**Democracy in Asia: Power, Institutions, and Meanings**

Instructor: Erik Mobrand

**Course description**

As democracy has spread in the region, it has taken a range of forms and meanings. How do various political actors understand and appropriate notions of democracy? What practices are justified in the name of democracy? This seminar explores the diversity of meanings and institutional forms associated with democracy in Asia.

**Assignments**

The assignments for the course are as follows:

Research paper: Students will research and write a term essay. The instructor will lay out the parameters of the assignment and students will choose a particular topic. Students must submit a proposal in early October. The paper should contain 5,000 to 6,000 words.

Short essays: Students will also prepare two shorter essays in response to questions set by the instructor. These essays are reactions to readings and seminar material rather than research essays. Each is to be 1,500 to 2,000 words in length.

In-class presentations: Twice during the course of the semester students will present case study material to the class. These will be presentations of examples that illustrate or speak to concepts for the week’s seminar. You should introduce the examples, explain how they relate to themes for the week, and use them to raise further questions. Presentations will be made in small groups and should be 25-30 minutes in length. A list of the sources consulted should be submitted to the instructor. The cases to be covered in the presentations are listed at the end of this syllabus.

Participation: Students are expected to come to seminar prepared to discuss the material. Participating actively in seminar is crucial.

All assignments should be submitted by email to the instructor before the deadline. A hardcopy should also be submitted but need not be delivered before the deadline. Late assignments will be penalized.

Research essay:

You should choose one of the following subjects for your paper. The context(s) for investigation is your choice.

1. Transnationalism and democratic ideas/institutions: Investigate the linkages between institutions or ideas associated with democracy in multiple Asian contexts. You might select constitutions, election laws, representative bodies, etc.
2. Investigate the meaning of ‘democracy’ to a political actor. Give an account of why that meaning is adopted. You might look at a mass movement, courts, parties, or voters.
3. Investigate institutional transformation over the course of a democratic transition. Assess and explain the change in a particular institution, e.g., the electoral system, election law, courts, protection of liberties, mechanisms for group representation.

Breakdown of final grade:

* Essay 1: 15
* Essay 2: 15
* Research paper: 40
* Presentations of case studies: 15
* Seminar participation: 15

Submission dates:

* 2016.9.19 (12 noon): Preliminary topic for research paper
* 2016.10.7 (12 noon): Research paper proposal and sources list
* 2016.10.21 (12 noon): Essay 1
* 2016.11.25 (12 noon): Essay 2
* 2016.12.7 (12 noon): Research paper

Plagiarism: Don’t do it. Plagiarism is cheating and it’s taken seriously. Ignorance isn’t an excuse. If you’re unsure what constitutes plagiarism, consult the instructor.

**Course outline**

2016.9.5: How should we study democracy?

2016.9.12: How can democracy be defined?

* Schumpeter, Joseph. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Ch. 22-23.
* Ginsburg and Schefter, *Politics by Other Means*, ch. 1.

2016.9.19: What do leaders mean by “democracy”?

* Corazon Aquino, Oscar Arias, and Kim Dae-jung, eds., *Democracy in Asia: Its Problems and Prospects*. Seoul: Asia-Pacific Peace Press, 1995.
* Park Chung Hee, *The Country, the Revolution, and I*. Hollym, 1970.
* Mao Zedong, “On New Democracy” (1940). <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-2/mswv2_26.htm>
* Schaffer, Frederic C. *Democracy in Translation: Understanding Politics in an Unfamiliar Culture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998. Ch. 1, 2, 6.

PLUS, discussion of research topics. By **12 noon on 9.19** you should send the instructor a brief note describing your possible research project for the term.

2016.9.26: Holiday

2016.10.3: Holiday

2016.10.10: How do constitutions and election commissions define democracy?

* Peruse the following constitutions on [www.constituteproject.org](http://www.constituteproject.org) : Taiwan, South Korea, China, Indonesia, India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Japan. Search for ‘democracy’ and related terms.
* Vickers, Adrian. *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). Ch. 5.
* Sun Yat-sen. “The Three Principles of the People.”
* Other material to be distributed in class.

2016.10.17: In what ways has colonialism shaped democracy?

* Sidel, John T. *Capital, Coercion, and Crime: Bossism in the Philippines* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), ch. 1, 2, 7.
* Partha, Chatterjee. *The Nation and Its Fragments*. Princeton University Press, 1993. Ch. 1-3.

2016.10.24: How did anticommunism during the Cold War shape political institutions? What does democracy mean on communism’s edge?

* 박찬표, 한국의 국가형성과 민주주의: 냉전 자유주의와 보수적 민주주의의 기원. (서울: 후마니타스, 2007). 제5-6장
* Cheng, Tun-jen. “Democratizing the Quasi-Leninist Regime in Taiwan.” *World Politics* 41, no. 4 (July 1989): 471–99.
* Hutchcroft, Paul D. “Reflections on a Reverse Image: South Korea under Park Chung Hee and the Philippines under Ferdinand Marcos.” In *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea*, edited by Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel, 542–72. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. Online via SNU library.

2016.10.31: Do Cold War concerns continue to influence democratic practice?

* Cho, Heeyeon. “Democratization as De-Monopolization and Its Different Trajectories: No Democratic Consolidation without De-Monopolization.” *Asian Democracy Review* 1 (2012): 5–34.
* Choose one:
	+ 최장집, 민주화 이후의 민주주의: 한국민주주의의 보수적 기원과 위기 (서울: 후마니타스, 2005). Ch. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8.
	+ English version of the same: Choi, Jang Jip. *Democracy after Democratization*. Ch. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8.
* Choose one:
	+ You, Jong-sung. “The Cheonan Incident and the Declining Freedom of Expression in South Korea.” *Asian Perspective* 39, no. 2 (April 1, 2015): 195–219.
	+ 유종성, 한국 민주주의와 표현의 자유 - `자유민주주의`의 위기, 동향과 전망 90(2014): 9-44.

2016.11.7: What is a democratic transition and how much change have transitions brought? Do we see a convergence of electoral institutions in the region?

* Reilly, Benjamin. *Democracy and Diversity: Political Engineering in the Asia-Pacific*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Ch. 1, 4, 5, 6.
* 서복경, 한국 정치결사 제한 체제의 역사적 기원 90 (2014): 120-152.
* Fell, Dafydd. *Government and Politics in Taiwan*. New York: Routledge, 2011. Ch. 3-6.

2016.11.14: How do elected leaders establish legitimacy?

* Nishizaki, Yoshinori (2008). ‘Suphanburi in the Fast Lane: Roads, Prestige, and Domination in Rural Thailand.’ *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 2 (May): 433-468.
* Schlessinger, Jacob M. (1997). *Shadow Shoguns: The Rise and Fall of Japan’s Postwar Political Machine*. New York: Simon and Schuster. Chpts. 2, 5-8.
* Hays, Samuel P. (1967). ‘Political Parties and the Community-Society Continuum.’ In *The American Party Systems*, edited by William Nisbet Chambers and Walter Dean Burnham. New York: Oxford University Press: 152-181.

2016.11.21: Is vote-buying democratic?

* Wang, Chin-Shou and Charles Kurzman, “Logistics: How to Buy Votes.” In Frederic Charles Schaffer, ed., *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
* Chubb, Judith (1981). ‘The Social Bases of an Urban Political Machine: The Case of Palermo.’ *Political Science Quarterly* 96, no. 1(Spring): 107-125.

2016.11.28: Is political violence democratic?

* Anderson, Benedict (1990) ‘Murder and Progress in Modern Siam.’ *New Left Review* 181 (May/June): 33-48.
* Chin, Ko-lin (2003). *Heijin: Organized Crime, Business, and Politics in Taiwan*. Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe. Ch. 5, 84-119.
* McVey, Ruth (2000). ‘Of Greed and Violence and Other Signs of Progress,’ in Ruth McVey, ed., *Money and Power in Provincial Thailand*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Silkworm Books: 1-29.

2016.12.5: What is a political party? And how do parties relate to democracy?

* Lye, Liang Fook, and Wilhelm Hofmeister. *Political Parties, Party Systems and Democratization in East Asia*. Singapore: World Scientific, 2011. Chapters by Kenneth Paul Tan and Lam Peng Er.
* Dickson, Bruce J. “The Kuomintang before Democratization: Organizational Change and the Role of Elections.” In *Taiwan’s Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition: Riding the Third Wave*, edited by Charles Chi-hsiang Chang and Hung-mao Tien, 42–78. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.
* Biezen, Ingrid van. “Political Parties as Public Utilities.” *Party Politics* 10, no. 6 (November 1, 2004): 701–22.

2016.12.12: Is democracy good for labor or business?

* Crouch, Colin. *Coping with Post-Democracy*. London: Fabian Society, 2000. Available at <http://www.fabians.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/Post-Democracy.pdf> .
* Doucette, Jamie and Se-Woong Koo. “Pursuing Post-Democratization: The Resilience of Politics by Public Security in Contemporary South Korea,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.2 (2016): 198-221.

**List of presentation topics**

10.10. Election commissions. Cases: India, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Indonesia, Japan; Constitutions. Cases: Japan, India, Thailand, Philippines, Myanmar.

10.17. Colonialism. Cases: Taiwan, South Korea, India, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Myanmar.

10.24. Cold War: Cases: Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore

10.31. Cold War legacies. Cases: Taiwan, Japan, Thailand, South Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore

11.7. Transitions. Cases: Indonesia, Myanmar, Nepal, Taiwan, South Korea

11.14. Legitimacy. Cases: Open

11.21. Vote-buying. Cases: Open

11.28. Violence. Cases: Open (e.g., episodes in Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh)

12.5. Parties. Cases: Congress (India), Thai Rak Thai (Thailand), Golkar (or others in Indonesia), PAP (Singapore), UMNO/BN (Malaysia), LDP (Japan), any party in Philippines