17, 18
- Optional: Penny Edwards, 2007. *Cambodge: The Cultivation of a Nation, 1860 – 1945* University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 242 – 257
- Optional: Peter Zinoman, 2000. 'Colonial Prisons and Anti-Colonial Resistance in French Indochina: The Thai Nguyen Rebellion, 1917.' *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 57-98

Thursday: Fall break! Enjoy!

Week of Oct 21:

Monday: Fall break! Relax!

Thursday: Vietnam: Independence to market socialism

- Keith W. Taylor. 2004. "How I Began to Teach about the Vietnam War." *Michigan Quarterly Review* 43(4): 637-647. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?cc=mqr;c=mqr;c=mqrarchive;idno=act2080.0043.420;g=mqrg;rgn=main;view=text;xc=1>
- 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): 401-419.
- Optional: Philip Taylor, 2007 "Poor Policies, Wealthy Peasants: Alternative Trajectories of Rural Development in Vietnam" *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 2;2. Pp. 3-56

Week of Oct 28

Monday: Cambodia: Genocide, and the post-conflict state

- David Chandler, *The Tragedy of Cambodian History: Politics, War, and Revolution Since 1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. Introduction. Optional: this is a great book, I recommend all of it if you have time
- Kheang Un, 2005 "Patronage Politics and Hybrid Democracy: Political Change in Cambodia, 1993-2003," *Asian Perspective* 29:2.
- Optional: Listen to [a podcast about genocide and famine in Cambodia](#)

Thursday, October 31: Midterm 1 – IN CLASS

Part 2: Regional Issues

Week of Nov 4

Monday: Democratization Part 1:

- Allen Hicken, "Developing Democracies in Southeast Asia: Theorizing the Role of Parties and Elections" in eds Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu

Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis. Stanford University Press. 2008

- Aim Simpeng and Aries Arugay. "The Middle Class and Democracy in Southeast Asia," In William Case (ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*. London: Routledge, 2015, pp. 102-116.

Thursday: Democratization Part 2, Backsliding:

- Dan Slater, 2013. "Democratic Careening" *World Politics*: 65;4 pp. 729-763
- Temario Rivera, 2002. "Transition Pathways and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Marcos Philippines" *Contemporary Southeast Asia*

Week of Nov 11:

Monday: What's in a border?

- Benedict Anderson. "Census, Map, Museum" in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York, Verso: 163-185.
- James Scott, 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven, Yale University Press. 1-39.

Thursday: Statelessness and Migration

- Amanda Flaim, 2017. "Problems of Evidence, Evidence of Problems: Expanding Citizenship and Reproducing Statelessness among Highlanders in Northern Thailand" in eds., Benjamin N. Lawrance and Jacqueline Stevens, *Citizenship in Question: Evidentiary Birthright and Statelessness*. Duke University Press, 147-64
- Andrew Carruthers, 2017. "'Their Accent Would Betray Them': Clandestine Movement and the Sound of 'Illegality' in Malaysia's Borderlands" *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 32;2
- **Last day to turn in response paper 1!**

Week of Nov 18:

Monday – ASEAN: Regional Integration

- Amitav Archaya "ASEAN at 40: Mid-Life Rejuvenation?" *Foreign Affairs* August 15, 2007. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/asia/2007-08-15/asean-40-mid-life-rejuvenation>
- Alice Ba (Re) *Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Region, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations* Stanford University Press 2009. 1- 16

Thursday: South China Sea

- Sean Mirski, 2015. "The South China Sea Dispute: A Brief History", *Lawfare Blog* <https://www.lawfareblog.com/south-china-sea-dispute-brief-history>
- Listen to: Douglas Guilfoyle, "Who owns the South China sea?" <https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/latenightlive/who-owns-the-south-china-sea/7629968>
- Optional: David Shambaugh. 2018. "U.S.-China Rivalry in Southeast Asia: Power Shift or Competitive Coexistence?" *International Security* 42(4): 85-127

Week of Nov 24

Monday – Trade:

- Anne Booth. “Initial Conditions and Miraculous Growth: Why is South East Asia Different From Taiwan and South Korea?” *World Development* (1999) 27(2): 301-321.
- Jonathan Rigg, “Of Miracles and Crises: (Re-)interpretations of growth and decline in East and Southeast Asia,” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 43:2 (Aug. 2002), 137-56

Thursday: Thanksgiving

Week of Dec 2:

Monday: Peer Review activity in class (draft paper due!)

Thursday: Mass atrocity

- Robert Cribb and Michele Ford, “The Killings of 1965-66,” *Inside Indonesia* (2010) <http://www.insideindonesia.org/feature-editions/the-killings-of-1965-66>
- Geoffrey Robinson, “*If You Leave Us Here, We Will Die*” *How Genocide Was Stopped in East Timor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 1, 1 – 20.
- Ben Kiernan. 2001. “Myth, Nationalism, and Genocide.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 3(2): 187-206.
- Watch: “ ‘Endless Stream’ of Rohingya Flee Military Offensive” (<https://nyti.ms/2x0FCYA>) *New York Times*, September 2, 2017
 - Further reading (optional): <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/13/world/asia/myanmar-rohingya-muslim.html>

Week of December 9:

Monday: Human Rights:

- Tyrell Haberkorn, *In Plain Sight: Impunity and Human Rights in Thailand*. University of Wisconsin Press. 2018. Introduction, 1 – 26
- Optional (historical roots): Cindy Ewing, 2019. “The Colombo Powers: crafting diplomacy in the Third World and launching Afro-Asia at Bandung”
- Revisit in class: Rohingya Crisis and Duterte’s War on Drugs
- **Last day to turn in response paper 2!**

Thursday: Share your expertise!

- Roundtable on research papers

Final papers due – 2 pm 12/19