

Department of Political Science
McGill University
Winter 2024

Political Science 633
Southeast Asian Politics

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Office Hours: Tuesday 2:30pm-4:00pm

Course Description:

This is a graduate seminar in the politics of Southeast Asia. The focus of this course will be on thematic issues in Southeast Asian politics, including the formation of nations and states, liberalism and democracy, populism and illiberalism, authoritarianism, genocide and human rights, political economy, peasant resistance, and religion. Readings have been chosen based on their analytical arguments rather than in terms of country coverage, although there are also a few weeks when there will be a focused analysis of select countries. The emphasis in this course pivots on understanding theoretical and conceptual issues that are anchored in Southeast Asian politics but that are generally pertinent to comparative politics in the developing world. The last session of the course will explicitly address the relationship between area studies, methodology, and theory.

This course seeks to enable students to: (1) gain an empirical and conceptual understanding of the political dynamics of the region; (2) think comparatively within the region and across the developing world more generally; and (3) debate theoretical questions in political science through Southeast Asian materials. This seminar thus pivots on the importance of comparison, conceptualization, and theory-building.

I have chosen to structure the course thematically so that students will be able to study the region comparatively and also make connections with the broader field of comparative politics. However, the drawback of organizing an area studies course thematically is that students who may not be that familiar with the region may lack a sense of the region's political context or the political development of particular countries. The way around this is two-fold. First, most of the books I have assigned have empirical chapters focused on case studies buttressing the theoretical argument. I urge you to read these case studies closely in order to gain a deeper understanding of the countries in the region. As a student of a world region, it is ultimately important to understand both the analytical arguments and the empirical facts. Second, supplement the assigned readings with "area studies" books that are focused on the history, politics, or political development of a country. These kinds of texts are listed on pp.4-5 in the syllabus. I recommend that students consult these texts when they want to learn directly about a country's political development. Some of them may appear outdated, but for a big picture view of a country's political development, they are very solid texts. They can also be very useful as background, as well as for analytics, for the research paper.

Course Requirements:

1. This is a reading-intensive seminar. Students are expected to come to class having done the readings beforehand. The readings per week are substantial, but not excessive for the graduate level. Students should approach the readings with the following questions in mind: (a) what is the main argument? (b) what is the evidence for the argument? (c) how convincing or problematic is the argument?
2. Discussion is crucial to the success of the seminar. I expect all participants to come to the seminar ready to discuss the works in depth. You will get the most out of this seminar by actively participating and interrogating the readings.
3. **Two** short, analytical papers of 4-5pp. in length.
 - The purpose of these analytical papers is to ensure that students actively engage the readings and seminar discussions. They should be avenues for students to test out their own ideas and to sharpen their analytical skills.
 - These papers should provide a critical analysis of the week's readings. When doing the readings for the week, you should think of contrasts and similarities between the readings, issues you find problematic, or questions you think can be deepened further. Your paper should then develop one main thesis based on your analysis of the readings. It should in effect be a response to an issue that you find interesting, provocative, or compelling. It is not necessary to analyze all the readings in the paper. What is more important is that you focus on one overarching central argument that builds on and critiques several readings. Remember: a strong paper advances one thesis statement in a systematic, logical, and analytical manner; a weak paper provides a list of scattered thoughts and lacks a central argument.
 - You are allowed to choose the week for which you will write your paper. However, the papers must be written within the timetable listed below. This is to ensure that you do not procrastinate and write all your papers at the end of the course and also to ensure that you cover different parts of the course.

Paper 1: Weeks 2-7
Paper 2: Weeks 8-13

-Papers must be submitted via email to me by 4pm on Monday before the Tuesday seminar. I will read the papers before the seminar and ask students to discuss their papers and elaborate on their ideas. Please be prepared to discuss your paper in class.
4. **One** final paper of approximately 7,000-8,000 words (do not exceed 8,000 words including footnotes and bibliography).
 - The final paper is a research assignment. Students may write about any topic in Southeast Asian politics, regardless of whether it has been discussed in the course of the seminar. The research paper is an opportunity to go into more depth in a specific country or issue of interest. It is also an opportunity to sharpen one's writing for potential publication in an academic journal. Students are highly encouraged to begin the process of writing for publication at an early stage in their career. *It is best to meet with me early in the semester to discuss a specific topic for the paper.* A two-paragraph abstract, detailing the question, analytical argument, and likely evidence, along with a preliminary reference list of about 10-12 sources, should be handed in as a hard copy on Tuesday, March 12. The final paper is due via email on Friday, April 26.

Grade Distribution:

1. Class participation 20%
2. Two short papers 40%
3. Final paper 40%

Statement on Academic Integrity:

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism, and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/integrity for more information).

Resources on Southeast Asia:

Current events in Southeast Asia are well covered by the *South China Morning Post*, *Nikkei Asia*, *The Financial Times*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*. There are also numerous good websites, some of which provide daily news, such as Channel News Asia (based in Singapore), *The Diplomat*, *Asia Times Online*, and *Rappler* (focused on the Philippines); and some of which provide commentary throughout the week, including *East Asia Forum* and *New Mandala*.

For a year-by-year analysis and recapitulation of events in the region, you should consult *Asian Survey* (which publishes an issue in March focused on the past year's events), or *Southeast Asian Affairs*, a yearly publication of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore.

The following journals are especially relevant for Southeast Asian politics. All are available online in the McGill library: *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Pacific Review*, *Asian Survey*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *South East Asia Research*, *Journal of Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Sojourn*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *Critical Asian Studies*, *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, *Philippine Political Science Journal*, *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, and *Indonesia*.

Contact during the Semester:

I care very much about Southeast Asia and the study of its politics. I want students to be excited about studying this region. To that effect, I encourage you to discuss with me any questions or interests you have in the region. I am more than happy to help guide your research or practical interests in Southeast Asia. Since this is a seminar, feel free to email me for any minor or logistical questions. But if you need a lengthier discussion, I prefer that you talk to me in person during office hours.

Books to Purchase:

The following 9 books have been ordered at Paragraphe Bookstore. All of the books are also on reserve in the McGill Library. All other readings will be posted on MyCourses.

- Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991, 2nd ed.)
- Christopher E. Goscha, *Going Indochinese: Contesting Concepts of Space and Place in French Indochina* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012).
- Enze Han, *Asymmetrical Neighbors: Modern Borderland State Building between China and Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- Alexander Hinton, *The Justice Façade: Trials of Transition in Cambodia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)
- Diana S. Kim, *Empires of Vice: The Rise of Opium Prohibition across Southeast Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020)
- Erik Martinez Kuhonta, *The Institutional Imperative: The Politics of Equitable Development in Southeast Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011)
- James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985)
- Dan Slater, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Andrew Walker, *Thailand's Political Peasants: Power in the Modern Rural Economy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012)

Recommended for historical background:

- Norman Owen, ed., *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005)

Some excellent books for a general introduction to the politics and history of a specific country:

Myanmar/Burma:

- Adam Simpson and Nicholas Farrelly, eds., *Myanmar: Politics, Economy and Society* (London: Routledge, 2020).
- N. Ganesan and Kyaw Yin Hlaing, eds., *Myanmar: State, Society and Ethnicity* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2007).

Cambodia:

- Kheang Un, *Cambodia: Return to Authoritarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- David Chandler, *The Tragedy of Cambodian History: Politics, War, and Revolution since 1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991)

Indonesia:

- Jamie Davidson, *Indonesia: Twenty Years of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Theodore Friend, *Indonesian Destinies* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003)
- Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting: Indonesia's Search for Stability* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, 2nd ed.)

Malaysia:

Meredith L. Weiss, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia* (London: Routledge, 2018)

Harold Crouch, *Government and Society in Malaysia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996)

Gordon P. Means, *Malaysian Politics: The Second Generation* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991, 2nd ed.)

Philippines:

Patricio Abinales and Donna Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017, 2nd ed.)

David Wurfel, *Filipino Politics: Development and Decay* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988)

Singapore:

Michael D. Barr, *Singapore: A Modern History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019)

Diane K. Mauzy and R.S. Milne, *Singapore Politics under the People's Action Party* (London: Routledge, 2002)

Thailand:

Chris Baker and Pasuk Phongpaichit, *A History of Thailand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 3rd ed.)

Pasuk Phongpaichit and Chris Baker, *Thailand: Economy and Politics* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 2002, 2nd ed.)

David Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984)

Timor Leste:

Frederic B. Durand, *History of Timor-Leste* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2016)

Vietnam:

Christopher Goscha, *Vietnam: A New History* (New York: Basic Books, 2016)

Melanie Beresford, *Vietnam: Politics, Economics, and Society* (London: Pinter, 1988)

WEEKLY SCHEDULE

WEEK 1 (January 9): Introduction to Southeast Asia

[Read before first day of class]

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

Benedict R. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 17-77.

Recommended:

Benedict R. Anderson, "Introduction," in *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London: Verso, 1998), 1-20.

Norman G. Owen, ed., *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

Anthony Reid, ed., *Southeast Asian Studies: Pacific Perspectives* (Tempe: Program for Southeast Asia Studies, Arizona State University, 2003).

Duncan McCargo and Robert H. Taylor, "Politics," in Mohammed Halib and Tim Huxley, eds., *An Introduction to Southeast Asian Studies* (London: Tauris, 1996).

WEEK 2 (January 16): The Formation of Nations

Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991, 2nd ed.). Read all.

John Furnivall, *Colonial Policy and Practice: A Comparative Study of Burma and Netherlands India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 303-312.

Christopher E. Goscha, *Going Indochinese: Contesting Concepts of Space and Place in French Indochina* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2012). Read all.

John T. Sidel, "The Fate of Nationalism in the New States: Southeast Asia in Comparative Historical Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, 1 (2012): 115-144.

Recommended:

Jacques Bertrand, *Democracy and Nationalism in Southeast Asia: From Secessionist Mobilization to Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Anthony Reid, *Imperial Alchemy: Nationalism and Political Identity in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Benedict R. Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World* (London: Verso, 1998).

Benedict R. Anderson, "Studies of the Thai State: The State of Thai Studies," in Eliezer B. Ayal, ed., *The Study of Thailand* (Athens: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Ohio University, 1978), 193-233.

Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).
Robyn Rodriguez, "Migrant Heroes: Nationalism, Citizenship and the Politics of
Filipino Migrant Labor," *Citizenship Studies* 6, 3 (2002): 341-356.

WEEK 3 (January 23): Colonialism and State Formation

Diana S. Kim, *Empires of Vice: The Rise of Opium Prohibition across Southeast Asia*
(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020). Read all.
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 (2008): 127-147.
Daniel S. Goh, "Colonialism, Neopatrimonialism, and Hybrid State Formation in
Malaysia and the Philippines," *Political Power and Social Theory* 28 (2015):
165-190.
Michael W. Charney, "Politicized Ethnicity in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia." In Aviel
Roshwald, Matthew D'Auria, and Cathie Carmichael, eds., *Cambridge History of
Nationhood and Nationalism. Volume 1: Patterns and Trajectories over the
Longue Durée*, 96-114 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).

Recommended:

Anne E. Booth, *Colonial Legacies: Economic and Social Development in East and
Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).
Paul D. Hutchcroft, "Colonial Masters, National Politicos, and Provincial Lords:
Central Authority and Local Autonomy in the American Philippines, 1900-1913,"
Journal of Asian Studies 59, 2 (2000): 277-306.
Abidin Kusno, "Southeast Asia: Colonial Discourses," in Carola Hein, ed., *The
Routledge Handbook of Planning History* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

WEEK 4 (January 30) The Formation of Modern States

Benedict R. Anderson, "Old State, New Society: Indonesia's New Order in Comparative
Historical Perspective," *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, 3 (1983): 477-496.
Tuong Vu, "State Formation and the Origins of Developmental States in South Korea
and Indonesia," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41, 4
(2007): 27-56.
Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "Dictatorship and the State: A Comparison of State Building
and State Plunder in South Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand," In Miguel
Centeno, Atul Kohli, and Deborah Yashar, eds., *States in the Developing World*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 121-153.
Dan Slater, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in
Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Read all except
chapters 8 and 9.
Enze Han, *Asymmetrical Neighbors: Modern Borderland State Building between
China and Southeast Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019). Read
chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 (skim), and 9.

Recommended:

- Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "Studying States in Southeast Asia," in Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 30-54.
- Mary P. Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).
- Tuong Vu, *Paths to Development in Asia: South Korea, Vietnam, China, and Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- T.N. Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

WEEK 5 (February 6): Political Regimes – Democracy and the Case of the Philippines

- Mark R. Thompson, "Off the Endangered List: Philippine Democratization in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 28, 2 (1996): 179-205.
- Benedict R. Anderson, "Cacique Democracy in the Philippines: Origins and Dreams," *New Left Review* 169 (1988): 3-31.
- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, "Contested Meanings of Elections in the Philippines," in Robert H. Taylor, ed., *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 136-163.
- Paul D. 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 (2003): 259-292.
- Paul D. Hutchcroft, "Oligarchs and Cronies in the Philippine State: The Politics of Patrimonial Plunder," *World Politics* 43, 3 (1991): 414-450.

Recommended:

- Benedict R. Anderson, "Elections and Participation in Three Southeast Asian Countries," in Robert H. Taylor, ed., *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 12-33.
- Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Political Legitimacy in Southeast Asia: The Quest for Moral Authority* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995).
- Eva-Lotta E. Hedman, "Contesting State and Civil Society: Southeast Asian Trajectories," *Modern Asian Studies* 35, 4 (2001): 921-951.

WEEK 6 (February 13): Political Regimes – Democracy and Liberalism

- Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "Is the Middle Class a Harbinger of Democracy? Evidence from Southeast Asia." Draft manuscript.
- Mark R. Thompson, "The Paradoxes of 'Vernacularised' Liberalism in Southeast Asia," *Asian Studies Review* 47, 1 (2023): 16-35.
- Lisandro Claudio, "A Research Agenda for the Study of Southeast Asian Liberalisms," *Asian Studies Review* 47, 1 (2023): 36-53.

- Roman David, Aung Kaung Myat, and Ian Holliday, "Liberalism and Illiberalism in Myanmar's National League for Democracy," *Party Politics* 0, 0 (2023): 1-12. [published online 14 October 2023]
- Diego Fossati, Burhanuddin Muhtadi, and Eve Warburton, "Why Democrats Abandon Democracy: Evidence from Four Survey Experiments," *Party Politics* 28, 3 (2022): 554-566.
- Tyrell Haberkorn, "Under and beyond the Law: Monarchy, Violence, and History in Thailand," *Politics and Society* 49, 3 (2021): 311-336.

Recommended:

- Aim Sinpeng, *Opposing Democracy in the Digital Age: The Yellow Shirts in Thailand* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2021).
- Ward Berenschot, Henk Shulte Nordholt, and Laurens Bakker, eds. *Citizenship and Democratization in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- Benedict R. Anderson, "Murder and Progress in Modern Siam," *New Left Review* 181 (1990): 33-48.
- Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "The Paradox of Thailand's 1997 'People's Constitution': Be Careful What You Wish For," *Asian Survey* 48, 3 (2008): 373-392.
- Duncan McCargo, "Network Monarchy and Political Crises in Thailand," *Pacific Review* 18, 4 (2005): 499-519.
- Dan Slater, "Indonesia's Accountability Trap: Party Cartels and Presidential Power after Democratic Transition," *Indonesia* 78 (2004): 61-92.
- Edward Aspinall, "The Surprising Democratic Behemoth: Indonesia in Comparative Asian Perspective," *Journal of Asian Studies* 74, 4 (2015): 889-902.
- Saiful Mujani and William R. Liddle, "Muslim Indonesia's Secular Democracy," *Asian Survey* 49, 4 (2009): 575-590.
- Walid Jumblatt Abdullah, "The Mahathir Effect in Malaysia's 2018 Election: The Role of Credible Personalities in Regime Transitions," *Democratization* 26, 3 (2019): 521-536.

WEEK 7 (February 20): Populism and Illiberalism

- Thomas Pepinsky, "Southeast Asia: Voting against Disorder," *Journal of Democracy* 28, 2 (2017): 120-131.
- Nicole Curato, "Politics of Anxiety, Politics of Hope: Penal Populism and Duterte's Rise to Power," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 35, 3 (2016): 91-109.
- Vedi Hadiz and Richard Robison, "Competing Populisms in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia," *International Political Science Review* 38, 4 (2017): 488-502.
- Michael Hatherell and Alistair Welsh, "Populism and the Risks of Conceptual Overreach: A Case Study from Indonesia," *Representation* 56, 1 (2020): 53-69.
- Kevin Hewison, "Reluctant Populists: Learning Populism in Thailand," *International Political Science Review* 38, 4 (2017): 426-440.
- Johanna Garnett, "Democracy Icon or Demagogue? Aung San Suu Kyi and Authoritarian Populism in Myanmar," in D.B. Subedi, Howard Brasted, Karin von Storkirch, and Alan Scott, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Populism in the Asia Pacific*, (London: Routledge, 2023).

Recommended:

Mark R. Thompson, "Bloodied Democracy: Duterte and the Death of Liberal Reformism in the Philippines," *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 35, 3 (2016): 39-68.

WEEK 8 (February 27): Authoritarianism – Coercion and Performance Legitimacy

- Donald K. Emmerson, "Region and Recalcitrance: Rethinking Democracy through Southeast Asia," *Pacific Review* 8, 2 (1995): 223-248.
- Nicole Curato and Diego Fossati, "Authoritarian Innovations: Crafting Support for a Less Democratic Southeast Asia," *Democratization* 27, 6 (2020): 1006-1020.
- Marco Bunte, "Ruling but not Governing: Tutelary Regimes and the Case of Myanmar," *Government and Opposition* 57, 2 (2022): 336-352.
- Dan Slater, "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia," *Comparative Politics* 36, 1 (2003): 81-101.
- Elvin Ong, "Complementary Institutions in Authoritarian Regimes: The Everyday Politics of Constituency Service in Singapore," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15, 3 (2015): 361-390.
- Kimly Ngoun, "Adaptive Authoritarian Resilience: Cambodian Strongman's Quest for Legitimacy," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 52, 1 (2022): 23-44.
- Nhu Truong, "Opposition Repertoires under Authoritarian Rule: Vietnam's 2016 Self-Nomination Movement," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 21, 1 (2021): 117-139.

Recommended:

- Mark R. Thompson, *Authoritarian Modernism in East Asia* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019).
- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, "An Approach for Analysing State-Society Relations in Vietnam," *Sojourn* 33, S (2018): 156-198.
- Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, *Everyday Economic Survival in Myanmar* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2018).
- Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, "The Politics of Everyday Life in Twenty-First Century Myanmar," *Journal of Asian Studies* 70, 3 (2011): 641-656.
- Elvin Ong, "Electoral Manipulation, Opposition Power, and Institutional Change: Contesting for Electoral Reform in Singapore, Malaysia, and Cambodia," *Electoral Studies* 54 (August 2018): 159-171.
- Stefano Ruzza, Giuseppe Gabusi, and Davide Pellegrino, "Authoritarian Resilience through Top-Down Transformation: Making Sense of Myanmar's Incomplete Transition," *Italian Political Science Review / Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica* 49, 2 (2019): 193-209.
- Aurel Croissant and Jil Kamerling, "Why do Military Regimes Institutionalize? Constitution-making and Elections as Political Survival Strategy in Myanmar," *Asian Journal of Political Science* 21, 2 (2013): 105-125.
- Stephen Ortmann and Mark R. Thompson, "China and the 'Singapore Model,'" *Journal of Democracy* 27, 1 (2016): 39-48.

WEEK 9 (March 12): Engaging with the Past: Genocide, Human Rights, and Reconciliation

Abstract for Research Paper Due

- Alexander Hinton, *The Justice Façade: Trials of Transition in Cambodia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Chapters to be assigned.
- Rachel Hughes, "The Abject Artefacts of Memory: Photographs from Cambodia's Genocide," *Media, Culture, and Society* 25, 1 (2013): 23-44.
- Martijn Eickhoff, Gerry van Klinken, and Geoffrey Robinson, "1965 Today: Living with the Indonesian Massacres," *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, 4 (2017): 449-464.
- Katharine MacGregor, "Exposing Impunity: Memory and Human Rights Activism in Indonesia and Argentina," *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, 4 (2017): 551-573.

Recommended:

The whole set of articles on the 1965 Indonesia massacre in *Journal of Genocide Research* 19, 4 (2017).

WEEK 10 (March 19): Political Economy – Growth and Inequality

- Andrew MacIntyre, "Business, Government and Development: Northeast and Southeast Asian Comparisons," in MacIntyre, ed., *Business and Government in Industrialising Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 1-28.
- Richard Stubbs, "War and Economic Development: Export-Oriented Industrialization in East and Southeast Asia," *Comparative Politics* 31, 3 (1999): 337-355.
- Richard F. Doner, Bryan K. Ritchie, and Dan Slater, "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of the Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective," *International Organization* 59, 2 (2005): 327-361.
- Shigeko Hayashi, "The Developmental State in the Era of Globalization: Beyond the Northeast Asian Model of Political Economy," *Pacific Review* 23, 1 (2010): 45-69.
- Erik Martinez Kuhonta, *The Institutional Imperative: The Politics of Equitable Development in Southeast Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).
Read all except chapter 7.

Recommended:

- Richard F. Doner and Ben Ross Schneider, "The Middle-Income Trap: More Politics than Economics," *World Politics* 68, 4 (2016): 608-644.
- Thomas Pepinsky, *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Ruth McVey, "The Materialization of the Southeast Asian Entrepreneur," in McVey, ed., *Southeast Asian Capitalists* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1993), 7-33.
- Gary Hawes and Hong Liu, "Explaining the Dynamics of the Southeast Asian Political

- Economy: State, Society, and the Search for Economic Growth," *World Politics* 45, 4 (1993): 629-660.
- Richard F. Doner, "Approaches to the Politics of Economic Growth in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50, 4 (1991): 818-849.
- Ruth McVey, "Of Greed and Violence and Other Signs of Progress," in McVey, ed., *Money and Power in Provincial Thailand* (Copenhagen: NIAS Press, 2000), 1-29.
- Jomo K.S., *A Question of Class: Capital, the State, and Uneven Development in Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- Jonathan Rigg, *Southeast Asia: The Human Landscape of Modernization and Development* (New York: Routledge, 1997).
- Jonathan Rigg, *Challenging Southeast Asian Development: The Shadows of Success* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

WEEK 11 (March 26): Peasant Resistance and Everyday Politics

- James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Read all except chapters 3 and 4.
- Andrew Walker, *Thailand's Political Peasants: Power in the Modern Rural Economy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012). Chapters to be assigned.
- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, *The Power of Everyday Politics: How Vietnamese Peasants Transformed National Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Chapter 1.

Recommended:

- James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).
- Samuel Popkin, *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).
- James C. Scott and Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, eds., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in Southeast Asia* (New York: Routledge, 1986).
- Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, *Everyday Politics in the Philippines: Class and Status Relations in a Central Luzon Village* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

WEEK 12 (April 2): Religion and Politics

- David T. Buckley, *Faithful to Secularism: The Religious Politics of Democracy in Ireland, Senegal, and the Philippines* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017). Chapters to read: Introduction, 1, 6, and 7.
- Jeremy Menchik, "Productive Intolerance: Godly Nationalism in Indonesia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 56, 3 (2014): 591-621.
- Diana Afrianty, "Rising Public Piety and the Status of Women in Indonesia Two Decades after Reformasi," *TRaNS: Trans Regional and National Studies of Southeast Asia* 8, 1 (2020): 65-80.

Nick Cheesman, ed., Special issue *Interpreting Communal Violence in Myanmar* in *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47, 3 (2017). Articles to be assigned.

Recommended:

John T. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Ardeth Maung Thawngmung, "The Politics of Indigeneity in Myanmar: Competing Narratives in Rakhine State," *Asian Ethnicity* 17, 4 (2016): 527–547.

Jacques Bertrand and Alexandre Pelletier. "Violent Monks in Myanmar: Scapegoating and the Contest for Power," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 23.3 (2017): 257–279.

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WEEK 13 (April 9): Methodology, Area Studies, and Theory

Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, "Introduction," in Kuhonta, Slater, and Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 1-29.

Special issue edited by Mikko Huotari and Jurgen Ruland, "Context, Concepts, and Comparisons in Southeast Asian Studies," *Pacific Affairs* 87, 3 (September 2014) on Southeast Asia and Methodology. [Read all articles in the special issue.](#)

Patrick Köllner, Rudra Sil, and Ariel I. Ahram, "Comparative Area Studies: What Is It, What It Can Do," in Ariel I. Ahram, Patrick Köllner, and Rudra Sil, eds., *Comparative Area Studies: Methodological Rationales and Cross-Regional Applications* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-32 [online pagination].

Rudra Sil, "Triangulating Area Studies, Not Just Methods: How Cross-Regional Comparison Aids Qualitative and Mixed Methods Research," in Ariel I. Ahram, Patrick Köllner, and Rudra Sil, eds., *Comparative Area Studies: Methodological Rationales and Cross-Regional Applications* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1-30 [online pagination].

Recommended:

Erik Martinez Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

[*Students preparing for the Ph.D. Comprehensive Exam in Southeast Asian Politics are very strongly encouraged to read through the literature reviews in this book*]