

TAIWAN'S DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION

*Stanford University
Spring Quarter 2017
Version 1.0*

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EASTASN 143/243

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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, an 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 three-week student occupation of Taiwan’s legislature in 2014. 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 Taiwan may be one of the most successful cases of democratization in the Third Wave, its long-term security is as imperiled as any democracy in the world today. Yet a social consensus about balancing economic and security interests in the relationship with the PRC remains elusive.

Taiwan is also worth studying because it matters a great deal to today’s world: its 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. Taiwan is also important as a democratic model: it provides a powerful counterexample 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?
- How can public officials best be held accountable to citizens?
- What is the relationship between democracy and civil society?

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 projects 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 ask for a clarification—for instance, about evidence or the argument that you do not understand. Or it can be a substantive issue that you think would be helpful to discuss in class—for instance, how does a reading relate to something from the lecture? It can even be a critique—say, “this reading stinks, and I want to talk about why!” **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.

Critical Response Papers on Supplementary Readings

For each topic, I have provided several supplementary readings that take a particular viewpoint on that week's motivating question (for instance, for the first week, the readings all take different positions on the question: “who or what was responsible for Taiwan's relatively smooth transition to democracy?”) Over the course of the term, you will be responsible for writing **two** critical response papers on some of the supplementary readings for a given week. These papers give you the opportunity to delve deeper into a particular topic after we have discussed it in class, and will provide you with practice critiquing the arguments of other authors and developing and defending your own.

In your response paper, you should begin by introducing that week's motivating question and placing the supplementary readings into that broader context. (For instance, for the week on the “Political Miracle,” to whom or what does each author attribute credit for Taiwan's successful transition to democracy?) Then, after evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of each author's arguments and evidence, take your own position on the big question. In other words: who's right? (Or more right?) Because each week's supplementary readings are a little different and may not all address the same question, you may pick and choose which readings to include in your analysis and response. But at a minimum, you should include discussion of at least two.

The analysis paper will be due no later than the end of Friday following the discussion for that week. (For instance, the discussion class on “The Political Miracle” meets on April 10, so response papers for that topic will be due no later than Friday, April 14, at 5pm.) Response papers should be submitted by uploading the paper via the Canvas assignment feature. Your paper should be roughly 4-6 pages, double-spaced and numbered, using 12-point Times New Roman font, with your name, class number, week and date in the upper left-hand corner.

Final Presentation

Your final presentation 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 no later than May 13th. You will submit a research question and outline and discuss your presentation with me in office hours that week.

In the last week of the course, you will give a 12-15 minute presentation based on your research findings. I will provide additional guidelines for the research presentation in a hand-out distributed during the first few weeks of class.

Final Exam

On June 7, you will be given a take-home final exam, covering all of the material from lectures, discussion, and readings. The final exam will include a set of essay questions from which you may choose several to respond to. **The midterm exam is due on June 13 at noon, submitted to my office (Encina Hall E109).**

Grading:

Your course grade will be determined as follows:

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| • Attendance, participation, and discussion: | 25% |
| • Discussion paper 1: | 15% |
| • Discussion paper 2: | 15% |
| • Final paper question and outline: | 5% |
| • Final presentation: | 15% |
| • Final take-home exam: | 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

0. Introduction: Taiwan and Its Place in the World

Monday, April 3. Introductions, Overview of Course, Historical Background

Required Readings:

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

1. The Taiwanese Political Miracle: How, and Why?

Wednesday, April 5. Lecture

Monday, April 10. Discussion of readings:

Required Readings

1. Fell, Ch. 2, 3 (pp. 10-42)
2. Hung-mao Tien, 1999. “Taiwan’s Evolution toward Democracy: A Historical Perspective,” pp. 3-23 in *Taiwan: Beyond the Economic Miracle*.
3. John Higley, Tong-yi Huang, and Tse-min Lin, 1998. “Elite Settlements in Taiwan.” *Journal of Democracy* 9(2): 148-163.

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, 2016. “Taiwan During and After the Democratic Transition (1988-2016),” pp. 51-67 in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*.
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. Chia-lung Lin and Bo Tedards, “Lee Teng-hui: Transformational Leadership in Taiwan’s Transition,” in *Sayonara to the Lee Teng-hui Era*, pp. 25-62.

2. The Taiwanese Economic Miracle: How, and Why?

April 12 (W): Lecture

April 17 (M): Discussion

Required Reading

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

Supplementary Readings – 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.

3. Nationalism and National Identity: Is Taiwan Chinese, Taiwanese, or Both?

April 19 (W). Lecture

April 24 (M). 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. Stefan Fleischauer, 2016. “Taiwan’s Independence Movement,” in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*.
4. Winnie King, 2011. “Taiwanese Nationalism and Cross-Strait Marriage: Governing and Incorporating Mainland Spouses,” in *Taiwanese Identity in the 21st Century: Domestic, Regional, and Global Perspectives*.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on National Identity in Taiwan:

1. Daniel Lynch, 2004. “Taiwan’s Self-Conscious Nation-building Project,” *Asian Survey* 44(4): 513-533.
2. Bruce Jacobs, 2013. “Whither Taiwanization?: The Colonization, Democratization, and Taiwanization of Taiwan.” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14(4): 567-586.
3. Jonathan Sullivan, 2014. “Taiwan’s Identity Crisis,” *Foreign Policy*, August.
4. Yang Zhong, 2016. “Explaining National Identity Shift in Taiwan,” *Journal of Contemporary China* XX: 1-17.

4. Taiwan in the Interstate System: Free China, Renegade Province, or Client State?
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April 26 (W). Lecture

May 1 (M). 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*, ed.
3. Scott Kastner, 2015, “Rethinking the Prospects for Conflict in the Taiwan Strait,” in *Globalization and Security Relations across the Taiwan Strait: In the Shadow of China*, ed. Ming-chin Monique Chu and Scott L. Kastner.
4. Richard C. Bush, 2017. “A One-China Policy Primer.” Brookings Institution working paper.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on US-Taiwan-PRC Relations

1. Bruce Gilley, 2010. “Not So Dire Strait: How the Finlandization of Taiwan Benefits US Security,” *Foreign Affairs*.
2. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker and Bonnie Glaser, 2011. “Should the United States Abandon Taiwan?” *The Washington Quarterly* 34(4): 23-37.
3. John Mearsheimer, 2014. “Taiwan’s Dire Straits,” *National Interest* March-April.
4. Joseph Bosco, 2015. “Taiwan and Strategic Security,” *The Diplomat*.

5. Parties and Elections: Is Taiwan’s Democracy Precocious or Distorted?**May 3 (W).** Lecture**May 8 (M).** Discussion**Required Readings**

1. Fell, Ch. 5-7, pp. 56-132.
2. 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*.
3. Jens Damm, 2016. “Politics and the Media,” in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*, pp. 184-198.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on Party Competition and Democracy:

1. Cheng-tian Kuo, 2000. “Taiwan’s Distorted Democracy in Comparative Perspective,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 35(1): 85-111.
2. Yoonkyung Lee, 2014. “Diverging Patterns of Democratic Representation in Korea and Taiwan.” *Asian Survey*
3. 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.
4. 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.

6. The Taiwanese Civil Society Miracle: How, and Why?**May 10 (W).** Lecture

May 12 (Friday). PRESENTATION TOPICS DUE AT 5PM via Canvas.

May 15 (M). Discussion

Required Readings*:

1. Fell, Ch. 10.
2. Yun Fan and Wei-Ting Wu, 2016. "The Long Feminist March in Taiwan" in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*.
3. Richard Madsen, 2008. "Religious Renaissance and Taiwan's Modern Middle Classes." In *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation*, pp. 295-322.
4. Chang-ling Huang, 2016. "Civil Society and the Politics of Engagement," in *Taiwan's Democracy Challenged: The Chen Shui-bian Years*.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on Contemporary Social Movements*

1. Michael Hsiao and Ming-sho Ho, 2010. "Civil Society and Democracy Making in Taiwan: Re-examining the Link." In *East Asia's New Democracies: Deepening, Reversal, Neo-liberal Alternatives*, pp. 43-64.
2. Yoonkyung Lee, 2009. "Divergent Outcomes of Labor Reform Politics in Democratized Korea and Taiwan," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44: 47-70.
3. 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*.
4. Dingding Chen, 2014. "Why Taiwan's Sunflower Movement Will Fail: The Sunflower Movement Might Actually Speed Up Unification." *The Diplomat*.

7. Governance and the Rule of Law: How Accountable Is the Taiwanese State?

May 17 (W). Lecture

May 22 (M). Discussion

Required Readings:

1. Fell, Ch. 4, Ch. 11
2. Christian Goebels, 2016. "Taiwan's Fight against Corruption." *Journal of Democracy* 27(1): 124-138.
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.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on State-Society Relations*:

1. Yun-han Chu, 2014. "Coping with the Challenge of Democratic Governance under Ma Ying-jeou," working paper.
2. Ketty Chen, 2017. "This Land is Your Land? This Land is MY Land: Land Grabbing and Protests under President Ma Ying-jeou's Administration," in *Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-jeou*.
3. Fu-kuo Liu, 2014. "Ma Ying-jeou's Rapprochement Policy: Cross-Strait Progress and Domestic Constraints" in *Political Changes under Ma Ying-jeou: Continuity, Change, and Future Challenges*.
4. Szu-chien Hsu, 2017. "The China Factor and Taiwan's CSOs in the Sunflower Movement: The Case of Democratic Front against the Cross-Strait Services in Trade Agreement," in *Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-jeou*.

8. Grappling with the Past: Authoritarian Legacies and “Transitional Justice”

May 24 (W). Lecture

May 25-27. North American Taiwan Studies Association Annual Conference meets at Stanford

May 29 (M). NO CLASS: MEMORIAL DAY

May 31 (W). Discussion.

Required Readings:

1. Duncan McCargo, 2015. “Transitional Justice and Its Discontents.” *Journal of Democracy* 26(2): 5-20.
2. Shawna Yang Ryan, 2016. *Green Island: A Novel*.

Supplementary Readings – Perspectives on Transitional Justice*

1. Jau-Yuan Hwang, 2016. “Transitional Justice in Postwar Taiwan,” in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Taiwan*.
2. Nai-teh Wu, 2005. “Transition without Justice, or Justice without History: Transitional Justice in Taiwan.” *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 1(1): 77-102.
3. Ian Rowen and Jamie Rowen. 2017. “Taiwan’s Truth and Reconciliation Committee: The Geopolitics of Transitional Justice in a Contested State.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice*.
4. Alisa Jones, 2011. “The Politics of History Textbooks in South Korea, Taiwan, and China,” in *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories*. Ed. Gi-wook Shin and Daniel C. Snieder.

9. How Democratic Is Taiwan?

June 5 (M). Lecture

Required Readings:

1. Larry Diamond, 2001. “How Democratic Is Taiwan?”
2. Ian McAllister, 2016. “Democratic Consolidation in Taiwan in Comparative Perspective.” *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics* 1(1): 44-61.

Supplementary Readings: TBD

10. Wrap-up

June 7 (W). LAST CLASS -- RESEARCH PRESENTATIONS

June 13. FINAL TAKE-HOME EXAM DUE AT NOON, AT ENCINA HALL 109E

*Readings may be subject to change.

GOOD LUCK ON FINALS AND HAVE A GREAT SUMMER!