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Poverty Line in Hong Kong —how inertia and incrementalism still dominated the decision agenda

CHEUNG Wai Yu The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Abstract Using the establishment of poverty line in 2013 as an example, the author aims to discuss the role of inertia and incrementalism in decision agenda of Hong Kong. This paper started with an introduction of poverty situation in Hong Kong, followed by a visit of theoretical frameworks. The author employed various concepts such as policy process, inertia, incrementalism, Hall's social learning theory, Kingdon's multiple streams theory, and their relatedness. The author, who traced the development of poverty issue and policies between 1997 and 2012, explained that inertia and incrementalism played a dominant role in decision agenda. Prudential public finance management and skeptical attitude towards government intervention remained at the core of governance philosophy. The plausible policy departure in 2013 was merely a result of multiple streams interaction and engagement.

I. Introduction

Poverty in Hong Kong has been serious for decades. The titles of two books separated a 31-year timespan best capture the situation succinctly—Poverty in an Affluent City and Poverty in the Midst of Affluence by Chow and Goodstadt respectively. Hong Kong is a rich city. Its GDP per capita (PPP) in 2013 is US\$52,700, ranking 15th in the whole world. Yet, the Gini coefficient, a measure of the rich-poor disparity in a society, suggests it is 12th worst society, standing at 0.537 in 2011.

There have been repeated calls for the government to set up a poverty line, as early as in the 1980s by academics.³ However, the government

^{1. &}quot;The World Factbook," Central Intelligence Agency, accessed December 13, 2014, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2172rank.html?countryname=Hong%20 Kong&countrycode=hk®ionCode=eas&rank=12#hk.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Nelson Chow, Poverty in an Affluent City: A Report of a Survey on Low Income Families in Hong Kong (Hong Kong: Department of Social Work, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1982).

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II. Poverty in Hong Kong and poverty line

As stated in the introduction, Hong Kong is a rich city with a large group of poor people. The official report published by the Commission on Poverty in 2013 states that 1.31 million people, or 19.6% of the population, are considered poor (with household income less than half the median figure).⁵ Only one country, Israel, in the OECD, a club of rich countries, has a higher poverty proportion than Hong Kong, using data in 2011.⁶ The poverty rate over the past 20 years lingered around 20%, from 15.5% to 28%, using different measurements.⁷ The proportion of households with incomes less than HK\$6,000 rose from 13% in 2000 to 17% in 2010.⁸

The seriousness of poverty has alarmed the public. Various public opinion polls suggest that people consider poverty a serious issue in Hong Kong. In 1997, 78% of people found poverty problem a "serious" or "very serious" problem, whereas in 2008, it jumped to 88%. In 2012, another suggests that 85% found that elderly poverty problem is "serious" or very "serious".

The government would have no obligation to look at the problem if it is an individual problem. But 60% of respondents over the years deemed Hong Kong's poverty caused by social factors more than individual factors. ¹¹ Poverty is a social problem that has to be dealt with collectively.

To measure the proportion of poverty people, many developed economies have designed a poverty line. The United States defined a 4-member household as poor if it earned less than half of the median income as early as 1963; the OECD, in the 1970s, and European

had been reluctant to consider the suggestion, despite the strong advocacy by different NGOs, political parties, even pro-establishment ones, and academics. The government claimed the poverty line was subjective in nature and the system was able to help the needy in difficult times. The solution was stronger economic growth and education for children and low-skill workers. Yet, in 2012, shortly after he came into office, Leung Chung-ying, the Chief Executive, re-established the disbanded Commission on Poverty (CoP) with a task of setting up a poverty line.⁴

Why was there such a change in the policy? This essay attempts to trace the period from 1997 onwards in which the government had mostly been discrediting setting up an official poverty line. The start of the Tung Chee-hwa administration was chosen because 1997 marked a significant political event —the handover of Hong Kong from Britain to the People's Republic of China. Even though the system was said to largely remain intact, or "people could still horse-race or dance as before", to avoid ignoring the effects of the difference in systems, personnel, mentality and so on, which might have some important explanatory values, the fresh start of the HKSAR government should also be a good starting point of this essay.

There are five sections in this essay. Section I outlines the poverty situation in Hong Kong and the concept of poverty line. Section II introduces the theoretical frameworks employed to study the development of poverty line—policy process, inertia, incrementalism, Hall's social learning theory, Kingdon's multiple streams theory and their relatedness. Section III attempts to put the situation into the theoretical frameworks before the poverty line was imminent to be adopted, that is between 1997 and 2012. It argues that to a large extent inertia and incrementalism made the establishment of poverty line not able to arrive at the decision agenda. Section IV attempts to defend the seeming departure from history, which is that poverty line finally arrived on the decision agenda in late 2013, it was still subjected to forces of incrementalism and inertia, although to a smaller extent. The multiple streams theory introduced by Kingston will be applied to account for this event. Section V concludes the essay.

^{5.} Ibid., ix.

^{6.} Based on data in 2011. "Income Distribution and Poverty: Poverty Rate (50% Median Income), Percentage," OECD, accessed December 13, 2014, http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?QueryId=47991.

^{7.} Hung Wong, "Wu Qiong" De Pan Wang: Xianggang Pin Qiong Wen Ti Tan Xi (「無窮」的盼望:香港貧窮問題探析), 1st ed. (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book, 2013), 56.

^{8.} Leo F. Goodstadt, *Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged its Prosperity* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 6.

^{9. &}quot;Summary of Report on People's Attitude Towards Poverty and Social Welfare(市民對貧窮和社會福利問題意見調查結果摘要)," Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacfic Studies, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.cpr.cuhk.edu.hk/en/press_detail.php?1=1&id=649.

^{10.} Ibid.

^{11. &}quot;Summary of Report on People's Attitude Towards Poverty and Social Welfare(市民對貧窮和社會福利問題意見調查結果摘要)," Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacfic Studies, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.cpr.cuhk.edu.hk/en/press detail.php?1=1&id=649.

^{4.} *Hong Kong Poverty Report Situation 2012*. Hong Kong: Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2013, http://www.povertyrelief.gov.hk/pdf/2012_Poverty_Situation_Eng.pdf.

with questions on poverty line.¹⁸ In 2004, Fernando Cheung, a legislator and an academic, thought the poverty line could serve statistical functions and help "make studies and formulate measures to eradicate poverty".¹⁹ Even pro-government legislators supported the poverty line. Back in 2003, Jasper Tsang from the Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong said a poverty line could let the government "have a better understanding of the support it should provide to families living below the poverty line and facilitate its evaluation of the resources required when making the overall planning".²⁰ In 2010, DAB chairman Tam Yiu-chung, even claimed the lack of indicators (poverty line) as "tantamount to having no policy.²¹

But the government was dismissing the issue every time it was asked to set up a poverty line, which will be discussed in detail in section III. Not only until the Leung administration reinstated the Commission on Poverty 2012 and did the poverty line come out in September 2013. The details will be discussed in Section IV.

III. Theoretical framework

Before explaining various concepts respectively in detail, I would like to first clarify how these concepts would be applied as they are related to each other. The theory of incrementalism will be the backbone of the essay. Inertia and incrementalism are related concepts and share commonalities. However, Lindblom suggested that incrementalism involves "the management of policy by consensus and minimization of unintended consequence(s), whereas inertia is more about "veto points", 'timidity' and 'ideological conservatism".²² Even though they do not mean the same thing, I would suggest that inertia contribute greatly to at least one important feature of incremetnalism—lowering the number of

Community, in the 1980s, adopted a similar measure; 12 China and Taiwan

did the same before the 21st century. A poverty line can take many

forms—"Market Basket Method" where the amount of basic necessities

for life is calculated, "Engel's Coefficient" where the proportion of money spent on food is considered, "Poverty Threshold" where the

way of life of poor people is considered, and international poverty line

where the person's income is compared with the median income of the community.¹³ Mostly, people in Hong Kong urged for an international

goals and a time limit to eliminate poverty; help plan policy design of poverty alleviation; help estimating the amount and expenditure of social

security; being used as an indicator of social development, alongside

government setting up a poverty line. Many interest groups like the Hong Kong Council of Social Service, Oxfam and Hong Kong Social Workers'

General Union have been urging the government to set up a poverty line.¹⁵

Academics have also had the same hope. In 1982, Chow suggested the

Hong Kong government establish a poverty line based on "deprivation

index". In 1999, Mok described the lack of poverty line in Hong Kong as

an "irony". 16 Wong urged the government to do the same. 17 Legislators

across the political spectrum supported the government to have an

official poverty line. Frederick Fung from the pro-grassroots Hong Kong

Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood from time to time

have proposed motions regarding poverty in which confronted officials

Mok suggested its four other functions: help developing society's

Different stakeholders in society have been in support of the

poverty line based on income levels.

unemployment rate and inflation rate.¹⁴

^{12.} Henry Tak-kei Mok, Xianggang Mie Pin Zheng Ce Tan Suo: She Hui Fa Zhan De Gou si (香港滅貧政策探索: 社會發展的構思), 1st ed. (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing, 1999).

^{13.} Mok, Xianggang Mie Pin Zheng Ce Tan Suo, 45-55.

^{14.} Ibid.

^{15.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council, *Comment on Poverty Alleviation (*「新解貧窮」意見書) (Hong Kong Social Workers' General Union), LC Paper No. CB(2) 915/04-05(02), accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/chinese/hc/sub_com/hs51/papers/hs510223cb2-915-02-c. pdf;

Hong Kong. Legislative Council, Comment on Poverty Alleviation (「舒解貧窮」意見書) (Hong Kong Social Workers' General Union), LC Paper No. CB(2) 915/04-05(02), accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/chinese/hc/sub_com/hs51/papers/hs510223cb2-915-02-c.pdf.

^{16.} Mok, Xianggang Mie Pin Zheng Ce Tan Suo, 44.

^{17.} Wong, "Wu Qiong" De Pan Wang, 56.

 $^{18. \ \} Hong Kong. \ Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Frederick Fung), November \\ 21, 2001, 1781, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1121ti-translate-e.pdf.$

^{19.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Fernando Cheung), November 3, 2004, 1077, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr04-05/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1103ti-translate-e.pdf.

^{20.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Jasper Tsang), November 21, 2001, 1785, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1121ti-translate-e.pdf.

^{21.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Tam Yiu-chung), February 4, 2010, 5164, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr09-10/english/counmtg/hansard/cm0204-translate-e.pdf.

^{22.} Paul Cairney, *Understanding Public Policy: Theories and Issues* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 104.

politically workable options. Inertia would then be one important focus. Hall's social learning theory will be applied to determine whether a change is incremental or not. Kingdon's multiple stream theory, which is not necessarily contradictory to incrementalism, will account for the rise of poverty line to the decision agenda.

Decision agenda as part of the policy process

A policy process can be understood as a policy cycle in which there are different stages—problem identification, agenda stetting, policy formulation, legitimating, implementation, evaluation and policy maintenance, succession or termination.²³ There are two focuses of this essay, including agenda setting and decision agenda, a "small set of items that is being decided upon" by the government, among the items in the governmental agenda which "is the list of subjects to which people in and around government are paying serious attention at any given point in time".²⁴ Items on the decision agenda are waiting for legislative endorsement or imminent action by the executive.²⁵ In my case, the focus is thus the situation in which the poverty line did not arrive and finally did arrive on the decision agenda.

Incrementalism

Incrementalism is a critique of comprehensive rationality model, which assumes that "public problems will be perceived and accurately defined by decision makers"; the policy makers have the same goals and priorities; and policymakers able to investigate "all possible alternatives and correctly identify the consequences". ²⁶ Incrementalism, on the other hand, is a policy making model suggesting that policies changes are mostly incremental as remedies for previous problems. It has some assumptions and characteristics.

First, incrementalism admits that there are limits to cognitive and problem solving abilities. Lindblom argued that "limits on human

—how inertia and incrementalism still dominated the decision agenda intellectual capacities" makes it hard for comprehensive analysis.²⁷ It's

intellectual capacities" makes it hard for comprehensive analysis.²⁷ It's impossible for a policymaker to be knowledgeable about every policy, or even one policy.²⁸ They have to limit their options.

Second, there are other constraints. The "costs of acquiring reliable information" as well as the time constraints lead to "incomplete knowledge at best" and attention only to "politically feasible alternatives differing only marginally from previous policies".

Third, incrementalists argue that it is impossible to separate facts from values. Comprehensive rationality model suggests that policymakers should first identity an objective and find the best means (in terms of efficiency or other measures) to achieve it. However, Lindblom doubted the ability to rank values which may conflict each other; even if all policymakers agree with the values and their ranking, "their marginal values in actual choice situations would be impossible to formulate". Thus, policymakers will only focus on "a manageable number of options by "limiting their focus to incremental alternatives differing only marginally from existing policies" where the means and ends are fused. Policymakers do not have to be concerned about the values except those that differ in the marginally different alternatives. ³¹

The above has some implications for incrementalism. First, policymakers enjoy the advantages of sunk costs since they do not need to design policies from nothing but could develop policies based on the existing ones, which are supposed to be the solution, at least partly, to the social problem concerned.³²

Second, incrementalism is sensible because it allows policy changes to be implemented in a "series of steps" to mitigate the risk of having serious errors.³³ The policymakers are also familiar with the policies and not willing to learn a new policy again and would be more willing to

^{23.} Michael T Hayes, Incrementalism and Public Policy (New York: Longman, 1992), 2.

^{24.} John W Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1995), 166.

^{25.} Ibid., 166.

^{26.} Hayes, Incrementalism and Public Policy, 2.

^{27.} Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of "Muddling through"," Public Administration Review (1959): 84.

^{28.} Ibid.

^{29.} Ibid., 82.

^{30.} Hayes, Incrementalism and Public Policy, 17.

^{31.} Lindblom, "The Science of "Muddling through"," 83.

^{32.} Hayes, Incrementalism and Public Policy, 18.

^{33.} Cairney, Understanding Public Policy, 100.

gauge the effects of small changes.34

Third, incrementalism is "reasonably efficient" in the sense that radical departures are not considered by major political forces.³⁵ The policy would be "the lowest common denominators acceptable to a sufficient number to permit action".³⁶ It leads to greater political feasibility.

I propose that Pierson's theory of path dependence, explaining inertia of politics, could richly account for these implications, especially those about limiting to marginally different and politically workable options.

Inertia

Inertia refers to the phenomenon that "once an increasing returns process is established, positive feedback may lead to a single equilibrium", which is "resistant to change".³⁷ Pierson suggests that path dependence would work in this feature of inertia.³⁸

Path dependence, broadly, means what happened in the past affects "the possible outcomes" of future.³⁹ In the narrower sense, which is more useful, path dependence means once a policy goes down a path, it is likelier to go along the same path with "each move down that path", due to high exit cost and increasing returns.⁴⁰

Path dependence in politics is an implant of economics theory of increasing returns. Traditionally, marginal returns are thought to be diminishing each step down; but some forms areas are found to enjoy increasing returns, such as technology.⁴¹ The most discussed example is the "QWERTY" keyboard in which "actors have strong incentive to focus on a single alternative and to continue down a specific path once initial steps are taken".⁴² Technology with a large set-up or fixed costs;

learning effects; coordination effects and adaptive expectations is more likely to exhibit increasing returns.⁴³

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In politics, the basic feature is "its preoccupation with the provision of public goods", which are "distinguished by jointness of supply... and non excludability", which means The number of users does not affect the production costs and it is hard to limit goods to "those who have paid". Four features of politics are related to increasing returns.

First, unlike in markets where individual decisions are made independently, political actions are highly dependent on others' actions and coordination is required.⁴⁵ Because of the logic of collective action and "winner-takes-all nature, people act "in the light of how they expect others to act".⁴⁶ This "prevalence of adaptive expectations" and the high start-up costs of collective action make them do actions not radically different from the present path and lead to stability.⁴⁷

Second, politics has a high "institutional density" where there is often no "exit option", but they are subject to laws and policies which are "legally binding" on their behavior.⁴⁸ This encourages the actors to "invest in specialized skills, deepen relationships with other individuals and organizations, and develop particular political and social identities". Once they have invested, they would find the current system captivating and continue to invest to form a "self-reinforcing process".⁴⁹

Third, political authority is often behind the scenes. Those who win in the power contest design rules that are favorable to them, and the positive feedback mechanisms take place in which they become even more powerful.⁵⁰

Fourth, politics is complex and opaque.⁵¹ Politicians pursue a number of objectives and it is hard to observe or measure their performance.⁵² It

^{34.} Hayes, Incrementalism and Public Policy, 18.

^{35.} Cairney, Understanding Public Policy, 100.

^{36.} Hayes, Incrementalism and Public Policy, 13.

^{37.} Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review* (2000): 263.

^{38.} Ibid.

^{39.} Ibid., 252.

^{40.} Ibid.

^{41.} Ibid., 253-4.

^{42.} Ibid., 254.

^{43.} Ibid.

^{44.} Ibid., 257.

^{45.} Ibid.

^{46.} Ibid.

^{47.} Ibid.

^{48.} Ibid., 259.

^{49.} Ibid.

^{50.} Ibid.

^{51.} Ibid., 260. 52. Ibid.

is difficult to assign blames and responsibility escapes.⁵³ Also, the actors operate in a context where they "filter information into existing 'mental maps'" and opt-in "confirming information", so the start-up costs for new social understanding is high.⁵⁴

Fifth, the cost of switching is high. Electoral politics unintentionally encouraged politicians have a short time horizon and have incentives to stay on the path because they assume voters cannot respond to long-term benefits. ⁵⁵ Also, political actors have a status quo bias where they want to design institutions their rivals find it hard to change to bind them; at the same time, they want to remove "certain options from their future menu" to bind themselves from making bad decisions. ⁵⁶

Incremental change or not?

Whether a change is incremental or marginally different can be hard to define. Hall identified three kinds of changes in policy.

The first type is first order change where the settings of policy instruments are adjusted due to "experience and new knowledge", but the "overall goals and instruments of policy remain the same".⁵⁷ The changes are "highly routinized" and limited by the "reigning paradigm".⁵⁸

The second type is second order change where the settings and the instruments of the policy are changed with overall goals unchanged.⁵⁹

The third type is third order change where "the instrument settings, the instruments themselves, and the hierarchy of goals behind the policy" change. 60

First and second order changes are seen as "normal policymaking" since the "policy paradigm" is not challenged, whereas third order change reflects "a paradigm shift.

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Paradigm shifts are not incremental because they involve the change of the worldview in which policymakers operate. This has some implications. First, it is a political judgment that is defined by the political actors' positional advantages, resources and some exogenous factors but not scientific knowledge. Second, with different contradictory opinions, politicians need to decide who wins in the "contest of authority over the issues". Third, the policy failures makes policy paradigm shifts likely because they "undermine the intellectual coherence and precision of the original paradigm". Sa

Multiple-stream theory

Kingdon argued that for a policy to be successfully pushed to the decision agenda, the political stream, problem stream and policy stream all have to be coupled together so that the "policy window", "the opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems", is open.⁶⁴

Proposals and solutions "float around in and near government", but wait to "elevated" or found by politicians to be "expedient". 65

Kingdon identified some windows. A political window could open if there is a change in the administration; change in the national mood or emergence of new members of legislature.⁶⁶ A problem window could open if a problem is pressing the government or the problem is seen as pressing.⁶⁷

When these two windows are opened, if "policy entrepreneur", who are "advocates...willing to invest their resources...to promote a position in return for anticipated future plan", are to couple the three streams together so as to seize an opportunity to push their wanted policy out, that policy might successfully climb to the governmental or even decision agenda for policymakers to consider.⁶⁸ They have to do it seize

^{53.} Ibid.

^{54.} Ibid.

^{55.} Ibid., 261-62.

^{56.} Ibid., 262.

^{57.} Peter A. Hall, "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain," *Comparative Politics* (1993): 278.

^{58.} Ibid., 281.

^{59.} Ibid., 279.

^{60.} Ibid.

^{61.} Ibid., 280.

^{62.} Ibid.

^{63.} Ibid.

^{64.} Kingdon, Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, 165.

^{65.} Ibid., 172.

^{66.} Ibid., 168.

^{67.} Ibid.

^{68.} Ibid., 179-81.

it promptly because of the limited time of opening of windows and the fierce competition in the agenda.⁶⁹

IV. Absence of poverty line in Hong Kong: 1997-2011

This section focuses on the underlying inertia that made poverty line absent on the decision agenda from the Tung Chee-hwa administration to the Donald Tsang administration. The government had been discrediting the usefulness of a poverty line before Leung Chun-ying assumed office in July 2012. I argued that they ruled under incrementalism and the inertia of "big market small government and resort to no change or first order changes whenever possible. Poverty line might be seen as a second order change involving an instrument change, which may also lead to a third order change in the policy paradigm, since as stated in section I, it serves a "normative" function of assigning responsibility of the government to provide welfare. Section IV will explain why this is only a second order change in more detail, but the mere connection to third order change made the government away from this policy. Below would explore the characteristics of inertia and incrementalism in the case of poverty line.

Policy paradigm regarding poverty

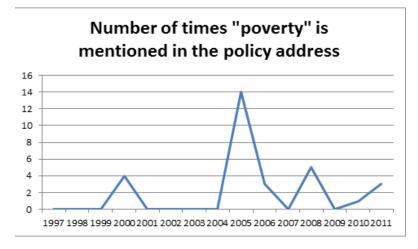
The government had been committed to the long hailed notion of "big market, small government", meaning that "the government responds to the needs of the market and do its best to support and promote economic development within the limits of a small government". The government also avoided intervening in a "private sector" that "can sustain on its own". The government on its own". The government is own". The government of the government is government to the government of the g

Its actions showed this philosophy. Hong Kong has been ranked the freest economy for two decades, and the government always "welcomes" the report, which is done by the Heritage Foundation, a think-tank committed to the conservative "principles of free enterprise and limited

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government".⁷² They believed the business model is the best guide for governance and "financial savings" are seen as the test of efficiency.⁷³

Thus, regarding the problem of poverty, it didn't admit there was a problem despite social concerns. I went through the policy addresses starting from 1997 and found that most of the time the word "poverty" is not even mentioned in the policy address.



In terms of its solution to the poverty problem, the government regarded the root solution as "achieving strong economic progress and providing educational opportunities for all", "promoting self-reliance through employment", "retraining unemployed workers" and "CSSA

^{69.} Ibid., 182;

Ibid., 184.

^{70.} Donald Tsang, "Big Market, Small Government," Chief Executive Office, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.ceo.gov.hk/archive/2012/eng/press/oped.htm.

^{71.} Ibid.

^{72.} For example, "HK World's Freest Economy for 14th Consecutive Year (with Photos)." Information Services Department, January 15, 2008. http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/200801/15/P200801150117.htm;

[&]quot;About Heritage." The Heritage Foundation, accessed December 13, 2014, http://www.heritage.org/about/.

^{73.} Leo F. Goodstadt, Poverty in the Midst of Affluence: How Hong Kong Mismanaged its Prosperity (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2013), 3-4.

continuing to support the needy".⁷⁴ This way, the government tended to "blame the victim" and saw the poverty problem as an economic problem that ignored the elderly and the disabilities.⁷⁵ The government also saw

poverty as an individual problem whose causes had to be"understood in relation to each and every individual".⁷⁶

In this worldview, thus, the government considered the poverty lines only as "distracting attention from factors that contribute to poverty". To them, stronger economic growth should be the preferred philosophy of tackling poverty. The role of the government should only be limited to relief for the needy but not income redistribution.

Collective nature of politics—strong power of the business sector

Since political actors are dependent on the actions of others, the government also acted according to its expectations of what others would do.

The policies of the government has been said to favour the business sectors. Institutionally, the design of functional constituencies in the Legislative Council gave unproportional influence to the pro-business sectors. Scholars have pointed out that there is "business hegemony";⁷⁸ politically connected firms have a better business performance and they in turn may even "capture" the state.⁷⁹ Property developers are said to be so influential that term "property hegemony" was coined because the property developers control a large portion of the markets in all aspects of life and a large part of government revenue comes from land sales.⁸⁰Hong

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Kong even ranked first in The Economist's crony-capitalism index.⁸¹

The business sector was shown to be opposed to helping the poor because it might imply that they have to pay more taxes to account for the extra expenditure. Et thus would resist any measures that might indicate the problem of poverty, like the poverty line. The initial input for setting up a poverty line would thus be high. Meanwhile, the government and middle class shared a plausible view that the introduction of poverty measurement tools would necessarily turn Hong Kong into a welfare state. In light of this business expectation and their influence as well as public sentiment, it would then resort to no poverty line and continue the previous process of encouraging economic growth, which is beneficial to the business sector.

Complexity and opacity of politics—existing policies

The government discussed the problems of having a poverty line and proposed some alternatives which it had been doing.

The government holds the view that there was no objective definition of poverty and different societies had different understanding of poverty, whether in the year of 1997, 2001 or 2009.⁸³ It also stressed the drawbacks of drawing a poverty line that did not take into account assets and the government welfare received by the people as well as the fact that many

^{74.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), June 27, 2001, 6838, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr00-01/english/counmtg/hansard/010627fe.pdf;

Hong Kong. Legislative Council Panel on Welfare Services Policy Initiatives of the Labour and Welfare Bureau for 2007–08, October 15, 2007, 1, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr00-01/english/counmtg/hansard/010627fe.pdf.

^{75.} Goodstadt, Poverty in the Midst of Affluence, 7–9.

^{76.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), November 21, 2001, 1835, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1121ti-translate-e.pdf.

^{77.} Ibid.

^{78.} Alvin Y. So, "Hong Kong's Problematic Democratic Transition: Power Dependency Or Business Hegemony?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59 (2000): 359–81.

^{79.} Stan Hok-Wui Wong, "Political Connections and Firm Performance: The Case of Hong Kong," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 10 (2010): 275–313.

^{80.} Alice Poon, Land and the Ruling Class in Hong Kong (Richmond, BC: A. Poon, 2005).

^{81. &}quot;Our Crony-Capitalism Index: Planet Plutocrat," *The Economist*, March 15, 2014, http://www.economist.com/news/international/21599041-countries-where-politically-connected-businessmen-are-most-likely-prosper-planet.

^{82.} Goodstadt, Poverty in the Midst of Affluence, 61–86.

^{83.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)317/01-02(06), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1112cb2-317-6c-g1.pdf;

Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), June 13, 2001, 6152, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr00-01/english/counmtg/hansard/010613fe.pdf;

Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), November 21, 2001, 1835, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1121ti-translate-e.pdf;

Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)179/09-10(07), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr09-10/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1109cb2-179-7-c.pdf.

poor people did not pay taxes.84

First, the government considered they already had the CSSA level as the poverty line, implicitly. In 2006, Henry Tang, the financial secretary, considered that the "level of CSSA payment" as "a de facto 'poverty line' as far as income-related indicators are concerned". Donald Tsang made it explicit as defining people whose income below the level of CSSA payment as "poor". For the poor "control of the poor" as "poor".

Second, in terms of policies, the government claimed present policies are already in place to take care of the needy. In 2000, Tung Chee-hwa, then chief executive, reckoned that the people concerned about poverty should care not about the poverty line but the measures to alleviate poverty.⁸⁷ It claimed the "social security system ensures that the basic needs of lowincome families can be met".⁸⁸ It would be better, they suggest,to continue the policies of CSSA since adopting the concept of relative poverty meant there would always be a portion of poor people.⁸⁹ The government suggested it already had a set of 24 indicators to calculate the CSSA rate.⁹⁰ Also, the government reckoned that it had programmes in education, housing programmes, and employment programmes like

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Training Institutes; Skills Upgrading Scheme; and Re-employment Pilot Programme for the Middle-Agedto to help them get employed.⁹¹

However, since it had such a whole range of measures, it is difficult to see whether they had played any effects. The government claimed this basket of welfare policies work but there had been no clear indicators (with the lack of poverty line). It is hard to tell which policies were successful or not. The government claimed since many factors cause poverty it is "difficult to set specific poverty alleviation targets". But the government said these "diversified indicators can help us formulate various policies for the needy and assess the effectiveness of these policies". It would be ironic that these policies could be evaluated without the indicator of poverty line. Thus, I would argue that this murky range of policies makes it hard to evaluate their effectiveness and learning becomes difficult. Further, these policymakers might be biased through their mental map of understating poverty as an individual and economic growth problem, changes are hard to occur and inertia goes on.

Institutional density of politics

Since the above policies are already in place, they are hard to change because they are based "on authority rather than exchange". However, it would be easier to change alter the figures of the above policies incrementally, like changing the amount of CSSA rate. Since others had already built this expectation, like the business sector, they invested in this ideational and social model of small government and pursued their goals, this increased the support for the existing policies.

Costs of switching—limited time horizons of the government

Even though the Hong Kong government is not democratically elected, leaders do have to serve limited terms. As the policy of poverty line would immediately show the seriousness of poverty, the tool itself doesn't solve any problem of poverty by itself and other measures of poverty

^{84.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)317/01-02(06), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1112cb2-317-6c-g1.pdf;

Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), June 13, 2001, 6152, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr00-01/english/counmtg/hansard/010613fe.

Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), November 21, 2001, 1835, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1121ti-translate-e.pdf:

Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)179/09-10(07), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr09-10/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1109cb2-179-7-c.pdf.

^{85.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Secretary for health and welfare), February 151, 2006, 4499, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr05-06/english/counmtg/hansard/cm0215ti-translate-e.pdf.

^{86. &}quot;CE's Poverty Definiton Outdated (特首貧窮定義大脱節)," *Apple Daily*, October 17, 2009. http://hk.apple.nextmedia.com/news/art/20091017/13322779.

^{87. &}quot;CH Tung Says, "Academic Freedom is an Important Asset of Hong Kong" (董建華説, 學术自由是香港重要資產)," *Peopel's Daily*, October 13, 2000, http://www.people.com.cn/BIG5/channel1/14/20001013/270130.html.

^{88. &}quot;CH Tung Says, "Academic Freedom is an Important Asset of Hong Kong" (董建華説, 學术自由是香港重要資產)," *Peopel's Daily*, October 13, 2000, http://www.people.com.cn/BIG5/channel1/14/20001013/270130.html.

^{89.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)317/01-02(06), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1112cb2-317-6c-g1.pdf.

^{90.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)179/09-10(07), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr09-10/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1109cb2-179-7-c.pdf.

^{91.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council, CB(2)317/01-02(05), http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr01-02/english/panels/ws/papers/ws1112cb2-317-5e.pdf.

^{92.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Financial Secretary), November 25, 2010, 2959, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr10-11/english/counmtg/hansard/cm1125-translate-e.pdf.

^{93.} Ibid.

^{94.} Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," 259.

alleviation might take a long time to have effects, the leaders would be reluctant to be blamed for causing the poverty problem but having no legacy in resolving it (even though s/he might have implemented measures whose effects are beyond her term of office). This contributed to no change rather than change.

<u>Incrementalism?</u>

The above suggests that, the government was not willing to implement the poverty line policy. Some features of incrementalism could be identified.

First, it was not mostly a problem of policymakers lacking the ability to propose the poverty line. It has been adopted by other countries for years and policy transfer could be ready. Rather, it was mostly the inertia limiting the variety of available choices for the policymakers. More radical departures like setting up the poverty line were not considered. The government only resorted to incremental changes, mostly first order, like adjusting the amount of CSSA rate by a fixed mechanism. 95

Second, the sunk costs of incrementalism was enjoyed since inertia of existing policies allowed the business sectors to continue its expectations of low tax rate as well as policymakers continuing to use their accumulated knowledge.

V. The arrival of poverty line on the decision agenda: 2012-13

This section briefly introduces how the poverty line finally arrived on the decision agenda in 2012 after Leung assumed office as Chief Executive using the multiple-stream framework. Then it will argue it is still subject to forces of incrementalism and inertia, though to a smaller extent compared with the previous period.

Poverty line in the multiple-stream framework

Regarding the problem stream, as introduced in section I, the problem of poverty has always been there at least since the 1990s, and it had not improved over the years. People also saw it as pressing consistently over

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Also introduced in section I is the fact that poverty line had been a policy advocated by the academics as early as 1980s. Subsequently, different scholars also proposed the use of poverty line as a tool to monitor the situation and proposed different measurements. ⁹⁶ Even proestablishment legislators also supported the idea. Thus, the policy was floating around the government for a long time. Thus, the policy stream was ready.

The political stream was also ready. First, the philosophy of the government changed to "seeking change while maintaining stability", as compared with the "big market, small government" mindset. 97 Second, while Leung was running for office, he was fighting for the support of grassroots people, as shown by his multiple articles in Ming Pao on poverty to show his concerns and cares, different from the traditional support of civil servants and tycoons the previous two Chief Executives had. There was a saying ABC during the election in the business community, an acronym of "Anyone but CY", reflecting the business suspicion to the populist candidate, or the so-called red capitalist sector he represented.98 It meant the Leung administration won the authority over the traditional business sectors, or at least got back some power to allow him to run more "populist" policies. Third, his government was facing a smaller expected loss of yearly loss in treasury (though it turned out that the government mostly underestimated its net profit). He was at a better position to adopt the poverty line, which might be associated with accompanying welfare policies. Thus, the political stream was ready.

^{95.} Carrie Lam, "Mechanisms of Adjusting the CSSA Rate (調整綜援金額的機制)," Legislative Council, accessed Decmber 13, 2014, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr02-03/chinese/panels/ws/papers/ws1111cb2-294-17c.pdf.

^{96.} Wong, "Wu Qiong" De Pan Wang: Xianggang Pin Qiong Wen Ti Tan Xi, 347-49.

^{97.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Chief Executive), January 15, 2014, 5598, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr13-14/english/counmtg/hansard/cm0115-translate-e.pdf#nameddest=mbp.

^{98.} Lian, Joseph Yi-zheng, "Henry Tang and CY Leung Contest; Media Sit Back and Promote them (唐梁爭霸搞合縱連橫 媒體圍觀竟吶喊抬轎)," *Hong Kong Economic Journal*, December 1, 2012, http://forum.hkej.com/node/79962.

environment with a simple and low tax regime". ¹⁰¹ Heavy taxation to support more welfare was ruled out. ¹⁰² This opposition to welfarism was so clear when Leung said, a Chief Executive election with a fully open nomination would make policies skew towards those who earn less than \$14,000 a month. ¹⁰³

Examining the supposed functions of poverty line, the unchanged paradigm is even clearer. The 2013 poverty report, while claiming the poverty line helped the government "understand the forms and causes of poverty", repeated the old tones of strategies for poverty alleviation, including: developing economic growth; more assistance to needy people; improving CSSA system; and help needy people by "other recurrent cash assistance and support services". 104 This did not depart from the previous policy paradigm of promoting self-reliance and trickling down effects. Nor did it change its conceptions that the people were just unfortunate but not victims of the current economic system. The government had no intention to change the economic structure at all.

Moreover, the official functions of the poverty line are to: "measure and analyse the overall poverty situation; facilitate evidence-based policy making; and assess the effectiveness of policy intervention". It did not serve any normative function as suggested in section I. It did not have any commitment to any explicit policies of poverty alleviation. Nor was any target proposed based on the poverty line. Therefore, it could be that all those policies in the previous two administrations just continued and there was no way to know which one worked or did not. The self-reinforcing process continued with this difficulty in policy learning. Reduced to this sense, the poverty line was just another instrument of second order change in the original policy paradigm. It came out because the three streams joined and it was a politically workable option. Another

The three streams were coupled by Leung, a policy entrepreneur, who showed "political courage", in the words of Matthew Cheung, Secretary for Labour and Welfare.⁹⁹

Still an incremental change

Even though the setting up of poverty line was a breakthrough, I still argue that it was an incremental change subject to forces of inertia, because it did not involve a third order change—a paradigm shift; and it was a fusion of means and end.

In terms of paradigm, the mere establishment of a poverty line did not mean that the Leung administration was trying to go for a paradigm shift from the previous emphasis on economic growth and "small government, big market" to welfarism. In fact, he was continuing the previous policy paradigm. Leung promised the business sector that he would not adopt "radical remedies" to move from economic growth to redistribution. He was "fully committed" to "keeping expenditure within the limits of revenues, and to maintaining a business-friendly

Expected loss (\$bn)

Expected loss (\$bn)

Expected loss (\$bn)

250

200

150

100

50

2008-09 2009-10 2010-11 2011-12 2012-13

^{99.} SLW on Beijing Visit to Exchange Views on Labour and Welfare Issues (with Photos)," Information Services Department, http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201308/21/P201308210526. htm.

^{100.} Goodstadt, Poverty in the Midst of Affluence, 8.

^{101.} Hong Kong. Legislative Council Official Record of Proceedings (Chief Executive), January 16, 2013, 4898, http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr12-13/english/counmtg/hansard/cm0116-translate-e.pdf.

^{102.} Goodstadt, Poverty in the Midst of Affluence, 44.

^{103.} Bradsher, Keith and Chris Buckley. "Hong Kong Leader Reaffirms Unbending Stance on Elections," *The New York Times*, October 20, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/21/world/asia/leung-chun-ying-hong-kong-china-protests.html?_r=2.

^{104.} Hong Kong Poverty Report Situation 2013. Hong Kong: Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2014, 2.

^{105.} Hong Kong Poverty Report Situation 2012. Hong Kong: Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, 2013.

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controversial policy suggestion, universal retirement scheme, was ruled out even though the government asked Professor Nelson Chow to study it, showing the need of political workability.

The above example of universal retirement scheme also showed the poverty line was a product of a fusion of means and ends. Even though the two policies are about poverty alleviation, a goal which everybody should agree on, the means to achieve it are subject to discussion and bargaining. Only when the policymakers present this concrete proposal of poverty line would it be possible for others to consider accepting or rejecting it. And the fact that poverty line had been around in the world for decades showed it was not an original product of the SAR government but a policy transfer, possibly pointing that policymakers would only consider options available but not comprehensively.

VI. Conclusions

This essay argues that incrementalism and inertia dominated the policy of poverty line (not) reaching the decision agenda in the three SAR administrations. It tried to defend that no third order change, or paradigm shift occurred across the three administrations as evidence for incrementalism. The three SAR administrations all considered strong economic growth, reeducation and helping the needy in difficult times as the root solution to the low-income group, reflecting its philosophy of "small government, big market". Since poverty line could imply a normative function of specifying more welfare provided by the government, which was opposed by the big tycoons, even this second order change, a new instrument, was not considered as fears over the possible third order change was there. The arrival of poverty line on decision agenda reflected some changes in the inertia such as different sources of support from Leung. The deviations were not, however, so strong to disrupt incrementalism—no paradigm shift.

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慣性和漸進主義如何仍在香港貧窮線議題上 影響政策決定議程

張偉瑜 *香港中文大學*

撮要 本文以 2013 年特區政府訂立貧窮線為例,旨在討論慣性和漸進主義在香港的政策決定議程的角色。作者簡介香港的貧窮狀況,並比較不同的理論框架。作者追溯貧窮議題及相關政策在 1997 年至 2012 年的發展,認為慣性和漸進主義在香港的政策決定議程扮演主要角色。一直以來,政策制訂者重視穩健的公共財務管理及不信任政府干預,作者的結論是 2013 年特區政府訂立貧窮線只是多重因素影響下的產物。

羅爾斯式道德主體 — 從平均分配天賦問題看差異原則之道德證成

張肇庭 *香港中文大學*

撮要 羅爾斯的重要經典《正義論》開啓了近代財富再分配的討論, 訂立了對正義的重要理解。在它之後,所有政治哲學討論都必須回 應羅爾斯的觀點。正義論最著名和富爭議性的無疑是「差異原則」 (Difference Principle)。作者會嘗試從一個有關天賦才能的思考實驗, 重新檢視差異原則的道德證成。本文分為兩部份:一,介紹並以羅爾 斯對正義的理解處理平均分配天賦的問題;二,承接上一部份,以平 均分配天賦的問題展示兩種道德能力如何能證成差異原則。

一、引言

羅爾斯的《正義論》在近代政治哲學界堪稱重要經典。它開啓了近代對社會財富再分配的討論,訂立了對正義的重要理解。此著作亦成為了財富再分配方面難以踰越的標準,有學者甚至指出「在它之後,所有政治哲學討論都必須回應羅爾斯的觀點」。1 而在正義論中,最著名同時也最富爭議性的無疑是「差異原則」(Difference Principle)。我會嘗試從一個有關天賦才能的思考實驗,重新檢視差異原則的道德證成。本文分為兩部份:一,介紹並以羅爾斯對正義的理解處理平均分配天賦的問題;二,承接上一部份,以平均分配天賦的問題展示兩種道德能力如何能證成差異原則。

二、平均分配天賦問題

羅爾斯認為人與人之間相異的天賦才能和社會背景引致財富分配上的極端不平等。從道德角度而言,人的天賦才能和社會背景的分配極其任意 (arbitrary),是一種自然的樂透抽獎 (natural lottery)。² 但在現代社會,尤其是資本主義掛帥下,不平等財富分配往往就是根據這些任意的因素。基於任意的分配結果而得到的財富,與道德價值完全無關,因此不算是我們的道德應得 (moral desert)。既然人基於天賦和背景而累積的財富不是道德應得,那我們有沒有合法性去使用這些財富,或其是使用天賦和背景呢?羅爾斯會答有,但他也同時寫下了

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一 從平均分配天賦問題看差異原則之道德證成

著名的差異原則:不平等的資源和財富分配,必須使身處最劣勢的人獲得最大的利益。這才可能使人不會因任意因素而獲利或受損。

我將會根據以上說法,開展有關天賦才能假設的討論。既然天賦帶來嚴重的不平等問題,那麼我們是否應該實行一個平均分配天賦(even out)的過程,使每一個人在出生時都有相同的天賦,令我們在投入社會競爭前可以在同一起跑線出發呢?試設想現在的社會中,各人智商有異,有聰明如智商 160 的愛因斯坦,也有不少智商 100 至 120 的普通人,而無可否認,智商愈高愈有利人在社會合作中取得一個有利位置。假設有科技能將所有胎兒智商設定至 135,整體來說人類的天賦是提高了,而「退步」(leveling down)的說法也站不住腳,那麼平均分配天賦是否應該被證成呢?3 這條問題的重要性,在於它能展現羅爾斯對差異原則的意念,在有機會選擇的情況下,他到底會選擇一個怎樣的正義原則。羅爾斯一旦同意平均分配天賦的設想,則他的差異原則中的「差異」的理論基礎就會被動搖。4

回到平均分配天賦的問題。我認為羅爾斯會作出以下回答:平均分配天賦無需要被證成,因為天賦本來是一種自然事實(natural facts),就像樹木高度有所不同一樣,在本質上無對錯之分。然而,在特定社會基本制度(basic social structure)下,不同天賦之間的差異可能被當為社會的標準規範(social norms),令「強者」剝削「弱者」成為常態。例如在文明社會,智力一直是取決人的命運的重要因素,因此有「勞心者治人,勞力者治於人」之說。但有問題的並非人的智力,而是制度本身。在石器時代的社會,人以狩獵為生,社會階級就會以體力為分野;假設有一社會以音樂產生能源,愈動聽產生愈多能源,社會階級就會以音樂才華為分野。然而,智力、體力和音樂才華在本質上就如羅爾斯所言,僅僅是自然事實。如果人生於一個資源無限的社會,這種由自然天賦衍生的差異很大程度上得到解決,即類似諾齊克所說獲得財富的正義(justice in acquisition)。諾齊克提出在自由市場中,只要人滿足洛克式的條件(Lockean proviso),在獲取財富時留下「足

^{1.} 周保松,《自由人的平等政治》,(北京:生活·讀書·新知三聯書店,2010),頁1。

^{2.} John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 15; John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 72.

^{3.} 有人指不接受這種說法的原因是基於「退步」(leveling down), 意即本來我是智商160的愛因斯坦, 但平均分配天賦後我的智商降至135, 令人難以接受。我認為在胎兒時期實行這個智商設定則沒有這個問題。假設我們無法得知胎兒智商, 我們無法知道他是否愛因斯坦, 因此亦不存在[退步]之説。反而, 胎兒肯定能得到與其他人一樣的135智商。因此我認為這種「退步」說法站不住腳。

^{4. 「}差異」的理論基礎被動搖的意思是,如果無法反駁為何不追求平等,則似乎純粹平等的 狀態比有差異的狀態更有利消除不公義。

^{5. &}quot;The natural distribution is neither just nor unjust; nor is it unjust that men are born into society at some particular position. These are simply natural facts. What is just and unjust is the way that institutions deal with these facts." 參見Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 102.

一 從平均分配天賦問題看差異原則之道德證成

不公平的制度容許道德上任意的事物成為左右人命運的重要因素,這才能解釋我們何以要正視天賦的差異。為了追求平等而將天賦均分,羅爾斯是不會接受的。我嘗試替他作以下回應:天賦均分會阻礙人發展對好的理解(conception of the good)。

一,天賦均分並不等於公平。除了天賦外,人的際遇、運氣亦是影響命運極為重要的因素,即使將天賦均分亦不見得可以消除運氣的影響,如此一來,天賦均分即使能減少部份不平等,但不會達至真正公平。更嚴重的是,如果消除智力差異是因為智力會以不合道德的方式任意地影響人的命運,那麼我們又是否能以同樣的原因,替每一個人安排一模一樣的人生,以消除(以不合道德的方式任意地影響人的命運的)運氣的影響呢?。進一步說。如果為了將社會背景(與天賦一樣會導致嚴重的不平等問題)的差異消除,而像《美麗新世界》(Brave New World)的橋段一樣強制將所有嬰兒統一由國家機器養育,這又會是個令人接受的做法嗎?由此可見,這種均分背後的設想會造成一些不能忽視的問題。

二,刻意去追求絕對統一,必定會破壞了世界中許多的可能性。智力、體力和音樂才華等例子都是定義人對好的理解的因素。而由於一個人對好的理解往往出於與他者比較,因此我們經常有「比別人好」的概念,以建立自己的個人身份 (self identity)。差異可能會引起不公義,但當社會制度可以消除甚至防止這些不公義發生,其實,人與人之間的差異更能讓這個世界變得繽紛,更能讓我們更容易辨認和理解自己。人的想像力雖然豐富,但很難在全無觀察基礎的環境下想像。藉與不同人相處,接觸各式各樣的生活方式,我們才有對生活的想像的基礎。有論者如 G.A. Cohen 會指,社會單憑制度無法保障公義,因為制度容許個人動機萌芽,例如在天賦不均的情況之中,這種差異正正

會導致自利行為出現。因此,社會需要更純粹的平等狀態,以個人出發的道德動機和行為達至平等的氛圍(ethos),才能合符公義的要求。9在如此前提下,Cohen似乎會同意天賦均分。無可否認,這種平等的氛圍值得人追求,但我認為羅爾斯更傾向在保留天賦差異的情況下追求這種氛圍。(我將在下一部份深入這一點。)我並非要下結論指出運氣或智力差異所帶來的不公平是道德上可證成的,我只希望指出,有問題的是社會制度而非自然事實本身,而如果執著於平分或平等化自然事實,我認為會出現阻礙人發展對好的理解。

如上文提及,平均分配天賦這個設想背後,展現了羅爾斯第二條正義原則一差異原則之中一個重要的問題:到底差異原則的本質何在?差異原則並非僅僅是一個補償的原則 (principle of redress),補償所有人因天賦差異而得的不公平對待。10 差異原則的基本描述:社會經濟不平等只能在令最劣勢的人獲得最大利益的情況下被接納,是一種將天賦看待為社會共享資產 (common asset) 的態度。羅爾斯並非追求一種絕對的、一模一樣的平等。拒絕均分天賦,表達了他尊重人對好的理解,而同時他亦強調社會正義,我認為這兩點就是構成差異原則的道德證正的要素,亦是差異原則的本質。

三、差異原則之道德證成

羅爾斯將人視為道德主體 (human beings as moral persons),而道德主體有兩種重要的道德能力:有能力建立對好的理解和有能力建立正義感。11 對好的理解是指人可以建立、修訂和追求特定的人生目標;正義感是在公平的社會合作條件下按正義原則行事。在建立具規範性的社會正義原則時,我們應該將以上兩種道德能力作為平等基礎(equal moral position),並以它們為終極目標。差異原則 — 社會經濟不平等只能在令最劣勢的人獲得最大利益的情況下被接納,正正是以上兩種道德原則的契合:它既可以處理社會公義問題,為人與人之間的分配定下標準,同時亦保障了每一個人有權力和空間建立及實踐對好的理解。我會先講述後者。

差異原則的終極目標是建立一個讓每個人都能達到自己對好的

^{6.} Robert Nozick, Anarchy, State and Utopia (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 174-82.

^{7.} 有關羅爾斯對實踐正義時的外在限制,可參考Rawls. A Theory of Justice, 126-30.

^{8.} 我無意否認運氣亦是道德上任意的因素,只想藉運氣這個例子説明,對自然事實的差異全盤地消滅並非一個最好的做法。

^{9. &}quot;A society that is just within the terms of the difference principle, so we may conclude, requires not simply just coercive rules, but also an ethos of justice that informs individual choices." 夢見Gerald A. Cohen, *If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 128.

^{10. &}quot;Now the difference principle is not of course the principle of redress." 參見Rawls, A Theory of Justice. 101.

^{11. &}quot;...having a conception of their good and capable of a sense of justice." 參見Rawls, A Theory of Justice, 19.

理解的和諧社會。因此,對好的理解在羅爾斯的理論中佔一個很重的 比例。在社會合作中,不同人對好的理解以至價值各有不同,必然會 引起衝突,其至影響公義的落實。即使如此,對好的理解仍然是我們 作為道德主體的重要道德能力之一,是因為對好的理解構成了我們 的人生。它構成我們對自我存在的肯定,確認自己是目的而非僅僅是 手段,並讓我們得到他者的尊敬。這種尊敬表現於差異原則的分配過 程。每個人,尤其是身處劣勢的人,都應該被視為自由人,在再分配過 程中被平等對待,得到足夠的社會基本資源 (social primary goods) 以充分發揮兩種道德能力。12 因此,差異原則才會規定不平等的存在 必定要令最劣者「獲得最大利益」。它確保了我們對好的理解不被擠 壓,在社會競爭中變得蕩然無存。反之,它為每一個人提供足夠的社 會基本資源以實踐自己的好的追求。這更確保了我們有真正的自由去 追求生命中的好。13 在現實社會之中,人往往會因經濟條件限制而難 以追求對好的想像,因為他即使有想像的自由,卻沒有實踐的自由。 差異原則為所有人提供足夠的社會基本資源,令人能掌握實踐人生計 劃的機會。因此,應該均分的不是天賦,而是這些社會基本資源。推 論至此,必會出現一個問題:如果羅爾斯如此尊重每一個人實踐人生 計劃的權力,那麼他何以會以再分配的方式, 粗暴地將財富轉移呢? 這不正是破壞了人對好生活理解的可能性嗎?這個問題相當重要,下 文講述正義感時將會詳述。我在此可以用一句簡單回應:人實踐人生 計劃的權力,應該放諸於正義原則的框架內,如果一個人生計劃是不 正義的,我們很難將其稱為一個人對自己生命的合理期望 (legitimate expectation) old

不過,單憑對好的理解不足以建立一套正義原則,因為正義就是指社會制度如何能適合地決定成員的基本權力義務和社會合作分配的成果。15 在人倫關係之中,我們會意識到人與人之間的相處規範,亦即道德。基於我們對人的主體性的尊重,我們無法擺脱道德,或者應該這樣說,我們需要並樂於堅守道德。我們在肯定自我之餘,更會顧念到他者亦應該是目的而非僅僅是手段。進一步來說,每一個人都應該有受到正義對待的權利。這可說是羅爾斯式的正義感。不過我想為這種正義感再增添一些元素。

上文提及,羅爾斯將天賦才能視為非道德應得,因此在一個資源有限的社會中,人不能正當地享有以天賦獲得的財富。本著正義感,我們應該將自己的天賦當為社會共享資產。然而,許多論者都會指出,即使天賦不屬於我本人,但也不等於別人可以隨時地享用我的天賦,那將天賦當為社會共享資產的正當性何在呢?而將天賦當為社會共享資產與第二部份有關均分天賦的例子又有何不同呢?我接著會解釋。如果對好的理解是羅爾斯對個人的理解,那麼正義感就是他對社會的理解。差異原則蘊含的社會正義概念,反映了羅爾斯一種互愛式的社會理解。古典自由主義和新自由主義在檢視自由 正義等道德問題時,往往會將人和社會的關係割裂,將人當為獨立存有看待。羅爾斯當然沒有意圖否定人的獨立性。但他看見了人和社會以至其他社會成員的不可分割性。因此,在思考正義問題時,我們必須將其他社會成員放入考慮的清單中。

如果我們將人視為平等的道德主體,我們就必定要給予充份的肯定。由於天賦才能的使用無可避免削弱了其他社會成員的自由和機會,而這種削弱是沒有道德基礎的,社會成員就應該擁有對天賦才能的使用的否決權(veto power),這正正是差異原則的核心思想。有論者如 Michael Sandel 會認為,社會共享資產以至差異原則是源自社群主義式的道德原則,即是將社會視為一個大我,將達至社群的「內在善」定為目標,以至成為構成自我的元素。16 然而,羅爾斯對社會的理解並非社群主義。羅爾斯不會如社群主義者般主動推廣社群的內在善,他只會將之視為一種對好的理解。他強調社群當中的正義原則,是基於我們對其他社群成員的尊重。羅爾斯指出,基於正義感,我們需藉正義原則公開地表達對他者的尊重。17 這是因為,透過社會中他人的認同,人才能較有效地建立自我,才能在社會中體現自我價值。18 基於尊

^{12.} 周保松,《自由人的平等政治》,頁40-42。

^{13.} 要注意這種追求非無限制的,羅爾斯指出對好的追求應該僅限於合理慾望 (rational desire),可參考Rawls, A Theory of Justice, 92-93.

^{14.} 合理期望應該建立於具正當性的制度的限制之中。

^{15. &}quot;... a characteristic set of principles for assigning basic rights and duties and... benefits and burdens of social cooperation." 參見Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 5.

^{16. &}quot;... notion of common assets to the possibility of a common subject of possession. It appeals, in short, to an intersubjective conception of the self."; "If the difference principle is to avoid using some as means to others' ends, it can only be possible under circumstances where the subject of possession is a 'we' rather than an 'I', which circumstances imply in turn the existence of a community in the constitutive sense." 多見Michael Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 80.

^{17.} Rawls, A Theory of Justice, 179.

^{18. &}quot;As a fundamental matter, therefore, individuals begin to build self-respect through others' recognition of their worth, which in turn gives them the confidence to organize and undertake a life plan."; "Thus as individuals learn to enjoy their own excellences and vicariously participate in the complementary excellences of others within their respective associations… they begin to generalize beyond their immediate context to see other groups and their participants as similarly worthy of respect for their roles in advancing society as a whole towards its realization." 參見James R. Zink, "Reconsidering the Role of Self-Respect in Rawls's A Theory of Justice," *The Journal of Politics* 73 (2011): 340–42.

重,我們不會願意把自利建立在對他人的剝削上。我們不只關心自己, 更會關心社會中其他成員,其至視之為家人。因為明白自己擁有的才 能背景非應得,體諒關懷他人,因此有在令最劣勢的人獲得最大利益 的情況下,有優勢者才會願意接受比弱者更多的收入。基於此,我們才 會將才能當作社會的共有資產。

四、結語

透過差異原則的討論,我們釐清了羅爾斯對個人和社會的理解,得出道德主體的兩種道德能力(有能力建立對好的理解和有能力建立正義感),並從這兩方面證成了差異原則。我們能夠在正義原則的限制下追求理想的生活,實現個人對好的理解。本於人與人之間的互愛,本於對他人的眷念關懷,我們才會對其他社會成員有著一種平等的尊重,才能將背景當成社會共有資產,以幫助有需要的社會成員,甚至願意分擔彼此的命運。19

社會制度對刻畫人的個性和社會標準至關重要。現實之中,我們永遠無法達至一個「中立」的制度,因為所有制度的實施必然意味著某種價值的體現。然而,人面對制度並非一定要無可奈何地接受。當制度直接影響著我們的生命,我們應該擁有對這種制度的話語權。人在處理正義問題時,往往會感受到自我和他者之間的拉扯,甚至受到傷害。20 但如果我們認真看待正義問題,即使受到傷害,我們仍然會願意追求正義,因為只有透過落實一個正義的制度,我們才能成為一個完整的道德主體,我們才能在群體中找到自己、實踐自我,成為生命的主人。

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^{19. &}quot;...men agree to share one another's fate." 參見Rawls, A Theory of Justice, 102.

^{20.} Rawls, A Theory of Justice, 573-74. 羅爾斯將對追求正義比喻為愛,而我認為愛某程度上包括私您在內,而人對正義的追求在規範式的角度出發,卻更為純粹可貴。九二八雨傘運動後,我想多數人都已感受到在不義制度底下,人在處理正義問題時所遇到的痛苦。然而,真正的義士不會因僅僅痛苦而放棄,正因正義在人類生命中扮演如此重要的角色,他們更不會讓其他社會成員的餘生在不義伴隨下渡過。

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Rawlsian Moral Being: From Equalisation of Natural Endowment to Moral Justification of Difference Principle

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Abstract It would require deeper discussion and examination on the role of "A Theory of Justice" in defining what is justice, but most of us would agreed that John Rawls had changed the landscape of political philosophy. In this paper, the author revisited the Difference Principle by inviting readers to participate in a experiment. The author is of the view that equalization of natural endowment is an impressive thought experiment in order to illustrate the typical Rawlsian justice.

政治經濟學視野的下的美波關係 一從美國如何在冷戰時期以經濟手段達到其政治目的 「Belongs to But Not Be a Part of」簡評中港關係

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撮要 波多黎各的地位問題一直是美國政府的一大考驗。本文嘗試以政治經濟學的視角,分析美國如何以經濟手段達到「Belongs to but not be a part of」的政治目的。本文會講述美國如何基於其戰略目的,以經濟手段維持其理想的美波關係,並如何引起波人迴響。最後,本文會以美波關係檢視中港關係,反思中港融合的可能趨勢。

一、引言

1898 年美西戰爭中西班牙落敗,波多黎各成為美國的殖民地。自此,波多黎各的地位問題成為美國政府的一大考驗。美國一方面基於各種戰略考慮,希望把波多黎各歸於控制;另一方面,出於政治及經濟盤算,美國卻不欲把波多黎各納入直接管治,於是催生了一種羅斯福總統提到「Belongs to but not be a part of」的曖昧狀態。

本文嘗試以一個政治經濟學的視角框架分析美波關係,討論冷戰時期美國如何以經濟手段達到上述的政治目的。本文會先闡述冷戰時期的大時代格局,以及當中衍生的美國戰略利益。然後講述美國如何基於其戰略目的,以一系列的經濟手段,維持其理想的美波關係,並如何引起波人的迴響。最後,本文會以美波關係檢視中港關係,反思中港融合的可能趨勢。

二、二戰後的時代格局

二次世界大戰之後,全球進入新的時代格局,美國和蘇聯儼然成為兩個超級大國,領導兩種截然不同的意識形態。美國身為資本主義陣營的領導者,必須鞏固在美州的既有優勢。但在二戰後,不少美洲國家如古巴和海地都傾向社會主義陣營。在拉丁美洲趨向共產化的情況下,波多黎各更成為美國維持對中南美洲控制的關鍵。波多黎各在二戰後的冷戰格局下充當熱點,成為美國的爭逐對象。

二戰之後,反殖民運動亦成為世界新趨勢。反殖民主義思潮席捲全球,牽起獨立浪潮。羅斯福簽署大西洋憲章,確立二戰後全球民族自決運動之始。聯合國大會更在1946年通過要求各殖民地政府實行

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一 從美國如何在冷戰時期以經濟手段達到其政治目的

「Belongs to But Not Be a Part of」簡評中港關係

佔地近三萬畝的羅斯福路海軍基地,成為美國本土以外最大的陸上海 軍基地。2 之後羅斯福路海軍基地成為了美國海軍的重要訓練和補給 基地之一,如在1956年對多明尼加的軍事行動中,波多黎各扮演了後 援重地。因此美國要牢牢控制波多黎各。

波多黎各地位思考

直接將波多黎各納入美國國土並非一個適當做法。政治上,將波多黎 各直接納入領土,美國將要面對當地從30年代愈趨激烈的獨立反抗 力量,有論者甚至以北愛爾蘭問題比擬之。加上當地社會以西班牙語 系為主導,與美國的英語語系不同。在深深的文化差異下,強行融合會 為美國帶來種種問題。經濟上,成為美國本土的一部份意味美國必需 對波多黎各的疲弱經濟付出鉅大而恒常的援助。在二戰前,波多黎各 的經濟體系在美國的控制下以甘蔗種植業為主,發展單一作物。波多 黎各人口密度高,經濟自主性和潛力其低,無法為美國帶來巨大經濟 利益。美國亦沒有責任維持對其支援。雖然後來美國亦對波多黎各提 供援助,但這種支援不是恆久的,如在石油危機時曾一度減少。而在 地理上,美國與波多黎各相隔古巴、海地及多明尼加三國,縱使它們在 國力上與美國無可比擬,但在實際上仍能阻礙美波聯繫。

因此,於美國而言,最好的做法是維持美國與波多黎各的特別共 同體政治關係 — 自由邦聯, 並一定程度的收緊對波多黎各的控制, 減 少其反抗,以達至美國的戰略目的。美國對波多黎各地位的取熊,由此 至終都貫徹了「belongs to but not be a part of」的宗旨。

前冷戰時期美國的經濟手段

波多黎各的經濟十分依賴美國資本,美資大型糖業公司不只壟斷糖 業,更包括土地買賣,甚至以資本打擊反美的咖啡莊園勢力。美國主導 的甘蔗種植業破壞了本來較多元的農業經濟,令波多黎各陷入長期的 依附狀態。缺乏美國支援,波多黎各無法維持其經濟運作。此中美國 掌握了控制波多黎各的契機:以經濟手段掌控波多黎各,覊糜波人, 達到其政治目的(掌握波多黎各實際主權)。與直接鎮壓反殖獨立運 動相比,此經濟手段無疑更溫和、更符合波國國情。40年代,美國計 劃推行「Operation Bootstrap」,正式落實上述戰略。此計劃將波人投 入由美國主導的輕工業生產,一方面盡可能利用波人的廉價勞動力,

上述憲章,其中包括美國於波多黎各。1波多黎各在二戰前已有其獨 立聲音,如 Pedro Albizu Campos 領導的國民黨通過出席國際論壇、 成立地方組織和利用本地媒體宣傳其政治主張,促進獨立運動。從 30年代起,殖民政府一直與之發生著激烈的衝突。基於二戰前波多黎 各的獨立勢力已經成型,不難推斷反殖民浪潮將會在短時間內衝擊波 多黎各,而實際上波人在二戰結束後已經重新策劃獨立運動,因此防 止波多黎各獨立是當時美波關係中,美國要面對的首要課題。

三、美國視野下的波多黎各

在冷戰和反殖思潮的時代背景下,波多黎各在美國的全球戰略中擔當 怎樣的角色?美國欲建立怎樣的美波關係以獲得最大利益?

象徵意涵

對波多黎各的處理,意味著美國能否控制二戰後的局面,建立霸權。 波多黎各影響美國的形象建立,以至在冷戰時扮演的角色。在帝國主 義心態驅使下,美國不惜付出昂貴的代價維持對波多黎各的控制。而 日後的冷戰進程亦証明,美國希望建立全球霸權這個假設是成立的。 加上古巴等中南美州國家漸漸投向共產陣營,波多黎各無疑是重要的 展示案例(showcase),藉建設波多黎各向共產陣營展示資本主義的富 裕景象。

戰略考慮

美國要維持對波多黎各的統治,其中一個原因是戰略考慮。波多黎各 位處加勒比海,連接安地列斯群島(Antilles),上臨佛羅里達州,下臨 南美洲,是美國保衛東海岸線的戰略要地。二戰後,美國在此區域只 對波多黎各掌有直接控制,其餘國家如多明尼加、牙買加等已成獨立 國家, 更凸顯波多黎各在加勒比海島鏈系統的重要性。而古巴人一直 以來對美軍在當地設立關塔那摩灣海軍基地的抗議,亦促使了美國決 定在波多黎各建立另一個基地。藉在波多黎各建立基地,美國可以保 護東岸沿海地區、扼守巴拿馬運河, 並鞏固對中南美洲的操控, 故波 多黎各亦有「加勒比海的馬爾他 | 之稱 (如能提供文獻更好)。在1943 年,羅斯福已看見波多黎各的獨特價值,並在別克斯島建立暫時的美 軍基地以支援太平洋及大西洋戰線。到了1957年,美國更在該地建立

^{1. &}quot;Transmission of information under Article 73e of the Charter", United Nations Research Guides & Resources, accessed 1 May 2014, http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/ RES/66(I)&Lang=E&Area=RESOLUTION. 新成立的聯合國在其憲章第十一章 "DECLARATION REGARDING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES"(b) 中提及, 所有成員國政府都有責任 為其屬下領土按照人民的意願發展自治及自由的政治制度。

^{2. &}quot;Roosevelt Roads Naval Station". GlobalSecurity.org, accessed 1 May 2014, http://www. globalsecurity.org/military/facility/roosevelt-roads.htm.

另一方面藉工業化提升波人生活水平,減輕其反抗心態。3Operation Bootstrap 計劃在 1948 年正式落實。實施後,波多黎各人均國民生產總值 (per capita GNP) 由 1940 年的 122 元上升至 1950 年的 181 元,足見其成效。4 從此之後,以經濟手段控制波多黎各,以達到其政治目的,成為了美波關係中美國一直保持的態度。

四、冷戰前期的美波關係

在冷戰爆發初期,「Belongs to but not be a part of」的曖昧關係受到波多黎各的獨立運動衝擊。為了維持理想政治狀態,美國分別有兩套對策:首重以經濟援助手段把波多黎各牢牢鎖住;其次以下放自治權滿足波人的民族自決需求,瓦解波人獨立運動。以經濟手段達到政治目的,成為美波關係美國一直保持的態度。

下放自治權

面對二戰後的全球解殖思潮,美國履行 1941 年簽署的大西洋憲章,下放自治權予波多黎各。1947 年《瓊斯法案》(Jones Act) 賦予波多黎各人民公投選出總督的權利。1948 年,波多黎各舉行了第一次總督選舉,人民民主黨的 Luis Munoz Marin 成為第一任波多黎各民選總督。1950 年,美國國會頒布了《公共法第六百號》(Public Law 600),進一步下放權力,讓波多黎各國會自行制定憲法,肯定了波多黎各人的自治權。1952 年,波多黎各正式頒布憲法,確立其「自治邦聯」

(Commonwealth) 的地位。但下放自治權卻有潛在的政治問題: 放權有機會加強波多黎各離心力,例如美國在 30 年代容許菲律賓享有自治權, 促使菲律賓在二戰後獨立。因此在下放自治權以外,美國必須有確切控制波人的手段。美國選擇了以經濟手段控制波多黎各,以達到其政治目的「Belongs to but not be a part of」。

經濟援助

為了瓦解波多黎各的獨立聲音,美國政府試圖從經濟手段入手,一方面令美國政府扮演援助者,爭取波人認同;另一方面透過加強對波多黎各的經濟控制鞏固其政治影響。美國的經濟援助政策大致分三個方面:免税優惠、工業化援助、移民政策。

首先,二戰後美國向赤貧的波多黎各推行一系列免税優惠,務求振興當地經濟。1948年,美國已經向當時尚未確立「自治邦聯」地位的

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波多黎各提供工業製品税項豁免。5 此後,美國對波多黎各税務豁免更加有增無減。1952年,美國對波多黎各税務優惠包括:免美波貿易關稅、免聯邦入息稅、免波多黎各政府債券稅項、豁免美國聯邦利潤法約束(Internal Revenue Laws)等。6 美國一系列免稅優惠,吸引大批美資湧入波多黎各,起振興經濟之效。

在提供税務優惠同時,美國也推行了大規模的工業援助計劃,意圖擴展對波多黎各的影響力。1940年前,波多黎各經濟仍是農業主導,如糖業、煙草業和咖啡業。740年代起,波多黎各在美國各項支援計畫下進入工業化,開始發展紡織、皮革等勞動密集工業。波多黎各最後一個聯邦任命的總督 Rexford Tugwell 更於 1942年創立了波多黎各工業發展公司 (PRIDCO),為 Operation Bootstrap 發展奠定基礎。PRIDCO 進行大規模工業投資,如投入 50多萬美金興建廠房和工業園區,又低價出售土地予外資集團,吸引外資流入波多黎各。同時,美國政府又向波多黎各提供大量聯邦財政補貼,吸引美資進入波多黎各,利用其工資低和免税務的優勢強化其工業競爭力。

儘管經濟快速增長,但因為人口持續上升,波多黎各依然面對嚴重失業問題。1940年,波多黎各人口已達180萬,全年人口增幅約2%。8人口過剩,窒礙了波多黎各的經濟發展,成為了長遠的不穩定因素。於是美國推行了大規模的移民計劃,一方面協助波多黎各政府成立移民局,另一方面提供大量廉價機票,吸引波多黎各人移民美國。9於是,二戰後波多黎各出現了大規模的移民潮。1947-61年間,共50萬波多黎各人湧到美國,其中1951-58年間,每年更平均有45000波多黎各人移民到美國大陸。1050年代起的移民潮,大大抒緩了波多黎各本土失業問題,使其踏入經濟發展的黃金期,同時,移民潮為美國帶來大批廉價勞動力,以維持美國本土的基建發展,同時令美國的工資水平能處於較低水平,有利工業發展。

^{3.} Hilbourne A. Watson, *The Caribbean in the Global Political Economy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 207–08.

^{4.} Ibid., 208.

^{5.} The Industrial Tax Exemption Act of 1948. See Ruth Lapidoth, Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts (US Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 23.

^{6.} William Michael Reisman, Puerto Rico and the International Process: New Roles in Association: a Report for the Conference on Puerto Rico and the Foreign Policy Process--New Roles in Association, Held at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, October 1973 (Newyork: West Publishing Company, 1975), 45.

⁷ Ibid

^{8.} Harold Mitchell, Caribbean patterns: a political and economic study of the contemporary Caribbean (Edinburgh; London: W. & R. Chambers, 1967), 56.

^{9.} City University of New York, Labor migration under capitalism: the Puerto Rican experience (New York; Monthly Review Press, 1979), 83.

^{10.} Mitchell, Caribbean Patterns, 26.

邦聯」的地位,並主動配合美國經濟措施,以鞏固自己的政治地位;二、獨立派企圖將美國援助塑造為經濟殖民,但此論述不被接納,獨立派 更被波人邊緣化。

大多數波人已滿足於美國雙管齊下的政策,一方面認同波多黎各自治邦聯的政治地位,另一方面欣然接受美國經濟援助。在二戰之前,雖然波多黎各出現不少要求獨立的聲音,但多數獨立運動都得不到民眾的廣泛支持,故未能判斷爭取獨立是否社會上的主流意見。大多數波人僅有追求自治的意識,因此當波多黎各被賦予各種自治權力時,幾乎已經滿足了他們對民族自決的訴求,亦令獨立派爭取獨立的聲音顯得更加微弱。同時,美國慷慨的經濟援助令波人對美國大為改觀,並因為其所帶來的經濟成果而決定支持自治派,維持現有的自治邦聯地位。波人支持自治的心態可以從1948年的總督選舉窺見。1948年選舉中,支持自治的人民民主黨主席 Luis Munoz Marin 取得393,386票,佔總票數六成以上,而支持獨立的波多黎各獨立黨主席 Francisco Susoni 只取得65,351票,即近一成票數。13在1951年的Public Law 81-600公投,波多黎各人更有近八成選民支持波多黎各建立自治邦聯的地位。14從兩次投票結果可見,在波多黎各,保持現有自治地位已經成為社會主流意願。

自治派反應

在獨立派被邊沿化下,以人民民主黨為首的自治派受益於美國經濟措施,建立了在波多黎各長達二十年的執政地位,並協助美國進一步建立其援助在波多黎各的「民主霸權」地位。15 其中人民民主黨的主席 Luis Munoz Marin 更有「自治邦聯的建築師」之稱。16 他是 Operation Bootstrap 最初的領導者之一,並在 1949 年上任成為第一位波多黎各民選總督,直至 1965 年。在任內,他致力配合、深化美國的經濟政策,如在 1950 年改革波多黎各工業發展公司,建立經濟發展局(Fomento),利用美國資金完善波多黎各的經濟發展,如大力投資波多黎各南部的基建發展,鼓勵人們從人口密集的首都聖胡安遷移到南部地區工作,從而鞏固人民民主黨在南部的票源。17 此外,在 60 年代初,Luis Munoz Marin 有見波多黎各的產業過於單一,遂大力推動旅遊業發展,把波多黎各打造為拉丁美洲的渡假天堂,在他 1963 年離任的時候,

政治經濟學視野的下的美波關係 — 從美國如何在冷戰時期以經濟手段達到其政治目的 「Belongs to But Not Be a Part of」簡評中港關係 小結

美國經濟政策的成功令波多黎各被喻為「拉丁美洲的經濟奇蹟」(Wirtschaftswunder)。11950年,波多黎各人均收入已高於大部分美洲國家,僅次美國、加拿大、阿根廷、烏拉圭和委內瑞拉。1955年,波多黎各平均每星期有超過50萬美金的工資投入,其中單是美資企業便聘用了超過28000名員工。12如此一來,美國的援助措施便能建立救助者形象,同時加強了美國對波多黎各的控制,以經濟手段瓦解獨立聲音,達到「belongs to but not be a part of」的政治目的。

波多黎各各方勢力

獨立派有濃厚的歷史傳統,在西班牙殖民時期已經有獨立運動的出現,1898年波多黎各成為美國殖民地之後,勢力不斷壯大,以二、三十年代抗爭最為激烈。獨立派以1946年成立的波多黎各獨立黨為首,主席是 Gilberto Concepción de Gracia,有濃烈的社會主義色彩,是共產國際的一員,其主要的政治目的為脫離美國的殖民管治,建立社會主義國家。獨立派在1930年大勝,但自1940年代,在美國的經濟政策下開始邊沿化。

自治派在 30 年代末開始崛起,在現代波多黎各之父 Luis Munoz Marin 帶領下,其所屬的人民民主黨脱離獨立派的陣營,主導自治派。在自治派希望維持波多黎各自治邦聯的地位。在美國的經濟援助下,自治派成為美國政府的合作伙伴,在波多黎各 50-60 年代的經濟黃金期人民民主黨建立起長達二十多年的民主霸權,Luis Munoz Marin 自身在 1948 年起三度連任波多黎各總督。

聯邦派和獨立派一樣在著長遠的歷史傳統,在 20 世紀初由商人發起。隨後於 20 至 30 年代開始發展成一股甚具影響力的聲音。聯邦派以新進步黨為首,於 70 年代乘著中東石油危機帶來的政治機遇,打敗人民民主黨長達 20 多年的民主霸權,多次掌權。他們的政治目的是加入美國聯邦成為第 51 州份,籍此為波多黎各爭取更多的經濟利益。

五、波人對五十年代美國經濟政策的迴響

二戰前,波多黎各仍以獨立派論述為主導。二戰後,受到美國經濟政策影響,波多黎各出現了自治派這股新聲音。波人對美國經濟政策的 迴響主要有兩方面:一,自治派得益於美國經濟政策,提出保持「自治

^{13.} Ibid.

^{14.} Ibid. 142.

^{15.} Ibid.

^{16.} Kal Wagenheim, Puerto Rico: a Profile (London: Pall Mall), 67.

^{17.} Richard Bloomfield, Puerto Rico: the Search for a National Policy (Boulder: Westview Press), 48.

^{11.} Lapidoth , Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts, 27.

^{12.} Arturo Morales Carrion, Puerto Rico, a political and cultural history (New York: W.W. Norton Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983), 135.

一 從美國如何在冷戰時期以經濟手段達到其政治目的

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行利民政策攏絡人心、累積政治資本,而獨立派則視美資為新殖民主 義的侵略工具,並選擇繼續抗爭。

50、60年代,美國成功以經濟手段維持其理想的美波關係。但到了70年代,石油危機卻成為這種關係的轉捩點,令聯邦派在波多黎各崛起,衝擊了美國的利益。

六、石油危機後的美波關係

1973年,中東爆發贖罪日戰爭,阿拉伯產油國家以石油輸出國組織名義發佈石油禁運以打擊敵對的以色列。石油價格一度暴升六倍,美國國內生產總值增長下降近半成,令美國忙於與中東國家談判及專注於恢復國內經濟,無餘力照顧波多黎各的經濟。另一方面,波多黎各經濟由工業主導,需要石油進口來維持生產,中東石油危機令波多黎各的工業出口成為重要危機。波多黎各的本地生產總值增幅由 1971 的 13% 跌至 1975 的 -3%。這反映石油危機對波多黎各的工業的重大影響,同時更是美波關係的另一轉捩點:自治派政治壟斷結束,聯邦派崛起,衝擊美國的利益,把美波關係帶進一個全新格局。

聯邦派崛起

早於30年代,波多黎各進入聯邦的聲音早已存在,這些聲音源於波國的商人,他們希望透過波多黎各成為洲份,成為美國正式的一部分,以獲取更多於美國這個全球最大的經濟體的營商機會,籍此擴大自身利益。不過這種聲音在經濟環境樂觀和波人希望維持現況的想法下,一直不被重視。在政治運動上,波多黎各進入聯邦的想法早於20年代由當時的波多黎各共和黨為首的黨派提出,他們是保守派的代表,亦代表當時最大的製糖業商家。不過因為上述不利其發展的政治和經濟因素,加上黨內出現多翻內部鬥爭,使其未能穩定發展。

但乘著 70 年代波多黎各的經濟困境,聯邦派終於成為波多黎各的主流。一方面波多黎各的經濟衰落,使波人對人民民主黨的管治失去信心,希望聯邦派可以帶來新景象。另一方面,過往美國對波多黎各的巨額經濟援助使波產生對美國經濟的依賴,當面對 70 年代的經濟問題,自然會希望得到更多的援助,而能夠穩定地及最大化獲得援助的方法,就是加入美國成為第 51 個州份。波多黎各希望正式加入美國聯邦的想法,可反映於 60-70 年度,聯邦派先後於總督選舉三度獲勝,成為正式威脅美國利益的力量。

波多黎各的旅遊業收益已高達每年八千萬美金。18 人民民主黨受美國政策而得益,同時善用美國資金,推行一系列惠民措施,一方面使人民願意繼續自治邦聯的狀態,同時籠絡民心,建立長達 20 多年的政治 龍斷。

獨立派反應

獨立派在美國的經濟援助之下,而漸漸被孤立起來。面對日益嚴峻的政治困難,他們結合民族主義和社會主義,試圖把美國的經濟援助放在新殖民主義的論述框架中,描繪為帝國主義的侵略模式,務求再次喚起波多黎各的獨立聲音。1954年的「工業促進法」及其後的「靴帶行動」便被獨立派黨人視為美國引入北美資金控制波多黎各的手段。19對獨立派人士而言,種種工業化舉措都是美帝資本進佔波多黎各,意圖控制當地並建立殖民地。兩年後,一群大學生建立了爭取獨立聯合會發展出「反帝鬥爭激進的左翼力量」。20他們不信任所有美國在波多黎各建立的秩序,例如獨立派領導人物邁克爾•貢薩萊斯-克魯斯指出1967年的公投實際上受美國聯邦調查局操縱。

然而,獨立派一直不能得到民眾普遍支持。其一,由於美國一直的經濟支持,民眾已經建立了對美國的依賴心態,認為波多黎各經濟不能脱離美國。例如波多黎各工業的附屬工廠依靠美國運輸原材料,在紡織業和輕工業都採用了美國引進的勞工密集式生產方法。²¹ 其二,美國打壓糖業以外的農業,如咖啡業和煙草業。1955年,只有約80,000人投身糖業以外的農業,比1930年少了一半。²² 這些行業傳統以來為波多黎各獨立派提供支援,遭打壓後獨立派已經失去資金來源,無力與來自美國的資本抗衡。

小結

這時美國的經濟援助政策扮演著關鍵作用,在波多黎各建立了一個「供給和接受」的依賴關係,起羈糜波人的作用,強化他們的向心力,使他們既有自治權又不願脫離美國,消弭波人的獨立聲音。而在 50 年代,波多黎各人視自治邦聯為政治手段,維持美國對其源源不絕的援助,以達到波人心中的經濟目的。面對如此境況,自治派選擇利用美資推

^{18.} Wagenheim, Puerto Rico, 75.

^{19. 「}美國入侵波多黎各: 佔領與對殖民化的抵制 (1898年至今)」,邁克爾◆貢薩萊斯-克魯斯,https://www.marxists.org/chinese/reference-books/mia-chinese-la-199805.htm。

^{20.} 同上。

^{21.} Wagenheim, Puerto Rico, 34.

^{22.} Abram J. Jaffe , People, Jobs and Economic Development (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), 34

聯邦派的行動

乘著 70 年代經濟衰退帶來的政治機遇,聯邦派的行動大致分為兩個: 其一是利用美國的經濟援助,製造有利加入聯邦的論述; 其二,是在任期間,利用美國的經濟援助累積政治資本。聯邦派的第一任總督 Luis A. Ferré 便多番利用傳媒作為宣傳機器,宣揚加入聯邦的理念,如他便曾在 Associated Press 提到 「I hope I will live to see a final meeting of the minds between Puerto Rico and statehood」。23 其中,他更把美國社會的經濟富裕,稱為美國人模式(Yankee Model),向波多黎各人民灌輸美國經濟援助美好的一面,鼓動人民支持加入聯邦。

七、1970年代美國政策

在自治派主導的時代,美國以經濟援助控制波多黎各的經濟主軸,使波多黎各完全依賴美國。70年代石油危機令美國對於波多黎各的投資和入口大幅度回落,波多黎各經濟也因此而衰落。與此同時,全球通脹問題浮現,加上中東戰爭令石油價格大幅度上升,使波多黎各經濟快速回落。不少工廠更轉移到更落後的國家,令失業率上升到接近兩成。加上波國必須跟從美國新設立的最低工資法例,頓時失去以往的勞工優勢,使其經濟問題更趨惡劣。2470年代中,不少工廠反映增加公共開支和減稅是最能減低其倒閉危機,可見美國援助的重要性。

1976年,美國通過《九三六法例》,容許美國企業的波多黎各子公司的利潤能夠免税,吸引了不少資本雄厚的美國企業於波多黎各成立子公司,並把業務轉移,務求從免税政策中獲利。以製藥工程為例,在法例通過後,製藥工程紛紛在波國設廠,雖然有關的就業人口只佔全國 2%,但單單此一行業便佔了波國 30% 的出口量。25 另一方面,法例規定美國企業如果將營利運回美國本土,便要向波多黎各政府繳付 10% 離境税,令實力雄厚的資本得以留在波多黎各境內,刺激其銀行體系快速增長。美國亦於波多黎各推行各種社福措施,例如減税和增加撥款。美國亦於波多黎各推行了食物卷措施為經濟援助的一部分,為貧窮、傷殘和有需要的人提供以卷換食物的措施,當中的援助金額達到五億,佔全國個人平均總收人 10%。26 從 1965 年至 1981 年,

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聯邦對波多黎各的援助增加了整整十倍。以上政策令波多黎各社會福利和公共行政職位大增,使行政職位佔全部職位的四分之一,大量失業工人重新就業,使波多黎各的經濟逐漸復甦。27 美國在波多黎各發生經濟的低迷時,作出大量經濟援助,除了因為波多黎各是作為美國的一部分外,更重要是希望美國能夠更大程度地控制波國的經濟,更籍此希望波多黎各人民和社會能夠接受現在的政治安排,繼續維持「Belongs to but not be a part of」的政治狀態。

美國援助政策的 「反作用 |

美國希望透過加強援助來維持波多黎各「Belongs to but not be a part of」的狀態,一方面希望透過經濟援助使波多黎各經濟重新發展,經濟富裕起來後,波多黎各對入美的熱情會消卻。另一方面,幫助盟友一人民民主黨穩定人心,讓他們重新執政。從短期來說,這個經濟策略是奏效的,人民民主黨亦成功於80年代重新掌權。

不過長遠來說,亦因為美國的一系列政策,波多黎各的經濟對於 美國已經變得過分依賴。亦因為這個狀況,令波國人民認為要保障波 多黎各的經濟發展,甚至國家發展,就必須成為美國的一部分。成為 美國的州份,波多黎各就可以享受到更多的美國經濟福利,亦對美國 的全國法案有否決權和提出權,這樣才可以持續地保障波人的經濟利 益。因此波多黎各便開始爭取進入美國成為第五十一州,每當波多黎 各的經濟再次陷入困境,聯邦派便會再次成為波多黎各的主流聲音。 例如 90 年代初美國減少對波多黎各的經濟援助,導致其經濟再次衰 落,促使聯邦派於 92 年起再次掌權。波多黎各一方面成為美國聯邦 開支的無底深淵,另一方面,亦是美國政府長久以來的政治包袱。

八、展望—千禧年後美國國政府的兩難局面

在冷戰後,波多黎各已經失去其戰略意義,例如 2003 年羅斯福路海軍基地關閉,見証波多黎各已經撤出美國的整體戰略系統。美國希望減少在波多黎各的投資,以減少在波多黎各的經濟損失。但是,2008的金融海嘯成為波多黎各問題的轉捩點。波多黎各臨近破產邊緣,國債被標準普爾評為垃圾級別,公共赤字更超過八百七十億,佔 GPA 約七成,是全球負債率最高的地區/國家。而波多黎各人均負債 14,000美元,是美國其餘 50 個州平均水平的 10 倍。凡此種種,皆推動了波人進一步爭取加入聯邦的訴求。2008年,支持入美的新進步黨在總督選舉的得票率更拋離人民民主黨超過 10%。在 2012年的公投,有超

^{23. &}quot;EX-PUERTO RICAN GOVERNOR FERRE DIES AT 99", AP News Archive, accessed 6 May 2014, http://www.apnewsarchive.com/2003/Ex-Puerto-Rican-Governor-Ferre-Dies-at-99/id-8cb 93046108ad2da5ed0958cda645bfb.

^{24.} Wagenheim, Puerto Rico, 24.

Berman Santana , Kicking off the Bootstraps (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996),

^{26.} Grosfoguel Ramón, Colonial subjects: Puerto Ricans in a global perspective (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 62.

^{27.} Ibid.

過六成選民支持加入美國成為第51個州份。

面對波多黎各人的訴求,美國已顯得無力應對。過去受聯邦派崛起的威脅,美國會訴諸經濟手段應對,繼續維持其自由邦聯地位。但受金融海嘯影響,美國亦自身難保,遑論對波多黎各輸出更多援助。在可見的將來,由於美國經濟恢復進度緩慢,無法再以經濟援救措施解決波多黎各問題,只能以「拖字訣」方式應對。波多黎各前途何去何從,實難以在短期內解決。

九、中港關係

美波關係給了我們一個處理中港關係的啓示。在美波關係中,美國充當了一個施予者的角色,透過建立「供給與需求」的關係牢牢控制波多黎各。在經濟援助程度較低、殖民地民族意識較強時,波多黎各人較支持獨立;在加大經濟援助力度,使波多黎各經濟水平有所提升時,波多黎各人開始傾向保持自由邦聯的現狀;當波多黎各對美資援助的經濟依賴已經成形,而波多黎各本身的經濟狀況出現問題,波人便會意識到加入美國是唯一出路。

中港關係與美波關係相異之處,是中國渴望得到香港人的向心力,達至人心回歸,最終吞噬香港。美國則只希望與波多黎各保持一定距離,維持自由邦聯的狀態。有趣的是,中國和香港正正保持著一種「belongs to but not be a part of」的關係。一些中國論述認為,香港已經要完全依賴中國。香港人當然理解中國對香港有一定程度的經濟援助,然而在港人的認知中,中國對港援助遠遠不及美國對波援助的決定性。

從波多黎各例子可見,融合意識的重點在於建立了經濟依賴關係後,民眾藉經濟問題的契機發現美波之間的不可分割性。將上述框架放置於中港關係的話。2003年會是一個轉捩點。2003年香港經歷沙士,經濟陷於低谷,中央立即實施一系列決定性的挺港政策,逐漸提升香港對中國的經濟依賴度。不同於波多黎各的是,香港社會出現「融合論」和「本土論」兩套對立的論述,兩者都未見於會取得主導地位。融合論提出港人應背靠祖國,依賴中央的政策支援以發揮香港對內地整體經濟體系的作用;本土論宣揚本土意識,右翼本土派提出「河水井水論」,互不相干,左翼著重社會主義對資本剝削和累積的論述。解釋原因之一,可以歸咎於香港仍未出現徹底對內地的依賴。在回歸前,香港已經建立了一套完套的體系,以維持其國際金融中心的地位,發展水平甚至遠遠超過內地。在改革開放初期,擔當施予者的甚至是香港。這建成了港人對中國的特別心態,認為香港對內地經濟發展一直舉足輕

一 從美國如何在冷戰時期以經濟手段達到其政治目的 「Belongs to But Not Be a Part of」簡評中港關係

重,有帶動作用。因此在回歸後,中央難以立即有效建立中港的「供給與需求」關係,令未能立即使擁有固有優勢的香港在短時間內完全依賴內地。例如香港是國際金融中心,佔內地外資的大多數,兼且平均收入較內地高。因此這種關係仍然在建構當中。其二,亦是更重要的一點,是美國對待波多黎各和中國對待香港的分野。美國盡量不介入、干預波國的內政,而上文提及波國內部親美與非親美力量,很大程度上是國內對美援的態度,是自生的多於外加的,情況與二戰後接受美援的國家對美國的態度有所不同相似。然而,中港關係本質上乃建基於中共對香港的全面操縱、統戰,除了經濟手段外,還有各種文化及社會層面的干預與滲透。28 中共的目的與美國不同,因為中共正正是希望香港「belongs to」同時又「be a part of」中國,成為中央整體戰略系統的一隻棋子。

在可見將來,香港的政策趨勢一直傾向與內地融合,例如供電、供水、CEPA後的國資湧入、自由行。加上中央致力栽培上海成為新一代國際金融中心,令香港獨特優勢漸漸失卻。波多黎各由 1946 年起經歷了三十年的經濟殖民,才催生了聯邦派的崛起。十年人事幾番新,如果以 2003 年作為中國挺港政策的開端,三十年後的香港,又會是怎樣的光景呢?

^{28.} 文化方面集中教育、語言、媒體,社會政策則主要圍繞「新香港人」移民問題。兩者均旨在削弱港人本土意識,加辣建立大一統的觀念。

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政治經濟學視野的下的美波關係

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一 從美國如何在冷戰時期以經濟手段達到其政治目的

「Belongs to But Not Be a Part of」簡評中港關係

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A Review of Chinese-Hong Kong Relationship from Examination of American-Puerto Rican Relationship under the Political Economical Framework: "Belongs to but Not be a Part of"

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Abstract This paper is written by a group of students from Hong Kong who concerned the future of their city, where the Mainland China has been exercising influence in different areas. They visited different cases related to local autonomy and finally picked up the Puerto Rico Issue for studies. Located about 3000 kilometer outside of the mainland of USA, Puerto Rico had a close but complex relationship with Washington. Its status and autonomy is a result of political compromise, economic integration and complicated legal arrangement. The authors traced and explained the relationship between the mainland and outlier island, with a view to encourage the discussion of local autonomy from a political economy perspective, and to provide insights on the relationship between the Mainland China and its Special Administrative Region.

林地制度改革與變更的動力機制 —以黑龍江省嫩江縣為例

張揚文馨 *香港中文大學*

撮要 隨著中國環境問題的日益惡化和退耕還林政策的實施,林地制度已成為當今中國環境治理的一個重要問題。那麼,林地制度為何會發生變化?它會發生什麼樣的變化?通過對黑龍江省嫩江縣這一案例進行分析,運用過程追溯法及最相似系統設計,本文認為林地制度的變化是外生因素與內生因素共同作用的結果。外生因素決定了它是否能作為正式制度固定下來,而內生因素則決定了它的實施和走向。

一、引言

隨著中國環境問題的日益惡化,以及由此而來的退耕還林政策的實施,林地制度所帶來的問題日益突顯,這已成為當今中國環境治理的一個熱點問題。然而現有研究通常是將林地制度作為自變量來研究,關注其與經濟發展、社會穩定等的關係,卻少有研究關注其自身變化的動力機制。林地制度為什麼會發生變化?它會發生什麼樣的變化?寫在紙面上的正式制度和實際執行的制度是一樣的嗎?如果一樣,為什麼?如果不一樣,為什麼?本文即是試圖回答上述問題。通過對黑龍江省嫩江縣下轄鄉鎮的比較分析,本文認為林地制度的變化是外生因素與內生因素共同作用的結果。外生因素決定了它是否能作為正式制度固定下來,而內生因素則決定了它的實施和走向。內外合力推動了林地制度的變化。若只有外生因素而沒有內生因素的話,會導致農民的激烈對抗或「反行為」;相反,若只有內生因素而沒有外生因素的話,會導致農民自發形成的非正式制度(見表 1)。

本文將林地制度分成權屬與用途兩個維度。我國林地的權屬,一般而言,可將其分為國家所有、集體所有和個人所有三類。而物權又包含佔有、使用、收益、處分等一束權利,因此,只要這一束權利中的某一種發生了變化,本文即認為林地的權屬發生了變化(如國家擁有所有權與使用權變到國家擁有所有權但個人擁有使用權,等等)。林地的用途是指同一塊地在使用上的變化,如林地變作耕地、或耕地變回林地等等。那麼,如果同一塊地的權屬或用途有一者發生了變化,本文即認為林地制度發生了變化。受篇幅和敘述重點所限,本文將著重關注林地用途上的變化。本文中所說的外生因素,是指外在於林 V 地制度這一體系本身的因素。而內生因素,則是指內在於林地制度體系本

Civilitas 政學 7 (Summer 2015): 53-65. ISSN 2079-3952 © 2015 The Chinese University of Hong Kong 身導致其自然發展、流變的因素。

本文將圍繞黑龍江省嫩江縣在退耕還林前後,地方政府與農民之間的互動展開,通過過程追溯法 (process tracing) 詳細論證上述假設。同時,本文將通過「最相似系統設計」(Most Similar System Design),對嫩江縣下轄的鄉鎮進行比較與分析,通過比較相似條件下的鄉鎮的不同行為,進一步論證上述假設。本文的主要資料來源是地方誌、相關法律法規、統計年鑒、與地方官員和農民的深度訪談等。

表 1 本文的主要假設

| | 外生因素 | 內生因素 | 結果 |
|----|------|------|----|
| 1) | V | V | V |
| 2) | V | X | X |
| 3) | X | V | 0 |

註:「結果」一欄的「V」「X」「O」分別表示制度發生了正方向上的變化 (即與正式制度預期一致的變化)、制度發生了負方向上的變化 (即與正式制度預期不一致的變化)、制度依然故我,並未發生變化 (即無正式制度產生)。

二、外生因素:環保問題

黑龍江沃野千里,各類地貌兼具(全省地貌分類面積統計表見表 2)。但由於其地處邊陲,終年苦寒,原住民較少,所以開發也是較為晚近的事情。清朝之前,黑龍江省土地開發面積不大。1只有到了清朝,黑龍江省的土地才得到了大規模的開發。而建國以後,國家亦對「北大荒」進行了大開發,以此來解決我國的糧食問題。2長期以來,黑龍江的土地一直處於一種荒蕪待開發的狀態。然而,是什麼原因使中央決定終止了這種對荒地的開發,開始走一條相反的路(退耕還林)呢?本文在此強調環保問題這一外生因素的作用。

如前所述,黑龍江一直處於一種「正在開發中」的狀態。然而一味 地鼓勵開荒亦會導致生態環境的破壞。當然,這種無序開發的狀態在 全國都存在,但是全國卻少有地區像黑龍江省一樣有這麼大面積的連片荒地可供開發(見表 2)。這樣的地理條件,是黑龍江省之於全國的特殊之處。「據 1999 年全國第二次土壤侵蝕遙感調查統計,東北黑土區土壤侵蝕面積為 74 326.2 平方公里,佔全區土地總面積的 36.7%,在黑土區 49 個市縣中都有分佈 | 。3

表 2 全省地貌分類面積統計表

| 地貌類型 | 申山 | 低山 | 丘陵 | 緩坡 | 慢崗 | 平地 | 低平地 | 窪地 | 沼澤窪地 | 水面 | 合計 |
|---------------|--------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| (萬畝) 積 | 2801.0 | 14052.3 | 12501.6 | 3338.9 | 8601.2 | 3997.7 | 9569.1 | 8071.8 | 3589.9 | 1671.2 | 68194.7 |
| 百 (%) 比 | 4 | 21 | 18 | 5 | 13 | 6 | 14 | 12 | 5 | 2 | 100 |

而導致全國大方向發生變動的,則是平時積蓄起的環保問題的突然發難,兩次重大的生態問題在1997至1998年集中爆發,給人們敲響了警鐘。「兩個重大事件成為這一工程的導火索。一是1997年的黃河斷流,一是1998年的長江洪水」。4這兩次大危機,原因都直指大河上流的水土流失和濫砍亂伐問題,也由此催生了退耕還林政策的出臺。「1999年秋天,朱鎔基總理在考察了西部六省的有關情況後,提出了退耕還林還草的主張。隨後,四川、甘肅和山西三生率先開始退耕還林還草試點。2000年,經國務院批准,退耕還林還草工程在全國13省(市),174個縣展開試點|。5

據「中國退耕還林網」,「退耕還林工程簡報」第一期自2001年6月20日始,標誌著這項政策的落實逐步走上正軌。62003年,國務院發佈《退耕還林條例》,作為全國退耕還林工作的指導性文件。此時,「退耕還林」這一項政策算是正式固定下來,由地方試點,到現在變成中央落在紙面上的規定。相應地,黑龍江省在2003年發佈了〈黑龍江實施《退耕還林條例》辦法〉,作為省內退耕還林工作的指導性文件。

^{1.} 黑龍江地方誌編纂委員會,《黑龍江省志——土地誌》(中國黑龍江: 黑龍江人民出版社,1997),80-81。

^{2.} 據華中師範大學近代史研究所《開發北大荒》一文、「50多年來,北大荒幫助祖國度過了一個又一個的難關。1959至1961年的三年自然災害,全國遭遇糧荒,北大荒人把自己的口糧標準降至最低,節省出來的糧食拿來支援全國;20世紀80年代糧食緊缺,程價上漲,北大荒立馬調運糧食穩定糧價;2003年非典期間,北京一度出現糧食短缺,北大荒迅速調運15060噸大米以解燃眉之急;2008年汶川地震後,北大荒人用3天的時間緊急加工2460噸優質大米運往災區.....」。

[《]開發北大荒⑵》,辛亥革命網,最後修改日期:2010年11月12日,http://www.xhgmw.org/html/gonghewenhua/jingji/2014/0716/7549_2.html。

^{3.} 衣保中、〈近代以來東北平原黑土開發的生態環境代價〉,《吉林大學社會科學學報》5 (2003):62—68。

^{4.} 徐晉濤、曹軼瑛、〈退耕還林還草的可持續發展問題〉、《國際經濟評論》3-4 (2002):56-60。

^{5.} 同上。

^{6. 《}退耕還林工程簡報(第01期)》,中國林業網,最後修改日期:2001年6月20日,http://tghl.forestrv.gov.cn/portal/tghl/s/2423/content-340502.html。

這個條例主要也是圍繞著中央的《退耕還林條例》展開,做了細節方面以及適合省情的進一步規定。省裡把工作落實到縣裡,規定了縣級以及縣以下各級政府的責任。由此,退耕還林政策開始正式實施。

由此可見,推動林地用途產生正式制度層面上的變化的,其實是環保問題的凸顯。雖然問題積聚已久,然而並沒有那根「導火索」使其發生變化,也就是說,只有內生因素而沒有外生因素。而當 1997 年黃河斷流和 1998 年長江大洪水發生時,即外生因素出現時,才推動著正式制度發生變更,預期林地的用途發生變化。

值得注意的是,本文強調的是當正式制度發生變化時,通常存在那個作為「導火索」的外生因素;然而是不是有了外生因素就一定會產生正式制度的變化呢?本文並未對此問題作出探討。換言之,本文認為外生因素是正式制度的變化的必要而非充分條件。下文所敘述的內生因素亦是如此,內生因素的存在與否(及其不同情況)會引向不同的實際結果,然而本文並未探討不同的實際結果是否一定是由內生因素的存在與否所導致的。也就是說,本文只探討了單方向上的因果關系,只論證了外生因素與內生因素之於結果的必要性,而並未對其充分性展開討論。

三、內生因素: 地方政府執行扭曲與農民對利益受損的認識

在外生因素促成了正式制度的變動,退耕還林工作正式被當成一項重要任務來抓的時候,地方政府「因地制宜」的執行方式和農民自己損失和收益的盤算卻決定了這項制度的走向。地方政府出於自身的利益考慮,於2009年開始徵收「國有耕地有償使用費」,這激起了農民極大的不滿;而農民被迫將耕地還原成林地或草地,本身已積蓄起不滿之情;結果到了2009年又要進一步收費,使得民怨大增。因此,雖然正式制度已經落在了紙面上,然而具體執行還是需要地方政府的實地工作和當地農民的配合,當這兩方面都出現問題的時候,不難想像,制度的走向很可能不是它原來設計的樣子。

<u>地方政府執行的扭曲</u>

為了做好退耕還林工作,「規範國有耕地管理,切實解決國有耕地收費標準不一、林農矛盾突出等問題,維護社會穩定,保護國家、集體和個人的合法利益,實現經濟可持續發展」,從2009年開始,嫩江縣開始實行國有耕地有償使用制度。根據《嫩江縣人民政府關於國有耕地有償使用費管理辦法》(後文簡稱《管理辦法》),國有耕地有償使用

費是指「政府授權相關部門和單位經營國有耕地進行有償使用取得的收入,主要包括林業部門管理的國有耕地有償使用收入、鄉鎮管理的國有耕地有償使用收入」。也就是說,可以認為國有耕地的來源有三部分:林業部門管轄的、鄉鎮管轄的和草原部門管轄的。在《嫩江縣國有耕地管理暫行辦法》(後文簡稱《管理辦法》)裡面,則給出了對國有耕地更為具體的解釋:「嫩江縣國有耕地是利用國有土地(包括國有林地、國有草地、國有荒山荒地等)開墾、非劃撥農村集體經濟組織使用的耕地,包括公益田、五荒地、林業速生豐產林整地、草原飼料地、原座虎灘小區開發土地、縣直有關單位國有耕地及其它方式開墾的國有耕地等」。

收費的目的還是為瞭解決生態問題,因為在五荒拍賣時期荒地開墾過度,造成了生態惡化,所以現在要退耕還林。這也是響應中央的號召,算是為了落實此政策而想出的新舉措。從收費用途中,也可以看出這一點。《管理辦法》中說:「國有耕地有償使用收入主要用於全縣的生態建設,執收單位的工作經費,林業系統的人員和公用經費、森林防火、新農村建設、農村公共事業建設、政策性補貼支出。全縣統一按入庫額提取 10% 的退耕還林基金,專項用於生態後續建設」。收費的價格,在《管理辦法》裡面有如下規定:「價格由縣政府組織縣國有資產監督管理委員會辦公室、縣物價局、縣財政局、縣國土局、縣林業局、縣畜牧局、縣農委及各相關基層單位、根據國有耕地的地理位置、地力、常產、氣候等情況,區分不同地類,參照市場價格合理確定。國有耕地有償使用費(承包費)價格每年評估一次。縣政府在每年 11 月末前對外公佈下年國有耕地有償使用費(承包費)價格|。

至於這筆費用的徵收對象,根據上文提到的種種檔以及實際執行情況,除二輪土地承包時生產隊分到各家各戶的地以外,所有的地均要繳納有償使用費。在清查地塊面積以及確定地塊權屬的時候,主要依據的檔是《嫩江縣「五清」工作方案》。所謂「五清」,即「清林權、清土地、清戶籍、清作業點、清責任」,而這「五清辦」的前身,即是原來的「五荒辦」。

其清查的範圍主要有兩項:一是集體土地,即二輪土地承包時分產到戶的地。二是自1992年以來開墾的國有土地。清查的內容主要是「土地批件性質、使用情況、交費情況、開墾時間、土地面積、糧補發放情況和土地質量等」,對開墾的林地更是要做到「六查清」,即「查清地點、查清發生時間、查清面積、查清責任者和使用人、查清未還林面積、查清土地權屬」。

在做到上述「六查清」以後,對於縣政府或土地部門審批開荒的

更沒有考慮對其所承擔的機會成本予以補償,對農民退耕還林的激勵 缺乏持續性。再加之近幾年我國糧食供求形勢逆轉情況的出現,使退 耕環林政策的持續性受到了嚴重威脅 |。9

而在政策實施過程中,最招致農民不滿的,自然是原來是林地、後被開墾為耕地,現在又要退耕為林地的地塊。據筆者與農民的訪談,他們普遍表示不能理解的是當年政府允許開墾的荒地為何也要退耕還林。一方面政策前後不一,另一方面侵犯到了他們的利益,招致對抗也是情理之中了。

此外,地方政府對收費與發放補貼的具體執行過程也成了農民怨憤的一個導火索。原來,中央在制定退耕還林政策時,對還林的土地是有糧食補助的。而省政府後來有所變通,將退耕還林的糧食補助改為現金形式發放。「目前我省對全省退耕還林糧食補助政策進行了調整,改革了發放形式。規定自2004年10月1日起,對農戶國家計劃內退耕還林土地的糧食補助全部改為發放現金,由過去每畝供應原糧100公斤,改為每畝發放現金140元(每公斤糧食按1.40元計算)。對2004年10月1日以前退耕還林應供應糧食而沒有供應的,也一律改為發放現金」。10同時,自2004年起,國家開始對農民發放糧食補貼。而在嫩江縣,政策做了進一步的變通執行,即用糧補來抵扣有償使用費,不足的部分再由農民補齊。同時,很可能在政府與農民之間又沒有有效的溝通,從而給農民造成的直觀感覺就是沒有享受到國家的惠民政策,沒有拿到糧補。這又導致了對地方政府的不滿。

總之,一方面是農民對自己利益的算計,認為自己利益受損;另一方面是地方政府對政策的執行方式沒有得到農民的理解與贊成,在這樣的情況下,自然也不難想像農民對退耕還林政策的態度了,實際落實政策與其設計的初衷相去甚遠亦在情理之中。下面,本文將對嫩江縣下轄的鄉鎮進行比較,詳述各鄉鎮的實際情況,並選擇三個案例進行重點分析。

四、嫩江縣各鄉鎮的執行結果

嫩江縣下轄 14 個鄉鎮,147 個行政村。此外還有中儲糧北方公司,農墾九三管理局及其 10 個國營農場,22 個駐軍農場。其行政區劃圖見附錄 1。這 14 個鄉鎮地理條件不同,歷史傳統不同,政策執行方式也

土地,「土地確權後,由權屬單位按照相關規定進行管理。經確權為國有林地的,由林業部門實行有計劃退耕還林」。對於未經任何部門批准私開、超出批准面積開墾和異地開墾的土地,「經核查確權後,由權屬單位收回,依照有關法律和規定進行處理。2003年以後違法開墾的林地,要對相關責任人依法進行嚴肅處理」。總之,清查完畢以後,能還林的還林,能還草的還草,既不能還林也不能還草、或者還想要繼續耕種的,就要交納國有耕地有償使用費。

嫩江縣政府的這一收費政策本身是對中央退耕還林政策的延伸和「自由發揮」,既增加了財政收入,又得到了上級政府的賞識,然而不難想像,此舉一出,必然會招致農民的不滿:一方面,大規模收費對農民的經濟利益造成了損失;另一方面,農民可能會產生一種「相對被剝奪感」,畢竟原來這些林地都是耕地且不收費的,先將一樣東西給人再將其拿走,在心理上就容易導致農民的怨憤。7因此,退耕還林這一制度經嫩江縣政府這麼一「因地制宜」,很容易發生扭曲,偏離了原來設計的方向。

農民對利益受損的認識

如前所述,此舉一出,農民的激烈反對也是情理之中。一方面,從情感因素來看,據筆者與農民的訪談,他們普遍認為耕地是實實在在的存在,而「生態」「環保」則太過遙遠。所以為何要「退耕」?為何要「還林」?另一方面,從理性算計的因素來看,補貼的發放也可能對農民的積極性有影響。「如果政府的糧食補貼高於退耕地的產量,理性的農戶理所當然會選擇退耕。但是,當農戶退耕地的淨收益高於政府的補貼加上還林後的收益時,農戶是不願意退耕的。實際上,這一過程是政府與農戶的博弈過程,而且該博弈存在兩個納什均衡:

「一、當政府提供高補貼大於提供低補貼的淨收益時,政府將選擇提供高補貼,農戶則選擇退耕還林;

二、當政府提供高補貼小於提供低補貼的淨收益時,政府選擇提供低補貼, 農戶則不退耕還林。| 8

而在一般情況下,國家的補貼都不多於農民的收益,農民的積極性當然不高。「較之於農民在退耕還林中承擔的各種成本和林業經營的巨大風險,國家對農民退耕還林的直接成本補償不足,未能充分調動農民退耕還林的積極性。國家對農民退耕還生態林的補貼時間也太短,

^{9.} 孟全省、譚鵬、靳愛仙、〈對退耕還林後續產業發展問題的思考〉、《西北林學院學報》4 (2005): 181-85。

^{10.} 黑龍江日報,〈黑龍江調整退耕還林糧食補助政策,糧補改發現金〉,《黑龍江日報》,2004年11月17日。

^{7.} 宋玉珠,〈嫩江縣加快推進國有耕地規範化管理〉,《黑河日報》,2011年9月14日,http://heihe.dbw.cn/system/2011/09/14/053393137.shtml。

^{8.} 蔣海,〈中國退耕還林的微觀投資激勵與政策的持續性〉,《中國農村經濟》4 (2003) : 347-50。

臨江鄉: 「反行為」□

與上述鄉鎮不同的是,臨江鄉是以草原為主,亦屬矛盾激烈和集中的地區。然而,臨江鄉的鄉民們並未選擇多寶山鎮農民一樣的上訪路線,而是選擇了「陽奉陰違」,表面上用行動哄住工作組,實則我行我素,對實際規定如何並不理會。因此,筆者借用了高王淩的概念「反行為」來描述這一類對抗方式。下面,筆者以臨江鄉為例,簡要敘述這種「反行為」。

如同上文敘述的林地為主的鄉鎮, 臨江鄉是以草原為主, 因此耕 地面積有限,私自開墾的耕地很多。其中筆者的採訪對象,竟然將自己 的土地面積從本來的人口地4畝3分,擴張到了7坰(1坰=15畝), 而這種現象屢見不鮮。而這些偷偷開墾的地,政府便也默許了。自 2003 年退耕還林政策頒布後,政府加強了對荒地的管理,對尚存的荒 地監管更為嚴格,嚴禁農民繼續毀林開荒;此外,對地塊進行大規模 的清算丈量,若有清算出已經開墾的荒地,便要採取措施。被清查出 來的地,有關係有門路的農民或者一些「頑固分子」死活不肯讓步的, 也就默許他們繼續耕種;而沒有門路的和相對比較懦弱怕事的農民, 便要收取國有耕地有償使用費。在退耕還林政策的執行過程中,政府 一般是要強制農戶退耕,能環林的環林,能環草的環草。臨江鄉原來 草原居多,所以基本都是還草處理。可是有趣的是,這還草處理是怎 麼處理的呢?政府要求每個農戶交 200 塊錢,每家發了兩袋草籽,要 求撒到地裡去,將耕地重新退回草原。這兩袋草籽的威力不容小覷, 草又不像林,一把草籽撒出去,能散落到很大面積的土地上。所以,基 本兩袋草籽可以將兩坰地環草。每家要退回兩坰地,是一個非常可觀 的數目。可是在這個執行過程中,可沒那麼多聽話的農民。一部分農民 老老實實地環了草,可是總有些農民會想盡各種辦法抵抗。據與筆者 推行訪談的農戶説,他們直接拿草籽餵了鴨子,結果那年家裡養的鴨 子倒是長得膘肥體壯。那萬一有人去檢查怎麼辦呢?政府倒是派了工 作組來檢查,而這位大叔家裡的耕地正好環沒鋤草,遠遠望去確實像 是一片「草原」。工作組大略地看了看,看著的確像是一片草地,就輕而 易舉地放他過關了。臨江鄉其它各家各戶的情況,也大抵如此。

伊拉哈鎮:默認和服從

不同,因此同樣的政策落實下來可能會導致不同的結果。下面,本文將著重分析三個案例:多寶山鎮,矛盾集中突出,充分展現出了農民與政府之間的激烈對抗,政策得不到落實;臨江鄉,矛盾集中突出,然而並未發生激烈對抗,取而代之的是農民的「反行為」;伊拉哈鎮,矛盾集中突出,然而並未發生激烈對抗,農民較為服從和配合(具體見表 3)。

多寶山鎮:激烈對抗

白雲鄉、塔溪鄉、多寶山鎮、霍龍門鄉等鄉鎮以林地為主,因為資源豐富,可開墾的荒地多,因此矛盾一般都比較激烈。而這些林地為主的地區有兩個共同的特點:第一,政府鼓勵開荒。自1994年「五荒拍賣」始,政府為鼓勵開荒生產,一般規定開荒地三年不交稅、五年不交提留。直至2003年退耕還林政策實行,自此之後,政府打擊開荒的力度一年比一年嚴格。也就是說,以前開墾的荒地基本已是既成事實,不予追究,但是嚴禁再開墾新的荒地。

第二,退耕還林政策很大程度上形同虛設。原因也不難理解:一個鄉鎮以林地為主,耕地面積自然相應較小,所以很大一部分耕地都是林地開墾出來的,若是都退耕還林了,哪裡還有耕地呢?所以嫩江縣政府在執行退耕還林政策的過程中亦是睜一眼閉一眼的,這一點在這幾個林地為主的鄉鎮中均有體現。因此,矛盾其實是從2009年收取國有耕地有償使用費開始加劇的。如前所述,以前開墾的荒地已經得到了政府的認可,然而自2009年開始,政府要開始「翻舊賬」,就以前自己鼓勵開墾的荒地徵收使用費。這樣的政策,招致農民的反對亦是情理之中。下面以多寶山鎮為例,簡要説明。

多寶山鎮是矛盾比較集中和突出的一個鎮。如前所述,該鎮林地居多,政府鼓勵開荒。農戶承包後,一般是簽訂五年合同,規定五年後還林,開荒地三年不交税、五年不交提留。但是五年之後,幾乎無人還記得此合同,耕地也就成了既成事實,無人過問。後來實行退耕還林政策後,此地並無退耕還林一說,大概也是因為本來耕地就少,都還林了也就沒有地方生產糧食了。從2009年起,政府開始徵收國有耕地有償使用費,並開始嚴厲打擊私自開荒、濫砍亂伐現象。此地農民非常不滿,不斷上訪,對抗激烈。但是上訪無果,有農戶直接在上訪路上被截,然後直接被押送回鄉。

^{11. 「}反行為」是高王凌提出的概念,指「處於某種壓力下的『弱勢』一方,以表面『順從』的姿態,從下面悄悄獲取一種『反制』的位勢,以求彌補損失,維護自己利益的一種個人或群體的行為;它若隱若現,可以說是中國人的『拿手好戲』」。高王凌在其書中將這一概念與James C. Scott 的「道義經濟」做了區分,在此就不贅述了。本文借用這一概念,以恰當地形容臨江鄉鄉民的行為。見高王凌,《中國農民反行為研究(1950—1980)》(香港:中文大學出版社,2013)。

伊拉哈鎮與臨江鄉情況相似,都是草原為主的鄉鎮。然而,該鎮既未出現激烈的對抗,亦未出現「反行為」,政府要求交費便交費,要求還林便還林,規定的「退耕還林」政策得以落實。這種情況,的確較為反常,在嫩江縣下轄的14個鄉鎮中,並不多見。

伊拉哈鎮在 1994 年後曾進行過大規模的承包和拍賣,私開荒地較少。2003 年退耕還林後,政府在大規模的清查中,也清查出了很多私開荒地,便要求這部分地該還林的還林,該還草的還草。但是和其它鄉鎮情況一樣,那些有關係有門路的農民依然不會去執行,地還是照樣種。而大多數農民還是比較積極配合,他們普遍認為,如果不配合的話,國家的政策就實行不下去了。於是,伊拉哈鎮的地,大都按照政府的安排,還林還草。如果沒有還林還草的話,也還是照例要交國有耕地有償使用費。

從伊拉哈鎮的情況來看,理論上矛盾應該比較激烈,但是卻並沒有出現預想的情況。對於政策變動,雖然大部分農民比較不滿,但是卻還是積極地配合了這項國家政策的變動,即使他們可能並不理解。他們覺得,地本來就是自己開的,當年交的那點錢不算什麼,最多損失些籽種化肥的錢,之後地收回了也就收回了,就當白撿了幾年便宜罷了。因此,農民並無太多怨恨情緒,也並沒有上訪、鬧事等過激行為。不難發現,與其它鄉鎮(尤其是林地鄉鎮)比起來,伊拉哈鎮農民普遍覺悟比較高,「順民」佔很大比例。一個可能的解釋因素是伊拉哈鎮悠久的歷史,以及該鎮傳統的生產經營方式。比起多寶山鎮等「天高皇帝遠」的林區,伊拉哈鎮農耕歷史較長,在國家機器統治下的時間也較長。這有機會是農民普遍較為服從的其中一個原因。

值得注意的是,本文所選擇的這三個鄉鎮只是「理想型」,並不是 說這三個鄉鎮的所有鄉民都採取了同一種策略,亦不是說在其它鄉鎮 就沒有出現這幾種策略。事實上,從具體的敘述中我們也可得知,每一個鄉鎮(包括上述三個典型鄉鎮)中的農民所採取的策略和具體的 政策落實結果,幾乎都是上述三種結果的混合型,同時存在著這三種情況。當農民激烈反抗時,紙面上的規定得不到落實;當農民陽奉陰違 (「反行為」)時,紙面上的規定表面上看似落實了,而實質上仍形同虛設;當農民默認、服從時,紙面上的規定得到了落實。

五、比較與總結

綜上所述,本研究總結如下:林地制度的變化是外生因素和內生因素共同作用的結果。退耕還林政策因外生因素——環保問題的突顯——而正式落實到紙面上,然而在內生因素與其作用力方向相反時,

並不能得到實際上的執行,或執行效果要大打折扣。出於不同的原因和地理條件,農民採取的策略各有不同,有的選擇了激烈的對抗形式,有的選擇了表面服從實則我行我素,有的則選擇了默認和服從。而不同的策略亦各自導致了不同的執行結果。雖然正式制度是意在改變林地的用途,然而當農民選擇默認和服從(退耕還林或繳納國有土地有償使用費)時,林地才發生用途上的變化;而當農民選擇對抗時,實際上林地的用途並未發生變化。因此,當我們考察一項制度的產生與發展時,不僅應關注外生因素的推動作用和紙面上的規定,還應考察是否有內生因素的配合,以使制度的目標與落實得以合二為一,起到其最初設計時的作用。

表3嫩江縣各鄉鎮對政策的反應情況表

| 鄉鎮名稱 | 地理條件 | 退耕還林 執行力度 | 打擊開荒 力度 | 09 年是 否收費 | 群眾不滿 程度 | 有無上訪 |
|------|------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------|
| 海江鎮 | 平原 | 無 | 強 | 是 | 無 | 無 |
| 科洛鎮 | 平原 | 無 | 強 | 否 | 無 | 無 |
| 科洛鎮 | 平原 | 無 | 強 | 否 | 無 | 無 |
| 長福鎮 | 平原 | 無 | 強 | 否 | 無 | 無 |
| 前進鎮 | 平原草原 | 弱 | 強 | 是 | 弱 | 無 |
| 臨江鄉 | 草原 | 弱 | 強 | 是 | 無 | 無 |
| 伊拉哈鎮 | 草原林地 | 弱 | 強 | 是 | 弱 | 無 |
| 白雲鄉 | 林地 | 弱 | 強 | 是 | 弱 | 無 |
| 塔溪鄉 | 林地 | 弱 | 強 | 是 | 強 | 有 |
| 多寶山鎮 | 林地 | 無 | 強 | 是 | 強 | 有 |
| 霍龍門鄉 | 林地 | 弱 | 強 | 是 | 強 | 有 |

註:

- 1)「地理條件」一欄分為林地、草原、平原三種類型。
- 2)「退耕還林執行力度」分為無、弱、強三種類型。若僅有政策宣傳或象徵性措施,未達到退耕還林效果的,歸為「弱」類;若有強制性措施,達到了退耕還林效果的,歸為「強」類。
- 3)「群眾不滿程度」分為無、弱、強三種類型。若僅表達了不滿情緒而未採取上訪等實際行動,且配合交納國有耕地有償使用費的,歸為「弱」類;若有上訪、訴諸媒體等較為強烈的抗議行為,或抵抗交納國有耕地有償使用費的,歸為「強」類。

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The Dynamic Mechanism of Forest Institution Reforms: A Research from Nenjiang County, Heilongjiang Province, China

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Abstract With the increasing environmental degradation in China and the implementation of "Grain to Green" programme, forest institution has become a salient issue in China. Why, then, does the forest institution change? And how? Through the case study of a county in northern China and by process tracing and most similar system design, this paper draws the conclusion that the change of forest institution is the result of both exogenous and endogenous factors. While exogenous factors determine whether the institution could be formed, endogenous factors dictate the implementation and the direction of the institution.

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