Index

Page numbers in italics indicate tables and figures.

aboriginal people
  defined, 21n8
  KMT support, 41n3
  legislative seats reserved for, 223, 238
absentee voting, lack of, 22n9
age
  in multifactorial model, 279
  national identity changes, 54–55, 55, 56
  political generations definition, 67n6
  political participation and, 253–54, 258, 259, 259, 260–62, 264
  unification/independence issue, 62–64, 63
  voting behavior connection, 35–36, 37
Aldrich, John, 167
The American Voter (Campbell et al.), 2–3, 170, 172, 276
Anderson, Christopher, 3, 278
assessment of candidates. See candidate evaluation
Bartels, Larry, 152, 277
Brody, R., 120
Bush, George H. W., 172
Butler, David, 3

Campaign for Rectifying the Name of Taiwan, 126
Campbell, Angus, 2–3, 72, 170
Canada, confusion with left-right labels, 215, 219n15
candidate evaluation, 170–97
  data for, 173–80, 176, 178, 180, 190–91
  formation of, 171–73
  importance in electoral decision-making, 2, 12, 18–19, 277
  overview, 170–71
  partisan identification vs., 174, 180–88, 183–87, 191
  role in pre-1986 elections, 76
  survey questions, 192–94
  vote choice vs., 174, 188–89, 189, 190, 191–92
Carlin, Ryan, 3
Carmines, Edward G., 99
characteristics of voters, 26–44
  age, 35–36, 37
  consolidation of two-party system, 15–16, 27–31, 28, 29, 39
  education, 33–34, 35
  ethnic identity, 31–33, 32, 36–39, 38
  income, 33, 34
  independent voters, 73
300  Index

characteristics of voters (continued)
occupation, 34–35, 36
partisan identification, 36–40, 38
recent presidential election results, 26–27
wording and coding of demographic variables, 40
See also specific characteristics
Chen, Wen-chun, 202
Chen Chih-ping, 134n9
Chen Lu-an, 27, 119, 175
Chen Shui-bian
assassination attempt, 27, 41n2, 178
candidate evaluation of, 173, 177–79, 183–87, 190–91
corruption charges, 104–5, 133n3, 195n8, 240
de-Sinicization measures, 10, 52, 65
economic policies, 108, 201
election of, 10, 286
electoral reform pledge, 234, 235, 236
evolution of unification/independence position, 115–16, 117, 126
Hakka appointments, 32
national referendum proposal, 155n3
New Central Way policy, 115, 121
nuclear power plant compromise, 112
partisan identification of supporters, 37, 39
presidential campaign, 27, 30
renaming of state agencies, 67n5
support for independence, 6, 52
trade restrictions, 7
voter perception of animosity from China, 60
Chiang Ching-kuo, 174, 175, 182
Chiang Kai-shek
crackdown in Taiwan, 6
mainlanders support for, 31
re-Sinicization measures, 5, 45, 65
retreat to Taiwan, 58
China factor. See China-Taiwan relationship; unification/independence issue
China-Taiwan relationship, 158–169
in candidate evaluation, 185, 186, 186, 188–89, 189, 190t
Chinese vs. Taiwanese consciousness, 51
complex dynamics of, in vote choice, 18, 162–68, 163–66
cconcerns for peace, 14
cultural heritage, 4–5
diplomatic isolation of Taiwan, 6, 9–10, 59–60, 64, 65, 162
economic ties, 7–8, 142, 158–162, 160, 161, 166–67
importance in future elections, 285–89
issue ownership theory applied to, 182
military coercion, 59–60, 65
by national identity, 60–62, 60, 61
overview, 1–2
public perceptions of, 161–64, 163, 167–68
security threat aspects, 5–7, 63–64, 162
Chinese identity. See also dual Chinese-Taiwanese identity
cultural vs. political connotations, 56, 58
decrease in, 10, 64
by ethnicity, 53–54, 53
fostering of, 49, 51
one China beliefs, 8
Pan-Blue Alliance support, 11
by political generation, 54–55, 55
political participation and, 255, 258, 262
private poll results, 67n7
Chinese Nationalist Party. See Kuomintang (KMT) Party
Chinese/Taiwanese consciousness boundary, 51–58, 53, 55, 57, 64
Chinese Youth Party, 77, 95n2
Chu, Eric, 287
Chu, Yun-Han, 100
citizen evaluation of candidates. See candidate evaluation
citizen identity. See voter identity
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clark, Cal, 168</th>
<th>De Graaf, Nan Dirk, 3, 200</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>class concerns</td>
<td>democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emergence of</td>
<td>political participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occupation</td>
<td>importance, 252–53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unequal political participation, 264–66</td>
<td>262–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also education; income</td>
<td>political parties importance, 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cleavage theory, 224–26</td>
<td>support for, 85–86, 86, 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton, Bill, 172, 173</td>
<td>Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). See also Pan-Green Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collectivity of common fate (sheng-ming-gong-tong-ti), 50</td>
<td>absentee voting opposition, 22n9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communism vs. democracy, left-right labels, 203, 205</td>
<td>campaign strategies, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communist Party (China), 5, 7, 58, 203</td>
<td>candidate evaluation, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES), 198–99, 201–2, 218n2</td>
<td>Chen Shui-bian leadership of, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>competence</td>
<td>Dang-wai involvement, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in candidate evaluation, 172, 190–91</td>
<td>de-Sinicization measures, 52, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>data for, 174–80, 176, 178, 180</td>
<td>economic policies, 7–8, 111–14, 128, 142, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>survey questions, 192, 193, 194, 194n1</td>
<td>environmental policies, 111–14, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conservatism, as the “right,” 218n3</td>
<td>ethnic identity connection, 36–40, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constructionism framework</td>
<td>formation of, 6, 75–76, 78, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>instrumentalism vs., 67n2</td>
<td>framing of issues, 98, 102–3, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overview, 46–48, 64</td>
<td>increasing power of, 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relational aspects of boundaries, 45–46, 65</td>
<td>irrelevance of left-right labels, 201, 209–10, 209, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>socialization role in, 47, 65</td>
<td>issue ownership theory applied to, 181–88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converse, Philip E., 121, 198, 202</td>
<td>national referendum proposal, 149, 155n3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooley, Charles, 46</td>
<td>NP alliance, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corruption, 185–86, 187</td>
<td>as opposition party, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council for Hakka Affairs, 32</td>
<td>Pan-Green Alliance leadership, 11, 15, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Grand Justices, 112</td>
<td>Peng Ming-min nomination, 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cox, Gary, 242–43</td>
<td>post-1990s partisanship, 79–81, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross-Strait relations. See China-Taiwan relationship</td>
<td>public perceptions of, 104, 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSES (Comparative Study of Electoral Systems), 198–99, 201–2, 218n2</td>
<td>reform/stability issue, 103–5, 126, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dahl, Robert, 252</td>
<td>social welfare policies, 106, 107–9, 109, 110, 129, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton, Russell, 3, 202, 214, 219n14</td>
<td>Taiwanese consciousness of, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dang-wai, 75, 76–77, 102, 103, 127</td>
<td>unification/independence issue, 52, 114–22, 126, 128, 286–87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decision-making, electoral. See vote choice</td>
<td>Democratic Socialist Party, 77, 95n2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
democratization of Taiwan
discord with diplomatic isolation, 9–10, 59
effects on ethnic divide, 49–50
first popular election of president, 27
overview, 1
pace of reform, 6
party system changes, 71, 227
reform/stability issue prominence, 100, 103
support for democracy, 85–86, 86, 87
support for independence, 52
demographics. See characteristics of voters
diplomatic isolation of Taiwan, 6, 9–10, 59–60, 64, 65, 162
Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics (DGBAS), 150, 155n4
disposable income per capita (DIPC) effect on economic voting, 149–54, 151, 152, 153, 154
hypothesis for, 143
in multifactorial model, 281
district level elections, postreform changes, 242–43, 244
district magnitude (M), 224, 227, 233
Downs, Anthony, 140
DPP. See Democratic Progressive Party
dual Chinese-Taiwanese identity cultural vs. political connotations, 58
by ethnicity, 53–54, 53
increase in, 10, 58, 64
by political generation, 54–55, 55
political participation and, 255, 258, 262
Duch, Raymond, 141
DuPont, 111
Duverger, Maurice, 224, 243
Duverger’s hypothesis, 224, 225, 241, 242
Duverger’s law, 224–25, 241, 242
Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) as emerging issue, 283–85, 284
implications of, 160–61, 162
KMT vs. DPP views, 129
signing of, 7, 143
voter evaluation of, 164–66, 164–68
economic issues in candidate evaluation, 185, 186, 186, 187
discord with diplomatic isolation, 9–10, 59
evolution of issue, 106–7, 128, 282–85, 284
importance in electoral decision-making, 17–18, 141–43
issue ownership theory applied to, 181–82
left-right political spectrum, 199–200
overview, 1
ties with China, 7–8, 142, 158–62, 160, 161
as valence issue, 123–24
economic voting, 139–57
bivariate relationship between economic evaluation and vote choice, 145–46, 145, 146
evaluations of national economic conditions, 144–45, 145
logistic regression models, 147–49, 148
mixed evidence for, 18, 139, 141–43, 154–55, 277–78
overview, 18, 139
personal income factors, 149–154, 151, 152, 153, 154
survey questions and coding scheme, 143–44, 144
theoretical framework, 140–41
education of independent voters, 79, 81–82, 82
in multifactorial model, 281
political interest among independents and, 83–84, 84
role in collective memories, 52
status quo support among independents and, 85, 85
support for democracy among independents and, 86, 87
vote choice among independents and, 90, 90
voting behavior connection, 33–34, 35
effective number of electoral parties (ENEP), 241–42, 242
effective number of parliamentary parties (ENPP), 241–42, 242
effective threshold, 247n8
elderly
political participation, 260–62
social welfare programs for, 107, 108, 109–10, 134n9
Election Study Center, National Cheng-chi University, 102, 104, 120, 150, 253
electoral decision-making. See vote choice
electoral participation, non-voting, 260–63, 264–68, 270n8
See also political participation
electoral system change, 223–51
convergence to two-party system, 245–46
district level effects, 242–43, 244
first postreform legislative election, 239–40, 245
national level effects, 240–42, 242
overview, 223–24
reform, 231–39, 233, 237
SNTV system, 226–231, 228, 229, 230, 245
theoretical frameworks, 224–26
voter level effects, 243–45
ENEP (effective number of electoral parties), 241–42, 242
ENPP (effective number of parliamentary parties), 241–42, 242
environmental protection/economy issue
evolution of issue, 101, 111–14, 113, 128
importance in electoral decision-making, 17
irrelevance of left-right labels, 210, 212–13, 212, 213
questionnaire wording and results, 131, 132
status as most important problem facing Taiwan, 124, 125, 126–27
survey question wording, 217
equilibrium. tendency to, 22n10
Erikson, Robert S., 140, 149
ethnic identity
changing boundaries of, 48–51, 50, 64, 274–75
effects on unification/independence issue, 13
importance in electoral decision-making, 31–33, 32
in multifactorial model, 281
partisan identification connection, 36–40, 38
political participation and, 253, 254, 258, 259, 260–62, 260, 265
role in political cleavage, 16
wealth distribution connection, 106
evaluation of candidates. See candidate evaluation
Evans, Geoffrey, 3, 200
Executive Yuan, 112

factional politics, prevalence in Taiwan, 21n2
Fa-tong, 74
February 28 Incident (1947), 6, 9, 48, 73
Feldman, Stanley, 140
Fell, Dafydd, 122, 201, 234
Fiorina, Morris P., 140
Formosa Incident (1980), 177, 195n6
Four Noes plus One Without pledge, 116, 134n15
freezing hypothesis, 11–12, 224, 285
Fukushima nuclear incident (2011), 113, 128, 134n13
funnel of causality model, 170, 191

Geertz, Clifford, 47
Gellner, Ernest, 47
Gomez, Brad, 141
group consciousness
Chinese vs. Taiwanese consciousness, 52, 67n4
effects on constructed identities, 47

Hakka ethnic group
defined, 21n8
national identity changes, 53–54, 53
political participation, 254, 258, 260
pre-1986 lack of representation, 74
support for KMT, 74, 75, 76
support for Lee Teng-hui, 175
views on ethnic tension, 50, 50
voting behavior, 31–33, 32
Hakka TV, 32
Hand-in-Hand Rally (2004), 118
Hansen, John Mark, 253
Hau Pei-tsun, 195n4
Hayes, Danny, 181
Hibb, Douglas A., Jr., 149
Hotelling, Harold, 198
Hsiao, Yi-ching, 142
Hsieh, John Fuh-sheng, 100, 142
Hsieh Chang-ting (Frank)
environmental and economic policies, 112
presidential campaign, 105, 179
unification/independence issue, 118, 119, 121
Hsu, Yung-ming, 155n3
Hsu Hsin-liang, 177
Huang, Chi, 225
Huang, Hsiu-tin, 155n3
Hung Hsiu-chu, 287
Hunt, W. Ben, 199–200

Hunan

identity. See voter identity
income
classification of groups, 40–41
effect on economic voting, 149–54, 151, 152, 153, 154
hypothesis for, 143
in multifactorial model, 281
voting behavior connection, 33, 34
incumbent reward-punishment voting. See economic voting

independence/unification issue. See
unification/independence issue
independent voters
candidate evaluation, 188
demographics of, 73
education levels, 79, 81–82, 82, 92
literature review, 72–73
national identity connection, 57, 58
as non-KMT supporters, 78
overview, 16–17
pivotal role of, 73, 91, 92
political interest, 83–84, 84
political participation, 254
post-1990s partisanship, 79–81, 81
role in developing party system, 91
support for democracy, 86, 87
Taiwan Provincial Assembly elections, 77–78, 77
unification/independence issue, 85, 85
vote choice, 89–90, 89, 90
voting percentages, 87, 88, 89
industrial restructuring, 1, 159, 160
inequality. See wealth inequality
Inglehart, Ronald, 100, 114, 200
instrumentalism, 67n2
investment in China, by Taiwan
benefits of, 166–67
change over time, 159–62, 161
Ireland, confusion with left-right labels, 215, 219n15
issue orientation, 98–138
environmental protection/economy
issue overview, 101, 111–14, 113, 128
importance in electoral decision-making, 2, 17–18, 98–102
irrelevance of left-right labels, 210, 212–13, 212, 213
partisan elites framing of, 102–3
public perceptions of most important problems, 123–27, 123, 124, 125
questionnaire wording and results, 130–31, 132
reform/stability issue overview, 98, 100, 101, 103–5, 105, 127
wealth distribution issue overview, 100, 101, 106–11, 109, 129
See also specific issues
issue ownership theory, 181, 188

Jansen, Guido, 200
Japan
adoption of mixed-member system, 19, 232, 245
colonial rule of Taiwan, 4–5, 9, 48
Jones, Calvin C., 121
Jou, Willy, 202, 215

Key, V. O., Jr., 140
Kiewiet, D. Roderick, 140
Kinder, R. Donald, 140, 172, 173, 174
KMT Party. See Kuomintang (KMT) Party
Kramer, Gerald, 140
Kuomintang (KMT) Party. See also Pan-Blue Alliance
authoritarian regime, 5–6, 10, 73–76, 255–56
candidate evaluation, 19, 175
Chinese consciousness of, 58
coalition nature of, 41n3
constitutional amendments, 246n4
control of legislative branch, 227
development of offshoot parties, 78, 116, 239
dominance under single-party system, 226–27
economic policies, 111–14, 128, 142, 162, 283
electoral reform advocacy, 223–24, 234–36, 240–42
environmental policies, 111–14, 128
ethnic identity connection, 36–40, 38
grassroots support for, 75
irrelevance of left-right labels, 201, 209–10, 209, 211
issue ownership theory applied to, 181–88
monopolization of political power, 16–17, 91
number of registered members, 95n3
Pan-Blue Alliance leadership, 11, 15, 39
post-1990s partisanship, 79–81, 81
postcolonial rule of Taiwan, 48–49
presidential campaigns, 27, 88, 90
public perceptions of, 104, 105
reform/stability issue, 126
re-Sinicization measures, 45, 49, 51, 65
retreat to Taiwan, 5, 16, 31, 48, 58, 73
six-three-three slogan, 147, 155n2
social welfare policies, 106, 107–9, 109, 110, 129, 130, 134n9
suppression of left views, 203
unification/independence issue, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120–22, 128, 287

Laakso-Taagepera numbers, 241–42, 242
Lacy, Dean, 142
Lai, William, 21n7
Lanoue, David, 141
Laver, Michael, 199–200
Lazarsfeld, Paul, 2
Lee Teng-hui
candidate evaluation of, 173, 174–77, 182–83, 186, 188, 190
economic conditions during presidency, 182
evolution of unification/independence position, 51–52, 119, 120, 126
independent voter support of, 88
indirect election of, 49, 195n3
Japanese citizenship of, 21n4
Minnan support for, 31
missile crisis, 163
National Development Meeting, 233
popularity of, 33
reelection of, 6, 30
social welfare policies, 134n9
left, cultural connotations of term, 203–4
left-right political spectrum, 198–222
citizen perception of, 204–7
citizen perception of, 204–7
conventional view of, 214
cultural connotations of, 203–4, 219n6–7
lack of meaning in Taiwan, 19, 134n10, 201–2, 213–16, 218n4, 219n5
overview, 198–99
survey evidence, 207–13, 208–9, 211–13
survey questions, 216–18
legislative elections
electoral system change effects, 242–45, 242, 244
history of, 226–27, 228, 229, 231, 237
interaction with presidential elections, 232, 233, 241, 246n6
post-1990s partisanship, 80
preludes to postreform election, 239–40
unification/independence issue importance, 125–26
voter turnout, 256–57, 257, 258, 259
Legislative Yuan
change to direct election, 256
constitution amendment of, 231–32
electoral system change ratification, 223
events leading to electoral reform, 231–39, 233, 237
nuclear power plant compromise, 112
Lewis-Beck, Michael, 140, 277
Lien Chan
candidate evaluation of, 183, 185–87, 190–91
electoral reform advocacy, 235–36
presidential campaigns, 27, 30, 115, 177, 178–79, 235
running mate candidacy, 174, 286
social welfare policies, 134n9
Lijphart, Arend, 247n8
Lin His-shan, 134n9
Lin Yang-kang, 27, 119, 175, 183, 195n4
Lin Yi-tze, 142, 146
Lin Yi-Xiong, 236
Lipset, Seymour M.
freezing hypothesis, 11, 224, 285
political cleavage, 100, 224
political participation, 262–63
list tier seats, 238
local elections, history of, 256
Lockerbie, Brad, 141
M + 1 rule, 224, 242–43, 244
MacKuen, Michael B., 140
mainlanders
defined, 21n8
monopolization of political power, 48–49
national identity changes, 50, 50, 53–54, 53, 58
Pan-Blue Alliance identification, 16, 51
political participation, 254, 258, 260
support for KMT, 74, 76
support for Lee Teng-hui, 175
Taiwanese identity among, 56
voting behavior, 31–33, 32, 281
Malanchuk, Oksana, 172
Mandarin dialect, left-right terms, 203, 204, 214
manufacturing
move from Taiwan to China, 159
small factory participation, 133nn6–7
Markus, Gregory B., 121, 140
Ma Ying-jeou
candidate evaluation of, 173, 179–80, 186
economic policies, 112, 143, 160, 283
election of, 7, 10, 27, 31, 53, 240
engagement policies, 18
environmental policies, 112
mayoral election victory, 177, 179
Minnan support for, 31
peace dividend, 149
pinyin system use, 22n9
reelection of, 287
reform/stability issue, 105
Sunflower Student Movement protest, 290n9
support from business, 129
unification/independence issue, 118, 120
memory-based model of candidate evaluation, 171
Miller, Arthur, 172
Miller, Warren, 172
Minnan ethnic group defined, 21n8
national identity changes, 9, 53–54, 53
Pan-Green Alliance identification, 16, 51
political participation, 254, 258, 260
pre-1986 lack of representation, 74
support for KMT, 74, 75, 76
support for Lee Teng-hui, 175
views on ethnic tension, 50, 50
voting behavior, 31–33, 32
missile buildup and tests, 7, 10, 14, 59–60, 163
mixed-member majoritarian system (MMM)
adoption of, 12, 19–20, 223, 238
impact of, 239–45, 242, 244
Japan adoption of, 19, 232, 245
SF ratio, 243, 244
subtypes of, 246n1
ticket-splitting, 243–45
Moser, Robert, 226
most important problem, as issue, 123, 123–27, 124, 125, 131
Nadeau, Richard, 140
National Assembly of Taiwan change to direct election, 41n1, 195n3, 256
constitutional amendments, 246n4
electoral system change ratification, 223, 231, 232, 236, 238
National Development Meeting (1996), 233
national health insurance programs, 107, 108
national identity changing boundaries of, 58–62, 60, 61, 64, 65, 274–75
confusion with left-right labels, 215
by ethnicity, 53–54, 53
importance in electoral decision-making, 2, 8
in multifactorial model, 281
overlap with partisan identification, 275–77, 276
perception of animosity from China, 60–61, 61
by political generation, 54–55, 55
political participation and, 254–55, 258, 259, 260–62, 262, 267
private poll results, 67n7
unification/independence issue and, 10, 13, 16, 20–21, 61–62, 61
See also Chinese identity; dual Chinese-Taiwanese identity; Taiwanese identity
Nationalist Party. See Kuomintang (KMT) Party
national referendum proposal, 149, 155n3
national security, as valence issue, 123–24
National Unification Council, 52, 119
National Unification Guidelines, 52, 119
New Central Way policy, 115, 121
New KMT Alliance, 119
New Party (NP)
DPP alliance, 104
formation of, 27, 78, 91, 119, 175
Pan-Blue Alliance membership, 11
support for unification, 13, 117
new Taiwanese (xin-Taiwanren), 50, 52
Nie, Norman, 252
1992 consensus, 119, 134n16, 283, 287, 290n8
Niou, Emerson M. S., 100, 142
nominal tier seats, 238, 243, 246n1, 246n3
Nonpartisan Solidarity Union (NPSU) cooperation with KMT, 240
opposition to MMM system, 236, 238
Pan-Blue Alliance membership, 11
nonpartisan voters. See independent voters
nonresponse rates to left-right question, 207–8, 208
Norris, Pippa, 108, 201
north-south divide. See regional divide
No Unification, No Independence, and No Use of Force pledge, 120
NP. See New Party
NPSU. See Nonpartisan Solidarity Union
nuclear power plant protests, 111, 112–14, 128
occupation, and voting behavior, 34–35, 36
One China principle insistence on, 58–59
ingernational effects, 9
KMT support for, 51–52, 74
1992 consensus, 119, 134n16, 283, 287, 290n8
online model of candidate evaluation, 171
Page, Benjamin, 120, 121
Paldam, Martin, 277
Pan-Blue Alliance age demographics, 35–36, 37
consolidation of two-party system, 27–31, 28, 29
coordination in, 240
education demographics, 33–34, 35
electoral advantage of, 28, 31, 39, 285–86
ethnic identity connection, 31–33, 32, 36–40, 38
formation of, 11, 17, 27, 78–79, 270n4
income demographics, 33, 34
mainlanders identification with, 16, 51
national identity connection, 57, 58
occupation demographics, 34–35, 36
post-1990s partisanship, 79–81, 81
regional divide effects, 15–16, 30–31
wealth distribution issue, 129
See also Kuomintang (KMT) Party
Pan-Green Alliance age demographics, 35–36, 37
consolidation of two-party system, 27–31, 28
economic policies, 283
ethnic identity connection, 33–34, 35, 36–40, 38
ethnic identity demographics, 33
formation of, 11, 17, 27, 78–79, 270n4
income demographics, 33, 34
increasing competitiveness of, 15
Minnan identification with, 16, 51
national identity connection, 57, 58
occupation demographics, 34–35, 36
post-1990s partisanship, 79–81, 81
regional divide effects, 15–16, 30–31
wealth distribution issue, 129
See also Democratic Progressive Party parliament. See Legislative Yuan
parliamentary elections. See legislative elections
partisan identification, 71–97
candidate evaluation connection, 19, 174, 180–89, 183–87, 191
categories of, 79, 94–95n1
democratization effects on, 90–91
ECFA evaluation connection, 164–67, 164, 166
economic voting connection, 143, 149, 153, 155
ethnic identity connection, 16, 36–40, 38, 57, 58
factors in, 273–74, 288
freezing hypothesis effects, 11–12
historical origins of, 73–79, 77
impact on voting, 87, 88, 89
importance in electoral decision-making, 2, 8, 16–17
independent and weakly partisan voters, 81–82, 82, 91–92
irrelevance of left-right labels, 213, 214, 219n12
issue position connection, 121–22, 122, 135n18
literature review, 72–73
measurement in TEDS survey, 289n2
overlap with national identity, 275–77, 276
overview, 71–72
political interest effects, 81–83, 82, 83, 84
political participation and, 254, 258, 259, 260–62, 261, 266
post-1990s partisanship, 79–81, 81
support for democracy and, 85–86, 86, 87
survey question wording, 218
unification/independence issue effects on, 11–12, 84–85, 84, 85
goal choice effects, 88–90, 89, 90
party list system, 223, 238, 241, 247n9
party polarization, confusion with left-right labels, 214–15
party switching, 239
party system
history of, 228
importance to democracy, 92
power of identity in, 288–89
pre-1986 elections, 73–79, 77
theoretical frameworks, 224–26
See also two-party system; specific parties
Peng Ming-min, 88, 115, 175, 188
People First Party (PFP)
cooperation with KMT, 116, 239
electoral reform advocacy, 235, 236, 238
formation of, 27, 78, 91
Pan-Blue Alliance membership, 11
postreform election, 241
social welfare policies, 109
personal character
candidate evaluation of, 172–73, 174–80, 176, 178, 180, 190–91
relationship with partisanship, 180–88, 183–87
survey questions, 192, 193, 194, 194n1
personal income. See disposable income per capita
Petrocik, John, 181
PFP. See People First Party
Pierce, Roy, 198, 202
pinyin system, 22n9
Plebiscite Law, 118
Political Change in Britain (Butler and Stokes), 3
political generations, 67n6
political identity. See voter identity
political interest, partisanship and, 81–83, 82, 83, 84
political knowledge, political participation and, 255, 259, 260–62, 263, 268
political participation, 252–72
concerns with unequal participation, 261–62, 265–66
defined, 253
electoral participation, 260–63, 264–68, 270n8
factors in, 20, 253–55, 264–65
need for further research, 263–64
overview, 252–53
restriction of, during authoritarian period, 49
survey questions and coding scheme, 267–69
position issues, 101
See also specific issues
postal voting, lack of, 22n9
Powell, G. Bingham, Jr., 225, 278
presidential elections
candidate evaluation in, 19
comparison of factors influencing vote choice, 278–82, 280, 282
presidential elections (continued)
ECFA evaluation and vote choice, 166, 166
economic voting in, 18, 142–43, 154
electoral system change effects, 242, 242
former indirect election practice, 41n1, 195n3
historical trends in voter turnout, 256–57, 257
independent voter influence on, 90
interaction with legislative elections, 226, 232, 233, 241, 246n6
partisanship changes over time, 80, 88–89
plurality system, 227, 230
recent results of, 26–27
unification/independence issue
importance, 125–26, 286–87
voter turnout by age, 258, 259
primordialism framework
overview, 46–48, 64
relational aspects of boundaries, 45–46, 65
views on Taiwanese identity, 54, 56
proportional representation
Duverger’s hypothesis, 224, 225, 241, 242
electoral system change effects, 242, 242
in postreform legislature, 240–41
in prereform legislature, 227
sincere voting, 243, 245
prospective economic voting
hypothesis for, 143
logistic regression models, 147–49, 148
mixed evidence for, 142–43, 154, 278
in multifactorial model, 279, 281
results of survey, 144–46, 145, 146
theoretical framework, 141
public perceptions
environmental protection/economy issue, 111–12, 113, 113, 114
most important problem facing Taiwan, 123–27, 123, 124, 125
response to elite framing of issues, 99
unification/independence issue, 115–22, 116, 122
wealth distribution issue, 108–9, 109
Qing dynasty, 4, 9, 48
Rectification Movement (zheng-ming-yung-dong), 52
reform/stability issue
diminishing importance of, 17
framing of, 103–5, 105
importance during democratization, 100, 101
irrelevance of left-right labels, 210, 212–13, 212, 213
issue ownership theory applied to, 182, 186, 187
questionnaire wording and results, 130, 132
role in party competition, 98
status as most important problem facing Taiwan, 124, 125, 126
survey question wording, 217
regional divide, 15, 28, 30–31
Regulations for Managing the Relations between Citizens of the PRC and Taiwan, 118
Republic of Taiwan, as term, 9, 115
Resolution on Taiwan’s Future, 115
retrospective economic voting
hypothesis for, 143
logistic regression models, 147–49, 148
mixed evidence for, 142–43, 154, 278
in multifactorial model, 279, 290n6
results of survey, 144–46, 145
theoretical framework, 141
right, cultural connotations of term, 203–4
right-left political spectrum. See left-right political spectrum
rising new nation (xin-xing-min-zu), 50
Rokkan, Stein, 11, 100, 224, 285
Rosenstone, Steven, 253
Scheiner, Ethan, 226
semipresidential system of Taiwan
interaction with legislature, 225–26, 232
role in electoral reform, 239, 245
seniors. See elderly
SF ratio, 242–43, 244
Shanks, J. Merrill, 172
Sheng, Shin-yuan, 142
sheng-ming-gong-tong-ti (collectivity of
common fate), 50
Shih Ming-te, 133n3
Shils, Edward, 46
Shugart, Matthew, 246n1
Sigelman, Lee, 198
Singer, Matthew, 3
single-member districts (SMDs)
creation of, 223
Duverger’s law, 224–25, 241, 242
electoral system change effects, 242,
242
strategic voting in, 243, 245
single non-transferable vote (SNTV)
electoral rules
disadvantages of, 231
history of, 226–31, 228, 229, 230,
246n2
reform of, 12, 223
SF ratio, 243, 244
six-three-three slogan, 147, 155n2
small business ownership, 107, 134n8
small parties
MMM system disadvantages, 238,
239
SNTV system advantages, 231
SNTV. See single non-transferable vote
(SNTV) electoral rules
socialization, effect on constructed iden-
tities, 47, 65
social order, as valence issue, 123–24
social welfare policies
as emerging issue, 283–85, 284
evolution of, 106–11, J09
irrelevance of left-right labels, 199–
200, 210, 212–13, 212, 213
in multifactorial model, 281
survey question wording, 217
Soong, James
electoral reform advocacy, 236
Lien Chan alliance, 115, 177, 178
move to PFP, 27, 116, 179
presidential campaigns, 30, 235, 241,
286, 287
south-north divide. See regional divide
spatial model of left-right voting, 198
Stevenson, Randolph, 141
Stimson, James A., 99, 140
Stokes, Donald, 3
strategic voting, 241, 243–45
Sunflower Student Movement, 262,
266, 283, 290n9
Taiwan citizen, defined, 21n3
Taiwan Consensus, 119, 286, 287
Taiwan Election and Democratization
Studies. See TEDS (Taiwan Elec-
tion and Democratization Studies)
Taiwan Election Commission, 257
Taiwanese, as term, 21n3
Taiwanese dialect, left-right terms, 203,
214
Taiwanese identity
by ethnicity, 53–54, 53
increasing population with, 58, 64
in multifactorial model, 281
Pan-Green Alliance support, 11
perception of animosity from China,
60–61, 61
by political generation, 54–55, 55
political participation and, 255, 258,
262
primordial conceptualization of, 54, 56
reinforcement with independence
views, 10
Taiwanese consciousness vs., 67n4
See also dual Chinese-Taiwanese
identity
Taiwan Independence Clause, 114, 119
Taiwan National Security Survey, 4
Taiwan Provincial Assembly elections,
77–78, 77
Taiwan Provincial Council, 233
Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)
  formation of, 78, 91
  opposition to MMM system, 235, 238
  Pan-Green Alliance membership, 11
  party switching to DPP, 239
  postreform election, 241
  unification/independence issue, 13, 116–18, 126
Tan, Alexander, 168
Tanaka, Aiji, 214, 219n14
TEDS (Taiwan Election and Democratization Studies)
  left-right political spectrum, 202, 204
  partisan identification measurement, 289n2
  political participation data, 253, 257
  as source, 4
  ticket-splitting evidence, 244
Thomassen, Jacques, 3
Three Direct Links, 162
  ticket-splitting, 243–45
Tien, Hung-mao, 142
Tuan Yi-kang, 119
Tufte, Edward R., 140, 149
Tverdova, Yulia, 173
2-28 Incident (1947), 6, 9, 48, 73
two-party system
Dang-wai situation, 77
district level effects, 243
institutional structures effects on, 19–20
largeness of parties in, 273
stability of, 285
unification/independence issue
  changing boundaries of, 62–64, 63
  Chinese vs. Taiwanese consciousness and, 51
dominance in Taiwanese politics, 8–12
economic voting connection, 143, 164–67, 164, 165
evolution of issue, 114–22, 116, 122, 128
importance in future elections, 285–89
irrelevance of left-right labels, 203, 206, 210, 212–13, 212, 213, 215
issue ownership theory applied to, 182
relationship with partisanship, 84–85, 84, 85, 276–77
relative importance of, 6, 14–15
role in electoral reform, 245–46
role in party competition, 98, 100–101
shifting public opinion of, 167–68
status as most important problem facing Taiwan, 124–26, 124, 125
survey questions, 131, 132, 133, 216
wealth distribution issue absorbed into, 129–30
United Nations, Taiwan application for membership, 118, 121

valence issues, 101, 124

See also specific issues
Verba, Sidney, 252
vote choice
  comparative strength of factors influencing, 2, 8, 13–15, 101, 277–82, 280, 282
  funnel of causality model, 170, 191
power of identity in, 289
relationship with candidate evaluation, 174, 188–89, 189, 190, 191–92
relationship with partisanship, 88–90, 89, 90
See also economic voting; specific issues
voter identity, 45–70, 273–290
Chinese/Taiwanese consciousness boundary, 51–58, 53, 55, 57, 64–65
comparative strength of factors influencing vote choice, 278–82, 280, 282, 289n4
complexity of, 273–74
economic voting and, 277–78
ethnicity boundary, 48–51, 50, 64
evolution from ethnic to national, 274–75
implications for future elections, 285–89
importance in electoral decision-making, 2
national identity boundary, 58–62, 60, 61, 65
overlap of national identity and partisanship identification, 275–77, 276
overview, 45–46
role of ECFA attitudes in central cleavage, 282–85
theoretical frameworks, 46–48, 64
unification/independence issue effects on, 62–64, 63, 65
See also ethnic identity; national identity
voter level changes, postreform, 243–45
voter turnout
explanations of, 257–59, 259–63
historical trends in, 255–57, 257
importance to democracy, 252–53
misreporting of, 257, 270nn6–7
relationship with partisanship, 87, 88, 89
Wattenberg, Martin, 172, 246n1
wealth distribution
evolution of issue, 100, 101, 106–11, 109, 129–130, 282–85, 284
importance in electoral decision-making, 17
questionnaire wording and results, 130, 132
status as most important problem facing Taiwan, 124, 125, 126
wealth inequality
economic development effects, 155n1
increase in, 107, 110–11, 129, 282–85, 284
unequal political participation and, 265–66
Western democracies, left-right political spectrum, 198, 199–201, 215
Whitten, Guy, 278
Wilson, J. Matthew, 141
Wong Chung-chun, 134n9
Wu, Chin-en, 142, 146
Wu, Yu-Shan, 284
xin-Taiwanren (new Taiwanese), 50, 52
xin-xing-min-zu (rising new nation), 50
Yough, Syng Nam, 198
You Xi-Kun, 235
Zaller, John, 152
Zechmeister, Elizabeth, 3, 200–201
Zhang Xue-shun, 246n7
zheng-ming-yung-dong (Rectification Movement), 52