



# Southeast Asian Politics

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**Title Course**

Southeast Asian Politics

**Course Catalogue Number**

7323C138FY

**Credits**

6 EC

**Entry requirements**

Completed the first year of a bachelor degree programme at the UvA or another university.

**Instruction language**

English

**Time Period(s)**

2022-2023, semester 1, period 2.

**Time and Location**

See <https://rooster.uva.nl/> for most up to date information

**Format**

In-person, with hybrid option for absences related to illness and/or quarantine.

**Lecturer**

Dr. Jessica Soedirgo

Room: B9.06

E-mail: [j.soedirgo@uva.nl](mailto:j.soedirgo@uva.nl)

**Course Objectives & Learning Outcomes**

By the end of the course, students will:

- Have a basic understanding of the historical background and contemporary politics of Southeast Asian countries.
- Be able to analyze how historical events shape contemporary politics.
- Be able to identify how Southeast Asia as a region can answer key questions in the discipline of political science.
- Have developed their writing, research, and analytical skills.

**Course Content**

This course is an introduction to the politics and governments of Southeast Asia, one of the world's most diverse regions in terms of regimes, ethnic and religious composition, and levels of economic development. In this course, we will leverage this regional diversity to study key questions in political science including:

- Why do some states democratize while others do not?
- Why and how does political violence occur?
- How do states navigate international systems?

This course will mainly focus on contemporary politics in Southeast Asia, though we will also touch upon the colonial experience and its effects. Assignments and class materials are designed to provide students with theoretical and applied research skills.

### Teaching methods/learning formats

The course will be primarily taught in seminar format, and each class will be a mix of instructor-led discussions and student presentations. I will open each class with a short (~15 minute) lecture to provide some framing and guidance for the session. All students are required to read all **required readings** in advance of the lectures. Because it is a seminar, its quality will depend on everyone coming to class prepared.

Cell phone are not allowed in class – please silence them before entering, and refrain from checking them at all. If it is an emergency, please leave class to attend to it.

### Course Evaluations & Adjustments of the Course

This is the second time a version of this course has been taught at the University of Amsterdam. In addition to updates around the delivery of the course, I have updated this course to reflect feedback on the readings and added a paper proposal to add an additional point of feedback earlier on in the block.

### Hybrid Option for Illness

If people have Covid symptoms or are otherwise ill, it is possible to join the class virtually. This option should only be exercised for reasons of illness, but please err on the side of caution. The Zoom link and password is located on the landing page of the course Canvas page. Please **email me** at [j.soedirgo@uva.nl](mailto:j.soedirgo@uva.nl) at least 2 hours prior to the start of class so that virtual attendance can be accommodated.

### Manner & Form of Assessment

**Map Quiz (10%):** In-person quiz (with possible make-up test for those with a valid medical excuse) on the countries in Southeast Asia, capital cities, bodies of water, and select land masses. See below for the countries, capital cities, and other geographical features you should be able to identify on a map. I will select 20 of these geographical features for the quiz.

Countries	Capital Cities
Brunei	Bandar Seri Begawan
Cambodia	Bangkok
Timor Leste (East Timor)	Dili
Indonesia	Hanoi
Laos	Jakarta
Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur
Myanmar	Putrajaya (Administrative Capital)
Philippines	Manila
Singapore	Phnom Penh
Thailand	Naypyidaw
Vietnam	Vientiane

Select Bodies of Water	
South China Sea	
Mekong River	
Indian Ocean	
Pacific Ocean	
Andaman Sea	
Gulf of Thailand	

**Participation (10%):** As a seminar, this class will only succeed if every member of the class actively and meaningfully participates. Contributions will be assessed on quality, not quantity. Participation includes:

- Answering and asking questions during the seminar portion of the class
- Demonstrating familiarity with the week’s readings in classroom comments.
- Participating in group discussions

Being able to articulate one’s thoughts and respond to the comments of colleagues can be intimidating, but it is a skill that is worth cultivating. I will make it a priority to cultivate a supportive space for respectful classroom discussion. If you are very fearful of speaking up in class, please feel free to send me a short paragraph (at most 250 words) in response to a question posed during class discussion. I will accept these comments within 24 hours after the end of class.

*You have the option of sending in a self-assessment of your participation in class before December 14<sup>th</sup> at 5pm. While these will not determine your participation grade, they will help provide context for the grade I ultimately assign.*

In accordance to UvA guidelines, you are only allowed two absences for whatever reason (presence virtually for reasons of illness or quarantining does not count as an absence). If you miss more than two classes due to exceptional circumstances, you can apply for derogation to this rule with the Exam Committee. There are exceptional circumstances other than illness that may lead you to miss more than to classes. Should this be the case, then please inform me via email and inform the student advisor ([studieadviseur-pol@uva.nl](mailto:studieadviseur-pol@uva.nl)) to explain your circumstances and receive advice as to how to proceed with your case.

**Group Presentation (20%):** Each student will have to sign up for one group presentation scheduled for different weeks of the class. Sign-ups will happen via Canvas (see <https://community.canvaslms.com/t5/Student-Guide/How-do-I-join-a-group-as-a-student/ta-p/468> on how to sign up for a group). I will open up the group sign-ups after the second class.

Groups will consist of 4 people. Each group will give an oral presentation that is no longer than 10 minutes and submit a 1000-1500 word summary of their presentation on Canvas. The memo should be uploaded onto Canvas before the beginning of class of the day of your presentation.

The presentation will involve a critique of the required readings. The following are the requirements of the presentation. You may organize the memo using these subheadings:

- **Summaries:** A SHORT (1-2 minutes) summary of the required readings.
  - For the summary, you should be able to identify the research question, the main argument of the reading, and the types of evidence used by the authors.

- **Scholarly debates and contributions:** Scholarly publications are involved in conversations with other scholars/works.
  - How do these readings speak to each other? On what points do the authors seem to agree? On what points do they disagree?
- **Critique:** Critically assess the set of readings.
  - What are the strengths of the arguments being made by the scholars?
  - What did the author overlook or what could they have included to make the argument more convincing?
- **Discussion:** Come up with 2 discussion questions to pose to the class. Remember these questions should be designed to stimulate discussion and conversation.

If a student fails to attend or participate in their group presentation, they will receive a zero grade for this part of the evaluation. The other members of the group will not be affected by the non-attendance of another member of the group if they successfully deliver their presentation. If you are sick, you may present via Zoom as long as your group members are aware of the format change. All members of groups will be given the same mark. Rubrics for the group presentation will be made available on the first day of class.

**Research Paper Outline and Annotated Bibliography (10%):** The research paper proposal and annotated bibliography. Together, the assignment should be 3 pages in length, double spaced. In the outline, you must provide a thesis statement and your supporting arguments (including some preliminary evidence for your claims). The annotated bibliography should include at least 5 sources and a short explanation of why the source contributes to the research paper's overall argument.

**Research Paper (50%):** For their research paper, students will answer a question in relation to democracy or authoritarianism or political conflict in Southeast Asia. The final paper should be between 2,500-3000 words (approximately 8-10 double-spaced pages), including in-text citations, but not including the bibliography. A detailed assignment sheet will be made available early in the course.

#### Summary of Assessment Scheme

Assessment form	Deadline	Weight (%)	Minimal grade (Yes/No)	Resit (Yes/No)
Map Quiz	November 14, 2022	10%	No	No
Participation	-	10%	No	No
Group Presentation	-	20%	No	No
Research Essay Outline	November 28, 2022	10%	No	No
Research Essay	December 16, 2022	50%	Yes	Yes (if less than 6,0)

#### Late Penalty

The late penalty is 2% per day, including weekends.

#### Inspection of exams/assignments, feedback, resit

Students will receive feedback via a rubric, as well as short personal feedback on the portfolio elements and essay assignment.

If marks for any of the assignment parts are insufficient (5,5 or lower), the other assignments can compensate so that it is still possible to pass the module. Only the research essay requires a passing

grade and it is eligible for a resit if the student receives 6,0 or less. Re-submissions must be accompanied by a 1-page discussion outlining revisions and response to comments. Resits are due 10 working days after final grades are released.

### **Rules regarding Fraud and Plagiarism**

General rules concerning Fraud and Plagiarism apply in full. See:

<http://student.uva.nl/en/content/az/plagiarism-and-fraud/plagiarism-and-fraud.html>

According to the UvA rules, plagiarism is taken to include:

- a. making use of or reproducing another person's texts, data or ideas without complete and correct acknowledgement of the sources;
- b. presenting the structure or central body of ideas taken from third-party sources as one's own work or ideas, even if a reference to other authors is included;
- c. failing to clearly indicate in the text – for instance by means of quotation marks or a particular layout – that literal or near-literal quotations have been included in the work, even if a correct reference to the sources has been included;
- d. paraphrasing the contents of another person's texts without sufficient reference to the sources;
- e. reproducing another person's audio, visual or test materials, or software or program codes without reference to the sources, and in doing so passing these off as one's own work;
- f. submitting a text that has previously been submitted, or is similar to a text that has previously been submitted, in the context of assignments for other courses;
- g. reproducing the work of fellow students and passing it off as one's own;
- h. submitting papers obtained from a commercial agency or written (whether or not for payment) by another person.

### **Please familiarise yourself thoroughly with UvA General rules concerning Fraud and Plagiarism**

#### **Specification workload**

The time and effort students are expected to invest in the course comprises six main components:

- (1) Reading and reflecting on all core literature in advance of the lectures;
- (2) Attending lectures (twice a week) and engaging actively.
- (3) Preparing for and completing the map quiz
- (4) Actively contributing to the group presentation
- (5) Working on the essay assignment (both proposal and final);

Taken together these activities amount to up to 20 hours a week of active studying and they enable students to learn and engage with the material in order to realize the learning outcomes of the course.

#### **Readings**

All of the *required* readings will be available electronically through Canvas.

For supplementary readings, it is the student's responsibility to find materials either through the UvA library (<http://uba.uva.nl/en/home>) or via Google Scholar.

#### **Date of Final Grade**

The final grade will be communicated within 15 working days after submission of the final assignment.

**Southeast Asian Politics**  
Program Overview 2022/2023

	Date	Theme	Assignments and deadlines
<b>Foundations</b>			
1.	October 31 (9:00-11:00)	Introduction and Conceptualizing Southeast Asia	
2.	November 2 (11:00-13:00)	Dutch Colonization of Indonesia	
3.	November 7 (9:00-11:00)	Colonial Legacies	
<b>Democracy and Authoritarianism</b>			
4	November 9 (11:00-13:00)	Authoritarian Resilience in Singapore	
5.	November 14 (9:00-11:00)	Democratization in Indonesia	<b>Map Quiz Today (Make-up Quiz TBD)</b>
6.	November 16 (11:00-13:00)	Assessing Democratic Quality in the Philippines	
7.	November 21 (9:00-11:00)	Democratic Instability in Thailand	
8.	November 23 (11:00-13:00)	<b>Special Guest:</b> Freddy Panggabean (Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in the Netherlands)	
9.	November 28 (9:00-11:00)	Civilian Resistance to Authoritarian Reversal in Myanmar	<b>Research Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography Due</b>
<b>Conflict and Order</b>			
10.	November 30 (11:00-13:00)	Genocide in Cambodia	
11.	December 5 (9:00-11:00)	ASEAN	
12.	December 7 (11:00-13:00)	China's Rise and its Impact on Southeast Asia	
<b>Political Economy</b>			
13.	December 12 (9:00-11:00)	Economic Development in Vietnam	
14.	December 14 (13:00-15:00)	Wrap Up	
<b>December 16 – Research Essay Due</b>			

# Reading List

## Foundations

### 1. Monday, October 31 - Introduction and Conceptualizing Southeast Asia

#### **Required Readings:**

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>

#### **Supplementary Readings:**

Donald K. Emmerson. 1984. "Southeast Asia: What's in a Name?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 15 (1), pp. 1-21.

### 2. Wednesday, November 2 – Dutch Colonization of Indonesia

#### **Required Readings:**

Petra Groen. 2012. "Colonial warfare and military ethics in the Netherlands East Indies, 1816-1941." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14:3-4: 277-296.

Lambert Giebels. 5 January 2000. "De Indonesische Injectie." *De Groene Amsterdammer*. <https://www.groene.nl/artikel/de-indonesische-injectie> [newspaper article]

Paul Bijl. 2012. "Colonial memory and forgetting in the Netherlands and Indonesia." *Journal of Genocide Research* 14(3-4): 441-461.

#### **Supplementary Readings:**

Jan Breman. 2015. *Mobilizing Labour for the Global Coffee Market: Profits from an Unfree Work Regime in Colonial Java*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Alec Gordon. 2010. "Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics: Calculating the Size of Indonesia's Colonial Surplus in the Cultivation System, 1831-1877." *Asian Journal of Social Science* 38: 759-784.

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

### 3. Monday, November 7 – Colonial Legacies

#### **Required Readings:**

Nicholas Kuipers. 2022. "The Long-Run Consequences of the Opium Concessions for Out-Group Animosity on Java." *World Politics* 74(3): 405-422.

Mary Anne S. Mendoza. 2020. "When institutions reinforce regional divides: Comparing Christian and Muslim colonial education policies in the Philippines." *Asian Politics and Policy* 13(1): 90-104.

***Supplementary Readings:***

Melissa Dell and Benjamin Olken. 2020. "The Development Effects of the Extractive Colonial Economy: The Dutch Cultivation System in Java." *Review of Economic Studies* 87(1): 164-203.

John Sidel. 2008. "Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Revisited: Colonial State and Chinese Immigrant in the Making of Modern Southeast Asia." *Comparative Politics* 40(2): 127-147.

## **Democracy and Authoritarianism**

### **4. Wednesday, November 9 – Authoritarian Resilience in Singapore**

***Required Readings:***

Elvin Ong. 2015. "Complementary Institutions in Authoritarian Regimes: The Everyday Politics of Constituency Service in Singapore." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15(3): 361-390.

Fareed Zakaria and Lee Kuan Yew. 1994. "Culture Is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew." *Foreign Affairs* 73:2, 109-126.

***Supplementary Readings:***

Garry Rodan. 2008. "Singapore 'exceptionalism'? Authoritarian rule and state transformation" in *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose*, eds. Joseph Wong and Edward Friedman. London, New York: Routledge, 231-251.

W.G. Huff. 1995. "The Developmental State, Government, and Singapore's Economic Development since 1960." *World Development* 23(8): 1421-1438.

### **5. Monday, November 14 – Democratization in Indonesia**

**\*\*MAP QUIZ TODAY\*\***

***Required Readings:***

Edward Aspinall. 2013. "Popular Agency and Interests in Indonesia's Democratic Transition and Consolidation." *Indonesia* 96: 101-121.

Diego Fossati, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, and Eve Warburton. 2022. "Why Democrats Abandon Democracy: Evidence from Four Survey Experiments." *Party Politics* 28(3): 554-566.

***Supplementary Readings:***

Danielle N. Lussier and M. Steven Fish. 2012. "Indonesia: The Benefits of Civic Engagement." *Journal of Democracy* 23 (1): 70-84.

Jeremy Menchik. 2019. "Moderate Muslims and Democratic Breakdown in Indonesia." *Asian Studies Review* 3: 415-433.

Marcus Mietzner. 2021. "Sources of resistance to democratic decline: Indonesian civil society and its trials." *Democratization* 28(1): 161-178.

## **6. Wednesday, November 16 - Assessing Democratic Quality in the Philippines**

### ***Required Readings:***

Björn Dressel. 2011. "The Philippines: how much real democracy?" *International Political Science Review* 32(5): 529-545.

Erik Martinez Kuhonta and Nhu Truong. 2020. "The Institutional Roots of Defective Democracy in the Philippines." In *Stateness and Democracy in East Asia*, eds. Aurel Croissant and Olli Hellman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 153-178.

### ***Supplementary Readings:***

Aries A. Arugay and Dan Slater. 2019. "Polarization Without Poles: Machiavellian Conflicts and the Philippines' Lost Decade of Democracy, 2000-2010." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 681(1): 122-136.

Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., Meynardo P. Mendoza and Anne Lan K. Candelaria. 2014. "Keeping the State at Bay: The Killing of Journalists in the Philippines, 1998-2021." *Critical Asian Studies* 46(4): 649-677.

## **7. Monday, November 21 – Democratic Instability in Thailand**

### ***Required Readings:***

Thitinan Pongsudhirak. 2020. "Democracy and Monarchy in Thailand: Reconciliation or Reckoning?" *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 40(2): 57-64.

Aim Sinpeng. 2021. "Hashtag activism: social media and the #FreeYouth protests in Thailand." *Critical Asian Studies* 53(2): 192-205.

### ***Supplementary Readings:***

Erik Kuhonta and Aim Sinpeng. 2014. "Democratic Regression in Thailand: The Ambivalent Role of Civil Society and Political Institutions." *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 36(3): 333-355.

Duncan McCargo. 2005. "Network monarchy and legitimacy crises in Thailand." *Pacific Review* 18(4): 499-419.

Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat. 2016. "The Resilience of Monarchised Military in Thailand." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46(3): 425-444.

8. **Wednesday, November 23 – Special Guest: Freddy Panggabean, Deputy Head of Mission of the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in the Netherlands.**
9. **Monday, November 28 – Civilian Resistance to Authoritarian Reversal in Myanmar**

**\*\*Research Paper Proposal and Annotated Bibliography Due\*\***

***Required Readings:***

InFocus Podcast. 2021. “The Coup in Myanmar and a Fight for Democracy.”  
<https://www.theguardian.com/news/audio/2021/feb/11/the-coup-in-myanmar-and-a-fight-for-democracy-podcast>

Megan Ryan and Mai Van Tran. 2022. “Democratic Backsliding Disrupted: The Role of Digitalized Resistance in Myanmar.” *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* (First View)

Paul Vrieze. 2022. “Joining the Spring Revolution or Charting Their Own Path? Ethnic Minority Strategies following the 2021 Myanmar Coup.” *Asian Survey* (First View)

***Supplementary Readings:***

Marco Bünte. 2022. “Hybrid Presidentialism and Democratic Breakdown” in *Presidentialism and Democracy in East and Southeast Asia*. London: Routledge.

Nehnginpao Kipgen. 2021. “The 2020 Myanmar Election and the 2021 Coup: Deepening Democracy or Widening Division?” *Asian Affairs* 52(1): 1-17.

## **Conflict and Order**

10. **Wednesday, November 30 - Genocide in Cambodia**

***Required Readings:***

Rachel Jacobs. 2020. “Married by the Revolution: Forced Marriage as a Strategy of Control in Khmer Rouge Cambodia.” *Journal of Genocide Research*.

***Supplementary Readings:***

David Chandler. 2000. *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Alexander Laban Hinton. 2005. *Why Did They Kill? Cambodia in the Shadow of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ben Kiernan. 2008. *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia Under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

## 11. Monday, December 5 – ASEAN

### **Required Readings:**

CNBC, “What is ASEAN?” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VDTdXDDzJ1k> (10-minute explainer video)

Aarie Glas. 2017. “Habits of peace: Long-term regional cooperation in Southeast Asia.” *European Journal of International Relations* 23(4): 833-856.

David Jones and Michael Smith. 2008. “Making Process, Not Progress: ASEAN and the Evolving East Asian Regional Order.” *International Security* 32(1): 148-184.

### **Supplementary Readings:**

Alice Ba. 2009. *(Re)Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Regions, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Deepak Nair. 2020. “Sociability in International Politics: Golf and ASEAN’s Cold War Diplomacy.” *International Political Sociology* 14: 196-214.

## 12. Wednesday, December 7 – China’s Rise and Southeast Asia

### **Required Readings:**

Sebastian Strangio. 2020. *In the Dragon’s Shadow: Southeast Asia in the Chinese Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Introduction, Chapter 1 and Chapter 8.

### **Supplementary Readings:**

Alice Ba. 2019. “China’s ‘Belt and Road’ in Southeast Asia: Constructing the Strategic Narrative in Singapore.” *Asian Perspective* 43(2): 249-272.

Alvin Camba. 2020. “The Sino-centric Capital Export Regime: State-backed and Flexible Capital in the Philippines.” *Development and Change* 51(4): 970-997.

Donald K. Emmerson. 2020. “The Deer and the Dragon: Asymmetry versus Autonomy.” In *The Deer and the Dragon: Southeast Asia and China in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Stanford: Shorenstein APARC.

## Political Economy

## 13. Monday, December 12 - Economic Development in Vietnam

### **Required Readings:**

Anne Booth. 1999. “Initial Conditions and Miraculous Growth: Why is South East Asia Different From Taiwan and South Korea?” *World Development*, 27(2): pp. 301-321.

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): pp. 401-419.

***Supplementary Readings:***

Melanie Beresford. 2008. "Doi Moi in review: The challenges of building market socialism in Vietnam." *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 38(2): pp. 221-243.

Quynh Nguyen and Edmund Malesky. 2021. "Fish or Steel? New Evidence on the Environment-Economy Tradeoff in Developing Vietnam." *World Development* 147.

Richard Stubbs. 1999. "War and Economic Development: Export-Oriented Industrialization in East and Southeast Asia" *Comparative Politics* 31(3): 337- 355.

Tuong Vu. 2010. *Paths to Development in Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**14. Wednesday, December 14 - Wrap-Up**

**\*\*RESEARCH PAPER DUE: DECEMBER 16\*\***