

Lecture: M/W, 3:05 to 4:20
Gross Hall 230 N

Professor Edmund Malesky
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Office hours: MW (1:00 to 2:30)

The Course

This course has three related goals. First, the intent is for students to finish the quarter with a basic awareness of the seminal political actors and political events in the countries of Southeast Asia. Second, the course will explicitly emphasize tools of political risk analysis by exploring the critical connections between political institutions and economic outcomes. Political decisions (or a failure to decide) have economic ramifications, and economic variables (economic policies, development, crises, etc.) influence politics. By better understanding patterns in political institutions and behavior, we can make more precise predictions about the future economic performance of the countries under investigation. Finally, the course will highlight important theoretical work drawn from the region. Because Southeast Asia is so diverse in terms of demographics and political systems, it is a useful laboratory in which to study the impact of different political systems on outcomes. We will review some of the most important studies that take advantage of this diversity to develop political theory.

The structure of the class will be divided between lectures and seminar-style discussion. For most classes, I will provide an overview of the topic for that class before posing discussion questions for the class to consider. Because of the diverse background of the region, many students who have experience in relevant countries may have unique perspectives that can greatly add to the collective knowledge of the class. To ensure a lively and fruitful discussion, all readings, not otherwise listed, are mandatory and participation will be worth a large portion of the final grade. Discussions will take place along a series of questions that will be e-mailed to students on Monday and Wednesday morning before class. When necessary, “cold-calling” may be employed to stimulate discussion and gauge student mastery of the material.

Requirements and Grading

1. 20% Participation in class discussions

Given that our class is small and discussion is an important component of the course, *class attendance is required*. Please let Professor Malesky know if you cannot make a class, otherwise it may impact your participation grade. Before each class, you will be provided with a set of discussion questions that we will cover in lecture. Participation will be heavily influenced by the quality and sophistication of your answers to those questions.

2. 40% In-class midterm (February 25th)

- The exam covers all material from the weeks 1 to 7.

3. 40% Final Exam (April 29th)

- This exam is cumulative, covering the entire semester

- *Map quiz* and identifications of terms discussed in readings and lectures.
- Short answers to simple questions discussed in lectures and readings.
- Long answer: You will be given a prompt asking you to compare your country specialty to two other countries in Southeast Asia along themes discussed over the quarter.

Grading Scale

Participation, paper, and essay portions of mid-term and final will be graded on a 16-point scale that is basically a 4-point scale stretched out to 16 points. These grades will not be assigned based on the docking of points, but on the comprehensive assessment of the strength of the material. Grading standards used in the assignment of these values are provided at the end of this syllabus. The attendance/participation grade and the short-answer components of the final exam will be first converted to a percentage of the possible points possible and then assigned a letter grade based on the same scale.

Grade	16-point	Percentage points
A	[15-16]	[93.75 - 100]
A-	[14-15)	[87.5 - 93.75)
B+	[13-14)	[81.25 - 87.5)
B	[11-13)	[68.75 - 81.25)
B-	[10-11)	[62.5 - 68.75)
C+	[9-10)	[56.25 - 62.5)
C	[7-9)	[42.75 - 56.25)
C-	[6-7)	[37.5 - 43.75)
D	[2-6)	[12.5 - 37.5)
F	[0-2)	[0 - 12.5)

The Academic Resource Center (ARC) offers free services to all students during their undergraduate careers at Duke. Services include Learning Consultations, Peer Tutoring and Study Groups, ADHD/LD Coaching, Outreach Workshops, and more. Because learning is a process unique to every individual, the ARC works with each student to discover and develop their own academic strategy for success at Duke. Contact the ARC if you would to schedule an appointment. (211 Academic Advising Center Building, East Campus – behind Marketplace; arc.duke.edu • theARC@duke.edu • 919-684-5917).

Absences and Accommodations

If you cannot attend a section on time for medical or personal reasons, you are expected to contact the professor via email prior to the meeting time. If you do not email ahead of time but have a legitimate medical reason for your absence, you must submit a Short-Term Illness Notification Form (STINF). Requests to have more time on an assignment for medical reasons must also be accompanied with the submission of a STINF form. Absences from a final exam must be approved by your academic dean. If you are wrestling with a chronic illness or personal emergency of any sort, I strongly encourage you to be in touch with an academic dean, and/or with the Student Disability Access Office as appropriate. Accommodations will only be considered for those students registered with the Student Disability Access Office and who inform the instructor at least two weeks in advance of when the accommodation is needed.

Duke Community Standard

Students are expected to strictly adhere to the Duke Community Standard in all of their work and participation, and violations will be enforced. All work must be done exclusively by the individual to whom it has been assigned. Students should assume that collaboration on assignments, the use of previously assigned homework, quizzes and answer keys, outside sources or outside aids (both written and electronic) are not allowed unless explicitly approved by the professor. All cases of suspected cheating will be referred for adjudication to the Dean's Office. Any violation for which a student is found responsible is considered grounds for failure in the course. To review the policy, please see: <https://plagiarism.duke.edu/>

Required Texts

1. Milton Osborne, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 12th Edition 2013. (Hereafter “Osborne”)
2. Slater, Dan. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press (Hereafter “Slater 2010”)
3. Jacques Bertrand, *Political Change in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press. 2013. (Hereafter “Bertrand”)

Course Schedule

Section 1: Historical Background

Wednesday, January 9: Introduction and Housekeeping

- Quiz of SEA map and key figures
- Discussion of course design

Monday, January 14: What is Southeast Asia?

- Wolters, O. W. *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asia*, Southeast Asia Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999. Studies on Southeast Asia (Chapter 2- pages 27-40)

Wednesday, January 16: The Pre-Colonial Era

- Osborne, Chapters 1 & 3 (Skim Chapter 2 & 4).

Monday, January 21: No Class for MLK Day

Wednesday, January 23: Early Colonialism

- Osborne, Chapter 5

Monday, January 28: High Imperialism

- Osborne, Chapters 6 and 7

Wednesday, January 30: From WWI to WWII

- Osborne, Chapters 8 and 9

Monday, February 4: Nationalism and the Struggle for Independence

- Osborne, Chapters 10 and 11
- Slater, Dan. 2010, Chapters 1, 2, 4

Wednesday February 6: Communist Insurgencies and State Formation

- Osborne, Chapters 12 and 14
- Watch [From the Barrel of a Gun](#) from PBS Pacific Century Series

Monday, February 11: Great Men in Southeast Asia: Authority, Legitimacy, Power

- MacDougall, John James. 1976. “The Technocratic Model of Modernization: The Case of Indonesia's New Order.” *Asian Survey*.

- Slater, Dan. 2010, Chapter 6.

Wednesday, February 13: An Asian Model of Democracy?

- Neher, Clark. 1994. "Asian Style Democracy." *Asian Survey* 34(11): 949-961.
- Thompson, Mark. 2001. "Whatever Happened to 'Asian Values?'" *Journal of Democracy* 12(4): 154-165.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2007. "Democratization and Electoral Reform in the Asia-Pacific Region: Is There an "Asian Model" of Democracy?" *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11): 1350-1371.

Monday, February 18: The Asian Miracle in Comparative Perspectives

- Doner, Richard F. 1991. "Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 50(4): 818-849.
- Doner, Richard F., Dan Slater and Bryan Ritchie. 2005. "Systematic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective." *International Organization* 59 (2): 327-61.
- Krugman, Paul. 1994. "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," *Foreign Affairs* 73(6): 62-78.

Wednesday, February 20: The Asian Economic Crisis

- Wade, Robert. 2000 "Wheels within Wheels: Rethinking the Asian Crisis and the Asian Model." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3(1): 85-115.
- Haggard, Stephan. 2000. "The Politics of the Asian Financial Crisis." *Journal of Democracy* 11(2): 130-144.
- Pepinsky, Thomas. 2008. "Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics: Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Adjustment in Southeast Asia." *World Politics* 60(3): 438-474.
- MacIntyre, Andrew. "Institutions and Investors: The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis", *International Organization* 51(1) 81-122.

Monday, February 25: In-Class Mid-Term Examination

Section 2: Country Studies

Wednesday, February 27: Indonesia under the New Order

- Bertrand, Chapter 2
- Fisman, Raymond. 2001. "Estimating the Value of Political Connections," *American Economic Review*

Monday, March 4: Indonesian Democratization

- Davidson, Jamie. 2018. [*Indonesia: Twenty Years of Democracy. Cambridge Elements: Politics and Society in Indonesia.*](#) Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 2

Wednesday, March 6: Development and Democratization in a Divided Society

- Flipped Classroom
- Watch [*The Act of Killing*](#)
- Davidson, Jamie. 2018. [*Indonesia: Twenty Years of Democracy. Cambridge Elements: Politics and Society in Indonesia.*](#) Cambridge University Press, Chapters 3 and 4

Monday, March 11: Spring Break, No Class

Wednesday, March 13: Spring Break, No Class

Monday, March 18: Malaysia under United Malays National Organization

- Bertrand, 92-108

- Slater, Dan. 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia," *Comparative Politics*: 81-101
- Case, William. 2010. "Transition from Single-Party Dominance? New Data from Malaysia" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10(1):91-126.

Wednesday, March 20: The End of UMNO?

- Ostwald, Kai, 2013. How to Win a Lost Election: Malapportionment and Malaysia's 2013 General Election. *The Round Table*, 102(6): 521-532.
- Meredith Weiss. 2016. "[Lamenting 1MDB](#)." *New Mandala*.
- Meredith Weiss. 2018. "[Malaysia after GE14: Transition to What?](#)" *New Mandala*.

Monday, March 25: Thailand's Contested Legitimacy

- Bertrand, Chapter 5
- McCargo, Duncan. 2005. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand," *The Pacific Review* 18(4):499-519.
- Flipped classroom. Watch [Thailand: In the Footsteps of the King](#) (24 minute movie)

Wednesday, March 27: The Rise of Thai Rak Thai

- Hicken, Allen. 2006. "Party Fabrication: Constitutional Reform and the Rise of Thai Rak Thai." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6 (2006), 381-407.
- Kevin Hewison, "Crafting Thailand's New Social Contract," *The Pacific Review* 17(4): 503-522.

Monday, April 1: Thailand's Ongoing Political Crisis

- Malesky, Edmund and Krislert Samphanthrak. 2011. Understanding Thailand's Ongoing Political Crisis: Wider Implications for Southeast Asia and the West: German Marshall Fund.
- Elin Bjarnegård and Erik Melander, "[Thailand's Missing Democrats](#)," *Foreign Affairs*. May 22, 2014.
- Allen Hicken. 2016. "[Thailand's Containment Constitution](#)," *New Mandala*.

Wednesday, April 3: Renovation in Vietnam

- Bertrand, Chapter 6
- Vaskavul, Thaveeporn, 2019. [Vietnam: A Pathway from State Socialism](#). Cambridge University Press. (Selected Chapters)

Monday, April 8: Vietnam's Political Institutions

- Malesky, Edmund, Regina Abrami and Yu Zheng. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China," *Comparative Politics* 43(4):409-27.
- Malesky, Edmund and Paul Schuler. 2019. Single-Party Incumbency Advantage: A Conjoint Survey Analysis of Public Electoral Support.
- Le Hong Hiep. 2018. "[What to Expect from Vietnam's Consolidated Party Structure](#)," *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*

Wednesday, April 10: Cambodia

- Bertrand, Chapter 7
- Kheang Un. 2019. [Cambodia: Return to Authoritarianism](#). Cambridge University Press (Selected Chapters).

Monday, April 15: Singapore

- Kenneth Paul Tan. 2018. [*Singapore: Identity, Brand, Power*](#). Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 8.

Wednesday, April 17: Philippines

- Bertrand, Chapter 3
- Brownlee, Jason. 2008. "Bound to Rule: Party Institutions and Regime Trajectories in Malaysia and the Philippines." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8(1). 89-118.
- "Roundtable: The 2016 Philippine Presidential Election." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38:2 (2016), pp. 177-208.

Monday, April 22: Myanmar

- Bertrand, Chapter 8
- Moe Thuzar. "Myanmar's 2015 Elections: New Hope on the Horizon?" *Perspectives ISEAS*. 2015: 70, 17 December 2015.
- Nicolas Farrelly. "[Gazing over the Horizon](#)," *New Mandala*.

Wednesday, April 24: No Class/LDOC

Friday, April 29: Final Exam; 230 N Gross Hall; 2-5 PM.

Grading Standards

The following standards will be applied to the evaluation of assignments in the class.

A Exceptional Performance.

Consistently outstanding work on all course-related tasks at a level that distinguishes the student from other members of the class. A comprehensive and incisive command of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A frequently demonstrated exceptional capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. The ability to master and integrate large amounts of factual material and abstract theories. An outstanding ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

A- Excellent Performance.

Consistently strong work on all course-related tasks. A comprehensive command of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A clearly demonstrated capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. Understands well and can integrate the relevant factual and theoretical material central to the course. A strong ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

B+ Very Good Performance.

Consistently above average work on all course-related tasks. A very good grasp of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A generally demonstrated capacity for original, creative, critical, and logical thinking. A very good command of factual and theoretical material, and some capacity to integrate the two. A solid ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

B Good Performance.

Good and generally consistent work on all course-related tasks. A general understanding of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. Modest evidence of the capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. A good understanding of factual and theoretical material, but limited evidence of the capacity to integrate the two. A basic ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

B- Satisfactory Performance

Satisfactory work on course-related tasks. A reasonable understanding of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. An infrequently demonstrated capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. Understands at a basic level the facts and theories related to the course, but demonstrates weak integration skills. A limited or inconsistent ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

C+/C/C- Adequate Performance

Adequate performance on course-related tasks. An understanding of the basic elements of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A rarely demonstrated capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking. An inability to go beyond a recitation of basic factual material related to the class. Demonstrated weaknesses in the ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

D/D+ Minimal Passing Performance.

Barely acceptable work on course-related tasks. A generally superficial and often inconsistent familiarity with the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. A failure to demonstrate the capacity for original, creative, critical and logical thinking related to course content. An uneven understanding of basic factual material related to the course; no evidence of fact/theory integration. Demonstrates significant gaps in the ability to discuss effectively course subject matter using both written and oral communication skills.

F Unacceptable Performance

Fails to meet minimum course expectations. Unable to understand even the most basic elements of the issues, literature, and substantive information relevant to the course. Demonstrates an inability to engage in coherent written or oral discussion of course material. Does not satisfy specific course expectations with respect to attendance, deadlines, participation, etc.