

POSC237 - Southeast Asian Politics

Syllabus

Monday and Wednesday: 1:50p.m. – 3:00p.m.
Friday: 2:20p.m. – 3:20p.m.

Winter Term: January 4 – March 9, 2016

Willis 205

The Department of Political Science, Carleton College, Northfield, MN

Tun Myint

Willis 403

Office Hours: MW: 11:00 – 12:00 and T 10:00a.m. – 11:30a.m., and by appointment

P: 507-222-7170

E: tmyint@carleton.edu

W: www.people.carleton.edu/~tmyint

Preface

Southeast Asia is a diverse and dynamic region of the world. With its population of over 580 million, about one in every ten persons in the world today is a Southeast Asian. The region is larger than Europe Union. Southeast Asia region is ranked the number one in the United States' direct investment in Asia Pacific region between 2000 and 2010. Global interaction with the region has been on the rise in terms of tourism, foreign direct investments, the World Bank's development activities, social movements, and global environmental change issues. These local-global dynamics will be the subject of this course. To understand Southeast Asia, this course will cover key thematic issues of Southeast Asian politics, including the challenges of nationalism, secularism, state formation, regional integration, regional development, the rise of the power of non-state actors, and the struggles for citizen-sovereignty of the people. We will examine these frontier issues against the backdrop of Southeast Asia's societal evolution through kingdoms, colonial eras, emergence of nation-states, influence of globalization, and environmental changes.

This course emphasizes on understanding conceptual issues, empirical evidences, and theoretical puzzles that resonate in the Southeast Asian politics but are relevant to many other regions of the world. The general aim of the course is to study the current issues of Southeast Asian Politics in light of historical evolution of different and diverse societies. In so doing, the course will examine the dynamics of Southeast Asia region in the context of global social changes.

This course is designed for students to: (1) gain conceptual and empirical understanding of the dynamic processes of the Southeast Asian Politics; (2) achieve contextual and theoretical understanding of emerging issues in Southeast Asian Politics; (3) locate Southeast Asian politics within the global context and to view comparatively with other regions of the world. In so doing, this course will balance the focus on both country specific politics and thematic issues relevant to regional countries.

Course Outline

WEEK 1	Interpretations of “Southeast Asia”
WEEK 2	Societal Organizations of the People
WEEK 3	State Formation and Non-State Spaces
WEEK 4	Borders and States
WEEK 5	Regional Integration
WEEK 6	Democracy and Its Challenges
WEEK 7	Politics of Development
WEEK 8	Struggles for Livelihoods Freedom
WEEK 9	Your Interpretation of “Southeast Asia”
WEEK 10	Your Interpretation . . .

Required Texts

Christopher Duncan (ed.), *Civilizing the Margins: Southeast Asian Governments and Development of Minorities*, Cornell University Press, 2004.

Ariel Heryanto and Sumit Kumar Mandal, *Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia*, RoutledgeCurzonm 2003.

James C. Scott *Moral Economy of Peasants: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 1976.

James C. Scott, *The Art of NOT Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 2009.

In addition to these books, there will also be e-reserve readings. I will also use movies, documentary videos, and news video clippings in class to illustrate the concepts and theories that explain the dynamics of Southeast Asian politics.

Assignments, Expectations, and Grade

There are four components of course assignments. These four components will be applied to evaluate your performance in this course. The grades are in parentheses. The details of assignments are as below:

- (1) Active Readings and Discussion (20%):** Your participation in this class begins with reading assigned materials *before* the day of class for which readings are assigned. Raising questions, reflecting on lectures and your colleagues’ discussion in class are all counted as participation. This course will be conducted mostly in interactive

lecture style. There will also be group-led and group-based discussion sessions. What this means is that you will have many opportunities to participate during the lecture. Active reading questions for each class are distributed on Fridays by email for the following two days of the week. You will pick questions for one of the two days every week and respond to these questions by email and send them to the listserv address of the course - posc237-00-w16@lists.carleton.edu. This is roughly one response per week for seven weeks. All of these answers are worth 10 points out of 20 points in total for this component. Each response is worth 2 points. You will have a chance to discard two lowest earning responses out of seven responses. The remaining 10 points for discussion will be evaluated based on your performance on citizenship of this course. To be a good standing citizen of this course, you are required to: (1) have good attendance; (2) read assigned materials before the class; (3) have timely notification and communication with me when you have to be absent or if you need to request extension for personal reasons; and (4) exercise self-respect and responsibility of a student for the success of learning mission of this course and the Carleton College as a whole; and (5) exercise your intellectual freedom in discussions and the assignments for the course. To be an effective participant, you will be better off paying attention to current day Southeast Asian politics and thinking about issues along with the readings of this course. Needless to say, this requires you to read news in hard and soft media that cover Southeast Asian Politics. Danya Leebaw, a Reference and Instruction Librarian for Social Sciences, has created an online Course Guide <http://gouldguides.carleton.edu/posc237> where you will find online resources to academic journals on Southeast Politics and to the websites of major newspapers covering Southeast Asian Politics.

- (2) Wikipedia Essay on Geopolitics of Southeast Asia (25%):** This assignment requires you to identify one specific place, event, person, group, or an object in Southeast Asia you are interested in learning about and writing for the Wikipedia audience. Then write an essay of 3000 words (seven to nine pages) about it: (1) its origin; (2) historical significance; (3) cultural distinctions; (4) economic attributes; and (5) political and societal significance in the context of Southeast Asia and the World. You will have to write about a subject that is not well developed in Wikipedia. You may in this sense pick a subject that has been started in Wikipedia by someone else but it is very rudimentary and incomplete. The essay itself will be assigned 15 points. After completion of the essay, you will enter your essay into Wikipedia. The use of images, pictures, figures, and maps are encouraged especially for your Wikipedia entry. Just make sure you have proper links and citations to avoid copy rights issues. You will have Wikipedia training led by Danya Leebaw, the librarian for social sciences, on January 20. **Your technical and terminological learning process to have your essay accepted by Wikipedia is worth 10 points.** Please note that Wikipedia has specific guidelines and criteria for the entry. If you do not meet the Wikipedia criteria, your essay will be rejected to be listed in Wikipedia. That will cause you a substantial reduction of points. This essay entry is due by February 11. Here are the url links for instruction to use Wikipedia and to enter your essay:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Training/For_students
<http://webtrends.about.com/od/wiki/ht/wikihowto.htm>

(3) Research paper (35%): I have a list of topics that you can select for your research paper. You should feel free to select a topic from the suggested list or come up with your own topic of interest in Southeast Asian Politics. There will be five stages in developing your paper. **First**, the topic proposal and an outline of your term paper is due by **January 19**. The proposal should be one to two pages and should include: (1) topic, (2) your research question and puzzles; (3) a brief explanation of your interest; and (4) a preliminary list of references. **Second**, based on your proposed topic and discussion with me, you will develop an outline of the paper. The outline is due on **January 29** and it is graded for 5 points. I will meet with you to discuss the next step in writing your paper. **Third**, the first draft of research paper is due on **February 21**. This first draft of paper should include all relevant aspects of research and contents of the paper based on your outline. **Fourth**, the final draft is due on **March 1**. This final draft should be a copy very close to a final product and it should be written between 10 and 15 pages. You will submit two hard copies. One copy of this final draft is for me and the other copy is for your peer who will review and present your paper at the mini-conference. The final draft is graded for 10 points. You will receive a memo from me with comment and suggestion to improve it along with your grade. **Fifth**, your final paper is due on **March 14**. The final paper should be between 15 and 20 pages including references but excluding maps, figures, tables, and images. This final product must address issues, suggestions, and comments raised by reviewers during the Mini-conference and in my memo. The process of writing this paper is designed for you to develop an in-depth learning and understanding of the topic of Southeast Asian Politics you chose to write. More detailed guidelines will be distributed on January 11.

(4) Mini-conference Presentation and Peer Review (20%): After receiving the final draft of the paper from your classmate on **March 3**, you will read and prepare to give 15 minute presentation at the Mini-conference. The author of the paper will have 5 minutes to respond to the reviewer. The reviewer will write a one page comments and suggestion for the author to improve the paper. Presentation is worth 15 points and review memo is worth 5 points. This review memo should be sent to the author of the paper after the presentation while copying it to me. The authors should carefully read the reviewer's memo and my comments and revise the paper for final product. The final papers are due on March 14 by noon.

NOTE: All written assignments should be double-spaced pages with 12 point Times New Roman font and with page numbers.

Schedule of Assignments and Due Dates

1/11 Sign up for paper topics
1/19 Topic proposal for research paper is due
1/28 The outline of research paper is due

MIDTERM BREAK 2/6 – 2/8

- 2/11 Wikipedia essay is due (graded) 2/20
- 2/21 The first draft of research paper is due (**graded**)
- 3/1 The final draft of research paper is due (**graded**)
- 3/4 Mini-conference (**graded**)
- 3/7 Mini-conference (**graded**)
- 3/9 Mini-conference (**graded**)
- 3/14 Final research papers are due (**graded**)

Course Conduct

Attendance: Attendance is required for this course. If you need to be absent from the class, it is your responsibility to notify me in advance. When you are absent, it is in your benefit to borrow notes from your classmate or ask your classmates to learn what you missed. If you wish, I will be available during office hours or by appointment at your request to meet with you and go over what you missed while you were absent.

Plagiarism: There is **zero tolerance for plagiarism**. A summary of the College's policy on plagiarism states: *“At Carleton College, an act of academic dishonesty is therefore regarded as conflicting with the work and purpose of the entire College and not merely as a private matter between the student and an instructor; all cases involving such dishonesty are referred for appropriate action to the Academic Standing Committee (ASC) via the Associate Dean of Students or the Associate Dean of the College.”* For more information on Carleton's policy on academic honesty, please consult

http://apps.carleton.edu/campus/dos/handbook/academic_regs/?policy_id=21359

Late assignments: Assignments are due on the dates specified in this syllabus or in the assignment sheet. Late work without notification at least 48 hours in advance and consultation with me **will receive half point reduction per late day**. If you are unable to complete an assignment on time due to illness or personal emergency, you can request an extension with the supporting documents such as a medical note from a doctor or an appropriate office on campus such as your class dean or health center.

Special needs: If you require special accommodation due to a documented physical or medically classified different learning capacity, please come to see me during the first week of class or any time throughout the semester to discuss how I might best assist you in meeting the objectives and requirements of this course. Carleton College provides students with special needs reasonable accommodation to participate in educational programs, activities and services. For more information about the Disability Services for Students at the College, please call ext. 4080.

IMPORTANT: The key for you to be successful as a student and for me as a teacher in this course is timely and effective communication between you and me. Carleton has numerous resources to help you excel in learning. If you do not know them, do not be shy to ask. Make good use of resources on campus! I encourage you to use the Write Place even if you consider

yourself the best writer in the world.

Schedule of Classes and Readings

WEEK 1: INTERPRETATIONS OF “SOUTHEAST ASIA”

Essential readings:

January 4 Introduction to the Course

This syllabus

January 6 Historical Dimensions

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

Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, C 800-1830, 2005*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Chapter 1 of Volume I: Part A – Rethinking Southeast Asia, pp. 1-66.

January 8 A New Dimension of SEA History

Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels Southeast Asia in Global Context, C 800-1830, 2005*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Chapter 1 of Volume II: Political and Cultural Integration in Mainland Southeast Asia, p. 11 - 48

James C. Scott, *The Art of NOT Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 2009.

Chapter 1 Hills, Valleys, and States,

WEEK 2: SOCIETAL ORGANIZATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

January 11 Economic and Political Thinking of Peasants

James C. Scott, *Moral Economy of Peasants: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 1976.

Chapter 1: The Economics and Sociology of the Subsistence Ethics, pp. 1-34.

Chapter 2: Subsistence Security in Peasant Choice and Values, pp. 35-55.

Chapter 3: The Distribution of Risk and Colonial Change, pp. 56-90.

Keep thinking about how Scott described and analyzed the societal foundation of Southeast Asian peasants and how their economic/societal structures serve as obstacles for the formation of states.

January 13 Evolution of States and Societies

G. Carter Bentley, "Indigenous States of Southeast Asia." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, 1985, pp. 275-305.

Tony Day, "Ties That (Un)Bind: Families and States in Premodern Southeast Asia," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 55(2), 1996, pp. 384-409.

Rober Hein-Geldern, "Conception of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, 2(1), November, 1942, pp. 15-30.

January 15 Qing China and Southeast Asia

Yingcong Dai, "A Disguised Defeat: The Myanmar Campaign of the Qing Dynasty," *Modern Asian Studies*, 38 (1): 145-189.

WEEK 3: STATE FORMATION AND NON-STATE SPACES

January 18 State and Non-State Spaces

James C. Scott, *The Art of NOT Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 2009.

Chapter 2 State Space, p. 50-62.

Chapter 6 State Evasion, State Prevention. P. 187-219.

Pak Mun Dam case.

January 20 Wikipedia Training

January 22 History and Public Memory

James C. Scott, *The Art of NOT Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 2009.

Chapter 6.5 Orality, Writing, and Texts
Chapter 7 Ethnogenesis, p. 233-251 and p. 274-282.

Case Study: Land and Public Memory in Myanmar

WEEK 4: BORDERLESS PEOPLE AND BORDERED STATES

January 25 Land Used and Land Cover Change

Bernard, Stéphane and Rodolphe De Koninck, "The Retreat of the Forest in Southeast Asia: Cartographic Assessment," *The Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 17(1), 1996, pp. 1-14.

Hill, R. D. "Stasis and Change in Forty Years of Southeast Asian Agriculture," *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 19(1), 1998, pp. 1-25.

Nancy Lee Peluso, Peter Vandergeest, and Lesley Potter, "Social Aspects of Forestry in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 26(1), March 1995, pp. 196-218.

Karen Bakker, "The politics of hydropower: developing the Mekong," *Political Geography*, 18, pp. 209-232, 1999.

January 27 Politics of Biogeophysical Settings

Michael Goldman, "Constructing an Environmental State: Eco-Geogovernmentality and Other Transnational Practices of a "Green" World Bank," *Social Problem*, 48(4), pp. 499-523, 2001.

The case of Nam Theun 2 Dam in Lao P.D.R, (see www.namtheun2.com for "project overview," (no other readings required).

January 29 Politics of Development

Richard F. Doner, Bryan K Ritchie, and Dan Slater, "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective," *International Organization*, 59, Spring 2005, pp. 327-361.

Janet C. Sturgeon, "Border Practices, Boundaries, and the Control of Resource Access: A Case from China, Thailand, and Burma," *Development and Change*, 35(3), 2004, pp. 463-484.

WEEK 5: NATIONALISM AND SECULARISM

February 1 Roots of Nationalism and Postcolonial States

Charles Keyes, “Buddhist Politics and Their Revolutionary Origins in Thailand,” *International Political Science Review*, 10(2) pp. 121-142, 1989. Secularism

***Pick one chapter from Duncan’s book. Let me know which chapter you will pick.

The Case of 2008 Constitution of the Republic of Myanmar and ongoing political transition [handout]

***Group Exercise on the latest Thai and Burmese Constitutions

Thai Constitution: <http://www.isaanlawyers.com/constitution%20thailand%202007%20-%202550.pdf>

Myanmar Constitution: http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs5/Myanmar_Constitution-2008-en.pdf

February 3 Politics of Borderless People and Boundaries

Chris Beyrer, Myat Htoo Razak, Khomdon Lisam, Jie Chen, Wei Lui and Xiao-Fang Yu, “Overland Heroin trafficking routes and HIV-1 spread in south and south-east Asia,” *AIDS*, 14(1), pp. 2000.

Wen-Chin Chang, “*Guanxi* and Regulation in Networks: The Yunnanese Jade Trade between Burma and Thailand, 1962-88,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 35(3), 2004, pp. 479-501.

Carl Grundy-Earr, Carl, “Coexistent Borderlands and Intra-State Conflicts in Mainland Southeast Asia,” *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 14(1), 1991, pp. 42-55.

MID-TERM BREAK 2/6 – 2/8

WEEK 6: REGIONAL IDENTITY AND INTEGRATION

February 10 Blueprinting Regional Integration

Amitav Acharya, “Democratization and the prospects for participatory regionalism in Southeast Asia,” *Third World Quarterly*, 24(2), pp. 375-390, 2003.

Donald K. Emmerson, "What do the blinded-sided see? Reapproaching regionalism in Southeast Asia," *The Pacific Review*, 18(1), pp. 1-21, March, 2005.

Victor Pollard, "ASA and ASEAN, 1961-67: Southeast Asian Regionalism," *Asian Survey*, 10(3), 1970, pp. 244-255.

ASEAN Economic Community Blueprint [handout]

February 12 Struggles for identities

David Brown, "From Peripheral Communities to Ethnic Nations: Separatism in Southeast Asia," *Pacific Affairs*, 61(1), pp. 51-77, 1988.

Janet T. Landa, "The Law and Bioeconomics of Ethnic Cooperation and Conflict in Plural Societies of Southeast Asia; a Theory of Chinese Merchant Success," *Journal of Bioeconomics*, 1, pp. 269-284, 1999.

Peter Chalk, "Separatism and Southeast Asia: The Islamic Factor in Southern Thailand, Mindanao, and Aceh," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 24(4), pp. 241-269.

A Case Study of Rohingya or Burmese Muslims in western Burma/Myanmar [handout].

WEEK 7: POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

February 15 Empirical Realities

Amitav Acharya, "ASEAN at 40: Mid-Life Rejuvenation?" *Foreign Affairs*, August 15, 2007.

Donald E. Weatherbee, "ASEAN and Regionalism in Southeast Asia," in Donald E. Weatherbee, *International Relations in Southeast Asia*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Lao PDR dam and Myanmar mining cases [handout]

February 17 Challenges of regional community formation

Heryanto et al. Chapter 3: Developing dissent in industrializing localities, pp. 60-89.

Chapter 6: The blessed tragedy: the making of women's activism during the *reformasi* years, pp. 145-177.

Kurt Schock, "People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma," *Social Problems*, 46(3) pp. 355-375.

February 19 Democracy and its Struggle

The King, the Military, and the Struggle for Democracy in Thailand: Examining Institutional Incompatibilities (Case study).

2008 Constitution and Democratic Reform in Myanmar

WEEK 8: DEMOCRACY & OLIGARCHY

February 22 Authoritarian Consolidation in Southeast Asia

Indonesia and Singapore [handout]

Ariel Heryanto and Sumit Kumar Mandal, *Challenging Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia*, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003. (Hereafter Heryanto et al.)

Chapter 1: Challenges in authoritarianism in Indonesia and Malaysia, pp. 1-23.

Chapter 2: Public Intellectuals, media and democratization: cultural politics of the middle classes in Indonesia, pp. 24-59.

February 24 Oligarchs and Military Establishments

Heryanto et al., Chapter 5: Islamization and democratization in Malaysia in regional and global contexts, 117-144.

Temario C. Rivera “Transition Pathways and Democratic Consolidation in Post-Marcos Philippines,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 24, pp. 466-482, 2002.

February 26 The rise of Fake Democracy?

Handouts

WEEK 9: YOUR INTERPRETATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

February 29 Consolidation of the State: The Empire Strikes Back!

Scott Buby, “Democracy in Southeast Asia,” Testimony Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Subcommittee on East Asia, the Pacific, and International Cybersecurity Policy.

Available at:

<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/rm/2015/249788.htm>

March 2 **Meetings for research papers.**

March 4 **Mini-Conference**

WEEK 10: YOUR INTERPRETATION. . .

March 7 **Mini-Conference**

March 9 **Mini-Conference**