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## 主 論 文 の 要 旨

論文題目

A Capabilities Approach to E-Participation in the Philippines:  
Redefining the Modality of Socially Inclusive Governance  
(フィリピンにおける電子政治参加のケイパビリティ・アプローチ分析——社会包摂的ガバナンス様式の再定義)

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## 論 文 内 容 の 要 旨

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development encourages governments across the globe to promote responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision making at all levels of government, while the United Nations General Assembly recognizes the potential of e-Government in promoting transparency, accountability and citizen engagement in public service delivery. The principle driving force linking these agendas together is e-Participation through socially inclusive governance.

The potential benefits for improving governance through the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have been well documented; however this author would like to stress the word “potential.” Governments are inclined to focus on enhancing ICTs and e-Government services rather than on encouraging citizens to participate in the governance process. This is because investments in e-Government services have the prospective to increase efficiencies and lower costs; whereas, investing in e-Participation reduces the governments control over information and decision making. Moreover, research has shown that improvements in e-Government do not necessarily lead to improvements in e-Participation. To overcome these pitfalls, academics and institutions have been developing frameworks to promote e-Participation through socially inclusive governance.

The most noteworthy attempt is the ‘Socially Inclusive Governance Framework’ introduced by the United Nations Public Administration Network (UNPAN) in their Global E-Government Readiness Report of 2005. This marked a seminal shift in the way citizens were perceived. E-Participation became an important point of debate; specifically related to the digital divide with a focus on equal access and inclusion. The UN’s Global E-Government Readiness Report presented a framework or ‘vision’ for restructured thinking about how to improve e-Government by appreciating the capabilities of each and every person; the choices they make;

and the freedoms they partake in. The foundation of the model was derived from Amartya Sen's work on the capability approach. However, this framework neglected Sen's philosophical argument that the capability of individuals to convert resources into value should be observed; nevertheless it is still one of the dominant policy models for crafting participatory e-Government initiatives.

In UNPAN's most recent reports, access has been more thoroughly defined as access to technical skills, culturally relevant information, education, appropriate content, language skills and income. Although this is a good first step, access alone does not encourage inclusive participation. When evaluating the level of entitlements, both the range of communication options and the ability of citizens to make use of these options to achieve their relevant functionings are important.

Another notable endeavor at using the Capability Approach comes from Erwin Alampay. Alampay's access framework addresses Sen's philosophical argument by accounting for the reasons why people use ICTs and to what end value is achieved, but stops short of properly identifying the capabilities necessary to achieve said value. Within Sen's approach, achieved value can be instrumental, as in a means to an end, or intrinsic, in and of itself.

The primary objective of this dissertation is to challenge the orthodox modality that emphasizes access to ICTs as the principal driver for encouraging socially inclusive governance through e-Participation. This author argues that a more citizen centric framework to cultivate responsive, inclusive and participatory e-Government initiatives is necessary to provide citizens with the capabilities to enhance their opportunities to find value in participating in the governance process through Web 2.0 technologies. This was accomplished by a) identifying a core set of determinants that can enhance citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation; b) examining whether the use of Web 2.0 technologies is benefiting the government and the citizens they serve through a deepening of democracy by way of citizen engagement – specifically, in government systems where elite-dominated formal democracy is still firmly rooted, such as the Philippines; and c) developing a framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from resource-based frameworks for promoting and encouraging e-Participation to one that accounts for the conditions in which e-Participation takes place. By meeting these objectives, the central research question could be answered; namely, “despite the various attempts to encourage e-Participation, why have so many frameworks failed to achieve socially inclusive governance? More explicitly, what are the determinants affecting citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation.” A question that has been suggested by academics and institutions working in the fields of e-Government and human development, yet neither supported with precise evidence nor presented with any degree of theoretical rigor.

The Philippines was selected as a research site based on its aggressive push to improve information and communication infrastructure (ICD), e-Government, and most notably

e-Participation. Its citizens rank first in the world in time spent on social media (four hours and seventeen minutes per day) and sixth among countries with the largest number of active Facebook users (sixty-three million). The research was conducted over a three year period using a qualitative and quantitative research design, while utilizing the philosophical foundation of the capability approach to identify the capabilities that influence e-Participation – this was done by examining each of the three spheres that comprise its function; specifically, technology, government and citizens. Priority was given to the qualitative data utilizing a sequential exploratory strategy. Each sphere was carefully examined to determine the core set of capabilities that can foster e-Participation, which in turn can provide value to citizens, intrinsically through public recognition and empowerment, and instrumentally through support during times of natural hazards, influencing local governance and gaining access to livelihood opportunities. This opportunely provides value to the government by meeting the e-Participation targets and goals set forth by the United Nations.

Findings from this research show that access is no longer a prominent barrier in the Philippines. Additionally, Web2.0 technologies such as social media have indeed deepened democracy through a more participative approach. Local politicians using Web 2.0 technologies such as Facebook, Twitter, Skype, Google+ and Youtube were able to encourage e-Participation with citizens by providing them with information regarding proposed ordinances and engage citizens on legislation that directly affected their well-being whereby nurturing e-Democracy. Citizens were able to post comments and receive feedback regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. Additionally local politicians would post information regarding public hearings as well as livelihood training to improve the daily lives of their constituents. Citizens felt empowered because they believed their voices were being heard by the politicians; more importantly, ordinances and legislation were being drafted talking into account their inputs. While social media proved to be a transparent and accountable platform on which to participate, the transparency which social media affords can have negative repercussions; specifically, when deliberating over political affiliations. This research concluded that assured conditions are necessary for citizens to achieve value through e-Participation.

These conditions were introduced in the dissertation as a normative set of capabilities as outlined in the objectives. Taking into account Sen's evaluative approach regarding the freedom to achieve value, not just the level of achievement. As well as the social and political conditions in which socially inclusive governance takes place five core capabilities were identified based on Ingrid Robeyns five criteria for the selection of capabilities along with three criteria specific to e-Participation. In addition to access, the capabilities of affiliation, equality, expression and knowledge acquisition were identified.

This research examined two e-Government initiatives implemented by the Department of Information and Communication Technology (DICT) aimed at empowering citizens by

expanding access opportunities to ICTs. The first initiative, TV White Space (TVWS) directly focuses on access with the goal of providing free WiFi to all citizens. In reality, the data throughput rates are much lower than publicized and using Web 2.0 application such as YouTube and Facebook where somewhat vexing. Moreover, the government is relying on private sector partnerships to build-out the Information and Communication Infrastructure that requires an extremely high initial investment. DICT offers only two year contracts to telecom providers, who must front large infrastructure costs, without the safety of a long-term contract. This has hindered deployment. The Regional Director said full deployment is still two to three years away and other low-cost wireless technologies are also being tested. While TVWS has the potential to enlarge citizen's capability to access the Internet, it is still years from becoming a reality; moreover, findings from the research discovered that there was a reverse correlation between income and access, meaning that poor citizens found their capability to access the Internet was actually higher than their more affluent compatriots. This runs counter to the digital divide paradigm as demarcated by the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). The second initiative Technology for Education, Employment, Entrepreneurs, and Economic Development (Tech4ED) evolved from the Philippines Community eCenter Program (CeC). Based on interviews with two Tech4ED project managers at DICT, it was revealed that the aim of Tech4Ed is to enlarge the capabilities of citizens through relevant ICT-enabled services and content for socio-economic development; specifically in underserved communities, with the goal of improving citizen's well-being. While visiting a Tech4ED center in Quezon City, citizens without a student ID were not allowed to use the facility. This is an example of policy being set at the national level not propagating to the local level. Additionally content provided at the Tech4ED centers were almost exclusively in English, which for a country with two official languages, nineteen regional languages and over one-hundred dialects, creates a considerable barrier to many Filipinos; especially rural citizen. This sentiment was echoed during round table sessions conducted at the University of the Philippines and Ateneo de Manila University.

Despite the Philippine governments aggressive push to expand access for citizens to participate in e-Governance through e-Government policies that utilized the UNPAN framework, this research discovered that a judicious cross section of citizens do not actively participate. It is the position of this author that access to ICTs is no longer the prominent barrier to e-Participation and that focusing on access is the reason why so many frameworks have failed to achieve socially inclusive governance; furthermore to achieve value from e-Participation, it is necessary to consider the environment. Where UNPAN's framework for inclusion falls short is in assuming that access to ICTs will foster other individual capabilities and opportunities to achieve valued functionings. While rightly focusing on value, the framework too narrowly focuses on access without defining opportunity.

The Capabilities Approach Framework for e-Participation introduced in this dissertation

can be separated into five stages. It accounts individual differences by placing the individual ahead of the resources. Through these first two stages, the individual has the opportunity to utilize ICTs and ICI which includes e-Government services as well as civic technologies and third-party applications such as social media to interact with government within the governance process. Whether e-Participation and e-Democracy takes place is dependent upon the citizen's capacity to employ the core set of capabilities listed in stage three. As the research findings showed, these capabilities can enhance citizen's opportunities to achieve value through e-Participation, intrinsic as well as instrumental.

From a policy standpoint, the capability set is positioned inside the governance process. It resides there as a reminder for government and its actors to promote policies and programs that cultivate citizen's existential capabilities beyond the capability of access alone. While the findings show environmental conditions influence, and in some cases override paper freedoms, the government is still a vital facilitator in fostering the core set of capabilities.

Once citizens decide to participate in the governance process, the next stage influences citizens' ability to achieve valued functionings. This is called the 'conversion process' and where real freedoms are distinguished from paper ones. As evident from the research, not all policies set at the national level are implemented locally that is why it is important for governments to support the conversion process. The conversion process itself is similar to Easton's political system or 'black box' where demands and supports are regarded as inputs but are instead converted into valued functionings for the Government and for the citizens they serve. This is accomplished through participatory governance, which in turn outputs ordinances and policies that are generated through e-Participatory activities. Unlike Easton's Systems Theory, the individual and the environment are symbiotically ingrained into the governance process. The environment in which e-Participation may flourish relies on each of the three spheres of e-Participation as well as the government system wherein democracy takes place, something that the UNPAN framework and the one presented by Alampy exclude. It is this author's position that this is one of the reasons why so many frameworks have failed to achieve socially inclusive governance as social and political conditions are absent from the frameworks. Through the conversion process, the final stage incorporates value, since without value neither the government nor the citizens they serve will retain interest in e-Participation.

Although the modality of this framework is specific to the Philippines, the normative set of capabilities can be tailored to each country. The next logical step would be to do cross-county comparisons, which could ultimately lead to the operationalization of this approach or a more universal set of capabilities. By developing a framework that alters the emphasis of the policy and development discourse away from resources and on to the existential capabilities of individuals, it is this author's expectation that social inclusive governance through e-Participation will be realized in a more sustainable manner.