

Social Movements: China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan

GOV 355M (38479) Fall 2022

Time: TTH 3:30PM-5:00PM

Location: PMA 7.116

Instructor: Dr. Leon N. Kunz

Office: Mezes Hall 3.202

Email: leon.kunz@austin.utexas.edu (email communication is preferred)

Office hours: TTH: 9:00am – 10:30am through zoom (please make appointments via email)

Course Description

This course examines historical and contemporary expressions of contentious politics in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. It introduces students to the modern history and politics of the region through the lens of social movement studies. The three East Asian societies have rich histories of popular protest that have implications for global conversations on democracy. We will explore how helpful concepts of social movement studies are for making sense of contention in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan; and what scholars might learn from these cases. Topics explored include: Rebellion and revolution in Pre-1949 China; mass mobilization and protest in the authoritarian People's Republic of China; Taiwan's experience of democratization fuelled and followed by vibrant social movements; and the troubled trajectory of Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement. Moreover, we will compare recent struggles over the environment, labor, women's, LGBTQI+, and indigenous rights in the region.

Learning Outcomes

Students will learn how to...

- Think critically about and apply relevant social science concepts
- Understand the changing historical and political circumstances in which activists operated (and continue to operate) in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan
- Analyze primary material for social movement research
- Verbally present arguments and exchange views in formal as well as informal settings
- Write a convincing social science paper

Prerequisites

Six semester hours of lower-division coursework in government.

Readings

You will not have to purchase any textbooks. All required readings will be made available as PDF files on Canvas. A supplemental reading list will also be included in an updated syllabus. These readings are useful but completely optional.

You are encouraged to read widely beyond the required texts and keep up with current affairs in the region (and elsewhere).

Class Format

The meetings will take place in person, unless the COVID-19 situation and university guidelines change drastically. Attendance is mandatory. Most meetings will begin with a brief lecture by the instructor that provides a narrative for the course. The bulk of class time, however, will be devoted to class and group discussions on the weekly readings. Most sessions will involve group presentations followed by deliberations. Everyone's learning success will depend on preparation and active participation in class. You will be expected to complete a variety of graded assignments that aim to facilitate critical engagement with the course material.

Grading

Attendance and participation 20%

Reading responses 20%

Oral presentation 20% (Presentation and discussion: 15%, Handout: 5%)

Take-home test 20%

Term paper 20% (First draft: 12%, Final version: 8%)

Grading scale: 93–100: A. 90–92: A-. 87–89: B+. 83–86: B. 80–82: B-. 77–79: C+. 73–76: C. 70–72 C-. 67–69: D+. 63–66: D. 60–62: D-. 0–59: F.

Attendance and Participation

Attendance is mandatory. You may miss up to three meetings without penalty. Every additional absence will negatively affect your grade. The following exceptions apply: a) you have a medical excuse, in which case you may be asked to provide a doctor's note; b) you want to observe a religious holiday. In the latter case you should notify me at least two days in advance. You may be asked to turn in a make-up assignment for missed class activities.

Participation in our discussions is an assessed component of the course. You are expected to actively participate in class and group deliberations. To be able to make meaningful contributions, you should complete the required readings in advance of

each meeting. You are encouraged to take notes both before and during class. The quality of your verbal contributions is more important than mere quantity. However, you will need to consistently share your thoughts, arguments, observations, and questions to earn a good grade. Please note that strong participation also involves listening to others and engaging with their thoughts in a considerate manner. Even if you strongly disagree with somebody, you will be expected to be respectful throughout all interactions.

Electronic devices. Laptops and tablets may only be used for course readings and note taking. You should not use smartphones during class. Repeated violations will negatively affect your attendance and participation grade.

Oral Presentation

You will have to give one 10-minute oral presentation as part of this course. Depending on the size of the class, this will be a group assignment. The presentation dates will be assigned in week one or two. This assignment will train you to work like a social movement researcher. Your presentation should focus on at least one example of a cultural product of a relevant social movement covered in class that week. Possibilities include movement objects, artwork, texts (social media posts, pamphlets, manifestos, flyers), images or videos (capturing the performative dimension of protest), or musical pieces. You should display the primary material you are focusing on, present your analysis, and help facilitate a discussion. You are required to prepare a one-page handout to go with it and bring one printed copy to class for each participant. The presentation is worth 15% of your final grade and the handout 5%.

You are encouraged to think about your presentation early on and discuss your choices with the instructor via email or during office hours. If you should have serious difficulties finding suitable primary material for the session that was assigned to you, you may be able to present on a movement covered in a different session. But you would have to ask at least ten days in advance. This should be the exception. There is plenty of relevant material available online.

Take-home Test

There will be one take-home test focused on parts I – V of the course. The test will be comprised of several questions that require a prose response. To answer the questions, you will have to draw on the lectures and readings covered in class. You should aim to develop factually correct, clear, and nuanced responses that demonstrate your understanding of the course material. The assignment may include an optional creative component. The test will be posted on Canvas by noon on October 21. You will have around three days to submit your responses on Canvas. The deadline is October 23, 23:59. Late submissions will incur a 5% penalty per day. Assignments that are more than one week late will not be accepted.

Term Paper

The final assignment will be an analytical term paper addressing a question related to one or several social movements covered in class. The paper should be 1500-2000 words in length. The word limit includes citations and footnotes, but not the bibliography. Papers below or above the word limit will incur at least a 5% penalty. You should aim to develop a clear and nuanced argument drawing on the relevant academic literature. The citations and bibliography should conform to academic conventions.

You will be expected to submit two iterations of this term paper: First, you will submit a complete draft paper by November 12, 23:59. You should aim to fully meet the standards outlined above. The draft will be marked just as if it was the final product. It is worth 12% of your final course grade. You will receive feedback and be allowed to submit a final revised version of the term paper by December 1, 23:59. This paper will be graded the same way and is worth 8% of your overall grade. If you choose not to submit a revised version, you will simply receive the same score that was assigned for your draft paper (including potential penalties for late submission). The rationale (and expectation) is that scaffolding this assignment will allow you to learn and improve your grade for this assignment. While theoretically possible, it should be extremely rare that a revised version will be deemed weaker.

Reading Responses

Beginning in week 2 (for class meetings on 8/30 and 9/1) and until the Thanksgiving break in late November, you will have to submit one reading response per week through Canvas (12 submissions total). These submissions should focus on the required reading for one session of that week (in the rare case that there is more than one assigned text, you may choose to focus on just one of them). The responses should be between 300-500 words in length. Rather than merely summarizing the assigned reading, you should aim to meaningfully engage with it. This may involve critically assessing the arguments and narratives presented, drawing comparisons, sharing observations, reflecting on connection to other topics covered in class, or pointing to sections you do not fully understand. You can use this assignment to formulate questions that the text evokes. We may discuss these questions in class. The reading responses are all about consistency rather than perfection. Each response will be graded as follows: submissions deemed *good* will receive 2 points; *satisfactory* responses receive 1 point; *unacceptable* or late submissions receive 0 points. Your two lowest scores will automatically be dropped at the end of term.

The weekly due dates will be assigned as follows: The class will be broken up into two groups that will focus on a different text and have different deadlines each week. Group A will have to submit their reading responses on Mondays by 23:59 (on the required reading for next day's session / Tuesdays). Group B will have to upload theirs

on Wednesdays by 23:59 (focusing on Thursday's readings). Late submissions are not permitted.

The due dates for the reading response are as follows:

Group A			
Reading response #	Due date	(for) session #	Session date
1	8/29	3	8/30
2	9/5	5	9/6
3	9/12	7	9/13
4	9/19	9	9/20
5	9/26	11	9/27
6	10/3	13	10/4
7	10/10	15	10/11
8	10/17	17	10/18
9	10/24	19	10/25
10	10/31	21	11/1
11	11/7	23	11/8
12	11/14	25	11/15

Group B			
Reading Response #	Due date	(for) Session #	Session date
1	8/31	4	9/1
2	9/7	6	9/8
3	9/14	8	9/15
4	9/21	10	9/22
5	9/28	12	9/29
6	10/5	14	10/6
7	10/12	16	10/13
8	10/19	18	10/20
9	10/26	20	10/27
10	11/2	22	11/3
11	11/9	24	11/10
12	11/16	26	11/17

Please also take note of the other key dates and deadlines:

10/21	Take-home test posted on Canvas
10/23	Test due date
11/12	First draft term paper due date
12/1	Revised term paper due date
Tbc	Date of your oral presentation

Disclaimer concerning Freedom of Speech

The University of Texas at Austin considers that freedom of academic expression, open discourse, and intellectual inquiry are an integral part of our educational mission. This course calls for candid discussions of potentially sensitive geopolitical and geo-cultural matters. In particular, the content and activities for the course could be deemed sensitive or illegal by non-U.S. governments. While the university makes every effort to provide safe spaces for all instructors and learners, under current circumstances where most learning activities are conducted online, members of the academic community should be aware that privacy cannot be guaranteed.

Content Warning

Some readings and other content in this course include references to potential triggers such as violence, sexual assault, homophobia, sexism, death, torture, and religious discrimination that some students may find traumatizing. Studying contentious politics involves dealing with difficult topics. If you have any specific triggers or concerns related to this course, please consider reaching out to me so that we can discuss this.

Sharing of Course Materials Prohibited

No materials used in this class, including, but not limited to, lecture hand-outs, videos, assessments (quizzes, exams, papers, projects, homework assignments), in-class materials, review sheets, and additional problem sets, may be shared online or with anyone outside of the class without explicit, written permission of the instructor. Unauthorized sharing of materials promotes cheating. The University is well aware of the sites used for sharing materials, and any materials found online that are associated with you, or any suspected unauthorized sharing of materials, will be reported to [Student Conduct and Academic Integrity](#) in the Office of the Dean of Students. These reports can result in sanctions, including failure of the course.

Students with Disabilities

The university is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive learning environment consistent with university policy and federal and state law. Please let me know if you experience any barriers to learning so I can work with you to ensure you have equal opportunity to participate fully in this course. If you are a student with a disability, or think you may have a disability, and need accommodations please contact Disability and Access (D&A). Please refer to D&A's website for contact and more information: <http://diversity.utexas.edu/disability/>. If you are already registered with D&A, please deliver your Accommodation Letter to me as early as possible in

the semester so we can discuss your approved accommodations and needs in this course.

Classroom Safety and COVID-19

For any illness, students should stay home if they are sick or contagious, not only to stop the spread, but also to promote their personal wellness. The university will continue to provide rapid antigen self-test kits at distribution sites throughout campus. Students can receive up to four tests at a time. The university will provide symptomatic COVID-19 testing on campus for all students, faculty and staff.

UHS maintains up-to-date resources on COVID, which can be found here:

- [COVID-19 Information and Resources](#)
- [COVID-19 Exposure Action Chart](#)

Scholastic Dishonesty

Students who violate University rules on academic dishonesty are subject to disciplinary penalties, including the possibility of failure in the course and/or dismissal from the University. Since such dishonesty harms the individual, all students, and the integrity of the University, policies on academic dishonesty will be strictly enforced. For further information, please visit the Student Conduct and Academic Integrity website at: <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct>.

Title IX Disclosure

Beginning January 1, 2020, Texas Senate Bill 212 requires all employees of Texas universities, including faculty, report any information to the Title IX Office regarding sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence and stalking that is disclosed to them. Texas law requires that all employees who witness or receive any information of this type (including, but not limited to, writing assignments, class discussions, or one-on-one conversations) must be reported. If you would like to speak with someone who can provide support or remedies without making an official report to the university, please email advocate@austin.utexas.edu. For more information about reporting options and resources, visit <http://www.titleix.utexas.edu/>, contact the Title IX Office via email at titleix@austin.utexas.edu, or call 512-471-0419. Although graduate teaching and research assistants are not subject to Texas Senate Bill 212, they are still mandatory reporters under Federal Title IX laws and are required to report a wide range of behaviors we refer to as sexual misconduct, including the types of sexual misconduct covered under Texas Senate Bill 212. The Title IX office has developed supportive ways to respond to a survivor and compiled campus resources to support survivors.

Names and Pronouns

Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender identity & expression, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name, unless they have added a "chosen name" with the registrar's office, which you can do so [here](#). I will gladly honor your request to address you by a name that is different from what appears on the official roster, and by the pronouns you use (she/he/they/ze, etc). Please advise me of any changes early in the semester so that I may make appropriate updates to my records. For instructions on how to add your pronouns to Canvas, visit [this site](#). More resources available on the Gender and Sexuality Center's website, www.utgsc.org.

Counseling and Mental Health Center (CMHC)

All of us benefit from support during times of struggle. Know you are not alone. If you or anyone you know is experiencing symptoms of stress, anxiety, depression, academic concerns, loneliness, difficulty sleeping, or any other concern impacting your wellbeing – you are strongly encouraged to connect with CMHC. The Counseling and Mental Health Center provides a wide variety of mental health services to all UT students including crisis services, counseling services with immediate support and well-being resources. Additionally, CARE Counselors are located within the academic schools and colleges. These counselors get to know the concerns that are unique to their college's students. For more information on CMHC, visit <https://cmhc.utexas.edu> or call 512-471-3515.

University Health Services (UHS)

Your physical health and wellness are a priority. University Health Services is an on-campus high-quality medical facility providing care to all UT students. Services offered by UHS include general medicine, urgent care, a 24/7 nurse advice line, gynecology, sports medicine, physical therapy, lab and radiology services, COVID-19 testing and vaccinations and much more. For additional information, visit <https://healthyhorns.utexas.edu> or call 512-471-4955.

Sanger Learning Center

Did you know that more than one-third of UT undergraduate students use the Sanger Learning Center each year to improve their academic performance? All students are welcome to take advantage of Sanger Center's classes and workshops, private learning specialist appointments, peer academic coaching, and tutoring for more than 70 courses in 15 different subject areas. For more information, please visit <https://ugs.utexas.edu/slc> or call 512-471-3614 (JES A332).

Student Emergency Services (SES)

Student Emergency Services in the Office of the Dean of Students helps students and their families during difficult or emergency situations. Assistance includes outreach, advocacy, intervention, support, and referrals to relevant campus and community resources. If you need to be absent from class due to a family emergency, medical or mental health concern, or academic difficulty due to crisis or an emergency situation, you can work with Student Emergency Services. SES will document your situation and notify your professors. Additional information is available at <https://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/emergency/> or by calling 512-471-5017.

PART I: SOCIAL MOVEMENT STUDIES

1. Introduction (Tue., 8/23)

No readings

2. Defining “Social Movement” (Thu., 8/26)

Hank Johnston, *What is a Social Movement?* (Malden, Polity Press, 2014), pp. 1-25

PART II: PRE-1949 CHINA

3. Protest and Rebellion in Imperial China (Tue., 8/30)

Ho-fung Hung, *Protest with Chinese Characteristics: Demonstrations, Riots, and Petitions in the Mid-Qing Dynasty* (Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 1-19

4. The Xinhai Revolution and May 4th Movement (Thu., 9/1)

Lucien Bianco, *Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949* (Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 1-32

5. Competing Revolutionary Movements I: The Nationalists (Tue., 9/6)

Brian Tsui, *China’s Conservative Revolution: The Quest for a New Order, 1927–1949* (Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 1-25

6. Competing Revolutionary Movements II: The Communists (Thu., 9/8)

Peter Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949* (Routledge, 2006), pp. 295-298 and pp. 337-357

PART III: PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

7. Mass Mobilizations and Cultural Revolution (Tue., 9/13)

Wen-hui Tsai, "Mass Mobilization Campaigns in Mao's China", *American Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol. 6, No.1 (1999), pp. 21-48

Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 20-25

8. The Tiananmen Movement (Thu., 9/15)

This session will take place online over zoom due to conference related travel

Joseph W. Esherick and Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, "Acting Out Democracy: Political Theater in Modern China", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1990), pp. 835-65

9. Rightful Resistance in Post-1989 China (Tue., 9/20)

Kevin J. O'Brien and Lianjiang Li, *Rightful Resistance in Rural China* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1-24

10. Contentious Politics under Xi Jinping (Thu., 9/22)

Bruce J. Dickson, *The Party and the People: Chinese Politics in the 21st Century* (Princeton University Press, 2021), pp. 126-161

PART IV: TAIWAN

11. Authoritarianism and State Violence (Tue., 9/27)

Dafydd Fell, *Government and Politics in Taiwan* (Second Edition, Routledge, 2018), pp. 11-32

12. Democratic Movement and Transition (Thu., 9/29)

Shelly Rigger, *From Opposition to Power: Taiwan's Democratic Progressive Party* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), pp. 1-36 (focus on pp. 15-36)

13. Social Movements in Democratic Taiwan (Tue., 10/4)

Dafydd Fell, *Government and Politics in Taiwan* (Second Edition, Routledge, 2018), pp. 196-222

Watch (at least) the first 23 minutes of Taipei Documentary Filmmakers' Union, *Sunflower Occupation* (Taipei, 2014)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dLs3tDb1WiI>

14. Movement Parties (Thu., 10/6)

Ming-sho Ho and Chun-Hao Huang, "Movement Parties in Taiwan (1987-2016): A Political Opportunity Explanation", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (2017), pp. 343-367

PART V: HONG KONG

15. Resistance and Reform under British Colonialism (Tue., 10/11)

Edmund W. Cheng, "Loyalist, Dissenter and Cosmopolite: The Sociocultural Origins of a Counter-public Sphere in Colonial Hong Kong", *The China Quarterly* Vol. 246 (May 2021), pp. 374-399

16. The Ritualization of the Pro-Democracy Movement after 1997 (Thu., 10/13)

Francis L. F. Lee and Joseph M. Chan, *Media, Social Mobilisation and Mass Protests in Post-colonial Hong Kong: The Power of a Critical Event* (Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-19

17. The 2014 Umbrella Movement (Tue., 10/18)

Ngok Ma, "From Political Acquiescence to Civil Disobedience: Hong Kong's Road to Occupation", in Edmund W. Cheng and Ngok Ma, eds., *Umbrella Movement: Civil*

Resistance and Contentious Space in Hong Kong (Amsterdam University Press, 2019), pp. 27–50

Leon N. Kunz, “The Public Nature of Civil Disobedience: Lessons from the Sunflower and Umbrella Movement”, *Taiwan Insight* (May 2021), <https://taiwaninsight.org/2021/05/24/the-public-nature-of-civil-disobedience-lessons-from-the-sunflower-and-umbrella-movement/>

18. The 2019-20 Anti-ELAB Movement (Thu., 10/20)

Francis L. F. Lee, Edmund W. Cheng, Hai Liang, Gary K. Y. Tang & Samson Yuen “Dynamics of Tactical Radicalisation and Public Receptiveness in Hong Kong’s Anti-Extradition Bill Movement”, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (2022), pp. 429-451

PART VI: COMPARING MOVEMENTS

19. Chinese Diaspora Activism (Tue., 10/25)

Andrew Junker, *Becoming Activists in Global China: Social Movements in the Chinese Diaspora* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 1-7 and 15-39

20. Workers’ Resistance in China (Thu., 10/27)

Manfred Elfstrom, *Workers and Change in China: Resistance, Repression, Responsiveness* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 1-17 and 21-30

21. Environmental NGOs in China (Tue., 11/1)

Jingyun Dai and Anthony J. Spires, “Advocacy in an Authoritarian State: How Grassroots Environmental NGOs Influence Local Governments in China”, *The China Journal*, Vol. 79 (2017), pp. 62-83

22. Green Parties and Movements in Taiwan (Thu., 11/3)

Dafydd Fell, *Taiwan's Green Parties: Alternative Politics in Taiwan* (Routledge, 2021), pp. 1-9 and 47-78 (our focus will be on pp. 62-78)

23. Taiwanese Feminisms (Tue., 11/8)

Doris T. Chang, "Studies of Taiwan's Feminist Discourses and Women's Movements", *International Journal of Taiwan Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2018), pp. 90-114

24. The Women's Movement and MeToo in China (Thu., 11/10)

Zhongxuan Lin and Liu Yang, "Individual and collective empowerment: Women's voices in the #MeToo movement in China", *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (2019), pp. 117-131

25. Tongzhi movements in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan (Tue., 11/15)

Jin Cao and Xinlei Lu, "A Preliminary Exploration of the Gay Movement in Mainland China: Legacy, Transition, Opportunity, and the New Media", *Signs*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2014), pp. 840-848

Travis S.K. Ko, "Transnational queer sociological analysis of sexual identity and civic-political activism in Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China", *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 70 (2019), pp. 1904-1925

26. The Geopolitics of LGBTQ Activism in Taiwan (Thu., 11/17)

Adam Chen-Dedman, "Seeing China differently: National contestation in Taiwan's LGBTQ (tongzhi) movement", *Nations and Nationalism* (March 2022), pp. 1– 18

Fall break / Thanksgiving (11/21 – 11/26)

27. Indigenous Rights in Taiwan (Tue., 11/29)

Scott Simon, "All our relations: Indigenous rights movements in contemporary Taiwan", in Dafydd Fell, ed., *Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-jeou From the Wild Strawberries to the Sunflowers* (Routledge, 2017), pp. 236-257

28. Concluding Session (Thu., 12/1)

No readings

The instructor reserves the right to modify the syllabus during the semester.