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Abstracts

Alain-Marc Rieu (Lyon)

Japan after Fukushima: toward a new governance arrangement

The question “Who governs?” has been raised since the 1980s by many books on Japan. This question characterizes a critical moment in Japan’s contemporary evolution: the “developmental State” which rebuilt Japan after 1945 was becoming counter-productive. The United States were also exerting strong pressures for Japan to implement neo-liberal reforms, mainly to open its internal market.

It is a well-known fact that Japan is not *governed* by its political system. It is managed and regulated by a *techno-structure*, a network associating various centers of power and influence, advisors and heads of the main ministries, of large business firms, political leaders as well as influential academics and university administrators, journalists and media managers. This type of governance has been considered counter-productive since the 1990s, by the high bureaucracy itself.

But the search for a new governance arrangement has preceded the 11 March 2011 *tsunami* and the Fukushima nuclear disaster. Its root is the techno-structure’s project to reconstruct Japan’s economic and social system through large-scale science and technology policies. This goal led in the 2000s to major political and institutional reforms. It is reshaping the governance arrangement and the techno-structure itself, giving a new role, urgency and conception of what is commonly called “*civil society*” in European political theory.

The goal is to study this structural and conceptual evolution: it concerns not only East Asian nations, their mode of governance (including Chinese “developmental State”), but all industrial nations, our conceptions of society, governance, democracy and power.

Lau Blaxekjær (Copenhagen)

Post-Fukushima Governance – Institutional Dissonance and Post-Normal Governance?

After the March 2011 disaster, a new nuclear safety agency has been established moving this portfolio and staff from the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) to the Ministry of Environment (MOE), consequently away from METI’s main focus on industry and energy promotion, and within MOE nuclear safety is now being prioritized over other policy areas. However, energy governance still resides within METI. Public discourse has focused mainly on safety and reconstruction issues. The energy and industry lobbies and party factions are arguing for nuclear energy mainly in economic terms, but also as a necessary part of Japan’s emission targets. The role of nuclear energy in Japan is unclear, as is the extent of these institutional changes of nuclear energy governance on climate change governance

To better understand what Post-Fukushima Governance is and how climate change governance in Japan has changed since March 2011 I propose an eclectic approach combining insights from New Institutionalism and Philosophy of Science. Specifically, I follow W. Richard Scott, who defines institutions as social structures consisting of three pillars; a regulative, a normative, and a cultural-cognitive pillar. Thus, I analyse institutional change as regulatory changes, normative changes as well as changes in the culturally shaped perceptions of nuclear energy and climate change governance. I then apply the term institutional dissonance to capture the current situation in Japan, where actors are confronted with two or more diverging institutional setups in the area of climate change governance. I

also introduce the idea of post-normal governance – inspired by Funtowicz and Ravetz’ idea of post-normal science – a situation where ‘facts are uncertain, values in dispute, stakes high and decisions urgent’.

My research question for a coming paper is: How have institutional changes in nuclear safety regulation created institutional dissonance in Japan’s Post-Fukushima climate change governance. The paper explores institutional dissonance between the institutions of nuclear energy and climate change as well as between the three pillars within institutions, arguing that post-Fukushima climate change governance can be characterized as being at a critical juncture, but more than this, illustrating that this critical juncture could be characterized as a situation of post-normal governance.

Kristin Surak (Duisburg)

Civil Society and Migrant Labor Recruit Schemes in East Asia: Possibilities and Pitfalls in Lobbying for Reform

Over the past two decades, *de jure* or *de facto* migrant labor recruitment schemes have become *de rigueur* across the East Asian democracies: Taiwan has adopted a Singapore-style tightly managed guestworker program, Japan has instituted a thinly-disguised guestworker program while admitting co-ethnics through side-doors to fill undesirable jobs, and South Korea has moved between the two models. In all cases, the national governments have implemented these programs in cooperation with private actors, thereby accruing the benefits of resource conservation, efficiency gains, and a protective „corporate veil.“ Though lock-in effects increase the difficulty of challenging such partnerships, civil society groups have, nonetheless, confronted the most exploitative elements of such arrangements, but with varying degrees of success. Taking the three country cases into account, this presentation will examine the conditions under which civil society actors have been able to successfully lobby for the reform of migrant labor recruitment schemes.

Kjeld Erik Brødsgaard (Copenhagen)

Murder, Sex, Corruption: Will China Continue to Hold Together?

The recent Bo Xilai affair has created strains in the Chinese political system and has intensified the power struggle concerning the new leadership appointments due to take place at the 18th Party Congress. The pressure on the political system is intensified by a number of social phenomena such as increased fragmentation, vested interests, corruption, social unrest, increased income and social inequalities and a *de facto* reform stop since 2009. Some scholars believe that we now see the end of “resilient authoritarianism” and that China either will experience a political and social collapse or move towards a democratic system. However, developments since 1989 show the regime’s amazing ability to revitalize its organizational capabilities and regain its Mandate of Heaven. It may be too early to declare the Party over.

Andrea Revelant (Venice)

Between state and society: political parties in Japan

Because of their intimate ties with state institutions, political parties are usually considered as separate from civil society in the scientific literature as well as in common perception. However, if civil society is seen as the wide sphere where citizens join an organization to promote their common interests through collective action, it is hard to state that parties do not belong to that realm. In fact, parties have a hybrid nature that stretches from a mass base to the restricted circle of those in office; ideally, they should function as an effective bridge between these two dimensions. In times of poor performance, at least as judged by public opinion, criticism against the established parties may undermine support from below and cause internal rifts, therefore spurring a political realignment. Japan, which in East Asia can boast the longest tradition in terms of development of a multi-party system, has been experiencing a quite fluid

political situation since the 1990s. In my talk I will address some of the key problems Japanese parties are currently tackling in the attempt to win back public confidence, starting from transparency in policy making. In order to frame these issues in a broader historical perspective, I will also draw a comparison with the crisis of party politics in the prewar period.

Stéphane Corcuff (Lyon)

Local, national, cross straits, global: Do Taiwanese voters establish a hierarchy of identification references in their voting behaviour?

In January 2012, Taiwanese voters have casted their ballots for the double Presidential and Legislative election. Several observers had cautiously forecasted a razor-thin victory of the incumbent President Mr Ma Ying-jeou, and most were surprised by the comfortable margin of his advance upon his most important rival, Ms Tsai Ying-wen of the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party. Most surprising was the discrepancy between the popularity of the president, rather low, and the percentage of votes he got, leading to his re-election, a margin that has raised the question of the motivations behind Taiwanese voters' political choices. Apparently, a fair percentage of the electorate was neither satisfied by Ma's first term (2008-2012), nor fundamentally afraid by the prospect of having Ms Tsai as President, hence the long hesitation of swing voter until just a few days before the vote. On the day of casting their ballot, however, a majority finally decided to give Mr Ma second term and a second chance. This proposed paper intends to analyse, with the help of a two-year field work in Taiwan and the theoretical literature about voting behaviour and rational choices, how Taiwanese balance and ponder their identifications to and geopolitical analysis about: Taiwan's locality, national identity, cross straits (China) relations and insertion in a globalized world. Data is to be collected through qualitative and quantitative interviews in selected spots spread within the whole island of Taiwan between April and August 2012.

Xavier Ortells-Nicolau (Barcelona)

Major trends in English-speaking scholarship on China's civil society, 1989-2000s

In 1989, two events facilitated the emergence of the academic field on Chinese civil society. The first was the student movement that occupied Tian'anmen Square until its sombre denouement in June 4. The second was the first English translation of Jürgen Habermas' *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. From this interrelated environment of social theory and reality, Euro-American scholars examined the development of new social structures to detect incipient or developing forms of the public sphere and social participation outside the control of the State. Issues like the continuity of corporatist structures, the role of new communication and media technologies, or the existence of vernacular antecedents of the 'public', became an important topic in symposia and seminars in the 1990s.

This presentation will provide a brief itinerary through the most prominent and influential English-speaking scholarship on civil society in China, in order to underscore its major themes and theoretical difficulties. While the topic has lost some momentum outside China, in line with new conditions at economical (some G8 economies are terminating its aids programs in China, i.e., UK's DFID, not considering it anymore a 'developing country'), political and technological (i.e. the Internet) levels, Chinese intellectuals may be taking the lead in the theoretical analysis of their civil society (as indicated by a large number of research centres and recent publications, i.e., Deng Zhenglai (ed.) 2011. *State and Civil Society: The Chinese Perspective*), an area that brings to the fore many of the difficulties and risks affecting China's society.

Sean Golden (Barcelona)

"Social construction", "social management", and "social system reform" versus "'civil society' is a 'Western pitfall'": official discourse on civil society and governance going into the 18th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party

Joaquín Beltrán (Barcelona)

Culture and the Confucius Institute: Soft power to meet global governance and external challenges

The Confucius Institute has the aim to promote Chinese language and culture overseas. Culture always is a complicated term. In Chinese, the term 'culture' (*wenhua*) literally implies a process of transformation by *wen*, or writing, but *wenhua* is more than *wen* (Louie, 2008). Culture has become the site of intense struggle, Chinese culture should describe how the Chinese people live and play as well as how they think; but Chinese culture is also becoming globalized, for this reason there is more than one definition about what should be included under the term Chinese culture.

Several scholars have given too much importance to the control of the Chinese state over the limits of the term "Chinese culture" used within the Confucius Institute framework. If the case of writing, they say that simplified Chinese characters must be used (Churchman, 2011); the use of politically sensitive words in the classroom (Yang & Hsiao, 2012) marks other frontier. Some also affirm that the Confucius Institute is a propaganda machine that expands a "new linguistic imperialism", and is also an indicator of the "China threat" (You, 2012).

In fact, the everyday operation of this new soft power tool of public and cultural diplomacy consists in the application of distributed leadership to a worldwide network of Confucius Institutes for knowledge sharing (Li, Mirmirani & Ilacqua, 2009). That means that flexibility and adaptation to local environments are interlinked with the "Chinese culture" issue, and beyond the essential, reified, orthodox Chinese culture, there is a play with changing, modern, globalized facts that also has consequences for the content of the term "Chinese culture".

Laura De Giorgi (Venice)

History education and civil society in contemporary China

In recent years current reforms in history education in mainland China's high schools have raised the interest of foreign researchers and a topic of domestic debate as well. Social and economic changes and cultural globalization are identified as the main factors behind these experimental and much debated reforms, and researchers have variously analyzed the complex and contradictory relationship among national identity, citizenship education and historical consciousness in this process. This presentation offers a reflection on the relationship between changes in history education and the making of civil society in China focusing on a reading of history textbooks currently in use in Chinese schools.

Thomas Boutonnet (Lyon)

Consumerism as a Risk for Social Stability? Governance and Risk Management in the "Eight Honours and Eight Disgraces" Campaign

This paper studies the "Eight Honours and Eight disgraces" (*barong bachi* 八荣八耻) campaign, an educational campaign launched in 2006 by the Chinese Communist Party in order to improve public morality and patriotic feelings, and to "rectify" Chinese attitudes towards luxury, consumerism and profit.

In this campaign, the CCP attempted to draw citizens' attention to a whole range of alleged risk factors for China's social stability and political unity (such as corruption, selfishness, lack of morality, "non-scientific" or "non-patriotic" behaviours), and sought to discourage conspicuous luxury consumption practices.

This paper discusses the campaign by considering its context – Chinese consumer society in the 2000 decade – and considers the implications of the CCP's obsession with social stability.

Carmen Amado Mendes (Coimbra)

The role of Macau's governance and civil society in promoting lusophony: the manipulation of a concept for managing risk in China's relations with the lusophone world

After the transfer of the Portuguese administration to China in 1999, Macau transformed its traditional role of bridge between East and West into a platform to reduce risk in China's relations with the lusophone (i.e., Portuguese-speaking) countries. Portugal's historical, architectural and cultural legacy

has been used by Macau's civil society and the new Chinese administration to promote the concept of lusophony in China, with the support of the central government. Several lusophone events take place in Macau: the Lusophony Games; the Lusophony Festival; the Macau International Fair with a lusophone stand; Portuguese-speaking countries joint meetings in various areas (airports, central banks, medicine...). International conferences on lusophony have been organized not only by several academic institutions but also by other civil society forums, such as the International Institute of Macau and the Macau Association for the Promotion of Exchange between Asia-Pacific and Latin America. Moreover, the friendship associations of the eight Portuguese-speaking countries in Macau play an important role in the Lusophony Festival and organize festivities such as celebration of their national days. Several periodicals, some supported by the Macau government and others led by the civil society, include special sections on lusophony: the *Macau Magazine* and the *East-West*, focusing on culture, politics and society. On the economic side, the *News of the Platform* is published by the International Lusophone Markets Business Association; the *Macau Image* is one of the publications of the Macau Trade and Investment Promotion Institute, along with investment guides targeting the lusophone world; and the Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and the Portuguese-speaking Countries distributes its *Newsletter* in a regular basis. These trade institutions also organize business trips between China and the lusophone world and training courses in Macau for Portuguese-speaking countries' officials. All these initiatives suggest that Macau's governance and civil society use their lusophone memory, official languages and legal system, and part of their important financial resources, to increase knowledge between China and the lusophone world, managing risk in their relations.