6th Asian Political and International Studies Association (APISA) Congress 2012

Policy and Politics in Changing Asia

30 November 2012 (Friday)
The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong

1 December 2012 (Saturday)
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Supported by
Office of the European Union to Hong Kong and Macao

Media Partner
## Welcoming Remarks

*Professor Ka Ho MOK*
Acting Vice President (Research and Development); Associate Vice President (Research and International Exchange), and Chair Professor of Comparative Policy, The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong

*Mr. Asad BEG*
Head of Political, Press and Information section, Office of the European Union to Hong Kong and Macao

*Professor M. RAMESH*
Chair Professor of Governance and Public Policy, and Director, Centre for Governance and Citizenship, The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong

*Professor Mark R. THOMPSON*
Director, Southeast Asia Research Centre, and Professor, Department of Asian and International Studies, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

## Annual General Meeting
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Panel A</th>
<th>Panel B</th>
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<tr>
<td>10:00 - 12:00</td>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>Political Economy Of Public Policy</td>
<td>Environment and Rural Policy</td>
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<td>Room A1: D1-LP-02</td>
<td>Room B: Room 03, Lower Podium, Block D1 (D1-LP-03)</td>
<td>Room C: Room 05, Lower Podium, Block D2 (D2-LP-05)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Devolution of Governance Regulation in the China: Reviving Traditional Confucian Doctrines for the Modern Era</td>
<td>“I am Over-Represented, Therefore I Get More”: Malapportionment and Federal Transfers</td>
<td>Comparative Studies of Urban Climate Co-benefits in Asian Cities</td>
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<td>Dr. Alex C. K. CHAN and Mr. Angus YOUNG Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Dr. Mathieu TURGEON and Dr. Pedro CAVALCANTE Universidade de Brasilia, Brazil</td>
<td>Dr. Tae Dong LEE and Dr. Susan VAN DE MEENE City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
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<td>10:30</td>
<td>Decoding Regional Cooperation and Governance in Central China: A Case Study in the Chang-Zhu-Tan City Cluster</td>
<td>The Elite Foundations of Market Reforms within Socialist Countries in Transition: A Comparative Study of Cuba and Vietnam</td>
<td>Environmental Awareness of the Graduate Students in Region I: An Assessment</td>
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<td>Ms. Lizhu DAI Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Mr. Anthony Lawrence A. BORJA De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. Elita Bielza VALDEZ Divine Word College of Vigan, Philippines</td>
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<td>Professor Renato Cruz DE CASTRO De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. Thomas Wai Kee YUEN Hong Kong Shue Yan University, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Dr. Mary Barby P. BADAYOS-JOVER University of the Philippines, Philippines</td>
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<td>Mr. Urbano Paul C. ALLI, Jr. Alyc Industries and Trading, Philippines</td>
<td>Mr. Robin M. U. GARCIA De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. Xin Song WANG Beijing Normal University, China</td>
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<td>Professor Alfredo C. ROBLES, Jr. De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Mr. Mark Anthony M. VELASCO De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Professor Drs. KOMARUDIN Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology, Indonesia</td>
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12:00 - 13:00 Lunch (Self-arrange)
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<td>13:00</td>
<td>Room A2: Room 10, Lower Podium, Block D2 (D2-LP-10)</td>
<td>The Challenge of Global Economic Crisis and the Response by Reinventing Local Government: A Case Study of the New Taipei City Government Mr. Meng Kwen CHEN National Taipei University, Taiwan</td>
<td>Labour Policy Change for Women during the Global Economic Crisis in Taiwan Mr. Arthur CHANG The Ying-Chyuan Scholarship Foundation of Public Affairs, Taiwan, and Dr. Chiung Ling CHANG Chinese Culture University, Taiwan</td>
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<td>Does Chinese Court Play an Influential Role in the Making of Social Policy? Through Comparative Lens of U.S. Legal System Mr. Shuai WEI City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Changes of Delivery and Fund of Personal Social Services: Comparison of Hong Kong and Shenzhen Ms. Yan Ping YU City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>The Correlation between Socioeconomic Factors and Suicide Mortality in Taiwan Mr. Yi Sheng JIANG National Chi Nan University, Taiwan, and Dr. Ming Chang TSAI National Chia Yi University, Taiwan</td>
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<td>Civic Education Policy of the Hong Kong’s Special Administration Region: A Historical and Comparative Analysis with Theories of the State Dr. Chung Fun Steven HUNG Po Chiu Catholic Secondary School, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Equality, Efficiency and Effectiveness: An Evaluation Study of the Urban Minimum Livelihood Guarantee Scheme in China Dr. Yu GUO Renmin University of China, China</td>
<td>Deliberative Democracy Nationwide? Evaluating Deliberativeness of Healthcare Reform in China Dr. Alexander KOROLEV National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia</td>
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<td>The Comparance of Taiwan’s New Immigrant Children’s Academic Achievement by Interval Fuzzy Number Mr. Wen Tsung LAI; Professor Fwu Yuan WENG, and Mr. Tsung Kuo Tien LIU National Chi Nan University, Taiwan</td>
<td>The Puzzle of Persistent Non-policy: Explaining Public Pensions in Hong Kong and Singapore Mr. Kok Hoe NG London School of Economics and Political Science, U.K.</td>
<td>Community Organizing for Community Development (CO4CD) as Prevention Strategy for HIV/AIDS in the Philippines among Men Who Have Sex With Men and Transgenders (MSM/TG) Mr. Anastacio M. MARASIGAN, Jr. De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
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<td>15:00</td>
<td>Civic Education Policy of the Hong Kong’s Special Administration Region: A Historical and Comparative Analysis with Theories of the State Dr. Chung Fun Steven HUNG Po Chiu Catholic Secondary School, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Making Ends Meet: Understanding the Dynamics Involving the Conditional Cash Transfer Program of the Philippines (The Case of Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program or 4Ps) Mr. Jeorge G. ALARCON, Jr. Waseda University, Japan</td>
<td>The Lack of Social Protection Policy and the Regulation for Global Sexual Exploitation of Women: The Case of Thailand Mr. Arthur CHANG The Ying-Chyuan Scholarship Foundation of Public Affairs, Taiwan</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Panel 3A: Policy Process Room A2</td>
<td>Panel 3B: Social Protection II Room B</td>
<td>Panel 3C: Policy Participation Room C</td>
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<td>15:00 - 15:15</td>
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| 15:15 - 17:00 | Causes, Responses, and Implications of Converging Policy Regimes  
Mr. Iftikhar Ahmad LODHI  
National University of Singapore, Singapore  

Citizen Engagement in Public Procurement in Bangladesh: Media as a Facilitator of Exhilarating Citizen’s Engagement  
Ms. Farhana RAZZAQUE  
BRAC University, Bangladesh  

Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia  
Ms. Maria Thaemar C. TANA  
De La Salle University, Philippines  

Bureaucracy and University Governance in Thailand  
Dr. Kreangchai RUNGFAMAI  
National Science Technology and Innovation Policy Office, Thailand  

The Political Economy of Business Associations in China: The Hierarchical Variations  
Ms. Yingying JI  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong  

Evidence-based Policy Making in Housing the Poor:  
The Case of Lupang Arenda, Rizal, Philippines  
Ms. Rosa Babel Calilung TEEHANKEE  
De La Salle University, Philippines  

Institutional Support for Sustainable Livelihood Development in the Villages of the Lower Mekong Basin (LMB), Cambodia  
Mr. Seray SOK and Dr. Xiaojiang YU  
Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong  

Changing Generation Expectations and Public Policy  
Dr. Winnie Wan Ling CHU and Dr. Thomas Wai Kee YUEN  
Hong Kong Shue Yan University, Hong Kong  

Brazil's *Bolsa Familia* and the Philippines’ ‘4Ps’ Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) Programs: Considering South-South Cooperation for Social Policy Formulation and Poverty Reduction  
Ms. Airah CADIOGAN  
University of the Philippines, Philippines;  
Mr. Mark Stevenson CURRY  
De La Salle University, Philippines, and  
Mr. Rogério Gimenes GUIGLIANO  
Universidade de Brasilia, Brazil  

Poverty of Senior Citizens Who Live Alone: A Case of South Korea  
Ms. Ha Jeong CHOE and Ms. Geun Hye PARK  
Korea University, Korea  

Public Participation in the Policy Making Process: Challenges to Government Capacity in Hong Kong  
Professor Richard M. WALKER  
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong  

Deliberative Politics in China’s Local Governance: A Case Study on Public Hearings  
Dr. Ceren ERGENC  
Middle East Technical University, Turkey  

The Role of Intellectuals in Policymaking in the Post-Mao China: Case of the Labor Contract Law  
Mr. Veysel TEKDAL  
Eskisehir Osmangazi University, Turkey  

Enhancing Barangay Participation in Local Tourism in Vigan City  
Dr. Elita Bielza VALDEZ and Ms. Romelina E. RAGUNJAN  
Divine Word College of Vigan, Philippines  

Transparency and Accountability Through Participatory Audit  
Dr. Elizabeth I. VALERA  
Divine Word College of Bangued, Philippines  

Transformation of Civil Society in South Korea after Democratization: From Advocacy Groups to Policy Think Tanks  
Professor Sunhyuk KIM and Ms. Kyungmin LEE  
Korea University, Korea |
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<td>Mr. Dennis B. MALDO De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. Wai Yip HO The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Dr. Ramses AMER Stockholm University, Sweden</td>
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<td>Revisiting the Concept of Development in Asia: How Disaster Affect the Development</td>
<td>Attaining Governance through BRICS: The China-India Approach</td>
<td>The Identification of Mainland-born Hongkongese</td>
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<td>Ms. Annisa Gita SRIKANDINI Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia</td>
<td>Dr. P. Panda JAGANNATH Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India</td>
<td>Ms. Lai Pik CHAN University of Leeds, U.K.</td>
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<td>Internationalisation, Institutions and Political Consequences: A Comparative Study on Forestry in Indonesia and Textile Manufacturing in Taiwan</td>
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<td>Dr. Po Kuan WU Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research, Taiwan, and</td>
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<td>Ms. PARAMITANINGRUM Tamkang University, Taiwan</td>
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<td>18:30</td>
<td>Depart for Dinner (For Paper Presenters on Nov 30) and Hotel (For Paper Presenters on Dec 1)</td>
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<td>19:15</td>
<td>Congress Dinner (For Paper Presenters on Nov 30)</td>
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<td>Welcoming Remarks</td>
<td>Mr. Vincent PIKET Head of Office, Office of the European Union to Hong Kong and Macao</td>
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<td>Keynote Speech</td>
<td>Democracy as Participatory Governance: From Political Theory to Policy Practice</td>
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<td>Professor Frank FISCHER Professor of Politics and Global Affairs, Rutgers University, U.S.</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Panel A: Decentralization and Democracy in Asia</td>
<td>Panel B: Hong Kong between Authoritarianism and Democracy</td>
<td>Panel C: East Asian Integration and Security</td>
<td>Panel D: Politics &amp; Political Change in China</td>
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<td>09:00 - 09:30</td>
<td>Reshaping Political Development in Japan: A Case Study of Osaka Restoration Association</td>
<td>Party Unity in Hong Kong’s Legislative Council, 1998-2011</td>
<td>Regionalism as Financial Statecraft: The Pursuit of Counterweight Strategies by China and Japan</td>
<td>A Foucauldian Approach to China’s Political Power Relations: Case of the Hukou System</td>
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<td>Dr. Victor Chi Ming CHAN Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Dr. Yu WANG and Mr. Ming Gang PENG The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Dr. Injoo SOHN The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, and Dr. Saori N. KATADA University of Southern California, U.S.</td>
<td>Ms. Fenglong WANG Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong</td>
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<td>Ms. Maricel T. FERNANDEZ University of the Philippines, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. Brian C. H. FONG City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Dr. Krzysztof SLIWINSKI Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Professor Chun Hou ZHANG Yanan University, China</td>
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<td>Political Decentralization and Emerging New Local Elites in Korea and Indonesia</td>
<td>The Creation of a Patriotic Class in China’s Hong Kong: Trials, Tribulations, and Tears</td>
<td>The Impact of US-Japan Partnership in Asian Regional Security Structure</td>
<td>Conflict Resolution and Legitimacy Enhancement: Grand Mediation Mechanism in Urban China</td>
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<td>Dr. Nankyung CHOI City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Mr. Daniel GARRETT City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Mr. Danilo Lorenzo DELOS SANTOS De La Salle University, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. Jieren HU City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, and Mr. Feng GE Intermediate People’s Court of Xi’an, China</td>
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<td>Civil Service Values and the Implication for Policy Changes —Evidence from Hong Kong</td>
<td>Probing into Chinese Hegemony and the Indian Challenge in the Southeast Asian Landscape</td>
<td>Chinese Democracy: Cynical Manipulation or Genuine Alternative?</td>
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<td>Ms. Wei LI and Professor John P. BURNS The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong</td>
<td>Mr. Jose Aims R. ROCINA, Grad.Schl. University of Santo Tomas, Philippines</td>
<td>Dr. David Kurt HEROLD The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong</td>
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<td>China, ASEAN and Asian Regionalism: Does the Group of Small and Weak Nations Matter in the Region after the Asian Financial Crisis?</td>
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<td>Mr. Kalvin FUNG University of Warwick, U.K.</td>
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<td>11:00 - 12:30</td>
<td>Panel 6A: Identity and Democracy</td>
<td>Panel 6B: Political Liberalisation in</td>
<td>Panel 6C: Conflict and Dispute Resolution</td>
<td>Panel 5D: Politics &amp; Political Change in</td>
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<td>Chair: Dr. Yuk Wah CHAN</td>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>in Asia</td>
<td>China</td>
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<td>City University of Hong Kong</td>
<td>Chair: Dr. Yin Hlaing KYAW</td>
<td>Chair: Dr. Nicholas THOMAS</td>
<td>Chair: Dr. Bradley WILLIAMS</td>
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<td>Venue: Y5-205, Yellow Zone, 5/F, AC1</td>
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<td>Venue: Y5-206, Yellow Zone, 5/F, AC1</td>
<td>Venue: P4302, Purple Zone, 4/F, AC1</td>
<td>Venue: Y5-306, Yellow Zone, 5/F, AC1</td>
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<td>11:30 - 12:00</td>
<td>The Importance of Shared Identity</td>
<td>Re-thinking Myanmar’s Political</td>
<td>The Economic Dispute Resolution Mechanism</td>
<td>Snowball or Siphon Effect: Prospect of</td>
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<td>for an East Asian Community</td>
<td>Regime: Military rule in Myanmar</td>
<td>in ASEAN — A Parallel Model</td>
<td>Democratization in Greater China</td>
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<td>Mr. Michel MAY</td>
<td>and implications for current reforms</td>
<td>Ms. Yilei ZHOU</td>
<td>Mr. Francis Jun YIN</td>
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<td>Waseda University, Japan</td>
<td>Mr. Roger Lee HUANG</td>
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<td>Interrogating Taiwan’s Identity</td>
<td>Myanmar’s Transition to Democracy:</td>
<td>Harmony Sea: A Sub-national/Sub-state</td>
<td>The Politics of China’s Financial Sector</td>
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<td>Politics in Two-party Political</td>
<td>Challenges Ahead</td>
<td>Regional Forum as Alternative Approach to</td>
<td>Reform and the Relation with</td>
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<td>Struggle</td>
<td>Dr. Ramesh KUMAR</td>
<td>Attain the Vision of Harmony within</td>
<td>Democratization</td>
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<td>Dr. Yuk Wah CHAN</td>
<td>University of Delhi, India</td>
<td>Islands and Shoals Disputed by China and</td>
<td>Mr. Michiel HAASBROEK</td>
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<td>City University of Hong Kong,</td>
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<td>Trier University, Germany, and</td>
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<td>Professor Dr. Jörn-Carsten GOTTWALD</td>
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<td>Negotiating Local Identities in</td>
<td>Democratization and Diaspora</td>
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<td>Greater China: Guangdong, Hong Kong,</td>
<td>Communities: The Philippines and</td>
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<td>Macau, and Taiwan</td>
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<td>Dr. Bill CHOU</td>
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<td>12:30 - 14:00</td>
<td>Social Construction of National</td>
<td>Democracy and Regional Integration:</td>
<td>Assessing China’s Ambitions in the</td>
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<td>Reality: Taiwan and Tibet</td>
<td>ASEAN and EU in the Promotion of</td>
<td>Spratly Island Disputes in an International</td>
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<td>Ms. Diana S. KWAN</td>
<td>Democracy in Burma</td>
<td>Law Context</td>
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<td>The Chinese University of Hong Kong,</td>
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| 14:00 - 15:30 | Panel 7A: Media and Democracy in Asia  
Chair: Dr. Nankyung CHO  
City University of Hong Kong  
Venue: Y5-205, Yellow Zone, 5/F, AC1 | Panel 7B: Thai Politics in Comparative Perspective  
Chair: Dr. Federico FERRARA  
City University of Hong Kong  
Venue: P4302, Purple Zone, 4/F, AC1 | Panel 7C: Political Economy of Development in Asia  
Chair: Dr. Jewellord (Jojo) T. NEM SINGH  
University of Sheffield, and  
Dr. Toby CARROLL  
National University of Singapore  
Venue: Y5-206, Yellow Zone, 5/F, AC1 | Panel 7D: Civil Society in Asia  
Chair: Dr. Chiara FORMICHI  
City University of Hong Kong  
Venue: Y5-306, Yellow Zone, 5/F, AC1 |
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| Facebook as Change? Political Engagement in Semi-democratic Hong Kong in its Transition to Universal Suffrage  
Dr. Betty YUNG  
The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong, and  
Dr. Lisa Yuk Ming LEUNG  
Lingnan University, Hong Kong | Citizen Activism in Thailand: How and Why Political Participation Has Changed Among Different Groups of Thai Citizens, 2001-2010  
Dr. Stithorn THANANITHICHOT  
King Prajadhipok’s Institute, Thailand | Recasting the ‘Developmental State-competitiveness’ Paradox: The Case of Extractive Based Growth in Southeast Asia  
Dr. Jewellord (Jojo) T. NEM SINGH  
Mr. Yu TAO  
University of Oxford, U.K. |
| New Media, Human Rights and Democracy in Cambodia  
Dr. Judith CLARKE  
Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong | Sources of ‘Sandwich Coalitions’: Distributive Strategies and Democratic Politics in India, Thailand and Philippines  
Dr. Arun R. SWAMY  
University of Guam, U.S. | Development in the Autumn: The International Finance Corporation’s support of Financial Intermediaries in Asia  
Dr. Toby CARROLL  
National University of Singapore, Singapore | The Role of NGO as Policy Change Actor in Democratic Governance: RTI and NHRC in Bangladesh  
Mr. Nazmul ARIFEEN and  
Mr. Kazi Nur Mohammad Hossainul HAQUE  
BRAC University, Bangladesh |
| Social Media and Democratization in Southeast Asia  
Dr. Ma. Divina Gracia Z. ROLDAN  
De La Salle University, Philippines | Judicialization of politics and the Thai political crisis  
Ms. Eugenie MERIEAU  
Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, France | Pushing Back: Multilateral Norms, Development & Resource Nationalism in Mongolia  
Dr. Pascale HATCHER  
Ritsumeikan University, Japan | A Comparative Analysis of Associational Life in Asia since the Third Wave of Democracy in the Context of the Asian Economic Boom  
Mr. Alfredo S. SURETA, Jr.  
San Sebastian College, Philippines |
| Ms. Eugenie MERIEAU  
Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, France | Wreck/Conciliation: Bridging Thailand’s Divided Politics  
Professor Duncan MCCARGO  
University of Leeds, U.K. | Risk and the World Market  
Professor Paul CAMMACK  
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong | Environmental Movements and Political Change in Singapore, Vietnam, and China  
Dr. Stephan ORTMANN  
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong |
| 15:30-16:00 Break | Dr. Arun R. SWAMY  
University of Guam, U.S. | The Korean Left under the Neoliberal Campaigns (1997-2007)  
Dr. Yun Jong KIM  
University of Sheffield, U.K. | |
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<td>Panel 8A: Gender Politics&lt;br&gt;Chair: Dr. Yuk Wah CHAN&lt;br&gt;City University of Hong Kong</td>
<td><strong>Panel 8B:</strong> Change of Policy and Society in Contemporary Japan&lt;br&gt;Chair: Ms. Elim Yee Lam WONG, The Chinese University of Hong Kong</td>
<td><strong>Panel 8C:</strong> Developmental Assistance, External Influence and Trade in Asia&lt;br&gt;Chair: Professor Paul CAMMACK, City University of Hong Kong</td>
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Keynote Speech

Democracy as Participatory Governance: From Political Theory to Policy Practice
Professor Frank FISCHER
Professor of Politics and Global Affairs,
Rutgers University, U.S.

Participatory governance is a theory and practice of public engagement through deliberative processes. As response to the “democratic deficit,” it seeks to move beyond the citizen’s role as voter or watchdog to include practices of direct deliberative involvement with the pressing policy issues. It offer an approach founded on a more equal distribution of political power, a fairer distribution of resources, the decentralization of decision-making processes, the development of a wide and transparent exchange of knowledge and information, the establishment of collaborative partnerships, an emphasis on inter institutional dialogue, and greater accountability. The presentation illustrates these issues through participatory budgeting in Brazil, peoples’ planning in India, and community forestry in Nepal. While participatory governance affords significant insights into questions related to democratic theory and practices, a broader assessment of these experiences reveals mixed outcomes. The task of sorting out the elements contributing to the success and failure of such participatory projects should be a priority for both scholars of political theory and policy processes.

Panel IA: Governance

Devolution of Governance Regulation in the China: Reviving Traditional Confucian Doctrines for the Modern Era
Dr. Alex C. K. CHAN and Mr. Angus YOUNG
Hang Seng Management College, Hong Kong

In the last three decades, China has experienced unprecedented levels of economic growth. At the same time, levels of corruption and unethical business practices grew exponentially. The Chinese government has thus far taken a two handed approach, on the one hand, is to enact commercial laws to ensure businesses are regulated in accordance with international standards by transplanting laws from Europe and US, and on the other hand, promoted the notion of a harmonious society by reviving Confucian ethical ideals. This paper will be focus on the latter - this approach to regulation is de-centered, where the business community takes on a regulatory role. The justification for this is historical and cultural. However, this does not mean that the Confucian based self-regulatory framework is superior to the transplanted Western laws. The traditional Chinese approach relies on relational obligations and moral justification to moderate behaviour, whereas the modern Western mode of regulatory control is rule-centered institutionalized legal standards to compel compliance. We argue this the former is better suited for China because the Confucian self-regulatory regime is expected to be culturally familiar and more acceptable to the Chinese.

Keywords: Self-Regulation; Corporate Governance; Confucian Ethics; Legal Reform
Decoding Regional Cooperation and Governance in Central China:
A Case Study in the Chang-Zhu-Tan City Cluster
Ms. Lizhu DAI
Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong

Today, city-regions have become the basic unit in international and regional competition in the era of globalization. Territory and politics are being rescaled within nations from national to regional and metropolitan levels. At the local and regional levels, this urban restructuring and “state rescaling” has been captured as a shift from government to governance, the latter term embodying a variety of actors operating beyond the regulatory framework of traditional state institutional forms. Along with this urban restructuring into regions, acute problems emerged, such as increasing subsidies and giveaways to investors, inefficient duplication, the oversupply of infrastructure, facilities and services, and the excessive use of scarce public resources regardless of environmental and social concerns. Regional cooperation is urgently needed and has therefore emerged as one of regional governance initiatives for local states to steer.

In China, regional cooperation is a new phenomenon and it has currently received more and more attention and recognition by government and scholars. The focus of this study is the Chang-zhu-tan (CZT) city cluster in Hunan province. As a trial region to build the “two-oriented (energy-conserving and environmental-friendly oriented) society” designated by the central government, with deepening process of globalization and intensive urban competition, all cities in the CZT are increasingly recognizing that regional cooperation is essential in a fiercely competitive world economy. By examining the regional cooperation due to the governance perspective existed in the CZT in terms of its process and result, the paper aims to make a comprehensive exploration on how the power is transferred by a mechanism of regional cooperation within the past two decades. The relevant governmental agents, private sectors, academic institutions are selected for the interview to examine the various prospective of shareholders. It has been observed that through twenty years effort, the regional planning system has been formulated with the establishment of offices and institutions; basic regional infrastructure has been in construction including the electricity, transportation, communication and information; the spatial pattern of three municipals has been reorganized to facilitate the cooperation and integration of the CZT. This paper argues that with the increase of provincial government’s attention and the involvement of central government, the regional institution has evolved to be more functional through time. Although it nowadays gathers five crucial responsibilities, the lack of real authority power has set back its coordination function in different municipal and provincial governments. Other than the central government retreat its power on local development in the process of “decentralization” and marketization, it still has significant impact through regional planning and integration. Central government’s support and guidance has provided strong backbones to strengthen the willingness, incentives or commitment of the three municipalities and provincial departments. In the meantime, the growth coalition of local governments and non-state agents is rise. In the process of regional integration, local governments have increased their bargaining power to protect their own interest. However, the keen political competition among local governments and inter-ministries rivalries form the real difficulties in partnership formation. Furthermore, the participation of multiple players guarantees the justice and profession of the cooperation.

Keywords: Governance, Regional Cooperation; Central China; Chang-Zhu-Tan City Cluster
21st Century Philippine Civil-Military Relations: Why Partnership Instead of Subordination?
Professor Renato Cruz DE CASTRO
De La Salle University, Philippines

The paper examines the structure of civil-military relations in 21st century Philippine politics. It observes that contemporary Philippine civil-military relation is a partnership rather than a subordination of the military to civilian authority. This partnership is an upshot of the past Arroyo Administration’s directive to the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) to formulate a national military strategy focused on internal security and to spearhead the counter-insurgency campaign. The AFP pursued this partnership through its internal security operations and the Philippines’s bilateral relations with its only major ally—the United States. Despite its growing influence in Philippine politics, the military has restrained itself from taking over the reins of government. The restraining factors are: the AFP’s reluctance to expand its current functions, the Philippines’ vibrant civil society, and the Philippine-U.S. security. In conclusion, it notes that the Aquino Administration’s pressing political challenge is to assert civilian control over the military by changing the context of Philippine civil-military relations. This change requires the AFP—touted as Southeast Asia’s most ill-equipped armed forces—to take a back seat in the counter-insurgency campaign, and to focus on its long overdue arms modernization program.

Keywords: Philippine Civil-military Relations; Armed Forces of the Philippines; Philippine defense policy; Philippine politics; Internal Security; Territorial Defense

A Model of Corporate Cooperatives of the Coconut Industry in the Philippines
Mr. Urbano Paul C. ALLI, Jr.
Alyc Industries and Trading, Philippines

Poverty is still prevalent in the Philippines despite the increase in economic growth during the last ten years or so. Many solutions has been put forward to address social inequities but what is glaring in the Philippine economy is the economic structure that does not favor regional growth or spatial equalization. But more so, is the development of metropolitan cities such as Metro Manila, and Cebu. Rural areas where mostly resources are taken are left behind. If we look deeper, the causes of social and regional inequalities are contributed mostly by economic policies that favor big corporations.

For one, the Philippine stock exchange which is supposed to assist in spurring growth in new industries only accommodates established corporations, with blue chip status, with an annual income of more than 100 Million pesos and up.

Big corporations are highly structured organizations, and control of resources is important for them such as supply-management. They command the prices set by them mostly, and not through “free market” or unstructured forces.

This paper will propose a new way at looking how big or medium-size corporations can be able to help in assisting the closure or gap between producers and consumers, and at the same time, organize the producers with an improved effect on income distribution in the coconut industry.
Panel 1B: Political Economy Of Public Policy

“I am Over-Represented, Therefore I Get More”: Malapportionment and Federal Transfers
Dr. Mathieu TURGEON and Dr. Pedro CAVALCANTE
Universidade de Brasília, Brazil

This paper explores how malapportionment affects how central governments allocate their resources to subnational units. Specifically, we argue that over-represented subnational units receive more than their fair share in federal transfers because it is cheaper for central governments to buy legislative and electoral support from them. Using data from the Brazilian federation, we propose and evaluate a model for explaining federal transfers. The findings support the hypothesis that over-represented subnational units receive more transfers.

The Elite Foundations of Market Reforms within Socialist Countries in Transition:
A Comparative Study of Cuba and Vietnam
Mr. Anthony Lawrence A. BORJA
De La Salle University, Philippines

Alongside China, Cuba and Vietnam as survivors of the Cold War emerged into the post-Soviet Era with a myriad of economic woes that eventually served as incentives for these countries to implement economic reforms that bolstered not only their economic performance, but also the survival of their respective states. However, due to certain variations in the political structures within these surviving socialist states, the reform programs of these cases differed in consistency and its outputs differed in attributes. This is especially true for the cases of Cuba and Vietnam wherein the former, initiating market reform programs as early as 1970, experienced two policy reversals during the 80s and the 90s. The latter on the other hand, started market oriented reforms on 1981, four years before a failed reversal attempt in 1985, and five years before the culmination of early reforms into the Doi Moi economic reform. Concerning the characteristics of the economic system that came out of these cases’ respective reform programs, we could have a glimpse by looking at the differences in their policies towards the flow of foreign direct investments (FDI). Cuba, who started implementing reforms on foreign capital in 1982, created a bifurcated economy wherein foreign firms are relatively isolated from the domestic economy via strict controls on the hiring processes for Cuban workers and other control mechanisms that created an imbalance between protection and openness. On the other hand, Vietnam’s policy towards FDI, though sharing the same goal of protection was not configured to totally isolate its domestic economy from the effects of the inflow of foreign capital. Thus unlike the bifurcated economy of Cuba, Vietnam was able to strike a balance between openness and protection from foreign capital mobility.

Due to the differences in the consistency and characteristics of economic reform between these two socialist countries in transition, this paper posits the question of what accounts for the aforementioned distinctions between the market oriented reform programs of Cuba and Vietnam. Due to the fact that these reform programs were not driven by social movements but by governments within the context of economic crises that could threaten the security and legitimacy of their respective states, this paper posits that the answer lies in the structures that have determined the outcome of elite competition created by the pressures coming from economic necessities and the legacies of the popular revolutions that placed them in power. For this reason, this paper argues that the structurally defined competition
among elites, through the process of policy legitimization, have defined the consistency and characteristics of market oriented reforms within socialist countries in transition. However, it must be noted that it is not the concern of this paper to determine whether the national elites and the reform programs in Cuba and Vietnam are legitimate or not. Moreover, this paper will focus on the structures affecting elite competition at the national level without taking into account the relationship between national and local elites.

Transformation of China’s Economy and Hong Kong’s Economic Policy
Dr. Thomas Wai Kee YUEN
Hong Kong Shue Yan University, Hong Kong

In 2010, China surpassed Japan as the world's second-largest economy. Over the last three decades, the abundant, cheap labour, both skilled and unskilled, has fuelled the export-led growth of China. However, the days of cheap labour are numbered as workers want a share in the success of China’s booming economy. However, China’s economic growth is now facing a bottleneck. As a result, China’s authorities are planning to transform the economy from an export-led growth to a consumption-led growth, and from manufacturing oriented to service oriented. The transformation of China’s economy will invariably rebalance the world economy. Western economies will need to share their dominant positions in the goods, services and financial sectors with China. A more service oriented economy will establish personal relationships between people in China and the rest of the world, thus allowing the west a better understanding of China’s market and indirectly enhancing the soft power of China. The liberalization of the financial market, including the internationalization of the RMB will open up a huge pool of capital market for explorations.

Hong Kong, as the gateway to China, is expecting a shaking in its economy in the next few years. The challenge facing Hong Kong is how to cope with the changing global economic environment. Hong Kong has long established itself as a free market; its government traditionally plays a minimum role in economic activities, allowing market forces to work. Yet there is now an argument for a change in policy. It has been argued that, to capitalize on their close economic relationship with China, the government of Hong Kong should be more proactive in aligning Hong Kong’s economy with China’s transforming economy. This paper analyzes the challenges and uncertainties facing the transformation of China’s economy, and argues that Hong Kong’s small open economy should retain its traditional free market-oriented economic policy.

Mr. Robin M. U. GARCIA
De La Salle University, Philippines

What explains the neoliberal economic policy reform during the administration of Fidel V. Ramos, 1992-1998? In last three decades, neoliberal policy reform has been prominently explained using structural, institutional or interest based explanations while displacing approaches that emphasize the role of ideas and norms in shaping policy reform initiatives. This paper goes beyond interests, structures and institutions and emphasizes the causal relationship
between ideas or ideations in policy reform particularly that of ideas that were exogenous to the nation-state. This is not to say that material, institutional or structural considerations have no explanatory power and will not be considered in this paper but it is to say that despite their explanatory power, ideas have an independent and causal explanatory power that can match that of the former’s. While it deals with public policy development particularly in agenda setting, formulation and adoption, it will diverge from the most public policy literature that are afflicted with methodological nationalism through going beyond the nation state consistent with how we conceptualize political reality today. This is particularly important because the argument talks about transnational actors, state or non-state, in analyzing neoliberal ideational policy reform in the Philippines. The dependent variables are the following: economic policy towards increased neoliberalism and the ideational policy reform process. The independent variable is the neoliberal, market fundamentalist logic.

The analytic narrative of this paper is to show that the reforms during the Ramos Administration operating under a politics-as-usual macro-environment represent a clear case when ideas influence public policy particularly under two themes outlined by Goldstein and Keohane: a) when policy actors believe in the normative value they presuppose and the cause-effect relationships they reflect and b) when they get institutionalized in institutions, structures and behavior. To the extent that this is true, interest-based and structural considerations for ideational reform were also fulfilled. This was a clear case of policy norm diffusion through leaning mechanisms propounded particularly by an endogenous transnational policy actor under which ideational norm diffusion was possible.

Unlocking the Mystery of Capital: A Case on Property Rights and Capital Accumulation
Mr. Mark Anthony M. VELASCO
De La Salle University, Philippines

“Secured property rights are a key determinant to economic development” (Galiani & Schagrodsky, 2005). One way to evaluate this argument is through the case of providing the informal settlers and poor people with land titles. The study comprehensively explained how provisions of land titles (property rights) to the poor (informal settlers) affect their access to credit (capital accumulation) and living conditions. Key-informant and semi-structured interviews were utilized to answer the questions in this study and was thematically analyzed. A community of former informal settlers in Taguig City was chosen to be the respondents of the study. The study notably identified significant effects and improvements in the lives of the poor upon receiving land titles.

EU Services Trade with ASEAN: Towards Policy Coherence for Development?
Professor Alfredo C. ROBLES, Jr
De La Salle University, Philippines

In bilateral FTA negotiations with members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the EU must demonstrate that its policy on services trade is coherent with its development policy. This will be a major challenge for the EU, since its coherence review of services trade policy merely confirmed the status quo. Policy coherence may be improved by granting concessions on temporary migration of ASEAN workers to the EU and by providing Aid for Trade to ASEAN countries to increase their capacity to export services. But the EU at the WTO already refused to
grant concessions on temporary migration, and it is unlikely to be in a position to provide the right amount and type of Aid for Trade to ASEAN countries.

Keywords: EU; ASEAN; FTA; Services Trade; Policy Coherence for Development

Panel IC: Environment and Rural Policy

Comparative Studies of Urban Climate Co-benefits in Asian Cities
Dr. Tae Dong LEE and Dr. Susan VAN DE MEENE
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

This study examines the factors that explain cross-sectional variations in per capita greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in major Asian cities. Why do individuals in Bangkok, Thailand produce an average of 6.1 tons of carbon dioxide annually, but individuals in Shanghai emit 9.7 tons of CO₂? Why is there variation of CO₂ emission capita across twenty-two major Asian cities? To what extent are relevant environmental indicators associated with CO₂ emissions? To answer these questions, we begin by reviewing the climate co-benefits of existing environmental indicators (waste, green space, water, public transport and energy use) and climate change. In order to test the hypotheses, we analyze the relationship between tentative co-benefits of existing environmental indicators and CO₂ emissions per capita using regression analysis. We find that a city’s energy consumption, waste generation per capita, and GDP per capita are positively associated with CO₂ emissions per capita, while controlling for a battery of variables such as population and industrial structure. Our findings suggest that enhancing energy efficiency is an effective way to mitigate climate change while also realizing climate co-benefits.

Keywords: Climate Change Mitigation; Co-benefits; Cities; Asia; Energy Efficiency

Environmental Awareness of the Graduate Students in Region I: An Assessment
Dr. Elita Bielza VALDEZ
Divine Word College of Vigan, Philippines

This study assessed the environmental awareness of the graduate students in Region I. Descriptive method of research was employed. A locally constructed questionnaire checklist was the main tool in gathering the data. Data were gathered from the 95 graduate students of the four universities and colleges: University of Luzon, Saint Louis College, Divine Word College of Vigan and Northwestern University in Region I. Their responses were statistically treated to the use of frequency count, percentage, weighted mean, and One-way Analysis of Variance. Findings showed that the graduate students of Region 1 are very much aware of the environmental problems because of what they observe and likewise integrated in the various areas in the curriculum; cutting down of trees, deforestation and kaingin system, water contamination with bacteria caused by squatters along the river banks, and more vehicles and factories which are two major sources of air pollution in urban areas are the prime causes of environmental problems; they perceived that environmental problems very greatly effect the normal conditions of land, water, and air; they too are very much concerned to practice the strategies and preventive measures to minimize and prevent the environmental problems along land, water, and air. Insignificant difference prevailed in the perception of the respondents by institution on the
degree of seriousness on the problems encountered in the implementation of the strategies and preventive measures to minimize environmental problems are very serious with the political influence on some existing projects and programs.

*Keywords: Environmental; Awareness; Graduate Students; Assessment*

**A Closer Look at Gender Mainstreaming Policy in Philippine Climate Change Interventions**

Dr. Mary Barby P. BADAYOS-JOVER

University of the Philippines, Philippines

Global climate change has become a pressing environmental, social, political and economic problem in highly vulnerable developing countries like the Philippines. A number of socio-political institutions are thus now involved in climate change initiatives in Philippine locales. While these efforts are underway, there is also a parallel growing concern that institutional responses to climate change will reinforce gender inequalities or undermine the gains made towards gender equality. This apprehension is significant in the Philippines since it has long subscribed to gender mainstreaming as state policy and is ranked high in gender equity indices.

The study focused on analyzing the extent to which Philippine climate change institutions integrate the state policy on gender mainstreaming. Data collection made use of feminist approaches and institutional ethnography to reveal the complex ruling relations that influence practices on the ground. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with representatives from international institutions working in the Philippines, national government agencies, local government units, civil society groups and grassroots communities. Study results highlighted that gender mainstreaming has largely remained rhetoric in the face of organizational masculinism. Hence, there is minimal integration of gender concerns in Philippine institutional climate change initiatives, despite specific policy pronouncements and years of bureaucratic gender mainstreaming.

**Rural Governance in China: The Interactive Effects of Institutions and Socioeconomic Factors**

Dr. Xin Song WANG

Beijing Normal University, China

Since the 1990s, the Chinese government has arranged numerous institutions in the countryside to guarantee the quality of governance in terms of public service provision, public participation in governance, and cadre-peasant relations. Nationwide, villager committee elections have been held for over 20 years, and villager representative assemblies, village finance supervision committees, and other institutions have been installed to further enhance the accountability of villager committees. How do these institutions function to guarantee good rural governance? Given the variation of the quality of rural governance across the country, how do we explain the variation of institutional functionality in different regions? What is the role of village economic conditions in the functioning of institutions to achieve good governance? Using a nationwide survey data combined with case studies, this paper attempts to demonstrate that the quality of village institutions is a significant determinant of the quality of rural governance and, more importantly, the effectiveness of institutions depends on the interaction between the institutions and socioeconomic conditions in different villages. In rural areas with better economic conditions, democratic institutions...
work better to improve the quality of governance, whereas poor villages have seen a lower level of functionality of village institutions. The study contributes to the existing study of rural governance quality, and calls attention of policymakers to combine the provision of development projects and special funds with promotion of good institutions in rural villages.

One Village One (Superior) Product: An Alternative for Technology-based Rural Development
Professor Drs. KOMARUDIN, M.A.
Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology, Indonesia

The “One Village One Product” (OVOP) Movement was initiated in 1979 by Dr. Morihiko Hiramatsu, the Governor of Oita Prefecture, Japan. The motto is “revitalizing hometown, bringing the spirit of the country and the village into the city” and “think globally, act locally”. Its creation was based on three major themes, “local yet global”, “self-reliance and creativity”, and “human resources development”. It has led to the development and production of a large number of technology-based products, as well as local events and cultures. During the 30-year period, the OVOP has crossed many countries’ borders and spread throughout the world in almost 46 countries. The Oita Prefecture, in cooperation with Indonesia’s West Sumatera and East Java Provinces has implemented the OVOP Movement through “One Desa One Product” (ODOP) or “Back to Village” model. By comparing the implementation of OVOP Movement in some countries like Indonesia, China, Taiwan, and Japan, people engaging in the movement will further cooperate to prosper their areas as OVOP’s “big” families and contribute to developing technology-based rural industrialization in achieving sustainable development and materializing the world peace in the 21st century.

Keywords: One Village One Product, Rural-Industrialization

Panel 2A : Education Policy

Does Chinese Court Play an Influential Role in the Making of Social Policy?
Through Comparative Lens of U.S. Legal System
Mr. Shuai WEI
City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Whether the Court could play an influential role in the making of social policy is a contested issue numerous scholars attempted to offer their perspectives on. Unlike scholars who endorsed the idea to the Court’s capacity to influence social policy through its judgment, dissenting scholars carried out analysis both in doctrinal and empirical ways. This paper followed the path set by the preceding researches from dissenting scholars and carried out comparative studies in Chinese context. It examined the evolving process for the selection of the Chinese Court by NCEE migrant students in the right to education cases in China and paid special attention to the similar cases filed from 2007 to 2009 in three cities in China. Different from other Chinese scholars who only examined the uniformity between the Chinese Court and state organs, this paper concludes that the Chinese Court, as its counterpart in U.S., has a limited role to play in the making of social policy and occasionally pursue an independent course of action.

Keyword: The Court, Social Policy, NCEE Migrant Students, Right to Education
Civic Education Policy of the Hong Kong’s Special Administration Region: A Historical and Comparative Analysis with Theories of the State

Dr. Chung Fun Steven HUNG
Po Chiu Catholic Secondary School, Hong Kong

After the handing over of Hong Kong sovereignty from 1997 and under the “one country two systems” model, the Special Administrative Region’s Government initiated new policies of Civic Education and amended or ignored the old ones. However, it was not until May 2011 that the complete new policy paper was introduced for consultation and then it was passed and issued as National Education in April 2012.

The historical factors of Hong Kong were special, in that Hong Kong had become the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China following the British colonial governance. The spirit of the policy that rule should be extended stably and peacefully. This article analyzes the civic education policy of Hong Kong in the transfer of power after the handing over in the following 15 years. This policy analysis describes the preparations for our future citizens and masters. Theories of citizenship education are adopted for this analysis. Moreover, theories of the state are also applied for more in depth understanding. These concepts are helpful to operationalize the contents of the study. It was a historical and comparative method to help to understand and explain the Civic Education policy of the HKSAR's governance.

The introduction of the school civic education in Hong Kong was done in the last years of British rule and the limited democratization of the political system in the decolonizing process. In the plan of this confined political empowerment for future citizens, Hong Kong actually was not provided with sufficient human rights and political education. The second guideline of the Civic Education for schools was issued at the last moment close to the days of the transfer of sovereignty. It was expected that Hong Kong educationalists could follow the decolonized strategy after the handover.

The Guideline on Civic Education was actually quite comprehensive and reasonable.

After the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, the education sector might still focus on implementing the establishment of policy on civic education. However, educational interventions produced the effect which was the pressure from our political leaders. Gradually, the request for additional elements of national education and moral education were introduced into students’ curriculum, which varied from the original set of civic education programs.

With the greater increase in our political issues, in particular the legislation on national security events caused a large-scale supportive and opposition movement. It inspired the great scale of public opposition to the national security legislation, and thus the challenge to national sovereignty by the public action. The HKSAR's political leaders increased the demands on national education. The problem was the initiation and excitation of greater contradictions rather than reconciliation with the own identity of the Hong Kong people.

With the resignation of Tung Chee-hwa and the re-appointment of Donald Tsang’s governance, the patriotism of them seemed quite different. Tsang represented the transition to the head of the SAR by the senior officials of British Hong Kong. He lacked an obvious show of patriotism. The national leaders gave pressure or even showed the public that it was necessary to enhance the national education of the young people of Hong Kong. The relevant departments implementing the relevant policies appeared to be very confined. Even in the scope of the revised policy on civic education, it was only in a limited area to implement the universal national education in Hong Kong. The contents were also remarkable.
It was not until the last moment that Tsang increased the intensity of implementing civic education policies. These were done by strengthening national education activities and proposing a new document on national education policy. The education working unit inside the Education Bureau changed the title from the Moral and Civic Education Unit to the Moral and National Education Unit in December 2010. The traditional civic education was struck out for no reason. With this limited time for Donald Tsang, it was difficult to implement the “right” national education. It caused more opposition noise in the transition to the coming Chief Executive to deal with this relevant controversial event. Basically, we can see the policies are anticipatory and responsive. The historical context of Hong Kong helped to make the correspondence with how the government expected to mold our future citizens in order to facilitate and implement their administration and governance.

The Comparance of Taiwan’s New Immigrant Children’s Academic Achievement by Interval Fuzzy Number

Mr. Wen Tsung LAI; Professor Fwu Yuan WENG, and Mr. Tsung Kuo Tien LIU
National Chi Nan University, Taiwan

Introduction: According the 2011 Taiwanese Government Statistics, the lower secondary school enrollment number of the new-immigrant-children is about 200,000. As known, most of the new immigrants are from the southeast Asian countries, such as Vietnam, China, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and Cambodia. In order to satisfy the increasing needs and demands on education of the children of new immigrant (CNI, henceforth), Taiwanese government not only develops, but also puts the after-school learning assistance policy into practice from 2006. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to explore the academic achievement of the CNI after the implementation of the after-school learning assistance policy (AsLA policy, henceforce). Purposes: Firstly, to compare the academic achievement of the CNI by countries. Secondly, to compare the academic performance among the CNI, the children from high-risk family (CHRF, henceforce) and the children of general families. Samples: The 2,452 samples, selected from two junior high schools located in central Taiwan, include 157 CNI, 522 CHRF. Methods: The main method used in this study is interval fuzzy number (IFN, henceforce) in order to compare the academic achievement of the children after the implementation of the AsLA policy from different type of families. The comparison will be made by the following procedure. Step 1, to take the scores of the two examinations of the first semester in 2011 and converter the scores into T scores. Step 2, to converter the interval fuzzy scores into the value of the defuzzification. Step 3, to test nonparametric analysis by the value of defuzzification. Results: to reach the two purposes of this study. We can find the effectiveness of academic performance from three group’s children of new immigrants, high-risk, general family. Therefore, the results provide one of the ways to review the new immigrant’s education policy of after-school learning assistance in Taiwan.

Keywords: New-immigrant-children; Academic Achievement; Education Policy; Interval Fuzzy Number; Nonparametric Statistics
Panel 2B: Social Protection I

The Challenge of Global Economic Crisis and the Response by Reinventing Local Government:  
A Case Study of the New Taipei City Government
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National Taipei University, Taiwan

From 2008 to 2009, the impact of global economic crisis has led to a structural change in the industry of the New Taipei City. The rapid flow of capital and labor has triggered factory closures, unpaid leave and other events in the labor market. The employment environment has suffered a serious impact. How to create more employment opportunities, enhance the rate of employment of workers, strengthen professional skills and protect labor rights and interests has become the primary task of New Taipei City Government in the promotion of labor policy. Through literature analysis, participation observation method and other methods, this study, from the labor policy perspective, was to explore how New Taipei City Government define the problem, and plan, implement and assesses the policy; and to analyze in accordance with the Policy Process framework of C.O. Jones: perception/definition, aggregation, formulation, implementation, and evaluation.  
This study found: New Taipei City Government, through the continuous expansion of employment service stations, provides excellent and perfect services, establishes the New Taipei City employment security network, sets up the New Taipei City Vocational Training Center and implements “Industry-Training Cooperation Training Course” to enhance the service efficiency and quality of New Taipei City Government and increase their competitiveness.  
The conclusions of this study are: New Taipei City is a major industrial and commercial city in Taiwan with the greatest labor force in Taiwan and a population far larger than the total population of Taipei City and Taoyuan County. In response to the global economic crisis, its labor policies must be strengthened to build New Taipei City into the most competitive city.  
Keywords: Global Economic Crisis; New Taipei City; Reinventing Local Government; Labor Policy.

Changes of Delivery and Fund of Personal Social Services: Comparison of Hong Kong and Shenzhen  
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This paper will compare the personal social services in Hong Kong, and one city in mainland China- Shenzhen, focusing on the delivery and financing issue. The paper will first discuss the personal social services delivery and financing pattern in the two cities. A comparison of the similarity and difference in the two cities will be presented in discussion and conclusion. It comes to the suggestions and implications in the final part.  
Both in Hong Kong and in Shenzhen, the role of social services provider changed. It is the trend that the non-government organizations taking over the main responsibility for providing social services to public. In the current stage, there are 171 NGOs providing social services in Hong Kong, which has four times than in Shenzhen (43). It is similar of social services model in the two cities that the government promotes the social services by finance support, while the NGOs provide services. The relationship of NGO and the government is “partnership” and “collaboration” respectively. But it’s difficult for the Shenzhen government to hand over the total responsibility to the
NGOs and build the “collaboration” with NGOs. It seems the government imposes more rigid input control, thus, NGOs in Shenzhen do not have the same autonomy as those in Hong Kong. It can be more understanding after retrieving the history. In Hong Kong is the private sector initially promoted the personal social services and NGOs developed maturely in long history. The government gradually provided more support to the NGOs and they built up partnership relationship. While in Shenzhen, it’s obvious that the government was always the main pusher for the personal social services. And now due to the initial stage of social work services, the government needs to put more supervision on it. While, from Hong Kong experience, it can be deduced that the Shenzhen government will lease more responsibility from the personal social services and give more autonomy to the NGOs.

In Hong Kong, social workers mainly go to the primary setting to provide services, which provide more autonomy and chances to serve needy people. However, in Shenzhen, the social workers need to go to the third employment workforce to provide services. The social workers face three levels of management-government, NGO, and employer. There is mismatch between the social work profession and employer’s expectation, which brings social workers low identity and low satisfaction. Together with low salary, social work turnover rate is increasing. It becomes a big challenge for most NGOs in Shenzhen now.

Changes to state financing NGO somehow reflected economic and social development. As for financing, from the comparison chart, it can be found that the financing sources for personal social services are multiple, while in Shenzhen, it too relies on the government fund. Due to lack of social work experiences, Shenzhen government put much funding for buying supervisors from Hong Kong. Facing the competition and anxiety, NGOs in Hong Kong and Shenzhen both actively seek other financing alternatives. But obviously, it’s too limited for Shenzhen NGOs.

Equality, Efficiency and Effectiveness:

An Evaluation Study of the Urban Minimum Livelihood Guarantee Scheme in China

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Poverty alleviation has long been on the political agenda of Chinese government. The late 1990s saw the initiation and expansion of urban Minimum Livelihood Guarantee (MLG) scheme, which is a national scheme providing cash transfers to all registered urban households with incomes below the poverty line. This article aims to evaluate the urban MLG scheme, which is serving as the principal anti-poverty policy measure in urban China.

First and foremost, this study constructs a Three-Es framework, incorporating the conceptions of equity, efficiency and effectiveness, which are the most essential factors in any performance evaluation in public sectors. Guided by the three-Es framework and criterion, a systematic evaluation of urban MLG’s performance is offered. Triangulation methods of qualitative and quantitative were then adopted to collect and analyze data. To be specific, in-depth interviews were carried out with 28 MLG receivers, 8 street-level bureaucrats, 5 governmental officials and 5 scholars. A large questionnaire survey with 1209 samples was conducted as well.

The criterion of equity mainly examine whether people have equitable access and opportunity for the entitlements, the outcomes of resource relocation and welfare stigma. Efficiency dimension considers how much urban MLG can satisfy recipients’ needs, their work incentives and welfare dependency. Effectiveness concerns how well this scheme is administered, with respect to process of application and approval, service delivery and dynamic management. Both qualitative and quantitative research findings show that, on the whole, MLG plays an essential role in poverty
alleviation in urban China. It is concluded with the links, trade-offs and complementarities between the three E-s. Implications for policies and practice are discussed.

The Puzzle of Persistent Non-policy: Explaining Public Pensions in Hong Kong and Singapore
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London School of Economics and Political Science, U.K.

Hong Kong and Singapore are characterised by high levels of income inequality and significant relative poverty in their elderly populations. The central pillar of old-age income security, family support through intergenerational co-residence and children’s cash transfers, is also steadily eroding due to low fertility rates and fewer available children. The pace of demographic ageing means that the scale of these challenges will only grow with time. But despite the budgetary room for expanding old-age income provision given their fiscal resources and relatively low social spending outlays, both governments have not initiated more extensive and generous public pension schemes beyond the social assistance programmes and Mandatory Provident Fund (MPF) in Hong Kong and the individual savings scheme under the Central Provident Fund (CPF) in Singapore. The central puzzle is this: Given the needs and means, why have Hong Kong and Singapore not introduced more comprehensive public pensions that are adequate for current living standards, akin to those in most other advanced economies? What are the determinants of pension policy development in these polities? As their populations age, what are the prospects for policy change?

This study proceeds in three parts. First, it reviews the international literature explaining pension policy development and reform in the advanced economies. Next the study sets out the difficulties with applying these explanations to Hong Kong and Singapore, and identifies persuasive alternative arguments developed from country cases in the region. Finally it weighs up the prospects for policy change, taking into account recent political developments.

Path-dependency theory suggests that a pension system and the rules that surround it heavily constrain the pathways for future reform. Welfare retrenchment often encounters resistance because existing benefits create political constituencies that may galvanise to oppose any threat to existing privileges. Governments are locked in to pay-as-you-go pension systems because any switch to funded pensions entails a penalty on workers who have to contribute towards current retirees and save for their own retirement at the same time. On the other hand, institutional theories focus on state capacities to implement social protection systems and the configuration of political actors and veto points in the political process. In environments where there are multiple interest groups with access to key decision-makers, reforms are more contested and radical changes less likely.

Hong Kong and Singapore pose challenges to current theoretical understanding for three main reasons. To begin with, they have very different starting points from most other advanced economies. While the earliest public pension systems in European and Anglo-Saxon societies were introduced in the late 19th century, public pensions in Singapore date back to the 1950s while the latest pension policy in Hong Kong was only introduced in 2000. These pension schemes are also less extensive and do not occupy a central position in national social policy in the way that European pensions do. Second, the usual constellation of political actors who influence the course of pension policy development in Europe such as left parties and trade unions either do not exist in Hong Kong and Singapore or take on very different forms. The norms that apply to political processes in Western democracies are also not always relevant as neither Hong Kong or Singapore fits the international mould of a full democracy. Finally, the ideas that motivate pension policy development in the two societies both within policy circles and in the wider public discourse are considerably different than in Europe. There are no firm tradition of social democracy, norms of social solidarity, or
expectations of social justice and equality. Many of the assumptions about the desirability of universal pensions as a citizenship right are simply not in circulation.

Instead research on East Asian social policy focusing on Hong Kong and Singapore in particular has identified nation-building and the need to instil social stability as the reasons behind the introduction of the CPF in Singapore and its considerable expansion following the achievement of national independence, and the earliest public assistance schemes in Hong Kong following the social unrest of the 1960s. Subsequently their paradigm of economic development required a commitment to low taxes and social spending, preventing an expansion of public pension systems. The pressures points unique to these political contexts, such as the influence of business interests in Hong Kong and a decline in the ruling party’s vote-share in Singapore, may explain developments in the last decade such as the choice of the MPF over comprehensive universal pensions, and a series of ad hoc public transfers to elderly persons in Singapore. But the political climate in both places is in flux, with some observers suggesting that the increasing influence of pro-Beijing interest groups will curb growth in Hong Kong’s social policy, while a gradual opening up of political space in Singapore has given rise to a greater diversity of voices and more intense policy debate. The continuation of these trends may lead to a convergence in the public pension prospects in Hong Kong and Singapore over time.

Making Ends Meet: Understanding the Dynamics Involving the Conditional Cash Transfer Program of the Philippines (The Case of Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program or 4Ps)
Mr. Jeorge G. ALARCON, Jr.
Waseda University, Japan

The government of the Philippines in recent years has instituted social welfare programs that supposedly provide social safety nets against the negative impacts of both the country’s internal structural weaknesses and of economic globalization. Overall poverty incidence, for instance, was supposedly on a general decline from 1991 to 2003. By 2006, however, it went up by almost 3% from the 2003 level. The Family Income Expenditure Survey that year showed 27.6 million Filipinos or 4.7 million Filipino families to be poor or those who were unable to meet their basic food and non-food requirements. Furthermore, food and fuel prices rose significantly by 2008 (from about 3% in 2007 to 9.3% that year). Among the welfare programs launched to address these concerns are the rice subsidy program, food for school program (FSP), Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps), Tulong para sa Kuryente, and Tulong para kay Lolo at Lola, to name a few.

In this paper, I will try to focus on the Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps), Philippines’ conditional cash transfer (CCT) program, looking at its features and the dynamics involving it. I will attempt to answer three basic questions. First, what and for whom is this program? I will try to look at the program’s features and components, as well as its intended beneficiaries. Second, how did this particular policy came into being? Here, I will look at two things: ideas and social coalitions. I will try to find out what are the ideas that animated the program as well as the material condition that provided the government or its proponents the political opportunity to push for it. Finally, I will try to look at the implication of the said program for the future. It will be argued that more than just an instrument of social assistance and social development, the said CCT program is also a political tool to advance certain/specific agenda and that it is a product of the country’s political culture as much as it is an indirect prescription for addressing a socio-economic problem.
Panel 2C: Social Policy

Labour Policy Change for Women during the Global Economic Crisis in Taiwan
Mr. Arthur CHANG
The Ying-Chyuan Scholarship Foundation of Public Affairs, Taiwan, and
Dr. Chiung Ling CHANG
Chinese Culture University, Taiwan

The 2008 global economic crisis unleashed unprecedented policy and political changes in Taiwan. With Taiwanese government capacity to manage its economy discredited and the pernicious effects of the lack of social protection policy, Taiwan adopted transformative policy changes. Because of Taiwanese women’s innate capacities and implementation of the government’s economic restructuring, Taiwanese women increasingly enter into traditional manufacturing to produce goods for export. Their subordination and exploitation in factories have emerged and how to solve these problems is an essential issue, especially during the global economic crisis.

With document analysis, this paper attempts to suggest that Taiwanese women workers’ subordination is difficult to improve within tightly integrated global capitalism and masculinist structure. The first section of this paper presents the background of increasing numbers of women workers on traditional manufacturing. The second section demonstrates the impacts of the economic crisis on Asian women labours. The third section argues that the development of the global capitalism accompanies by social cognition of gender are main reasons to cause women’s subordination in labour market. The fourth section discusses the new labour policy for women to improve their subordination.

The authors conclude that during the economic crisis, the crisis has made more opportunities for women labours to enhance gender equality; and with the women’s awareness to defense their interests, the new labour policy for Taiwan women is very helpful to reconstruct national economy during the global economic crisis.

Keywords: Labour Policy; Women Workers; Global Economic Crisis; Taiwan

The Correlation between Socioeconomic Factors and Suicide Mortality in Taiwan
Mr. Yi Sheng JIANG
National Chi Nan University, Taiwan, and
Dr. Ming Chang TSAI
National Chia Yi University, Taiwan

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), the global suicide rate in the last 45 years has increased by 60% worldwide; every year, almost 1 million people die from suicide, averaging one death every 40 seconds. Increasing suicide mortality has become a serious socioeconomic problem, especially in developed countries in Asia such as Japan and South Korea.

The socioeconomic development of Taiwan transformed the nation from a developing country to a developed country. For the past 20 years, economic and educational development, as well as full implementation of the National Health Insurance system, has performed well in Taiwan; at the same time, negative socioeconomic factors such as the Gini
coefficient, unemployment rate, and divorce rate continue to rise in the long term. Suicide mortality follows the same trend, leading Taiwan to be included on the WHO’s list of countries with the highest suicide rates, along with Japan and South Korea.

In his book *Suicide*, prominent sociologist Emile Durkheim found that suicide mortality in a country usually maintains the stability of the ratio, compared to the birth rate. In the past, suicide was often regarded as something caused by personal factors, but Durkheim thought that many suicides may have been caused by social confusion “anomic” or disorder “anomic”; his study concluded that social factors may influence suicidal behavior.

Suicide research focuses mostly on the personal causes of suicide, suicide prevention, and epidemiology. The methods used are always interviews with people who have attempted suicide or their friends and relatives to understand the individual causes of suicide; less used are overall social dimensions and economic phenomena to explore the phenomenon of suicide, especially socioeconomic indicators such as the Gini coefficient, unemployment rate, or divorce rate.

The government of Taiwan has been committed to improve income inequality and reduce the unemployment rate in recent years, and it seems to have had some effect. More effort is needed to continue to reduce suicide mortality.

**Deliberative Democracy Nationwide? Evaluating Deliberativeness of Healthcare Reform in China**

Dr. Alexander KOROLEV
National Research University Higher School of Economics, Russia

To date, China’s deliberative institutions have mainly been seen as small-scale mechanisms of regulating local social unrest. The innovation of this paper as compared to the previous literature is that it explores how deliberative principles in China work at the national level and in a non conflict-resolution format. The case under scrutiny is China’s new healthcare reform. Drawing on the existing empirical studies, official document analysis, and several unstructured interviews with Chinese academics, the article attempts to evaluate the extent to which deliberative democracy principles are present in the process of healthcare policy making. Our analysis suggests that public policy process in China is now more inclusive and pluralistic than it was in the past. This arguably indicates the transformation of China’s political system in a new direction.

**Community Organizing for Community Development (CO4CD) as Prevention Strategy for HIV/AIDS in the Philippines among Men Who Have Sex With Men and Transgenders (MSM/TG)**

Mr. Anastacio M. MARASIGAN, Jr.
De La Salle University, Philippines

The past two years, the Philippines HIV and AIDS infection has been increasing. From being low and slow, the country has now reached an epidemic level. As of April 2012 data from the National HIV and AIDS Registry, ten (10) persons get infected every day. The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) identified the Philippines as one of the seven countries worldwide where HIV and AIDS is experiencing rapid increase. Since 1990, the country has implemented several intervention programmes/projects such as peer education, public campaign, commodities distribution; most of which were funded by AUSAID, USAID, AmFar or the Global Fund.
Despite of these interventions, the epidemic already breached the 1% prevalence rate thus making HIV and AIDS as the next biggest incurable health threat to the community. The socio-economic and political implications to the country could be devastating. It is infecting the young and productive sectors of the society. In addition the spread of infection is happening among MSM (men who have sex with other men) and Transgenders (TG).

The paper will focus on the need for community organizing for community development (CO4CD) as one of the possible prevention programmes that could halt and reverse the spread of the infection among MSM/TG. Community organizing is not a new approach. It has been used by different sectors – fisher folks, workers and even among women. However, CO4CD is quite unique for MSM/TG are part of the invisible and highly marginalized population. Based on existing literatures there are very few MSM/TG groups working on HIV and AIDS; thus the paper will tackle the challenges and limitations of community organizing among MSM and TG. The paper will also present a framework for CO4CD for MSM/TG based on three core principles – health, human rights and sexuality and gender issues. These three core principles are critical in CO4CD of MSM in order to initiate and implement prevention programmes that are rights based, evidence-based, and gender responsive.

The Lack of Social Protection Policy and the Regulation for Global Sexual Exploitation of Women: The Case of Thailand
Mr. Arthur CHANG
The Ying-Chyuan Scholarship Foundation of Public Affairs, Taiwan

The 1997 global economic crisis unleashed unprecedented policy and political changes in Asia. With many Asian governments’ capacity to manage their economy discredited and the pernicious effects of the lack of social protection policy exposed, Asian governments adopted transformative policy changes. In Thailand, the transformation of world economic crisis has driven a development of sex tourism and international trade in sex. However, it is important to consider the right of prostitutes same as other legitimate workers in Thailand since some women make free choices to work in sex sectors under a pressure of unfavourable economic conditions. With document analysis, this paper attempts to argue that a provision of a welfare policy could protect right of sex workers from exploitation and oppression. In addition, an alternative programme for vocation can reduce women’s involvement in sex sectors. However, the root causes in Thailand make the prevention on sex trafficking become difficult to achieve, and indirectly contribute to the growing of prostitution.

The first section of the paper demonstrates economic and social backgrounds, and empirical and analytical feminism as a basis to analyse sex exploitation. The second section describes the economic and social roots of Thailand that contributed to the current situation of sex workers from exploitation and oppression. The third section indicates that the Thai government has taken measure to regulate the sex tourism accompanying health problems. However, official corruption still facilitates the worst forms of trafficking in persons and has contributed to the sex trafficking in the international realm.

Therefore, the author concludes that corruption and ineffectiveness of the authorities and police have a direct impact on the sex worker. The other factors such as the religious biases in the society, unequal protection for females in the cultural and traditional context, and the transformation of financial market also have direct and indirect impact on Thai
sex workers. Moreover, lack of international law enforcement and effective cooperation among states makes it become challengeable to address sex exploitation of women efficiently in Thailand.

Keywords: Social Protection Policy; Sexual Exploitation; Global Economic Crisis; Thailand; Transformative Policy Changes

Panel 3A: Policy Process

Causes, Responses, and Implications of Converging Policy Regimes
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National University of Singapore, Singapore

Policy regimes are often defined as embodiment of the “salient characteristics of a policy context at a given point in time”. Broadly a policy regime in a particular sector or across issue areas is identified by a common set of ideas, actors, and institutions in the larger long-standing patterns of state-society relations. Many scholars of international political economy have observed a converging pattern of policy regimes in various issue areas across the countries under the influence of globalization. Nevertheless, others have held the position that there are in fact distinct policy regimes across countries in certain issue areas, particularly welfare policies, though they condone a converging pattern in terms of trade, industrial, fiscal, monetary, and labour policies.

This paper contends that there is an increasing convergence in policy regimes across in all important issue areas, including welfare policies, across countries. However, responses to the ongoing economic turmoil across the globe, may differ across countries, particularly between the East and the West, since the former has been relatively unaffected by the current economic crisis. Nevertheless, if Asian countries continue to pursue the social policies that have caused havoc in some of the Western countries, they too may face the same political problems that some of the Western countries are facing today.

The paper explores three main social policy areas that are labour, health, and social security and attempts to answer the following: (a) Are there any distinct policy regimes in East and West that can be ascribed to their different socio-political historical paths?; (b) Is there a convergence between the two regime types or the two worlds continue on their own trajectories despite globalization? What factors can explain the convergence or distinctive nature of policy regimes in East and West?, and (c) What has been the response by Asian countries under the changing economic and demographic environment and what implications it may hold for the future?

Citizen Engagement in Public Procurement in Bangladesh: Media as a Facilitator of Exhilarating Citizen’s Engagement
Ms. Farhana RAZZAQUE
BRAC University, Bangladesh

Public Procurement is perceived as a major function of government. Of the key activities of government, public procurement is a crucial economic activity where corruption is becoming an increasing phenomenon. The procurement process of Bangladesh Government is also alleged to be affected by wide-ranging corruption, controlled and
pressurized by political parties and trade unions. Reportedly, public trust in the process is generally absent. Government of Bangladesh therefore, intended to ensure third party engagement in public procurement in order to enhance transparency, accountability and efficiency in Public Procurement process.

Pertinent literature review revealed that media is a very effective and prominent medium of presenting facts to the mass people. It brings out the real picture behind the scene. It makes people familiar, educated, aware of and raise consciousness among them regarding a particular issue. Literature review also shows that media can play a very crucial role in state functions in a country like Bangladesh where people have a little voice regarding the functioning of the state in practice. Despite the government's huge machinery (e.g. Citizen’s Charter, Right to Information Act) for dissemination of information, the gap between the government and people exists because in most of the cases people do not have ready access to information they require. In this backdrop, the present study attempts to explore whether media can play the role of catalyst between the government and the people by disseminating necessary information. This study also examines the avenues where media can exhilarate citizen’s engagement in public procurement in Bangladesh. At the same time this study shows the challenges that media faces while stimulating citizen’s engagement in public procurement.

In order to explore the facts the present study has utilized both secondary and primary sources of information to gather required data. The findings of the study show that media may play a crucial role in exhilarating citizen engagement in PP by providing them necessary procurement literature and arranging different programs where mass people can participate and raise their demands through media. It also reveals that media faces many challenges while performing its roles such as partial implementation of RTI act, little knowledge regarding Public procurement Rules and Acts. At the end this study proposes some avenues where media can work to strengthen its capacity. Finally, it argued that media can act as a good facilitator for exhilarating citizen engagement in PP if it can possible to overcome the associated challenges.

Key words: Citizen’s Engagement; Public Procurement; Role of Media

Responsibility to Protect in Southeast Asia
Ms. Maria Thaemar C. TANA
De La Salle University, Philippines

Human security represents an emerging paradigm that seeks to shift the meaning of security from its traditionally military-oriented and state-centric focus to a “people-centred” approach that comprehensively addresses both “freedom from fear” (protective human security advocated by Canada that stresses the international “responsibility to protect” [RtoP] individuals from physical threats beyond the capability of their governments) and “freedom from want” (the “soft” version of human security advocated by Japan that favours a long-term development approach to the promotion of human security). In Southeast Asia, the idea of human security found little resonance in the ways and thinking of governments. The ASEAN Way, the official regional anthem and governing principle of interstate relations of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, stresses the state as the referent of security. It underscores a consensual approach to decision-making, informal structures and processes, and the principle of non-intervention in member countries’ internal affairs. Southeast Asian states jealously guard their national sovereignty and their reluctance to accept the idea of human security rests on a suspicion that the mechanisms and institutions in promoting human security might require them to relinquish their sovereignty. This is primarily the reason why Southeast Asian
states are generally more receptive to the broader concept of human security, the “freedom from want” approach, while demonstrating resistance to the narrow concept of “freedom from fear.”

However, as Amitav Acharya points out, despite the tension between R2P and the principle of non-interference and consensus decision-making in Southeast Asia, the principle is making a normative headway. The democratic transitions in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand, as well as the increased incidences of traditional human insecurity, resulted in a change in the regional political climate that prompted states to support civil society organizations and accept more broadly the principles of human security. Likewise, there is evidence that ASEAN’s “opinion leaders” are becoming more receptive to the idea that humanitarian crises require a level of response and commitment that might necessitate overriding or rethinking established modes of diplomatic practice in Southeast Asia. A redefinition of sovereignty may be underway, and the broadening of the concept of human security must necessarily take into account crises that affect both “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want.” It is then important to examine the roles of CSOs because they address human insecurity from a multi-sectoral, comprehensive, and bottom-up approach.

This paper examines the principle of responsibility to protect and centres on the question of how and to what extent do CSOs as “norm entrepreneurs” contribute to its emergence and internalization in Southeast Asia. The paper argues that in order for RtoP to be internalized by states, it needs to be sufficiently localized – that is, it has to be made compatible with the norm of non-interference. Norm entrepreneurs have to convince governments and political leaders that RtoP is not about regime change and does not intend to displace pre-existing regional and local norms and that RtoP is much more than humanitarian intervention. RtoP has to be applied in a manner consistent with ASEAN states’ interests, preferences, and priorities. The role domestic actors, structure, and processes should not be discounted, therefore, as they would determine whether RtoP norms are fully internalized or not.

Bureaucracy and University Governance in Thailand
Dr. Kreangchai RUNGFAMAI
National Science Technology and Innovation Policy Office, Thailand

This paper is intended to examine how bureaucratic mindset embedded in public university stakeholders has an impact on university governance in Thailand. The bureaucracy is one of the key modes of university organizational culture and university stakeholders’ behaviour. The paper highlights how university stakeholders perceived the governance within the embeddedness of bureaucracy in the national and two institutional contexts. Qualitative approach is adopted, which is based on three methods of data collection: document analysis, interviews, and observations. There are 52 research participants, mainly consisting of top university leaders and academics of two prestigious universities in Thailand, and senior officials from governmental agencies and independent organizations.

Higher education in Thailand has its root and origin from the process of modernization during the King Chulalongkorn. The purpose of the establishment of the first university in 1917 was to train and produce civil servants in order to serve the establishment of modern bureaucracy in that time. One of the remaining characteristics of Thai higher education is the embeddedness of bureaucracy. The fundamental element of bureaucracy has implicitly and explicitly exerted its power over university governance, affected the way in which the governance instruments are selected, and influenced university stakeholders’ behaviour and the university as a whole i.e. incentive arrangements and university monitoring mechanisms.
**The Political Economy of Business Associations in China: The Hierarchical Variations**

Ms. Yingying JI  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

The market reform in China drives the emergence of business associations. Explaining the new trend beyond the descriptive materials has also gained momentum. Two conflicting theoretical perspectives dominate this research field: civil society perspective and the state corporatism perspective. Their central controversy lies in the autonomy of business associations and the positions of associations between the dual framework of authoritarian state and emerging society. However, the current controversy is flawed in neglecting the hierarchical structure of Chinese government and oversimplifying the effects of this specific governmental structure on associations. Based on a survey data on hejiang province and Beijing’s business associations, this paper tries to fill the empirical gap and test two hypotheses: (1) Business associations from the higher level are more active in participating politics than those from the lower level. (2) Business associations from the higher level are more likely influential in policies. This variation reveals that how existing political structure shapes the business associations, in the sense that different institutional arrangement and openness of different level of government may provide different political opportunity for business associations.

*Keywords: Civil Society; Corporatism; Business Associations; Hierarchy*

**Panel 3B : Social Protection II**

**Evidence-based Policy Making in Housing the Poor: The Case of Lupang Arenda, Rizal, Philippines**

Ms. Rosa Babel Calilung TEEHANKEE  
De La Salle University, Philippines

In the Philippines, policy decisions have often been based on values, political beliefs, opinions, and available resources. Evidence or research findings have been ignored due to the urgency in responding to social issues and concerns such as housing the poor. Resettlement areas have been established in geo-hazard zones that are prone to flooding or even landslides. While the problem of providing decent and permanent housing for the poor has been addressed, the beneficiaries are however exposed to another type of vulnerability – exposure to environmental risks. This paper will examine the consequences of ignoring evidence-based policy options in housing the poor particularly in the case of Lupang Arenda, Rizal. Sixteen years after the proclamation of Lupang Arenda as a resettlement site for poor, different sectors are still debating on how the interest and safety of the poor can be best advanced. The paper will also examine the factors that influenced the policy decisions of the different administrations since 1995. Finally, the paper will argue the importance of evidence and research in formulating policies especially in the determination of resettlement areas.
Institutional Support for Sustainable Livelihood Development in the Villages of the Lower Mekong Basin (LMB), Cambodia

Mr. Serey SOK and Dr. Xiaojiang YU
Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong

The Lower Mekong Basin (LMB) in Cambodia represents 86% of the country’s territory. It is a home of 4.3 million Cambodians making up 32.3% of its national population. This paper examines the engagement of the Commune Council (CoC), NGOs, and villagers in livelihoods development and adaptation to social, economical and environmental changes in the LMB, Cambodia. The upper, middle, and lower parts of the Mekong River are selected for a case study with a sample of 548 households. The primary data collection methods are applied including field survey and other participatory tools.

The study reveals that: (1) the CoC has played its key roles in supporting the community development since 2001. In the same time, the NGOs have largely operated as a substitute of governments in delivering direct services; (2) However, both the CoC and NGOs have little contribution in supporting the villagers to adapt social, economical, and environmental changes due to limited human and financial resources and short-term mandate; and (3) The majority of the villagers have participated in development-related activities, but mainly are engaged as observers or discussants rather than decision makers.

In future, the CoC and NGOs need closely work together in developing and implementing the Commune Investment Plan (CIP). The NGOs could help CoC to further build its capacity in providing services independently. The NGOs should gradually phase out once the CoC has appropriate financial and human resources to serve its communities. Meanwhile, the villagers should be encouraged to participate in all development-related activities, in particular, decision-making.

Changing Generation Expectations and Public Policy

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In Chinese society, the family plays a crucial role. Greater awareness about the values of the family members can help policy makers to build a harmonious society and create a pleasant life for families. Traditionally, Chinese parents will care for their children and help them to make decisions, for example considering what kind of schooling is most suitable for their children, what kind of extra-curricular activities would be best for them, and so on. Moreover, these ways of “taking care” tend to continue even after the children have passed their 18th birthday. This “taking care” attitude results in a heavy financial burden for parents. One side effect of this is that the local birth rate in Hong Kong continues to decrease, giving rise to concern about the population aging issue. But in fact, the parents and children live and are formed in different circumstances and times. Their own past experience will influence the parents in their present decision-making and, in turn, their hopes for their children. But nowadays, children are living in a changing world. It is doubtful that the experience and perceptions of the parents about what is best for their children are still appropriate for their children especially as they grow up. Young people may want to escape from such “taking care” as they become adults. One observation in Hong Kong is that there is a dramatic increase in single young people
applying for public housing. Therefore, a better understanding of the expectations of the family members is important for public policy planning.

During February and March 2011, 426 families in Hong Kong completed a survey about the expectations of parents about their children and the expectations of the children themselves. The parents were mostly aged between 40 and 64, and the children were mostly aged between 18 and 24. The questionnaire covered mainly the requirements concerning the education level, the choice of career and the expected salary, the time during which parents should spend money on their children, and attitudes to marital problems and childbearing.

Brazils Bolsa Familia and the Philippines’ ‘4Ps’ Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) Programs: Considering South-South Cooperation for Social Policy Formulation and Poverty Reduction

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Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) programs were developed in the mid- to late 1990s in Mexico and Brazil in response to the economic upheavals that affected the poor and vulnerable in Latin America following the imposition of structural adjustment policies. These social protection programs provide immediate cash disbursements under beneficiary compliance with health and education requirements, particularly for children and mothers. Since then, a “CCT wave” has taken over the Global South, aided in large part by the World Bank. CCT programs are now being implemented in almost every country in Latin America and are rapidly being introduced and expanded in Africa and Asia, including as of 2007 the Philippines. Since the mid-2000s the World Bank and other IFIs have been significantly involved in the implementation and scholarship of such programs as part of newly-instituted social protection objectives. This introduces a formidable factor of Northern management and Southern implementation. In this way, CCT projects tend to follow a formula and exhibit many similar aspects of design, objectives and evaluation measures. However, through a consideration of both similarities and differences in the cases of Brazil’s Bolsa Familia and the Philippines’4Ps, the mediation of the World Bank and other development lenders can be differently construed. The potential exists for direct South-South peer-peer correspondence of experience, cooperation and autonomous development practices within terms that Boaventura de Souza Santos describes as an “epistemology of the South”. This alternate perspective on CCT progress, and social protection policy formulation in general, has not until now been examined.

Keywords: Conditional Cash Transfer; Bolsa Familia; 4Ps; Social Policy; Poverty Reduction
Poverty of Senior Citizens Who Live Alone: A Case of South Korea

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This article seeks to investigate the impact of influence on the poverty duration among elderly people living alone. We hypothesize those senior citizens who lives alone have awkwardly situated compared to non-senior citizens who lives alone will different in terms of the duration and recurrent periods of poverty. This study expects national or social support for them. In this context, it is important to understand the institutional environment of South Korea. Therefore, we seek to examine the state of affairs of poverty for a senior citizen who lives alone and then consider the problem or environments of support for them.

Although various policy efforts have been made to reduce the elderly poverty rate, it is not well understood how the government utilize different polices to reduce poverty among elderly people. Employing the past five year data of Korean Welfare Panel data, we examine the poverty trend using various indicators such as poverty ratio and the poverty gap. We expect that the finding that has significant implications for the study of poverty policy by verifying the elements for the successful implementation.

Panel 3C: Policy Participation

Public Participation in the Policy Making Process: Challenges to Government Capacity in Hong Kong

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Hong Kong is a city in political transition, moving from a colony to a city with a more dynamic political environment and a rapid growth in civil society. These changes represent challenges for the Hong Kong government and for its processes of policy-making and the role of public participation. These challenges are compounded by a series of weaknesses that have been attributed to the Hong Kong government (Scott 2010). First, bureaucratic and political accountability is limited. Second, policy making is not appropriate because it is made without reference to the people. This leads to policies that are often inappropriate and linked to this that there has been an increasing reluctance on the behalf of government to make policy for fear of making mistakes. Lastly, there are frictions between people and government and this reduces the legitimacy of government, and leads to a series of questions about stakeholder participation. These weaknesses impact on government’s ability to tackle day-to-day policy issues as well are more pressing ‘wicked policy issues’ such as sustainable development.

Drawing upon an expert survey this study empirical examines these questions raised by Scott (2010). Policy expert for this survey were drawn from current and prior part-time members of the Central Policy Unit, together with a random sample of senior civil servants. This resulted in a sample of 189 experts, of which 61 agreed to respond to the survey (32% response rate) that was conducted in the spring of 2011. Using closed and open questions the study examined the desirability, feasibility and importance of public engagement in the policy making process in Hong Kong, the capacity of government in relation to public engagement and participation, the extent of engagement with the community, the attitudes of government to public engagement, government’s willingness to engage the public use evidence from public engagement and how public engagement in public policy could be improved.
Empirical evidence points towards a highly complex external environment in Hong Kong that makes policy making challenging. It also suggests that public engagement in the policy making process is seen to be important and desirable but not feasible. Concerns about government capacity and policy-making reflect Scott’s arguments, particular as government is better equipped and able to engage business and itself rather than users and citizens and its not willing to make policy in the public interest. These findings challenge the logic of stakeholder participation because of the ways in which particular groups are favoured, and in turn raise concerns about the government’s ability to tackle day-to-day policy issues as well as the complex policy agendas associated with topics such as sustainable development and climate change. The implications of these findings for the study of policy making in Hong Kong will be discussed in conclusion.

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Deliberative Politics in China’s Local Governance: A Case Study on Public Hearings
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The reform-era Chinese governments have achieved to maintain legitimacy in the eyes of Chinese people by providing them goods, service and welfare to some extent. Rising life standards and exposure to domestic and international discourses on citizen rights, however, require the Chinese state to strive for the legitimacy that comes from involving people in public and administrative decision-making. Today’s China does not have formal mechanisms of political representation such as elections. However, the rapid changes in the economic and social environment have produced new and mostly informal ways of political participation, such as protests, petitioning, and online public campaigns. In order to cope with the increasing demand for citizen participation, the Chinese state launched an ‘administrative democracy’ campaign which involved various mechanisms of participatory politics such as townhall meetings, local elections, deliberative polls and public hearings. This new government project mostly involves different mechanisms that enable citizens to participate in policy making. The administrative and legislative public hearings practiced in China are among the earlier examples of such institutionalized public participation.

In this paper I examine the participant selection mechanism and the deliberation process of public hearings in order to observe the changes in the attitudes of the participants as well as the perceptions of the broader public regarding state-society relations.

Opinion surveys and social media reactions suggest that public hearings do not improve the approval rate of the government. The primary impact of the public hearings is on the urban society in China. As my fieldwork in Guiyang, Wuhan and Qingdao in 2009-2010 period indicates, people who participate in public hearings both develop internal efficacy as individual citizens and also, develop social networks and acquire skills to promote organized interest representation which is otherwise limited within the current legal framework.

Participant selection mechanism of public hearings suffer from problems both intrinsic to all representation systems and problems peculiar to China. The process of participation eliminates some of these problems pertaining legitimacy and justness of public hearings. The experience in it is entirety empowers the participants as they perceive that they are able to influence the policy decisions through various formal and informal practices that take place during the
deliberation process. Armed with the knowledge that their voices are heard by the decision-makers, participants expect to change the decisions and the actions of the state representatives. Screening the process from without, the general public also develop a sense of entitlement regarding its role in political matters.

In this paper I will provide case studies in which community leaders develop strategies within the public hearing framework to constrain officials and mobilize, train and encourage those with affected interest and the broader public regarding local issues. The self-assigned community leaders, mainly lawyers and reporters, participate in public hearings to use them as a citizen strategy. They are ordinary citizens (in opposition to public intellectuals and dissidents who make bold claims about political change) who have access to means to make a chance thanks to their education, profession and socio-economic background. They feel responsible to the society since their previous experience demonstrated them that they can make a difference within the existing political system.

The case studies demonstrate that there is a two-stage empowerment process in local politics: participatory politics (which includes, elite politics of local People’s Congresses and People’s Political Consultative Conferences as well as community governance institutions such as neighborhood committees) empower the community influential and these local leaders empower the passive citizenry through social networks. Localness of the community leaders establishes a closer contact with the passive citizens that the discourse-setting national opinion leaders cannot maintain.

In this paper, I offer a qualitative analysis of interviews with participants and officials, as well as data from print and online media, opinion surveys and official documents to demonstrate the ways in which public participation and citizen strategies transform the local administrative reforms beyond their intended scope. In order to test the impact of local administrative reforms in urban China, I analyzed the public hearings in three medium-size cities from different socioeconomic development zones.

The Role of Intellectuals in Policymaking in the Post-Mao China: Case of the Labor Contract Law
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Chinese intellectuals have played an important role in shaping of the post-Mao China. They have always been benefitted by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership in formulation and development of the reform policies. The fact that there is no model to take as an example in her unique transformation process has increased intellectuals’ role as advisers in China. In addition to that, they have begun to affect the agenda setting of the CCP leadership through their effects on the Chinese public opinion which has increasingly become powerful since the 1990s. By this way, intellectuals’ role as critics has increased in the post-Mao China as well. The first section of this study discusses the evolution of relations between the Party and intellectuals during the reform era in order to identify patterns as regard to intellectuals’ role in policymaking. The second section makes an inquiry into the making of Labor Contract Law (LCL) and aims to highlight intellectuals’ role in this. It begins with an overview of the evolution of labor policy in China since 1978; then looks to the legislation of the LCL. Finally, it contains a subsection in which the role of intellectuals in the making of LCL from agenda-setting to legislation is discussed.

This inquiry into the making of Labor Contract Law supports the proposition that the public intellectual has become an important figure in China’s policy process. Public intellectuals, especially those from the ranks of New Left, could be successful in capturing the public mood and setting the manner of the debate over the economic development paradigm. They have contributed to the formation of a public discourse that is critical of some aspects of market reforms. By this
way, they could affect the agenda-setting of the CCP that has been making some social reforms towards more social protection, including new regulations on labor relations, especially since 2003. This paper, also, based on observations on Chang Kai’s performance during legislation process, tends to argue that public intellectuals can play a role of opinion leader over the policy issue on the agenda. China’s transformed public sphere which is characterized by a more diverse and daring media and a cyberspace with millions of user provides a proper context for this.

Enhancing Barangay Participation in Local Tourism in Vigan City
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This study aimed to determine the extent of barangay participation in local tourism in Vigan City and recommend measures by which to enhance local tourism. The objective of this study was to determine the extent of barangay participation in local tourism in Vigan City. The study aimed to: Characterize the socio-economic profile of the subject barangays in terms of the following: home-based industries, mode of transportation, communication facilities, organizational group, and tourism facilities; Ascertain on what is the barangay participation in local tourism in Vigan City along the following components: destination, promotion, attraction, and accommodation; and Determine the data on the difference in the level of participation of the two clustered barangays in the Vigan City. The study used the descriptive method of research. Data was gathered from the 210 respondents, and statistically treated using the frequency counts, percentages, weighted mean, and t-test of difference. Results revealed that: The barangays of Vigan City, products are mostly on delicacies, handicrafts and pottery making, using mobile phone, telephone and radio communication as communication facilities. Their local tourism were initiated by non government and government organization. They are offering tourism facilities like destination, food centers and accommodations; The barangay respondents perceived the extent of barangay participation to local tourism in Vigan City at “adequately implemented” taken as a whole in terms of the following components: destination, promotion, attraction, and accommodation; There is a significant difference in the perception of the barangay respondents of Vigan City in their participation to local tourism as to destination, promotion, and attraction components; The differences in perception as to the component on accommodation is insignificant. Some recommendations are advanced: The Office of the City Tourism of Vigan City should organize a forum on local tourism with the participation and involvement of the barangay officials, SK members, and sectoral representatives regarding the proactive development of local tourism. Among the steps that should be undertaken are: Orientation of the barangay residents regarding responsible tourism and pro – poor tourism approaches with emphasis on community participation; It is also important that reasonable shares of the revenues should be enjoyed by the community in one way or another. This may include revenue streams which go to cooperatives, joint ventures, community associations, businesses that widely employ local people or to a range of entrepreneurs starting or operating small – and – medium sized enterprises to cater for more active local tourism participation; Another important feature of barangay participation in local tourism is its respect for local culture, heritage and traditions particularly where the environment is one of the attractions. Inasmuch as local tourism development can provide and increase income for the barangays and communities, every possible effort has to be made to set standards as per norm of the department of tourism industry such as minimal entrance fee of Php 10.00-100.00 for the visiting tourists. Since one of the major tangible components in tourism is attraction, its economic importance and future prospect are worthy of careful study. The active participation the barangay folks in Vigan City
in a broad view of what tourism is exacts a price, and its development must be a part of the overall economic development and this must be done in a manner that is sustainable because the more self-sufficient the local community in serving the tourists, the larger the social impact.

Keywords: Barangay; Participation; Local Tourism; Vigan City

Transparency and Accountability Through Participatory Audit
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Divine Word College of Bangued, Philippines

The Philippines having been included as one of the most corrupt countries in the world is in constant search for ways and means to improve governance. Like other developing countries which are faced with the problems of persistent poverty and increasing inequality, the Philippines focus attention in the issue of good governance.

In the Reform Programme of the Philippine Commission on Audit (COA), the supreme audit institution of the country, partnering with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) was included as a novel strategy to strengthen public accountability. This strategy is called participatory audit which means conducting an audit with the involvement of civil society or private professional organization as members of the Audit Team lead by COA. A Memorandum of Agreement between COA and the CSO spells out the terms and conditions covering their audit activity engagement. Both agree to cooperate to the fullest extent possible in implementing the audit project, and to respect each other’s internal structure, rules, and procedures, but also ensure strict compliance with government audit standard and practices.

Value for Money (VFM) Audit is used in the participatory audit program. Under this audit approach the agency’s objectives are evaluated. It is determined how the objectives are achieved through the programs, projects and activities (PPAs). Implemented government projects are assessed based on the criteria of effectiveness, efficiency and economy. The audit process includes documentation of information and observations, and giving of recommendations that promote responsive, honest, truthful and productive project activity implementation. Relevant issues may also be included such as impact on gender development and people empowerment.

Generally, regular audits were conducted mainly to attest to the fairness of the agency’s presentation of financial statements, and to find out whether transactions and operations complied with applicable rules, regulations and guidelines. They were done without the participation of the public. Audit reports were not made available to everyone but only to client-agencies and to selected few individuals, if at all. Thus, the people were not made fully aware of what was being done in their own communities, and to get themselves involved even if they wanted to.

Participatory audit aims for transparency, accountability and people empowerment. Directly from the beneficiaries of projects implemented by the government, the results and benefits derived by them out of the public funds used for PPAs are known. Likewise recommended measures to improve the PPAs may also come from them.

The use of participatory audit in government projects increases vigilance among the people beneficiaries. In turn, prudence is also increased among government officials in the use of public resources.

The Philippine Commission on Audit in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme piloted the Participatory Audit Project with the involvement of the Concerned Citizens of Abra for Good Government (CCAGG) as its CSO-partner in the year 2000. The pilot-project lasted for two years. The project has proven that the people can
be effective partner in government activities. It was also proven that PA enhances transparency, accountability and credibility of the government audits.

The PA pilot-project was envisioned to be replicated all over the Philippines, and possibly in other countries. Aside from the CCAGG members from other civil society organizations, the National Urban Poor in Bicol and Samar, and the Social Action Center of Benguet were also involved in the conduct of participatory audit. With the change of leadership in the COA however, the use of PA in auditing government projects was discontinued.

**Transformation of Civil Society in South Korea after Democratization:**

**From Advocacy Groups to Policy Think Tanks**

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There exists a general consensus in the literature on democratic transition and consolidation that South Korean democratization in 1987 was largely a result of mass-driven, bottom-up social movement mobilization spearheaded by student groups, labor unions, and religious organizations. The mass-ascendant nature of democratization, which sets the South Korean case apart from earlier cases of elite-driven, “pacted” transition in Southern Europe and Latin America, left a lasting legacy to post-transitional politics in the country since 1987. Social movement and civic mobilization have continued to affect the politics of institutional and policy reform over the past 25 years.

In the aftermath of the democratization in 1987, South Korean civil society witnessed important changes such as the gradual marginalization of radical “people’s movement groups,” emergence of more moderate “citizens’ movement groups,” and de-corporatization of previously state-corporatist associations. Yet, all in all, what has consistently characterized South Korean civil society in the post-transitional period since 1987 is the unmistakable and durable prominence and dominance of political advocacy groups.

Political advocacy is merely one function of civil society organizations (CSOs) in democracy. The existing literature on civil society highlights numerous other roles of CSOs, such as provision of welfare goods and services, and generation and supply of alternative policy ideas and proposals. In the literature on democratization and civil society, there have been interesting debates over the past decades on the (changing and enduring) nature of civil society in both empirical and normative dimensions. Scholars have inquired: 1) whether a change in civil society configuration from one type to another has actually taken place, and if it has indeed occurred, 2) whether such transformation is desirable for the consolidation and deepening of democracy in the country concerned.

Against this backdrop, there have recently been interesting developments in South Korean civil society. A few new South Korean CSOs are focused on generating and disseminating policy ideas and proposals, thus calling themselves “think tanks.” They concentrate their activities on challenging, monitoring, evaluating, and improving public policies of the government.

In this paper, we ponder these new developments in South Korea. We analyze their causes, processes, and implications. We particularly focus on two most prominent organizations—The Hope Institute and Saesayon (Institute for a New Society). The Hope institute was created in 2006 by a number of civic activists including the current Seoul Metropolitan City mayor. It aims at identifying, collecting, and generating practical ideas that help to effect public policy changes and improvements. With a staff of 50 or so people, it is actively engaged in various activities and programs related with, for example, participatory budgeting, community building, and social enterprise and social
economy. Saesayon was also created in 2006 by a group of progressive social movement activists. Its current leader is a former economic secretary to President Roh Moo Hyun. Saesayon, pursuing the goal of a “sustainable social state,” is focused on producing and developing viable policy alternatives in economic, social, educational, and labor policy areas.

We combine multiple research methods in this paper. We will carefully analyze relevant documents published by CSOs, scholarly books and journals, journalistic reports, and government policy papers. Moreover, we will conduct in-depth interviews with the key individuals who were involved in the creation and institutionalization of the two groups and also the staff members who are in charge of the day-to-day operation of the two organizations.

The specific questions we try to answer in this paper include: 1) why South Korean civic activists decided to launch a new movement focused on policy alternatives rather than political advocacy; 2) what strategies they devised and utilized to distinguish themselves from the existing advocacy organizations and to establish a new organizational identity; 3) what programs and activities the new think tank organizations have designed and pursued; 4) what are the outcomes of those programs and activities; and 5) whether the new efforts are likely to lead to any macro-level transformation of South Korean civil society and democracy.

This paper will have a set of comparative implications for nascent democracies in other regions of the world. It will underscore the variable demands for different roles of civil society, according to differing stages of democratization in different countries. It will also shed light on the concrete indigenous social, political, and institutional contexts in which a specific type of civil society configuration emerges and evolves. Finally, it will contribute to the theoretical literature by illuminating the nexus between the mode of civil society and the quality of democracy, thus helping to prescribe a desirable constitution of civil society suitable for different stages of democratic development in different countries.

Panel 4A: Development State

The Changing Malaysian State?
Malaysian Short Term Policy Responses after the Asian Financial Crisis, 1998-2000
Mr. Dennis B. MALDO
De La Salle University, Philippines

Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia’s economies have been growing at extraordinary rates for the past several decades. As early as 1993, World Bank already considered these countries to be among Asia’s newly industrialized countries. Together with Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore, East Asia has been the region of the fastest growing and the most successful economies in the world. East Asian real GDP expanded by about 4.6 percent per year from 1960 to 1995. Malaysia’s real GNP had continuously expanded by 7.4 percent per year from 1974 to 1994. As a result, Malaysia had real per capita income of USD 3,167 in 1973; it expanded to USD 7,764 in 1996. This economic growth was coupled with apparent improvement of the quality of life of the people. Malaysians life expectancy increased from just sixty two years in 1970 to seventy two years in 1995.

Debate has been on-going as to the reason behind the economic success. The developmental state model is the most discussed among competing explanatory theories because this theory espouses different policy prescriptions from the dominant economic theories promoted by international institutions and developed countries. According to
developmental state theory, Northeast Asian governments intervened in their respective economies to create and promote industries necessary for economic development. The most successful example is Japan.

Proponents of the developmental state have described the institutional structure of the developmental state crucial for the development of the countries that adopted the model. These institutions include an autonomous bureaucracy that promotes economic growth through intervention in various industries, the creation of a lead agency that will oversee the performance of promoted industries, and, to some extent, authoritarianism, which controls labor and people’s perception of the state.

In Southeast Asia, Malaysia tried to replicate the Northeast Asian countries’ economic success. Prime Minister Mahathir’s (Prime Minister from 1981-2003) heavy industries projects and Look East Policy (LEP) were examples of organizations created to increase promoted industries. However, unlike its Northeast Asian counterparts, the Malaysian developmental state is unique because, aside from the usual institutional configuration of a developmental state, it is characterized by an economic ideology that favors ethnic Malays or the Bumiputera over other ethnic groups. Through the implementation of New Economic Policy (NEP), Malays were unequally favored in many areas like in the size of company stocks ownership, access to government projects, and in university placement slots. This economic framework has been in existence since the 1969 riots.

The developmental state in Malaysia appeared to have been successful; however, the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis (AFC) opened the developmental state, including the Malaysian developmental state to criticisms. Jave Maswood argued that the crisis was the effect of an inefficient developmental state, and the problem was not necessarily corruption. The inherent structural problem within the developmental state resulted in inefficient industries and companies completely reliant on costly government interventions.

The AFC caused East Asian countries to ask the help of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to bailout their ailing economies. Thailand, which was the first country in Asia to be severely affected by the crisis, turned to the IMF and asked for rescue package to save its ailing economy. The condition for the IMF bailout was the liberalization of the Thai economy. The Thai banking industry was also liberalized and opened for foreign ownership. This was also the case of South Korea, which was known for government intervention in many key industries. Following IMF advice, ailing companies, which were once recipients of strong government financial support, did not receive rescue support from the government. Instead, they were left to be acquired by foreign investors or to go bankrupt.

Many believed that, like other East Asian countries, Malaysia would also follow the liberalization path. On the contrary, to the surprise of many, Prime Minister Mahathir’s government faced the crisis with a different set of policies, which included imposing capital controls and the pegging of the value of its currency to US 3.80 dollars. These policies were supported by policies that allowed the government to bailout heavily indebted corporations instead of just allowing them to fail.

How can we explain theoretically the uniqueness of Malaysian case? One approach to explain the adoption of set policies in the AFC is institutionalism. An institutional explanation is the most appropriate to explain the contents of Malaysian developmental state polices since Institutionalism, particularly Historical Institutionalism, clearly explains why a particular policy remains after a particular incident opens a window of opportunity for reforms.
Revisiting the Concept of Development in Asia: How Disaster Affect the Development
Ms. Annisa Gita SRIKANDINI
Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

The basic idea of this paper relies on the fact that countries have to calculate natural disaster as a variable that might affect the development process in their country. The linkages between development and disaster had been ‘a badly neglected field’ (Collins p 28). Whereas, the aim of development lately emphasis on the acknowledgement to reduce poverty which might be threatened by the stroke of natural disaster. According to the United Nations International Strategy for the Disaster Reduction, disaster defined as a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic, or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources (IOM Community Based Disaster Risk Management). Disaster occurred when hazard has no longer adapted by vulnerable community. As an extreme event that mostly could not be predicted, many countries should be aware to manage the potential hazard in their country. In the context of Asia, natural disaster had cause serious disruption and casualties within this region. On 2004, four countries in Asia; Indonesia, Bangladesh, Srilangka and Thailand struck by major earthquake and huge tsunami wave. In Indonesia, this disaster cause over 120,600 people died another 114,900 were missing (BBC: Aceh after Tsunami), created 500,000 displaced persons (Foley p 134) and destroyed 20% of infrastructure (LSE: Between Conflict and Peace). The urgency to place the issue of natural disaster as one of the development agenda related to the three factors: (1) vulnerability can be the result of underdevelopment which creates the insufficient capacity to cope with disaster (2) disaster could slow down the development goals e.g. damaging the infrastructure, removing livelihoods and increasing health risk, and (3) disaster management could contributes to the achieving of Millennium Development Goals (Collins).

Keywords: Development; Natural Disaster; Millennium Development Goals; Regional Collaborative approach

Internationalisation, Institutions and Political Consequences: A Comparative Study on Forestry in Indonesia and Textile Manufacturing in Taiwan
Dr. Po Kuan WU
Chung-Hua Institution for Economic Research, Taiwan, and
Ms. PARAMITANINGRUM
Tamkang University, Taiwan

How do institutions change, particularly in the aftermath of economic liberalisation and natural disasters? This paper examines the functional institutional hypothesis that exogenous events may lead to a re-negotiation for new institutions through two sectors in Indonesia and Taiwan. Two leading cases, namely Indonesia’s forest management and Taiwan's towel manufacturing are studied. Methodologically, we trace the changing processes in Indonesia’s forest management after the fires in 1997-1998 and Taiwan's trade regime after its accession to the WTO in 2001. By comparing the institutional changes across time and the commonalities drawn from these two cases, the functional institution hypothesis is confirmed.
Panel 4B: International Relations

‘Going Out’ & ‘Welcoming In’: China’s Policy Towards Middle East Politics
Dr. Wai Yip HO
The Hong Kong Institute of Education, Hong Kong

This paper explores China’s policy to the Middle East. While many focus on China’s outreaching Hajj diplomacy of China Railway Construction Corporation’s engineering and construction program of the Al Mashaaer Al Muqaddassah Metro (Mecca Metro) for global Muslim pilgrims during the Hajj, this article argues China is also undergoing ‘welcoming in’ policy. It is to consider China has been deploying the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in attracting incoming Arab traders and promoting a stronger China-Arab cultural and economic tie. Externally and internally, this paper argues China’s determination in engaging the Arab world will continue in the Post-Arab Spring leadership.

Attaining Governance through BRICS: The China-India Approach
Dr. P. Panda JAGANNATH
Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India

This paper aims to scrutinize the policy approaches of China and India, Asia’s two exciting economic powers, towards the BRICS in addressing various regional vis-à-vis governance issues. In particular, it intends to explore and provide a comparative policy analysis of the Chinese and Indian dialogue on current regional vis-à-vis global governance issues and politics, thrusting on the BRICS. It would outline the scope and possible exclusivity of cooperation between BRICS and various regional vis-à-vis global institutions in addressing governance issues that affects both developing and developed world. It argues that the key to the drivers of cooperation between the BRICS and various regional vis-à-vis global institutions will rest heavily upon the motivations and foreign policy contours of both China and India. Due to China and India’s huge geographical size and due to their mammoth pace of their developmental discourse, both these Asian neighbouring countries comprise a “clash of their own” amongst a range of regional and global institutions in the governance politics. Though in many ways the two Asian countries’ approaches to various global governance issues are similar or complementary in nature, their differing foreign policy ambitions and contending regional vis-à-vis global perspectives place them apart, even within BRICS, and prompt a pessimistic scenario to the future course of both regional vis-à-vis global governance.

Panel 4C: Ethnicity and Identity

Domestic Political Change and Ethnic Minorities: A Case Study of the Ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia
Dr. Ramses AMER
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The paper analyses the impact of domestic political change on ethnic minorities through a case study of the ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia. The paper examines the major political developments and changes in Cambodia since the
1950s and their impact on the situation of the ethnic Vietnamese in the country. Anti-Vietnamese sentiments have not only been regularly displayed by the Cambodian elite but also been reflected in the policies of the Cambodian authorities. The roots of these attitudes and their effects on policies are explored in the paper. The anti-Vietnamese discourse in Cambodia shows that the Cambodia elite’s perceptions of Vietnam as a state influence their attitudes towards the ethnic Vietnamese minority and these attitudes influence the policy-making relating to the minority. Discriminatory policies implemented by the Cambodian authorities and attacks instigated by such policies led to the virtual elimination of the Vietnamese minority in the 1970s, when some 420,000 Vietnamese were either expelled or had to flee to Vietnam. In the 1980s there was a trend that ethnic Vietnamese returned to Cambodia. Politically motivated attacks on ethnic Vietnamese were carried out on a number of occasions in the 1990s and they posed a real threat to the Vietnamese community. The domestic political discourse in Cambodia has displayed anti-Vietnamese rhetoric directed not only at Vietnam but also at the ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia. This is in particular the case regarding some opposition parties. The continuity and/or change in such discourse and its implications are explored in the paper.

The Identification of Mainland-born Hongkongese
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One may expect Mainland Chinese immigrants would have become more accepted in the Hong Kong society as Hong Kong has returned to China. However, the real situation is that new immigrants are, to a large extent, still excluded in society, while the majority of Hong Kong residents, who are born and bred locally, retain their identity. It was not until the immigrants successfully “wash away” the label of being “lazy welfare dependants” and the “brainwashed Communists”, might they be qualified as “Hong Kong people”.

This paper aims to look into the identification of Mainland-born Hongkongese in relation to the discrimination and exclusion of Mainland Chinese immigrants in the Hong Kong society. It will investigate how, in colonial and post-colonial Hong Kong, Mainland Chinese immigrants are generally perceived as: (1) lazy people who are exploiting Hong Kong's resources and (2) less civilized people who have little concern for social and democratic issues (particularly in the 1980s). While the colonial government in Hong Kong constructed these stereotypes, post-colonial Hong Kong government policies and the China-Hong Kong political tension continue to reinforce them. These stereotypes lead to discrimination and exclusion of Mainland Chinese immigrants in the Hong Kong society and they are important barriers for a Mainland Chinese immigrant to overcome during her integration and identification process.

The paper will use my personal experience as a case study to illustrate how these two portrayals have impacted on my “Hong Kong” identity, in terms of how local people perceive me and how I perceive myself. Based on the above investigation, I will conclude that being seen as economically self-reliant and sensitive to the political culture in Hong Kong is important for Mainland Chinese immigrants in order to be recognized as a “Hongkongese”.