社會正義、差異政治、以及溝通民主*

郭秋永

中央研究院人文社會科學研究中心研究員

　　「公民」原本就是超越「差異性」而邁向「普遍性」的一個概念。然而，「公民」概念所在標榜的「普遍性」，實際上隱藏著其所要超越的或其所要拋棄的「差異性」，從而常使一些社會運動人士陷入「普遍性的弔詭」或「差異性的弔詭」：在一方面，爲了求得公平對待，必須否認差異性（或強調普遍性）；在另一方面，爲了能夠矯正不利處境或獲得補償，則需強調差異性（或否認普遍性）。顯而易見的，這種「普遍性的弔詭」或「差異性的弔詭」，密切關連著社會正義與民主政治的重要議題。民主政治中的社會正義，究竟意指執政者應該依據「普遍性」的公民觀念，「平等而無差異地公平對待所有公民」，還是意指執政者應該根據「差異性」的公民觀念，「濟弱扶傾地差別對待所有公民」呢？本文企圖透過 Iris Marion Young 倡議的「差異政治」，評述社會正義與民主政治之間的密切關連。

關鍵字：分配典範、差異政治、社會正義、民主政治、溝通民主

Social Justice, Politics of Difference, and Communicative Democracy

Chiu-yeoung Kuo

Research Fellow
Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences, Academia Sinica

ABSTRACT

'Citizenship' is originally a concept of surmounting the idea of 'difference' and marching toward the idea of 'universality'. However, the idea of 'universality' implies the idea of 'difference', thus it often makes some social movements fall into the 'dilemma of universality' or the 'dilemma of difference': on the one hand, in order to try to achieve fairness, they must deny the idea of difference (or emphasize the idea of universality), but on the other hand, in order to correct some unfavorable situations of the oppressed, they need to emphasize the idea of difference (or deny the idea of universality). Obviously, this dilemma is closely connected to the important topics of social justice and democracy. Does the concept of social justice in a democracy mean that the authorities should equally treat all citizens, or that the authorities should differently treat all citizens and create the greatest benefit for the least advantaged? This article seeks to present a systematic interpretation of the relationship between social justice and democracy by examining Iris Marion Young's theory of 'politics of difference'.

Key Words: distributive paradigm, politics of difference, social justice, democracy, communicative democracy