

多元民主、政治吸納與政策回應： 從台鹼污染案檢視台灣環保公益團體的 政策角色*

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慣於維持靜默 (quiescence) 的社會弱勢族群，如何在民主的政治體系中獲得足夠的代表性，以成就符合其利益的政策方案，實攸關民主政體追求社會正義的能力。1970年代以降，新社會運動的開展，顯示了政府政策不一定就會被特殊利益團體所把持。反之民主政治體制確實可能在市民團體、專業社群以及社會運動人士的奔走下，成就許多以廣大而分散的利益為主要依歸的政策。然而仍有許多未曾集結成團體、甚至未曾意識到自身利益的社會邊緣份子。他們的特殊需求，甚至未被界定在「公共利益」範疇內。古典多元主義理論長久以來所忽略的社會正義議題，至今仍未有令人滿意的研究成果。本文檢視我國台南安南區一個污染廠址復原政策之發展，管窺民主體制能夠矯正社會不公義的珍貴特質。以菁英為主體的市民團體在缺乏地方居民支持的情境下，透過資訊的優勢，切入議題論述的利基，募集足夠外部資源，並成功地周旋在各政策行動者之間，提供其誘因與環保團體結盟，成立了新的「倡議聯盟」，進而得以穿透既有的政策制訂結構，迫使政府積極回應其訴求。此外，環保團體的成功亦得力於外在條件的轉變，如土壤及地下水污染整治法的通過與施行。相反的，受政策影響的弱勢族群是否能夠在一開始便能夠投入，則比較不是關鍵性的因素。

關鍵詞：倡議聯盟、政策網絡、社會運動、市民環境主義

Plural Democracy, Political Inclusion, and Policy Responsiveness: The Pollution of Taiwan Alkali Industrial Corp

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ABSTRACT

How can a democratic polity assure the political representation of the socially disadvantaged groups and thus faithfully respond to their interests? This question implies the capacity of democracy in pursuing social justice. While a great amount of literature on political process have accumulated in the past decades, there is essentially no discussion on this issue, either theoretically or empirically. This paper intends to add to the literature by examining a pollution incident in Tainan. The case indicates how the governments (local and central) and the polluter have adjusted their recovery and compensation policies in accordance with the requests of civic environmental groups who stand for the interests of local victims. This study indicates factors favoring the formation of new advocacy coalitions by civic groups and the possibility of having the interests of marginal, quiescent, and unorganized social groups be taken care of.

Key Words: Advocacy Coalition, Policy Network, Social Movement, Civic Environmentalism