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1 Introduction: Environmental Advocacy and Policymaking

As sea levels rise and pollution spreads, people around the world are organizing to advocate for a better environment. They are protesting in the streets, lobbying politicians, filing public interest lawsuits, writing policy briefs, forming green companies, participating in local cleanup campaigns, installing eco-art, and engaging in many other activities that are all designed to change behavior and policy in ways that will improve environmental outcomes in communities around the world. Which of these advocacy strategies are the most successful in persuading citizens, governments, and businesses to change their behavior? Why are some strategies more successful than others? *Effective Advocacy* sets out to answer these vital questions by investigating the success of environmental advocates in East Asia.

East Asia has seen an "economic miracle" that has lifted the most people out of poverty in the shortest period of time in history, but that same "miracle" has also generated unprecedented levels of pollution. Indeed, East Asia's pollution now threatens the ecology and livability of the entire planet, so its environmental problems have become the world's environmental problems. The premise of this book is that its environmental solutions might serve as solutions for the world as well.

East Asia is a region of developmental states that have strong ties to business and are oriented toward economic development.[1] It is also a region of poorly institutionalized advocacy organizations; its civic organizations tend to be small, locally based, and volunteer run. Although most countries in the region have established green parties, their representation in national legislatures is insignificant.[2] Furthermore, political advocacy is severely repressed China,[3] faces significant legal restrictions in South Korea and Taiwan,[4] and has been legally and culturally discouraged in Japan.[5]

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And yet Japan has been leading the world in high emissions standards for decades, China has become the world's largest producer of photovoltaic panels and the world leader in renewable energy, and South Korea and Taiwan have both embarked on major green initiatives that involve not just green business development but also new national parks, widespread energy conservation, and comprehensive recycling efforts. Therefore, East Asia presents the opportunity to examine a set of countries that are puzzling: their political opportunity structures are such that we might expect poor environmental policy, but we find that governments in the region are among the world's most innovative in terms of proenvironmental policy development. East Asia's environmental advocates must be doing something right.

The task of this book is to discover which of their advocacy strategies work and why. We will study the strategies that are proving to be effective even under the hostile political conditions faced by advocates in East Asia in the hope that we might garner insights into how advocacy can be effective elsewhere in the world. This chapter begins with an overview of the advocacy and policymaking literature. It will then provide an explanation of the research design and logic of the book and conclude with a brief overview of the rest of the volume.

Environmental Advocacy and Policymaking

Environmental advocacy has a long, global history. From early conservation organizations such as the Plumage League in Europe (founded in 1889), the Sierra Club in the United States (founded in 1892), and the Wild Bird Society of Japan (founded in 1934) to advocacy groups with broad policy agendas such as the Natural Resources Defense Council (founded in 1970) and Greenpeace (founded in 1971) to more recent, digital-based organizations such as 350.org (founded in 2007) and Youth Strike for Climate (founded in 2018), individuals have joined together locally, nationally, and, increasingly, internationally to protect and improve the earth's environment. Scholars studying environmental politics have tended to look at the political dynamics of their efforts from two different perspectives: the grassroots level, studying environmental movements as a kind of social movement, and the elite level, studying environmental policy as a type of public policy.

Much of the social movement literature has been primarily concerned with democratization movements and regime change.[6] When social movement theories have been used to examine environmental politics, they have

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focused on how citizens mobilize their resources (economic, social, and political) to take advantage of political opportunities to promote their environmental causes. This strand of scholarship emphasizes advocacy strategies that are intended to mobilize publics who can then pressure elite actors (governmental and corporate) to improve their environmental policy and behavior.

One of the most common strategies studied by this branch of the literature is public protest. In public protests, advocates gather large numbers of people together in a public place in order to draw attention to their issue and pressure policymakers to develop better environmental policy.[7] In democratic systems, elected officials are commonly the target of the protests, where protesters threaten the electoral prospects of individual politicians and their parties if demands are not heeded.[8] In nondemocratic countries, public demonstrations are a nonelectoral method for citizens to voice concerns. While protesters may not be threatening the electoral prospects of authoritarian leaders, their potent dissatisfaction can undermine the legitimacy and credibility of political leadership, which even authoritarian leaders are keen to avoid.[9]

Around the world, public protests are usually peaceful, but sometimes they turn violent. Violent environmental protests offer similar political benefits to peaceful protests—raising the profile of a particular environmental issue and undermining the legitimacy of the leaders who have failed to resolve the issue peacefully—but at a very high cost. Commonly protesters are thrown in jail, but sometimes there can be mass violence with thousands killed at once when well-resourced companies work with corrupt local officials to crush dissent. Violent protests tend to be more common in undemocratic countries and in places where the protesters are socially and economically marginalized (e.g., indigenous communities, ethnic minorities, rural residents).[10]

A similarly contentious but more law-abiding strategy used by advocates is lawsuits. Filing a legal challenge against a polluting company, local government, or even national government is a lawful method for those seeking change. In democratic and undemocratic countries alike, environmental lawsuits are usually lost, but they offer another opportunity to raise the profile of the advocates' issues on the public agenda. Furthermore, in the rare case when plaintiffs do win their case, the win can be a very big one. Companies—not just the polluting company but all companies with similar profiles—can be forced to accept responsibility for environmental

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damage. Local and national governments can be required to enhance their enforcement of environmental regulations. Successful and even unsuccessful lawsuits can encourage lawmakers to enact proenvironmental legislation, benefiting many more people than just the original victims.[11] Perhaps even more importantly, lawsuits can shift the discourse surrounding elite and popular understandings about the environment and the responsibilities of government, corporations, and individuals to protect it.[12]

Critical to the effectiveness of both protests and lawsuits, whether they are used alone or in combination with one another, is engagement with the media. Fundamentally, both protests and lawsuits are intended to attract the attention of policymakers, and the media is ultimately the source of that attention. The constraints of the media often shape the timing, location, and content of protests, while important procedural moments in legal proceedings (e.g., when the lawsuit is filed, when major figures appear in court to testify, when the verdict is rendered) can create natural opportunities for activists to draw media attention to their issue.[13]

Turning toward less contentious modes of grassroots advocacy, scholars have also studied the role of nonpartisan environmental education. Environmental education, especially among children, is seen as a vital foundation for all other forms of advocacy. Children need to be exposed to the natural environment and given opportunities to enjoy it. They need to be taught how to behave in environmentally responsible ways and that they have a duty to care for the environment. Citizens who have an appreciation for nature are more likely to act in ways to protect and promote it.[14]

Another mode that is directed at emotional engagement of citizens and leaders is the extensive use of art and cultural symbols to give meaning to environmental issues and make those issues relevant to people's everyday lives. Whether this is achieved by having celebrities perform music at an event to support a cause[15] or offering spectacular visuals to make visible environmental beauties and horrors to those who cannot witness them firsthand,[16] the emotive power of art can be used to engage, enrage, and energize a previously passive population.[17] As a result, art can be a powerful tool for activists seeking change.[18]

Finally, one of the most potent forms of grassroots environmental advocacy is scaling direct local action—finding a specific location, implementing a positive, proenvironmental change there, and then working with others to disseminate the successful change to other localities. Local

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environmental projects require that activists execute concrete projects in actual places; they must do more than just talk about ideals and problems. Frequently, in order to make the projects successful, they must work closely with local authorities and collaborate with other related entities. Perhaps surprisingly, it is often the case that the local authorities who might have initially resisted local environmental projects become their greatest advocates.[19] When local environmental organizations are able to network together, they can spread the benefits of a small, local improvement over a much larger area, sometimes even changing policy at the national level and beyond.[20]

Shifting focus from scholarship emphasizing citizen-based, grassroots forms of advocacy to research examining environmental policy itself, we find several different strands of literature. Perhaps the most robust area of research has been on regulatory design, where scholars and practitioners work to generate new knowledge about the types of environmental regulations, as well as the process and governance structures most likely to generate the desired policy outcomes.[21]

However, scholars and advocates have long recognized that no matter how perfect a proposed regulation or policy is, it will never be adopted or implemented unless it gets the attention of policymakers.[22] Therefore, significant research has also been devoted to examining the best way for advocates to influence policy elites—to get their attention and convince them to design policies that favor the advocates' goals.[23] As the environmental agenda has become a global one, many of these elite-related strategies are global, involving influence brokers who move across national boundaries. The influence of international networks operates in several different ways: International actors (e.g., global nongovernmental organizations [NGOs], foreign governmental and nongovernmental actors, multinational corporations) can pressure domestic elites to change national laws to be more compatible with globally accepted norms.[24] Domestic elites can work with and through international networks to pressure policymakers in their own governments.[25] At the same time, numerous governmental, nongovernmental, and corporate actors are constantly seeking to reshape global discourse, agendas, and models in ways that are compatible with their own local and global goals.[26]

Collectively, the scholarship on environmental advocacy and policymaking has generated valuable new knowledge about how to design effective environmental policy, the processes through which it is developed, and the

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mechanisms through which advocates can exert influence on that process. Thus far, however, most studies have remained relatively narrow, focusing largely on the environmental politics in democratic countries located in western Europe and North America or international organizations or multinational corporations that have headquarters located in those two regions.

When scholars have studied environmental politics in East Asia, they have tended to focus on single countries, seeking to understand the environmental politics of China,[27] Japan,[28] South Korea,[29] or Taiwan.[30] To the extent that single books have tried to cover the region as a whole, they are generally edited volumes where individual chapters cover individual countries. While these volumes do draw commonalities across the countries within the region, they share an underlying assumption that East Asian politics is fundamentally different from politics found in Europe and North America. The authors frequently assume that because of those differences, any insights garnered from studying the politics of the region, while important, may have limited value in helping to understand politics in other parts of the world.[31]

Research Design

Effective Advocacy takes a fundamentally different perspective. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, East Asia represents a particularly "hard" case in which to study effective environmental advocacy: while some governments in the region are more democratic than others, they all have a multidecade history of following a developmental state model that favors business and is hostile to citizen-based advocacy.[32] As a result, while citizens may be very active at the local level, civil society in general and the advocacy sector in particular tend to be underdeveloped across the region. Concerned citizens face significant legal and social constraints when they seek to form nonprofit and advocacy organizations, so there are very few national, nonprofit organizations with large budgets and numerous professional staff members anywhere in the region.[33] Those organizations that do register as official nonprofit organizations and hire staff often take the form of government-organized NGOs, which have most of their funding or leadership or both coming from the government, or they find themselves working in close collaborative relationships with the state rather than as autonomous, independent organizations that challenge and confront government regularly.[34]

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There are some political advantages to the developmental state when it comes to making environmental policy. The largest is perhaps that when proenvironmental policy can be tailored to promote business interests, such as the many "green growth" initiatives found across the region, the resulting policies can be powerful, widespread, and quickly implemented.[35] On the flip side, when action to protect the environment goes against corporate interests or threatens political elites by raising the concerns of marginalized peoples, change is particularly hard. Although the region may be a leader in green energy and technology, East Asia is a global laggard in biodiversity preservation and environmental justice, and it continues to struggle with industrial pollution.[36]

Overall, advocates in East Asia have found it particularly difficult to persuade governments, businesses, and individuals to change their behaviors in ways that benefit the environment because of significant legal, political, and social barriers inhibiting political advocacy. The premise of this book is that it is useful to examine environmental advocates in East Asia to garner insights into how advocacy can be effective under difficult conditions. The assumption of the volume is that strategies that are effective in East Asia can be adapted to fit nearly any region of the world, since advocates in most places have it easier than they do in East Asia.

Effective Advocacy assumes that every community has unique political dynamics that have been shaped by its own particular culture, history, legal system, economic structure, and other factors. However, just as the experience of North America and Europe can generate insights into the nature of social movements and the tactics of policy entrepreneurs that can be applied to other contexts, lessons from East Asia's environmental advocates can be useful for policymakers, advocates, and citizens around the world as well. In fact, *Effective Advocacy* asserts that the insights gained from East Asia's environmentalists are likely to be more useful and more generalizable than those gained by looking at advocates located in Europe and North America because the strategies that work across East Asia do not require democracy, a free press, a rich advocacy sector, or a culture of national political engagement by citizens. If an advocacy strategy is effective across East Asia, it should work almost anywhere.

Although East Asia has experienced some of the worst pollution in world history,[37] in the last few decades it has become a world leader in many areas of environmental policymaking. It has some of the most stringent emission

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standards, highest use of renewable energy, extensive recycling infrastructure, and has been expanding its greenspace and protected natural areas. Despite their probusiness and antiadvocate orientations, governments in the region are among the world's most innovative in terms of proenvironmental policy development. Surely we can learn something useful from the environmental advocates in the region about how they can be effective in such difficult circumstances.

Thus, this study of effective advocacy is rooted in East Asia and will examine the issue of environmental policy in particular. By limiting the issue focus to the environment, I am able to control for the fact that the political dynamics of other policy areas might be very different. One would not expect the same configuration of interests and actors in the health care or foreign policy arenas to be the same as in the environment issue area. While, as will be discussed more in chapter 3 and in the conclusion, I suspect that the lessons from East Asia's environmentalists should have widespread application to other policy areas, this study focuses exclusively on the environment to limit the confounding factors that might influence advocacy effectiveness.

Similarly, by restricting the qualitative research to China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, I was able to control a number of factors that might otherwise cause variation among the cases, allowing me to focus on the factors in which I am most interested. All four places have a somewhat related cultural background rooted in rice cultivation and Confucianism. All four places experienced a period of "high-growth," rapid industrial development. All four places have export-oriented industrial structures. All four places have been dominated by probusiness governments for most of the past fifty years. All four have legal environments that restrict political advocacy, and none of them have green parties that are viable in national-level politics. All four have relatively small and underinstitutionalized advocacy sectors. All four have experienced significant, intense levels of pollution that resulted from their rapid development. All four have seen citizens and their organizations demand that their governments address the pollution problems, and governments and businesses in all four places have responded, developing significant and progressive environmental policies to address concerns raised by the public. Therefore, the four places have a number of similarities on variables likely to influence the ability of advocates to be effective in generating proenvironmental changes in policy and

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behavior among governments, businesses, and citizens, which makes it useful to consider them as "similar" as well as "hard" cases.

There are, of course, a number of ways in which the places are different. The most obvious is size—mainland China is the most populous country (1.4 billion people) and has the largest gross domestic product (at purchasing power parity) ($25 trillion) on the planet, while Taiwan is comparatively tiny with only 24 million people and a GDP (PPP) of $1.2 trillion. While the government on the mainland has been led by the Chinese Communist Party for the last 70 years, Taiwan's head of state is chosen through a democratic electoral process which has resulted in a regular change in ruling power. And yet, the governments of both the People's Republic of China (China) and the Republic of China (Taiwan) officially view themselves as belonging to "One China."

I do not take a stand on that very sensitive political topic. As will become obvious in the coming chapters, while there are some loose linkages between the environmental politics on the mainland and that on the islands of Taiwan, for the most part they can be considered separately. Their citizens vote in different elections; their political parties are different; their environmental organizations are different; their main universities and think tanks are different; their most influential businesses are different; their elected officials are different; their bureaucratic structures are different; and their relationships to international organizations are different.

Therefore, for rhetorical ease, the Republic of China will be referred to as Taiwan throughout this book and will be discussed as a "place," "country," "polity," and "society." None of these word choices are meant to imply anything about Taiwan's national sovereignty, which is not particularly relevant for this study. What matters for this study is that both China and Taiwan have functioning governments that make policies for their respective territories, and those governments respond to their local civil societies and business communities when making environmental policy.

Another important difference among these four countries, one that helps ensure variation on a key variable that might affect advocacy effectiveness, is their very different levels of experience with democracy. Japan is the oldest democracy in the region and was one of the first nonwhite, non-Christian, non-Western democracies in the world. Since 1947 it has had a democratic constitution that guarantees its citizens equality under the law; freedom of expression, assembly, and religion; and due process.

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It also guarantees human rights, protection from discrimination, freedom of movement, the right to a "minimum standard of wholesome and cultured living," and academic freedom.[38] Japan's democracy is not just a paper democracy. In the more than seventy years since its constitution came into force, it has developed a robust set of democratic institutions, values, and practices at both the elite and grassroots levels of society that continue to evolve as Japan's political culture changes over time.[39]

South Korea and Taiwan are newer democracies. They both experienced lengthy and sometimes brutal occupations by Japan (South Korea from 1910 to 1945 and Taiwan from 1895 to 1945). Following Japan's defeat, they suffered destructive civil wars and found their prewar territories split into two parts politically, with a communist party gaining influence over one section of territory and a nationalist or democratic party occupying another section. In both places, that political division remains in place and continues to be a defining issue in each country's politics. Their domestic civil wars put them on the front line of the global Cold War, which was partly responsible for protracted periods of martial law and military governments that directed export-led rapid industrial development during the 1970s and 1980s. Economic growth led to the expansion of the middle class and calls for more political freedom in the 1980s. Both countries engaged in relatively peaceful democratization processes in the late 1980s.[40] South Korea revised its constitution and held its first democratic election in 1987. In Taiwan, martial law was lifted in 1987, and the constitution was revised to allow for free elections in 1991.

South Korea and Taiwan are both considered to be part of the third wave of democracy, which spread across the globe and coincided with the breakup of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s.[41] Although they have struggled with some undemocratic practices such as high-level corruption and "blacklisting" political opponents,[42] their citizens enjoy equal protection under the law and freedom of speech and assembly, and they have highly competitive elections that enable citizens to hold their leaders directly accountable.

Finally, mainland China is not democratic—its constitution uses the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" to describe its political system. While China's constitution grants its citizens equality under the law, freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly and religion, those individual rights are second to the rights of the state (Article 51). Similarly, although elections are frequently competitive, candidates have been preselected to limit voter choices to those acceptable to the Chinese Communist Party.[43] The traditional press

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is highly restricted, and while significant freedom is allowed on the internet, it too is frequently censored.[44] The NGO and civil society sector in China has been growing more diverse and more robust in recent decades, and the legal structure is becoming more sophisticated to cope with this expansion. During the 2000s the nonprofit and civil society sector expanded, with a proliferation of organizations and an increasing sophistication in the legal structure in which they operate. During the 2010s the growth and diversification of civil society stalled, and in some cases was reversed, as the state increased its political control over activists and their organizations.[45]

Thus, a focus on the northeast Asian region allows me to control for a number of variables that are likely to influence the frequency and effectiveness of advocacy strategies—their cultural background, export-oriented industrial policy, probusiness governments, high-speed economic growth, intense pollution problems, and small and legally constrained political advocacy sectors. And yet the four places have very different levels of experience with democracy.

Effective Advocacy is concerned with the strategies that activists of all kinds can use to inspire (and sometimes compel) proenvironmental behavior change on the part of governments, businesses, and citizens. It takes a very broad view of what "counts" as advocacy. For the purposes of this book, environmental advocacy is an organized, collective effort to promote behavior or policy change in proenvironmental ways.

Thus, individual, private environmental efforts are not included under this definition. For example, an individual who decides to compost may be involved in environmental action, but for the purpose of this book, the individual's action would not constitute environmental advocacy. However, if an individual joins his or her neighbors to promote community composting and organizes a community garden event to encourage members of a community to compost, that action would be considered advocacy since the effort is an organized, collective action to promote proenvironmental behavior change. This broad definition is intended to capture a culturally diverse set of advocacy efforts and strategies in order to investigate how advocacy goals, strategies, and efficacy might vary by region and regime type.

This definition of advocacy is consistent with most of the literature on advocacy, but it includes a broader range of actors than are sometimes considered to be advocates by political scientists. In the popular press, *advocacy* is a fairly general term that can be employed by a wide range of people. In

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his book *Advocacy: Championing Ideas and Influencing Others* (2012), John Daly emphasizes the importance of communication strategies. In his words, "If new ideas are to gain the attention and support of decision makers, they must be touted in memorable and persuasive ways."[46] For Daly, advocacy is not just about influencing public policy but also about the process of getting one's idea adopted by others, whether they are corporate CEOs, school principals, or national legislators.

Although he does not generally use the word *advocacy*, John Kingdon's pathbreaking work on policymaking, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (1984) describes the interaction of a wide range of actors—including bureaucrats, politicians, business leaders, grassroots activists, scientists, and public intellectuals—as they collectively make and implement public policy. In his model, these different actors, all of whom have different stakes in the outcome, struggle to get their preferred policy alternative onto the public agenda, into the mix of alternatives from which decision makers are choosing, selected as the policy to be adopted, and eventually implemented.

Expanding on Kingdon's model, Paul Sabatier specifies this process further by developing his concept of "advocacy coalitions," which are "composed of people from various organizations who share a set of normative and causal beliefs and who often act in concert. At any particular point in time, each coalition adopts a strategy(s) envisaging one or more institutional innovations which it feels will further its policy objectives."[47] For Sabatier, the people involved in these coalitions are as diverse as those in Kingdon's model—they can be grassroots activists, academics, oil tycoons, bureaucrats, and everyone in between. As would be expected, the kinds of policies for which these coalitions might be advocating are as varied as their memberships. Proenvironment coalitions of grassroots activists, scientists, global NGOs, and supportive politicians and bureaucrats might advocate on behalf of strict emissions standards and subsidies for clean energy, while those policies would be opposed by advocates on the other "side," who might consist of oil company executives, a different set of scientists, and another group of politicians and bureaucrats. All the actors on both sides are considered to be advocates, working to convince the other side that they are right and their preferred policies should be adopted.

This book takes a similarly broad view of who "counts" as an advocate. Essentially, anyone who is participating in an organized, collective effort to promote behavior or policy change in proenvironmental ways counts as an

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advocate and is considered to be engaging in advocacy. These people might be grassroots activists. They might be working inside global corporations to make change from within, or individual entrepreneurs building green businesses and seeking to change corporate culture and finance systems. They might be bureaucrats or political leaders. The only thing that is required is that they are working with others in an organized effort to promote proenvironmental behavior and policy change.

The research presented here is based on two primary sources: fieldwork conducted in East Asia during short and medium-length research trips between 2010 and 2019, and two original databases—one of environmental organizations in the region and another of environmental events that occurred around the world. More details about the interviews, as well as the databases and statistical techniques used to analyze them, can be found in appendix A.

As discussed earlier, the research design for this investigation was inductive—I sought to discover the answer to a puzzle: Why are East Asia's environmentalists so successful even while working under such hostile political conditions? My hope was that the answers to that question not only would generate insights into the nature of East Asia's environmental politics but would also offer lessons that advocates elsewhere could utilize in their own political contexts.

My methodology for selecting interview subjects was a combination of snowball (using one interview to generate additional interviews) and diversification (purposefully seeking out as diverse a range of actors related to environmental politics as I could reach). In particular, I endeavored to speak with government officials, advocates, business leaders, journalists, academics, artists, and grassroots volunteers in each country. I tried to connect both with people who were on the proenvironmental advocating side (e.g., NGO leaders) and with people who were the targets of that advocacy (e.g., government officials, business leaders). Some people (e.g., academics) were easier for me to access than others (e.g., Chinese officials), but in the end, I was able to talk with more than one hundred people from very different backgrounds, giving me a broad perspective on environmental advocacy in each country. Appendix A offers an overview of my interview subjects.

My interviews ranged from single, short meetings when I was able to catch someone I wanted to reach while he or she was at a conference or coming to or from the office, to multihour interviews conducted multiple times over the course of several years as I made return visits to high-quality

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sources to get updates and seek the names of additional people to contact. For the most part, my conversations lasted about an hour and were usually conducted in the person's office or at a local coffee shop where I was able to take notes as we talked.

The flow of our conversations generally followed the same pattern. I would begin by introducing myself and my project—investigating the seeming paradox of hostile advocacy conditions but comparatively good environmental policy outcomes in East Asia and seeking to discover "strategies that work." After a few descriptive questions about the person and his or her organization and position, I would ask short, open-ended questions designed to encourage my interlocutors to think creatively and in detail about the modes of advocacy that they see operating in their country, which ones they thought were particularly effective, and why they thought those strategies worked. Example questions include, "What do you think that advocates in [relevant country] do that is most effective?" "Why do you think that strategy works?" and "Can you give an example?"

I would close the interview by asking whether I could acknowledge them by name or if they wished to be anonymous, thanking them, and asking if there was anyone else whom they thought I should talk with about my project. Not all interview subjects who indicated a willingness to be named are actually named in this study. Political conditions have shifted since the time I conducted the interviews, so I have exercised my own judgment about the potential for personal harm when quoting directly. In all cases I have erred on the side of anonymity if I thought that anything they might have said to me could cause them difficulty. The safety of my interlocutors has been prioritized over all else.

In 2010 I set out to begin my fieldwork. It should be noted that what was supposed to be about a year in the field was interrupted rather abruptly by Japan's triple disaster when the March 11, 2011, earthquake in Tohoku triggered both a tsunami and a nuclear disaster. I was staying in Tokyo at the time with my family. We evacuated first to Kobe for a few weeks before returning to the United States.

In spite of the disruption, I was able to conduct significant fieldwork over the course of the year, speaking to more than sixty people across all four countries. To my astonishment, what had started as a project to document and investigate how democracy influenced advocacy strategies and effectiveness across East Asia turned into something rather different when

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I discovered that some of my fundamental assumptions were wrong or at least inadequate.

Based on my own and other authors' previous research, I had assumed that a country's experience with democracy should shape the kinds of strategies that its advocates employed, as well as their effectiveness. My question at the outset of this research was not so much whether democracy mattered, but how. I was curious to shed more light on the ways that advocates in mature democracies (Japan) were able to utilize a wider range of tools than those in newer democracies (South Korea and Taiwan), who in turn had more options than those in nondemocratic states (China). I wanted to discover which tools were available and effective in Japan that were not in South Korea and Taiwan or in China.

However, as I talked with my diverse set of interlocutors across all four countries, they did not indicate significant differences in effective advocacy strategies across countries. No matter whom I talked with in whatever country, they all kept giving me the same set of advocacy strategies that they thought were effective:

1) Cultivate policy access. Cultivate and empower friends who have policy access. For example, put a former Ministry of Environment official on the board of your NGO, or help the midlevel bureaucrat who knows nothing about the environment attend an international environmental conference.
2) Make it work locally. Successfully implement an environmental solution locally and then disseminate that success to other localities.
3) Make it work for business. Proenvironmental solutions that are also profit making (or cost reducing) are easy win-win-wins for advocates.
4) Educate. At the grassroots and at the elite levels, advocates can promote positive environmental outcomes by helping people understand environmental problems and the solutions that can address them.
5) Engage the heart. Use art (such as photography, documentary films, sculpture, public art, and music) to attract attention, help people to care about the environment, and inspire them to act.
6) Think outside the box—be a game changer. A small number of proenvironmental advocates have innovative ideas that change the entire landscape of advocacy for everyone. These game changers can be exceptionally effective advocates.

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It did not matter whether I was talking with a volunteering housewife in Tokyo, a Green Party activist in Taipei, a businessman in Seoul, or a professor in Beijing. While not every person I spoke with listed all six of these strategies, most people listed three or four, and these same six strategies showed up again and again in my conversations. In my interviews I could identify no pattern suggesting that there were substantial differences across the East Asian countries or according to the person's perspective (e.g., between NGO advocates and government officials). Tellingly, hardly anyone suggested that protests were particularly effective, and very few mentioned lawsuits. Media coverage and campaigns were discussed, but usually in conjunction with other strategies, not on their own. Thus, to my shock, the strategies that have garnered the most attention by environmental politics scholars were generally not mentioned by my interlocutors as particularly effective.

There were definitely some differences related to democracy that were in line with what I expected before starting my fieldwork—activists in China reported significantly more repression than those in the other countries, and those in South Korea and Taiwan exhibited more caution and concern about political retaliation than those in Japan. However, the variation seemed to be entirely about the level of repression and the repercussions of failed advocacy: Activists in Japan who failed went home and had a beer before returning to the effort another day. Those in South Korea and Taiwan who failed were sometimes put on a government blacklist that would limit their access to funding or policymaking, but they too were also able to go home and have a beer and try again another day. In contrast, activists who failed in China were occasionally thrown in jail, were put under house arrest, or disappeared. Very few were able to continue their advocacy after it had failed unless they left the country and persisted from abroad. Thus, the consequences of advocacy failure varied, but in terms of my core question—effective advocacy strategies—there was remarkable consistency.

This finding was not consistent with my expectations, so I sought some verification from outside my interview sample. I created a database of environmental organizations in the region and coded their activities. While this would not allow me to test the question of strategy effectiveness, I hoped it would enable me to verify (or call into question) the finding from my interviews that the strategies that environmental organizations in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and China were relatively similar. More about the methods related to this database can be found in appendix B.

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As will be discussed more in the next chapter, the quantitative analysis of the activities of organizations supported the reports of my interview subjects. Environmental organizations in China, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan employed similar advocacy strategies—they did not vary by level of democracy. Thus, one of the fundamental assumptions on which I had based this research was called into question: it may be that the most effective advocacy strategies are not particularly affected by regime type or length of experience with democracy. Perhaps effective advocacy strategies are effective no matter where you are.

Once again, my qualitative research would not be sufficient to test the broader applicability and effectiveness of these advocacy strategies. Rather than looking at the strategies that organizations were using—as explained by their websites—I sought to discover which strategies were being used on the ground in actual events, and which of those strategies seemed to be most effective.

Therefore, I created a new database based on cases of environmental advocacy gathered from media reports from around the world. From a pool of 3,390 environmental advocacy events in the five years from January 1, 2005, through December 31, 2009, I randomly selected 200 cases to investigate which strategies had been employed and whether the advocates had been effective. While certainly not a perfect test (challenges related to the study are discussed in more detail in the next chapter and in appendix B), the plausibility test appeared to confirm what was reported in my interviews and also the findings of the first quantitative study of organizations. Essentially, the strategies that East Asian environmental advocates were using to generate positive environmental outcomes under hostile political conditions were quite common around the world—everyone was using them. It turned out that effective advocacy strategies are effective no matter where you are.

As I was engaged in conducting and analyzing the large-*N* data, I returned to East Asia several more times to reinterview some people and to seek out new perspectives. I was more focused during these follow up conversations. I knew which strategies were effective; what I wanted to know was why. When I returned to East Asia for interviews in 2015, 2018, and 2019, I asked again about effective strategies (after all, the political situation in all of these countries was very different in 2018–2019 from how it had been in 2010–2011, so things might have changed), but this time I pressed harder

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on the why question. Why do you think that strategy was effective? How was it linked to other strategies? What was the process through which the advocacy strategy generated policy or behavior change?

My goal was to discover a common thread across all of the strategies. I sought to develop a coherent understanding of the political process surrounding environmental advocacy that could help explain why these particular strategies were effective under such a wide variety of political conditions. My intention was to develop a model of policymaking that could offer greater insight into the process through which advocates influence policy. The Connected Stakeholder Model (CSM), presented in chapter 3, is the result of these deliberations. The model offers a new conceptual framework for understanding the policymaking process. It helps explain why these particular advocacy strategies are effective, as well as why they are effective everywhere, not just in democracies.

In brief, the CSM posits that the key to understanding policymaking is to recognize that stakeholders involved in the policymaking process are not institutionally bound individuals with single interests. Rather, they are individuals who are connected to diverse and multiple networks, which enable them to develop complex ideas about the policies they are developing. The networks connected to the process are more important than the particular individuals, more important than the institutions from which the individuals come, and more important than the formal decision-making structure itself. Rather than focusing narrowly on the institutions and interests that are "at the table," scholars and advocates should pay more attention to the diverse networks linked to policymakers, including the informal channels of influences that these networks create to those "outside the room."

Overview of the Book

This chapter has presented the intellectual foundations on which the remaining chapters will build. Chapter 2 presents a "big picture" of advocacy around the world, examining how the various strategies that were investigated throughout the research are used by advocates around the world. It demonstrates empirically through statistical analyses that the strategies identified by my East Asian interlocutors are both common and effective everywhere in the world. It also digs into, but does not resolve, the

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complex ways that regime type influences advocacy success, and the consequences of advocacy failure.

Chapter 3 introduces the CSM as a conceptual framework for understanding how policies are made around the world. The model helps explain why certain advocacy strategies are more effective than others. It also helps us understand why some strategies, such as protests and lawsuits, might not be particularly effective when measured according how often their advocates succeed in gaining their stated goals but can sometimes be exceptionally effective in generating widespread cultural and political change.

Chapters 4–8 discuss five of the most effective advocacy strategies in turn: cultivate policy access, make it work locally, make it work for business, engage the heart, and be a game changer. Examples from all four of the East Asian polities will be used to illustrate and explain how these strategies work and why each is effective. The goal of these chapters is to provide lessons from East Asian advocates from which others can learn.

I do not have a chapter for the very important "educate" strategy, which involves environmental education at the grassroots level, as well as policy papers designed to educate at the elite level. The reason I have not dedicated a chapter to this strategy is not because it is unimportant, but rather because it has been extensively studied. Other scholars have already documented the critical role that environmental education plays in environmental advocacy.[48] Even in an East Asian context, there has already been considerable research on environmental education and its role in advocacy at the grassroots and elite levels.[49] In short, I did not believe that the strategy was neglected in the current literature, and I could not discern a distinct "lesson" from East Asia's environmentalists that would provide added value to my readers. As a result, although I discuss the "educate" strategy throughout the book in conjunction with other strategies, it does not have a separate chapter, even though it is a vitally important and effective strategy.

The concluding chapter of the book will bring all of these findings together and discuss their implications for advocates, policymakers, and scholars, as well as suggest some directions for further research.

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Effective Advocacy

Lessons from East Asia's Environmentalists

By: Mary Alice Haddad

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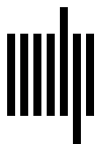

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