

抗爭行爲的集體行動邏輯： 「反貪倒扁運動」之理性選擇分析

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抗爭與投票不同，屬一種非典型的政治行爲，本文歸納三種解釋這類行爲的動機：怨懟理論、資源動員理論與理性選擇理論。透過計數資料統計分析，關於 2006 年民眾參與反貪倒扁運動有幾點發現：一、無法以傳統政治行爲的角度來詮釋這項運動，特別是需要動員上街頭的抗爭，族群意識、省籍情結、乃至政黨認同皆難以發揮傳統的影響力。二、各理論僅理性選擇成功詮釋倒扁抗爭，並勾透出這種集體行動中的特殊公共財屬性。三、倒扁運動實際能產生巨大能量，主要得歸功百元捐款活動的規劃，它降低高風險高成本的抗爭本質，並減少了支持者搭便車的情況。

關鍵字：反貪倒扁運動、抗爭行爲、公共財、搭便車、計數資料模型

The Logic of Collective Action in Protesting: A Rational Choice Analysis of the Anti-Chen Movement

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ABSTRACT

Protesting, unlike voting behavior, is a sort of nontraditional or unorthodox political behavior. There are three distinct theories explaining the motivation behind this action: Grievance Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory, and Rational Choice Theory. By estimating several count data regressions, this paper found many explanations for the reasons people joined the Anti-Chen Movement in 2006. First, it is not sufficient to explain this movement, especially those actions requiring people to take to the streets, through traditional voting perspectives such as party identification, race/group ideology, or provincialism. Secondly, of those three theories, only Rational Choice provided enough support to clarify the public good dilemma in this action. Thirdly, the reason this movement engendered so many followers and avoided the free rider problem is attributed to the NT\$100 fund-raising activity. It significantly reduced the risk and cost of joining the protest action.

Key Words: anti-Chen movement, protesting behavior, public good, free rider, count data modeling