

# SOUTHEAST ASIAN AUTOCRACY & DEMOCRACY

GOVT 491 - 06 (26362)  
Spring 2018  
Tyler Hall 131  
Monday, 5:30 pm - 8:20 pm

---

INSTRUCTOR : S.P. Harish  
DEPARTMENT : Government, William & Mary  
OFFICE : Rm 357, Tyler Hall  
EMAIL : [spharish@wm.edu](mailto:spharish@wm.edu)  
OFFICE HOURS : Mon, Wed: 1pm - 2:30pm (or by appointment)

## Course Overview & Objectives

This class combines theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of Southeast Asian democracy and autocracy. We will first examine definitional issues surrounding democracy/autocracy and its applicability to different countries in the region (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand & Myanmar). Next we will examine causes of democracy/autocracy, the structure of military regimes, dominant party regimes, electoral authoritarianism, authoritarian institutions, democratization and economic development. We will discuss each theme in detail and understand how they apply in different Southeast Asian contexts. At the end of the course, you will (1) gain a good understanding of the major theoretical approaches to the study of democracy and autocracy; (2) understand on how to evaluate these theories in the Southeast Asian context.

The goals for you in this course is to also learn how to ask good research questions, conduct a literature review, develop an argument that makes an original contribution, and communicate your findings to your peers.

## Required Books

The following books will be used extensively in this course. It will also serve as a good reference if you conduct further research in the field of Southeast Asian democracy/autocracy.

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Jason Brownlee (2007). *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Dan Slater (2010). *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Michael T. Rock (2016). *Dictators, Democrats, and Development in Southeast Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press

The following recommended books provide background on Southeast Asian politics:

- D.R. Sardesai (2013). *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Mark Beeson, ed. (2008). *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan

## Class Requirements & Expectation

The course will be taught primarily through class discussions.

### Grading

**Class Participation, 30%** This is a senior-level seminar and so I expect everyone to do their readings before the class. Participation in class is critical to doing well in this course. You should come to class ready to discuss the week's readings, identify key questions and engage in a constructive analysis. Your class participation will be graded based on both quality and quantity of your contribution.

**Response Papers, DUE DATE: Sunday night 11:59pm, 10%** For each week that has readings associated with them, you are required to submit a 1-2 page paper that summarizes the main arguments of all the readings for that week, identify key theoretical concepts, the empirical implications for these concepts for Southeast Asia, and discussion questions for the topic.

**Research Proposal, DUE DATE: 14 Mar 2018, 10%** Your research proposal ( $\approx$  5-7 pages) should contain (1) the specific question that you intend to address in your research paper; (2) literature review of the topic; (3) your proposed argument; (4) the original contribution of your argument to the theoretical literature; and (5) the sources you plan to use and why. The due date for the research proposal is **14 Mar 2018**. You are encouraged to come to my office hours to discuss your research proposal well before the due date.

**Research Presentation, 16 Apr 2018 & 23 Apr 2018, 20%** You will make one research presentation in class where you will discuss your original research topic (empirically addressing an aspect of Southeast Asian democracy and autocracy) and also present your research findings. The goal of this presentation is for you to learn how to communicate your research to your peers and also get feedback to improve your research. You will be evaluated on the clarity of your question, the theoretical relevance, the methodology employed, the original contribution of your argument to the literature and the feedback that you give your classmates on their research presentations.

**Research Paper, DUE DATE: 2 May 2018, 30%** A research paper of about 22-30 pages, empirically addressing an aspect of Southeast Asian democracy and autocracy. The due date for the research paper is **2 May 2018**. You will be evaluated on the clarity of your question, the theoretical relevance, the employed methodology, the presented evidence, and the original contribution of your argument to the literature.

**GOVT Omnibus Study (optional), 1%** Optional extra credit for participating in the GOVT Omnibus Study: The Department of Government runs a collaborative subject pool for survey and experimental research conducted by students and faculty. To help introduce you to the field of political science and earn extra credit for this course, you will have the opportunity to participate as a subject in a research project this semester. Doing so will contribute to the efforts of your fellow W&M students and faculty members in Government. Completing the requirements to earn extra credit will involve taking a survey and possibly participating in a session with student or faculty researchers. Typically, the commitment is about an hour of your time. An alternative assignment will be offered to students who do not want to participate in the Omnibus Project or who are not old enough to participate (you must be 18 years of age), but who still would like to seek extra credit. The maximum amount of extra credit available is 1 percentage point toward your final semester grade.

I will base final course grades on the following scale, with partial-percents typically rounded to the nearest full percent: A 100-93, A- 92-90, B+ 89-88, B 87-83, B- 82-80, C+ 79-78, C 77-73, C- 72-70, D+ 69-68, D 67-63, D- 62-60, F < 60.

## **Class Attendance**

We will meet once a week during the semester. You can expect me to come prepared to discuss the readings, and answer any queries you have on the reading material. During each class, I will work to provide you with an environment where you can ask interesting questions and engage in a constructive discussion. Attendance is mandatory and so your class participation grade is dependent on your presence.

## **Classroom Policy**

The classroom is a place of learning and I expect all of us to strive towards making the class an enjoyable academic environment. It is important that all of us: (1) arrive on time each week; (2) be respectful towards each other in our comments; and (3) turn off or put our cell phones on vibrate mode. You can use other electronic devices such as laptops for note-taking in class as long as it does not distract your fellow classmates or disrupt the class.

## **Communication**

You are encouraged to attend office hours to clarify any of the classroom material and discuss your assignments. You can also send me questions over email, but please include the course number and your full name in the subject header. Note that questions and discussion points made over email or during office hours will *not* count towards class participation. If you wish to make an appointment outside of my office hours, I will need you to email me at least 48 hours before our meeting. Between Mon 9am - Fri 5pm, you can expect me to reply to emails within 24 hours. If you do not receive a response by then, please send me a reminder. I will respond to all emails received after Friday 5pm on Monday.

## **Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

William & Mary accommodates students with disabilities in accordance with federal laws and university policy. Any student who feels she or he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a learning, psychiatric, physical, or chronic health diagnosis should contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) staff at 221-2509 or at [sas@wm.edu](mailto:sas@wm.edu). An official letter from SAS is required before students can receive an accommodation.

## **Academic Misconduct**

Please familiarize yourself with the University's policies for academic integrity. Answers to questions on cheating, plagiarism, or other types of academic dishonesty are available on the William & Mary Honor Councils web site (<http://www.wm.edu/offices/deanofstudents/services/studentconduct/honorcodeandcouncils/honorcode/index.php>) and the Honor Code section of the Student Handbook. If I discover any academic misconduct, I will initiate an Honor Council proceeding and recommend that the student receive an F for the course.

## Summary of Important Dates

**Sundays at 11:59pm** Response papers

**26 Jan 2018** Add/drop deadline

**14 Mar 2018** Research proposal due

**16 March 2018** Withdraw deadline

**16 Apr 2018 & 23 Apr 2018** Research Presentations

**2 May 2018** Research Paper due

## Essay Format

Writing assignments (response papers, research proposal and research paper) must be submitted as PDF file, and must follow the guidelines listed below:

- Use only Times New Roman 12
- Set all your margins at 1”
- Use your word-processing programs automatic pagination function to number your pages
- Proofread your writing for typographical, grammatical, and punctuation errors.

## Extensions

All submission dates are firm. There are no individual extensions except in the case of medical (requires a note from the Student Health Center) or family emergency (requires an email from a Dean or your Academic Advisor) or religious observance. Should you require an extension for these reasons, please contact me as soon as possible so that we can arrange an alternative schedule of due dates. Late submissions for other reasons will be marked down 5 points for every day they are late.

## Class Schedule

**Week 1, 22 Jan 2018 - Introduction**

**Week 2, 29 Jan 2018 - Democratic Trends**

### *Required*

- Michael Miller (2013). “Democratic Pieces: Autocratic Elections and Democratic Development since 1815.” *British Journal of Political Science* 45.3, pp. 501–530, read till p.513
- Barbara Geddes (1999). “What Do We Know About Democratization After 20 Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, pp. 115–144
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1

- Joshua Kurlantzick (2014). “Southeast Asia’s Regression From Democracy and Its Implications.” URL: [https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2014/05/Democratic\\_Regression\\_Paper.pdf](https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2014/05/Democratic_Regression_Paper.pdf)

### Week 3, 5 Feb 2018 - Concepts (Democracy)

#### *Required*

- Adam Przeworski et al. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1
- Larry Diamond (2002). “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy* 13.2, pp. 21–35
- Gerardo Munck and Jay Verkuilen (2002). “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35.1, pp. 5–34
- Jose Antonio Chebui, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland (2010). “Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited.” *Public Choice* 143, pp. 67–101

### Week 4, 12 Feb 2018 - Concepts (Autocracy)

#### *Required*

- Jennifer Gandhi (2008). *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1
- Milan W. Svobik (2012). *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2
- Jason Brownlee (2007). *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.16-43
- Dan Slater (2010). *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1

### Week 5, 19 Feb 2018 - Causes of Democracy & Autocracy

#### *Required*

- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson (2005). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 1& 2
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi (1997). “Modernization: Theories and Facts.” *World Politics* 49.2, pp. 155–183
- Kevin Narizny (2012). “Anglo-American Primacy and the Global Spread of Democracy: An International Genealogy.” *World Politics* 64.2, pp. 341–373
- Dan Slater (2010). *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2

## Week 6, 26 Feb 2018 - Military Regimes

### *Required*

- Barbara Geddes, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright (2014). “Military Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, pp. 147–162
- Nikolay Marinov and Hein Goemans (2014). “Coups and Democracy.” *British Journal of Political Science* 44.4, pp. 799–825
- Dan Slater (2009). “Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia.” : *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*. Ed. by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 132–167

## Week 7, 5 Mar 2018 - SPRING BREAK

## Week 8, 12 Mar 2018 - Dominant Party Regimes

### *Required*

- Beatriz Magaloni and Ruth Kricheli (2010). “Political Order and One Party Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, pp. 123–143
- Benjamin Smith (2005). “Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule.” *World Politics* 57.3, pp. 421–451
- Garry Rodan (1996). “Elections without Representation: The Singapore Experience under the PAP.” : *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*. Ed. by Robert H. Taylor. Cambridge University Press, pp. 61–89
- James Jesudason (1999). “The Resilience of the Dominant Parties of Malaysia and Singapore.” : *The Awkward Embrace : One-Part Domination and Democracy in Industrialising Countries*. Ed. by Hermann Buhr Giliomee and C. E. W. Simkins. Harwood Academic Publishers, pp. 127–172

## Week 9, 19 Mar 2018 - Electoral Authoritarianism

### *Required*

- Jennifer Gandhi and Ellen Lust-Okar (2009). “Elections Under Authoritarianism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12.1, pp. 403–422
- Andreas Schedler, ed. (2006). *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, chapter 1
- William Case (2011). *Executive Accountability in Southeast Asia: The Role of Legislatures in New Democracies and Under Electoral Authoritarianism*. *Policy Studies* 57, read p.2-9 and sections on Malaysia and Cambodia
- Netina Tan (2013). “Manipulating Electoral Laws in Singapore.” *Electoral Studies* 32.4, pp. 632–643

## **Week 10, 26 Mar 2018 - Authoritarian Institutions**

### *Required*

- Tom Ginsburg and Alberto Simpser, eds. (2013). *Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-3
- Björn Dressel and Marco Bünte (2014). “Constitutional Politics in Southeast Asia: From Contestation to Constitutionalism?” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 36.1, pp. 1–22

## **Week 11, 2 Apr 2018 - Democratization**

### *Required*

- Dan Slater (2006). “The Architecture of Authoritarianism Southeast Asia and the Re-generation of Democratization Theory.” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, pp. 1–22
- Jason Brownlee (2007). *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 6
- Edward Aspinall (2013). “The Triumph of Capital? Class Politics and Indonesian Democratization.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43.2, pp. 226–242
- Duncan McCargo (2005). “Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand.” *Pacific Review* 18.4, pp. 499–519

## **Week 12, 9 Apr 2018 - Economic Development**

### *Required*

- Stephen Haber (2008). “Authoritarian Government.” : *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Ed. by Donald A. Wittman and Barry R. Weingast. New York: Oxford University Press
- Michael T. Rock (2016). *Dictators, Democrats, and Development in Southeast Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapters 2-4
- Thomas B. Pepinsky (2009). *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 2

## **Week 13, 16 Apr - Presentation 1**

## **Week 14, 23 Apr - Presentation 2**

## References

- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson (2005). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aspinall, Edward (2013). “The Triumph of Capital? Class Politics and Indonesian Democratization.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43.2, pp. 226–242.
- Beeson, Mark, ed. (2008). *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brownlee, Jason (2007). *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Case, William (2011). *Executive Accountability in Southeast Asia: The Role of Legislatures in New Democracies and Under Electoral Authoritarianism*. Policy Studies 57.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland (2010). “Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited.” *Public Choice* 143, pp. 67–101.
- Diamond, Larry (2002). “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy* 13.2, pp. 21–35.
- Dressel, Björn and Marco Bünte (2014). “Constitutional Politics in Southeast Asia: From Contestation to Constitutionalism?” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 36.1, pp. 1–22.
- Gandhi, Jennifer (2008). *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar (2009). “Elections Under Authoritarianism.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12.1, pp. 403–422.
- Geddes, Barbara (1999). “What Do We Know About Democratization After 20 Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2, pp. 115–144.
- Geddes, Barbara, Erica Frantz, and Joseph G. Wright (2014). “Military Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, pp. 147–162.
- Ginsburg, Tom and Alberto Simpser, eds. (2013). *Constitutions in Authoritarian Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Haber, Stephen (2008). “Authoritarian Government.” : *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Ed. by Donald A. Wittman and Barry R. Weingast. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jesudason, James (1999). “The Resilience of the Dominant Parties of Malaysia and Singapore.” : *The Awkward Embrace : One-Part Domination and Democracy in Industrialising Countries*. Ed. by Hermann Buhr Giliomee and C. E. W. Simkins. Harwood Academic Publishers, pp. 127–172.
- Kurlantzick, Joshua (2014). “Southeast Asia’s Regression From Democracy and Its Implications.” URL: [https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2014/05/Democratic\\_Regression\\_Paper.pdf](https://www.cfr.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2014/05/Democratic_Regression_Paper.pdf).
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Magaloni, Beatriz and Ruth Kricheli (2010). “Political Order and One Party Rule.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, pp. 123–143.
- Marinov, Nikolay and Hein Goemans (2014). “Coups and Democracy.” *British Journal of Political Science* 44.4, pp. 799–825.
- McCargo, Duncan (2005). “Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand.” *Pacific Review* 18.4, pp. 499–519.
- Miller, Michael (2013). “Democratic Pieces: Autocratic Elections and Democratic Development since 1815.” *British Journal of Political Science* 45.3, pp. 501–530.
- Munck, Gerardo and Jay Verkuilen (2002). “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices.” *Comparative Political Studies* 35.1, pp. 5–34.
- Narizny, Kevin (2012). “Anglo-American Primacy and the Global Spread of Democracy: An International Genealogy.” *World Politics* 64.2, pp. 341–373.



- Pepinsky, Thomas B. (2009). *Economic Crises and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes. Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi (1997). "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49.2, pp. 155–183.
- Przeworski, Adam et al. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rock, Michael T. (2016). *Dictators, Democrats, and Development in Southeast Asia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rodan, Garry (1996). "Elections without Representation: The Singapore Experience under the PAP." : *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*. Ed. by Robert H. Taylor. Cambridge University Press, pp. 61–89.
- Sardesai, D.R. (2013). *Southeast Asia: Past and Present*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Schedler, Andreas, ed. (2006). *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Slater, Dan (2006). "The Architecture of Authoritarianism Southeast Asia and the Regeneration of Democratization Theory." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, pp. 1–22.
- (2009). "Altering Authoritarianism: Institutional Complexity and Autocratic Agency in Indonesia." : *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*. Ed. by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 132–167.
- (2010). *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Benjamin (2005). "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-Party Rule." *World Politics* 57.3, pp. 421–451.
- Svolik, Milan W. (2012). *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tan, Netina (2013). "Manipulating Electoral Laws in Singapore." *Electoral Studies* 32.4, pp. 632–643.