

Individuals' Cultural Biases and Their Reaction on the Cross-Strait Issues:

A Case Study on the Sunflower Movement in Taiwan

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Unidimensional ideologies and scientific evidence are essential to studying politics and policymaking. Specifically, unidimensional ideological spectrums and partisanship are often used to describe, explain, and predict politics. In the study of American politics, scholars often employ the liberal-conservative ideological spectrum and Democrat-Republican partisanship to study political behavior, such as explaining and predicting roll call votes in Congress, legislator preferences, and conflicts in the policy-making process. Scholar who study rational choice also employ this unidimensional spectrum to develop theories that predict policy outcomes (Krehbiel, 1998). Similar to the study of American politics, scholars who study Taiwanese politics tend to explain political debates through partisan conflicts. For example, when it comes to the contemporary cross-strait issues, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is often portrayed as the symbol of anti-China, while the Kuomintang (KMT) is portrayed as being pro-China. These unidimensional ideologies and the partisan spectrum, to some extent, seem to provide scholars a simple analytical framework in the study of politics.

In addition to the unidimensional ideologies, scientific evidence also plays a crucial role in the study politics. The importance of science evidence has been expanding in policy decision making (Jasanoff, 2009). Science is often considered a symbol of human rationality. When it comes to policies that require professional assessment, scientific evidence is an essential element in the decision making process. Specifically, as Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier (1994) indicate, scientists and scientific evidence are essential elements that increases the legitimacy of arguments provides by each coalition. Without the support from scientist, advocacy coalitions cannot convinces policy-makers

and the public that their argument is based on rational evaluation. Therefore, similar to unidimensional ideologies, science is indispensable in the study of policymaking.

Nonetheless, relying on unidimensional ideological spectrums and scientific evidence to explain and predict political outcomes as well as solve political conflicts is intrinsically problematic. More precisely, even though the unidimensional ideological spectrums are frequently used to measure and describe individuals' beliefs, values, and political expectations, these spectrums cannot comprehensively capture individuals' value structures, political expectations, and political behavior. For example, the liberal-conservative debate in the United States often ties economics, social welfare, racial, and cultural issues together rather than measure these individually. However, on the unidimensional left-right spectrum, individuals' opinion toward governmental economic intervention may not be compatible with their belief about equality (Swedlow, 2008). In other words, the current unidimensional ideological spectrum may not be comprehensive enough to capture an individual's political opinion and preference.

Moreover, the controversy of scientific evidence and the diversification of individuals' perceptions increase the complexity of the role of science in policy making. Even though scientific evidence seems to be objective and based on rational research, the uncertainty of scientific controversies increases the flexibility of interpreting scientific results. Individuals' value structure often affects their perception toward scientific result. In other words, the role of science in policymaking varies by individuals (Coyle, 1994; Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983). Therefore, scientific evidence itself is not sufficient to solve the controversy in the policymaking processes. When it is connected to political issues, the scientific evidence is often interpreted politically.

The insufficiency of unidimensional ideological spectrums and scientific evidence on explaining and resolving political conflicts in the policymaking process gives rise to a question, what framework can political scientists employ to comprehensively and systematically explain the nature of political conflicts? In an attempt to answer this question, Mary Douglas's Cultural Theory (CT), as introduced by Aaron Wildavsky is an alternative approach in studying politics in the United States. CT provides a two dimensional framework that can be employed to systematically explain political conflicts (Swedlow, 2011c). However, CT is rarely employed to study Taiwanese politics. This research suggests that CT should be introduced to the study of Taiwanese politics in order to solve the insufficiencies of using unidimensional ideological and partisan continuums in explaining political conflicts in Taiwan, especially on the Cross-Strait issues.

To further elaborate on this argument, this research uses the conflicts in the Taiwanese sunflower movement as an example, indicating how cultural theory fills the gap that other unidimensional ideological frameworks leave when studying Taiwanese politics. Specifically, the following research first reviews the current frameworks that previous literature of Taiwanese politics has used and indicates their insufficiencies. Second, it introduces the Taiwanese Sunflower movement, indicating the insufficiencies of current unidimensional ideological spectrums in explaining the conflicts under this movement. Third, it employs CT to explain the conflicts in the Sunflower movement. Fourth, it provides suggestions for the future studies on the Cross-Strait issues. Because the main purpose of this article is to introduce cultural theory to the study of the Cross-Strait issues, instead of completing the empirical testing that requires comprehensive

process of sampling and causal analysis, this research provides examples to highlight the possibility of using CT as a key explanatory variable on the Cross-Strait study.

Previous Research on the Cross-Strait Issues and Its Insufficiencies

The Cross-Strait relation is a crucial topic in the Taiwanese politics. The relationship between China and Taiwan after the mid 1940s has been complicated. Before the middle of the 1980s, the Cross-Strait issues were the most important lesson for Taiwan on national security. After the middle 1980s, because of the Taiwanese democratization and the improvement of the relationship between China and Taiwan, the Cross-Strait issues were no longer limited to national defense and security; instead, these issues have been expanded to political and economic interaction. The interaction between China and Taiwan enriched Taiwanese politics, and because of this the major conflicts of Taiwan politics are intertwined with the Cross-Strait issues.

In the study of Taiwanese politics, partisan conflicts and unidimensional ideologies are often employed to explain and predict the political process and outcome when it comes to the policy making on the Cross-Strait issues. Generally, the Kuomintang Party (KMT) and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), are distinctly different on the issues that are related to China-Taiwan relations (Chang & Huang, 2011; Sheng, 2002; Wu & Hsu, 2003). Scholars, such as Cheng (2004) and Tsai (2013), indicate that the current parties in Taiwan are polarized on political issues, especially Cross-Strait issues. Specifically, several unidimensional ideological spectrums, which are related to Cross-Strait issues, are highly connected to the partisan conflicts in Taiwan. First, for example, Sheng (2002) studies the relationship between parties and ideology on

independence verse unification with China debate, indicating that parties often emphasize independence verse unification to attract party liners or independents. On the one hand, the KMT emphasizes neither independence from nor unification with China, and stays the statue quo. In other words, the KMT tries to prevent conflicts with China, while the DPP emphasizes Taiwan independence.

Second, partisan conflicts in Taiwan are highly correlated with ethnic identity. As Wu and Hsu (2003) indicate, most DPP identify themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese, while those who identify with the KMT do not emphasize their ethnicity. Chang and Huang (2011) also point out that the DPP identifiers are eager to identify themselves as Taiwanese and get rid of the Chinese label. Therefore, when it comes to the Cross-Strait issues, the DPP are more likely to oppose cooperation with China. Third, the two parties also have different standpoint on economic issues. Chen (2003) and Sheng and Chen (2003), suggest that the two majority parties in Taiwan have significant differences on economic issues. The KMT is more economically conservatives while the DPP is more economically liberal. Therefore, the KMT are more likely to build Free Trade Agreement with China, but not the DPP. According to the current literature, the conflicts on the Cross-Strait issues are often considered conflicts of the two parties in Taiwan. Unidimensional ideological differences between these two parties have been used to explain why the KMT votes more for Cross-Strait cooperation while the DPP opposes the cooperation.

Even though the studies discussed above suggest partisan conflict and the Cross-Strait ideology have strong explanatory power, these unidimensional spectrums are insufficient to explain issues that are related to the Cross-Strait issues. For example, the

unification-independence dichotomy is not sufficient to explain why individuals who prefer independence support Cross-Strait economic cooperation. Party identification cannot explain why KMT identifiers oppose the Cross-Strait cooperation. Also, based on the survey conducted by Election Study Center at National Chengchi University, the proportion of Taiwanese identifiers is significantly larger than the proportion of Taiwanese who want Taiwanese independence. All of these incompatibilities reveal insufficiencies when using the unidimensional ideological spectrums and partisan continuums to study the Cross-Strait issues. In order to comprehensively study the most important political issues in Taiwan, the Cross-Strait relation, an alternative explanatory variable is required.

The Conflicts under the Taiwanese Sunflower Movement

The Sunflower movement began on 18 March 2014 when Taiwanese students occupied the Legislative Yuan in opposition against the recent Cross-Strait Trade Agreement. This robust movement not only enhanced a salient conflict in Taiwanese politics, the cross-strait issue, but also revealed a cleavage in public opinion toward the trade agreement and the demonstration itself. Since the movement started, political professionals have tried to use pro-China anti-China or pro-capitalism anti-capitalism ideologies to explain the cleavage of public opinion.

However, these unidimensional ideologies and partisan arguments as well as scientific evidence have proved incapable to analyze the nature of this cleavage within Taiwanese society. For example, among those individuals who oppose the Cross-Strait Trade Agreement, some support the students' demonstration while some think the

students' behavior is illegitimate. Among those individuals who oppose the Sunflower demonstration, some support the Cross-Strait Trade Agreement while others oppose the Agreement. The unidimensional ideological and partisan spectrums have proven their insufficiencies to explain the conflict of Sunflower movement.

Meanwhile, the scientific controversy cannot solve or explain the conflicts among the demonstration, either. Specifically, ever since the demonstration started, economists and legal experts have provided professional argument in an attempt to solve the conflict evoked by the demonstration. However, both the pro-Agreement coalition and the anti-Agreement coalition provide persuasive scientific evidence that supports their own standpoints. None of these scientific reports can defeat the arguments provided by the other coalition. For example, the pro-Agreement coalition provides economic data that reveals the benefit of signing the Agreement while the anti-Agreement coalition also relies on economical argument to point out how the Agreement damage the service industry in Taiwan. Hence, scientific evidence and expert-based arguments are not sufficient to solve the conflict in the Sunflower movement.

The example of the Sunflower movement reveals the insufficiencies of current unidimensional ideological and partisan continuums on explaining the Cross-Strait issues. It also shows the complexity of the scientific argument in policy making. Without a framework that systematically analyzes and explains the nature of political conflicts in the policymaking process, the conflicts cannot be resolved. In an attempt to understand the conflicts of the Sunflower movement, the following suggests that CT is an alternative approach of explaining these complex conflicts.

Cultural Theory in the Study of Politics

Culture is a powerful, but is an abstract concept that is often employed to explain the differences between groups. Specifically, this concept is often used to explain the difference between values, beliefs, and practices from country to country, area to area, and group to group. For example, Asian culture is dissimilar from Western culture, and Christian culture is different from Islamic culture. However, when applying the term “culture” to the study of politics, such as political culture, the term often receives several criticisms because culture appears to be imprecise and unscientific (Wildavsky, Chai, & Swedlow, 1996; Wildavsky, Ellis, & Thompson, 1997). Without further classification of the term “culture,” it cannot be usefully applied in to the study of social science no matter how strong its explanatory power is. In other words, to apply culture as an explanatory variable in the study of politics, a framework or typology that can precisely capture the useful element of culture difference is essential.

To overcome the obstacle of incorporating culture into the study of social science, Cultural theory was developed. CT was originally developed by Anthropologist Mary Douglas’s and introduced into the study of political science by Aaron Wildavsky (Swedlow, 2011c). Instead of trying to capture the meaning of culture, cultural theory provides a two dimensional framework that allows researchers to precisely measure the variation across cultures (Chai, Dorj, Hampton, & Liu, 2011). That is, cultural theory captures individuals’ worldviews by categorizing them into different cultural types. In other word, the framework of cultural theory enables scholars of political science the ability to incorporate cultural variation and individuals’ cultural types as explanatory variables to explain and predict political process and outcomes (Thompson, Ellis, &

Wildavsky, 1990). Also, because cultural theory does not attempt to capture all the details of different cultures, its framework can be employed to measure the cultural bias of the individual level. That is, cultural theory is powerful to measure the diversification of individuals' rationality (Swedlow, 2011c), which in turn helps political scholars explain why individuals behave different on political issues.

In cultural theory, an individual's cultural biases can be divided in to four categories by two dimensions. Generally, CT scholars believe that individuals cultural biases, varies because individuals have different "way of life" toward social organization and "world views" toward their supportive values (Douglas, 1970, 2011; Kahan, 2012). More precisely, Mary Douglas (1970; Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983) and Thompson et al. (1990) developed a two dimensional framework, the group and grid diagram, that divides individuals into four categories. First, the "group" dimension refers to individuals' way of life toward social organization and collectivities. Individuals with high degree of group, emphasize the value of group identity and group thinking while individuals with low degree of group emphasize the value of individual choice rather than being a member of a group (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1983; Jones, 2011; Swedlow, 2011c). Second, the "grid" dimension captures to what extent individuals' decision-making is limited by externally imposed rules (Kahan, 2012; Ripberger, Jenkins-Smith, & Herron, 2011; Thompson et al., 1990). In other word, the grid dimension indicates the extent of individual's autonomy. Individuals with high grid prefer defined roles, rules, stability, and order imposed by external prescriptions, while individuals with low grid prefer little externally imposed rules.

Based on these two dimensions, as Figure 1 reveals, individuals who have a strong group way of life are either hierarchs or egalitarians. More precisely, individuals who have hierarchical cultural bias (high group/high grid) believe they are part of collective thinking (Swedlow, 2011b). Also, they are highly controlled by social norm. As a result, hierarchs prefer the rule, order, and stability (Chai et al., 2011; Swedlow, 2011b). They believe everyone has his or her own position in the pyramid of society. In the pyramid, individuals who have authority make decisions for the whole society. Similar to hierarchs, egalitarians (high group/low grid) are also part of collective thinking, caring about the common interest of their group. However, unlike hierarchs, egalitarians are not controlled by social norms. They retain their autonomy and believe everyone in society has an equal opportunity in the decision making process. They do not believe in authority; instead, they believe in equality in the decision making process (Chai et al., 2011; Swedlow, 2011b).

Moreover, individuals who have weak group way of life are either individualists or fatalists. Both cultural relations are not part of collective thinking and do not act collectively. They do not perceive they are part of social units and care less about collective interest (Chai et al., 2011; Ripberger et al., 2011; Swedlow, 2011b). However, compared to fatalistic, individualists (low group/low grid) retain more about their autonomy. They do not prefer external imposed rules and norms. Fatalists, unlike individualists, do not emphasize on their individual autonomy. The fatalistic cultural relation is fragile (low group/high grid). Therefore, in the decision making process, fatalists tend to rely on others' decisions (Chai et al., 2011; Swedlow, 2011b).

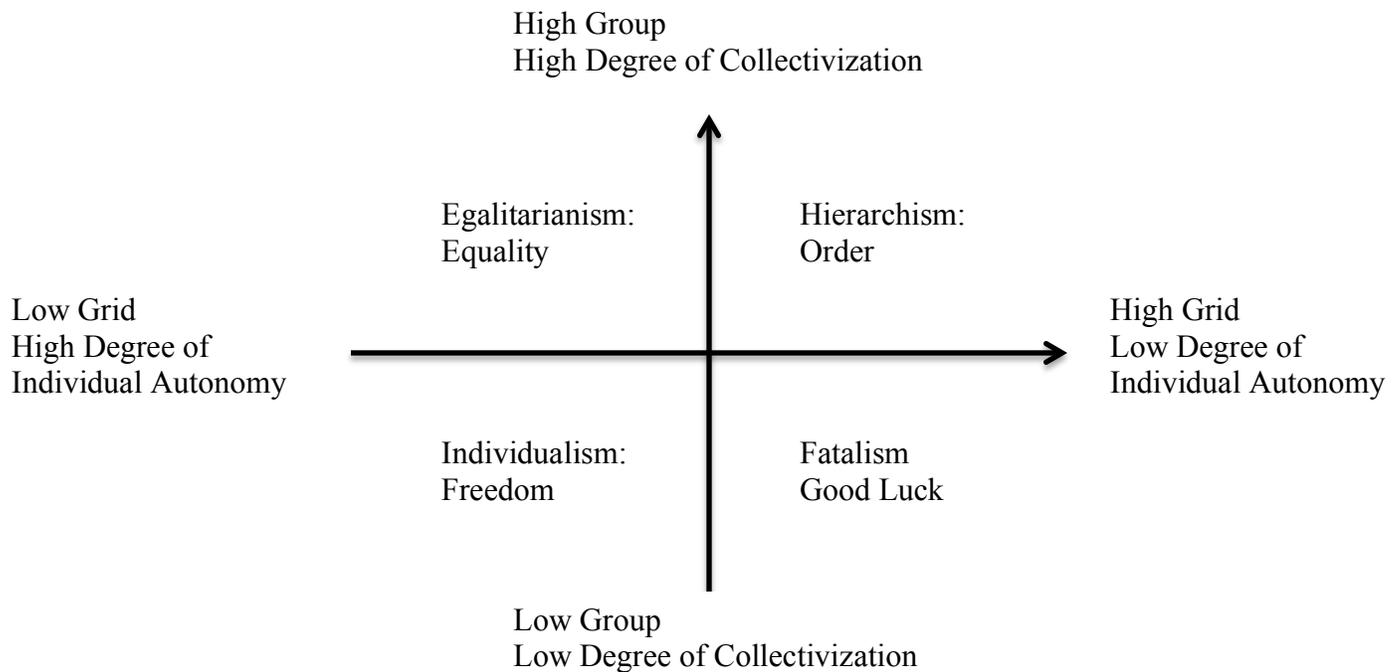
The four cultural biases discussed above reveal the pluralism of individuals' worldview, which also explains conflicts in politics. Generally, CT explains individuals' perception and behavior in the decision making process. Specifically, in the political decision making process, an individuals' preference on decision maker and their perception on information vary by their cultural bias. Because hierarchs think collectively and prefer order, hierarchical structure, stability, as well as rules, they believe that actors who have proper authority should make decisions. They believe that individuals who have proper authority can make decisions that are beneficial for collective interest. Unlike hierarchs, because egalitarians value their own autonomy, they believe that collective interest can be achieved when everyone makes decisions together. In other words, egalitarians do not believe in authority or experts. They make decision by themselves and vote for equality. Moreover, when it comes to the two groups of low group of worldview, because individuals value their individual freedom more than group norms, each individual tends to make his or her own decisions that is preferable to himself or herself rather than the social groups. Even though fatalists do not think collectively either, they do not value their personal autonomy. Therefore, they tend to have others make decisions (Jones, 2011; Swedlow, 2011a, 2011b). The diversity of individuals' actions on the decision-making process and perception on authority explain why individuals act and perceive differently on political issues.

CT also affects individuals' perception of scientific evidence and risk. Scientific evidence is often considered objective fact. However, when scientific evidence is connected to issues and risks, different individuals interpret the evidence differently, especially when there are scientific controversies (Jasanoff, 1994). As Douglas and

Wildavsky (1983) and Gieryn (1999) indicate, when science comes to issues, scientific evidence is not interpreted rationally and objectively; instead, individuals' cultural and political values are reflected in the way they interpret science. In other words, an individual with different cultural biases have different perception toward scientific evidences on issues. Specifically, hierarchs tend trust evidence provided by expert when facing scientific controversy. Egalitarians believe themselves rather than experts when dealing with scientific uncertainty. Also, egalitarians tend to accept scientific evidence that is preferable for equality. Individualists believe the market is the solution. They tend to use the free-market to solve the uncertainty of issues. Fatalists do not have substantive opinions (Coyle, 1994; Swedlow, 2011a). Due to the difference in cultural biases, when scientific evidence is involved in political issues, the evidence is interpreted politically rather than objectively.

Based on what has been discussed above, CT not only has the explanatory power as other unidimensional ideological spectrums, such as capitalism-socialism and collectivism-individualism continuums, but also explains why individuals who are at similar position on the unidimensional ideological continuum but take different actions. To apply CT to study the conflicts in the Taiwanese Sunflower movement, the following infers the response of Taiwanese to issues and conflict of the sunflower movement based on the survey questions that were employed to measure individuals' cultural difference. Then, it incorporates newspaper articles as example to show how CT explains the cleavage in Taiwanese public opinion on the Sunflower movement.

Figure 1
Dimension of Culture, Cultural Type, and the Values



Note: also see Swedlow (2011a)

Applying CT on the Taiwanese Sunflower Movement

CT scholars have developed a set of measurements that are helpful for capturing individuals' cultural biases. Some developed a set of survey questions based on the characteristic of each cultural relation and directly capture individuals' cultural biases (Ellis & Thompson, 1997; Jones, 2011), while others developed measurements based on the two dimensions and classify individual biases by combining the score of the two dimensions (Chai et al., 2011). Both measurements have received attention. However, the purpose of this essay is not measuring Taiwanese cultural biases; instead it tries to provide an alternative approach on study the Cross-Strait issues. Therefore, it is more

direct to infer the response of Taiwanese on the Sunflower movement based on the former measurement than the latter.

In attempt to capture individuals' cultural biases, scholars, such as Jones (2011) and Ellis and Thompson (1997) employed a set of survey questions. In his survey, each cultural relation category has three survey questions composite that measures to what extent do individuals belong to a category. Table 1 shows the questions for the four cultural bias categories. Also, table one indicates the possible response of Taiwanese toward the Sunflower movement based on their cultural biases derived by Jones's questionnaire.

Specifically, first, hierarchs do not like demonstration because they believe order in society. Also, they believe that protesters lack of legitimacy because legislators are someone who have the proper authority to make decision. Regardless the outcome of signing the treaty, the public should obey the decision of the authority. Second, egalitarians believe that the decision of signing the treaty should be made by the public rather than authority. Also, they care about the possible inequality that results from signing the treaty. Third, individualists care about economy more than politics. They believe the competition after the Trade Treaty is beneficial. Fourth, fatalists believe their individual action cannot change the situation. Therefore, they do not take any substantial action toward the movement; instead, they may joke around the demonstration without taking responsibilities.

By employing inference of possible response of Taiwanese to the Sunflower movement, the conflicts of the movement can be better and more comprehensively explained than merely using unidimensional and partisan continuums or pure scientific

suggestions to understand and solve the conflicts. To further articulate this argument, the following quotes come from newspaper articles that were published between March 18th, 2014 and April 10th, 2014 on the four main newspapers in Taiwan, which are The Liberal Times, China Times, United Daily News, and the Apply Daily, as example to elaborate how individuals perceive and respond to the issues of the movement differently.

Table 1: Culture Types and the Possible and Response to the Sunflower Movement

Cultural Type	Response to the Sunflower Movement
<p>Hierarchism H1: The best way to get ahead in life is to do what you are told to do. H2: Our Society is in trouble because we don't obey those in authority. H3: Society would be much better off if we imposed strict and swift punishment on those who break the rules.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do not like demonstration because they believe order in society. • Believe that protesters lack of legitimacy • Regardless the outcome of signing the treaty, the public should obey the decision of the authority
<p>Egalitarianism E1: What our society needs is a fairness revolution to make the distribution of goods more equal. E2: Society works best if power is shared equally. E3: It is our responsibility to reduce the difference in income between the rich and the poor.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Believe that the decision of signing the treaty should be made by the public rather than authority. • Care about the possible inequality that results from signing the treaty.
<p>Individualism I1: Even if some people are at a disadvantage. It is best for society to let people succeed or fail on their own. I2: Even the disadvantaged should have to make their own way in the world. I3: we all better off when compete as individuals.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care about economy more than politics. • Believe the competition after the Trade Treaty is beneficial.
<p>Fatalism F1: Most of the important things that take place in life happen by random chance. F2: No matter how hard we try, the course of our lives is largely determined by forces outside our control. F3: It would be pointless to make serious plans in such an uncertain world.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Believe their individual action cannot change the situation. • Do not take any substantial action toward the movement. • Joke around the demonstration without taking responsibilities.

Hierarchism

The characteristics of hierarchs on perceiving and response to the Sunflower movement can be elaborated by analyzing the following news articles.

“... the Cross-Strait Trade Treaty is an economic issues. Statistical evidence can help us understand this economic problem, ...take this demonstration as an example, some students drank, smoked, and damaged the Congress, ...these behaviors are irrational and inappropriate. It’s good thing that students pay attention to public policy. However, they should rationally understand the content of the Trade Treaty, ...the students’ demonstration is illegitimate. They should go back to school and behave rationally...” 2014/3/29 China Times

“... there is no civil group. What represents citizen is the government that is elected by citizens, ... students are mobs. No matter these demonstrators are students or not, they violate the law, ...”2014/3/21 China Times

“... we need to let those students know that their appeals have been heard. They should leave Congress and give the order back to the society, ... the society has been impatient to the chaos of the demonstration, ... students should not ignore the power of stability, ... and the Taiwanese democracy has been well developed. Citizens vote for their representatives and citizens’ opinion can be heard by representatives, ... student demonstrator’s behavior should be considered violent and illegitimate...” 2014/3/31 China Times

These statements reveal the worldview of hierarchs. First, hierarchs tend to rely on scientific evidence, trying to rationally analyze whether the Cross-Strait Trade Agreement should be signed. Second, they believe that democracy should function based on the current system. That is, elected representatives have the proper authority to make decisions about the Cross-Strait issues for citizens. Other forms of democracy, such as demonstration, are irrational and illegitimate. Third, they believe that the demonstration brought negative impact in society because the order of society was destroyed. Based on the worldview of hierarchs, no matter they support the Trade Treaty or not. They oppose the Sunflower demonstration, and expect the conflict can be solved rationally by formal and legal approach.

Egalitarianism

Compared to hierarchs, the following examples are fine examples to illustrate how egalitarians view and interpret the Sunflower demonstration.

“The Sunflower movement is an explosion of citizens’ dissatisfaction toward the current government, which is also the way citizens exercise their right of resistance, ...because the government abuse their power, citizens start to think the meaning of democracy. Also they question the tyranny of capitalism, ...the student protestors clearly state that they do not try to cut off any interaction with China; instead, they claim that citizens have the right to participate in the decision making of the Cross-Strait issues.”2014/3/31 The Liberal Time

“ Some celebrities said that students’ behavior is a kind of nihilism, but they are wrong. Students of the Sunflower movement point out two key points on implementing the Taiwanese democracy. One is using Congress to check the power of the executive branch, and the other is democratic participation... Democracy in Taiwan is only embodied in election, there is no other approach that implementing democracy. Therefore, the executive branch abuse their power, and the ruler imposes his own will to the public...”2014/4/8 Apple Daily

“...when member of Congress only obey the will of their own parties, and become the tool for the executive branch to achieve dictatorship, revolution is not only the right of citizens, but also their responsibility.” 2014/4/10 Apple Daily

These statements can be considered as the typical egalitarian response to the movement. First, instead of obeying the decisions made by the government, egalitarians believe that every citizen has the right and responsibility to participate in the decision making of the Cross-Strait issues. Second, egalitarians care more about equality rather than the economic interest under capitalism. Third, they do not perceive the demonstration to be an illegitimate action, or damaging the order of the society; instead, they think that democracy should be ensured by different approaches, such as demonstration. From the egalitarians’ perspective, the public should reexamine the Cross-Strait Trade Treaty, and the sunflower movement is legitimate and encouraged.

Individualism

The worldview of individualists tend to use an economic perspective to interpret the conflicts under the Sunflower movement, the following statements are some typical examples.

“the delete of signing the Trade Treaty will results in the economic isolation of Taiwan, ... the major economic competitor of Taiwan, South Korea, is signing Free Trade Agreement with China before the end of this year. By then, the sustainability of Taiwanese corporates will be threatened...” China Times, 2014/4/7 no name

“ most economists worry that without the Trade Treaty, Taiwan will be marginalized, ... they (economists) also warn that, if the Trade Treaty does not pass, Taiwan will face difficulties signing the Free Trade Agreement with the other countries.”2014/3/27 The Liberal Times

“...the Free Trade Agreement is not a global trend, ...due to the influence of China on global economy, Taiwan will have little opportunity to signing trade agreement with other country if it does not build relationship with China, ... Taiwanese have to face the future of Taiwanese economy together.” 2014/4/1 United Daily News

The statements from these newspaper articles reveal that individualists care about whether the economy in Taiwan will be affected by the Trade Treaty. More precisely, first, instead of paying attention to equality or political issues, individualists treat the Trade Treaty as a necessary economic action that Taiwan has to take. Second, they believe that market should be open and competitive, especially under the trend of

globalization. Third, they worry more about the negative economic influence caused by not signing the Trade Treaty more than any political result.

Fatalism

Compared to other types of cultural biases, fatalists rarely have substantial and clear opinions toward the movement. They are usually bloggers who comment without taking responsibility. Therefore, it is difficult to find newspaper article as an example of fatalism. However, several fatalistic responses appear in the comments of online news.

“ I neither support the Trade Treaty nor oppose it because I have never understood it, ...and I don't want to spend time understanding it...”

3/31/2014 comment on Apple Daily

“this news is not clear at all, don't even waste time reading it...”

4/1/2014 comment on The Liberal Times

“this article is more stupid than an elementary school students' paper, ... it's not surprised that no one understand the Trade Treaty because even the journalist does not pay attention to understand the Treaty either...” 3/24/2014 comment on The United Daily

These statements show the characteristics of fatalists. They are usually sarcastic when commenting. They do not clearly present their own standpoint on issues. Instead, they tend to judge the peripheral point of the newspaper articles. Based on the worldview of fatalists, the conflicts of the Sunflower movement do not concern them.

What has been discussed above reveals the value of applying CT to study the Cross-Strait issues. First, CT explains why all scientific evidence, such as statistics, cannot resolve the conflicts of the Sunflower movement. As mentioned, since the

beginning of Sunflower movement, scholars and experts of law schools, political science, and economics had tried to provide scientific evidence, such as statistics, or professional opinion to solve the conflicts. However, these evidence and opinions have become the tool for each group to enhance the legitimacy of their statement and behavior rather than solving the conflicts. From the perspective of CT, because of individuals' cultural biases, they interpret scientific evidence and expert-based argument differently.

Second, CT provides more comprehensive analysis to the conflict of the Sunflower movement. The conflicts of Cross-Strait issues, such as the Sunflower movement, are complex and cannot be explained by any unidimensional ideological spectrums, such as anti-China/pro-china, capitalism-socialism, and pro-KMT/Pro-DPP ideological conflicts. Instead, it's a conflict of cultural biases. Specifically, the conflict results from individuals who have different worldview about order in society, equality, economic benefit, authority of decision-making, and form of democracy. Because individuals with different cultural biases are concerned by different values and issues, it is not appropriate to analyze the cleavage of public opinion based on simple but incomprehensive unidimensional ideological continuum.

What Can be Done and How it Should be Done

In the recent year, CT has received considerable attention in the study of political science. CT has been an alternative approach to measure individuals' values and ideology in the United States. In recent years, CT was employed to study American politics, comparative politics, public law, policies, public opinion, and environmental studies. In each subfield in the study of politics, CT has shown its explanatory power (Swedlow,

2011c; Wildavsky et al., 1996). However, the application of CT in Taiwan is relatively limited.

To apply CT into the study of Taiwanese politics, several steps have to be done. Even though the hypotheses of CT have been tested, these empirical tests focus on individuals in Taiwan. Assuming individuals in Taiwan can be classified by the CT framework and behave as CT predicts without empirical testing is not prudent. Therefore, several steps must be taken. First, measuring the Taiwanese cultural biases by using both questionnaires composite for each cultural type and the questionnaires of grid-group score. Then, by checking the compatibility of these two measurement approaches, one can know whether the four types of cultural biases can capture the worldview of individuals in Taiwan. Second, using a survey or experiment to test whether the cultural biases of individuals in Taiwan is compatible with the way they perceive, justify, reason, and feel political issues based on the hypotheses of CT (Verweij, Luan, & Nowacki, 2011). Third, building the database of individuals' cultural biases in Taiwan through surveys. Fourth, using experiments and surveys to build a causal relationship between individuals' cultural biases and their opinion on the Cross-Strait issues. Fifth, after building the causal relationship, conducting empirical testing that employs cultural biases as a key explanatory variable to explain and predict political conflicts on the Cross-Strait issues.

The database of individuals' cultural biases in Taiwan is beneficial for a variety of studies about Taiwanese politics. Specifically, the cultural biases data can also be used to study environmental issues, public opinion, public laws, and policy making in Taiwan. Additionally, the database can be used at the aggregate level to conducting comparative

research between Taiwan and other countries. Through empirical testing in Taiwan, the explanatory power of CT can be further demonstrated, which in turn benefits the study of Taiwanese politics.

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