

# Citizenship Norm and Political Participation in Taiwan

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# Participation beyond Voting: Social Movement



## Theoretical Concerns

Why do people participate in politics?

How to explain different modes of political participation?

We pay a special attention on the linkages between citizenship norms and political participation from a viewpoint of the general public in Taiwan. Specifically, we address the following three issues over the period of democratic transition to consolidation:

- Variations of norms and modes of participation
- Different linkages between citizenship norms and political participation
- Features of the changing political participation

# Explanations for Political Participation: Behavioral Approaches

- Social-structural Model  
Ex: gender, age, education
- Attitudinal Model  
Ex: political efficacy, political interest
- Cultural Model  
Ex: democratic values, citizenship norms

# Measures of Citizenship Norms: International Social Survey Program, 2004 and 2014

## Good Citizenship

To be a good citizen, how important is it for a person to (blank) ?

- always vote in elections
- never try to evade taxes
- obey laws
- keep a watch on the actions of government
- be active in social and political associations
- try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions
- buy or boycott goods for political/ethical/environmental reasons
- help people in your country who are worse off than yourself
- help people in the world who are worse off than yourself

# Perceptions of Citizenship Norms, 2004 vs. 2014

	2004	2014	Difference 14-04	t-test
	Mean (Standard Error)	Mean (Standard Error)		
Always vote in election	5.921 (1.443)	5.362 (1.707)	-0.559	***
never try to evade taxes	6.263 (1.191)	6.245 (1.253)	-0.018	
obey laws	6.375 (1.056)	6.471 (1.009)	0.096	**
keep a watch on the actions of government	5.615 (1.510)	5.416 (1.542)	-0.199	***
be active in social and political associations	4.098 (1.772)	3.777 (1.717)	-0.321	***
try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions	5.146 (1.691)	5.262 (1.649)	0.116	*
buy or boycott goods for political/ethical/environmental reasons	4.782 (1.792)	4.648 (1.720)	-0.134	*
help people in your country who are worse off than yourself	5.712 (1.328)	5.766 (1.217)	0.054	
help people in the world who are worse off than yourself	4.765 (1.720)	4.745 (1.673)	-0.020	***

# Two Dimensions of Citizenship Norms, 2004 vs. 2014

		2004	2014	Test
Perception of Engaged Citizenship Norm	Mean	0.692	0.684	
	Standard Deviation	0.170	0.154	
	Sample Size	1675	1749	
Perception of Duty-based Citizenship Norm	Mean	0.858	0.833	***
	Standard Deviation	0.137	0.144	
	Sample Size	1701	1788	

# Political Activisms: Unconventional Political Activities

Have done the following activities?

- sign a petition
- boycott certain products
- take part in a demonstration
- attend political meeting or rally
- contact a politician
- donate money or raise funds
- contact media
- express views on the internet



# Modes of Political Participation, 2004 vs. 2014

Types of Participation		2004	2014	Difference 2014 - 2004
Political Activism	0	834 (49.70)	674 (38.17)	-11.53
	1	398 (23.72)	440 (24.92)	1.20
	2	201 (11.98)	275 (15.57)	3.59
	3	120 (7.15)	164 (9.29)	2.14
	4	71 (4.23)	102 (5.78)	1.55
	5	54 (3.22)	111 (6.29)	3.07
Voting	Yes	1299 (86.54)	1409 (84.47)	-2.07
	No	202 (13.46)	259 (15.53)	
Party Membership	Yes	414 (23.26)	303 (16.32)	-6.94
	No	1366 (76.74)	1554 (83.68)	

# Determinants of Political Participation, 2004 vs. 2014

## Dependent Variable

Political Activism, Voting, and Party Membership

## Independent Variables:

- Norms (Value) Variables:  
duty-based and engaged citizenship
- Demographic Variables:  
gender, age, education, occupation
- Attitudinal Variables:  
political efficacy, political interest, party identification

# Empirical Findings: Political Activism

	2004 (Model I)			2014 (Model II)				
	B	S.E	Exp (B)	B	S.E	Exp (B)		
<b>Citizenship Norm</b>								
Engaged Citizenship	1.052	**	0.335	2.863	1.075	**	0.347	2.929
Duty-based Citizenship	-0.145		0.414	0.865	0.021		0.377	1.021
<b>Education (Elementary: base)</b>								
Junior High	0.305		0.183	1.356	0.195		0.211	1.215
Senior High	0.449	*	0.177	1.567	0.361		0.189	1.435
Junior College	0.428	*	0.203	1.534	0.523	*	0.219	1.686
College	0.871	***	0.213	2.390	0.793	***	0.220	2.210
<b>Age</b>	0.004		0.004	1.004	0.004		0.004	1.004
<b>Occupation (Agriculture: base)</b>								
Blue Collar	0.450		0.233	1.568	0.078		0.294	1.081
Low White Collar	0.368		0.263	1.445	0.633	*	0.316	1.883
High White Collar	0.382		0.276	1.465	0.548		0.329	1.729
Others	0.280		0.252	1.323	0.033		0.398	1.034
<b>Gender (Female)</b>								
Male	-0.134		0.103	0.874	-0.153		0.095	0.858
<b>Political Efficacy</b>								
External	-0.027		0.026	0.973	0.001		0.022	1.001
Internal	0.138	***	0.039	1.148	0.170	***	0.033	1.185
<b>Political Interest</b>	0.663	***	0.065	1.940	0.496	***	0.063	1.642
<b>Party Identification (Pan Blue: base)</b>								
Pan Green	-0.054		0.127	0.947	0.195		0.142	1.215
Independent	-0.532	***	0.124	0.588	-0.160		0.118	0.852

# Empirical Findings: Voting

	2004 (Model III)			2014 (Model IV)		
	B	S.E.	Exp ( B )	B	S.E.	Exp ( B )
<b>Citizenship Norm</b>						
Engaged Citizenship	0.234	0.562	1.263	-0.457	0.587	0.633
Duty-based Citizenship	1.228	0.656	3.415	2.682	***	0.545 14.613
<b>Education (Elementary: base)</b>						
Junior High	0.175	0.374	1.191	-0.533	0.441	0.587
Senior High	-0.408	0.341	0.665	-0.497	0.406	0.609
Junior College	-0.491	0.393	0.612	-0.562	0.442	0.570
College	-0.725	0.406	0.485	-0.563	0.449	0.569
Age	0.015	0.008	1.015	0.039	***	0.008 1.040
<b>Occupation (Agriculture: base)</b>						
Blue Collar	-0.872	0.561	0.418	-0.896	0.788	0.408
Low White Collar	-0.519	0.611	0.595	-0.640	*	0.812 0.527
High White Collar	-1.111	0.620	0.329	-0.953	0.824	0.385
Others	-0.865	0.591	0.421	-0.873	0.991	0.418
<b>Gender (Female)</b>						
Male	-0.296	0.193	0.744	-0.584	***	0.165 0.558
<b>Political Efficacy</b>						
External	-0.076	0.049	0.927	0.024	0.379	1.024
Internal	0.139	*	0.070 1.149	0.067	0.555	1.069
Political Interest	0.376	**	0.129 1.456	0.364	**	0.114 1.439
<b>Party Identification (Pan Blue: base)</b>						
Pan Green	-0.375	0.321	0.687	-0.275	0.292	0.759
Independent	-1.703	***	0.279 0.182	-1.000	***	0.234 0.368

# Empirical Findings: Party Membership

	2004 (Model V)			2014 (Model VI)				
	B	S.E	Exp (B)	B	S.E	Exp (B)		
<b>Citizenship Norm</b>								
Engaged Citizenship	0.281	0.458	1.324	0.145	0.582	1.156		
Duty-based								
Citizenship	0.421	0.590	1.523	-0.253	0.610	0.776		
<b>Education</b>								
<b>(Elementary: base)</b>								
Junior High	0.612	*	0.269	1.844	1.470	***	0.339	4.350
Senior High	1.621	***	0.246	5.056	2.014	***	0.319	7.493
Junior College	1.706	***	0.280	5.509	2.449	***	0.355	11.580
College	1.164	***	0.304	3.203	1.528	***	0.382	4.611
<b>Age</b>	0.048	***	0.006	1.049	0.069	***	0.007	1.071
<b>Occupation</b>								
<b>(Agriculture: base)</b>								
Blue Collar	0.624	*	0.317	1.866	0.214	0.444	1.239	
Low White Collar	0.679		0.356	1.972	-0.185	0.495	0.831	
High White Collar	0.827	*	0.369	2.287	0.627	0.504	1.872	
Others	0.220		0.357	1.246	-0.144	0.723	0.866	
<b>Gender (Female)</b>								
Male	0.765	***	0.148	2.148	0.952	***	0.169	2.590
<b>Political Efficacy</b>								
External	-0.029		0.036	0.972	-0.033	0.036	0.967	
Internal	0.132	*	0.054	1.141	0.113	*	0.056	1.120
<b>Political Interest</b>	0.224	*	0.087	1.251	0.387	***	0.102	1.473
<b>Party Identification</b>								
<b>(Pan Blue: base)</b>								
Pan Green	-0.665	***	0.170	0.514	-0.987	***	0.221	0.373
Independent	-0.915	***	0.165	0.400	-1.044	***	0.178	0.352

# What Determines Political Participation?

## ■ Norms

- engaged citizenship norms affect political activism
- duty-based citizenship norms affect voting
- neither norms affect party membership

## ■ Demographics

no consistent pattern

## ■ Attitudes

internal efficacy, political interest, and party identification all affect three modes of participation.

# Counter Factual Analysis: intuition

- When we observe the value change of the dependent variable over time, whether such change can be attributed to the changes of the independent variables per se or to the changes of the coefficients for the independent variables.
- The former may indicate the changes of “factors” while the later indicates the changes of “context”.

$$Y_i^* = \beta X_i + \epsilon$$

# Counter Factual Analysis: Procedure

- Conduct “out of sample” prediction by putting one year’s data set (for example like the 2004 data) into the other year’s model (for example like the 2014 model) to see what if those surveyed in 2004 would have answered in 2014.
- Estimate the differences between the predicted participation and actual participation
- Attribute the estimated differences to the changes of factors or the changes of linkages



# Counter Factual Analysis: Results

	2004 Predicted Prob. (A)	04 Data in 14 Model (B)	2014 Predicted Prob. (C)	Change (D)	Attribute to Ind. Var. [(C)-(B)]/(D)	Attribute to Coefficients [(B)-(A)]/(D)
Political Activism	0.539	0.647	0.656	0.117	0.009 7.7%	0.108 92.3%
Voting	0.865	0.856	0.824	-0.041	-0.032 78.0%	-0.009 22.0%
Party Members hip	0.240	0.142	0.167	-0.073	0.025 -34.2%	-0.098 134.2%

# Concluding Remarks

## Linkages between Norms and Participation:

- Engaged citizenship norms → Active participation
- Duty-based citizenship norms → Voting

## From Transition to Consolidation:

- The structural changes drive people to actively participate in politics.
- The decrease of voting behavior can mainly attribute to the decreasing levels of the factors.
- The decline of party membership can also be explained by the changing structure of Taiwan's democratic participation.

Thank you very much for your attention!