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The Chinese University of Hong Kong

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**To what extent do inertia and incrementalism dominate the policy process? Case of Mainland pregnant women giving birth in Hong Kong**

*Yang Sze Ngai*

從《十年》探討香港國族主義與身份認同  
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CUHK  
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# **To what extent do inertia and incrementalism dominate the policy process? - Case of Mainland pregnant women giving birth in Hong Kong**

Yang Sze Ngai

*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

**Abstract** From 2001 to 2011, the number of births given by Mainland women in Hong Kong has skyrocketed from 7,810 in 2001 to 43,982 in 2011, occupying a lot of public resources, leading to a lot of conflicts in the society. No wonder Hongkongers were furious about the government's inability to tackle the issue despite its continuous trials. On 16/04/2012, the then Chief Executive-elect CY Leung proposed "Zero Quota", surprising everyone in the society as the approach was different from the one being practiced for years. And the question is – why and how could he make this non-incremental change at that moment?

By using the ACF (Advocacy Coalitions Framework) as the theoretical framework, and reviewing different literature from government minutes to news, the author argues that inertia and incrementalism dominate the policy process to a large extent, with exception of CY's Leung non-incremental decision in April 2012.

## I. Background

In 2011-2012 members of different parties in Hong Kong have been concerned about the problem of non-local women giving birth in Hong Kong, and they were mainly from the Mainland.<sup>1</sup> There was specifically a growing trend of anger among netizens, for example in popular internet forums Baby Kingdom (BK) and Hong Kong Golden Forum (HKGf), of which the former being famous for mainly comprising local mothers, and the latter progressives and activists respectively. In late January 2012, netizens even gathered and designed Anti-mainlander advertisement posting in Apple Daily and Sharp Daily on 01/02/2012 by crowdfunding,<sup>2</sup> requesting the Government to amend Article 24 and ban the unlimited influx of the mainland pregnant women giving birth in Hong Kong.

The anger of Hongkongers and netizens had reasons behind, as Mao Zedong said, there is absolutely no such thing as love or hatred without any reason or cause.<sup>3</sup> From 2001 to 2011, the number of births given by Mainland women in Hong Kong has skyrocketed from 7,810 in 2001 to 43,982 in 2011, while the percentage of “doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women” giving birth in Hong Kong whose spouses are not Hong Kong permanent residents rose greatly from 7.9% in 2001 to 81.3% in 2011 among.<sup>4</sup>

Discussions and meetings have been held by scholars, media and legislative councilors and Government officials to cope with the

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1. As shown in documents, the HK Government mainly framed the problem as ‘pregnant Mainland women giving birth in Hong Kong’ (sometimes but seldom use “doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women”), because “*The Government does not differentiate non-local women giving birth in Hong Kong between “singly non-permanent resident pregnant women” and “doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women” for different treatment, such as different charges for the use of obstetric services*” (Footnote 1 in LegCo InfoNote IN15/11-12). While the media, scholars and legislative councilors have dubbed it more as “Anchor Babies” (Babies born to non-local women in HK), “Birth Tourism” (comparison with US Birth Tourism), “Double-No Pregnant Women”, “Double Negatives” and “Double illegitimacy” (both mother and father are neither Hong Kong residents). In this essay, I would like to follow the Government’s framing, but it should be noted that it is not a popular usage as it is relatively mild, lengthy and indirect to the crux of the problem, which is their “negativeness” making most Hong Kong people discontented, if not furious.

2. chinaSMACK. (2012). Anti-mainlander hong kong ad parodied, becomes internet meme. Message posted to <http://www.chinasmack.com/2012/pictures/anti-mainlander-hong-kong-ad-parodied-becomes-internet-meme.html>

3. Chinese “世界上沒有無緣無故的愛，也沒有無緣無故的恨。”

4. Hong Kong Legislative Council Info Note, “Measures to tackle the problem of pregnant Mainland women giving birth in Hong Kong” IN15/11-12, 14-15

problem. Different measures have been tried.<sup>5</sup> However, when the then Secretary for Food and Health York Chow was still discussing with Alan Lau, the then Head of the Hong Kong Private Hospitals Association (HKPFA) about the quota for doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women” of Private Hospitals in 2013,<sup>6</sup> the then Chief Executive-elect CY Leung spoke to media on 16/04/2012 after an event that he proposed “Zero Quota”, but not cutting quota gradually as being discussed by the then Government and then HKPFA, shocking everyone in the society, including York Chow as he did not know that CY Leung would propose “Zero Quota” to public at this stage.<sup>7</sup> Thus, CY Leung’s decision was doubtless a non-incremental one. However, questions remain - What made he make this non-incremental change, why did he make this at that moment, and how could he make that?

In this essay, I would like to illustrate my thoughts on these questions. Based on the case of Mainland pregnant women giving birth in Hong Kong, I argue that inertia and incrementalism dominate the policy process to a large extent, with exception of CY’s Leung non-incremental decision in April 2012. In the following, first, I would introduce the theoretical frameworks employed in this essay. Second, I would explain how inertia and incrementalism mainly guided the policy process before “Zero Quota” decision was made. Third, I would analyze the “Zero Quota” decision from different aspects using the ACF (Advocacy Coalitions Framework), explaining why this non-incremental decision was made. Finally, I would explain how inertia and incrementalism guided the policy process after the “Zero Quota” decision and conclude the essay with my limitations and suggestion possibly improving ACF.

## **II. Theoretical Frameworks**

In this essay, I would touch upon different concepts, which are inertia, incrementalism, change, ACF and policy process. Clarifications of them and their relationships matter as they would greatly affect the validity of the arguments in the essay.

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5. *ibid.*, 2-8

6. 梁振英：雙非明年截龍 (17 April 2012). *Oriental Daily* [http://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20120417/00176\\_019.html](http://orientaldaily.on.cc/cnt/news/20120417/00176_019.html)

7. 紀曉風 (18 April 2012). 搶開扮特首下雙非「指令」CY毀公務員合作基礎. *The Hong Kong Economics Journal*, Retrieved from <https://forum.hkej.com/node/84087>



For inertia and incrementalism, I agree with Cheung's way of identifying inertia being the focus of them even they are not necessarily equal as inertia contributes greatly to incrementalism, that is "*lowering the number of politically workable options.*"<sup>8</sup> Also, I would like to employ Cheung's way of using Hall's identification of three kinds of changes in policy to evaluate whether a change is incremental or not.<sup>9</sup> According to Hall, first order change is from '*experience and new knowledge*' without changing '*the overall goals and instruments of policy*'; secondary order change refers to altering instruments and settings of policy from past experience while remaining the overall goals of policy; third order change means the '*changes in all three components of policy: the instrument settings, the instruments themselves, and the hierarchy of goals behind policy*' which '*occurs relatively rarely*'<sup>10</sup> and could be considered as a 'paradigm shift'.

For ACF and policy process, I discuss them at the same time because one of the core assumptions of ACF is going beyond the traditional conception of policy process, dubbed as "stages heuristic",<sup>11</sup> which clearly separates the process into different stages such as problem identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, implementation, evaluation, etc.<sup>12</sup> Also, ACF suggests that when we conceive of policy subsystem we should go beyond the '*traditional notions of iron triangles limited to administrative agencies, legislative committees, and interest groups at a single level of Government to include actors at various levels of Government, as well as journalists, researchers and policy analysts*'<sup>13</sup> as they are also important in the policy process. In short, ACF "*focuses on policy change "over a decade or more" within sub-systems that include actors involved at all stages*",<sup>14</sup> while accepting the need to focus on a full, non-clearly-separated policy cycle.

8. Cheung Wai Yu (2015). Poverty Line in Hong Kong - how inertia and incrementalism still dominated the decision agenda. *Civilitas* (7), 8-9

9. *ibid.*, 12-13

10. Hall, P. A.. (1993). Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics*, 25(3), 278-279

11. Paul A. Sabatier (1998). The advocacy coalition framework: revisions and relevance for Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5:1, 98

12. Michael T Hayes (1992). *Incrementalism and Public Policy* (New York: Longman), 2

13. Paul Cairney (2012). *Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan), 203

14. *ibid.*, 215



Apart from aforementioned assumptions, ACF has other core arguments. It suggests, to understand the world, we should focus on policy participants, who are *'people from a variety of positions who share a particular belief system - i.e. A set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions - and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time'*.<sup>15</sup> These people form coalitions and are glued by beliefs, and compete with other coalitions within specialized policy subsystem.<sup>16</sup> In other words, these coalitions are not *'coalitions of convenience'* for *'short-term self-interest'*.<sup>17</sup>

Under ACF changes usually happen either coalitions learn to change for remaining competitive, usually with first or second order of change, or *"Secondary aspects"* of change such as *'funding, delivery and implementation of policy goals'*,<sup>18</sup> or there are external *'shocks'* such as election of a new Government with different ideas which may bring major change, that is, third order of change as identified by Hall, or *"Policy core beliefs"* pertaining to *'fundamental policy positions such as the proper balance between Government and market'*<sup>19</sup> which is *'akin to a religious conversion'*.<sup>20</sup> Yet, external source of changes might be *'mediated by the actors that represent a source of stability within subsystems'*,<sup>21</sup> which are, policy brokers, depending on the case.

### III. Hypotheses

Based on this model, fifteen hypotheses are developed and two of them are pertaining to policy change testing ACF.<sup>22</sup>

*Policy change hypothesis 1: The policy core attribute of a Governmental programme in a specific jurisdiction will not be significantly revised as long as the subsystem advocacy coalition that instituted the programme remains in power within that jurisdiction - except when the*

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15. Sabatier, Paul A., and Hank Jenkins-Smith (1988). An Advocacy Coalition Model of Policy Change and the Role of Policy Orientated Learning Therein, *Policy Sciences*, 21(2/3) , 139

16. Cairney, *op.cit.*, 200

17. Sabatier, Paul A., and Hank Jenkins-Smith (1993) *Policy change and learning : an advocacy coalition approach*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), 27

18. *bid.*, 31

19. *loc. cit.*

20. *loc. cit.*

21. Cairney, *op.cit.*, 201

22. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) The Advocacy Coalition Framework: An Assessment. In *Theories of the Policy Process*, ed. Paul Sabatier. (Boulder CO: Westview Press), 124

*change is imposed by a hierarchically superior jurisdiction.*

*Policy change hypothesis 2: Significant perturbations external to the sub-system (e.g. changes in socio-economic conditions, public opinion, system-wide governing coalitions or policy outputs from other subsystems) are a necessary, but not sufficient, cause of change in the policy core attributes of a Governmental programme.*

In the following, these two hypotheses would be tested with empirical findings on the subsystem on Mainland pregnant women giving birth in Hong Kong.

### III. Methodology

To dig into the process and course of change of this policy, archival research would be conducted by reviewing relevant literature, for example news reports, government meetings minutes, etc. Different stakeholders' and interest groups' discourse would be analyzed to help test ACF's hypotheses.

### IV. Before “Zero Quota”: Domination of Inertia and Incrementalism

The Government had noticed the problem for long and embarked on different measures, because the influx of mainland pregnant women to HK started more than a decade ago, as shown in the following table.

*Figure 1. Number of births given by Mainland women in HK from 1998-2014<sup>23</sup>*

Year	Type I Babies <sup>(1)</sup>	Type II Babies <sup>(2)</sup>	Others <sup>(3)</sup>	Total
1998	5651	458	<i>n.a.</i>	6109
1999	6621	559	<i>n.a.</i>	7180
2000	7464	798	<i>n.a.</i>	8262

23. Census and Statistics Department “Hong Kong Population Projections (2015-2064)”, <http://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B1120015062015XXXXB0100.pdf>; Census and Statistics Department “The fertility trend in Hong Kong, 1975–2004”, [http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/FileManager/EN/Content\\_818/fertility\\_mds\\_0405.pdf](http://www.censtatd.gov.hk/FileManager/EN/Content_818/fertility_mds_0405.pdf)

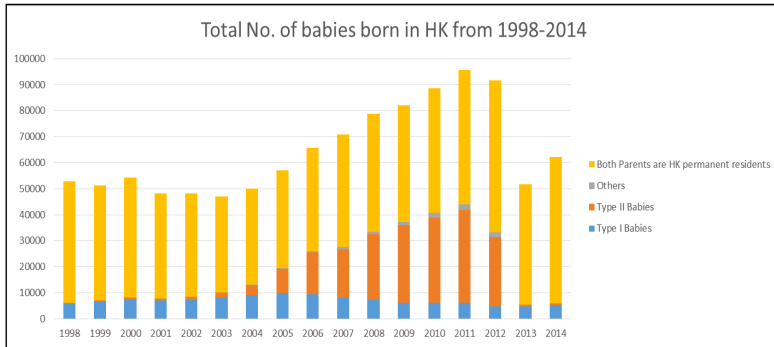
2001	7190	620	<i>n.a.</i>	7810
2002	7256	1250	<i>n.a.</i>	8506
2003	7962	2070	96	10128
2004	8896	4102	211	13209
2005	9879	9273	386	19538
2006	9438	16044	650	26132
2007	7989	18816	769	27574
2008	7228	25269	1068	33565
2009	6213	29766	1274	37253
2010	6169	32653	1826	40648
2011	6110	35736	2136	43982
2012	4698	26715	1786	33199
2013	4670	790	37	5497
2014	5179	823	22	6024

Notes

- (1). This refers to Father being a Hong Kong Permanent Resident;*
- (2). This refers to Father being not a Hong Kong Permanent Resident.*
- (3). This refers to Mainland mothers who chose not to provide the father's residential status during birth registration.*

To show the trend more clearly, and to better understand the root of Hongkongers' anger, I put together the above data and babies with both parents being Hong Kong permanent residents and make a table

**Figure 2. Total number of babies born in HK from 1998-2014**



From the above figures 1&2, we could see the overall trend over the last 17 years (1998-2014). As stated in different documents by different people, for example Emily Lau from Democratic Party,<sup>24</sup> or even Government information note, that the number of babies born in Hong Kong to Mainland Women started to increase sharply after the Court of Final Appeal (CFA) ruled in July 2001 that Chinese citizens born in Hong Kong had the right of abode in Hong Kong according to the Basic Law regardless of the status of their parents.<sup>25</sup> It is true for Type II babies, those being born to “doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women”. From 2001 to 2006, there was nearly a 100% increase of number of type II babies. It then slowed down from 2006 to 2007, but started to rise quickly from 2008 to 2011, reaching the top at 35, 736 in 2011 which accounted for nearly 50% of total number of babies born in Hong Kong. Due to different measures taken by the Government, the figures dwindled to 26,715 in 2012, then plunged down to less than 1000 from 2013 onwards after the “Zero Quota” coming into force.

From the figures, it can be observed that despite different measures taken by the Government, the trend kept rising which created a lot of problems, particularly pressuring the healthcare system, which will be discussed later. So, what exactly did the Government learn to “adjust

24. 劉慧卿 (22 July 2011). 內地孕婦到香港分娩的得失利弊. Retrieved from [http://www.dphk.org/index.php?route=news/press\\_releases&id=1580](http://www.dphk.org/index.php?route=news/press_releases&id=1580)

25. Hong Kong Legislative Council Info Note, “Population profile of Hong Kong” IN07/14-15

*the goals or techniques of policy in response to past experience and new information*"<sup>26</sup> and have a go at measures to cope with the problem?

## **V. 2004 - Late 2006: The Problem Had Once Been Alleviated with Some Changes**

At first, the problem was conceived as a matter of human resources and money that mainland pregnant women might cause pressure to medical services and more default payments, causing worse services and more monetary loss to the Hospital Authority. Therefore, the Government did try measures to solve these problems and the goals were clear - to tackle these two issues, and the situation had once been alleviated, but only for a while.

Dating back to 2004, members from different parties started to pay heed to the problem. Legislative Councilor Hon David Chu questioned the Government on this matter at the council meeting on 12/05/2004. The then Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food Dr.Yeoh Eng-kiong answered that the Government was discussing with Hospital Authority to improve the arrangements on collecting fees from non-Hong Kong residents giving birth in HK, instead of just collecting \$19,800 deposit upon their buying services from public hospitals at door , thus lowering the amount of default on payment. Also, pregnant women were allowed to enter Hong Kong if they held eligible travel documents.<sup>27</sup> At the Hospital Authority (HA) Administrative&Operational Meeting (AOM) on 23/09/2004, one member Mr Lo Chung-hing "*requested Government to pay more attention to the possible drain of healthcare resources resulting from an increasing patronage of public hospital services by Non-entitled persons from Mainland China.*"<sup>28</sup> Dr.Yeoh did express his views and reply that HA should focus on core operation and not "*actively pursuing the various revenue generation Initiatives*",<sup>29</sup> implying that HA should not rely on the mainland pregnant women for profit.

The usage of non-Hong Kong residents swiftly changed to

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26. Hall, *op.cit.*, 278

27. Hong Kong Legislative Council (12 May 2004) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 4115-4116, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr03-04/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm0512ti-translate-c.pdf>

28. Hospital Authority (23 Sep 2004) *Administrative & Operational Meeting Minutes.*, 5, Retrieved from [https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad\\_bnc/125622e.pdf](https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad_bnc/125622e.pdf)

29. *lop.cit.*

“Mainland women” at 07/07/2004 council meeting,<sup>30</sup> and the then Secretary for Health, Welfare and Food York Chow answered Hon Li Kwok-ying’s question at 27/10/2004 council meeting, saying that Hospital Authority has implemented new measures to prevent default payments, for example contacting the patients’ relatives by mail and call, reminding the patients of their responsibility to foot the bill and provide correct contact information, providing more payment methods for patients’ convenience. For dealing with increased workload, hospitals adjusted the schedule and recruited more part-time nurses, etc.<sup>31</sup> Subsequently at 10/11/2004 Council meeting, York answered Hon James Tien’s and some other councilors’ questions that HA was considering different proposals, such as increasing the amount of deposit, which would be discussed in LegCo Panel on Health Services. Also, as for Hon Albert Cheng’s question on the rumors among Chinese that parents could get right of abode in HK if their kids were born in HK, York said he had seek help from The Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office.<sup>32</sup>

In this stage, from Dr. Yeoh Eng-kiong to York Chow’s actions and replies, we could see the Government did consider the same concerns (human resources and monetary loss), and kept adjusting the methods, instruments and settings of policy without changing the overall goals of policy. Regarding human resources, the Government tried to adjust the schedule and recruit more part-time nurses. As for monetary loss, the Government tried different methods to make sure they could collect the fees. (i.e. first order changes) York even tried new instrument – seeking help from The Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office, which went beyond the jurisdiction of the Health, Welfare and Food Bureau. (i.e. Secondary order change)

The Government did try some other methods, for example thinking of preventing pregnant women from entering HK, but Security Bureau replied Hon LAU Kong-wah’s question on 19/01/2015 Panel on Security that *“the effectiveness of such a measure would probably be limited.”*

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30. Hong Kong Legislative Council (07 July 2004) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 5589, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr03-04/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm0707ti-translate-c.pdf>

31. Hong Kong Legislative Council (27 Oct 2004) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 481-483, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm1027ti-translate-c.pdf>

32. Hong Kong Legislative Council (10 Nov 2004) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 803-808, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm1110ti-translate-c.pdf>

as “It is difficult to establish whether an individual visitor is pregnant” and “might even prompt Mainland women who have the intention to give birth in Hong Kong to enter Hong Kong at an early stage of pregnancy and overstay to give birth.” Meanwhile, it is also “difficult for Mainland authorities to prevent pregnant women from leaving the Mainland.”<sup>33</sup>

Some members held reservations with the method of increasing fees by several members in HP AOM meeting but agreed to try increasing the amount of services.<sup>34</sup> Thus, HP introduced an HK\$20,000 obstetric package charge for Non-Eligible Persons (“NEPs”)<sup>35</sup> for a stay of three days and two nights in all public hospitals from 01/09/2005.<sup>36</sup> Afterwards, there were less default payment, from 20% in year 2003-04 to 14% after the package<sup>37</sup> and less mainland pregnant women giving birth in public hospitals as more of them went to private hospitals.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, the problem of default payments and pressure on public hospitals services has once been alleviated with these first or second order changes.

## **VI. Late 2006 - 2010: The Problem Had Once Deteriorated but got alleviated**

The market (i.e. Birth Tourism) was growing fast and making the problem more serious again. In November 2006 there were some local pregnant women demonstrated in Central against the increase of mainland pregnant women which made local pregnant women wait for a long time for services, if not sleep in the corridor.<sup>39</sup> Also, due to higher pay and

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33. Hong Kong Legislative Council Panel On Security (19 Jan 2005) Papers “Mainland Women Giving Birth in Hong Kong” Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/english/panels/se/papers/se0119cb2-654-3e.pdf>; Hong Kong Legislative Council (08 May 2005) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 5430-5432, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm0608ti-translate-c.pdf>

34. Hospital Authority (24 Feb 2005) *Administrative & Operational Meeting Minutes.*, 9-10, Retrieved from [https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad\\_bnc/126594e.pdf](https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad_bnc/126594e.pdf)

35. NEP refer to children under 11 years of age who are not Hong Kong residents and persons who are not holders of Hong Kong Identity Cards

36. Hong Kong Legislative Council (08 May 2005) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 5430, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm0608ti-translate-c.pdf>

37. Hong Kong Legislative Council (05 Jul 2006) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 6062, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr05-06/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm0705-translate-c.pdf>

38. Hong Kong Legislative Council (15 Nov 2006) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 1285, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr06-07/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm1115-translate-c.pdf>

39. 首重照顧本地孕婦 加內地孕婦收費抑需求 (20 Nov 2006), *Ming Pao*; 大陸孕婦逼爆產房 香港媽媽血淚檔案 (23 Nov 2006) *Next Magazine*: 872



more comfy working environment from private hospitals<sup>40</sup> which earned a lot from mainland pregnant women,<sup>41</sup> nurses fled from public hospitals to private hospitals, adding on the burden on public hospitals.<sup>42</sup> Apart from that, the problem extended to long-term policy planning of Hong Kong, mainly about population policy. The Government did incremental changes in various aspects, such as increasing the fees again.

At 06/12/2006 Council meeting, Legislative councilors questioned on the research on the possible impact on schools or other social services caused by these babies, the then Secretary for Security Ambrose Lee promised to discuss with Census and Statistics Department (C&SD) on doing a research.<sup>43</sup> At the same meeting, York Chow said that the Government was not clear about why the figure of mainland women delivering in HK rose significantly and unusually in Oct 2006 which might be due to commercial activities.<sup>44</sup> York also fled to Beijing with some other high-rank officials to meet with Ministry of Health of the People's Republic of China discussing the issue in Dec 2006.<sup>45</sup>

The Government tried two major ways to deal with the problem from 01/02/2007. First, it required that all non-local women should make prior booking with local hospitals if they wish to seek obstetric service in Hong Kong. Second, it raised the package fees in public hospitals to HK\$39,000 for those who have prior booking and antenatal check-up, and HK\$48,000 for those who have not.<sup>46</sup> Figures proved these measures effective that the number of mainland pregnant women delivering in public hospitals and delivered by gate-crashing dropped by 12.8% and 92.2% respectively.<sup>47</sup> The HP also helped “*facilitate the booking of non-local mothers in the private sector.*”<sup>48</sup> Also, a cross-departmental

40. 薪金不及私院「憑什麼招人」(07 Dec 2007), *Ming Pao*

41. 私家醫院爆滿 豬籠入水 (28 Oct 2006), *Ming Pao*

42. 公院護士大逃亡 年內流失千人 生力軍難補充 (21 Dec 2006), *The Sun*

43. Hong Kong Legislative Council (06 Dec 2006) Council Meeting Minutes., 1772-1778, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr06-07/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm1206-translate-c.pdf>

44. *ibid.*, 1775-1776

45. 周一嶽明赴京商孕婦潮 (11 Dec 2006), *Ming Pao*

46. Hospital Authority (21 Dec 2006) *Administrative & Operational Meeting Minutes.*, 7-8, Retrieved from [https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad\\_bnc/131137e.pdf](https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad_bnc/131137e.pdf)

47. Hong Kong Legislative Council (11 Nov 2009) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 1094, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr09-10/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm1111-translate-c.pdf>

48. Hospital Authority (21 Dec 2006) *Administrative & Operational Meeting Minutes.*, 9, Retrieved from [https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad\\_bnc/131137e.pdf](https://www.ha.org.hk/haho/ho/cad_bnc/131137e.pdf)

committee led by the then Chief Secretary for Administration Rafael Hui initiated the C&SD to start a research on the impact brought the Type I and Type II babies, and C&SD conducted six rounds of “Survey on babies born in Hong Kong to Mainland women” during 2007-2012 later.<sup>49</sup> From the above steps taken, we could see the Government did try to cope with the problem incrementally by trying first order changes: Regarding human resources, the Government tried to require prior bookings for better human resources planning. As for monetary loss, the Government raised the fees. To try to alleviate the situation, York kept trying to seek help from Mainland Government. As for the effect of externalities, cross-departmental committee was established to conduct research, which is a new instrument. (i.e. secondary order change)

## **VII. 2010 - Early 2012: The Problem Deteriorated Again**

Despite raising package fees in public hospitals and directing the pregnant women to private hospitals, Hong Kong still could not accommodate the huge demand from mainland pregnant women. Former Chief Executive Donald Tsang announced the development of six industries where Hong Kong enjoyed clear advantages in his 2009 policy address, including “Medical Services sector”. However, Hong Kong has suffered from the shortage of medical professionals for long, and reasonably could not deal with the huge demand from consumers.<sup>50</sup> Medical staff from eight public hospitals formed Hong Kong Obstetric Service Concern Group and requested the Government to pay heed to the problem of high turnover rate in public hospitals, also suggested setting quotas for mainland pregnant women giving birth in Hong Kong lest private hospitals should keep expanding obstetric services and poaching staff from public hospitals.<sup>51</sup> The Government tried many more measures this time, but were still first or secondary order changes.

The Government did not raise the package fee this time. It continued previous efforts in reinforcement of monitoring and communication with Mainland Government. In addition, the Government tried to deal with

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49. C&SD published “Babies Born in Hong Kong to Mainland Women” in 2011: <http://www.statistics.gov.hk/pub/B71109FB2011XXXXB0100.pdf>

50. 葉劉淑儀 (07 Nov 2011) 強推產業化 醫療業淪「慘」業 Retrieved from <http://www.reginaip.hk/zh-hk/node/1140>

51. 內地孕婦攻陷公院 (29 Mar 2011), *The Sun*

Private Hospitals, and crack down on illegal activities, which were all incremental changes. (i.e. first and secondary order changes)

For instance, the “Certificate on confirmed antenatal and delivery booking” has been standardized by the Department of Health for issuance by hospitals to pregnant women who were suitable to give birth in Hong Kong, facilitating the Government to monitor the utilization of delivery places.<sup>52</sup> Also, Food and Health Bureau has appropriated \$200,000,000 more to HA in 2011 such that it could recruit more staff.<sup>53</sup> The Government has also deployed more immigration officers and medical staff from the Immigration Department and the Department of Health to control points to help stop the influx of pregnant Mainlanders without bookings, banning 1930 out of 44600 checked.

The Government also set quota with different parties,<sup>54</sup> cooperated with the Mainland Authorities to crack down on illegal middlemen<sup>55</sup> and coaches which generated profits from the mainland pregnant women<sup>56</sup>, wined up unlicensed hostels putting up pregnant Mainland women, reviewed the fees.<sup>57</sup> Whether they were effective in solving the problem will not be discussed here for fear that we might lose focus. Rather, we could see that what the Government has been doing over the years were incremental, which were first or secondary order of changes. However, CY Leung made a non-incremental change - “Zero Quota”.

## VIII. “Zero Quota”: What was happening before and after it?

That mainland pregnant women giving birth in HK was not the only prevalent topic in HK in early 2012. At the same time, Chief Executive election was another hot topic people discussed and saw in media every

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52. Hong Kong Legislative Council Info Note, “Measures to tackle the problem of pregnant Mainland women giving birth in Hong Kong” IN15/11-12, 3

53. 護士流失千人創新高 今年擬聘1700人 (16 Apr 2011), *Ming Pao*

54. Hong Kong Legislative Council (11 May 2011) *Council Meeting Minutes.*, 7127-7128, Retrieved from <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr10-11/chinese/counmtg/hansard/cm0511-translate-c.pdf>

55. 「手上有很多香港私家醫生」中介到港產子月袋千萬 (13 Apr 2011), *Apple Daily*

56. Steps ensure obstetrics service sustainability (28 Apr 2011), *Hong Kong Government News*, Retrieved from [http://archive.news.gov.hk/en/categories/health/html/2011/04/20110428\\_121404.shtml](http://archive.news.gov.hk/en/categories/health/html/2011/04/20110428_121404.shtml)

57. Former Chief Executive said in the Question and Answer Session at the LegCo meeting on 19/01/2012

day. CY Leung, being one of the candidates having the campaign slogan “One Heart, One Vision”, had already proposed “*defer setting a quota for non-local pregnant women in private hospitals for 2013 onwards*”<sup>58</sup> and “*Hong Kong property for Hong Kong residents*”<sup>59</sup>, which earned him attention and some credits.

It should be noted that the issue of mainland pregnant women giving birth in HK was inextricably linked with the broader context - Hong Kong mainland contradictions. Apart from “doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women”, there were a lot of disputes, for example D&G incident<sup>60</sup>, Kong Qingdong’s calling Hongkongers as dogs<sup>61</sup>, etc. Also, it should also be noted that CY Leung was not expected to win the election at first, as shown by polls, but he finally won the election with 689 votes, well ahead of chief rival Henry Tang, who received 285 votes. despite having a string of scandals, including allegedly suggesting crack down on protesters with riot police and tear gas in 2003<sup>62</sup> and failing to declare conflicts of interests regarding West Kowloon cultural hub project competition.<sup>63</sup>

CY Leung and Henry Tang represented different interest groups. Henry Tang was one of the founding members of right-wing Liberal Party in Hong Kong, which supported laissez faire, “Big Market, Small Government”, “positive non-interventionism” and Former CE Donald Tsang advocated.<sup>64</sup> He quitted it in 2002 for joining Government. He has worked in the Government for nine years since then, having been the Financial Secretary and Chief Secretary for Administration. Still, due to his family background and his business, he was in good relationships with local capitalists. Thus, local capitalists were in favor of Henry in the election despite the discovery of a huge illegal addition at his home, hoping that Henry would remain the inclined policies when he becomes the CE, which also implied former CE Donald Tsang’s policies inclining

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58. C.Y. Leung, *Manifesto for the Chief Executive Election 2012*, 13

59. *ibid.*, 20

60. 禁拍風波後D&G向香港市民道歉 (18 Jan 2012), *BBC 中文網*

61. Jonathan Watts (24 Jan 2012) Chinese professor calls Hong Kong residents ‘dogs of British imperialists’, *The Guardian*

62. Tang accuses Leung in ‘tear gas’ row (17 Mar 2012), RTHK English News

63. Phila Siu (10 Feb 2012) It’s not my fault, *The Standard*

64. Donald Tsang, Big Market, Small Government, Chief Executive Office, Retrieved from <http://www.ceo.gov.hk/archive/2012/eng/press/oped.htm>

to capitalists.<sup>65</sup>

The public had this perception too. From a poll done by CUHK, 83% of respondents thought if Henry Tang become the CE he would be favorable to capitalists, while 62% of respondents thought CY Leung's being CE would do good to the grassroots.<sup>66</sup> It was not hard to understand, as the richest man in HK, Li-Ka Shing, supported Henry Tang unusually<sup>67</sup>, while CY Leung actively went to different districts and engaged with the public<sup>68</sup>, with his declaration to stand for election and party platform stating "*There is no need or major reversal of policy. We only need an appropriately proactive government which seeks changes whilst maintaining overall stability.*"<sup>69</sup> showing that he would not follow past ideology once should he become the CE, and that's why he could get the support from Ho Hei-wah, the director of the Society for Community Organisation who was called "Voice of the Poor".<sup>70</sup> Thus, I argue that CY Leung and Henry Tang represented different coalitions. And I would go back to our focus in this essay now.

## IX. "Zero Quota": External Shock to Dominating Coalition Shifting Paradigm

After CY Leung won the election, he wrote an article named "HK Momentum"<sup>71</sup>, meaning that HK could not waste any more time to solve our problems, and he did act fast and sharply. As aforementioned, the Government has taken a lot of measures, which were all incremental, first or secondary order changes to deal with Mainland pregnant women giving birth in HK. Even in the info note provided by LegCo research office on 06/03/2012 (Note no. IN15/11-12), it was stated that "*The Hospital Authority Taskforce on Obstetric Services for Non-eligible Persons has proposed that in 2013, half of the eight public hospitals*

65. 羅金義·鄭宇碩(2013)。*《留給梁振英的棋局—通析曾蔭權時代》*。香港：香港城市大學出版社，360。

66. 八成人指唐任特首利財團 (21 Jan 2012), *Ming Pao*

67. Tanna Chong and Emily Tsang (17 Mar 2012) Li Ka-shing voices his support for troubled Tang, *SCMP*

68. 羅金義·鄭宇碩, *loc. cit.*

69. C.Y. Leung, *Manifesto for the Chief Executive Election 2012*, 5

70. Emily Tsang (08 Oct 2012) Fight never over for Ho Hei-wah, 'Voice of the Poor', *SCMP*

71. 梁振英, *香港速度*, Retrieved from [http://www.ceo.gov.hk/chi/pdf/reorg\\_elect/HK\\_Momentum.pdf](http://www.ceo.gov.hk/chi/pdf/reorg_elect/HK_Momentum.pdf)

with obstetric services should stop admitting non-local pregnant women and the quota for the remaining four hospitals should be reduced to below 3000 in total.<sup>72</sup> which means the Government was planning to discuss with private hospitals on the quota in 2013, as replied by the then Secretary for Food and Health Bureau York Chow to media after CY Leung's telling the media the quota be zero on 16/04/2012.<sup>73</sup>

CY Leung's decision was non-incremental and regarded as third order change. The decision was non-incremental as (1) He rejected the negotiations and cooperations with private hospitals, changing the way the Government has been doing for years, which made them feel "*they had no choice but to comply with Mr. Leung's wishes*"<sup>74</sup> (2) He disapproved of current Government officials' work violently and disrespectfully without proper communication in advance.

It was indeed a paradigm shift as it no longer put 'big market' as the top priority, thus neglecting the private sectors. (i.e. private hospitals) Also, it no longer put 'procedures' as the most important principle, thus neglecting the current Government officials even he has not yet taken office. However, he did gain widespread support from different parties, ranging from pro-establishment camps to pan-democrats, including DAB, FTU, Democratic Party, Civic Party, etc.<sup>75</sup> He also gained much support from netizens too because of this decision. There was only a few opposition to his decision, for example People Power criticizing that CY Leung's act of overriding the Government<sup>76</sup> and commentator criticizing his stunning populist act destroying the usual paradigm and the basis for cooperation with civil servants.<sup>77 78</sup> But these were minor and CY Leung was supported generally.<sup>79</sup> On 19/04/2012, there was an interview released in Financial Times that CY Leung reiterated the future principle of "pro-active" administration.

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72. Hong Kong Legislative Council Info Note, "Measures to tackle the problem of pregnant Mainland women giving birth in Hong Kong" IN15/11-12, 4

73. 梁振英叫停雙非配額 (17 April 2012), *Sing Tao Daily*

74. Hong Kong to limit mainland China maternity services (25 April 2012), *BBC News*

75. 零雙非公院紓壓·港產科服務料回正軌 (18 April 2012), *Ming Pao*

76. 人民力量批梁雙非論是架空政府 (17 April 2012), *i-cable 即時新聞*

77. 蕭若元·(2015)·《香港大撕裂(上)：香港的命運系列 雨傘運動》。香港：Hong Kong New Media Limited·152-153。

78. 紀曉風 (18 April 2012). 搶閘扮特首下雙非「指令」CY毀公務員合作基礎. *HKEJ*

79. 何潔霞 (27 April 2012) 停“雙非”得人心, *經濟導報*

## X. Analysis using the framework of ACF

Under ACF, CY Leung's non-incremental tested hypotheses 1&2 positively. For better discussion, we first review the two hypotheses here:

*Policy change hypothesis 1: The policy core attribute of a Governmental programme in a specific jurisdiction will not be significantly revised as long as the subsystem advocacy coalition that instituted the programme remains in power within that jurisdiction - except when the change is imposed by a hierarchically superior jurisdiction.*

*Policy change hypothesis 2: Significant perturbations external to the sub-system (e.g. changes in socio-economic conditions, public opinion, system-wide governing coalitions or policy outputs from other subsystems) are a necessary, but not sufficient, cause of change in the policy core attributes of a Governmental programme.*

Before CY Leung's victory in the Chief Executive election, Government officials responsible for dealing with this issue have been trying different methods incrementally. Yet, with CY Leung's being elected the CE (i.e. a hierarchically superior jurisdiction), plus the external perturbations (the rise of social movements at that period) by proponents of change, the heretofore minority coalition<sup>80</sup>, he skillfully exploited the opportunity, supporting hypothesis 1.

Be that as it may, without the broader context mentioned above, that is, the societal atmosphere and his victory, he would not have had the chance to exploit the opportunity and win in the "contest of authority over the issues"<sup>81</sup>, thus easily making this non-incremental change against other coalitions, which are identified as the dominating coalitions of civil servants which emphasized procedure above other values, and coalitions of local capitalists and rightist people which emphasized the "Big Market, Small Government" ideology, or the mixture of them. As a result, hypothesis 2 is supported.

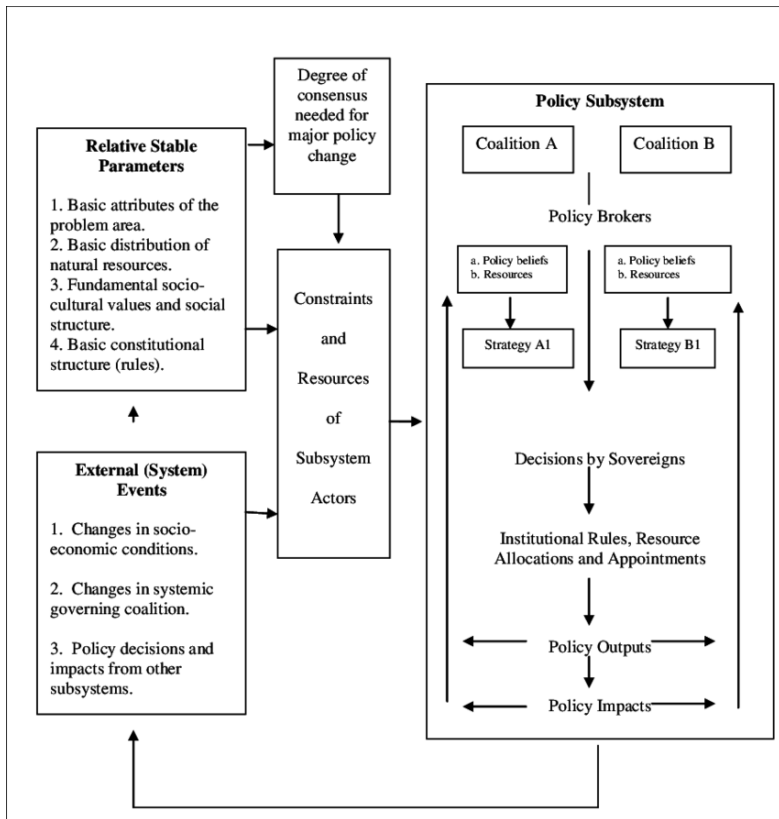
***Figure 3. General model of policy change focusing on competing Advocacy Coalitions within policy subsystems***

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80. Daniel Nohrstedt (2010). Do advocacy coalitions matter? Crisis and change in Swedish nuclear energy policy, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 20: 312

81. Hall, *op. cit.*, 280





From the ACF model, external events including (1) Changes in socio-economic conditions (2) Changes in public opinion (3) Changes in systematic governing coalition are present in the case, laying the ground for the new coalition led by CY Leung to initiate third order change (i.e. Paradigm shift) – “Zero Quota”, neglecting the old paradigm (i.e. To prioritize “Big Market, Small Government” and “Procedures” practiced by the civil servants for decades)

### **XI. After Shock: Inertia and Incrementalism**

Finally, I would like to explain how inertia and incrementalism

dominated the policy process after the change made by CY Leung. After his taking office, his coalition became the dominating one. On 17/03/2013, CY Leung released a blog<sup>82</sup> emphasizing the ban on “doubly non-permanent resident pregnant women” which only benefited the medical services sector but costed a lot to HK society, and he suggested to evaluate on the idea of developing medical services sector which cannot be done forcefully. His words were directly against former CE Donald’s policies and exaggerated the malicious motives behind Donald’s policies, which could be regarded as the devil shift.<sup>83 84</sup> Since then, HK government remained the decision of Zero Quota, and the current Secretary for Food and Health Bureau Dr Ko Wing-man reiterated that Zero Quota was still in force on 30/10/2015<sup>85</sup>, which shows inertia and incrementalism were dominating the policy process.

All in all, I conclude that inertia and incrementalism dominate the policy process to a large extent, despite the non-incremental policy change brought by different coalition under Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). As for theoretical contribution to the theory, this research suggests that, without the presence of policy brokers, coalitions may still initiate third order change, on condition that the external shock (as in this case, election and change of public opinion) is influential enough.

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82. CY Leung (17 Mar 2013) Will it benefit Hong Kong?, Retrieved from <http://www.ceo.gov.hk/eng/blog/blog20130317.html>

83. Christopher M Weible, Paul A Sabatier, Kelly McQueen (2009) Themes and variations: Taking stock of the advocacy coalition framework. *Policy Studies Journal*: 37(1), 132-133

84. It is sarcastic that CY Leung was actually the Convenor of non-official members of Executive Council during Donald’s term of office until he resigned for running CE election in late 2011. In 2009 and 2010 when Donald proposed the ideas of developing “Six Major Industries” in policy address, CY Leung, on behalf of the Executive Council, calling the 2009 policy address ‘a very pragmatic policy address’ and appealed to the public for supporting both of the policy addresses. (<http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200910/14/P200910140201.htm>) and (<http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201010/13/P201010130256.htm>)

85. 高永文重申零雙非政策仍有效 (30 Oct 2015), *Sing Tao Daily*

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# 從《十年》探討香港國族主義與身份認同

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論文摘要 本文以近年曾轟動一時之港產片—《十年》為題，運用文化政治對於文化解殖民的後殖民論述及本土國族主義之理論基礎，在電影族群想像之推論下，透過電影內各個「集體回憶」的情節探討香港身份認同與殖民者「他者化」及民族「排他性」論述的關係，道出這套如此「小眾」的本土電影能夠造成如此巨大的社會回響與政權反感，背後的原因。

## 前言、《十年》—— 一部被譽為「超現實警世預言書」

可謂是回歸以後首部完全以香港本土市場為基礎，並以大膽敏感政治題材製作而成的 100% 港產片。其雖然而小本經營的十年電影工作室製作，卻在 2015 年 12 月 17 日百老匯電影中心上映後，累計獲得超過 600 萬元的票房收益，本地影壇一致好評，甚至其後在中國的強烈反對下，獲得第 35 屆香港電影金像獎最佳電影的殊榮，使該屆香港電影金像獎頒獎禮遭到內地全面封殺，被各大網站平台禁止直播、轉播。但為何一套如此「小眾」的本土電影能造成如此巨大的社會回響與政權的反感呢？

這是因為這部港產片——「本土資金為主、創作主力具有香港視野、用廣東話、迎合今天香港的審美標準與文化口味的意義」<sup>1</sup> 打破了 2003 年簽署 CEPA 後出現的中港合拍片逐漸成為主流、政治正確式的離地中港跨境生活描述，以五個香港「不想見到的未來」故事：郭臻導演的《浮瓜》、黃飛鵬導演的《冬蟬》、歐文傑導演的《方言》、周冠威導演的《自焚者》、伍嘉良導演的《本地蛋》，來從微觀層面中借香港人和大陸政權間於日常生活的貼身衝突<sup>1</sup>——政治、文化、語言、社會抗爭、國民教育——以「本土生活共通的生活經驗、價值和感情」<sup>2</sup> 預示未來光景，以喚醒香港人在殖民回歸後，對本土主體性進行重新反思批判，而實現文化<sup>3</sup> 解殖民<sup>4</sup>，其目標為：

保護、發展香港在獨特歷史背景下，經殖民者異化與原住民「再創造」互動成形的「具主體性的本土性」，同時消除過去對殖民宰制的奴性、依附性、順民心態<sup>2</sup>——引導香港人身份認同與國族主義的後殖民思索。

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1. 馬傑偉及曾仲堅(2010)。《影視香港：身份認同的時代變奏》。香港：中文大學香港亞太研究所。

2. 羅永生著；本土論述編輯委員會編(2008)。〈邁向具主體性的本土性〉。《本土論述2008》。香港：上書局。

3. 據羅永生(2012)的理解，「文化的性質」不只是藝術創作，更包括人的不同生活方式、傳統、歷史和記憶等集體創造。」並引用聯合國教科文組織 (UNESCO) 1982年於墨西哥通過的決議指出，「[文化]賦予人類有能力反省自己，透過文化，人類表達自己、認識自己、體會自己的不完整、質疑自己的成就、不斷尋求新意義，以及創造作品以超越自己的限制」，以界定其功能。

4. 「文化解殖民」即解放或重組被殖民者在帝國主義下，遭到殖民者破壞的原有生活方式，給刪除、遮蔽或改寫的歷史記憶 (羅永生, 2012)，主張在尊重文化多樣性的基礎上實施「一方面要保存殖民經驗錯綜複雜的各個方面，也要促進文化自省反思能力的發展，保護表達自由和思想自由 [的文化政策]。……讓主體性健康成長，更加要克服殖民經歷不同，或地域族群差異所造成的新政視。」(羅永生, 2012)

### 一、港式國族主義與本土價值

「國族主義」(Nationalism)，主要指人民對國家的歸屬感和認同感。國族主義實際上表達一種混雜了民族情懷的愛國之情，涉及到民族情感以及其主體性的實踐。在香港，國族主義主要體現於香港人對政治中國（中華人民共和國）的認同感。<sup>5</sup>而國族主義則可理解為一種給予政權管治正統性 (Legitimacy) 的論述，以適應啟蒙運動理性主義下，逐漸現代化的社會思潮<sup>6</sup>，對於其論述的研究我們則可以「公民價值論」——族群共同公民價值和生活方式的認同<sup>5</sup>及「種族血緣論」——訴諸對原始必然性特徵（如：血緣、部落根源、種族等）情懷的族群歸依<sup>7</sup>，兩大學術基礎剖析之。

然而，香港人的國族認同在學者陳智傑的理解下，定義為兼具兩大學術基礎的族群身份論述：

「一種以『公民價值論』為主軸、兼具『種族血緣論』元素的『港式國族主義』。……是指香港人並不排斥港陸兩地在血緣、文化及歷史上的共同淵源（『種族血緣論』面向），但香港人主體意識的基礎，卻在於核心價值認同（『公民價值論』面向），因此是一種混合型 (Hybrid) 的國族意識。」<sup>5</sup>

其身份的認同是建基於華洋會聚的香港文化本土性，本質就如中、西間的「夾縫」，在外地殖民者的文化宰制與扭曲下，加上本地被殖民者的文化錯置誤讀與否斥的「接受」下，香港發展出一種非中非西、自成一角的混雜化 (Hybridized) 文化<sup>8</sup>，並能夠以洛楓於《世紀末城市》定義之：

「是一種既不屬於中國本土，又不屬於英國傳統的產物。事實上，在一百五十年的殖民地歷史裏，透過兼收並蓄的包容性，香港已發展出一套屬於她個人的、唯一的、獨特的文化

5. 陳智傑著；方志恒編(2015)。〈港式國族主義——從種族血緣論到公民價值論〉，《香港革新論》(初版)。台灣：漫遊者文化事業股份有限公司。

6. Gellner E., (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

7. Smith A. D. (1986). *The Ethic Origin of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

8. 葉蔭聰著；陳清僑編(1997)。〈邊緣與混雜的幽靈：談文化評論中的香港身份〉，《文化想像與意識形態：當代香港文化政治論評》。香港：牛津大學出版社。31-52頁。

形態。內裏既有中國傳統文化的因子，亦有西方外來衝擊和養份，結合而成國際性大都會的文化模式」<sup>9</sup>

總括而言，香港的族群身份是在多年的殖民統治與在地自創的過程中逐漸形成及發展出來，而大程度上基於中西化兼容的獨特本土價值支持下確立的身份認同。

## 二、本土電影與本土族群想像

如安德森所言，社群身份的確立是不能夠基於認識其所有成員，而是需透過個體成員對於其所屬群體的想像繼而把握其身份。而如此的象徵性想像，可在傳播科技的發展下，有助成員透過傳媒論述產生族群想像。<sup>10</sup> 故藉着電影的影像表達 (represent)，人們無須以語言單一性 (Uniformity)，也能感受到族群想像的共存和團體的感覺<sup>10</sup>，而以集體的畫面信息，將可創造一個既直接又無爭的共識層面 (Sphere of consensus)，讓社群感受到共同存在 (Co-presence) 的感覺<sup>11</sup>，大大幫助了族群想像的效果。

### 身份認同取決多元

身份認同由個體的社會、政治與文化行為所定義，雖屬於社會建構下的產物，同時也取決於個人選擇。據學者安德森<sup>10</sup>的印尼華僑研究指出，出生地對其個案而言甚至與固有或與生俱來的血統在身份認同建構上具有相當的影響力。<sup>12</sup> 另一方面，身份認同亦取決於「中國大陸 [中央] 政府看待 [華僑] 的身份以及與中國的關係」<sup>12</sup>，在歷史上以海外及本地華人為例，則有香港的何東，可在猶太人與華人之間選擇身份認同，而最終以其語言優勢，選了當華人<sup>13</sup>，亦有「海峽三傑」之一的伍連德雖因着種族情懷而藉着國外內辯論倡議中國改革，甚至到赴中國，但他最終仍選擇返回出生地檳城，度過餘生。<sup>14</sup> 正反映了身份認同的取決是具一定的複雜性，而透過認同的過程，有學者 (Satya

9. 洛楓(1995)。《世紀末城市：香港的流行文化》，香港：牛津大學出版社。

10. Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. 1936, & American Council of Learned Societies. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. ed.). New York/London: Verso.

11. 梁麗娟(2010)。〈第一章：大眾傳播與社會的關係〉，《媒介之都：縱論大眾傳播與社會》(第二版)，香港：香港教育圖書公司。8-21頁。

12. 鄭健銘(2016)。〈第二章 何謂中國人？—海外華人身份之辯〉，《雙城對倒—新加坡模式與香港未來》。香港：天窗出版社有限公司。

13. Emma Jinhua Teng. (2013). *Eurasian: Mixed Identity in the United States, China and Hong Kong 1842-1943*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

14. 陳雪薇(2014)。《伍連德研究：經驗、認同、書寫》。新加坡：國立大學中文系。

Mohanty) 認為這即等同共同的未來組織與形式提供定義，並重新形塑其自身的價值觀與社群。<sup>15</sup>

### 本土電影成身份反思平台

今天本地電影媒介的定位就如同當年六十至八十年代的電視般或八九十年代的新聞媒介—提供了一個確立身份過程中，具有影響力的影像來源<sup>1</sup>，作文化身份推展的族群「想像」。並在《十年》的短期上映，香港市民可以透過其五個不同介面的地道小故事，以政治陰謀、文化保育、語言、社會運動、本土意識的角度「反映」現況同時「預見」未來的香港，提供了一個共存 (co-presence) 和團體的感覺作再建構與創新本土身份的想像或探索的平台，就如哈林 (Daniel C. Hallin, 1994) 所說，本土電影繼傳統媒介創造了一個共識面 (sphere of consensus)。在主流內地同化的潮流中逆流而上倡解殖本土身份再建構與探討—「香港一有別於遙遠的內地—啟導香港普羅大眾反思本土意識的參考座標」，異於其他印刷品、電視、中港合拍片等傳統主流媒介的中港融合論述 (借用馬傑偉及曾仲堅於 2010，對提出對六十至八十年代的電視的論述框架)。

本土電影藉着重置舊有文化身份的中港二分化的對立關係，以舊瓶新酒的形式強調「本土」與「中國」在香港主體意志論述等，涉及政治性質的對立關係，以確立香港回歸後在中港從屬關係下的香港政治「主體性」身份，透過保護香港本土核心價值來「重建彈性的新尺度，以衡量本土與國族的多重關係」<sup>1</sup>，爭取解殖——自外地支配下對本土的宰制與扭曲中解脫，重現本土的主體性。

### 三、中央干預與中港價值衝突

「天朝主義」<sup>16</sup> 下的近代中華民族意識屬強調同質性、民族建國的種族主義論述，而缺乏古代具包容性的「禮」文化傳統共同體，傾向以涉及篩選歷史記憶與詮釋的政治操作推動民族融合與同化 (漢化)，從而「合漢合滿合蒙合回合苗合藏組成一大民族」 (梁啟超)，甚至「國

15. Satya P. M. (2000). "The Epistemic Status of Cultural Identity," in Paula M.L. Moya and Michael R. Hames ed., *Reclaiming Identity: Realist Theory and the Preclaim of Postmodernism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

16. 「天朝主義」即指以「反帝國主義的獨立運動借用舊的強權想像(復興舊帝國/天朝)」(羅永生, 2012) 前提下，在國家間、國家內部以至族群間，沿用昔日帝國主義下殖民性的不平等關係，以壓迫地方主體性，強調其對舊帝國/天朝壟斷主體性臣服的意識型態。換言之，亦可理解為一種內部殖民主義 (internal colonialism)。

父」孫中山亦因政治原故，反覆提出大漢民族主義<sup>17</sup>，雖說亦有以歐榘甲(1870-1911)為首的反觀點主張，探究以省組成聯邦中國<sup>18</sup>及廣東獨立<sup>19</sup>等地方放權的可能性<sup>20</sup>，卻反映中國近代的民族論述為統一建國的政治手段，多於建基於昔日歷史累積的文化共通點之上的文化身份認同。然而中央在香港回歸後過去十多年的硬銷式「愛國工程」收效不大——新生代對國慶感疏離而反感<sup>21</sup>，抗拒其「國先於人」及「黨國合一」的愛國概念<sup>1</sup>，未能大程度上提升國家情懷或認同，反而於2003年爆發七一遊行，驅使中國在2003年後，改以強硬對港政策干預香港政治運作，侵蝕香港自治空間與核心價值及急速推動中港融合。<sup>22</sup><sup>5</sup>

而《十年》這部本土電影合輯正正以繪聲繪影的影像，一方面反映香港社會於過去回歸後受到中央的「天朝主義」壓抑與干預的共同抗爭回憶，同時亦以香港「主體」角度論述情節與背景激發香港人就中央「一面操弄『官方民族主義』及『愛國愛港論述』，試圖以『大中華天朝主義』吞噬香港的多元性、獨特性和主體性。」<sup>5</sup>反思，繼而「強化了團結守護核心價值的共同意識——即是『我是香港人』的主體意識」<sup>5</sup>，喚醒了香港人對於雙重身份——香港文化、價值主體性與種族國家情懷——並存思索。<sup>5</sup><sup>12</sup>對於這個部合輯內《浮瓜》、《冬蟬》、《方言》及《本地蛋》的電影情節，分別以「共謀操控，續殖民」、「本土文化的消退」、「本地粵語文化侵蝕」及「去本土，再殖民化」的議題介面，側面描繪出一個「Hong Kong is dying」(香港正在衰亡中)的共識層面，同時加入未來預視的影音畫面，並以「十年」之期呼應之，讓觀眾感受到須急切共同保護現在還存在的本土文化與核心價值，抵抗中央未來可能更強烈的干預及侵蝕，以避免電影預示的局面發生，同時寄予希望予香港人以意志爭取自主性與主體性及本土性的身份。

17. 孫中山先生曾於革命時期，以「驅除韃虜」、建立「漢民族國家」為推翻滿清帝國的革命目標；1912年宣誓成為臨時大總統時，則說要「五族共和」。後來於1921年，又重提大漢民族主義：「漢人向來號稱四萬萬……還不能夠真正獨立，組織一個漢族的國家，這實在是我們漢族莫大的恥辱！……必要滿、蒙、回、藏都同化於我們漢族，成為大民族主義的國家！」(王柯，2015)

18. 陳炯明曾於1922年撰寫提案《建設方略》主張聯省自治，以仿效美國聯邦政體，實行「地方分權」，從而避免地方各省與中央因分歧而互動杆戈：「徒以中央與地方之權尚未規定，中央患各省之異，而思以兵力制服之。各省患中央之專制，而思以兵力抵抗之，兵革既起，政治之紛亂，乃不可收拾矣。」(16-05-1922)

19. 歐榘甲曾出版《新廣東》主張「廣東者，廣東人之廣東」的獨立主張，「廣東人實為廣東地主，則廣東之政權、財權、兵權、鐵路礦山權、土地所有權……，莫不宜自操而自理之，以廣東之人，辦廣東之事，築成廣東自立之勢，以建全中國自立之起點」。(1902)

20. Prasenjit D.(2009) Chapter 8, *the Global and Regional in China's Nation-Formation*. London: Routledge

21. 馬傑偉著；吳俊雄，張志偉編(2002)。〈「愛國工程」〉，《閱讀香港普及文化1970-2000》。香港：牛津大學出版社。654-656頁。

22. Cheng J. (2009). The Story of a New Policy, In: *Hong Kong Journal* (15)



### 《浮瓜》—維持殖民式共謀政治與啟示

劇名《浮瓜》據導演的解釋為「人就像漂在水面上的瓜果一樣，不由自主，隨水而流，英文名為《Extra》意即臨時演員，你不是以為有人會理「臨記」的死活吧？或者我們也是那些『臨記』的一份子。」<sup>23</sup>指出這部電影意在比喻香港人的命運如同水上浮物一樣，不能自我掌握，只為在中央利用既定殖民精英吸納政治制度下所操縱的「臨記」。影片以政治陰謀為前設下，為實現國安法立法，而利用各種政治操作促成一以兩香港人執行的行刺行動為題，以描繪「臨記」殺手如何在樓上政客官員的政治操縱下，為生活繼而爭相參與「行刺」活動的「浮瓜」般無力感。

首先，片中普粵對白間的互動突顯出其具香港粵語與中國普通話間宰制關係的語言環境抑壓。如同劉志權 (Lau Chi Kuen) 先生於《香港的殖民遺產》(Hong Kong's Colonial Legacy) 所言之殖民式語言環境壓抑般—被殖者將於殖民地征服者強加其語言，以顯示其殖民統治 (1997)。尤其於學校樓上說粵語的政客與說普通話的官員就着應該「意圖槍擊」那位出席主禮嘉賓的討論之中，說粵語的政客們初則堅持自己各自的立場，隨後當說普通話官員加入討論後，即變得阿諛奉承，放棄自己既定的政治立場之餘，還轉而以普粵交雜的對白同意普通話官員的觀點，說：「女人中槍吧！一定恐慌喇！有甚麼比這個更重要！」及「還是張議員（中方人員之一）最清醒，我們不應被利益蒙蔽，壞了國家大事」。<sup>24</sup>不但反映了一直為港人詬病的「官商勾結」式精英共謀政治與「警黑協作」關係等政治陰謀，製造公眾回響。同時透過該情節，繪形繪聲的形象化了在既定殖民統治下，說粵語的本地人（為被殖民身份）與說普通話的官員（為宗主國統治者身份）間的從屬關係，而進一步揭示昔日以至今日，主權國對本地語言的壓抑—只是從昔日對香港粵語強加的英語支配轉為今天的普通話支配，與及維持本地精英共謀式政治。反映了現實香港本地人的主體性未有於九七回歸中國後得到解放，卻只為後來之強權所持續抑壓。

然後，片中兩「臨記」主角及「樓上」政治會議情節間的轉接互動，是為反射香港本地人面對殖民操縱命運下嘗試為自決未來作的抗爭與內心掙扎。劇中「臨記」主角一長毛（一位因多次失業，窮途末路，而走上黑道的新來港人士）及 Peter（一位劇中因同鄉被警察誤殺，而被黑幫盯上為「意圖行刺」行動當殺手的南亞裔香港人）皆以地道粵

23. Iris及Candy(24-12-2015)。〈為時未晚電影《十年》專訪〉。《東TOUCH》。

24. 《十年》Ten Years。梁佩佩、鍾柱鋒、郭臻、黃靜、黃飛鵬、歐文傑等 [製作人及導演]。(2016)。[影片/光碟]。香港：鐳射企業有限公司。

語對話，以語言彰顯其香港本地人的身份。而作為廣大香港人的縮影，兩人皆因生活所逼而參加這次「意圖槍擊」事件，以獲取豐厚的經濟回報，以滿足生活所需。起初行動只為「臨記」於公眾面前拿起槍枝裝腔作勢，然而隨後經「樓上」政治會議的討論後，更被要求當眾開火射傷主禮嘉賓，以換取更大程度的社會恐慌，凝造廣泛共識順利推行「國安法」立法。而在兩人就着執行任務的互動過程之中，其心路歷程更是充滿着矛盾與無力感，一方面明白這是非法行為而不想介入，另一方面則是生活逼人而不得不參與行動，以維持生計。映射現在香港人所面對為生活所逼而只能狼狽為奸的處境。其中一段出自 Peter 與三合會頭目（釗哥）的對白——

Peter：「咁辣邊個呀？」

釗哥：「上面仲拗緊呀！等佢拗掂先喇！」<sup>24</sup>

更是直接抒發了香港人在九七回歸以後，對失落決定未來的主體自主性，而無奈接受中央的「上層」操控的感慨，進一步引起社會對於現況的回響。

除此之外，片中「臨記」Peter 與長毛的「擲公字」<sup>25</sup> 轉接情節更是強調了港人對於爭取命運自決的意願與現實無力感間的抗爭。片中投擲硬幣的特寫情節正正比喻為港人即「臨記」在面對現實政治操縱及經濟壓力下，從剩餘的自主空間中為自決命運，以對抗現實的無力感。雖然，最終兩「臨記」也死於「樓上」隱藏劇本的操縱，卻在兩人不甘接受現實——Peter 私自改變「擲公字」結果的情節，打破那種伴隨着 2014 年雨傘運動結果不如意的無奈與無力感，啟示香港人只要願意不為現實局面低頭，才可爭取命運自決的機會，扭轉被無奈操控與利用的未來，避免成為片中甘願當「臨記」的下場。

總括而言，《浮瓜》是一部集香港人身份認同及政治互動的現況描述與未來啟示錄。一方面以劇中的普粵語言及角色互動，以殖民式語言宰制關係及精英共謀式政治會議，以剖析香港九七回歸以後持續的殖民統治。另一方面，則以推翻「硬幣投擲」一幕，以主角把握自決機會不向現實低頭的決心，免勵香港人緊握自身身份認同，對抗過去種種政治操縱的無力感，為爭取香港人身份主體性的解放與命運的自主性而努力。

25. 「擲公字」是一種先給予硬幣兩面的幣值與圖案，兩個不同的選項或意義，繼而以投擲該硬幣，用其得出隨機接過來的那一面，作抉擇的玩意。



### 《冬蟬》—本土文化空間的消退

是黃飛鵬執導，以本地舊區保育議題為題材的電影，他大膽的嘗試以寫實、誇張的手法，利用旁白朗讀男女主角劉浩之與黃靜在高速市區重建的大趨勢下堅持「博物學」保存舊有事物的工作日誌，直接描寫了2025香港政府持續高速的城市發展而甚至以快於民居遷徙的步伐，壓逼舊有民間文化空間導致男女主角所保存的文物再也不能送返所屬的民間社區，使他們逐漸失去意義，以至離地，尤其是文物「流離失所」的時候，男女主角就只能消極地把它們保存在標本箱內。然而這些代表着城市發展下無法擺脫的記憶與及無法抽身既有的事物當中的特別關係慢慢的脫離了時代的步伐，就連人也隨之失去了社會上的「居身之所」，即使他們兩人再努力的以「樣本」保育本地的「文物」。所以在電影的結尾部份，男主角甚至為那種不能逆向保育的無力感而絕望地選擇把自己轉化成標本，寧願自己在女主角的手中保存和毀滅，也不願意在政府舊區重建的文化消退下失去了本土香港人身份的生活經驗、價值和感情的連繫基礎，導致文化身份被毀，失去最後的本土性身份內涵。

### 《方言》—侵蝕本地粵語文化

故事以一位不懂普通話的的士司機作中心，以當時十年後香港的官方語言轉換為普通話為背景，講述香港的粵語文化基礎如何在中國國家政策的刻意干預下，從生活的不同環節之中逐漸被邊緣化。以的士上客區域的限制政策作為主軸，以顯示劇中普通話的「入侵」程度，每當「非普」司機的上客範圍收窄，劇中情節的普通話成分就會相對更為濃烈。例如主角的兒子語言的改變就最為明顯了，他從一開始能掌握流利地道的粵語與父親溝通，慢慢伴隨着劇情的推進而變得普通話化，由運用英國足球球星 Beckham 普通話英文譯名至及後劇終的時候用完全流利的普通話請求主角批准他放學後到朋友家玩，的一幕更與未熟習普通話的「爸爸」形成強烈對比，場景更為心酸，引導觀眾反思—為何香港的主流粵語文化會讓人落得「非法檢舉」、「溝通障礙」、「社會邊緣」、「職場失利」的收場？故事的每一個情節也貫徹着主角對於「普通話化」之下內心的不甘與不解，而這種心理狀態正正回應了香港在回歸後，中港交流日益頻繁下，港人對於未來進一步「赤化」而侵蝕本地粵語文化基礎與價值的憂慮。

## 四、本土價值抗爭與主體意識的形成

《自焚者》—集結《十年》合輯內其他電影共同的各種中港衝突繼而生成抗爭經歷，以做就港人對核心價值的在地覺醒。電影以仿

紀錄片形式製作，講述一件發生於 2025 年的社運自焚事件的因由與各持份者對於事件的猜測，與此同時，電影亦以第一身的形式交待事件的發生背景，用了相當多的情節於描述一場發生於自焚事件前的街頭抗爭，並仔細地用不同程度的特寫鏡頭，集中「紀實」抗爭中防暴警察以武力的方式鎮壓參與其中手無寸鐵的市民，特別以發射催淚彈造成煙霧瀰漫的混亂情境及抗爭者（學生、老人）遭防暴警察打頭破血流的情節，讓觀眾聯想到剛剛發生 2014 年雨傘運動時，警民間的衝突，從而產生共鳴——應用了本土生活中共通中的生活經驗。

除此之外，劇中那於獄中港獨支持者一區楊健鋒絕食犧牲者、絕食那位八旬老人一真的自焚犧牲者與那位站在防暴警察前的年輕人——今願以身體和平抗爭犧牲者，堅持自己最後的一份希望以抵抗現實的無力感，而以上的犧牲者利用自己的生命，「象徵勇氣及承擔」燃點眾人的希望，而劇的結局預示那些犧牲（化為希望）將可最終成功動員起群眾，影片用清晨時霧的消散，表達相信爭取民主仍有出路為時未晚的信息：「……唔好比人睇死，做人要爭氣……我希望自己做得好」，獨自應用本土生活共通奮鬥的價值寄語香港人抵抗未來的政權壓抑。

雖說以負面情感渲染觀眾對於警察鎮壓非法集會的合法性與警察於殖民地晚期除暴安良的良好形象。另一方面卻正面揭示了回歸後的政權並沒有為香港解殖民，反思批判歷史和處境，而且更未有從本地政治架構給予充份空間，以體現充份的公民主體性和地方的自主性，卻以「中國人」的新國族類殖民，以重新引入官方支配性身份建構，維持現有宰制關係，壓抑香港本土性和主體性的發展<sup>2</sup>，即所謂「國旗變了、舞照跳、馬照跑」50 年不變而已，香港人的主體性身份從來沒有解放過。

## 五、後殖民文化及他者化

從以上的電影之中我們可以藉着《十年》，這部回歸而來最為本地的港產製作，體現到他作為引導香港國族主義重要的主體性身份建構反思作用的反思平台、共識面，不但為「主體性的本土性」身份界別上提供了中港矛盾論述作反思之用，同時更深層的為香港這樣的後殖民社會——一個經殖民者以其自我形像建構的被殖者社會，藉着反思批判電影內的香港主體性與中國支配性國族建構間的矛盾，而在複雜的官方與本土就身份界定的政治抗爭過程中，「重拾因過往殖民宰制關係下被隱沒掉的「他者痕跡」(traces of the other)，特別是各種主體的塑造、歷史的編纂、欲望的調節、共同社群及族類回憶及想像的領

域和界限」<sup>26</sup>，縲釀破解殖民關係所需的「他者的異性 (alterity)」以跳出殖民總體化的知識體系帶出反思多次「核心價值保衛戰」(反替補機制、反國民教育運動等)<sup>27</sup>對官方支配性身份建構(新國族類殖民)的抵抗他者身份。

「港獨」——一種消極的政治反制動員 (Political-counter mobilization) 這種排他性論述可解讀為保護香港(本土)公民價值的衍生品，可解讀為陳智傑所指保護香港「主體性」的政治動員。<sup>5</sup> 原來的香港核心價值與本土粵語文化在中央「大中華天朝主義」的干預與壓抑下，所激發的對於本土價值與主體性的保護意識。然而其「獨立」的消極主張是大程度上出於傳媒對香港現實政治制度與形勢的選擇性論述及社會現實的反映下，萌生失望與絕望等負面情緒，而演化成的消極保護主義。特別是於後雨傘時代，其強調以建立主權國家形式，脫離中國的干預下保護本土價值與香港人的身份認同，從而抗衡中國「天朝主義」的侵蝕。然而據羅永生教授所言：「深遠的文化解殖民，也往往借托於反殖民運動，民族主義，或本土主義的起義和反抗。」<sup>2</sup> 而須用上一定的排他性以跳出宰制關係下的殖民知識體系下總體性的壓抑，重而釋放自主性空間作自我身份的主體性持續反思，如清點殖民經驗的正反面。<sup>2</sup>

## 六、總結

首先本文應用了以下的理論基礎：港式國族主義的價值血緣兼具之族群身份論述，表達了其獨特的中西兼容本土價值及中國血緣關聯為本土身份建構的背景。本土電影為本土族群想像提供了一個以集體畫面信息、直接又無爭的共識層面。身份認同並不只取決於種族血緣，也同時取決於個人的選擇。另外，本土電影也是身份反思的平台，藉着用本土的角度反映「現況」，啟導香港普羅大眾反思本土意識的參考座標，重置舊有文化身份的中港二分化的對立關係，爭取解殖，反思身份建構。

而從文化政治及傳媒建構論述而言《十年》以五部不同主題的影片組成，而嘗試勾畫出中央天朝主義下中港在政治操控、文化空間、粵語文化基礎等介面上的價值衝突，接着該電影以 2014 雨傘運動之共同抗爭經驗引發社會共鳴，引導觀眾反思香港的主體性。以《十年》

26. 葉蔭聰著、陳清僑編(1997)。〈邊緣與混雜的幽靈：談文化評論中的香港身份〉，《文化想像與意識形態：當代香港文化政治論評》。香港：牛津大學出版社。31-52頁。

27. 何俊霆著、方志恒編(2015)。〈在地的核心價值——香港主體意識的前世今生〉，《香港革新論》(初版)。台灣：漫遊者文化事業股份有限公司。

為對於纏釀破解殖民關係所需的「他者的異性 (alterity)」提供了反思平台。最後，「港獨」一消極的政治反制動員，是為提供排他性的論述以跳出固有宰制關係，作身份建構的反思。

故此本文對於《十年》為何能造成如此巨大的社會共鳴與政權的反感的結論如下：

《十年》是解殖的催化劑，其以香港人集體回憶為基礎編寫了五個故事，嘗試運用本土生活共通的生活經驗、價值和感情為共識層——用影音把「再殖民」的現實處境與「身份主體性」的抗爭批判「注入」到那五個的未來想像來，引導香港人自覺反思批判回歸後香港在中國的干預與官方政治身份建構下，壓抑「具主體性的本土性」身份及地方自主性的處境。這正有違官方利用支配性身份建構的新國族類殖民及順民化政治操作，甚至危及中國宰制關係的延續。

而這部電影亦帶出殖民者「他者化」與民族「排他性」原素的利用，是有如酶 (Enzyme) 一樣——作為文化解殖的反思與批判，所不可缺乏的反應催化劑。好讓被殖民得以抽離固有宰制關係下的身份定型與知識體系，從而尋回被壓抑以久的「本土」身份遺產，繼而重新反思後殖民自我身份的主體性，並且逐漸脫離政治民族、自我中心反殖「排他性」，而深化清點殖民經驗的正負面，以最終自主選擇建立其主體性，完成「解殖」。故此電影其實是曲線認同港獨國族論述為文化解殖過程的一部份，並鼓勵社會積極反思之，從而為主體性身份建構提供政治上的自主性的可能，呼應了《十年》電影海報「若我們未能認清一個厄困的未來，何以有資格說盼望？何以有勇氣去改變？」的反思寄語。

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陳健民，〈利益團體與公民社會〉，載鄭宇碩、羅金義編：《政治學新探：中華經驗與西方學理》，144-161。香港：中文大學出版社，2009。 參考文獻

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