國立政治大學亞太研究英語碩士學位學程
International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies
College of Social Sciences
National Chengchi University

碩士論文
Master's Thesis

Rising Civil Society in Post-Democratization Taiwan:

A study of the Impacts of the Sunflower Movement on the

State-Society Relations in Taiwan

Student: Ya-Cih Liu

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中華民國 104 年 08 月

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Submitted to International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies

National Chengchi University

In partial fulfillment of the Requirement

For the degree of Master in China Studies

中華民國 104 年 08 月

August 2015

Abstract

This dissertation seeks to examine the state-society relations in Taiwan through analyzing the role of civil society in different stages of Taiwan's political development with a focus on the impact of the Sunflower Movement in March 2014 on Taiwan's state-society relations. The Sunflower Movement is viewed by some observers and commentators as a significant sign of a (re-)rising civil society in Taiwan since the process of democratization was completed in the 1990s. Civil society, in the explanations of modernization theory, played a crucial role in Taiwan's political transition from authoritarianism to democracy. However, civil society, as an important sphere for the contestation and formation of public consciousness, which is essential to democracy, seems to cease to play its democratic role adequately since the country had its first regime change when the major opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (the DPP) took power from the ruling Kuomintang (the KMT) in 2000. Drawing upon civil society theories in relations to the role of civil society in the democratization process and in a democratic, this study aims to pursue the question as to how exactly the Sunflower Movement impact on the state policies and democratic discourse in Taiwan.

Key words: the Sunflower Movement, civil society, democratization

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Chapter I   Introduction

1.1 Research Background and Purpose

The relationship between civil society and a democratic state is mutually interdependent. As Diamond's definition, civil society is where citizens "acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interest passion and ideas, exchange ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable." (Diamond, 1994, pp.5-7) With this concept, civil society involves a great deal of citizen participation and a broad spectrum of social movements. Civil society exists between the private and public realm and makes up the vacuum which the state fails to fulfill. It also implies that a robust civil society fosters the dissolution of authoritarianism and establishment of democracy.

By reviewing the history, we see that the civil society provides an important contribution to the democratic development in Taiwan. It serves as checks and balances on the pubic authority, promotes and defends democratic process and institutions to the society through both formal and informal channels. Citizens' political participation and social movements have proved to be a veritable instrument in promoting and strengthening democracy. The increasing presence of social movements and their advocacies also probe the trend of political development and the changing of democratic values. Thus, the development of civil society can be best understood and analyzed within a historical perspective which synthetically observes its role in the process of democratic consolidation. It is more instructive to put the discussion of civil society within a larger picture and context of the struggle for democracy and its attendant impacts. The role of civil society can be evaluated in the historical events and prevailing stride of political development.

Taiwan has successfully come through the process of democratization with the

efforts of civil society. Democratic institutional designs, such as fair elections, party politics and representative democracy have been well established. Interestingly, we can observe a new wave of state-society conflicts after democratic consolidation. On the one hand, over a decade of democratic governance, flaws of representative democracy have been explored and the state-society relationship has been altered over time. The civil society has confronted the authority in disputes over the 2007 Lesheng Sanitarium, the 2010 land expropriation of Dapu Village in Miaoli County, the 2012 Wenlin Yuan urban renewal in Shilin, and the death of army corporal Hung Chung-Chiu in 2013. The society has been outraged at the failed political arrangement, and sought for justice and righteousness. On the other hand, the external environment has increased the tension to the state-society relations as well. Under economic globalization, there is justifiable fear that the institutions of local civil societies are incapable of forming barricades to block off the threat and unjust trades.

Disputes over the signing of the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) become a good example of a tug of war between the state and society. A coalition of civil society groups, Cross-Strait Agreement Watch (CSAW), was formed in June 2010 to monitor the cross-strait agreement after the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) was signed. Under such internal and external environmental changes, the civil society has confronted the state and accumulated its strength for another rise. This was how the Sunflower Movement happened and gained public and academic attention.

The Sunflower Movement had drawn vast public attention and intensified the role of public scrutiny. Its actors protested against the CSSTA for lacking a justified political process without due parliamentary process and public consultation. The CSSTA signed in June 2013 under the ECFA between mainland China and Taiwan. Under the trend of globalization, the government in Taiwan is under a lot more

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pressure in achieving economic development. The pass of the CSSTA became the most important strategy for the ruling party to boost the economy and break its diplomatic stagnation.

However, the cross-Strait tensions and the unsolved historical sovereign disputes lead to skepticism toward the signing of the CSSTA. Civil society groups had put the cross-strait agreement under their watchful eyes. The controversy reached its climax when the chair of CSSTA Ching-chung Chang, a Kuomintang (KMT) member, asserted that the review process had exceeded the allotted time and was to be considered complete. The CSSTA would therefore be submitted to a final vote for ratification in the KMT-majority legislature. From Tuesday 18 March to Thursday 10 April 2014, hundreds of university students and social activists occupied the chamber of Legislative Yuan aligned with thousands of demonstrators outside the legislature to protest against the agreement. The pressure from the civil society had led to certain concession from the state.

Purpose of the Study

In the field of civil society study there are interstices. Seeing that civil society literature focuses on normative perspective has made a strong claim on how civil society facilitates democracy. Most existing theoretical discussions stating civil society as an important actor in democratization do not present explicit supporting examples. Some of them solely concern the civil society and its role in democracy such as mobilizing the public, propagandizing ideals, and transforming social values. But there are relatively few discussions about how civil society can effectively interact with the state and exert influence on public policy.

The purpose of this study focuses on how the civil society interacts with the state

in democratic practice and discourse. The case study of the Sunflower Movement explores how the civil society impacts the state's policies in particular and Taiwan's democratic politics in general. This highly mobilized social movement is particularly important, as social movements are one of the most vivid and active ways in representing and probing the intention of civil society. When we review the history, self-organized movements agitate the progression of democracy in Taiwan's political development. On the one hand, social movements reflect the needs of the civil society that the state fails to fulfill.

On the other hand, broad-based social mobilizations wrest control from political elites who deviate themselves from the value of democracy. (Baiocchi, Heller, & Silva, 2011, p.2) Citizens participate in the political process and formulate an active civil society to hold the state's accountability. In this respect, this study tries to examine how the civil society engages with the state in the political arena and answers what kinds of impacts social mobilizations are imposing on the political policies. The Sunflower Movement offers an interesting opportunity to untangle the state-society relations in the post democratization Taiwan.

1.2 Research Question

Moving from democratization to democratic consolidation, the practice of representative democracy and party politics has become more and more sophisticated over the past decade. However, when we observe the dynamic of civil society, it has exerted more and more significant voice to the state in demanding changes in engaging the political policies. This unveils an apparent paradox that representative democracy seems to fail to meet the expectation of the civil society in realizing the true value of democracy. As a result, the civil society exerts pressure on the state and

takes actions to hold representative officials more accountable.

The main research question of this study is how social mobilizations in civil society exert influence on the state's policies and democratic politics in Taiwan. In order to address the question, here is to use the Sunflower Movement as a case into understanding how the civil society engages with the state and affects the political process. How exactly social movements such as the Sunflower Movement impact the democratic practice in Taiwan is discussed in the following twofold perspectives. In the micro-political policy perspective, the more specific questions would be: Does the Sunflower Movement pressurize the state to change its policies or sway it from its initial policy intention? In the macro-democratic politics perspective, the more general discussion would be: What kinds of impacts does this movement have on the democratic practice and discourse in Taiwan? Do any changes occur in the party politics, civic engagement, or the democratic deepening? The above mentioned questions are the central theme of this study.

In fact, this paper does not seek to establish a set of criteria or norms in evaluating the state-society relations, but rather to look at the substantial impacts occurred by the Sunflower Movement on the political governance. Nor does this study try to set up an explicit or definite causal relation to the outcome of the Sunflower Movement. Instead, the most immediate objective of this paper is to use available evidence at hand to answer what level of changes have been imposed on state's policies and democratic discourse.

1.3 Research Method

Qualitative research method will be applied in this study since it is more effective in interpreting information about specific social contexts and political values. The

advantage of qualitative research lies in its descriptive essence which provide better interpretation of a given research issue. Moreover, qualitative methods can better identify intangible factors such as overall impacts on democratic politics. Because the research issue in this paper may not be readily apparent, taking qualitative research method enables us to understand the complexity of Taiwan's democratic development and the implication of quantitative data.

Intrinsic case study of the Sunflower Movement is undertaken. The Sunflower Movement is contextualized in the post-democratization Taiwan that reveals a specific democratic trajectory. This case study does not try to test abstract theory or develop new theoretical explanations; instead, the intention is to understand the intrinsic aspects of the role of civil society in Taiwan. In order to pursue the research interest, secondary data analysis is employed. Secondary data analysis on both qualitative and quantitative data sets is involved in interpreting the impacts of the Sunflower Movement on both the state policies and democratic politics.

1.4 Chapter Structure

This paper consists of five chapters. The first chapter begins with the introduction. It briefly introduces the research background and purpose, and then followed by research questions and research method. This part provides an overview of the method and design of this study.

The second chapter provides theoretical examination on the literature of civil society and democracy. It reviews the literature on the role of civil society in the democratic development and tries to clarify the state-society relations. Then further focus on the study of civil society and democracy in Taiwan.

In chapter three, in historical account of Taiwan's democratizing process and

democratic consolidation, we observe the role of civil society in different political environment. To begin with Taiwan's authoritarian rule and the dynamic process of social movements, which reveal varied state-civil society relations under different socio-political context. This chapter provides a clear picture on how exactly has civil society contributed to assisting in facilitating democratic development in Taiwan. Addressing the questions I have posed requires a highly contextualized understanding of the historical, political, and social knots in which the Sunflower Movement occurred. Thus, chapter four, it first introduces socio-political configuration at work and how it results in the eruption of the Sunflower Movement. The analysis of the impacts of social movements on state-society relations will focus on the observed outcomes of the Sunflower Movement.

The last chapter concludes the discussion of this paper and proposed some other ripples of social movements that might potentially inspired by the Sunflower Movement.

Chapter II   Literature Review

This part of literature will be divided into three major sections. First part of the literature review focuses on the empirical democratization studies. Regarding the process of democratization, O'Donnell and Schmitter define the term democratic transition as a process of regime change from an authoritarian type to a democratic system. The transition refers to "the dissolution of an authoritarian regime" and the introduction of "some form of democracy". (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986, p. 6) To begin with the introduction of Huntington's three waves of democratization, we can have a better interpretation of the process of democratization and the potential democratic reverse.

The second part of the review focuses on the normative discussions about civil society and democracy. It starts with the contestation between the institutional perspective and a sociological one. For institutionalism, democracy is taken as a set of representative institutions with no concern of civil society. On the contrary, the sociological perspective focuses on the normative role of civil society in democratic practice. In recognizing both the institutional grounded studies and the democratic potential of civil society, a more concrete concept of democracy is depicted.

The last part pays special attention on the democratic development in Taiwan. Drawing on the previous mentioned theoretical backgrounds, the studies of democratic development in Taiwan incorporates with many of the theoretical discussions. This section of literature review presents how the study focuses shifts with different stages of democratic development in Taiwan.

2.1 Civil Society and Democratization

2.1.1 Democratization and democratic consolidation

In Huntington's book, *The third wave: democratization in the late twentieth century,* he defines a democracy as "to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote." (Huntington, 1991, p. 7) He focuses on the empirical studies that well observe the three waves of democratization so as the democratic reverses. The first wave of democratization came during the time of 1828-1926, which was rooted in the American and French revolutions. However, because of the economic recession that erupted in the 1920, the democratic revolutions were later followed by the first reverse wave from 1922 to 42. The totalitarian dictatorships and authoritarian rose again.

After the World War II, the new states that just freed themselves from the colonial destiny intended to adapt democratic ruling systems, and started the second wave of democratization from 1943-62. The second reverse wave (1958-75) broke out in Latin America and Africa. One third of the working democracies in 1958 returned to authoritarian regimes. The third wave, from 1974 up until now, has accompanied with globalization, and the success of the democratic regimes have encouraged other countries and caused a snowball effect worldwide. As has happened in the first two waves of democratization, some of the new democracies have been reversed. Take Pakistan as an example. Its colonial history enhances the role of the military in the politics. Difficult economic circumstances accompanied with military interference in politics hamper the persistence of democracy. (Giunchi, 2011, p.1280-1281) It is defined by Diamond as "the single most serious reversal of democracy during the

third wave". (Diamond, 2000, p.92) Similarly, Algeria's economic reform combined with rapid and through democratization leads to regime collapse as well as the quick reversal of democratization. (Hinnebusch, 2006, p.388) According to the Freedom House's annual Freedom in the World survey, there are notable democratic setbacks from 2006 to 2012. The probability of a reverse wave has aroused wild academic attention. (Møller & Skaaning, 2013, pp.97-98; Cannon & Hume, 2012, p.1040)

Accordingly, democratic transition process is not necessary promise for a democratic consolidation. Institutional changes usually accompany with disturbances. If a system is not adapted efficiently to the new changes, this might lead to systematical breakdown and democratic reverse. New democracies are often disturbed by the instability intertwined with social, economic, and political changes. The newly built democratic systems turn into authoritarian regimes or dictatorships when the democracy skepticism prevails. See that the persistence of democracy does not come unconditionally with the process of democratization. In the theoretical literature, different factors are discussed as contributing to democratization and democratic consolidation in a given country.

2.1.2 Democratization theory and the role of civil Society

More recently, Grugel identifies three major schools of democratization theories- the modernization theory, historical sociology, and transition theory. (Grugel, 2002, pp.46-62) They all focus on different factors that lead the process and results of democratization. Modernization theory emphasizes the economic and societal factors. Historical sociology focuses on the structural and institutional configurations. Transition theorists favor that the conflicts between elites bring about the eventual democratization.

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Seymour Martin Lipset's (1959) empirical study focuses on how the socio-economic development further influences the level of democratic development of a given country, which is better known as "Modernization Theory". He establishes a direct link between socio-political development and democracy and emphasizes the positive correlation between the two factors. He notes that "the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy". (Lipset, 1959, p. 75) In other words, socio-economic development brought about by industrialization is a crucial intervening variable in democratic transformation. In this context, with economic development and social structural change, the role of the middle class is emphasized in the democratic transitions. The evolution of social conditions towards a modernized society and the increasing power of the middle class give impetus to democratization. The demands for democratic values and political rights from an awakening society push the authority to gradually loosen its control.

However, the modernization theory has been subjected to two major critiques. (Hinnebusch, 2006 p.375) First, it has a problem in identifying the threshold of the economic and social conditions. Second, it is hard to explain in cases such as democratic India and European fascist and communist regimes. Those counter examples have short-circuited the linear relation between socio-economic development and democratization. Potter said that "the assumption ignores various other possibilities, for example that increasing levels of socioeconomic development may have an unsettling effect on the political regime and a negative impact on democracy". (Potter, 1997, p.12)

Historical sociology is taking a structural approach in explaining the outcome of democratization. It traces back to the historical and social structures to explain the political path that the state takes. This kind of social structural perspective is concerned about the class conflicts and argues that "democracy requires a balance

between the state and independent classes". (Hinnebusch, 2006, p.378) Potter elaborates the basic premise of the structural approach to democratization as "the particular interrelationship of certain structures of power-economic, social, political – as they gradually change through history provide constraints and opportunities that drive political elites and others along a historical trajectory leading toward liberal democracy". (Potter, 1997, p.18)

Rather than emphasizing the economic or historical factors, transition theorist views "democratization as a process, led by cost-benefit calculations on the part of key actors". (Cannon & Hume, 2012, p.1041) Potter states that "certain actions, choices, and strategies of political elites are beneficial to democratic transition, others are not". (Potter, 1997, p.17) It focuses on the role of political elites rather than the people. It believes that elite bargaining is the key factor to the ultimate democracy. This theory has been criticized that it is too elitist and its empirical studies work better for southern Europe but not Africa and China. (Hinnebusch, 2006, p.387)

Grugel proposes an alternative approach to focus on the interaction between the state, civil society and global political economy. She emphasizes the structural explanation along with social subjects and international context. In this context, she views democracies as "political systems comprising institutions that translate citizens' preference into policy, have effective states that act to protect and deepen democratic rights, count on a strong participatory and critical civil society". (Grugel, 2002, p.96) Drawing from that, the institutional construction should not be the only factor for democracy. The role of civil society, citizens' perceptions, and social actors' engagements should not be neglected in the discussion of democracy.

2.2 Civil Society and Democracy

When we propose the question about what kind of role the civil society plays in democracy, we will have different answers from different scholars. The role of civil society in democratization varies if we put it into different theoretical assumptions. The democracy's literature has been divided into two main streams of arguments- an institutional perspective and a societal perspective. An institutional perspective holder focuses on the influence of democratic procedure and political arrangement. This kind of procedural approach emphasizes that democracy is best performed through delegation.

On the contrary, viewing democracy from a societal perspective will emphasize the substantive democratizing effects brought by civil society. Its lineage goes back to the classic democratic concept of Aristotle, Rousseau and Locke emphasizes the role of rightful citizens to the assumed democratic achievement. In recent years, the literature on participatory democracy has gained broadened academic attention. Participatory democracy revitalizes from the classic conceptions of Rousseau and Locke's democratic thought and the growing recognition of the deficits of representative democracy. (Baiocchi, Heller, & Silva, 2011, p.1) Building on insights from the theoretical contestation, we can have a more complete interpretation of the role of civil society in the democratic development.

To the procedural democratic theorists, democracy is a set of representative institutions that added up individuals preferences. A well-institutionalized decision making process and fair participatory mechanisms enable political decisions that conform to the intrinsic value of democracy. The procedural approach theorists draw attention to the political interaction process and the democratic institutional designs. The most notable scholars are Joseph Schumpeter and R. Dahl. Schumpeter regards democracy as an institutional decision making arrangement by political elites. He refers a democracy design as the following: "the democratic method is that

institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will." (Schumpeter, 1976, p. 250) People empower the elected elites to govern the public, and democracy implemented through elections. Fair and competitive elections provide the legitimacy for the political decisions made by only few political elites and political parties. This theoretical hypothesis derives from the economic rationalism which the voters would vote for whom they think can best present their interests; while the representatives would compete for the votes by offering select policies. (Mackie, 2004, p.11) In other words, democracy is demonstrated in an electoral process in which citizens hold their political control over the competing elites.

Robert Dahl has a competing perspective towards democracy. He believes that all members are to be entitled equally in the process of political participation. In his book *Polyarchy* 1971, he means to find out what kinds of institutional designs are favorable for associations and groups to express their collective appeals and for the opposition of the government to systematize into a political system in order to compete in free and fair elections. Democracy is strengthened with a proper design of political institutions that pursue the six goals "1) elected officials, 2) free, fair and frequent elections, 3) freedom of expression, 4) alternative sources of information, 5) associational autonomy, and 6) inclusive citizenship." (Dahl, 1998, p. 85) Dahl argues that "a key characteristic of democracy is the continuing responsiveness of the government to demands from its citizens, considered as political equal." (Dahl, 1971, p. 1) Institutional designs, such as the existence of competitive electoral systems, and citizen participations have been emphasized in the literature. A democratic country should be able to promote the expression of diverse values, pluralism, and ensure the equal participation of social groups. Powell further points out that a democratic

system features with "competitive elections in which most citizens are eligible to participate". (Powell, 1982, p. 3) Quite similarly Schattschneider, "democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organizations define the alternatives of public policy in such a way that the public can participate in the decision-making process." (Schattschneider, 1975, p. 141) Citizens and social organizations exercise their rights through elections and other avenues, such as lobbying, issue advocating, and social mobilization to influence the political process and to have democratic policy outcomes.

However, the sociological theorists criticize that this institutional approach "confused democratic rights with democratic practice". (Somers, 1993; Baiocchi, Heller, & Silva, 2011, p.23) This is because democratic institutions can be subverted by nondemocratic practice. Hence, the existing of a robust civil society acting as a countervailing power is a key factor to democracy. Deriving from that, civil society enters the mainstream of democratic development and becomes a key driving force for political reforms. As presented clearly by Grugel "democracy requires a thick civil society, able to represent the very different groups and interest in society and translate the preferences of the majority into policies and protect political, civil and social rights, as well as an effective state". (Grugel, 2002, p.96)

On the one hand, civil society ensures the authority to keep its accountability and transparency. Carl Gersham states that the role of civil society is transformed and evolved during different stages of political development. He argues that the civil society can be a democracy initiator or facilitator in the beginning stages of the autocracy downfall and a monitor after the democratic institutions are set. (Gersham, 2000) On the other hand, civil society is where citizens practice and develop their democratic spirit and values. It encourages citizens' political participation and fosters the forming of civil culture. Civil social groups encourage civic participation, provide

civic education, and promote democratic values against government power abuses. Hence, civil society is a key "to realigning state-society relations in ways that expand citizen participation, increase representation and empowerment, and reinforce state responsiveness and accountability". (Ottaway & Carothers 2000; Antlöv, Brinkerhoff, & Rapp, 2008, p.1)

2.2.1   The Definition of Civil Society

To build a conceptual frame for this paper, a few key definitions of civil society will be presented. "Civil society" is where manifold social movements, associations and civil organizations constitute themselves and enjoy relatively autonomous power to advocate values and pursue individual or collective interests. (Stepan, 1988, pp.3-4; Ngok, 2007, p.23) Among many other forms, social movements and civil social organizations are the most exhibit forms of civil society. From a dynamic perspective, civil society activities are usually described as "symbolic appeals against existing power structures and established cultural patterns" and their arena is "the public space independent of government institutions, the party system or the state structure". (Muller, 2006, p.314) This connotes the difference between the concept of the civil society and political society.

"Political society" is defined as the arena in which the political actors and the society organize themselves for legitimate right to gain control over public power and the state apparatus. (Stepan, 1988, p. 4; Linz and Stepan, 1996, p. 8) The political society and civil society are interconnected in affiliated networks but they are conceptually different in terms of power exercising. The political society tries to exercise complete control over state power, while the civil society manages to influence the state power through formal or informal political participation. (Weigle,

2000, pp. 49- 50) Thus, the civil society serves as a supplementary to political parties and increases the participation and the skills of all the various segments of society. (Diamond, 1994, p.7-10)

Academic intellectuals agree that civil society acts as an intermediary entity between the private sphere and state. (Kumar, 1993; Diamond, 1994, p.5; Alexander 2006, p.31-34) It is a network of associational lift that represents "a patterned matrix of institutional relationships among cultural, economic, social, and political practices". (Somers, 1993, p.595) Diamond makes clear arguments on how the network is formed. He stated that civil society entails citizens participating collectively in a public sphere "to express their interests, passions and ideas, exchange ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable". (Diamond, 1994, pp. 5-7) Through ways of communicative, the civil society practices democratic values over time and improves the political accountability. In a similar way, Alexander states that civil society is where "communicative institutions become free to broadcast interpretations that are not only independent of the state, but can challenge its commands". (Alexander, 2006, p.108) Gellner further plainly emphasizes the role of civil society in democracy. He describes that "the process of democratization should rather be called a process of civil society, since democracy does not have a real meaning without civil society." (Gellner, 1994, p. 184) He refers to civil society as a strong counterbalance to the state, while it does not prevent the state from dominating the rest of the society.

Anchored on that point, the composition of civil society is weaving in the political and economic context of the society and engaging with the state. Thus, Baiocchi, Helloer, and Silva call for a relational approach which "unpacks the sometimes contradictory relationships between the state and voluntary associations and the way in which these shifting relationships both reflect societal power and

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shape the functioning of the state and civil society". (Baiocchi, Heller, & Silva, 2011, p.28)

2.2.2 Basic functional dimensions of the civil society

On the basis of preceding arguments, some of the basic functional dimensions are presented in the relationship between civil society and the democratic state. Alexis de Tocqueville (1863) describes civil society as a counterbalance to the modern state, which strengthens democracy and functions as an intermediary between the individual and the state. Thus, the society can interact constructively with the state towards a better democratic development.

From the normative account, Muller argues that civil society formulates four basic functions- namely defensive, legitimizing, participative and integrative values. (Muller, 2006, pp.318-319) One the one hand, civil society is able to defend against the abuse of state power because of its independent and intermediary essence. On the other hand, the state remains solid when it enjoys the legitimacy. Thirdly, the participative function represents that civil society can facilitate citizens' political involvement and establish democratic values. Tocqueville also argues that civil society with various components fit together, such as family and the community that fosters the social norms and trust necessary for people to shape lives in the public areas. (Tocqueville, 1863, p.132) Political tolerance, respect for rights, shared values and social connections are forged during the state-society interaction. Last but not least, civil society has an integrative function. It refers to civil society as where "the relationships of affinity and loyalty are formed". (Dahrendorf 1997, p.58; Cohen 1999, p. 55; Muller, 2006, p.319) Quite similarly, Robert Putnam puts an emphasis on the dimension of civil society as social capital, which means "features of social life-

networks, norms and trust- that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives". (Putnam, 1995, pp. 664 – 665)

Multiple social organizations are vital for democracy since they work interactively and strengthen both the social and political connections. Building social capital, trust and shared values can be further transferred into the political sphere and help to hold society together, facilitating an understanding of the interconnectedness of society and interest within it. (Coleman,1988, pp.100-103 ; Uslaner, 2002, p.249; Ishiyama, 2011, p.131)

2.3 Civil Society and Democratization in Taiwan

The role of civil society in democratization and democracy has been discussed in the first two sections of the literature review. The third part of this review will be various empirical discussions regarding Taiwan's democratic development studies. Factors that triggered democratic initiation, patterns of its development, and causes of democratic consolidation, are issues that scholars tried to untangle. From 1948-1986, nearly four decades of authoritarianism regime, in which the society was under suppression, Taiwan moved from liberalization to democratization. After the lifting of martial law in 1987, the expanding political freedom accompanied with economic development nurtured a growing civil society. The political environment changed again after 2000 when the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) won the presidential election for the first time since the long dominant Kuomintang regime. The development of civil society in Taiwan is embedded in the political and economic configuration. Deriving from the first two sections, the review of Taiwan's studies will focus on the discussion of the most prominent perspectives in Taiwan's democratic development.

2.3.1 Taiwan democratization studies- the institutional perspective

From the institutional perspective, democratization and democracy were better performed by institutional arrangements such as establishment of laws, organizational reforms, and elections. This is because new rules and democratic institutions can "enhance the probability of the survival of a democracy by eliminating the residues of the authoritarian system that are incongruous to democratic governance." (Tan, Yu, & Chen, 1996, p.484) As Dickson argues that "[t]he organizational and personnel reforms were accompanied by another change that proved instrumental to the eventual

democratization of Taiwan's political system: the invigoration of the electoral system". (Dickson, 1995, p.58) Generally speaking, from 1947 to 1986, before the lifting of martial law, institutional approach focused on how the Kuomintang's institutional designs such as organizational reforms and elections led Taiwan from liberalization to democratization. Organization reforms in the central organs and local party offices created wide-ranging personnel changes and recruit better-qualified candidates into the political system.

Elections were first initiated at the local levels such as township, county, and city levels. During the 1960s to l970s, local elections gradually became "a major institution to assimilate emerging economic and social forces into the political system, and an indispensable vehicle for the political ascent of the native elite". (Chu, 2001, p.119) Since 1972, supplementary popular elections entailed additional seats for the National Assembly and Legislative Yuan. The Elections empowered civil society with increasing political power and served as an "institutionalizing exit"- the function of elections transferred from a patronage system to an institutionalized feedback mechanism on the party's performance. (Dickson, 1995, p.58) Besides, for the winning of elections, the ruling party adopted a more democratic procedural to select better-qualified party candidates. (Tien, 1992, p.50) The evolving of electoral liberalization had gradually redefined the relationship between the state and the society.

In representative politics, a healthy party system which provides opportunities for turnover of power among ruling parties is an important sign of democracy. The opposition party, the DPP, was formally established in 1987. Since then, Taiwan's democracy had marched beyond just conducting free and fair elections. Strong and institutionalized political parties had gradually taken shape over the past decade. Multiple issues concerned with party politics had been discussed such as the impacts

of the electoral systems on party politics (Göbel, 2001 pp.15-19; Chu, 2008, p. 125; Fell, 2010, p.195) and the influences of party systems on democratic consolidation.(Chow, 2002, pp.136-144)

However, this kind of institutional approach that democracy came along with establish of electoral democracy has been reexamined. The fulfillment of procedural conditions of democracy in Taiwan still has a long way to achieve a deepened democracy. Göbel identified that the electoral democracy was diminished when "the representative institutions were hijacked by vested interests groups". (Göbel, 2001 p.19) Kuo also argues that multiple actors in the political arena might cause the distortion of institutional designs[1] which have negative consequences on the democratic development of Taiwan. (Kuo, 2000, p.104)

2.3.2 Taiwan democratization studies- focusing on the societal perspective

The modernization theory emphasizes positive correlation between the socio-economic development and democracy. Between 1960 and 1980, Taiwan's export-led economic growth created conditions for social upward mobility. The middle-class intellectuals fueled the democratic movement and created liberalizing social consequences that the KMT had not fully anticipated. (Chen, 1989, pp.11-15) Industrialization and rapid economic growth leads to the change of Taiwan's social strata.

The sustained economic growth strengthened the role of civil society in

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[1] Kuo analyses the interaction among the state, the KMT, local factions and conglomerates to argue how distortions in democratic institutions have been occurred. Because of the self-maximization behaviour of these institutional actors during the uncertain transitional phrase, it dampens the democratic development in Taiwan. See Kuo, C. T. (2000). Taiwan's Distorted Democracy in Comparative Perspective. Journal of Asian and African Studies, 35(1), 85–111.

democratization in the 1980s. Hsiao states that "the KMT's democratizing stance did not happen spontaneously: it was a concession to the increasing demands from the mobilized civil society". (Hsiao, 1996, p.8) As the middle class increased over time, they demanded more rights for political engagements and support for social issues, such as environmental protection, human rights, consumer rights, and equality of women. Social movements increased and called for more autonomous power. The civil society learned how to make claims on the state and formed a participatory political culture. (Hsiao, 1990, p.178)

The process reinforces the waves of political changes and the interactive actions between the civil society and the state have changed the state-society relationships to a negotiable extent. Understanding the importance of system stability, social activists did not resort to overthrown the regime with dramatic revolution. Instead, social activists demanded for socio-political reforms and constructed social movements, such as anti-nuclear activities, environmental worker movements, farmers and fishermen's right, anti- Linyuan Petrochemical Industrial Zone in 1988 and Wild Lily Movement in 1990. (Ho, 2010, p. 9) The civil participants expect appropriate feedback mechanisms from the state rather than throw over the entire system to achieve their appeals. The role of civil society in Taiwan has evolved from a passive recipient to a more active participant.

Economic development created middle-class as well as political intellectuals. Chen argues that "this new political opposition is essentially a middle-class movement, the consequence of rapid economic development. Many of its members are social-science trained intellectuals with professional skills and legal expertise. Moreover, they are socially connected to small and medium businesses". (Chen, 1989, p.474) These new political entrepreneurs contributed to the development of democracy by "using extralegal methods in finessing the repressive legal framework,

shifting the bargaining arenas, and eventually to force the ruling elite to institute a new set of rules". (Cheng, 1989, p.474)

2.3.3 Taiwan democratization studies- structural and transition approaches

David Potter takes both structural and transition approaches to explain Taiwan's democratization. The rapid economic growth caused the changing of class structure. Middle class, business entrepreneur class, and labor class had gradually formed and become organized and mobilized. He states that "political liberalization by the KMT state in the 1980s was shaped by the need to accommodate this changing structure of class power". (Potter, 1997, p.235) One the one hand, the changing social strata had affected the state power because it somewhat "weakened the social basis of authoritarian rule".[2] On the other hand, the difficult geopolitical environment[3] contributed to the decision of KMT leaders' political reform decisions. Thus, he argues that "changing geopolitical and international process can profoundly affect domestic states and class structure in the longer term and propel them in a democratic direction".[4]

Incorporating the aforementioned different analytical perspective, the growing pressure form a changing civil society and the changing structural of geopolitical environment had led to the political decisions leading Taiwan from liberalization to democratization.

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[2] *Ibid*.,237

[3] The difficult geopolitical environment refers to the closer tie between the People's Republic of China and the collapse of authoritarian rule in Philippines. See more in Potter, D. (1977). Democratization at the same time in South Korea and Taiwan. In D. Potter, D. Goldblatt, M. Kiloh, & P. Lewis (Eds.), *Democratization* (1st ed.). USA: Blackwell. P.234-236

[4] *Ibid*.,235

Chapter III   Development of Civil Society and Democracy in Postwar Taiwan

The dynamics of civil society must be interpreted within the context of state-society relationship as it unfolds in different historical and political conditions. Political environments affect the robustness of civil society in various ways. The shifting political environment largely determines the effects of social movements. Therefore, it is essential to understand the political environment in each stage of Taiwan's democratic development. On the one hand, the civil society engages with the political society to become a composite system that shapes the results of social movements. On the other hand, social movements had a propensity to cluster in time to become protest cycles or cycles of contention. (Tarrow, 1994; Minkoff, 1997, p. 780-782) Tarrow defines it as "a phase of heightened conflict and contention across the social system, which includes … sequences of intensified interactions between challengers and authorities which can end in reform repression and sometimes revolution". (Tarrow, 1994, p. 153) In Taiwan, different stages of democratic development have distinct variables to affect social movements. Thus, this chapter will first analyze the strength of civil society under three different political development contexts.

First, the implementation of martial law represented a fully state controlled system. Taiwan's civil society possessed little autonomous power, and was under the KMT's intense surveillance. However, the state control mechanism encountered greater challenges with the rapid economic and social changes. The suppression of social activities and highly centralized means were no longer effective. The pressure from a growing society resulted in the decisions of elites' political reforms.

The second phase started with the lifting of martial law and followed by the emergence and growth of civil society. The ruling KMT gradually liberalized in order

to assuage the demands of the society. People were empowered with more autonomous power as well as political rights. In 1986, opposition to the KMT was officially formed a political party, the DPP. It aligned with social movement activists to increase their mobilization strength and built up political links. This strengthened the power of civil society and increased the political leverage for reforms. In other words, social movements became politicized and had intrinsic importance in party politics.

The third phase came along with another turning point in Taiwan's democratic development. The DPP ousted the long dominant KMT in the presidential election in 2000. This political turning point signaled changes in state-society relations. The nascent DPP incumbent channeled new political access for social activists, but also shaded the social movements in other ways. Firstly, the institutionalized social strength was weakened in effectiveness. (Ho, 2010, pp.10-16) Secondly, the unprecedented economic recession impeded the determination for social reforms, and brought the DPP to meet the interests of the business sector. (Ho, 2005a, pp.349-351) Thirdly, the weak ability to govern, which was caused by its parliamentary minority and the pro-KMT bureaucracy, aroused political instability and countermovements. (Fell, 2010, p.188-190; Ho, 2005b, pp.411-413) It also enabled the conservatives to gain.　The political instability and invalid state capability under the DPP government provided opportunities for the conservatives to resist reforms. Fourthly, winning elections became the DPP's primary concern. Consequently, the situation for social movements was not a complete blessing during this period.

Through an overview of state-society relations during different stages, this chapter provides anticipation for the future development of Taiwan's democracy. Given that the power of social movements was ineffective for nearly a decade, some political observers took the Sunflower Movement as a critical sign for the rise of the civil

society. Whether the Sunflower Movement ushered in a new phase of democratic discourse and to what degree has it impacted on the state policies are the issues for this dissertation.

3.1 Weak Civil Society and Authoritarian State before 1987

3.1.1 The implementation of martial law and a highly depressed civil society

The first era started in 1947 when the February 28 Incident[5] disclosure the absolute control of the Chinese Nationalists. (Chu & Lin, 2001, p.112-114) The state-centered ruling mode had lasted for decades until the lifting of martial law. Since the 228 Incident, the Nationalists built up an impregnable authoritarian image to seize an overall control over the society and leave the civil society with no vitality. Chiang Kai-shek lost the Chinese Civil War to Communist Party of China and retreated to Taiwan in 1949. The same year, Chen Cheng, the Governor of Taiwan Province, promulgated martial law and the entire society was under highly surveillances. Since then, Kuomintang (KMT) had begun its single ruling party model and police-state controlled regime, which means that the politics, society and economy of Taiwan were under highly surveillance.

The implementation of martial law not only successfully restrained the development of political oppositions, but also scattered the strength of civil society. The highly repressing measures forged a compliant civil society, in which people were

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[5] The 228 Incident was an important uprising which was violently suppressed by the Chinese Nationalists government. The civil society was discontent about rampant corruption, inflation, and political discrepancies after the Nationalists took over Taiwan from Japanese rule. The catalyst of the 228 event caused by a cigarette selling dispute and erupted massacre which led thousands of Taiwanese died and imprisoned. This incident is marked as one of the most important events in Taiwan. For a detailed analysis of this event, see Lai, T. Han, Myers, R. H., & Wei, W. (1991). *A tragic beginning: the Taiwan uprising of February 28, 1947*. United States: Stanford University Press.

too afraid to challenge the established order. Moreover, the mass media was another tool for the authority to penetrate its social control. The circulation of newspaper required registering with the state and the content was supervised to exclude the dissent. In this period as Rigger stated that "the overwhelming social, economic and political predominance of party-state sponsored organizations retarded the development of independent interest groups and political pluralism." (Rigger, 1999, p 74) The civil power barely existed, if there was, it was merely individual based, fragmented and weak.

3.1.2 Internal and external pressures for the state in the 1970s

In the 1970s, the authority encountered both external and internal pressure. In the international environment, Taiwan had faced a series of diplomatic setback such as losing the diplomatic ties with Canada and Japan, expelling from the United Nations, and closer ties between the U.S. and China. These diplomatic setbacks frustrated the regime's international status. In the domestic environment, the country had experienced industrialization and modernization, and the pressure for changes tensed up.

In order to cope with the intensified pressure, on the one hand, the gradually loosened state control started with land reforms and a series of economic policies. On the other hand, state performance was evaluated through local elections. A patronage political system[6] was discouraged by the electoral system and shifted towards a more responsive one. Local elections gradually served as an institutionalized feedback mechanism to provide more legitimacy. Various political

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[6] A patronage system refers to promises of political compensation in exchange for political support. A political party winning an election rewards its prominent supporters with governmental positions or other favours. Personnel arrangements were based on political affiliation or loyalty.

dissents were able to voice out during the elections as Dickson states that, "[o]pposition candidates were able to voice criticisms of the KMT during the brief election seasons that would not have been tolerated at any other time". (Dickson, 1995, p. 58) Hence, it gradually formed a relatively competitive atmosphere and provided better qualified candidates as political alternatives. The society demanded for a more responsive regime, rather than accepted the political output passively. Despite some political progress, the personnel appointments to high and mid-level officials and military forces still hold in the hand of KMT. Under the long dominant single-party ruling system, the society had craved for political freedom, and participation.

Under the martial law, the society still constrained and the existing of the unified opposition party was still prohibited. In this context, Tangwai (literally means outside the party) became a pronoun for the opposition power. The Zhongli incident[7] in 1977 was an important political protest and the first antigovernment demonstration since the February 1947. Protestors rioted against a local magistrate's election fraud in Zhongli, Taoyuan County. The incident galvanized a more unified opposition power and caused more social movements aiming for more political engagement and political freedom. This event established a new competing opposition force outside of the KMT.

Before lifting the newspaper ban in 1987, the voices of dissent could only rely on informal and obscured tactics. The opposition movement and social movement

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[7] The Zhongli Incident was a riot in the town of Zhongli in 1977 in response to the use of paper ballots in a local election, which voters believed increased the possibility that the election would be rigged. Believing there was election fraud, the protestors rioted, burning down the Zhongli police station. The KMT suppressed the revolt violently. This incident galvanized a more unified Tangwai power. See more in Weng, B. S. J. (2009). A Short History of Taiwan's Democracy Movement. In B. Bridges & L. S. Ho (Eds.), *Public Governance in Asia and the Limits of Electoral Democracy*. Edward Elgar Publishing. P.123

activists had to voice through the magazines, videotapes, and spoken words.

Therefore, magazines became the best mediator to pass out new advocacies and

recruit new members. It not only served as an instrument for propaganda, but also

enhanced the social network for the Tangwai. In a way, it enabled the public to

recognize democratic values, and meanwhile it undermined the legitimacy of the

ruling party. Magazines served as a panel for the activists to practice democratic

values, advocated human rights, redefined nationalism and, and mobilized the public.

Take the Kaohsiung incident for example. It was sponsored by Formosa Magazine.

The incident culminated the pro-democracy Tangwai movement and had been

recognized as a turning point in the process of democracy transition in Taiwan.

Although the KMT authorities tried to eliminate those discontent voices from the

society and used means, such as unjustified trials, this kind of suppressing means only

made inroad into the reputation of the ruling party.

3.1.3 The Formosa Incident of 1979 and more unified opposition power

The Kaohsiung incident also known as the Formosa Incident[8] of 1979 demonstrated

the accumulated strength of civil society. On the International Human Rights Day,

December 10th of 1979, the Formosa Magazine assembled the public and delivered

public speeches to commemorate. This gathering had been applied, but official

sanction was not been given by the authority. The government recognized it as an

illegal rally, and sent police to dismiss the crowd. The confrontation happened and

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[8] The suspension of a planned national election in late 1978 aroused wide discontent and was
considered as an intentional postponement for the political conservatives. In the autumn of 1979, the
Formosa Magazine Group and the mass rallied to demand for more political freedom. In December
1979, confrontation and violence occurred when the authority tried to crack down the gathering. The
authority jailed most of the leaders to deter further opposition movements. (Cheng, 1989, p.15)

created massive riots between two sides. The fighting broke out and staffs of Formosa Magazine, and opposition activists were arrested. They were under detention to be interrogated and treated violently to confess guilty. (Cohen, 1988, p.41) The activists were accused of the intention to overthrow the government and inciting the public rising in rebellion.

The incident caused a prevailing discontent and it was reflected on the results of elections. Because of the unjustified trials and the harsh treatment meted out to the opposition leaders, the social community had formed a widespread sympathy. Tangwai performed well in the 1980 supplementary election and the 1981 local election, and its supporters seemed to form some party identity during this period of time.(Copper, 1990, pp.6-7) It was believed that the strength gained from this incident had incubated the power for the forming of the opposition party, the Democratic Progress Party (the DPP).

In the mid-1980s, the political opposition played a crucial role in pressing the KMT state for liberalization. A mushrooming of social movements emerged after 1983and converged with the opposition movements. Thus, during this period, in Chu and Lin's words, "the social movements of the 1980s loosened the firm grip of the authoritarian state on the civil society and provided a mobilized soil in various social sectors for the political opposition to take root". (Chu & Lin, 2001, p.120)

3.1.4 The unstoppable social forces and imminent political changes

The relation of the state and the civil society had been altered and caused the authority to yearn more autonomous power to the civil society. Lu described that "the lifting of martial law and an end of party ban were regarded by informed public as imminent. In this atmosphere of high expectancy and uncertainty, Tangwai leaders were actively

engaged in the business of forming a new party." (Lu, 1991, p. 128) In July 1986, after the third plenum of the Twelfth Central Committee of the KMT, it proposed the Six Political Reforms, which included the central representative structure reform, electoral system changes, establishing National Security Law, regulations for social organizations and associations, social safety, and reform in the KMT party. On September 28, 1986, the Tangwai leaders decided to announce the founding of the "Democratic Progressive Party". The KMT denounced this illegal move but hold off a crackdown on its leaders. The authority evaluated the likelihood of social instability and riots decided not to repress. The political reforms, which were leaded by Chiang lifted bans on the forming of political parties and street protests. The forming of the opposition party could be seen as a big step toward democratization in Taiwan history.

Despite the huge success of democratization process, the KMT still monopolized the resources of the country, such as the financial resources, the police force, the military forces and many media outlets (example: Central Daily News, Broadcasting Corporation of China). Therefore, there were obstacles for the opposition to finally achieve the ideal political freedom through true and fair elections. The DPP candidates competed with the KMT candidates in a less advantage situation. The opposition party suffered from political persecution and harassment. Moreover, the abilities of social mobilizations were still in the preference of KMT, which with outspread party cadres throughout the country. Even though in the beginning stage of the democratization process there were foreseeable obstacles ahead, the civil society had successfully pressured the state to accelerate the pace of reform.

3.2 Growing Civil Society and Democratic Evolution between 1987 and 2000

3.2.1 Economic growth and a favorable environment for civil society

From 1986 to 1997, the civil society grew prosperously with the economic development. Unlike the first stage when the society was under absolute state control by highly suppressed or coercive means; the state held a more tolerant attitude towards the development of civil society. Moreover, when the populace experience local level of democratic participation, it brought "grassroots democracy to Taiwan". (Copper, 1996, p. 4) With more economic resources that came along with industrialization, the civil society became more influential when dealt with the state. The state and the society had been moving consistently in pursuing economic development, and forming a reciprocal interaction. Political and social forces converged on the same stream of economic development and a cooperated mechanism was formed under the capitalism. This new social stratum had the economic and intellectual clout to organize social movements and demand political rights.

The correlation between the economic factors and the democratic development has been discussed in chapter two. Observing the process of Taiwan's democratization, it is undeniable that the economic growth and middle class factors had noticeable effects on the emerging of the various social groups. The accumulated resources strengthened the power of civil society to negotiate with the state to release more autonomy. As Chu and Lin state that "social transformation brought about by the rapid industrialization and the accompanying demographic changes tended to enhance the mobilizing capacity of opposition candidates." (Chu &Lin, 2001, p.120) The autonomous demands and political awareness from a rising civil society had enabled Taiwan to gradually open up and accelerate the process of democratic transition. The

basic needs were advocated through different social mobilizations, such as consumers movements, environmental protests, women's movements, human rights movements, student movements, and so on.

The saturated demands from the society had pressed the authority to take a more responsive attitude to maintain the systematical balance. The power of civil society had shifted from low political demands to high political ends of transformation. Wang notes that "since 1983, the Tangwai movement, which formally became DPP in 1986, escalated its confrontation with the regime on issues of democratic reform, ethnic cleavage and Taiwan's future by organizing dissident movements and participating in local level elections." (Wang, 2012, p.163) The relations had been changed through the interaction process when political demands were made by the society. The state was pressed to take more active attitude to loosen political control and leave more autonomy for the society.

3.2.2 The lifting of martial law and democratic reforms

The political leaders were aware that the demand of reforms had become overwhelming. The state leader, Chiang Ching-kuo, made a critical decision to lift martial law. It was a milestone for democratic development in Taiwan when Chiang Ching-kuo proclaimed the lifting of martial law in 1987, which had promulgated for nearly forty years. There was confrontational force in the political arena after the opposition DPP had formed without being imposed political sanctions. This further conducted to a more genial atmosphere for social activists to raise multiple advocacies. In the late 1980s, social movements aligned with political movements to become joint forces to resist the state's restraint.

The social groups bolstered up the DPP because "they believe[d] that an

opposition party [was] needed to maintain a genuine democratic system", rather than

accredit to the DPP's ideology. (Lu, 1991, p 133) In this way, it helped reduce the cost

of mobilizations, and increased the bargaining chips. The emerging civil society

enlarged when different social groups jointly made their claims on the state. The

demands from the society created a great momentum and paved a way to more

democratic reforms.

In 1988, the ban on newspapers was lifted and more open and free information

was able to be retrieve by the public. Tien notes that "before early 1988, when law

and government policy restricted the publication of daily newspapers, political

journals- published either weekly or monthly- were the most popular format for the

opposition press." (Tien, 1991, p 46) Abolishing the ban on the newspaper, which was

a big step for the press liberalization, enabled the general public to receive

information with multiple perspectives. With the flourish of evidence, the society was

empowered with more autonomy and accelerated the democratic development.

A series of reform coincided with what Dahl argued to be democracy as citizens

were able to "formulate their preferences, signify their preferences to their fellow

citizens and the government by individual and collective action, and have their

preferences weighed equally in the conduct of government." (Dahl, 1971, p.2) In 1990,

the Wild Lily student movement, a large scale of student sit-in at Memorial Square in

Taipei, demonstrated a rising civil society which clashed with the state power. The

student group appealed for Taiwan's direct presidential elections and National

Assembly reform. Wild Lily student movement was considered as a critical turning

point in bringing up dialogues between political elites and civil society. The then

incumbent president, Lee Teng-Hui, negotiated with the students and promised to take

on democratic reforms. Six years later, the first direct presidential election was held

which marked the summit of Taiwan's democratic reforms. Lee Teng-Hui became the

first direct elected president by winning the support of the society.

Democratic consolidation was still processing over the subsequent years. The institutional designs were gradually opening up for the opposition of the government to compete in the frequent election. The democratic development in Taiwan ushered in a new phase when the political earthquake[9] of the 2000 presidential election pushed the DPP into power.

3.3 Weakening Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation after 2000

3.3.1 Power transition and democratic consolidation

There was a sign for Taiwan moving towards the path of democratic consolidation when the DPP won the presidential election in 2000 for the first time since the long dominant KMT regime. According to Huntington's definition of democratic consolidation, the power transfer in power 2000 and 2008 had passed the two-turnover test[10] as a democratic consolidated country. (Huntington, 1991) The peaceful transition proved that democracy had come and the voters and civil society had become increasingly sophisticated.

This political power transfer signaled the coming of a new phase of state-society relations. (Chu & Diamond, 2001, p.224) The 2000 presidential electoral victory was gained by a strategy of aligning with various social groups. There had been a long

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[9] In 2000 presidential election, the KMT lost power and ended its undisrupted ruling for the first time since 1947. This stunning defeat of the KMT signified an end of one-party dominance and a great move toward democratic consolidation.

[10] Huntington defines that "[t]he party or group that takes power in the initial election at the time of transition loses a subsequent election and turns over power to those election winners, and if those election winners then peacefully turn over power to the winners of a later election". In Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (3rd ed.). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. p.267

existing comradeship between the social protesters and the DPP opposition. In the awakening of democracy, the DPP assumed non-institutionalized tactics, such as street protests to coerce the KMT to adopt political reforms. Social activists incorporated with the political reformers to form collective actions. (Ho, 2010, p.8) The alliances reinforced each other to challenge the authority and sheltered from being cracked down on by the state. There had been partnership and cooperation mechanisms built between the DPP and social groups to mobilize, broadcast ideology, advocate values, and educate the general public.

According to this kind of comradeship, the change of regime was expected to alter the political arena for social activists and provide more desirable political opportunities for social groups. Not surprisingly, the incumbent DPP opened up a meaningful path of political participation for social movements. It absorbed some of prestigious social activists and knowledgeable scholars into the government as high level officials, executives, or committee members. Despite the new encouraging political opportunity, the overall political environment still constrained to the development of social movements.

3.3.2 Institutionalized participation and political compromise

The institutionalized participation mechanism debased the civil power. When the civil society groups were recruited into the decision-making system, strategic collaboration occurred and critical engagement rendered. The civil social groups negotiated with the state in a more compromised way. As a consequence, it would be overoptimistic to assert a flourished social movements and a more transparent political process for Taiwan's democratic development.

On the one hand, the power transfer in 2000 provided an access for the social

groups to participate in the policy-making process. It greatly reduced the chances of seeking for street demonstrations and other mass mobilizations strategies. The institutionalized participating mechanism provided a legitimate procedural for social activists to take part in the policy making process. For example, under the DPP government, prestigious activists, scholars, and the professionals were invited into the policy making process as consultants, such as on the committee of the Council for Hakka Affairs, the National Human rights, and the Nuclear-free Homeland. (Ho, 2010, pp.13-16) It was undeniably a big success for social groups to gain access that was previously blockaded by the KMT. These incorporated social movement advocators became political insiders to exert their influence on the policy agenda. However, from the perspective of state-society relations, this incorporated mechanism had weakened the power of social movements.

On the other hand, this kind of formalized political process required more compromised attitude toward social reforms. It opened up an inside system channel for multiple appeals to be heard and taken into consideration. Various social issues became closed negotiations and reduced public visibility. More importantly, the procedural participation did not pledge sheer a transformation of effective policy outcomes. Many times, the delicate political calculation involving multiple actors made it harder to sway the policymaking from the inside. Paradoxically, these kinds of institutionalized channels crippled the effectiveness, and caused a new phase of social movement hibernation. (Grano, 2014, p.147)

3.3.3 Shifted political stances of the DPP

The second factor that undermined the power of social movements lied in the DPP's electoral calculation. Since the electoral victory had become the top priority of the

DPP, earning support from the business turned out to be a strong gravitation. On the one hand, the DPP and the capitalists had created a patronized relationship. The political contribution and support from the business became an important party income to sustain costly elections; meanwhile the party candidate returned with reciprocal policy designs and coordinated attitudes after winning an election. Wang notes that "after winning the presidency in 2000, following KMT, the DPP continued to push for economic liberalization and also establish its own coalition with business groups, which distanced DPP from several movement groups." (Wang, 2012, p.165) On the other hand, an inexperienced negotiator like the DPP was even harder to get rid of the shackle of money politics. (Ho, 2005a, p. 343) As a result, the DPP's pro-business policy attempts had to make compromises in many reform issues and disappointed its old social movement allies.

Furthermore, in exchange for vote mobilization in the future elections, the DPP's ideology and advocates moderated toward the center of the political spectrum. This shifting of ideology had two obvious impacts. Firstly, it made the DPP take more conservative stands in maintaining status quo rather than promoting social and political reform. This was further strengthened with the economic recession and the social stability imperative. Secondly, its policy designs favored the capitalists and prioritized economic development. (Wang, 2012, p.179) As there were strong conflicted interests and values lying among social groups and the capitalists, this made the DPP even more equivocal in its stance on many other issues, such as the anti-nuclear commitment to the environmentalists, protection for the labor rights, and gender equality. Social activists were disappointed that the DPP failed to meet their expectations and realized the failed promises made during the election. The DPP, which was considered to stand by the capitalists, had drawn shade for the prosperity of multiple values and the goal of social equality.

The DPP's weak state capability was another blockade to empower civil society. On the one hand, while taking a cooperative attitude with the capitalists to pursue economic performance, the DPP had limited governing capabilities. Ho argued that "the dismal economic performance constrained the DPP's policy options. To salvage the economy became the avowed number one goal, while other reform issues were put aside". (Ho, 2005a, p.344) It caused a captured state, which means the state capacity had been weak and controlled by the business sector. On the other hand, in the early years of 2000, the parliamentary majority was still held by the KMT. This left restricted room for multiple social issues to prosper.
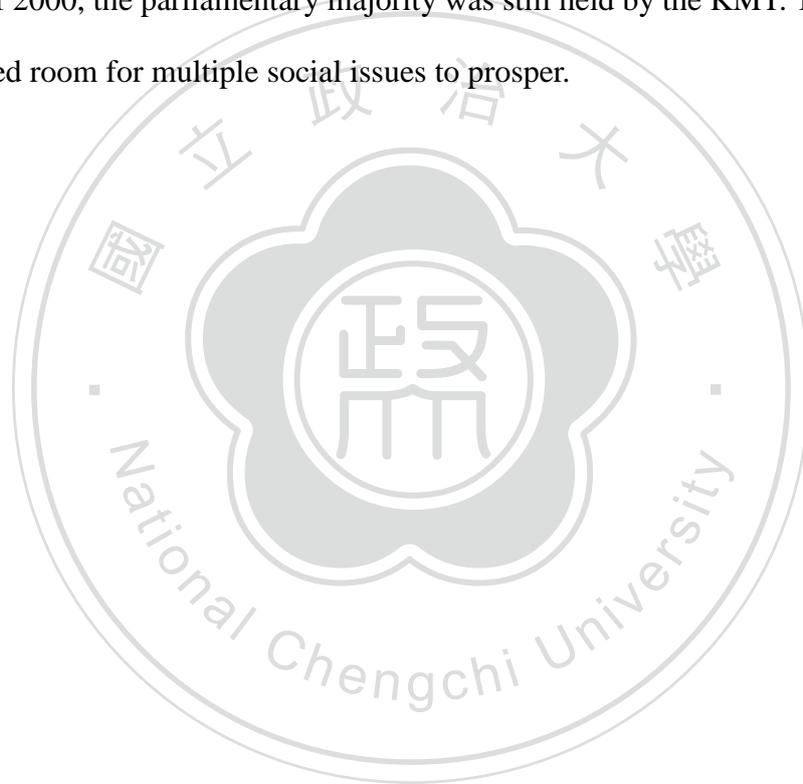
Chapter IV   The Sunflower Movement and Its Impact on State-Society Relations

With chronicle observation, it provided an inclusive scope of analysis. The previous chapters well depict the changes of civil society dynamic and the cause of a dormant civil society during the DPP's incumbency. After the DPP lost the presidential election in 2008, the state-society relations changed again. The civil society seemed to be more or less resurgent. (Ho, 2010, p.16) On the one hand, given that the DPP opposition familiarized the political procedural during the two terms, it became a credible counterweight to the authority after 2008. This was beneficial in the formulation of a new pattern of political alliance. On the other hand, many social groups had become more sophisticated in engaging their intentions into the policy process, and gained more experiences in the institutionalized mechanism since the DPP was in power.

As we reviewed the history of Taiwan's political development, the civil society served as a training ground for democracy. Citizens' participation cultivated political attainments and increased their political efficacy. Civil society organizations mobilized social movements and preserved civic culture that support democracy. The issue of the CSSTA had gained pervasive news reports. The complicated and irrational political process had been dismantled by social groups. Nonetheless, how exactly social movements such as the Sunflower Movement impacted democratic practice in Taiwan will be addressed in this chapter.

In chapter four, the impacts of the Sunflower Movement will be addressed. First, it introduces the intensified state-society conflicts which lead to the final eruption of the mass mobilization. With comprehensive understanding of the economic and societal environment by then can come to a more astute deduction of the impacts of this

historical event. The second part of this chapter will come down to both the substantial impacts that the Sunflower Movement had imposed on the state polices and its potential influences on the democratic development of Taiwan.

4.1 The Emergence and Demands of the Sunflower Movement

As Potter emphasizes, the process of democracy should not be detached from "the particular interrelationship of certain structures of power" such as economic, social, and political dynamics. (Potter, 1997, p.18) Hence, even though levels of political participation declined during the DPP's regime, the accumulated social dynamics discretely continued. The state-society conflicts did not go away with the declined political engagement under the KMT's regime. On the contrary, dissents from the civil society increased by a clogged feedback mechanism.

On the one hand, the institutional design of semi-presidentialism[11] in Taiwan had enlarged the power of the president. This problem became even more salient when the same party controlled both the executive power and the parliament, which lacked a valid check and balance system. Thus, the parliament had failed to reflect the various interests and being representative of the society. On the other hand, the

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[11] Duverger (1980, p.166) provides three constituting elements of semi-Presidentialism: (1) The president is elected by universal suffrage; (2) the president possesses quit considerable powers; (3) the president has opposite him a prime minister and minsters who possess executive and governmental power and can stay in office only if the parliament does not show its opposition to them. The three features a regime somewhere between pure parliamentarism and presidentialism. However, in the political practice of Taiwan, Huang states that "instead of having the flexibility to change the government whenever it loses the confidence of parliament, minority governments under semi-presidentialism in Taiwan exhibit all the rigidity created by gridlock between the executive and the legislature. This gridlock is caused by fixed terms and dual legitimacies as found in pure presidentialism."(p.375) See more in Huang, T. W. (2006). The President Refuses to Cohabit: Semi-Presidentialism in Taiwan. *Pacific Rim Law & Policy Journal*,*15*(2), 376–402.

two-party system impeded the diversified voices into policy process and was less likely to achieve political consensus. The dominant party seized the decision-making power in its hands and created power struggles.

The KMT and DPP competed with each other in most policies, especially those related to cross-strait relations in gaining support from the society. They drew their attentions to national identity issues which intensify conflicts of different ethnic groups in Taiwan. As a result, the various social interests had been ignored. Both two major parties, the DPP and the KMT, malfunctioned in issue advocating, and winning elections became their major concerns. Moreover, the remaining economic stagnation, widened economic inequality, inefficient policy outcome, and fallacious feedback mechanism had incubated a demurred civil society. Eventually, social dissents increased and social dynamics had gained over time.

Besides being attentive to the dynamic of structure power, Grugel also emphasizes the crucial role of a participatory civil society which generates more "comprising institutions that translate citizens' preferences into policy." (Grugel, 2002, p.96) Before the eruption of the Sunflower Movement, student groups, social groups and NGOs had put close eyes on the signing of the CSSTA. The Black Island Nation Youth Front[12] held panels for the students to expose the negative impacts brought by the agreement. Civil groups had tried lobbying, pressuring the government, and using demonstrations to blockade the passing of the bill. They aligned to raise several protests against the CSSTA, which the KMT attempted to push through the Legislative Yuan without due democratic process.

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[12] The Black Island Nation Youth Front was formed by students from Taiwan's top universities. The group was founded in 2013 with the goal of maintaining Taiwan's democratic quality, which includes lobbying and protesting the Service Trade Agreement with China. It became one of the most prominent leading groups in the Sunflower Movement.

On the Double Ten National day of 2013, civic groups demonstrated around the President's Office to arouse public awareness towards this issue. There were several smaller scaled protests which followed to advocate certain issues, such as the anti-nuclear power plant, land justice, and anti-corruptions. The conflicts between the civil society and the state were just like impending storms.

In June 2013, the parliamentary negotiation process first agreed on clause-by-clause review before stipulating. After a couple months of standstill in the Legislative Yuan, the two parties consented to hold 16 public hearings to clarify contents of the CSSTA and incorporate opinions from different sectors. However, the KMT was criticized to expedite the process and accomplish all of its hearings within the space of a week. When the legislation resumed in March 2014, there was dissent and it showed no signs of passing the agreement.

The chair of the legislature's Internal Administrative Committee, Ching-chung Chang strategically took the CSSTA as an executive order and declared that over the 90 days review period it should be sent to be voted on directly. The KMT enjoyed legislative majority and its party caucus whip had threatened its members to implement the party's will. Chang proclaimed that the review of the agreement had been fulfilled and passed a vote in 30 seconds. A great amount of strength had accumulated and erupted when the KMT tried to pass the CCSTA without consensus in the parliamentary. This abrupt action to compel the pass of the CSSTA enraged people who had been paid closely attention to the signing. The incremental civil power reached the apex during 2014- the eruption of the Sunflower Movement.

Hundreds of students gathered to protest in front of the Legislative Yuan, and a group of students from the Black Island Youth Alliance promptly slipped into the Legislative Yuan and occupied the chamber.   Hereafter, the Sunflower Movement was officially started. A group of students barricaded themselves inside the

Legislative Yuan to blockade parliamentary procedures, while thousands of others protested outside to against the inadvertent agreement. At the heart of controversy lay on the insufficient political transparency of the negotiations and whether or not some sectors should be opened up for investments.

The dissent about the CCSTA revealed great conflicts between the state and the society. On the one hand, the KMT, which wagered all their hope on the CCSTA as salvage of the economic depression, manifested its intension blatantly and made every endeavor to expedite the pass. Nonetheless, opening up a domestic market to Chinese investment worried the local Taiwanese about their own competitiveness of making a living. On the other hand, the society had been doubted about China's intention for political unification. It was suspected that the overly economic dependence on trade with China would facilitate the cross-Strait unification.

Aside from that, some lines of the pact are highly sensitive and related to the national security. There was a great fear that the opening up of sensitive sectors such as constructions and telecommunication would expose Taiwan's national security to be in danger. For example, opening up the communication services might have potential risks on the personal information protection and the confidential information in national security. Moreover, the closer ties between two sides could hamper democracy in Taiwan. China and Taiwan have different political systems-authoritarian regime and democracy, respectively. Chinese investment in the news media would potentially jeopardize freedom of speech in Taiwan.

In the awakening of the movement, the KMT top leaders, especially president Ying-jeou Ma, were taking an intransigent stance. The authority asserted that the CSSTA was skewed in Taiwan's favor and should be adopted as a whole package. In the eyes of the student alliance, though, the hard stance of the government showed no will for negotiation and it stubbornly refused to compromise. This aroused indignation

of the activists, and the student leader, Fei-fan Lin[13] made two demands on the state.

The first demand of the protestors was to review the passage anew and follow a democratic procedural. Passing a vote to the CCSTA in 30 seconds was a blasting fuse for the Sunflower Movement and flared up widespread dissent. As David Easton (1953) argues in the systems theory[14], the political conversion process has been taken as a black box. With the disclosure of this undemocratic negotiation process, it well stated the complicated and non-transparent policy conversion process. The student groups and NGOs who joined the protests accused the KMT for such undemocratic process and demanded for a full clause-by-clause review. This unveiled event caused the citizens to call for the KMT to vote on the pact under democratic regulations.

The second demand of the activists was to establish an institutionalized supervisory mechanism before a full review of the CSSTA and to monitor any agreements signed with China in the future. Such kind of demand originated from the skepticism of China's political intention and the lack of trust in the ruling KMT's dealings with cross-Straits relationship. China had been viewed as a threat to unify Taiwan with a carrot-and-stick strategy. It either used economic advantages to enforce the trade tighter or military threat to encroach Taiwan's sovereignty. Accordingly, economic agreements with China should have been under a thorough inspection primarily for the reason of national security. The demand for monitoring regulations on any future agreements became the second major appeal of the movement.

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[13] Fei-fan Lin was a prominent student leader in the Sunflower Movement. He has participated in many rallies such as the "731 student movement", "901 opposition of media monopolization movement" back in 2012, and is widely known among the student community in Taiwan for being outspoken about media monopolization in addition to trade agreements between the island and neighbouring China.

[14] In simple terms, Easton proposed that a political system includes the following elements: inputs (demands and supports), black box (the decision making system), output (policies or actions), feedback, and the environment.

The growing political disturbance and societal tumult decreased the legitimacy of the ruling party as well as President Ma's political reputation. On April 3, in response to the public demands, the cabinet approved to draft law on cross-strait monitoring bill. The "Statute for the Processing and Monitoring of Agreements between the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area," proposed by the Mainland Affairs Council (MAC), was under legislative process to enact. However, President Ma still held a strong request to exempt the CSSTA from that oversight to accelerate the pass of the bill. On April 7, after the speaker of Legislative Yuan- Jin-pyng Wang promised to pass the oversight statute before the implementation of the CSSTA, the leadership of the student groups announced that they would vacate the legislature on April 10. Thus, the Sunflower Movement came to an end on April 10.

4.2 The Impacts of the Sunflower Movement

Social movements are embedded in the political context and their appeals usually reflect varied generation values under different political environments. With a broad picture, it is easier to understand how the society was related to the state and how the public expectations and perceptions were formed. Following the democratic development history in Taiwan which has elaborated in chapter three, it demonstrates that certain crucial social movements have turned out to be turning points for the progress of Taiwan's democracy.

In the Formosa incident of 1979, the society had been discontented with the highly pressing authoritarian regime. Along with the domino effect of the third wave democracy, the Formosa incident had become one of the most important historical events in Taiwan's political development. It led to future political reforms in the 1980s.

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In the late1980s, the socio-political scenario altered again. The Wild Lily student movement ushered in a new wave of political dynamic in 1990 which led to a series of political reform in the following years. A vivid civil society accompanied with the split power of the political elites in the KMT, the democratic transition turned into a new phase in 1996 when the first direct presidential election was held.

Moving along the democratic development trajectory, the Sunflower Movement signifies another explicit wave of civil resurgence. The social groups sought to engage with the state through more institutionalized methods after the DPP took power in 2000. The dynamic of social movement converted into a more institutionalized and compromised way of performance since then. Not until the Sunflower Movement happened did the accumulated strength of civil society be witness.

Hence, to analyze the importance of the Sunflower Movement we should not only rely on whether or not its immediate appeals had been achieved but also the enticed effects which followed. Here, discussions of the impacts of the Sunflower Movement include the two perspectives: its impacts on the state policies in particular and the democratic discourse in general.

4.2.1 The change of state policies

Forcing changes in the state policy

This movement was in a bid to prevent the passage of the CSSTA, which activists believed it was negotiated in "black box", and harmful to Taiwan without a transparent monitoring system. One of the most manifest impacts of the Sunflower Movement is its successful obstruction of the signing of the CSSTA. The activists demand for setting up a Cross-Straits Agreements Monitoring Framework (CSAMF) and arranging it into the legislative agenda. The CSAMF setting in the Legislative

Yuan agenda will further postpone the CSSTA. The Sunflower Movement decelerates the KMT's intention in cross-strait economic integration. (Tang & Chen, 2015) The cross-strait economic cooperation mechanism was temporarily hindered due to strong objection of civil society. Moreover, it impacts Taiwan's sovereignty negatively and affects the cross-strait political relations. (Cole, 2014) The rejection of the CSSTA represents that people are taking a more circumspective attitude toward free trade systems and China's political intentions. This movement reflected at least two aspects of introspection.

The first spectrum is focused on the debate of free trade policies. (Hsu, 2015, pp.11-14; Tzeng, 2015, p.6-10) The global economy is closely related under the rapid expansion of international trade. However, the negative impacts are intentionally ignored or hidden by the policy makers. International trade has been propagandized as a fine tool for prosperity. It opens new markets to competition and jobs for international companies. But it also brings negative side effects. For example, the domestic companies usually struggle to strive against dumping. The gap between the rich and the poor is widened. The Sunflower Movement has raised questions about who the true beneficiaries of free trade agreements are, and whether or not the multinational trades improve people's lives. The questionable issues are getting people's attentions.

The second spectrum is aimed at cross-strait political relations. (Hsu, 2015, pp.8-10; Tzeng, 2015, pp.5-6) The agreement might lead to repercussion on Taiwan's constituencies. People believed that the signing of this agreement will have negative impacts on Taiwan's autonomy. The closer economic ties with China will enable China to reach the goal of unification ultimately. Therefore, the movement requested the government to have a more discreet and complete policy design when dealing with the cross-strait trade agreements. The demand of setting up a monitoring

mechanism represents the level of citizen distrust in the existing cross-strait negotiation procedure. Taiwanese government is asked to increase the transparency and have sufficient supporting measures. The prevailing political distrust indicates that the authority would take more conservative attitudes in the cross-strait issues.

4.2.2 The influence over democratic discourses

Holding political parties accountable

The Sunflower Movement had successfully demonstrated that people can even reclaim or perform their rights outside the electoral period. The civil society was disappointed with representative democracy and tried to rebuild political accountability. (Liu, 2015, p.15) It illustrated that party performance was evaluated not merely during the fixed-term elections, but also during the non-electoral period. In 2004 and 2014, Academia Sinica conducted survey projects focusing on civil rights. The data shows citizens believe that political parties have failed to provide real policy choices for their people. The percentage of respondents who agree on that statement had risen from 36.9 in 2004 to 54.2 in 2014 shortly after the Sunflower Movement. People believed that they were not allowed to realize their policy choices. In other words, people's political preference was not successfully transformed into policies. The growing number depicts the representative party politics had failed citizens political expectation.

Likewise, according to the 2014 survey data, vicious competition among parties and politician corruption as the things people hated the most far surpass the other social and economic issues. The political dissatisfaction has reached an apex about the irreconcilable party politics. The continuing vicious circle of the political power engagement between the KMT and the DPP has stagnated Taiwan's democratic development. Ideological conflicts leading by the blue-green feuds have been dictated Taiwan's political environment for decades. According to Wang's study, he concludes that "they [the KMT and the DPP] compete on issues related to Taiwan's status and national identity. However, compared to countries with a similar level of economic development and democratic experience, they make substantially more clientelistic

effort but develop less pronounced policy positions." (Wang, 2012, p. 180) The existing political participation channels are unable to provide an efficient feedback mechanism.

The Sunflower Movement transcends political party conflicts and targets on democratic values. It was described that "Taiwan's domestic politics underwent a sea change post-Sunflower." (Smith, 2015) The Nine-in-One elections on November 29, 2014, made some explanation of what kinds of changes had been made in the domestic politics. The civil society demonstrated its strength through votes. The result of the local elections well depicted how the ruling party failed to fulfill the will of its people. (Huang, 2014) Not only because the KMT lost grounds in its traditional strongholds, but also because it was unable to win in the Taipei Mayoral election, considered as a springboard for the presidency.

Surprisingly, an independent candidate, Wen-je Ko won the Taipei Municipal Mayor election. The conventional wisdom was that the KMT took more advantages in winning the Taipei Mayoral election comparing to the chance of the DPP or other small parties. However, polarized campaign strategies proved to be null when Ko won the Taipei Mayoral election. It also signifies a new age for young political aspirants to success even without parties' support. The victory came from the desire of fresh new power from the society. A news report of Taipei Times on July 29 states that this surprising result represents for "an independent thinking of civil society dominated by the middle class and intellectuals". (EDITORIAL: Implications of Taipei mayoral race, 2014) It is because of the movement that the citizens become more and more aware of political issues. People are asking for a more justified political procedure, a transparent cross-strait issues negotiation process, and a more democratic participation mechanism.

A rising civil society is actively engaging with the state. Ko Wen-je in some

ways symbolized the power of citizens since he had no robust political background. He stood for a small citizen against other candidates who were back up by parties. From the winning of Ko, we can see that the society made signals to the ruling party for policy adjustments in the future. (Ramzy, 2014) The KMT which failed such a critical election would definitely re-evaluate their pro-China policy. As for the DPP and other parties, Ko's victory reminded them to be more receptive to the people's concerns.

Increasing political efficacy

Participating in social movements is a kind of civic training that increases the participants' faith and political responsibility. Political participation enlarges participants' capacity for respecting the beliefs or practice or others. It also strengthens the political attachment to plural interests and values. Accordingly, democratic participation develops citizens' political efficacy. (Pateman, 1970, p.105) The political efficacy is defined as the "feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process". (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954, p. 187) It consists with the concept of internal and external efficacy[15].

The political efficacy seems to increase after the Sunflower Movement. Academia Sinica's Taiwan Social Change Survey (TSCS) investigates the changes of social phenomena in Taiwan. Many of its survey topics are conducted every five-year

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[15] The internal political efficacy suggests that people believe in their ability "to understand and participate effectively in politics". (Craig, Niemi, & Silver 1990, p. 290) Citizens who believe in their abilities to sway politics are more likely to participate in the political process. The external political efficacy indicates people's perception about "the responsiveness of governmental authorities and institutions". (Niemi, Craig & Mattei, 1991, p. 1408) Clarke, Kornberg, & Scotto further elaborate it as the belief that "political elites and governmental institutions are responsive to citizen demands" (Clarke, Kornberg, & Scotto, 2010, p. 107)

cycle. Comparing its survey reports, they indicate that the sense of political efficacy has increased after August 2014. The perceptions of political efficacy had been low over the past decade. However, the survey conducted in August 2014, shortly after the Sunflower Movement, shows a great improvement on both the internal and external political efficacy among Taiwan. Some related questions probe the changing of citizens' political efficacy. In 2004, 27.3 percent of respondents disagreed that they have no influence on the government's actions. Comparing with 2014, the number of the interviewees who disagreed with the statement increased to 31.3 percent. The findings imply that more citizens tend to disagree with the notion that they have no power in swaying political decisions. The increased level of disagreement with this statement reflects an increased level of internal political efficacy among Taiwan after 2014.

Likewise, the increasing external political efficacy is shown more obviously in the following survey questions. 35.7 percent of interviewees believed that "the Legislative Yuan would prudently reconsider their requests when they take some action" in 2014, while it was only 23.9 percent in 2004. A more specific question about the possibility to take political actions also increases. The percentage in agreement with "the possibility for people to take action towards unjustified law making" has increased from 24.3 to 30 percent. These positive developments in political efficacy imply that citizens are more willing to engage in the political system and take their political responsibilities. People are taking more involved political attitudes rather than leaving all of the political decisions to the politicians.

According to the aforementioned survey data, it implies that there are surely some political changes on the political efficacy after August 2014. To consider retrospectively, the students first demanded to retract and renegotiate the CSSTA. It resulted in a suspended negotiation process toward the signing of the CSSTA. Then,

their focus changed to a procedural demand for setting up a Cross-Straits Agreements Monitoring Framework (CSAMF). The social groups had taken an active role in the political decision making process. They sent a draft of the Cross-Straits Agreement Monitoring and the speaker of the Legislative Yuan promised that the CSSTA would be shelved until the monitoring regulation was made into law.

It demonstrated that self-motivated social organizations were taking more political engagement to enhance the level of a justified democratic process. The Sunflower Movement manifested that the citizens have capacity to enact their civil responsibility and affect politics. A more active role of civil society has been witnessed after the time period of the Sunflower Movement. Citizens' participation encourages them "to believe that they are ultimately controlling the government …and keeping them committed to the existing system" (Olsen, 1982, p. 6).

Emerging deliberative democracy

Reasoned discussions and communicative forums were held during the process of the Sunflower Movement. The process was equipped with a general concept of deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy emphasizes political participation that "citizens can pool information and ideas, bring local knowledge to the table, establish greater levels of equality and political opportunity, and the like". (Leib, 2004, p.3) A series of street forums were held outside the Legislative Yuan in Zhongshan South road and Jinan road. There were public forums such as Liberation Forum, Street Corner mini-forum, and Street Corner Little democratic Experiment. They discussed issues about the China factors, the economic and political structure, and some other CSSTA related issues.

These public forums provided a platform for citizens to understand the possible economic impacts. The issues also reflected what worried the people the most. These kinds of "talk-centric" discussions performed the concept of deliberative democracy since it purported to provide all citizens with equal chances of expression and to reach collective judgment and mutual understanding. (Chambers, 2003, p.308) The process helps to increase participants' levels of political knowledge. The forming of deliberative democracy helps citizens to encompass more reflective and comprehensive judgments. (Luskin & Fishkin, 2004, pp.7-10; Sturgis, Roberts, & Allum 2005, p.30)

In addition, deliberative democracy cultivates citizens with sophisticated political participation, trust, and matured civic attitudes and behaviors. (Farrar et al., 2004, p.22) The Sunflower Movement activated the awareness of civic participation in which citizens became more engaged into the political process. Widely spread issue discussions facilitated the changing of civic culture. This is because deliberation can generate more sophisticated and participatory citizens. (Gastil, Deess, and Weiser 2002, pp.592-594; Fung & Wright, 2003, pp.163-164) As we can see one of the major requests of the Sunflower Movement was to hold a citizens' constitutional meeting. Open public forums are where multiple issues are discussed and civic engagement marched on a journey to a deeper democracy. It is a sign of the people's demand for a new way of political participation. The citizens take more responsibilities involving public governance, policy monitoring, a decision making process, and resource allotting. This confirms Nabatchi's definition that deliberative democracy pursues the goal of "infusing government decisions making with reasoned discussion and collective judgment of citizens". (Nabatchi, 2010, p. 2) The essence of deepened democracy is realized through moderate civic engagement.

Moreover, the participants of the movement have enlarged from a student

movement to a wide ranged civic participation. According to a survey with a sample of 1,000 respondents conducted by the National Taipei University department of Sociology, 56 percent of the participants in the Sunflower Movement are students while 44 percent are non-students. (Chen, 2014) The internet contributes to effective civic engagement and lowers the costs of political participation. The highly exposed information gains substantial debates, providing a clear path to political deliberation. Information had been spread widely through social network sites, online news, and Bulletin Broad System (BBS). According to the same survey as previous mentioned, Facebook appears to be the source of most information for the Sunflower Movement participants. 59.1 percent of the respondents said that they obtain information from the Facebook. Other internet media as information resource is 22.7 percent, while the traditional media such as the Television, newspaper, and radios is only 12.9 percent. (Chen, 2014) The prevailing of the internet becomes the most important resource for the social participants. The issues being inserted into citizens' lives become salient and gain social concern. The younger generation is more familiar with the accessibility of the internet. This not only increases the speed of the spread of information, but also encourages the participation of the younger generation.

The internet decreases the cost of collective actions. It subverts traditional ways of social mobilization with less costs and extensive attention. Social mobilizations are triggered and organized through the internet. (Chen, Change, & Huang, 2015, p.15-17) This changes the way of internal resource mobilization. Networks formation, volunteer recruitment, and resource gathering and distribution, mostly are completed on the virtual social network system. Young and new social activists can be recruited through the online social networks. The time needed for information gathering has decreased as well. Public opinion becomes a great pressure to the state. It challenges government decisions and persuades the authority to temporarily cease political

procedures. A high degree of pressure urges the KMT to respond to the demands of the social groups. The Sunflower Movement possesses a high ability of resource mobilization and imposes immediate threats on the authority to influence the political process.

Chapter V   Conclusion

This study focused on the link between civil society and democracy and paid special attention to the interaction between the state and civil society. Here, civil society is identified as a venue in which manifold social movements occurred and autonomous civil social organization flourished. Drawing on that, as stated in the introduction, the primary goal of this study was to evaluate the impacts of the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan's democratic practice. The discussion concentrated on how it exerted influences on the state's policies and the general democratic discourse.

Regarding the policy perspective, the Sunflower Movement had demonstrated a fact that civil society played a crucial role in influencing public policies. The ruling party viewed the signing of the CSSTA as the most important policy to boost the economy and promote its party image by bridging a stronger tie with China. However, the state's political intention had been hampered by the social movement. The CSSTA had been halted without much possibility to resume in the foreseeable future. Observing the interaction between the state and civil society, it was obvious that civil society intervened in the policy making process and interrupted the state's initial political intention. It proved what Alexander stated about how civil society was not only autonomously independent from the state, but also challenged its commands when needed. (Alexander, 2006, pp.123-126) A dramatic policy shift driven by the Sunflower movement somehow manifested the existence of a dynamic civil society.

With a wide-angled perspective in examining the impacts of the Sunflower Movement on the democratic practice of Taiwan, evidence supported the underlying contention that there were changes in the dynamic of civil society and citizen's political participation. The impacts on the democratic politics was presented in three aspects: impacts on the political society- holding political parties accountable; on the

social actors in civil society- increasing political efficacy; on the democracy deepening-emerging of deliberative democracy.

First of all, regarding the political society, the Sunflower Movement performed as a counterbalance to state and tried to defend against the abuse of state power. This movement revealed the prevailing discontent with party politics. The representative democracy, which democracy was performed by periodic elections and delegation had been unable to content the civil society. Clear evidence was showed both in a national-wide survey data and the result of the Taipei Municipal election in 2014. There existed a high level of dissatisfaction about the party performance in translating the public's will into political policies. In addition, vicious competition among parties was a thing that the people hated the most in 2014. The accumulated discontent in the civil society led to the eruption of the Sunflower Movement. Accordingly, it was less surprisingly when the independent candidate Ko Wen-je won the Taipei Municipal Mayor election under the background of a resurgent civil society. The civil society held the parties more accountable in representing the general will.

Secondly, according to related survey data, social actors had developed a high degree of political efficacy in accord with the time after the Sunflower Movement. Political individuals were more willing to take political actions and believed that they had the ability to influence the state and its decisions. In the political practice, the citizen's group demanded for setting up a Cross-Straits Agreements Monitoring Framework and sent a draft into the Legislative Yuan. Hence, the increased political efficacy surely enabled people to take actions towards unjustified state decisions. These new trends of social movements are characterized by greater spontaneity.

Last but not least, multiple forums with deliberative features were held during the protest. There was an underlying theme worth noticing- deliberative democracy. The sunflower movement created an open arena for citizens to pool information and

ideas, advocate values, and establish greater level of political engagement. The associational life of civil society trained and sharpened citizens' political skills. The deliberative democracy could not be achieved without citizens' political participation. Voluntary participants developed democratic attitudes and toleration as they were exposed to diversified perspectives. It could be expected that a more sophisticated political culture and participatory democracy were forming.

The Sunflower Movement had set up a prominent case in mobilizing the civil society and inspired the actors in the society with a demonstrated effect. A recent example was the dispute of the Grade 1-9 curriculum framework adjustments in 2015. High school students from all over Taiwan have demanded for a due review procedure. More than one hundred high schools set up "anti-black box curriculum outline" social websites. The committee members of the adjustment committee have been criticized for lacking academic professionalism. The students urged the Ministry of Education to respect academic professionalism and to revoke the curriculum changes. Aside from the unjustified procedure, the content of the adjustments were questioned as well. Those "minor adjustments" actually reframe the political and historical judgments. (Arthur, 2015) The student unions fought for a righteous procedure. They used slogans like "anti-black box curriculum", and "we save our own curriculum". In the Sunflower Movement, the student groups propagandized "anti-black box CSSTA" and "we save our own country". Observing the previous mentioned dispute, it is not hard to see the shadow of the Sunflower Movement.

In conclusion, regarding the Sunflower Movement, there has been pressure the state to suspend its policies and sway it from its initial policy intention. It has shown that people had the rights to influence the state policy and demand for justified democratic procedures. Findings showed that the strengthened civil society played a crucial role in holding political parties more accountable, and that the citizens'

political efficacy had been increased exponentially. It also provided a trajectory of an

emerging deliberative democracy in Taiwan.

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