

Political Science 677: Government and Politics of Southeast Asia

University of Michigan
Wed. noon-2:00, 5664 Haven Hall
Winter 2010

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Course Description:

This course is designed to provide an introduction to the politics and political economy of Southeast Asia for graduate students in political science and other departments. We will draw on the experiences in the region as an entry into some of the core debates in political science/comparative politics/political economy.

No previous knowledge of Southeast Asia is required, but students with little familiarity with the region or its history are encouraged to review a good history text (see the reading for week 1 for some suggestions). I also encourage you to take advantage of one of the outstanding Southeast Asian history courses offered at the University. I welcome students from departments outside of political science and encourage you to ask any questions necessary to get the most out of the readings and the class. Finally, economic policies and issues will play a prominent role in some of the readings and lectures. You are not expected to have a background in economics. However, you will need to learn some economic concepts during the semester. It is impossible to study the interaction of politics and economics without first introducing some terms from economics. Every effort will be made to explain unfamiliar terms. Please don't hesitate to ask questions if you encounter an unfamiliar concept.

The course is divided into two sections.

Part 1: Because this is a region of the world unfamiliar to most students the first half of the course is an overview of 6 of Southeast Asia's eleven states. We will spend one week each on Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam. Each week will focus on a debate germane to both the country under study and the field of comparative politics. Readings and discussions in connection with Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines will focus on the dynamics of democracy and democratic transition. The readings and discussion in connection with Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam will focus on the role of the state in economic development, and stability and vulnerabilities of dominant party states.

Section 2: In the final weeks of the course we draw on the tools of comparative analysis and the first section of the course to place the countries of SEA in a broader comparative perspective. We will draw comparisons between the states within SEA as well as between the states of SEA and states outside of the region. We will start with the questions of state

building, state capacity, and the role of the state in economic development. We will also consider the impediments to development and why some states in SEA have been able to overcome these impediments while others have not. Time will be devoted to discussing and debating the causes and consequences of the Asian economic miracle and the Asian economic crisis that followed. We will also examine the authoritarianism, and democracy across the region.

Requirements:

This is primarily a reading course and thus the reading load is heavy, but not untypical for a graduate course. On average 5 to 6 articles or chapters are assigned for each week. To compensate for the reading load written assignments are limited. I expect every student to do all of the reading (including the reading review essays) prior to class and to come prepared to discuss and critique the readings. The preparation and participation grade will be based on my perception of your level of preparation and willingness to participate.

On the first day of class, you will sign up for two weeks. You are responsible for writing a review essay of the readings assigned for your selected week, distributing your essay to each member of the class (via Ctools) one full day before our meeting, and presenting your perspectives to the class that week. Your grade is a function of the quality of your two written essays, your presentations, and your contributions to class discussion, and a map quiz weighted, 60:15:15:10 respectively.

The breakdown of the course requirements is as follows:

1. Map Quiz: See attached sheet. **10%** of the final grade. The quiz will be in class on January 13.
2. Review Essays: **60%** for essay, **15%** for presentation. Each student is responsible for 2 memos that engage the readings for a particular week and present a critical review. One memo must be completed during Part I of the course and 1 during Part II. (Do not worry about summarizing the readings from Kingsbury or RHR.) The essays should raise general questions about the readings as well as specific questions about the readings under review. Students should be prepared to give brief presentations of the papers they write. See the attached documents “Guide for Review Essays” and “Template for Weekly Presentations” for more details and suggestions. To accommodate discussion, **review essays will be due 24 hours in advance of the seminar meeting time (Tuesday at noon) to me via email.** I will post the essays on Ctools.
3. Preparation and Participation: Participation makes up **15%** of the final grade.

Required Texts:

1. Damien Kingsbury. *Southeast Asia: A Political Profile*. Oxford University Press. 2006. 2nd edition (Hereafter “Kingsbury”)

2. Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison, eds. *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia: Conflicts, Crises, and Change*. Third edition. Oxford University Press 2006. (Here after, RHR).
3. All other readings are available on Ctools.

Important Course Policies and Procedures

Students with Disabilities

Any student with special needs because of a disability is requested to speak with the professor by the end of Week 3.

Plagiarism and Cheating

Any instance of cheating or plagiarism will result in an E for the course.

Course Schedule

January 6:
Course Introduction—What is Southeast Asia?

January 13:
Indonesia
****MAP QUIZ****

January 20
No Class

January 27
Philippines

February 3
Thailand

February 10
Malaysia

February 17
Singapore

February 24
Vietnam

March 10
State Building

March 17
State Capacity, Incentives, and the Role of the State in Development

March 24
The Asian Economic Miracle

March 31
Crisis and Recovery

April 7
Authoritarian Equilibrium

April 14
Where does Democracy Come From? (How) Does it Work?

PART I

1. January 6: Course Introduction—What is Southeast Asia

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury ch. 2
- Erik Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu. “Introduction: Theory, Region, Method.” In Erik Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds. *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*. 2008. Stanford University Press.

Review pre-independence history in a good SEA history text.

- Milton Osborne, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 9th Edition 2004.
- D. R. SarDesai. *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1997.
- David Chandler et. al. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*. Edited by Norman G. Owen. 2005. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Nicholas Tarling, *Nations and States in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998

2. January 13: Indonesia: Lessons from (and Experiments in) Democracy

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury, “Indonesia: Diversity in Unity”
- RHR, chapter 4.
- Herbert Feith, "History, Theory and Indonesia: A reply to Harry J. Benda", in B. Anderson and A. Kahin (eds), *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*, Interim Report Series no. 62, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca, 1982.
- William Liddle and Saiful Mujani, ‘Leadership, Party and Religion: Explaining Voting Behavior in Indonesia’, *Comparative Political Studies*, 40, 7, 2007, pp. 832-857.
- Marcus Mietzner. 2009 “Indonesia’s 2009 Elections: Populism, Dynasties and the Consolidation of the Party System.” Lowy Institute for International Policy.
http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/Indonesia_2009_Elections.pdf

10 Years After: 5 views (read 2)

- <http://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/article.aspx?id=2163>
- <http://www.worldpress.org/Asia/3200.cfm>
- http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2007/0628globaleconomics_rieffel.aspx?rssid=rieffell
- <http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2008/05/28/10-year-anniversary-of-suharto%E2%80%99s-fall-%E2%80%93-how-far-has-indonesia-come/>
- http://www.economist.com/displaystory.cfm?story_id=11412293

Additional Sources:

- Harry J. Benda, "Democracy in Indonesia", in B. Anderson and A. Kahin (eds), *Interpreting Indonesian Politics: Thirteen Contributions to the Debate*, Interim Report Series no. 62, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Ithaca, 1982.
- Leonard C Sebastian. "The Paradox of Indonesian Democracy." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. (Aug 2004), Vol. 26, Iss. 2; p. 256.
- Hal Hill. "The Economy" in *Indonesia's New Order: The Dynamics of Socio-economic Transformation*. Allen and Unwin Press. 1994.
- Edward Aspinall and Mark T. Berger, "The Break-up of Indonesia? Nationalisms After Decolonisation and the Limits of the Nation-State in post-cold war Southeast Asia." *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 6, (December 2001) pp. 1003-1024.
- Angel Rabasa and Peter Chalk, *Indonesia's Transformation and the Stability of Southeast Asia*. Rand Corporation, 2001.
- Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1978.
- Harold Crouch, 'Patrimonialism and Military Rule in Indonesia', *World Politics*, 31, 4, 1979, pp. 571-587.
- Robert Lowry, *The Armed Forces of Indonesia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1998.
- Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1962.
- Ricklefs, M.C., *A History of Modern Indonesia since C. 1300*, (2nd edition). Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1993.
- Audrey Kahin & George Kahin, *Subversion as Foreign Policy: The Secret Eisenhower and Dulles Debacle in Indonesia*, New Press, New York, 1995.
- Andrew MacIntyre, "Power, Prosperity and Patrimonialism: Business and Government in Indonesia", in Andrew MacIntyre (ed.) *Business and Government in Industrialising Asia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney and Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1994, pp. 244-67.
- Richard Robison, *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1986.
- Ian Chalmers and Vedi Hadiz (eds), *The Politics of Economic Development in Indonesia: Contending Perspectives*, Routledge, London, 1997.
- Hal Hill, *The Indonesian Economy Since 1966: Southeast Asia's Emerging Giant*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1996.
- Hal Hill, (ed.) *Indonesia's New Order*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994.
- Anne Booth (ed.) *The Oil Boom and After: Indonesian Economic Policy and Performance in the Soeharta Era*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1992.
- Anne Booth, *The Indonesian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A History of Missed Opportunities*, MacMillan, London, 1998.
- Richard Robison and Andrew Rosser "Contesting Reform: Indonesia's New Order and the IMF", *World Development*, vol. 26, no. 8, pp. 1593-1609, 1998.
- Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia in the 1990s*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1994.
- Jeffrey Winters, *Power in Motion: Capital Mobility and the Indonesian State*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1996.
- R.W. Liddle, "The Relative Autonomy of the Third World Politician: Suharto and Indonesia's Economic Development in Comparative Perspective' *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4, 1991, pp. 403-27.
- Andrew MacIntyre, *Business and Politics in Indonesia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1991.
- Harold Crouch, "The Perils of Prediction: Understanding the Indonesian Transition of 1998-99", ms. Australian National University, 2000.
- Robert Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2000.
- Hal Hill, *The Indonesian Economy in Crisis: Causes, Consequences, and Lessons*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1999.
- Arief Budiman et al. (eds), *Reformasi: Crisis and Change in Indonesia*, Monash Asia Institute, Monash University, Clayton Vic., 1999.
- Chris Manning & Peter Van Diermen (eds), *Indonesia in Transition: Social Aspects of Reformasi and Crisis*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1999.
- I Ketut Putra Erawan, "Political Reform and Regional Politics in Indonesia", *Asian Survey*, vol. 39, no. 4, 1999, pp. 588-612.

- Jonathon Pincus and Rizal Ramli, "Indonesia: From Showcase to Basket Case", *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 1998.
- Liddle, R.W. "Indonesia's Democratic Past and Future", *Comparative Politics*, vol. 24, no. 4, 1992, pp. 443-62.

3. January 27: Philippines: Origins and Consequences of a Democratic Deficit

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury, "Philippines: Oligarchic Democracy"
- RHR, chapter 2
- Mark R. Thompson, 'Off the Endangered List: Philippine Democratization in Comparative Perspective', *Comparative Politics*, 28, 2, January 1996, pp. 128-160.
- John T. Sidel. *Capital, Coercion and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines*. Stanford University Press. 1999. Chapters 1 and 7.
- Paul Hutchcroft and Joel Rocamora. "Strong Demands and Weak Institutions: The Origins and Evolution of the Democratic Deficit in the Philippines." *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 3 (2) (May-August 2003): 259-292.

Additional Sources:

- Paul D. Hutchcroft, 'Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords: Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the American Philippines', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 59, 2, 2000, pp. 277-306.
- Gary Hawes, 'Theories of Peasant Revolution: A Critique and Contribution from the Philippines', *World Politics*, 42, 2, 1990, pp. 261-298.
- Benedict Anderson, "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams." *New Left Review*, no. 169, 1988, p. 3-33.
- Emmanuel de Dios and Paul Hutchcroft. "Political Economy: Examining Current Challenges in Historical Perspective." In *The Philippines Economy: Development, Policies, and Challenges*. Oxford University Press. Arsenio M. Balisacan, and Hal Hill, eds. 2003.
- Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booty Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*. Cornell University Press. 1998. Chapters 1 and 3.
- Gary Hawes, "Marcos, His Cronies and the Philippines Failure to Develop." In Ruth McVey (ed.) *Southeast Asian Capitalists*, Cornell Southeast Asia Program, Ithaca, pages 145-160.
- James Mackie and Benardo Villegas, "The Philippines: Still an Exceptional Case?," in James Morley (ed.), *Driven by Growth: Political Change in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1999. Chapter 4.
- Temario Rivera, *The Philippines: State of the Nation*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1997.
- Sisira Jayasuriya, "Structural Adjustment and Economic Performance in the Philippines", in Andrew MacIntyre and Kanishka Jayasuriya (eds), *The Dynamics of Economic Policy Reform in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1992.
- Amando Doronila, *The State, Economic Transformation, and Political Change in the Philippines: 1946-72*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1992.
- Stephan Haggard, "The Political Economy of the Philippine Debt Crisis", in Joan Nelson (ed.), *Economic Crisis and Policy Choice: The Politics of Adjustment in the Third World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1990.
- Yoshihara Kunio, *Philippine Industrialization: Foreign and Domestic Capital*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1985.
- Miriam Coronel Ferrer, "The Philippines: Governance Issues Come to the Fore", *Southeast Asian Affairs 2000*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2000, pp.241-55..

- William Case, "The Philippine Election in 1998: A Question of Quality", *Asian Survey*, vol. 39, no. 3, 1999, pp. 468-85.
- Alfred McCoy, "An Anarchy of Families: The Historiography of State and Family in the Philippines", in Alfred McCoy (ed.), *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1993, pp. 1-32.
- Felipe Miranda, *Democratization: Philippine Perspectives*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City, 1997.
- Temario Rivera, *Landlords and Capitalists: Class Family, and State in Philippine Manufacturing*, University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City, 1994.
- Yoshihara Kunio, *The Nation and Economic Growth: The Philippines and Thailand*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1994.
- Alan Berlow, *Dead Season: A Story of Murder and Revenge on the Philippine Island of Negros*. Vintage.
- G. Sidney Silliman and Lela Garner Noble, eds., *Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society, and the Philippine State*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998.
- John T. Sidel, "The Underside of Progress: Land, Labor, and Violence in Two Philippine Growth Zones, 1985-1995," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 30, no. 1 (1998): 3-12.

4. February 3: Thailand: Designing Democracy

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury, "Thailand: The Survivor Mandala."
- RHR, Chapter 3.
- Benedict Anderson, "Murder and Progress in Modern Siam", *New Left Review*, 81 (2) (1990): 33-48.
- Duncan McCargo, 'Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand', *The Pacific Review*, 18, 4, December 2005, pp. 499-519.
- Allen Hicken. "Party Fabrication: Constitutional Reform and the Rise of Thai Rak Thai". *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 6 (3) (2006): 381-408.
- Duncan McCargo. "Thai Politics as Reality TV." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 68, 2009, pp 7-19.

Additional Sources:

- Kevin Hewison, 'Crafting Thailand's New Social Contract', *The Pacific Review*, 17, 4, 2004, pp. 503-522.
- Allen D. Hicken, "Parties, Policy and Patronage: Governance and Growth in Thailand," in J.E.L. Campos, ed., *Corruption: The Boom and Bust of East Asia*, Manila: Ateneo de Manila Press. 2001.
- Michael H. Nelson. "Institutional Incentives and Informal Local Political Groups (*phuak*) in Thailand: Comments and Allen Hicken and Paul Chambers.
- Allen Hicken. "Omitted Variables, Intent, and Counterfactuals: A Response to Michael Nelson." Forthcoming. *Journal of East Asian Studies*.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker. *Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand*. Silkworm Books. 2004. Chapter 6.
- Nishizaki Yoshinori, "Provincializing Thai Politics," *Kyoto Review of Southeast Asia*, vol 1, no. 1 (March 2002). http://kyotoreview.cseas.kyoto-u.ac.jp/issue/issue0/article_31.html
- Ammar Siamwalla. "Can a Developing Democracy Manage Its Macroeconomy: The Case of Thailand." In *Thailand's Boom and Bust*. Bangkok: Thailand Development Research Institute. 1997.
- Christensen, Scott et. al. *Thailand: The Institutional and Political Underpinnings of Growth*. World Bank. 1993.
- J.L.S. Girling, *Thailand: Society and Politics*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1981.
- Suchit Bunbongkarn, "Political Institutions and Processes", in Somsakdi Xuto (ed.), *Government and Politics in Thailand*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1987, pp. 41-74.

- Suchit Bunbongkarn, "The Military's Effort to Institutionalise Its Political Role", *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1988. pp. 400-11.
- Suehiro Akio, *Capital Accumulation in Thailand: 1855-1985*, Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo, 1989.
- Fred W. Riggs, *Thailand: The Modernization of a Bureaucratic Polity*, East-West Center Press, Honolulu, 1966.
- Chai-Anan Samudavanija, *The Thai Young Turks*, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1982.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit, "The Open Economy and Its Friends: The 'Development' of Thailand", *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 53, no. 3, 1980, pp. 440-60.
- Danny Unger, *Building Social Capital in Thailand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Medhi Krongkaew (ed.), *Thailand's Industrialization and Its Consequences*, MacMillan, London, 1995.
- Robert Muscat, *The Fifth Tiger: A Study of Thai Development Policy*, M.E. Sharpe, Armonk, 1994.
- Yoshihara Kunio, *The Nation and Economic Growth: The Philippines and Thailand*, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1994.
- Peter Warr (ed.), *The Thai Economy in Transition*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1993.
- Anek Laothamatas, "From Clientelism to Partnership: Business-Government Relations in Thailand", in Andrew MacIntyre (ed.), *Business and Government in Industrialising Asia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, and Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1994, pp. 195-215.
- Richard Doner and Anek Laothamatas, "Thailand: Economic and Political Gradualism", in Stephan Haggard and Steven Webb (eds), *Voting for Reform: Democracy, Political Liberalization, and Economic Adjustment*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, pp. 411-52.
- Richard Doner & Ansil Ramsay, "Competitive Clientelism and Economic Growth: The Case of Thailand", in Sylvia Maxfield & Ben Ross Schneider (eds), *Business and the State in Developing Countries*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1997, pp. 237-76.
- Michael Rock, "Transitional Democracies and the Shift to Export-led Industrialization: Lessons from Thailand", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 29, no. 4, 1994, pp. 18-37.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit, "Technocrats, Businessmen & Generals: Democracy and Economic Policy-making in Thailand", in Andrew MacIntyre & Kanishka Jayasuriya (eds), *The Dynamics of Economic Policy Reform in South-East Asia and the South-West Pacific*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1992.
- Chai-Anan Samudavanija and Parichart Chotiya, "Beyond Transition in Thailand", in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds), *Democracy in East Asia*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1998. pp. 147-70.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, "The Political Economy of the Thai Crisis", *Journal of the Asia-Pacific Economy*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1999, pp. 193-208.
- Kevin Hewison (ed), *Political Change in Thailand: Democracy and Participation*, Routledge, London, 1997.
- Prudhisan Jumbala, "Thailand: Constitutional Reform Amidst Economic Crisis", in *Southeast Asian Affairs*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 1998, pp. 265-291.
- Anek Laothamatas, "A Tale of Two Democracies: Conflicting Perceptions of Elections and Democracy in Thailand", in R.H. Taylor (ed.), *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1996, pp. 201-23.
- James Ockey, "Political Parties, Factions, and Corruption in Thailand", *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1994, pp. 251-77.
- Nukul Commission Report. 1998. *Analysis and Evaluation of Facts Behind Thailand's Economic Crisis*. (English edition). Bangkok: The Nation.
- Ockey, James. 1992. *Business Leaders, Gangsters and the Middle Class*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University.
- Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker. 1998. *Thailand's Boom and Bust*. Thailand: Silkworm Books.

5. February 10: Malaysia: The Foundation and Fruit of Government Intervention

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury, "Malaysia: Inclusion and Exclusion."

- RHR, chapter 6
- Edmund Terence Gomez and Jomo K.S. *Malaysia's Political Economy: Politics, Patronage, and Profits*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pages 24-53 and 166-176.
- Michael T. Rock and Megan Sheridan. "The Political Economy of Industrial Policy in Malaysia." In Jomo K.S., *Industrial Policy in Malaysia*.
- Dan Slater, 'Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia', *Comparative Politics*, 36, 1, October 2003, pp. 81-101.
- James Chin and Wong Chin Huat. "Malaysia's Electoral Upheaval." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3), July 2009, 71-85.

Additional Sources:

- Edmund Terence Gomez. "Governance, Affirmative Action and Enterprise Development: Ownership and Control of Corporate Malaysia." Chapter 6 in Edmund Terence Gomez, ed. *The State of Malaysia: Ethnicity, Equity and Reform*. RoutledgeCurzon. 2004.
- Harold Crouch, "Industrialization and Political Change", in Harold Brookfield (ed.), *Transformation with Industrialization in Peninsular Malaysia*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1994, pp. 15-34.
- Alasdair Bowie, "The Dynamics of Business-Government Relations in Industrialising Malaysia", in Andrew MacIntyre (ed.), *Business and Government in Industrialising Asia*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney and Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1994, pp. 167-94.
- William Case, *Elites and Regimes in Malaysia: Revisiting a Consociational Democracy*, Monash Asia Institute, Melbourne, 1996.
- Harold Crouch, *Government and Society in Malaysia*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1996.
- Jomo, K.S. (ed.), *Industrialising Malaysia: Policy, Performance, Prospects*, Routledge, London, 1993. pp. 14-39.
- Rajah Rasiah, *Foreign Capital and Industrialisation in Malaysia*, MacMillan, London, 1995.
- Anwar Ali, *Malaysia's Industrialization: The Quest for Technology*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1992.
- R.S. Milne and Diane Mauzy, *Malaysian Politics under Mahathir*, Routledge, London, 1999.
- Alasdair Bowie, *Crossing the Industrial Divide: State, Society, and the Politics of Economic Transformation in Malaysia*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1991.
- James Jesudason, *Ethnicity and the Economy: State, Chinese Business, and Multinationals in Malaysia*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1989.
- Peter Searle, *The Riddle of Malaysian Capitalism: Rent-Seekers or Real Capitalists?*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1999.
- Ranjit Gill. *Anwar Ibrahim, Mahathir's dilemma : a blow-by blow account of the sacking of Anwar Ibrahim as Deputy Prime Minister, his dismissal from UMNO, and the launch of his reform movement*. Singapore : Epic Management Services. 1998.
- Choon Leong Heng. *Late industrialization along with democratic politics in Malaysia*. 1991.
- S. Sothi. Rachagan. *Law and the electoral process in Malaysia*. Kuala Lumpur : University of Malaya Press, 1993.

6. February 17: Singapore: Exceptional or Exportable?

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury, "Singapore: The Corporate State."
- RHR, chapter 5
- Christopher Tremewan. *The Political Economy of Social Control in Singapore*. St. Martin's Press. 1994. Chapters 3 and 6.
- W.G. Huff. "Singapore's Economic Development: Four Lessons and Some Doubts." *Oxford Development Studies*. 27 (1) (February, 1999).
- Natasha Hamilton-Hart, 'The Singapore State Revisited', *Pacific Review*, 13, 2, 2000, pp. 195-216.

- Marco Verweiji and Ricardo Pelizzo. "Singapore: Does Authoritarianism Pay?" *Journal of Democracy* 20(2): April 2009, 18-32.

Additional Sources:

- Diane K. Mauzy. "Electoral Innovation and One-Party-Dominance in Singapore" in *How Asia Votes*. J. Hsieh and D. Newman, eds. Chatham House Press. 2002. Chapter 11.
- Garry Rodan. "Elections without Representation." *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*. R.H. Taylor, ed. Cambridge University Press. 1996.
- George, Cherian. *Singapore: The Air-conditioned Nation*. Singapore: Landmark Books, 2000.
- Ong Jin Hui, et al (ed.), *Understanding Singapore Society*. Singapore: Times Academic Press, 1997
- Garry Rodan, "Singapore: Economic Diversification and Social Divisions," in Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison, and Richard Robison, eds., *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: An Introduction*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997, pages 148-178.
- Jon S.T. Quah, et. al., eds. *Government and Politics of Singapore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1985
- Gary Rodan. *The Political Economy of Singapore's Industrialization: National State and International Capital*. London: Macmillan Press. 1989
- Khong Cho-oon, "Singapore." *Democracy, Governance, and Economy Performance: East and Southeast Asia*. In Ian Marsh, Jean Blondel and Takashi Inoguchi, eds. UN Press. 1999.

7. February 24: Vietnam: Renovation, Reform and Recalcitrance

Required Reading:

- Kingsbury, "Vietnam: The Little Dragon."
- RHR, chapter 7
- Abuza, Zachary. 2002. "The Lessons of Le Kha Phieu: Changing Rules in Vietnamese Politics." *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 24.1 (April).
- Edmund Malesky, 'Straight Ahead on Red: How Foreign Direct Investment Empowers Subnational Leaders', *Journal of Politics*, 70, 1, January 2008, pp. 97-119.
- M. Gainsborough, 'Corruption and the Politics of Decentralization in Vietnam', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 33, 1, 2003, pp. 69-84.

Additional Sources:

- Edmund Malesky and Paul Schuler. "Paint-by-Numbers Democracy: The Stakes, Structure, and Results of the 2007 Vietnamese National Assembly Election" *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4(1), Winter 2009, Pages 1-48.
- Fforde, Adam and Stefan de Vylder. 1996. *From Plan to Market: The Economic Transition in Vietnam*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press.
- Andrew Pierre, "Vietnam's Contradictions", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 79, no. 6, 2000, pp. 69- 86
- Porter, Gareth. 1993. *Vietnam: The Politics of Bureaucratic Socialism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Riedel, James and William S. Turley, 1999. "The Politics of Economic Transition to an Open Economy in Vietnam." *OECD Development Center Technical Paper* 152.
- Tonneson, Stein. 2000. "The Layered State of Vietnam." In *State Capacity in East Asia*, Kjeld Erik Brodsgaars and Susan Young, eds. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Van Arkadie, Brian and Ray Mallon. 2003. *Viet Nam: A Transition Tiger?* Canberra, Australia: Asia Pacific Press.
- Vasavakul, Thaveporn. 1997. "Sectoral Politics for State and Party Building." In *Doi Moi: Ten*

Years After the 1986 Party Congress, Adam Fforde, ed. Australia National University.

- Vasavakul, Thaveeporn. 2002. *Rebuilding Authority Relations: Public Administration Reform in the Era of Doi Moi*. Hanoi: Asian Development Bank
- Vasavakul, Thaveeporn. 2003. "From Fence-breaking to Networking:
- Abrami, Regina, M. 2004. "Bottlenecks, Beliefs, and Breakthroughs: The Normative Logic of Economic Reform in Vietnam." *Harvard Business School Working Paper* 05-007, Cambridge.

PART II: Debates

8. March 10: State Building

Required Reading:

- Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "States in Southeast Asia: Debating Concepts, Reshaping Theories" in Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*.
- Richard Stubbs, "The Malayan Emergency and the Development of the Malaysian State," in Paul B. Rich and Richard Stubbs (eds.), *The Counter-Insurgent State: Guerrilla Warfare and State-Building in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press. (1997): 50-71.
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9. March 17: State Capacity, Incentives, and the Role of the State in Development

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10. March 24: The Asian Economic Miracle

Required Reading:

- RHR, chapter 1
- Stephan M. Haggard. "Business, Politics and Policy in East and Southeast Asia." In *Behind East Asian Growth: The Political and Social Foundations of Prosperity*. Henry S. Rowen, ed. Routledge. 1998. pp. 78-104.
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- John Wong, "Why Has Myanmar not Developed like East Asia?" *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*. 13 (3) (March 1997): 344-358.
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- Ronald Bruce St. John, "End of the Beginning: Economic Reform in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 19, no. 2 (September 1997): 172-189.
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- John T. Sidel, "The Underside of Progress: Land, Labor, and Violence in Two Philippine Growth Zones, 1985-1995," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 30, no. 1 (1998): 3-12.
- Jose Edgardo Campos and Hilton L. Root. *The Key to the Asian Miracle: Making Shared Growth Credible*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution. 1996.

11: March 31: Crisis and Recovery

For those unfamiliar with the basics of exchange rates, a simple review can be found at <http://www.ny.frb.org/education/fx/foreign.html#fxrates>

Required Reading:

- RHR, review chapter 1, read chapter 10
- Pepinsky, Thomas. 2008. "Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics: Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Adjustments in Southeast Asia." *World Politics* 60 (3): 438-474.
- Wade, Robert. 2000 "Wheels within Wheels: Rethinking the Asian Crisis and the Asian Model." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3.
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- Richard Robison et al. (eds), *Politics and Markets in the Wake of the Asian Crisis*, Routledge, London, 2000.
- T.J. Pempel (ed.), *The Politics of the Asian Financial Crisis*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1999.
- Chalmers Johnson, "Economic Crisis in East Asia: The Clash of Capitalisms", *Cambridge Journal of Economic*, vol. 22, no. 5, 1998.
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, "External Debt and Macroeconomic Performance in Latin America and East Asia," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* 2 (1985): 523-564.
- Manuel Guitián, "The Challenge of Managing Global Capital Flows," *Finance & Development* 35, no. 2 (June 1998): 14-17.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, "The Capital Myth: The Difference between Trade in Widgets and Dollars," *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 3 (May/June 1998): 7-12.
- Stanley Fischer, "The Asian Crisis and the Changing Role of the IMF," *Finance & Development* 35, no. 2 (June 1998): 2-5.
- Robin Broad and John Cavanagh, "The Death of the Washington Consensus?" in Walden Bello, Nicola Bullard, and Kamal Malhotra, eds., *Global Finance: New Thinking on Regulating Speculative Capital Markets*, London: Zed Press, 2000, pages 83-95.
- Marcus W. Brauchli, "World Bank Hurt by Its Failure to Anticipate the Indonesia Crisis," *The Wall Street Journal* (July 14, 1998).

12: April 7: Authoritarian Equilibrium?

Required Reading:

- Dan Slater. "Regimes." In *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*. Erik Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds. 2008.
- Benjamin Smith. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence Under Single-Party Rule." *World Politics*. 57 (3) (April 2005).
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Reform Equilibrium in a Nondemocratic Regime.” *Journal of Politics* January.

- Abrami, Regina, Edmund Malesky, and Yu Zheng. 2008. “Accountability and Inequality in Single Party Regimes: A Comparative Analysis of Vietnam and China.” Harvard Business School Working Papers 08-099.
- 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.

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- Eva Bellin, “Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries,” *World Politics* 52:1 (January 2000), pp. 175-205.
- William Case. “When Do Voters Oust Authoritarian Rulers? Comparative Evidence from South-East Asia.” *Comparative Politics*. (October 2004).
- William Case. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*. Curzon. 2002. Chapter 1.
- Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Reuschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, “The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7:3 (Summer 1993), pp. 71-85.
- William Case. “New Uncertainties for an Old Pseudo-Democracy: The Case of Malaysia.” *Comparative Politics*. Forthcoming.
- James Jesudason. “The Resilience of the Dominant Parties of Malaysia and Singapore.” In H. Giliomee and C. Simkins, eds. *The Awkward Embrace: The Dominant Party and Democracy in Mexico, South Africa, Malaysia and Taiwan*. Harwood Academic Publishers, Amsterdam. 1999. (pp. 127-72). William Case. *Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less*. Curzon. 2002. Chapters 1 and 7.
- Clark D. Neher and Ross Marlay, *Democracy and Development in Southeast Asia: The Winds of Change*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995, pages 13-27.
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- Anek Laothamatas (ed.), *Democratization in Southeast and East Asia*, St. Martins Press, New York, 1997.
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- Muthiah Alagappa (ed.) *Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The Quest for Moral Authority*, Stanford University, Stanford, 1995.
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- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995.
- Donald K. Emmerson, “A Tale of Three Countries,” *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 4 (1999): 35-53.
- Suchit Bunbongkarn, “Thailand’s Successful Reforms,” *Journal of Democracy*. 10, no. 4 (1999): 54-68.
- Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt, Jacques Hersh, and Niels Fold, eds., *Social Change in Southeast Asia*, Essex: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997.
- Garry Rodan, “Civil Society and Other Political Possibilities in Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 27, no. 2 (1997): 156-178.

13: April 14: Where Does Democracy Come From? (How) Does it Work?

Required Reading:

- Barbara Geddes, “What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2 (1999): 115-144.

- J. Bertrand, 'Growth and Democracy in Southeast Asia', *Comparative Politics*, 30, 3, 1998, pp. 355-375.
- John T. Sidel, 'Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Revisited: Colonial State and Chinese Immigrant in the Making of Modern Southeast Asia', *Comparative Politics*, 40, 2, January 2008, pp. 127-147.
- Vince Boudreau. "Elections, repression and authoritarian survival in post-transition Indonesia and the Philippines." *The Pacific Review* 22(2) 2009, Pages 233 – 253.
- Allen Hicken. Forthcoming "Coming up Short? Party System Institutionalization in Southeast Asia."

Additional Sources on Parties and Elections:

- Aurel Croissant, Gabriel Bruns and Marei John, eds. *Electoral Politics in Southeast and East Asia*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. 2002.
- Allen Hicken and Yuko Kasuya. "A Guide to the Constitutional Structures and Electoral Systems of East, South and Southeast Asia." *Electoral Studies*. January 2003.
- Robert Taylor (ed.), *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1996.
- Allen Hicken. Forthcoming. "Asia: General Overview." In Josep Colomer, ed. *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Palgrave Press.
- Allen Hicken. Forthcoming-a. "Institutional Incentives: Do Candidate-Centered Electoral Systems Encourage Vote Buying?" In Frederic C. Schaffer and Andreas Schedler, eds. *Vote Buying: Who, What, When, and How?*
- Allen Hicken. Forthcoming-b. "How Effective are Institutional Reforms?" In Frederic C. Schaffer and Andreas Schedler, eds. *Vote Buying: Who, What, When, and How?*
- Feith, Herbert. 1957. *The Indonesian Elections of 1955*. Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.
- Hassall, Graham and Cheryl Saunders, eds. 1997. *The People's Representatives: Electoral Systems in the Asia Region*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Landé, Carl H. 1965. *Leaders, Factions and Parties*. New Haven: Southeast Asian Studies, Yale University.
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- King, Dwight Y. 2003. *Half-Hearted Reform : Electoral Institutions and the Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia*. Praeger Publishers.
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MAP QUIZ

Quiz Date: January 13

"Without geography you're nowhere." Jimmy Buffett

Students will be handed the attached map and must be able to identify the following items. Use an atlas or one of the various online services (for example <http://www.worldatlas.com/aatlas/world.htm>) to fill out your practice map. Students can take practice quizzes at <http://www.harper.cc.il.us/mhealy/mapquiz/seasia/semenu.htm> or <http://www.maps.com/FunFacts.aspx?nav=MS#> .

COUNTRIES:

Brunei
Cambodia
East Timor
Indonesia
Laos
Malaysia
Myanmar (Burma)
Philippines
Singapore
Thailand
Vietnam

CAPITALS

Bandar Seri Begawan
Bangkok
Dili
Hanoi
Jakarta
Kuala Lumpur
Putrajaya (Administrative Capital)
Manila
Phnom Penh
Naypyidaw
Vientiane

LAND BODIES

Aceh
Bali
Borneo
Dawna Range
Java
Khorat Plateau
Luzon
Mekong Delta
Mindanao
New Guinea
Spratly Islands
Sulawesi
Sumatra
Southern Thailand Muslim Provinces
(Yala, Narathiwat, Pattani)

RIVERS

Chao Phraya River
Irrawaddy River
Mekong River
Red River
Salween River

WATER BODIES

Andaman Sea
Gulf of Tonkin
Gulf of Thailand
Indian Ocean
Pacific Ocean
Philippine Sea
South China Sea

Guide to Review Essays

The essays should present a sketch of the major arguments and theories (explanations) from the week's readings and your own assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of those readings. You should first distill the theory, method, and conclusion in each selection, commenting as appropriate on the research design and evidence. In these tasks, you want to delineate clearly the independent and dependent variables (causes and effects) and consider critically their conceptualization and operationalization. Are the concepts clear? What is the theory, argument, or story that links the variables? If the author tries to test the theory, what does s/he do? In your view, was the choice of design acceptable, or could you recommend a better way to test the theory? Were the measures well chosen to reflect and calibrate concepts? While being critical also remember to be generous. For example if the author has failed to spell out his or her argument or theory, neglected to clearly identify the independent and dependent variables, or has not sufficiently tested his/her theory do not be content simply with saying "there is no theory here", or "he doesn't test his theory." Make some effort to fill in the gaps in the argument, supply the missing premises, etc. Mature scholarship often asks not whether some argument is right or wrong but under what kinds of circumstances a theory is useful. Comparative politics largely seeks to understand just such context-conditionality. The essay should conclude by raising some questions or issues for group discussion.

Writing quality counts. Clear, careful writing is a vital professional skill. It is essential for effective communication and it reduces the time and effort a reader must spend to discern and assess your argument. You should check syntax, grammar, word choice, spelling, and neatness in your papers. If you struggle with your English skills please take advantage of Sweetland Writing Center. They can and will help; use them if you need them. Finally, aim for a clear, concise, professional tone. A too casual or light-hearted style is not well-accepted in the field. Although the *occasional* clever comment is OK, generally casualness doesn't work.

Essays should be between 3 and 5 pages.

Template for Weekly Presentations

Adapted from Karen Ferree

One or two students will introduce the topic and readings each week. As part of this responsibility you should critically (and briefly) summarize the readings and propose a set of questions or issues that will help structure the discussion. The presentations are meant to develop seminar communication skills and to encourage participation by all members. The presentation should be 7 to 10 minutes in length. We have only 2 hours together each week and a lot of material to cover so I ruthlessly enforce this limit.

The following “template” provides a sense of what is expected.

- Begin your presentation by introducing and *motivating* the topic. The heading in the syllabus is a good clue but try to go beyond it, indicating, for example, *why* the topic is important. What are the key issues and questions the authors are grappling with? Are there important issues the authors ignore but should also consider?
- Review the main readings of the week. It is not necessary to review the material in Kingsbury or RHR unless there is a specific reason to do so. Briefly state each author’s main argument and findings. What outcomes is each author trying to explain? What variables do they use in explaining these outcomes? These summaries should be very brief and to the point. Remember your classmates will have already read your memo. *Avoid summarizing the details - stick to the most central points.*
- You’re welcome to use handouts or transparencies. Keep them simple! As a rule, less is more.
- Close your presentation with a set of **discussion questions** aimed at getting the discussion going. This is the most important part of the presentation. The more thought you put into them, the better.