

Democratic Zeal, Fake News Worries,  
and Moralized Preferences:  
Inspecting Taiwan's Polarization Patterns

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# Democratic Zeal

Is democracy Taiwan voters' prioritized (moral) value?





Francis Fukuyama (1992, 1995, 2012, 2014, 2015, 2018)

Fukuyama, F. (2018). *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment*. New York: Picador.

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# IDENTITY

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THE DEMAND FOR  
DIGNITY AND  
THE POLITICS OF  
RESENTMENT

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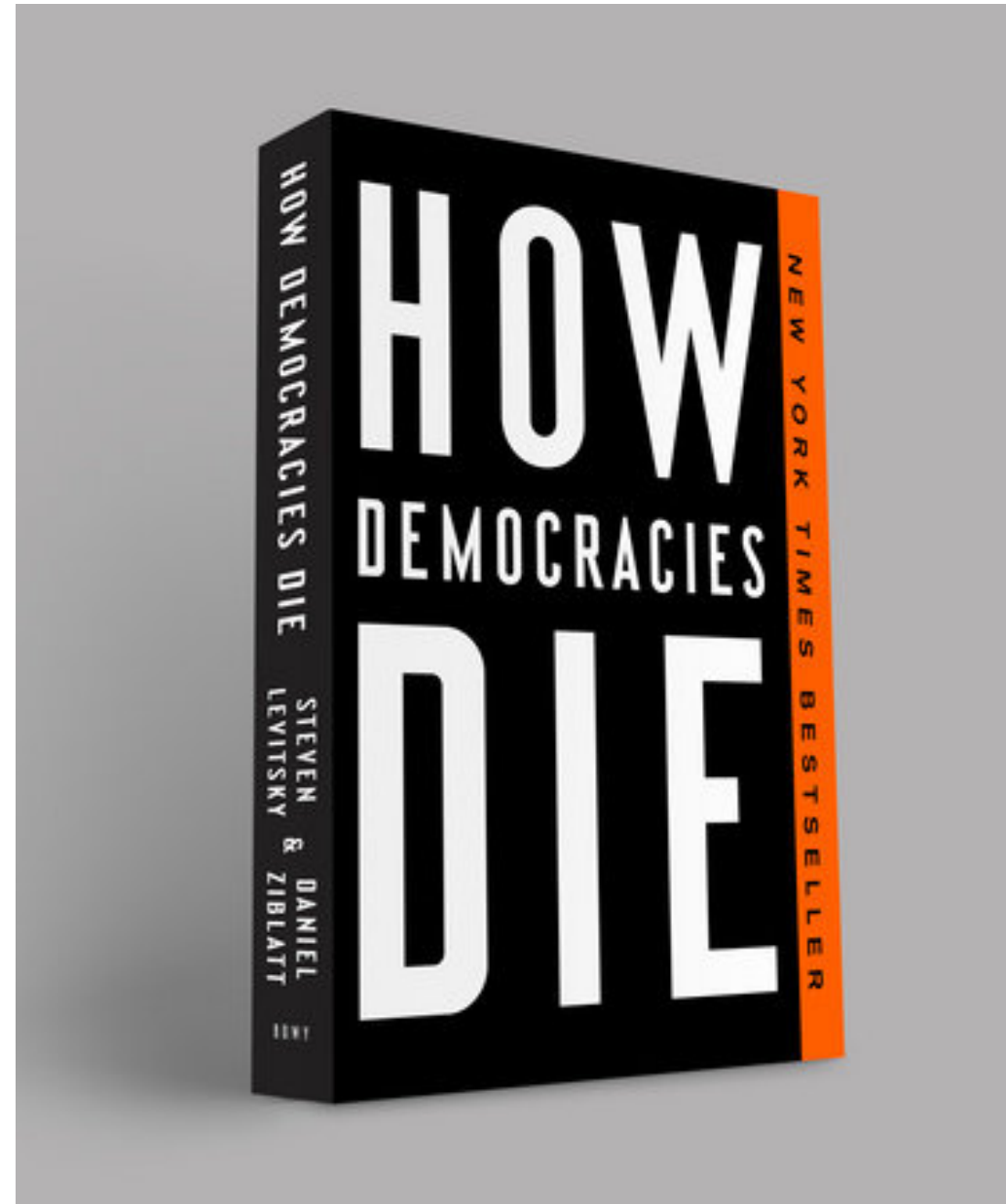
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FRANCIS  
FUKUYAMA

*New York Times* bestselling author

Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown.

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# ASIAN SURVEY

VOLUME 34  
NUMBER 1  
JANUARY/FEBRUARY  
2014

A BIMONTHLY REVIEW OF  
CONTEMPORARY ASIAN AFFAIRS  
PUBLISHED BY  
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

## Taiwanese Voters' Political Identification Profile, 2013–2014

*Becoming One China or Creating a New Country?*

### ABSTRACT

This study summarizes critical factors that influence a voter's choice between the appellations "Taiwan" and "Republic of China," a subject that has not been systematically studied so far. When the legitimacy of "Republic of China" is considered, Taiwanese voters' political identity pattern reveals itself to be more complicated than

Can we go beyond the  
scope of political identity?

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# Could democracy be the cause of its own destruction?

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How Taiwan's experiences contribute to  
the understanding about democratic recession?

# Partisans vs. non-partisans (independents)

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- Most self-claiming non-partisans or independent voters are less likely to be pure independent voters than **“closet partisans”**
- Very little attention has been paid to whether or not and how partisanship and orientation toward rejecting party identity associate with their views about democracy.

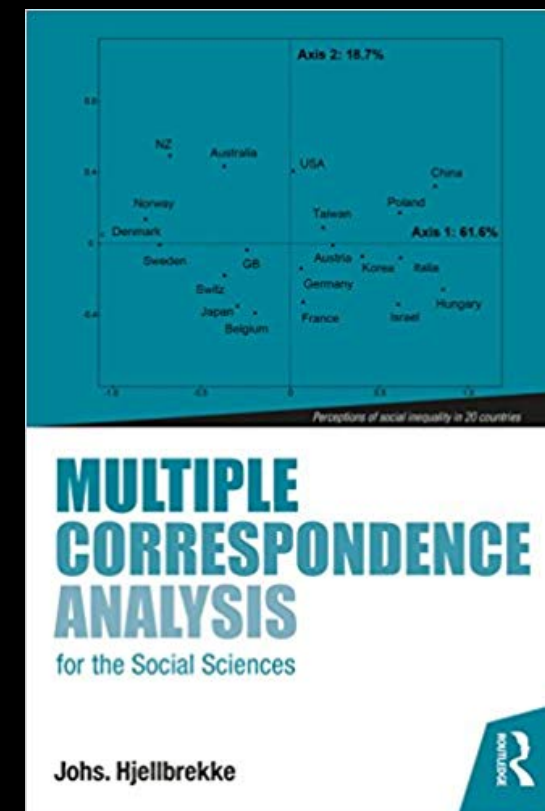
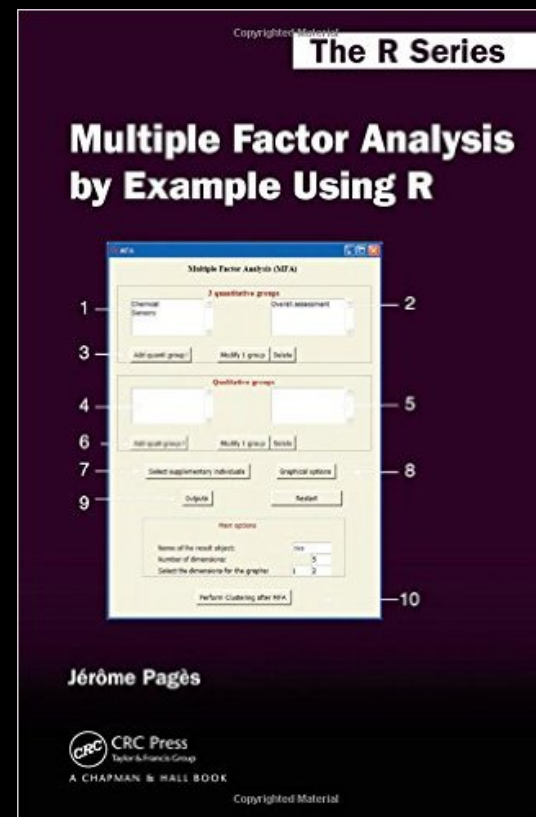
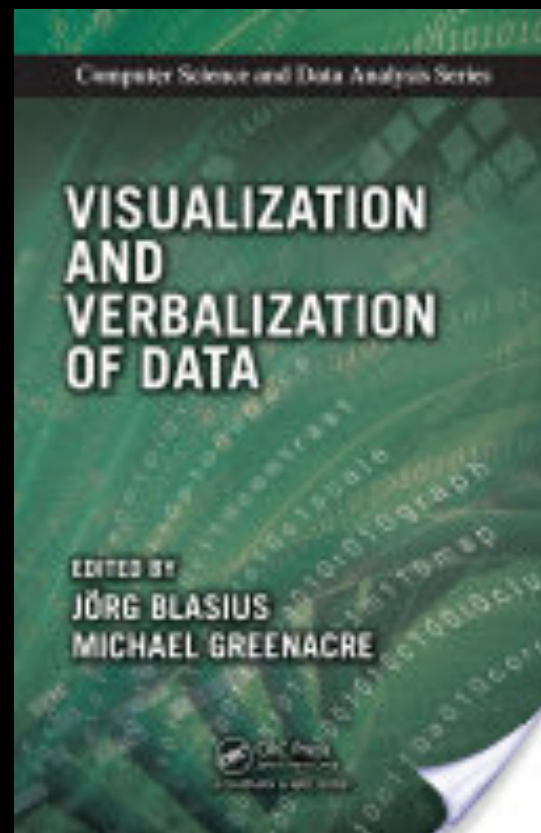
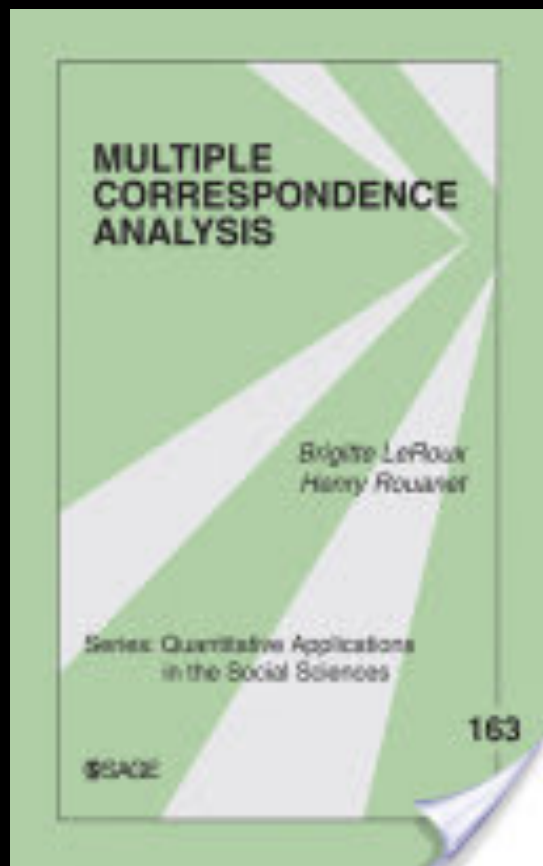


# MCA for thickened data Studies

Put individuals on to Scatterplot for visual analysis

Find out potential relation between variable (categories)

Evaluate the connection between concepts and measurements



# Representative Data for Exploratory Data Analysis

- Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study: Survey of the 2016 Presidential and Legislative Elections (TEDS2016)
- January 17 ~ April 28, 2017 (N=1,690).

# 25 Survey Questions drawn from TEDS2016

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**How closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet?**

**How interested would you say you are in politics?**

**Some people say: “People like me don’t have any say about what the government does”.**

**Some people say: “Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on.”**

**Some people say: “Public officials do not care much about what people like me think.”**

**Some people say: “Most decisions made by the government are correct.”**

**Some people say: “Government officials often waste a lot of money we pay in taxes.”**

When the government decides important policies, do you think “public welfare” is its first priority?

You feel you understand the most important political issues of this country.

Most politicians are trustworthy.

Politicians are the main problem in our country (i.e. Taiwan).

**Having a strong leader in government is good for our country even if the leader bends the rules to get things done.**

The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.

Most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful.



Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of the economy in Taiwan has gotten much better, gotten somewhat better, stayed about the same, gotten somewhat worse, or gotten much worse?

Would you say that in the forthcoming year, the state of the economy of Taiwan will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?

**Different people have different opinions about voting. Some people think that voting is a responsibility, and you should vote even if you don't like any of the candidates or parties. Other people think that it is all right to vote or not to vote, and the decision depends on how you feel about the candidates or parties. Do you think that voting is a responsibility, or do you think that it is all right either to vote or not to vote?**

**Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?**

**1 Democracy is preferable to any other kind of regime; 2 In some circumstances, an authoritarian regime – a dictatorship can be preferable to a democratic system.**

**3 For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of regime we have.**

**Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a big difference to what happens. Where would you place yourself? (a 5-point scale)**

In Taiwan, some people think they are Taiwanese. There are also some people who think that they are Chinese. Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese or both?

Do you believe that cross-Strait relations will become warmer, more tense, or remain unchanged?

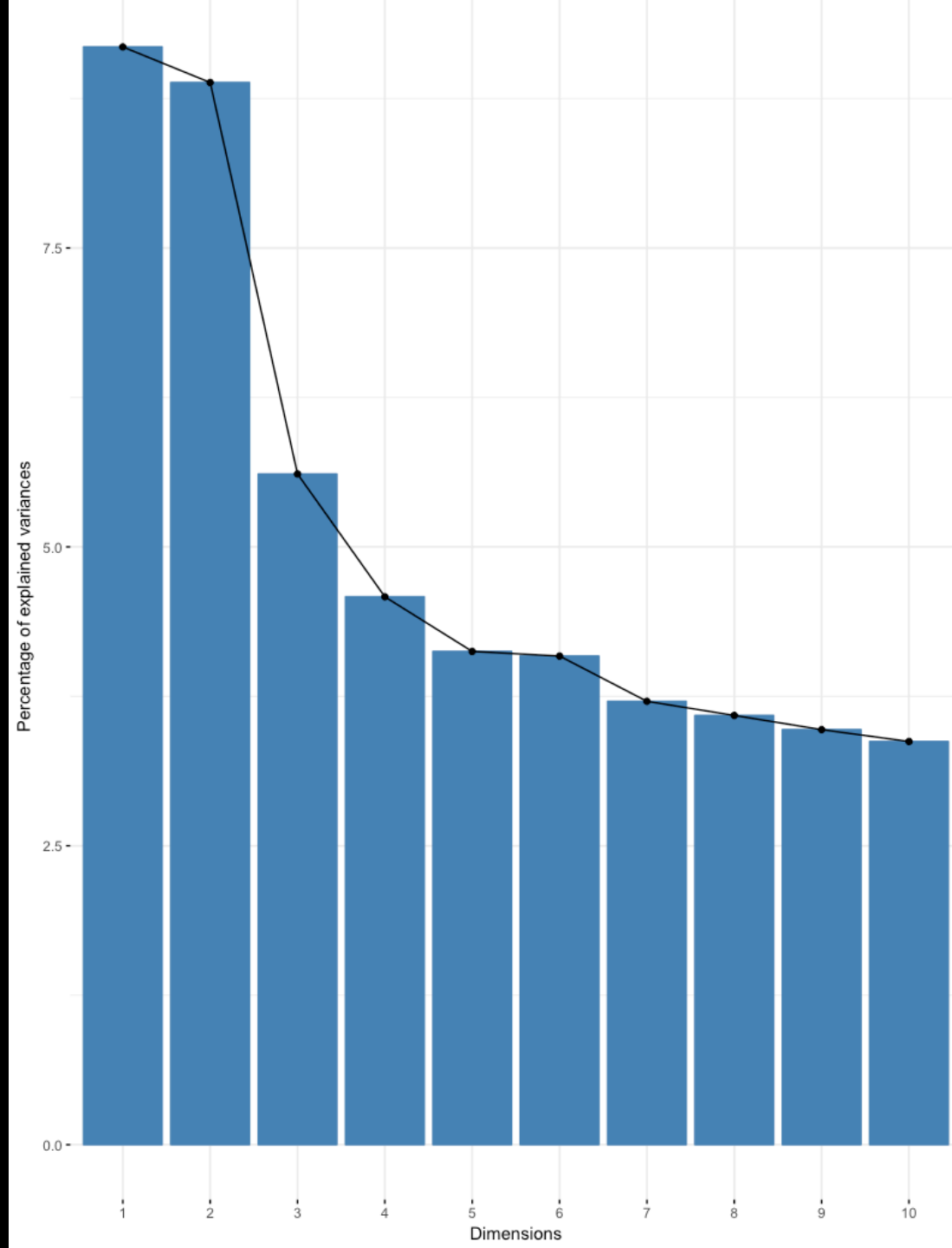
I like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. The first party is KMT. (a 10-point scale)

Using the same scale, where would you place, DPP?

Q1. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party?

Q1a. Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?

Two factors / latent variables emerge from the combination of the set of the 25 survey questions.



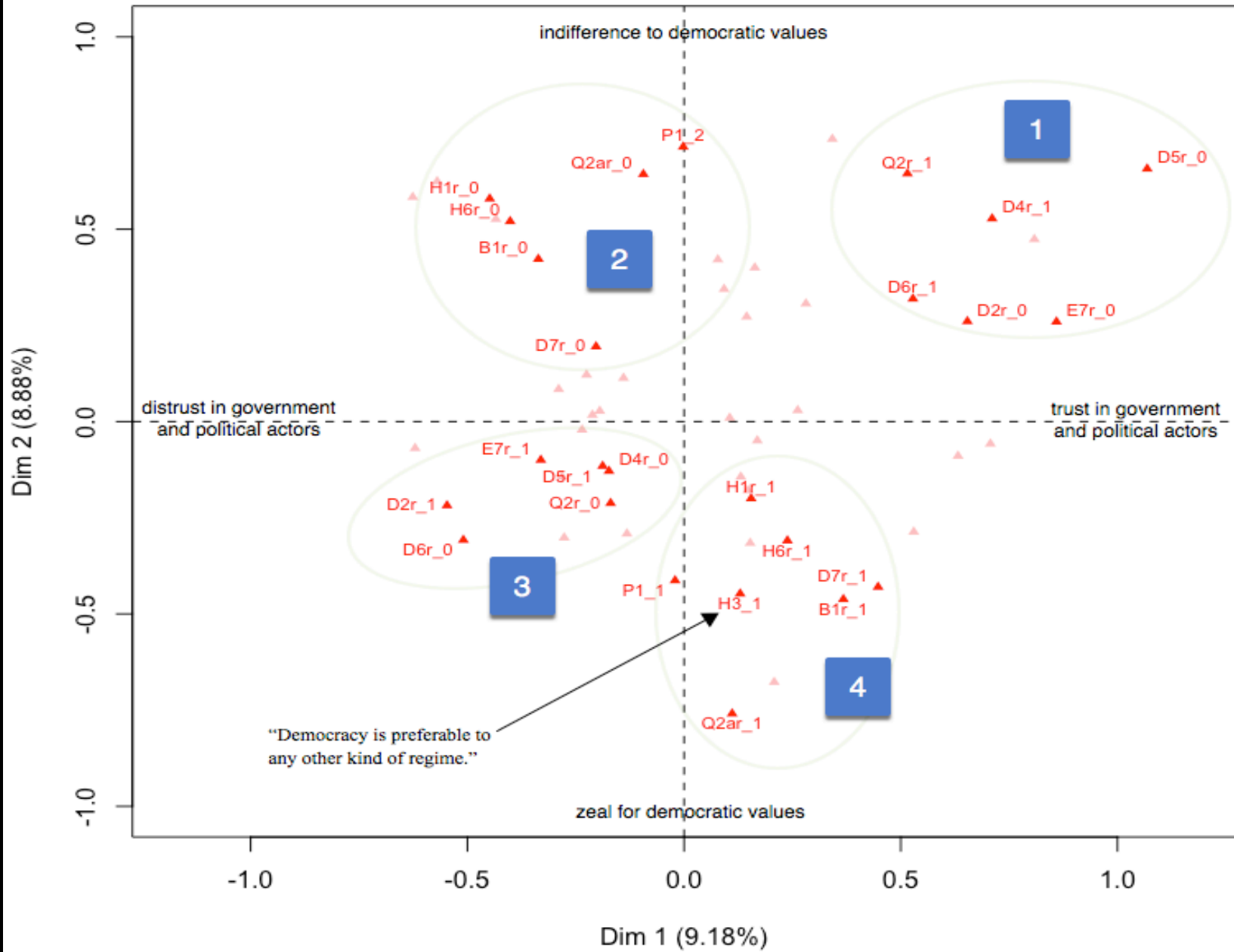
# Major Components of “Trust in Government” (X-axis)

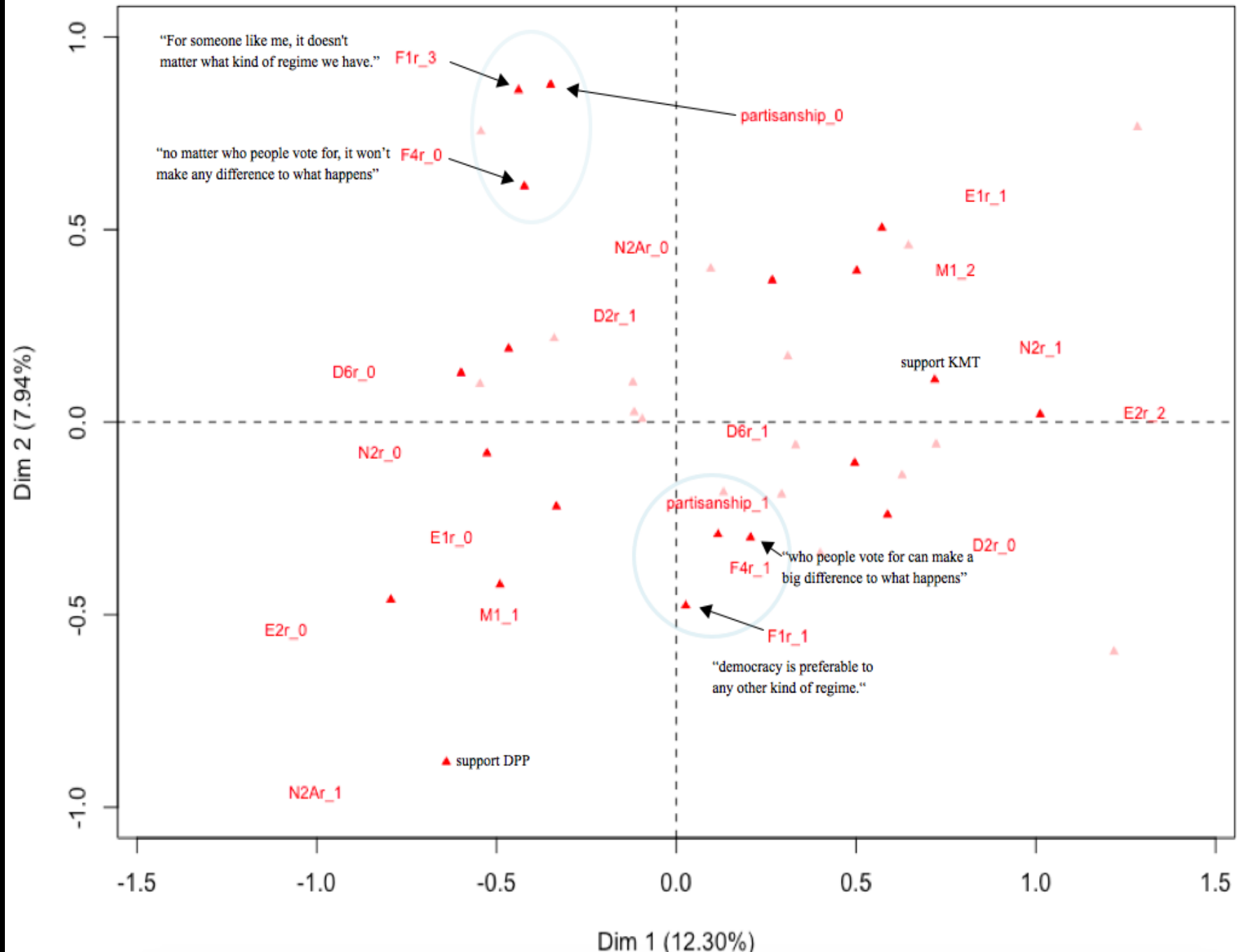
- (dis)trust of politicians
  - “most politicians care only about the interests of the rich and powerful”
  - “politicians are the main problem in our country”
  - “most politicians are trustworthy”
- (dis)trust of public officials
  - “public officials do not care much about what people like me think”
  - “government officials often waste a lot of money we pay in taxes”
- (dis)trust in government
- political self-efficacy
- political interest

# Major Components of “Zeal for Democracy” (Y-axis)

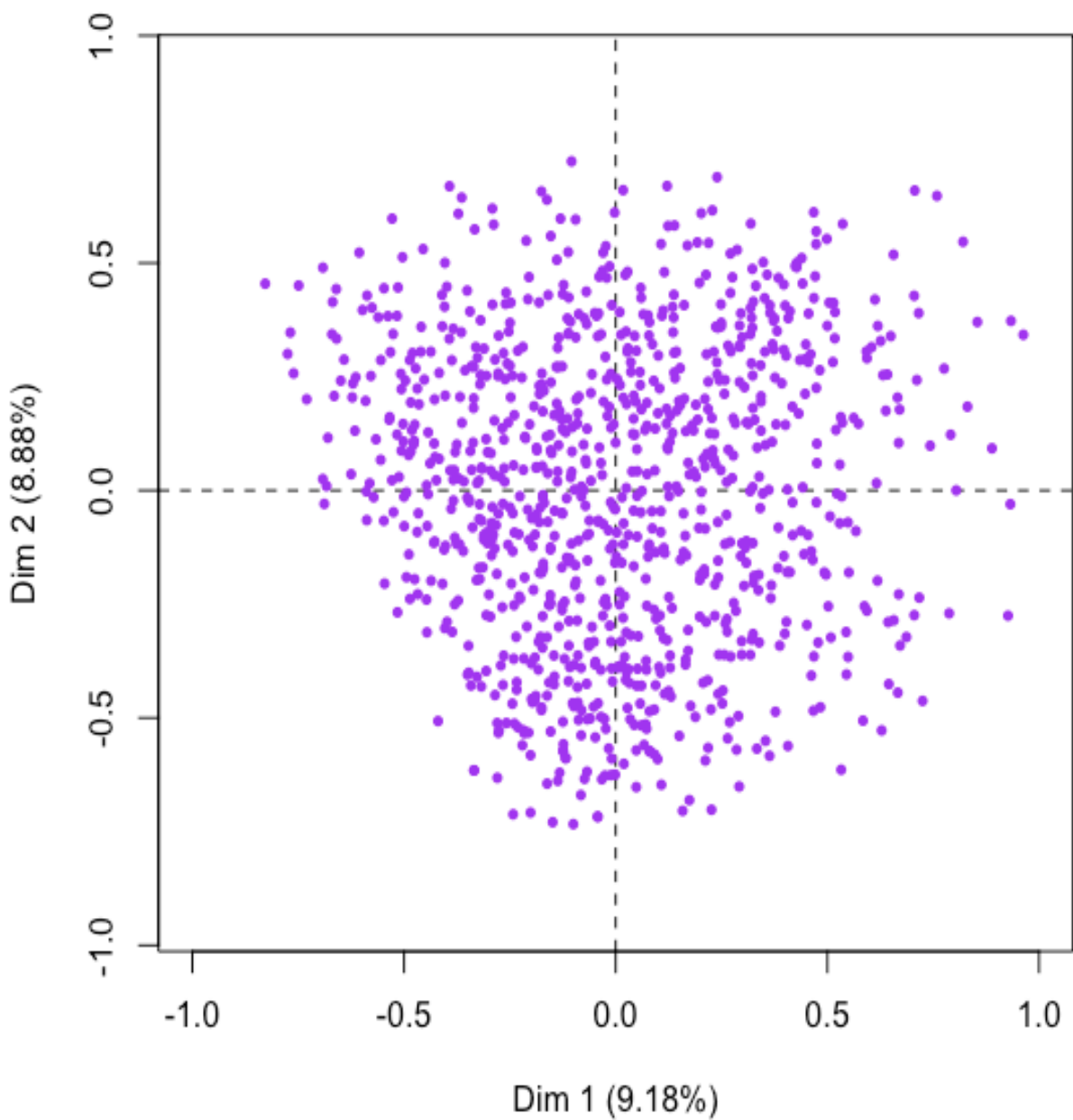
- Party identification with the DPP or KMT
- ethnic identity
- prospective views about economy
- democracy as a preferable regime
- voting matters
- voting as a responsibility
- interest in politics



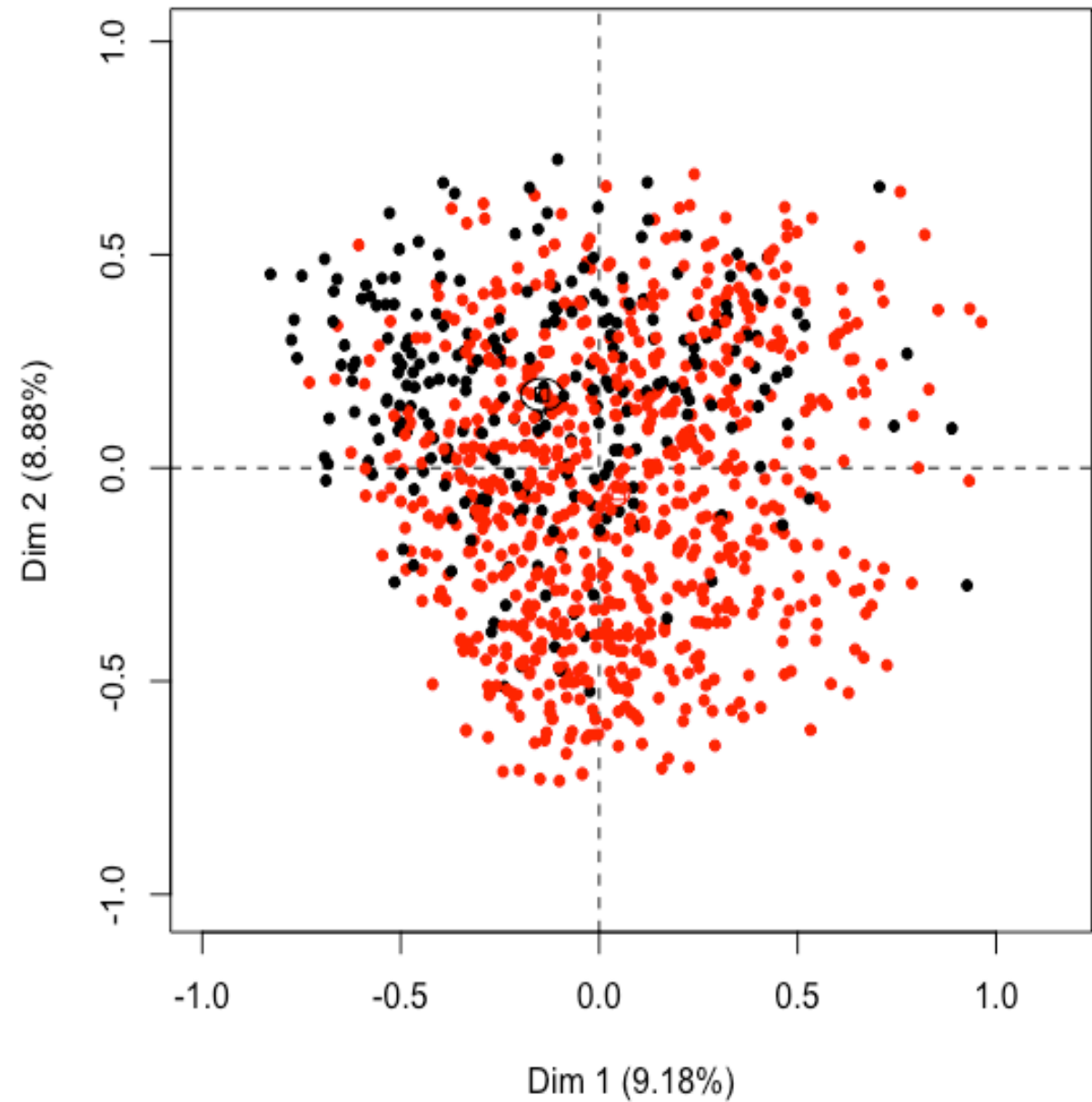




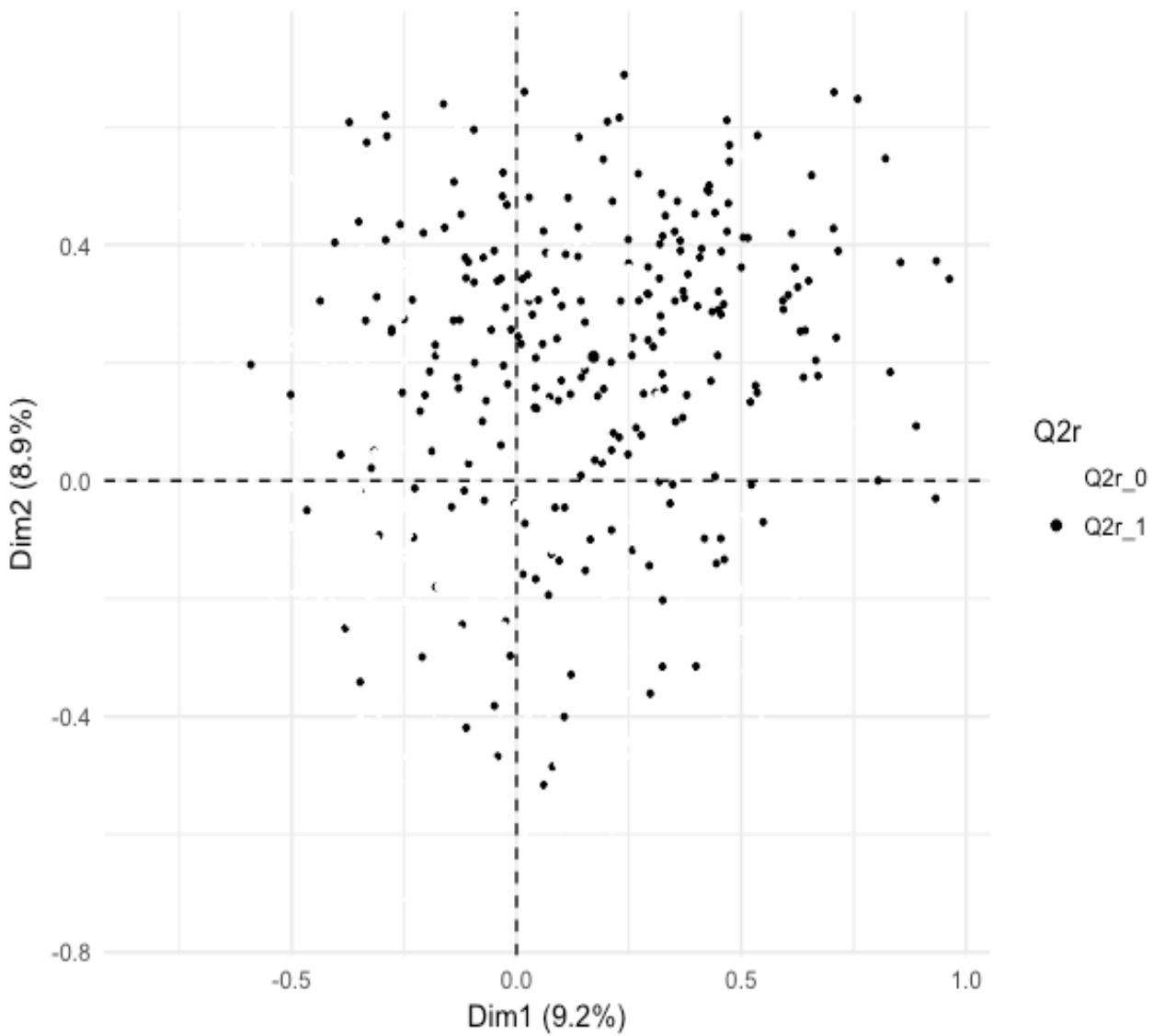
all repondents



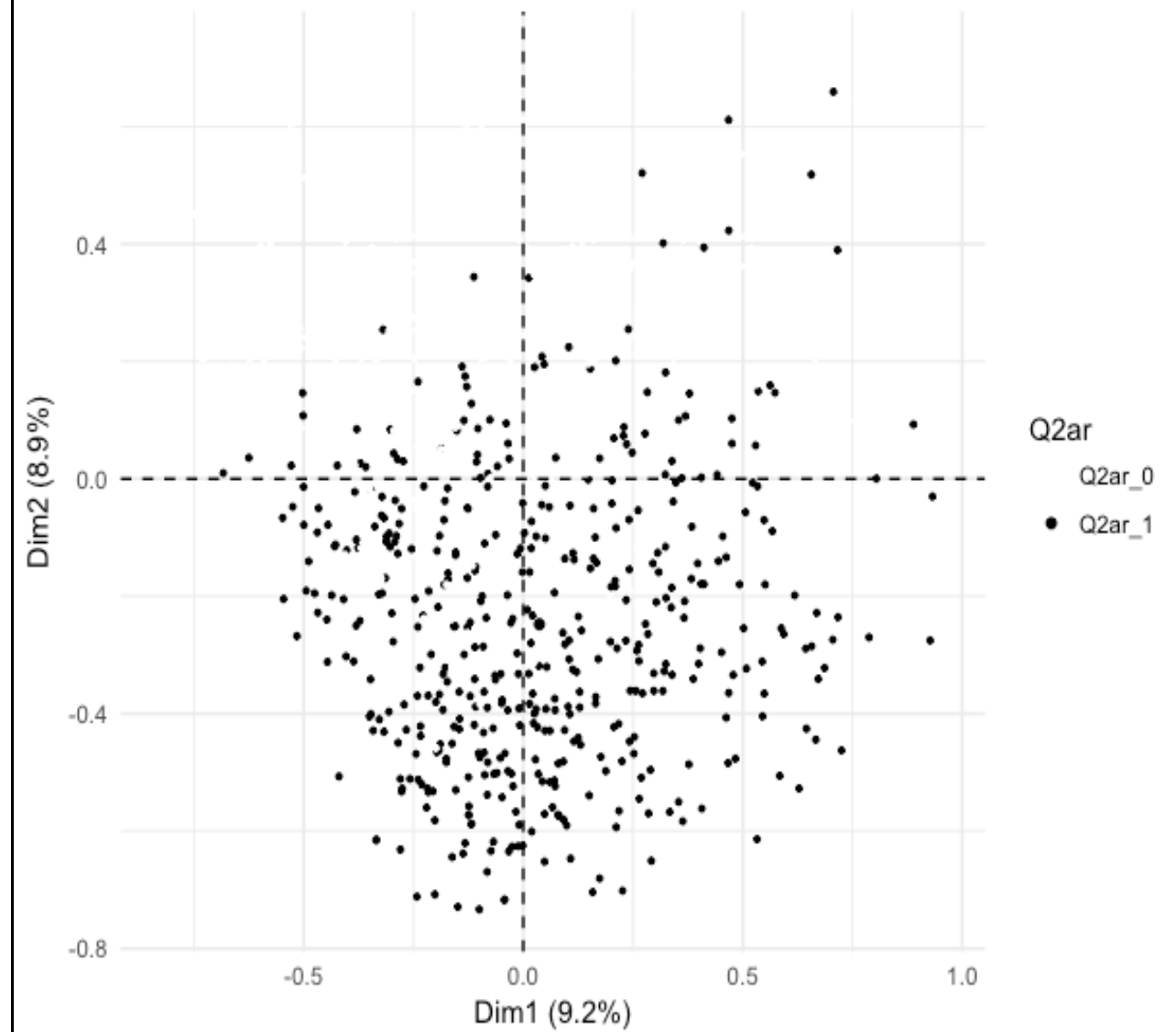
non-partisans vs. partisans



KMT supporters



DPP supporters

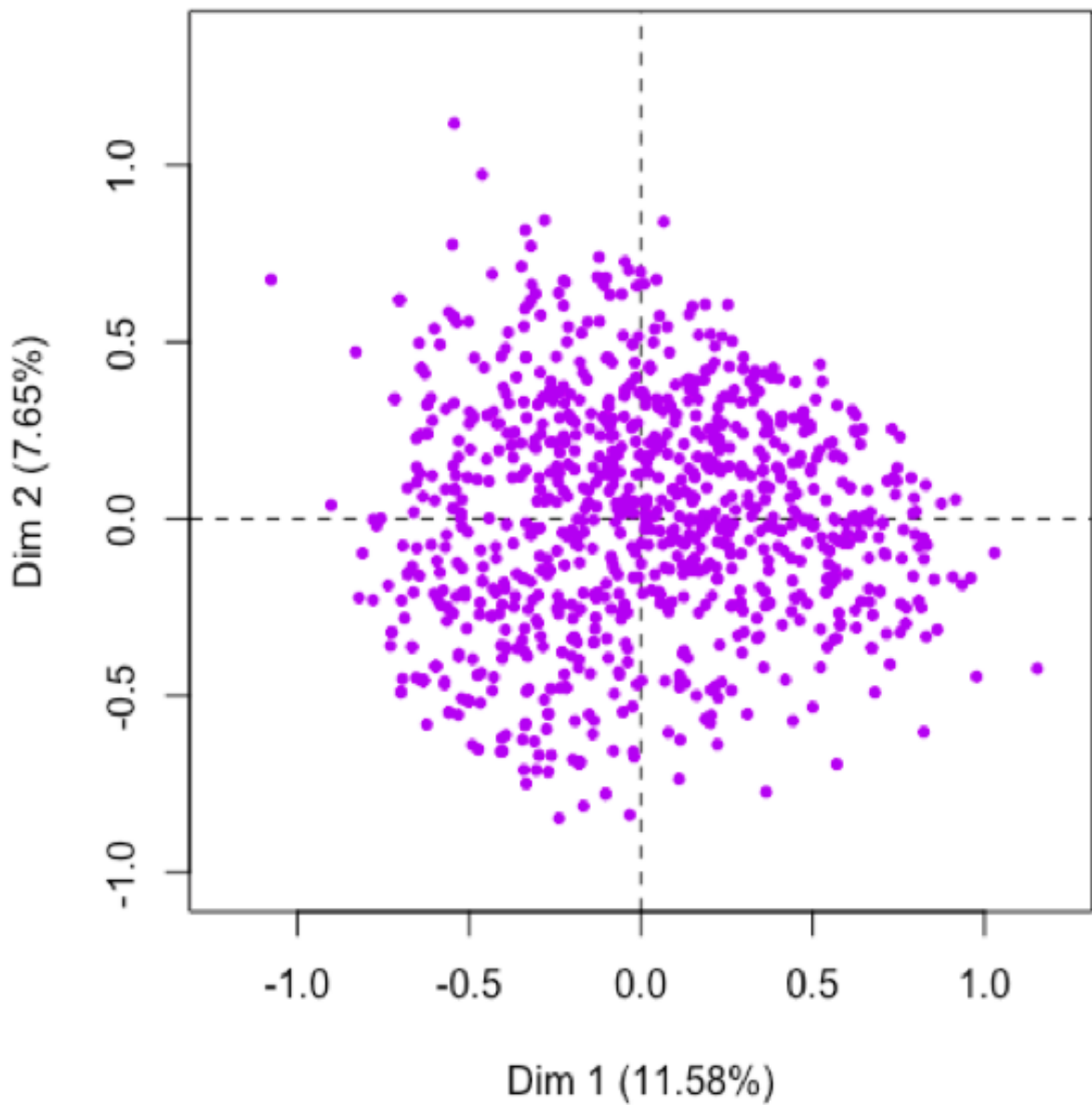


# Data for 2nd Stage Exploratory Data Analysis

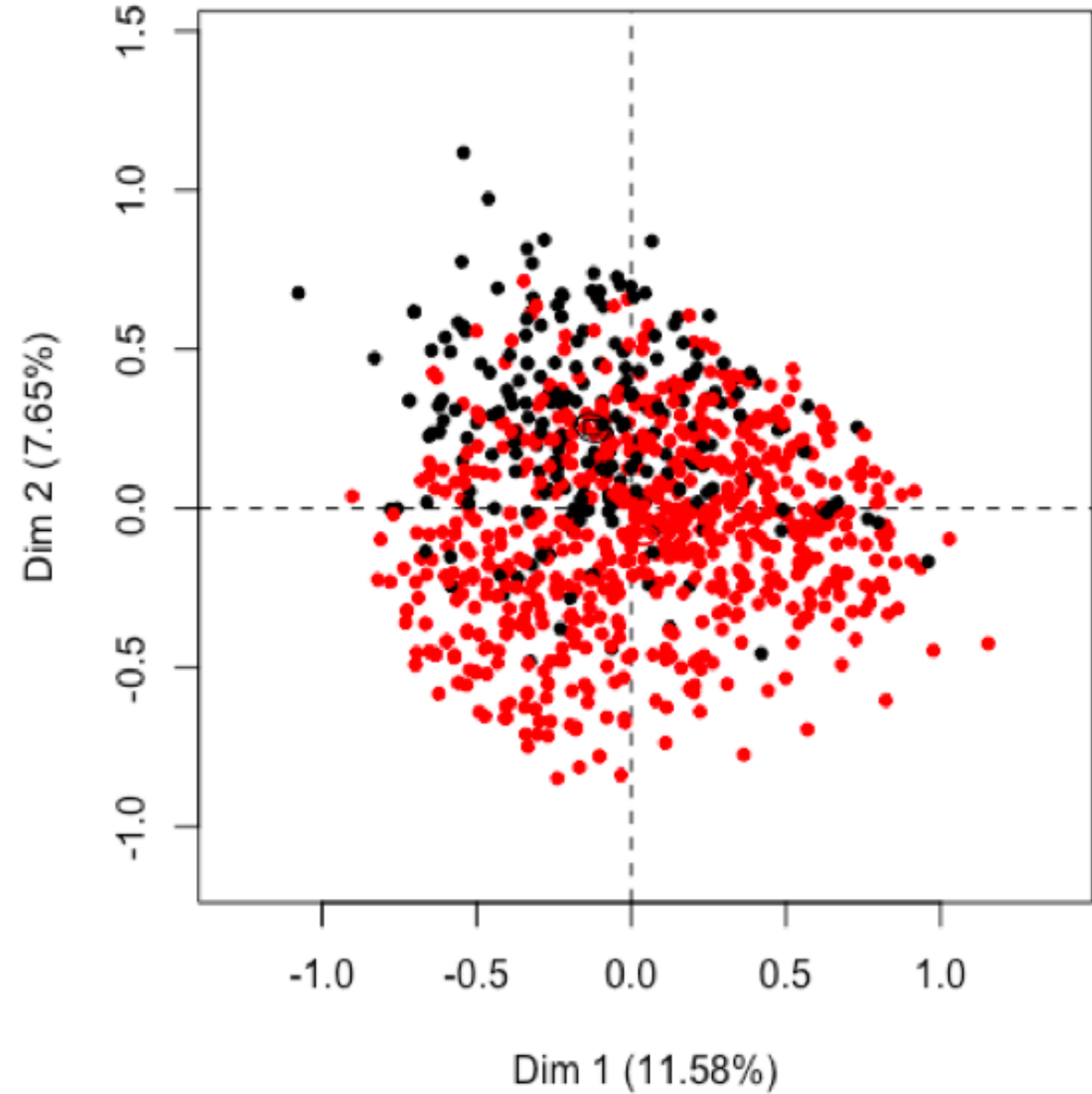
- Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study:  
Survey of the 2018 Presidential Election  
(**TEDS2008P**)
- June 17 ~ August 12, 2008 (N=1,905).
- Yes, it is a representative sample.
- 16 questions drawn to match TEDS2016



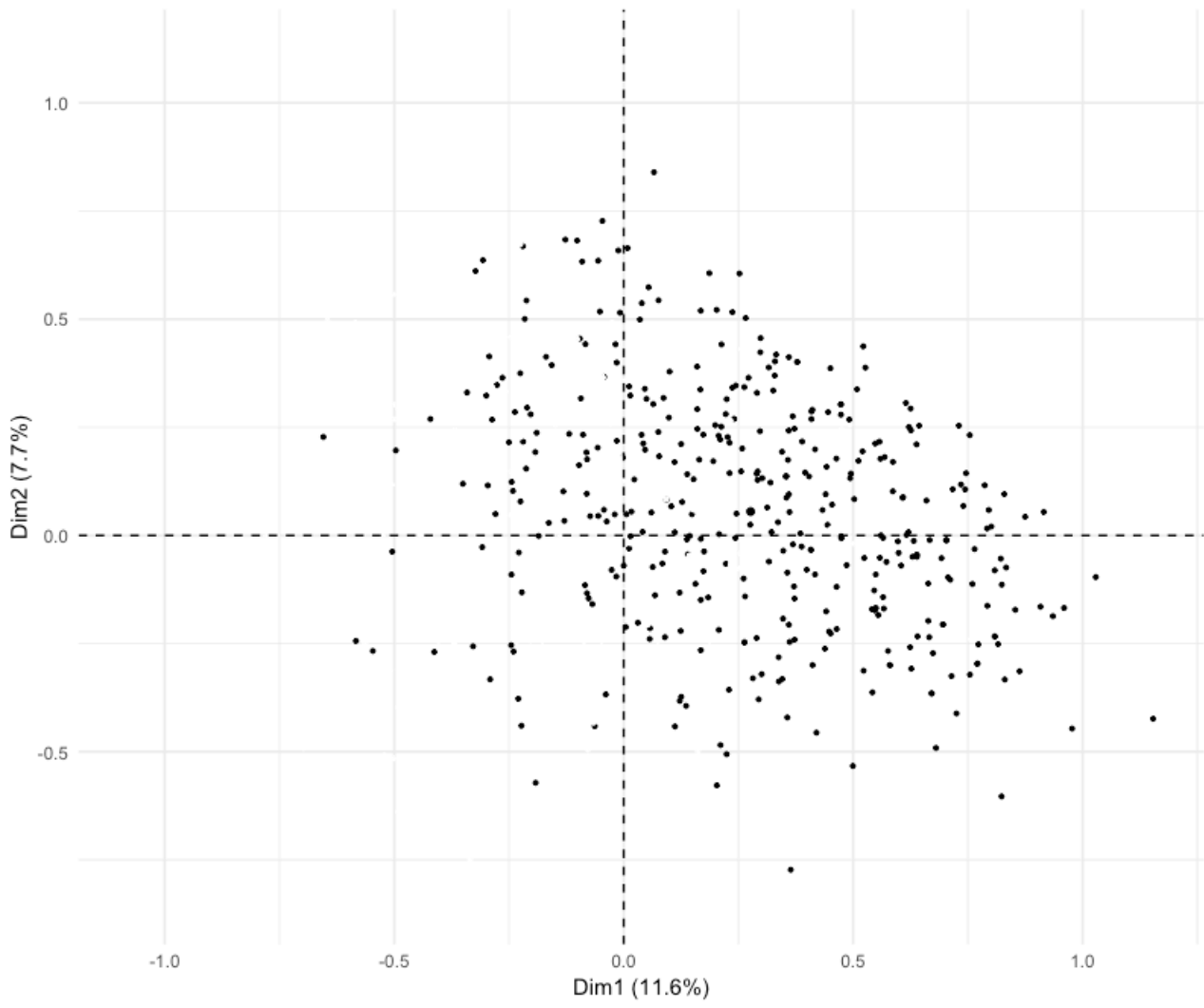
all repondents



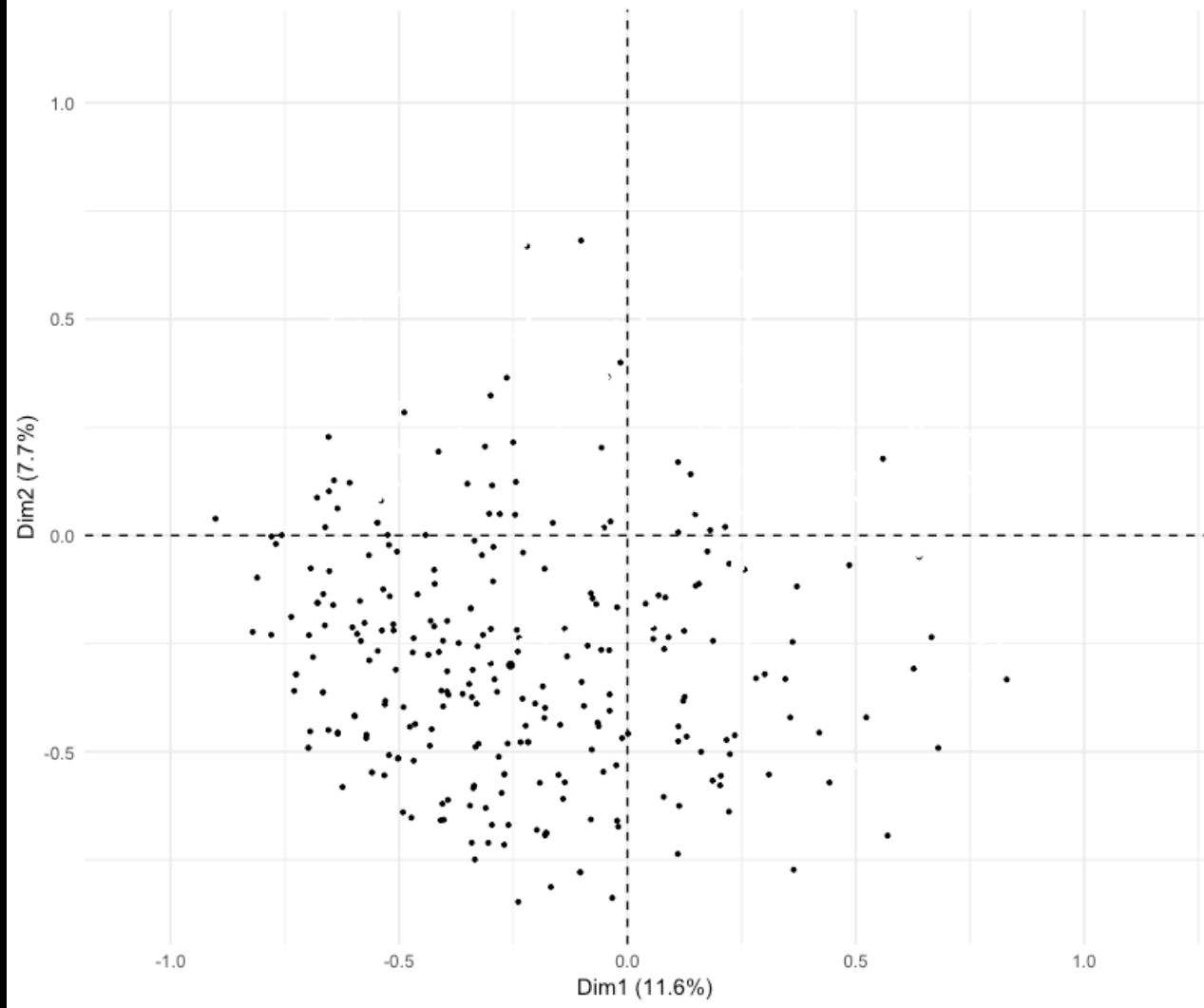
non-partisans vs. partisans



KMT supporters



DPP supporters



我們致力於讓民調更具活力與意義  
“Quickly and Precisely”  
網路生活調查專家

# 微笑小熊調查小棧 smilepoll.tw

- Since 2012
- Member >8,000
- 3 to 4 surveys per month
- 800 to 1,200 respondents for each survey
- Web panel for EDA and experiments

## 進行中的訪問

「小熊有約：邁向新公投元年」

戀夏物語行不行

找回「字」信心

目前進行中的訪問	
名稱	狀態
「小熊有約：邁向新公投元年」	進行中
戀夏物語行不行	已結束
找回「字」信心	已結束

問卷：「小熊有約：邁向新公投元年」

453

2018-09-26

經過政府與民間的努力，2018年底的地方選舉，「新公投法」將正式上路。11月24日將有多項公投案和年底的九合一選舉一併舉行。您對這個「台灣新



## 最新消息

公告 5515

問卷 07-30 2018 填卷抽獎：暑在受不了

抽獎 07-26 2018 活動抽獎結果揭曉！

抽獎 07-25 2018 活動抽獎結果揭曉！

活動 07-23 2018 會員活動：老爸！好Young的！

問卷 07-23 2018 填卷抽獎：新奇玩具大蒐羅

抽獎 07-16 2018 活動抽獎結果揭曉！

抽獎 07-11 2018 活動抽獎結果揭曉！

## 待填問卷

待填問卷 加入會員

填卷抽獎 填卷積點

暑在受不了 抽獎日 2018-08-28 20

新奇玩具大蒐羅 抽獎日 2018-08-21 20

選舉前哨站 抽獎日 2018-08-07 30

## 目前會員活動

會員抽獎 加入會員

老爸！好Young的！

抽獎日 2018-08-07 30

App Interface

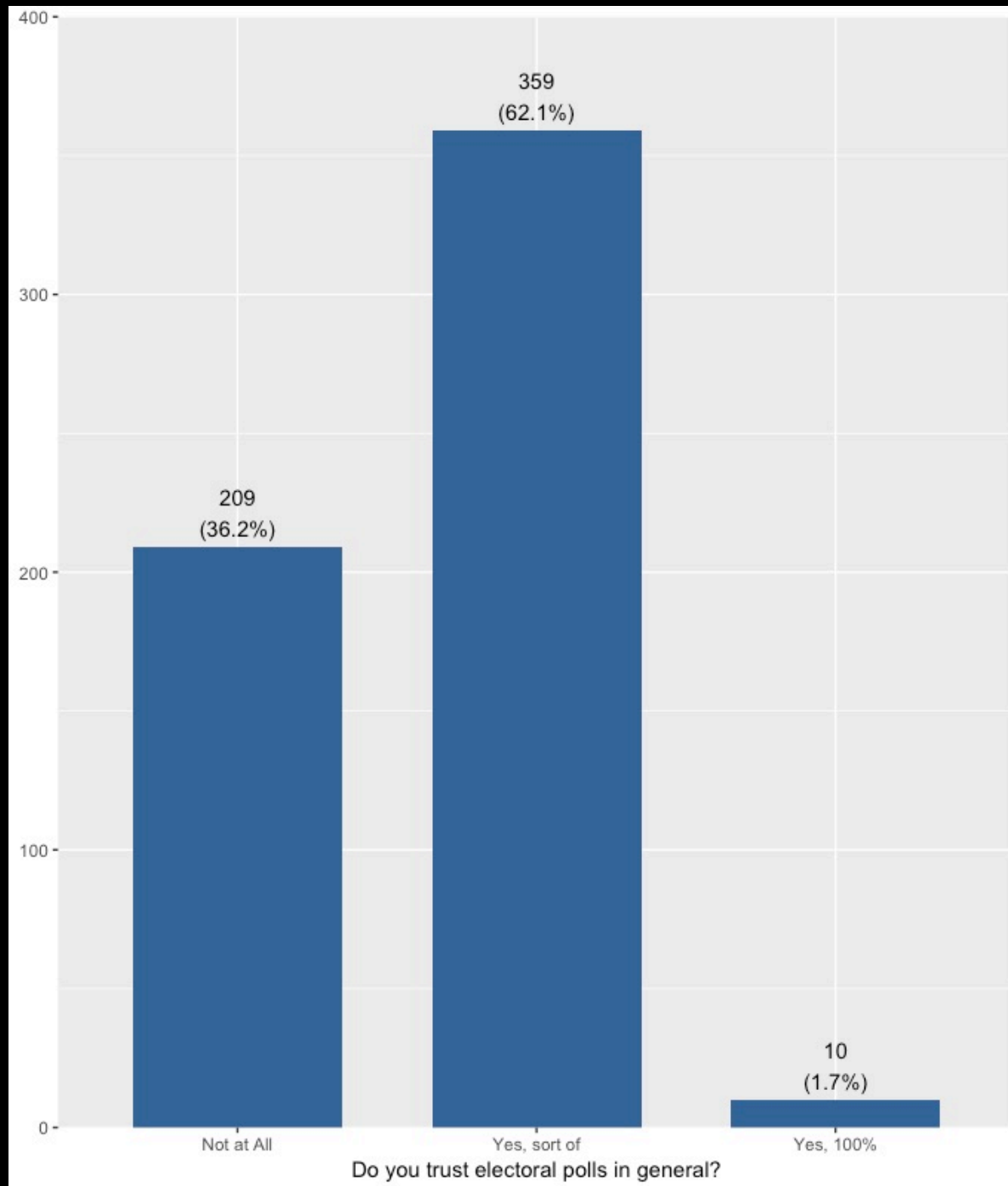
# Web Sample Nov. 11~29, 2016

受訪者人口學變項分佈 Demographics

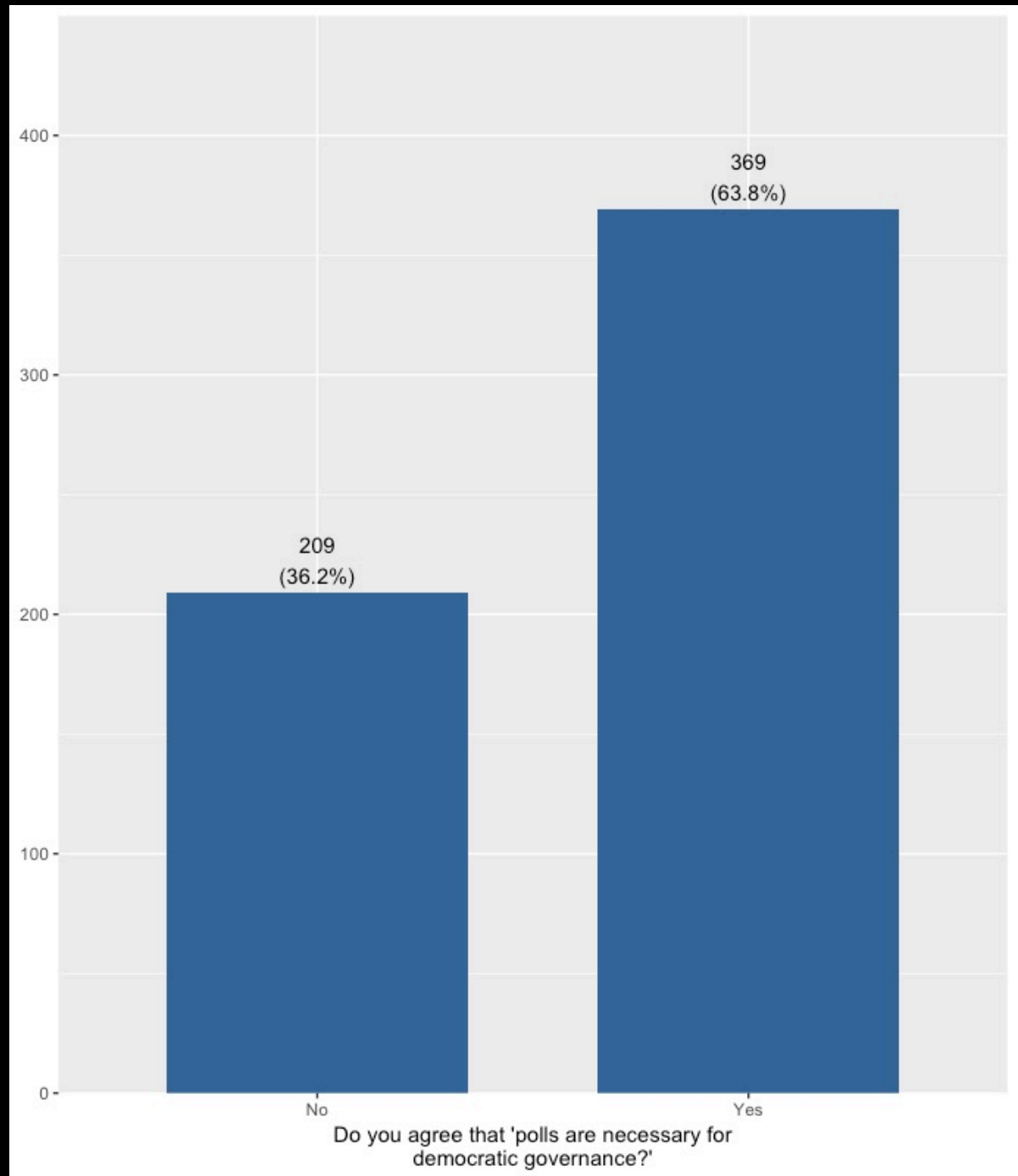
百分比	性別 gender			年齡 Age							total 總人數
	M 男性	F 女性	社會 性別	<20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	>60	NA 未答	
%	43.9	48.8	7.3	5.7	38.1	30.8	17	5.5	2.6	0.3	578

百分比	戶籍地區 Residence Areas						total 總人數
	北部 N	中部 C	南部 S	東部 E	其他 rest	未答 NA	
%	36	19.4	28.3	2.6	2.1	11.6	578

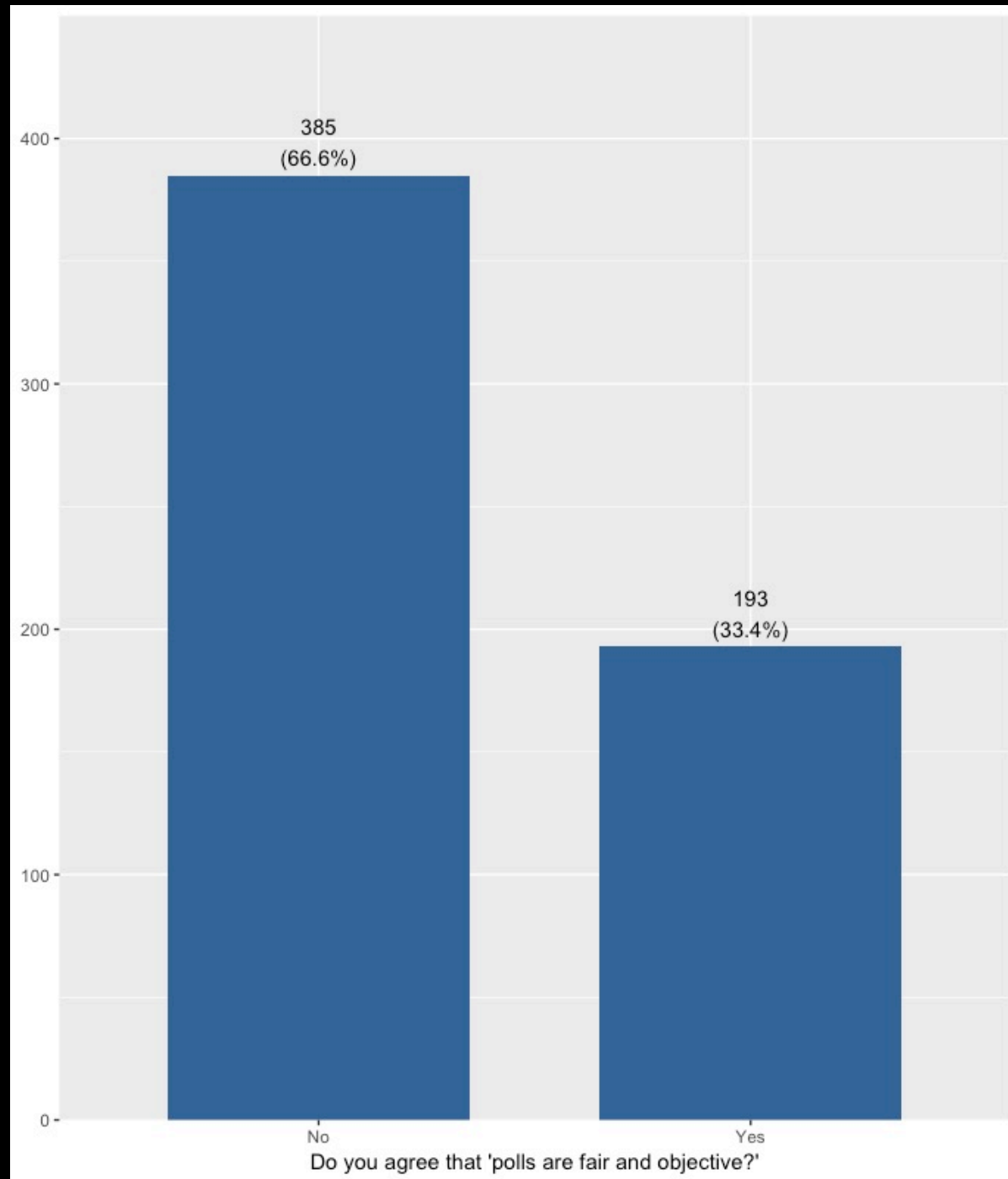
Polls seem to  
be trusted...



and necessary for  
democracy

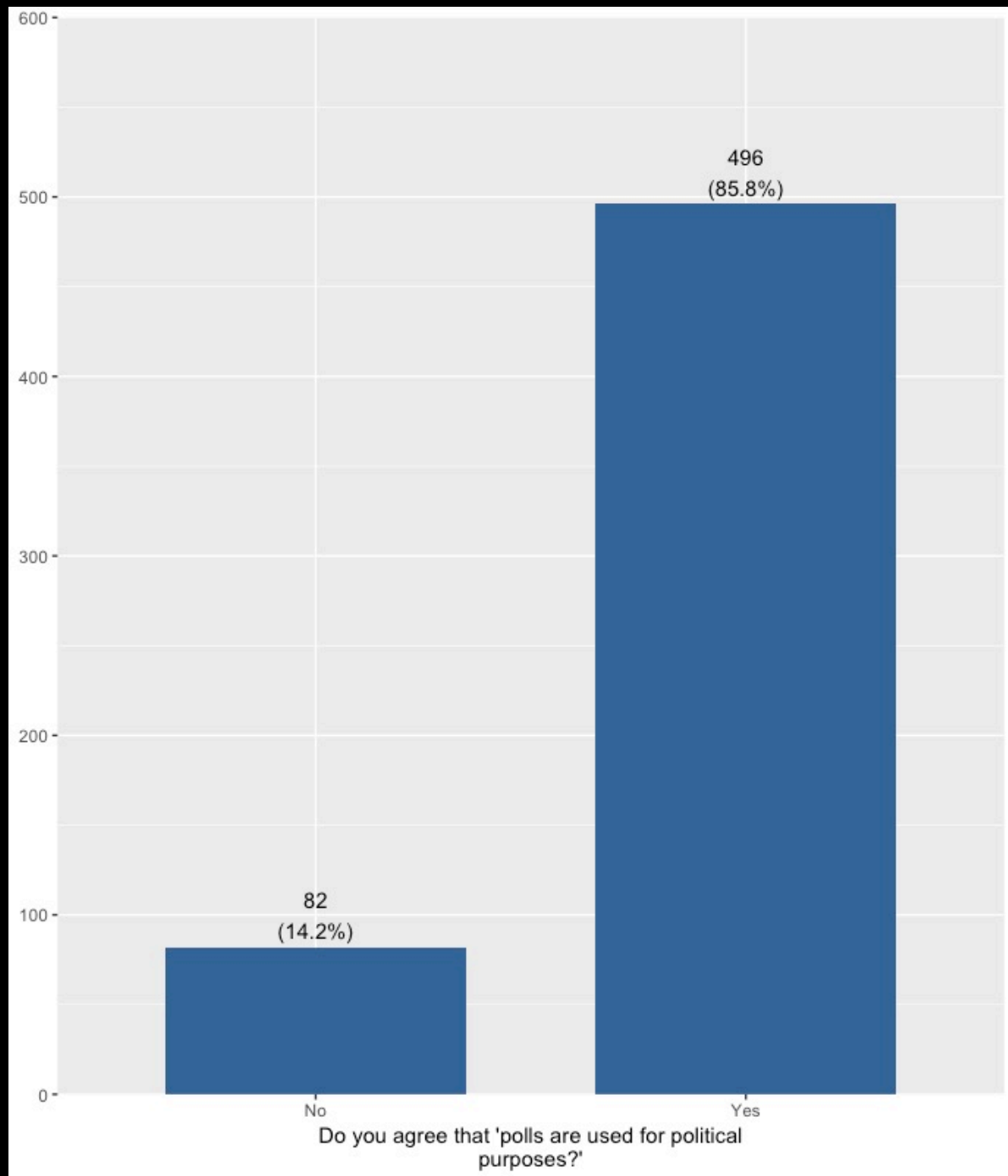


But they are not  
seen fair and  
objective...





Polls are  
political.

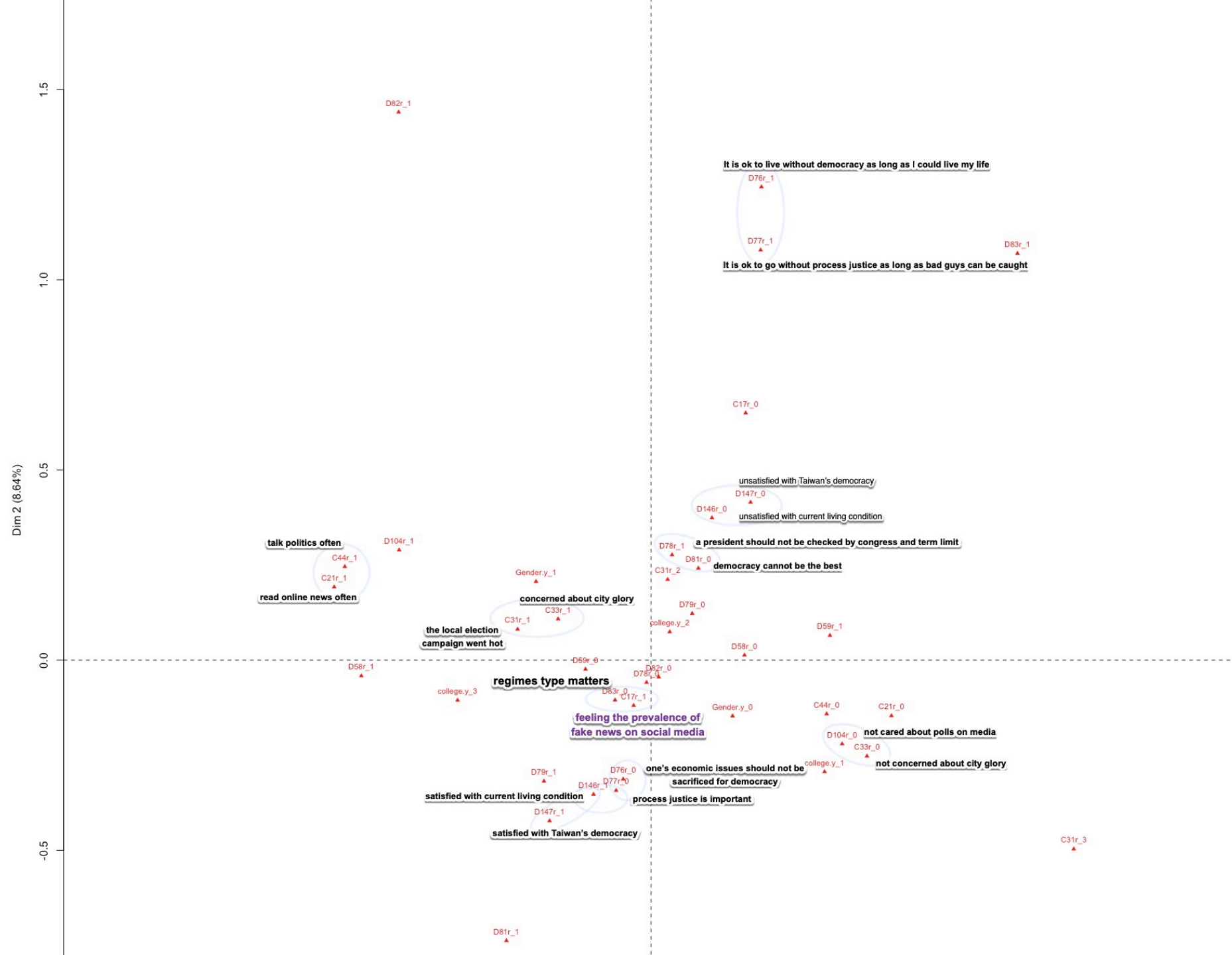


Web Panel  
Data for  
Exploratory  
Data Analysis

C: 2018.10.29 ~ 11.20,  
N=1,378 (74%)

D: 2019.01.21 ~ 2019.02.19,  
N=1,297 (78%)

C+D, N=690



# Tentative Conclusion

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- Partisan' polarization has taken shape
  - It is not about democracy vs. anti-democracy
  - It is about pro-democracy vs. pro-trusting political institutions
- Indifference to politics is associated with indifference to democracy
- Misinformation about this pattern could lead to social polarization
- One's awareness of fake news prevalence is associated with concerned about democracy.

# Discussion

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# Populism yet?

Think about KMT supporters' value other than democracy.

# Beijing's role in Taiwan's partisan competition

KMT supporters' perception about efficient government vs. democratic government

# Exploratory data analysis approach for theory development

Data-assisted meaning netting (DAMN)





# moral value competition for 2020

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A president with charismatic leadership vs. a president emphasizing democracy values



“We need to protect our democracy!”

vs.

“We want to follow a patriotic leader!”

The battle will be parties’ calls for their own moral voters, not for independent voters.





# Future Studies

Robustness check with more constructed datasets

Creative variables + MCA for more meanings

cross-national comparison for theory development

# Reference

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collect data with smilepoll.tw:  
littlesmilebear@gmail.com

Smilepoll.tw



iOS App



Android App

