

# **‘Democracy’ in Taiwanese English-language opinion press during presidential electoral periods 2008 / 2016**

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# Contextualization

**Interest:** stems from academic discussions about 'crisis' of [representative] democracy and 'popularity' of alternatives (eg direct democracy).

Disruption comes from:

-within democratic systems

(rise of populist leaders, taking advantage of public desire to identify 'empty space' of democracy with specifiable people that 'embody popular will')

-outside democratic systems

(autocratic rulers, challenging supremacy of democratic system)

Part of **larger project** about meanings of democracy in variety of newspapers in Western and Asian contexts

# Research aim and RQ

- Do academic debates about the perceived '**demise of democracy**' also **resonate in opinion pages** of the **Taiwanese English-language press** (later also Chinese-language press)

## Subquestions:

- what **linguistic and conceptual company** does the term 'democracy' keep (adjacent co-text) and what does this tell us about the concepts the term is typically associated with? (eg 'crisis' and 'democracy'?)
- what are the main **analytical and normative positions** about the **concept as an ideal and its actual functioning** in the Taiwanese context?
- Does the **electoral context/period** condition attention and use of the term 'democracy' **during national election campaigns**?
- Does the **electoral result** condition attention and use of the term?
- Is there any **convergence/divergence between the newspapers**?  
[newspaper specificity]

# Units of analysis

-**Opinion** section of Taiwanese English-language papers: **Taipei Times** and **China Post** : independent newspapers, but strong political alignments

- Taipei Times: pro-Taiwan identity, critical of KMT stance
- China Post: pro-Chinese identity, critical of DPP stance

-**Time frame**: two periods of **presidential elections** with change of ruling party

- 1) 22 March 2008: loss of DPP incumbent to KMT Cand. Ma Ying-jeou
- 2) 16 January 2016: loss of KMT incumbent to DPP Cand. Tsai Ing-wen

**Context**: polarised political landscape before/after elections, with concept of democracy as part of the debate

-**Corpus range**: 3 months BEFORE and AFTER the elections

Period 1: 22/12/2007 - 22/06/2008

Period 2: 16/10/2015 - 16/04/2016

# Methodology

## Multi-method approach: 4 phases

1. **Corpus-linguistic analysis** of concordances for key term 'democra\*' (Antconc): preliminary idea of the company this word keeps
2. **Sentiment analysis** of positive/negative connotation of words (R-tidytext package) to sense climate before/after election day
3. **Quantitative content analysis, mapping** themes and constitutive components of democracy, hierarchies of main positions and arguments, and authorship (Chinese/non-Chinese authors)
4. (in progress) **Qualitative analysis : text function** (normative statements about value of democracy; descriptive/analytical columns) and **framing function** (problem definition; moral judgments; responsibility attribution; solution)

# Corpus selection

## Retrieval of population units:

- Search through databank Wisenet with search term 'democra\*' for all opinion articles

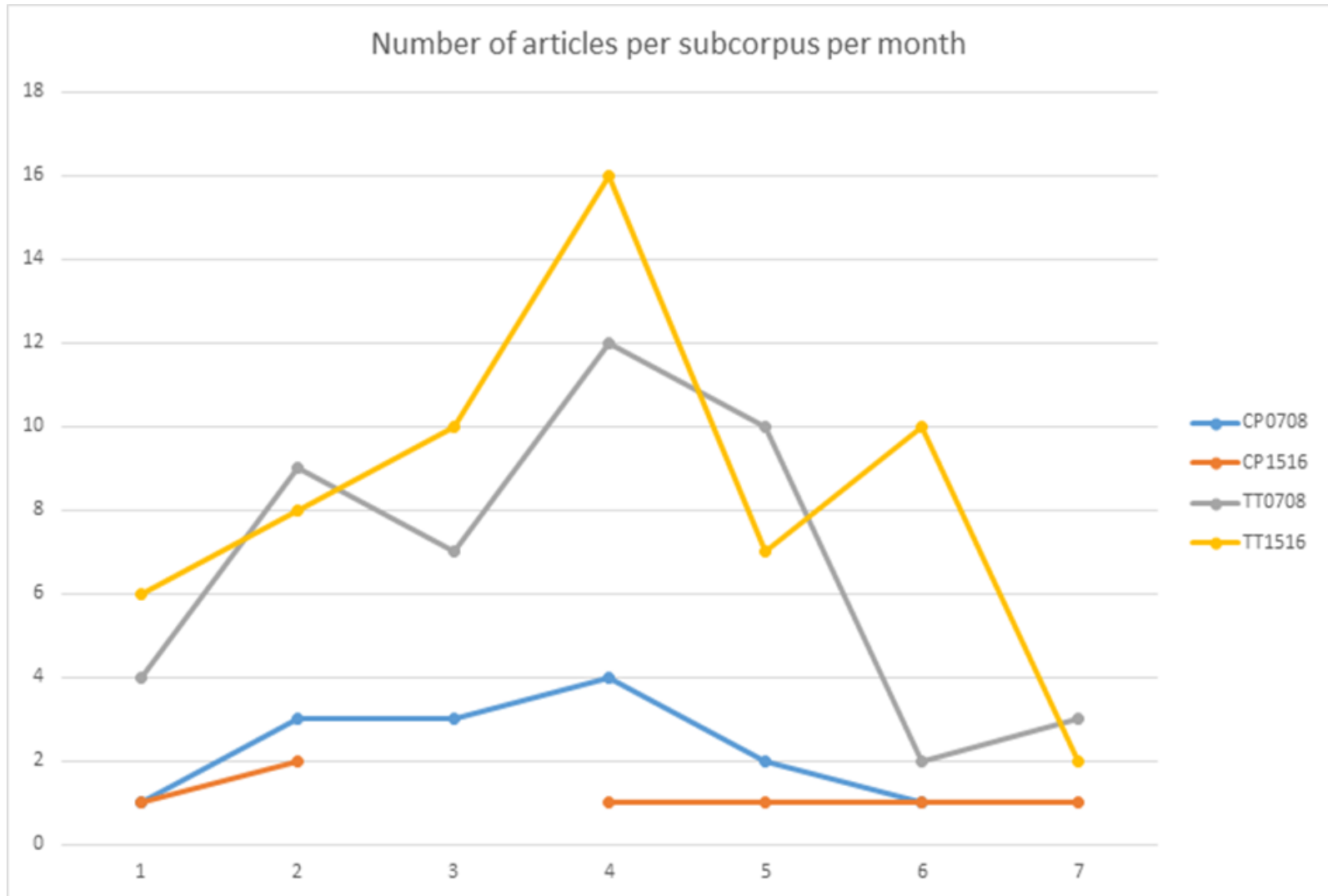
TT 08: 279; T.T 16: 361; CP 08: 281; CP 16: 209 articles

## - Corpus selection criteria:

- first round (corpus linguistic analysis): all opinion articles mentioning 'democra\*' **at least four times**
- second round (sentiment analysis): articles **thematizing elections and role of the main parties (cf. RQ before/after)**
- third round (quantitative and qualitative content analysis): **thematizing democracy in Taiwan**

	Corpus Linguistic	Sentiment analysis	Content analysis
TT 08	47	34	35
TT 16	59	35	28
CP 08	14	7	5
CP 16	7	2	2
	<b>127</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>70</b>

# Distribution of articles per subcorpus over time



# 1. Content Analysis: Findings

Selecting those articles of the corpus about democracy in Taiwan

TT 08: 35; TT 16: 28; CP 08: 5; CP 16: 2

Mapping authorship/genre, hierarchy of themes, components of democracy, arguments

## 1.1. Authorship and genre

- TT 08: 35 art: 5 editorials (14%)  
30 other opinion art.: 3/30 (10%) non-Chinese authors
- TT16: 28 art: 7 editorials (25%)  
21 opinion art: 7/21 (30%) non-Chinese (5: same author)

**Over time: increase in -editorials discussing democracy (14%- 25%)  
-foreign authorship (10% - 30%)**

- CP 08; 16: beyond comparison; not all authors are listed
- CP 08: 5 art: no editorials; at least 1 non-Chinese author (at least 20%), 2 unknown, 2 Chinese names
- CP 16: 2 art: 1 editorial and 1 opinion art. (unknown origin)



## 1.2. Thematic hierarchy: findings prominence/relative ranking

**Themes:** Taiwanese democratisation, Role KMT/DPP in democracy, what makes a democracy mature, international relations, functioning of democracy, populist discourse, China's state of 'democracy'

### Before elections

#### TT 08: 21 art/ 46 themes

1. **Taiwan democratisation (13/21: 62%)**
2. Role KMT in democracy (9/21: 43%)
5. Democracy is NOT functioning well (5/21: 24%)
7. Democracy is functioning well (1/21:5%)

#### TT 16: 18 art/ 27 themes

1. **Role KMT in democracy (11/18: 61%)**
2. Taiwan democratisation + International relations (5/18: 28%)
3. China: no democracy (4/18: 22%)
4. Democracy is NOT functioning well (1/18:6%)

### After elections

#### TT 08: 14 art/ 25 themes

1. **Taiwan democratisation + Role KMT in democracy (both 6/14: 43%)**
4. Democracy is NOT functioning well + Democracy is functioning well (both 1/14: 7%)

#### TT 16: 10 art/16 themes

1. Taiwan democratisation (5/10: 50%)
2. China: no democracy (3/14: 30%)
3. Role KMT in democracy + What makes democracy mature + Democracy is functioning well (all 2/10: 20%)

**No articles about 'Democracy is NOT functioning'**

## 1.2. Thematic hierarchy: findings

**Themes:** Taiwanese democratisation, Role KMT/DPP in democracy, what makes a democracy mature, international relations, functioning of democracy, populist discourse, China's state of 'democracy'

### Before elections

#### CP 08: 4 art / 7 themes

1. **Role DPP in democracy + Taiwanese democratisation (both 2/4: 50%)**
2. **Role KMT in democracy + Democracy is NOT functioning well (both 1/4: 25%)**

NO article about China

#### CP 16: 1 art (edito) / 2 themes

1. **Democracy is functioning well + Taiwan democratisation (both 1/: 100%)**

### After elections

#### CP 08: 1 art / 2 themes

1. **China has no democracy + International Relations (1/1:100%)**

**After election, no more talk about role DPP and KMT; the only 'Other' now is China**

#### CP 16: 1 art / 2 themes

1. **Democracy is NOT functioning well + What makes a democracy mature (1/1: 100%)**

## 1.2. Thematic hierarchy: conclusion

1. **Taiwanese democratisation process: most prominent** in both newspapers
2. Attention to **partisan responsibility for destroying democracy**

similar discursive blaming strategy, but different object of blame depending on newspaper ideological alignment

CP: negative role DPP

TT: negative role KMT

3. Different attention and assessment about actual functioning of Taiwan democracy BEFORE/AFTER election day; **Electoral results matter in perceiving state of democracy; before: warning about loss of democracy if 'opposite' party wins; after: hailing democratic functioning**

TT 08: before: democracy NOT functioning well (parliamentary quibbling; no real debate because of KMT legislative majority opposing ruling DPP party: 5/21 articles)  
after: only 2/14 texts about functioning (1: positive; 1: negative)

CP 08: before: democracy NOT functioning well (1/4 texts, attacking DPP admin.);  
after: no attention (0 texts)

TT 16: before: democracy NOT functioning well (1 edito attacking KMT admin.)  
after: democracy functioning well (2/10 art in defence of new DPP admin)

CP 16: before: democracy functioning well (edito, defending KMT admin.)  
after: democracy NOT functioning well (1/1 art. against new DPP admin.)

## 1.3. Attributes of democracy: findings

**Purpose:** grasping **conceptualisation of democracy** by mapping **constitutive components** and ranking them

**Potential components:** separation of powers, judicial independence, constitutional assurance of individual human rights, guaranteed political participation, ...

### Overall results:

#### -Most texts contain 1 component

-37% of TT 08 comprise 2 facets

-20% of TT 08 (and 25% of TT 16) counts 3 components,

-3% (1 txt) of TT 08 contains 7 components

#### - Four main categories, ranking from most prominent to least:

1) political rights (electoral rights and general suffrage; referenda)

2) Individual and social rights (freedom of expression and association, press freedom, human rights)

3) Equality (equal representation)

4) Controlling function of democracy (checks and balances, rule of law, media as watchdog)

## 1.3. Attributes of democracy: findings

### Overall results:

- **Comparison between TT and CP impossible:** not enough data for CP
- No difference in ranking patterns between pre- and post-electoral periods

### Results per subcorpus

- **CP: 100% focus on political rights;** only 40% on freedom (in CP 08)
  - CP 08: 1) Political rights ( 5/5 art: 100%)  
2) Individual rights and freedom (2/5: 40%)
  - CP 16: 1) Political rights (2/2 art: 100%)
- **TT: both periods share same patterns: political rights rank first**
  - TT 08 : 1) Political rights (30/35 art: 86%)  
2) Individual rights and freedom (16/35: 46%)  
3) equality of representation (6/35: 17%)  
4) controlling function (5/35: 14%)
  - TT 16: 1) Political rights (21/28 art: 75%)  
2) Individual rights and freedom (9/28: 32%)  
3) controlling function (4/28: 14%)  
4) equality of representation (2/28: 7%)

## 1.4. Main positions/arguments: findings

**In general**, both papers:

-**positive about democracy as 'IDEAL'**

-**concerned about democratization process in Taiwan**, depending on electoral period and which party is in power

**CP: threat to democracy:** viewed in terms of

-undemocratic processes in 2008, esp. DPP negative campaigning

-unreliable media after 2016 election, when KMT lost elections

**TT: threat to democracy is viewed solely in terms of undemocratic KMT**  
(and President Ma Ying-jeou)

-before **2008** elections: **warning** against KMT undemocratic behaviour

-before **2016** elections: **criticizes** KMT's outdated undemocratic thoughts

# 1.4. Main positions/arguments: findings

## Ranking of positions / arguments

-For TT, only positions that appear at least twice across corpus are listed (TT 08: 35 art; TT 16: 28 art)

-For CPP, each position only appears in one text, no ranking possible: all positions are taken up (CP 08: 5 art; CP 16: 2 art)

- TT 08:** 1) Warning against KMT: shadow on Taiwan democracy (5 art before)  
2) pro-referenda (3 art before)  
3 + 4 )Democracy must prevent group marginalisation (2 art before)  
Democracy will not be downgraded, even now that KMT has won (2 after)  
5) Taiwan must be proud of their democracy (1 before, 1 after)  
6) KMT must try to deepen democracy (advice on need for change) (2 after)
- TT 16:** 1) KMT carries outdated undemocratic thoughts (5 articles before, 2 after)  
2) Outdated university song needs adaptation to modern times (2 bef.;1 after)  
3) Authoritarian military remnants do not belong in a democracy (2 after)

## 1.4. Main positions/arguments: findings

For CP: no ranking; every argument appeared only once in the corpus

- CP 08:** a) A second change of ruling party is necessary (before)
- b) Taiwan's democracy is in crisis (esp. DPP negative campaigning) (before)
- c) DPP candidate, Frank Hsieh, presents wrong dilemma to choose between democracy and well-being ("if freedom and democracy cannot produce happiness, they are useless") (before)
- d) Primaries should happen differently (plea for other nomination procedure) (before)
- e) President Ma hopes democracy can play role model for democratization of China, the rest of Asia and the world (after)
- CP 16:** a) (edito) Democracy is mature and losing does not mean end of world; not voting can also be a statement (before: text function: steering people to abstain)
- b) Public opinion is volatile and misguided by media, education, political socialization: unreliable sources (after)



## 2. Corpus Linguistic Analysis: Method

‘**Corpus linguistics**’: corpus-based approach looking at quantitative patterns of language use (with Antconc)

e.g. **Concordance analysis**: looking for patterns of words co-occurring in clusters of words

- focus on **-pre-modifiers** (eg ‘direct democracy’, ‘mature democracy’)  
**-most frequent 2- and 3 word clusters**
- **Categorize (label) clusters according to meaning**
- **Map hierarchy or prominence** of clusters
- Results yield useful insight into *relative ranking of concordances*, but *little information about meaning of the entire clause or sentence*



extra analysis of main positions and arguments necessary  
(eg ‘a KMT return to power is **not** coterminous with death of democracy’, TT 08)

## 2. Corpus Linguistic Analysis: Method

Most important clusters (of 2 and more occurrences): **7 categories**

- **Reference to China or other region** (e.g. 'Nepal's democracy', Hong Kong democracy')
- **Reference to Taiwan** ('Taiwan democracy')
- **Negative connotation** (e.g. 'shadow on democracy', 'lack of democracy', 'death of democracy')
- **Positive connotation** (e.g. 'beacon of democracy', 'vibrant democracy', 'embrace democracy')
- **Inherent characteristic** (e.g. 'freedom and democracy', 'true democracy')
- **Type of democracy** (e.g. 'consensus democracy', 'direct democracy', 'liberal democracy', 'illiberal democracy')
- **Process of democratization** (e.g. 'mature democracy', 'consolidate democracy', 'stable democracy', 'young democracy')

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

- **Ranking in general:**

- 1<sup>st</sup> place: contexts foregrounding **'process of democratization'** (34%), ranging from clusters highlighting early stages of process ('young democracy') to clusters focusing on final stages ('mature democracy')
- 2nd place: clusters alluding to **inherent characteristics of democracy** (18%) ('meaning of democracy', 'freedom and democracy')
- **Negative and positive connotations: more or less equal weight** (12% and 11% respectively)

Category	China Post clusters (%)	Taipei Times clusters (%)	Total	Total (%)
Reference to China or another region	7 (18%)	6 (3%)	13	5
Reference to Taiwan	7 (18%)	22 (10%)	29	11
Negative connotation	3 (8%)	28 (12%)	31	12
Positive connotation	7 (18%)	22 (10%)	29	11
Inherent characteristic of democracy	6 (15%)	41 (18%)	47	18
Type of democracy	0	26 (11%)	26	10
Process of democratization	9 (23%)	82 (36%)	91	<b>34</b>
<b>Total</b>	39 (100%)	227 (100%)	266	100%

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

- **Difference between TT and CP:**
  - Term '**democracy**' more frequent in TT (so, TT larger corpus)
  - **TT: more** concerned with **democratic processes in Taiwan than abroad** (08: 13% vs 3% resp.; 16: 6% vs 2% resp.) (table 5)  
**CP: more international orientation** (Nepal's democracy, African democracy, ...) in 2016: 45% reference to democracies beyond Taiwan vs 9% clusters about Taiwan democracy) and **lack of attention to democracy in Taiwan** in 2016, when KMT lost the elections) (table 6)
- **Difference over time (2008/2016: different political constellation):**
  - Clear difference in China Post**
    - **CP 2016: striking lack of attention to Taiwanese democracy**, when KMT lost the elections) (no clusters after election, only 1 before (10%) (table 5); while in 2008 still 1 cluster after election (10%) and 5 before (28%) (table 4)
    - **But in 2008: CP more positively connotated clusters** related to Taiwan's democracy, when KMT was the winning party in 2008: 2 clusters after: 20%; in 2016: 0 clusters)

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

**-More subtle difference between 2008 and 2016 in TT, to be found in difference between subcorpora before/after elections:**

- **2008:** after loss of DPP in '08 elections, **only slight increase of negative clusters**; instead, increase in clusters about **characteristics of democracy** (reassurance: losing: part of how democracy works) (table 1)
- **2016:** before election day, emphasis on negative clusters (warning that KMT win might threaten Taiwan democracy); **after poll results with DPP victory, emphasis on 'democracy as a process'** (Taiwan is one step closer to mature democracy') (table 2)
- **2008 versus 2016 TT in general:**  
(table 3)
  - 2008: more emphasis on 'inherent characteristics' than on positive connotations
  - 2016: more 'positively connotated' clusters than previous period

**-Overall: in both TT periods: most focus on 'process of democratization'**

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

Table 1: Taipei Times (2007-2008) : clusters before and after election day

Category	TT0708 before elections	% of total number of clusters	TT0708 after elections	% of total number of clusters
Reference to China or another region	3	4	1	2
Reference to Taiwan	13	17	3	7
Negative connotation	8	11	7	15
Positive connotation	4	5	4	9
Inherent characteristic of democracy	8	11	12	26
Type of democracy	9	12	7	15
Process of democratization	30	40	12	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>100%</b>

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

Table 2: Taipei Times (2015-2016): Clusters before and after election day

Category	TT1516 before elections	% of total number of clusters	TT1516 after elections	% of total number of clusters
Reference to China or another region	0	0	2	4
Reference to Taiwan	5	9	1	2
Negative connotation	9	<b>16</b>	4	<b>8</b>
Positive connotation	11	20	3	6
Inherent characteristic of democracy	10	18	11	22
Type of democracy	3	5	7	14
Process of democratization	17	<b>31</b>	23	<b>45</b>
<b>Total</b>	55	100%	51	100%

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

Table 3: Taipei Times (2007-2008 versus 2015-2016)

Category	TT0708	% of total number of clusters	TT1516	% of total number of clusters
Reference to China or another region	4	3	2	2
Reference to Taiwan	16	13	6	6
Negative connotation	15	12	13	12
Positive connotation	8	7	14	13
Inherent characteristic of democracy	20	17	21	20
Type of democracy	16	13	10	9
Process of democratization	42	35	40	38
<b>Total</b>	121	100%	106	100%



## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

Table 4: China Post (2007-2008) : clusters before and after election day

Category	CP0708 before elections	% of total number of clusters	CP0708 after elections	% of total number of clusters
Reference to China or another region	1	6	1	10
Reference to Taiwan	<b>5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10</b>
Negative connotation	1	6	1	10
Positive connotation	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>20</b>
Inherent characteristic of democracy	3	17	2	20
Type of democracy	0	0	0	0
Process of democratization	<b>5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>Total</b>	18	100%	10	100%

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

Table 5: China Post (2015-2016) : clusters before and after election day

Category	CP1516 before elections	% of total number of clusters	CP1516 after elections	% of total number of clusters
Reference to China or another region	5	50	0	0
Reference to Taiwan	1	10	0	0
Negative connotation	1	10	0	0
Positive connotation	2	20	0	0
Inherent characteristic of democracy	1	10	0	0
Type of democracy	0	0	0	0
Process of democratization	0	0	1	100
<b>Total</b>	10	100%	1	100%

## 2. Corpus-Linguistic Analysis: Findings

Table 6: China Post (2007-2008 versus 2015-2016)

Category	CP0708	% of total number of clusters	CP1516	% of total number of clusters
Reference to China or another region	2	7	5	45
Reference to Taiwan	6	21	1	9
Negative connotation	2	7	1	9
Positive connotation	5	18	2	18
Inherent characteristic of democracy	5	18	1	9
Type of democracy	0	0	0	0
Process of democratization	8	29	1	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>

### 3. Sentiment Analysis: Method

“to analyse people’s opinions, sentiments, appraisals, attitudes, emotions towards entities and their attributes expressed in written text (Liu, 2015:1)

Software: R’s Tidytext package; predefined lexical dictionary (‘Bing lexicon’), categorizing words into **POSITIVE/NEGATIVE** categories

#### **Process:**

-selecting only those articles from the corpus discussing the same theme (elections) (TT 08: 34; TT 16: 33; CP 08: 7; CP 16: 2)

-matching corpus words to the Bing lexicon : 1128/6866 (16.4%) and assigning positive/negative label =crude analysis, yet offers first outlook on data

-grouping words by month: 3 months before and after election; election month (March (1); January (2)) split before/after election day: 8 subcorpora: periods 1-4 / 5-8: before and after election day

-calculating percentage of positive words (relative to total number of words) per subperiod

# 3. Sentiment Analysis: Findings

## Percentage of positive words:

-insufficient data to discuss attitudes in articles **China Post** (CP 08: 7; CP 16: 2) (see figure 1)

### -Taipei Times: 2007-2008 elections

- Especially negative in weeks leading up to election day (Period 4)
- Contrary to expectation, *slight increase* of positive sentiment after victory of KMT candidate Ma Ying-jeou
- Significant drop in positive sentiment in period 7 (1,5 month after elections) and continued in period 8 (but only 1 article)

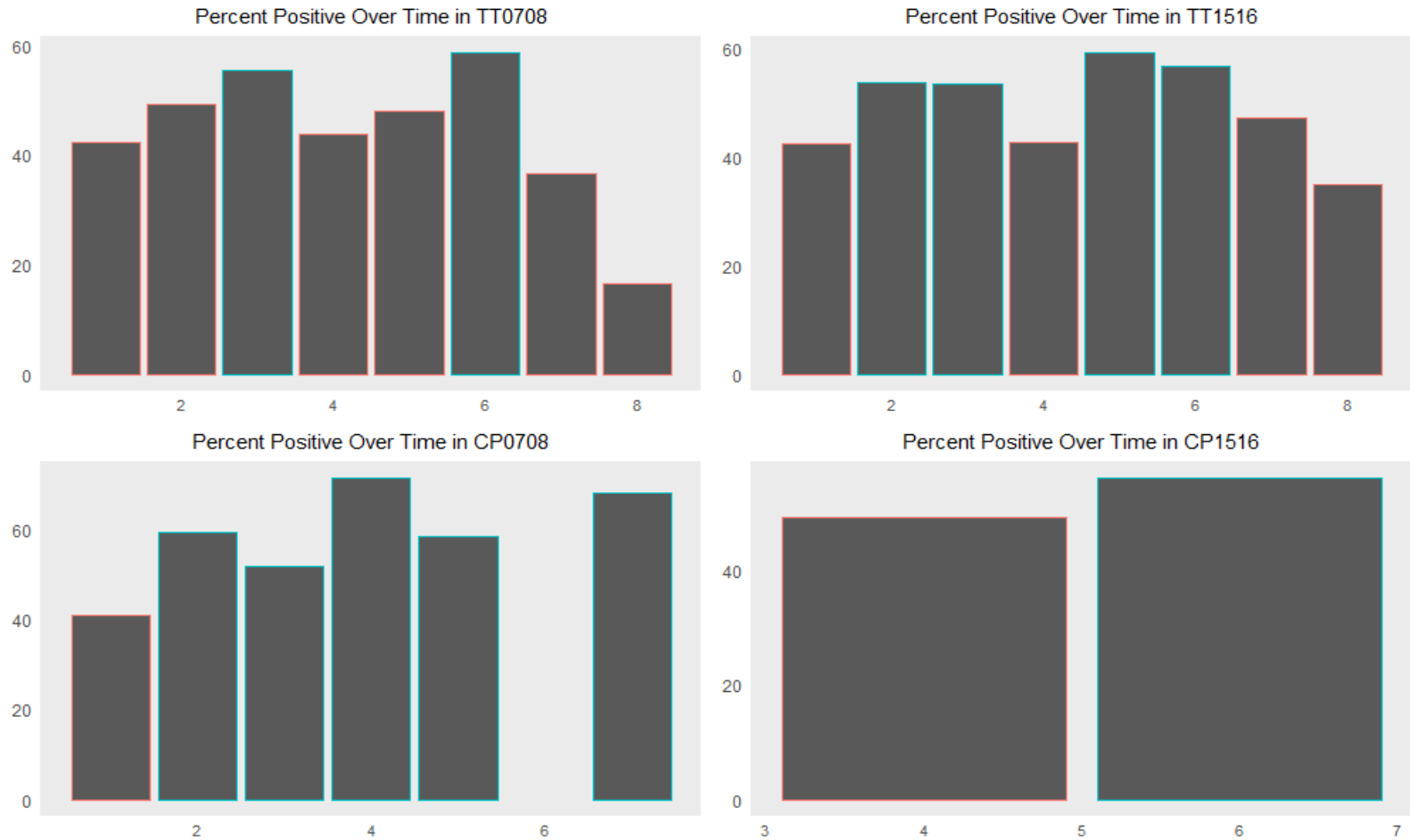
### -Taipei Times: 2015-2016 elections

- Especially negative in weeks leading up to election day (Period 4)
- As expected, *more substantial increase* in positive sentiment right after election day
- Significant drop in positive sentiment only in period 8 (2,5 months after)

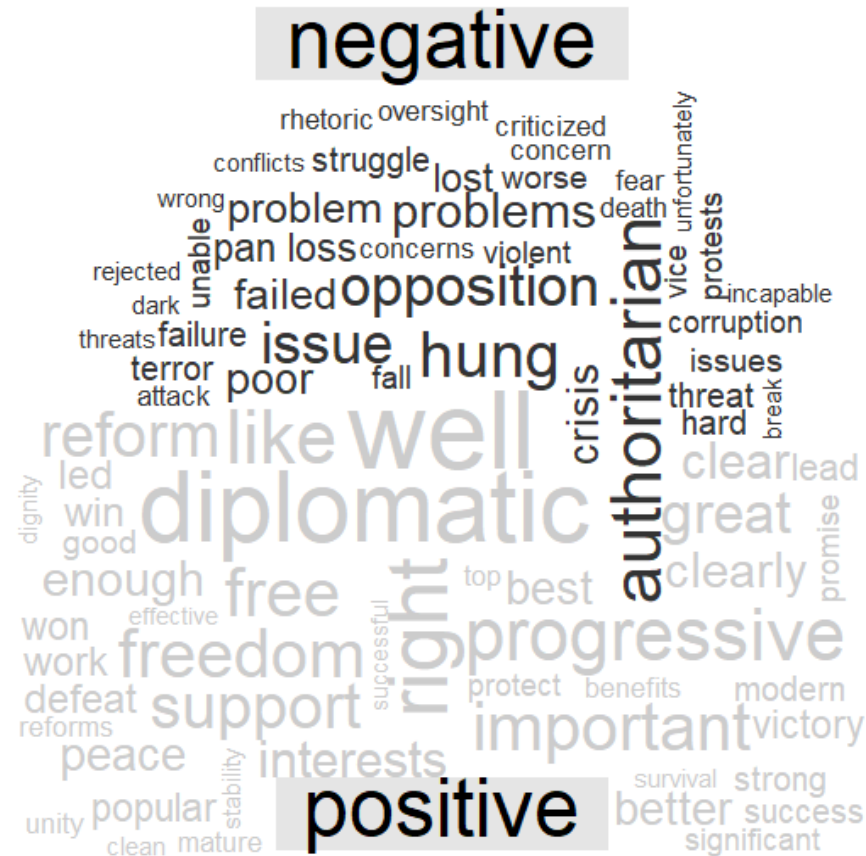
## Electoral result influences sentiment

### 3. Sentiment Analysis: Findings

Figure 1: Percentage of positive words in each subcorpus over time



### 3. Sentiment Analysis: Findings



## 4. Qualitative Analysis

### In progress:

**-Analysis of text function:** normative please / analytical or descriptive statements

**-Framing analysis** (problem definition / moral judgements / responsibility for situation – blaming game / solution or problem solving)



# Conclusion

## General

- Rare mentioning of term '**crisis**' (unlike Western media opinion pages about democracy - no challenge of '**democracy as *ideal***'; **pride in democratic system, as opposed to autocratic system in China**)
- Exposure of **unstable nature of democracy** by disrupting events (outside threat; inside threat) gives rise to debates about **alternative forms of democratic governance** ('**direct democracy**', '**referenda**'), call for change to present **functioning** of representative democracy, but **not to undermine democratic system** as such
- **Most prominent theme** in both newspapers: Taiwanese **democratisation process with ups and downs**
- **Components** of democracy: **overall focus on political (electoral) rights** (rather than individual rights, equality, controlling aspects within a democratic system)

# Conclusion

## Comparison between newspapers:

- Term 'democracy' occurs much **more frequently in the Taipei Times than in China Post**, therefore TT larger corpus.
- Difference of **focus** between newspapers:
  - Taipei Times: mainly concerned with democratic processes in Taiwan**
  - China Post: more international orientation** (op-ed pieces contain clusters such as *Latin American democracy* and *Nepal's democracy*)
- **Similar attention to partisan responsibility for destroying democracy;** similar discursive blaming strategy, but **different object of blame** depending on newspaper ideological alignment : PARTISAN PRESS
  - Taipei Times: blames KMT**
  - **China Post: blames DPP**
- **Similar focus on democratic malfunctioning, framed in terms of blaming the Other** rather than deep discussions about democratic reform or types of democracies

# Conclusion

## Electoral periods (2007-2008 and 2015-2016) condition attention/attitude to democracy during campaign? YES

- **Corpuslinguistic results**: in general, **fewer clusters about democracy in second period** than in first period: perception of more mature democracy
- **Content analysis of argumentation in campaign discourse**: **problems in democratic functioning rationalized in different ways** (depending on who's the ruling party): different blame attribution and warnings against victory of DPP/KMT (as steering influence)
  - 2007 - 2008 (DPP incumbent):**
    - TT**: -KMT majority in legislature is blocking democratic process;  
-warning against KMT undemocratic behavior  
(Beijing-oriented; interest in common market with China)
    - CP**: democracy in 'crisis' because of DPP negative campaigning; Presid. Candidate F. Hsieh presenting people with wrong dilemma
  - 2016 - 2017 (KMT incumbent):**
    - TT**: blaming undemocratic attitude of KMT ruling party and its lack of transparency and consultation for democratic deficit
    - CP**: praising well-functioning of democracy (before elections, in contrast with post-electoral period)

# Conclusion

## Electoral results condition attention/attitude to democracy? YES

### ○ Corpuslinguistic analysis:

-**CP**: -2008: relat. **more positive clusters** after KMT victory than before elections (20% vs 17%)

- 2016: hardly **any attention to democracy after DPP victory** (1 vs 10 cl)

-**TT**: - 2008:**less attention to Taiwan democracy** after KMT victory(7% vs 17% before) before); **more focus on characteristics** (26% after vs 11% before)

- 2016: **fewer negative clusters after DPP victory (8%) than before (16%)**

### ○ Focus and Argumentation after elections:

#### -2007-2008 (KMT victory):

-**TT**: democracy is functioning; KMT will now have to deepen democracy

- **CP**: hailing the well-functioning of democracy

#### -2015-2016 (DPP victory):

- **TT**: -reinforced argument against KMT: authoritarian military remnants do not belong in a democracy

- complaints about malfunctioning democracy have disappeared

-**CP**: -complaint about volatile public opinion, misled by biased media, education, ...

-drastic fall of attention to the topic of democracy

# Q & A

THANKS FOR YOUR ATTENTION



**(Lennon wall in tunnel NSYSU, Oct 2019)**