



Southeast Asian Politics

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)

2021-2022, 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

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 unit with a short (~30 minute) lecture to provide some framing and guidance for the subsequent sessions. 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 first time a version of this course has been taught at the University of Amsterdam. A previous iteration of this course was taught at the University of Toronto (online due to covid). In addition to updates around the delivery of the course, I have updated this course to reflect feedback on the range of countries covered and included an additional week on the international relations of Southeast Asia.

Covid-19

As of mid-October 2021, covid cases in the Netherlands have once again begun to rise. It is of critical importance that we continue to do our best to care for each other's well-being as the pandemic continues. This is necessary not only to ensure the health of all who take this class but also to ensure that the class can continue in person as much as possible and to avoid myself as the instructor getting sick.

To mitigate risks as much as possible, to make sure we can meet in person, and to respect the health needs of everyone I will be wearing an N95/FFP2 mask during all in person sessions (if you have access requirements that makes this problematic, please feel free to let me know if you feel comfortable). I am also fully vaccinated and will be taking a self-administered Covid test (available through the Zelftest Onderwijs <https://www.zelftestonderwijs.nl/>) before each class. In the spirit of caring for each other, I hope that all who choose to take this class will also wear a mask (over mouth and nose) when in the classroom, will self-test before each class, and that everyone is fully vaccinated unless medically exempt.

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 at least 2 hours prior to the start of class so that virtual attendance can be accommodated.

If you are interested in reading the latest evidence about the effectiveness of facemasks, please see the following working paper:

Abaluck *et al.* Innovations for Poverty Action Working Paper. “The Impact of Community Masking on Covid-19: A Cluster-Randomized Trial in Bangladesh.” 2021.

<https://www.poverty-action.org/publication/impact-community-masking-covid-19-cluster-randomized-trial-bangladesh>

Manner & Form of Assessment

Map Quiz (15%): 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 and capital cities you should be able to identify on a map. I will select 15 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 (15%): 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.
- Being the student zoom monitor when classmates are sick or quarantining.

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.

As per 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 (studyadviser-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 send a message when sign-ups are open.

Groups will consist of 3-4 people. Each group will give an oral presentation that is no longer than 15 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 and a supplementary reading of the group's choice. If you choose to read a book from the supplementary reading list, you just need to read the introduction and conclusion. 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 and a SHORT summary of the supplementary reading (3 minutes).
 - 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.
 - Specifically focus on how the supplementary reading contributes to the discussion.
 - *Note: Although you should incorporate textbook material into your presentation, you do not need to summarize the textbook material.*
- **Scholarly debates and contributions:** Scholarly publications are involved in conversations with other scholars/works.
 - What debate are these works engaged in?
 - 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 or required to quarantine, 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 (50%): For their research paper, students will answer a question in relation to democratization, authoritarian resilience and/or democratic regression 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 and a list of suggested cases will be made available early in the course.

Summary of Examination Scheme

Assessment form	Deadline	Weight (%)	Minimal grade (Yes/No)	Resit (Yes/No)
Map Quiz	November 17	15%	No	No
Participation	-	15%	No	No
Group Presentation	-	20%	No	No
Research Essay	December 13	50%	5,5	Yes

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. 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;

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.

Literature/materials

The required text for this course is:

Jacques Bertrand. 2013. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Hereafter, Bertrand)

All of the *required* readings, including the textbook, will be available electronically through Canvas. You might want to purchase a copy of the textbook if you prefer to read a hard copy, but this is not a necessary purchase.

A select number of supplementary readings will be made available on Canvas. For those that are not available, 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 2021/2022

	Date	Theme	Assignments and deadlines
Foundations			
1.	November 1 (15:00-17:00)	Introduction and Conceptualizing Southeast Asia	
2.	November 3 (13:00-15:00)	Colonialism and Colonial Legacies	
Democracy and Authoritarianism			
3.	November 8 (15:00-17:00)	Democratization in the Philippines	
4.	November 10 (13:00-15:00)	Authoritarian Resilience in Singapore	
5.	November 15 (15:00-17:00)	Democratic Instability in Thailand	
6.	November 17 (13:00-15:00)	Democratic Regression in Malaysia	Map Quiz Today (Make-up Quiz TBD)
Conflict and Order			
7.	November 22 (15:00-17:00)	Sectarian Conflict in Maluku, Indonesia	
8.	November 24 (13:00-15:00)	Genocide in Cambodia	
9.	November 29 (15:00-17:00)	ASEAN	
Political Economy			
10.	December 1 (13:00-15:00)	Economic Development in Vietnam	
11.	December 6 (15:00-17:00)	China's Rise and its Impact on Southeast Asia	
12.	December 8 (13:00-15:00)	Wrap Up	
December 13 – Research Essay Due			

Reading List

Foundations

1. Monday, November 1 - Introduction and Conceptualizing Southeast Asia

Required Readings:

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

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:

Ruth McVey. 1995. "Continuity and Change in Southeast Asian Studies." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 26(1): 1-9.

2. Wednesday, November 3 – Colonialism and Colonial Legacies

Required Readings:

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

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:

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

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.

Diana Kim. 2020. *Empires of Vice: The Rise of Opium Prohibition across Southeast Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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

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.

Dan Slater. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Democracy and Authoritarianism

3. Monday, November 8 - Democratization in the Philippines

Required Readings:

Bertrand, Chapter 3 (The Philippines)

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.

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

4. Wednesday, November 10 – Authoritarian Resilience in Singapore

Required Readings:

Bertrand, Ch. 4 (Singapore section only, pages 108-120)

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.

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.

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

5. Monday, November 15 – Democratic Instability in Thailand

Required Readings:

Bertrand, Chapter 5 (Thailand)

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.

6. Wednesday, November 17 – Democratic Regression in Malaysia

****MAP QUIZ (IN CLASS)****

Required Readings:

Bertrand, Ch. 4 (Malaysia section only, pages 108-120)

Azmil Tayeb. 2021. "Malaysia in 2020: Fragile Coalitional Politics and Democratic Regression." *Asian Survey* 61(1): 99-105.

Supplementary Readings:

Sebastian Dettman. 2020. "Authoritarian innovations and democratic reform in the 'New Malaysia.'" *Democratization* 27(6): 1037-1052.

Sophie Lemièrre. 2018. "The Downfall of Malaysia's Ruling Party." *Journal of Democracy* 29(4): 114-128.

Dan Slater. 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia." *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101.

Meredith Weiss. 2017. "Going to the Ground (or AstroTurf): A Grassroots View of Regime Resilience." *Democratization* 24(2): 265-282.

Conflict and Order

7. Monday, November 22 – Sectarian Conflict in Maluku, Indonesia

Required Readings:

Jacques Bertrand. 2002. "Legacies of the Authoritarian Past: Religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands." *Pacific Affairs* 75(1): 57-85.

Alexandre Pelletier and Jessica Soedirgo. 2017. "The de-escalation of violence and the political economy of peace-mongering: Evidence from Maluku, Indonesia." *South East Asia Research* 25(4): 325-341.

Supplementary Readings:

Jana Krause. 2018. *Resilient Communities: Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

John Sidel. 2006. *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: religious Violence in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gerry van Klinken. 2001. "The Maluku Wars: Bringing Society Back In." *Indonesia* 71:1-26.

8. Wednesday, November 24 – 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*.

Ben Kiernan. 2001. "Myth, Nationalism, and Genocide." *Journal of Genocide Research* 3(2): 187-206.

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.

9. Monday, November 29 – 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.

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

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.

Kihore Mahubani and Jeffrey Sng. 2017. *The ASEAN Miracle: A Catalyst for Peace*. Singapore: NUS Press.

Stephanie Martel. 2020. “The Polysemy of Security Community-Building: Towards a ‘People-Centered’ Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)?” *International Studies Quarterly* 64(3): 588-599.

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

Political Economy

10. Wednesday, December 1 - 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.

11. Monday, December 6 – China’s Rise and its Impact on Southeast Asia

Required Readings:

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

Donald K. Emmerson. 2020. "The Deer and the Dragon: Asymmetry versus Autonomy." In *The Deer and the Dragon: Southeast Asia and China in the 21st Century*. Stanford: Shorenstein APARC.

Supplementary Readings:

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

Hong Liu and Guanie Lim. 2019. "The Political Economy of a Rising China in Southeast Asia: Malaysia’s Response to the Belt and Road Initiative." *Journal of Contemporary China* 28(116): 216-231.

Salvador Sanino F. Regilme, Jr. 2018. "Beyond Paradigms: Understanding the South China Sea Dispute Using Analytic Eclecticism." *International Studies* 55(3): 213-237.

12. Wednesday, December 8 - Wrap-Up

****RESEARCH PAPER DUE: DECEMBER 13****