



Panel's title: Articulating institutionalized and non-institutionalized participation: experiences from East-Asian countries

Coordinator (Affiliation, University...) : **Chloé Froissart** (Tsinghua University Sino-French Center in Social Sciences, Beijing; French Center for Research on Contemporary China, Hong Kong)
Emilie Frenkiel, (Université Paris-Est Créteil, Liph, France)

Language : English

Topics : Politics

Panel presentation :

For the last two decades, discussions and studies about new forms of participation, political agency, and activity have proliferated. Regarding democratic settings, their starting point is often that traditional institutions (elections, parliamentarianism, the party system, administrative state, etc.) are incapable of responding to the challenges posed by globalization, professionalization of politics, intensified individualism, and the plurality of identities. Paradoxically, illiberal regimes have also resorted to public participation, as institutions have often proved inefficient and unable to guaranty public good. In Asia, this participatory turn has also taken place but too few initiatives allow discussions among Asian and Western scholars and comparisons between various national situations and political regimes. This panel thus investigates citizens' participation in different polities: constitutional monarchies (Thailand, Cambodia), young democracies (Taiwan and Philippines) as well as in an authoritarian regime: China. Its main focus is to understand and compare how institutionalized and non-institutionalized political participation articulate and complement each other, namely focusing on the various channels citizens use to monitor elections or to participate to the decision and law-making process beyond electoral procedures. Stithorn Thananithichot will investigate the variables affecting participatory disparities among social groups in Thailand. Chompunoot Tangthavorn's paper assesses citizen participation in the legislative processes of Thailand and Cambodia. Emilie Frenkiel will focus on the effective contribution of civic hackers in Taiwanese citizens' online participation in the policy-making process since the Sunflower movement. Chloé Froissart will present the role played by environmental NGOs in designing a new model of environmental governance in the Chinese authoritarian regime. Chiu Hua-Mei will present the role of Taiwan's anti-nuclear environmental groups in the merging energy governance. Finally, Nattakarn Sukolratanametee will introduce the role of civil society in monitoring the electoral process in the Philippines.

Key words : Asia, citizen participation, democracy, authoritarian regimes, institutionalization

Panel Discussant: **Shi Chunyu, Zhejiang Business University (China)**

Participants :

- 1) Stithorn Thananithichot (King Prajadhipok's Institute, Research and Development Office, Bangkok)

Communication's title : The Evolution of Citizen Activism in Thailand, 2001-2013

Presentation : How has political participation changed among different groups in Thailand? This is the main question this study is set to answer. This study proposes an analytical framework composed of several factors that include not only socioeconomic status but also various attitudinal and mobilization factors as a proper way to explain changes in the patterns of political participation



in Thailand during the past ten years. This study relies on a four-wave survey data taken from the Asian Barometer (ABS, 2002; 2006; 2010; 2013). With constantly collected information about many institutional and non-institutionalized political activities, including voting, campaign activities (e.g., attending election meetings or rallies and showing support to certain political parties or candidates), political contact (e.g., contacting government officials or high level officials), and protesting (i.e., taking part in demonstrations, marches, or protests), the ABS allows us to consider political participation and its changing patterns in a broad sense. This study discusses: (1) what each socioeconomic factor can explain about political participation while controlling for the other variables; (2) whether the causal relationships between each socioeconomic factor and political participation actually exist while controlling for other potential engagement and mobilization factors; and (3) why we need to understand more clearly the change patterns of political engagement in order to explain the changes in citizens' participatory patterns. By using improved methods, this paper clearly shows that participatory differences among groups of Thai citizens were not solely a consequence of differences in socioeconomic status backgrounds. Rather, there are various psychological, motivational, and contextual factors affecting participatory disparities among social groups.

Key words : Political participation, Citizen activism, Political change in Thailand

2) Chompunoot Tangthavorn (King Prajadhipok's Institute, Bangkok)

Communication's title : Citizen Participation in Legislative Procedures: Comparative Study of Cambodia and Thailand

Presentation:

In democratic countries, where it is believed that laws must express the general will of the people, legislative power belongs to Parliament, the political institution that, through its directly elected members, represents the people. In Cambodia and Thailand, both of which have bicameral legislatures, the constitution states that legislation is the competence of the Parliament. The main attempt made in this paper is to evaluate the performance as practice of the legislative processes in Cambodia and Thailand, focusing in terms of citizen participation in legislative procedures. For this purpose, the paper draws on existing work in the field, for instance the InterParliamentary Union's democratic governance indicators in order to establish definition and operationalize the concept of citizen participation as measurable indicators. Regarding the scrutiny process, this paper also assesses the formal parliamentary procedure of moving bills through parliament. Special attention must be paid to the opportunities for public participation in the scrutiny process should be noted, including the public's ability to personally observe chamber and committee proceedings, limitations on media coverage of proceedings, and formal opportunities to contribute to proceedings, for instance through public hearings organized by committees. In the concluding part, this paper provided the basis for the development of a set of criteria and indicators to assess citizen participation in the legislative processes of each country.

Key words : Citizen Participation; Legislative Procedures; Cambodia; Thailand

3) Emilie Frenkiel (Université Paris-Est Créteil, Liphia, France)

Communication's title : The Co-optation of Civic hackers: the Solution to Foster Online Deliberation and Further Democratize Taiwan's Democracy?



Presentation :

The challenging implementation and limited impact on public policy of participatory and deliberative devices have tended slow down their expansion in the world (Blondiaux & Fourniau 2011, Sintomer 2011) even if experiences such as participatory budgeting in Paris are being institutionalized. Activists from the open source community have relentlessly and collaboratively worked on new tools and initiatives to remove these barriers. In the wake of the Sunflower movement, a group of civic hackers have for instance created online tools to encourage Taiwanese authorities at different administrative levels to make their actions more transparent and to facilitate the participation of citizens to various aspects of the decision-making process. This paper is based on a series of in-depth qualitative interviews with Audrey Tang, a leading member of this group who has become a Minister in charge of digital affairs, including organizing binding online deliberation prior to law-making last October. I will present the philosophy of her civic tech group, g0v (gov zero), and the unusually receptive official response to their actions. My main focus will therefore be the reasons for this rare co-optation of civic hackers by the previous and current Taiwanese governments, the consequent institutionalization of originally non-institutionalized deliberative devices and the early outcome of this collaboration; that is, the first laws decided upon in a more participatory and deliberative way thanks to online tools and government compliance.

Key words : participation, online deliberation, hacktivism, Taiwan

- 4) Chloé Froissart (Tsinghua University Sino-French Center in Social Sciences, Beijing; French Center for Research on Contemporary China, Hong Kong)

Communication's title : Relying on public participation to control pollution The rise of a new model of environmental governance in China.

Presentation:

Why, and to what extent, an authoritarian regime has to call upon public participation to complement institutionalized procedures to control pollution? As the human, economic and political costs of China's environmental crisis have reached disastrous levels and concerns over pollution hazards have become one of the main drivers of protests, the Chinese leadership has attempted to build a new alliance with environmental NGOs (ENGOS), which more than ever appear as key actors in the process of pollution control. ENGOS have thus been largely spared from the recent crackdown on civil society and a series of new regulations, namely a recent amendment to the Environmental Protection Law, gives them more room for action. To what extent can the CCP use public participation as a tool without being overtaken by it? How can ENGOS invest a top-down participative framework to pursue their own agenda? How do social actors attempt to negotiate the terms and scope of participation, both at the local and central levels? This contribution will first identify the limits of institutionalized channels of pollution control, it will then analyse how the CCP frames public participation in environmental issues and how ENGOS respond to, and impact, this emerging legislative framework. It will eventually attempt to assess the role of public participation in designing a new model of environmental governance in China.

Key words : China, ENGOS, participation, governance model

- 5) Hua-Mei Chiu (National Sun Yat-sen University, Department of sociology, Taiwan)

Communication's title : Relying on public participation to control pollution The rise of a new model of environmental governance in China.

Presentation: The Role of Taiwan's Anti-Nuclear Environmental Groups in the Emerging Energy Governance



The revitalized anti-nuclear movement in Taiwan has gained its unprecedented momentum after the 2011 Fukushima Nuclear Disaster. Environmental groups have successfully left enough pressures on the government through massive social mobilization and have eventually resulted in the termination of the construction of the country's Fourth Nuclear Power Plant in April 2014. In 2016, the new elected President from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has promised to carry out the 'nuclear go zero' policy appealed by the environmental groups. The policy goal of phasing-out nuclear energy is expected to be achieved by no-extension of the operation of existing three nuclear power plants and increasing the proportion of renewable energy no less than 20% by 2025. Against this background, 'Anti-' is no longer sufficient to secure the achievements of the anti-nuclear movement. As political opportunities appeared and some institutional channels opened, the leading anti-nuclear organisations do not only have their members participating in various governmental commissions, but also seek to collaborate with the government and the economic actors in order to influence the country's energy policy and to advocate the citizens' version of energy transition. The energy transition models, such as German Energy Transition and 'One Less Nuclear Power Plant' initiative by Seoul City, are also introduced by the environmental organisations. Four largest city governments have been persuaded by the environmental organizations to conduct the 'One Less Nuclear Power Plant' experiment at city level. How to form a workable governance framework become an issue. The leading environmental activists started to involve in both national and local energy governance. However, although both the central and local governments have opened some institutional channels for the anti-nuclear activists, community residents and scholars, the effectiveness of institutional participation remained unclear. The current openness of institutional channels is rather relying on the personal wills of the politicians. The activists are highly aware of the uncertainty of the institutional participation. They are therefore also working on various non-institutional participation to push the government move toward a greener energy transition with environmental justice principles. The presentation will examine the institutional and non-institutional participation adopted by the anti-nuclear groups in recent years. It will also explore the obstacles of the articulation of those Institutional and non-institutional participations for the formation of nuclear-free energy governance.

Key words : Energy Governance, Anti-nuclear Movement, Institutional Participation, Taiwan

6) Nattakarn Sukolratanametee (Academic, King Prajadhipok's Institute, Thailand)

Communication's title : Election Watchdogs in the 2016 Philippine Election: Observation of their Active Role and Strong Ties to God

Presentation:

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in the Philippines have served an important role as election watchdogs since 1984 when Ferdinand Marcos ruled the country as a dictator under clouds of corruption, and are among the most progressive CSOs in the world. This paper explores both official and non-official roles of election watchdogs in the 2016 Philippine election, and examines factors contributing to their strength. Through non-participant observation in the Philippines during 4-11 May 2016 and document analysis, the study found that, in the 2016 Philippine election, two major CSOs were accredited by the Commission on Elections (Comelec) to undertake official roles of Citizens' Arms; including conducting a parallel count, poll watching, undertaking voter education and providing voter assistance. Non-official roles are also found in movements by other election watchdogs to guarantee honest and credible elections. From the 1986 People Power Revolution up to the present day, the most significant factor contributing to the strength of Philippine election watchdogs is the church. In a country where Roman Catholics make up 81 percent of the population, major faith-based organizations are actively supported by people of all ages and social classes. The relationship between the faith in God and political participation ranges from the



obligation to cast a ballot to volunteering in election watchdog activities.

Key words : Philippines, CSOs, election watchdogs, catholics