



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

**INTP376 SPECIAL TOPIC; POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
2009 TRIMESTER 2**

13 July to 15 November 2009

Trimester Dates

Teaching dates: 13 July to 16 October

Study Week: 19 to 23 October

Examination / Assessment period: 27 October to 15 November

Note: Students who enrol in this course should be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the formal examination period.

Contact Details

Lecturer: Dr. Ben Thirkell-White

Room: Murphy 540

Phone: 463 5796

Email: ben.thirkell-white@vuw.ac.nz

Office hours: Wednesday 1.00-2.00 pm and Thursday 1.00-2.00 pm

Seminar time: 10am-11.50am Thursdays

Seminar venue: Hugh MacKenzie LT104

Course Delivery

This course has one two hour seminar each week, which will involve a mixture of lecture and group discussion. The sessions are taught by Dr Ben Thirkell-White and take place on Thursdays at 10.00am in lecture theatre LT104 in the Hugh MacKenzie building.

The examination period for this course is from 27 October to 15 November.

Communication of additional information

Information on any changes will be communicated via the course blackboard site.

Course content

This course looks at changing patterns of political and economic management in the Southeast Asian region. Southeast Asia is a fascinating and diverse region in its own right. The diversity of regional experience has also made Southeast Asia a key testing ground for a wide range of debates in the politics and political economy of development. This course will provide students with an introduction to the historical and contemporary political economy of a range of countries in the region (particularly Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam). Country experiences will also be used to engage with some key contemporary debates in development studies. What are the advantages and disadvantages of democracy for promoting economic growth? How can new states manage ethnic and religious diversity? What place

might Islam play in the political economy of development? What kinds of policies have resulted in successful poverty reduction?

Learning objectives

Students passing the course will:

1. Have a good understanding of the politics and economic policies of the Southeast Asian region in general and of Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Malaysia in particular
2. Understand theoretical debates about the role of the state in economic development and about the interaction between political organisation and economic policy
3. Understand the place Southeast Asia has played in informing wider debates about development policy
4. Be able to write a structured and theoretically-informed essay about the political economy of Southeast Asian development

Graduate attributes

As with all POLS and INTP courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of critical thinking, creative thinking, communication and leadership. Please consult the Programme Prospectus 2009, p. 10, for more details or on our website <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/>

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week for reading, writing, and researching material for this course. This includes 2 hours of seminar attendance per week.

Group work

There is no assessed group work as a part of this course, although tutorials will involve group discussions.

Readings

Essential texts for this course will all be available through Blackboard or the library e-reserve. They are listed under 'compulsory reading' for each week

Students wanting a textbook to help with the course should purchase Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison and Richard Robison (Eds) *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: Markets, power and contestation* 3rd Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2006

This book can be purchased from Vicbooks located on the top floor of the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus.

Customers can order textbooks online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays)

10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays.

Phone: 463 5515

Recommended Reading:

Specific recommended readings are listed underneath the topics for each week.

Other good general books on some of the topics discussed on the course include;

Garry Rodan, Kevin Hewison and Richard Robison (Eds) *The Political Economy of South-East Asia: Markets, power and contestation* 3rd Edition, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2006

Beeson, M (ed) (2004) *Contemporary Southeast Asia: Regional Dynamics, National Differences* Basingstoke: Palgrave

Linda Low (Ed) *Developmental States : relevancy, redundancy or reconfiguration?* New York : Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2004

For recent information on the case study countries and the Southeast Asian region more broadly see the *Southeast Asian Affairs* series. These can be accessed in electronic form via the library. Just type 'Southeast Asian Affairs' into the library search and follow the link to 'Academic Search Premier'.

Those of you interested in my own views on some of the issues covered by the course can find them in **Thirkell-White, B** (2005) *The IMF and the politics of financial globalization: from the Asian crisis to a new international financial architecture?* Basingstoke, Palgrave. However, it's a hardback for NZ\$230 so you might do better to read it in the library

Assessment requirements and return of work

A series of mini-assignments (25%), one essay (25%), and a final exam (50%) are used for assessment.

Mini assignments

The mini-assignments are four 500 word informal essays. Each mini-assignment relates to the set reading for one week's session. They are designed to make sure that all students have a grasp of the core conceptual material presented in the early part of the course, which we build on in the second half, and to ensure that students come to seminars ready for high level discussion.

The first seminar is largely introductory. In the second seminar, students will be introduced to debates about Korean development. Over the next week, they will complete the 'mini-assignment' on Korea, which they will hand in at the beginning of the third seminar. We will then discuss the Korean material in the first part of the seminar. A further mini-assignment will then be due each week for the next four weeks.

The mini-assignment topics are listed below under the headings for the particular week that the assignment relates to.

Due dates are as follows:

Mini-assignment one – July 30, 10 am

Mini-assignment two - August 6, 10 am

Mini-assignment three - August 13, 10 am

Mini-assignment four - August 20, 10 am

Mini assignments are expected to draw on the 'set reading' for the relevant seminar but not on any additional reading.

Mini assignments are designed to test students' ability to condense ideas into a very short piece of work (in the style of a business briefing paper) and so shouldn't be written in the same style as a normal essay. A short piece of work of this nature doesn't require an introduction, though short conclusions are likely to be useful. Students may wish to use bullet points, rather than full text, for part of their answers, if they think this will enable them to communicate more information. Examples will be posted on Blackboard under 'course resources'.

Normal penalties apply for lateness (see below). If students are unable to attend seminars, they must still provide their mini-assignments by email (as a word attachment) to Ben.Thirkell-White@vuw.ac.nz before the tutorial is due to start.

The first assignment will be returned on August 6th to ensure students receive some feedback before completing the final assignments. The remaining three will be returned during the seminar on September 10th (after mid-trimester break). If students fail to attend the relevant seminar, they may pick up their essay from the Office between the hours of 2 and 3pm on Monday to Friday.

Essay

Essays are designed to provide students with an opportunity to write a sustained argument, demonstrating in-depth understanding of one of the topics in the second part of the course. Essay questions are listed at the end of this course outline.

Essays should be 2300-2700 words long and follow all scholarly conventions, especially those relating to citations (please see the programme essay guide for details).

Essay questions are listed at the end of this course outline

Essays are due on the 25th September.

Extensions

For both essays and mini-assignments, extensions will be granted only by the course coordinator and only in exceptional circumstances, under the conditions stipulated in Victoria University's aegrotat regulations.

Examination

The final examination will be a 3-hour exam scheduled in the examination period 27 October to 15 November

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays and mini-assignments – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness, in which case presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary, or similar other contingencies eg bereavement). These valid grounds must be communicated *before* the deadline for the relevant piece of assessment.

Mandatory course requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work) and complete the final examination.

Statement on the use of Turnitin

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC (Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/Publications.aspx>

Seminar plan:

- July 16: Theories of development and Southeast Asia (lecture)
- July 23: Theories of development (discussion)
The developmental state and South Korea (lecture)
- July 30: The developmental state and South Korea (discussion)
Southeast Asia and 'replicability' (lecture)
- August 6: Southeast Asia and replicability (discussion)
The Asia financial crisis (lecture)
- August 13: The Asian financial crisis (discussion)
The end of the Asian model? (lecture)
- August 20: The end of the Asian model? (discussion)
Indonesia: the authoritarian state (lecture)

August 24-September 7 mid-semester break

- September 10: Indonesia: the authoritarian state (discussion)
Indonesia: the crisis and beyond (lecture)
- September 17: Indonesia: the crisis and beyond (discussion)
Malaysia before crisis: redistribution and corruption (lecture)
- September 24: Malaysia before crisis: redistribution and corruption (discussion)
Political Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia (lecture)
- October 1: Political Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia (discussion)
Populism in post-crisis Thailand (lecture)
- October 8: Populism in post-crisis Thailand (discussion)
Vietnam – from plan to market (lecture)
- October 15: Vietnam – from plan to market and conclusions (discussion)

Week One – Theories of development and Southeast Asia

Compulsory reading:

Ben Thirkell-White (2008) 'Globalization and development' in Salmon and Imber (eds) *Issues in International Relations* (3rd Edition)

and

Either **Chambers, Robert** (2004) *Ideas for development: reflecting forwards* *IDS Working Paper* 238 Available at <http://www.ids.ac.uk/bookshop/wp/wp238.pdf> or on the course website (this one is about putting poverty at the heart of development)

Or

Escobar, Arturo (1997) 'The Making and unmaking of the third world through development' Rahnema, Majid and Bawtree, Victoria (Eds) *The Post-Development Reader* (London: Zed Books)

Other reading:

Modernisation theory

Donal Cruise O'Brien, (1972), 'Modernization, order, and the erosion of a democratic ideal', *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol.8 No.2

Huntington Samuel, (1965), 'Political development and political decay', *World Politics*, 17 386-430,

Huntington Samuel, (1968) *Political Order in Changing Societies* New Haven: Yale University Press

W.W.Rostow, (1960) *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Dependency theory

Gunder Frank Andre, (1971), *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* Harmondsworth: Penguin especially ch. 1

Colin Leys (1996) *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* London: James Currey

Raymond D. Duvall (1978) "Dependence and Dependencia Theory: Notes Toward Precision of Concept and Argument," *International Organization*, vol. 32, no.1: 51-78.

Cristóbal Kay and Robert N. Gwynne (2000), "Relevance of Structuralist and Dependency Theories in the Neoliberal Period: A Latin American Perspective," *Journal of Development Studies*, 16, 1 (2000): 49-69.

Brewer A., (1980), *Marxist Theories of Imperialism* London: Routledge.

Brenner, R (1977) 'The Origins of Capitalist Development: a critique of neo-Smithian Marxism' *New Left Review* No.104

Cardoso, F and Faletto, E *Dependency and Development in Latin America* Berkeley: University of California Press

Textbook/readers on modernisation and dependency

John Martinussen (1997) *State, society and market : a guide to competing theories of development* London, Zed Books

So, Alvin , (1990) *Social change and development: modernisation, dependency and world-systems theories* Newbury Park: Sage

Hettne, Bjorn, (1990) *Development Theory and the Three Worlds*, Harlow: Longman ch. 2

The debate about Post-Development / abandoning development

Escobar, A. (1995), *Encountering Development*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Rahnema, M & Bawtree V (eds) (1997) *The Post-Development Reader* London, Zed Books

For critique, see:

Corbridge, S (1998), ‘‘Beneath the Pavement Only Soil’’: The Poverty of Post-Development, *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 34, no.6,

Frans J. Schuurman (2000), ‘‘Paradigms Lost, Paradigms Regained? Development Studies in the Twenty-first century,’’ *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.21, No.1

Basic needs and a poverty focus

Chambers, R (1997) *Whose reality counts?: putting the last first* London: Intermediate Technology Books

Chambers, R (2005) *Ideas for development* London: Earthscan

Kitching, Gavin, (1989), *Development and Underdevelopment in Historical Perspective* London: Open University Press (this book argues that a rural-centred, poverty first strategy is romanticism that doesn't come to terms with the reality of what industrialization can deliver)

Other contemporary perspectives

Randall, Vicky (2004) ‘Using and abusing the concept of the Third World: Geopolitics and the comparative political study of development and underdevelopment *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 25, No 1,

Gore, Charles (2000) ‘The rise and fall of the Washington consensus as a paradigm for developing countries’ *World Development* Vol 28 No 5

Week two - The developmental state and Korea

Mini-assignment 1:

On the basis of the lecture and two compulsory readings, write 500 words on:

- (a) How did Korea get rich? (about 50%) *and*
- (b) What were the negative aspects of Korean politics and were they a reasonable price to pay for growth? (50%)

Compulsory reading:

Thirkell-White, B (2006) ‘Korea’ in *The IMF and the Politics of Financial Globalisation: From the Asian Crisis to a New International Architecture?* (Basingstoke, Palgrave) (chapter on blackboard)

and

Chang, Ha Joon.(1993) "The Political Economy of Industrial Policy in Korea." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 17.2 (1993). (don't panic about the technical stuff, see what you can get out of it)

Other reading:

The developmental state in general

Akyuz, Yilmaz, Chang, Ha-Joon & Kozul-Wright, R 'New perspectives on East Asian development' *Journal of development Studies* Vol 34 No.6

Amsden, Alice. "Why Isn't the Whole World Experimenting with the East Asian Model to Develop: Review of "the East Asian Miracle"." *World Development* Vol.22 No.4 (and the rest of this special issue of W D, which reviews the Bank's miracle report)

Johnson, Chalmers (1982) *MITI and the Japanese miracle: the growth of industrial policy 1925-1975*, Stanford, Stanford University Press

Khan, M (2000) 'Rents, efficiency and growth' in Khan, M & Jomo, K S (eds) *Rents, rent-seeking and economic development: theory and evidence from Asia* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Krugman, Paul (1994) 'The myth of Asia's miracle' *Foreign Affairs* Vol 73 No 6

Leftwich, A (1995) 'Bringing politics back in – towards a model of the developmental state' *Journal of Development Studies* Vol 31 No 3

Wade, R (1990) *Governing the Market: economic theory and the role of government in east Asian industrialization* Princeton, Princeton University Press

Weiss, L & Hobson, J (1995) *States and economic development: a comparative historical analysis* Cambridge: Polity Press

Woo-Cummings, M (1999) *The Developmental State* Cornell, Cornell University Press (especially chapters 1, 2 and 6)

World Bank (1993) *The East Asian Miracle* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Korea and the developmental state

Choi, Byung-Sun. (1993) "Financial Policy and Big Business in Korea: The Perils of Financial Regulation." In Stephan Haggard, C Lee and Sylvia Maxfield (Eds) *The Politics of Finance in Developing Countries*. Eds.. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Rodrik, Dani. (1994) 'Getting Interventions Right: How South Korea and Taiwan Grew Rich' *NBER Working Papers No.W4964*

Cheng, Tun-Jen, Stephan Haggard, and David Kang (1998) 'Institutions and Growth in Korea and Taiwan: The Bureaucracy' *Journal of Development Studies* Vol.34 No.6

Cummings, Bruce (1984) 'The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial Sectors, Product Cycles and Political Consequences' *International Organization* Vol.38 No.1

Cummings, Bruce (1999) 'Webs with No Spiders, Spiders with No Webs: The Geneology of the Developmental State.' in Meredith Woo-Cummings (Ed) *The Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

Johnson, Chalmers (1999) 'The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept' in Meredith Woo-Cummings (Ed) *The Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

Kohli, Atul. (1998) 'Where Do High-Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea's "Developmental State' Concept' in Meredith Woo-Cummings (Ed) *The Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

Kohli, A (2004) *State-directed development: political power and industrialization in the global periphery* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (particularly the two Korea chapters, though the intro and conclusions are also interesting)

Moon, Chung In, and Yong-cheol Kim (1996) 'A Circle of Paradox: Development, Politics and Democracy in Korea' in A Leftwich (ed) *Democracy and Development*. Ed. Cambridge: Polity Press,

Week three - Southeast Asia and replicability

Mini-assignment 2:

On the basis of the lecture and the two set readings write 500 words of notes on

- (a) How was Southeast Asian development was different from Northeast Asian development (about 66%) and
- (b) Is the Southeast Asian model is a better candidate for replication than the Northeast Asian one? (about 33%)

Compulsory reading:

Akyuz, Yilmaz, Chang, Ha-Joon & Kozul-Wright, R 'New perspectives on East Asian development' *Journal of development Studies* Vol 34 No6
(this one talks, particularly, about Southeast Asia and replication later in the article)

And

Henderson, J (1999) 'Uneven crises: institutional foundations of East Asian economic turmoil' *Economy and Society* Vol28 No3 pp327-368
(This provides a bridge towards next week. The problems Henderson argues led to crisis can also be seen as 'weaknesses' with the Southeast Asian 'model')

Additional reading:

Beeson, M (2004) 'Southeast Asia' in Payne, A (ed) *The new regional politics of development* Basingstoke, Palgrave

Bernard, M & Ravenhill, J (1995) 'Beyond product cycles and flying geese: regionalization, hierarchy and the industrialization of East Asia', *World Politics*, Vol.47 No.2, pp 171–209.

Crone, Donald K. (1988) 'State, social elites, and government capacity in Southeast Asia', *World Politics* Vol.40 No.2 252–68.

Doner, Ritchie & Slater (2005) 'Systemic vulnerability and the origins of developmental states: Northeast and Southeast Asia in comparative perspective' *International Organization* Vol.59 No.2

Felker, Greg (2008) 'The political economy of Southeast Asia' in Beeson, M (ed) *Contemporary Southeast Asia* London, Palgrave

Felker, G (2003) 'Southeast Asian industrialisation and the changing global production network' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.24 No.2

Hawkes & Liu (1993) 'Explaining the dynamics of economic growth in Southeast Asia' *World Politics* Vol.45 No.4

Jayasuriya, K 'Embedded mercantilism and open regionalism: the crisis of a regional political project' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.24 No.2

Khan, M (2000) 'Rents, efficiency and growth' in Khan & Jomo (eds) *Rents, rent-seeking and economic development: theory and evidence from Asia* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Rock, M T (1999) 'Reassessing the effectiveness of industrial policy in Indonesia: can the neoliberals be wrong?' *World Development* Vol.27 No.4

Gary Rodan, Kevin Hewison and Richard Robison (2000) 'Theorising Southeast Asia's boom, bust and recovery' in Gary Rodan, Kevin Hewison and Richard Robison (eds) *The political economy of south-east Asia: conflict, crises and change* Oxford, OUP
Stubbs, Richard (2005) *Rethinking Asia's Economic Miracle* Basingstoke, Palgrave
World Bank (1993) *The East Asian Miracle* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Week four – The Asian crisis

Mini assignment 3:

On the basis of the lecture and the two set readings, write 500 words on:

What caused the Asian crisis?

Make sure that you introduce some different points of view and explain which you find most convincing

Compulsory reading:

Ben Thirkell-White 'The Asian Crisis' excerpt from *The IMF and the Politics of Financial Globalisation: From the Asian Crisis to a New International Financial Architecture?* Palgrave, 2005

and

Haggard, Stephan & MacIntyre, Andrew (1998) 'The political economy of the Asian economic crisis' *Review of international political economy* Vol.5 No.3

Additional reading:

Cambridge Journal of Economics special issue on the Asian crisis – Vol 22 No 6,

Jomo K S (1998) (ed) *Tigers in Trouble Financial Governance, Liberalization, and Crisis* London: Zed Books

Haggard S (1999) *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis* Washington DC: Institute for International Economics

IMF (1997) *World Economic Outlook: Interim Assessment* (Chapters 2 & 3 – available on Blackboard) Washington DC: IMF

MacIntyre, A (2001) 'Institutions and investors: the politics of the financial crisis in Southeast Asia' *International Organization* Vol.55 No.1

Ross McLeod and Ross Garnaut, (Eds), *East Asia in Crisis: From Being a Miracle to Needing One?* London: Routledge

Pempel, T.J. (1999) (Ed) *The Politics of the Asian Financial Crisis* Ithaca: Cornell University Press

Radelet & Sachs (1998) 'The East Asian Financial Crisis: Diagnosis, Remedies, Prospects' *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* No.1 pp1-74,

Richard Robison, Mark Beeson, Kanishka Jayasuriya and Hyuk-Rae Kim, (2000) eds., *Politics and Markets in the Wake of the Asian Crisis* London: Routledge

Wade, Robert and Veneroso, Frank (1998) 'The Asian Crisis: The High Debt Model Versus the Wall-Street, Treasury, IMF complex' *New Left Review* No228, March-April

Week five – The end of the Asian model?

Mini-assignment 4:

Using the lecture as background, use 500 words to

- (a) Summarise and compare the arguments of the two compulsory readings. What are the authors' main points? Where do they agree? Where do they disagree? Which view is most persuasive?

Compulsory reading:

Beeson, M (2002) 'Southeast Asia and the politics of vulnerability' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.23 No.3

And

Felker, G (2003) 'Southeast Asian industrialisation and the changing global production network' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.24 No.2

Additional reading:

Cambridge Journal of Economics special issue on the Asian crisis – Vol 22 No 6, contains a large number of excellent articles.

Henderson, J (1999) 'Uneven crises: institutional foundations of East Asian economic turmoil' *Economy and Society* Vol28 No3 pp327-368

Higgot, R & Rhodes, M (2000) 'Introduction: Asian crises and the myth of capitalist convergence' *The Pacific Review* Vol 13 No 1

Jayasuriya & Rosser 'Economic crisis and the political economy of economic liberalisation in Southeast Asia' in Rodan et al (eds) *The political economy of Southeast Asia* (2nd edition) Oxford University Press

Lee, Jaymin (1999) 'East Asian NIEs model of development: miracle, crisis and beyond' *The Pacific Review* Vol 12 No2

Robison & Rosser (ed) *Politics and Markets in the Wake of the Asian Crisis*

Weiss, L (2000) 'Developmental states in transition: adapting, dismantling, innovating not normalizing' *The Pacific Review* Vol 13 No 1

On globalisation

Evans, P 'The eclipse of the state? Reflections on stateness in an era of globalization' *World Politics* Vol 50 No 1

Mann, Michael 'Has globalisation ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?' *Review of International Political Economy* Vol 4, No 3

On the future (or otherwise) of industrial policy

Jomo K S (2001) 'Growth after the Asian crisis: what remains of the East Asian model?' G-24 Discussion series 10

See also 3 or 4 articles on contemporary approaches to industrial policy on Dani Rodrik's homepage at Harvard <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik/papers.html>

Week six - Indonesia and the authoritarian state

Compulsory reading:

Robison, R (1997) 'Politics and markets in Indonesia's post-oil era' in Rodan, Hewison and Robison (eds) *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia* Oxford, Oxford University Press (**1st edition**)

and

Liddle, R (1992) 'Indonesia's democratic past and future' *Comparative Politics* Vol.24 No.4

Other reading:

Economics / general

Hill, Hall (2000) *The Indonesian economy* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Liddle R (1991) The relative autonomy of the Third World politician: Soeharto and Indonesian development in comparative perspective *International Studies Quarterly* 35 pp403-427

MacIntyre, A (1993) 'The politics of finance in Indonesian economic development: command, confusion and competition' in Haggard, Lee & Maxfield (eds) *The politics of finance in developing countries* Ithaca, Cornell University Press

MacIntyre, A (2000) 'Funny money: fiscal policy, rent-seeking and economic performance in Indonesia' in Khan & Jomo (eds) *Rents, rent-seeking and economic development: theory and evidence from Asia* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Robison, R (1986) *Indonesia: the rise of capital* Sydney, Allen & Unwin (a bit old now but still the best description of the building of a capitalist class in Indonesia)

Robison, R (1988) 'Authoritarian states, capital-owning classes and the politics of newly industrializing countries – the case of Indonesia' *World Politics* Vol 41 No 1

Rock, Michael T (1999) 'Reassessing the effectiveness of industrial policy in Indonesia: can the neo-liberals be wrong?' *World Development* Vol 27, No 4

Schwarz, Adam (1999) *A nation in waiting: Indonesia's search for stability* Boulder, Westview Press (2nd edition) (especially chapters 3-6)

Thirkell-White, B (2005) *The IMF and the politics of financial globalisation: from the Asian crisis to a new international financial architecture* Basingstoke, Palgrave, Chapter 6, especially the 'background' section (also available on module website)

Politics/theory

On authoritarianism and development, the classic is:

Huntingdon, S *Political Order in Changing Societies*

Or, shorter version, **Huntington Samuel**, (1965), 'Political development and political decay', *World Politics*, 17 386-430,

Donal Cruise O'Brien, (1971), 'Modernization, order, and the erosion of a democratic ideal', *Journal of Development Studies*, 7 141-60,

Khan, M.H., (2005) "Markets, States and Democracy: Patron-Client Networks and the Case for Democracy in Developing Countries". *Democratization* 12 (5): 705-25.

MacIntyre A (2002) *The Power of Institutions: Political Architecture and Governance* primarily the theoretical introduction.

For an alternative view, see Sen, *A Development as Freedom*

Some development studies textbooks also talk about authoritarian politics, try

Cammack, Pool & Tordoff (1993) *Third World Politics: A comparative introduction* Basingstoke: Palgrave

For some classics on Indonesian authoritarianism, try:

Andersen, Benedict (1983) 'Old state: new society: Indonesia's new order in comparative perspective' *Journal of Asian Studies* May

Crouch, Harold (1979) 'Patrimonialism and military rule in Indonesia' *World Politics* Vol 31 No 4

Vatikiotis, M (1998) *Indonesian politics under Suharto: the rise and fall of the new order* London/New York Routledge

Immediate pre-crisis developments

Aspinall, E (1996) 'The broadening of political opposition in Indonesia' in Rodan (ed) *Political opposition in industrialising Asia* London, Routledge

Heryanto, A (1996) 'Indonesian middle-class opposition in the 1990s' in Rodan (ed) *Political opposition in industrialising Asia* London, Routledge

Heryanto, A (1997) 'Indonesia: towards the final countdown' in *Southeast Asian Affairs 1997* Singapore, Institute for Southeast Asian Studies

Schwarz, Adam (1999) *A nation in waiting: Indonesia's search for stability* Boulder, Westview Press (2nd edition) (later chapters)

Week seven - Indonesia: the crisis and beyond

Compulsory reading;

Robison, R & Hadiz V (2001) 'Indonesia: crisis, oligarchy and reform' in Rodan, Hewison & Robison (eds) *The political economy of Southeast Asia: conflicts, crisis and change* Oxford, Oxford University Press (3rd edition)

and

Thirkell-White, B (2009) 'Indonesia: why good governance and social policy isn't enough to reduce poverty' *Labour, Capital and Society* forthcoming.

Additional reading:

Highly recommended

Bresnan, J (ed) (2006) *Indonesia: the Great Transition* Rowman & Littlefield

Hadiz, V (2003) 'Reorganizing political power in Indonesia: a reconsideration of so-called democratic transitions' *Pacific Review* Vol 16 No 4

Robison & Hadiz (2003) 'Neo-liberal reforms and illiberal consolidations: the Indonesian Paradox' SEARC working papers No 52 City University of Hong Kong, available online at <http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/WP.html>

Robison, R & Hadiz, V (2005) *Reorganising political power in Indonesia* London: RoutledgeCurzon

Robison R 'The politics of financial reform: recapitalising Indonesia's banks' in Underhill & Zhang (eds) *International governance under stress: global structures versus national imperatives* Cambridge, CUP

Slater, D. (2004). "Indonesia's Accountability Trap: Party Cartels and Presidential Power after Democratic Transition." *Indonesia* Vol.78 pp61-92.

Tornquist, O. (2006). "Assessing Democracy From Below: A Framework and Indonesian Pilot Study" *Democratization* Vol.13 No.2

Also good

Beeson, Mark (1998) 'Indonesia, the East Asian crisis and the commodification of the nation-state' *New Political Economy* Vol 3 No 3

Booth, Anne (2000 'The impact of the Indonesian crisis on welfare: what do we know two years on?' in Manning, C and Van Dierman, P (eds) *Indonesia in transition: social aspects of reformasi and crisis* Zed Books: London

Crawford G 'Partnership or Power? Deconstructing the "Partnership for Governance Reform" in Indonesia' *Third World Quarterly* Vol.24, No.2, pp.139-59, 2003

Hadiz, V (2003) 'Reorganizing political power in Indonesia: a reconsideration of so-called democratic transitions' *Pacific Review* Vol 16 No 4

Haggard, Stephan & MacIntyre, Andrew (1998) 'The political economy of the Asian economic crisis' *Review of international political economy* Vol 5 No 3

Hamilton-Hart, N. (2006). "Consultants in the Indonesian State: Modes of Influence and Institutional Implications." *New Political Economy* Vol.11 No.2.

Hefner, R (2000) *Civil Islam: muslims and democratization in Indonesia* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Montes, M & Abusalamov, M (1998) 'Indonesia: reaping the market' in Jomo (ed) *Tigers in trouble* London: Zed Books

Pincus & Ramli (1998) 'Indonesia from showcase to basket case' *Cambridge Journal of Economics* Vol 22 No 6

Robison & Rosser (2000) 'Surviving the meltdown: liberal reform and political oligarchy in Indonesia' in Robison (ed) *Politics and markets in the wake of the Asian crisis* London, Routledge

Robison & Rosser (1998) 'Contesting reform: Indonesia's new order and the IMF' *World Development* Vol 26, No 8

Schwarz, Adam *A nation in waiting: Indonesia's search for stability* (2nd edition) Boulder: Westview) chapters 10 & 11

Schwarz, Adam *Indonesia: the 2004 election and beyond* ISEAS, Singapore

See the various articles on Indonesia in 'Southeast Asian Affairs' for 2000-2008

Week eight - Malaysia before crisis: redistribution and corruption

Compulsory reading:

Thirkell-White, B (2005) *The IMF and the politics of financial globalization: from the Asian crisis to a new international financial architecture* Basingstoke, Palgrave (Chapter 7 – available on the module website)

And

Khoo Boo Teik (2004) 'Managing ethnic relations in post-crisis Malaysia and Indonesia: Lessons from the New Economic Policy?' UNRISD, August

Additional reading;

Case, William (1993) 'Semi-democracy in Malaysia: withstanding the pressures for regime change', *Pacific Affairs* 66(2) :183–205.

Case, William (2001) 'Malaysia's resilient pseudo democracy' *Journal of Democracy* 12.1 (2001) 43-57

Case, William (2005) How's my driving? Abdullah's first year as Malaysian PM' *Pacific Review* Vol 18 No 2

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

Gomez, Edmund Terence & Jomo, (1999) *K S Malaysia's political economy: politics, patronage and profits* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2nd edition)

Jeffrey Henderson and Richard Phillips 'Contradictions of Development: Social Policy, State Institutions and the 'Stalling' of the Malaysian Industrialisation Project' *IPEG papers in global political economy* No. 17 (available at <http://www.bisa.ac.uk/groups/ipeg/ipegpapers.htm>)

Jamilah, Arrifin (1995) 'At the crossroads of rapid development: Malaysian society and anomie', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 15(8–10) [special issue]:343–71.

Jesudason, James (1996) 'The syncretic state and the structuring of oppositional politics in Malaysia' in Rodan, G (ed) *Political opposition in Industrialising Asia*, London: Routledge

Jomo, KS & Gomez, E T (2000) 'The Malaysian development dilemma' in Khan & Jomo (eds) *Rents, rent-seeking and economic development: theory and evidence from Asia* Cambridge, CUP

Loh Kok Wah, Francis (2002) 'Developmentalism and the limits of democratic discourse' in Wah and Tiek (eds) *Democracy in Malaysia: discourses and practices*, London Curzon

Milne & Mauzy (1999) *Malaysian politics under Mahathir* London: Routledge

Searle, P (1999) *The riddle of Malaysian capitalism: rent-seekers or real capitalists?* St Leonards: Allen & Unwin

Trezzini, B (2001) 'Embedded state autonomy and legitimacy: piecing together the Malaysian developmental puzzle' *Economy and Society* Vol.30 No.3

Week 8 – Political Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia

Compulsory reading:

On 'normal' political Islam

Boo Teik, Khoo (2004) 'Searching for Islam in Malaysian Politics: Confluences, divisions and governance' SEARC working papers No 72 City University of Hong Kong, available online at <http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/WP.html>

Or

Webber, D 'A Consolidated Patrimonial Democracy? Democratization in Post-Suharto Indonesia' *Democratization* Vol.13 No.3

And on radical/terrorist Islam....

Wright-Nevel, D (2004) 'Dangerous dynamics: activists militants and terrorists in Southeast Asia' *The Pacific Review* Vol.17 No.1 pp27-46

Additional reading:

Malaysia

Boo Teik, Khoo (2004) 'Searching for Islam in Malaysian Politics: Confluences, divisions and governance' SEARC working papers No 72 City University of Hong Kong, available online at <http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/WP.html>

Funston, John (2001) 'Malaysia: UMNO's search for relevance' *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2001

Hamayotsu, Kikue 'Islamisation, patronage and political ascendancy: the politics and business of Islam in Malaysia' in Gomez (ed) *The state of Malaysia*

Mohamad, Maznah (2001) 'The Unravelling of a "Malay Consensus"' *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2001

Thirkell-White, Ben (2006) 'Political Islam and Malaysian Democracy' *Democratization* Vol.13 No.3

And some general background to Malaysian politics (for example, papers by Jesudason and Case listed under the Malaysia week)

Indonesia

Barton, Greg 'Indonesia's Year of Living Normally: Taking the Long View on Indonesia's Progress' *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2008

Hefner, R (1993) 'Islam, state and civil society: ICMI and the struggle for the Indonesian middle class' *Indonesia* Vol 56 (available through JSTOR)

Hefner, R (2000) *Civil Islam: muslims and democratization in Indonesia* Princeton: Princeton University Press

Hefner, R (2002) 'Global violence and Indonesian muslim politics' *American Anthropologist* Vol 104 No 3

Hefner, R (2003) 'Civic pluralism denied? The new media and *jihadi* violence in Indonesia' in Eickelman, Dale and Andersom, Jon (Eds) *New Media in the Muslim World*

Henderson & Kuncoro (2006) 'Sick of local government corruption? Vote Islamic' available online at <http://sws.bu.edu/dilipm/ec722/papers/HendKunccorruption2005.pdf> (probably just read the abstract!)

Liddle, William (1996) 'The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation' *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol55 No 3

Monash Asia Institute (2008) *Muslim politics and democratisation in Indonesia*. In the library, classmark [BL65 P7 M987](#)

Nakamura, M (1999) 'Propsects for Islam in post-Soeharto Indonesia' *Asia-Pacific Review* Vol6 No1

Nakamura, M (2005) 'Islam and democracy in Indonesia: observations on the 2004 general and presidential elections' *International Legal Studies Program, Occasional Papers No6* Harvard Law School, available online

Schwartz, Adam *Indonesia: A Nation in Waiting*

Sidel, J (2006) *Riots, pogroms, jihad: religious violence in Indonesia* Ithaca Cornell UP

Again, some of the general writing on Indonesian politics is useful too

Radical Islam and political violence

Gershman, John (2002) 'Is Southeast Asia the second front?' *Foreign Affairs* July/August

Hadiz, V (2004) 'Indonesia: order and terror in a time of empire' SEARC working papers No 73 City University of Hong Kong, available online at <http://www.cityu.edu.hk/searc/WP.html>

Hamilton-Hart, N (2005) 'Terrorism in Southeast Asia: expert analysis, myopia and fantasy' *Pacific Review* Vol18 No3 pp303-325

Rabasa (2003) 'Political Islam in Southeast Asia: moderates, radicals and terrorists' *Adelphi Papers* 358

Van Bruinessen, M 'Genealogies of Islamic radicalism in post-Suharto Indonesia' available at

http://www.let.uu.nl/~Martin.vanBruinessen/personal/publications/genealogies_islamic_radicalism.htm

Week ten – Populism in post-crisis Thailand

Compulsory reading:

Hewison, Kevin (2003) 'The Politics of Neoliberalism: Class and Capitalism in Contemporary Thailand' *SEARC Working Papers* No. 45, City University of Hong Kong

And

Pasuk Pongpaichit, & Baker, Chris (2008) 'Thaksin's populism' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.38 No.1 pp 62-83

Additional reading:

Case, William (2007) 'Democracy's quality and breakdown: New Lessons From Thailand' Southeast Asia Research Centre Working Paper No.83, City University, Hong Kong

Connors (2008) 'Article of faith: the failure of royal liberalism in Thailand' *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.38 No.1

Hewison, Kevin (2005) 'Neo-liberalism and Domestic Capital: the Political Outcomes of the Economic Crisis in Thailand' *Journal of Development Studies* Vol.41 No.2 pp310-30

Hewison, Kevin (2006) 'Thailand: Boom, Bust and Recovery' in Rodan, Garry, Hewison, Kevin & Robison, Richard *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia: Markets, Power and Contestation* Melbourne: Oxford University Press

McCargo D (2005), 'Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand', *The Pacific Review* Vol.18 No.4, pp. 499-519.

McCargo, D (2008) 'Thailand: State of Anxiety' *Southeast Asian Affairs* 2008

Painter, M (2005) 'Thaksinisation or Managerialism? Reforming the Thai Bureaucracy', *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.36 No.1, pp. 26-48.

Pasuk Pongpaichit, & Baker, Chris (2005) “Business Populism” in Thailand’, *Journal of Democracy* Vol.16 No.2, pp. 58-72.

Pasuk Pongpaichit, & Baker, Chris (2004) *Thaksin: The Business of Politics in Thailand* Chiangmai, Silkworm Books

Pye, Oliver & Schaffar, Wolfram (2008) ‘The 2006 anti-Thaksin movement in Thailand: An analysis’ *Journal of Contemporary Asia* Vol.38 No.1

Warr, P (Ed) (2004) *Thailand Beyond the Crisis* London: Routledge Curzon

Week eleven – Vietnam – from plan to market

Presentation topic: Why has the switch from plan to market been so successful in Vietnam? Is that success likely to continue?

Compulsory reading;

Beresford, M (2006) ‘Vietnam from plan to market’ in Rodan, Hewison and Robison (eds) *The Political Economy of Southeast Asia* 3rd Edition Oxford: Oxford University Press

And

Painter, M (2005) ‘The Politics of State Sector Reforms in Vietnam: Contested Agendas and Uncertain Trajectories’ *Journal of Development Studies* Vol 41 No 2

Additional reading:

Perspectives on transition – especially ‘Russia versus China’

Nolan P (1995) *China’s Rise, Russia’s Fall* Basingstoke, MacMillan

Nolan, P. (1997) "China's rise, Russia's fall." *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 24(1-2): 226-250
Special issue of the Journal of economic perspectives v.16 no.1

Gros, D. and A. Steinherr. (1995). *Winds of Change: Economic Transition in Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Longman.

Riedel, J. (1993), “On the trail of the tigers”, *World Economy*, vol. 16, no. 4 (Jul.), pp. 401-422.

On Vietnam

Beresford, M (1999) *The Vietnamese Transition from Plan to Market: Transformation of the Planning Mechanism* (unpublished manuscript on course website)

Fforde, A and de Vylder, S (1996) *From plan to market: the economic transition in Vietnam* Boulder: Westview

Fforde, A (2001) *Light within the ASEAN gloom? The Vietnamese economy since the first Asian Economic Crisis (1997) and in the light of the 2001 downturn* unpublished paper, available on course website

Gainsborough, M (2003) *Changing political economy of Vietnam: the case of Ho Chi Minh City* Oxford: Clarendon Press

Guo, S ‘Economic transition in China and Vietnam: a comparative perspective’ *Asian Profile* Vol 32 No 5 (on module website)

- Jeffries, I** (2006) *Vietnam: a guide to economic and political developments* New York: Routledge
- Luong, H V** (2003) *Postwar Vietnam: Dynamics of a changing society* Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield
- Masina, P** (2006) *Vietnam's Developmental Strategies* London: Routledge
- McCargo, D** (ed) (2004) *Rethinking Vietnam* London, RoutledgeCurzon (especially chapters 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 13)
- Kokko, A & Sjöholm, F** (2000) 'Some alternative scenarios for the role of the state in Vietnam' *Pacific Review* Vol 13 No 2
- Kolko, G** (1997) *Vietnam anatomy of a peace: Vietnam's transition to the market*
- Prichett, L** (2003) 'A toy collection, a socialist star, and a democratic dud? Growth theory, Vietnam and the Phillipines' in Rodrik, D (ed) *In search of prosperity: analytic narratives on economic growth* Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Ravallion, M & van de Walle, D** (2008) *Land in transition : reform and poverty in rural Vietnam* Washington DC, World Bank
- Taylor, P** (ed) (1994) *Social inequality in Vietnam and the challenges to reform* Singapore ISEAS
- Tran-Nam, B & Pham, C-D** (Eds) *The Vietnamese Economy: Awakening the Dormant Dragon* London: RoutledgeCurzon
Southeast Asian Affairs

See also a range of additional papers on Vietnam which are stored on the course WebCT site.

Week Twelve – Vietnam tutorial and conclusions

Essay questions

Essay questions are set carefully to give you a good debate to get your teeth into and to lead you towards topics covered in the exam. I am not, therefore, flexible about essay titles. Please use those set and ensure that you actually answer the question.

1. Does the Indonesian experience suggest that authoritarian government may be good for development?
2. Has the transition to democracy improved Indonesia's prospects for development?
3. 'The New Economic Policy in Malaysia has been a success story for managing ethnic tension and promoting development' Discuss
4. Is political Islam good or bad for democracy in Malaysia and/or Indonesia?
5. Has post-Doi Moi Vietnam been a developmental success? Why?
6. To what extent does Thaksin's populism signal a genuine change in Thai political economy?