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主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

TOWARDS A CONCEPT OF ALTERNATIVE PARTICIPATION:
A THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL BASED APPROACH

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論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

This dissertation questions the traditional categorization of political participation as conventional and unconventional and proposes to supplement the classification of political participation by a third category. The introduced type of political participation is referred to as Alternative Participation. The notion is created to remedy the deficiency of recognition of social discourses voiced through unconventional means of participation.

Historically, the perspective on democratic participation started to shift from a more participative model to a representative model of participation. While the predominance of representative democracy theory has placed voting and political parties in the center of democracy, it denied recognition of other social discourses voiced by different means. In political participation research, those means are considered as unconventional. As a result, the understanding of democratic participation as representative participation can, for example, foreclose possibilities of theoretical and

empirical research on the state of democracy in different settings. Therefore, scholars would prefer to focus on the conventional and measure levels of voter turnout. Such focus produces the hegemony of the conventional above the unconventional political activity and enforces the authority of conventional participation.

At the same time, we are experiencing a fall in levels of conventional participation, accompanied by a rise of unconventional participation. This is happening because the representative system has become unresponsive to the various social discourses that demand recognition. Therefore, to remedy the situation, we need to supplement representative democracy with more participatory democracy. However, the unconventional forms of participation typical of participatory democracy are not recognized properly. They do not have the same authority as conventional participation.

In conclusion, what needs to be done is to reconfigure the dualist division on conventional and unconventional. In the process of deconstructing this dualism, alternative participation is introduced as a third category of participation. For this purpose, it is argued that conventional participation can be characterized by six features; is always legal, institutionalized, takes place in the public sphere, is done by collectives, produces unity over social plurality, and follow the government versus opposition internal logic. In line with the fact that conventional and unconventional are opposite sides of the same dualism, unconventional participation can be defined by the binary contraries of the six features. Thereupon, unconventional participation is illegal, not institutionalized, takes place in the private sphere, is done by individuals, produces

social plurality, and follows a government versus governed internal logic. In conclusion, the dualism of conventional and unconventional is the dualism of the six features. Alternative participation is a form that exists between the dichotomy. The alternative forms of participation are all those that mix the features of conventional and unconventional. Only through mixing the features and blurring the borders of the dichotomous distinctions it is possible to achieve an inclusive idea of participation.

Through introducing this category, unconventional participation is redefined and most of the unconventional acts of politics are moved into the category of alternative participation. In this way, it becomes possible to free those forms of participation from the negative associations which are linked to unconventional participation, for example, illegality or violence. Alternative participation is also defined in such a way that allows to include new forms of participation into this category. Those forms which are originally not recognized as participation could be acknowledged as such and politicized. Therefore, alternative participation is a concept that is meant to emancipate people to participate and voice their claims so that they can be included in the political process.

In addition, based on the works of Chantal Mouffe and Niklas Luhmann, it is possible to argue that alternative participation as is not restricted to strictly defined public arenas of politics. Also, alternative participation is a way to broaden the meaning of politics to include a new type of discourses as political.

However, the function of emancipate is not the only characteristic of alternative participation. Alternative participation can also produce agonism. There are two ways in

which alternative participation contributes to producing agonism. First, it diminishes the possibility of antagonism by giving individuals a chance for their claims to be recognized. Chantal Mouffe argues that not having their claims recognize can cause people to radicalize, for example, resort to terrorism. Second, people who participate in alternative ways become socialized as agonists.

The second assumption is confirmed with the help of empirical research that measures the effect of alternative participation on attitudes that are responsible for producing agonism. Since theoretical validation may not be enough to argue in favor of a concept, especially if the concept is praxis directed, the theoretical arguments presented in this dissertation are followed by empirical research.

For the empirical part, two studies on two diverse datasets were conducted; the GESIS Panel Study and the Stanford Civic Purpose Project Panel Study. A selected set of attitudes was predicted based on frequencies of a few selected forms of alternative participation. The results of the analyses suggest that alternative participation has a positive impact on attitudes and promotes agonism. The findings are positive for both datasets. For this reason, it can be argued that alternative participation is not only a way to recognize new social discourse as political but also reduce antagonism. The positive effects of alternative participation justify the necessity to reconsider the notion of participation in a way that gives more credit to alternative participation.

To present the whole argument on alternative participation, this dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part centers on the theoretical discussion on alternative

participation. In the second part, the theoretical link between alternative participation and agonism is verified empirically. The theoretical discussion and empirical research are both divided into four chapters each.

Chapter I outlines a brief history of participation. The goal of the chapter is to show how the idea of democracy shifted from participatory to representative democracy. Furthermore, the discussion presented in the chapter clarifies why we are experiencing a proliferation of unconventional forms of participation, a trend which accompanies the fall of conventional participation. The conclusion is that we observe a surge in different forms of participation because we can acknowledge them as political. Through the evolution of technology, society has developed ways to observe even the smallest social acts. While not all acts will be understood as political, the contemporary idea of what is political is expanding which allows embracing novel issues as political.

Chapter II introduces the idea of alternative participation through redefining the existing ideas of conventional and unconventional participation. Through a perception of conventional and unconventional participation as two sides of the same distinction, it is possible to argue that there is a third category - alternative participation. By means of Luhmann's distinction theory, it becomes possible to perform a deconstruction of the dualist idea of conventional and unconventional participation, which product is the third category. Alternative participation is a type which blurs the distinction between conventional and unconventional, however, the characteristics of this distinction can be used to define alternative participation.

Chapter III presents Chantal Mouffe's agonist pluralism approach to politics. In line with agonist pluralism, it is postulated that a shift to agonism is possible through an agonist socialization. The idea of agonistic socialization is based on the features of agonism abstracted from Mouffe's theory. The problem of agonism and antagonism is given attention because political participation can be either. However, it is agonism that secures a truly democratic political process. If alternative participation can produce agonism, it can strengthen democracy.

Chapter IV introduces the work of Niklas Luhmann. Luhmann's concepts help to explain why the contemporary democratic political systems are having image problems and why conventional participation is failing. The source of the problem is a disparity between how the political system is perceived by people and how, according to Luhmann, it really functions. It is also possible to determine what forces are at play in creating the distorted image of the political system. By virtue of system theory, it is possible to see the political system not as space distinct from society but as a mechanism infused in society. The political system is also not in the center of society, its position is dispersed. This way to define the political system implies that there is no need to distinguish between the social and political, as any discourse can become political. Consequently, the discourses conveyed through alternative participation have potential to be recognized as political.

From Chapter V the discussion moves to the empirical level which the main goal is a practical authentication of the assumption that alternative participation produces

agonism. Chapter V introduces three general research assumptions which are linked with the theory presented in Part I. Furthermore, this chapter includes a critique of essentialism as the base for theoretical and empirical research.

Chapter VI is an analysis of case studies in the field of political participation. The main goal is to select a method to confirm the existence of a causal relationship going from alternative participation to agonism. Furthermore, the review of previous research gives a broad idea of what attitude indicators can be used in measuring alternative participation and agonism.

Chapter VII is an empirical study of the role of participation in attitude creation based on GESIS dataset that contains data collected in Germany in 2014. The chapter first proposes a set of attitudes that are assumed to be suitable to represent attitudes that represent agonism and then describes the data set and analytical method. After introducing the assumption, the results of the statistical analysis are discussed. In general, the assumptions that alternative participation can produce agonism have been confirmed.

Chapter VIII is an empirical study of the role of participation in attitude creation based on Stanford Civic Purpose Project data collected between 2011 and 2013 in the United States of America. The design of the chapter is similar to Chapter VII. First, the data, method, and indicators are introduced, followed by results and a section with an interpretation of the outcomes. The research assumption has been also validated in the case of the second dataset.

Finally, the dissertation is closed by a concluding chapter that summarizes the findings of the theoretical and empirical parts of research. Moreover, at the end of the conclusion, diverse ways one could classify alternative participation internally are presented. The way to categorize alternative participation is based on the six characteristics that define this category of participating. The classification can be useful for further research on the alternative participation of both theoretical and empirical nature.