

**SNU/GSIS: M2190.000400**  
**Political Development and Economic Cooperation in East Asia**  
**Spring 2020**  
**Wednesday 9:00-11:50 am**  
**Building 140-2, Room 201**

Instructor: Jiyeoun Song

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Office hours: Wednesday 2:00-4:00 pm and by appointment

Teaching Assistant (TA): Yeyoung Kim ([yeyoungchloe@snu.ac.kr](mailto:yeyoungchloe@snu.ac.kr))

## **I. Course Description**

The primary purpose of this course is to examine political development and economic cooperation in the region of East Asia, focusing on the cases of Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. East Asia stands out not only for rapid economic growth, but also for its experience of the destructive power of global capital, exemplified as the 1997 Asian financial crisis. In addition, East Asian countries have experienced different types of political regime across countries as well as across time, such as stable democracy in Japan, and authoritarian rule and democratic transition in South Korea and Taiwan. This course analyzes the political and economic dynamics of East Asia, ranging from the developmental strategy, a set of political and economic institutions that have undergirded the model of the East Asian development, and recent economic, social, and demographic challenges to regional cooperation.

This course is composed of four main parts. The first part analyzes rapid economic growth in East Asia during the postwar period, with an emphasis on the state-led developmental strategy, its critiques, and the legacies of colonial rule. The second part examines a set of political institutions in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, which have contributed to high-speed growth as well as recent political challenges to each country, such as the collapse of the one party-dominated political system and democratic transition. The third part discusses recent economic, social, and demographic challenges, most of which have led to the realignment of political and market institutions in East Asia. The last part studies the patterns of regional cooperation, like financial and monetary cooperation and environmental cooperation in East Asia.

## **II. Prerequisites and Background**

The course materials are designed for graduate students with some previous coursework in political science, economics, and/or East Asian studies, although there are no prerequisites.

### **III. Course Format**

The format of this course will be based on a combination of lecture and seminar. For the first week, the instructor will give a lecture. Beginning in week 2, this course will be based on the format of lecture and seminar. Thus, it is critical for all students to actively participate in debates and discussions during the class. In order to facilitate engaging classroom atmosphere, students are required to read each week's reading materials before class. "Cold calls" may sometimes be used.

### **IV. Textbook, References, and Reading Assignment**

There are no required textbooks for this course. The instructor will post all course reading materials on the course eTL. Please check the course eTL periodically.

### **V. Grading Policy and Evaluation**

- 1) Attendance and class participation: 10%
- 2) Class presentation and discussion leading: 20%
- 3) Weekly summary report: 22%
- 4) Final research paper: 48%

#### **A. Course Requirements**

##### **(1) Attendance and class participation: 10%**

Attendance at all classes is mandatory. Students' active class participation is strongly encouraged and expected. Not only quantity, but also quality of participation will be critically evaluated. Two latenesses (showing up more than 15 minutes late) or departures (without any prior notice to the instructor) will be counted as one absence. Three absences (without valid excuse) will lead to a failure of the course.

##### **(2) Class presentation and discussion leading: 20%**

Each student is assigned for leading a class presentation and discussion at least once during the semester. Each discussion leader is expected to present the core arguments of the reading assignments in a very concise manner, provide critical evaluations on the readings, and prepare one or two discussion questions. No show-up for the week responsible for leading a class discussion will result in a zero point for this assignment.

##### **(3) Weekly summary report: 22% (2% per week)**

Students are expected to write a weekly summary report with one or two discussion questions regarding the reading. The length of the weekly summary report should be no longer than one page in single-spaced and the report should be composed of one or two sentence-long summary of the each reading and discussion questions based on the reading. Students should submit a weekly summary report by Tuesday 9:00 am before each week's class. The instructor does not accept any late summary reports, unless there is a prior notice.

**(4) Final research paper: 48%**

Students should write a final research paper that examines the politics and/or economics of East Asia, focusing on Japan, South Korea, and/or Taiwan. Students can choose any topics related to the course materials, but need to receive a prior approval from the instructor. *No country case on China and no research paper on the security issues.*

**(4-1) Research proposal: 8%**

Students should submit a research proposal by 9:00 am April 22<sup>nd</sup> to the course eTL as well as to the instructor. The proposal should include a research question, hypothesis, preliminary research findings, and several academic references. The length of the research proposal should be 1-2 pages in double spaced, except for the references.

**(4-2) Paper presentation: 10%**

Students should make a 15-20 minute-long presentation during the weeks of 14 and 15 based on the research paper working in progress.

**(4-3) Final research paper: 30%**

Students should submit a final research paper by 5:00 pm on June 12<sup>th</sup> (Friday) to the course eTL as well as to the instructor's office. The length of the final research paper should be 10-12 pages in double spaced, except for all figures, tables, and references.

**NOTE:** The instructor will submit all writing assignments to turnitin.com in order to check for a possible sign of plagiarism.

**B. Make-up and Lateness Policies**

Except documented family or medical emergencies, there will be no make-up exams or assignment extension provided in this course. *Routine doctor's appointment (e.g., flu or cold) does not qualify as medical emergencies.* If students need to take a make-up exam for family or medical emergencies, it is students' responsibility to contact the instructor and schedule a make-up exam within a week from the originally designated exam or assignment due.

**C. Laptop and Cell Phone Policy**

Students can use their own laptops for note taking in class, yet web browsing, on-line chatting, and/or other course-unrelated activities will NOT be allowed. No cell phone use (including phone call, texting message, and/or phone applications) will be permitted during the class. Any violations will directly affect attendance and participation grades.

**D. Academic Honesty**

Any plagiarism or academic dishonesty will be severely punished. It will result in a failing grade and an official report to the Graduate School of International Studies. If students cite from other people's books, articles, or written/verbal materials, they should provide proper citations in their writing materials for all quotations, paraphrases, and

ideas taken from any source other than their own original thoughts. Regarding academic misconduct, please refer to the university's guideline on the principle of research ethics.

**E. Accommodation Policy**

Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent him or her from fully demonstrating his or her abilities should contact the instructor personally as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate students' educational opportunities.

**VI. Course Schedule**

	<b>TOPIC</b>	<b>METHOD</b>	<b>ETC.</b>
Week 1 (March 4)	Introduction and Course Overview	Lecture	
Week 2 (March 11)	East Asia's Economic Miracle: Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 3 (March 18)	Origins and Development of Market Institutions	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 4 (March 25)	Japan's LDP-Dominated Political System and Its Changes in the 1990s	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 5 (April 1)	Authoritarian Rule and Democratic Transition in South Korea and Taiwan	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 6 (April 8)	Japan's Bubble Economy and Asia's Financial Crisis	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 7 (April 15)	<b>No Class: National Election Day</b>		
Week 8 (April 22)	Labor Politics and Reforming Labor Markets in East Asia	Lecture/Seminar	<i>Proposal Due by April 22</i>
Week 9 (April 29)	Socio-Demographic Challenges in East Asia: Gender, Declining Fertility Rates, Aging, and Migration	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 10 (May 6)	Welfare States in East Asia	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 11 (May 13)	Financial and Trade Cooperation in East Asia	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 12 (May 20)	Environmental Cooperation in East Asia	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 13 (May 27)	Forces for Change?	Lecture/Seminar	
Week 14 (June 1)	<b>Students Presentation</b>		
Week 15 (June 10)	<b>Students Presentation</b>		<i>Research Paper Due by June 12<sup>th</sup> (Friday)</i>

## <Course Schedule and Reading Assignments>

Note: I may make some minor changes regarding reading assignments and course schedule.

### **Week 1: Introduction and Course Overview**

World Bank, *East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), Overview, pp. 1-26.

## **PART I: THE RISE OF EAST ASIA**

### **Week 2: East Asia's Economic Miracle—Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan**

Gerschenkron, Alexander, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), chapter 1, pp. 5-30.

Johnson, Chalmers, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982), chapter 1, pp. 3-34.

Kohli, Atul, "Where Do High Growth Political Economies Come From? The Japanese Lineage of Korea's 'Developmental State,'" *World Development* 22:9 (1994), pp. 1269-1293.

Woo-Cumings, Meredith Jung-eun, "National Security and the Rise of the Developmental State," in Henry Rowen, ed., *Behind East Asian Growth* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 319-337.

#### (Recommended):

Haggard, Stephan, David Kang, and Chung-in Moon, "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Development: A Critique," *World Development* 25:6 (1997), pp. 867-881.

Johnson, Chalmers, "The Development State: Odyssey of a Concept," in Meredith Woo-Cumings, ed., *The Developmental State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 32-60.

### **Week 3: Origins and Development of Market Institutions**

Rosenbluth, Frances McCall, and Michael F. Thies, *Japan Transformed: Political Change and Economic Restructuring* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), chapter 5, pp. 72-84 (only).

Kim, Eun Mee, and Gil-Sung Park, "Chapter 9: The Chaebol" in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel eds., *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 265-294.

Haggard, Stephan, *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), chapter 4: Taiwan: From Import Substitution to Export-Led Growth, pp. 76-99.

(Recommended):

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice, "Introduction," in Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1-68.

North, Douglas C., *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 83-104, 107-117.

Witt, Michael A., and Gordon Redding, "Asian Business Systems: Institutional Comparison, Clusters, and Implications for the Varieties of Capitalism and Business Systems Theory," *Socioeconomic Review* 11:2 (2013), pp. 265-300.

## **PART II: POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF HIGH ECONOMIC GROWTH**

### **Week 4: Japan's LDP-Dominated Political System and Its Changes in the 1990s**

Rosenbluth, Frances McCall, and Michael F. Thies, *Japan Transformed: Political Change and Economic Restructuring* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), chapter 4, pp. 53-71.

Scheiner, Ethan, "Pipelines of Pork: Japan's Politics and a Model of Local Opposition Party Failure," *Comparative Political Studies* 38:7 (2005), pp. 799-823.

Park, Cheol Hee, "Factional Dynamics in Japan's LDP since Political Reform," *Asian Survey* 41:3 (2001), pp. 428-461.

Krauss, Ellis, and Robert Pekkanen, "Explaining Party Adaptation to Electoral Reform," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30:1 (2004), pp. 1-34.

Pempel, T.J., "Collapse From Within: The Liberal Democratic Party between Pork and Productivity," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 36:2 (2010), pp. 227-254.

(Recommended):

Curtis, Gerald, *The Logic of the Japanese Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), chapters 2-3, pp. 65-136.

## **Week 5: Authoritarian Rule and Democratic Transition in South Korea and Taiwan**

Johnson, Chalmers, "Political Institutions and Economic Performance: The Government-Business Relationship in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan," in Frederic Deyo, ed., *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 136-164.

Oh, John Kie-Chang, *Korean Politics: The Quest for Democratization and Economic Development* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), chapter 3, pp. 48-73.

Roy, Denny, *Taiwan: A Political History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), chapter 4, pp. 76-104.

Hahm, Chaibong, "South Korea's Miraculous Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 19:3 (July 2008), pp. 128-142.

Chu, Yun-han, "Taiwan's Year of Stress," *Journal of Democracy* 16:2 (April 2005), pp. 43-57.

### (Recommended):

Kim, Byung-Kook, "Party Politics in South Korea's Democracy: The Crisis of Success," in Larry Diamond and Byung-Kook Kim, eds., *Consolidating Democracy in South Korea* (Boulder, CO: Lynn Reiner, 2000).

Chu, Yun-han, and Tse-min Lin, "The Process of Democratic Consolidation in Taiwan: Social Cleavages, Electoral Competition, and the Emerging Party System," in Hung Mao Tien, ed., *Taiwan's Electoral Politics and Democratic Transition: Riding the Third Wave* (Armonk: ME Sharpe, 1996).

## **PART III: NEW POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL AGENDAS BEYOND DEVELOPMENTALISM**

### **Week 6: Japan's Bubble Economy & Asian Financial Crisis**

Laurence, Henry, "Financial System Reform and the Currency Crisis in East Asia," *Asian Survey* 39:2 (March/April, 1999), pp. 348-373.

Krugman, Paul, "The Myth of Asia's Miracle," *Foreign Affairs* 73:6 (1994), pp. 63-78.

Chang, Ha-joon, "Korea: The Misunderstood Crisis," *World Development* 26:8 (1998), pp. 1555-1561.

Chu, Yun-han, "Surviving the East Asian Financial Storm: the Political Foundation of Taiwan's Resilience," in T.J. Pempel, ed., *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 184-202.

(Recommended):

Grimes, William W., *Unmaking the Japanese Miracle: Macroeconomic Politics 1985-2000* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), chapter 5: Inflating and Bursting the Bubble 1988-1992, pp. 108-135.

Pempel, T.J. ed., *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 1-16, 224-238.

Haggard, Stephan, *The Political Economy of the Asian Financial Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 2000), chapter 1, pp. 15-46.

**Week 7: National Election Day**

\*\*\* No Class \*\*\*

**Week 8: Labor Politics and Reforming Labor Markets in East Asia**

Pempel, T.J., and Keiichi Tsunekawa, "Corporatism without Labor? The Japanese Anomaly," in Philippe C. Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch, eds., *Trends toward Corporatist Intermediation* (London: Sage Publications, 1979), pp. 231-270.

Kume, Ikuo, "Changing Relations among the Government, Labor, and Business in Japan after the Oil Crisis," *International Organization* 42:4 (1988), pp. 659-687.

Koo, Hagen, "The State, *Minjung*, and the Working Class in South Korea," in Hagen Koo, ed., *State and Society in Contemporary Korea* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 131-162.

Lee, Yoonkyung, "Varieties of Labor Politics in Northeast Asian Democracies: Political Institutions and Union Activitism in Korea and Taiwan," *Asian Survey* 46:5 (September/October 2006), pp. 721-740.

(Recommended):

Thelen, Kathleen, *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), chapter 1, pp. 1-32.

Song, Jiyeoun, "Economic Distress, Labor Market Reforms, and Dualism in Japan and Korea," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 25:3 (July 2012), pp. 415-438.

**Week 9: Socio-Demographic Challenges in East Asia—Gender, Declining Fertility Rates, Aging, and Migration**

Rosenbluth, Frances McCall, "Political Economy of Low Fertility," in Frances McCall



Rosenbluth, ed., *The Political Economy of Japan's Low Fertility* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 3-36.

Schoppa, Leonard J., *Race for the Exits: The Unraveling of Japan's System of Social Protection* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), chapter 7, pp. 150-182.

Lim, Timothy, "Rethinking Belongingness in Korea: Transnational Migration, Migrant Marriages, and the Politics of Multiculturalism," *Pacific Affairs* 83:1 (March 2010), pp. 51-71.

Lan, Pei-Chia, *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestic Workers and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), chapter 2, pp. 29-58.

(Recommended):

Eggleston, Karen, *Aging Asia: The Economic and Social Implications of Rapid Demographic Change in China, Japan, and South Korea* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2010).

**Week 10: Welfare States in East Asia**

Esping-Andersen, Gosta, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), chapter 1, pp. 18-33 (only).

Peng, Ito, "A Fresh Look at the Japanese Welfare State," *Social Policy & Administration* 34:1 (2000), pp. 87-114.

Wong, Joseph, *Healthy Democracies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), chapter 1, pp. 1-18.

Yang, Jae-jin, "Parochial Welfare Politics and the Small Welfare State in South Korea," *Comparative Politics* 45:4 (July 2013), pp. 457-475.

Lin, Chen-Wei, "The Policymaking Process for the Social Security System in Taiwan: The National Health Insurance and National Pension Program," *The Development Economies*, XL-3 (September 2002), pp. 327-358.

(Recommended):

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman, *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Estevez-Abe, Margarita, *Welfare and Capitalism in Postwar Japan* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2008), chapter 1, pp. 19-50.

## **PART IV: REGIONAL COOPERATION & NEW CHALLENGES IN EAST ASIA**

### **Week 11: Financial and Trade Cooperation in East Asia**

Stubbs, Richard, "Asian Plus Three: Emerging East Asian Regionalism?" *Asian Survey* 42: 3 (May/June 2002), pp. 440-455.

Amyx, Jennifer, "Chapter 6: Regional Financial Cooperation in East Asia since the Asian Financial Crisis," in Andrew MacIntyre, T.J. Pempel, and John Ravenhill eds., *Crisis as Catalyst: Asia's Dynamic Political Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 117-139.

Katada, Saori N., "Seeking a Place for East Asian Regionalism: Challenges and Opportunities under the Global Financial Crisis," *Pacific Review* 24: 3 (July 2011), pp. 273-290.

Kawai, Masahiro, "East Asian Economic Regionalism: Progress and Challenges," *Journal of Asian Economics* 16:1 (2005), pp. 29-55.

#### (Recommended):

William W. Grimes, *Currency and Contest in East Asia: The Great Power Politics of Financial Regionalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), chapter 3: Lending into Crises: The Chiang Mai Initiative, pp. 71-117.

Siow Yue Chia, "Regional Trade Policy Cooperation and Architecture in East Asia," *ADB Working Paper* 191 (2010). Tokyo: Asian Development Bank Institute (Available: <http://www.adbi.org/working-paper/2010/02/02/3450.regional.trade.policy.east.asia/>).

### **Week 12: Environmental Cooperation in East Asia**

Hall, Derek, "Chapter 8: Regional Shrimp, Global Trees, Chinese Vegetables: The Environment in Japan-East Asia Relations," in Peter J. Katzenstein and Takashi Shiraishi eds., *Beyond Japan: The Dynamics of East Asian Regionalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 188-210.

Campbell, Laura B., "Chapter 9: The Political Economy of Environmental Regionalism in Asia," in T.J. Pempel ed., *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 216-235.

Kim, Inkyoung, "Environmental Cooperation of Northeast Asia: Transboundary Air Pollution," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 7:3 (2007), pp. 439-462.

Schreurs, Miranda A., "From the Bottom Up: Local and Subnational Climate Change Politics," *Journal of Environment & Development* 17:4 (December 2008), pp. 343-355.

(Recommended):

Harris, Paul G (ed.), *Global Warming and East Asia* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Hughes, Llewelyn, “Climate Converts: Institutional Redeployment and Public Investment in Energy and Environment in Japan,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 12:2 (2012), pp. 89-118.

**Week 13: Forces for Change in East Asia?**

Vogel, Steven K., “Can Japan Disengage? Winners and Losers in Japan’s Political Economy and the Ties that Bind them,” *Social Science Japan Journal* 2:1 (1999), pp. 3-21

Schoppa, Leonard J., *Race for the Exits: the Unraveling of Japan’s System of Social Protection* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), chapter 6, pp. 112-149.

Ha, Yong-Chool, and Wang Hwi Lee, “The Politics of Economic Reform in South Korea: Crony Capitalism after Ten Years,” *Asian Survey* 47:6 (November/December 2007), pp. 894-914.

Wu, Yu-Shan, “Taiwan’s Developmental State: After the Economic and Political Turmoil,” *Asian Survey* 47:6 (November/December 2007), pp. 977-1001.

(Recommended):

Vogel, Steven K., *Japan Remodeled: How Government and Industry are Reforming Japanese Capitalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), chapter 4, pp. 78-114.

**Week 14: Students Presentation**

**Week 15: Students Presentation**

**Enjoy your summer break! ☺**