

國立台灣大學政治學研究所教學大綱

九十六學年度第二學期

教師：張佑宗副教授

上課時間：四（5、6）

上課地點：社法研 6

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會談時間：二（6、7）

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民主政治理論專題

(Seminar on Democratic Theory)

壹、課程介紹：

西元前五世紀左右，雅典人柏里克利斯(Pericles)率先提倡民主的價值後，再經 Aristotle, Locke, Rousseau, Mill, de Tocqueville, Schumpeter, Dahl 等偉大思想家的提倡，終於在人類即將進入 21 世紀前，民主制度已廣泛地被認為是現代社會唯一具有真實性、完整性的模範體制。喬治·梅森大學教授 Francis Fukuyama 更預測人類歷史即將進入終結(the end of history)，意識型態兩極對立的時代已經過去，西方社會的自由民主體制將是人類最後一種統治型態，沒有其它的統治型態可以對自由民主體制構成嚴厲的挑戰。

然而，何謂民主？民主到底要實現那些終極目標？民主的理想與實際運作有何差距？民主如何興起與發展？維持民主運作有何要件？這些問題從古至今一直都沒有定論。本課程著重在經驗民主理論(empirical democracy)，首先要介紹民主的定義與歷史發展，接著討論發展民主的要件問題，包含社會、經濟、平等與文化等條件。第三單元將討論民主的類型問題，包括熊彼德式民主、多元民主、激進民主與非自由式民主等。第四單元將討論民主的實踐問題，包括各種制度設計、政黨體系等。最後一單元，將討論民主未來的問題。

貳、課程要求與評分標準：

所有選課同學必需先閱讀每週指定的文獻、準時上課、關掉手機，並積極參與課堂討論。本課程每週將指定二位同學提出口頭報告，並需作成一份約 1500 字左右的讀書報告（亦即整理文章主要的論點，一人一篇）。另外將指定二位學針對每週閱讀的文獻，從文章的基本論點、研究方法與論證過程提出問題或批判。此外，所有選修者必需針對個別的研究興趣，選定上課某個主題做更深入的探

討與分析（題目需獲老師的同意），於學期結束後一週（注意：逾時不候），繳交一份約一萬字左右的期末報告（扣除註釋與參考書目）。同學參與課堂討論情況（含課堂提問的表現）佔學期總分的 20%，口頭報告佔學期總分的 30%，期末書面報告佔學期總分的 50%。

參、課程進度：

Week 1 (2/21) Introduction

Week 2 (2/28) Holiday

Week 3 (3/6) What Is Democracy?

Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*, Ch. 1, pp. 1-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zakaria, Fareed. 2003. *The Future of Freedom*, Introduction, pp. 12-27. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

*Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry L. Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is ..and Is Not?" *Journal of Democracy*, 2(3): 75-88.

*Chang, Yu-tzung and Yun-han Chu. 2007. "Traditionalism, Political Learning and Conceptions of Democracy in East Asian." Paper presented at the international conference on "*Why Asian Support Democracy and Why not?*" Institute of Political Science at Academia Sinica, Taipei, August 9-10, 2007.

Week 4 (3/13) Democracy in Historical perspective

Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*, Ch. 2, pp. 25-50.

Zakaria, Fareed. 2003. *The Future of Freedom*, Ch. 1, pp. 29-58.

*Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

*Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds. 2001. *The Global Divergence of Democracies*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Week 5 (3/20) Prerequisites of Democracy: Social and Economic Development

- Lipset, Seymour M. 1994. "The Social Requisition of Democracy Revisited." *American Political Science Review*, 59(1): 1-22.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2006. "Path of Economic and Political Development." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, Barry R. Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., pp. 673-692. New York: Oxford University Press.
- *Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvaros, Jose A. Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "What make democracies endure?" In *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien, eds., pp. 295-311. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- * Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 6 (3/27) Prerequisites of Democracy: Equality

- Dahl, Robert A. 2006. *On Political Equality*, pp. 1-36. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Glaeser, Edward L. 2006. "Inequality." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, Barry R. Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., pp. 624-641. New York: Oxford University Press.
- *Crawford B. Macpherson, *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).
- *Jurgen Habermas. 1998. "Three Normative Models of Democracy." In *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory*, C. Cronin and P. D. Greif, eds. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- *Iversen, Torben. 2006. "Capitalism and Democracy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, Barry R. Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds., pp. 601-623. New York: Oxford University Press.
- *Przeworski, Adam. 2006. "Self-enforcing Democracy." In Barry R. Weingast and Donald Wittman, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*, pp. 312-328. New York: Oxford University Press.
- *Pontusson, Jonas. 2005. *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe VS. Liberal America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Week 7 (4/3) Prerequisites of Democracy: Constitutionalism

Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy*, 1(1): 51-69.

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Shugart. 1997. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics*, 29(4): 449-472.

*Lijphart, Arend. Larry, eds. 1992. *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2002. "Minority Government, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(3): 284-312.

*Cheibub, Jose A. 2006. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarianism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 8 (4/10) Prerequisites of Democracy: Social Capital

Putnam, Robert D. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*, ch1, 4, 6. Princeton : Princeton University Press.

*Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, Ch. 21. New York: Simon & Schuster.

*Stolle, Dietlind. 2007. "Social Capital." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*, Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds., pp. 655-674. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Warren, Mark E. 2001. *Democracy and Association*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

*Warren, Mark E., ed. 1999. *Democracy & Trust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 (4/17) Types of Democracy: Schumpeterian Democracy

Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*, Ch. 5, pp. 143-185. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Przeworski, Adam. 1999. "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense." In *Democracy's Value*, Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds., pp. 23-55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Joseph Schumpeter. 1950. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harpor & Row.

*Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds. 1993. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy Revisited*, pp. 1-10, 76-83, 94-104, 119-132. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Week 10 (4/24) Types of Democracy: Polyarchy

Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

*Dahl, Robert A. 1998. On Democracy. New Haven: Yale University Press.

*O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1998. "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*, 9(3): 112-126.

*Przeworski, Adam, Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin, eds. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 11 5/1) Types of Democracy: Radical Democracy

Barber, Benjamin. 1984. *Strong Democracy*, Ch.1. University of California Press.
Fund, Archon and Erik O. Wright. 2001. "Deeping Democracy." *Politics & Society*, 29(1): 5-41.

*Sandel, Michael J. 1996. *Democracy's Discontent*, Ch. 1. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

*Haskell, John. 2001. *Direct Democracy or Representative Government? Dispelling the Populist Myth*. Boulder: Westview.

*Skocpol, Theda and Morris P. Fiorina, eds. 1999. *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*. Washington D. C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Week 12 (5/8) Types of Democracy: Illiberal Democracy

Zakaria, Fareed. 2003. *The Future of Freedom*, Ch3, pp. 89-118. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Diamond, Larry. 2002. "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes." *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2): 21-35.

*Bell, Daniel A., David Brown, Kanishka Jayasuriya and David M. Jones. 1995. *Toward Illiberal Democracy in Pacific Asia*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

*Schedler, Andreas, ed. 2006. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The dynamics of Unfree*

Competition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Week 13 (5/15) Empirical Democratic Theory: Capitalism and Democracy

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*, Ch. 7. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne H. Stephens and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*, pp.12-78. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

*Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Yang, David D. 2007. Classing Ethnicity: Class, Ethnicity, and the Mass Politics of Taiwan's Democratic Transition. *World Politics*, 59(4): pp .

Week 14 (5/22) Empirical Democratic Theory: Majoritarian and Consensus Democracy

Lijphart, Arent. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

* Lijphart, Arent. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

* Lijphart, Arent. 1969. "Consociational democracy." *World Politics*, 21(2): 207-225.

Week 15 (5/29) Empirical Democratic Theory: Party and Electoral System

Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds. 2006. *Electoral Systems and Democracy*, Ch. 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

*Shugart, Matthew S. and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral System: The Best of Both World?* New York: Oxford University Press.

*Kitschelt, Herbert. 2007. *Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Pattern of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 16 (6/5) Empirical Democratic Theory: Semi-Presidential Design

Elgie, Robert. 2005. "Variations on a Theme." *Journal of Democracy*, 16(3): 98-112.

Colton, Timothy J. and Cindy Skach. 2005. "The Russian Predicament." *Journal of Democracy*, 16(3): 113-126.

*Duverger, Maurice. 1981. "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government." *European Journal of Political Research*, 8(2): 165-187.

*Bahro, Horst, Bernhard H. Bayerlein and Ernst Veser. 1998. "Duverger's Concept: Semi-Presidential Government Revisited." *European Journal of Political Research*, 34(2): 201-224.

*Neto, Octavio Amorim and Kassre Strom. 2006. "Breaking the Parliamentary Chain of Delegation: Presidents and Non-partisan Cabinet Members in European Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science*, 36(4): 619-643.

*Beliaev, Mikhail V. 2006. "Presidential Powers and Consolidation of New Postcommunist Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*, 39(3): 375-398.

Week 17 (6/12) The Future of Democracy

Habermas, Jürgen. "Toward a Cosmopolitan Europe." *Journal of Democracy*, 14(4): 86-100.

Pharr, Susan J., Robert D. Putnam, and Russell J. Dalton. 2000. "Trouble in the Advanced Democracies? A Quarter-Century of Declining Confidence." *Journal of Democracy*, 11(2): ?,

*Held, David. 1999. "The Transformation of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of Globalization." In *Democracy's Edges*, Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds., pp. 23-55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.84-111.

*Phar, Susan J. and Robert D. Putnam, eds. 2000. *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

*Schmitter, Philippe. 2000. *How to Democratize the European Union...and Why Bother*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Week 18 (6/19) 繳交期末報告

暑假愉快！