

POLITICS and INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PART IIB, 2018-19

POL17: Politics of Southeast Asia: Democratization and Diversity

Paper organisers

Tomas Larsson (thl33@cam.ac.uk) (MT)

Iza Hussin (ih298@cam.ac.uk) (LT, ET)

Politics of Southeast Asia: Democratization and Diversity

This paper approaches the study of Asian politics using Southeast Asian cases to raise themes and issues that might productively be applied across a broader geographic area, and across Asian regions. Southeast Asia is one of the most diverse regions of the world – in terms of ethnic identities, economic trajectories, and political regimes. The paper will address the causes and consequences of such diversity. In doing so, we will address fundamental questions about social and political change in Asia, in comparative perspective. Why are democratic norms and practices seemingly taking root in some parts of the region, while authoritarian regimes endure elsewhere? How have states attempted to manage the challenges arising from religious and ethnic pluralism and the dynamics of modern capitalism, and to what effect? In addressing questions such as these, we will explore the varied legacies of colonialism, postcolonial state formation, Cold War geopolitics, and economic development. To properly reflect the region's characteristic diversity, the lectures and readings will cover several different countries, including Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Students are expected to acquire more in-depth knowledge and understanding of the politics of some but not all these countries.

The paper is divided into two streams of lectures. The first stream, taught by Tomas Larsson, is focused on the dynamics of regime change and political development in Southeast Asia. It will pay close attention to a diverse range of factors that impact processes of democratization, including colonial legacies, religion, economic development, institutions, and international pressures. The second stream, taught by Iza Hussin, traces continuities between Southeast Asian and wider Asian experiences of colonialism, modernity and globalisation. Themes covered will include: colonial legacies, the politics of state formation, authoritarianism, nationalism, plurality, ethnicity, religion and conflict.

Aims and objectives

The paper will enable students to analyze the causes and consequences of processes of political and social change that Asia has experienced since the mid-1800s, providing an introduction to the political history, institutions, and issues of contemporary Asia, with a focus on Southeast Asian cases. The paper will enable students to draw examples from a wide variety of cases to discuss themes such as authoritarianism, state formation, democratization, popular politics, ethnicity and religion, development and capitalism. The paper will also discuss the significance of the rapid economic growth of Asian economies and the durability of non-liberal political regimes in a comparative context. Students will be able to relate the historical development and contemporary political situation in Southeast Asian nations to different arguments about the causes of regime change, democratization and conflict, and to evaluate those arguments in light of Asian experiences. Students will also be

able to evaluate the usefulness of a number of central social science theories and concepts for understanding the politics of Asia.

Summary of the paper content

The paper consists of two series of lectures:

- **“Dynamics of Democratization in Southeast Asia.”** This stream consists of 8 lectures in Michaelmas term, and surveys the political, cultural, social, economic, institutional, and international factors that have fostered and obstructed the development and consolidation of democratic forms of government in Southeast Asia. Case studies will highlight the experiences of Thailand and Burma/Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Cambodia.
- **“State Formation and Plural Societies in Southeast Asia.”** This stream consists of 8 lectures in Lent term and is divided into three sections. The first set of lectures lays out a framework for thinking about Southeast Asia in terms of broad geographic and historical trajectories: Southeast Asia as part of Asian networks and politics, as part of European empires, as part of religious polities, and the ways in which the formation of the nation state has constituted a break from these continuities, but also built upon their legacies. They are followed by lectures that explore particular struggles in state and society: in religion, ethnicity, law, development, capitalism, popular politics and activism.

Lecture list, essays, and readings

The two series of lectures consist of 8 lectures each, on the following topics:

<i>Dynamics of Democratization in Southeast Asia</i>	<i>State Formation and Plural Societies in Southeast Asia</i>
<i>Michaelmas Term</i>	<i>Lent Term</i>
1. Introduction: Political regimes in Southeast Asia	1. Historical legacies: Colonialism and ethnicity
2. Political culture (case study: Buddhism and democracy)	2. Historical legacies: Imperialism and religion
3. Historical legacies (case study: the Philippines)	3. State formation I: Independent state formation
4. Economic development and class structure (case study: Singapore)	4. State formation II: Authoritarianisms
5. Civil society (case study: Indonesia)	5. Law, ethnicity and religion
6. Parties and party systems (case study: Vietnam)	6. Diversity and democracy
7. Elites (case study: Malaysia)	7. Development and capitalism
8. International factors (case study: Cambodia)	8. Asian futures? Globalisation, Capitalism, Neo-liberalism

In addition, there will be one revision class in Easter Term.

Mode of teaching, essays, and readings

Class meetings: Classes will feature a brief introductory framing lecture followed by discussion; as such, they require advance reading (of at least some of the required texts listed for the class) and a willingness to ask questions, consider varying points of view and examination of the cases and empirical material presented in the literature.

Supervisions: At the start of Michaelmas Term, the paper organiser will organise six supervisions per student for the entire year; while every effort will be made to assign students to their preferred topics for supervisions, students who respond late to requests for topic preferences will be assigned topics according to availability of supervisors.

Revision sessions: One revision session will be offered, allowing students the opportunity to raise questions in preparation for examinations.

Essays

To prepare for the exam, students are expected to write six essays for this paper, which will then form the basis of supervisions. Each essay is expected to represent 4-5 days of intense work on your chosen topic. You will see that many essay (and mock exam) questions ask you to discuss some aspect of politics in “Asia,” or in “Southeast Asia.” You should answer such questions with reference to *one or more* country cases covered in this paper guide. Essays should be at least 2,000 words. You must proofread your essays thoroughly before submitting them. They should be emailed to the supervisor (at least) 24h before scheduled supervisions.

Readings

The marked readings under the lectures below are *essential*; unmarked readings are *recommended* for students who want to explore a topic in greater depth.

When you go through the readings, do so with a critical eye. Always try to answer these (and similar) questions: What is the question that the author is trying to answer? What outcome is being explained? What factors cause the outcome? How do these factors cause the outcome? What type of evidence is used to support the argument? How good is that evidence? Have some important factors/considerations been left out? Are there alternative explanations that are just as plausible?

The Seeley Library (<http://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/seeley-library>) will have most of the specified readings; others will be available at the UL. Many of the specified books are also available in the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies Library, on the Sidgwick site. Many articles can be accessed electronically through the course website on Moodle. It is also possible to get online access to articles by obtaining a password from the University Library (see www.lib.cam.ac.uk/electronicresources).

Besides the specified readings in the outline of lectures, students are encouraged to follow current political events in Southeast Asia by, for example, reading the coverage dedicated to the region in major newspapers such as *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*. Students may also want to explore the online world of English-language blogs on Southeast Asian politics. See, for instance, *New Mandala* at <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/newmandala/>.

Finally, students are encouraged to explore novels that illuminate the human dimension of Southeast Asia. The following are warmly recommended:

Ghosh, Amitav. 2002. *The Glass Palace*. Borough Press.
Kurniawan, Eka. 2015. *Beauty is a Wound*. New Directions.
Rattawut Lapcharoensap. *Sightseeing*. Atlantic Books.
Saat, Alfian. 1998. *One Fierce Hour*. Landmark.
Tan, Twan Eng. 2012. *The Garden of Evening Mists*. Myrmidon.
Toer, Pramoedya Ananta. 1996. *This Earth of Mankind*. Penguin.

Mode of assessment

Exam paper

This paper will be assessed by one three-hour undivided exam paper with no less than 9 questions. Candidates will be asked to answer three questions. A mock exam can be found at the end of the paper guide.

Reading list

Dynamics of Democratization in Southeast Asia

Lecture 1: Introduction: Political regimes in Southeast Asia

Essential

- Anderson, Benedict. 1998. *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the world*. Verso, pp. 1-26 (“Introduction”).
- Gilley, Bruce. 2014. *The nature of Asian politics*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction + chapter 4 (“Democracy”).
- Case, William. 2015. “Democracy’s mixed fortunes in Southeast Asia: Torpor, change, and trade-offs,” in William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 3-23.

Recommended

- Bünthe, Marco and Aurel Croissant. 2011. “Introduction.” In Croissant, Aurel, and Marco Bünthe (eds.). 2011. *The crisis of democratic governance in Southeast Asia*. Palgrave.
- Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. *Political change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-30.
- Caballero-Anthony, Mely. 2010. “Introduction: Political change and political development in Southeast Asia—transitology revisited.” In Mely Caballero-Anthony (ed.), *Political change, democratic transitions and security in Southeast Asia*. Routledge, pp. 1-15.
- Case, William. 2002. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or less*. Routledge, pp. 1-28 (“Comparing politics in Southeast Asia”).
- Laothamatas, Anek. 1997. “Development and democratization: A theoretical introduction with reference to the Southeast Asian and East Asian cases.” In Anek Laothamatas (ed.), *Democratization in Southeast and East Asia*. ISEAS.
- Slater, Dan. 2008. “Democracy and dictatorship do not float freely: Structural sources of political regimes in Southeast Asia,” in Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, Tuong Vu (eds.), *Southeast Asia in political science: Theory, region, and qualitative analysis*. Stanford University Press, pp. 55-79.
- Slater, Dan. 2010. *Ordering power: Contentious politics and authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-32.

Essay question: What are the broad patterns of regime change in Southeast Asia? What might we learn from them?

Lecture 2: Political culture

Essential

- Chang, Alex, Yun-Han Chu & Bridget Welsh. 2013. “Southeast Asia: Sources of regime support.” *Journal of Democracy* 24(2), pp. 150-164.
- Alagappa, Mutiah. 1995. “Seeking a more durable basis of authority,” in Mutiah Alagappa (ed.), *Political legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The quest for moral authority*. Stanford University Press, pp. 293-334.

- Pye, Lucian W. 1985. *Asian power and politics: The cultural dimensions of authority*, Harvard University Press, pp. 18-29 and chapters 4, 12.
- Jory, Patrick. 2016. *Thailand's Theory of Monarchy: The Vessantara Jātaka and the Idea of the Perfect Man*. SUNY Press. Introduction + Conclusion.

Recommended

- Antlöv, Hans & Tak-Wing Ngo. 2000. "Politics, culture, and democracy in Asia," in Hans Antlöv & Tak-Wing Ngo (eds.), *The cultural construction of politics in Asia*. Routledge, pp. 1-18.
- Bell, Daniel A. 2000. *East meets West: Human rights and democracy in East Asia*, Princeton University Press, pp. 3-11, 173-276.
- Jayasuriya, Kanishka. 1998. "Understanding 'Asian values' as a form of reactionary modernization." *Contemporary Politics* 4(1), pp. 77-91.
- Rodan, Garry, and Caroline Hughes. 2014. *The politics of accountability in Southeast Asia: The dominance of moral ideologies*, Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, Mark R. 2015. "Dead idea (still) walking: The legacy of the 'Asian democracy' and 'Asian values' debate." In William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 24-37.
- Zakaria, Fareed. 1994. "Culture is destiny: A conversation with Lee Kuan Yew," *Foreign Affairs* 73(2), pp. 109-126.

Case study: Buddhism and democracy

- Ambuel, David. 2006. "New karma: Buddhism and democratization in Thailand," in Tun-jen Cheng and Deborah A. Brown (eds.), *Religious organizations and democratization: Case studies from Asia*, ME Sharp.
- Brac de la Perrière, B. 2015. "A generation of monks in the democratic transition," in Egreteau and Robinne (eds.), *Metamorphosis: Studies in Social and Political Change in Myanmar*. NUS Press.
- Gravers, M. 2012. "Monks, morality, and military. The struggle for moral power in Burma," *Contemporary Buddhism* 13(1): 1-33.
- Jacobsen, Trude, and Martin Stuart-Fox. 2013. "Power and political culture in Cambodia," Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series No. 200. Available online at http://www.ari.nus.edu.sg/wps/wps13_200.pdf.
- Keyes, Charles F. 1989. "Buddhist Politics and Their Revolutionary Origins in Thailand," *International Political Science Review*, 10(2): 121-42.
- Lynch, Daniel C. 2004. "International 'decentering' and democratization: The case of Thailand," *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 339-362.
- McCargo, Duncan. 2004. "Buddhism, democracy, and identity in Thailand," *Democratization* 11(4): 155-170.
- Walton, M. J. 2017. *Buddhism, Politics, and Political Thought in Myanmar*. Cambridge University Press.

Essay question: Is Southeast Asian Buddhism a boon or a bane for democracy?

Lecture 3: Historical legacies

Essential

- Anderson, Benedict. 1998. *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the world*. Verso. Chapter 9 (“Cacique democracy in the Philippines: Origins and dreams”). [Originally published in *New Left Review* May-June 1988. Available at <http://newleftreview.org/I/169/benedict-anderson-cacique-democracy-and-the-philippines-origins-and-dreams>]
- Sidel, John T. 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.
- Slater, Dan. 2009. “Revolutions, crackdowns, and quiescence: Communal elites and democratic mobilization in Southeast Asia.” *American Journal of Sociology* 115(1): 203-54.

Recommended

- Benda, Harry J. 1965. “Political elites in colonial Southeast Asia: An historical analysis.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7(3), pp. 233-251.
- Godement, Francois. 1997. *The new Asian renaissance*. Routledge, pp. 29-35.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No other way out: States and revolutionary movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge University Press. [Pay particular attention to Part II, “Southeast Asia.”]
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta E. 2001. “Contesting state and civil society: Southeast Asian trajectories.” *Modern Asian Studies* 35(4), pp. 921-951.

Case study: The Philippines

- Hutchcroft, Paul D. 2000. “Colonial masters, national politicians, and provincial lords: Central authority and local autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900-1913.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59(2), pp. 277-306.
- Kerkvliet, Benedict J Tria. 1996. “Contested meanings of elections in the Philippines,” in Robert H Taylor (ed). *The politics of elections in Southeast Asia*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Cambridge University Press.
- McCoy, Alfred W. 1999. *Closer than brothers: Manhood at the Philippine military academy*. Yale University Press, pp. 3-34 (“Class and corps”).
- McCoy, Alfred W. 2009. “Preface: The Philippine oligarchy at the turn of the twenty-first century,” in *An anarchy of families: State and family in the Philippines*. University of Wisconsin Press, pp. xi-xxx.
- Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert. 2015. “Can the Philippines’ wild oligarchy be tamed?” in William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 335-350.

Essay question: How far can colonial-era experiences account for contemporary regime outcomes in Southeast Asia?

Lecture 4: Economic development and class structure

Essential

- Cherian George, “Networked autocracy: Consolidating Singapore’s political system.” In Mely Caballero-Anthony (ed.), *Political change, democratic transitions and security in Southeast Asia*. Routledge, pp. 124-137.
- Emmerson, Donald K. 1995. “Region and recalcitrance: Rethinking democracy through Southeast Asia.” *Pacific Review* 8(2), pp. 223-248.
- Sinpeng, Aim, and Aries A Arugay. 2015. “The middle class and democracy in Southeast Asia.” In William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 102-116.

Recommended

- Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. *Political change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 31-40.
- Crouch, Harold & James W Morley. 1999. “The dynamics of political change,” in James W Morley (ed.). 1998. *Driven by growth: Political change in the Asia-Pacific region*. Routledge, 2nd edition.
- Jones, David M. 1998. “Democratization, civil society, and illiberal middle class culture in Pacific Asia’, *Comparative Politics* 30(2): 147–169.
- Rodan, Garry, and Kanishka Jayasuriya. 2009. “Capitalist development, regime transitions and new forms of authoritarianism in Asia.” *Pacific Review* 22(1): 23-47.
- Sidel, John T. 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.

Case study: Singapore

- Jones, David Martin & D Brown. 1994. “Singapore and the myth of the liberalizing middle class.” *Pacific Review* 7(1): 165-186.
- Tan, Kenneth Paul. 2013. “Meritocracy and political liberalization in Singapore,” in Daniel A Bell & Chenyang Li (eds.), *The East Asian challenge for democracy: Political meritocracy in comparative perspective*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 314-339.
- Rodan, Garry. 1996. “Singapore ‘exceptionalism’? Authoritarian rule and state transformation,” in Joseph Wong & Edward Friedman (eds.), *Political transitions in dominant party systems: Learning to lose*. Routledge, pp. 231-251.
- George, Cherian. 2000. *Singapore: The air-conditioned nation: Essays on the politics of comfort and control, 1990-2000*. Landmark Books.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A Robinson. 2006. *Economic origins of democracy and dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-47.
- Smith, Benjamin. 2008. “Rethinking the economic origins of dictatorship and democracy: The continuing value of cases and comparisons” *APSA-CP* 19(1), pp. 16-20.
Available online at:
http://www.benjaminbsmith.net/uploads/9/0/0/6/9006393/origins_apsa-cp.pdf

Essay question: To what extent does the Southeast Asian experience support the notion of capitalist development as a force for democracy?

Lecture 5: Parties and party systems

Essential

- 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.
- Hicken, Allen, and Erik Martinez Kuhonta. 2015. "Rethinking party system institutionalization in Southeast Asia and beyond." In William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 237-249.
- Ufen, Andreas. 2012. "Party systems, critical junctures, and cleavages in Southeast Asia." *Asian Survey* 52(3): 441-464.
- Vu, Tuong. 2015. "The making and unmaking of the Communist Party and the single-party system in Vietnam." In Hicken, Allen, and Erik Martinez Kuhonta (eds.), *Party system institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, autocracies, and the shadows of the past*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 136-161.

Recommended

- Hicken, Allen, and Erik Martinez Kuhonta. 2015. "Introduction: Rethinking party system institutionalization in Asia." In Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta (eds.), *Party system institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, autocracies, and the shadows of the past*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-24.
- Smith, Benjamin. 2005. "Life of the party: The origins of regime breakdown and persistence under single-party rule," *World Politics* 57(3): 421-451. [Focus on theoretical argument, and evidence from Indonesia and the Philippines.]
- Tomsa, Dirk, and Andreas Ufen (eds.). 2012. *Party politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and electoral competition in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines*. Routledge.
- Kuhonta, Erik Martinez. 2011. *The institutional imperative: The politics of equitable development in Southeast Asia*. Stanford University Press.

Case study: Vietnam

- Hiep, Le Hong. 2012. "Performance-based legitimacy: The case of the Communist Party of Vietnam." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 34(2): 145-172.
- Kerkvliet, Benedict J Tria. 2015. "Democracy and Vietnam." In William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 426-441.
- Thaveeporn Vasavakul. 2014. "Authoritarianism reconfigured: Evolving accountability relations within Vietnam's one-party rule," in Jonathan London (ed.), *Politics in contemporary Vietnam: Party, state, and authority relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 42-63.
- Thayer, Carlyle A. 2014. "The apparatus of authoritarian rule," in Jonathan London (ed.), *Politics in contemporary Vietnam: Party, state, and authority relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 135-161.
- Tønnesson, Stein. 2000. "The layered state of Vietnam," in Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard & Susan Young (eds.), *State capacity in East Asia: China, Taiwan, Vietnam, and Japan*. Oxford University Press, pp. 236-268.

Essay question: Why are single-party authoritarian regimes so durable?

Lecture 6: Civil society

Essential

- Hedman, Eva-Lotta E. 2001. "Contesting state and civil society: Southeast Asian trajectories." *Modern Asian Studies* 35(4), pp. 921-951.
- Mietzner, Marcus. 2012. "Indonesia's democratic stagnation: Anti-reformist elites and resilient civil society." *Democratization* 19(2): 209-229.
- Thompson, Mark R. 2011. "Moore meets Gramsci and Burke in Southeast Asia: New democracy and 'civil' societies," in Aurel Croissant and Marco Bünte (eds.), *The crisis of democratic governance in Southeast Asia*. Palgrave, pp. 57-74.
- Weiss, Meredith L. 2015. "Civil society and democratization in Southeast Asia: What is the connection?" In William Case (ed.), *Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 135-146.

Recommended

- Alagappa, Muthiah. 2004. "Civil society and political change: An analytical framework." In Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Civil society and political change in Asia: Expanding and contracting democratic space*. Stanford University Press, pp. 25-57.
- Boudreau, Vincent. 2004. *Resisting dictatorship: Repression and protest in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press, see especially pp 17-36.
- Hewison, Keith & Garry Rodan. 1996. "The ebb and flow of civil society and the decline of the Left in Southeast Asia." In Garry Rodan (ed.), *Political oppositions in industrialising Southeast Asia*. Routledge, pp. 33-58.

Case study: Indonesia

- Aspinall, Edward. 2004. "Indonesia: Transformation of civil society and democratic breakthrough," in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Civil society and political change in Asia: Expanding and contracting democratic space*. Stanford University Press, pp. 61-96.
- Fukuoka, Yuki. 2013. "Indonesia's 'democratic transition' revisited: A clientelist model of political transition." *Democratization* 20(6): 991-1013.
- Hefner, Robert W. *Civil Islam: Muslims and democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press, Chapter 1 ("Democratization in an age of religious revitalization").
- Künkler, Mirjam. 2013. "How pluralist democracy became the consensual discourse among secular and nonsecular Muslims in Indonesia," in Mirjam Künkler & Alfred Stepan (eds.), *Democracy and Islam in Indonesia*. Columbia University Press, pp. 53-72.
- Lane, Max. 2008. *Unfinished nation: Indonesia before and after Suharto*. Verso Books.
- Lussier, Danielle N., and M. Steven Fish. 2012. "Indonesia: The benefits of civic engagement." *Journal of Democracy* 23(1): 70-84.
- Slater, Dan. 2010. "Institutional complexity and autocratic agency in Indonesia," in James Mahoney & Kathleen Thelen (eds.), *Explaining institutional change: Ambiguity, agency, and power*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 132-167.

Essay question: What has been the role of civil society in Southeast Asian democratization?

Lecture 7: Elites

Essential

- Alagappa, Muthiah. 2001. "Investigating and explaining change: An analytical framework." In Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Coercion and governance: The declining political role of the military in Asia*. Stanford University Press, pp. 29-66.
- Case, William. 2002. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or less*. Routledge, pp. 20-25 ("Elites, social forces, and regime outcomes").
- Slater, Dan, Benjamin Smith & Gautam Nair. 2014. "Economic origins of democratic breakdown? The redistributive model and the postcolonial state." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): pp. 353-374.
- Winters, Jeffrey A. 2011. *Oligarchy*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-39, 135-207, 254-274.

Recommended

- Case, William. 1996. "Can the 'halfway house' stand? Semi-democracy and elite theory in three Southeast Asian countries." *Comparative Politics* 28(4): 437-464.
- Highley, John & Michael Burton. 2006. *Elite foundations of liberal democracies*, Rowman & Littlefield, Chapters 1 and 2.
- Mizuno, Kosuke, and Pasuk Phongpaichit. 2009. *Populism in Asia*. University of Hawaii Press. [Chapters 3-8, 12.]
- Crone, Donald. 1988. "State, social elites, and government capacity in Southeast Asia," *World Politics* 40(2): 252-268.
- Crone, Donald, 1993. "States, elites, and social welfare in Southeast Asia," *World Development* 21(1): 55-66.

Case study: Malaysia

- Abbott, Jason, P. 2009. "Malaysia's transitional moment? Democratic transition theory and the problem of Malaysian exceptionalism" *South East Asia Research* 17(2): 175-200.
- Case, William. 2010. "Transition from single-party dominance? New data from Malaysia." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10(1): 91-126.
- Jesudason, James V. 1996. "The syncretic state and the structuring of oppositional politics in Malaysia," in Gary Rodan (ed.), *Political oppositions in industrialising Asia*. Routledge, pp. 128- 160.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2008. "Capital mobility and coalitional politics: Authoritarian regimes and economic adjustment in Southeast Asia." *World Politics* 60(3): 438-74.
- Seeberg, Merete Bech. 2014. "State capacity and the paradox of authoritarian elections" *Democratization* 21(7), pp. 1265-1285. [Compares Malaysia and the Philippines.]
- Slater, Dan. 2003. "Iron cage in an iron fist: Authoritarian institutions and the personalization of power in Malaysia," *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101.
- Stubbs, Richard. 1997. "The Malayan emergency and the development of the Malaysian state." In Paul B Rich & Richard Stubbs (eds.), *The counter-insurgent state: Guerrilla warfare and state building in the twentieth century*. Macmillan.

Essay question: How far can "elite theory" explain the fate of political regimes in Southeast Asia?

Lecture 8: International factors

Essential

- Beeson, Mark, and Kelly Gerard. 2015. "ASEAN, regionalism and democracy," in William Case (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 54-67.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2015. "The global context of regime change," in William Case (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Southeast Asian democratization*. Routledge, pp. 68-53.
- Dosch, Jörn. *The changing dynamics of Southeast Asian politics*. Lynne Rienner, Chapter 5 ("Decentralizing Cambodia: The international hijacking of national politics?").
- Reilley, Benjamin. 2013. "Southeast Asia: In the shadow of China," *Journal of Democracy* 24(2): 156-164.

Recommended

- Alagappa, Mutiah. 1994. *Democratic transition in Asia: The role of the international community*. East-West Center Special Report No 3, October.
- Kurlantzik, Joshua. 2014. "Southeast Asia's regression from democracy and its implications," Council for Foreign Relations Working Paper, available online at: <http://www.cfr.org/democratization/southeast-asias-regression-democracy-its-implications/p33023>.
- Kinnvall, Catarina. "Analyzing the global-local nexus," in Kristina Jönsson & Katarina Kinnvall (eds.), *Globalization and democratization in Asia: The construction of identity*. Routledge, pp. 2-18. [For Southeast Asian case studies – see chapters 7, 9.]
- Levitsky, Steven & Lucan A Way. 2010. *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press. See Chapter 2 and Chapter 7 (pay particular attention to the section on Cambodia, pp. 328-337).

Case study: Cambodia

- Amer, Ramses. "Cambodia's historical conjunctures and their significance." In Narayanan Ganesan (ed.), *Conjunctures and continuities in Southeast Asian politics*, ISEAS, pp. 103-122,
- Bader, Julia. 2014. *China's foreign relations and the survival of autocracies*. Routledge, Chapter 5.
- Brown, MacAlister & Joseph J Zasloff. 1998. *Cambodia confounds the peacemakers, 1979-1998*. Cornell University Press. See especially chapters 8 and 9.
- Cock, Andrew Robert. 2010. "External actors and the relative autonomy of the ruling elite in post-UNTAC Cambodia." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 41(2): 241-265.
- Heder, Steve & Judy Ledgerwood. 1996. "Politics of violence: An introduction," in Steve Heder & Judy Ledgerwood (eds.). *Propaganda, politics, and violence in Cambodia: Democratic transition under United Nations Peace-keeping*. M E Sharpe.
- Roberts, David. 2002. "Democratization, elite transition and violence in Cambodia, 1991-1999," *Critical Asian Studies* 34(4): 520-538.
- Öjendal, Joakim & Mona Lilja. 2009. "Beyond democracy in Cambodia: Political reconstruction in a post-conflict society?" in Joakim Öjendal & Mona Lilja (eds.), *Beyond democracy in Cambodia: Political reconstruction in a post-conflict society*, NIAS Press, pp. 1-30.

Essay question: In what ways have international factors shaped regime dynamics in Southeast Asia?

State Formation and Plural Societies in Southeast Asia

Section I: Institutional legacies and trajectories

1. Historical legacies: Colonialism and ethnicity

This lecture approaches the effects of colonialism in Southeast Asia first through the interventionism of the colonial state: its regimes of knowledge, its laws, and its institutions, and their effects on a vexed category of Asian politics and identity – ethnicity.

Essential

- Cooper, Frederick. 2005. *Colonialism in Question*. University of California Press. pp 3-32, 59-90.
- Hirschman, Charles. 1986. "The Making of Race in Colonial Malaya: Political Economy and Racial Ideology," *Sociological Forum*, Vol 1 Issue 2.
- Cohn, Bernard. 1996. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*. Princeton.
- Kolsky, Elizabeth. 2005. "Codification and the Rule of Colonial Difference." *Law and History Review* 23:3, pp 681-683.
- Roff, William. 1967. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. Yale. Chaps 1, 4, 5.

Recommended

- Cooper, Frederick, Ann Laura Stoler. 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. University of California Press.
- Rafael, Vicente. 1999. *Figures of Criminality in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Colonial Vietnam*. SEAP Publications.
- Burns, Peter. 2004. *The Leiden Legacy*. KITLV.
- Reid, Anthony. 2001. *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Gullick, John. 1995. *Adventurous Women in South-East Asia: Six Lives*. Oxford University Press.

2. Historical legacies: Imperialism and religion

This lecture continues the discussion of colonial states by extending to the concept of imperial power and its understanding, uses of, and transformation of religion.

Essential

- DuBois, Thomas David, ed. *Casting Faiths: Imperialism and the Transformation of Religion in East and Southeast Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan 2009.
- Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press (2012 edition).
- Said, Edward. 2003. *Orientalism*. Penguin.
- Reid, Anthony. 1967. "Nineteenth Century Pan-Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia." *Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 2: 267-83.
- Rafael, Vicente. 1992. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*. Duke University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1, 4, 5, Afterword.

Recommended

- Asad, Talal. 2003. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford University Press.

- Voll, John. 1994. "Islam as a Special World System," *Journal of World History*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp 213-226.
- Kugle, Scott Alan. 2001. "Framed, Blamed and Renamed: The Recasting of Islamic Jurisprudence in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 257-313.
- Said, Edward. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. Knopf.
- Cannadine, David. 2002. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. Penguin.
- Laffan, Michael Francis. 2003. *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds*. RoutledgeCurzon.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1971. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. University of Chicago Press.
- McKenna, Thomas. 1998. *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines*. University of California Press.

Essay question:

Does Asia's colonial past explain its postcolonial present?

3. State formation I: Independent state formation

This lecture moves from the colonial to the postcolonial period, focussing on anti-colonial and nationalist movements, and on the political establishment of the independent nation states of Indonesia and Malaysia along quite different paths.

Essential

- Reid, Anthony. 2010. 'Revolution and federalism: Indonesia and Malaysia compared', *Asian Currents*, vol. 66, pp. 5-7.
- Cooper, Frederick. 2005. *Colonialism in Question*. University of California Press. pp 153-204.
- Reid, Anthony. 2011. *To Nation by Revolution: Indonesia in the 20th Century*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Tagliacozzo, Eric, ed. 2009. *The Indonesia Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press. Chapters 5-7.
- Roff, William. 1967. *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*. Yale University Press. Chaps 2, 3, 6, 7.

Recommended

- Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Reid, Anthony. 2010. *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lev, Daniel S. and Ruth Thomas McVey. 1996. *Making Indonesia*. Cornell University Press, pp 81-118.
- Scott, James C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. *Provincializing Europe*. Princeton University Press.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Leonard Y. Andaya. 1982. *A History of Malaysia*. St. Martin's Press.
- Scott, James. 1968. *Political Ideology in Malaysia: Reality and the Beliefs of an Elite*. Yale University Press.

4. State formation II: Authoritarianisms

From the achievement of independence, this lecture explores different strategies for the consolidation and maintenance of state power in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore.

Essential

- Weiss, Meredith, “What a Little Democracy Can Do: Trajectories of Reform in Malaysia and Indonesia.” *Democratization*, 14:1 (February 2007), pp. 26-43.
- Dan Slater, “Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalisation of Power in Malaysia,” *Comparative Politics* 36:1 (Oct 2003), 81-101.
- Tagliacozzo, Eric, ed. 2009. *The Indonesia Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press. Chapters 8-9.
- Lev, Daniel S. and Ruth Thomas McVey. 1996. *Making Indonesia*. Cornell University Press, pp 118-164.
- Mauzy, Diane K. and Milne, R.S. 2002. *Singapore Politics Under the People's Action Party*. Routledge. Chapters 1-4, 10, 11.
- Rajah, Jothie. 2012. *Authoritarian Rule of Law: Legislation, Discourse and Legitimacy in Singapore*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 7, 8.

Recommended

- Nasir, K. M., & Turner, B. S. 2013. “Governing as gardening: reflections on soft authoritarianism in Singapore.” *Citizenship Studies*.
- Weiss, Meredith. *Political Violence in South and Southeast Asia: Critical Perspectives*. UNUP 2010. Chapters 1, 4, 6.
- Leifer, Michael. 1972. *Dilemmas of statehood in Southeast Asia*. Asia Pacific Press.
- Leifer, Michael. 2000. *Asian nationalism*. Routledge.
- Dan Slater, “Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia,” in *Explaining Institutional Change: Agency, Ambiguity, and Power*, James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen (eds.). New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Essay question:

Do the experiences of Asian states indicate that there is one kind of authoritarianism, or many?

Section II: Ethnicity and religion

5. Law, ethnicity and religion

This seminar explores the management of pluralism, religion and ethnic politics through law in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Essential

- Loos, Tamara. 2008. "A History of Sex and the State in Southeast Asia: Class, Intimacy and Invisibility." *Citizenship Studies* 12, 1.
- Hefner, Robert W. 2011. *Shari'a Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World*. Indiana University Press. Introduction, Chapter 8.
- Cammack, Mark and Feener, Michael. 2011. "The Islamic Legal System in Indonesia." *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2192267>
- Davidson, Jamie and David Henley. 2008. "In the name of adat: regional perspectives on reform, tradition and democracy in Indonesia," *Modern Asian Studies*, 42, 4, 2008: 815-52.
- Menchik, Jeremy. 2014. "Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 56(3):591-621.
- Buxbaum, David C. 1966. "Chinese Family Law in a Common Law Setting: A Note on the Institutional Environment and the Substantive Family Law of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaysia." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 25, no. 4: 621-44.
- Shamsul, A.B. 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: 355-366
- Hamayotsu, Kikue. 2003. "Politics of Syariah Reform: The Making of the State Religio-Legal Apparatus," in *Malaysia: Islam, Society and Politics*, edited by Virginia Hooker and Norani Othman. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Moustafa, Tamir. 2013. "Liberal Rights versus Islamic Law? The Construction of a Binary in Malaysian Politics." *Law & Society Review*, vol. 47, pp 771-802.
- Case: "Titular Roman Catholic Archbishop of Kuala Lumpur v Menteri Dalam Negeri," 31 December 2009.

Recommended

- Davidson, Jamie and David Henley. 2007. *The Revival of Tradition in Indonesian Politics: The Deployment of Adat from Colonialism to Indigenism*. Routledge, 2007.
- Feener, Michael. 2013. *Shari'a and Social Engineering: The Implementation of Islamic Law in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia*. Oxford University Press.
- Bowen, John. 2003. *Islam, Law, and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning*. Cambridge University Press. Part 3.
- Hefner, Robert W. 2001. *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. 2000. *Islamic Law in Malaysia: Issues and Developments*. Ilmiah Publishers.
- Case: "Lina Joy v Islamic Religious Council of the Federal Territories," 2004 6 Current Law Journal Malaysia 242-272.

6. Diversity and democracy

This seminar approaches ethnic and cultural diversity in terms of the threat and promise it offers for democratic politics. This lecture surveys political activism in Southeast Asia, looking specifically at movements for social and political change within the context of plural democracy.

Essential

- Weiss, Meredith. 2011. *Student Activism in Malaysia: Crucible, Mirror, Sideshow*. Cornell SEAP/NUS Press.
- Chua Beng Huat. 2007. *Elections as popular culture in Asia*. Routledge.
- Slater, Dan. 2006. "The Architecture of Authoritarianism: Southeast Asia and the Regeneration of Democratization Theory." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 2:2, pp 1-22.
- Davidson, Jamie. 2009. "Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation in Indonesia," *The Pacific Review* 22, 3: 293-310.
- Beng Huat, Chua. 1997. *Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in Singapore*. Routledge.

Recommended

- Hefner, Robert W. 2003. "Civic Pluralism Denied? The New Media and Jihadi Violence in Indonesia." In *New Media in the Muslim World*, ed. D. F. Eickelman and J. W. Anderson. Indiana University Press.
- Chin, James. 2003. "Malaysiakini.Com and Its Impact on Journalism and Politics in Malaysia." In *Asia.Com: Asia Encounters the Internet*, ed. K.C. Ho, R. Kluver and K. Yang. RoutledgeCurzon.
- Chin, James, and Wong Chin Huat. 2009. "Malaysia's Electoral Upheaval." *Journal of Democracy* 20 (3):71-85.
- Gan, Steven. 2002. "Virtual Democracy in Malaysia: The Internet Has Helped Put Press Freedom on the Front Burner." *Nieman Reports* 56 (2):65-67.
- Ong, Aihwa and Michael G. Peletz. *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*. University of California Press.
- Mizuno, Kosuke and Phongpaichit, Pasuk. 2009. *Populism in Asia*. University of Hawaii.
- Gerard, Kelly. 2014. *ASEAN's Engagement of Civil Society Regulating Dissent*. Palgrave.
- Saat, Alfian. 2012. *Malay Sketches*. Ethos.
- Willford, Andrew C. 2014. *Tamils and the Haunting of Justice: History and Recognition in Malaysia's Plantations*. University of Hawaii.

Essay question:

Do the experiences of Asian states indicate that there is one path towards democracy, or many?

Section III: Economy and society

7. Development and capitalism

This lecture brings in elements of political economy to discuss themes of development and capitalism in various Asian contexts, focussing on the last few decades.

Essential

- Rodan, Garry and Richard Robison. 2006. *Political Economy of South-East Asia: Markets, Power and Contestation*. Oxford University Press.
- Tsing, Anna. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton University Press.
- Wing Thye Woo, Jeffrey Sachs and Klaus Schwab. 2000. *The Asian Financial Crisis: Lessons for a Resilient Asia*. MIT Press.
- Garran, Robert. 1998. *Tigers Tamed: The End of the Asian Miracle*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Chua, Amy. 2003. *World On Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. Doubleday. pp1-49.
- Vadaketh, Sudhir Thomas and Donald Low. 2014. *Hard Choices: Challenging the Singapore Consensus*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Beng Huat, Chua. 2003. *Life is Not Complete without Shopping*. National University of Singapore Press.

Recommended

- Scott, James. 1992. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press.
- Zakaria, Fareed. 1994. "Culture is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew." *Foreign Affairs* 73:2.
- Robison, Richard. 2008. *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*. Equinox.
- Cassidy, John. 2015. "Can Authoritarian Capitalism Outlive Lee Kuan Yew?" *The New Yorker*, March 24 2015. <http://www.newyorker.com/news/john-cassidy/can-authoritarian-capitalism-outlive-lee-kuan-yew>
- Davidson, Jamie. 2015. *Indonesia's Changing Political Economy: Governing the Roads*. Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, James. 2011. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. Yale University Press.

8. Asian futures? Globalisation, Capitalism, Neo-liberalism

This lecture looks towards the horizons of Asian engagements with globalisation, capitalism and neo-liberalism, focussing upon technology, media and popular culture.

Essential

- Beng Huat, Chua and Sun Jung. 2014. "Social media and cross-border cultural transmissions in Asia: States, industries, audiences." *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 17 no. 5 417-422.
- Tagliacozzo, Eric. 2001. "Border Permeability and the State in Southeast Asia: Contraband and Regional Security," in *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 23, 2,: 254-274.
- Barendregt, Bart. 2008. Sex, Cannibals, and the Language of Cool: Indonesian Tales of the Phone and Modernity. *The Information Society* 24 (3):160-170.
- Eric Tagliacozzo, 'Strange Parallels and the Big Picture: 'Asia' Writ Large Over a

Turbulent Millennium', *Journal of Asian Studies* 70, 4, 2011: 939-963.

Recommended

Ananya Roy and Aihwa Ong. 2011. *Worlding cities: Asian experiments and the art of being global*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Mahbubani, Kishore. 2009. *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistable Shift of Global Power to the East*. Public Affairs.

Otmazgin, Nissim and Ben-Ari, Eyal, eds. 2012. *Popular Culture Co-productions and Collaborations in East and Southeast Asia*. University of Hawaii Press.

Fischer, Johan. 2011. *The Halal Frontier: Muslim Consumers in a Globalized Market*. Palgrave.

Comaroff, Joshua. <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/39/built-on-sand-singapore-and-the-new-state-of-risk>

Comaroff, Joshua. 2007. "Ghostly topographies: landscape and biopower in modern Singapore." *Cultural Geographies* vol. 14 no. 1 56-73.

Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc*. University of Chicago Press.

Essay question:

Do social and economic goods appear to be a fair tradeoff for political freedoms?

Easter Term Revision Class

In this class, the lecturer will address questions from students, and provide advice on how to prepare for the examination.

MOCK EXAM

1. EITHER How did the colonial state change the meaning of race in Asia? OR To what extent can post-independence regimes in South and Southeast Asia be considered products of colonialism?
2. Compare and assess the strategies deployed by two Asian states to manage EITHER ethnic pluralism OR Islam.
3. 'Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.' Discuss with reference to Asia.
4. 'The law is an instrument more for social control than political equality.' Discuss with reference to Asia.
5. How has the experience of economic crisis reshaped Asian politics?
6. What is the significance of the fact that Southeast Asia's wealthiest societies are not its most democratic?
7. Discuss the role of external actors in Southeast Asian regime change and consolidation with reference to EITHER the United States OR China.
8. How far is "culture" a useful analytical category for explaining politics in Southeast Asia?
9. How persuasive are arguments that focus on strong party institutions to explain authoritarian durability in Southeast Asia?