

Lecture: Tues and Thurs, 12.30 – 2.00 pm  
Location: Online

Kai Ostwald    kai.ostwald@ubc.ca  
OH: Thursday 3.30 – 4.30 pm

Isabel Chew  
OH: Tuesday 5.00 - 6.00 pm

### Course Description

This is an upper-level undergraduate course on the governments and politics of Southeast Asia. Poli 324A assumes no previous knowledge of Southeast Asia, but students are expected to have a familiarity with major themes, concepts, and debates from political science.

This course covers the region of Southeast Asia, generally accepted as the ten countries that form the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and East Timor. The remarkable diversity and complexity of these eleven countries mean that the course cannot comprehensively address all issues relevant to the region. Given this, the course has three core objectives:

- Build a **basic foundation of knowledge** on the **individual countries** of Southeast Asia: By the end of the quarter, we will have covered a sufficient amount of material to enable students to confidently discuss key historical trajectories, institutions, and actors in the countries of Southeast Asia.
- Examine **broader trends** facing the **region**: We will also focus on broader issues and trends facing the region as a whole, including security threats, economic development, and political instability.
- Examine general concepts relevant to the **political economy of development**: 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 and development strategies on outcomes. We will review some of the most important studies that take advantage of this diversity to develop political theory.

The ultimate aim of this course is to spark a deeper interest in the region. Many former students from this class have pursued further studies in the region, and others have gone on to work in or with Southeast Asia. My hope is that the course inspires you to join that growing network. The large size of our class dictates that most sessions will have at least some lecture component. Where possible, however, we will try to make the course interactive through discussions and debates. I strongly encourage you to participate whenever appropriate. Several students in the class will likely have experience in one or more of the region's countries – those unique and personal perspectives can add significantly to the class's collective knowledge.

### Requirements and Grading

#### **1. Midterm examination – 15%**

We will have a midterm examination on October 27<sup>th</sup>. The exam consists of multiple-choice questions, identification of key terms, and short answers. It is designed to determine your familiarity with the material covered in the first section of the course. All material covered in class and in the readings (unless otherwise noted) may appear in the exam. I will give sample questions two weeks before the exam to familiarize you with the format.

#### **2. Short paper – 35%**

You will write one short paper of four pages (double-spaced, 12pt font, 1-inch margins) due on November 26<sup>th</sup>. You will be given two prompts to choose from, which will be distributed on November 5<sup>th</sup> (three weeks before the paper is due). The prompts will come from some of the major themes covered in the course. Papers will be graded on the strength of their argument and the effectiveness with which they incorporate both course material and your understanding of Southeast Asia. You are required to submit a copy to Turnitin.

#### **3. Discussion posts – 30%**

We want to foster active participation this semester, despite the online format. To support this, we will be making use of the Canvas online discussion board, where you will be able to directly engage with one another. You are required to

submit two reading posts that engage the assigned readings. In addition, you are required to post four response posts that respond to your classmates' reading posts. These should occur only in weeks where you did not submit a reading post. This means that you will post to the discussion board 6 times during the semester. While we encourage active engagement and will allow you to add additional thoughts to the discussion board, we will limit the graded posts to the six posts described above in order to emphasize quality over quantity.

You will find a pinned thread in the discussion section of Canvas with details on format, as well as the grading matrix for the posts. To summarize, the reading posts (2 this semester) should be approximately 300 words, and should critically engage the assigned readings (rather than be a mere summary of them). The reading posts are due at noon the day before the class whose readings they engage. In other words, if your reading post addresses reading for Tuesday's class, it is due on Monday at noon (for Thursday's class, it is due Wednesday before noon). The response posts (4 this semester) should be at least 150 words, but may be longer. They should respond directly (in a thread) to a classmate's reading post and should show that you have read the readings, thought carefully about the topic at hand, and respond constructively to the classmate's reading post. The focus is up to you, provided you are respectful and constructive in your response. Response posts are due by Saturday 11.59pm of the week you are responding to.

Reading posts will be worth up to 6 points each ( $2 \times 6 = 12$ ) and response posts up to 4 points each ( $4 \times 4 = 16$ ). You will receive 2 bonus points upon completing all six posts. That brings us to the 30 points for this portion of the assessment. Again, I want to stress that while we anticipate and welcome differences of opinion, we will not tolerate disrespectful posts. This is not an easy moment in time – let's all be constructive and considerate in our interactions!

#### 4. Final examination – 20%

The final examination for this course is cumulative. As with the midterm, all material from class or the readings may be covered, unless otherwise noted. The format of the final exam will be similar to that of the midterm with several additions: it is composed of a map quiz, identification of key actors and terms, multiple choice questions, and short answers. It will also have one longer response.

Late assignments are strongly discouraged and will incur a penalty of not less than 1/3 letter grade per day except in the case of a documented serious illness or personal emergency. Assignments handed in over a week late will not be accepted. Students who require additional time are asked to request it as soon as possible. Typically, extensions will not be given for foreseeable circumstances, including having multiple assignments/exams in a short period of time. Please refer to the UBC calendar for no-penalty drop dates and requirements for medical authorization.

#### Covid-19 and Online Learning

This course is being held during a very difficult moment in time. I greatly value face-to-face interaction with students and I think students typically appreciate the dynamic nature of this course when it is held in-person. Unfortunately, the circumstances in late 2020 do not allow for either. As you know, this course will be held entirely online. I will do my very best to make the most of the course and I ask that you do the same. I expect that we will encounter bumps, some due to technology, some to the changed format, and others due to the stress we are all under. I hope and expect that despite these bumps, we will find value in the learning that we (that includes me!) will do over the next 13 weeks. I am prepared to be as accommodating as the class format and size will allow, but ask that you also recognize and be patient with the range of challenges the pandemic has imposed on us all. Let's collectively do our best to stay healthy (both physically and mentally), enjoy the course, and emerge knowing more about the region it focuses on.

With that said, on to specifics. The class will be held synchronously during its originally scheduled time (as noted above). I ask that everyone attend that unless you are in a time zone that make it unfeasible. We will try to replicate the interactive component of the course as much as possible, since discussion provides many of our learning opportunities. The classes will, however, be recorded and posted on Canvas to allow for asynchronous participation. For those joining synchronously, I ask that you keep your webcam on when possible, but you are free to keep it off if your circumstances require. Regarding the asynchronous recordings: please DO NOT post or circulate these online. They are meant exclusively for the members of our course.

The university has also advised the following: During this pandemic, the shift to online learning has greatly altered teaching and studying at UBC, including changes to health and safety considerations. Keep in mind that some UBC courses might cover topics that are censored or considered illegal by non-Canadian governments. This may include, but is not limited to, human rights, representative government, defamation, obscenity, gender or sexuality, and historical or current geopolitical controversies. If you are a student living abroad, you will be subject to the laws of your local jurisdiction, and your local authorities might limit your access to course material or take punitive action against you. UBC is strongly committed to

academic freedom, but has no control over foreign authorities (please visit <http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,33,86,0> for an articulation of the values of the University conveyed in the Senate Statement on Academic Freedom).

Thus, we recognize that students will have legitimate reason to exercise caution in studying certain subjects. If you have concerns regarding your personal situation, consider postponing taking a course with manifest risks, until you are back on campus or reach out to your academic advisor to find substitute courses. For further information and support, please visit: <http://academic.ubc.ca/support-resources/freedom-expression>

We will cover topics in this course that are considered sensitive in some Southeast Asian countries. If you have reasons to be uncomfortable participating in these discussions online, please reach out to me via email. Again, I want to stress the importance of not circulating or otherwise making publicly available the recorded classes, as this would exacerbate the concerns noted above.

### **University Values and Priorities:**

UBC provides resources to support student learning and to maintain healthy lifestyles but recognizes that sometimes crises arise and so there are additional resources to access including those for survivors of sexual violence. UBC values respect for the person and ideas of all members of the academic community. Harassment and discrimination are not tolerated nor is suppression of academic freedom. UBC provides appropriate accommodation for students with disabilities and for religious and cultural observances. UBC values academic honesty and students are expected to acknowledge the ideas generated by others and to uphold the highest academic standards in all of their actions. Details of the policies and how to access support are available at: <https://senate.ubc.ca/policies-resources-support-student-success>

### **Academic Integrity and Responsibility**

As a member of this class, you are responsible for contributing to the course objectives through your participation in class activities and your work on essays, exams, and other projects. In the process of coming into your own as an independent, responsible participant in the academic community, you are encouraged to seek advice, clarification, and guidance in your learning from your instructor and/or Teaching Assistant. If you decide to seek help beyond the resources of this course, you are responsible for ensuring that this help does not lead you to submit others' work as your own. If an outside tutor or other person helps you, show this policy to your tutor or helper: make sure you both understand the limits of this person's permissible contribution. If you are uncertain, consult your instructor or TA.

Academic communities depend on their members' honesty and integrity in representing the sources of reasoning, claims, and wordings that appear in their work. Like any other member of the academic community, you will be held responsible for the accurate representation of your sources: the means by which you produced the work you are submitting. If you are found to have misrepresented your sources and to have submitted others' work as your own, penalties may follow. Your case may be forwarded to the Head of the department, who may decide that you should receive zero for the assignment. The Head will report your case to the Dean's Office, where the report will remain on file. The Head may decide, in consultation with your instructor, that a greater penalty is called for, and will forward your case to the Dean's Office. After an interview in the Dean's Office, your case may be forwarded to the President's Advisory Committee on Academic Misconduct. Following a hearing in which you will be asked to account for your actions, the President may apply penalties including zero for the assignment; zero for the course; suspension from the university for a period ranging from 4 to 24 months; a notation on your permanent record. The penalty may be a combination of these.

Academic communities also depend on their members' living up to the commitments they make. By enrolling in this course, you make commitments to an academic community: you are responsible for meeting deadlines, and attending class and engaging in class activities. If you find that you cannot meet a deadline or cannot participate in a course activity, discuss your situation with your instructor or TA before the deadline or before your absence.

### **Illness and Absence**

If you experience medical, emotional, or personal problems that affect your attendance or academic performance, please notify Arts Academic Advising. If you are registered with Access and Diversity, you should notify your instructor at least two weeks before examination dates. If you are planning to be absent for varsity athletics, family obligations, or other commitments, you should discuss your commitments with the instructor before the drop date.

### **Reach out and ask for help if you need it**

University students often encounter setbacks from time to time that can impact academic performance. This is especially true during the current COVID-19 pandemic. If you run into difficulties and need assistance, I encourage you to contact me by

email. I will do my best to support your success during the term. This includes identifying concerns I may have about your academic progress or wellbeing through Early Alert. With Early Alert, faculty members can connect you with advisors who offer student's support and assistance getting back on track to success. For more information:

<https://facultystaff.students.ubc.ca/systems-tools/early-alert>

For information about addressing mental or physical health concerns, including seeing a UBC counselor or doctor, visit:

<https://students.ubc.ca/health-wellness>

### **Respectful University Environment**

UBC recognizes that “the best possible environment for working, learning and living is one in which respect, civility, diversity, opportunity and inclusion are valued.” The full *UBC Statement on Respectful Environment for Students, Faculty and Staff* can be found at <http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf>. Students should read this statement carefully and take note of both the protections and the responsibilities that it outlines for all members of the UBC community. Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct, at:

<http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0>

This course values frank discussion, healthy debate, and the free and respectful exchange of ideas. Students are welcome to voice and defend their views, which may differ from those of other students or of the instructor. However, disrespectful behavior, including bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. The instructor and teaching assistant will be professional and respectful in all their exchanges with students, and students will exercise similar professionalism and respect in their interactions with each other, with the teaching assistant, and with the instructor.

### **Equity and Harassment**

UBC is committed to equity (including but not limited to gender equity) and fostering a safe learning environment for everyone. All peoples should be able to study, work, and learn in a supportive environment that is free from sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination. UBC's Policy #3 on Discrimination and Harassment defines harassment as: “unwanted and unwelcome attention from a person who knows, or ought to know, that the behaviour is unwelcome. Harassment can range from written or spoken comments to unwanted jokes, gifts, and physical assault, and may be accompanied by threats or promises regarding work or study opportunities and conditions. Harassment can be either a single incident or a series of related incidents.” Such behavior is not acceptable and will not be tolerated at UBC. If you or someone you know has encountered sexual violence or harassment, you can find confidential support and resources at the AMS Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC), and the Equity and Inclusion Office. The SASC is an all-genders service that serves the UBC-Vancouver campus community and is committed to creating a safer campus community, free from sexualized violence. Their work is informed by feminism, anti-oppression and recognition of intersectionality. The Equity and Inclusion Office is committed to fostering a community in which human rights are respected and equity and diversity are integral to university life.

### **Required Texts**

1. **Osborne, Milton.** 2016. *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin: 12<sup>th</sup> Edition (earlier editions are okay)
2. **Robert Dayley.** 2016. *Southeast Asia in the New International Era*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press (earlier editions – by Dayley and Neher – are okay too)
3. **Slater, Dan.** 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Optional Texts (Additional books consulted in preparing lectures)**

1. **Kuhonta, Erik.** 2011. *The Institutional Imperative: The Politics of Equitable Development in Southeast Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
2. **Kuhonta, Erik, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu (eds).** 2008. *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Quantitative Analysis*. Stanford University Press.

### **Other key resources**

1. **ISEAS Perspective and ISEAS Trends:** short memos/papers on key developments in Southeast Asia.
2. **New Mandala and East Asia Forum:** excellent academic blogs managed by Australian universities)
3. **Southeast Asia from Scott Circle:** comprehensive newsletter detailing key events in Southeast Asia.

## Section One: Southeast Asia in broad overview

### Sept 10: Introduction

- Discussion of course design

### Sept 15: SE Asia overview

- Osborne (Ch 1)
- Dayley (Ch 1)
- Donald Emmerson. 1984. "Southeast Asia?: What's in a Name?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*

### Sept 17: Country primer I (skim corresponding chapters in Dayley)

- Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore

### Sept 22: Country primer II (skim corresponding chapters in Dayley)

- Brunei, Timor Leste, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos

### Sept 24: Country primer III (skim corresponding chapters in Dayley)

- Thailand, Myanmar, Philippines

## Section Two: Establishing context – the history of SE Asia

### Sept 29: Ancient Southeast Asia (history)

- Osborne (chapters 2-4)
- O.W. Wolters, *Southeast Asia Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999. Studies on Southeast Asia* (chapter 2: pages 27-40) [posted online]
- [Channelnews Asia video] "My Southeast Asia with Dr Farish: Borders & Beyond"  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UsT0Os9QasU>

#### *Supplementary:*

- Tongchai Winichakul. 1988. *Siam Mapped*.
- Scott, James. 1972. "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia." *American Political Science Review*.

### Oct 1: The Colonial Era (history)

- Osborne (chapters 5-7)
- <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/04/18/magazine/best-story-the-book-that-killed-colonialism.html>
- TED talk: Farish Noor, "Why is colonialism (still) romanticized?"  
[https://www.ted.com/talks/farish\\_ahmad\\_noor\\_why\\_is\\_colonialism\\_still\\_romanticized](https://www.ted.com/talks/farish_ahmad_noor_why_is_colonialism_still_romanticized)

#### *Supplementary:*

- Diana Kim. 2020. *Empires of Vice*. Princeton University Press.

### Oct 6: Nationalism and the struggle for independence (history)

- Osborne (chapters 8-13)
- Benedict Anderson. 1991. *Imagined Communities*, Verso Press (chapter 10) [posted online]

#### *Supplementary:*

- Tongchai Winichakul. 1988. *Siam Mapped*. University of Hawai'i Press.

### Oct 8: Remnants of colonial rule (structuralism)

- Dan Slater. 2010. *Ordering Power*, (chapters 1, 3)

*Supplementary:*

- Paul D. Hutchcroft. 2000. "Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords" *Journal of Asian Studies*.
- Mary Callahan. 2002. "State Formation in the Shadow of the Raj" *Southeast Asian Studies*.

**Oct 13: Remnants of colonial rule (structuralism)**

- Slater (chapters 4, 5)

**Oct 15: Remnants of colonial rule (structuralism)**

- Slater (chapters 6, 7)

**Oct 20: The Asian Miracle – Economic development**

- McKinsey & Co. 2015. "Understanding ASEAN" report on economic growth in SE Asia [posted online]
- Hal Hill. 1997. "Towards a political economy explanation of rapid growth in ASEAN: a survey and analysis", *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*.
- Paul Krugman. 1994. "The Myth of Asia's Miracle." *Foreign Affairs*.
- Peter Warr. 2006. "Poverty and Growth in Southeast Asia" *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*.

*Supplementary:*

- Richard Doner, Dan Slater, and Bryan Ritchie. 2005. "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective." *International Organization*.
- Malesky, Edmund, Regina Abrami and Yu Zheng. 2011. "Institutions and Inequality in Single Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China." *Comparative Politics*.

**Oct 22: Economic Crisis & Corruption in SE Asia**

- Richard Doner and Ben Schneider. 2016. "The Middle-Income Trap: More Politics than Economics." *World Politics*.
- Benjamin Olken and Rohini Pande. 2012. "Corruption in Developing Countries." *Annual Review of Economics*.
- Chatib Basri. 2018. "Financial risks could derail Asia's growth" *East Asia Forum*

*Supplementary:*

- Stephan Haggard. 2000. *Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis* (Chapter 1)
- Edmund Malesky and Krislert Samphantharak. 2008. "Predictable Corruption and Firm Investment: Evidence from a Natural Experiment and Survey of Cambodian Entrepreneurs." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
- Krisztina Kis-Katos and Günther Schulze. 2013. "Corruption in Southeast Asia: a survey of recent research" ONLY sections 1,2, 4, 5 - *Asian-Pacific Economic Literature*.

**Section Three: Contemporary Political Economy**

**Oct 27: Midterm exam**

**Oct 29: Agency and the "Great Leader" theory**

- Raymond Fisman. 2001. "Estimating the Value of Political Connections," *American Economic Review*.
- Dan Slater. 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia", *Comparative Politics*.

*Supplementary:*

- Duncan McCargo. 2005. "Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand." *The Pacific Review*.
- So Young Kim. 2010. "Do Asian Values Exist: Empirical Tests of the Four Dimensions of Asian Values." *Journal of East Asian Studies*.

**Nov 3: Political Institutions – regime types**

- Andrew MacIntyre. 2001. "Institutions and Investors: The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis", *International Organization*.
- Barbara Geddes. 1999. "What do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years." *Annual Review of Political Science*. (skim)

*Supplementary:*

- Benjamin Reilly. 2007. “Democratization and Electoral Reform in the Asia-Pacific Region: Is There an “Asian Model” of Democracy?” *Comparative Political Studies*.
- John Sidel. 2007. “Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Revisited: Colonial State and Chinese Immigrants in the Making of Modern Southeast Asia” *Comparative Political Studies*.

**Nov 5: Political Institutions continued: Parties and Decentralization** [PAPER PROMPT DISTRIBUTED]

- Allen Hicken. 2006. “Party Fabrication: Constitutional Reform and the Rise of Thai Rak Thai.” *Journal of East Asian Studies*.
- Allen Hicken and Erik Kuhonta. 2011. “Shadows from the past: party system institutionalization in Asia” *Comparative Political Studies*.
- 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*.

*Supplementary:*

- KP Huang and S Thananithichot. 2018. “Social divisions, party support, and the changes in the Thai party system since 2001” *International Area Studies Review*

**Nov 10: Hybrid regime resilience in SE Asia**

- Fareed Zakaria. 1997. “The rise of illiberal democracy”, *Foreign Affairs*.
- Thitinan Pongsudhirak. 2018. “Authoritarianism is accelerating in Southeast Asia” – *Nikkei Asian Review*.
- Nicole Curato and Diego Fossati. 2020. “Authoritarian Innovations: Crafting support for a less democratic Southeast Asia.” *Democratization*.
- Lee Morgenbesser. 2020. “The menu of autocratic innovation.” *Democratization*.
- Edward Aspinall and Allen Hicken. 2020. “Guns for hire and enduring machines: clientelism beyond parties in Indonesia and the Philippines.” *Democratization*
- Cesi Cruz, Julien Labonne, and Pablo Querubin. 2017. “Politician Family Networks and Electoral Outcomes: Evidence from the Philippines.” *American Economic Review*

*Supplementary:*

- Dan Slater. 2018. “After Democracy: What happens when freedom erodes?” *Foreign Affairs*.

**Nov 12: Hybrid regime resilience in SE Asia**

- Kai Ostwald. 2017. Malaysia’s Electoral Process: The Methods and Costs of Perpetuating UMNO Rule. *ISEAS Trends*.
- Meredith Weiss. 2020. “Duelling Networks: Relational Clientelism in Electoral-Authoritarian Malaysia” *Democratization*.
- Meredith Weiss. 2017. “Going to the Ground: A Grassroots View of Regime Resilience” *Democratization*.
- Dan Slater. 2012. “Southeast Asia: Strong-State Democratization in Malaysia and Singapore” *Journal of Democracy*.
- Lee Morgenbesser. 2018. “Misclassification on the Mekong: The Origins of Hun Sen’s Personalistic Dictatorship” *Democratization*.

*Supplementary:*

- Bridget Welsh. 2018. “Saviour Politics and Malaysia’s 2018 Electoral Democratic Breakthrough” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*.
- Netina Tan. 2013. “Manipulating Electoral Laws in Singapore” *Electoral Studies*.
- Steven Oliver and Kai Ostwald. 2018. “Explaining Elections in Singapore: Dominant Party Resilience and Valence Politics” *Journal of East Asian Studies*.
- Jason Brownlee. 2008. “Bound to Rule: Party Institutions and Regime Trajectories in Malaysia and the Philippines.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 8(1). 89-118.

**Section Four: Special Topics**

**Nov 17: Ethnic diversity and ethnic politics in SE Asia**

- Charles Hirschman. 1986. ‘The Making of Race in Colonial Malaya: Political Economy and Racial Ideology’, *Sociological Forum*.
- Charles Keyes. 1971. ‘Buddhism and National Integration in Thailand’, *Journal of Asian Studies*.
- Ashley South. 2017. “Myanmar peace process bends under military and ethnic division” *East Asia Forum*
- Editorial Board. 2018. “Race policy reform will test the courage of Malaysia’s new government” *East Asia Forum*

*Supplementary:*

- John Roosa. 2006. *Pretext for Mass Murder*. University of Wisconsin Press [focus on intro]
- David Brown. 1994. *The State and Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia*. Routledge.

**Nov 19: Ethnic diversity and ethnic politics in SE Asia**

- Ahmad Fauzi Abdul Hamid. 2016. “ISIS in Southeast Asia: Internalized Wahhabism is a Major Factor”, *ISEAS Perspective*, Issue 2016 No. 24.
- Syed Serajul Islam. 1998. ‘The Islamic independence movement in Patani of Thailand and Mindanao of the Philippines’, *Asian Survey*.
- Gerard McCarthy and Jacqueline Menager. 2017. “Gendered Rumours and the Muslim Scapegoat in Myanmar’s Transition” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*.
- Kikue Hamayotsu. 2020. “States, Religion, and Democracy in Southeast Asia: Comparative Religious Regime Formation” in *The Oxford Handbook of Politics in Muslim Societies*.

*Supplementary:*

- Ashutosh Varshney. 2008. “Analysing Collective Violence in Indonesia” *Journal of East Asian Studies*.
- Gerry van Klinken and Su Mon Thazin Aung. 2017. “The Contentious Politics of Anti-Muslim Scapegoating in Myanmar.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*.

**Nov 24: Great powers in SE Asia and ASEAN**

- “What is ASEAN? CNBC Explains” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VDTdXDDzJ1k>
- Acharya Amitav. 2009. *Constructing Security in Southeast Asia*. Routledge. (Chapter 2)
- ASEAN chapter in Dayley 2016
- Deepak Nair. “Saving Face in Diplomacy: A Political Sociology of Face-to-Face Interactions in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations” *European Journal of International Relations*.
- Ja Ian Chong. 2018. “ASEAN and the challenge of a multipolar world” *East Asia Forum*
- Peter Petri. 2018. “The case for RCEP as Asia’s next trade agreement” *East Asia Forum*

*Supplementary:*

- Lee Jones. 2015. ‘Explaining the failure of the ASEAN economic community’, *The Pacific Review*.

**Nov 26: China and Southeast Asia**

(SHORT PAPER DUE)

- Guest lecture
- Murray Hiebert. 2020. “China’s Belt and Road Finds Southeast Asia a Tough Slog” *ISEAS Perspective*
- Hong Liu and Guanlie Lim. 2018. “The Political Economy of Rising China in Southeast Asia” *Journal of Contemporary China*.

**Dec 1: South China Sea**

- Peter Dutton. 2011. “Three Disputes and Three Objectives: China and the South China Sea”
- Mark Valencia. 2018. “US pundits and politicians pushing for war in the South China Sea” *East Asia Forum*
- Ian Storey. 2020. “The South China Sea Dispute in 2020-2021” *ISEAS Perspective*

*Supplementary:*

- Bill Hayton. 2014. *The South China Sea*

**Dec 3: Covid-19 in Southeast Asia and course wrap-up**

- Readings to be announced!