

Political Science 36500 & 26500
State, Society, and Democratization in Southeast Asia

Winter 2008
Tuesday & Thursday 3:00 – 4:20pm
Pick 016

Dan Slater
Pick 507
Office Phone: 773-702-2941
E-Mail: slater@uchicago.edu
Website: <http://home.uchicago.edu/~slater>
Office Hours: Wednesday 3-5pm

T.A.: Diana Young-Hwa Kim (yhkim11@uchicago.edu)

This course provides a broad and cursory overview of the evolution of Southeast Asia's highly diverse political systems. It focuses on how the historical shaping of state power and social structures has helped shape prospects for contemporary democratization. The first segment sketches how the region as a whole was influenced (somewhat similarly and simultaneously) by processes of state formation, Western imperialism, the intensification of capitalist modes of production and exchange, Japanese military occupation, the rise of nationalism and onset of decolonization, Cold War rivalry, and democratic breakdown. After making a week-long foray into democratization theory, we consider the value of competing approaches in understanding why democratization movements ultimately succeeded at toppling authoritarian regimes in two specific cases (Indonesia and the Philippines), while failing in two others (Burma and Malaysia).

Weekly Readings and Writing Assignments

The following five books are available for purchase at the Seminary Co-Op Bookstore and on reserve at Regenstein Library. (Article- and chapter-length readings can be accessed through the course Chalk site, under "Library Course Reserves.")

- Norman G. Owen et. al., *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia* (Hawaii 2005)
- Alfred W. McCoy, *Closer Than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippine Military Academy* (Yale/Anvil 1999)
- Mary P. Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Cornell/Singapore 2004)
- Edward Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia* (Stanford 2005)
- Meredith L. Weiss, *Protest and Possibilities: Civil Society and Coalitions for Political Change in Malaysia* (Stanford 2005)

Each student is required to write **four** short (about 2-3 page) response papers to the weekly readings over the course of the quarter. Please put hard copies of these papers in my box in Pick 401 **by 2pm** on the day of class for which the readings are assigned. Although students have discretion on which specific readings they respond to, each student is expected to write **at least two** of the four essays during Part I of the course.

There will also be take-home midterm and final exams, requiring about 6-8 pages of writing each. *Students who wish to write a final research paper of around 15-20 pages in lieu of the take-home exams may do so with the consent of the instructor.* Final grades will be based on the two take-home exams (30% each for a total of 60%), the four weekly papers (5% each for a total of 20%), and class participation (20%).

Course Schedule

Part I: State and Society in Southeast Asian History

January 8: Course Overview

January 10: Introducing the Region and the Approach

- Owen et. al., pp. 1-15.
- Benedict Anderson, "Introduction," in *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*, New York: Verso (1998), pp. 1-20.
- Atul Kohli, "State, Society, and Development," in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner (eds.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, New York: Norton (2002), pp. 84-117 [especially 85-91 and 114-117].
- Tony Day, *Fluid Iron: State Formation in Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press (2002), pp. 1-37.

January 15: Colonial Transformations of State and Society (I)

- Owen et. al., 35-63, 73-81.
- James C. Scott, "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia," *American Political Science Review* 66:1 (March 1972), pp. 91-113.
- Michael Adas, "From Avoidance to Confrontation: Peasant Protest in Precolonial and Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23:2 (April 1981), pp. 217-247.

January 17: Colonial Transformations of State and Society (II)

- Owen et. al., 201-221.
- Carl A. Trocki, "Drugs, Taxes, and Chinese Capitalism in Southeast Asia," in Timothy Brook and Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi (eds.), *Opium Regimes: China, Britain, and Japan 1839-1952*, Berkeley: University of California Press (2000), pp. 79-104.
- 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 (May 2000), pp. 277-306.

January 22: Divergent Pathways to National Independence (I)

- Owen et. al., pp. 252-334.
- 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), pp. 50-71.

January 24: Divergent Pathways to National Independence (II)

- Owen et. al., pp. 335-375 [especially 335-359].
- Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*, New York: Cambridge University Press (2001), pp. 67-133.

January 29: Southeast Asia During and Beyond the Cold War (I)

- Owen et. al., pp. 379-398, 409-447.
- Benedict R. O’G Anderson, “Old State, New Society: Indonesia’s New Order in Comparative-Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 42:3 (May 1983), pp. 477-496.

January 31: Southeast Asia During and Beyond the Cold War (II)

- Owen et. al. pp. 448-508 [especially 455-467 and 497-506].
- Joel Rocamora, “The New Authoritarian Ideology in Southeast Asia” and “The Structural Imperative of Authoritarian Rule,” *Southeast Asia Chronicle* 65 (November 1978), pp. 1-19.

*** MIDTERM EXAM DISTRIBUTED AFTER CLASS;
DUE 10AM MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4th ***

II. Southeast Asian Democratization and Dictatorship

February 5: Democratization Theory (I)

- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, “What Democracy Is....And Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy* 2:3 (Summer 1991), pp. 75-88.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press (1991), pp. 31-72.
- Dan Slater, “Democracies and Dictatorships Do Not Float Freely: Structural Sources of Political Regimes in Southeast Asia,” in Erik Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu (eds.), *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*, Stanford: Stanford University Press (forthcoming), pp. 1-33.

February 7: Democratization Theory (II)

- Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (1986), pp. 15-36.
- Eva Bellin, “Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries,” *World Politics* 52:1 (January 2000), pp. 175-205.

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

February 12: The Military and Democratization in the Philippines (I)

- McCoy, *Closer Than Brothers*, pp. ix – xii, 1-40, 74-180 [especially 102-180].

February 14: The Military and Democratization in the Philippines (II)

- McCoy, *Closer Than Brothers*, pp. 183-352 [especially 183-258].

February 19: The Military and Authoritarianism in Burma (I)

- Callahan, *Making Enemies*, pp. xi – xvi and 1-113.

February 21: The Military and Authoritarianism in Burma (II)

- Callahan, *Making Enemies*, pp. 114-228.

February 26: The Military and Authoritarianism in Burma (III)

- James F. Guyot, “Burma in 1988: Perestroika with a Military Face,” *Southeast Asian Affairs* 16 (1989), pp. 107-133.
- Kurt Schock, “People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma,” *Social Forces* 46:3 (March 1999), pp. 355-375.
- Priscilla Clapp, “Burma’s Long Road to Democracy,” United States Institute of Peace Special Report 193 (November 2007), pp. 1-15.

February 28: Civil Society and Democratization in Indonesia (I)

- Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto*, pp. xi – xii and 1-144.

March 4: Civil Society and Democratization in Indonesia (II)

- Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto*, pp. 145-273.

March 6: Civil Society and Authoritarianism in Malaysia (I)

- Weiss, *Protest and Possibilities*, pp. 1-126.

March 11: Civil Society and Authoritarianism in Malaysia (II)

- Weiss, *Protest and Possibilities*, pp. 127-253.
- 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.
- Thomas Pepinsky, “Malaysia: Turnover Without Change,” *Journal of Democracy* 18:1 (January 2007), pp. 113-127.

*** FINAL EXAM DISTRIBUTED SATURDAY, MARCH 15TH;
DUE 5PM TUESDAY, MARCH 18TH ***