

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

國家發展過程中政府、企業與公民社會之政治溝通：新加坡政府形象塑造策略之分析 研究成果報告(精簡版)

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計畫主持人：張碧君

計畫參與人員：碩士班研究生-兼任助理人員：卜星雲
大專生-兼任助理人員：簡昇民

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中華民國 99 年 08 月 13 日

行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫**成果**
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成果報告類型(依經費核定清單規定繳交)：精簡報告 完整報告

本計畫除繳交成果報告外，另須繳交以下出國心得報告：

赴國外出差或研習心得報告

赴大陸地區出差或研習心得報告

出席國際學術會議心得報告

國際合作研究計畫國外研究報告

處理方式：除列管計畫及下列情形者外，得立即公開查詢

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公開查詢

National Image Building in Singapore: A Political Economic Analysis

Pi-Chun Chang

Abstract

This project adopts Singapore as a case, and attempts to examine the image building strategy through the political communication between the government and the private sectors as a necessary dynamic for economic development in developmental states. The economic development in developing countries is more likely to generate with initial state develop-oriented image perceived by the private sector through political communication. The government convinces the private sector of its developmental credentials to gain main support for a state-led developmental program, and builds reputation with authoritarian rule in civil society to stabilize the regime. The state-private sector communication and external/internal business investment then became the dynamic of economic development. To analyze Singapore's national image building strategy, the project examines 1) the economic growth and governmental performance to measure the effect of this policy, and 2) relates the strategy to political dimension by observing interaction and communication between the government, private sector, and civil society.

Keywords: Singapore, State image, State-Business Coordination, Political Economy, Political Communication

I. Foreword

The puzzle of East Asia's miraculous economic development sustained lively and often contentious debate in the management and social sciences. One of the main issues is the essential roles of state in the process of economic development. Broadly, in terms of nation building in developing countries after World War II, the practical importance is to make a commitment to economic development and further to play an ultimately successful role in mobilizing investment to promote economic growth. A state's lack of genuine commitment to economic development, revealed by its unwillingness to invest productively, and a similar decision by the private sector locks many less-developed countries into a zero or low growth equilibrium.

II. Purpose of the Research

To explore the measures and strategies for governing state image, this research draws on Singapore as a case study, since that country's extremely rapid economic growth was achieved through state-private sector coordination and communication. Compared to other East Asian developing states during the past five decades, the complex composition of the private sector in Singapore is partly a result of its particular relation to the state. Singapore is unique in that the private sector investors the state convinced through its image building policy were and are overwhelmingly foreign multinational enterprises. Moreover, arising from Singapore's experience, the major issue related to the question of state image building is whether authoritarian governments are more likely to sustain a stable social-political environment and thus greater economic development.

III. Literature Review

In the 1980s and 1990s, a flood of work appeared on the political economy of Japan and the East Asian NICs emphasizing the role of the “developmental state” (Amsden 2003; Evens 1995; Wade 1990, 2004). Most analyses begged that question of why political elites chose the policies they did and why they were capable of implementing them more or less credibly. They argue that difficult adjustments such as fiscal consolidation, trade liberalization, and devaluation resembled collective action problems that were resolved through a concentration of political authority and executive initiative. In other words, conclusions of those researches focus on the significance of a politically powerful state. Furthermore, research attention increasingly shifted to an analysis of the political relationship between the government and the private sector, and how it contributed to coherent and credible policy. Campos and Root (1996) provided a useful inventory of this new institutional analysis, focusing on the effort to woo political support from big business, while delegating authority to relatively insulated and meritocratic bureaucracies and establishing government-business deliberation councils. These institutions increased the flow of information while serving to check both government discretion and private sector rent-seeking.

Through observing the strength of the state’s political micro-foundations, the business community and investors have to reach some initial judgment, however imperfect, to assess the state’s capability of directing economic development, and then the business community makes decisions whether or not to support the government and so invest in productive enterprises. At the same time, as the business community reaches

its decision as to the intentions and quality of the state, the state's political micro-foundations, if adequate, provide the basis for a potential development-oriented state to implement effectively its fundamental economic features. That is, the government coordinates an accumulation function organized through its core economic power to tax and direct subsidies to "targeted" industries, and through its competence to build infrastructure and invest in human capital by subsidizing education and training.

More importantly, if a developing state gains initial image from the business community, such a perception buys time for the implementation of development-oriented policies. Given this, the latter three components benefit a stable political environment to support economic growth, and the consequent political legitimacy appears with economic development and consolidates gradually during the process of nation building. In the course of this process, the business community gathers and sifts information as to the nature of the state. Information used by the business community to update its investment decisions includes the state's willingness to invest productively along with its management of private economic interests, its economic performance and its ability to control or suppress effectively any elements in civil society that threaten investment stability and economic growth.

IV. Research Method

The theoretical hypothesis of this paper is based on this proposition: the government needs to build image through strategies and coordination with business community to encourage belief in successful growth. This paper first analyzes the components of growth associated with the developing state and conceptualizes the term "state image

building.” It then examines image building strategies and provides the methods to measure them. Moreover, this paper places emphasis on relating image governing to the political dimension, especially on the interactions among the government, the business community and civil society. Finally, this paper draws together earlier observations on the reputation policy of Singapore, and considers the argument that success in achieving economic growth necessarily leads to political democracy.

V. Conclusion

In considering the developing state, this paper has emphasized its need for policy image and reputation, drawing on the experiences of Singapore. The answer to why the advanced developing state (or so-called new industrialized country, NIC) has remained rare is that the developing state needs favorable initial environment to encourage a high belief in successful growth. Moreover, even with this start, it further requires continuous image governing through policy coordination between the state and the business community. Singapore illustrates this, and like South Korea and Taiwan the process of its emergence as an NIC explains why in less-developed countries that phenomenon is likely to remain elusive. Along with a image building and the access of policy coordination, the economic performance (as measured by rapid economic growth), the distribution of its fruits among different groups in civil society, and a degree of political repression all helped to confer legitimacy and increase the probability of the regime’s sustainability in Singapore. When all this occurs, the developing state creates a self-fulfilling prophecy through the emergence of convergent expectations around a communicative equilibrium of mutual government and business community investment which in turn fuels growth.

Such an NIC can be built under a democratic government, as shown by the example of Japan. Conversely, a variety of less-developed country regimes of varying shades of authoritarianism, with performances varying from disappointing to appalling, dispel any notion that absolutist rule is sufficient for the achievement of political development and economic growth. As was observed in Burma, the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council has more three decades of experience sacrificing economic growth in order to stay in power. In Malaysia, authoritarianism and political stability attract considerable private sector investment. The expected fragile balance among political authoritarianism, foreign investor's belief, and a number of state-directed import-substitution projects has still been maintained after the 1997-1999 financial crisis in Asia. This paper does shed some light on the observation that while there is no necessary connection between authoritarianism and economic development, developing states, especially in East Asia, have often been soft-authoritarian. As this paper emphasizes initial conditions and state image building as fundamental in molding the developing state, certain forms of authoritarian governments may at least create greater initial image. Furthermore, authoritarianism may decrease the business community's perception that the government will lose power and there will be a consequent reversal of policies, and so extend sufficiently the time horizon over which the state can prove its pro-growth stance.

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出國心得報告書

報告名稱：參加 2009 年第三屆族群、歷史與文化亞洲聯合
論壇-華人族群關係與區域比較研究國際學術研討會發表論
文

出國期間：中華民國九十八年十一月十三日至十一月十五日

計畫編號：98-2410-H-003-002-

一、目的

2009年第三屆族群、歷史與文化亞洲聯合論壇-華人族群關係與區域比較研究國際學術研討會為新加坡國立大學舉辦。參與該會年會之學者多來自中、港、台、星，其多元性相當豐富。故參與該會所舉辦之國際學術研討會，並發表論文，不僅論文本身得以獲致來自不同觀點的評價與匡正，更能擴展個人的學術網絡，吸收最新的學術訊息與研究取向。

二、過程

本人的論文發表時間安排於十一月十四日下午2:00-4:00。本討論場次主題為「文學與文化」，由黃錦樹教授擔任本場次主持人。同場次尚有其他三篇論文。本人於本場次中之討論與交流獲益良多。

三、心得

(一) 參與新加坡國立大學舉辦之 2009 年第三屆族群、歷史與文化亞洲聯合論壇-華人族群關係與區域比較研究國際學術研討會，與會期間深刻感受到無論在年會的參與者、團體會員、以及年會論文議題的取向，其廣度、深度、精緻度皆勝過其他相關會議。前述參與者多來自亞洲華人地區，研究議題亦十分平均與多元。

(二) 大陸學界的積極性

以本人發表與參與其他的場次而言，大陸學者出席踴躍，提問與討論之意願亦十分顯著。值得我國學者效法。

無研發成果推廣資料

國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

達成目標

未達成目標（請說明，以 100 字為限）

實驗失敗

因故實驗中斷

其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形：

論文： 已發表 未發表之文稿 撰寫中 無

專利： 已獲得 申請中 無

技轉： 已技轉 洽談中 無

其他：（以 100 字為限）

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）（以 500 字為限）

1. 本計畫在方法論上結合傳播學，政治學與區域研究。研究中交互運用政治傳播及發展政治經濟學的分析途徑，彌補過去在政治變遷與發展模式的相關研究中，忽視政治溝通與傳播因素，對政府經濟發展決策與政企互動所產生的影響。

2. 在理論上，本計畫修正既有的發展理論，特別是對東亞新興工業化國家。本計畫加入政治互信與溝通此一變因，並檢證此一變因之變異(variation)在發展過程的重要性。今後相關研究可在本計畫研究發現之基礎上，結合政治分析所專注的決策過程與權力競逐，以及傳播研究所重視的決策溝通與產出效果，為相關研究提供更完整之解釋。

