

2023 SNUAC-TOYO-Kyushu Co-Lecture
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ENRICHING TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY TOWARDS ROBUST ASIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

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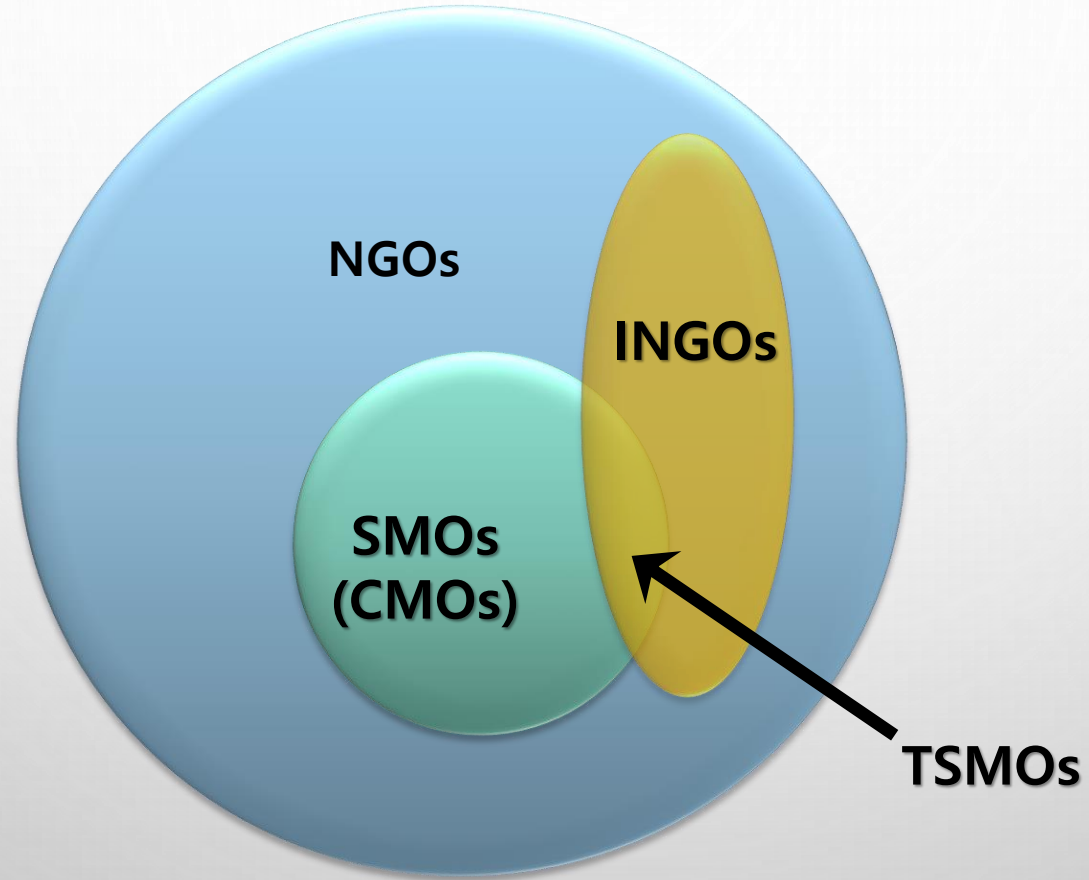
1. THEORIES: NGOS AND CIVIL SOCIETY
2. REFLECTING CONTEXTUAL CHANGES IN ASIAN CIVIL SOCIETY
3. MAPPING NGOS IN ASIA: CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE
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6. CHALLENGES AHEAD IN ASIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

1. THEORIES: NGOS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

- SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS (SMOS) CF. CMOS
 - 3 CS: CHANGE, CHALLENGE, & CONFLICT
- NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOS)
 - 3 CS: COLLABORATION, COMPETITION, AND COMPLEMENTATION
- TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY, COALITION & NETWORKS (BEYOND NATIONAL BORDERS)
 - 3 SS: SCALE, SCOPE, AND SPEED (DIGITAL REVOLUTION AND BOTTOM UP PROCESS)



NGOs as Wild Card in World Politics



Source: J. Smith et al. 1997: 13 (revised)

NGOS' ROLES IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

- **PUBLIC EDUCATION**

EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY RESTS ON INFORMED CITIZENS AND CIVIL SOCIETY ASSOCIATIONS CAN HELP TO MAKE PEOPLE MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND HOW IT IS REGULATED.

- **PUBLIC DEBATE**

EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY DEPENDS ON OPEN DELIBERATION OF DIVERSE VIEWS AND OPTIONS.

CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS CAN HELP TO PREVENT ANY SINGLE POLICY FRAMEWORK FROM GAINING AN AUTHORITARIAN MONOPOLY OVER GOVERNANCE OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

- **PUBLIC PARTICIPATION**

EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY REQUIRES AN ENGAGED CITIZENRY, AND CIVIL SOCIETY BODIES CAN HELP TO GIVE PEOPLE CHANNELS OF POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT.

- **PUBLIC TRANSPARENCY**

EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY ENTAILS VISIBLE GOVERNANCE, AND CIVIL SOCIETY EFFORTS CAN HELP TO BRING GOVERNANCE OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY INTO PUBLIC VIEW.

- **PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY**

EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY NEEDS CITIZEN MONITORING AND CONTROL OF AUTHORITIES, AND CIVIL SOCIETY ASSOCIATIONS CAN HELP TO HOLD GOVERNORS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY ANSWERABLE TO THE GOVERNED.

출처: J. A. SCHOLTE (2013)

2. REFLECTING CONTEXTUAL CHANGES IN ASIAN CIVIL SOCIETY

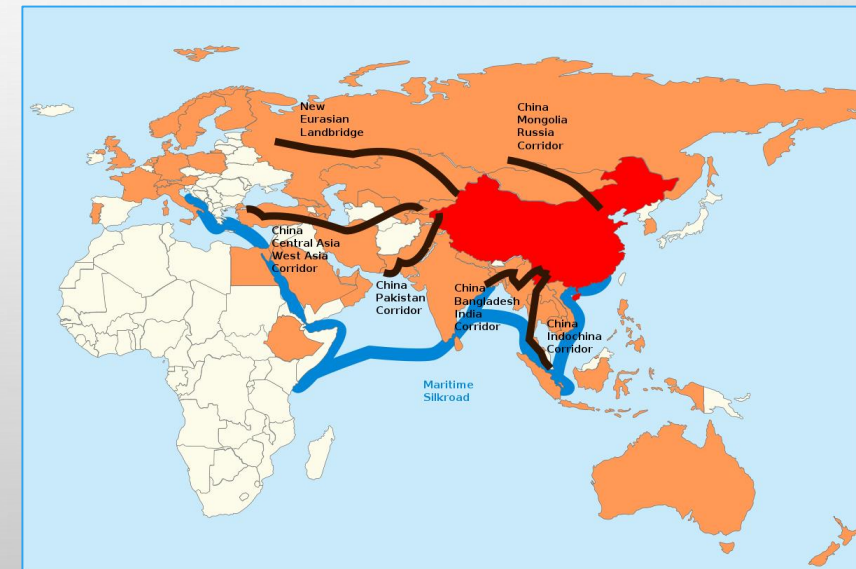
- FROM MARGINALIZATION TO UN PROCESS
- ASIAN CIVIL SOCIETY'S INITIATIVE IN DIGITAL GLOBALIZATION ERA
- ASIANIZATION VS. SINICIZATION: INCREASING COMPETITIVE CONFLICTS (MEME WAR)

MilkTea Alliance, "MilkTea is thicker than blood"



Source: Hong Kong Free Press

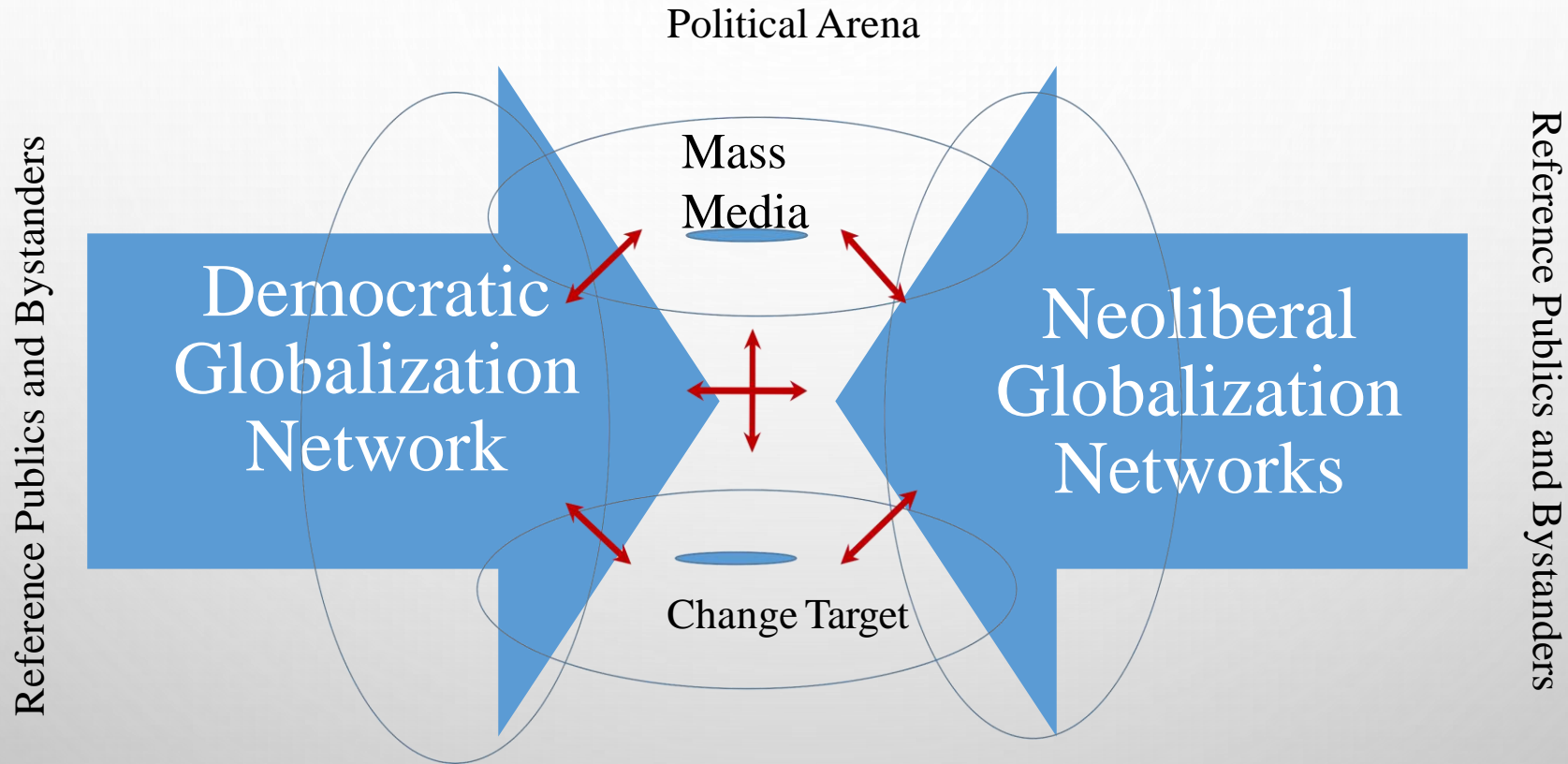
One Belt and One Road Initiative



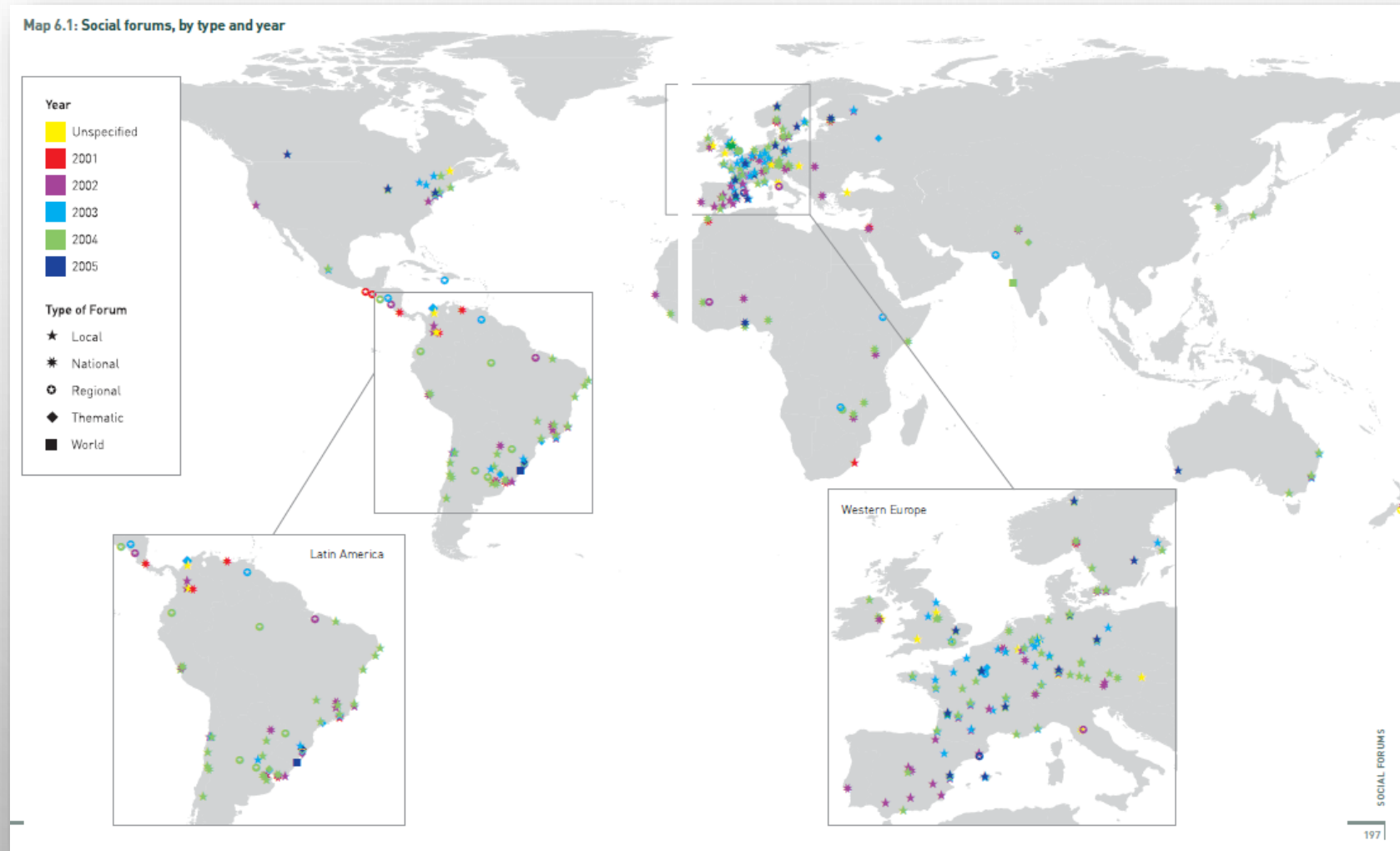
Source: Wikipedia.com

Transnational Rival Networks:

Is it possible to erect a tilted playground right?



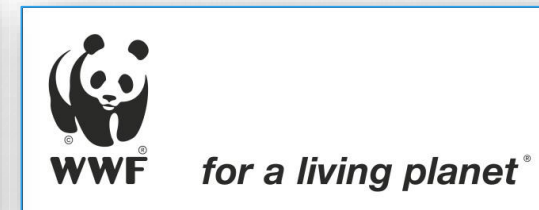
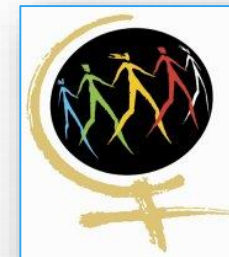
MARGINALIZATION & WEAK SOLIDARITY: TRANSNATIONAL RIVAL NETWORKS (WEF VS. WSF) IN ASIA



World Social Forums

Source: Global Civil Society Yearbook 2005/6 (Glasius et al. 2006: 196-197)

Transnational Networks and Solidarity through INGOs



3. MAPPING NGOS IN ASIA (2018)

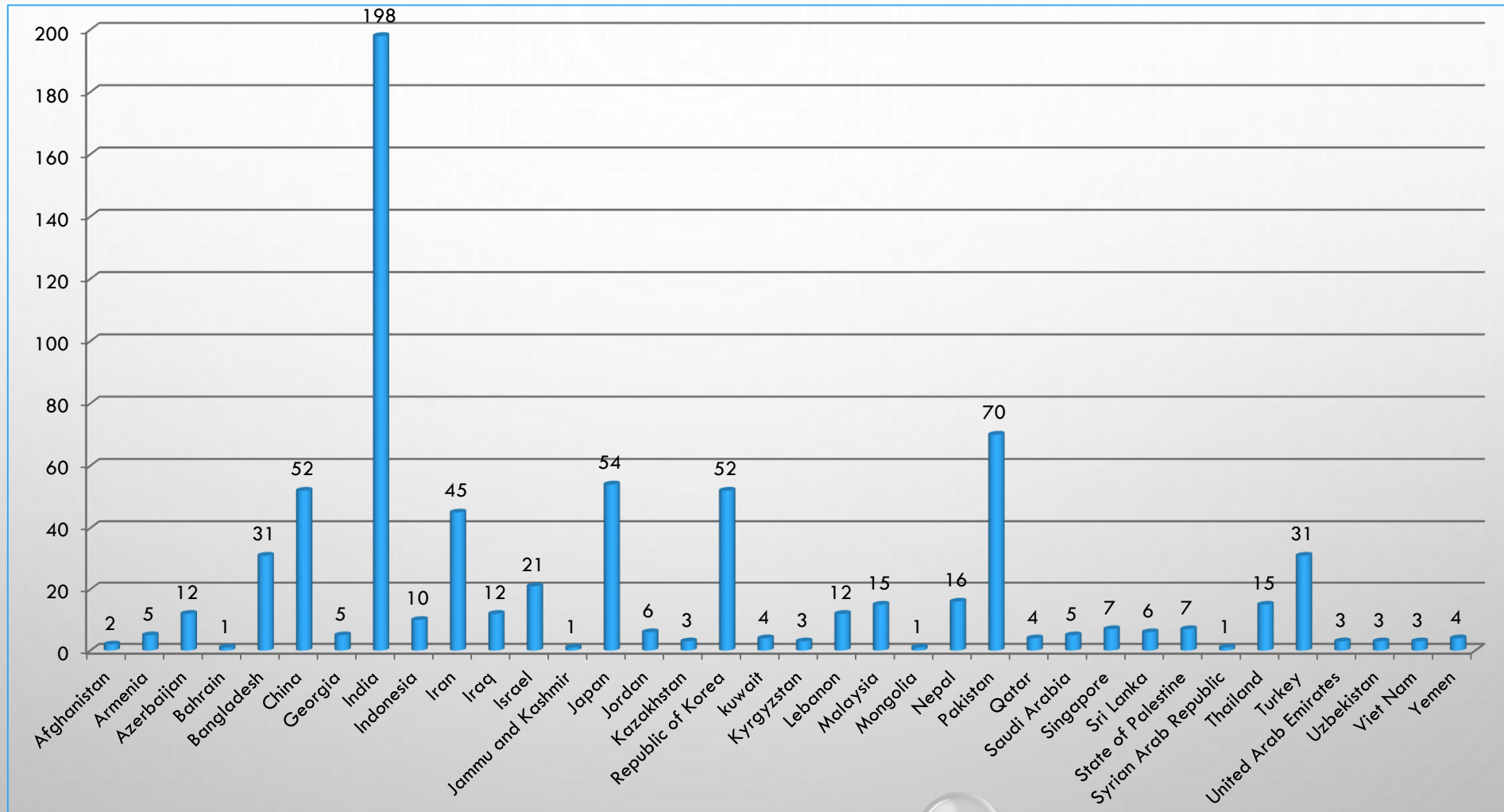
- DATABASE: CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH UNECOSOC
- ARTICLE 71 OF THE UN CHARTER: ENCOURAGING NGOS TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS; INSTITUTIONALIZED, STABILIZED NGO

지역	North America	Latin America & Caribbean	Europe	Asia	Africa	Oceania	Not Specified
%	24	5	30	17	15	2	7

SOURCE: [HTTPS://ESANGO.UN.ORG/CIVILSOCIETY/DISPLAYCONSULTATIVESTATUSSEARCH.DO?METHOD=SEARCH](https://esango.un.org/civilsociety/displayconsultativestatussearch.do?method=search)

- COMPLETE SURVEY: ASIAN NGOS REGISTERED WITH THE UN ECOSOC: 788
- RESPONSIBILITIES: MAINTAINING AND CHANGING POSITIONS THROUGH FILLING OUT QUESTIONNAIRES/SUBMITTING ANNUAL REPORTS/ORGANIZATIONAL FINANCIAL REPORTS
- ASIA NGO CONSULTATIVE STATUS: GENERAL (21)/SPECIAL(699)/ ROSTER(68)
- GENERAL AND SPECIAL CATEGORY NGOS INCLUDED: MISSION/WITHIN-NETWORKING, CROSS-NETWORKING/GOVERNANCE/ TRANSPARENCY

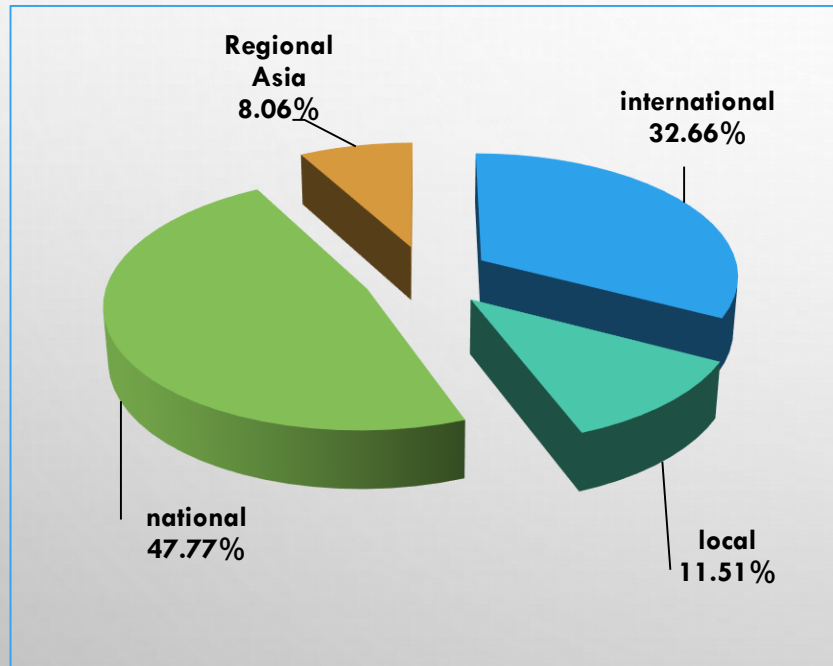
ASIAN NGOS (CONSULTATIVE STATUS) BY NATION



Source: SNUAC Civil Society Program, 2018

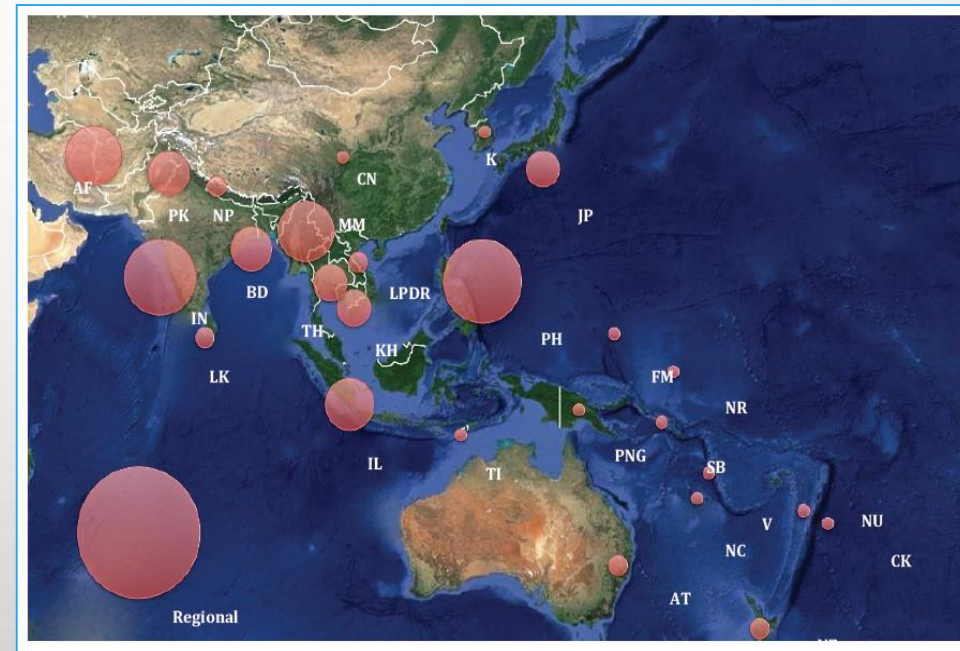
ASIAN NGOS (BY ACTIVITY SCOPE)

UN ECOSOC NGOs by Activity Scope



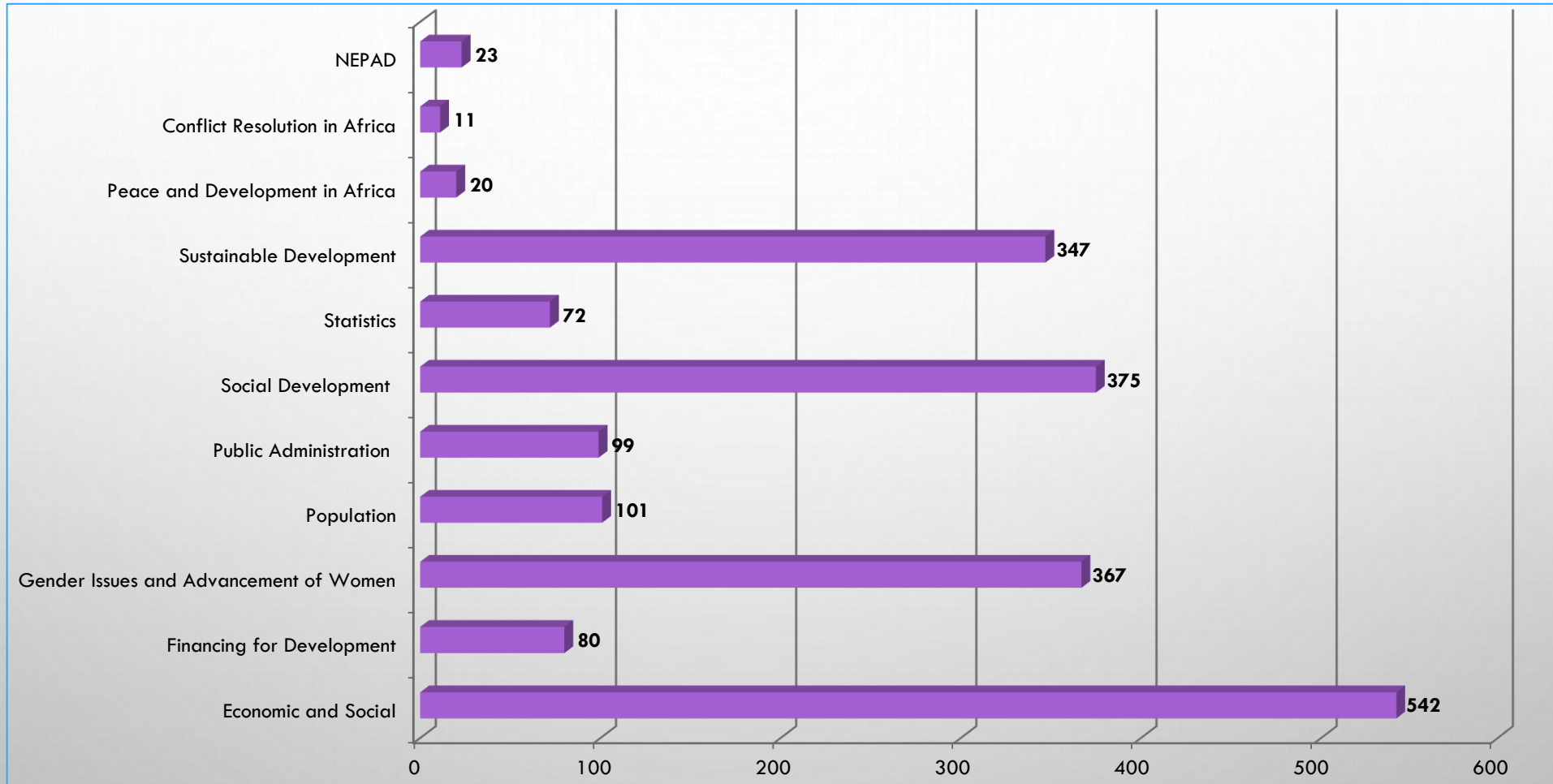
Source: SNUAC Civil Society Program, 2018

Transnational NGOs Networks in Asia



Source: International Council of Voluntary Agencies, December 2014. "Mapping NGO Networks in Asia Pacific.", p.7.

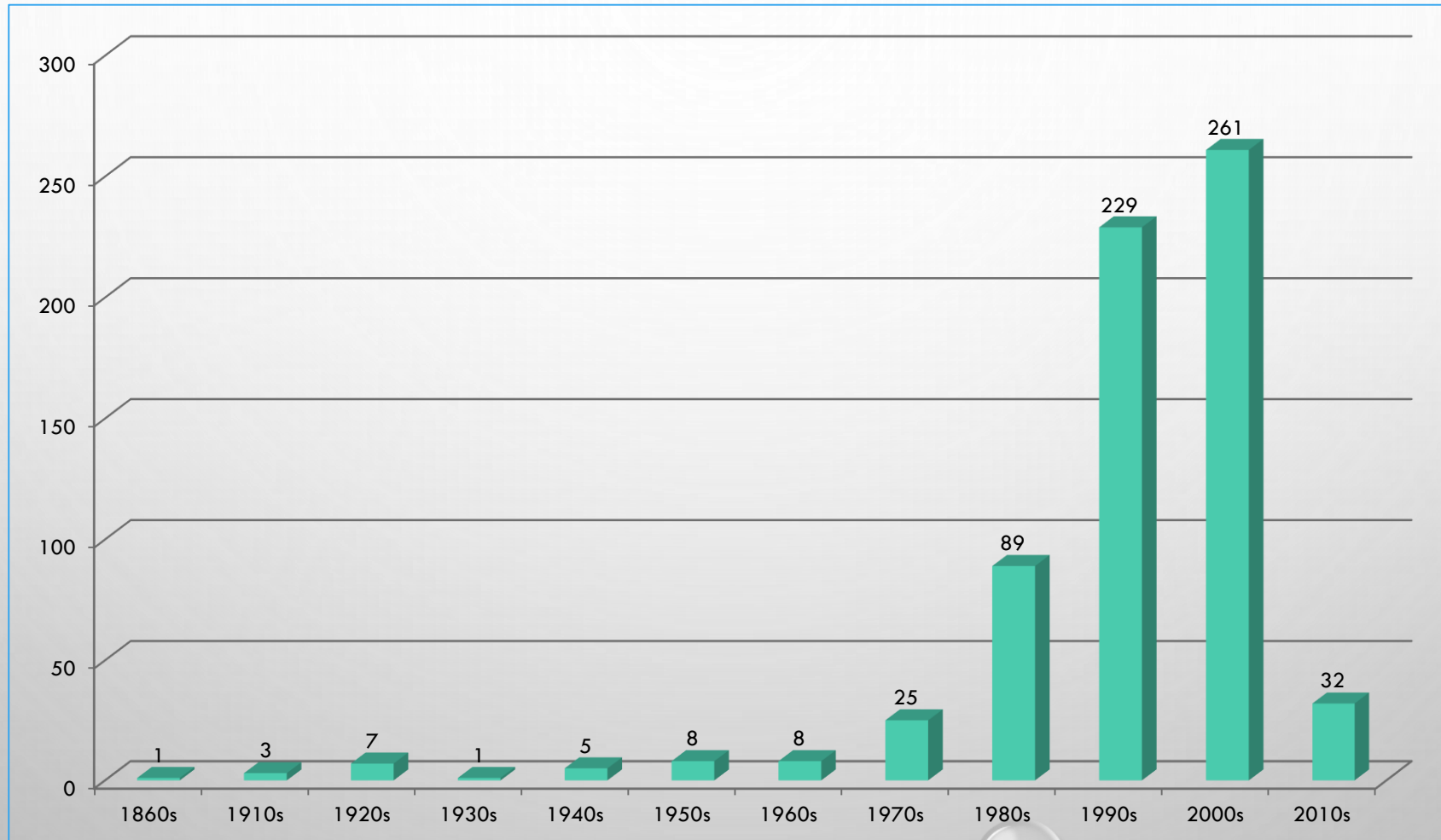
ASIAN NGOS (BY ACTIVITY SECTOR)



Source: SNUAC Civil Society Program, 2018

※NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development

ASIAN NGOS (BY ESTABLISHED YEAR)



Source: SNUAC Civil Society Program, 2018

4. EMERGING TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IN ASIA: TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY, COALITION, AND MOVEMENTS

- FUKUSHIMA DISASTER: DENUCLEARIZATION AND CLIMATE JUSTICE
- HONG KONG DEMOCRATIZATION MOVEMENT: FROM UMBRELLA M. TO WATER MOVEMENT
- MILK TEA ALLIANCE: #MILKTEAALLIANCE

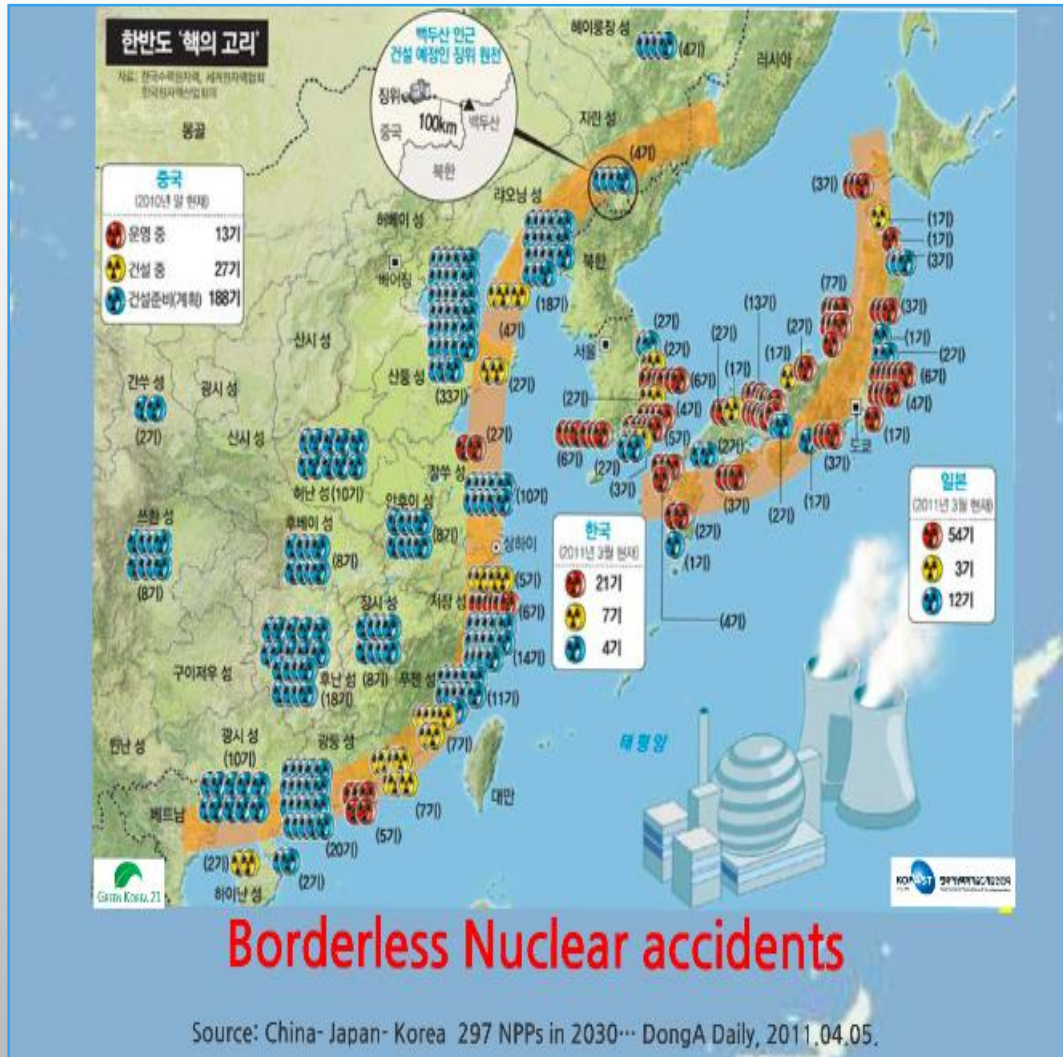


Transnational Advocacy, Campaign, and Movements

- ACTORS IN GLOBAL FRAMING
 - **ADVOCATE** IN TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS (M. KECK & K. SIKKINK 1998)
 - **CAMPAIGNER** IN TRANSNATIONAL COALITIONS (S. KHAGRAM ET AL. 2002)
 - **BROKER** – TRANSNATIONAL SMOS (J. SMITH ET AL. 1997)
- INGOS EXPANSION TO ASIA
 - GREENPEACE, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, FRIENDS OF THE EARTH
 - COLLABORATION OR COMPETITION BETWEEN INGOS AND LOCAL NGOS
- GLOBAL FRAME STRATEGY
 - GLOBAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS: CONVERGENCE AND SOLIDARITY ACROSS MOVEMENTS
- TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE
 - TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING (DIGITAL REVOLUTION)
 - INCREASING ROLE OF MZ GENERATION
- FEMALE LEADERSHIP TOWARDS TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY
 - FEMALE LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL SOLIDARITY ECONOMY AND CREATIVE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Fukushima Disaster but Frame War on Nuclear Power Plant

- Post-Nuke Campaigns: Transnational Coalitions?



Fukushima is our great teacher! But Frame war underway!

WOMEN'S INITIATIVE IN POST-FUKUSHIMA ACROSS SECTORS

- ENVIRONMENT
- CONSUMER
- SOCIAL ECONOMY
- LOCAL COMMUNITY
- LABOR



De Nuke-Climate-Life Frame initiated by Women NGOs

Convergence into Global Justice Movement: Climate, Social, Gender, Eco, Bio-diversity, and Food Justice



Laos Xepian-Xe Namnoy Dam Breakdown TF Activities (2018)

PRODEMOCRACY MOVEMENTS IN ASIA: FROM UMBRELLA TO WATER MOVEMENTS IN HONG KONG



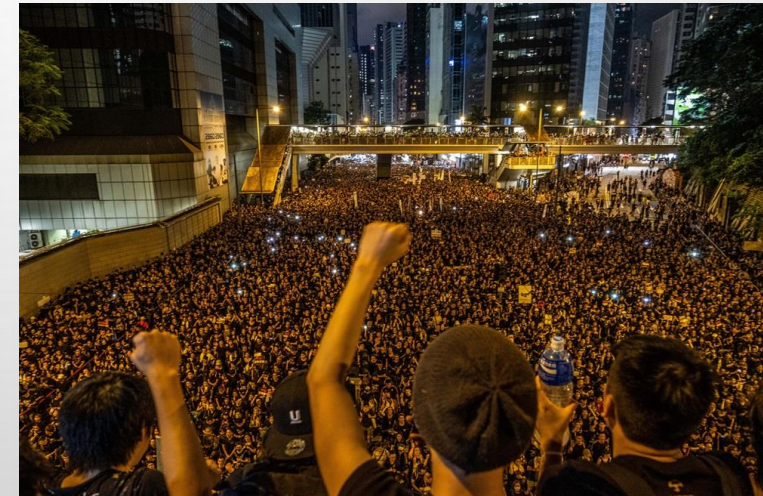
Umbrella movement, 2015



Water movement, 2019

* MZ leadership, info sharing through SNS, direct actio, and transnational advocacy networks

Why They Change from Non-violence to Violence in Water movement?



- [Hong Kong's extradition bill protests](#)
- **Uncertainty of HK future for next generation: economy, indirect voting, surveillance, quality of life, and identity(language), policing, and borderless migration etc.**

5. MZ'S NEW STRATEGIES FOR ENRICHING TRANSNATIONAL SOLIDARITY IN MILKTEA ALLIANCE

- MZ GENERATION'S BROKERAGE ROLE IN ASIANIZATION
 - PARTICIPATION NETWORK FROM BELOW, STRONG SOLIDARITY THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA (EX: WATER MOVEMENTS)
 - THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION: DIGITAL GENERATION, INFORMATION SHARING VIA TELEGRAM; STREET ART OF THE SOCIAL WEB
 - TALKING POLITICS AND DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY
- MEMES (MEME MOVEMENT)
 - MEANING CREATION AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION, FRAME WAR, COGNITIVE LIBERATION, ACTIVE ONLINE SPACE MOBILIZATION
 - IMITATION, SATIRE, CARICATURE, FUN (PLEASANT MOVEMENT), IMAGE, CULTURAL SHARED IDENTITY, ETC.



MZ-LED NEW REPERTOIRE OF PROTESTS: MOBILIZING SOCIAL MEDIA & MEMES STRATEGY

- INTERNET MEMES ARE ONE OF THE NEWEST CREATIVE FORMS, BORN OF DIGITAL CULTURE AND IN DIALOGUE WITH OFFLINE, FROM SUCH DAILY ISSUES AS COMPLAINING ABOUT A MOVIE OR CHEERING ON SPORTS TEAMS TO HEAVIER ISSUES ABOUT SOCIAL JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS.
- MEME CULTURE. MEMES CAN BE SILLY, HARMLESS, DESTRUCTIVE, EXTREMELY SERIOUS, AND ALL THESE THINGS AT THE SAME TIME.
- PHOTO REMIXES, SELFIES, YOUTUBE SONGS, HASHTAG JOKES, THAT IS, SILLY STUFF OF MEME CULTURE BUT DEEPLY INTERTWINED WITH SERIOUS MESSAGES/ MEANING-MAKING.

“The meme war can count as the inception of a new transnational movement comparable to the globalization-critical movement of the early 2000s.”

“The meme war was a confrontation between young Thai, Hong Kong, and Taiwanese pro-democracy activists versus state-sponsored trolls from the People’s Republic of China. (censorship)”



* In 2019, Carrie Lam was a stooge for the CCP,
(Facebook by Leung Pak-kin, a well-known Hong Kong lyricist)

TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM FOR HONG KONG DEMOCRACY



2014



출처: http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/915892.html
<https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20141002137400024>
<https://www.womenlink.or.kr/statements/22125>

MilkTea Allinace @ South Korea, 2020



- *Milk Tea Alliance is a platform that connects Asian citizens beyond state, gender, & generation.*
- *Solidarity for Myanmar, soaring in red balloons*



Source: Sisain



Source: Yeonhap News

6. CHALLENGES AHEAD IN ASIAN CIVIL SOCIETY: DIGITAL REVOLUTION AND ALGOOCRACY

- ECONOMIC ENTITY: DIGITAL GLOBALIZATION AND PLATFORM ECONOMY
- CITIZENSHIP WITH CIVILITY AGAINST ALGOOCRACY
- FROM PASSIVE AGENCY TO ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT AGAINST ALGOOCRACY

Digital Globalization and Platform Economy

Global Inequality and Injustice: Platform Economy, Migrant Labor and Increasing Tribal Conflicts



GLOCAL CHALLENGES: PLATFORM ECONOMY, RETURN TO THE PAST?

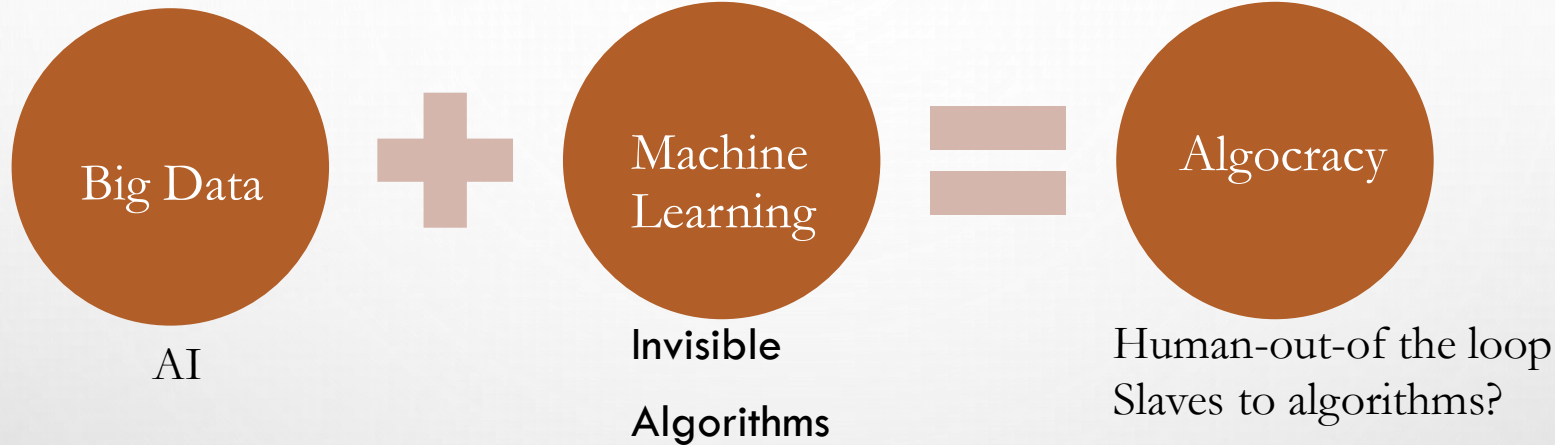
- Invisible Control (algorithm domination)
 - *“We are easily connected but incompetent.”*
- Sustaining Civic Engagement in Local Community
 - Social Value vs. Interest Value (Developmentalism)
 - Volunteering and civic participation
- Sharing but Hustling
 - Flexibility?
 - Returning to the past (work exploitation)
 - Work-Life Balance? (lacking social life)
 - Fear of being removed from the community or deactivated



Transportation	Finance	Consumer goods
Space	Personal services	Professional services

Source: Forrester Research, Inc. 2015

ALGOCRACY: ALGOCRATIC SYSTEM

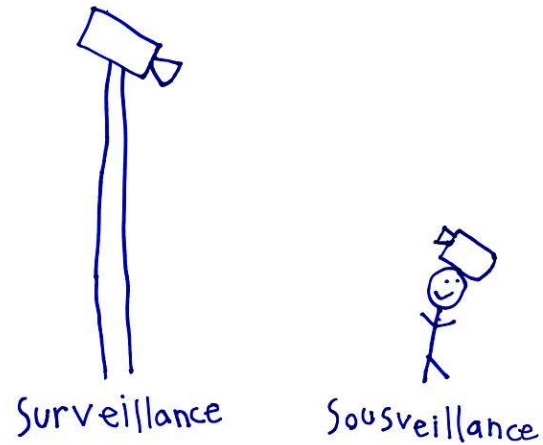


* Expanded into news, marketing, tourism, catering, law, medical, etc.

ALGOCRACY (J. DANAHER 2016)

- DATA-MINING SYSTEMS: RELYING ON EXTREMELY LARGE DATASETS (BIG DATA), COLLECTED FROM GROWING NETWORKS OF DATA-MONITORING TECHNOLOGIES. HUMANS CAN BE MORE OR LESS INVOLVED IN THE DATA-MINING PROCESSES AND IN THE KINDS OF DECISIONS MADE ON FOOT OF THE DATA-MINING PROCESS.
- A THREAT OF ALGOCRACY: ARISING FROM THIS SORT OF EPISTEMIC FAVORING OF ALGOCRATIC SYSTEMS. EPISTEMIC SYSTEMS FAIL TO SATISFY IMPORTANT LEGITIMACY CONDITIONS OF GENERAL ACCEPTABILITY, REASONABLE REJECTABILITY, AND PUBLICITY. FAVORING ALGOCRATIC GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS IMPRESSED BY THEIR GREATER SPEED, ACCURACY AND INSIGHT. BUT IN FAVORING THEM WE MAY END UP WITH SYSTEMS THAT ARE INCREASINGLY OPAQUE.
- TRAPPED IN A WEB OF “INVISIBLE BARBED WIRE” THE ALGORITHMIC CONTROL SYSTEMS ENHANCE OUR AUTONOMY, INCREASE OUR HEALTH AND WELL- BEING, AND IMPROVE SOCIAL OUTCOMES, BUT WE DON’T HAVE CLEAR SENSE OF HOW EXACTLY THEY MANAGE TO DO THIS. THE RESULT IS SOCIAL SPACES THAT ARE OPAQUE TO HUMAN REASON.
- LESS LEGITIMATE DECISION-MAKING PROCEDURES: LESS HUMAN PARTICIPATION IN OR LESS COMPREHENSION OF THOSE DECISION-MAKING PROCEDURES. RELIANCE ON ALGOCRATIC SYSTEMS IS A THREAT TO LEGITIMATE DECISION-MAKING PROCEDURES.

Active Engagement against Algocracy



Radical Transparency Strategy from the Bottom Up

- Big Data Algorithms: Monitoring and Incentivizing Political and Socio–Economic Activities
- Strengthen surveillance of the political and economic elites
- Voluntary participation and solidarity activities of grassroots citizens
- New technology mobilization strategy (e.g.) Google glass, and similar wearable monitoring devices
- Balancing surveillance and privacy
- Distributed strategy rather than information and data concentration

Q & A



Further Inquiry is always welcome! E. skong@snu.ac.kr; T. 02-880-2691