

TAIWAN'S DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION

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POLSCI 243D

Time: MW 10:30-11:50

Classroom: Encina Hall W108

Canvas site: Sp16-POLISCI-243D-01

Course Description:

Contemporary Taiwan is one of the leading success stories of the “Third Wave” of democratization. Over the span of about 40 years, Taiwan was gradually transformed from a poor, insecure autocracy ruled under martial law into a prosperous and consolidated liberal democracy. It now features hotly contested elections, a fiercely independent legislature, a diverse and highly critical media, and a vibrant civil society sector. At the same time, it has retained a state capable of effective and responsive governance, from the smooth creation of a widely-admired universal health care system to the construction of world-class mass transit and high speed rail systems.

Yet there are also worrisome challenges facing Taiwan’s democracy today. For the last decade and more, bitter partisan fights have hindered government responses to rising inequality, a shrinking and increasingly unbalanced tax base, an aging population and low birth rates, a worsening cross-Strait security balance, and environmental and energy concerns. The popular legitimacy of government institutions has declined in recent years, contributing to a surge in street protests and culminating in a student occupation of Taiwan’s legislature. There is even a dark side to Taiwan’s vaunted press freedom: hypercompetitive media markets have driven a swing toward sensationalist reporting, and professional, accurate, non-partisan journalism has become the exception rather than the norm.

Above all, Taiwan’s politics remains fundamentally divided over its relationship with the autocratic People’s Republic of China (PRC), an economic juggernaut and rising military power that asserts the right to rule over Taiwan. As a consequence, though it may be one of the most successful cases of democratization in the Third Wave, Taiwan’s long-term security is as imperiled as any democracy in the world today. Yet partisan disputes over cross-Taiwan Strait policies have politically crippled its leaders in recent years, and a social consensus about balancing economic and security interests in the relationship with the PRC remains elusive.

These challenges are not unique, but Taiwan’s global impact far outweighs its geographic size and population. Its economy is among the 20 largest in the world today, and it is a key link in the multinational production chains that criss-cross East Asia and the Pacific. The cross-Strait relationship is also crucial for regional and global security, because it is the only issue that could plausibly draw the United States and the PRC into an armed conflict. It is also important as a democratic model: Taiwan provides a powerful counter to the argument that democracy is inappropriate for Chinese-speaking or “Asian values” societies, including the PRC. And as one of the shining political “successes” of the Third Wave, democratic failure there would be deeply tragic.

This course assumes no previous knowledge of Taiwan, China, or East Asia, but some familiarity with the major themes, concepts, and debates in political science as covered in Political Science 1 is recommended. These include:

- What causes democracy? That is, what leads to authoritarian breakdown, transitions to democracy, and the successful consolidation of democracy?
- What causes development? That is, what leads to economic growth, improvements in living and health standards, and the capacity of the state to deliver public goods and services to its citizens?
- Why nationalism? That is, how are “national” identities formed, and with what consequences for society and politics?
- What explains state survival and death, and inter-state war and peace?
- Who wins elections, and why?
- Who gets what from the state?

Each of these broad questions will motivate our examination of a distinct aspect of contemporary Taiwanese politics, and we will use what we learn about the Taiwan case to critically evaluate the general theories offered by political science. Thus, a central goal of the class is to place Taiwan’s contemporary politics in a broader comparative and theoretical perspective, drawing out both the ways in which Taiwan is distinct and the commonalities it shares with other democracies.

Course Materials:

Required Books:

Dafydd Fell, *Government and Politics in Taiwan* (Routledge, 2012)

Thomas Gold, *State and Society in the Taiwan Miracle* (M.E. Sharpe, 1986)

Shawna Yang Ryan, *Green Island: A Novel* (Penguin Random House, 2016)

Other readings will be posted to the Canvas site. Some of the readings are excerpts from books; these are available on reserve at Green Library. Most of the rest are also available online through Stanford University library’s various electronic journal databases (e.g. MUSE, JSTOR).

Newspaper Reading

Because we will refer regularly to current events in this course, you are expected to follow the news in Taiwan on a daily basis. I recommend two English-language newspapers in Taiwan:

- The *Taipei Times*, available online at www.taipeitimes.com
- The *China Post*, available online at www.chinapost.com.tw

In addition to these, I will post a list of other online media resources on the Canvas site.

Additional Readings and Resources

I may occasionally assign other materials. These I will distribute in class or post to the Canvas site. I will also post additional resources for your research papers on the Canvas site.

Course Requirements:

Attendance and Participation

This course will include a mix of lecture and discussion. In general, I will use Wednesday’s class to introduce the topic and motivating questions for that week’s material, and the next Monday’s class will be student discussion. **Assigned readings for each week should be completed before the discussion.**

I expect students to attend every class. Missing any class meeting will have a significant impact on your ability to contribute to the course. More than two unexcused absences (those not due to religious exemptions, major illnesses, or university-approved activities) will lower your final letter grade one

interval (e.g. A to A-) per absence. In addition, arriving late to class can be disruptive and is an inconvenience to the rest of us; habitual tardiness will likewise adversely affect your grade.

Discussion

As befits an upper-level seminar, student-driven discussion is a central part of this course. For you and your peers to benefit from this class, your active participation is crucial. You should be talking as much as I am. If you are silent, the rest of us have no way of knowing if you are brilliant or just didn't do the readings for the week: these are observationally equivalent until you open your mouth. If you are anxious about speaking in class, please contact me so that we can work out another way for you to participate.

To this end, you should come to our weekly discussion prepared to talk about **all** of the assigned readings. Note that the reading load is moderate-to-heavy, and that we will only hold discussion once a week; please plan accordingly.

Discussion Questions

Before midnight on the day before our Monday meeting (i.e. Sunday by 11:59pm), please post a one- or two paragraph question or comment about at least one of the assigned readings to the Canvas discussion page. I will use these to structure our class discussion around what you find odd, perplexing, controversial, or otherwise worth talking about. This question can be a clarification—for instance, about evidence or the argument that you do not understand. Or it can be a substantive question that you think would be helpful to discuss in class—for instance, how does this reading relate to something from the lecture? **These questions are due before every discussion class** (i.e. once a week). You may miss up to two questions before your grade is adversely affected.

Student Presentations and Critical Response Paper

You will be responsible for presenting to the rest of the class a brief summary of the **supplementary readings** for one week. This should be a 5-7 minute review of the main question that links the readings together and the answer that each provides. The presentation will take place during Monday's discussion class. I will provide a sign-up sheet at the first class for you to choose a week.

After your presentation to the class, you will be responsible for writing a critical analysis (4-6 pages) of at least two of the supplementary readings for that week. Your analysis will give you the opportunity to delve deeper into a particular topic and provide you with practice critiquing arguments and developing your own. Your analysis should include a one- or two-sentence summary of each reading's main thesis—assume your reader is already familiar with the material! In the rest of the paper, focus on the central question that ties the readings together and assess the strengths and weaknesses of each author's responses to it. **The analysis paper will be due in class the Wednesday after your presentation.** (For example, if you present on the Taiwanese political miracle in discussion on April 4, then your analysis paper is due in class on April 6.)

Midterm Exam

On May 4, you will be given a take-home midterm exam, covering all of the material from lectures, discussion, and readings up to that point. The midterm will include a set of essay questions from which you may choose several to respond to. **The midterm exam is due on May 11 in class.**

Final Paper

Your final research paper (10-12 pages) will be an original piece of research which tackles one of the "big questions" that motivate the course. This is your chance to explore in much more depth an issue in Taiwanese politics that especially interests you. You should decide on your research topic and cases no later than May 13th. You will submit an outline and discuss your research paper with me in office hours that week.

In the last week of the course, you will give an 8-10 minute presentation based on your research findings. This is a chance for you to get feedback from your peers and me before the final version of the paper is due on June 8th. I will provide additional guidelines for the research paper in a hand-out distributed during the first few weeks of class.

Grading:

Your course grade will be determined as follows:

- Attendance, participation, and discussion: 20%
- Discussion paper and presentation: 20%
- Midterm exam: 20%
- Final paper outline: 5%
- Final presentation: 10%
- Final research paper: 25%

Other Stuff:

Laptops and Mobile Phones in the Classroom

In order to maximize the value of discussion and minimize disruptions to the other students, **during discussion days this will be a laptop-free class**. Please do not use laptops during our discussions: power down and tune in! I also take a dim view of mobile phones in the classroom—when you arrive to class, please turn them off.

Email

Email is the easiest way to reach me—I check frequently, and will do my best to reply promptly. (The one exception is on the weekends, when I do not typically read email: I will respond on Monday morning.) I will also send important class announcements to your email account via the Canvas announcement function, so please make sure you have a working email account and check it regularly.

Office Hours

Office hours are for your benefit. I urge you to come to my office hours to talk about any questions you may have about the class or to discuss a topic touched upon in class or in the readings. If you cannot make my scheduled office hours, I am happy to schedule individual appointments.

Academic Dishonesty

Per the university, academic dishonest includes “all forms of cheating, falsification, and/or plagiarism.” Simply put, don’t do it. If I suspect that you have plagiarized a paper or cheated on an exam, I will follow university procedures to the letter, up to and including receiving a failing grade for the course and referral to the Office of Student Conduct and Community Standards. Dishonesty has no place in the classroom. If you are not sure what constitutes a violation of this policy, please ask!

Special Accommodations

I am happy to work with students who feel they may require an accommodation for observance of religious holidays, for a disability, or for other kinds of personal issues that may arise over the term. If you anticipate needing a special accommodation, please see me during office hours, preferably early in the term.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Introduction: Taiwan and Its Place in the World

March 28. Introductions, Overview of Course, Historical Background

Required Readings:

1. Fell, Ch. 1 (pp. 1-9)

PART I. DEMOCRACY IN TAIWAN: ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION

The Taiwanese Political Miracle: How, and Why?

March 30. Lecture

April 4. Discussion of readings:

Required Readings

1. Fell, Ch. 2, 3 (pp. 10-42)
2. John Higley, Tong-yi Huang, and Tse-min Lin, 1998. "Elite Settlements in Taiwan." *Journal of Democracy* 9(2): 148-163.
3. Joseph Wong, 2003. "Deepening Democracy in Taiwan," *Pacific Affairs* 76(2): 235-256.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on Taiwan's Democratization

1. Linda Chao and Ramon Myers, 1994. "The First Chinese Democracy: Political Development of the Republic of China on Taiwan, 1986-1994," *Asian Survey* 34(3): 213-230.
2. Bruce Jacobs, 2012. *Democratizing Taiwan*, pp. 5-19.
3. Dan Slater and Joseph Wong, 2013. "The Strength to Concede: Ruling Parties and Democratization in Developmental Asia." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 717-733.
4. Bruce Gilley, "Taiwan's Democratic Transition: A Model for China?" in *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan*, pp. 213-242.

The Taiwanese Economic Miracle: How, and Why?

April 6: Lecture

April 11: Discussion

Required Reading

1. Gold, *State and Society in the Economic Miracle*, full book

Supplementary Readings I – Perspectives on Taiwan's Economic Development:

1. Ramon Myers, 2009. "Towards an Enlightened Authoritarian Polity: The Kuomintang Central Reform Committee on Taiwan, 1950-52." *Journal of Contemporary China* 18: 185-199.
2. Jong-sung You, "Land Reform, Inequality, and Corruption: A Comparative Historical Study of Korea, Taiwan, and the Philippines," *The Korean Journal of International Studies* Vol.12-1 (June 2014), 191-224.

3. Meredith Woo-Cumings, 1998. "National Security and the Developmental State in South Korea and Taiwan," in *Behind East Asian Growth: The Political and Social Foundations of Prosperity*, pp. 319-339.
4. Danny Lam and Cal Clark, 1998. "The Cultural Roots of 'Guerrilla Capitalism' in Taiwan," in *Beyond the Developmental State*, pp. 120-130.

Supplementary Readings II – The Relationship between Development and Democracy:

1. Jagdish Baghwati, 2002. "Democracy and Development: Cruel Dilemma or Symbiotic Relationship?" *Review of Development Economics* 6(2): 151-162.
2. *The Economist*, 2013. "Growth: Autocracy or Democracy?"
3. Joshua Kurlantzick, 2013. "Why the 'China Model' Isn't Going Away," *The Atlantic*
4. Yun-han Chu, 2012. "The Taiwan Factor." *Journal of Democracy*.

Nationalism and National Identity: Is Taiwan Chinese, Taiwanese, or Both?
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April 13. Lecture

April 18. Discussion

Required Readings

1. Fell, Ch. 8
2. Robert Edmondson, 2002. "The 2-28 Incident and National Identity," in Stephane Corcuff, ed., *Memories of the Future*.
3. Shawna Yang Ryan, *Green Island: A Novel*.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on National Identity in Taiwan:

1. Allen Chun, 1994. "From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan." *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 31:49-69.
2. Bruce Jacobs, 2013. "Whither Taiwanization?: The Colonization, Democratization, and Taiwanization of Taiwan." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14(4): 567-586.
3. Huey-jen Sheu, 2013. "One Nationalism and Two Systems: The Parallel Regulations of Taiwan's Marital Immigration Policies." *Asian Ethnicity* 14(2): 180-188.
4. Yang Zhong, 2016. "Explaining National Identity Shift in Taiwan." *Journal of Contemporary China*

Taiwan in the Interstate System: Free China, Renegade Province, or Client State?

April 20. Lecture

April 25. Discussion

Required Readings

1. Fell, Ch. 9
2. Chengxin Pan, 2012. "Normative Convergence and Cross-Strait Divergence: Westphalian Sovereignty as an Ideational Source of the Taiwan Conflict," in *New Thinking about the Taiwan Issue*.
3. Steven M. Goldstein and Randall Schriver, 2002. "An Uncertain Relationship: The United States, Taiwan, and the Taiwan Relations Act," *China Quarterly* 165: 147-172.

- Richard Bush, "Taiwan's January 2016 Elections and Their Implications for Relations with China and the United States." Brookings Institution working paper.

Supplementary Readings I – Perspectives on US-Taiwan Relations

- Bruce Gilley, 2010. "Not So Dire Strait: How the Finlandization of Taiwan Benefits US Security," *Foreign Affairs*.
- Nancy Bernkopf Tucker and Bonnie Glaser, 2011. "Should the United States Abandon Taiwan?" *The Washington Quarterly* 34(4): 23-37.
- Dennis Hickey, 2013. "U.S. Policy toward Taiwan: Time for Change?" *Asian Affairs: An American Review*
- Joseph Bosco, 2015. "Taiwan and Strategic Security," *The Diplomat*.

Supplementary Readings II – Perspectives on Taiwan-PRC Relations

- John Mearsheimer, 2014. "Taiwan's Dire Straits," *National Interest* March-April.
- Steve Chan, 2012. "Unbalanced Threat or Rising Integration?: Explaining Relations across the Taiwan Strait," in *New Thinking about the Taiwan Issue*.
- Syaru Shirley Lin, 2014, "National Identity, Economic Interdependence, and Taiwan's Cross-Strait Policy," in *New Dynamics in Cross-Taiwan Strait Relations*.
- Stan Wong and Nicole Wu, 2016. "Can Beijing Buy Taiwan?" *Journal of Contemporary China*.

Parties and Elections: Is Taiwan's Democracy Precocious or Distorted?
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April 27. Lecture

May 2. Discussion

Required Readings

- Fell, Ch. 5-7, pp. 56-132.
- TJ Cheng and Yung-ming Hsu, 2015. "Long in the Making: Taiwan's Institutionalized Party System," in Allen Hicken and Erik Kuhonta, eds., *Party System Institutionalization in Asia*.
- Jon Sullivan, 2008. "Campaign Advertising and Democracy in Taiwan," *China Quarterly* 196: 900-911.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on Party Competition and Democracy:

- Cheng-tian Kuo, 2000. "Taiwan's Distorted Democracy in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 35(1): 85-111.
- Yoonkyung Lee, 2014. "Diverging Patterns of Democratic Representation in Korea and Taiwan." *Asian Survey*
- Cal Clark and Alex Tan, 2012. "Political Polarization in Taiwan: A Growing Challenge to Catch-all Parties?" *Journal of Contemporary Chinese Affairs* 41(3): 7-31.
- Eric Chen-hua Yu, 2016. "Partisanship and Public Opinion," in *Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-bian Years*, ed. Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Kharis Templeman.

Government Institutions and Policy-Making: Democratic Impulses, Authoritarian Legacies

May 4. Lecture -- MIDTERM TAKE-HOME EXAM DISTRIBUTED

Required Readings:

1. Fell, Ch. 4
2. TJ Cheng and Steph Haggard, “Democracy and Deficits in Taiwan: The Politics of Fiscal Policy 1986-1996,” in Stephan Haggard and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds, *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy* (Cambridge, 2001).
3. Yun-han Chu, “Coping with the Challenge of Democratic Governance under Ma Ying-jeou.” Working paper.

May 9. NO CLASS: WORK ON MIDTERM EXAM – DUE ON MAY 11 IN CLASS

PART II: TOPICS IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICS

Security, the Economy, and Social Welfare
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May 11. Lecture

May 16. Discussion

Required Readings*:

1. Fell, Ch. 10-11
2. Chen, Chih-Jou Jay. 2015. “The social basis of Taiwan’s cross-Strait policies, 2008–2014.” In *Taiwan and the 'China Impact': Challenges and Opportunities*.
3. Jonathan Sullivan and James Smyth, n.d. “Taiwan’s 2016 Presidential and Legislative Elections.” Working paper.

Civil Society Organizations and Social Activism
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May 18. Lecture

May 23. Discussion

Required Readings*:

1. Richard Madsen, 2008. “Religious Renaissance and Taiwan’s Modern Middle Classes.” In *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, pp. 295-322.
2. Chang-ling Huang, 2015. “Gender Quotas in Taiwan: The Impact of Global Diffusion,” *Politics and Gender* 11(1): 207-217.
3. Ming-sho Ho, 2014. “The Resurgence of Social Movements under the Ma Ying-jeou Government,” in *Political Changes in Taiwan under Ma Ying-jeou*.
4. Ian Rowen, 2015. “Inside Taiwan’s Sunflower Movement: Twenty-Four Days in a Student-Occupied Parliament, and The Future of the Region.” *Journal of Asian Studies*.

Rule of Law and Accountability Institutions; Indigenous Politics

May 25. Lecture

May 30. NO CLASS – MEMORIAL DAY

Required Readings*:

1. Weitseng Chen and Chia-hsin Hsu, "Horizontal Accountability in a Polarised New Democracy: The Case of Post-Democratisation Taiwan," *Australian Journal of Asian Law* 15(2): 1-19.
2. Cheng-yi Huang, "Dynamics of Democracy: Administrative Law and the Process of Institutional Changes in Taiwan," Academia Sinica Working Paper.
3. Jeffrey Martin, 2007. "A Reasonable Balance of Law and Sentiment: Social Order in Democratic Taiwan from the Policeman's Point of View," *Law and Society Review* 41(3): 665-697.
4. Kharis Templeman, "The Aborigine Constituencies in the Taiwanese Legislature." CDDRL Working Paper.

Wrap-up

June 1. LAST CLASS -- RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

June 8. FINAL PAPERS DUE AT 12 NOON

*Readings may be subject to change.

GOOD LUCK ON FINALS AND HAVE A GREAT SUMMER!