

## POSC 453: POLITICAL CHANGE IN ASIA SPRING 2018

### Professor Jinhee Lee Choung

Wednesday/Friday 12:00 – 1:20 p.m., VKC 210

Office Hours (VKC 231C): Wed/Fri 11:20 – 11:50 a.m.; Fri 1:30 – 2:30 p.m.; or by appointment

E-mail: [choung@usc.edu](mailto:choung@usc.edu)

The central aim of this course is to provide a sound foundation for understanding and analyzing the comparative dynamics of regime transformation in East Asia after World War II. After a three-week introduction to Asia and some basic theories on democracy and democratization, we delve into country case studies for a deeper investigation of political change. First, in South Korea, we focus our attention on its tumultuous road to democracy, analyzing how, why, and when it succeeded and how mature its democratic institutions and practices are today. For Thailand, we explore how and why democracy has not yet taken root, flip-flopping between military coups and parliamentarianism. Lastly, for China, our focus is on the institutionalization of authoritarianism under the iron-clad rule of Chinese Communist Party and the likelihood of democracy. For all three countries we ask: what precipitates political change? Who are the key actors? Why are some countries more able to resist the pressures for change than others? In particular, how have economic development, crises, or other socio-economic changes (*e.g.*, the ascendancy of capitalism, globalization) contributed to political change in East Asia?

The course is designed for students to achieve the following objectives:

1. Gain a working knowledge of the *political* history, economy, and institutions of South Korea, Thailand, and China.
2. Be able to analyze the theories and concepts of political change and apply them to the democratization experiences or failures in our country cases.
3. Improve written and oral communication skills.

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Attendance is mandatory, and students are required to complete all assignments on time and take the exam when it is scheduled. A make-up exam or extension will be given only under strict and verified circumstances (*e.g.*, a medical emergency or a required participation in a USC-sponsored activity). I reserve the right to decide on the validity of all excuses.

1. **Class participation & attendance (20%).** Class lectures are designed to analyze and synthesize the readings rather than summarize them, so students are expected to attend lectures having read the assigned materials. You should expect to be called on to answer questions and are encouraged to ask questions and actively contribute to class discussions and debates. You will be evaluated on the attendance (absences and tardiness) and the quality and frequency of your contributions. Missing more than 5 lectures (unexcused) or persistent tardiness will result in a deduction in your final course grade.

**Electronic devices.** Laptops, e-readers, tablets, cell phones, pagers, and the like must be turned off during class except with special permission from your instructor. Studies have shown that using these devices in class leads to lower comprehension and reduced productivity. In fact, students who take notes using longhand retain and process information much better. Anyone found to be in violation of this policy will be asked to leave the classroom immediately.<sup>1</sup>

2. **Class presentation (10%).** Prepare a slide presentation on a major case (*e.g.*, a political event, institution, organization, leader) and its significance.
3. **Analytical paper (20%), 5-6 pages (1,250 – 1,500 words), due on Wednesday, 2/21/2018.**
  - a. The essay question will be passed out two weeks prior on Wednesday, 2/7, with further instructions.
  - b. Answer the given question with a clear thesis/argument and support it with evidence from the assigned readings. An “A” paper will have coherent organization, critical and logical analysis, lucid writing, and specific and relevant references to the supporting texts. No additional or outside research is required.
  - c. Late papers will be penalized half of a letter grade for every 12 hour-period after the due date/time.
  - d. Please turn in a hard copy in class and submit paper through *turnitin.com* on Blackboard.
4. **Midterm examination on Wednesday, 3/28/2018 (25%).** The exams will cover both the assigned readings and lectures, and will consist of short essay responses.
5. **Final analytical paper (25%), 8-10 pages (2,000 to 2,500 words), on a topic covered in class, due by Noon on Friday, May 4, 2018.**
  - a. The question will be given out on Wednesday, 4/25/2018.
  - b. The paper must be submitted through *turnitin.com* on Blackboard and emailed to the professor.

**Academic Integrity:** Students are expected to do their own work; this holds, especially so, for the writing assignments you have for the class. All assignments are expected to reflect the student’s careful research, original thinking, and writing. Citations must be provided for the ideas, content, or other materials that originate from other authors. Studying together is welcome; working together on writing assignments is not. Cheating will not be tolerated, and those who do will receive a failing grade on the assignment or the exam and/or for the entire course. Please check <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/SJACS> for the University guidelines on academic integrity. If you have any questions about this, please see me or contact the Office of Student Judicial Affairs and Community Standards (SJACS). You may also learn more and take a tutorial found at

---

<sup>1</sup> Studies have shown that “computers and other digital devices increase the [temptation and likelihood of multitasking](#), leading to lower comprehension and reduced productivity” (Katrina Schwartz, “Taking Notes: Is The Pen Still Mightier Than the Keyboard?”, [ww2.kqed.org](http://ww2.kqed.org)); that students who take notes using longhand retain and process information much better ([Psychological Science](#), June 2014: 1159-1168); and students who media multitask during class may also impede the learning of their classmates ([Computers & Education, Volume 62](#), March 2013: 24–31).

[http://www.usc.edu/libraries/about/reference/tutorials/academic\\_integrity/index.php](http://www.usc.edu/libraries/about/reference/tutorials/academic_integrity/index.php).

### **Roving Reference: Ask-A-Librarian Research Assistance**

[http://www.usc.edu/libraries/services/ask\\_a\\_librarian/askme/](http://www.usc.edu/libraries/services/ask_a_librarian/askme/)

“This in-person service brings a reference professional to you at the point of need for one-on-one consultations. Librarians maintain consultation/office hours at the Writing Center Conference room, situated in the Language Lab. Students visiting the Writing Center for help with the mechanics of writing their papers can simultaneously get assistance from reference librarians on finding and citing their sources, as well as researching on a topic. The program will be expanding to more locations in the near future. For further information or questions on Roving Reference/Librarian service, contact Susan Gardner, [susangar@usc.edu](mailto:susangar@usc.edu), or Felicia Palsson, [fpalsson@usc.edu](mailto:fpalsson@usc.edu). Consult this Web site for more information and updates.”

### **Organizing Your Social Sciences Research Paper**

<http://libguides.usc.edu/content.php?pid=83009&sid=615849>

**Disability:** Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible, preferably within the first two weeks. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.

### **Student Counseling Services**

Provides free and confidential mental health treatment for students, including short-term psychotherapy, group counseling, stress fitness workshops, and crisis intervention. (213) 740-7711 (on call 24/7) (<https://engemannshc.usc.edu/counseling/>)

### **Student Support & Advocacy**

Assists students and families in resolving complex issues (*e.g.*, personal, financial, academic) adversely affecting their success as a student. (213) 821-4710 (<https://studentaffairs.usc.edu/ssa/>)

### **Other notes:**

1. Communication is best done face-to-face during office hours or after class. I encourage you to come with any questions, musings, or concerns you might have. When office visits are not possible, email me. I cannot guarantee, however, an immediate response. Allow at least 24 hours of turn-around time.
2. Lecture slides, study guides, and announcements will be posted on the course page on Blackboard (<https://blackboard.usc.edu/>). Please check Blackboard or your USC-registered email regularly for class announcements.
3. Photography, taping, and recording of lectures are not allowed. Notes and lecture slides of this class may not be exchanged or distributed for any commercial purpose, for compensation, or for any purpose other than your personal study.

4. As the semester progresses, there may arise a need to make adjustments to the reading assignments and schedule. I will do my best to offer advance notice and minimize conflict.

**Readings:** This is a challenging course and there is a relatively heavy reading load. On average, students will be expected to read about forty to fifty pages (one to two articles or chapters) for each class. Required readings are downloadable from the library electronic reserves system (ARES: <https://usc.ares.atlas-sys.com/>). The few readings that may be unavailable through USC libraries will be posted on Blackboard.

## SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

### I. INTRODUCTION

#### **Class 1 (1/10): Course overview**

#### **Class 2 (1/12): Introduction: What is Asia?**

- Marshall, Tim (2015). Chapter 2: “China” (p. 36-61) & Chapter 8: “Korea & Japan” (p. 193-213) in *Prisoners of Geography: Ten Maps That Explain Everything About the World*. Scribner.

#### **Class 3 (1/17): Building a framework: democracy & legitimacy**

- Hardin, Russell (2007). “Compliance, Consent, and Legitimacy” in Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press: 236-255.
- Chu, Yun-han, L. Diamond, A. Nathan, and DC Shin (2008). Chapter 1: “Comparative Perspectives on Democratic Legitimacy in East Asia” in Yun-Han Chu et al., eds., *How East Asians View Democracy*. Columbia: 1-34.

#### **Class 4 (1/19): Building a framework: democratization**

- Barbara Geddes (2009). Chapter 29: “What Causes Democratization?” in Robert E. Goodin, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. Oxford University Press: 593-615.
- Welzel, Christian (2009). Chapter 6: “Theories of Democratization” in Haerpfer, Christian, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel, eds., *Democratization*. Oxford University Press: 74-90.

#### **Class 5 (1/24): Internal sources of change: beliefs and values**

- Welzel, Christian and Ronald F. Inglehart (2009). Chapter 9: “Political Culture, Mass Beliefs, and Value Change” in Haerpfer, Christian, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel, eds., *Democratization*. Oxford University Press: 126-144.

#### **Class 6 (1/26): Material sources of change: economic growth and international context**

- Shelley, Becky (2005). Chapter 2: “Development, democracy and the international economy” in *Democratic Development in East Asia*. Routledge: 15-43.

## II. CASE STUDIES

### (1) Republic of Korea

#### Class 7 (1/31): Introduction

- Armstrong, Charles K. (2014). Chapter 2: “South Korea: The Rise to Globalism” in *The Koreas*. Routledge: 14-39.
- News articles (Blackboard).

#### Class 8 (2/2): Economic development & political consequences

- Choi, Jang-Jip (2012). Chapter 3: “Authoritarian Industrialization and Democratization by Mass Movement” in *Democracy After Democratization: The Korean Experience*. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center: 53-80.

#### Class 9 (2/7): Attempts at democratization: twice denied

- Cummings, Bruce (2005). Chapter 7: “The Virtues, II: The Democratic Movement, 1960-Present” in *Korea’s Place in the Sun*. W.W. Norton & Company: 342-403.
- ❖ Hand out the paper prompt

#### Class 10 (2/9): Democratization in 1987

- Kim, Sunhyuk (2007). Chapter 3: “Civil society and democratization in South Korea” in Charles K. Armstrong, ed., *Korean Society: Civil society, democracy and the state*. Routledge: 53-71.
- Fowler, James (1999). “The United States and South Korean Democratization.” *Political Science Quarterly* 114(2): 265-288.

#### Class 11 (2/14): Reform, the ‘IMF’ crisis & political change

- Lim, Hyun-Chin and Joon Han (2004). Chapter 12: “Social realignment, coalition change and political transformation” in Duck-Koo Chung and Barry Eichengreen, eds., *The Korean Economy Beyond the Crisis*. Edward Elgar: 267-285.
- Kang, C. S. Eliot (2003). “The Developmental State and Democratic Consolidation in South Korea” in Samuel Kim, ed., *Korea’s Democratization*. Cambridge University Press: 220-244.

#### Class 12 (2/16): Assessing South Korea’s democratic consolidation

- Wong, Joseph (2015). Chapter 11: “South Korea’s weakly institutionalized party system” in Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta, eds., *Party System Institutionalization in Asia*. Cambridge: 260-279.
- Moon, Katharine, H.S. (Posted March 17, 2017) “Park Leaves Behind a Divided South Korea,” *Foreign Affairs*. (Blackboard)

#### Class 13 (2/21): Review

- ❖ Analytical paper due in class

## (2) Kingdom of Thailand

### Class 14 (2/23): Introduction

- Bertrand, Jacques (2013). Chapter 5: “Thailand” in *Political Change in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press: 121-139.
- News articles (Blackboard).

### Class 15 (2/28): Politics and the 1997 financial crisis

- Pepinsky, Thomas (2008). “Capital Mobility and Coalitional Politics: Authoritarian Regimes and Economic Adjustments in Southeast Asia.” *World Politics* 60(3): 438-474.

### Class 16 (3/2): Constitutional reform and the rise of Thaksin Shinawatra

- Hicken, Allen (2006). “Party Fabrication: Constitutional Reform and the Rise of Thai Rak Thai.” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 6(3): 381-407.
- Hewison, Kevin (2017). “Reluctant populists: Learning populism in Thailand.” *International Political Science Review* 38(4): 426–440

### Class 17 (3/7): The 2006 coup and return to semi-democracy

- Hewison, Kevin (2010). Chapter 7: “Thailand’s conservative democratization” in Chu, Yinwah and Siu-lun Wong, eds., *East Asia’s New Democracies: Deepening, Reversal, Non-liberal Alternatives*. New York: Routledge: 122-140.
- McCargo, Duncan (2005). “Network Monarchy and Legitimacy Crises in Thailand.” *The Pacific Review*. 18(4): 499-519.

### Class 18 (3/9): Thailand’s political parties and party system

- Kuhonta, Erik Martinez (2015). Chapter 12: “Thailand’s Feckless Parties and Party System: A Path-Dependent Analysis” in Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta, eds., *Party System Institutionalization in Asia*. Cambridge: 280-306.
- Bjarnegard, Elin (2013). Chapter 8: “Who’s the perfect politician? Clientelism as a determining feature of Thai politics” in Dirk Tomsa and Andreas Ufen, eds., in *Party Politics in Southeast Asia: Clientelism and electoral competition in Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines*. Routledge: 142-162

### SPRING BREAK: 3/11 - 3/18

### Class 19 (3/21): The future of democracy in Thailand

- McCargo, Duncan (2017). “Thailand in 2016: Fade to Gray.” *Asian Survey*, 57(1): 150-156.
- Kingsbury, Damien (2017). Chapter 10: “Thailand” in *Politics in Contemporary Southeast Asia*. Routledge: 110-122.

### Class 20 (3/23): Midterm review

### Class 21 (3/28): Midterm exam

### Class 22 (3/30): BREAK

### (3) People's Republic of China

#### Class 23 (4/4): Introduction

- Brown, Kerry (2015). Chapter 2: “The Making of Modern China” in *Contemporary China*. Palgrave Macmillan: 33-58.
- News articles (Blackboard).

#### Class 24 (4/6): Mao to Deng: economic transformation

- Zweig, David (2014). Chapter 8: “China’s Political Economy” in William A. Joseph, ed., *Politics in China: An Introduction*. Oxford University Press: 254-289.

#### Class 25 (4/11): Tiananmen Square

- Baum, Richard (2011). Chapter 5: “The Road to Tiananmen: Chinese politics in the 1980s” in Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Politics of China: Sixty Years of the People’s Republic of China*. Cambridge University Press: 433-463.

#### Class 26 (4/13): Lessons of Tiananmen

- Shirk, Susan (2007). Chapter 3: “Domestic Threats” in *China: Fragile Superpower*. Oxford University Press: 35-78.

#### Class 27 (4/18): How politics work in post-Tiananmen China

- Li, Cheng (2014). Chapter 6: “China’s Communist Party-State: The Structure and Dynamics of Power” in William A. Joseph, ed., *Politics in China: An Introduction*. Oxford University Press: 192-223.

#### Class 28 (4/20): Future of democracy in China

- Truex, Rory (2016). Chapter 3: “Does the NPC matter?” in *Making Autocracy Work: Representation and Responsiveness in Modern China*. Cambridge University Press: 46-74.
- Solinger, Dorothy (2008). Chapter 13: “The Political Implications of China’s Social Future: Complacency, Scorn, and the Forlorn” in Cheng Li, ed., *China’s Changing Political Landscape: Prospects for Democracy*. Brookings: 251-266.

#### Class 29 (4/25): Conclusion: why democracy?

- Bai, Tongdong (2013). Chapter 2: “A Confucian Version of Hybrid Regime: How does it work, and Why is it Superior?” in Daniel A. Bell and Chenyang Li, eds., *The East Asian Challenge for Democracy: Political Meritocracy in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press: 55-87.
- ❖ Hand out the final paper prompt

#### Class 30 (4/27): Wrap-up & course review

\* Friday, May 4, 2018: Due by 12 PM NOON - Final analytical paper (25%)