

Chapter one Introduction

Section one, research motive and question are defined

First, study the motive

Since lifting a curfew in 1987, the politics ' democratization ' and ' liberalization ' of Taiwan, it has been the hot problem that the academia has discussed all the time . But most discussions concentrate on authoritative system democratization and these two of understanding of the social collective movement to face mainly. Comparatively speaking , study political between changes and social another of sport important to face --The political culture (political culture), compare and neglected.

Our times, ' the modernization ' has already become a stream of irresistible tides , make numerous developing countries been involved in this world trend initiatively or passively. Modernized course, undoubtedly, the transition of the attitude that will influence the type of political culture.

The so-called ' political culture ' refers to the attitudes toward political system of people, and the attitude toward one's own roles acted in political system. Or ' political attitude, one kind of the value , emotion , information and technical ability are distributed specially '. (Almond and Verba, 1963: 13)Political culture is people's understanding that one kind of political system and political operation is inherent , appraisal and emotional orientation. As the important component of the social values, political culture is the social psychological foundation of supporting the political life, (Almond and Powell, 1992: 39)Political culture does not immobilize, it will change under inherent condition function . The transition of most political orientations of people in a society, namely the changes and transition of the political culture of mainstream, the direction in political development, there is great and key influence, this is the deep reason that a lot of countries do not stagger along in the course of pursuing democratization after the war two times.

Pass the modernized course of decades after the war two times, some is not that the western countries will already stridden into successfully or stride

into the industrialization national ranks soon. Since movement of teaching beginners, a kind of political form generally accepted of democratic politics the most already, so these already or enter the modernized country, will all face the arduous task of setting up and consolidating democratic politics. According to the research of Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba ,etc., the development of a steady and effective democratic government, do not only rely on government's structure and political structure , and rely on the people orientation to the political course even more, this kind of orientation is behavior of a kind of political culture. Unless political culture can support the democratic system , the chance that this kind of system succeeds is very remote . Almond thinks , citizen's culture is most suitable for the democratic politics system, because citizen's culture is a form coordinated with the steady , democratic system most, (Almond and Verba, 1963: 498)Almond initial definition of citizen's culture is: Citizen's culture is a kind of loyal participant's culture, and a kind of participant of political culture and political structure culture. (Almond and Verba, 1963: 31)However, in the political lives of the third world countries in the vast non- western civilization, it was exactly this kind of participant's political culture that lacked.

First, probe into the factor that the political culture in Taiwan makes the transition

Before the modernization, most third world countries are still in traditional agricultural societies or tribal society states, their political culture types of mainstream are mostly subject's culture and villager's culture. After the World War II, under the push of the decolonization tide, numerous third world countries obtained independence. Some Newly Independent Countries attempt on the basis of already existing villager's culture or subject's culture, set up the democratic politics of the western type . But, setting up the political system on these two kinds of mixing type political culture, is often unstable. (Almond and Verba, 1963: 24-26)Can the national political culture of mainstream of these non- western civilization backgrounds make the transition as the participant's political culture in the modernized course? And then produce citizen's culture to consolidate by reaching democracy? This one

question, is it have subject political east Asian countries of culture but speech for less than one year to rely mainly on Confucianism especially, this question is more outstanding , there is value studied even more.

Since the fifties of the 20th century, the outstanding one as socio-economic development of east Asia, after decades of development, Taiwan has realized the modernizations of economy and society, have realized the democratization of politics progressively too. The modernization of Taiwan has not only improved the people's material living condition but also influenced and changed the Taiwanese people's mode of thinking and values from a lot of respects, especially the people's political attitude and political value orientation, make the political cultural orientation of the mainstream of the society of Taiwan change from traditional subject's political culture into the democratic politics culture consort with modernized democratic political system system gradually, namely participant's political culture. In the fifties and the sixties of the 20th century, Taiwan was a society with distinct subject's cultural color , because historical tradition, social base and influence that the Kuomintang's authority rule, traditional subject's culture has been the political culture of mainstream of the society of Taiwan at that time all the time . But from the transition and growth and improvement of Taiwanese people's whole level of education of the middle class to the modern industrialized city society of traditional agricultural society with the society of Taiwan, the political sense of participation of the Taiwanese people is strengthened gradually, under the circumstances that Taiwan politics objects to the sport and the Kuomintang and carries on the push of the democratization political reform and trains voluntarily , changes are taking place too in the political culture of mainstream of the society of Taiwan. Especially since 1990s, Taiwan has succeeded in realizing the transition from authoritative political system to the democratic political system, the setting-up and running smoothly of the modern democratic political system, prove that participant's political cultural orientation has already occupied the leading status among the Taiwanese people and political elite. So, this thesis thinks that Taiwanese society has already realized the transition from subject's political culture and participant's political culture gradually. But, this transition does not reach democracy to consolidate in order to finish the goal of democratization yet, Taiwanese society must still continue making

great efforts in building the direction of constructing citizen's society .

In the research of the modernized question, the scholars' research focal point and direction mostly concentrate on modernized condition , government policy , modernized way , road, and some countries' modernization succeeds in studying with the unsuccessful reason, a scholar pays attention to and studies the modernized course to people's society and politics attitude , influence of faith , values few. Research of this text probe into contemporary modernized course of Taiwan how influence social values and between they and policy, Taiwan of people from numerous respect especially Attitude that manage, make society and politics values, Taiwan of people take place enormous change. Studying on Taiwan, success with modernized economy in Taiwan makes Taiwan listed in the ranks of the newly industrializing country by the end of the 70 s, and is praised as four little dragons of east Asia, has caused people to study the modernized experience in Taiwan and upsurge in the road. Since the 1990s, the political system of Taiwan has realized the transition from authoritative politics to democratic politics successfully, cause the researcher's strong concern again. But seldom a scholar pays close attention to the thing to that promotes and supports the politics of Taiwan to make the transition on the social psychological foundation of the back - Transition of the political culture in Taiwan. Why the change like this takes place for the political culture of contemporary Taiwan mainstream, have those factors promoted the changes of political cultural orientations of people? The deep research that nobody carries on for a long time of this question, this is the first research motive of a thesis.

Second, look for the predicament that the political culture in Taiwan makes the transition

Second, through the transition of the long-term, Taiwan has already possessed the intension of participating in type political culture, but the democratic politics of Taiwan seems difficult to be satisfactory again, any question has happened on earth in the middle of this? Perhaps it is a deficiency a system? Perhaps it is that a decree is not complete enough? But what a thesis is cared about even more must use lasting political culture to

support the democratic system of Taiwan is it that the depth is insufficient? Need to change? Does it just contribute to offering the solid social psychological foundation for democratic politics of Taiwan how to adjust? Probe into the predicament that the political culture in Taiwan makes the transition and look for the solution, thus it is the second motive in a thesis in order to the democratic politics of consolidating Taiwan to build and construct sane citizen's culture.

Third, explore the laws of political cultural changes

Third, in theory of studying in political culture, on the other hand because since Almond and Verba propose formally that political culture defines , carries on political cultural research, scholar's study on political culture all around the world is still confined to the investigation and analysis of the political culture current situations of the concept theoretical research of political culture or some countries, lack it about political cultural changes or the theory or positive research of making the transition; On the other hand , entered the impact with modernized economy , society , politics that large quantities of developing countries of the modernized ranks passed decades in latter half of the 20th century, my political role's attitudes to the political system and since of people, namely political culture is changing enormously, influencing the development of these national political systems. Because of the reason of two above-mentioned respects, make politically cultural changes or the question of making the transition become an important , necessary to carry on further investigation on it theory subject. Probed into the modernized coursing , those factors have influenced or promoted changes and transition of political culture, and study political culture making the transition or changes , can not merely remedy political culture about the political cultural changes theory and deficiency of analysing the respect of real example while studying , and can pass the research to the thing that the modernized national political culture of course make the transition , look for the universal laws of political cultural changes under the modernized condition , the theory of enriching political culture and studying. This third motive studied by a thesis.

Fourth, build the practice tactics of constructing Taiwanese

citizen's society

If the government type attitude in the 20th century is a government of the 'bureaucracy', will be then the arrival of the times of 'citizen's doctrine' in the 21st century in the future. President Chen Shui-bian has already perceived this trend in the future while running for the Taipei mayor in 1994, namely has put forward the slogan of 'citizen's doctrine' at first, and promote the implementation of this idea with various kinds of ways promptly after taking up an official post in it, offer the channel of participating in urban construction and concrete method to citizens. And the trend of the indiscreet and negligent citizen's doctrine that mayor Ma Yingjiu has not dared either, besides extending this idea in 1998 election, more concrete proposition 'community's doctrine', action that 'citizens participate in', and promote and implement the relevant plan of citizen's doctrine continuously after taking up an official post. What is interesting is, Chen Shui-bian went still one step further to be elected the tenth president of the Republic of China with the slogan of 'the whole civil administration office' in 2000. Entering Taiwan in the 21st century, 'the people', 'the whole people', etc. demand and walk back and forth the totem that Buddha has already become the political personage's election war, but after finishing in election war, 'people master one's own affairs', ideal of 'the whole civil administration office' will you please implement on earth, or is the one that just become mood for the moment satisfied and unreal?

True, history of real democratization of Taiwan is not long, the experience that the citizen participates in still dislikes too insufficiently, but constitutional reform, flourishing development of people's independence sports in recent years, how much has excited the people and can think more deeply that the political culture with stable democracy in Taiwan face. Citizen's doctrine and idea which the citizen participate in must be set up on the basis of solid democratic politics, not merely need cooperation on the system, need setting about from culture and idea even more. But the things of nearly ten or twenty years that and really move towards the way of democratic politics in our country, not only the setting-up of the system has not been complete yet, the forming of the democratic idea and cultivation of people's quality are also all not ripe, so, build and construct a citizen's society in order to train Taiwanese citizen's culture from real practice

tactics, enable Taiwanese political culture to make the transition and succeed, this is the fourth research motive in a thesis.

Second, the question is defined

First, question background

I am engaged in the citizen law policy education of high school and university for a long time, I experience deeply that Taiwan really has her unique personalities as a modern and human society. And the strength of moulding of this unique personality , lead and come from the state power and people's society in fact the uneven official belongs to the relation. The more important thing is, since the Hans immigrants society forms nine 0 times in the 20th century, Taiwan has never set up complete ' citizen's social body '. Colonize the government from Qing Dynasty to Japan, and then it reach the Republic of China government, whose name is only in Taiwan ' immigrant society ', ' colonize it society ', ' anti-communism base ', intact ' national society ' all, entity , Taiwan of consciousness ignore intend for a long time. But economically liberalized the policy from the Kuomintang and practised to Sun Yat-sen politically ' train the idea of the policy ', bludgon such uneven official into belonging to the relation gradually, and then build and construct one's own political culture, why it will be reason among them? Will you please find out the laws of changes? If can find out the laws of changes, how does that build constructing and is suitable for ' citizen's culture ' of the democratic state from historical experience? This bunches of questions cause the thought that I study the political culture in Taiwan and make the transition, and write the plan of the thesis with this theme , sign up for the state-run political doctor's class of predecessor of research institute of the Three People's Principles research institute of normal university of Taiwan entrance examination, after being enrolled, continue caring about the development of this question continuously, finally, determine the theme taking ' the transition of the political culture in Taiwan ' as thesis for the Doctorate .

Second, question intension

The politics of Taiwan is developed and can be democratized from the

authoritative system smoothly, there are a lot of reasons, expound the fact in great numbers richness, but why it will be social psychological foundation of democratization? How do these collective psychological orientations take shape? Object to the choice and insistence of sports and political lush Great Britain in modernized , social changes of economy , politics, what influence is there to the Taiwanese people's political orientation? 1990 times subject cultural consciousness of Taiwan take shape gradually, but Taiwan political transition of culture very heavy predicament have still? How to build the culture of constructing a citizen whose ripe , stability , reason are suitable for firm development of democratic politics? How to mould the awareness of the obligations of citizens and build and construct citizen's society on the real tactics, this is that a thesis should explain and want the key problem solved .

Third, research range

This thesis regards transition of the political culture in Taiwan as the theme of studying, time finish getting up with World War II till the beginning of 21st century probably, the setting-up of moulding with reason , predicament , citizen's culture that political culture make the transition and citizen's society faces for what has been expounded the fact mainly.

Section two, research purpose and importance

First, study the purpose

The research purpose of this thesis is three:

First, probe into the type of the traditional political culture in Taiwan and form the reason.

Second, understand that modernized , social changes of economy , political lush Great Britain and politics object to the influence that the movement make the transition to the political culture in Taiwan, and attempt to find out the law making the transition.

Third, analyse nine 0 times , the political culture of the participating in type of Taiwan has already been set up tentatively, but ripe citizen's political culture does not take shape yet , among them where is the reason? This text hopes to find out the solution, and build and construct the democratic Taiwanese

awareness of the obligations of citizens to form citizen's society with the real tactics.

Two , importance

It is an important problem of political values development and change in a contemporary society of Taiwan that political culture makes the transition, it has reflected the state of development of the society of Taiwan and politics from a side, it is an important breakthrough point that we study economic development of contemporary Taiwan society and politics. Discussion of the main factor through making the transition in promoting contemporary Taiwanese political culture of this text, aim at analysing that the political culture of mainstream of the society of Taiwan in the modernized course makes the transition from traditional subject's political culture the politics for the participant consent with democratic political system is gentle Social economic base , condition and law of melting. It is realized progressively under the economic , social modernization and condition of the democratization of politics in Taiwan that the contemporary Taiwanese political culture of mainstream makes the transition, at the same time the transition of the political culture of the mainstream of Taiwan promoted the course of the democratization of politics of Taiwan conversely. Because political culture is the social psychological foundation that the political system has and keeps, the nature and type of the political culture of the mainstream determine the type of the political system and direction of political development, so, study the origin that the political culture of the mainstream of Taiwan makes the transition, can understand that these promote social psychological reason of deep layer that Taiwan carries on the democratization of politics , for studying and expecting that there are important theory meaning and realistic meaning in political developing direction of Taiwan. This is the first importance of this research.

Taiwan is a typical representative in a modernized development way in east Asia, at the same time it is that the third world countries succeed in realizing one of the modernized typical representatives after the war too. Economy of Taiwan, the experiences of social modernization and democratization of politics, there are the same politics , economy , society and culture background

and take a certain certainty of national historical development of the same modernized road basically to represent east Asia. So, there is meaning of universality in the experience of Taiwan, can offer valuable reference and enlightenment for development of the third world countries in these modernized course . Taiwan is that modernized and political culture makes the transition in one of the comparatively successful countries in the contemporary third world countries, and there is civilization culture background different from the Western countries , so political culture of Taiwan make the transition at the same time representing late near modernized national society and politics psychological a certain certainty and commonality of development and change too. Studying Taiwanese political culture has a typical meaning to make the transition too. Because it is an important issue that can't be avoided that the vast third world countries in the modernized course face that political culture makes the transition, so, the origin of studying the political culture in Taiwan and making the transition can not merely summarize the reason , condition and law why the political culture of contemporary Taiwan mainstream make the transition , and can also be in order to study other having the same economic culture and social background and country in the modernized course, offer reference for its political cultural changes and political development. Probe into the origin that the political culture in Taiwan makes the transition, can tell people , under the modernized condition, why did the traditional subject's political culture of the societies of the Confucianists of east Asia make the transition to the political culture of the participant consent with democratic political system? Are there those factors among them? This is the second importance of this research.

Certainly, the political cultural attitude of Taiwan after making the transition, still face a lot of predicaments , where to cause the reason of these predicaments? If does not deepen the discussion , even if the political system is more complete, economy is more developed, the democratic future of Taiwan, still allow of no optimist, even there is crisis collapsing ! So study the transition of the political culture in Taiwan , build and construct Taiwanese citizen's society it in order to promote the idea of citizen's culture, the democracy of using to consolidate Taiwan, really free urgency and realistic need; This is the third importance of this research.

Section three, document discussion

One, present situation of the western political culture of research

Study and originate from the west in political culture. In the West , especially political scholar of U.S.A. it studies to be longest to political culture, experience and achievement too most abundant, political mainstream that culture study. But not the western countries scholar's political culture is studied and mostly based on the American scholar's research results and carry on. So, the train of thought of development holding western political culture and studying is the key to understanding that studies in political culture.

In the western educational circles, political culture is studied and can be divided into rising , quiet and three stages of rejuvenation. (Huang XiuDuan, 1997: 47-85)

First, rise:

Scholar engaged in political cultural research, trace back and come from Garbriel A the use of this concept of political culture more. Almond1963 is annual in U.S.A.'s " political quarterly ", <more political systems issued > One article. It should be in the article to be here, Almond is pointed out clearly: ' any political system is all inlaid and taken action in the directional way in a special politics, I find that had better call that political culture . ' study and begin to become U.S.A.'s political science in one of the hottest research fields while studying in political culture after entering the sixties. This period, scholars put forward basic conception and definition that political culture is correlated with, and carry on extensive relatively studying to the political cultural nature and state of some countries, a lot of research results come out. For instance, what Almond and S.Verba were edited in 1963 <<the citizen was cultural: The political attitude and democracy of five countries are made>>. Italy , West Germany , U.S.A. , Britain , Mexico five people cognition of political system one , attitude of country they, do analysis to compare, and then explain the difference of these national democratic politics development, the political attitudes and participating in the live telecast of politics of these five national

people of their sample investigation, they find a political culture of helping democratic system to operate steadily, it is one the whole people political desire that is it demand culture that participate in warmly to advocate, but one is mixed and the the type one is cultural. Though it encourages the people to care about more political affairs , very pays attention to some more traditional values and identification with native soil or regional group . The people do not follow blindly to the authority but quite respect, require the right to ensure, but does not forget due obligations of people . People have it belong to each to different political party, allow political views different to destroy all social relationships exchanges. Though the people have various kinds of political suggestion and attitude, show that highly believe in and loyal the current regulations . Almond and S.Verba call such political culture ' citizen's culture ' (civic culture), and think it is the culture of a kind of more conservative and richer human touch in essence. There is this kind of culture, for solving all impacts to the political system that social changes add, the benefit is very great.

Soon (1965), S.Verba publishes " the political culture and politics are developed " with Lucian-pye; Almond and G in 1966. Bingham Powell, Jr is shut <<compare political science: System,course and policy>>,last one piece they by basic model to, draw nowadays various kinds of government forms to divide into several types. Common customs of its so-called political culture, mean that the people's political attitude tends towards reason , analysis and real example. Especially in the course of decision , give up the constraint of different traditional forces, pay attention to the relation between goal and means , and the collection of information , studying and judging and real example. They think that it is the two sides of a thing in fact that the culture common customs split up (structural differentiation) with the structure; One is the inherent and subjective change, one is a change of the external structure. The two cooperate , is by weighing changing one basically of various countries' political system development degree. (Pye&Verba, 1965: 28)

Do through these, the concept of political culture is more and more clear, and important meaning whether Almond,etc. combine together old idea and method that behavior analyse, open up the new vision taking the place of politics and analysing , ' Almond school ' (Almond School) forming political

science and studying, they emphasize that the combination that political cultural analysis is interdisciplinary many kinds of research approaches is used, method to include ' the structure - the functionalism ' (structure-functionism) that occupied an leading position in the western educational circles at that time, method , anthropology , sociology , psychological concept frame and research way in which comparative political science studies. The centralized achievement of western social latest research of scientific circles at that time is like Parsons' doctrine, the thoughts of Floyd and his successor,etc.. Just because the novelty of its research approach , with use alternately.

Second , Shen Ji

After entering the seventies, with the deepening studying, deficiency and defect of studying in political culture reveal out suddenly and violently gradually. In studying, a lot of scholar regard political culture as one remnants become item (Residual Variable) in political science. Samuel Huntington says: ' can if does not have other reasons to explain the important difference between the societies rationally, all are very captivating in culture to belong to it. ' (Huntington,1968: 1)Every can't explain with other factor , explain with political culture , make political culture lose strength of explaining. And the west, especially American political culture study, the way of stupid with the ancient vessel dose Saxony is a basic point , and all political culture of the world will regard this way as the standards of measurement. This really has suspicion of the doctrine of cultural center (Beyme, 1990: 166)the research of political culture is wide and is criticized, this makes research of political culture sink into Shen Ji.

Third , rejuvenation

After entering the eighties, some is realizing or carrying on the third world countries with modernized economy progressively , begin to make the transition to the western democratic politics system from the political system of the authority. Inclusive each other or adaptability question between the political cultural changes and political culture and democratic political system structure of western type of these countries,

and the change question of the political culture of developed country, the interests of the family that cause political science again. This is causing the political basic reason of studying rejuvenation of culture. Since the mid-or late-1980s, in succession it have last article batches of culture not political and make not coming out,form by pieces of new climax studying culture not political. It claim Inglehart this the phenomena indicate ' build already research and the theory not cultural not political ' rejuvenation ' . ' (Inglehart, 1990: 208)This period, the focal point of studying in political culture can be divided into two respects: (Huang XiuDuan, 1997: 50)

壹、 On one hand the investigation of developed industrial society and politics culture development and change, Inglehart " it is developed it is cultural for changes in industrial society " (1990) and "modernization with after modernization "(1997), Richard J. Alis " political culture of U.S.A. " (1993). Another on one hand to the investigation of developing country's political culture, such as " political culture and democracy of developing countries " which Diamond Larry Diamond edits (1994), Daniel P. Franklin and Michael J. Whether and J.Baun, Daniel P.Franklin and Micheal of Bowen, <<political culture and constitutionalism doctrine. A kind of comparative analysis>> (1995),etc.. Political cultural theory that there is some in addition is made, such as Michael uncle's " pedigree of political culture " in the forest special Micheal Berlnt (1991), Stephen book strange Stephen Welch " concept of political culture " (1993),etc..

貳、

Taiwan studies the present situation that politics makes the transition with political culture

First, the politics of Taiwan makes the transition and studies

The research about the fact that Taiwan politics makes the transition, since the eighties, in cause free discussion relatively at home and abroad , have getting more to is it now , lack professional theory act as either among them to make.

Ni YanYuan comparative Taiwanese and Korea S. authoritative government form of research makes the transition, the angle studied is to regard having

structure and national concept of taking action concurrently as the core, as analysing the foundation that regime makes the transition. With ' tactics of comparative type interdynamic to analyse thesis for main fact , analyse. Point out finally, ' compare the experience that Korea S. and government form of Taiwan make the transition and show , history colonized offers as a gift thread , limitation of splitting history interfering , international political economy structure of the country and civil war, it influences authoritative consolidating , the crisis and important train of thought making the transition of government form to become: ! -And the authoritative government form marches toward the course of making the transition, persons who take action of politics in the country , political society and folk interdynamic course of tactics that consult or confront with each other each other of three pieces of lists of society . ' (Ni YanYuan,1995, 18-22)

Chen Ming probes into the Kuomintang and rules the political changes of Taiwan on from the political angle of faction openly, point out that has obvious differences in the intensity that the Kuomintang's authority rules of different historical stages, namely the faction structure stability authority rules ability strong, the opposite is also true. Angle speech of the faction, he thinks the democratization of Taiwan, starts the rebounding that the faction substituted the policy in 1977, the Kuomintang enters into an alliance with governance formed of local faction, the local election in 1977 is split , the local faction helps to object to the personage in the dark, strengthen and object to strength , raise and suppress the cost, bring the democratization of politics opportunity to Taiwan. (Chen Ming leads to 1998: 39-43)

NanYang Jiang seek from political system and political strength interdynamic angle why is it lift a curfew to have in 1987 Taiwan and politics change in pluralism. The view that he puts forward thinks what influenced the politics of Taiwan to make the transition is three major factors and interdynamic relations, this three major factors are political systems of two yuan of Taiwan (the central power operation system different from the locality of lower floor of the upper strata), the class state (probes into the change of class' structure over the past 40 years) of Taiwan and various kinds of political strength and interdynamic relation inside and outside the island. In brief, after the Kuomintang comes to Taiwan, under the interaction of different political strength inside and outside

the island, set up and is different from political system of two yuan of Taiwan of period in the mainland, therefore form the frames of starting point and operation that politics of Taiwan makes the transition. Under industrialization afterwards, the great change takes place in class' structure, support the class of two yuan system and disappear , on the decline, promote the class of making the transition to appear , strengthen. It is in addition, inside and outside island various kinds of political for strength agitate(if object to it sport , pressure , the the the Communist Party of China one not of different social movement , U.S.A. ' peaceful reunification, one country, two systems ' reform and opening-up , democratization trend of east Asia , tendency inside the Kuomintang of the policy , continent ,etc.), impel the politics of Taiwan to make the transition finally. (Jiang NanYang, 1993: 26-55)

Except that above-mentioned theses are done, the difference between some articles has proposed the penetrating opinion too, if Tian HongMao analyses that Taiwan is in the political reform from 1970, think that economic prosperity and industrialization have offered the prerequisite society for further politics changes and passed the condition . Because grow up in the middle class and strengthen with economy and require political changes and system to reform strongly , pregnant with a large number of positive opposition personages too. Meanwhile, the growth of the private department of economy, create the generous private wealth and independent source of revenue , has irrigated the political activity, enable relying on the number of people of party's country's favor to reduce gradually. At the same time, under the social pluralism , make and lose strength of control on folk activity gradually too in party's state system . The above, in addition, the people are common and rich, the improvement of the level of education, and the popularization of mass media, has all offered the opportunity of the political reform. (Tian HongMao, 1989: 56)In addition, Tian HongMao points out in one book , permit the unofficial development with quite free social economy that controls because of the Kuomintang's regime , so, since the seventies, the fast social economic change which is favorable to democratic politics development has appeared in Taiwan. Cooperate with the Kuomintang of this kind of changes to begin to adopt the type of the industrialized democratic state attitude, adjust roles ,

institutional framework of transforming the party. He especially points out those and believes that reform and democratization are the essential and unavoidable leading stratum of reform party represented by Chiang Ching-kuo, and emphasize that the political democracy is official ideology of an ultimate goal, do not produce the country with other with two key elements favorable to democratic development in the Leninist party's country's structure of Taiwan. (Tian HongMao, 1992: 45-46)

Is it full of grand from rule lush Great Britain with object to lush Great Britain interdynamic angle point out first , Taiwan political liberalization (1984-1987) object to force's promoting hard for a long time to visit, and the result that the Kuomintang (KMT) ruling clique give in at critical moment at the end, is absolutely not that authorities in power are leading . Second, object to lush Great Britain's behaving outstandingly at the crucial moment of 1984-1987, discuss independence of Taiwan such as avoiding , avoids challenge Chiang Ching-kuo's authority , support and return to the constitutional government publicly , dissolve the political crisis. Third, Chiang Ching-kuo has played an important role, the liberalization measure that it is unwilling but necessary (necessary but undesirable) that have taken. (Swim and is full of grandly, 1996: 36)

Lin JiaCheng probes into the transition of the political structure of Taiwan, point out that the Taiwan development in economy , personal income increase , the middle class rises , educates promoting , the west is exposed to , and people's democratic consciousness is promoted, help to object to strength emerging and international human rights situation , especially neighbouring country's S.Korean , Philippine reform, have encouraged the transition of the authoritative system of Taiwan too. (Lin JiaCheng, 1989: 36)

One helps one to join the democratization of Taiwan thinking of the political cultural factor. Author believe to reach democratization , except consider structure change , political lush getting interdynamic Great Britain, also need to focus on the changes and influence of the political cultural factor. Because the government form makes the transition and does not take place in the vacuum , but adhere to the specific historical train of thought of culture. He designs a questionnaire investigation, and then take 1350 interviewees out to construct examining in the whole Taiwan in accordance with the principle of sampling ,

find that democratic politics culture fluctuates and grows up slowly, goes to and does not support the Kuomintang relatively, relatively express and sympathize with the fight outside the system in this kind of political culture, become important thrust of the democratic reform of Taiwan. (One helps one, 1990, 12-13)

Luo CuiYing, <political culture is right to develop research of influence to politics - The case analysis of the Republic of China>,

The Republic of China that studies authoritative system, how to move towards the democratization of politics and pluralism steadily, find that the political culture participated in is the key that the politics of Taiwan makes the transition. (Luo CuiYing, 1987: 3)

Second, research of the political culture of Taiwan

The scholar of our country pays attention to the survey of the contemporary political behavior orientation of society of Taiwan and political psychological aspect and studies, there are abundant , a large amount of social census data. This has offered abundant materials for studying the political culture in Taiwan. The main masterpiece has: BingLun Jiang (1983) " political culture study introduction " it lays particular emphasis on to be competent to introduce all-sidely to political cultural theory; " Taiwan political analysis of culture " of HuaiEn Peng (1997) first society and politics getting that culture go on in an all-round way analysing to do to Taiwan. " political culture and political life " of moustache Buddha (1998) are concentrated and published by the important thesis that the author studies its political culture.

Scholar's study on political culture is mainly to centre in the investigation and analysis respect to the society of Taiwan or the concrete crowd's political cultural current situation . As regards political cultural research of Taiwan, moustache Buddha ,etc. reach a large number of real examples carried on in middle and later periods for 1980 times to investigate and analyse from the middle period of 1970 times . Whether if Yuan praise the west , Chen DeYu (1988). <<Political culture of the people in Taiwan: Power value orientation of the systematic structure >>,Moustache Buddha (1992): <<Attitude that the people in Taiwan participate in politics: Power value orientation of the

systematic function >>,etc.. Moustache Buddha (1998: 248)Wait for people to divide the political rights orientation into five kinds while studying, namely: ' equal right , autonomy , freedom right , plural right and right of checking and balancing, the orientation to these five kinds of power according to the people, divide political culture into three kinds: The political culture of freedom democracy, the modern and authoritative political culture with totalitarian political culture and tradition. If members of the political system all do the positive orientation to all five kinds of power , then, such political culture is the political culture of the free democracy; In the political culture with totalitarian tradition, the people, to all five items of basic value, have not made positive orientation ; It is modern lie between the two authoritative one,it hold to one or several (all) , power of orientation of five kinds orientation not positive only ' <moustache Buddha, 1998:248 > .

If to the definition of the political culture type according to Almond Germany ,etc., the political culture in so-called freedom democracy , such as moustache Buddha ,etc. is equivalent to participant's political culture, the political culture with totalitarian tradition is equivalent to traditional subject's culture, should belong to a kind of form of carrying out the transition from subject's culture to participant's policy culture as for authoritative political culture. Moustache Buddha ,etc. think through making investigations that the political culture of Taiwan belong to modern and authoritative political culture in 1980 times .

Because moustache Buddha and Peng HuaiEn ,etc. main census data of 1970 , 1980 times of basis of scholar's study on political culture in Taiwan, so, their research is mainly to the analysis of the political cultural nature in Taiwan and type of this period. Though moustache Buddha ,etc. have predicted that the political culture in Taiwan must be developed toward political culture of freedom democracy, but they have not already analysed the origin cause of formation of the political culture of the authority of Taiwan , not to promoting the political culture in Taiwan to develop the factor that develops and do careful and deep investigation in the democratic direction of freedom either.

Pair is political can learn in introduction that culture and Taiwanese political culture are studied from the above, besides study on political relevant definition of culture , concept Chinese and foreign scholars, have already

begun to notice the political cultural changes question. But no matter HuaiEn Peng , moustache Buddha or Yuan praise research of the west, centre in Taiwan political cultural analysis of intension all in the main, having proposed a research material with abundant thesis altogether in these research results, but the scholar makes the transition to the political culture in Taiwan the monograph of discussion of the reason is insufficient seriously . Impact on politics of Taiwan that this text places the focus on political culture to make the transition, as regards this, this research has unique value particularly.

Section four, research way and research structure

First, study the way

It is generally the standard of choosing the question and relevant materials to study the way (approach). This thesis is mixed and used by orientation way and concept way basically.

Study the way in first , concept research way and history

Basically, thesis this from ' concept study the way ' a main shaft, think the participation type political culture that the political culture in Taiwan has already turn from the cultural attitude of official's belonging to type into more favourabl been through the development of 40 yearsed. But this participating in type political culture had not made the transition for ripe citizen's culture at the end of the 20th century. Pass introduction of the political system of Taiwan and output analysis, complement with ' orientation study way ' and then ' history study way ' , make one description of speciality Taiwan political culture, and regard building and constructing firm citizen's culture as the goal.

Second, research way which the citizen participates in

Implement a theory and must be realized concretly from the design of the system, chapter seven of this thesis is based on key concept which the citizen participates in, build and construct a ' way which the citizen participates in ' , attempt to enable the real justice

that the citizen participates in to implement in real life. Under this structure, should think how to foster , develop more positive citizen's culture , redesign a system environment of promoting the positive citizen to participate in.

Two, definition of the relevant concept of this text

It is the most basic work to define under study for action. The thing that we will do is to seek various kinds of recognized meaning asserted at first, namely the reason why the authority person gives the meaning of this concept ; Then try to understand these meanings , then in these meanings , cooperate with the researcher's concise improvement, go to form the concept that the research institute need. So, you had better not regard a concept as a certain definitely specific and objective absolutely given and objective things , purpose that can be suitable for the specific or privileges that and should regard it as a kind of tool . So, the thesis is studied and does not define the concept , any real understanding real understanding will be impossible . Chen DeYu, 2003: 189

So, the relevant concept that the following will be used to this thesis is defined and distinguished , go on in order to what has been studied.

Political culture defining and their political culture type of definition that people put forwards , such as Almond ,etc., it is this text what has been studied Taiwanese political culture and made the transition consults the standard mainly. On this basis, this text studies and analyses political cultural changes or several kinds of forms and conditions making the transition further. Study the basic conception that the political culture in Taiwan makes the transition in all these.

First. Definition of political culture

This concept of culture that the earliest definition is political is Almond, Almond thinks ' every kind of political system is planted in a kind of specific orientation way to the political behavior. ' (Almond, 1963: 13)and ' a political one word of culture mean the special political orientation - the attitude toward political system and each part, and the attitude toward one's own roles acted in political system. ! -! -The political culture of a country is the political special distribution among people of target's

orientation way. ' (Almond,1963: 13)These political target's orientations including cognition and appraisal to country , government form , policy , political role in the political system ,etc.. This kind of psychological orientation to the political target includes three respects (Almond, 1963: 16):

- 1.Cognitive orientation, knowledge and faith outputted about political system , persons who bear , its introduction of his role and role that that is to say;
- 2.The orientation of the emotion, or about political system , its role , the emotions of personnel and behavior;
- 3.The orientation appraised , about the political target's judgement and opinion, especially those involve standard and criterion of value, political target who can combine together with information and emotion .

In brief, Almond is defined political culture as: Distributed in people or the ethnicity, the cognition , emotion and appraising the orientation to the political phenomenon.

Almond was here in 1966 (1966: 22)<<comparative political science: System , course and policy >>Have defined and done intact and authoritative definition to political culture again in one book:

Political culture is a set of political attitudes , faith and emotion that a nationality prevails in specific period. This political culture is to take shape by this national history and now society , economic , political activity process. The attitude type that people formed in the past experience has important influence on political behavior in the future. Political culture influences the politics of the behavior , they of each person who serves as political role to require the content and response to law.

So, Almond divides citizen's culture into ten following subjects again:

First, individual output cognition of activity to political system and government, including government output to which kind of influence individual have; Whether individual cares about politics and government's affairs ; Basic political knowledge which individual has.

Second, the personal attitude toward political system, including the national sense of pride related to political system; Expectation to the thing that politics outputs; Emotion input to politics.

Third, personal party groupings faith, including the appraisal on the supporter of this party and other party groupings; The faith of party groupings of the family united by marriage holds a any attitude when to the thing that children get married; To the attitude participating in the political activity.

Fourth, citizen's sense of duty, including individual, to the cognition participating in the local social and political affairs.

The fifth, citizen's sense of competence, how to be estimated including individual influences the ability of the central authorities and local government decision activity to oneself; Whether they seek help from the public organization while exerting one's influence.

The sixth, the people's sense of competence that sub, including when individual meets the crudefiber crop and appeals for the government, what response is expected to receive.

The seventh, participate in , the relation with loyal politics , mean that the higher citizen's sense of competence is in citizen's sense of competence and politics, participating in the political activity actively , the sense of loyalty to political system is higher, believe in the democratic system too.

The eighth, the relation that the social attitude cooperates with citizen, including individual character generous, show understanding others , easy to make up the political group; General social trust is easy to change into political trust; The person holding the open , neutrality attitude on belief in the party groupings is apt to reach political cooperation.

The ninth, social organization and relation of citizen's ability , for example , especially members of the political organization of social organization, have higher sense of competence than other people's citizen; Be able to move ing type members while organizing, have higher sense of competence than other

people's citizen; The person with multiple member's identity, have higher ability than other people's citizen.

The tenth, the political socialized relation with citizen's ability , including the person who participates in family's decision in early years, the general political sense of competence was higher; Participating in the decision of the school and person of office's decision, the political sense of competence is higher.

In the argumentation that this thesis will be behind, regard political culture of Taiwan as case study, discuss these subjects in detail . Should notice here, subject one to seven, mean every political attitude, do not involve the social attitude . Subject eight to ten, mean the relation between political attitude and social attitude and psychological factor. This differentiation is very important, because the social attitude is a content that is generally neglected in all kinds of domestic political culture research projects at present exactly . Almond thinks , the political attitude is mainly a citizen, to the political system, the government outputs and inputs the activity , local transaction management , cognition of citizen's one's own responsibility and ability , emotion and appraises to politics. Equally an important one is, the place where political attitude and social attitude are bounded, there is a general trust sense in societies; Open , tolerant individual character ; The democracy in the social organizations of different forms is participated in used toing. They are in close relation with political attitude, influence and transform each other between the two.

These two parts of subject that the Almond definition and it made are summed up are added up, draw a clear a roughly demarcation line on political cultural research objects.

U.S.A. political cultural researcher Lucian Pye of name " political culture and politics develop " in what he and Verba edit Have used the political culture of Verba to define in one book, namely political culture and limits the political activity values of holding circumstances to make up by a set of experience faith, symbol of expressing. Political culture includes political ideal and two respects of operation rule of government form. But Lucian Pye still thinks further, ' not all people can include the attitudes and emotions of politics in political culture, because some attitudes and emotions are too transient and slight can't influence basic politics to develop ; In on the other hand, a lot of obvious political faith - if believing in the sense basically of the the interpersonal relationships non-, to time and progress orientation,etc. - It is but very important to develop politics. ' (Pye&Verba, 1965: 7)

The definition of Pye to political culture adopts the view of Almond equally, for example, he acknowledges that political culture is ' the political behavior orientation of a certain specific way ' (Pye&Verba, 1965: 9); He think, ' political culture one in the political system in good order , field of subjectivity, it last the government form one it the contents , organization the normal and connections not social of behavior not personal ' (Pye&Verba, 1965: 11). Can see he and Almond's close place from it. In addition a little, Pye think on target regulation having two standards; ' the first, it is not people's all political attitude and emotion that can belong to political culture , only those often , obviously influence attitude and emotion of basic political development, just belong to this category. Second, there is a lot of non- political faith , for example believing in the sense basically to interpersonal relationships , behavior orientation to time and progressive possibility ,etc., they influence politics to develop deeply, belong to this category too. ' (Pye&Verba, 1965: 13)contrast

from beginning to end, these views and Almond of Pye are unanimous.

But Pye and Almond are different to some extent. Because Pye is often meaning of summarizing political culture under the backgrounds of developing countries, so his explanation often gives play to the classical definition of Almond to some extent. He society ,etc. as spirit , the citizen's emotion and reason , the leader's style and behavioural norm of the collection of various kinds of traditional , public organizations of the society ,etc. as, we can appreciate his place different from Almond from it. Pye has spoken of some traditional political values conflicts while discussing the relevant subjects while developing in politics, if free and equal, pointed out the factor which should be trained in political development at the same time , such as to country's whole loyal sense. Comparatively all these are that Almond is less likely to be involved, but belong to the important research object.

In addition, here <<Political , personality and national construction; Burma seeks to approve >>In,think Pye it is political for culture from ' people to orientation of accumulation of course not political form, including people's understanding about the behavior , question and decision of enforcement of the political rights; Political belief of political leader and social elite; Judge yardstick ,etc. of moral standard and the ability on it is political without being appraised in people adopt at the time of behavior '. (Stupid Xun is original in vain, Li Wei becomes and translates, 1993: 7)Contrasting ten subjects in " citizen's culture " in the above, we can find out , these are in the evolution when politics is participated in less more, ordinary people's observation and appraisal of the power elite.

In addition, as the researcher of more political and more political development, Pye has also probed into five major crises in the political

evolution deeply, including two political culture crises. Pye is pointed out, ' politics is developed or there are three key factor with modernized politics, namely the enlargement which the citizen participated in; Enhancement that the political system is authoritative; The division and integrating of the organization, these three contents are often not harmonious and unanimous in the course of developing, often conflict; Once the conflict coexists, will cause a series of questions , the society faces the crisis. In political culture, one approves the crisis, the conflict when point between local group and country , traditional and modern , among native soil and the world. Second, proper crisis, shown as the people and discontented with, the spirit and goal to the government are suspected , thus disagree with the governance of the incumbent leader. ' (the original,become Li Wei it translate, 1993: 11)subject these, one that is in Almond involve less in making, but for study China political culture to worth consulting in modern times. They are roughly correspondent to the eighth that Almond discuss in " citizen's culture " to the tenth subject, namely is involved in general culture , has shown the citizen's social attitude close ties with political attitude.

Though the western scholar has other definitions of all sorts of political culture, but the most authoritative and most popular definition while studying that the circle rules of Almond ,etc. are the political culture. This is that political culture that this text adopts and admits is defined too. During the process of studying the political culture in Taiwan and making the transition, this text will want a large number of scholar's survey materials and data about political culture of our country used. Not only easy to study like this, but also avoided different understanding that is defined to political culture.

Two. Type of political culture

Confirm that the type of political culture is to study a social political and cultural development and key concept changed. The sureness about political culture type of this text, is still based on political culture type and standard that Almond and Verba ,etc. put forward.

Almond divided the political orientation into three respects, namely cognitive one, the emotion one and appraised . He thinks , through

determining a person to the political system, politics is input, politics is outputted and can confirm the political orientation type of this person in the cognition, emotion and frequency of appraising the orientation of the role of oneself in the political system. Almond divides the political orientation into three kinds, namely villager's orientation, subject's orientation and participant's orientation (see forms 1-1). On this basis, Almond has proposed three kinds of basic political culture types: Villager's political culture, subject's political culture and participant's political culture.

Form 1-1: Type of political culture	As the general target's system	Input the target	Output the target	Self- the persons who are consulted of conduct actively
Villagers	0	0	0	0
Subjects	1	0	1	0
Participant	1	1	1	1

Source of the materials: A.Almond and Verba, (1963: 17)

1, villager's political culture

The orientation frequency of four kinds of specialized political targets that enumerate in form 1-1 is similar to for 0 o'clock, we can say this is a kind of villager's political culture. (Almond, 1963: 14) political role not specialized in the society that villager's political culture occupies an leading position, head, chief of a tribe, pontifex, wizard, etc. incorporate politics, economy, religion role into an organic whole. People only realize the existence of the central government very fuzzily, and the nationwide decision that the central government make, does not almost have any influence on people under villager's political culture. People do not have any to seek for the expectation not improved to the political system. So between people and political system, input, output, and to understanding, emotion, I of role since and appraise and make a reservation to approach zero. That is to say that hardly there is any interdynamic relation between people and political system. Such political

culture mostly exist and develop the comparatively backward clan , nationality and area far away from political and cultural center in politics.

2, subject's political culture

' among subject political culture, people regard oneself as subject of government instead of political participant of course. Those people living under ruling autocratically belong to this political culture type. ' (Harrop and Breslin,1992: 136)In such political culture, the relation between political system and subject is one-way , namely subjects are only political system operation and passive , passive acceptance person of the policy, subjects, for doing for the political participant and dog-and-ponying positioning oneself and remaining zero of political system and operation. Under the enviroment of such political culture, subject's response to the thing that political system and operation are comparatively systematic, have realized the specialized government's authority, and produced the corresponding political psychological orientation, if feels satisfied , on intimate terms , proud in political system and political operation in it, or discontented , does not like; Show and admit or not approve the political system; Think it is legal or illegal ,etc.. But no matter which kind of psychology or emotional orientation subjects adopt to their political systems, do not produce any influence on political system and operation basically. Such political culture exists in traditional agricultural society era , or the undeveloped countries and regions while carrying out the transition from traditional agricultural society to the modern industrial society mainly. Ruling the political cultural foundation ruled in centralization with other types feudally and autocratically is this kind of subject's political culture.

3, participating in type political culture

Almond thinks that the so-called participant's political culture is, ' as a whole system , politics and administrative structure and course (in other words that social members often disclose the ground orientation, a kind of political culture on orientation on political introduction and output surface of system). Individual members of politics, the self- ' the activist ' in the government form of the orientation that often role. ' (Almond, 1963: 18)social member right whole

political system and right political output , introduction of system, and to as oneself of person who consult actively, all straight orientations. In such political culture, people believe that they can function in the political system , be influenced by political system and standardized too at the same time .

Though, these three kinds of political culture types that Almond put forward were thought to have suspicion of western centre doctrine or racial discrimination in the western academia later, and is considered to be " the politically incorrect one ", some scholars try hard to avoid using Almond villager's culture used (the hell type political culture of someone's translation) , subject's political culture (or translation submitting to type , depending on type political culture) , such as Putnam (1993) Use ' citizen , high degree have in not " making democracy is it stand up to turn round " " or " citizen low degree such a concept have ". And the concepts of subject and participant not using Almond to put forward . Even so, because these three concepts of Almond have reflected the objective reality in history or in the realistic political life basically, it is the easy understanding, and numerous in our country one political science textbook or make while introducing political culture regarding concept of Almond as not introducing by targetting mainly, and is accepted far and wide, so still continuing to use the concepts of these three political culture types that Almond puts forward when composes a piece of writing after this text. Certainly, it is convenient to use participating in type political culture or such concepts of democratic politics culture in order to compose a piece of writing sometimes, but its meaning and participant's political culture are the same.

These three kinds of political culture that Almond enumerates are all ideal types. In the realistic society, these types mostly appear in the form of various kinds of mixing. Three kinds coexist compatibly. Subject's culture does not repel villager's political culture , but participant's political culture does not repel subject's culture and villager's political culture either too. Participant's culture is that one is added layer, it can be joined and jointly got the villager and subject to culture. (Almond, 1963: 22)villager's political culture belongs to local political culture, subject's political culture and participant's political culture belong to nationwide political culture. Generally speaking, in the relatively backward area of socio-economic development, the type of its political culture

is relatively single too, political culture type a relative diversification and complicated of the comparatively developed area. So, Almond puts forward this argument that ' all political culture (except that simple villager's political culture) is mixed '. In view of the above, Almond distinguishes out the political culture of three kinds of systematicness mixing types again: Villagers - Subject culture , villager one participant culture and subject one participant culture.

Almond thinks , villagers - It is that ' people's majority to abandon scattered clan , village or feudal and authoritative exclusive request that subjects politicize, and it is loyal in the degree of having central government organs of specialization , more complicated political system to develop into. ' stage carrying out the transition from villagers' regionalism to centralization in most national history that such political culture exists mainly. In history, such political culture is those political culture of mainstream in the country and nationality relying mainly on the feudalism or the centralism in agricultural civilization era , politically too. And with the development of history, the subject type political orientation will occupy the leading status gradually in these countries and societies.

The second kind of mixing type political culture is villagers - Participant's culture. 這種政治文化形態主要存在於戰後以來的一些新興國家和地區，如非洲的一些國家。那裡的社會發展階段仍然處於原始部族時代，但在殖民地獨立運動的推動下紛紛獲得獨立地位。這些新興國家建國之處也多模仿西方的政治制度，也就是參與型政治制度，這種政治系統要求一種參與者政治文化，而這些國家民眾中普遍存在的政治文化則是村民型的，這樣，在實際的政治運作中就形成了一種混合型的村民－參與者政治文化。處於這種混合政治文化之下的政治系統往往也是不穩定的，「有時不穩定地擺向獨裁主義，有時又擺向民主制。可是在哪一方面都沒有可靠的結構，既沒有建立在忠誠臣民基礎上的官僚機構，也沒有產生公民的責任和能力的基礎結構。」(Almond,1963：29-30) 儘管如此，Almond 仍然認為參與者文化在某些新興國家中的發展仍然是有可能的。

在混合的臣民－參與者政治文化中，「人口的主要部分已經獲得專業化輸入取向和一整套積極分子的自我取向，可是，人口其餘部分的大多數，繼續取向於命令主義的政府結構並具有一整套相對消極的自我取向。」(Almond,1963：29-30) 從 Almond 的描述來看，這種混合政治文化主要存在於那些從集權專制向民主政

治過渡的國家。十九世紀和二十世紀上半個世紀向民主制度過渡的西歐國家，如法國、德國、意大利等國，七十年代以來的所謂第三波民主化浪潮中向民主化過渡的國家（如韓國、台灣等），這些國家的主流政治文化取向就是這種混合型臣民－參與者政治文化。通過對西歐這類政治文化的分析，Almond 認為這種混合政治文化「存在一種結構式不穩定的特殊模式，表現為獨裁政府和民主政府的更迭。」「參與者的取向僅僅在人口的一部分人中傳播，他們的合法性又受到固執的臣民文化的挑戰，當獨裁掌權時期，其合法性又中斷了，所以，在人口中這個有參與者取向的階層，不能成為一個有能力的、自信的和有經驗的公民主體。」「混合的臣民－參與者政治文化如果持續一個很長的時期，也能改變臣民文化的特徵。」（Almond，1963：27）在這種政治文化系統中所產生的獨裁政權「趨向於具有人民黨那樣的附和民主的觀點」，「甚至採用了民主的基礎結構。」（Almond，1963：28-29）社會中，大多數人的政治取向仍屬於臣民型的，但是社會中已經有一部分人具有了較強的政治參與意識和要求。這種參與意識隨著社會的發展呈逐漸擴大之勢。這種狀況是處於從農業社會向工業社會轉型期國家社會政治文化的典型特徵。

從現在的政治現實來看，Almond 所觀察的這些西方國家已經完成了這種過渡，參與者政治文化已經在這些國家與社會中占據了主導地位，形成所謂的公民文化，即一種“忠誠的參與者文化”。Almond 認為在公民文化中「參與者政治取向與臣民政治取向是相結合在一起的，而不是前者取代後者。個人在政治過程中成為參與者，但是他們並不放棄他們作為臣民或村民的取向。」（Almond，1963：35）但是，只有在參與者文化的基礎上，融合原有的村民和臣民取向，才能構成公民文化。因此，參與者政治文化成為社會的主流政治文化，是公民文化形成的基礎和前提。本文研究台灣政治文化轉型也就是探討台灣是如何從以臣民文化為主導的臣民－參與者政治文化轉向以參與者文化為主導的公民文化。

當然，作為一個整體，任何社會都存在一種體現該社會普遍價值、具有超階級超階層性質的政治文化取向，這種政治文化取向就是該社會的主流政治文化。上述幾種政治文化描述的就是一個國家或地區整體層次上所表現出來的政治文化類型，即該國家或地區的主流政治文化。本文所要考察的也正是台灣主流政治文化轉型的根源。

另外，在一個國家的內部，在不同的區域、族群、階級、階層、職業、集團

之間，因社會地位、經濟狀況、年齡、受教育水準、族羣、語言、地域等方面的差別而導致的政治文化取向不同。這些不同的政治文化取向則構成了各種各樣的政治次文化。當然，各種次文化只是整體政治文化中的一個個特殊的組成部分。另外，在一個社會中因為社會政治角色的不同又產生了不同的角色文化。其中最常見的而且也是最重要的兩個類型就是精英政治文化和大眾政治文化。相比於其他各種政治次文化，精英政治文化和大眾政治文化與社會主流政治文化有著密切的關係。

三、政治文化的變遷與轉型

一般而言，人類社會的文化是相對穩定的。政治文化也是如此。但是「在歷史上，文化是動態的而不是停滯不前的。社會中居支配地位的信念和態度也是變化的。」(Huntington, 1991: 21) 政治文化作為人們對於政治的態度也是隨著社會的發展而變化的。政治文化研究的開創者 Almond 和 Verba 等學者在六十年代的研究，主要針對政治文化與穩定性，尤其是穩定的民主政治的關係。到 1989 年 Almond 和 Verba 主編《再訪公民文化》時，他們發現了這些被調查國家政治文化中重要變遷的證據。Inglehart (1990: 5) 對工業化國家和地區的政治文化進行了深入的考察，提出發達工業社會的政治文化在戰後的幾十年中發生了重要變化，形成了一種“後物質主義”的政治文化。¹但他們仍然沒有從理論上對政治文化變遷與轉型進行深入探討。因此，研究政治文化轉型之前有必要對政治文化變遷和轉型的一些基本問題進行分析。

政治文化的變遷是指主流政治文化的變遷，即社會中多數人對政治系統及其運轉所持有的最基本的價值取向與準則發生重要的轉變，而不是指人們對某一具體政策或政府的心理取向的短期變化。所謂政治文化轉型也就是根本性的政治文化變遷，即一個社會的政治文化從一種基本的類型轉變為另一種類型，使社會主流政治文化發生了性質的根本改變。如從村民文化轉變為臣民文化或者從臣民文化轉變為參與者文化，都屬於政治文化轉型。

◆ ¹後物質主義是指西方公眾的價值觀念已經從只強調物質幸福和物質安全向更加注重生活質量轉移，關心後物質主義的價值，這包括諸如生態環境、男女平等、核裁軍等問題。參見 Ronald Inglehart, 1990: 125, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (Princeton University Press)

主流政治文化的取向及其變遷與社會中人們改造自然創造物質財富及精神財富的能力、社會經濟發展階段、社會聯繫的密切程度及國際交流水準都有直接的關係。在自然的情況下，當某一社會進入一個新的社會經濟發展階段後，主流政治文化就會因人們的經濟社會地位與能力普遍發生變化而改變，並在新的社會政治經濟基礎上形成新的政治取向，這就是政治文化變遷。

1、政治文化變遷的類型

政治文化變遷是一個漫長複雜的過程。根據導致變遷的根源分類，人類社會的政治文化變遷從總體上可分為三大類型，即內源性政治文化變遷、外源性政治文化變遷和混合型政治文化變遷。

(1) **內源性政治文化變遷**：內源性政治文化變遷是由於社會的內部政治經濟文化條件發生變化而導致的人們政治文化取向的變化，是一種自發性的、分散的、由下而上的、緩慢的變遷過程。內源性政治文化是本土社會政治文化發展變遷的結果，導源於內在條件的成熟，是原有政治文化隨著經濟社會條件的變化而發生的自然的變遷。內源性政治文化變遷過程中，基本不受外來影響或者外部因素的影響是微乎其微的。近代歐洲主要國家從臣民—村民政治文化向參與者政治文化變遷就是一種典型的內源性政治文化變遷。導致近代歐洲國家發生這種政治文化變遷的主要根源是歐洲國家通過工業化逐步完成了從農業社會向工業社會過渡，使一些歐洲國家社會內部經濟文化條件發生變化而導致的變遷，因而屬於內源性政治文化變遷。近代以前中國漫長的歷史發展過程中，大一統觀念和臣民意識的形成與鞏固，同樣也屬於內源性政治文化變遷。

(2) **外源性政治文化變遷**：外源性政治文化變遷的特點是社會政治文化發生變遷的根源在於外部因素的作用。在一般情況下，外源性政治文化變遷是不自主的、往往是自上而下的、突變式的，主要是因外力作用而導致的。外源性政治文化變遷最為明顯的例子就是近代以來美洲、非洲大洋洲地區國家以及亞洲的印度等在西方殖民入侵過程中其原有的社會發展過程被打斷，社會政治結構被摧毀，西方殖民者以強力在這些地區建立了一套新的政治機構，並帶來與之相應的政治文化觀念。這種政治文化變遷就屬於外源性政治文化變遷。

(3) **混合型政治文化變遷**：混合型政治文化變遷，是近代以來，尤其是自二十世紀以來世界各國社會政治文化變遷最普遍的一種現象。由於世界經濟交往

日益密切，知識、觀念與信息的傳播速度加快，國與國之間的相互影響越來越大。科技的進步、經濟交往的密切與各國經濟現代化過程改變了人們的物質生活狀況，提高了社會的整體教育水平，物質條件的改善和教育水平的提高使人們對政治制度及其運行產生了新的要求，這正是推動政治文化變遷的物質基礎和基本條件。經濟交往的擴大與交通、通訊條件的改善和發展促進了不同家地區間知識文化交流，相應地擴大了人們的知識與觀念的視野，國外的政治思想學說成爲近代以來尤其是現代社會改變人們政治文化觀念的重要淵源。在外來思想和內在政治需求這兩種力量的推動下，人們的原有的政治文化取向也就逐漸地發生著變化。這種混合型政治文化變遷，自近代以來，主要出現在廣大的非西方國家與社會。此種政治文化變遷較爲明顯和成功的例子有東亞的一些新興工業化國家，如我國和韓國。

2、政治文化變遷的動力

政治文化是人們對政治的心理取向，對於個人來說，其政治取向與個人的能力、社會經濟地位及政治與其日常生活的密切程度相關。對於一個正常的人來說，村民、臣民、參與者三種取向也是同時並存於頭腦之中，只是傾向與表達出來的程度不同。隨著的社會環境的變化以及個人經濟地位、受教育程度、個人能力與願望等條件的改變，其中的某一種取向將被激化，使之更傾向於採取這種政治取向。在任何一個時代和社會中，村民、臣民和參與者三種取向都是同時存在的，區別只在於哪一種取向占據主導地位。隨著社會的發展演變，這三種取向在社會中所占的比例和地位是會發生變化的。影響政治文化變遷的因素很多如工業化、移民、戰爭、革命等，(Ball, 1993: 68) 而經濟發展經常是帶來文化變遷的最重要的力量。(Huntington, 1991: 21) 對於整個社會而言，促使社會中大多數人政治取向改變，導致社會主流政治文化變遷的有以下幾種主要因素：

(1) 社會生產力的快速進步是推動政治文化變遷的最根本的動力

考察歷史就可以發現，當一個社會的社會生產力實現了質量的突飛猛進後，往往也伴隨著發生大規模的政治文化變遷。人類社會從原始漁獵、採集進入農業時代，由農業時代進入工業時代都帶來了大規模的社會政治文化和政治制度的變遷。作爲政治文化變遷的原動力，社會生產力發展對政治文化變遷的作用是間接的而不是直接的。社會生產力的發展是通過改變人們的經濟狀況、生活水準等來

逐步改變人們的政治文化取向的。這是因為社會生產力質和量的提高會大規模地改變社會中的財富擁有程度和擁有財富人數的比例，而如何維護自身的物質利益是任何政治社會中決定人們政治文化取向的基礎。

在人類社會早期的原始漁獵採集階段和農業社會的初期，人們的活動範圍及其與外部交往的程度都有限。在那裡沒有專業化的政治角色，部族或部落首領、酋長、祭司等人集政治、經濟、宗教角色於一身，部落或村落以外的更大的政治組織的影響是微乎其微的。這種以部落或地域為基礎的政治文化就是典型的村民政治文化。

隨著社會從漁獵採集進入到農業時代和社會分工的發展，生產技術的提高，物質財富逐漸增多，社會中的少數人開始擁有剩餘財富。人們為保護和擴大既有的財富，在氏族、部落的基礎上形成一個個新型的政治軍事集團，即國家的雛形。作為這些集團組織的上層分子和權力與財富的主要擁有者，基於本能的權力欲望與安全的需要，往往會獨攬大權，要求本集團中的其他社會成員的絕對服從和臣服，否則就會給予懲罰。社會中絕大多數無力與之抗衡的普通民眾不得不以臣服和繳納貢獻換取生活的安寧。在這種情況下，早期人類社會所形成的自由參與的習慣消失，參與管道被廢止，參與取向被壓抑並逐漸退化，人們的臣民取向和村民取向被激發和強化，人類社會正式進入臣民政治文化占主導地位的時代。

在農業時代，由於生產能力的有限性，以及生產力的低水準發展，無法創造大規模的物質財富，人們的生活水準一直處於較低狀態，因此，其政治文化也是十分穩定的。社會中只有一小部分擁有財富和知識的人通過各種途徑（如世襲、科舉、戰功）參與到統治階層中來，成為政治的參與者，但其前提是必須臣服於國王或皇帝。其他的人民則只能滿足於“養兒當兵，種地納糧”的臣民生活或基本與政治無關的村民生活。在社會生產力沒有質與量的提高的情況下，人們的政治文化取向也就難以出現變化。一代代的臣民文化傳統使臣民文化在民眾中成為一種宿命的政治觀念，臣民政治文化取向就成為農業社會的典型特色。

當人類社會進入工業時代後，工廠化的大量機器生產和科技革命使人類改造自然、創造物質財富的能力大大提高。工業化時代的到來首先製造出來一個擁有大量物質財富和資本的資產階級。隨著社會物質財富的增加，一個在人口中占有很大比例且極具影響力的中產階級開始壯大起來。工業化生產和科技進步提高了人們的生產及管理能力，擴大了知識的視野。財富的增加不僅增強了人們的自信

心，而且使人們更加關心財產的安全及其他權利，這就使社會中的大多數人對政治提出了新的要求。財富的增加、知識和能力的提高使人們要擺脫絕對臣服、無權的政治地位，獲得參與政治的權利。這種要求逐漸形成一股強大的政治力量。這正是歐洲的英、法等國在近代從臣民文化向參與者政治文化變遷的主要動力。英法兩國的民權革命就是因新興資產階級和廣大中產階級要求與國王分享政府權力而引發的。革命之後，參與者政治文化開始逐漸演變成兩國的主流政治文化，並對後來世界許多國家的政治文化變遷都產生了深遠的影響。

二十世紀後半期以來，一些新興工業化國家在經濟現代化的基礎上實現了政治制度變革與政治文化變遷，如我國和韓國等，也屬於因生產力的大幅提昇、社會物質財富的增加而引發政治文化大規模變遷的顯著例子。

(2). 社會思想運動、社會大革命和政治制度變革是政治文化變遷的直接動力。

社會思想運動的作用在任何一個時代和社會，雖然有時顯得孤獨但卻後勁十足。經濟發展和經濟利益的現實首先對相關群體的人們的心理、態度尤其是對政治的態度等政治文化因素產生影響。但是這些心理取向和反應只是零星的、分散的、個體化的。每個社會總有一批思想家，發現或宣傳這些可能成爲歷史發展潮流的、新的而在當時條件下爲主流社會所排斥的政治思想觀念，並使之理論化、系統化。隨著時間的推移、社會經濟發展等條件的成熟這些思想便在社會精英和民衆的思想中引起共鳴，並逐漸爲之接受，形成聲勢浩大的思想政治運動，使得這些思想取向逐漸深入人心，使社會中大多數人的政治取向發生根本性的改變。如近代歐洲鼓吹主權在民、自由平等、私有財產神聖不可侵犯的啓蒙運動，中國的五四運動和台灣威權時期鼓吹民主思想的雷震和彭明敏等等，都屬此類思想運動。這類思想運動在社會中出現和傳播對社會政治文化的變遷產生了巨大的推動作用，是政治文化變遷的直接動力之一。

社會革命是政治文化變遷的催化劑和強化劑，這裡的革命提指 Huntington (1991: 241) 所說的那種社會大革命，「就是對一個社會據主導地位的價值觀和神話，及其政治制度、社會結構、領導體系、政治或活動和政策，進行一場急速的、根本性的和暴烈的國內變革。」如英國民權革命、法國大革命、美國的獨立革命、中國的辛亥革命、俄國的十月革命等都屬於這樣的社會大革命。社會革命往往同時也是新舊兩種政治文化較量的過程，革命不僅把舊的政治制度推翻，而且在革命的過程中新的政治文化思想被廣爲傳播，甚至使之神聖化，並在新的政

治文化基礎上建立一種新的政治制度，使之得以實踐和強化。隨著革命的勝利，新的政治文化也就上升為新的主流政治文化。因此，此類社會大革命對政治文化變遷的推動也是直接的和有力的。

政治制度變革在兩種情況下對政治文化變遷起直接的推動作用。一種是在社會政治大革命之後所建立的新的政治制度，如英國 1688 年光榮革命後確立的君主立憲制，俄國十月革命後的蘇維埃制度；另一種是隨著社會的發展主動廢棄舊制度，建立的新的政治制度，如二十世紀九十年代初韓國政治制度由威權制走向民主制等。新制度建立之初，社會中許多人仍持有傳統的政治文化取向是非常常見的政治現象，然而新的政治制度要求人們以新的政治取向與政治系統合作。在新制度的主動引導之下，新型的政治實踐會逐步促使社會中更多的人完成政治文化取向的轉化。因此，這樣的政治制度變革也是推動政治文化變遷的關鍵性力量。

(3) .推動政治文化變遷的第三種動力是外部力量

社會生產力的快速成長和社會思想運動、大革命、政治制度變革基本屬於推動政治文化變遷的內部因素。從歷史來看，外部力量同樣也可以是推動政治文化變遷的動力。

有史以來，人類社會就是由一個個不同文明、不同國家及其他社會群體組成的，它們之間的社會經濟發展的水準與程度各不相同。隨著歷史的發展，各個文明和國家之間的相互交往越來越頻繁和密切。在交往過程中，社會經濟較先進、實力強大的文明與國家勢必對較為落後和弱小的國家與社會產生某種影響。作為一種外部力量，甚至可以推動落後、弱小一方的政治文化的變遷。這種外部力量推動政治文化變遷也可分為兩種形式。一種是主動吸收外部政治文化思想的影響，推動本國政治文化變遷。如古代東亞地區的朝鮮、日本、越南等國在中華文明的影響下，紛紛吸收中國政治制度與政治文化的精華改造本國的制度與政治文化；戰後以來許多實行威權政治的國家主動採用西方流行的政治制度和推動本國的政治文化變遷等都屬於此類。

另一種是外部強制性的政治文化變遷，即外部力量基於其強大的實力將某種政治制度和政治文化強加給弱小一方。如近代西方殖民擴張時期，「殖民國家把製造新的權力範圍、新的合法性來源、對公民的新型要求和新的能力的新政治結構強加於人，以便對這個社會進行滲透。」（Greenstein & Polsby,1982：169）使許多殖民地的原有文明與文化陷於滅絕，取而代之的則是殖民主義者帶來的政治

文化。這種變遷就屬於外部力量強制性的政治文化變遷。

3、政治文化轉型的判斷標準

在劃分政治文化類型時，Almond 以人們對政治體系、政治輸入、政治輸出和自我在政治系統中角色的認知、情感和評的取向作為判斷政治文化類型的標準。當然這些也是判斷政治文化轉型的重要依據。但僅有這些粗略的概念來判斷政治文化轉型是遠遠不夠的。比如在《公民文化》一書中，Almond 將臣民與參與者對政治體系和輸出的取向頻率都定為 1，表示兩者對政治體系的認知、評價與情感都一樣。而實際上臣民與參與者對政治體系的取向在實質上是有不同的。兩者的輸出取向也是完全不同的。另外，在一些國家的政治文化從臣民文化向參與者文化過渡期間，如在東亞威權政治制度之下，臣民在政治活動中也是有參與的。但這種參與與民主制度下的參與在內容上也有不同。因此，為更清楚地判斷政治文化是否轉型，必須對不同政治文化的標準進行較為詳細的分析和界定。Almond 在後來主編的著作中，對政治文化研究方法又進行了補充，認為敘述人民對政治制度的三個層面——制度、過程和政策——的態度，是說明一個國家政治文化的方法，依此概括出政治文化的體系傾向、過程傾向和政策傾向，並對臣民與參與者對體系傾向、過程傾向和政策傾向的不同認知、情感與評價做了較為詳細的分析。(Almond&Verba, 1989: 51-52) 這些將有助於我們對不同政治文化的區分。由於村民文化對於政治體系、輸入、輸出、參與者角色的取向都是零，這樣，從村民文化向臣民或參與者文化轉型很容易判斷。但是從臣民向參與者政治文化轉型的標準相對要複雜，需要進行詳細的分析。而本文考察的台灣政治文化轉型也正是從以臣民文化向以參與者文化轉型，因此，有必要對臣民政治文化與參與者政治文化的不同政治取向的判斷標準進行詳細的分解。

(1).對於政治體系的取向 臣民和參與者對於政治體系的取向都是高頻率的，但是兩者對於政治體系的合法性的程度和基礎的認定是完全不同的。在以參與者文化為主流政治文化的社會裡，「政府和統治者的合法性取決於他們在競選中由人民選定以及他們在製訂法律時遵循憲法程序。」(Almond&Verba, 1989: 51-52) 也就是說，政府的統治權力來自於人民的授予，人民的授權是其合法性的來源。而在傳統臣民政治文化中，統治者或政府的合法性則來自世襲、慣例或實力鬥爭的結果，以及是否遵循傳統的習俗、價值等。此外，臣民文化中的政府

合法性也取決於其政策能否保障臣民基本的安全與臣民的滿意程度。在處於臣民文化向參與者文化過渡之中的威權社會裡，政府或統治者的合法性則取決於領導人的個人執政績、領導集團內部的認可、思想意識或對人民的許諾等。在轉型中社會，政府或領導人的合法性有時也可以通過形式上的選舉和人民的默認而獲得（如當年的韓國、印尼）。考察一個社會政治體系的合法性來源和基礎是斷定該社會政治文化類型的首要標準。

(2).對於政治輸入（即政治過程）的取向 在這一點上，純粹的臣民政治文化與參與者政治文化有顯著的差別。在臣民社會中，臣民幾乎完全不參與政治的輸入，政府政策的制定是統治者及其官僚機構的權力，臣民無權參與。臣民「對於自己在政治中的作用的看法卻仍然是順從者的看法，即他們受政府行動的影響而不是積極地去影響政府的行動。……他們對於政治參與始終抱被動的態度。」（Almond，1989：42）而在參與者政治文化中，公民對於政治的過程有一定的認識，並形成了鼓勵自己利用各種參與機會的態度，也就是相信自己只要努力去做就能夠影響國家的政治事務。（Almond，1989：42）因此，對於政治輸入的這兩種不同態度就是區分臣民政治文化與參與者政治文化的第二個參照標準。

另外，在政治輸入過程中，政治信任問題也是區別臣民文化與參與者文化的標誌之一。所謂政治信任問題是指人民對其他集團以及對自身作為集團成員的看法。任何政治體系中都存在不同集團間對政治權力的爭奪。在臣民文化中，政治權力被視為某一個人或家族的“私器”，因而，政治體系內部政治集團間的權力（尤其是國家最高權力）的鬥爭大多是你死我活的，不允許反對派別存在。也就是說，爭奪權力雙方是相互敵視的，而不是相互信任的。然而，在參與者文化中，國家和政府的權力乃全民之“公器”，任何個人或集團、政黨都可以通過法定管道去爭奪國家和政府的管理權，爭奪國家權力的政治集團、政黨或個人之間是通過和平競選來贏得權力的，政治制度運行的基礎是政治集團之間、政黨之間的相互信任。他們相信，贏得權力的一方不會損害另一方的利益。政治競爭中，公民以及政治集團之間政治信任的形成是參與者政治文化成熟的重要標誌。

(3).對於政治輸出的取向 臣民對於政府政策的態度是無條件地、被動地接受，認為作為臣民服從統治者的要求是天經地義的，除非政府的統治和政策危及大多數人的生存，否則就不會對政府政策提出疑義和反抗。而在參與者政治文化中，人們普遍認為政府是為人民的福利、安全等利益服務的，一旦政府政策損

害了人們的利益，公民們就會通過既有參與管道對政府的政策進行修正。臣民與參與者對於政治輸出取向的這種差別是很明顯的。

(4) .對於自我在政治體系中角色的認定 在臣民文化中，統治者與臣民之間的等級關係是十分清晰的，臣民只是順從者，為統治者提供各種義務的臣民，是“消極的受惠者和政府日常活動的被動員者，”（Almond，1989：184）而不是政治的參與者。臣民不認為自己有權利和能力去參與政治，「他不會企圖影響其政府的決定」，（Almond，1989：184）其對於政治參與的取向接近於零。在參與者文化中，公民是國家主權的擁有者，政府的權力來自於人民的授權和同意。他們既是政府的臣民也是政治的參與者。與純粹的臣民不同的是，他們是具有參與能力的公民。「他們的政治信息十分靈通，能夠而且確實提出政治要求，對不同的政治領袖給以政治上的支持」（Almond，1989：53）。按照 Almond 的假定，當一個社會中「相當大比例（百分之六十）的成年人是政治過程的實際的和潛在的參與者時」，（Almond，1989：53）我們就可以認定該社會的主流政治文化就是參與者政治文化。

以上是判斷政治文化類型的四項參照標準，它們是人們對於政治的態度或取向，均屬於政治文化中的內在條件。另外，在臣民政治文化與參與者政治文化之間還有外在條件上的區別；那就是政治制度中是否具備讓大多數人民參與政治的條件，如有關政治參與的法律制度、參與的形式、參與的管道等等。在臣民文化占主導地位的社會中，不存在讓大數人民參與政治的制度和管道，政治參與只是少數人的權利，而政治參與的管道相當狹窄。只有具備一定的出身、才智或軍功，才能上升到參與者的行列。在參與者政治文化占主導地住的社會中，人民參與政治的法律、制度和管道是完備的和充分、暢通的。就此而言，這些外在條件也是判斷一個社會政治文化的參照標準之一。處於民主化過程中的一些威權社會建立起政治參與的制度與管道，則是其開始向參與者政治文化轉型的信號。

四、政治文化與民主轉型

政治文化作為一個有意義及有用的概念，必須要能夠解釋某種政治現象或政治行為，但是學者們對於政治文化在民主政治的運作過程中扮演什麼樣的角色，看法相當分歧。究竟是政治文化決定政治結構，或者文化只是個背景變數而已，

真正的決定原因是政治因素？此問題牽涉到政治文化的解釋力，以及因果關係的方向性。本文既然採用 Almond & Verba 對政治文化的見解，有必要對 Almond 這部分的理論與其他學者的理論作釐清。

如前所述，Almond & Verba (1963) 的《公民文化》一書是第一個有系統地企圖用文化變數來解釋民主的結果的研究。他們研究英國、美國、西德、義大利和墨西哥五國之政治文化發現，英、美兩國之所以能維持穩定的民主在於其有參與型政治文化。他們認為唯有政治結構和政治文化相一致，亦即參與型政治文化與民主的政治結構、臣屬的政治文化與傳統的政治結構，以及村民型的政治文化與原始型的政治結構，政治局勢方能穩定。不過在該書中，他們把政治文化視為自變數，民主的穩定視為依變數，即先有民主的政治文化，方有民主的政治結構。但是為何一個社會中個人的態度會對政治的運作有所影響呢？Almond & Verba 認為「答案在於政治文化連結了個體政治 (micropolitics) 與總體政治 (macropolitics)，因此為個人的行為與系統的行為搭建了一座橋樑」(Almond & Verba, 1963: 53)。儘管如此，多數學者²認為 Almond & Verba 並未提供足夠的證據以顯示其間的因果關係，這也是事實。但這方面理論的瑕疵，經後來的學者 Inglehart、Merelman 和 Putman 的努力，顯的較為完備。

政治文化復甦論的學者 Inglehart 認為 Almond & Verba 的基本假設並沒有錯誤，他強調文化決定政治結構的形式。Inglehart 把文化視為是一個社會中普遍分享的態度價值和知識體系，並且將此一代傳給一代。他用人際關係的信任感 (interpersonal trust)、對生活的滿意度和是否贊成革命的變遷作為測量文化的變數。人際關係的信任是組織團體的先決條件，而團體的形成又是民主遊戲規則能否被遵守與運作的要件；對生活的滿意度能穩定反映出國與國之間之文化規範，

²不少研究民主轉型的學者把焦點放在政治變數，文化變數只被視為是一個提供菁英政治行動的背景變數而已。如 Dankwart A. Rustow (1970) 的民主轉型焦點也放在菁英變數。民主政治建立是由於菁英的抉擇與互動，然後菁英與選民再逐漸適應與習慣此種遊戲規則。

而與該國所用之語言及短期客觀之經濟情況無關；是否贊成用革命方式來改造社會以漸進緩慢之方式進行改革，則牽涉到民眾是否願意以討論妥協或投票等方式來達成目標。Inglehart 在檢視歐美等二十多個民主國家後發現，民主穩定國家皆存在此三項共同之文化特徵：較高程度之人際關係信任感，對生活滿意度，以及反對革命的變革等，而其因果方向是文化影響民主的穩定與發展。（Inglehart,1990：199）

繼 Inglehart 之後，陸續有不少肯定政治文化與民主轉型的著作出現。Merelman(1995)其在 *Representing Black culture : racial conflict and cultural politics in the United States* 一書中，比較英、美、加三國自由主義的文化，企圖去解釋任何政治行動背後所創造的意義；他認為「一個社會的大眾文化會很巧妙地為尋求政治參與及歡迎團體衝突或拒絕政治參與及拒絕團體衝突作準備。自由主義的傳統加上特殊的歷史條件，使得此三國各自產生了特殊的政治參與文化」（Inglehart,1990：199），而 Merelman 則熱衷於找出不同形式的政治文化與政治實踐的關係，然而 Merelman 的研究還是無法提供文化與政治之間的因果關係。

「近年來被 Laitin（1995）視為最具有震撼性和突破性的政治文化作品為 Putnam（1993）的 *Making Democracy Work*」（轉引自黃秀端，1997：69）。Putnam 針對義大利包括南、北各地共 20 個地區政府作分析，這 20 個地區在 25 年前皆採取同樣的政治體制，但是同樣的制度設計並未使各地區政治有相同之民主運作與政治效能。地方政府間運作之差異，不僅存在於南北之間，也存在於南部或北部。Putnam 發現造成此種差異的主要原因並不在於經濟發展的程度，而是在於文化的因素，當文化因素引入時，經濟發展程度的影響力便消失了；文化因素會影響社經發展，但社經發展卻無法決定市民文化。他的主要論點在於市民社群（civic community）是導致較有效的政府運作與民主的重要因素，而所謂的市民社群是指民眾具有較高程度之政治興趣、社會平等、人際間的信任以及自發性的組織。他更一步強調此種文化的規範與習慣強化了市民社群，即使是遭遇外來的破壞，包括法西斯政權，其文化的基礎依舊存在，且影響政治的發展。（Putnam，

1993：56-58)

Putnam 在研究之所以具有價值，是因為在研究設計與方法上有相當大的突破。在方法上，他充份運用多元方法，或稱之為三角交叉檢視法 (triangulation)，包括調查訪問、形式理論 (formal theory) 以及歷史分析法。他採取調查訪問法來測量民眾的態度，但他並未像其他學者 (Kornberg & Clarke,1992) 一樣，利用調查訪問資料來測量政府的輸出，相反地，他採取了客觀指標來測量政府的輸出，避免與民眾的評估混淆。Putnam 更進一步用博奕理論 (game theory) 協助回答經驗性發現中所提出的問題，使理論與經驗性研究相互結合。最後，他採取歷史和背景分析之資料來更進一步證實博奕理論和統計分析的結果相符合。在研究設計上，他選擇了 20 個在制度設計上相同的地區政府，因此控制了制度的因素，而在統計上他也能控制經濟發展的因素，在因果關係的掌握上較具有說服力。

五、民主鞏固與民主轉型

1996 年舉行總統直選以後，台灣首度被美國自由之家(Freedom House) 評為自由民主國家，自由程度在亞洲僅次於日本，與南韓並列第二名。2000 年大選政黨輪替，台灣通過 Samuel P. Huntington 所謂的「民主鞏固」第一次考驗：政權和平轉移。2004 年從 228 手牽手護台灣到 320 大選的結果，使得主權在民的台灣主體性國家地位更加確立。台灣雖然被公認為第三波民主化的典範，但民主的品質與深度卻令人憂心。如何使台灣民主深化邁向民主鞏固的先進民主國家，是本論文第七章要處理的問題。美國民主理論大師 Robert Dahl 曾指出民主的三個關鍵性條件為：1. 軍隊和警察控制在由選舉產生的官員手裡；2. 不存在強大的敵視民主的外部勢力；3. 民主的信念和政治文化。其中，民主文化的培養正是台灣民主鞏固的關鍵性因素之一。也是本論文第七章要論述的重點。

「民主鞏固」(Democratic Consolidation) 是研究民主轉型問題中的一個新領域。「民主鞏固」與「民主轉型」(Democratic Transition) 是不相同的兩個事物，

然而，在學者間的研究以及在實際的經驗中，這兩個概念意味著兩種不同的發展歷程。「民主轉型」意味著一個國家從非民主體制轉型到民主體制的過程³，在這個演變過程中，一般學者關心的議題包括民主轉型的原因，民主轉型的政治過程，哪些人促進民主轉型的發動，民主轉型的結果如何等問題 (Diamond,1992,450-65)；而「民主鞏固」則是探討一個已經完成民主轉型的國家，如何確立民主程序作為該國組織其政治社會的唯一原則，申言之，即如何鞏固民主體制能夠在該國中存續下去，該國中沒有人在行為上或態度上欲推翻民主體制。所以，在概念上，「民主鞏固」與「民主轉型」是有所區別的。

學者對民主鞏固的意涵大抵均認為「民主鞏固」是一個可以辨識的過程，並且在完成民主鞏固這個過程之後，民主的規則、制度就成為取得政治權力唯一之合法途徑。Linz 和 Stepan 提供一個民主鞏固的概念架構，這樣的一個架構逐漸獲得廣泛的認同，並為其他學者所援引。(Diamond,1997:7) 他們認為「民主鞏固」包含了行為的 (behavioral)、態度的 (attitudinal)、和憲政結構 (constitutional) 的面向。(Linz and Stepan,1997:68) 第一，在行為上，當沒有出現重要的民族、政治、社會、經濟群體，或是體制內成員，運用各種資源，試圖建立非民主體制，或是達到分裂國家的目的時，則民主體制在這個統治範圍內就可以鞏固。第二，在態度上，即使面對重大經濟危機，或是對在位者的不滿，大多數民眾的意見都堅持相信民主程序與制度，是經營集體生活最適當的制度安排，而只有少數人支持非民主體制，則民主體制將可鞏固。第三，在憲政結構上，不論是政府或是非政府的政治力量，都願意遵守或是習慣於由新的民主程序所制定的法律、程序與制度來解決各種衝突，則民主體制將可鞏固。

Linz 和 Stepan 更進一步申論民主體制有高品質與低品質的差別，同樣的，在鞏固民主的類型中，也存在著從低品質到高品質民主的連續體 (continuum) 所

³非民主體制指的是並未運用民主程序運作的體制，這包括在理論上和實務上都可與民主體制區別之共產主義體制以及威權體制，或現存任何形式的君主制。

以，要達成上述在行爲上、態度上、和憲政結構上高品質之鞏固的民主體制，必須同時鍛造（crafting）以下五個條件，每一個條件的完成都將增益民主體制的完整性。（Linz and Stepan,1997:69）

第一，必須發展出一個自由且活潑的市民社會（civil society）。

第二，必須存在一個具有相對自主性的政治社會（political society）。

第三，在國家統治範圍內，所有的政治行爲者，特別是國家和政府機關，都必須服從以保障個人自由權利與社群生命爲標的的法治原則。

第四，必須存在一個可供新的民主政府使用的國家官僚結構。

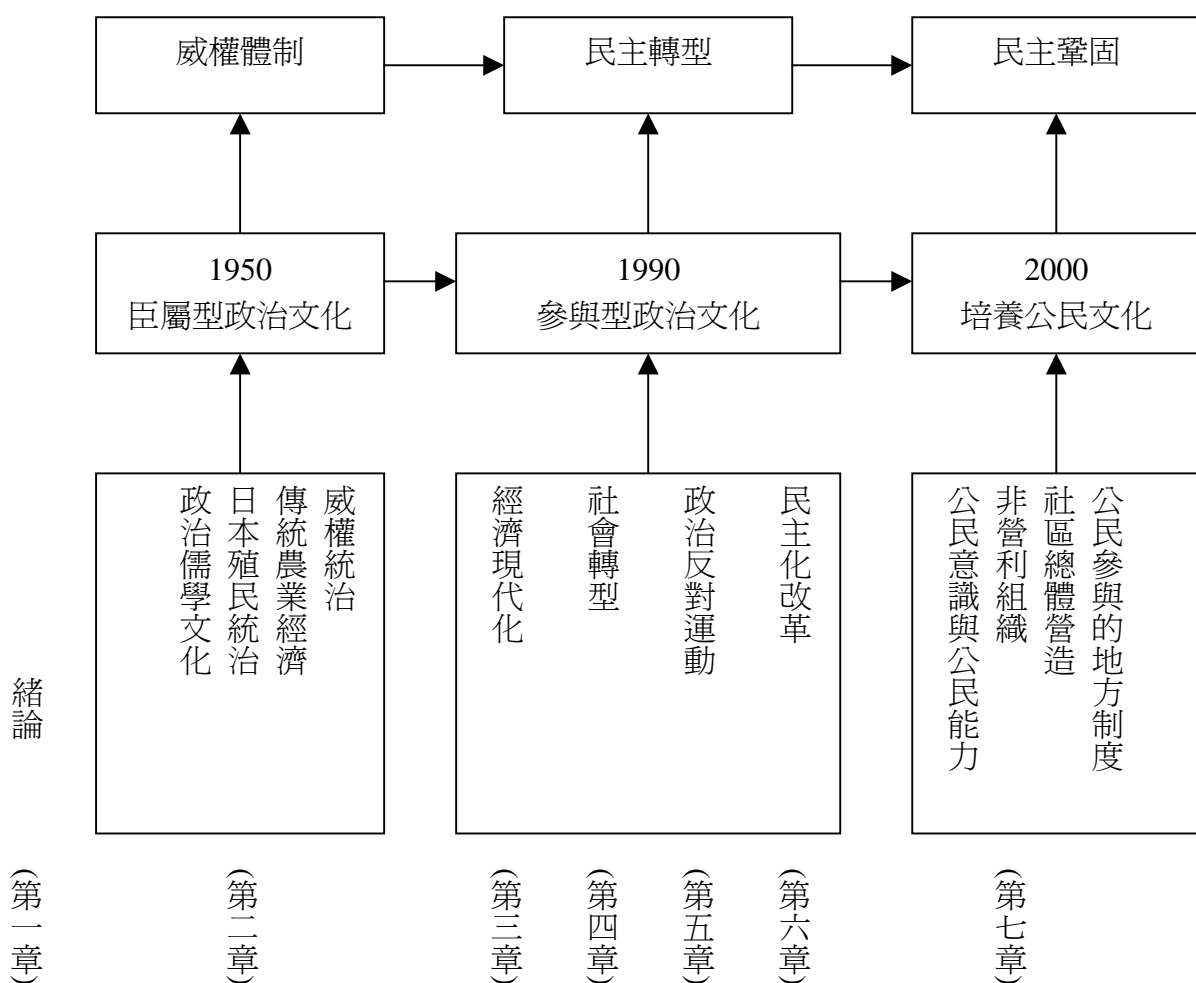
第五，必須要有建制化的經濟社會（economic society）。

本論文對政治文化與民主化的關係，基本上是以 Almond 的理論爲基礎，再配以 Inglehart、Merelman 和 Putnam 的理論並參酌 Linz and Stepan 民主鞏固的相關理論修正而建構⁴，如圖 1-1。

⁴ 不管是 Robert Dahl 指出民主的三個關鍵性條件：1. 軍隊和警察控制在由選舉產生的官員手裡；2. 不存在強大的敵視民主的外部勢力；3. 民主的信念和政治文化。或是 Linz 和 Stepan 申論鞏固民主的類型中，必須同時鍛造（crafting）的五個條件，本論文僅對與政治文化有直接相關的部份進行討論。

二、研究架構

〈一〉圖 1-1：研究架構圖



〈二〉研究架構圖之說明

爲了研究之遂行與說明之方便,有必要就上圖之研究架構作一說明。本文的思考邏輯模式,是按照下列三個主要論題推演而來；

論題一:政治、經濟、社會之變遷,是推動政治文化的轉型的根本力量。

論題二:政治文化的轉型影響政治體制的運作。

論題三:政治體制的運作會推動政治、經濟、社會變遷進而推動政治文化的再轉型。

一個政治體系的政治經濟社會等方面的變遷,為體系成員帶來衝擊,當此衝擊

力量夠大且夠久時,會造成成員們政治心理或態度的改變,由量變而質變,至終形成全面性的政治文化變遷。當一個政治體系的政治文化類型轉變後,對政治菁英的政治選擇會形成壓力,也會提供政治反對運動一種心理的鼓舞,最後將全面影响政治體制的運作。我們把這三個論題用較簡單的關係圖,來說明「政治、經濟、社會條件」「政治文化」「政治體制的關係」:圖 1-2

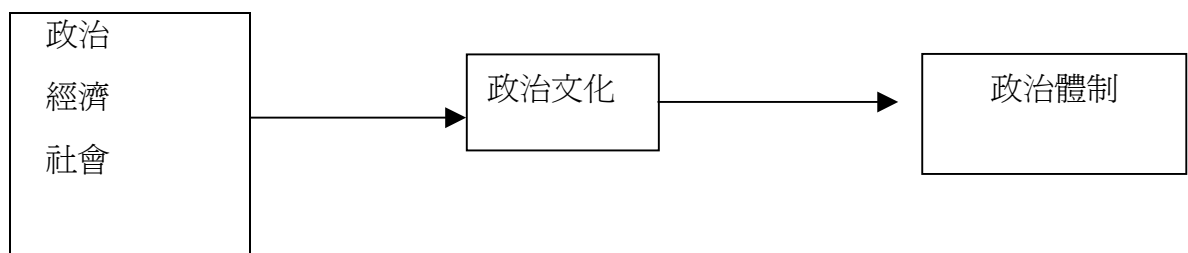


圖 1-2:「政治、經濟、社會條件」、「政治文化」、「政治體制的關係」

(資料來源:本研究)

在這個變遷過程中,「政治文化」扮演中介角色,也是樞紐的地位,使「政治、經濟、社會條件」和「政治體制的關係」二者,產生系統的連結。

總之,本文之研究架構是以政治文化之轉型為核心概念,探究轉型的原因;政治文化是被動變項,即以政治、經濟、社會等因素來解釋政治文化的轉型。另一方面,當論及政治文化轉型推動政治發展時,政治文化也是主動變項。這也是政治文化被放在整個結構圖中間的原因。

第五節、研究方法與研究範圍

壹、研究方法

本論文將採用以下三種研究方法:

一、歷史分析法

政治文化的轉型是一種長時間且非常緩慢的過程，而且不易察覺。歷史分析法可以從時間延續的過程中，去建構變化的歷程，藉由個別歷史之間的因果關係去重建過去到現在的演變軌跡。經由歷史分析的研究方法，可觀察台灣政治文化轉型的過程，從中找出推動台灣政治文化轉型的動力。

二、文獻分析法

文獻分析法就是透過引用原始文件、官方資料、報紙、學術研究成果等，作為分析的基礎及現象的解釋。同時藉由文獻的分析可以瞭解台灣已過五十年來政治、經濟、社會的變化及政策的轉變，並推論出它們與台灣政治轉型的關係。

三、比較研究法

類化與比較是治學的重要手段，特別是社會科學的研究。本文採用將採用類型比較法，配合前項的文獻分析法來研究台灣政治文化轉型的根源。首先根據 Almond 等人提出的判斷政治文化類型的標準，建立起一個模型以便於對轉型前後台灣政治文化的性質與類型進行對照比較，然後運用文獻分析的方法對當代台灣社會經濟政治發展過程中影響政治文化變遷的因素進行深入的分析，確定各種因素在政治文化轉型過程中的功能，推斷出其對政治文化轉型的具體作用。

參、研究範圍

本論文把焦點放在台灣政治文化轉型的研究，探討台灣傳統政治文化的成因及現象，並且透過概念途徑下的體系研究及歷史研究，尋找推動台灣政治文化轉型的原因。最後提出實踐的策略以建構台灣成爲一個公民社會，使台灣的政治文化成功轉型爲成熟的公民文化，台灣的民主政治因此得到鞏固爲論述焦點。研究時間點以 1949 年國民黨政府來台之後一直到 2004 年民進黨二次執政成功爲止。

參、論文章節安排

探討台灣政治文化轉型的根源，涉及到有關政治文化的基本理論、台灣政治文化的轉型情況以及台灣政治文化轉型的主要原因和動力，以實際的策略建構台灣成爲具有公民意識的公民社會，使台灣政治文化成功轉型等方面。本論文也是依次對這些方面展開論述。

論文在第一章首先介紹分析了本項研究所要涉及到的政治文化概念、類型、轉型以及轉型的判斷標準，以便為後面的研究提供必要的理論工具。論文將以此為基礎和方法展開對台灣政治文化轉型根源的分析。

第二章主要分析考察了台灣傳統政治文化的淵源、社會基礎以及國民黨威權統治對台灣人民政治文化取向的影響，然後總結分析了二十世紀五十年代，即台灣在現代化初期階段的主流政治文化的性質與特點，最後分析了九十年代以來，也就是轉型台灣政治文化的性質與類型。

第三章首先分析了五十年代國民黨的土地改革對農民政治文化取向的影響，然後著重分析在農業現代化和商品化沖擊下的台灣農民政治觀念與價值取向的轉變，以及台灣工業化、現代化的逐步完成是如何瓦解台灣傳統政治文化的社會基礎——傳統的農業社會結構，並使台灣成長為現代化都市。

第四章重點概括分析了現代化、工業化與都市化的發展改變了台灣的社會社會結構，中產階級開始上升為社會的主導性階級。中產階級力量的成長和壯大使得台灣社會的政治參與意識上升，而台灣教育的普及和社會整體受教育程度的提高也明顯推動了台灣會政治參與意識的成長。在台灣社會政治參與意識成長的基礎上，八十年代以來台灣各種社會群體為著自身的政治、經濟、社會利益舉行了一系列的示威、遊行、抗議等社會運動。而這些社會運動反過來又促進了台灣人民政治權利意識和政治參與意識成長。

本文在第五章從兩個方面進行剖析；政治社會化是政治知識、政治態度和政治價值傳播、學習和鞏固的過程。對於台灣參與者政治文化的社會化，一方面分析台灣五十年代《自由中國》與雷震、彭明敏和〈台灣民族自救宣言〉等知識份子對民主文化的啓蒙；以及七十年代的黨外運動和八十年代民進黨成立後所進行的政治反對運動對於參與者政治文化在台灣人民中社會化的推動。

第六章則分析台灣民主化對政治參與培養與實踐。藉由五十年代以來就實施的地方自治與第一屆中央民代的增補選，蔣經國解除戒嚴等一連串的民主改革，

到九十年代國民黨李登輝主政時期,如終止動員戡亂、國會全面改選、修憲、總統直選等民主化改革,對參與型政治文化的培養有積極的影響。

第七章則以台灣政治文化轉型的困境為出發,尋找解困之道。自90年代以來,參與的政治文化已有初步的社會共識,但台灣政治文化轉型的完全轉型卻碰到困境,如何突破這個困境以建構成熟理性的公民文化是本章論述的重點。本文認為建構台灣成為「公民社會國家」是重要工作,形成現代化的「公民社會」需要具體的策略途徑與行動方案;包括二個面向,第一個面向在於經由建構一個現代化的公民社會,培育現代化的積極公民,在這個基礎上,才能有前瞻眼光的政治家及負責任的行政官員。首先,透過教育途徑喚起公民意識及培養公民能力;其次,以社區改造運動深化公民意識;最後,透過非營利組織的普遍發展,一方面可以培養公民參與公共事務的能力,更可以公民組織性的力量,發揮更大的效果,進行社會改革工作。最後,公民參與的進行要從最基層、與人民最密切相關的事務開始,再慢慢發酵與擴散到範圍較廣的全國性議題。因此,如何建構一個直接民主的地方自治制度是最基礎的工作。

第八章、結論與建議:除將前面各章的論述作一總結外,也提出若干政策的建議與後續研究的建議,冀能更加精進相關的理論與實務。

