

COSB45: Social Movements in East and South-East Asia

Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University

Summer 2024 Online

Period: 11 June – 11 August (7.5 credits)

Course Director: Chontida Auikool (chontida.auikool@ace.lu.se)

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This course provides a comprehensive overview of social movements in East and South-East Asia. It highlights the development of significant movements in the region and their relationship to protests and issues of social contention. The course will foster typological and comparative understanding of movements in relation to the political regimes and social phenomena of different countries. The course encompasses diverse subjects such as human rights violations, state repression, gender and economic inequalities, environmentalism, and lifestyle in contemporary Asian societies. All of which constitute matters of interest to Asia's vibrant civil society landscape, as actors engage with the public sphere to bring attention to new political dimensions in the pursuit of justice and equal rights. The topics covered in the lectures comprise a wide range of subjects, such as democracy demonstrations, youth movements, memory activism, issue focused advocacy, and multimedia elements used in social mobilization in East and Southeast Asia.

Readings and Materials

These readings provide a picture and in-depth knowledge of all countries in the regions, with an emphasis on the political and social situations of each country and region. The selection of literature aims to provide students with concise introductions to complex issues and to provide a foundation for constructive discussion and active learning in a virtual environment. Students are required to complete a minimum of 700-800 pages of reading, from which they may choose materials from the literature list to assist them in the process of finalizing their seminar and final papers.

Total pages: pages

An additional 200 pages may be added to the reading list to keep up with current events and new publications and a further optional 100 pages may be added for case studies in particular Southeast Asian countries based on students' interests.

Mode of Instruction

The course is conducted entirely online, with all class meetings taking place via Zoom. Pre-recorded video lectures are available on Canvas. Alongside lectures, assignments and activities will also be shared on Canvas. A stable and dependable internet connection is necessary for enrollment in this course.

Assignments

The assignment for this course is a take-home final exam paper (7.5 points). Students are required to submit their take-home final paper on Canvas by the specified deadline. Furthermore, students are expected to participate in virtual discussions and interactions with both the instructors and their peers using the Canvas Discussion Board.

Grading

Final paper 7.5 credits

Marking scale: Fail, Pass, Pass with distinction

A non-passing grade is designated as Fail, indicating a score below 50%. To achieve a Pass grade for the overall course, students must obtain at least a Pass grade on all assessed components. A Pass grade signifies that the student has achieved a minimum score of 50% on the tasks. To attain a Pass with Distinction, students must achieve a score of 80% or higher.

Seminars

There are three seminars :

In the first seminar, students are required to engage in the Canvas Discussion Board on readings and the first and second lectures by making comments on the discussion board. Besides your own comments, each student is required to comment on at least one discussion point brought up by another student by 19 June at 23.59 p.m. Swedish time.

In the second seminar, students are required to engage in the Canvas Discussion Board on readings and the third and fourth lectures by making comments on the discussion board. Besides your own comments, each student is required to comment on at least one discussion point brought up by another student by 5 July at 23.59 p.m. Swedish time.

In the third seminar, students are required to watch the selected films available on Canvas and share a brief reflection on social and political activism on the Canvas Discussions Board by 2 August at 23.59 p.m. Swedish time.

Zoom meetings

The lecturers will be available on Zoom twice. The first Zoom meeting takes place after the 4th lecture on 5 July from 13.30-14.00 Swedish time

The second Zoom meeting takes place after the 8th lecture on 2 August from 13.30 - 14.00 p.m. Swedish time.

During these sessions, students should drop in to discuss the readings and lectures and to ask questions about the course content or assignments.

Re-examination

An opportunity for re-examination will be offered after the end of the course. A second re-examination will be arranged at the end of the academic year.

Note on Cheating and Plagiarism

The expectation for this course is that all submitted work is your own writing and analysis. References must be clearly cited. While internet sources may be used if they are properly cited, cutting and pasting from the internet will not be tolerated. Nor will copying or helping someone to cheat. Students who do not abide by these standards will be reported to Lund University's Disciplinary Board.

Course Outline

Lecture 1: Introduction: Context, concepts, and theories

Instructor: Chih-Lan Song

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 11 June 2024

This introductory lecture will lay out the intersection between Area Studies and Social Movement Studies on which the course's contents and discussions will draw from. The session will zoom into the concepts and theories underlying the study of social movements. It will discuss movement typologies and highlight the nuances involved when applying concepts such as 'social movements' or 'civil society' outside the Western-liberal democratic paradigm, starting with the case of China. An overview of the course content and structure will also be provided.

Required readings:

Chiavacci, David, and Simona A. Grano. (2020) "A New Era of Civil Society and State in East Asian Democracies." In *Civil Society and the State in Democratic East Asia: Between Entanglement and Contention in Post High Growth*, edited by David Chiavacci, Simona Grano, and Julia Obinger, 9–30. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

> Pages to read for students: 21

> Available at LUBsearch

Barrow, Amy, and Sara Fuller. (2022) "Introduction: Framing activism and authoritarian governance in Asia." In *Activism and Authoritarian Governance in Asia*, edited by Amy Barrow, and Sara Fuller, 1-12. London: Routledge.

> Pages to read for students: 12

> Available at LUBsearch

Gåsemyr, Hans Jørgen. (2016) "Networks and campaigns but not movements: collective action in the disciplining Chinese State." *Journal of Civil Society* 12, no. 4: 394-410.

> Pages to read for students: 16

> Available at LUBsearch

Qiaoan, Runya. (2023) "From Chinese civil society to Chinese civil sphere: A conceptual reconfiguration of the space between state and society that facilitates intellectual debates." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 49, no. 5: 568-580.

> Pages to read for students: 12

> Available at LUBsearch

Yu, Zizheng, Jiayi Hou, and Oscar Tianyang Zhou. (2023) "Short video activism with and on Douyin: An innovative repertoire of contention for Chinese consumers." *Social Media+ Society* 9, no. 1: 1-12.

> Pages to read for students: 12

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings :

Croissant, Aurel, and Jeffrey Haynes. (2021) “Democratic regression in Asia: introduction.” *Democratization* 28, no. 1: 1-21.

Shin, Doh Chull. (2017) “Popular Understanding of Democracy.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.
<https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-80>.(Available through LUBsearch)

Lecture 2: Democratic activism and protest in East Asia

Instructor: Chih-Lan Song

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 18 June 2024

The second lecture of this course will turn to matters of collective action, civic consciousness, and social movement efforts to counter the advance of authoritarianism. This session will pay particular attention to democratic mobilization in the contexts of Taiwan and Hong Kong, with the specific cases of the 2014 Sunflower and Umbrella movements, and the 2019-2020 Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement (ELAB).

Required readings :

Rowen, Ian. (2015) “Inside Taiwan’s Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and the Future of the Region.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 74, no. 1: 5–21. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911814002174>.

> Pages to read for students: 16

> Available at LUBsearch

Ortmann, Stephan. (2015) “The umbrella movement and Hong Kong's protracted democratization process.” *Asian Affairs* 46, no. 1: 32-50.

> Pages to read for students: 18

> Available at LUBsearch

Wang, Chih-ming. (2017) “‘The future that belongs to us’: Affective politics, neoliberalism and the Sunflower Movement.” *International journal of cultural studies* 20, no. 2: 177-192.

> Pages to read for students: 15

> Available at LUBsearch

Lai, Yan-ho, and Ming Sing. (2020) “Solidarity and implications of a leaderless movement in Hong Kong: Its strengths and limitations.” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 53, no. 4: 41-67. (Accessible through LUBsearch).

> Pages to read for students: 26

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings:

Lee, Francis LF. (2015) "Social movement as civic education: Communication activities and understanding of civil disobedience in the Umbrella Movement." *Chinese Journal of Communication* 8, no. 4: 393-411.

Liao, Dachi, Hsin-Che Wu, and Boyu Chen. (2020) "Social Movements in Taiwan and Hong Kong." *Asian Survey* 60, no. 2: 265-289.

Ho, Ming-sho. (2020) "How protests evolve: Hong Kong's anti-extradition movement and lessons learned from the umbrella movement." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 25, no. SI: 711-728.

Interactive encyclopedia and oral history archive of the 2014 Sunflower Movement:
<https://daybreak.newbloommag.net/>

Seminar 1 :

All students are required to contribute a response to the Canvas Discussion Board in relation to the assigned readings and the first two lectures by 19 June at 23.59 p.m. Swedish time. It is expected that every student provides a comment and opinion regarding the assigned readings or lectures. Each student is required to provide a response to at least one point of discussion brought up by another student.

Lecture 3: Authoritarian Turn and anti- Democratic Movement in Southeast Asia

Instructor: Chontida Auikool

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 25 June 2024

The Southeast Asian region today is experiencing a regression in democratic governance and potentially transitioning towards resilient autocratic regimes. This lecture critically engages with academic debates regarding the trajectory of political regimes in Southeast Asia. It examines the underlying factors contributing to this authoritarian shift and evaluates the salient features of anti-democratic movements prevalent in various Southeast Asian contexts.

Required readings:

Jayasuriya, Kanishka. (2020). "The Rise of the Right: Populism and Authoritarianism in Southeast Asian Politics." *Southeast Asian Affairs*: 43–56

> Pages to read for students: 14

> Available at LUBsearch

Garrido, Marco. (2022). "The ground for the illiberal turn in the Philippines." *Democratization*, 29, no. 4: 673-691

> Pages to read for students: 19

> Available at LUBsearch

Warburton, Eve. (2020). "Deepening Polarization and Democratic Decline in Indonesia" In Thomas, C. & Andrew, O'D. (eds) *Political Polarization in South and Southeast Asia: Old Divisions, New Dangers*, 25-39. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

> Pages to read for students: 15

> Available at LUBsearch

Winichakul, Thongchai. (2019). "Thailand's Royal Democracy in Crisis" In Michael, M., Terence C. & Shu, S.M. H. (eds) *After the Coup: The National Council for Peace and Order Era and the Future of Thailand*, 282-307. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.

> Pages to read for students: 26

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings :

Lertchoosakul, Kanokrat. (2021). "The Paradox of the Thai Middle Class in Democratisation." *TRaNS: Trans -Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*. 9, no. 1: 65-79

Ufen, A. 2023. "Civil Society and Efforts at Regime Change in Southeast Asia." In Eva, H. & Meredith, W. (eds) *Routledge Handbook of Civil and Uncivil Society in Southeast Asia*, 101-117. London, Routledge.

Lecture 4: Protest in Southeast Asia

Instructor: Chontida Auikool

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 2 July 2024

The lecture delves into the pervasive repression observed in Southeast Asia, with a nuanced examination of the organization and dynamics of protests aimed at challenging dictatorial or illiberal regimes. Furthermore, it critically analyzes the multifaceted challenges faced by activists and protesters operating within the complex socio-political landscape of the Southeast Asian region.

Required readings:

Slater, Dan. 2009. "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia." *American Journal of Sociology* 115, no. 1: 203-254.

> Pages to read for students: 51

> Available at LUBsearch

Espia, Juhn Chris P. (2023). "Regimes, Repression, Repertoires: Student Protest Movements and the Repertoires of Contention in the Philippines and Indonesia." In Ockey, J., Talib, N.S. (eds) *Democratic Recession, Autocratization, and Democratic Backlash in Southeast Asia. Contestations in Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 221-248.

> Pages to read for students: 22

> Available at LUBsearch

Horatanakun, Akanit. (2023). "The Network Origin of Thailand's Youth Movement." *Democratization*: 1-20

> Pages to read for students: 20

> Available at LUBsearch

Jordt, Ingrid, Than, Tharaphi and Lin, Sue Ye. (2021). "How Generation Z Galvanized a Revolutionary Movement against Myanmar's 2021 Military Coup". In: *How Generation Z Galvanized a Revolutionary Movement against Myanmar's 2021 Military Coup*, 1-33. Singapore, ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.

> Pages to read for students: 33

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings (choose at least one according to your interests):

Lertchoosakul, Kanokrat. (2021). "The white Ribbon Movement: High School Students in the 2020 Thai Youth Protests." *Critical Asian Studies*, 53, no.2: 206-218. Available via LUBsearch

Vincent, Boudreau. 2003. "Protest, Repression and Transition in Southeast Asia." In *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia*, 17-36. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Seminar 2: Southeast Asia Political Regime and Political Movement

All students are required to contribute a response to the Canvas Discussion Board about the assigned readings and the 3rd lecture and 4th lecture by 5 July at 23.59 p.m Swedish time. It is expected that every student provides a comment and opinion regarding the assigned readings or lectures. Each student is required to respond to at least one point of discussion brought up by another student.

Zoom meeting 1

The instructor will be available on Zoom on 12 July from 13.0-14.30 Swedish time to engage in discussions or address inquiries pertaining to the lecture, class assignments, and other relevant matters.

Lecture 5: Memory Activism and Transitional Justice in Southeast Asia

Instructor: Chontida Auikool

Date/Time: Asynchronous, posted online by 9 July 2024

The lecture delves into the historical legacy of violence within Southeast Asian countries, investigating instances of unresolved state crimes and violence spanning the region. It not only examines the divergent narratives and recollections associated with these events but also sparks discussion on how memory can catalyze activism, fostering the remembrance of past violence

and advocating for transitional justice.

Required readings:

McGregor, Katharine & Mackie, Vera. (2018). “Transcultural Memory and the Troostmeisjes/Comfort Women Photographic Project.” *History and Memory: Studies in Representation of the Past*, 30, no. 1: 116-150.

> Pages to read for students: 35

> Available at LUBsearch

Williams, Timothy. 2022. “Remembering and silencing complexity in post-genocide memorialisation: Cambodia’s Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum”, *Memory Studies*, 15, no. 1: 3-19.

> Pages to read for students: 17

> Available at LUBsearch

Haberkorn, Tyrell. 2017. “The Anniversary of a Massacre and the Death of a Monarch”. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 76, no. 2: 269–281.

> Pages to read for students: 13

> Available at LUBsearch

Santoso, Aboeprijadi & Van Klinken, Gerry. 2017. “Genocide Finally Enters Public Discourse: The International People’s Tribunal 1965”, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 19, no. 4: 594-608

> Pages to read for students: 35

> Available at LUBsearch

Berger, Stefan, Scalmer, Sean, & Wicke, Christian ‘Memory and social movements An Introduction’ In Stefan, B., Sean, S. & Christian, W. (eds.). *Remembering Social Movements*, 1-25. London, Routledge, 202.

> Pages to read for students: 25

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings

McGregor, Katharine & Setiawan, Ken. 2019. “Shifting From International to “Indonesian” Justice Measures: Two Decades of Addressing Past Human Rights Violations.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49, no. 1: 837–861

Natasia A., Alberta & Polain, Marcella. 2022. “We Cannot Heal What We Will Not Face: Dismantling the Cultural Trauma and the May ’98 Riots in Rani P Collaborations Chinese Whispers”, *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 12, no.1: 19-33

Lecture 6: 'New' Social Movements in East Asia

Instructor: Chih-Lan Song

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 16 July 2024

In this lecture we return to the East Asian context to discuss social mobilization and collective action beyond 'traditional' issues, and explore novel forms and spaces of activism and advocacy. Typologically, these so-called 'new' social movements are characterized by their post-industrial and post-material concerns and by focusing on issues such as environmental crises, gender equality, minority rights, and alternative lifestyles.

Required readings:

Jobin, Paul, Ming-sho Ho, and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao. (2021) "Environmental Movements and Politics of the Asian Anthropocene: An Introduction". In *Environmental Movements and Politics of the Asian Anthropocene*, edited by Paul Jobin, Ming-sho Ho, and Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao, 1–36. Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.

> Pages to read for students: 36

> Available at LUBsearch

Lee, Po-Han. (2020) "Multiplicity of queer activism in East Asia: A cosmopolitan imagination for justices." *Advances in sociology research* 30: 37-64.

> Pages to read for students: 27

> Available at LUBsearch

Huang, Chang-Ling. (2021) "# MeToo in East Asia: The Politics of Speaking Out." *Politics & Gender* 17, no. 3: 483-519.

> Pages to read for students: 36

> Available at LUBsearch

Cassegård, Carl. (2023) "The recovery of protest in Japan: From the 'ice age' to the post-2011 movements." *Social Movement Studies* 22, no. 5-6: 751-766.

> Pages to read for students: 15

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings

Choi, Su Young. (2023) "Multispecies Justice beyond Animal Rights: Saebyeogi (새벽이) Sanctuary on Instagram." *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 9, no. 2: 62-73.

Satoh, Keiichi. (2022) "Left-libertarian values and post-Fukushima social movements: Analyzing newcomers to protests in Japan." *Contemporary Japan* 34, no. 2: 157-186.

Wei, Clarissa. (2024) "How a Netflix Show Sparked a #MeToo Wave in Taiwan." *Foreign Policy*, March 18, 2024.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2023/08/12/wave-makers-netflix-taiwan-metoo-sexual-harassment-dpp-china/>.

Lecture 7: Islamic activism, law and lifestyle

Instructor: Chontida Auikool

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 23 July 2024

The lecture explores the Islamic dimensions of Southeast Asian society, encompassing both majority Muslim and minority Muslim countries. It provides insight into the concept of divided citizenship and examines how various legal systems, including civil and Islamic law, influence the culture and lifestyle of people. Additionally, it presents examples of countries where Islamic activism has been intensified and analyses the societal implications of such activism.

Required readings:

Saat, Norshahril. 2018. "Introduction" In *Islam in Southeast Asia: Negotiating Modernity*, 1-10. Singapore ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute.

> Pages to read for students: 10

> Available at LUBsearch

Annisa R Beta. 2019. "Commerce, Piety and Politics: Indonesian Young Muslim Women's Groups as Religious Influencers". *New Media & Society*, 21, no. 10: 2140-2159.

> Pages to read for students: 20

> Available at LUBsearch

Parsons, N., & Mietzner, M. 2009. "Sharia By-laws in Indonesia: A Legal and Political Analysis. *Australian Journal of Asian Law*", 11, no.2: 190-217.

> Pages to read for students: 28

> Available at LUBsearch

Chaplin, Chris. (2021). "New Trajectories: Social Activism Beyond Mosque" In *Salafism and the state: Islamic activism and national identity in contemporary Indonesia*, 109- 128. Singapore: NUS Press. Available in the Asia Library and the chapter will be made available electronically

> Pages to read for students: 20

> Available at LUBsearch

Moch Nur Ichwan, Arskal Salim & Eka Srimulyani. (2020). "Islam and Dormant Citizenship: Soft Religious Ethno-Nationalism and Minorities in Aceh, Indonesia, Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations", 31, no. 2: 215-240.

> Pages to read for students: 26

> Available at LUBsearch

Optional readings:

Robert W. Hefner. (2018). "Christians and Multireligious Citizenship in Muslim Indonesia". In Philpott D., Shah T.S. (eds.). *Under Caesar's Sword: How Christians Respond to Persecution. Law and Christianity*, 358-390. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict. (2016). "The Anti-Salafi Campaign in Aceh". In *The Anti-Salafi Campaign in Aceh*, 1–25. Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict.

Crouch, Melissa. (2007). "Regulating Places of Worship in Indonesia: Upholding Freedom of Religious Minorities?" *Singapore Journal of Legal Studies*: 96–116.

Lecture 8: Multi-media expression and transnational solidarity

Instructor: Chih-Lan Song

Date/Time: Asynchronous posted online by 30 July 2024

The final lecture of this course we will turn to the role of various media forms in socio-political expression. It will consider media elements and artistic expression from protest songs and films, as well as digital and alternative spaces from counterculture to online memes. To conclude, it will reflect on the importance of art and expression as a human right and as a medium for movement solidarity.

Required readings:

Huang, Roger Lee, and Chavalin Svetanant. (2022) "Challenging digital authoritarianism: Milk Tea Alliance and transnational solidarity." In *Activism and Authoritarian Governance in Asia*, edited by Amy Barrow, and Sara Fuller, pp. 130-142. Routledge.

> Pages to read for students: 12

> Available at LUBsearch

Xiao, Jian, and Jim Donaghey. (2022) "Punk Activism and Its Repression in China and Indonesia: Decolonizing "Global Punk"." *Cultural Critique* 116, no. 1: 28-63.

> Pages to read for students: 35

> Available at LUBsearch

Krischer, Olivier. (2017) "Thinking of Art as Informal Life Politics in Hong Kong." *New Worlds from Below: Informal Life Politics and Grassroots Action in Twenty-First-Century Northeast Asia*, edited by Tessa Morris-Suzuki and Eun Jeong Soh, vol. 9, ANU Press, pp. 197–226.

> Pages to read for students: 29

> Available at LUBsearch

Danker, Brenda. (2022) "Activist films: How grassroots activists shape the construction of national identity." In *Activism and Authoritarian Governance in Asia*, edited by Amy Barrow, and Sara Fuller, pp. 165-181. Routledge.

> Pages to read for students: 16

> Available at LUBsearch

Barendregt, Bart, and Florian Schneider. 2020. "Digital activism in Asia: Good, bad, and banal politics online." *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 7, no. 1-2: 5-19.

Optional readings

Valjakka, Minna. 2017. "Hacking Hong Kong. Urban Creativity as Dissidence and Participation | IIAS." International Institute for Asian Studies, 2017.

<https://www.iias.asia/the-newsletter/article/hacking-hong-kong-urban-creativity-dissidence-participation>.

Hegerová, Terézia. 2019. "How Did Fire EX Become a Symbol of Taiwan's Youth Activism?" *The News Lens International Edition*. October 29, 2019.

<https://international.thenewslens.com/article/126687>.

Final Seminar :

For the final seminar, the students watched films available on Canvas and shared brief reflections linked with social and political activism on the Canvas Discussions Board by 2 August at 23.59 p.m. Swedish time.

Zoom Meeting 2 :

The instructor will be available on Zoom on 2 August from 13.30 - 14.30 p.m. Swedish time.

Final paper

The final paper (2000 words excluding references). The questions will be accessible online on Canvas starting from 2 August at 9:00 a.m. Swedish time.

The final paper must comprise the following sections: title, introduction, content, conclusion, and bibliography should be submitted by 9 August 2024 by 11.59 p.m

The students are required to use the Chicago 17th (author-date) style for citing their references.

Please consult:

<https://www.htbibl.lu.se/en/student/writing-referencing/referencing/>

<https://guides.library.uq.edu.au/referencing/chicago17-author-date/introduction>

Examples:

In text:

General reference to author's work (Ho 2011)

Reference to specific passage in an author's work or quote must include page(s) number (Ho 2011, 10).

In reference list:

Ho, Ming-sho. 2011. "Environmental Movement in Democratizing Taiwan (1980–2004): A Political Opportunity Structure Perspective." In *East Asian Social Movements: Power, Protest, and Change in a Dynamic Region*, edited by Jeffrey Broadbent and Vicky Brockman, 283–31. New York, NY: Springer.