

Democratic Hope?

How Taiwanese Partisans and Non-partisans Perceive the Function of Democracy

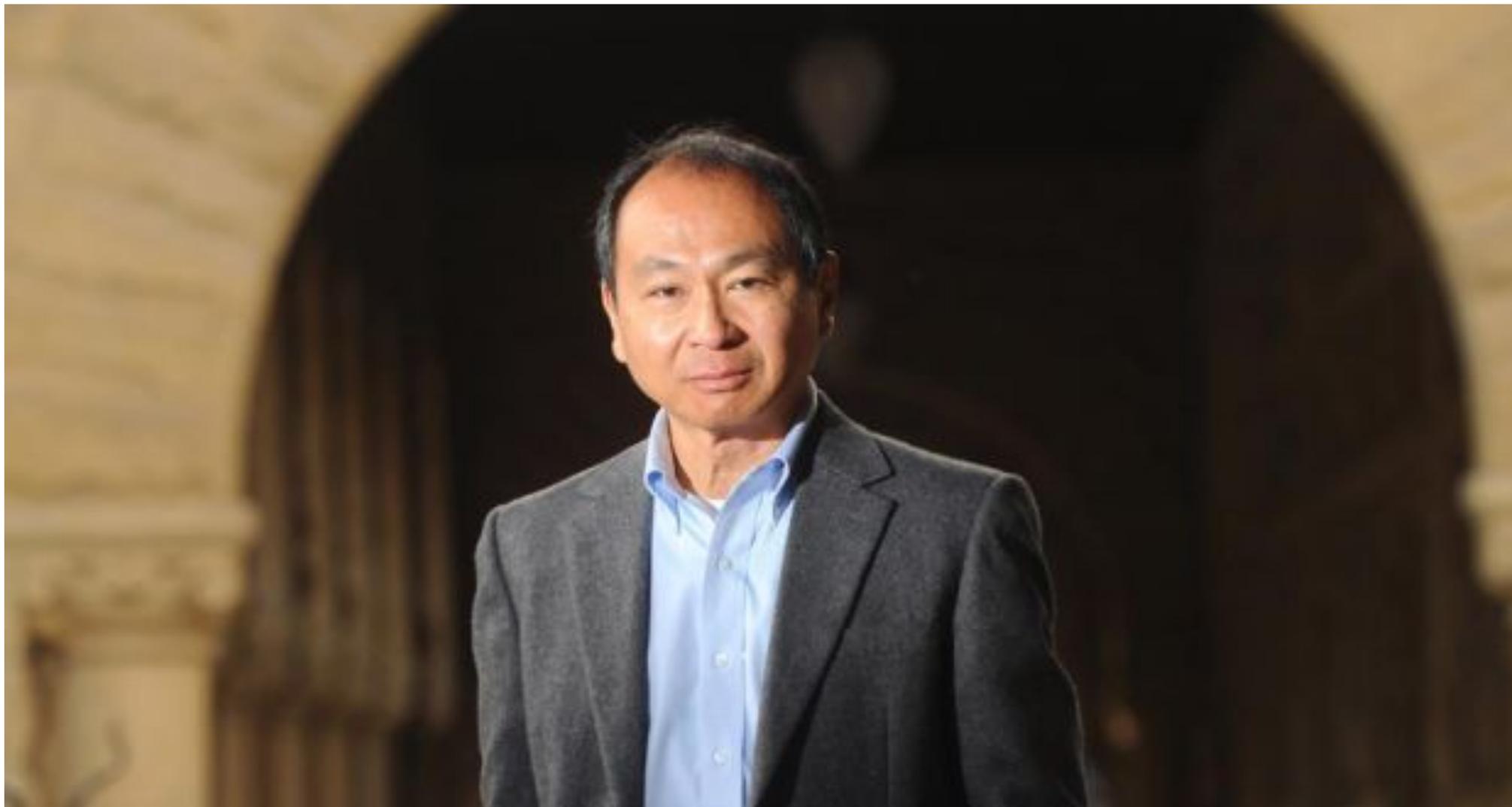
Cheng-shan (Frank) Liu

NSYSU, Taiwan

September 23, 2017

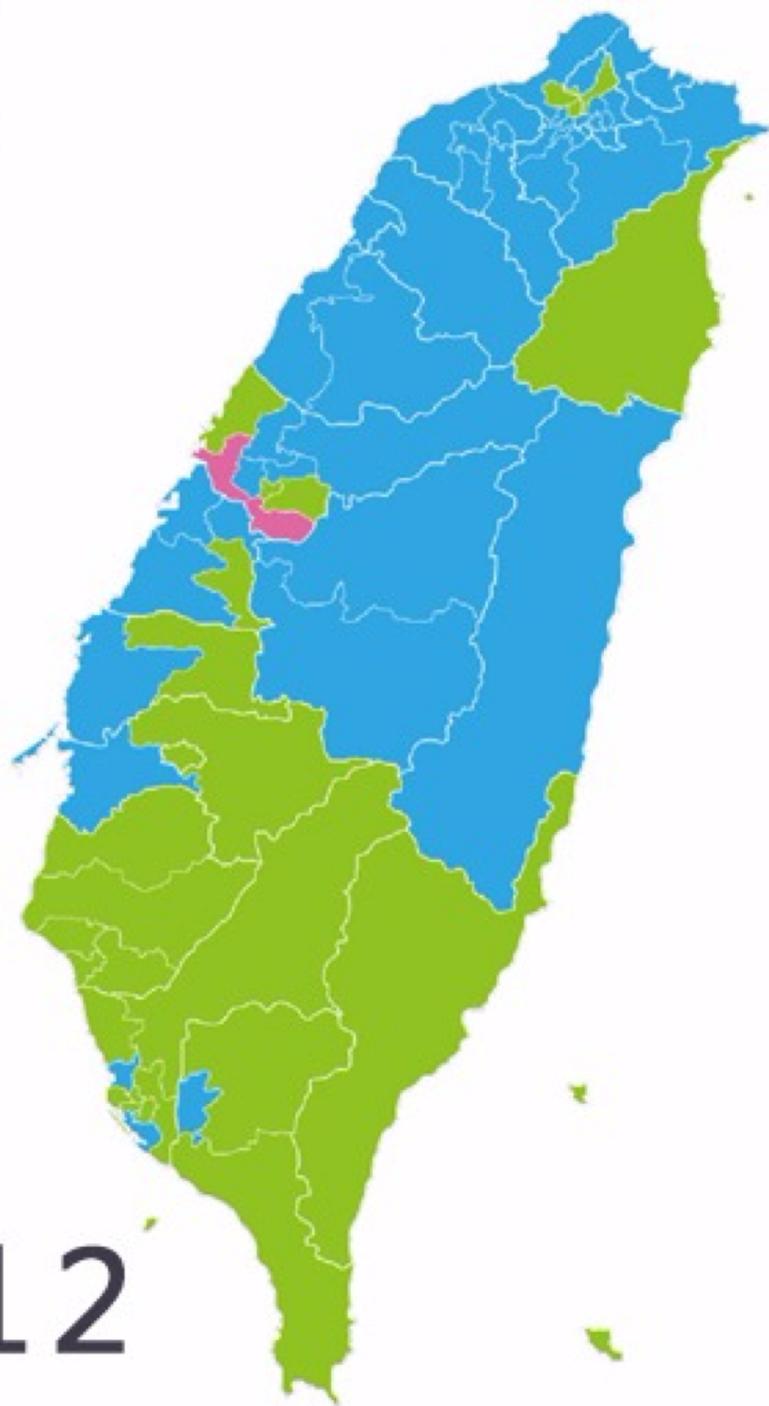
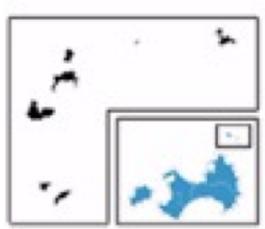
JPSA @ 法政大学市ヶ谷キャンパス

Francis Fukuyama (1992, 1995, 2012, 2014)

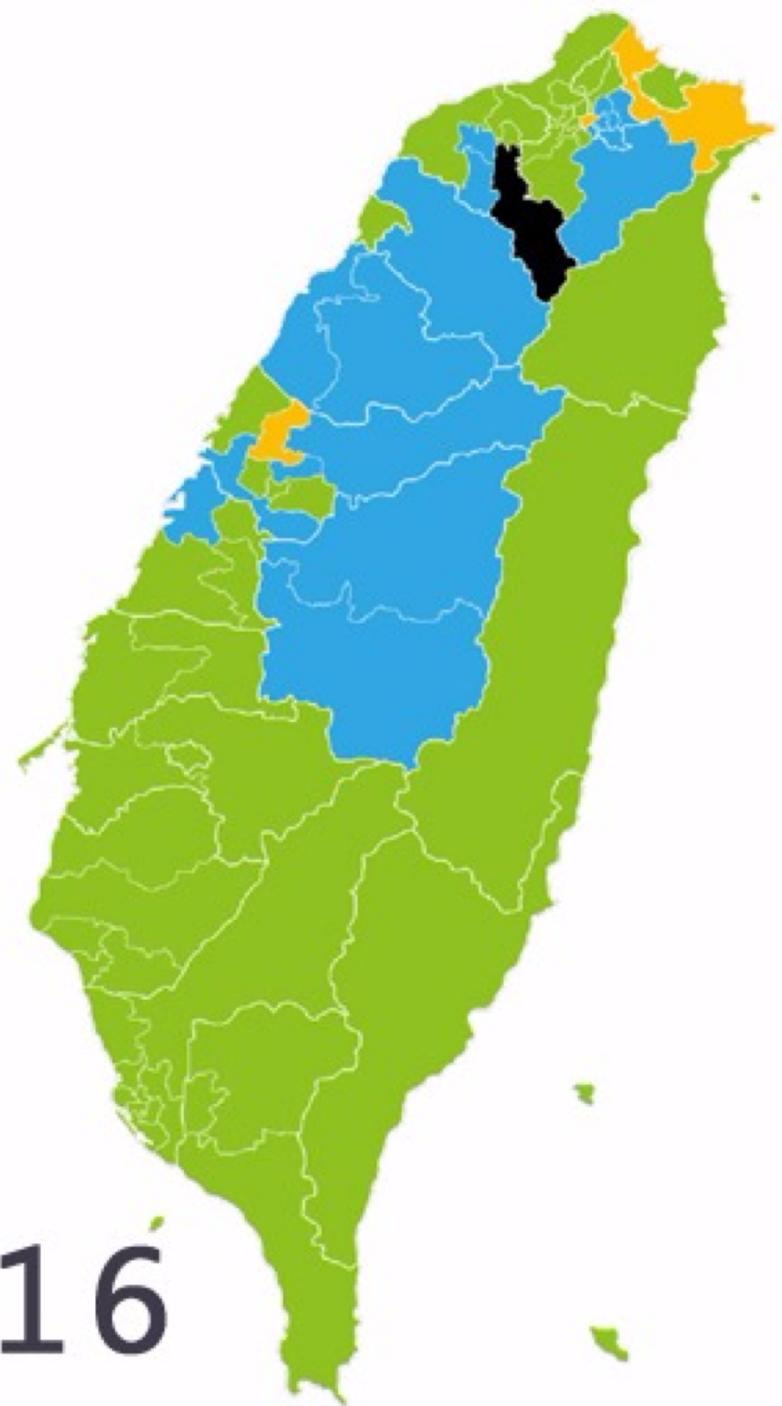
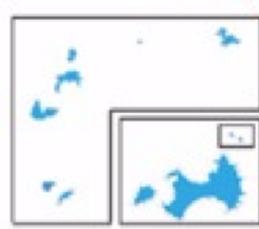


How to examine the health of democracy
at a micro / citizen level?

Can democracy be the cause of its own destruction?

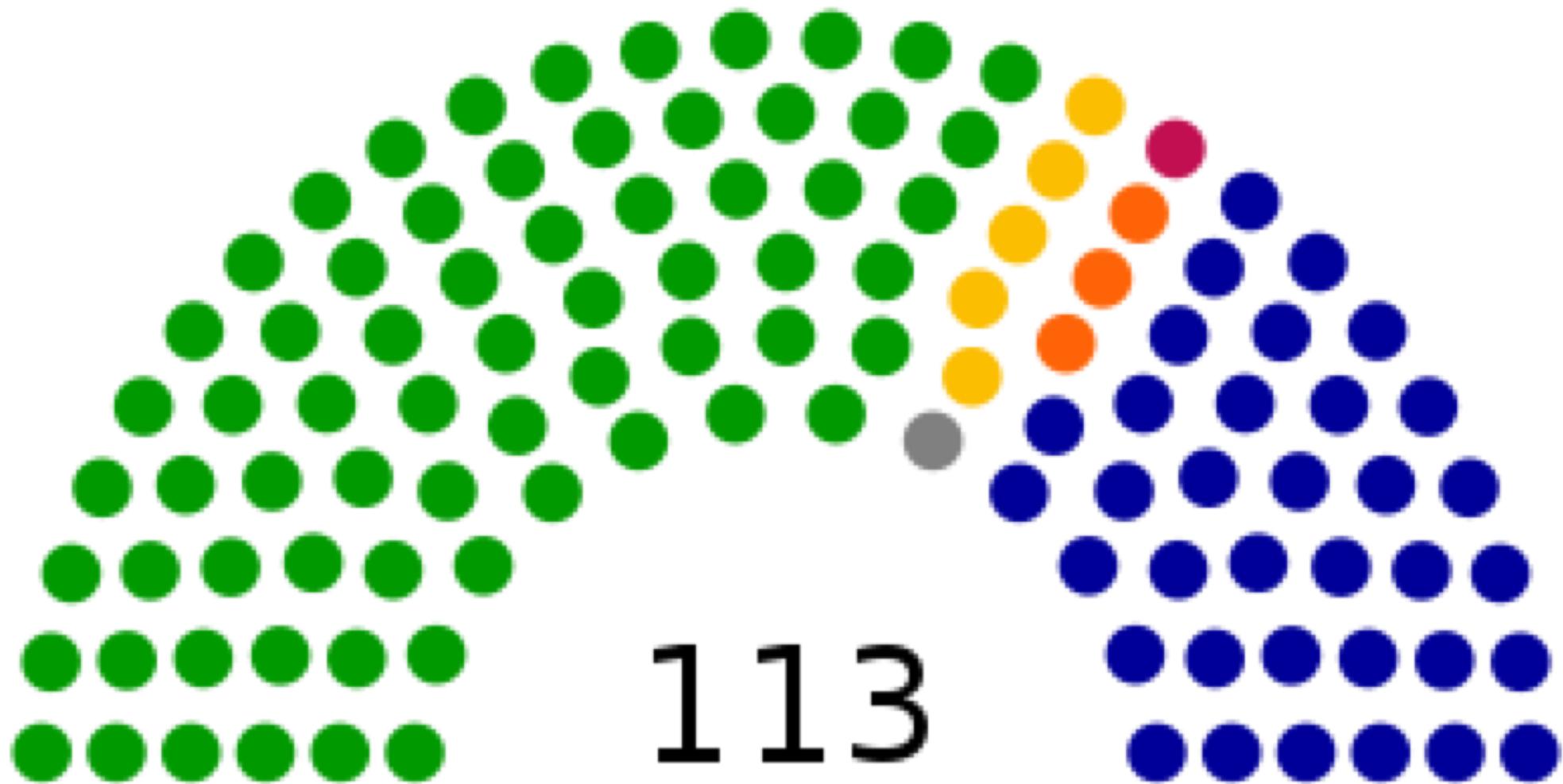


2012



2016

DPP vs. KMT (2016)



民主時代

影像紀展

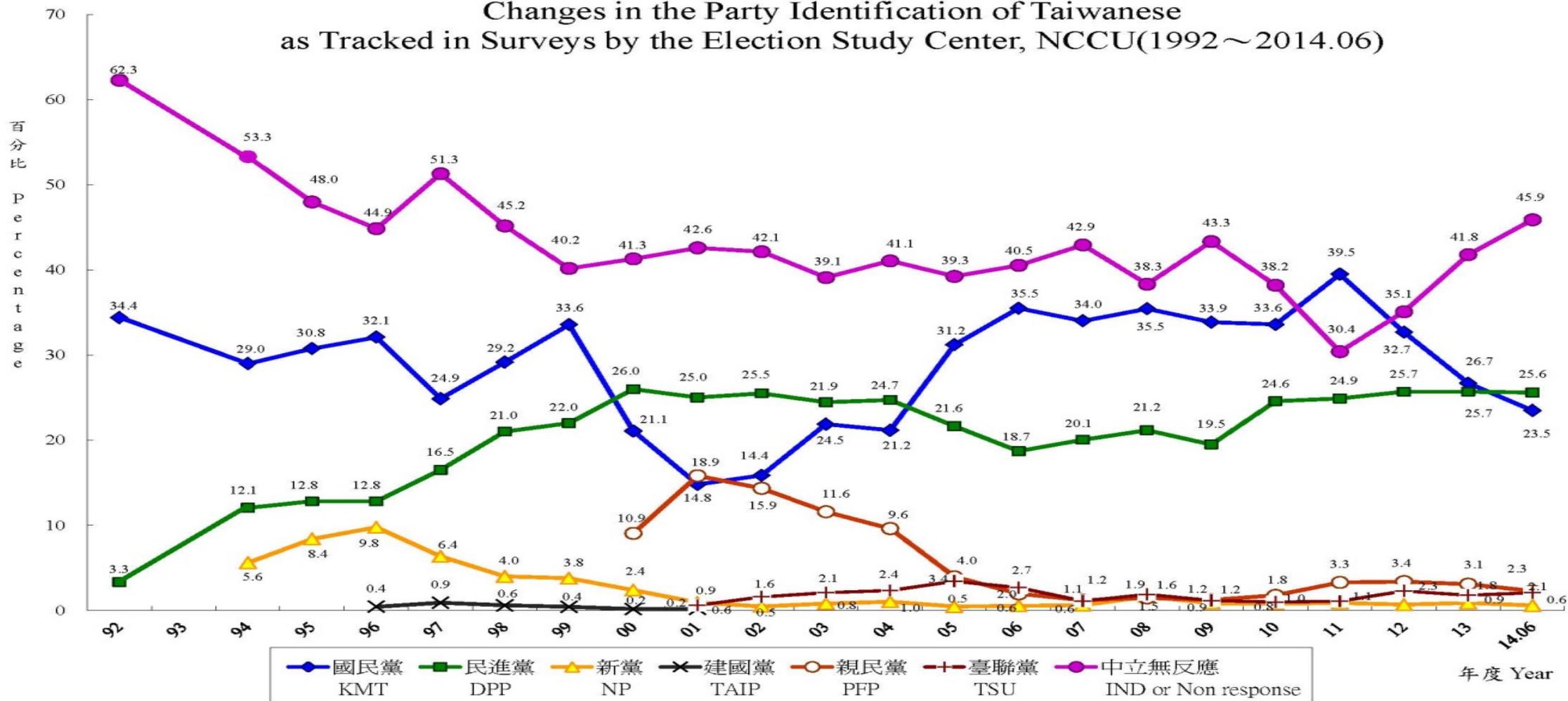




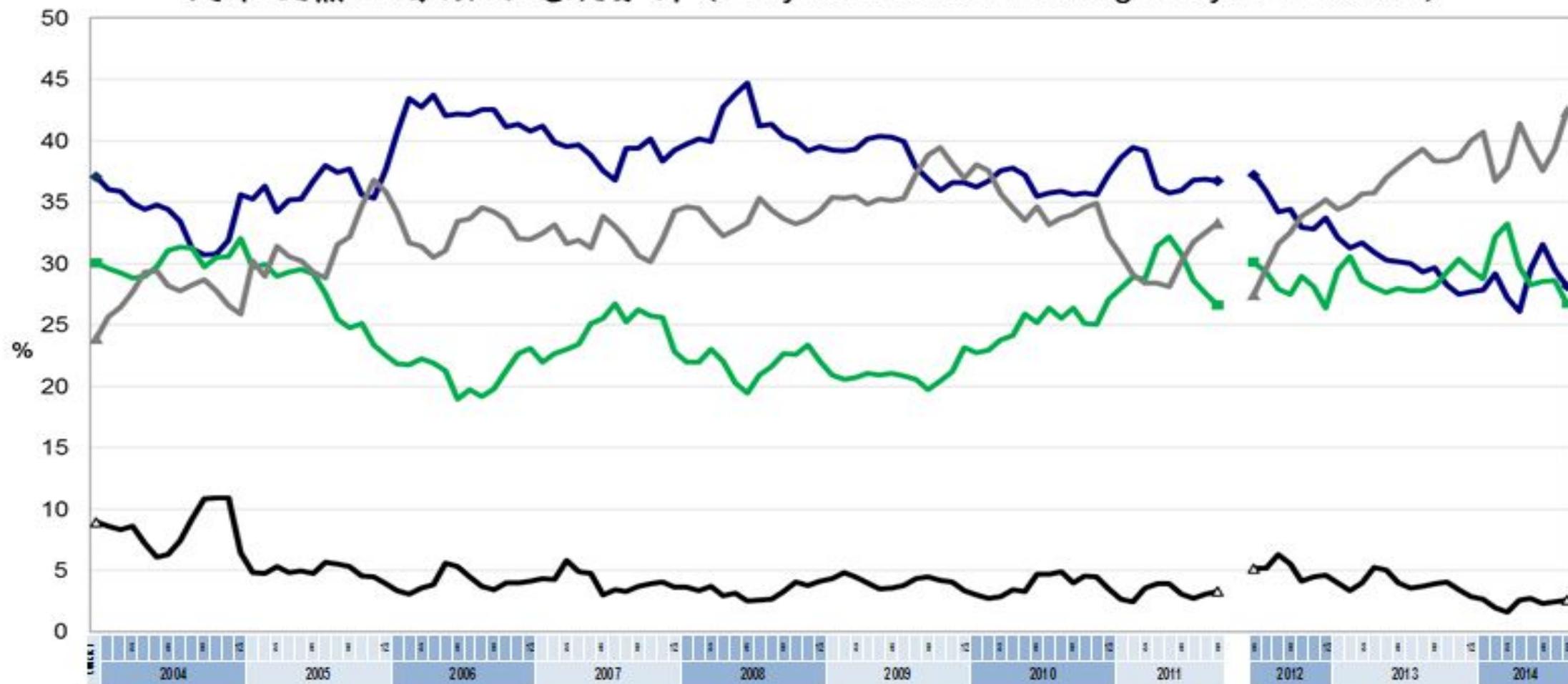
Partisans vs. non-partisans (independents)

- 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.

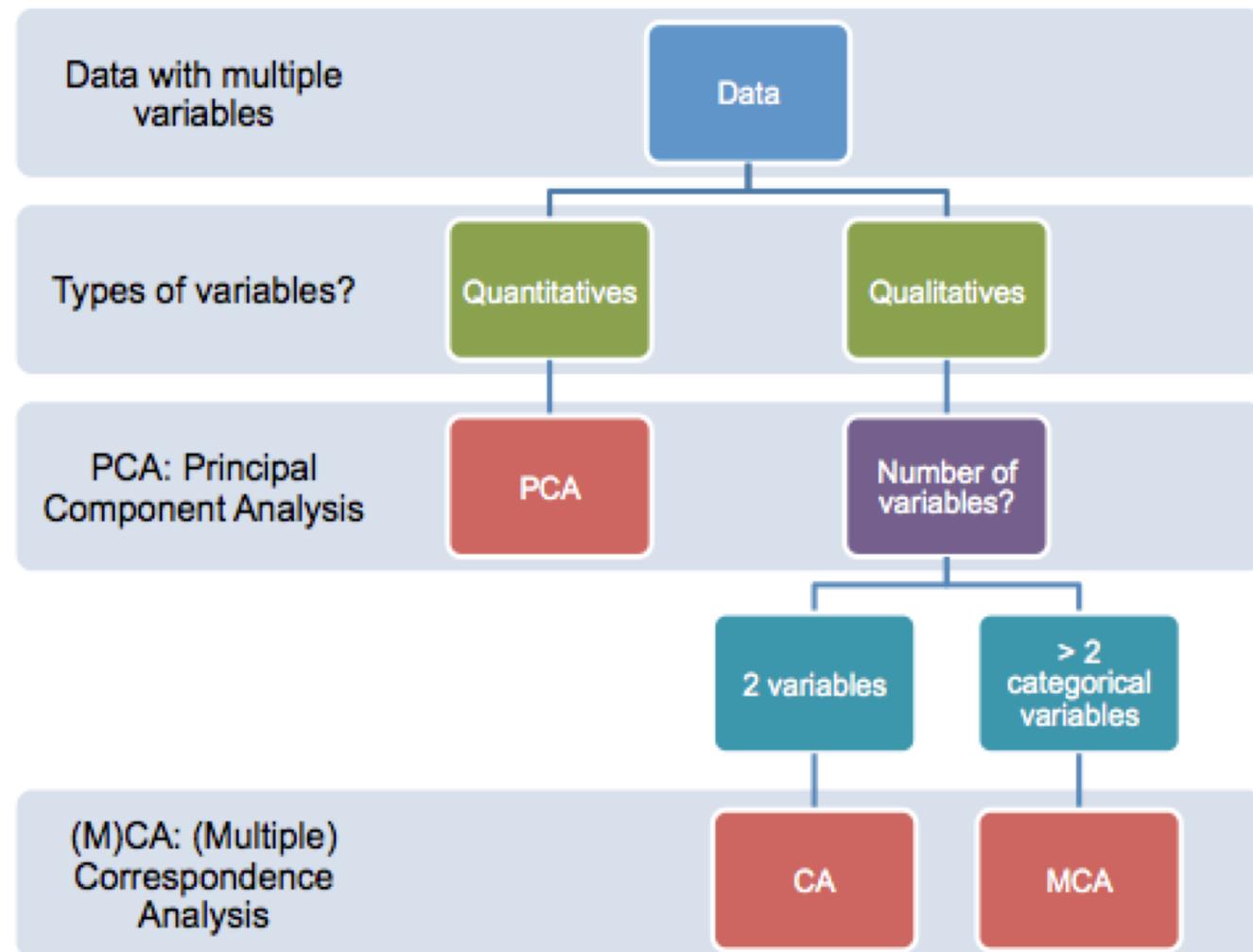
臺灣民眾政黨偏好分佈 (1992~2014.06)
 Changes in the Party Identification of Taiwanese
 as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2014.06)



民眾政黨立場傾向追蹤分析 (Party Identification Tracking Analysis in Taiwan)



2014/8	● 泛藍	■ 泛綠	▲ 中立	△ 未表態
	28.2%	26.8%	42.5%	2.6%
註1：2006/3前資料係在「年代民調中心」執行且公佈，2006/5~2011/9資料係在「遠見民調中心」執行且公佈；調查範圍不含金門縣、連江縣。 註2：2011/9前各時點資料為連續三個月調查（每月至少一次調查）之算術平均值。 註3：2012/6後各時點資料為連續二個月調查（每月至少二次調查）之算術平均值，例如2014/8資料為2014/7、2014/8調查之平均值。				



R packages for the analyses: **FactoMineR** (PCA, CA, MCA); **ade4** (PCA, CA, MCA); **stats** (PCA); **ca** (CA); **MASS** (CA)

Use **factoextra** to easily extract and visualize the results

MULTIPLE CORRESPONDENCE ANALYSIS

Brigitte LeRoux
Henry Rouanet

Series: Quantitative Applications
in the Social Sciences

163

Computer Science and Data Analysis Series

VISUALIZATION AND VERBALIZATION OF DATA

EDITED BY
JÖRG BLASIUS
MICHAEL GREENACRE



Copyrighted Material

The R Series

Multiple Factor Analysis by Example Using R

The screenshot shows the Multiple Factor Analysis (MFA) software interface. It features a title bar with the R logo and window controls. The main window is titled "Multiple Factor Analysis (MFA)".

- 1: Points to the "2 quantitative groups" section header.
- 2: Points to the "Chemical Sensors" and "Overall assessment" input fields.
- 3: Points to the "Add quantitative group", "Modify 1 group", and "Delete" buttons.
- 4: Points to the "Qualitative groups" section header.
- 5: Points to the two empty input fields for qualitative groups.
- 6: Points to the "Add qualitative group", "Modify 1 group", and "Delete" buttons.
- 7: Points to the "Select supplementary individuals" and "Graphical options" buttons.
- 8: Points to the "Outputs" and "Restart" buttons.
- 9: Points to the "Main options" section header.
- 10: Points to the "Perform Clustering after MFA" button.

Under "Main options", there are three rows of controls:

- "Name of the result object:" with a text input field containing "res".
- "Number of dimensions:" with a spin box set to "3".
- "Select the dimensions for the graphs:" with a spin box set to "1 2".

Jérôme Pagès

 CRC Press

Taylor & Francis Group

A CHAPMAN & HALL BOOK

Copyrighted Material

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).
- Representative.

Survey Questions

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?

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?

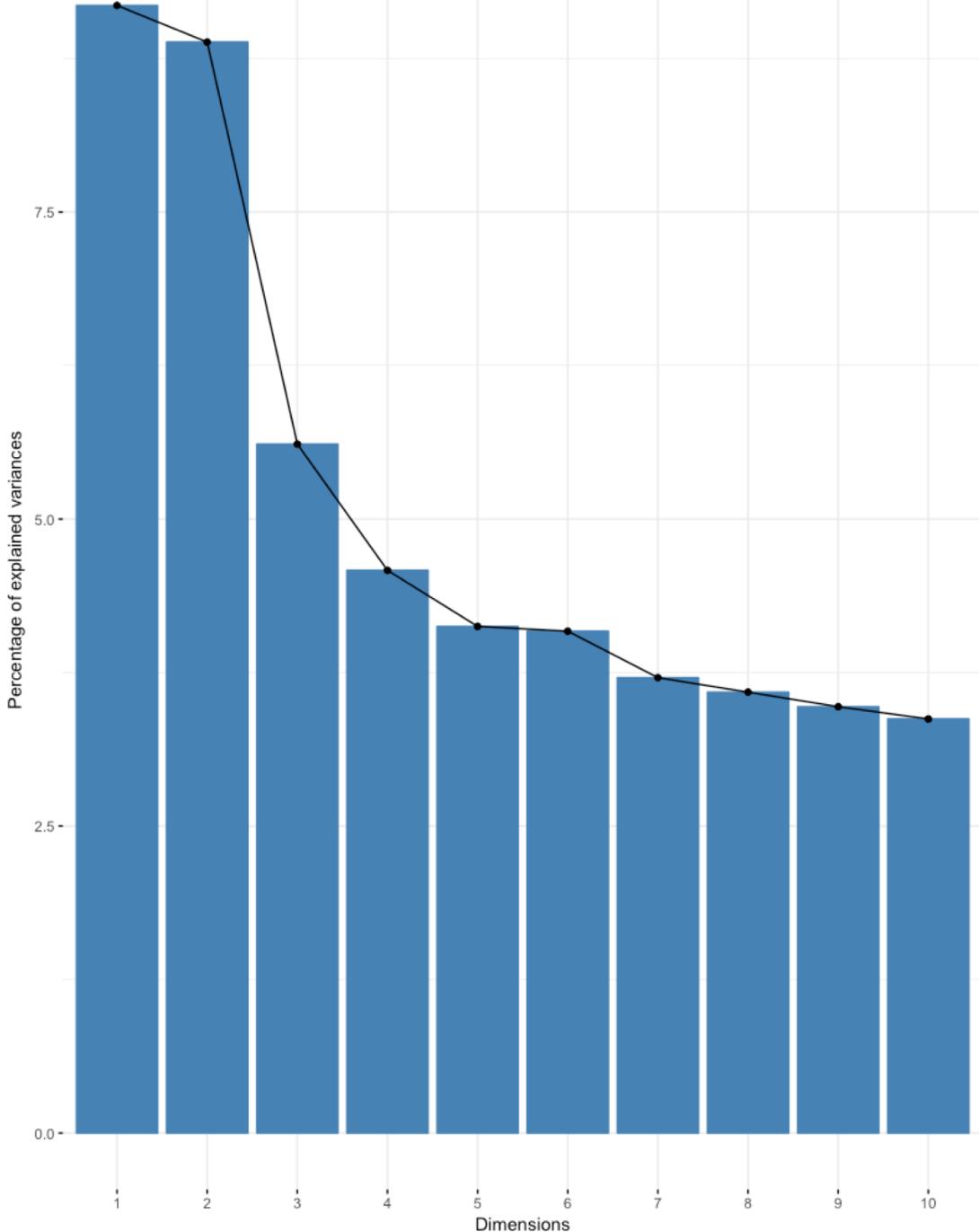
I like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you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

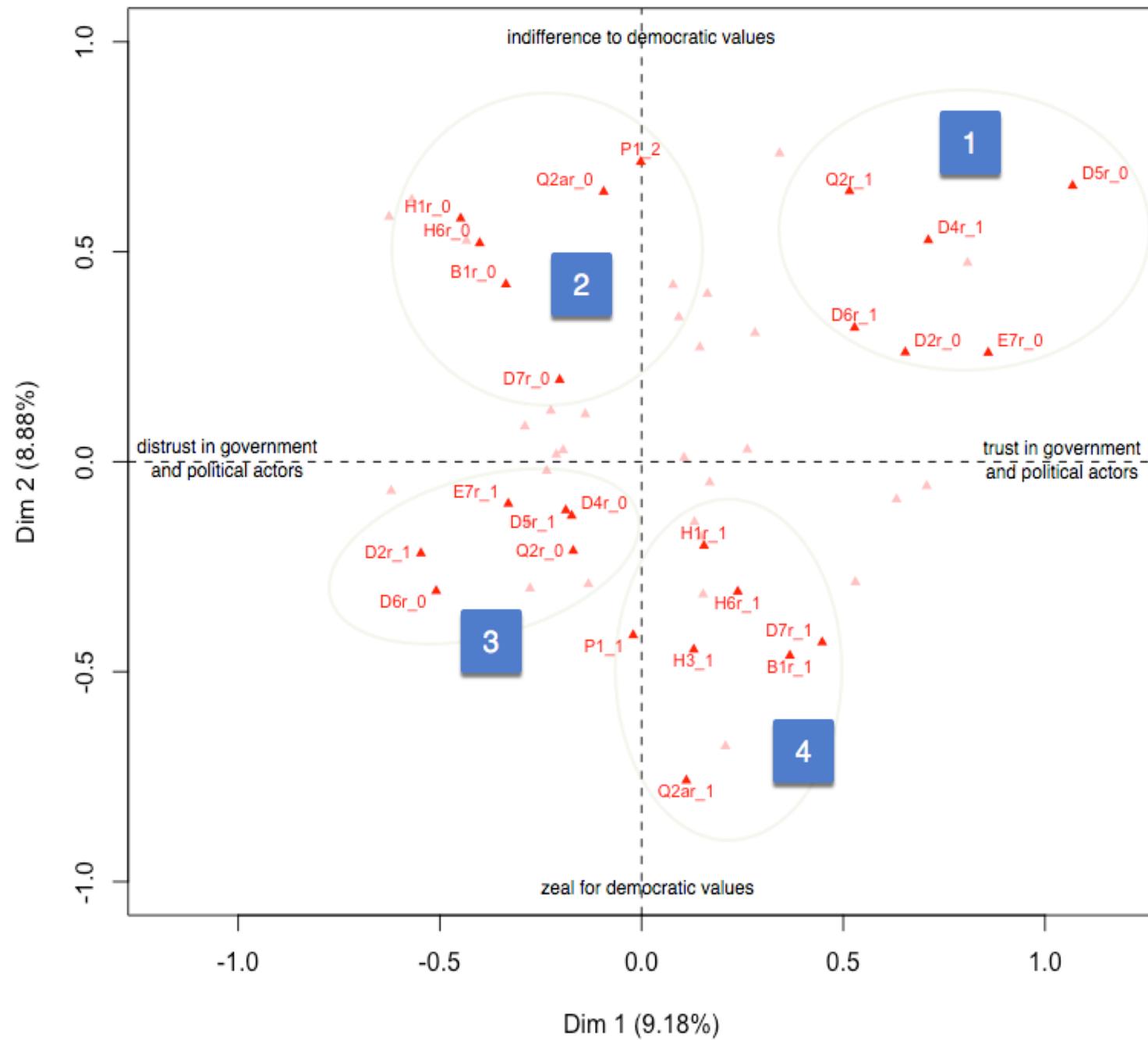
Using the same scale, where would you place, DPP?

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.





Naming/Labeling the Two Emerging Latent Concepts

- X axis: Trust vs. distrust in government and political actors
- Y axis: Indifference to vs. zeal for democratic values

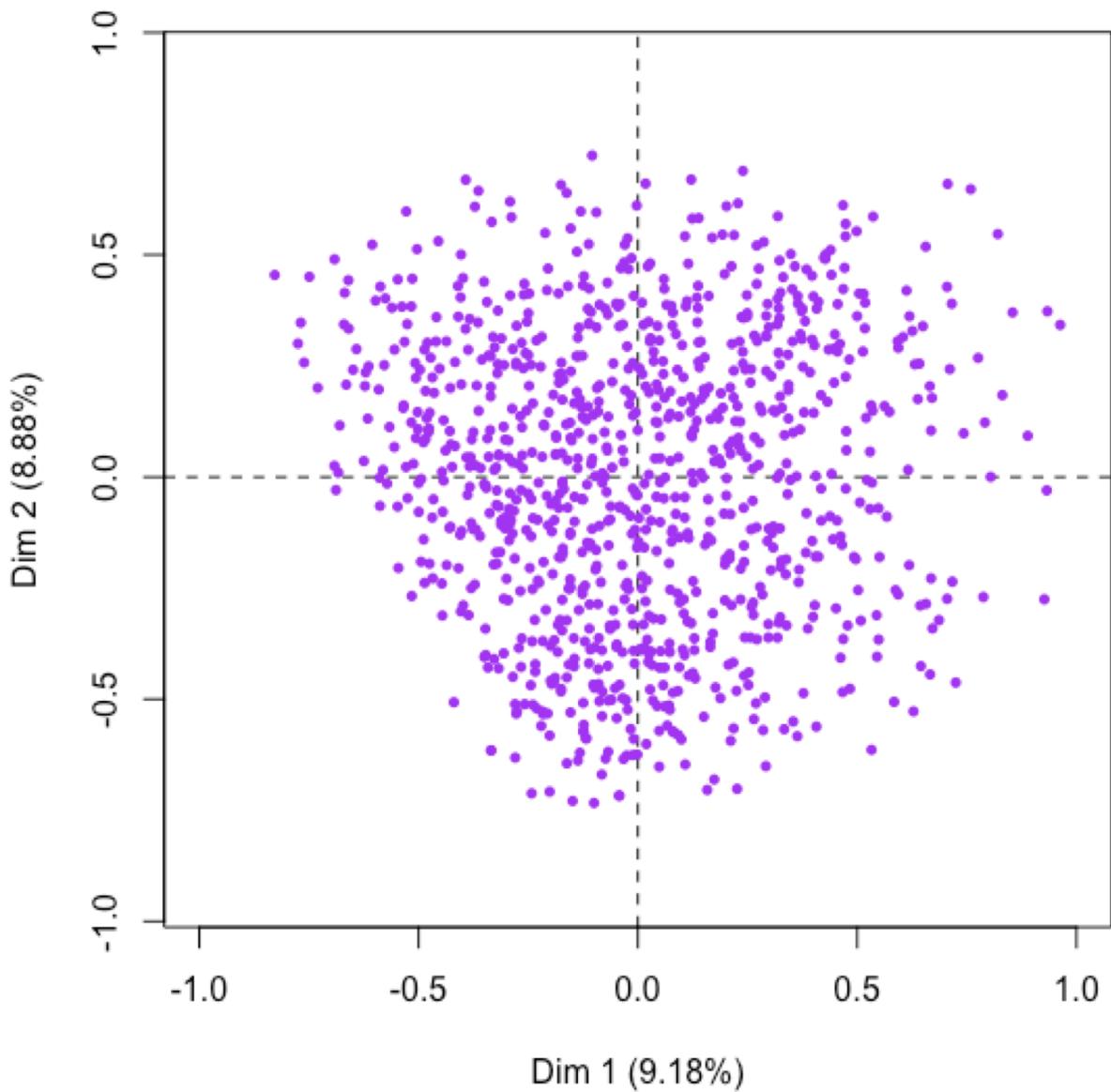
Major Components of “Trust in Government” (X)

- (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

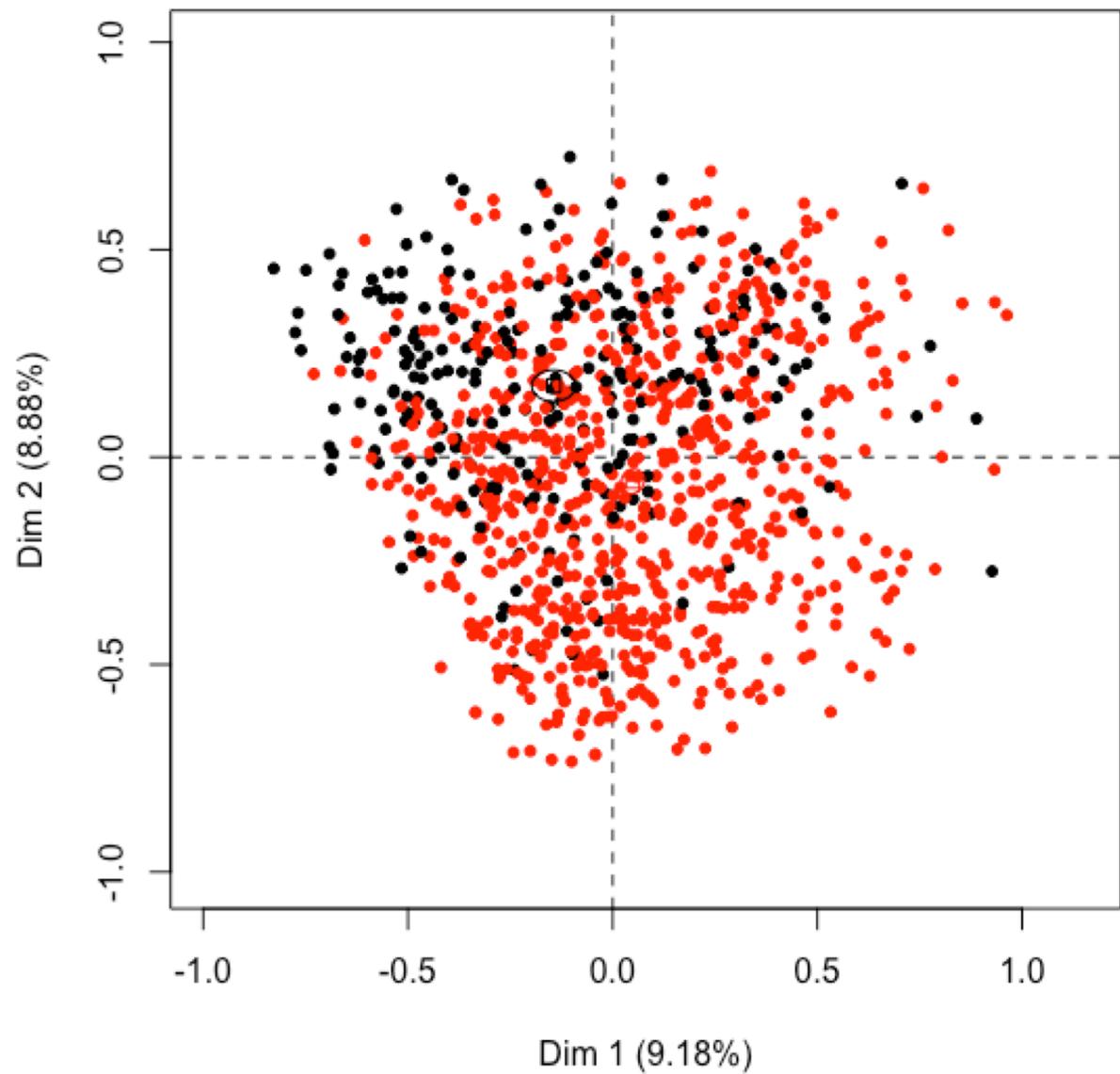
Major Components of “Zeal for Democracy” (Y)

- 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

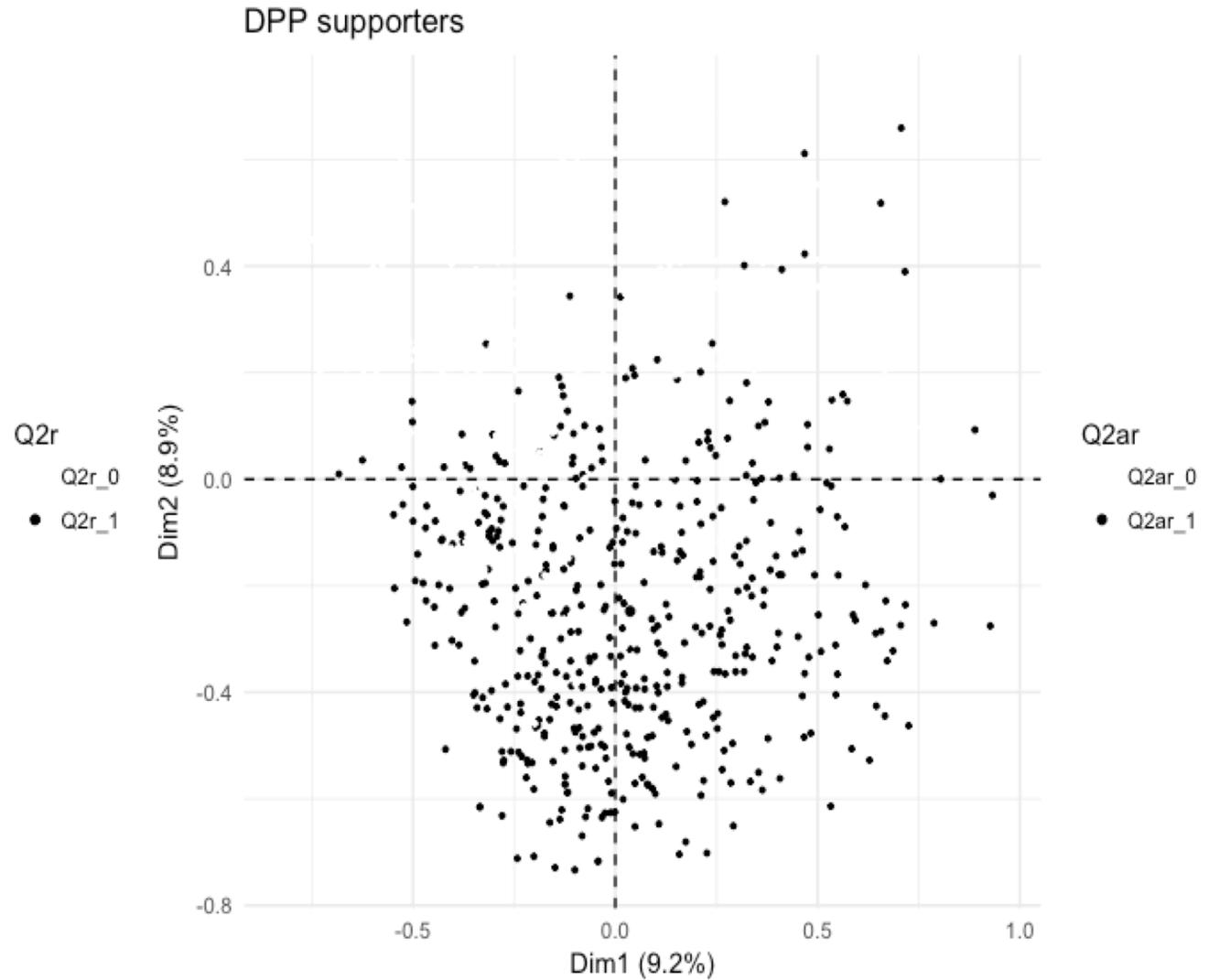
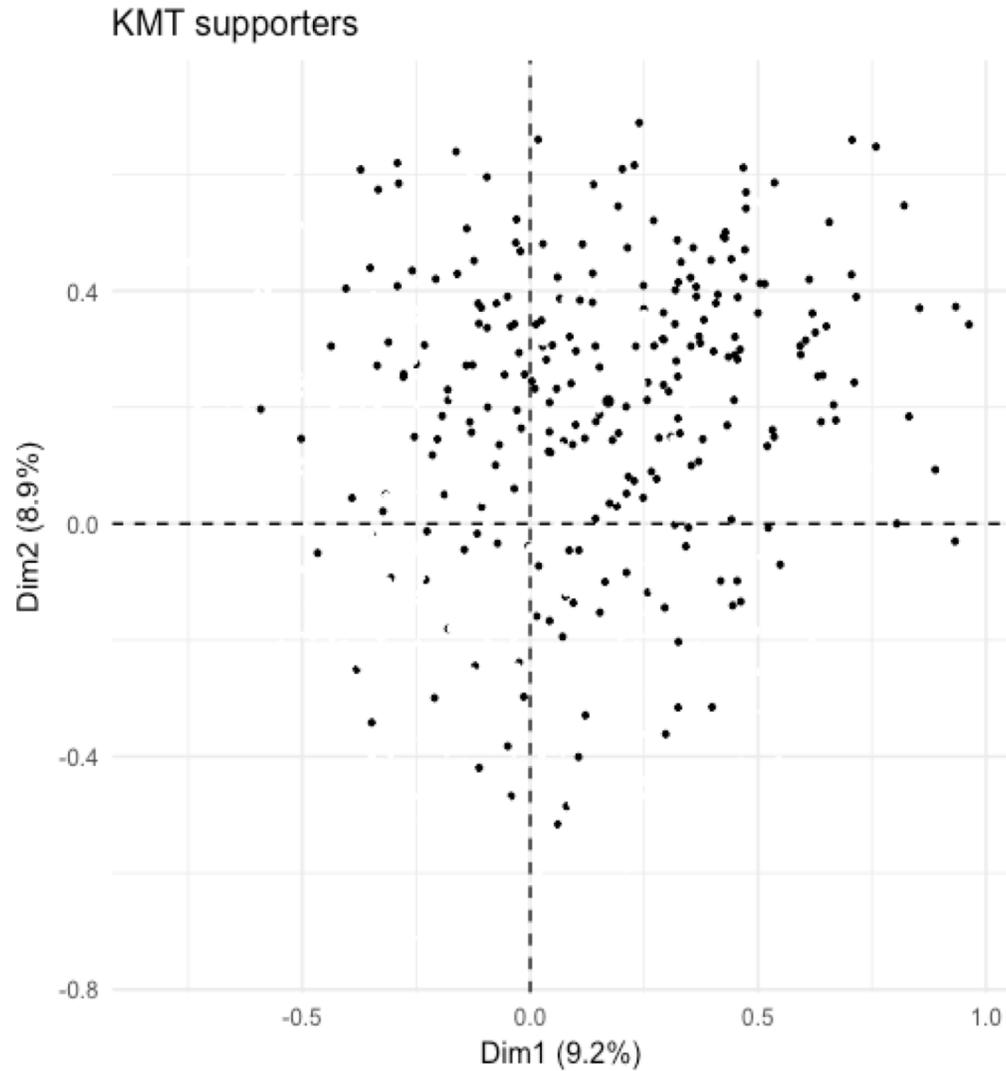
all repondents



non-partisans vs. partisans



the division between the partisans:



Conclusion

1. this study as the beginning of a series of comparative works that aim to discover “what is going on” under the bright outlook of democracy
2. If democratization does bring hope, freedom of choice, and opportunities to change to citizens, one should expect that most citizens would agree with democratic values, such as “relatively speaking, democracy is a superior regime type”, no matter the results of an election. Ironically, this study demonstrates that democracy can allow its enemy into its open system and undermine its own legitimacy.
3. non-partisans who are sick or indifferent to party competition are very likely to turn their back to democratic values

When “Democracy” is emphasized only by a party...

Will the supporters of the opposing political party feel the same level of passion?



It seems too quickly for the Taiwan's society (particularly DPP supporters and elites) to label and cast hints that KMT supporters are not supporters of democracy.

The value of their belief system, "trust in the government and political actors," can be as well important for a functioning democratic society.



Future plan

- More analysis on data and interviews collected during non-electoral seasons.
- Think and study deeper about the phenomena identified by this study.