

**City University of Hong Kong
Course Syllabus**

**offered by Department of Asian and International Studies
with effect from Semester A 2019/20**

Part I Course Overview

Authoritarian Resilience and Democratic Change in East Asia

Course Title:

AIS5032

Course Code:

One semester

Course Duration:

3

Credit Units:

P5

Level:

English

**Medium of
Instruction:**

English

**Medium of
Assessment:**

Nil

Prerequisites:

(Course Code and Title)

Nil

Precursors:

(Course Code and Title)

Nil

Equivalent Courses:

(Course Code and Title)

Nil

Exclusive Courses:

(Course Code and Title)

Nil

Part II Course Details

1. Abstract

This course offers a broad overview of the post-WWII evolution of Northeast and Southeast Asia's varied political systems. It seeks to understand why, over the past decades, the region has seen the rise, demise and return of authoritarian modes of governance, in parallel with the emergence of multifaceted processes of political liberalisation. It examines the various challenges of democratic transition and consolidation in the region, but also rapid growth and the developmental state, military intervention in politics, civil society, political contention, populism, party systems, political clientelism and dynasticism, international democracy promotion and their impact on authoritarian rule and democratic change in the region. How can we make sense of East Asia's highly diverse political institutions, regime formation and durability, historical legacies and cultural dynamics, and what can we learn from the region? The course will be structured thematically so that students will be able to study East Asia comparatively while making connections with the broader fields of comparative politics.

Course Aims:

The course seeks to enable students to analyse the causes and consequences of the resilience and challenges of non-liberal political regimes in East Asia while relating historical developments and contemporary dynamics in the region to social science theories about comparative democratization, regime change and authoritarian rule. By exposing students to a variety of empirical studies on Northeast and Southeast Asia's political contexts and institutional systems, as well as cutting-edge theoretical debates on key topics in the region, the course will help them construe why certain countries are democratic and others are not. By the end of the course, students will be ready to develop ideas and formulate their own research questions about democracy, dictatorship, and everything in-between in the region – and beyond.

2. Course Intended Learning Outcomes (CILOs)

(CILOs state what the student is expected to be able to do at the end of the course according to a given standard of performance.)

No.	CILOs	Weighting (if applicable)	Discovery-enriched curriculum related learning outcomes (please tick where appropriate)		
			A1	A2	A3
1.	Understand and apply theories of regime change and continuity in East Asia		√	√	
2.	Reflect critically on state power, political elites, and social forces under different institutional settings		√	√	
3.	Examine and evaluate processes of political transition, democratization and democratic regression		√	√	
4.	Design and construct models of resilient political institutions		√	√	√
5.	Apply multi-disciplinary critical thinking skills to solve research problems, consider new approaches, and demonstrate the ability to accomplish innovation		√	√	√
		100%			

A1: Attitude

Develop an attitude of discovery/innovation/creativity, as demonstrated by students possessing a strong sense of curiosity, asking questions actively, challenging assumptions or engaging in inquiry together with teachers.

A2: Ability

Develop the ability/skill needed to discover/innovate/create, as demonstrated by students possessing critical thinking skills to assess ideas, acquiring research skills, synthesizing knowledge across disciplines or applying academic knowledge to self-life problems.

A3: Accomplishments

Demonstrate accomplishment of discovery/innovation/creativity through producing /constructing creative works/new artefacts, effective solutions to real-life problems or new processes.

3. Teaching and Learning Activities (TLAs)

(TLAs designed to facilitate students' achievement of the CILOs.)

TLA	Brief Description	CILO No.						Hours/week (if applicable)
		1	2	3	4	5		
1.	Lectures, readings and class debates	√	√	√		√		
2.	Presentations in class (group)	√	√	√	√	√		
3.	Book review (c. 1,500 words)	√	√	√		√		
4.	Position paper (c. 3,000 words)	√	√	√	√	√		
5.	Final exam (2 hours)	√	√	√	√	√		

4. Assessment Tasks/Activities (ATs)

(ATs are designed to assess how well the students achieve the CILOs.)

Assessment Tasks/Activities	CILO No.						Weighting	Remarks
	1	2	3	4	5			
Continuous Assessment: 100 %								
Attendance and participation	√	√	√	√	√		10%	Weekly
Presentation	√	√	√	√	√		20%	Weekly
Book review	√	√	√		√		20%	Week 6
Position paper	√	√	√	√	√		30%	Week 11
In-class examination (mini-essays)	√	√	√	√	√		20%	Week 13 (two questions related to the required readings in the form of mini-essays to be completed in 2 hours)
Examination: Nil (duration: N/A, if applicable)								
							100%	

5. Assessment Rubrics

(Grading of student achievements is based on student performance in assessment tasks/activities with the following rubrics.)

Assessment Task	Criterion	Excellent (A+, A, A-)	Good (B+, B, B-)	Fair (C+, C, C-)	Marginal (D)	Failure (F)
1. Attendance and participation, including in class debates	Quality of contribution to class discussions and intervention	Continuous contributions to classroom discussions and interventions that show a high level of analysis	Frequent contributions to classroom discussions and interventions with a good analysis level	Infrequent contributions to classroom discussions but which reveal attempts at analysis	Few contributions to classroom discussions and contributions that show little analytical insight	No contributions to classroom discussions and repeated absence
2. Presentation	Quality of argument, structure of class presentation Cohesiveness of overall presentation oral delivery visual aids Evidence of research	Excellently structured, supporting an analytical argument backed by excellent research and answering set topic or question, clear speech, excellent use of powerpoint or similar tools	A good structure at least partially supporting an analytical argument, backed by good research answering set topic or question, clear speech, good use of powerpoint or similar tools	Adequate structure, to some extent supporting an analytical argument backed by some research, providing some answers to a set topic or question, adequate speech and use of powerpoint	Limited structure that provides little support to analytical argument backed by little research providing few answers to a set topic or question, unadequate speech or use of powerpoint	No recognizable structure without any analytical argument backed by no discernible research, providing no answers to a set topic or question, poor speech and use of powerpoint or similar tools
3. and 4. Position paper and book review	Quality and structure of evidence-based argument and clarity of position taken	Excellent analytical argument, Excellent use of contemporary events, and theories/models, and a well-argued position with a clear structure, extensive and high quality research incorporated into text, few spelling or grammatical mistakes	Good analytical argument, good use of events and theories/models, clear structure, good range and quality of materials incorporated into text, limited spelling or grammatical mistakes	Mostly descriptive argument, some use of events and theories/models, problematic structure, limited range and quality of materials incorporated into text, spelling or grammatical mistakes do not hinder comprehension	Descriptive argument, minimal or no use of contemporary events and theories/models, unclear structure, limited range and low quality of research materials incorporated into text, spelling or grammatical mistakes, some evidence of plagiarised text	No argument, no use of contemporary events and theories/models, unclear structure, minimal range and quality of research materials incorporated into text, frequent spelling or grammatical mistakes, substantial evidence of plagiarised text

Part III Other Information (more details can be provided separately in the teaching plan)

1. Keyword Syllabus

(An indication of the key topics of the course.)

Democracy; Democratization; Democratic Transition and Consolidation; Modernization Theory; Authoritarianism; Authoritarian Durability; Personal Rule; Military Intervention; Sultanistic Regime; Hybrid Regime; State Formation; Developmental State; Elites; Elections; Electoral Authoritarianism; Populism; Party Systems and Political Parties; Constitution; Patronage; Clientelism; Dynastic Politics; (Neo)Patrimonialism; Parliaments; Political Culture; Asian Values; Ethnicity and Identity; Religion; Civil Society; Social Movement; Middle Class; Contentious Politics; ASEAN Charter; Human Rights.

Weekly schedule

Week 1 – Overview. Political Regimes in East Asia

The first session introduces some of the main research questions to be discussed and clarifies the assignments and responsibilities of the students. Among the topics to be discussed: why is there such a diversity of political regimes in Northeast and Southeast Asia? How can we explain democratic change and authoritarian continuities in the region? Is there a distinctive process of democratization in East Asia?

Required readings

- Thompson, Mark R., 2015. “Democracy with Asian Characteristics”, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 74(4): 875-887.
- Dittmer, Lowell, 2018. “Asia in 2017: Return of the Strongman”, *Asian Survey* 58(1): 1-9.

Further readings

- Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Chapter 1 “Understanding Political Change in Southeast Asia”, pp. 1-29].
- Slater, Dan, 2008. “Democracies and Dictatorships Do Not Float Freely: Structural Sources of Political Regimes in Southeast Asia,” in Erik M. Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 55-79.
- Lind, Jennifer, 2011. “Democratization and Stability in East Asia”, *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2): 409-436.
- Case, William, 2015. “Democracy’s Mixed Fortunes in Southeast Asia: Torpor, Change and Trade-Offs”, in William Case, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge, pp. 3-23.
- Chang, Yu-tzung, Yun-han Chu and Chong-Min Park, 2007. “Authoritarian Nostalgia in Asia”, *Journal of Democracy* 18(3): 66-80.

Week 2 – Historical and Cultural Legacies

The session examines East Asia as a region with common themes such as “cultures”, historical legacies, class formation and state-building. How did colonial rule influence (or not) contemporary East Asian states? What are the historical sources of state-making, authoritarianism, democracy and regime legitimacy in the region? How much have cultural features affected political institutions and developments? What role does “culture” play in the formation and maintenance of authoritarian rule in the region? Is the debate on “Asian Values” over?

Required readings

- Boyd, Richard, and Tak-Wing Ngo, 2006. “Reconnecting the State to the Dynamics of its Making”, in Boyd, Richard and Tak-Wing Ngo, eds., *State Making in Asia*, Abingdon: Routledge, 1-30.
- Fukuyama, Francis, 2013. “The Patterns of History”, in Larry Diamond, Mark F. Plattner and Chu, Yun-han, eds., *Democracy in East Asia: A New Century*, Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-15.
- Sidel, John T., 2008. “Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Revisited: Colonial State and Chinese Immigrant in the Making of Modern Southeast Asia”, *Comparative Politics* 40(2): 127-147.

Further readings

- Kim, Sungmoon, 2014. *Confucian Democracy in East Asia: Theory and Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Introduction “Toward Confucian Democratic Theory”, pp. 1-24].

- Pye, Lucian W., 2000. “‘Asian Values’: From Dynamos to Dominoes?”, in Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, New York: Basic Books, pp. 244-255.
- Neher, Clark, 1994. “Asian Style Democracy”, *Asian Survey* 34(11): 949-961.
- Sen, Amartya, 1997. *Human Rights and Asian Values [The Sixteenth Morgenthau Memorial Lecture on Ethics and Foreign Policy]*, New York: Carnegie Council on Ethic and International Affairs.
- Thompson, Mark R., 2015. “Dead Idea (Still) Walking: The Legacy of the ‘Asian Democracy’ and ‘Asian Values’ Debate”, in William Case, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge, pp. 24-37.

Week 3 – Authoritarianism and the Developmental State

This lecture interrogates the relationship between state-led economic development and authoritarianism in post-war East Asia. What are the main features of the developmental state approach? Is capitalism possible without democracy? Was that developmental model buried with the Asian financial crisis of 1997?

Required readings

- Wong, Joseph, 2004. “The Adaptative Developmental State in East Asia”, *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4: 345-362.
- Beeson, Mark, 2009. “Developmental States in East Asia: A Comparison of the Japanese and Chinese Experiences”, *Asian Perspective* 33(2): 5-39.

Further readings

- Doner, Richard F., Bryan K. Ritchie and Dan Slater, 2005. “Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental States: Northeast and Southeast Asia in Comparative Perspective”, *International Organization* 59(2): 327-361.
- George, Cherian, 2000. *Singapore: The Air-Conditioned Nation: Essays on the Politics of Comfort and Control, 1980-2000*, Singapore: Landmark.
- Stubbs, Richard. 1999. “War and Economic Development: Export-Oriented Industrialization in East and Southeast Asia”, *Comparative Politics* 31(3): 337-355.
- Tan, Kenneth Paul, 2012. “The Ideology of Pragmatism: Neo-liberal Globalisation and Political Authoritarianism Singapore”, *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 42(1): 67-92.
- Pei, Minxin, 2006. *China’s Trapped Transition: The Limits of Developmental Autocracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Stubbs, Richard, 2009. “What Ever Happened to the East Asian Developmental State? The Unfolding Debate”, *The Pacific Review* 22(1): 1-22.
- Carroll, Toby and Darryl S. L. Jarvis, eds., 2017. *Asia after the Developmental State: Disembedding Autonomy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 4 – Military and Politics

During this session we will discuss the role and influence of armed forces in East Asian politics. Why have military institutions proved key political actors in the post-war context? What role does the military play in the (un)making of authoritarian regimes? What forms does military intervention take in the region? How to define stable civil-military relations? Is democratic, civilian control of the armed forces possible in East Asia?

Required readings

- Alagappa, Muthiah, 2001. “Investigating and Explaining Change: An Analytical Framework”, in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Coercion and Government: The Declining Role of the Military in Asia*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 29-67.
- Mietzner, Marcus, 2013. “Conflict and Leadership: The Resurgent Political Role of the Military in Southeast Asia”, in Marcus Mietzner, ed., *The Political Resurgence of the Military in Southeast Asia: Conflict and Leadership*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-23.

Further readings

- Alagappa, Muthiah, 2001. “Military Professionalism in Asia: Ascendance of the Old Professionalism”, in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Military Professionalism in Asia: Conceptual and Empirical Perspectives*, Honolulu, HI: East-West Center, pp. 179-213.
- Croissant, Aurel and David Kuehn, 2009. “Patterns of Civil Control of the Military in East Asia’s New Democracies”, *Journal of East Asian Studies* 9(2): 187-217.
- Egretau, Renaud, 2016. *Caretaking Democratization: The Military and Political Change in Myanmar*, New York: Oxford University Press.

- Barany, Zoltan, 2012. *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mietzner, Marcus, 2009. *Military Politics, Islam and the State in Indonesia: From Turbulent Transition to Democratic Transition*, Singapore: ISEAS Publications, [Introduction “Military in Political Transitions: Theories and the Case of Indonesia”, pp. 1-34].
- Ledberg, Sofia K., 2018. “Analysing Chinese Civil-Military Relations: A Bottom-Up Approach”, *The China Quarterly* 234(2): 377-398.
- Lee, Terence, 2015. *Defect of Defend: Military Responses to Popular Protests in Authoritarian Asia*, Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cruz de Castro, Renato, 2012. “The Cycle of Militarisation, Demilitarisation and Remilitarisation in the Philippines”, in Rakesh Basrur and Kartik Bommakanti, eds., *Demilitarising the State: The South and Southeast Asian Experience*, Singapore: RSIS Monograph No. 25, pp. 110-138.
- Chambers, Paul W. and Napisa Waitoolkiat, eds., 2017. *Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia*, Copenhagen: NIAS Press.

Week 5 – Economic Development and Democratization

This lecture questions whether East Asia fit into popular theories about democratic transition and the classic relationship between economic liberalisation and democratization. What types of challenges does the region present for modernization theory? Have middle classes in East Asia proved significant actors of democratization, or rather partisans of authoritarian stability?

Required readings

- Nathan, Andrew, 2016, “The Puzzle of the Chinese Middle Class”, *Journal of Democracy* 27(2): 5-19.
- Thompson, Mark R. 2010. “Modernization Theory’s Last Redoubt: Modernization and Democratization in East and Southeast Asia,” in Yin-Wah Chu, ed., *East Asian Democracies after Twenty Years*, London: Routledge, pp. 85-101.
- Reilly, Ben, 2016. “An Elephant’s Graveyard: Democracy and Development in East Asia”, *Government and Opposition* 52(1): 162-183.

Further readings

- Wong, Joseph, 2013. “From Developmental States to Welfare States”, in Larry Diamond, Mark F. Plattner and Chu, Yun-han, eds., *Democracy in East Asia: A New Century*, Baltimore, MA: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 31-47.
- Sinpeng, Aim and Aries A. Arugay, 2015. “The Middle Class and Democracy in Southeast Asia”, in William Case, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge, pp. 102-116.
- Lee, Junhan, 2002. “Primary Causes of Asian Democratization: Dispelling Conventional Myths”, *Asian Survey* 42(6): 821-837.
- Chen, Jie and Chunlong Lu, 2011. “Democratization and the Middle Class in China: The Middle Class’s Attitudes towards Democracy”, *Political Research Quarterly* 64(3): 705-719.
- Rigger, Shelley, 2004. “Taiwan’s Best-Case Democratization,” *Orbis* 48(2): 285-292.
- Jones, David Martin, 1998. “Democratization, Civil Society, and Illiberal Middle Class Culture in Pacific Asia”, *Comparative Politics* 30(2): 147-169.
- Gainsborough, Martin, 2002. “Political Change in Vietnam: In Search of the Middle Class Challenge to the State”, *Asian Survey* 42(5): 694-707.

Week 6 – Political Contention, Protests and Revolt against Authoritarianism

Students will engage today with the diversity of citizens’ response to authoritarian rule in the region. How did violent revolutions and *People’s Power* movements emerge in East Asia? What role do social movements play in contesting authoritarian power? How did regimes respond to political, and sometimes lethal, contention? Have popular protests and contentious politics made democracy progress in the region?

Required readings

- Slater, Dan, 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*, New York: Cambridge University Press [Chapter 7 “Contentious Politics and the Struggle for Democratization”, pp. 197-227].
- Xi Chen, 2012. *Social Protest and Contentious Authoritarianism in China*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [Chapter 2 “The Surge in Social Protests from a Historical Perspective”, pp. 27-55].

Further readings

- Boudreau, Vince, 2004. *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia*, New York: Cambridge University Press [Chapter 2 “Protest, Repression and Transition in Southeast Asia”, pp. 17-36].
- Kyaw Yin Hlaing, 2008. “Challenging the Authoritarian State: Buddhist Monk and Peaceful Protests in Burma”, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 32(1): 125-144.
- Fukuoka, Yuki, 2015. “Who Brought Down the Dictator? A Critical Reassessment of So-Called ‘People Power’ Revolutions in the Philippines and Indonesia”, *The Pacific Review* 28(3): 411-433.
- Slater, Dan, 2009. “Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia”, *American Journal of Sociology* 115(1): 203-254.
- Veg, Sebastian, 2015. “Legalistic and Utopian: Hong Kong’s Umbrella Movement”, *New Left Review* 92: 55-73.
- Kim, Quee-Young, 1996. “From Protest to Change of Regime: The 4-19 Revolt and the Fall of the Rhee Regime in South Korea”, *Social Forces* 74(4): 1179-1208.
- Scott, James C., 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press.

Week 7 – Civil Society and Democratization

We will explore how the emergence of “civil society” has contributed (or not) to democratization processes in East Asia. What are the patterns of non-violent mobilization and activism among groups, organizations and civic associations in the region? What role can civil society play under authoritarian rule? Can it also mobilize to promote anti-democratic values and illiberal behaviours?

Required readings

- Thompson, Mark R., 2008. “People Power Sours: Uncivil Society in Thailand and the Philippines”, *Current History* 107(712): 381-387.
- Weiss, Meredith L., 2015. “Civil Society and Democratization in Southeast Asia: What is the Connection?”, in William Case, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge, pp. 135-146.

Further readings

- Kim, Sunhyuk, 2002. “Civil Society and Democratization in South Korea,” in Charles K. Armstrong, ed., *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy, and the State*, New York: Routledge, pp. 53-71.
- Alagappa, Muthiah, 2004. “Civil Society and Political Change: an Analytical Framework”, in Muthiah Alagappa, ed., *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 25-57.
- Oh, Jennifer S., 2012. “Strong State and Strong Civil Society in Contemporary South Korea”, *Asian Survey* 52(3): 528-549.
- Hansson, Eva and Weiss, Meredith L., eds., 2017. *Political Participation in Asia: Defining and Deploying Political Space*, London, Routledge.
- Kuhonta, Eric M. and Aim Sinpeng, 2014. “Democratic Regression in Thailand: The Ambivalent Role of Civil Society and Political Institutions”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 36(3): 333-355.
- Wigglesworth, Ann, 2013. “The Growth of Civil Society in Timor-Leste: Three Moments of Activism”, *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43(1): 51-74.
- Weiss, Meredith L., 2006. *Protest and Possibilities: Civil Society and Coalitions for Political Change in Malaysia*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press.
- Pekkanen, Robert, 2006. *Japan’s Dual Civil Society*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Week 8 – Institutions, Elections, and Party Systems

The session will discuss the role of (seemingly) democratic institutions in fostering democratization or sustaining authoritarian rule. What is the impact of the party systems over the nature of a political regime? Why do constitution-drafting processes matter? Can legislatures and regular elections undermine democracy? Why are single-party authoritarian regimes (often) so durable?

Required readings

- Hicken, Allan, 2008. “Developing Democracies in Southeast Asia: Theorizing the Role of Parties and Elections,” in Erik M. Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 80-101.

- Dressel, Björn and Marco Bünte, 2017. "Contesting Constitutionalism: Constitutional Politics in Southeast Asia", in Marco Bünte and Björn Dressel, eds., *Politics and Constitution in Southeast Asia*, London: Routledge, pp. 3-21.

Further readings

- Morgenbesser, Lee, 2016. *Behind the Façade: Elections under Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia*, Albany NY: SUNY Press.
- Slater, Dan and Joseph Wong, 2013. "The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia", *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 717-733.
- Brown, Kerry, 2011. *Ballot Box China: Grassroots Democracy in the Final Major One-Party State*, London: Zed Books.
- Pepinsky, Tom, 2014. "The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism", *British Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 631-653.
- Hicken, Allan and Eric M. Kuhonta, eds., 2015. *Party System Institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, Autocracies and the Shadows of the Past*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ma, Ngok, 2018. "Party Underdevelopment in Hong Kong: Hybrid Constraints and Value Changes", *Asian Survey* 58(3): 416-438.
- O'Brien, Kevin J. and Rongbin Han, 2009. "Path to Democracy? Assessing Village Elections in China", *Journal of Contemporary China* 18(6): 359-378.
- Rodan, Garry, 1996. "Elections without Representation: The Singapore Experience under the PAP", in Robert H. Taylor, ed., *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp. 61-89.

Week 9 – Elites, Clientelism and Dynasticism

Students will critically reflect on the persistence of various forms of (neo)patrimonialism, elitism, political clientelism and dynasticism in East Asia and discuss their impact on democracy, authoritarianism and the formation of hybrid regimes. What is electoral clientelism? Can the personalization of power become a central feature of democratic politics? Are dynastic politics and the dominance of political families anti-democratic?

Required readings

- Purdey, Jemma, 2016. "Political Families in Southeast Asia", *South East Asia Research* 24(3): 319-327.
- Aspinall, Edward, 2015. "Money Politics: Patronage and Clientelism in Southeast Asia", in William Case, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge, pp. 299-313.

Further readings

- Scott, James C., 1972. "Patron-Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia," *American Political Science Review* 66(1): 91-113.
- Gainsborough, Martin, 2012. "Elites vs. Reform in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam", *Journal of Democracy* 23(2): 35-46.
- Slater, Dan, 2003. "Iron Cage in an Iron Fist: Authoritarian Institutions and the Personalization of Power in Malaysia", *Comparative Politics* 36(1): 81-101.
- Teehankee, Julio C., 2001. "Emerging Dynasties in the Post-Marcos House of Representatives", *Philippine Political Science Journal* 22(45): 55-78.
- Selth, Andrew, 2017. *Aung San Suu Kyi and the Politics of Personality*, Brisbane: Griffith Asia Institute Regional Outlook Paper No. 55.
- Silverstein, Josef, 1990. "Aung San Suu Kyi: Is She Burma's Woman of Destiny?", *Asian Survey* 30(10): 1007-1019.
- Derichs, Claudia and Mark R. Thompson, eds., 2013. *Dynasties and Female Political Leaders in Asia: Gender, Power and Pedigree*, Berlin: LIT-Verlag.
- Taniguchi, N., 2008. "Diet Members and Seat Inheritance: Keeping it in the Family", in Sherry L. Martin and Gill Steel, eds., *Democratic Reform in Japan: Assessing the Impact*, Boulder CO, Lynne Rienner, pp. 65-80.
- Itoh, Mayumi, 2003. *The Hatoyama Dynasty: Japanese Political Leadership through the Generations*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Week 10 – Democratization in Divided Societies

The session investigates the multiple impacts of ethnic fragmentation and religious tensions on East Asia's political systems. How do divided societies protect (or subdue) minorities under different political regimes? Can, and does, democratization prevent ethnic and religious conflict? What role does Islam and Buddhism play in the region's politics? Can pluralism be managed solely through constitutionalism and the rule of law?

Required readings

- Lijphart, Arend, 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies", *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 96-109.
- Vasu, Norman, 2012. "Governance through Difference in Singapore: Corporatism's Composition, Characteristics, and Complications", *Asian Survey* 52(4): 734-753.

Further readings

- Hamayotsu, Kikue, 2008. "Beyond Doctrine and Dogma: Religion and Politics in Southeast Asia," in Erik M. Kuhonta, Dan Slater, and Tuong Vu, eds., *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis*, Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 171-198.
- Hefner, Robert W., 2001. "Introduction: Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia", in Robert W. Hefner, ed., *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*, Honolulu HI: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 1-58.
- Brown, David, 1988. "From Peripheral Communities to Ethnic Nations: Separatism in Southeast Asia", *Pacific Affairs* 61(1): 51-77.
- Helfner, Robert W., 2000. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Brown, Michael E. and Sumit Ganguly, eds., 2003. *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*, Cambridge MA: The MIT Press.
- Walton, Matthew J., 2013. "The 'Wages of Burman-ness': Ethnicity and Burman Privilege in Contemporary Myanmar", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43(1): 1-27.

Week 11 – Resilient Dictators

Why do some dictatorships appear to be so durable in East Asia, especially communist North Korea and sultanistic Brunei? What are the economic factors that strengthen (and can potentially weaken) these regimes? What types of political institutions make them more or less resilient? How to understand democratic regression (Thailand)? How to interpret the maintenance of praetorianism (Myanmar)?

Required readings

- Byman, Daniel and Jennifer Lind, 2010. "Pyongyang's Survival Strategy: Tools of Authoritarian Control in North Korea", *International Security* 35(1): 44-74.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan and Margaret E. Roberts, 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression", *American Political Science Review*, 107(2): 326-343.

Further readings

- Fitzpatrick, Mark, 2013. "North Korea: Is Regime Change the Answer?", *Survival* 55(3): 7-20.
- Case, William, 2010. "Low-Quality Democracy and Varied Authoritarianism: Elites and Regimes in Southeast Asia Today", in William Case, ed., *Contemporary Authoritarianism in Southeast Asia: Structures, Institutions and Agency*, London: Routledge, pp. 1-14.
- Mériéau, Eugénie, 2016. "Thailand's Deep State, Royal Power and the Constitutional Court (1997-2015)", *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46(3): 445-466.
- Verveij, Marco and Riccardo Pelizzo, 2009. "Singapore: Does Authoritarianism Pay?" *Journal of Democracy* 20(2): 18-32.
- Ortmann, Stephan and Mark R. Thompson, 2014. "China's Obsession with Singapore: Learning Authoritarian Modernity", *The Pacific Review* 27(3): 433-455.
- Egretéau, Renaud, 2016. *Caretaking Democratization: The Military and Political Change in Myanmar*, New York: Oxford University Press [Chapter 4: "Patterns of Persistent Praetorian Behaviours", pp. 81-97.
- De Vienne, Marie-Sybille, 2015. *Brunei: From the Age of Commerce to the 21st Century*, Singapore: NUS Press.

Week 12 – International and Regional Perspectives

The class will engage with the role of external factors in democratization processes and the maintenance of authoritarianism in the region. How influential are (Western-inspired) international norms and liberal-democratic principles? Why developing supranational norms and seemingly democratic institutions in East Asia? What are the prospects for an East Asian community and its impact on democratization and human rights protection? Is there a role for ASEAN in shaping the domestic politics of its ten member states?

Required readings

- Dosch, Jörn, 2012. “The Role of Civil Society in Cambodia’s Peace-Building Process: Have Foreign Donors Made a Difference?”, *Asian Survey* 52(6): 1067-1088.
- Beeson, Mark and Kelly Gerard, 2015. “ASEAN, Regionalism and Democracy”, in William Case, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge, pp. 54-67.

Further readings

- Wolman, Andrew, 2013. “National Human Rights Commissions and Asian Human Rights Norms”, *Asian Journal of International Law* 3(1): 77-99.
- Acharya, Amitav, 2003. “Democratization and the Prospects for Participatory Regionalism in Southeast Asia”, *Third World Quarterly* 24(2): 375-390.
- Dosch, Jörn, 2008. “ASEAN’s Reluctant Liberal Turn and the Thorny Road to Democracy Promotion”, *The Pacific Review* 24(1): 527-545.
- Manea, Maria-Gabriela, 2009. “How and Why Interaction Matters: ASEAN’s Regional Identity and Human Rights”, *Cooperation and Conflict* 44(1): 27-49.
- Baik, Tae-Ung, 2012. *Emerging Regional Human Rights Systems in Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, Matthew, 2014. “An Agreement to Disagree: The ASEAN Human Rights Declaration and the Absence of Regional Identity in Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs* 33(3): 107-129.
- Smith, Tony. 2012. *America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press [Chapter 2 “Democracy in the Philippines, pp. 37-59 and Chapter 6 “Democratizing Japan and Germany”, pp. 146-174]

Week 13 – Post-Truth and the Populist Challenge

In conclusion, students will debate whether liberal democracy is the best answer to East Asia’s problems. Is the presence of hybrid regimes the future of political trends in the region? Can, and should, East Asian nascent democracies fend off emerging challenges of populism and so-called “post-truth” politics?

Required readings

- Galston, William A., 2018. “The Populist Challenge to Liberal Democracy”. *Journal of Democracy* 29(2): 5-19.
- Perry, Elizabeth J., 2015. “The Populist Dream of Chinese Democracy”, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 74(4): 903-915.

Further readings

- Mizuno, Kosuke and Pasuk Phongpaichit, eds., 2009. *Populism in Asia*, Singapore: NUS Press [Introduction, pp. 1-17].
- Case, William, 2017. *Populist Threats and Democracy’s Fate in Southeast Asia: Thailand, the Philippines and Indonesia*, London: Routledge.
- Mietzner, Marcus, 2016. *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi’s Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia*, Washington DC: East-West Center Policy Studies No. 72.
- Kenny, Paul D., 2017. *Politics and Patronage: Why Populists Win Elections in India, Asia and Beyond*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, Mark R., 2016. “The Moral Economy of Electoralism and the Rise of Populism in the Philippines and Thailand”, *Journal of Developing Studies* 32(3): 246-269.
- Cheesman, Nick, 2014. “What Does the Rule of Law Have To Do with Democratization (in Myanmar)?”, *South East Asia Research* 22(2): 213-232.

2. Additional readings list

- Aspinall, Edward, 2005. *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press.
- Aspinall, Edward and Marcus Mietzner, eds., 2010. *Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions, and Society*, Singapore: ISEAS Publications.
- Bauer, Joanne R. and Daniel A. Bell, 1999. *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bertrand, Jacques. 2013. *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, David, 2003. *The State and Ethnic Politics in Southeast Asia*, London: Routledge.
- Case, William, ed., 2015. *The Routledge Handbook of Southeast Asian Democratization*, London: Routledge.
- Cheng, Tun-jen and Yun-han Chu, eds., 2018. *The Routledge Handbook of Democratization in East Asia*, London: Routledge.
- Chu, Yun-han, Larry Diamond, Andrew J. Nathan and Doh Chull Shin, 2008. *How East Asians View Democracy*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Diamond, Larry and Gi-wook Shin, eds., 2014. *New Challenges for Maturing Democracies in Taiwan and Korea*, Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Diamond, Larry, Mark F. Plattner and Chu, Yun-han, eds., 2013. *Democracy in East Asia: A New Century*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dore, Giovanna Maria Dora, Jae H. Ku and Karl Jackson, eds., 2014. *Incomplete Democracies in the Asia-Pacific: Evidence from Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand*, Houndsmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ferrara, Federico, 2015. *The Political Development of Modern Thailand*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finkelstein, David M. and Kristen Gunness, eds., 2016. *Civil-Military Relations in Today's China: Swimming in a New Sea*, New York: Routledge.
- Furuto, Sharlene B. C. L., eds., *Social Welfare in East Asia and the Pacific*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Haddad, Mary Alice, 2012. *Building Democracy in Japan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hedman, Eva-Lotta E., 2006. *In the Name of Civil Society: From Free Election Movements to People Power in the Philippines*, Honolulu HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Horowitz, Donald L., 2013. *Constitutional Change and Democracy in Indonesia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P., 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Kim, Sungmoon, 2014. *Confucian Democracy in East Asia: Theory and Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Namhee, 2007. *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Martin, Sherry L., 2011. *Popular Democracy in Japan: How Gender and Community Are Changing Modern Electoral Politics*, Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
- McCoy, Alfred, ed., 1994. *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- Nathan, Andrew, ed., 2013. *Will China Democratize?*, Baltimore MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Owen, Norman G., ed., 2005. *The Emergence of Modern Southeast Asia: A New History*, Honolulu HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Pye, Lucian W. 1985. *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority*, Cambridge MA: Belknap Press.
- Scheiner, Ethan, 2006. *Democracy without Competition in Japan*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shin, Doh Chull, 2012. *Confucianism and Democratization in East Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Robert H., ed., 1996. *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Tomsa, Dirk and Andreas Ufen, eds., 2013. *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and Electoral Competition in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines*, London: Routledge.
- Weiss, Meredith L. and Edward Aspinall, eds., 2012. *Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.