Governance and social citizenship

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Outline

- Introduction to research project `Governance, Citizenship and Social Policy in East Asia: Beijing, Hong Kong, Taipei and Seoul.
- Team from Department of Applied Social Sciences, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong.
Relationship between globalisation, social policy and well-being has generated enormous debate

Narratives of neo-liberalism, new public management, residual welfare and active citizenship have become global discourses influencing both national, and particularly international, programmes and policies.

Emerging concerns

In both Hong Kong and China the context one of:

- Rapid economic growth
- New forms of stratification and exclusion
- Increasing levels of inequality and the emergence of the ‘New Poor’.
### Growth rate of GDP (% per year)

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>China</th>
<th>HK</th>
<th>South Korea</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>11.4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Asian Development Bank, Asian Development Outlook 2008*

### Growth rate of per capita GDP (% per year)

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<th>China</th>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
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<td>2004</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
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<td>2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Source: Asian Development Bank, Asian Development Outlook 2008*
Increasing concerns about

- Social cohesion and social harmony
- Legitimacy
- Sustainability

Governance and citizenship

- Concepts of governance and citizenship useful for understanding the dynamics of inclusion and inclusion, and the changing boundaries of citizenship
- For incorporating scales and sites `beyond the state’ (but not ‘without’ the state)
- Reterritorialisation of the state not deterritorialisation (De- and re-statisation Jessop 2004).
Governance in a transnational world

- Modes of governance in a transnational world are being shaped and reshaped in constellations of public and private actors
- Include states, international organisations, professional associations, expert groups, civil society groups and business corporations, as well as informal institutions, practices and processes
- Not isolated groups but overlapping networks
- Incorporate actors often involved at different spatial scales, adopting different roles and identities

Beeson (2001) has argued that `…the concept of governance often seems as little more than a normatively loaded shorthand for market-oriented reforms designed to fundamentally reconfigure East Asia’s political economies’ (p482)
Governance as analytical tool

- Governance as an analytical rather than a normative framework

‘…an analytical tool that helps unpack the complex way in which political, economic, and social activities are organized…’

(Beeson 2001 p482).

Making the connections

- Contested and interlinked concepts of governance and citizenship means of interpreting and analysing different layers and tiers through which citizenship is contested, organised and practiced.
- Citizenship and governance processes interact with, impact upon and effect the construction of the boundaries of citizenship.
Interpreting governance

- Governance refers to a form of social steering that is not just about hierarchy and command through a central authority
- Interaction of a plurality of actors, at different spatial scales, often with different interests, values, cognitive orientations, and power (and financial) resources
- Facilitates an understanding of the ways in which power penetrates the spaces, processes and practices of citizenship.

Formal and informal institutional arrangements which contribute to

- Matrix of governance (Lieberthal 1995)
- Choreographies of governance (Swyngedouw 2001)
New forms of relationship and interaction between state and society, governments and citizens, and state and non-state institutions have emerged

- Referred to by Jessop (2004) as an arena of ‘unstructured complexity’
- Characterised by Rhodes as ‘a differentiated polity’ (Rhodes 1997).

Social rights of citizenship

- Citizenship characterized by novel forms and channels for participation and resistance as well as new forms of stratification and exclusion
- ‘…citizenship is both the means for and the effect of governance’ (Ho p19)
Hong Kong as World or Global City

- Often characterised as World City integrated into the global economy relatively early
- Spectacular post-war economic growth ensured its ranking among the first-tier East Asian Newly Industrialised Economies.
- Hong Kong characterised as an ‘administrative state’ and ‘small city-state’ (Chiu et al 1997)
- Never been an independent polity

Citizenship in Hong Kong

- Civic rights and limited political rights
- 1980s spaces of participation opened up
- Hierarchy of control (Ho 2005) - residency
- No formal recognition of social welfare as a social right
- British Colonial Administration focus on residual welfare and family support
- Imperatives of economic expansion, maintenance of social order, legitimacy creation
- Charity and benevolence
Hong Kong SAR

- Extensive intervention in housing, health, education
- No formal recognition of social welfare as a social right of citizenship
- Retained, and strengthened, emphasis on family, neighbourhood, voluntary agencies, market for welfare needs
- Self-reliance and self-help, self-organisation, community building and social capital

Social Security in Hong Kong

- Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA)
- Old Age Allowance
- Disability allowance
- Mandatory Provident Fund – relatively ‘young’, contributory personal account
Characteristics of CSSA

- Non-contributory
- Minimal benefits
- Temporary and transitional
- Only for those who are ‘least able to help themselves’

Emergence of the ‘New Poor’

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Earnings</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>17788</td>
<td>17721</td>
<td>+1778.35%</td>
<td>+1771.28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>4866</td>
<td>43039</td>
<td>35543</td>
<td>+784.48%</td>
<td>+626.33%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Single Parent</td>
<td>6048</td>
<td>40221</td>
<td>38062</td>
<td>+565.03%</td>
<td>+529.33%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Age</td>
<td>69927</td>
<td>151268</td>
<td>152393</td>
<td>+116.32%</td>
<td>+117.93%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ill Health</td>
<td>10886</td>
<td>23747</td>
<td>24438</td>
<td>+118.14%</td>
<td>+124.49%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Disability</td>
<td>7990</td>
<td>17318</td>
<td>18003</td>
<td>+116.75%</td>
<td>+125.32%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4143</td>
<td>5338</td>
<td>6135</td>
<td>+28.84%</td>
<td>+40.08%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>104807</td>
<td>298719</td>
<td>292095</td>
<td>+185.02%</td>
<td>+178.70%</td>
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Poverty in Affluent HK

Gini Coefficient: Worsening Trends

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Gini Coefficient</th>
<th>Low Income Population</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adjusted*</td>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>0.451</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>0.453</td>
<td>631,158</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0.476</td>
<td>790,106</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>0.518</td>
<td>1,073,540</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>0.525</td>
<td>1,207,972</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>0.533</td>
<td>1,336,873</td>
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</table>
Social citizenship in China

- Major transformation from planned economy to market economy
- Pre-1979 low income, welfare society operating large scale social programmes in both urban and rural area
- Urban areas wide range of social welfare provided through work unit system and state-owned enterprises

China and globalisation

- China strongly committed to globalization
- Active participant in institutions of global governance
- More open to foreign trade and investment than India or most other developing counties (OECD 2007)
- Said to have created a much better investment climate
Institutions

- Market transformation and external openness has been accompanied by institutional transformation and in relation between ‘citizen’ and state
- Good investment environment:
  - erosion of urban welfare of workers
  - deterioration of labour standards in state owned enterprises
  - labour costs kept low
  - strengthening of market mechanisms and individual consumers

Economic development

- FDI and export growth concentrated on the Eastern coastal region, moving slowly inward
- 1990 – greater focus on western regions but overall disparities have not narrowed
- Advanced East
  - Lagging Central
  - Backward West
  - ‘Fourth World’
Fourth World

- Consisting mostly of the poorest, minority-concentrated, rural and peripheral areas in central and western China
- Time differences in provinces and provincial level cities being “modernised” is as large as 70 years
- Shanghai and Beijing the first by 2015 and 2018 respectively
- Guizhou and Tibet being the last in 2070 and 2090, more than 50-70 years later

Fragmented social citizenship

- Dismantling of work unit system and introduction of social-insurance based social protection system
- Introduction of Minimum Living Standard Scheme (MLSS) – Basic social assistance
- Localisation of financial responsibility
- Urban welfare regimes vs rural welfare regimes (Ngok, 2008)
Growing income inequality

- Propelled by rural-urban income gap
- Zones and non-zones
- Growing disparity between highly educated urban professional and the urban working class (OECD 2007)
- Between ‘citizen’s’ and ‘non-citizen’s (household registration system)
- In relation to household consumption Gini measure of inequality increased from 0.31 at the beginning of reform to 0.45

The gender dimension

- 1949 equality between men and women became official state policy
- Communist revolution has strong “gender dimension”
- Against “husband-turned-master”, antipatriarchal; “women-friendly” state (Hernes 1987; Chun 1996)
- PRC embraced the principle of gender equality
- State Women’s Federation developed local branches in every factory and village
• Focus on men’s participation in the workplace and a dual role for women in both workplace and domestic sphere
• Men’s work and world as the standard for women
• Substantial progress for women in terms of educational achievements, health status, labour market participation, political participation.

Economic Activity by Age and Gender in 2007 – South Korea, HK and China
Growing concerns

- Increasing gender inequality
- Rising unemployment of women
- Increase in sexual exploitation and violation of women increasingly evident (prostitution, abduction of women)
- Deterioration in conditions female migrants
- 2001-2002 Domestic violence occurs in between 23% and 35% of families
- Increasing inequality between urban and rural women
- Erosion of status and citizenship of women

Communicative Public Sphere

- Gender equality already on the public and policy agenda
- Fourth UN Women’s Conference in Beijing (1995) provided platform and momentum
- Institutional framework already established
- Created a “communicative public sphere” with increasing political presence and visibility
- State sponsored institutional support is still critical (eg NGO registration) thus not “autonomous space”
- Nevertheless, key ingredient of governance and citizenship matrix
Fragmented citizenship

- Locality
- Status/class
- Gender
- Rural/urban
- Ethnicity

Progress

- Enormous progress made in reduction of absolute poverty
- In improving general indicators of social well-being
- China one of the few societies expected to meet the Millennium Development Goals it signed up to
Decentralization and fragmentation

- Enormous fiscal disparities among sub-national governments
- Local governments primarily responsible for funding basic health and education and, until recently, social assistance
- Poor localities have not been able to fund these services
- Poor households have difficulty with costs of healthcare and education
- Informal practices
- Lack of compliance
- Lag behind social conditions
- Implementation gap
- Fragmented governance – fragmented citizenship

General comments

- China:
  - Hierarchical but decentralised state
  - Highly integrated into global governance
  - Dilution/dispersion of state monopoly
  - Informal institutions at local level
  - Ngo’s and "communicative public sphere"
  - Active citizenship and participation
  - Social right to a minimum standard of living
  - Implementation gap
Hong Kong

- Hierarchy of governance – ‘One country-two systems’
- PRC, Hong Kong SAR Central Administration, capital (First order)
- Participation, ‘communicative public sphere’, civic rights, limited political rights, monitorial citizenship
- Family, neighbourhood, community (second order)

References