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台灣地區「分立政府」與 「一致政府」之研究: 以1986年至2001年地方府會關係爲例

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近來,行政部門與立法部門分屬不同政黨所掌握的「分立政府」(divided government)現象,已成爲我國各級政府的常態。與此同時,分立政府對於體制運作所造成的影響,似乎亦逐漸展現。鑑此,本文試圖引用分立政府與「一致政府」(unified government)的架構,以 1986 年至 2001 年期間,23 個地方政府(包含 21 個縣市與北高直轄市)的「縣市政府所提法案之審議情形」、「縣市政府年度預算刪減之幅度」,以及「縣市議會通過法案的情形」府會互動面向,進行「橫切面時間序列」(time-series cross-section,簡稱爲 TSCS)模型的實證研究。分析結果顯示,相較於一致政府而言,在縣市層級分立政府之中,對於政府法案之審議、預算刪減幅度,以及「立法生產力」(legislation productivity)等方面,確實產生程度不一的影響。尤其,當民進黨籍縣市首長,面對國民黨掌握過半數的議會時,預算刪減幅度往往較高,立法生產力亦隨之降低。此外,縣市首長是否具有連任意圖,對於政府法案之審議、預算刪減幅度,以及立法生產力,亦有顯著的影響。在結論中,本文認爲分立政府應可成爲研究我國政治發展的新取向,並提出未來相關研究的方向與建議。

關鍵詞:分立政府、一致政府、地方政府、府會關係

Divided and Unified Government in Taiwan: The Executive-Legislative Interactions at the Local Governments, 1986-2001

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ABSTRACT

Divided party control of the executive and legislative branches has become the normal condition of Taiwan's politics. At a concrete level, it is always argued that divided government tends to generate such executive-legislature predicaments as policy gridlock, stalemate, and inefficiency. Using time-series cross-section (TSCS) models, we empirically examine the executive-legislature relations in terms of "the legislative enactments proposed by the executive branch," "the reduction proportions of budgets," and "the passage of laws in the legislature" at Taiwan's 23 local governments from 1986 to 2001. The findings indicate that unified versus divided party control of the government exerts an important influence on the three indicators of executive-legislature relations. It is especially salient that when the Democratic Progressive Party's (DPP) executives facing the Kuomintang (KMT) overwhelmingly controlled the legislatures, the reduction proportions of local-government budgets tend to increase, while the legislation productivities decrease compared to under a unified KMT-controlled government. The results also reveal that the reelection intentions of executive incumbents emerge as a statistically significant determinant of the three indicators of executive-legislature relations. We conclude with the limitations of this study and remark an the possible approaches for further research on divided government in Taiwan.

Key Words: divided government, unified government, local government, executive-legislature relations