

ASIA PROGRAMME

TAIWAN YOUTH: THE RISE OF A GENERATION

By Hugo TIERNY

FORMER STUDENT OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF PARIS

MARCH 2017

ASIA FOCUS #24

A personal experience with Taiwan “Y” generation

I met a lot of friends during my first stay on Taiwan in 2014-2015. These people were born between 1990 and 1995, and thus could be included in the group of youth named by some as the “Strawberry Generation” (basically meaning that they cannot stand hardship and that they live an easy life).

However, I had not actually heard of this term until after my return to France and what I witnessed on the island was different. I met so many people concerned about their identity and their economic career, both prospects being hampered by Taiwan’s diplomatic non-existence and economic crisis. I met a politicized generation, perhaps less passive than their parents.

Despite some differences, cultural barriers felt rapidly and a trustful friendship took place. These young Taiwanese acted as a catalyst, increasing my wish to study the island’s politics.

Writing a few lines for them is the least I could do.

THE MISLEADING TERM “STRAWBERRY GENERATION”

Since the 1980s, Taiwan has entered the club of the wealthiest countries in the world. With a GDP per capita (PPP method) superior to that of Japan and Finland, Taiwan has achieved a real economic miracle.

In the past, the Taiwanese economy was supported by its numerous small and medium enterprises (SMEs), where dedication to work and self-sacrifice were seen as keys for success. At the same time, a harsh authoritarian system existed in Taiwan, incarnated by the ROC regime. It was the time of the “Order of Martial Law” and the “National Mobilization”, designed to keep the population on a war footing in the event of a full-scale war against the People’s Republic of China.



Would the "strawberry generation" only live for entertainment? A student / pool party in 2014. Source: the author's private collection

But Taiwan's millennium generation, born after 1981, has grown up in a wealthy and peaceful environment free of political oppression. The difference with older generations was enormous, to such an extent that this generation (the "Y generation" in Europe) was called the "Strawberry Generation." The "Strawberry Generation" is a Mandarin language neologism for Taiwanese youth who would "bruise easily" like strawberries, meaning that they would not be able to withstand social pressure nor work hard like their parents' generation¹. More generally, the term refers to Taiwan's youth, perceived as insubordinate, selfish, arrogant, and sluggish when working.

Their parents have long accused their children of being unable to fully exploit the opportunities permitted by such a golden age. However, when one reads the curriculum of a high school student in Taiwan, he will see a seven day week with evening classes (*buxiban*) almost every day. Taiwanese parents keep their children under intense pressure before their university entrance exams, where ranking means everything (depending on your rank, you will be assigned to schools of different levels).

According to C. Ed. Hsu, professor at the NCKU Institute of International Management in southern Taiwan, this *"ranking-crazy mentality does not help Taiwan's educators prepare future graduates for a constructive role in society. Instead, it discourages creativity and independent thought. Moreover, those who fail or are de-selected by the educational system bow out reluctantly and often end up marginalized"*².

¹ *The New York Times*, Schott vocabs blog, "Strawberry Generation", November 30, 2008: <http://schott.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/11/30/strawberry-generation/>

² HSU C. Ed., "In Education Reform, the Basics Matter" for *Thinking Taiwan.com*, March 7, 2016: <http://thinking-taiwan.com/in-education-reform-the-basics-matter/>

Truly, it is not surprising that Taiwanese students, being around twenty years old, seem to act like teenagers sometimes. Streets of Taiwan's biggest cities (Ximending district in Taipei, Kaohsiung) and beaches of Kenting are full of young people, wearing the most popular items and taking selfies with the most fashionable gestures. They enjoy the student life and the money their parents are giving them. Finally, they feel free of parental pressure and can take advantage of their youthfulness³. Such young people often speak fluent English and are accustomed to globalization; they are highly mobile and aware of the latest fashion or music trends from South Korea, Japan, EU or the US⁴.

It is not surprising that they seem less politicized, since they were not offered too much information before their entrance in university and they live in a world of entertainment. It must be quite boring to speak about politics when one has everything to experience: ranging from love relationships to travelling. At university, any politicization is not encouraged⁵; as a consequence, only a few political associations have emerged. It is also true that Taiwan policymakers have told them *ad nauseam* that they would take care of everything, and that politics are reserved for real adults⁶.

It seems that, after this lack of exposure, young Taiwanese have been conditioned to have no political consciousness at all⁷. They would be the perfect "fashion victim" of the media, cheesy American and Japanese TV shows. They would stake everything on entertainment and would praise the cuteness through a so-called "Hello Kitty" culture.

A GENERATION ACCUSTOMED TO ECONOMIC HARDSHIP

"It is the economy stupid"

Bill Clinton

Pierre Bourdieu once said that our attention is always centered on what we know already, and that we would only be convinced by points of views we already agree on.

I think this remark applies to young Taiwanese. As a young European from the "Millennium Generation" myself, I was struck by teenage attitudes of some Taiwanese of the same age. But I

³ *The New York Times*, Schott vocabs blog, "Strawberry Generation", November 30, 2008: <http://schott.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/11/30/strawberry-generation/>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ CABESTAN, Jean-Pierre, LE PESANT, Tanguy, *L'esprit de défense de Taiwan face à la Chine. La jeunesse taiwanaise face à la tentation de la Chine*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2009, page 77

⁶ Ibid. 82

⁷ BROWNE Andrew, "Strawberry Feels Forever for Taiwan Generation Galvanized by China" for *The Wall Street Journal*, January 17, 2016: <http://www.wsj.com/articles/strawberry-feels-forever-for-taiwan-generation-galvanized-by-china-1453012202>

could have witnessed the same in my home country and that was before I understood their conditions of schooling and, of course, before I knew the real living conditions of the youth in Taiwan. Clearly, it was something more serious than what I have been through in France.

Well then, what are young Taiwanese unhappy about?

The first problem they are facing is Taiwan's economic stagnation.

Youth unemployment (15-24 years of age) has become a serious problem. For example in Taipei City, by late 2015 it had risen to 12.8%⁸. In Taiwan today, young Taiwanese graduates have a hard time finding their place in the job market and they complain that jobs are scarce.

Stagnation in salaries is also problematic, especially at a time when housing becomes more and more expensive. For example, observers speak today about the "2K generation", an analogy to the starting salary for a young graduate, which is about 22,000 NTDs per month (something like 600 USD/EURO)⁹. The history behind this specific amount goes back to a proposition of Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九). He offered this low starting salary as an incentive for enterprises to employ younger post-graduates. However, it has rapidly become a base value which in turn consigned young post-graduates to the bottom of the wage scale. This phenomenon also fuels the loss of the brightest and best ("brain drain") to other countries.¹⁰

In addition, such a low amount prevents young Taiwanese from renting or purchasing real estate, especially in northern Taiwan¹¹. Taipei has thus become one of the most expensive cities in Asia while youth salaries are stagnating. As a result, young Taiwanese have no other choice but to rent little flats or to live far from the city center. To address the need of affordable housing for young Taiwanese professionals, Tsai Ing-wen and the DPP have promised the construction of 200,000 public housing units¹². To fix low salaries, Tsai Ing-wen has suggested that a minimum wage must be implemented and that work-linked training would have to be strengthened. These propositions have been doubled by the project of comprehensive investments in research and development in order to transform Taiwan economy into a top tier one¹³.

As a matter of fact, Taiwan is a country where time spent at work is one of the longest in the world: an average of 2124 hours per year against 1474 for France, according to the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)¹⁴. However, such numbers do not take into

⁸ YEH Kwan-yu, "Youth unemployment rate on the rise in Taipei" for the *Taipei Times*, December 29, 2015: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/12/29/2003635950>

⁹ BAUBRY Pierre Yves, "Elections à Taïwan : quelle place pour la jeunesse dans les programmes ?" for *Asialyst*, January 5, 2016: <https://asialyst.com/fr/2016/01/05/elections-a-taiwan-quelle-place-pour-la-jeunesse-dans-les-programmes/>

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ LE PESANT Tanguy for *Le Monde Diplomatique*, «Taïwan en quête de souveraineté économique», May 2016, page 20: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2016/05/LEPESANT/55448>

account unpaid hours; in Taiwan in 2011, 85.3% of the surveyed employees said they worked more than 10 hours a day. Among those, 70% were not paid for their extra hours¹⁵.

The sobriquet of “strawberry generation” takes a serious hit after one becomes aware of the challenges facing the youth in Taiwan today. Or at least, it becomes clear that this generation does not deserve such a name.

It is not that young Taiwanese are lazy but that the state of the economy does not permit them to show their potential. However, naming China as the sole reason behind Taiwan’s economic stagnation would be incorrect, even if China leaning economic policies led by President Ma Ying-jeou might have had some effect on the current economic stagnation¹⁶. To the contrary, Taiwan should have diversified its economic partners and concentrated on its trade, investment and high technology opportunities to approach other global options, such as the United States and Japan¹⁷.

A GENERATION AWARE OF TAIWAN’S POLITICAL SITUATION

Another common statement about the Taiwanese youth is that they are not politicized enough.

However, after having discussed this issue with some of them, it appears that they care far more than expected at first glance. Of course, their vision of Taiwan’s unique international context is sometimes opaque¹⁸. In particular, they are quite indecisive on the reality of PRC’s threat over Taiwan and only a few told me about the missiles targeted on the island. Most of the time, they have difficulty deciding whether the risk of a war is real or not¹⁹. In fact, many young Taiwanese live with the threat but will not necessarily talk about it. Nevertheless, they fear the potential loss in human lives and the destruction of their island in the event of a conflict. For this reason, they fully rely on American protection or on pacifism, apparently thinking that “playing it cool” with the CCP will prevent it from attacking the island²⁰.

However, there is one universal truth among young Taiwanese. The immense majority of young Taiwanese are aware that they live in a different country than China. One of the first examples of this is the fact that China is perceived as the one country that keeps Taiwan in a diplomatic deadlock.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ CHOW, Peter C.Y: “The ECFA and its impact on cross-strait relations, and implications of the United States”, in CHOW, Peter C.Y, *National Identity and Economic Interest, Taiwan’s Competing Options and their Implications for Regional Stability*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York City, 2012, page 86

¹⁷ Ibid. 85

¹⁸ CABESTAN, Jean-Pierre, LE PESANT, Tanguy, *L’esprit de défense de Taiwan face à la Chine. La jeunesse taiwanaise face à la tentation de la Chine*, L’Harmattan, Paris, 2009, page 93

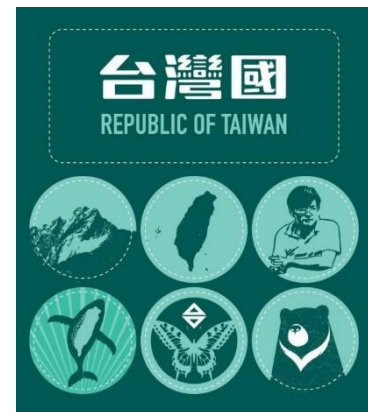
¹⁹ Ibid. 102

²⁰ Ibid. 122

Young Taiwanese would very much like to live in a normal country, recognized by the UN. Should this country be named ROC or the Republic of Taiwan, they do not really mind. Therefore, it is not surprising that they largely favor the status quo, which permits them to live peacefully, freely and *de facto* independent from the PRC. Even though they know it would not be a panacea: in 2009, a survey showed that 82% of young Taiwanese would choose to formally proclaim Taiwan's independence if they were not threatened by the PLA^{21 22}. This number is very likely to have increased a lot since then.

While Taiwanese national identification is increasing, it does not mean that young Taiwanese have acquired an old-style nationalistic attitude²³. Rather, one could talk about a civic nationalism²⁴. A nationalism that brandishes the noble value of self-determination and defense of democracy, and which is unanimously praised by young Taiwanese as a key feature of their political uniqueness²⁵.

Some young Taiwanese took a stand against China diplomatic bullying by “tagging” their passport with a new wrapping. Instead of ROC (Taiwan), they replaced it with a sticker that reads “Republic of Taiwan”, with brand new illustrations that show Taiwan's own richness (a bear, the form of the island, Alishan Mountain, etc.). The idea to “Taiwanize” their passports came from a Taiwanese graphic designer from Taichung, Dennis Chen [陳致豪]. He said: *“We would like to recall everyone that recognizing the Republic of China, it is accepting that Taiwan will, one day, be annexed by China because there would only be one China in the world”*²⁶. This message reflects the classic position of Taiwan's independence movement: the island is still occupied by the ROC and should recover its freedom under the name of the Republic of Taiwan²⁷.



The sticker in question, showing emblematic features of Taiwan, source: Asialyst.com

²¹ Ibid. 145

²² Taipei Times: EDITORIAL: Why fear the “T-word”?, Nov 20, 2015, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2015/11/20/2003632875/1>

²³ CABESTAN, Jean-Pierre, LE PESANT, Tanguy, *L'esprit de défense de Taiwan face à la Chine. La jeunesse taiwanaise face à la tentation de la Chine*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2009, page 146

²⁴ Listen to the Interview of J. Michael Cole by *The Diplomat Magazine* about civic nationalism in Taiwan, April 09.2015: <http://thedi diplomat.com/2015/04/the-rise-of-civic-nationalism-in-taiwan-a-conversation-with-j-michael-cole/>

²⁵ Read COLE J. Michael, “The Great Chinese lie over Taiwan”, for *The Diplomat*, April 11. 2015: <http://thedi diplomat.com/2015/04/the-great-chinese-lie-about-taiwan/>

²⁶ It is my own translation, the original is in French here: « Nous voulons rappeler aux gens que reconnaître la République de Chine, c'est accepter que Taiwan soit un jour annexé par la Chine, car il ne peut y avoir qu'une seule Chine dans le monde ». To know more, read : BAUBRY Pierre Yves, “A Taiwan, les passeports jouent à cache-cache” for the Asialyst, Oct. 8, 2015: <https://asialyst.com/fr/2015/10/08/a-taiwan-les-passeports-jouent-a-cache-cache/>

²⁷ Ibid.



"Republic of Taiwan" stickers on passport, an initiative of the youth, source: Asialyst.com

Unfortunately, such isolated moves did not discourage the Chinese from continuing their harassing practices. Much was written about the forced apologies of a 16-year-old Taiwanese pop singer in South Korea²⁸, which had in turn angered Taiwan's population. One month before, 22-year-old Ting Wen-yin (丁文茵), Taiwan's representative to this year's Miss Earth contest, was suspended for refusing to wear the provided 'Chinese Taipei' sash. *"Despite all these difficulties, I still feel grateful that this contest made me more mature and gave me a broader view of the world,"* she wrote²⁹.

In her speech of May 11, 2016, nine days before she effectively became Taiwan's President, Tsai Ing-wen still did not recognize the existence of a so-called 1992 consensus. Neither did young Taiwanese³⁰. A recent poll showed that 82% of respondents aged between 20 and 29 believe that Taiwan should become an independent nation³¹.

Other scarce Chinese soft power strategies are not likely to conquer the hearts and minds of the young Taiwanese. Probably after having finally noticed the importance this group had taken in Taiwan's elections, the PRC launched on March 3rd 2017 a new strategy targeting the youth and aiming at "boosting the loyalty of young people from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau by organizing study trips" on the mainland (as reported by a top Chinese official)³². Using such a tactic and words as "loyalty to China" may not achieve any results in the way the Chinese put

²⁸ See the chapter "Between four walls, Taiwan's diplomacy – past and present"

²⁹ *Taipei Times*, "Taiwanese beauty queen suspended for refusing to wear 'Chinese Taipei' sash", Nov 25, 2015: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2015/11/25/2003633270>

³⁰ *Taipei Times*, Stacy Hsu: "Most reject idea of 'one China': survey", 03.15.2016, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2016/03/15/2003641604/2>

³¹ *Taipei Times*: EDITORIAL: Why fear the "T-word?", Nov 20, 2015, <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2015/11/20/2003632875/1>

³² Reuters, "China to target young of Taiwan, Hong Kong to boost loyalty", 2017.03.03: <http://in.reuters.com/article/china-parliament-taiwan-hongkong-idINKBN16A10G>

their expectations, given that a politically motivated trip like this one is unlikely to attract people; or, based on Taiwanese expats' experience in China, even become a new element in making differences between Taiwan and China even more obvious for travelers.

Besides, young Taiwanese seem to be aware of the worrying Hong Kong experience of PRC's "one country-two system" framework. Hong Kong had been authorized since 1997 to safeguard its democratic system for at least 50 years but Beijing is already tightening its political control on the former British colony. On this subject, Hong Kong young activists and students leaders have made many trips to the island in order to discuss with their Taiwanese fellows. But on January 7th 2017 one of them, Joshua Wong, was assaulted by violent pro-Beijing people³³, deemed as PRC agents provocateurs by many³⁴. Of course, if such moves were to destabilize anything, it sure had the effect of a catalyzer on Taiwan's youth distrust of pro-Beijing discourse and reluctance to accept a political deal.

THE SUNFLOWER GENERATION

In 2014, after six years in office, the presidency of Ma Ying-jeou was placed under the label of the



Cai Yi-ju and Zhang Zhi-ling were students at the time of the protests, it was their first participation to a political meeting. On the shirt, one can read (in Chinese): "Save the country is everyone's job", source: Tempsreel.nouvelobs.com

reconciliation between China and Taiwan. The Kuomintang and the CCP, former enemies, had passed 25 cross-strait agreements between 2008 and 2014, against zero between 1994 and 2008³⁵. In the meantime, Ma Ying-jeou had made the liberalization of the trade with China the very condition for the revival of the Taiwanese economy³⁶.

However, Ma Ying-jeou dramatically failed to fulfill his economic promises at home, even

though he promised that closer links with China would solve Taiwan's decreasing growth. His

China leaning policy subsequently became extremely unpopular. In 2014, new opaque

³³ **STRONG** Matthew for Taiwan News, "Hong Kong activist faces protests in Taiwan", 2017.01.07: <http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3065225>

³⁴ **COLE J** Michael, "Avoid the Vicious Circle", for Taiwan Sentinel, 03.02.2017: <https://sentinel.tw/avoid-vicious-circle/>

³⁵ **CORCUFF** Stéphane, "Que se passe-t-il dans le détroit de Taiwan?" in *Diplomatie « La géopolitique de la Chine, les défis de la puissance »*, May. 2014

³⁶ **CHOW**, Peter C.Y: "The ECFA and its impact on cross-strait relations, and implications of the United States", in **CHOW**, Peter C.Y, *National Identity and Economic Interest, Taiwan's Competing Options and their Implications for Regional Stability*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York City, 2012, page 55

discussions between the KMT and the CCP took place regarding an extremely unpopular cross-strait deal, the “Cross-Strait Service and Trade Agreement” (CSSTA). Yet, the undemocratic method of forcing its signature, instead of debating it with the opposition, triggered anger among the Taiwanese³⁷.

The day after, the first students entered the Legislative Yuan (Taiwan Parliament) to occupy it and The Sunflower Movement (March – April 2014) was born. The name of the movement came from a bouquet of sunflowers placed by one of the protesters on a desk of the Legislative Yuan, who then wondered what to do with it³⁸.

It is the Taiwanese youth who led these protests. These “spoiled children” surprised the whole world by launching a spectacular protest movement. Worried about the renewed influence of China and the threat of its very authoritarian regime, these young Taiwanese reaffirmed that Taiwan is not a Chinese province, but a sovereign state.

Young Taiwanese have grown-up in a fully democratic Taiwan and massively reject the unification with China. In addition, after the Hong Kong experience, the opposition to the “One country – Two systems” formula has also strengthened. As a result, young Taiwanese decided to oppose the Ma Ying-jeou China leaning policies, which were seen as a risk towards delivering Taiwan into the arms of China.



Student occupation of the Legislative Yuan, March 2014, source: Lemonde.fr

March 2014 mass demonstrations in Taipei, source: BBC

In particular, these protesters asked for a legislative mechanism that would permit the democratic survey of each commercial agreement with China. For them, only the adoption of such a law would guarantee an effective supervision by the Parliament of cross-strait relations³⁹.

³⁷ *Le Monde*, Brice Pedroletti, “A Taipei, la révolution des Tournesols démontre les inquiétudes de la jeunesse face à Pékin”, 03.28.2014 : http://abonnes.lemonde.fr/international/article/2014/03/28/a-taipei-la-revolution-des-tournesols-revele-le-malaise-des-jeunes-face-a-pek-in_4391329_3210.html

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

Young Taiwanese protesters also wanted their movement to stand the test of time. On March 30, 2014, a mass demonstration occurred in front of Taipei's Presidential Palace. Meanwhile, inside the occupied Legislative Yuan, walls were covered with portraits of President Ma Ying-jeou. In April 2014, the students obtained the suspension of the CSSTA and the treaty remains unratified by the Taiwanese legislature. The KMT was heavily sanctioned by the voters in the fall 2014 local elections⁴⁰.



A caricature of former President Ma Ying-jeou inside the occupied Legislative Yuan, March 2014, source: [Lemonde.fr](http://lemonde.fr)

After having occupied the Parliament for three weeks, demonstrated to the world that it would not stay immobile and galvanized hundreds of thousands of demonstrators, the young generation had earned their place in history, as well as a well-deserved name change. And this is how the “Strawberry generation” became known as the “Sunflower generation.” After the movement, the least that can be said is that public perception of young Taiwanese became the complete opposite of what it was before the protests.

A GENERATION BRINGS POLITICAL CHANGE TO TAIWAN

This is the generation who brought about DPP's absolute majority in the Legislative Yuan, as well as the election of President Tsai Ing-wen. Not very long after KMT's overwhelming electoral defeat in 2014, the Taiwanese also inflicted a second trashing to this party during the 2016 presidential and legislative elections.

During these elections, 8% of the total amount of voters was voting for their very first time, and they most likely contributed significantly to the victory of Tsai Ing-wen (DPP). Tsai herself thanked the Taiwanese youth in her inaugural address on May 20th, 2016: “When its young people have no future, a country is certain to have no future.”

Taiwanese youth, aged between 20 and 29 years old, were significantly mobilized during the presidential elections⁴¹. 74.5% of them have voted; compared to 66.2% of Taiwan's total

⁴⁰ SHUN PO (Hong Kong Economic Journal – Hong Kong), published in COURRIER INTERNATIONAL (FRANCE), “Le Kuomintang paie sa proximité avec Pékin”, 12.17.2014 : <http://www.courrierinternational.com/article/2014/12/18/le-kuomintang-paie-sa-proximite-avec-pekin>

⁴¹ LE PESANT Tanguy for *Le Monde Diplomatique*, «Taiwan en quête de souveraineté économique», May 2016, page 20: <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2016/05/LEPESANT/55448>

population having voted. Among them, 71% of the 20-23 age group, and 80% of the 24-29 age group voters, chose Tsai Ing-wen⁴². An impressive score by any measure.

Five young leaders of the Sunflower Movement have made their second entrance in the Legislative Yuan (legally this time). They are members and founders of the New Power Party (NPP). This new political party advocates for a renewal in Taiwan's politics and participative democracy. It is usually classified on the left of the political spectrum, a split that Taiwan is now beginning to experience⁴³.

However, now that Tsai has been elected more than one year ago, growing distrust toward the DPP administration is taking place among the youth, as young Taiwanese witness no significant progresses in their economic conditions. Especially, unemployment among the youth has reached new highs in February 2017⁴⁴. However, one should refrain from distrusting Taiwan's president after such a short time span, she still has years to deliver on her promises and her results should be judge on the long run.

To conclude, as a consequence of their unexpected political engagement, the former "Strawberry Generation" has acquired a strong voice in Taiwan politics during the past two years.

It is safe to say that today, given their newfound political presence, neither Taiwan nor China policymakers will be able to ignore the voice of young Taiwanese. ■

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ HSIAO Allison, "Sunflower movement 'not accidental'" for the *Taipei Times*, March 15, 2015: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2015/03/15/2003613597/2>

⁴⁴ Staffing Industry Analyst, "Jobless rate falls in January, unemployment highest among youth", 2017.02.24: <http://www2.staffingindustry.com/row/Editorial/Daily-News/Taiwan-Jobless-rate-falls-in-January-unemployment-highest-among-youth-41157>

ASIA FOCUS #22

TAIWAN YOUTH: the rise of a generation

PAR HUGO TIERNY

FORMER STUDENT OF THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF PARIS

MARS 2017

ASIA FOCUS

Collection supervised by Barthélémy COURMONT, research director at IRIS, lecturer at the Université Catholique de Lille, and Emmanuel LINCOT, professor at the Institut Catholique de Paris – UR “Religion, culture and society” (EA 7403) and Sinologist.

courmont@iris-france.org – emmanuel.lincot@gmail.com

ASIA PROGRAMME

Supervised by Barthélémy COURMONT, research director at IRIS, lecturer at the Université Catholique de Lille.

courmont@iris-france.org

© IRIS

All rights reserved

THE FRENCH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND STRATEGIC AFFAIRS

2 bis rue Mercoeur

75011 PARIS / France

T. + 33 (0) 1 53 27 60 60

contact@iris-france.org

@InstitutIRIS

www.iris-france.org