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Politics in Taiwan: Voting for Democracy Revisited
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Transcript
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0:14 ............ok so we’re welcome to the UM our second
0:17 ............signal tower studies seminar of today on
0:20 ............the lighter welcome back professor
0:23 ............Shelly Riga from Davidson College shades
0:27 ............of regular visitor to Europe but also to
0:31 ............show us you were just here almost
0:34 ............exactly a year ago for the the world
0:36 ............congress Shelley's is probably one of
0:42 ............the most influential writers on town
0:46 ............politics many of us know if it will work
0:49 ............for example why Taiwan matters because
0:53 ............we’re book about the the melody you'd be
0:57 ............added a she's going to be talking about
0:59 ............her first book politics in Taiwan voting
1:03 ............for democracy surely did I ask me will
1:08 ............anyone else read this book in the
1:10 ............audience because of course this book
1:11 ............came out in 1999 I'm glad to see quite a
1:16 ............few people from my who take my top off
1:18 ............this class 1 2 3 4 5 I've actually quite
1:24 ............a few people of in white class number of
1:28 ............years ago Charles must be ten years ago
1:31 ............not quite okay jason is about four years
1:37 ...ago yeah and sahra three years ago so i
1:42 ...was i was too from the the current class
1:47 ...it's a quite a quite a year a mix and
1:51 ...the topic today is part of a series of
1:55 ...of lectures that we've we've been doing
1:58 ...on taiwan studies revisited so in other
2:01 ...words what we've been trying to get
2:02 ...authors to do is to look back at their
2:06 ...earlier work and look at how they view
2:09 ...their their work maybe ten five years
2:13 ...after they were published and we wear
2:17 ...number of paid
2:19 ...in the world congress on this on this
2:22 ...theme and hopefully will eventually have
2:27 ...a book on talin studies revisited
2:30 ...although of course it shows how I'm
2:33 ...not listening to you because one of the
2:35 ...early suggestions that Shelley gave me
2:38 ...what I'll still do my PhD was whatever
2:41 ...you do don't do edited volume I find it
2:45 ...really difficult to kind of get out of
2:47 ...this and this tower that is revisited is
2:50 ...wonderfully can be looking posed on me
2:52 ...I'm still now you try to finish this
2:56 ...number of you have heard i'm doing this
2:58 ...book on Tony social movements which is
3:00 ...dry which I've been complaining about
3:02 ...them for two years I was I was setting
3:04 ...nagging emails is this morning when my
3:06 ...year unreliable or thurs but ok let's
3:11 ...give them share a big welcome back to to
3:16 ...so much alright well thank you very much
3:22 ...it is really a pleasure to be here and
3:25 ...you know to hear such a generous
3:29 ...introduction from death of whom I think
3:31 ...of as absolutely you know the leader in
3:36 ...our field and to follow Nathan bateau
3:39 ...who is another person whose expertise
3:42 ...and breadth of knowledge and
3:44 ...methodological capabilities I would I
3:49 ...would hope in a future life to be able
3:52 ...to match these guys so you know if I
3:55 ...have some kind of position in the field
3:58 ...it's only by virtue of having got there
4:00 ...early and being followed by some really
4:06 ...fantastic people and i also i'm thinking
4:08 ...about how much I envy your opportunity
4:12 ...to be here at a center for Taiwan
4:15 ...studies and to be taught first of all x
4:19 ...such excellent people and to have the
4:21 ...opportunity to hear these lectures you
4:23 ...know people from all over the world
4:24 ...tomorrow itself on Charlie you know
4:29 ...nobody ever comes to southern north
4:32 ...carolina in the USA to talk about taiwan
so I'm kind of in heaven right now I've been talking about Taiwan for the last four days and it's pretty fantastic so I'm fun i would i would say a little something about kind of four issues tonight and because many of you have some familiarity with this book i don't want to talk too long I really want mostly to have conversation I'm standing up not because i'm giving a lecturer i have a powerpoint or anything but you could probably like roll the space bar up so it's not my picture although i look pretty young in that picture so maybe but i did want to just touch on these four things first of all just kind of technical issues related to this book how the demands of publishing shaped the book that i actually ended up writing and then secondly some ruminations on history and how this book changes re reading this book changes how i think about taiwan politics today mens and thoughts about changing taiwan and then just a few things that i think of as unanswered questions from this book and i hope that that's really one of the things that we will definitely talk about is what you all see as the sort of research program research agenda in the present following on the kind of literature that we were producing in the late 1990s early 2000s so first of all i would say it's okay definitely you've already told him that i gave you good advice once which you didn't take so now i give you some more good advice which some of you might take which is if you have to read your old work have a cocktail first really painful and we hardly ever do it and it's cringing like page five on page five I get the date of the foundation of the Ching dynasty wrong lose my credibility with my readership from page five you're not by some dumb thing which I could have checked on Wikipedia except that this book was written before Ricky so you know we don't like to read our own old work because all we see are the flaws and we don't like to read other people's old work because it seems like a waste of time you know there's so much new stuff every day I can't keep up so why would I
7:13 go back and read old things but it is
7:16 incredibly I opening to see how we
7:19 revise history in light of the present
7:24 or the more recent past you know I read
7:29 this book and I reminded oh yeah the TSU
7:32 came out of can t oh yeah the dumb play
7:36 wrote the national unification
7:39 guidelines oh my gosh in 2000 chen
7:43 shui-bian was the pro china cabinet you
7:46 know so all of these things that we that
7:49 seem so incredible today are actual
7:52 historical facts which can be found in
7:54 ancient tomes I think you know the
8:00 retrospect and especially this kind of
8:02 compressed retrospection that we're
8:04 doing in the 21st century when history
8:07 is moving at such a rapid pace that it's
8:11 that things are old they are like uh
8:17 they're ontologically oh they're old an
8:20 hour knowing and being but they're not
8:23 very many years old so it's strange you
8:26 know it used to be that that it took a
8:28 hundred years for there to be enough
8:30 change accumulated for a historian to
8:33 really digest it now in just a short
8:35 amount of time we can get really
8:38 confused and displaced from historical
8:42 reality so retrospect seems to kind of
8:46 smooth history out and impose this
8:49 linearity and
8:51 distance e on the past that was not
8:54 actually present so things begin to look
8:58 like they were part of a long-term plan
9:00 as opposed to having been the product of
9:04 you know so it's that sort of yes the
9:07 trajectory is like this but at the time
9:09 all we see is the ups and downs we only
9:12 in looking backwards can we see the the
9:16 linear change and I guess that's an
9:20 incredibly trite point to make
9:23 especially at so as which is full of
9:25 serious people and many historians who
9:29 well understand this but you know to a
9:32 political scientist who's like reading
9:35 the newspaper every day it seems like
9:37 some kind of worthy statement to make
9:40 and I do think it's worth keeping in
9:43 mind because what we are doing right now
9:45 is making inferences about the future
9:50 based on inferences we are making about
9:53 the past without actually revisiting the
9:57 past because we think we remember it
9:59 because it was just a few years ago and
10:01 I'm thinking very specifically about
10:04 tying one there are all of these things
we think we know about tying one and the
smart people say well here’s how we know
how tying one thinks because she worked
for lead only she was an architect of
the old one but then if we go back and
we look at what the languid was when Lee
don’t play was asking people like Taiwan
to be the architects of it we realized
we have made up we have made a dangerous
inference about who tying one is based
on what Li dong quai became long after
jung hwa one long after the national
unification guidelines and all these
other things so you know if in fact
lead own way was not a Taiwan
independence fanatic all along then what
does it say
about you won how does that reshape
our perceptions and so you know
obviously I’m mostly thinking about how
tiny one is characterized in the
mainland and the kind of very present
‘used characterization of her that is
made routinely by PRC leaders and
scholars but I think we all can or
certainly maybe the rest of you will do
a better job but I need to watch out for
that that kind of thing so just to say
that there’s a lot of false memory
syndrome in the study of Taiwan politics
we completely act as if there was a
golden age of cross-strait relations
back in the days when the KMT was in
charge and everything was fine and then
people like judge may be on or DPP you
know they come in they start with this
taiwan independence stuff and the next
thing you know cross-strait relations is
really bad well if you were alive in
Taiwan between 1949 and 1987 you know
that is a complete nonsense if there’s a
golden age of cross-strait relations
it’s probably 2002-2012 but again you
know it’s so easy to kind of fall into
these narratives and to forget what
really happened and I think somehow and
maybe this was just because I’ve you
know just been reviewing this book for
the purpose of this event but I think
our perspective in the late 90s is maybe
a little bit less reductionist than than
what we’re using now and in this book
one of the things that I’m not cringing
about is I find that it is surprisingly
resistant to some of the binaries that
have become really really overwhelming
in kind of Cordon Arty discourse about
studies today very complex ified in
scholarly discourse but very
oversimplified in a kind of ordinary and
pulled certainly political discourse so
binary is like independence versus
unification I actually did a pretty good
job of deconstructing that in the book I
was kind of pleasantly surprised
honestly and then the whole idea of
national identity you know that if we
take seriously what people were saying
and doing when they were saying and
doing these things then we can
see that
history was much less linear much
less sort of predetermined than looking
backwards at it tends to make us believe
so that's just some thoughts about
history some thoughts about his
technical issues you know how how the
demands of publishing shape the book
that you actually end up writing so
politics in Taiwan was trying to do
several things one thing it was trying
to do this is very important trying to
turn a dissertation into a book and I
was trying to turn a dissertation on
client ilysm in local elections in 1985
and 1989 into a book that anyone would
actually want to read and maybe today
you could write a book on client ilysm
in local elections but back in the late
1990s mean I had advice from serious
people oh so how did I get how did I get
it to be a person writing about Taiwan
in the first place right I did some
stuff an undergraduate that took me to
Taiwan and I had a great experience and
I really loved it i was actually I wrote
a senior thesis on the ROC policy toward
you and Julie this was in 1984 so we
didn't even have the word you had to
meet then so that was sort of step one
but then I thought well okay so if I go
to graduate school I'm going to study
real China so I get to graduate school
like a wonderful seminar from a
wonderful scholar great teacher drew
Gladney on the politics of Islamic
minorities in the mainland and I said
this is what I want to do because I
already I've already been studying
minorities in taiwan now I can take this
and I can do Islamic minorities in the
mainland and I was writing up my prospectus for this dissertation in the spring of nineteen eighty nine so around june fifth my advisor called me in and said you know that's a dissertation that's not happening not now and we don't know when it will ever happen that was a risky topic before june fourth 1989 now it is an impossible topic so either you got to come up with something else well you got to come up with something so somebody said and actually that somebody was another wonderful scholar and great person giving advice which I did take Stefan Haggard and Stefan Haggard said you know Taiwan is on the radar for political scientist who are studying democratization and so you've already been there you could go you could do this and be a happy story be fun to do we would like to know and you'd be out of here you know or you can hang around waiting for China to reopen and it actually reopened really quickly but we didn't think that in the spring of nineteen eighty nine so that's how I end up in Taiwan right this dissertation on client ilysm in local elections in 1985 actually not even just for she had her John elections in 1985 and 1989 so at that time the strategy was get the book out and get a topic about real China and work on that because in ten more years no one's going to care about Taiwan so i'm waiting for no one to care about taiwan so that i can move on to my topic about real time but not optimistic that this is going to happen before my retirement so I may turn out to be a lifer in the Taiwan feel so anyway I got this dissertation on this totally narrow topic that totally nobody cares about gotta turn it into a book and so a lot of what you read in here is this kind of odd mixture and it's an odd mixture because there are chapters that are dissertation chapters about the minutia of local politics in Taiwan and then there are politics in Taiwan and then there are chapters that are trying to do the second thing the second goal of this book which was just to tell the story of Taiwan's democratization just to give you something that you could read that would get you from nineteen seventy two
18:16........ish to 1996 the book starts with we
18:22........don't ways election victory and it
18:25........actually goes a little bit longer in a
18:27........kind of epilogue that covers in somewhat
18:30........less detail that we done ways presidency
18:34........from 96 to some time in 1998 the book
18:40........came out in 99 so clearly I stopped
18:42........writing it well before that now another
18:46........recommendation if you know anybody in
18:48........the market for a book topic this book
18:52........for Korea because I teach Korean
18:54........politics and I have never found a book a
18:57........single authored book that is accessible
19:00........to undergraduates that just tells the
19:05........story of Korean democratization so
19:07........that's just a side note if you are in
19:10........the market for a project so okay
19:12........terminus station into a book tell the
19:15........story of Taiwan's democratization and
19:17........then of course because it has to be
19:19........political science I have to explain
19:21........Taiwan's democratization I have to find
19:24........some theory to drag into this great
19:27........story and in many ways that's the least
19:31........interesting part of the whole project is
19:34........trying to find some theoretical
19:37........perspective that can animate what is
19:40........already a tremendously lively subject
19:43........and I
19:45........didn't at the time think and I said I
19:48........think now even more that the whole sort
19:50........of transit ology you know trying to
19:52........explain democratization is not all that
19:57........helpful because democratization it seems
20:02........is so complex and has so many different
20:07........causal elements some of which are
20:11........present in many cases but none of which
20:14........are sort of the necessary and sufficient
20:16........cases for democratization everywhere so
20:20........I wasn't really sure how helpful this
20:23........would be but I found a theory that I
20:25........thought could add something to the
20:27........Taiwan story and that could sort of
20:29........organize the Taiwan story while
20:31........acknowledging how complicated
20:33........democratization is and leaving room for
20:36........sort of structural individual social
20:41........economic developmental variables and so
20:45........elections become a kind of intervening
20:47........variable or mechanism through which all
20:50........of these other things can manifest
20:54........toward a more democratic political
20:57........system so it's not a full on theory it's
21:04........more an explanation that liens or
21:09........glances back toward grand theories of
democratization and maybe says less about why Taiwan democratized then about less about why it democratized and more about how it democratized or why this particular way of democratization is what we saw in Taiwan another observation about the sort of technical side of the book is that it's it's totally qualitative it's based on field research and secondary sources the field research is from the dissertation the secondary sources tell the rest of the story right occasionally somebody would tell me something that I could put in another chapter it wasn't about SN TV here's another thing I really read about this book while didn't i use smtp what is with sv mm advised me to use an acronym that no one else ever used before or since luckily i can't remember so i can't believe anyone and what I think about that now is it's not like the studies that we read about Taiwan elections today very few studies of Taiwan elections today use this kind of completely qualitative approach and I am you know I am as much a an admirer of science as the next sort of math phobic pretender but I have to wonder what are we missing by not doing this kind of work more you know what how do we know what question we didn't ask if we're always asking the same questions because we're using surveys and I know that that oversimplifies is oversimplified surveys a lot and I know that there are a lot of people who are struggling in very creative ways with how to kind of dredge out the new topics that require measurement but you know I think that's that is a virtue if if you will of a qualitative study is that it misses different things maybe then a quantitative study would miss and it raises the question then looking back at it from from the methodological perspective of how much remains the same but is not visible to us because we're not looking for those things anymore and I know that there are people who are looking for things but I think we see a lot of we might see more continuity if we kept using a multi methodological approach the third topic I wanted to say a little bit about is just change
in Taiwan another thing that I think you really I feel very strongly looking back so often is so frustrated me like why haven't we got whatever the goal is yet but when he stepped in from outside you know every year a couple times every year every year or two you just say wow I can't believe how fast this process is moving so politics in Taiwan came out in 1999 and it basically ends with the election or the reelection if you will but really the election for the first time in leaden way in 1996 the second book came out two years later in 2001 and it's about Gentry then it starts with the election of Treasury Dan so they both start with an election night rally for years apart the books only come out two years apart but what an incredible transformation of Taiwan in politics in Taiwan you do not see the DPP coming to power and again more advice so who had the idea to write a book about DPP who gets credit for head and decide who gets credit for this idea a guy at a foundation who called me up and he said yeah we want to fund a prop we want to fund some research on Taiwan this is like a conservative foundation in the US and they're interested in Taiwan cuz it's anti-communist so we want to fund some research on Taiwan you got they have you got any ideas for projects and so what I do this i'ma do this won't do that those are great great ideas definitely write up some proposals for those but just you know at the same time think about this so that's when you know and here's the advice that's what I know but that's what he's going to fund is the thing he's about to say right now he's the one that the money is for and he said what about the DPP we're and 1990 it had me 1996 because I took leave in 1999 in the fall and I guess this is since we we are very interested in the DPP we want to know what's coming we want to know what their what their ideas are what their plans are what that prospects are who the people are that we should be watching so you know if you think you might want to do something
like that so this foundation had the idea to study the DPP and the DPP book came out first as a website for journalists who were going to cover the two thousand election and then socially had won the two thousand election and the poachers call me up you know Lynn rhyme or herself boss man's ago can we publish your book so again take advice from people they're trying to so you know that's just incredible change and i think that when we can see this change in a number of places you know just just reading politics in taiwan the areas of change that really strike me are the massive changes in institutions from even the late 1990s to the present SMTV AKA SB mmm SMTV produced a whole cottage industry of scholarship explaining what are the cut the political consequences of this institutional choice so when taiwan got rid of SN TV I was kind of wistful you know I definitely the book suggests that you a should get rid of it if you if you want like big boy politics but I thought all that stuff you know I like that Gary carts going into detail about so now but now we can write about what are the consequences of getting rid of SN TV and what are the consequences of the new system and all that stuff so institutions have changed politics have changed so much another thing that has in such a short time another thing that has changed enormously are kind of norms and expectations you know what people would tolerate when you read the report about public opinion on issues like tolerance for authoritarianism or single-party government party image we're talking about this earlier with Nathan you know
that the idea is that people in Taiwan held toward political topics were very different in the 1990s then they are today but also you know the this changes have been really market and then finally and this was where I got in just under the wire the quantity and quality of available scholarship on many issues so you read this book and you think this is not very well sourced like there's a section on the Japanese colonial era like politics in Taiwan in the japanese colonial errands like three sources and people could look at that now and says seriously why didn't you do any research and the answer is that's what there was in 1991-92 93 when i was writing that you know there wasn't historians hadn't really done their thing yet and you know i could have known like it was known that the qing dynasty didn't start in 1664 but a lot of the other stuff that we know now was was really not excavated yet so the quality and quantity of scholarship that's available on so many issues would have made for I would say a very different book in you know today from what i was able to put together in the late 90s things that we know have changed in Taiwan party identification like people have it now still I think a plurality would say no no preference for either party or but it but you know there's a lot more party identification when parties are making something up you know when they're changing their positions that people can recognize it so these party images are more real and durable and less manipulable than they were back in the nineties I think also national identity is makes a lot more sense to talk about national identity in the 2000s than in the 1990s and and one of the reasons was just in the 90s Survey Research was so new and the environment the sort of authoritarian environment was still so recent that people were in a different mindset about how to answer a question like that but also people were still you know living in an era of sort of hegemonic
narratives about history that made it hard for them to answer questions about their national identity without reference to their education or the sort of norms of the society so that's pretty interesting to me and I also looking back here so interesting it turns out that at first the KMT got all the credit for democratization in Taiwan and remember you know the Dong Quai was Mr. Democracy and at first democratization really strengthened the Can T for two reasons one they got credit for it and that was in attentional Mr. Democracy was doing that on purpose but also because democratization helped to indigenous can't right and that was really in some ways at its peak and I think that's why in this book I can fail to see the can't lease successful management of democratization eventually falling apart because at this moment in the late 1990s they owned democratization we don't we is the man but that didn't last you know the divergent goals and interests with ink the can't eventually led most recently right just within the last couple years to break up and implosion and now we look at the candy we think wow but it is very interesting to be reminded how much strength the county long ago that you know they really they had the system down so I think you know that really recommends now moving to the unanswered questions you know we really need to understand the arc of the counties since 2000 what happened that caused the cam T to you know to bunt the the he not only just lose its ability to be the sort of architect of democratization but even to lose its ability to be creditable as a democratic force in in Taiwan you know I fear that that's kind of how it feels at the moment to a lot of people and that's a huge huge change so that's one area of study I also think you know how voting has changed we have such sophisticated models now that can link demographic and ideological variables to electoral outcomes but have those and this is
really a question have those ways of understanding voting come at the expense of the organizational factors in voting are we still paying attention in other parties have and parties within parties factions within factions do we know how reform has changed behavior relative to all of the other drivers you know so I'm thinking institutional reform electoral reform how has that changed behavior relative to all the other drivers that are we still paying attention in other words to the ground game that different parties have and parties within parties factions within factions do we know how reform has changed behavior relative to all of the other drivers you know so I'm thinking institutional reform electoral reform how has that changed behavior relative to all the other drivers that are changing behavior we don't know and while as a political scientist with this emphasis on scientists I am definitely a lightweight I still want to say you know one thing qualitative research does for us as it gives us ideas for what to look at next and after all these years of studying national identity what we do when there's no longer variation on that variable if you look at certain demographic groups in Taiwan there is basically uniform attachment to Taiwanese identity so think about young people so that can't be an explanatory variable because there is no there's not enough variation so what are you going to do with that right how do we move past the sort of paradigm that we've been living within for the last 15 to 20 years so maybe the maybe the qualitative method that's used here has some value in helping us move in that direction and I feel like just my final point that the impetus for the kind of work will come out of an interdisciplinary program like this one you know you're training to look at things holistically will enable you to ask questions that are not necessarily already packaged for your analytical attention and we may be we may be in need of that pretty soon so that's what I wanted to say and I hope I've not gone too long anyway you can have some conversation alright thanks for that sir Shelly yeah well I could leave really good point on the way that the the kind of publication marketers has changed for both of us our first book was coming was kind of a PhD transition but my one was much a more direct transition i think i think i spent maybe three weeks doing the transition between the the two i
mean i did have to change i had maybe i had to add an updated chapter had to kind of and some of those of section headings and but so i think three weeks is it says something about me about how it was possible to have a very kind of property in 2004 you could have published your original dissertation can because Shelly kind of give us a sense of that in one of her right her essays on the state of the field on Taiwan politics and one of the things that comes out of that we often look at that in the first week of our courses the way there's been such an expansion number of publications on bond Taiwan in a range of fields now one of the things I've been asking people on this we visited thing to think about was the reviews what were the young kind of reviews like when your book first came out and we often find this we often can be quite kind of sensitive to these reviews but we actually think a lot of those reviews critical reviews of my first book what I'm were actually right what I really look at the chicken I am I honestly couldn't tell you I'm not sure anybody reviewed this book actually is anybody ever read reviews there must be no yeah yeah you I was like on to the next thing I was right about the DPP I mean nowadays actually getting getting jealous to review books or Taiwan is a little bit more charging because there are so many more but in those days and it would be quite different and that's with another question that I'm bit curious about is how did your methods change after the first book because once you get into academic life it's much more difficult to do that kind of in-depth fieldwork and I want to how you found it yeah that's a that's a serious issue for anyone i think his specializing in a country not her own where you don't live so this book was the product of one full year of field research in taiwan plus a lot more than three weeks of other stuff but i was in taiwan from january to december of 1991 and that's where the dissertation research came from so that
was a very leisurely process actually
the first person I met who opened every
door the only reason any of this is here
is thanks to CH ng and I got to meet
chunji because
I hadn't connected with someone from the
Human Rights Watch in the u.s. because
at this time you know someone still kind
of on the margin so I want to see human
right Rights Watch and I said you know
is there anything I can do for you there
information that I could gather for you
while I'm there and they said go see the
Taiwan Association for human rights and
see how they are and I don't think that
ey ever imagined I would do anything
for them I think they knew what they
were doing for me when they made that
recommendation but it was on their their
invitation that I was able to secure a
meeting with judge you and it was like I
was a member of her tribe immediately
she was so generous with her you know
dinners and hanging out at their office
with young Taiwanese social movement
activists but also she introduced me to
everybody all the EPP candidates that I
needed to study who were the DPP
candidates from the 1985 and 89 she
ensured on elections in Thai bayesian
Shinju sure tainan tienen Gaucho machine
so all those people the doors just pop
open when and at that time I was so
ignorant I didn't even know why they
were also willing to do anything for me
because I came with judges endorsement
now of course I realize oh my gosh she
was their martyr their hero their most
you know the most beloved person but I
was just like go wandering around
banging into things right here but over
the course of it matters to you know
collect enough information to do this
but at that time I could do things like
leads on fire was the DVP candidate in
tainan shin in 1985 and he people from
his office would say things like get on
the train at get on the two o'clock
kwang-ho to Tynna should and there's a
guy gonna pick you up there and he's
going to show you around for a while me
some people so like I would pack a bag
for a lot of days and just go down get
off the train it wasn't hard to know
which one was me so he pulls up and the window on the on the passenger side goes down the head comes out are you dr. Shelley so then we would get in the car and just go around this happen in
China yannick gosh i'm jen and also Jinju Jinju um and we I mean I didn't know where I was sleeping I didn't know where I was eating I didn't know who the next person was that I was going to talk to I didn't know who was driving and where we were going and but every single one of those people was so generous and hospitable and we so this is how you know this is I guess what snowballing is in you know research methods what it really means is don't be afraid to get in the car with a fun and spend the night at this house if that's what you're doing that's what you're doing is totally fine so I got a lot of information that way and the other thing that I have to say that I really admired about those people was they took me to kmt as well as DPP so the thing that really made my dissertation work was the discovery of this political strategy called tuaca yeah I never heard of chalk I never heard one ciao probably i'm leading newspapers in that big newspaper room in the central library and I see some phrase and I look it up and it doesn't make sense i just go right over at want oh okay I don't need this i can get the gist of this article but I was sitting as a edit it was with a guy from the jail bought one in like alia and she hadn't Gaussian her Kali on a lien Chung and he's going on and on and on did you know we're speaking in Mandarin but he keeps saying telecon is could you what is Chaka and then the pen and the DPT guy who took me there both get this look like oh oh somebody told her the secret code so then everywhere I went that I stopped asking all these sort of superficial questions and I had been asking and then I'm like all right talk to me about Janka and as soon as I had the magic word then they just had to talk about that a lot so that takes time that requires having the leisure to be wrong to be slow to go back again and again and again and once you have a job teaching in the United States or in the
It's really hard to do that ever again and it changes your research method so you become much more reliant on well you know quantitative information that you can access from anywhere and mess with in your desktop but for me more it has because that's never going to be me I'm never going to be Nathan Beto messing with data in my desktop and that's a good thing you don't want me to close to data but what it really changed for me was my choice of topics and the research topics that I can pursue so the DPP was also heavily based on field research but that was because that foundation happened to give me a grant at a time when I could extricate myself and they gave me enough money to buy myself out of teaching for a semester so I went to Taiwan then that project I only had a summer so I had to be I had to get it right the first time I had to have a schedule had to go from place to place to place so I got a research assistant at Jesse lon and he went with me to make sure that I didn't miss and he helped me out a lot like he said do you notice how they all so this is interviewing mostly senior DPP figures do you notice how they all change their body language when you ask about generational turnover and I said no actually I'm so desperate to take notes and understand and like make sure that I've written down what I didn't understand so I can ask you later and I did not notice that their body language changes he says they hate that question they don't think they are old they're not in their own mine they're not the senior generation so you know I was already with that project depending on other kinds of resources than just myself to get it done efficiently enough and then what a Taiwan matters is that is the product of every interaction I have ever had every question I've ever asked every person i've ever met in taiwan since the first time I went which was in 1982 so that's really more like less like research although of course you have to look a lot of things up and more like putting together everything you know and that's not permissible in
scholarly work so that's a book for
general readers because that's where you
can tell stories that don't have any
time be exactly true the way you said
you'd like remember them but I am pretty
sure about that night in hualien in 1982
when all those little kids were sleeping
on the marble coffee tables of that
house which again you know I didn't know
who those people were why we were
sleeping there who those kids were they
were sleeping all the more bold coffee
tops but they make coffee tables but
they making it to the book too because
it's you know it's all that color so
that's the kind of stuff that I can do
now but more and more and more I have to
do a policy real
did work because that's what people will
pay me to go to Taiwan to do is
something that is somehow
policy-relevant and that's sort of
sweeping together a lot of things so
it's changed my method to be a grown up
tied to a job title job was bad enough
but tied to you know to little kids is
actually great because they're pretty
flexible and they went with me to for a
semester in Taiwan and a semester in
China when my children were four and
eight years old and they went to local
school and and sir you know they were
good sports but still it makes it much
more difficult so that opportunity for
that massive amount of soaking and
poking was a one-time thing I think
would like to start with some questions
yep go ahead hello thank you for your
speech that's really cousin that was
very fascinating and I am a PhD student
of Gender Studies here and in light of
your speech I would like to ask actually
um during your research on Taiwan would
find anything that particular
elements that are really different from
the element you could found in the West
that could actually reconfigure the
whole theory of democracy and that's my
first question and actually I can tell
that from your study basically you are
addressing the conceptualization of
democracy with nearly reference to
voting an election but um of course it
was really it is a key element in
democracy but now on after 20 30 years
of democracy i would say taiwan now the
problem simulations your democracy is
not just about election but more about
how we can actually have informed
electorate informed such in for citizens
who are able to discuss multiple on
public issues with intelligence and with
tolerance of different opinions and yeah
i want to see your opinions on it yeah
um that's one of the reasons why i think
the democratization literature is kind
of useful you know but limited and
focused on the installation of an
electoral system that is pretty open but
it really doesn't you know if you think
about the people who dr
literature they really were not very
interested in those deeper questions
about they might say something like you
know huntington talks about the the
media needs to be reasonably free but
what does that mean you know what if the
media is to free and you know i turn on
my TV and there's 700 channels and
that's how many channels there are on my
tea which is why i watched you because i
can't find anything to watch on 700
channels doing but um i watch something
that's not edifying that's not
informative that's not educational that
does not improve me so it's free but
it's not really helping democracy and i
mean in the united states right now you
know obviously you know we're so we're
in so much trouble because we haven't
paid attention to the quality of our
democracy and what we also haven't paid
attention to is the the way that the
economic system does or does not support
democracy and the way that decisions you
make about how your democracy is going
to work interact with economic factors
to give you a better or a worse
democracy so
you know i think in some ways taiwan is
in a better position because you are or
they're that democracy is young enough
to not have already decided that all
that everything is perfect the way it is
whereas the united states you know you
try to if you say look the way we are
financing our elections is destroying
our democracy oh you're just
anti-American so you know in some ways I think that what we know is that democracy is a really moving target and another person that I can't praise highly enough or maybe I can but a palindrome is Ed Friedman ed Freeman is a really smart guy and he is constantly saying things that I that I can't forget and one of them he said to me was I was talking about democratic consolidation you know like I read a book so now I'm talking and he said democracy is never consolidated what's up mama democracy is always in peril always in process in progress always in flux you know you don't reach the Emerald City and then everything is fine for all eternity and I think that's a really helpful corrective and so you know like how does it make me a whole lot more respectful of the complexity and the fragility of democratic institutions and life in a democracy video be you thank you very much this fascinating especially for you when you start the pork actually compare your more or less looking back at a book and the compare or examining what not probably not good enough or sometimes actually it's good in the long run you can tell what's good about it and but then you may some comments about the current situation you say currently you can see some sort of binary discourses and there's certain kind of false memory syndrome can you elaborate a little bit i'm back and whether it's really to do with your your opinion on this so-called quality on them democracy whether it that's the case well the false memory syndrome cuz it's rude to me most when I when I think about lead ugly because and you know this is a roomful of people who actually know something about Taiwan so you're not as susceptible to the false memory syndrome as most of the people I deal with but most of the people I deal with are honestly who care about Taiwan who like asked me to talk to them about Taiwan they're mostly um China specialists and actually a lot of them are in China I have a lot of interaction now with the
China the Taiwan studies community in Schad and also shaman and a little bit of aging and US government officials and all of these people would tell you that Lee don'twe has been at idle funds since the day he was born that he's a Japanese to his core and that he's been plotting to destroy the KMT all his life and I just think I don't I don't buy that I mean I just don't buy that I'm also old enough now to know that I have changed my own mind and I think you know most people become more conservative as we get older I think we don't like became less conservative I think he became frustrated and I think he saw his interest and then he began to have some vision but I don't think he started out as a tide of funds of working to undermine the can't and bring down the ROC and destroy cross-strait relations so for example the two-state theory now we look back on it and we say this is the beginning of the end of the Golden Age of cross-strait relations that in 1987 you know that when you start going to the mainland and they start to have some relationship and then in 92 they send a old guys out to talk to each other and they reach a consensus and everything was fine until we don'twe had to say you know tuesday's theory and then everything flew apart is Lee dumb ways fault that way that we had that that the good progress in crust rate realizing it was going on and that of course helps with this completely dishonest ramification of the 92 consensus the 90 something happened i'm totally in agreement with the tying one something happened in 92 that allowed those guys to have their conversation but the mythology around it that has been spun up since and also the labeling of it with a kind of mantra this is a fetish 92 consensus is a fetish that is shared by can't and ccp and allows them to do things and then to say well you can't do this with us because you don't share our fetish which actually makes it sound a lot more fun okay but if we go back to the late 1980s what we see is you know I could find it but I won't in this book Jason whoo-hoo to chomp saying in 1991 we decided to
acknowledge the existence of the PRC to
end the civil war to start talking to
the other side to get this thing going
and what was our platform and this is
not Jason who talking anymore so what
was the part of the platform was ROC is
going to go talk to PRC and so they’re
expecting they’re hoping that they can
have this dialogue which will break
decades of no recognition no contact no
interaction military confrontation both
sides spending so much to militarize
this relationship hoping that PRC will
see the opportunity that's being put
forward for them and it's the PRC that
says you know know if you call yourself
a state then everything is everything is
off so I don't think this is lead away
saying Taiwan is a state and it's not
part of China and it will negotiate with
China to have direct links or something
I think it's late on like looking for a
way to get something going and that has
been completely erased in the sort of
normal discourse about cross-strait
relations and and so the 92 consensus
can be this kind of fetish if we empty
out what we should know about what it
really meant at the time and how it's
entirely possible that lead away thought
of the aqua would as a kind of
embodiment of johor goal shirt or or you
know kind of
to state it a little bit more clearly
then again maybe lead um I was a time to
funds offended day he was born and all
the time a big conspiracy to separate
Taiwan from China the thing is we will
never know because when he gave the
Chinese the opportunity to solve this
problem through the national unification
guidelines which remember the national
unification guidelines are a legally
product the PRC brushed him away said we
not we can't talk to you anymore so
that's the point at which the PRC cast
its fate Taiwan will go off in its own
direction and and because we refuse this
offer then you know we're gonna we're
going to wake up in 30 years time and
say whoa this national identity thing
has put us in a real bind so it's stuff
like that that I look back on and I say
wow how how far we how ingrained these
assumptions have become about what these
people were doing that just are a historical in my carry-on to the back of they would come back to you is to reconnect you answer the question of the gender studies student where she was referring to was within you experience the issue is not the democracy itself but those issues of participation those issues of enfranchisement which are continually being renewed contested and challenge what your answer will build is that this is essentially an unending quest it's not a situation be alive but it isn't the little issue isn't so much democracy as it's being sold and as it's being bought and as it's being issues but how we actually challenge the institutions which underpin democratic forms this you mentioned in the states that you know you can't mention anything about those institutions until somebody tell you how an American you are learning the same is true in the UK when you probably don't know this but there was recently an exhibition in the Barbican in which it was perfect and cooperatively depicting in slavery and they were they imported a white South African curator to enclose black people as not exhibition of course the black population objected to this and they demonstrated on the streets and eventually the Barbican had to back down and cause the exhibition down before it was even a and one of the reasons that they cited was that there was a threat to public well-being welcome but they were concerned about freedom of speech I mean how could we understand freedom of speech in the black community when this currently under the US and other countries were actually supporting our fine so we now input apartheid personnel to do the same thing at all and yet we understand this in democratic forms so for me the little problem is not so much how we import export democracy but how we actually check and balance on institutions because our institutions are never democratic in England we have never elected a government since the war with a majority of the people and if we government we've had in England in the post-war period has been elected by a
minority of the boating public you know what people in Taiwan or China understand it's they would think that you know we the mother of democracy yeah that's your key insight and we I think one of the things that has been sort of controversial in the study of democratization of Taiwan which like it seems dumb that it was controversial at one time although there are people still having this fight is what was what was judging was role in Taiwan's democratization did John J won't give permission did he drive the boat was he the impetus was he an obstacle and if you say you know I think Jeong ding gua made some good decisions and certain people will know you know I say any good batch ID law but what has often been missing from the sort of the modernization theory direction kinds of democratization transit ology literature from the top down individual you know what judging blah did one thing that had to fight hard to get back into this narrative is a social movements and in particular and I think because the the social movements in Taiwan were also political movements and there they were so disciplined at one time someone asked me to review the shield ends autobiography and I thought oh really I'm gonna I'm gonna have to review Lucille we had a spotter biography but I thought yeah I guess I I guess I should because a lot of times more advice for buddy's dollars you do you accept the request to review a book or an article because it's something you need to read that you wouldn't read otherwise i'm so glad i read Lucio Leon's autobiography cuz it's really interesting and it's really fun and one of the things that she says in there is basically there were a lot of sexist men in the Democratic Movement and I was a feminist a feminist activist that was my primary objective and you know what i did i swallowed my frustration and i work for those guys because i wanted to win and that is a cool reminder and how many different interests were swallowed in order to pursue this primary goal so another thing that i like in this book
is that i don't say that the opposition movement was an independence movement i say they were pushing for democracy and ethnic justice they wanted fairness for taiwanese people independence national identity all those things came later but the real driver in the first instance was freedom and justice and participation so that so i think a lot of that a lot of the energy that was in social movements kind of got channeled into the democratic movement but now what we see when we look at tile on today as we see these movements resurging every time you know when it feels like the political class has kind of lost its connection to the society the society comes roaring back to demand that connection so right now something that a lot of people want to read about in fact even in the US government is the new power party because they see the new power party as sibley the next big thing in Taiwan and emerging out of these social movements so I think that it is really important not to be so focused on elite politics and elections and all that stuff that we wait till it's too late to see this you know this big crack and coming up under the boat you know to turn us over do you know the meaning of China in Taiwan has changed so much and this is one of the conundrums facing survey researchers and we were talking about this the other day you know we have this survey question it's been on surveys for a really long time all your Taiwanese Chinese are both and you have to keep asking that you know you have to keep watching that question because it's it's indicative of something but you also have to keep exploring what is what does it in fact indicate and I think one of
72:26 the things that change though the way
72:28 that question is received and then the
72:30 meaning that that question and its
72:34 answers have one of the things that
72:36 changes that over time is the changing
72:38 definition of China so I don't know did
72:41 the social change survey i have a
72:42 question like that in the 80s probably
72:46 not but the question comes early in the
72:49 90s right now for two years series go
72:51 back for taiwan
72:53 these Chinese are both ok so maybe 1992
72:56 in 1992 the discourse of roc is
73:00 ubiquitous in Taiwan still right in 1991
73:04 some young kids got in trouble for going
73:06 up to Japan to me was shooting I
73:09 remember that because they came out and
73:11 they got arrested in Taipei meanwhile by
73:16 the end of that year goofy was planting
73:19 flags down the middle of Joe shell dong
73:21 woo and this guy who was part of the
73:24 plot to assassinate John Jinggoy in New
73:27 York was giving speeches so it changed
73:30 very fast but still the the discourse of
73:34 roc was ubiquitous in Taiwan everyone
73:36 who was answering that question had come
73:38 through an ROC education and so when you
73:42 ask them are you Chinese Taiwanese or
73:45 both we know that Ric is is inflecting
73:50 their answers that's a question today if
73:55 people are not at answering am i ROC or
73:58 Taiwanese they're answering seriously if
74:03 I exam Chinese does that make sense have
74:08 I ever been born in China did I grow up
74:10 in China have I ever lived in China why
74:13 would I call myself Chinese because why
74:15 because the PRC has defined itself as
74:21 the only China in the world so from an
74:25 external perspective it makes no sense
74:27 for people from Taiwan to call
74:29 themselves Chinese because the PRC is
74:31 China and from an internal perspective
74:33 there's no longer this kind of oh I
74:36 don't know what should I say how should
74:37 I answer this question because on the
74:39 one hand I'm from Taiwan and there's
74:41 another job but on the other hand I'm
74:42 ROC and you know shouldn't we now people
74:45 just say yeah taiwan like they're over
74:48 it and i think that's that's not that's
74:51 some kind of change of identity but it's
74:53 also the ability to manifest
74:56 something that's been there may be much
74:57 longer but also it's just what is China
75:01 it used to be that tile on was China to
itself and now today Taiwan is not China
to itself and we have to pay lip service
to the ROC but no one really struggles
with that or maybe some people do but
most people don't why do you do haha no
I think he's really actually very clear
he's Chinese and what is China hora c
one of things that come come come out of
your talk was that changing they
can the kind of scale of change and so
if you could let me go back and give
back in time would you change much in
the way you handled the book well
there's two mistakes I would face
whatever I end up making other ones um
it's a little bit scattered it feels on
uneven in some ways it feels a little
lumpy to me like maybe I would not say
so much about so only that SB mm or
maybe a little bit less about electoral
mobilization I think I I think it would
be maybe a better book if I had decided
is this a book about voting behavior or
is this a book about the story of
Taiwan's democratic
you know I want to go back to be used
question though because I don't think I
really I said quite everything because
another dimension of the China inside
and China outside is that the first
China so the ROC was the original China
against which Taiwanese of activists
were positioning themselves and so they
imagined that if they could do something
about roc then they could have their
freedom and the ROC the can t the
washing and domination this was the sort
of package of things that they needed to
overtum in order to be free so that was
that was what China was you know so back
in that even in the 90s you know I
remember we said we partners used to ask
diving us friends what do you think is
going to be different if you get your
independence and they would say things
like they said they have many good
answers but one was if we get
independence then the can t will have no
reason to be an authoritarian ruling
party because we won't be trying to do
unification anymore and so there they
will have to step aside and let
Taiwanese govern Taiwanese and so
there's a there's a period of time
covered in the book where where the
The issue is self-determination that's what the DPP is pushing so they were really focused on the can't and the way that the can't was blocking Taiwan from reaching its destiny so I always think of it as like a prisoner you know you're in your cell and you dig out from your cell and so DPP mean the opposition movement of digging digging digging to get out they finally get out and the can't is no longer insisting on a single party authoritarian government the KMT is no longer in on unification as the primary destiny of the Taiwan people so they pop up into the sunlight we're free and there's another fence on the other side you know outside of the IMP the obstacles of can't the ROC the washerman is the PRC and that is a much more formidable opponent right so that's the China outside so first it's a China inside and that animates one kind of movement that movement I think totally succeeded Taiwan became Tywin eyes democratized and can make room for these social movements and all of this stuff but you're still in prison because the next phase cannot happen until you do something about the PRC and it turns out that changing can tease line was way easier then changing CCP's mind so that's really in that chapter the China inside is that one and the China outside is in Pearson's okay in that case then I think we can continue our discussions over some sandwiches and my yeah well it's quite random we had sandwiches so enjoy this special treat let's thank Shelley and Nathan one more time