Social Movements, New Social Movements, and the Changing Social Terrain of Late Industrializing Asia

MSSDS
Week 10/2013-14

Remaining weeks

• The Changing Terrain of social movements
  — Social differentiation, the rise of SMOs/NGOs

• Varieties of Social Movements
  — Accountability movements, transnationalism

• Virtual society and the public political sphere
  — Internet and social movement dynamics

• The promise and limits of social movements
  — State repression, civil society, and political development

Agenda

• Civil society and development reconsidered

• Civil society in late-developing Asia

• New Social Movements? NGOs, SMOs, GROs

I. Civil Society Reconsidered

• Middle class thesis

Civil Society and Development

• Economic development & civil society
  — Common to modernizationists and (Gramscian) Marxists

• Civil society as a progressive outcome
  — Sign of modernization, capitalist development
  — Progress in expansion of political space
  — Struggle takes place outside formal political institutions

• “Presumptive historical end points” → Teleology
  — Working class → socialist revolution → ironic outcomes
  — Middle class → liberal democracies → hasn’t happened

What does development of CS entail?

• Legitimation of rights
  — CS actors, organizations legitimated
  — Secure position: questioning, challenging state power

• Role of state
  — What is political, what is legitimate
  — Active boundary setting: permitting, suppressing

• Conditions of non-democratic polities
  — Where rights not established, CSOs vulnerable
  — Cambodia trade unions, CS actors in China
## II. Civil Society and the Politics of Late-Developing Asia

### Three Questions for CS in Asia

1. Scale, scope, vitality, and limits of civil society
2. CS Development $\leftrightarrow$ political institutions?
3. Other factors shaping development of SC
   - social differentiation

### Distinctiveness of East Asia

- ‘Successful’ capitalist industrialization
- Authoritarian managerialism
- New interests, greater social differentiation
- Advantages of historical perspective, not new!

### Civil Society Not New

- 1920s-1930s
  - Anti-colonialism, nationalism, social humanism
  - Instrumental in expanding civil society
- 1940s-1960s $\rightarrow$ doors open and slam shut
  - Role of Marxism, not only China/Vietnam but SEA
  - Opening and closure of CS in C&V
  - Establishment of dictatorships, South Korea, TW
  - Indonesia, Malaysia

### Civil Society Ebbs and Flows

- 1970s attempts to expand civil society...crushed
  - Labor, student activism (Thailand, Philippines)
  - Authoritarian responses, China/Vietnam suppression
- 1980s-1990s
  - Capitalist development, middle class, industrialization
  - Particularistic, including middle-class movements
  - Philippines ‘People Power,’ Korea, Tiananmen

### CS and the Political Left in Asia

- Left has played crucial role in expanding CS
  - Reform-oriented movements for alternatives
  - Socialism $\rightarrow$ revolutionary socialism to social democracy
  - Suppressed, co-opted, and overwhelmed
- Transformation of left
  - Has become more strategic than mass
  - Taken over by liberals and social reformers
  - New political aspirations, not-revolutionary
Civil Society and Political Oppositions

• Political society
  – Parliamentary means of opposition

• Civil-society
  – Non-parliamentary means of opposition

• Presence of neither, either, or both
  – Korea, Taiwan, Indonesia, Philippines, Thai, MY

Civil Society & Social Change in Asia

• Labor organizations present, no longer central
  – Rise of grassroots organizations
  – Corporatism and repression used to diffuse labor

• Middle class of particular importance
  – Professionals, bureaucrats, self-employed persons
  – Professional associations

• Development of bourgeois class elements
  – Business associations
  – Often less concerned with democracy, human rights

Case of the Middle Class in Indonesia

• Sustained economic growth since 1970s
  – Urban workers, middleclass professionals, activists

• Contradictory class location, obstacles pre-97
  – Middle-class alliance, workers, journalists
  – Fragmentation of oppositional movements

• An update on status of social movements in Indonesia
  – NGOs have become institutionalized feature
  – Counter-hegemonic struggles against money politics

The Case of Thailand

• Student activists of the 1970s
  – Anti-authoritarian, pro-poor, exile

• Support and withdrawal of support for TRT
  – Coincidence of interests
  – Communitarianism vs. Populism
  – Clean vs. dirty

• Taking down the government - rejection of state
  – Alliance with strange partners, R-C-NGOs, no party of own
  – Anti-rural campaign of PAD
  – Conclusion? Limits of NSMs

New Social Movements in Korea

• Backdrop of democratization
  – Workers, students, dissidents

• Transformation of politics
  – Institutionalization of parliamentary democracy
  – Development of SMOs
    • Environmentalism, feminism, consumer/human rights

• Emergence as political force with limits
  – Middle-class based, supplanting worker-student alliance
  – Transformation of unions, student movements, and CCEJ

III. SMOs, NGOs, NSMs, Alternatives
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is an NGO?</th>
<th>Activist NGOs and Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• NGOs not new</td>
<td>• Non-governmental organizations in LDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NGOs not always NGOs</td>
<td>— In principle voluntary, non-profit organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NGOs and development, 1980s →</td>
<td>— Often with development-related goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NGOs and Civil Society</td>
<td>• Not necessarily political or oppositional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• SMOs and NGOs in development contexts</td>
<td>— Many try to avoid politics, affiliations w/parties</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGOs as Neoliberal Partners</th>
<th>NGOs, SMOs and Development Alternatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Neoliberal NGOs, Global NGOs</td>
<td>• Reformist strategies within BIG development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— The global poverty agenda</td>
<td>— More transformative strategies in local contexts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NGOs/SMOs as advocating change</td>
<td>— More reformist strategies in local context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— ‘NGOs are part of while trying to be apart from’</td>
<td>• NGOs and the problems of resources, capacity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Drawn into development business</td>
<td>— Resource mobilization, technical expertise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Subcontracting work or international dev. Orgs</td>
<td>• Inherent fragilities of social movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Cases of Jakarta, Hong Hong</td>
<td>— Building more sustainable movements, SMOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>— Getting better political institutions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGOs, Hegemony, Public Opinion</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Public opinion connects civil society, state</td>
<td>• Civil society as core theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Instruments of hegemonic persuasion</td>
<td>• Civil society in Asia has defied expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Limited scope for contestation</td>
<td>• Social differentiation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Danger of co-optation</td>
<td>• Significance of SMOs/NGOs in development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• NGOs’ counter-hegemonic role</td>
<td>• Begin work on paper outlines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— Strategic, evidence-based, counter-hegemonic knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>