

Politics of East Asia

Politics 140d • 63381 • Spring 2020

University of California, Santa Cruz

Primary Instructor: Prof. Benjamin L. **Read**

Teaching Assistants: Alberto **Ganis** and Yannong **He**

Tutor: Ce-Lai **Fong**

Politics Department Online Learning Support TA: Helena **Veum**

This is a special remote-instruction version of Politics 140d, with no classroom or face-to-face meetings because of the coronavirus pandemic.

Prof. Read's email: bread (at) ucsc (dot) edu
TAs' email: Alberto: aganis (at) ucsc (dot) edu. Yannong: yhe93 (at) ucsc (dot) edu
Yannong is TA for the Tuesday sections, Alberto for Wednesday and Friday's.
Tutor's email: cekfong (at) ucsc (dot) edu
Online support TA email: hveum (at) ucsc (dot) edu
Prof. Read's web site: <https://benread.net>
Course web site: <https://canvas.ucsc.edu/>
Lectures: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 9:50a–11:25a, on Zoom (via Canvas)
Prof. Read's office hours: Mondays 9:00a–10:30a, on Zoom (via Canvas), and by appointment
TAs' Zoom office hours: Alberto: Wednesdays, 2:00p–4:00p. Yannong: Tuesdays, 3:00p–5:00p
Date of this syllabus: March 31, 2020. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview and Goals:

In this course, we explore politics in East Asia. The central focus is on three core cases: Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Issues and problems of governance, democratization, and democracy in these countries constitute the intellectual core of the class. We examine the historical development of the East Asian state system prior to and especially after World War II; the tension between external pressures (including influence by the United States) and nationalism; major leaders; authoritarian systems of the 20th century and processes of democratization; economic development; government institutions; political parties; civil society; extra-institutional protest and contention; gender and ethnicity in politics; and corruption. This is primarily a course in comparative domestic politics, but we also consider external relations (such as with China and North Korea) as well, with an eye toward linkages between the domestic and the international.

What do we aim to accomplish here? In other words, what are the “learning outcomes” of this course? You will: 1) Learn essential information about politics in the three core cases, and about how politics there relates to history, culture, society, and the economy. 2) Through cross-national comparison, gain a deeper understanding of concepts and themes with lasting importance in politics and the broader social sciences. 3) Develop your reading and research skills: finding and grasping written information. 4) Sharpen your communication skills: writing and speaking.

This course is one of the Politics Department's undergraduate core courses. Politics majors must take at least four such courses, and completing any three of them fulfills the university's “Disciplinary Communication” requirement. That is one reason for the emphasis on writing skills and other forms of communication in this class.

Readings:

All required readings will be available on the course site on the Canvas system.

Assignments and Ground Rules:

- Please read the following items carefully before deciding to stay enrolled in this course.
- **Class attendance** is a firm requirement, including both lectures and sections. The fact that we are holding class via the internet this quarter does not change this. Attendance will be taken at every session. We are understanding about family emergencies, illness or other serious exigencies, and will treat them as excused absences if informed about them in a timely way. In spring 2020, we also understand that internet connection and other technical glitches will likely arise, and we will make allowance for such things. If you have an unavoidable reason for missing class, send a detailed explanatory email on the same day to Prof. Read (for lecture) or your TA (for section). After one “no questions asked” absence, two percentage points will be deducted from your course grade for every further unexcused absence from lecture. To put that in perspective, the difference between a B+ and a C+ is ten percentage points. It is entirely possible to fail the course through non-attendance; this has happened before. Good attendance, on the other hand, will be rewarded with bonus points.
- **Doing the reading:** This course involves a substantial amount of reading and you are required to do it. Readings must be completed before the lecture for which they are assigned. Note that although I have strived to make it easy for you to find the readings, it is your responsibility to obtain and read these items. Download the readings from Canvas ahead of time.
- **Email:** You must use and regularly check your official email account, i.e., the one that AIS and Canvas send to.
- **Classroom participation and etiquette:**
 - Come prepared for both lectures and sections, and contribute actively to class discussion (especially in sections).
 - For both lectures and sections, please do everything you can to be present and focused on Zoom throughout the scheduled time period.
- **Assignments:** Grades are calculated on the basis of the following assignments, though the exact percentages are subject to adjustment. To pass Poli 140d, you must complete each of the following assignments, other than the survey; no component below may be failed or disregarded.
 - Complete the pre-class survey if you haven’t already. It mainly asks about your Spring 2020 circumstances and technology access, as well as your experience in academic research and writing. It also gives you an opportunity to introduce yourself to us in a free-form and open-ended manner. Contact Prof. Read in case you did not receive a link by email. **Strongly encouraged but not required or graded**
 - Do the assigned reading for a given day prior to the start of that day’s lecture. Discussion questions will be circulated in advance (via Announcements; a cumulative list of discussion questions is maintained under Files). For each reading, write a paragraph-long response to one of the questions about that reading, per instructions contained within the discussion questions, and submit it on Canvas (under Discussions). This, too, should be done prior to that day’s lecture. Thus, you will write three responses, each a paragraph in length, for the first set of three readings prior to lecture on April 2. We will grade these responses on a scale of 0-10 points, where 7 is a low C, 8 a low B, 9 a low A. **10 percent of overall quarter grade**
 - Attend all lectures via Zoom. There will periodically be quizzes via Zoom poll, both to assess your grasp of the reading and to engage audience participation. See above for how attendance factors into your quarter grade.
 - Attend all section meetings via Zoom. TAs will specify their own expectations, but you must come prepared to discuss the relevant assigned readings and discussion questions. See above for how attendance factors into your quarter grade. **25 percent**
 - In-class midterm examination (to be held during lecture, Thursday, April 30, 2020): **10 percent**
 - Introduction, outline, and bibliography of research paper (due Monday, May 4, 2020, 9am): **5 percent**
 - Completed research paper (due Saturday, June 6, 2020, 9am): **25 percent**
 - Final exam (Wednesday, June 10, 2020, noon–3:00pm): **25 percent**
- **Time Commitment:** The UCSC Academic Senate reminds us: “Systemwide Senate Regulation 760 specifies that one academic credit corresponds to three hours of work per week for students during a 10-week quarter. This means that the average workload for a 5-credit course is 150 hours or 15 hours per week.” With this in mind, expect to spend each week, on average:
 - Lectures: 3 hours and 10 minutes
 - Section: 1 hour and 5 minutes
 - Reading, note-taking, and review for the exams: 5 hours and 45 minutes

- Research and writing for the paper: 5 hours
- **Learning Support Services Tutoring:** This course provides additional support for student writing through Learning Support Services (LSS), in the form of weekly one-hour small group tutoring sessions.
 - The sessions are voluntary; the focus is on developing strategies and skills in essay writing related to the course material and themes. Please note that these optional sessions, facilitated by an LSS peer tutor, are distinct from mandatory sections facilitated by TAs. More information about these tutoring sessions will be forthcoming in week 2; sessions will begin week 3.
 - We especially encourage enrollment in tutoring for students whose work on an initial assessment (conducted via the pre-course survey at the beginning of the quarter) suggests they face writing challenges, but others may enroll, too. Resource constraints limit the number of seats available; given space limits, the sessions are for students who are prepared to attend the full series of weekly sessions.
 - Enrolled students who attend at least six of the eight sessions will earn extra credit toward their final grade. Most importantly, they are likely to see improvements in their writing, and thus their overall performance.
- **Accommodations:** UC Santa Cruz is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. We would also like to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. We encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at 831-459-2089 or by email at drc@ucsc.edu.
- **Course materials:**
 - **Slides and audio recording:** Within a few days after each lecture I will post the slides and an audio recording. The recording is mainly in case you had to miss class for some good reason. Please bear in mind that these are for your personal use only and shouldn't be distributed or posted on the public internet. The Academic Senate has asked faculty to include a note to this effect, as follows:
 - **Warning from the university about distribution of lecture notes and materials:** Please note that students may be disciplined for selling, preparing, or distributing course lecture notes, including notes created independently by students. The unauthorized sale of lecture notes, handouts, readers or other course materials is a violation of campus policies as well as state law. Violation by distribution to the public may also constitute copyright infringement subject to legal action.

Detailed Schedule

Introduction to the Course

Tuesday, March 31, 2020

- No readings are assigned for the first class session.

Historical Background

Thursday, April 2, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* 6th edition (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2018), chapter 1, "General History"
- Michael Edson Robinson, chapter 2, "Colonial State and Society," in *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 36–55
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 1 (pp. 1–18); part of Chapter 2 (pp. 30–41)

Origins of the Asian Order

Tuesday, April 7, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of chapter 2, “The Occupation”
- Michael Edson Robinson, chapter 5, “Liberation, Civil War, and Division,” in *Korea’s Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 100–120
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 2 (pp. 41–51)

States and State–Society Relations

Thursday, April 9, 2020

- Benjamin L. Read, *Roots of the State: Neighborhood Organization and Social Networks in Beijing and Taipei* (2012), chapters 2 and 7

Economic Development

Tuesday, April 14, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), Chapter 9
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 5 (pp. 150–170)
- Gregory W. Noble, “Industrial Policy in Key Developmental Sectors: South Korea Versus Japan and Taiwan,” in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 603–28

Authoritarianism

Thursday, April 16, 2020

- Byung-Kook Kim, “Labyrinth of Solitude: Park and the Exercise of Presidential Power,” in Byung-Kook Kim and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011), 140–167
- Shelley Rigger, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1999), chapter 3, “Party-State Authoritarianism in the Pre-Reform Era (1945–1972)” and part of chapter 4, “Electoral Mobilization in the Pre-Reform Era (1945–1972),” 55–93

Democratization

Tuesday, April 21, 2020

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “From Dictatorship to Democracy,” chapter 2 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 28–50
- Shelley Rigger, *Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1999), chapter 5, “Political Reform under Chiang Ching-kuo (1972–1988)”

Benefits and Problems of Democratization

Thursday, April 23, 2020

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “Democratic Consolidation and Social Change,” chapter 3 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51–77
- Erik Mobrand, “South Korean Democracy in Light of Taiwan.” In *Democratization in China, Korea and Southeast Asia?: Local and National Perspectives*, edited by Kate Xiao Zhou, Shelley Rigger, and Lynn T. White (New York: Routledge, 2014), 20–35

Government Institutions

Tuesday, April 28, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of Chapter 3
- John Copper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (2012), part of Chapter 4 (pp. 108–130)

Midterm Exam

Thursday, April 30, 2020

Introduction, outline, and bibliography of research paper due Monday, May 4, 2020, 9am

Presidentialism in South Korea and Taiwan

Tuesday, May 5, 2020

- Juan J. Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism,” *Journal of Democracy*, 1:1 (Winter 1990), 51–69
- Chan Wook Park, “The National Assembly in Democratized Korea: Marching to the Center from the Margins of Policy Stage?” in Zheng Yongnian, Lye Liang Fook, and Wilhelm Hofmeister (eds.), *Parliaments in Asia: Institution Building and Political Development* (Routledge, 2014), 185–206
- Dafydd Fell, “Taiwan’s Government and Constitutional Structure,” chapter 4 of *Government and Politics in Taiwan* (Routledge, 2012)

Optional further reading

- Yuko Kasuya (ed.), *Presidents, Assemblies and Policy-Making in Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

Parliamentarism and LDP Dominance in Japan

Thursday, May 7, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018): All of Chapter 4, and part of Chapter 7 (pp. 99–106)
- Ronald J. Hrebenar and Koji Haraguchi, “The Fall of the DPJ and Return of the LDP to Power: The December 2012 House Elections,” in Ronald J. Hrebenar and Akira Nakamura (eds.), *Party Politics in Japan: Political Chaos and Stalemate in the Twenty-First Century* (Routledge, 2015), 174–188

Parties and Party Systems

Tuesday, May 12, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of Chapter 5
- Copper, parts of Chapter 4 (130–145)
- James I. Steinberg and Myung Shin, “Tensions in South Korean Political Parties in Transition: From Entourage to Ideology?” *Asian Survey* 46/4 (2006), 517–537

Corruption

Thursday, May 14, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of Chapter 6
- Jennifer Williams, “The Bizarre Political Scandal That Just Led to the Impeachment of South Korea’s President,” March 9, 2017, vox.com (see link on Canvas)
- Chin-Shou Wang and Charles Kurzman, “Logistics: How to Buy Votes,” in Frederic Charles Schaffer (ed.), *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), 61–78

Civil Society and Interest Groups

Tuesday, May 19, 2020

- Robert Pekkanen, “Japan: Social Capital without Advocacy,” in Muthiah Alagappa (ed.), *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 223–256
- Richard Madsen, “Tzu Chi [慈济]: The Modernization of Buddhist Compassion,” chapter 2 of *Democracy’s Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 16–50

Contention

Thursday, May 21, 2020

- David Slater et al., “SEALDs (Students Emergency Action for Liberal Democracy): Research Note on Contemporary Youth Politics in Japan,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* Vol. 13, Issue 37, 2015
- Mi Park, “South Korea: Passion, Patriotism, and Student Radicalism,” in Meredith L. Weiss and Edward Aspinall, eds., *Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 125–152
- Ian Rowen, “Inside Taiwan’s Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and the Future of the Region,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 74:1 (2015), 5–21

Optional further reading

- Patricia G. Steinhoff, “Japan: Student Activism in an Emerging Democracy,” in Meredith L. Weiss and Edward Aspinall, eds., *Student Activism in Asia: Between Protest and Powerlessness* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), pp. 57–78

Gender in Politics

Tuesday, May 26, 2020

- Louis D. Hayes, *Introduction to Japanese Politics* (2018), all of Chapter 8
- Alisa Gaunder, “Quota Nonadoption in Japan: The Role of the Women’s Movement and the Opposition,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 176–186
- Chang-Ling Huang, “Gender Quotas in Taiwan: The Impact of Global Diffusion,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 207–217

Optional further reading

- Jiso Yoon and Ki-young Shin, “Mixed Effects of Legislative Quotas in South Korea,” *Politics & Gender*, 11/1 (2015), 186–195
- Devin K. Joshi and Kara Kingma, “The Uneven Representation of Women in Asian Parliaments: Explaining Variation across the Region,” *African and Asian Studies*, 12 (2013), 352–372

Ethnicity: Aboriginal Politics in Japan and Taiwan

Thursday, May 28, 2020

- Kharis Templeman, “When Do Electoral Quotas Advance Indigenous Representation? Evidence from the Taiwanese Legislature,” *Ethnopolitics* (2018), 1–24
- Simon Cotterill, “Ainu Success: The Political and Cultural Achievements of Japan’s Indigenous Minority,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 9, Issue 12, 1–21

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty, I: The Koreas

Tuesday, June 2, 2020

- Uk Heo and Terence Roehrig, “Inter-Korean Relations and the North Korean Nuclear Crisis,” chapter 6 of *South Korea Since 1980* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 129–156
- (Further reading on the Koreas to be posted)

Divided Nations and Contested Sovereignty, II: China and Taiwan

Thursday, June 4, 2020

- Shelley Rigger, *Why Taiwan Matters: Small Island, Global Powerhouse* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), chapters 7+8

Research paper due 9am, June 6, 2020

Take-home final exam: Wednesday, June 10, 2020, noon–3:00pm

- The final exam questions will be distributed at the beginning of the above time slot and students will turn in their answers online three hours later.
- Note that the final exam must be taken at the above time; alternative times cannot be arranged.