

**Interview Research on the City Councilor Election in Taichung 8th District  
2022: Candidate Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises,  
Strategical Mobilization, and Political Parties**

**2022 年台中市第 8 選區市議員選舉的訪談研究：  
分析候選人背景、政治獻金、競選承諾、動員策略、政黨政治**

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2022

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2022: Candidate Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises,  
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Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2022

**ABSTRACT**

A good election is the most important indicator of a good democracy. Taiwan is a mature democracy and striving to improve its politics year by year. This research aimed to study Taiwan democracy by observing the local election, city councilor, in Beitun district, Taichung, 2022. (台中市北屯選區)

The research questions are, 1, does background of the candidates influence their chances of winning, especially the financial background? 2, How do candidates operate their fundraising resources? 3, Do campaign promises matter in the election? 4, How do candidates mobilize the voters and consolidate their base? 5, Do political parties help their candidates and how?

By in-depth interview research, and talking with most of the candidates of 2022 city councilor election in Beitun, Taichung, this research suggested that background of a candidate matters significantly, old generation cared about track record and young generation stressed campaign promises, politician must be above the city mayor level to gain corporate and political party's help in fundraising, mobilization of the voters was based in the regional differences, political party affiliation is only a title of ideology and there is no significant relation between the party and the candidates.

In sum, this research provided readers a clear picture of what happened in 2022 about the city councilor election in Taiwan. Democracy is a process of evolution, and citizens must engage to make a better democracy.

Key words: Candidate Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises, Strategic Mobilization, and Political Parties

## 2022 年台中市第 8 選區市議員選舉的訪談研究：

### 分析候選人背景、政治獻金、競選承諾、動員策略、政黨政治

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#### 摘要

一個好的選舉是一個好的民主最重要的指標，同時，一個良好的選舉制度也能夠完善民主社會。台灣是一個成熟的民主國家，每年都在努力改善其政治。

本研究旨在通過觀察 2022 年台中市北屯區地方選舉、訪談市議員候選人來研究台灣民主。本研究的研究問題為，1、候選人的背景是否會影響他們獲勝的機會，尤其是候選人背後的經濟支柱。2、候選人如何取得其政治獻金並運用自己的籌款資源？3、競選承諾在選舉之中重要嗎？4、候選人如何動員選民，鞏固選民基礎？5、政黨是否幫助他們的候選人以及如何幫助他們的候選人？通過深入的訪談研究，與台中市北屯區 2022 年市議員選舉的大部分候選人交談之後，本研究表明候選人的背景很重要，連任多屆的老議員關心他自身的政治績效，而年輕一代的候選人則強調競選承諾。候選人需要盡可能的籌款並期望能企業和政黨的金錢援助。選民的動員是基於地區差異，不同地區有不同的動員方式。政黨歸屬只是意識形態的一種展現，政黨與候選人之間並沒有顯著關係。

最後，這項研究為讀者提供了關於 2022 年台中市北屯區市議員的選舉過程提供第一手資訊以及最清晰的分析。本文章建議，參與以及加入競選與投票，是建立更加完善民主社會最重要的方法。

關鍵詞：候選人背景、政治獻金、競選承諾、動員策略、政黨政治

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# INTRODUCTION

## Background

Is politics a dirty game? In the past thirty years, since the implementation of local autonomy, more than a thousand outstanding talents in Taiwan have participated in the local election of city councilors, single-mindedly serving as the servant of the citizen, and have acted as a bridge between citizens and the local government. This research aimed to study Taiwan democracy by observing the local election, city councilor, in Beitun District, Taichung, 2022. Also, this research provided readers a clear picture of what happen right in 2022 about the city councilor election in Taiwan, which separate into five sections, Candidate Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises, Strategical Mobilization, and Political Parties.

At the beginning of the research, the history of Taichung City's 8th District has told us that the political culture of this place is more inclined toward hereditary politics, and the political power is scattered across different factions<sup>1</sup>. Most of the candidates are passed down from generation to generation, and these families have served in the local for a long time, we can say the constituent even know these families. This behavior may lead the constituent can pester candidates to keep their promises, on the other hand to the constituent, to get them to win the election is proof of supporting them.

Also, in factional politics, there are candidates who have been trained by previous generations of the elector who may have been aides to previous generations of electors or members of his electoral team<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, such a tradition makes a district's political

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<sup>1</sup> Nathan F. Batto, "Legacy Candidates in Taiwan Elections, 2001–2016: Just a Bunch of Bullies", University of California Press, June, 2018, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp.486-510

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Bosco, "Taiwan Factions: Guanxi, Patronage, and the State in Local Politics", University of Pittsburgh- Of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education, Apr., 1992, pp. 157-183

philosophy, political style, way of serving constituents, and campaign strategy very similar.

The benefits of such a history are that the City Councilor can serve the local region for a long time and bring a more stable political environment for local residents to participate in politics<sup>3</sup>. However, with the passage of time, in particular, more and more young people are becoming interested in local politics. They may not be so willing to run for election, but, on the contrary, they are more willing to care about a local political issue or even national politics. Old-time election strategy doesn't work in such a new phenomenon. In the meantime, the new party, young candidates springing up. They try to change the traditional political environment and take advantage of young people, that is "social media". The candidates and their teams put great effort into political communication and propaganda through social media. A more transparent system to bring constituents a different system or electoral model. At present, such a new strategy is affecting the younger generation, but, in the older generation, the traditional one still stands towering like a giant stand, to be brief, all these factional powers indirectly show that mobilization is important in local election.

When the information technology of making progress, not only affect the economy, society, and different sides to human, but also make a new impact to democratic politics. Democracy needs a good quality of election, and election made democracy work. In subsequent chapters, this study will analysis how the campaign promises impacted the candidate? Are there differences in the way that the candidate formulates their political opinions? And the political experience of candidates may affect the method they

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<sup>3</sup> Zhengwei Lin, "The Relationship between Taiwan's Peasant Associations, Factions, and Local Elections: A Case Study of New Taipei City," Dissertation, National Institute of Development, National Chengchi University, September, 2011, pp. 15-28

formulate their political opinions. Voters ignore important essence of the election, which is there's campaign promise.

In recent years, owing to the fact that social media become more popular and the modern voters have different direction to pay attention to the election. The content of campaign promises is becoming more enriched. Electoral marketing is a species of political marketing, applied and related to electoral situations where candidates market their images and ideals and use their promises or personal charisma in exchange for votes<sup>4</sup>. However, with the election decided a new set of questions is being raised<sup>5</sup>.

This research compares different points of view, and unifies a more suitable strategy for competition and changing the old political system, hoping to have a more suitable political environment in the future. In summary, democracy is a process of evolution, citizens must engage to make a better democracy.

### **Motivation**

How young candidates gain voter trust and thus victory in relatively traditional constituencies. What tactics do they use to shake up hereditary politics? How do they use these tactics to conduct political propaganda? In this relatively traditional constituency, it is easier for us to see the changes they have made, and this research will use in-depth interview and narrative analysis to understand how young candidates are using their strengths to run in this era of information explosion. we will also conduct field trips to gain a deeper understanding of the local electoral culture.

Moreover, we will also compare the past campaign strategy with the current election strategy to see how the two are different, whether the impact on the election is

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<sup>4</sup> Chin-Yi Chou, Chyan Yang, "A study of Applying Marketing Strategy in Campaign-a Case of Legislator Campaign in Hsin Chu County, Taiwan, 2008", Institutional Repository of NYCU, June 2008

<sup>5</sup> Roslyn Richardson, "Taiwan Election Result- Questions Answered, Questions Raised", Australian Strategic Policy Institutes, January 2012

good or bad, of course, the most important thing is to serve the voters and play the role of a good politician. Finally, Taiwan has a unique political environment, and in such a traditional political environment, it has gradually developed something different, and young candidates have emerged and gradually changed this environment.

A successful candidate needs effective and essential campaign promises and persuasive political thought. However, to decide the campaign promises involves a lot of things that can always be a difficult job. We can compare delivering on campaign promises to the well-being of the majority of the people. Obviously, the persuasive political thought is more important than other things. The citizens do not a lot of knowledge about politics and election. This is the reason why the candidate is not carrying out his or her promise after the election. They can make excuse to cover the fact that they don't keep the promise because the citizens don't know how to refute and supervise them. Hence, the candidate wants to attract more votes, they always choose the campaign promises which can get belief from the voters. The situation of election is quite awful and we need to initiate to innovate the traditional thinking in the election of Taiwan.

In this study, we will use in-depth interview method and the participant observation method to actually examine: What are the advantages of candidates in elections? What is the strategy for campaigning? Then, comparing the survey data, a set of candidates' campaign policies are more suitable for the 2022 election, hoping to bring a new political ecology to Beitun District, change the inherent thinking, and become the nourishment for the continuous progress of the local election.

### **Research Purpose**

First, background of the candidates, our interview research supported the original hypotheses—background of a candidate matters significantly. The background mainly

refers to his/her financial support, whether it came from corporate, family or candidate's own pocket. Basically, the financial background provides the candidates the minimum startup and the charisma and working ability offer his/her chance to step up.

Second, in financial fundraising part, political parties simply do not provide financial support to the city councilor level candidate. Politician must be above the city mayor level to gain corporate and political party's help in fundraising.

Third, the candidates have many kinds of campaign promises in Taiwan. Some are common or general policies, that focus on the issues of politics, economy, society, diplomacy, construction, and livelihood. The others are like the political party's propaganda. The research on elections in Taiwan, as a matter of fact, is mainly based on party orientation, the candidate's personality, the advantage of the electoral district, and the structure of voters. But a lot of researchers have different opinions on the campaign promises and whether the campaign promises play the role of the key point.

Fourth, in the development of local politics in Taiwan, local factions' power and political parties have played a significant role and are also the focus of scholars' research. After 2010, Taichung City merged, and under the expansion, with high urbanization, factional candidates gradually declined in the city councilor election, although they still controlled the councilor seats, candidates without the power of parties and factions rose up.

Lastly, in political parties part, voters prefer to choose candidates based on party differences because it connects to the national politics and it is easier for voters to find their political affinity. Then, analysis those data, identify the difference Finally, provide a best election model to candidates, in order to seek better political development in Taichung.

## **Research Questions**

Main research question: What does the local election 2022 in Beitun Taichung bring to us the new lesson of Taiwan's democracy?

Here are the minor research questions.

1. Does background of the candidates influence their chances of winning, especially the financial background?
2. How do candidates operate their fundraising resources?
3. Do campaign promises matter in the election?
4. How do candidates mobilize the voters and consolidate their base?
5. Do political parties help their candidates and how?

## **Contribution**

This research explores the factors that affect the local election in the Beitun district. An investigation of the perception of the election on the 2022 Taiwan councilman election. The analysis is made on Candidate Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises, Strategical Mobilization, and Political Parties. Hope that the candidates can face citizens with heart and soul in the 2022 election period.

This research focused on local elections in the Beitun District of Taichung City. After rigorous in-depth interviews, a two-month fieldwork, the results will serve as an election model that spans the times, providing candidates and voters with new horizons, expanding the political changes, and becoming a major step forward for local autonomy in Taichung City.

## **Limit and Delimit**

As with the majority of studies, the design of the current study is subject to limitations. In my research, the first is the specific constituency, I can't use my result to cover every situation in Taiwan election of councilman. Due to my research only

interview in Taichung, I think this subject to several limitations. The second limitation concerns the voters have different opinions in every city, this situation causes the difficulties to calculate the data whether the campaign promises are importance for the voters.

Also, this study only analysis of the city councilor elections, to provide a better elections model, and a better election environment. Although, this is a case study about Beitun district but the research can be a model for local elections in Taiwan, and for the candidates in every generation in the further future.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The ancient political science proposes that the Party Alternation is a manifestation of the maturity of society, and after the Party Alternation in Taiwan in 2000, the local political landscape has also been constantly changing<sup>6</sup>. After the second rotation of political parties in Taiwan, the public's thinking gradually got rid of the old concept of election, and changed from choosing candidates by their party to refer to the image of candidates and their political views to decide who to support<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, the factional power gradually declined, replaced by more strategies that used different network technologies to campaign and disseminate. Indeed, these strategies are more advantageous in the younger generation<sup>8</sup>.

On the other hand, campaign promises are decided by candidates and the demand of citizens. There are many different opinion and direction for candidates and citizens. Why does candidates can freely decide the campaign promises in modern society? The democratization is the essential role and the character in this development. Why are some candidates more possibly than others candidates to keep that they made the campaign promises during previous elections? The fulfillment of election promises is highly relevant to the theory and practice of democracy.<sup>9</sup> Our generation grow up in the democratization of Taiwan, we understand and care about the situation in our own

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<sup>6</sup> Thomas J. Bellows, "The March 1996 Elections in the Republic of China on Taiwan", *American Association of Chinese Studies*, October 1996, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp.235-249

<sup>7</sup> James A Caporaso and David P. Levine, "Neoclassical political economy", Published online by Cambridge University, June 2012

<sup>8</sup> Zhaoming Su, "The factional change and development in Taiwan :A case of Seven Legislative elections as Taichung County Constituency." Dissertation in the Department of Public Administration and Policy, National Jinan International University, 2010, pp.56-62

<sup>9</sup> Robert Thomson, Terry Royed, Elin Naurin, Joaquín Artés, Rory Costello, Laurenz Ennsner-Jedenastik, Mark Ferguson, Petia Kostadinova, Catherine Moury, François Pétry, Katrin Praprotnik, "The Fulfillment of Parties' Election Pledges: A Comparative Study on the Impact of Power Sharing", *American Journal of Political Science*, July 2017

country. The new generation of political candidates have risen and they are trying to create the different thinking framework in the change of the time and the change of the political environment.

In this chapter, the research will give different point of view done by previous scholars and I will analyze those different interviews, including Candidate Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises, Strategical Mobilization, and Political Parties.

### **The Democratic Theory**

A central claim of democratic theory is that democracy induces governments to be responsive to the preferences of the people.<sup>10</sup> The democratic theory is complex and various. There is no democratic theory can fully explain the thinking framework for the freedom of political. In other words, campaign promises focused by voters conforms to the conditions of the public sphere in Habermas's theory, that is, outside of political power, citizens have the space to discuss public affairs, participate in politics, focus on the different opinion, and the candidates' policies freely.<sup>11</sup> The focal point of the development and practice of democracy has been drifted from people's rights and institution of sovereignty, general election, participation in politics and referendum to people's engagement, deliberation and accountability on governmental decision-making process.<sup>12</sup> The people take part in elections and public affairs directly is the strong democratic spirit. If a country has regular and competitive elections, human

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<sup>10</sup> S. C. Stokes, "Political Parties and Democracy", Annual Review of Political Science, Published online by University of Chicago, June 1999

<sup>11</sup> Lincoln Dahlberg, "The Habermasian Public Sphere: A Specification of the Idealized Conditions of Democratic Communication", ResearchGate, January 2004

<sup>12</sup> Chien Yuan Tseng, and Pei-Chen Chou, "The Idea and Practice of Open government: An Initial Research of Wen-je Ko Administration of Taipei City", The Journal of Chinese Public Administration, June 2016

rights are guaranteed by the law and people strongly agree with these democratic values.<sup>13</sup> The performance of the political system should be unquestionable.

### **Democratic Subversion of the Election**

Nowadays, democracy is the significant issue in recent century. It is one of the most used and abused ideas for all people. All of us want to be supported, maintained, and protected democracy. In the past, here were almost hold the election every year in Taiwan. The democracy of Taiwan is the kind of election-driven democratization.<sup>14</sup> The democratization is unique due to the existing different cultural value. As a result of this unique process, the political elections are an essential institution functioning as the maintenance and consolidation of democracy.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, the opening of elections offer the new method to gather the citizen and the government. On the other hand, a lot of citizens through the process of election to know the party's thinking, behavior, direction and policy. The essence of democracy is that the people have the right to choose leaders by the regular, open, fair, and free election. Political participation should be accorded no special status. People should be free to select out of politics, but people must also have the option of become joined.<sup>16</sup> The democratization refers to political change on the road to democracy. As time passes, a less responsible government become a highly responsible government. A lack of competitive elections become the free and fair competitive elections. It turns the strict restrictions development into the protection of individual civil and political rights in

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<sup>13</sup> Chia-Hung Tsai, "Confirmatory Factor Analysis of People's Evaluation of Democracy in Taiwan, 2004", *Review of Social Sciences*, April 2009

<sup>14</sup> Chia-lung Lin, "Taiwan's Democratization and Change of Party System: Electoral Linkage of Elite and Mass", *Taiwan Political Science Review*, Published online by National Chung Cheng University, December 2000

<sup>15</sup> Shida Zhong, "Understanding Taiwan Presidential Election: A Review Paper", Utah State University, August 2019

<sup>16</sup> Diana T. Meyers, "Democratic Theory and Democratic Agent", Published by American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy, 1990, p144

Taiwan. Citizens have more political right after president election in 2000, which is the very first time of transition of power. The internal division is one of the factors that cause the defeat of the KMT (Kuomintang) in 2000; likewise, due to the president Chen Shui-bian and other assistances were accused of accepting bribes, this is an important factor that cause the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) lost the power and right in presidential election in 2008.<sup>17</sup> Political parties have the critical position in democracy.

Due to there are countries have been democratized, they can be the model to imitated by the non-democracy. Due to those non-democracy countries face the dilemma of institutional development, it is implying or hinting that the democracy can solve various questions of politic in country.

Elections provide a democratization channel that people's opinions and preference are reflected in campaign promises. If citizens disagree with the behavior of candidates, they also have a lot of opportunities to replace the team with the other new team; to put it another way, candidates try to do the right things that makes voters willing for their re-elected, and to gain more support for their party. For example, improving the quality of transportation, building and education, providing the social welfare, and protecting the civil political right. Taiwan's constitution gives all of citizens the right to vote. Regardless of citizens' gender, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or gender identity, private discussion is open and free. In fact, democracy offers the spaces for those results through many kinds of elections, which it represents the one of essential political event in Taiwan.

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<sup>17</sup> Qingxin You, Zonghan Cai, Changzhi Lin, "Political Responsibility and Voter Voting Behavior—Taking the 2014 Kaohsiung Gas Explosion as an Example", *Taiwan Democracy Quarterly*, December 2017, p102

## The Definition of Election

Election is a formal decision-making process in which people vote for a candidate or a position. Parties' election programs and the policy promises that they include important management and the party functions. Factions view their candidates or parties as tools which they can achieve their political goals, and one way can be done is to ensure the party's agreement to policy in election promises.<sup>18</sup> The power of government is governed from the consent of voters in the democracy drives. A lot of countries hold the election to choose people who has the qualifications serve in their government. The candidates are directly authorized to elected by public opinions. The votes are based on the campaign promises of the candidates during the election campaign and is considered to be the most essential indicators for the system of party. However, the implementation of the candidates' platforms still often has the discussions or even the debates on the election or campaign promises. Sometimes, the election focus on the result which candidates are elected, but one thing we need to know in which campaign promises matter in the sense that different promises imply different strategy choices and lead to different payoffs. Thus, candidates at this stage will compare the gains and costs of renegeing. The gains from renegeing are represented by the instantaneous increase in the candidate's utility produced by deviating from his promised policy and choosing instead his ideal point. The costs of renegeing are reflected in his expected payoffs from future elections: the difference between the future expected payoffs for a candidate with a good reputation and a candidate with a bad reputation. Campaign promises provide the choice for voters that they can decide the candidate who has the qualification to elected. Campaign promises are the function that

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<sup>18</sup> Robert Thomson, Terry Royed, Elin Naurin, Joaquín Artés, Rory Costello, Laurenz Ennsner-Jedenastik, Mark Ferguson, Petia Kostadinova, Catherine Moury, François Pétry, Katrin Praprotnik, "The Fulfillment of Parties' Election Pledges: A Comparative Study on the Impact of Power Sharing", *American Journal of Political Science*, July 2017

voters can link the policy decisions with the result of election. If the candidate does the other things without own campaign promises, voters will punish the candidate who break his or her words. Due to the candidate's credibility has been sullied, voters use the retrospective to decide their vote choice to mull it over. This is the reason why we need the opposition parties to supervise the ruling party even the city councilman.

### **Candidate Background**

Beitun District—located in the center of Taichung City, has attracted a large number of people to move in due to the successive completion of several constructions and rezoning. Naturally, it has become an important strategic position in the election<sup>19</sup>. Among them, different "factions" are indispensable forces in the election. In the long history of local self-government, countless political talents have been nurtured, and because of different ethnic groups, clans, regions, etc., and the common consciousness of blood or interests, these political figures have formed a political environment that is difficult for outsiders to gain a foothold in the local political environment. power, it is difficult to compete and share resources.

This type of factional politics can be deeply cultivated and served in the field for a long time, giving birth to a strong folk force and giving candidates solid political support. However, although the local forces accumulated by various factions over the years are it is difficult to shake<sup>20</sup>, in the change of the times, the rapid development of information, and the change of the political environment, a new generation of political

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<sup>19</sup> Shirong Xu, "The Hoklo and Hakka Ethnic Distribution in the Taichung Area during the Japanese Governance: An Analysis Comparison of Several Native Place Investigations from 1901-1935", *Journal of Humanities of Xingda University*, 52 期 (2014 / 03 / 01), pp. 49 - 91

<sup>20</sup> Renfang Ding, "Unification, Semi-Squire Structure, and The Transformation of Local Factions in Taiwan," *Political Science Series*, No. 10 1999, pp.59-82

elites has risen, and they are trying to break out of this relatively traditional constituency with a different thinking than the past<sup>21</sup>.

Although in the 2018 elections, candidates from the two major parties were still steadily elected with high votes, the young candidates who cannot be ignored as non-party members and other small parties are gradually sprouting and thriving, most of them from small village in the city and who have joined the election because of their love of local affairs<sup>22</sup>.

### **Financial Fundraising**

Elections and political activities in modern countries are extremely expensive, so it is quite common for political groups and public officials to accept donations from all over the world<sup>23</sup>. Moreover, the freedom of expression of voters through various political contributions is also one of the fundamental human rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Since this study is a cultural survey of local elections, it is particularly important to understand the government's norms for political contributions, as well as scholars' research on political contributions.

In many democracies, in order to enforce electoral equality and freedom, a set of norms are enacted and candidates are allowed to accept donations or valuables from all sides when raising political acts, campaigns. In this way, candidates who have no party or no power and no power can compete with those who are rich and powerful. Moreover, in order to avoid candidates obtaining money by improper means, the government has strict regulations to ensure that the source of their money is open and transparent.

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<sup>21</sup> Jingyao Qi, "Campaign Public Relations", Taipei Haitian Publishing House 1964, pp.21-26

<sup>22</sup> Guangming You, "The Transformation and Operation of the Power Structure of Local Factions in Taichung County", Master's Thesis, Institute of Sociology, Soochow University 1994

<sup>23</sup> Renjun Lin, "The Study on the Political Contribution System in Taiwan: The Comparison and analysis of United States, Japan and Taiwan", Tunghai University, 2004, pp. 2-6

In general, the source of political donations usually comes from individuals, general organizations, political groups, corporations. These four are the most common donors, and in fact, we can also think of this donation as an exchange of benefits, after a political group or candidate collects money or valuables, and fights for the donor's desired interests. Voters often donate to candidates and political parties to support their political goals and implement their political ideas. Donations from interest groups and corporations are more complex, often for specific events or other benefits. Rely on the efforts of candidates after winning elections.

30 years ago, in Taiwan's political atmosphere, bribery is really common, at that time, there was nothing that the new Taiwan dollar could not solve, local officials relied on large sums of money for many years, cultivated a certain force, had considerable power in the local area, and it was difficult to waver, which was also the beginning of factional power<sup>24</sup>.

When the government realized the seriousness of these things, it used laws to regulate the exchange of money in political activities that needed to be open and transparent, so as to avoid political developments from endangering democracy and preventing the deterioration of the money issue in the political environment<sup>25</sup>. According to Taiwan's current legal provisions, political parties, political groups and candidates should open a special account at a financial institution, and indicate the name, address, account number and account name of the financial institution, and report to the application authority for permission before receiving political contributions; The organ

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<sup>24</sup> Raymond J. La Raja, "Political Participation and Civic Courage: The Negative Effect of Transparency on Making Small Campaign Contributions", Springer, December, 2014, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 65-66

<sup>25</sup> Benjamin Bental, Uri Ben-Zion, "Political Contribution and Policy: Some Extensions", Winter, 1975, Vol.24, pp. 3

accepting the application shall make an announcement immediately after the permit. Avoid disputes in an open manner<sup>26</sup>.

### **Campaign Promises**

Election campaign has become fiercer since party politics has taken root in Taiwan and that is where campaign promises come in. Purposes of campaign advertising by a candidate or party include image shaping, promotion of campaign issue and statement of political platform and achievements.<sup>27</sup> During the election period, you can always see candidates working hard to solicit votes, all hoping to gain the support of the people and be successfully elected. However, elections are always passionate, and few people continue to pay attention to whether the electors carry out their election views after the election, and most people ignore the importance of the candidates' views for elections<sup>28</sup>. As a result, more and more candidates are gradually paying less attention to the practicality and rationality of political opinions, as long as the political opinions put forward before the election have caught the hearts of the voters in the local area, that is enough, and whether they are implemented after election is another matter. At this time, the election communiques are very important, and voters can read the outline of the candidates' political views and future ambitions through the election communiques issued by the government. Not just to be able to play a role in confirming political views before elections; After the election, it can also be used as a voter to examine the elected

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<sup>26</sup> Amihai Glazer, Mark Gradstein, "Elections with Contribution-Maximizing Candidates", Springer, March, 2005, Vol. 122, No. 3/4, pp. 2

<sup>27</sup> Yong-Ping Wu, Po-Yu Cheng, "A Study of Cognitive Characteristics of Voters through Analysis of Campaign Advertising in 2010 Kaohsiung Mayoral Election", The Review of Public Affairs, June 2014

<sup>28</sup> Tsung-Han Tsai, "The Significance and Importance of Election Opinions and Election Communique", Zhinan New Deal No.15, Jan 2021

person's governance and execution ability as direct evidence of the elect's "accountability"<sup>29</sup>.

Therefore, the election communiqué can indeed allow candidates to be solemn about political opinions, and after they are elected, they can also be truly implemented, so that voters can choose promising candidates for the local area to serve through useful political opinions. A careful look at the election communiqués of each session shows that a small number of candidates attach great importance to their political views, or even directly ignore them, and only show their own political achievements to perfunctory voters. We should pay attention to the electoral communiqués so that voters and candidates alike value the importance of political opinions.

### **Strategical Mobilization**

Entering the 2000 generation, network technology has grown into a force to be reckoned with, and its existence has achieved many goals that could not have been achieved 10 years ago<sup>30</sup>. Information is transparent and universal, information is exploding, and it happens in almost every industry. In fact, as early as the 1992 US presidential election, there was a precedent for using websites to assist in elections, but unfortunately, the website structure at that time was simple, and there was no interaction with voters, which could only be said to be the candidate's unilateral propaganda.<sup>31</sup> Until the 2008 US presidential election, Barack Obama's team used blogs, Facebook, and even YouTube to conduct a full range of election assistance, while increasing the opportunity to interact directly with voters, with remarkable results, and then began to

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<sup>29</sup> Tsung-Han Tsai, "The Significance and Importance of Election Opinions and Election Communique", Zhinan New Deal No.15, Jan 2021

<sup>30</sup> Andrea Römmele, "Electronic political campaigning", Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2012, pp.103-124

<sup>31</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Significance of the 1992 Election", American Political Science Association, Mar 1993, PP.7-16

use different social media for political communication and election assistance<sup>32</sup>. Then, in 2016, candidate Donald Trump took the use of emerging media campaigns closer to a new level, especially the mobilization and use of Twitter<sup>33</sup>.

Back in Taiwan, blogs have emerged since the mid-1990s as a new force for citizen network participation and the formation of online political forums, and by the 2008 election, the two candidates had used blogs to record their daily lives and allow voters to further participate in their lives<sup>34</sup>. In further elections, traditional media still remain the main weapon of the candidates, and new media will become their second sword. In the 2014 Taipei market election, Dr. Ko Wen-che, a political amateur, used the advantages of the emerging media to defeat the two major parties and gain power for the first time in Taiwan's electoral history.

According to the global database, in 2021, the number of people using the Internet in Taiwan is 91%, and the using rate of social media is even more 84%, these data show that regardless of age group, we are using the internet every day, which makes candidates as easy as talking candy from a baby in political communication. Compared with traditional media, emerging media have more processes of interacting with voters and can also give instant feedback. In nowadays, Facebook is still the most dominant online medium in Taiwan, and it has the dual functions of "advertising exposure" and "public opinion collection". According to the data registered by Facebook users, Facebook can easily obtain relevant information and push recommended information such as advertisements that users are most interested in, so users with obvious party tendencies have a high probability of receiving relevant information, in addition to

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<sup>32</sup> Diana C. Mutz, "The Great Divide: Campaign Media in the American Mind", The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences, Fall 2012, Vol. 141, No. 4, pp.83-97

<sup>33</sup> Stefan Burgdörfer, "The Youth Factor: Innovative Election Campaign Methods in the USA and Their Transferability to Germany", Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Jan 2013, pp.8-25

<sup>34</sup> Jonathan Sullivan, "Campaign Advertising and Democracy in Taiwan", Cambridge University Press, Dec 2008, pp.900-911

increasing political participation, but also reflect the biggest advantage of social media, that is, information transparency and fast information dissemination. With clear traffic statistics, clicks, and conversion rates, the Internet is more transparent and reliable than traditional mass media such as television and radio.

### **Political Parties**

Looking at the recent history of Taiwan's elections, we can notice that Taiwan is very typical of two-party politics<sup>35</sup>. And after two times of party rotations, it can be regarded as a country with a mature electoral system. Moreover, the relationship between political parties and candidates is even more inseparable, candidates are talents elected by political parties who win elections and ensure that political parties can gain political power and serve the people<sup>36</sup>. However, in recent years, in addition to the decline of factional forces and the development of the election system, we can find that unlike the traditional KMT and DPP, there are many excellent political parties that also win elections, and there is an increasing trend.

In the capital city of Taipei, for example, 14 of the 63 seats of deputies are not candidates for the two major parties, although the two major parties control the majority of seats and political power but voters are gradually moving away from the concept of party election<sup>37</sup>. Compared with other constituencies, Beitun District is still a traditional district, and among the elected in the 2018 city councilor election, the two major parties still won the seats, but the candidates of other political parties have made significant

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<sup>35</sup> Yung-Mau Chao, "The Impact of New Party Politics on Local Faction Politics in Taiwan: A Case Study of Changhua and Kaohsiung Counties and an Analysis of Changing Trends", American Association of Chinese Studies, October 2003, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 163-188

<sup>36</sup> Lev Nachman, "Misalignment between Social Movements and Political Parties in Taiwan's 2016 Election: Not All Grass Roots Are Green", University of California Press, September 2018, Vol. 58, No. 5, pp. 874-897

<sup>37</sup> Dafydd Fell, "Small Parties in Taiwan's 2016 National Elections: A Limited Breakthrough?", American Association of Chinese Studies, April 2016, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp.41-58

progress in the voting rate<sup>38</sup>. So, I think that political parties still have a great advantage, but they are no longer a sign of a victory. Today's voters are less valued and expected of politics than they once were<sup>39</sup>. How to properly use their own strengths, find out the core values, and market themselves may be the new state of winning the election.

### **Summary**

How does these phenomena happen? After reading these literatures, I think the biggest reason is the difference in times and the development of technology. It has experienced a process of one decade, two decades even three decades, the election system has changed. In the past, KMT and DPP are the only ruling political parties in Taiwan, from the president to legislators, it's either blue or green, with the support of political parties, winning the election is not difficult. In Taiwan, the traditional concept is that the older generation always supports KMT, the young people support DPP, and those who support KMT are always considered to want to unify with China.

In 2014, Ko Wen-Je broke through the political party to be elected to Taipei City, which was the first time in history that the mayor who won the election was not KMT or DPP, which was a milestone in Taiwan's electoral history, allowing young voters to see candidates other than the two major parties, at the same time, advances in technology have made the campaign more variable, and unlike the previous mutual debates in the television media, it has changed to highlight the core values of candidates from social networking sites, making advertising easier. It is also closer to the voters and more able to interact with the voters. It is also because Taiwanese people use the Internet quite frequently, which makes cyber warfare more effective. Moreover, with the advent of social media, it has become easier to market candidates, and because of

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<sup>38</sup> John F. Copper, "The Evolution of Political Parties in Taiwan", Taylor & Francis, Ltd., Spring 1989, pp.3-21

<sup>39</sup> Sarah E. Mendelson, "Democracy Assistance and NGO Strategies in Post-Communist Societies", Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Feb 2000, pp.21-29

the transparent relationship of the Internet, candidates have also better used and promoted political opinions and found like-minded supporters.

Based on the above-mentioned literature review, freedom of speech is an important basic right of the people in most modern countries, as a result, the key point is that how to cause campaign promises with effectiveness. In fact, campaign promises have grown into a force to be reckoned with, A lot of voters focus on candidates' policies. And its attention and importance has changed a lot of result and conclusion that could not happened 10 years ago. The competition between these two parties accelerates and stabilize the consolidation of Taiwan democracy.<sup>40</sup> Candidates are responsible for the public opinion. Focus on the choice and decision of the Taiwan voters, we can find campaign promises more than more important and necessary as well as its changes. One of most special parts of public opinion is the changes of candidates' policies. Along with the changes of the times, voters are changing their ideas and thoughts. There were existing a lot of voters who were the traditional thinking and always made the decision by the color represent the party in the past. Nowadays, voters pay more attention on campaign promises. They care about candidates could or couldn't do the promises what they say and campaign promises were fulfilled by candidates.

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<sup>40</sup> Shida Zhong, "Understanding Taiwan Presidential Election: A Review Paper", Utah State University, August 2019

Table 1 Comparison of Local Election Before and Now

	<b>Before</b>	<b>Now</b>
<b>Candidate Background</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Background of a candidate matters significantly.</li> <li>• Family politics, factional power matters significantly.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Background of a candidate gradually less important.</li> <li>• Young candidates challenge traditional generations.</li> </ul>
<b>Financial Fundraising</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bribery, there is no legal requirement for financial fundraising</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial fundraising must comply with the law.</li> </ul>
<b>Campaign Promises</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Don't pay attention in campaign promises.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Give strong attention in campaign promises and political trackrecords.</li> </ul>
<b>Strategical Mobilization</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-person mobilization.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In-person and online mobilization.</li> </ul>
<b>Political Parties</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong relation with candidate.</li> <li>• Party identification decide voter's voting behavior.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No longer a sign of a victory.</li> <li>• Less relation with candidate.</li> </ul>

## METHODOLOGY

This paper primarily focused on the City Councilor Election in Taichung 8th District this year. The literature review firstly introduced the history of the Taiwan election, and the democratic subversion of the election, and then figured out both success factors and potential problems within the election campaigning. Finding out the realistic situation of Taiwan's election and comparing the data result with the information from the literature review was the main goal of this paper.

This research aimed to study Taiwan's democracy by observing the local election. This research was focused on the City Council Election in Taichung 8th District in 2022. Through this research, whether voters pay attention to the candidate's campaign promises. Voters ignore the most important essence of the election, which is the candidate's campaign promise. Finding out the realistic situation of Taiwan's election and ensuring campaign promises was the main goal of Taichung's voters. Beitun District is the major city and most population in Taichung. This is the reason why we choose Beitun District to be our study area. The election is a peaceful and efficient way of choosing political leaders and establishing democracy. Furthermore, citizens of a Nation choose a leader by casting their votes. In this way, the citizens are able to choose an individual whose views appeal to them most. Hence, people are able to exercise their will in political leadership.

An election is an excellent opportunity for people to express their resentment. Most noteworthy, if people are unhappy with a particular leadership, then they can remove it from the rights under the constitution. People can certainly replace an undesirous leadership with a better alternative through Election.

Hence, the quantitative research was practiced in this paper as the methodology. The quantitative research was in connection with the City Councilor candidates and their campaigning team in Beitun District. This research method is not aimed at comparing the relationship between candidates and voters, but to comprehend the differences and the strategies through different generations.

Table 2 The List of Interviewees

<b>No.</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Title</b>
1	2022/08/01	Lai, Min Xiong 賴民雄	Non-Partisan	Political Associate
2	2022/08/03	Lai, Jin Tang 賴進堂	KMT	Candidate of borough chief
3	2022/08/05	Lai, Qi Xiang 賴啟祥	KMT	Political Associate
4	2022/08/10	Li, Wen Ji 李文基	Non-Partisan	Candidate of City Councilor
5	2022/08/11	Huang, Jian Hao 黃健豪	KMT	Candidate of City Councilor
6	2022/08/11	Shen, You Lian 沈佑蓮	KMT	Candidate of City Councilor
7	2022/08/15	Duan, Ti Pei 段體佩	Non-Partisan	Candidate of City Councilor
8	2022/08/18	Huang, Zhang Gu 黃彰國	Non-Partisan	Candidate of borough chief
9	2022/08/27	Lin, Yi Xiang 林意祥	KMT	Political Associate

10	2022/08/29	Lai, Shun Ren 賴順仁	KMT	Candidate of City Councilor
11	2022/08/30	Zeng, Chao Rong 曾朝榮	DPP	Candidate of City Councilor
12	2022/08/30	Xie, Jia Yi 謝家宜	DPP	Candidate of City Councilor

Sorted by author

### **Research Design**

According to the research method, this research adapted in-depth interview to work on collect the important data.

Therefore, the goal of in-depth interview was to understand how candidates decide their campaign promises and their parties pay attention to what voters want to see. And explore the value of candidates to the city council elections and their different opinions for their Background, Financial Fundraising, Campaign Promises, Strategical Mobilization, and their relation with political Parties.

When it comes to analyzing, we use the narrative method to analyze all the data. And the first level of analysis is to make sure, that all the information is purpose-driven, systematic, and continuous, it's the basic rule that should be comply. And then, organize the Data, and put all the statements into the computer or hand-note. Use different labels to separate all information. And summarize all the information, using narrative analysis, telling the whole story, because of what, so what happened and what is the result, are there any consequences and findings.

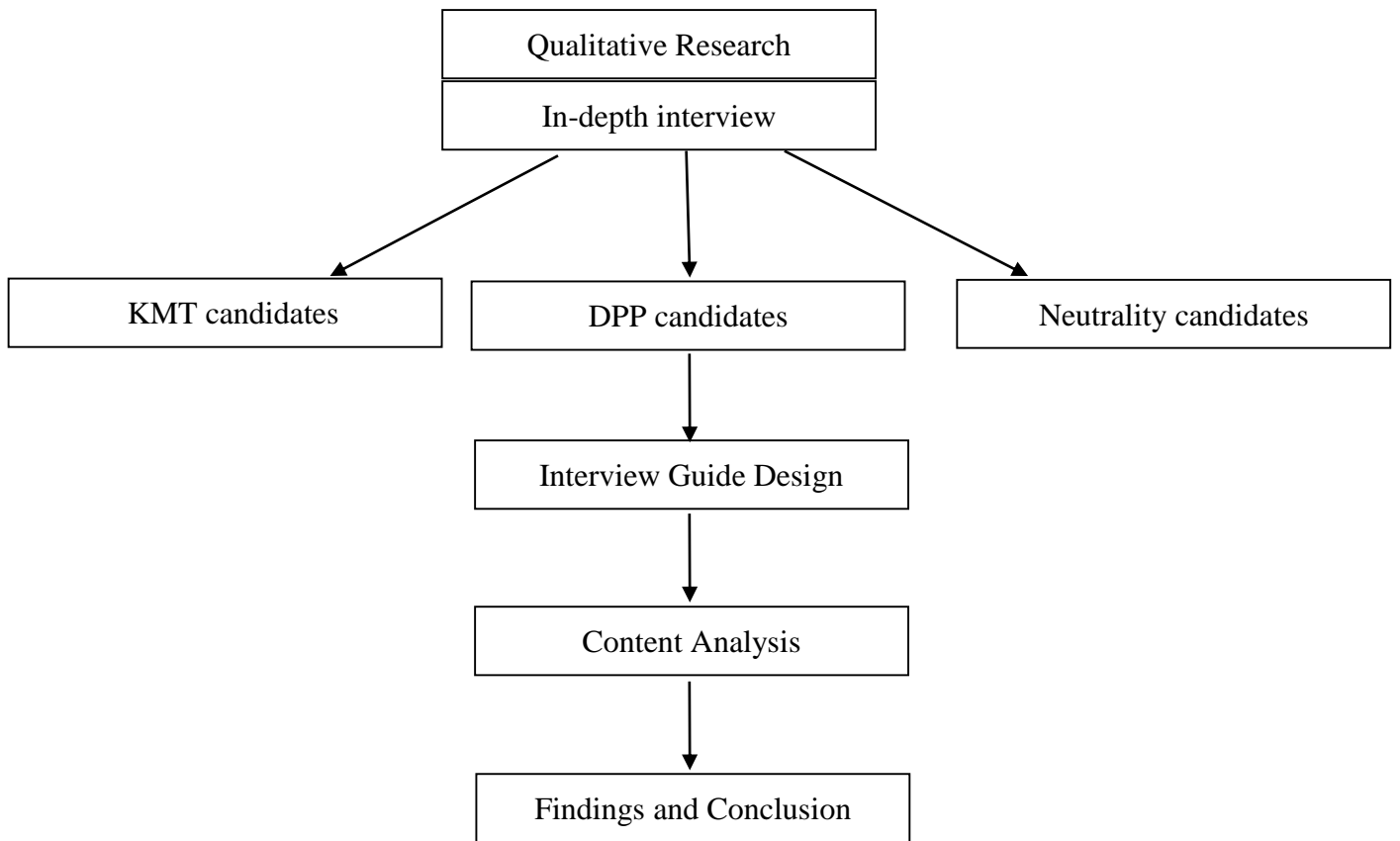


Figure 1 Data Collection

## DATA ANALYSIS

The council election has become the popular activity in Taiwan once every four years. Nowadays, people were pursuing not only better political environment but also to make the citizens take part in the politics.

Therefore, the valid data from the eleven interviews by the author were offered in the chapter.

### Candidate Background

Second-generation politicians participating in politics is an enduring news topic and common phenomenon in many democratic countries<sup>41</sup>. We found that the inheritance of the family accounts for a large part of the issue of generational change, but this idea is good and bad, the family inheritance is like the election of Xie, Ming Yuan 謝明源 City Councilor (two terms city councilor and two terms congressman) to Xie, Jia Yi 謝家宜 City Councilor (the second-generation politician), the education of direct blood relatives from childhood to adulthood is inseparable from family education, the original family is the first stage of everyone's political socialization, usually strongly affecting each political attitude and point of view. Those who think the same way, the previous generation has been a city councilor for decades, passed on to their next generation, that is the same thinking in the next few decades, not to mention running for the same constituency, then in this constituency will never progress and innovate, not that the Xie congressman is not good, but the same thinking, concept and idea, the scope of progress will not be too large. The influence of the second generation of politics on the entire political environment is nothing more than to erase the opportunities and hopes of many new political talents.

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<sup>41</sup> Jen-Po Yu, "Light and Shadows: Political careers of legislators of second-generation politicians", National Taiwan University, 2021

*“Under the leadership of the same region, the same kind of thinking, and the same person for thirty or forty years, the entire social environment will not change and progress much.”*

*-Interviewee D-*

The fourth candidate of the interviewee is a faction that does not believe in family hereditary, he was originally the position of mayor, and this year's 2022 Taichung City Beitun District election, it is his first time to run for the city council, resulting in a vacancy in the original position of mayor, Local voters thought the candidate was doing a pretty good job and thought he would pass on to his wife, but surprisingly, he thought that for the region to progress, candidates who could no longer use the same mindset should give up opportunities to younger, more ambitious young people.

Most city councilors and even mayors support and approve of the trend of generational succession on the same issue, and are even willing to give succession to capable and ambitious young people, rather than to blood related families and ambitious young people.

*“Generational rotation is a good way to do it, even if it's not two big parties. Governing experience is something that Taiwan's new generation lacks now, and today's young people are too eager and too eager to succeed at once, without any tempering and patience.”*

*-Interviewee A-*

The second generation of politics is a matter of inheritance and pride, but in this generational it is often the object of attack on others. The second generation of politicians may get a lot of connections and resources from the previous generation (parents), but perhaps it is because of this that they have become a thorn in the eyes of the people, so that they can examine their behavior at any time, and they will also bear

more tests, and there will be more topics to be made among political enemies, such as the second generation of politics is more wins at the starting point than our new generation.

Therefore, based on the above interviewees, this research argues that blood and origin cannot be changed, and if an innate condition that cannot be changed is regarded as the focus of the campaign offensive and defensive battle, it is both cold and boring, which means that we do not care about the artificial efforts of the day after tomorrow, as if it is unfair for a candidate to be erased because his parents are political figures.

### **Financial Fundraising**

For political parties and candidates, political contributions are an important source of political influence, and in modern democracies, the transparency of the flow of political contributions will be a major issue in society. As we all know, elections require huge financial assistance, and various projects need to be spent. Therefore, where the candidates' funding will come from is a very important issue. Is it the money given by the political party, the candidate's family property, or the improper benefits obtained through illegal channels? In order to squeeze into the doors of Congress, parliamentarians often accept the help of big businesses, capitalists, and local factions. And this series of interlocking links has created an inseparable and close relationship between the official, political, and financial circles in the modern political environment. Money always makes people wrong, and there is too much improper or illegal collusion in political donations and corruption scandals in terms of money, which makes people feel a strong sense of disgust and alienation from political donations. Since then, illegal political contributions have had a large disproportionate impact on the democratic politics we have emphasized.

The government has enacted strict laws on political contributions to allow candidates to vote in a cleaner way of money. Then, the purpose of the candidate coming out to elect is interesting, since the election is a time-consuming and expensive activity, why insist on the election? Is there a great political idea to implement?

*"I don't actually make any money every month, and my salary is all plastered. I still really have love for this place."*

*-Interviewee B-*

Respondent B, as the Village Chief, explained that in fact, all the expenses in a Village Chief, are very high, excluding the additional sponsorship of the company, his monthly salary still needs to be subsidized, and he also mentioned that because of his relatively large family assets, it is enough for him to have no worries. Respondent B gave us the impression of being quite serious, and the short one-hour interview was often interrupted because there were voters who needed services.

*"In fact, a lot of the information you hear about political donations from city councilors or government officials is a lie. I don't know if others have any subsidies from within the party, but I don't have them at all."*

*-Interviewee E-*

After all, the election still depends on the strength and perseverance of the city councilors themselves, that is, because there is no political donation and supply within the party, so in fact, the decision of the party central committee has no direct relationship with the candidates, and the party is now more like an ideological combination, that is, to identify with this candidate, and support him or her to run for election is nothing more.

*"I do not accept donations from any interest groups, and the funds for the election of city councilors this time, because I am non-partisan, I*

*am not like other candidates with political parties as their initiators, so all of them come from their own savings, and loans.”*

*-Interviewee G-*

A lot of candidates spend a lot of money in the election, but in fact, the election does not need to spend so much money, and Interviewee G is a faction that advertises that the election does not need to spend any money. If you think about it, if candidate accepts political donations from interest groups or corporations, it will turn out that the candidate owes them a favor, and Interviewee G doesn't want to make a flag in the hands of others because of money.

*“The last party election subsidized us with 20,000 yuan, and the rest of the political donations were almost all sponsored by businesses, interest groups, and friends from all over the world in 2018.”*

*-Interviewee I-*

Respondent I mentioned that the source of election funding is usually sponsored by the companies behind it, of course, all sponsorship is in the norms of the law, and it is also these bosses who can establish friendly relations with parliamentarians and become partners in helping each other after taking office.

From previous literature, we can see that representatives of public opinion have a heavy position at the local level, they control local power, so candidates may take improper money in different names and solve their difficulties when the financial owners need help. However, after the changes of the times, there may be no such phenomenon now. Most of today's candidates rely on corporate sponsorship or their own income to support elections every four years.

*"Donation usually came from business boss"*

*-Interviewee I-*

In fact, in this comparison, each respondent's definition of political contributions is different, some people are very rejected, but some people are happy to accept it. This issue is very sensitive to most candidates, but in fact, it is used properly, do not accept illegal donations and cash from improper sources, which is a topic that is very worthy of discussion by all citizens.

### **Campaign Promises**

Elections under a democratic system are not only about selecting capable people, but also about the political opinions put forward by the candidates, so as to know which candidate's thinking and conception are in line with the needs of the local people, and make the final choice. Political views and campaign promises have always been a must-have for a candidate, letting local voters know where the candidate cares and whether he is ambitious. Voting on political opinions and looking at the needs of the people, and then allowing modern democratic governments to govern according to the preferences of the people, is the political environment that everyone aspires to and expects. However, in the actual observation, most people are less likely to decide which candidate to vote for in terms of political views and policies, in contrast, it is often the individual's social background, party identity, and color tendencies that determine the outcome of the majority. Most of the 'color votes' are influenced by family factors, the same year, and peers.

*“Voters don't care about the opinions of the city councilors at all, the political opinions are just making a fuss, and the voters really don't look at the political opinions. political opinions are boring and useless, because political opinions actually have no influence.”*

*-Interviewee A-*

Too many city councilors have promised countless political ideas, but most of them are unfulfilled, leading modern voters to distrust city councilors or even ignore them.

*“What really needs to be seen in politics is the county mayor. City councilors and legislators just listen to the opinions of the people and then communicate with the government, as a bridge between the two.”*

*-Interviewee A-*

*“There is a huge difference between political views and achievements, and the objects of benefit are also very different. I think that most of the candidates now have long since stopped talking about political opinions and only talked about the number of political achievements.”*

*-Interviewee D-*

The previous generation of city councilors had almost no so-called political opinions, almost all of them had achieved in the past, and there were no future ideas and ideas. Political views are only visible to young candidates who are in the process of generational change, after all, the years are the cost, and they have more and more innovative ideas. Therefore, I think that the performance is beneficial to the current and previous generation of city councilors, because they have the opportunity to complete the political opinion and have the opportunity to have political achievements; On the contrary, performance is not conducive to the candidates of the new generation because they have not yet been elected, and if the voters do not give the new generation a chance, the candidates of the new generation will never have the opportunity to grasp the advantage of performance.

*“The candidates cannot use their past experience and service to convince the voters, and political views are indeed the only channels*

*through which the candidates of the new generation can express themselves most directly.”*

*-Interviewee E-*

In fact, the fifth interviewee himself is a member of the new generation. The candidates of the new generation have no experience in governance. The younger generation has a different mindset from that of experienced city councilors.

The reason the previous generation of city council did not value political opinion was because they believed that their service and actions were better than the words on billboards or election communiqués; On the other hand, if the new generation of candidates does not have the opportunity to serve, they can only convey their aspirations and ambitions through political views.

All of the candidates, there are also those who gain the trust of voters not only by their political views and achievements. The most direct impression that the sixth candidate of the interviewee conveyed to the voters was that the service would always be placed in the first place so that the voters could always find someone.

*“Political opinion and performance are important, but if the people have not been able to find a city councilor, then the people will feel that you are an irresponsible parliamentarian, even if your political opinion is good.”*

*-Interviewee F-*

"Can be found by the voters" is a main concept for candidates. Public opinion representatives are like buying accident insurance, why should we buy accident insurance? We may not necessarily use it, but if we encounter it one day, we have an insurance plan to use; Just like today if you vote for this candidate, he/she is elected, so

that for the next four years, in case of any accident, I have someone to find. In fact, voters' service and ease of finding may also be a major criterion for voter evaluation.

The seventh candidate tried to give us a strong impression that he had a strong sense of mission and justice, and not every respondent thought that political opinion and performance were important.

*“I think young people pay more attention to the candidate's political opinions; The older generation still pays more attention to feelings and party colors.”*

*-Interviewee G-*

In our opinion, people are actually very indifferent to the achievements, because most of the achievements are all more, construction and engineering, and these achievements are not enjoyed by the people.

*“Most voters are not reading their political views carefully, because now young voters have too many ideas and too much trust in the online world, making it difficult to control the voters' voter feed.”*

*-Interviewee H-*

Nowadays, the merits of political performance are reflected in the voters' liking for the candidate, because the people will determine the voter's own political orientation based on whether the candidate has done something.

*“The thinking of the younger generation is now quite diverse, making it easy for current political views to become empty or too imaginative.”*

*-Interviewee I-*

Today's society is no longer the same. There are not too many voters to compare the views of various candidates and check the performance of each candidate. Most of the formulation of political views still has to cooperate with the current mayor of the

city, and the central and local governments have the same concept, which is the phenomenon that voters hope for and are happy to see.

*“I think that political achievement is that you have to have elected a representative of public opinion to have political achievements and that political opinion is that the candidate is now putting forward his political opinion, and four years later it is the evidence to test you.”*

*-Interviewee K-*

That performance is also very important because this is whether the candidates have seriously fought for the local government and made the local government more progressive during your term as a public opinion representative. The political views put forward by the new generation and the parliamentarians to be re-elected are also very important, which is the changes and progress those candidates will make for the local government in the future, and the candidates have observed for a long time at the grassroots level what deficiencies there are in the local area or the prospects for the future of the local area. That's what they've done or accomplished over the past few years. I think political opinion and performance are two completely different aspects and both are equally important.

People don't just have to look at the political opinions of the election to vote, but also need the political opinions to be implemented and fulfilled, but to implement and honor, only the winner can do it. Now more people think that political performance is more important and more credible than political opinions, but political performance is undoubtedly a big problem for newcomers who are in the process of generational change, after all, they have not yet taken office, and no political performance can prove

the candidate's ability. I think political opinions and achievements have different advantages for different candidates.

As soon as the election year arrives in Taiwan, there will be a series of negative messages on the Internet, on social platforms, and in the TV news, and none of the candidates are good, which is the campaign strategy of each party, as long as the voters hate 'my opponent', I will win. The negative electoral image has gradually become the mainstream in Taiwan, and the so-called political views have become unimportant, as long as the opponent is annoying, the purpose is achieved.

Now on television news, social platforms, and in newspapers and magazines, we can see that Taiwan's politics is nothing more than two major parties arguing, refuting, and even opposing each other. But in fact, in the case of the city councilors or mayors, most of them do not think exactly the same way, they think that if they want to be for the sake of Taiwan's prospects and the people, they do not need to be so extreme, and come up with various reasons for opposition, even if the reasons for opposition have long deviated from the original intention of the political party. In order to refute whether the ruling party is wrong or not, the opposition party has come up with a party ideology that goes against the party. Blue and green have always been a core problem now, and modern voters are too lazy to choose their political direction only to believe in online information and rumors, and they do not study a policy or idea. The summary is that voters are always simplifying the entire political environment, using subjectivity and single thinking ability to determine the political direction of individuals.

### **Strategical Mobilization**

Fast forward 30 years ago, in those days, there was no such thing as a network, and everyone connected with people by real contact. In fact, in the old days, buying votes from voters in New Taiwan dollars was a very common behavior at that time, and

among the candidates we interviewed, when talking about the places where the previous election was most different from the current campaign, they all answered the inglorious culture of buying votes.

*"The biggest difference should be the issue of tying piles and buy tickets."*

*-Interviewee B-*

*"Buying tickets, in the past, was all about exchanging money for votes."*

*-Interviewee E-*

*"Tying piles and buying tickets are common."*

*-Interviewee J-*

Although these candidates all mentioned this bad habit, it is quite interesting that they did not admit to buying tickets. Although we think that in those days, lawmakers would have more or less committed such illegal election behavior.

Of course, with the enactment of regulations and the growing perception of voters, the bad habit of buying votes has completely disappeared. When we talk about traditional campaigning, it's nothing more than acting as a medium. Street sweeps, visits from every household, and speeches at intersections are common campaign guidelines. Even in the era when there were no televisions and mobile phones, candidates often published their political ideas in newspapers to promote their political ideas in this way.

*"In the past, the elections were quite lively, with telephone poles plastered with the campaign artifacts of various candidates, and the wind blew down as if it was raining."*

*-Interviewee B-*

At that time, all kinds of election propaganda relics could be seen in the streets and alleys near the election, just like the excitement of the Chinese New Year.

*"After Mayor Hu Zhiqiang took office, this situation was less common, and the streets became much cleaner."*

*-Interviewee B-*

After Mayor Hu took office in 2008, it also coincided with the rapid development of the Internet, and more propaganda on the Internet gradually appeared, which was also the beginning of the refinement of traditional election campaigns.

However, there are still billboards on the streets for each candidate, and we observed that members who serve multiple terms will only have their faces printed on the billboards; Candidates in the first election tend to add their political ideas or opinions in addition to their faces.

In Chapter two, what we find in literature review is that Taiwan's campaign strategy changed slightly in 2008. In that year's presidential election, former President Ma Ying-jeou used blogs as one of the campaign tools and achieved considerable repercussions, and today, the rise and rapid development of the Internet has become one of the channels that candidates value.

Therefore, our fieldwork in Taichung, we expected that campaign strategy would become a major factor due to the development of technology, however, in the Beitun area, we found that it is true that the candidates will run their social media sites, but they are not very likely to use the community as the main campaign weapon,

*"I just treat it as one, a diary, to record my service."*

*-Interviewee D-*

We believe that voters can indeed find candidates' achievements or political ideas on candidates' social media sites, but they may not help the overall election situation, after all, on the open Internet, candidates deliberately maintain their good image, and

when each candidate's website is very positive, it is more difficult for voters to use this as a voting standard.

Compared with Facebook, we are also curious about whether candidates have started to operate in popular communities such as Tiktok and Instagram,

*"I know these communities, but they come from China, so I didn't reach them."*

*-Interviewee D-*

He believes that these communities appear to have been developed by China, and he is reluctant to use them, but he agrees that in more cosmopolitan cities, online campaigning will be more intense.

*"The online election you mentioned should be more influential in Taipei City."*

*-Interviewee D-*

Although Taichung is a large population and a fairly well-developed city, there are still some gaps compared to the capital Taipei City or the northern metropolitan area of Taiwan. Although Beitun District is the most populous administrative district in Taichung, the age group in the region is still dominated by high-age voters.

*"People in Beitun District are old, in fact, the influence given by the Internet is limited."*

*-Interviewee F-*

She believes that in older districts overall, traditional tactics are more effective and, in traditional campaigning, are more hands-on. The interviewee put the word service on her lips, arguing that he would only have a chance of re-election if voters enjoyed her service.

We found that we were impressed by each candidate in terms of campaign strategy, with Respondent D being a candidate who emphasized generational transition; Respondent E is a representative of young parliamentarians; Respondent F emphasized voter service; Respondent G is quite enthusiastic; Respondent I inherit family political power; Respondent J prefers to share his political achievements; Respondent K is a young politician.

For example, Respondent G's job is to make billboards, so we observed in Beitun District that Respondent G's campaign billboards are more and more diverse than other candidates, and these billboards will spend less than other candidates.

*"My billboard is replaced every month."*

*-Interviewee G-*

He believes that billboards should be replaced frequently to make voters have a bigger and stronger impression, however, we feel that although billboards can be impressive, they do not necessarily provide a good look, and in the month of doing research, we walked through the streets and looked at countless election billboards, but felt more and more numb and gradually bored.

With each candidate having distinct differences, voters are more able to look at the merits of each candidate from a different point of view, regardless of their own party affiliations. Therefore, we believe that there is still uncertainty in the seemingly stable political environment in the election of councilors in Beitun District.

Taiwan's congress election will divide different regions according to the size of each city, and then the number of registered people in the region will determine the number of seats in the region. Beitun District, the most populous district in Taichung City, has evolved over the times and eventually became an independent constituency. Many candidates mentioned that after the merger of counties and cities, a large number of

foreign people moved in, which changed the ecology of the election of parliamentarians, in the past, a parliamentarian may only need about a few thousand votes to be elected, but now conservatively estimated to need more than 10,000 votes to be elected, we found that compared with the election of local heads and even presidents, the number of votes required for the election of parliamentarians is relatively small, so local mobilization is a very important campaign strategy.

*"The merger of counties and cities, because of the merger of counties and cities, the migration of foreign population has made the whole election less predictable, and there are thousands more votes than before to be elected."*

*-Interviewee A-*

Because of the merger of counties and cities, many unpredictable variables have been added in the election of parliamentarians, which pays considerable attention to local mobilization. Although more unpredictable, we still found that candidates' campaigns still value local connections, said H, a respondent who is an assistant to a councilor,

*"Yes, local mobilization is very important, if I become good friends with a li chief, is it possible to get one more li vote, after all, word of mouth is still very useful, and those dozens of votes have a better chance of being elected."*

*-Interviewee H-*

In highly competitive parliamentary elections, where candidates go to great lengths to win over local powers, try to make friends, and use their connections to win votes, local mobilization may be a more effective way than campaign teams' propaganda tactics. What's more, we found that the parliamentarians who can be re-elected for multiple terms are usually people with prominent local reputations, including various

second generations of politics, or families who have been engaged in politics for many years, or traditional factional forces. Respondent E, who is preparing to challenge for re-election this time, has not served in Beitun District for many years.

*"I must not be like an experienced councilor, and I have a lot of prestige in the local area."*

*-Interviewee E-*

He understands that traditional local mobilization is not his advantage, and his strategy is to use youth as an advantage to win over the votes of young foreign voters, but he mentioned that.

*"I will still try to connect with local people, and I can't give up any votes."*

*-Interviewee E-*

This is not a matter of giving up the opportunity to interact with the local community, but a matter of proportion. He knows his strengths and weaknesses, and he knows how to expand his strengths without letting his weaknesses become disadvantages. Based on these data, all respondents agreed that local mobilization is a fairly important block. We believe that a large part of Taiwan's local elections is like concentric circles, from the smallest ring of candidates and even his team, to local organizations, interest groups, and enterprises, becoming seemingly inconsistent but closely involved and entangled groups. And the election is to compare whose circle is bigger, who can strengthen his power to defeat other candidates and win the election.

### **Political Parties**

Political parties are a very special and important existence in a democratic society, and they are also an important basis for democratic societies to elect representatives of public opinion. A political party is a political group composed of people with the same political ideas, they have the same political ideas, ideologies, and political parties push

candidates to participate in elections, and they can better implement their political ideas after taking power. However, after our research, in Taiwan, a place with a special electoral ecology, political parties do not seem so important.

*"Because I am a non-party candidate, I have nothing to do with the party, but according to my previous experience as a governor, I can still change my mind about this land."*

*-Interviewee D-*

In this generation, there are many non-party candidates who have no connection to the political party and are still able to rely on the candidate's own experience to fight for opportunities to serve the electorate.

*"Not at all, the political parties will not care what we are going to do or give us instructions"*

*-Interviewee E-*

Respondent E, a young city councilman with a political party who is challenging for re-election this year, feels that the party will not specifically interfere with any of the candidates' practices in the election, and that the election campaign is entirely the effort of the candidate team. Interviewees E, we had some slight doubts as to whether his party would have given very little resources because he was a junior city councilor. It was only after more interviews that we had more detailed information. Interviewees F and I, both city councilors who have been re-elected for many years, mentioned that,

*"No, political parties will not get involved"*

*"Political parties will only dominate the national strategy in the general direction, not in the election of small city councilors"*

*-Interviewee F & I-*

Even long-serving city councilman still don't have the support of political parties, and we find that political parties are more like ideological signs in local elections. What is more important in winning an election is the leadership charisma and personality value that the candidate himself has.

*"I elected members of parliament to do justice, and what's more, the people want to be able to enjoy my services, not those who hide in the office."*

*-Interviewee G-*

Interviewee G, a candidate who has fashioned himself as an enthusiastic councilor, gives us a sense of being hands-on and always shows his personality to voters without reservation, expecting them to be attracted to it.

Under the influence of Taiwan's bipartisan politics, it has gradually developed into a blue-and-green electoral phenomenon, based on pro-China or anti-China. This phenomenon is more pronounced in presidential elections and county and city chief elections, and voters who do not understand politics often use the candidate's party as a voting reference and vote for the party that is more favorable to that party.

This phenomenon is also reflected in the fact that when a political party has a better image in that year, its candidates are more likely to win. This method of election shows the important relationship between political parties and candidates. Although this phenomenon of selecting candidates by political parties is a norm in various cities in Taiwan, there are still some more special circumstances,

*"Because of my careful promotion of various constructions and good voter service, local voters, even if they are opposed to my political parties, will still vote for me when the parliamentarians are elected."*

*-Interviewee J-*

It follows that despite the far-reaching influence of political parties on voters, voters may still support candidates he has seen with his own eyes and who are in the voters' own favor, even if they are in a different party than themselves.

In the election of city councilors, candidates nominated by political parties should be given a variety of resources to assist in the campaign, whether it is money or traditional land warfare street sweeping or air warfare propaganda. After all, candidates are soldiers of political parties, and it is only natural to devote resources to training soldiers in order to gain power.

However, after our interviews, political parties were relatively unhelpful. All the selected policies and activities are arranged by the candidate and his team. Therefore, we have come to the conclusion that in the presidential election of local governors, which emphasizes the general policy, the meaning of the political party may be judged by the voters. On the basis of this, while emphasizing local construction, in the election of lower-level parliamentarians, more of the candidates themselves, and let voters see their value, and then get votes.

### **Summary**

All the findings and information were collected from the result of the qualitative method, the interviews with candidates. First of all, it's an honor to interview all of the candidates, and the foregoing topic we believe it is an interesting yet challenging thing for us to explore. In order to get the research information, we want, we stick to our interview guide carefully and make sure all the data we get is systematic.

After analyzing the five sections about election culture, actually we find out lots of interesting fact. Usually, when people think about politics, there are different stereotype and general ideas about it, but when we talk to those candidates, the one who

run the election and play in politics for a long time, the first-hand intelligence surprised us.

### **Candidates Background**

All the candidates who run in elections, they have strong background to support them, not only financial help, but also local mobilization. And the most interesting fact is, we want to know how the candidates' thought about second-generation politicians. There are tons of family politics and factional politics in Taiwan local election, as time goes by, old candidates who elected all the time should inherit to the next generation. The point is, who will be the one taking over old candidates' political power? Their son? Or other young talent? Our interviewees agree alternation of generations, but their statement about alternate to whom show uncertainty in it. We conclude that, the old one isn't ready to give up their power and the control of their district, even they passed down their political power, they only give it to their family members, the blood and origin will not be changed easily.

### **Financial Fundraising**

Elections require huge financial assistance, and various projects need to be spent. But, where does those money come from, and where does those money spend are the questions, we curious about. After analysis all the information from each candidate, we found out there are multiple ways that candidates can get their finance. Some candidate has strong financial background, some candidates tend to make good relation with company, to get their corporate sponsorship, also, some candidates just refuse answer any question about money.

### **Campaign Promises**

Elections in a democratic system are not only about which candidate gets elected, but also the political views put forward by candidates, understanding their various

reform speeches and construction proposals, and then voters can make choices through the ballot. Our interviewers, however, believe that voters do not seem to care much about candidates' campaign promises, and voters place more importance on other aspects. In particular, Taiwan is a standard two-party system, and voters care more about political parties extended by their ideology. When voting, voters prefer to choose their preferred party. As a result, candidates sometimes tend to show their political achievement instead of keeping campaign promises, unless they are candidates who can only attract voters with good campaign promises and post-election services because it's their first election.

### **Local Mobilization**

It is important to know that in the local election, how to mobilize the voters, mobilize whom, and which organizations can do the job. In Beitun, there are regions with larger population. And there are politicians represented these regions over the years after the democratic election been introduced to Taiwan. Therefore, the so-called "territories" of each region are divided clearly. In this year, we found out that candidates only mobilized their target group of people such as the temple, school, building and communities. They use these group of people to enlarge their influence to bigger population. In 2022, these basic rules are going to change because of the new population who moved to Beitun. Candidates also change their mobilization strategy to cope with the new constituents and to consolidate their bases.

### **Political Parties**

As this research mentioned in Chapter one, in democracy system candidates are usually political talents sent by political parties, obviously, the ultimate goal is to win the election. General idea of Taiwanese people, usually think of the relationship between candidates and political parties as inseparable. All the interviewees in our

research have different experiences, regardless of their political parties, none of them has direct relationship with political parties, but they mention if it is talking about elections at higher levels, this kind of situation will change, but in local elections, the resources given by political parties are simply limited.

## Conclusion

After the data analysis part, this research concluded with five points, here they are.

First, background of the candidates, our interview research supported the original hypotheses—background of a candidate matters significantly. The background mainly refers to his/her financial support, whether it came from corporate, family or candidate's own pocket. Basically, the financial background provides the candidates the minimum startup and the charisma and working ability offer his/her chance to step up.

Second, in financial fundraising part, political parties simply do not provide financial support to the city councilor level candidate. Politician must be above the city mayor level to gain corporate and political party's help in fundraising.

Third, in campaign promises part, older generation of the city councilor candidates care more about their political track record than campaign promises. Therefore, voters can check their efficiency in accomplishing missions. In the other hand, new generation of candidates, without experience, they do not have track record. Thus, they care more about campaign promises and they will carefully review the promises and assess its possibility and possible benefits for the community.

Then, in strategical mobilization part, when we research the part of political fundraising, we recognize that local mobilization is important, but we are not sure how the candidate will mobilize and with whom. What organizations can be mobilized, as well as the most basic culture of Beitun District, Beitun District is composed? After the interview, we learned how the most basic local mobilization is composed and how it affects the election.

Lastly, in political parties part, voters prefer to choose candidates based on party differences because it connects to the national politics and it is easier for voters to find their political affinity. However, for the city councilor level, political party affiliation is only a title of ideology. There is no significant relation between the party and the candidates. In sum, this research provided readers a clear picture of what happen right in 2022 about the city councilor election in Taiwan.

This research aimed to bring the readers a clear and complete analysis of the local election in Taiwan. By interviewing the city councilor candidates and politicians in Beitun, Taichung, this research discussed the local election with five aspects—candidate background, political fundraising, campaign promises, mobilization strategy, political parties. This research brought different kind of perspective to look at the local election, and this research expected to bring a fair and clear description of the local election, in order to create a better political environment.

Democracy is the most valuable regime type because only a good democracy guaranteed the protection of human rights and equality. However, democracy in Taiwan met a lot of challenges. National politicians care about poll, social media debates, partisan issues, ideology, scandal and negative campaigning, and those subjects actually have very slight relation with the real citizens. Every four years, candidates in the national level of election usually mobilized their voters with ideology and hatred, facilitate the confrontation between people with different party affiliation, conduct vote-buying whether using public money or the fundraising from big corporates. Because of all the malpractice of national elections, Taiwan democracy has no long-term policy plan, has bad finance and budget problem, and reasonable foreign policy. The party won the election and the whole country lost the future.

By observing the local election, out of surprise, this research found the dynamic nature of Taiwan democracy. Candidates in the local election cared about what they have done for the voters in the past. New candidates stressed how and what they will promise in the future. The competition is based on how to make citizens life better. Candidates focused on small subjects such as new public building, better bus routes, new elementary schools, more sports space and park, better waste management, more service for elders and kids, and more communication between citizens and government.

In sum, this research found that candidates background is more about how this person bring what to the voters instead of his/her master degree from where or plagiarism issue. Candidates usually spent limited budget in running the campaign. Fundraising is more of small doners instead of any big corporate involved. Candidates and voters seriously cared about their campaign promises and that's the key if they can be trusted by the community, mobilization strategy replied on how mouth of words and people to people relations, and, national political parties have almost no influence to voters' or candidates' behavior.

This research suggested that in the future, both national and local election shall focus more on the policy instead of empty subjects. Political parties shall look at the voters instead staring at each other. Fundraising must be transparent and less of big corporates controlling everything in Taiwan. Social media is for communication not for mobilization strategy. Younger generation shall talk to each other, face each other, instead of swamping in the social media fake news and advertisement by political parties and big corporate. More of us must join and participate in the politics and elections, to save Taiwan's democracy from degradation.

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# APPENDIX A

## Interview Consent

### 市議員候選人參與研究訪談同意書

\_\_\_\_\_先生/小姐：

您好，首先非常感謝您同意讓我們訪問。在訪問之前，有一些關於本研究的詳細內容及您的權益必須先與您說明。

我們是文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級的韓瑀學生以及莊翔羽學生，我（韓瑀）、我（莊翔羽）的畢業論文為「2022年台中市第8選區市議員選舉的訪談內容：分析候選人背景、政治獻金、競選承諾、動員策略、政黨政治」。本研究的目的主要是要探討當今政治環境的改變以及突破傳統思維的思想及自主思考能力。

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### (一)背景

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作？ 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎？

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了？

### (二)關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方？或是您可以說說您看到過的選舉歷史

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎？

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選，您對此有甚麼看法？

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎？

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎？

Q6: 在您印象中，有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶？

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾？

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性？

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢？

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分性的介入呢？

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同？

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何？以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情，現在多元化的發展，在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷，變成黨內介入的部分太多？（例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致？競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾？）

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性？

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎？

### (三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分？(例如：在十字路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢？

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分？(例如：網路直播、運用社群媒體宣傳等等)

Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度嗎？

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉，還是提出許多政見，哪一種能讓選民更有好感度？

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度？

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度？

#### (四)改善/建議（創新的改善方法）

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分？

Q2: （承上題）請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境？（例如：實際考察，找出在地居民的需求，而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力？世代交替，給年輕的參選人一些機會，注入新的想法？）

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供？

## Interview Consent

### 里長候選人參與研究訪談同意書

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Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作？ 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎？

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了？

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Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態有甚麼特別之處嗎？

Q3: 據我們的觀察，在台灣里長通常由經驗老道的候選人連任，北屯區也有這樣的生態嗎？

Q4: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選，您對此有甚麼看法？

Q5: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎？

Q6: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎？

Q7: 在您印象中，有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶？

Q8: 請問您覺得選民是否會在意競選承諾？

Q9: 那您對於其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性是否有很大的信心？

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據什麼方面呢？

Q11: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分性的介入呢？

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Q14: 請問您覺得政治行業與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性？

Q15: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎？

Q16: 您對您參選里長的過程之中，有沒有甚麼印象深刻的地方呢？

## (三)改善/建議（創新的改善方法）

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分？

Q2: （承上題）請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境？（例如：實際考察，找出在地居民的需求，而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力？世代交替，給年輕的參選人一些機會，注入新的想法？）

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段體佩市議員候選人



# 段體佩市議員候選人

## Interview Consent

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莊翔羽

# 段體佩市議員候選人

投體佩市議員候選人

## (一) 背景

restaurant.

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

不執業  
廣告、報社老闆

看版數量的原因。

幫國民黨參選  
無家籍  
義工幹部

## (二) 關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

您看到過的選舉歷史

時間點 → 2022 現在是全國最討厭母藍綠的時候。

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

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Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

以前選過立委

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可

實用性?

張列前長  
政績? A: 人民對政績無感

政見?

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、

根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分

性的介入呢?

帆布 → 空戰  
↓  
6000 月租金  
帆布  
↓  
Key points.

政見  
年輕人  
車死人  
注重 feeling

# 段體佩市議員候選人

立委 -> 國家治安 ex. 毒. 稿.

議員 -> 在地建設.

\* 伸張正義.

段: \* 注重老百姓是否接受  
的到

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及

選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競

選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一

致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

✓ 較多表面, 實質的東西多付出很大  
Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?  
威觀手業

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

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路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 網路直播、運用社

群媒體宣傳等等)

Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度

嗎?

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政

見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

資金全是 自己拿錢 & 貸款 ) 其他一律不收.  
標榜 選舉不花錢

## 段體佩市議員候選人

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

### (四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分? 給 non-partis 機會

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如: 實際考察, 找出在地居民的需求, 而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替, 給年輕的參選人一些機會, 注入新的想法?)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?

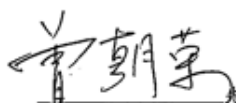
不爭永遠都是藍綠

曾朝榮市議員候選人



## 曾朝榮市議員候選人

### Interview Consent



#### 參與研究訪談同意書

先生/小姐：

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本研究採用深度訪談法，訪談時間約一個小時。同時，為了避免資料遺漏及方便整理與分析，希望您同意於訪談過程中錄音。錄音內容僅作為研究者分析資料、編輯與編碼之用，不會將訪談內容對外公開或是讓第三人聽到錄音內容，因此，請您安心。此外，基於保護受訪者的義務，您的姓名及個人資料一律隱匿不公開，改以代號或暱稱稱之，以確保您的資料不會外洩。因此，希望您能提供真實的意見，以增加研究資料的正確性。

訪談期間，您隨時有權利要求或選擇退出，且沒有義務告知原因。訪談過程中您有權利決定回答問題的深度，面對不想回答的問題也能拒絕回答，亦有權利隨時終止錄音及訪談。若您對本研究有任何意見，歡迎隨時提供。

## 曾朝榮市議員候選人

論文完成後，研究者將會寄送一份研究的摘要及訪談後資料整理給您，若您同意以上內容，請您於下方簽下您的名字。再次誠摯的歡迎與感謝您參與本研究。

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學歷：紐約州立大學奧本尼分校國際關係博士

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文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 韓瑀

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文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 莊翔羽

E-mail: jungyan9055@gmail.com

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受訪者：曾朝榮 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月30日

同意研究者使用訪談過程中的所有內容

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日期：111年8月30日

研究者：韓瑀 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月30日

莊翔羽

# 曾朝榮市議員候選人

曾朝榮議員 → 藍, 對民尊出 基層沒有服務, 只拜訪重要人物

緣 - 拜訪所有人

(一) 背景

開始  
91年參與

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

建設公司老闆

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

慈善會負責人

迴教徒

老婆 經濟委員

92  
大地震  
契機

(二) 關於競選承諾的重要性

重建  
解決了  
很多糾纏  
事情

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

您看到過的選舉歷史 88~90年 91年 20几幾了 → 選10席 第一高票選上

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

不見得, 自己本身就是个例外

Q4: 您覺得20年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可

實用性?

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、

根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分

性的介入呢?

世代交替  
必然  
更新思維

中Taiwan 永續發展聯盟

# 曾朝榮市議員候選人

政見 { 交通 → ⑭ 快速道路 [2003 新區] → 交通罰區  
東山國中, 教育 → 地震主題公園 → 8000 萬  
9 號 10 號 步道, 停車場..

- 白冷圳  
10 年時間  
8.9 億元  
引到大巨溪

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

政見 < local 需求性

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及

選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競

選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一

致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?

幫助的價值 > 賺的錢

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

黨內不會有贊助

## (三) 市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字

路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 網路直播、運用社

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Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度

嗎?

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政

見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

## 曾朝榮市議員候選人

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

(四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

國際都市

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分?

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如: 實際考察, 找出在地居民的需求, 而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替, 給年輕的參選人一些機會, 注入新的想法?)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?



謝家宜市議員候選人



# 謝家宜市議員候選人

## Interview Consent

### 參與研究訪談同意書

謝家宜

先生/小姐：

您好，首先非常感謝您同意讓我訪問。在訪問之前，有一些關於本研究的詳細內容及您的權益必須先與您說明。

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E-mail: markjrlai@hotmail.com



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E-mail: h100002902490483@gmail.com

文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 莊翔羽

E-mail: jungyan9055@gmail.com

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研究者：韓瑀 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月30日

莊翔羽

# 謝家宜市議員候選人

謝家宜議員

## (一)背景

8年前開始

法律相關的工作

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

## (二)關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

您看到過的選舉歷史

before 異業文化

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

網路宣傳  
社會議題

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

政見 → 對未來的展望

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

現在政見 → 四年後變政績

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性?

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、

根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨團會大部分性的介入呢?

民意反應

區所欠缺

市議員  
政見會更具体化

## 謝家宜市議員候選人

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

Focus on 人與人之間的互動

政治節奏  
新血注入  
世代交替

### (三) 市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

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Q5: 您認為候選人在競選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

不耗太多錢在選舉上.

## 謝家宜市議員候選人

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度？

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度？

### (四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分？

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境？(例如：實際考察，找出在地居民的需求，而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力？世代交替，給年輕的參選人一些機會，注入新的想法？)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供？

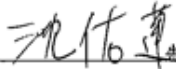
沈佑蓮市議員候選人



# 沈佑蓮市議員候選人

## Interview Consent

### 參與研究訪談同意書

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## 沈佑蓮市議員候選人

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受訪者：沈佑蓮 (請簽名)

日期：111 年 8 月 11 日

同意研究者使用訪談過程中的所有內容

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日期：111 年 8 月 11 日

研究者：韓瑀 (請簽名)

日期：111 年 8 月 11 日

莊翔羽

沈佑蓮市議員候選人

第15屆 91年2月1日當選  
第16屆 94年12月9日  
直轄市 99年  
第一屆 99年12月-103年  
第二屆 103年12月-107年  
第三屆 107年11月-111年

# 沈佑蓮市議員候選人

沈佑蓮市議員

支持  
姐姐是立委 & 支持朱楚瑜選總統

清潔  
基礎工作  
一開始

## (一) 背景

(弘光科大五專畢業)

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

原是護理人員

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

→ 第五屆

選舉 process → 不走傳統 → 買票、花大錢  
走服務

## (二) 關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

您看到過的選舉歷史

用服務換選票

民意代表

就像員個(意外險)

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

具備 = 自省能力

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可

實用性?

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、

根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的選民(黨內會大部分

性的介入呢?

政見 政績

↳ 民眾反應

團隊觀察

15屆  
91/1 當選  
16屆  
94/12/9  
99  
連任市  
一屆  
99/12 ~ 103年  
二屆  
03/12 ~ 107年  
三屆  
107/11 ~ 111年

## 沈佑蓮市議員候選人

不會，是差在→有沒有完全結束

Q11: 請問您認為(以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?)

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及

選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競

選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一

致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

護理, 付出勞力→獲取 salary

Q13: (請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?)

議員 民眾則是老齡

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

### (三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字

路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 網路直播、運用社

群媒體宣傳等等)

Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度

嗎?

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政

見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

## 沈佑蓮市議員候選人

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

(四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

良性競爭

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分?

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如: 實際考察, 找出在地居民的需求, 而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替, 給年輕的參選人一些機會, 注入新的想法?)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?

陽春議員 - 單純當議員  
沒有額外的工作

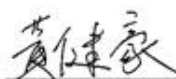
黃健豪市議員候選人



## 黃健豪市議員候選人

### Interview Consent

#### 參與研究訪談同意書



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文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 莊翔羽

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日期：111年8月11日

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受訪者：黃健豪 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月11日

研究者：韓瑀 (請簽名)  
莊翔羽

日期：111年8月11日

# 黃健豪市議員候選人

黃健豪

(一)背景 (2010年, 輔選區龍安選市長)

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

契機:

張榮發 提倡兩岸通商

但陳水扁堅決不要

要做決定 一定要有一個重要位置

(二)關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

唐口味新人

北屯 = 重劃區, 住宅區, 人口較年輕.

您看到過的選舉歷史

北屯區  
較其它區  
更能接受  
世代交替

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Before: 家戶, 固定票源

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

After: 網路興起  
行銷自己

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

公托, 公促幼推園.

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

不反對人: 較在意政績

新人: 政見重要.

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可

實用性?

比較重視你能做到什麼  
而不是想要做到什麼.

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、

根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分

性的介入呢?

完全不會

# 黃健豪市議員候選人

注重單純的建設

軟件、公托、公設。

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q13: 請問您覺得政治與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

黨內完全不肯給議員政治基金。  
健康

以前情過。  
2015年。  
2016年。

## (三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 網路直播、運用社群媒體宣傳等等)

Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度嗎?

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

## 黃健豪市議員候選人

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

對選民：希望 voter 更了解現代政治人物  
的背景  
及政見

(四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分?  
↳ 別為了一時解流星而亂講話

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如：實際考察，找出在地居民的需求，而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替，給年輕的參選人一些機會，注入新的想法?)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?

太陽花運動 捧紅了很多政治新星。

ex. 時代力量

陳柏維。

但他們實質做了什麼?

李文基市議員候選人



# 李文基市議員候選人

## Interview Consent



### 參與研究訪談同意書

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文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 韓瑀

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已詳閱過上述的說明，也了解相關的細節與受訪者權益，因此同意受訪參與本研究。

受訪者： 李文基 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月10日

同意研究者使用訪談過程中的所有內容

受訪者： 李文基 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月10日

研究者： 韓瑀 (請簽名)

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莊翔羽

# 李文基市議員候選人

李文基議員 (八年里長) → 今年 2022 開始投入 議員選舉

背景 退伍後 10 年 (地方首長相助) 84.85 年開始至今

自己開公司  
電子產品  
反老器  
(大哥大配件)

土地公廟

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

## 關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

您看到過的選舉歷史

Before 縣市合併 12 個席次  
After 6 個

以前感覺每年都在選舉

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 據我們的觀察, 在台灣里長通常由經驗老道的候選人連任, 北屯區也有這

樣的生態嗎?

區塊來區分

(思維改變)

Q4: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

支持世代交替

里長只有服務及建議權

Q5: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Q6: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

是

Q7: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

不講政見

談政績

Q8: 請問您覺得選民是否會在意競選承諾?

老前几乎無政見

新人比較多想法 or 政見

Q9: 那您對於其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性是否有很大的信心?

心?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據什麼方面呢?

Q11: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分

跟黨沒有任何關係

是根據先前的 experience

黨

無黨參選

# 李文基市議員候選人

多數都是花大錢) 幾乎很多都是空頭支票  
 建設  
 最後成了蚊子館

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

選舉是取悅候選人 location 給有用的人

退休後傳承人

## (三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 網路直播、運用社群媒體宣傳等等)

Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度嗎?

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

競選

↑  
 FB = 日記  
 小紅書、抖音 - 中國  
 ↳ 較不接觸

科技不發達 → 官員講話很大聲, 口無遮攔

發達 → 講話有禮貌

政治現金 ↔ 包攬 成正比

社會責任


賴順仁市議員候選人



# 賴順仁市議員候選人

## Interview Consent

### 參與研究訪談同意書

 先生/小姐：

您好，首先非常感謝您同意讓我訪問。在訪問之前，有一些關於本研究的詳細內容及您的權益必須先與您說明。

我是文策外語大學國際事務系四年級的韓瑀學生以及莊翔羽學生，我（韓瑀）的畢業論文為：「2022 臺中市議員選舉內容分析」、我（莊翔羽）的畢業論文為「年輕市議員候選人如何撼動傳統選區力量」。本研究的目的主要是要探討當今政治環境的改變以及突破傳統思維的思想及自主思考能力

本研究採用深度訪談法，訪談時間約一個小時。同時，為了避免資料遺漏及方便整理與分析，希望您同意於訪談過程中錄音。錄音內容僅作為研究者分析資料、編輯與編碼之用，不會將訪談內容對外公開或是讓第三人聽到錄音內容，因此，請您安心。此外，基於保護受訪者的義務，您的姓名及個人資料一律隱匿不公開，改以代號或暱稱稱之，以確保您的資料不會外洩。因此，希望您能提供真實的意見，以增加研究資料的正確性。

訪談期間，您隨時有權利要求或選擇退出，且沒有義務告知原因。訪談過程中您有權利決定回答問題的深度，面對不想回答的問題也能拒絕回答，亦有權利隨時終止錄音及訪談。若您對本研究有任何意見，歡迎隨時提供。

## 賴順仁市議員候選人

論文完成後，研究者將會寄送一份研究的摘要及訪談後資料整理給您，若您同意以上內容，請您於下方簽下您的名字。再次誠摯的歡迎與感謝您參與本研究。

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學歷：紐約州立大學奧本尼分校國際關係博士

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日期：111年8月29日

莊翔羽

# 賴順仁市議員候選人

賴順仁議員

## (一)背景

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了? 25年 國中代課老師

## (二)關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

國民黨  
世代交替太慢  
一串的思維  
沒有反應到基層

您看到過的選舉歷史 各職位分開投票 廢選9個議員 現在變成6個  
比如投票率很差、買票文化盛行

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

上一屆蘇雅玲落選, 黃健豪第一次選就上

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

沒打算給小孩接

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾? 真正敢見的人很少

空補助

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可  
實用性? 政見容易成為空包彈, 或天馬行空/大多要配合現任市長

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、  
根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

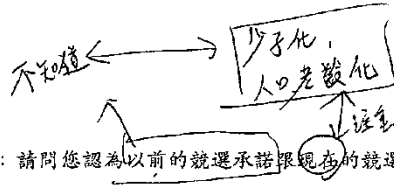
Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分  
性的介入呢?

政見 有訂  
制定 自己觀察

較會至尊政策  
而不是市議員的政見

注重解決現實面的問題, 而不是未來會遇到什麼

## 賴順仁市議員候選人



Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同? 差很多.

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情, 現在多元化的發展, 在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷, 變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性? 不穩定工作

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

中郵的網路整合公司不多, 沒有.

藍綠越來越急端

### (三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢?

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Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉, 還是提出許多政見, 哪一種能讓選民更有好感度?

上-尾 政差補助 2 萬

企業. 朋友. 贊助.

## 賴順仁市議員候選人

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

(四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法) <sup>希望</sup>  
(公共設施多) \*活動中心、百貨公司

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分?

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如: 實際考察, 找出在地居民的需求, 而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替, 給年輕的參選人一些機會, 注入新的想法?)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?

## 賴進堂里長候選人

### Interview Consent

#### 參與研究訪談同意書



先生/小姐：

您好，首先非常感謝您同意讓我訪問。在訪問之前，有一些關於本研究的詳細內容及您的權益必須先與您說明。

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## 賴進堂里長候選人

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學歷：紐約州立大學奧本尼分校國際關係博士

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受訪者： 賴進堂 (請簽名)

日期：111 年 8 月 30 日

同意研究者使用訪談過程中的所有內容

受訪者： 賴進堂 (請簽名)

日期：111 年 8 月 31 日

研究者： 韓瑀 (請簽名)

日期：111 年 8 月 31 日

莊翔羽

# 賴進堂里長候選人

背景

98年參與社區發展協會執行長。

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

本身水滸里出身

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了?

都發局

103年 ~ 至今

里長推選

關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

您看到過的選舉歷史

如合併, 水滸里有2個議員。

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 據我們的觀察, 在台灣里長通常由經驗老道的候選人連任, 北屯區也有這

樣的生態嗎?

Q4: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

Q5: 您覺得20年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

胡自強之後, 重視里長。

近10年來買票文化  
(鄉下或許還有)  
才消失

Q6: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

Q7: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

Q8: 請問您覺得選民是否會在意競選承諾?

會在意

Q9: 那您對於其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性是否有很大的信

心?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據什麼方面呢?

Q11: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨委會大部分

煙標

# 賴進堂里長候選人

103年剛接里長

性的介入呢?  
改油路  
地下水  
自來水管  
皆ok  
沈揚公園  
整修  
立體停車場

Q12: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

Q13: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? (例如在拜票的方式是否已經偏離了競選的初衷? 民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q14: 請問您覺得政治行業與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?

非道及緣 不好呀

Q15: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

Q16: 您對您參選里長的過程之中, 有沒有甚麼印象深刻的地方呢?

\* 某里長的老婆系  
推來水滄里  
選舉

改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境, 是否有任何需要改善的部分?

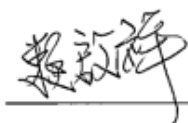
Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如: 實際考察, 找出在地居民的需求, 而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替, 給年輕的參選人一些機會, 注入新的想法?)

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?

## 賴啟祥，某市議員後援會會長

### Interview Consent

#### 參與研究訪談同意書



先生/小姐：

您好，首先非常感謝您同意讓我訪問。在訪問之前，有一些關於本研究的詳細內容及您的權益必須先與您說明。

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本研究採用深度訪談法，訪談時間約一個小時。同時，為了避免資料遺漏及方便整理與分析，希望您同意於訪談過程中錄音。錄音內容僅作為研究者分析資料、編輯與編碼之用，不會將訪談內容對外公開或是讓第三人聽到錄音內容，因此，請您安心。此外，基於保護受訪者的義務，您的姓名及個人資料一律隱匿不公開，改以代號或暱稱稱之，以確保您的資料不會外洩。因此，希望您能提供真實的意見，以增加研究資料的正確性。

訪談期間，您隨時有權利要求或選擇退出，且沒有義務告知原因。訪談過程中您有權利決定回答問題的深度，面對不想回答的問題也能拒絕回答，亦有權利隨時終止錄音及訪談。若您對本研究有任何意見，歡迎隨時提供。

## 賴啟祥，某市議員後援會會長

論文完成後，研究者將會寄送一份研究的摘要及訪談後資料整理給您，若您同意以上內容，請您於下方簽下您的名字。再次誠摯的歡迎與感謝您參與本研究。

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學歷：紐約州立大學奧本尼分校國際關係博士

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文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 莊翔羽

E-mail: jungyan9055@gmail.com

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受訪者： 賴啟祥 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月5日

同意研究者使用訪談過程中的所有內容

受訪者： 賴啟祥 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月5日

研究者： 韓瑀 (請簽名)

日期：111年8月5日

莊翔羽

# 賴啟祥，某市議員後援會會長

賴啟祥先生

沈夢辰

## (一)背景

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了? 20 幾年

## (二)關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說您看到過的選舉歷史

縣市合併, 舊 10席 council 新 6席 council

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

對比新舊台中市

地方強調 選民服務

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要如何隨著時代變遷而調整您的競選策略?

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

單一 度

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性, 競選政見與現實是否會有矛盾?

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、根據其他候選人的政見、根據核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

統 政

## 賴啟祥，某市議員後援會會長

人緣地緣

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨內會大部分性的介入呢?

都是以地方，不大跟黨內有關

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同?

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何? 以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情，現在多元化的發展，在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷，變成黨內介入的部分太多? (例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致? 競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾?)

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性?

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎?

限制投票年輕化會不會導致票分佈不均? (家庭因素感染力較強)

(三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 在十字路口拜票、發送選舉小物等等)

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢? (賴順仁討厭讓自己勞累的工作)

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分? (例如: 網路直播、運用社群媒體宣傳等等)

Q4: 我相信每個不同的競選策略都有其應對的目標及年齡層，那您對這種必須做取捨的現象有什麼看法?

## 賴啟祥，某市議員後援會會長

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉，還是提出許多政

見，哪一種能讓選民更有好感度？（照片與實際是否有差距）

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能

見度？（解釋新興媒體是什麼）ex 直播、買廣告

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見

度？

統 內 Taiwan → Taiwan  
獨 外戰 China → Taiwan

(四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分？（舉例）ex:市

議會的監督，還是黨內幫忙選舉還是選民的冷漠，還是里長綁住選民之類的，

明明今年這麼差了，黨內還挑五個(國)三個(民)。

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境？（例如：實

際考察，找出在地居民的需求，而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力？世代交替，給

年輕的參選人一些機會，注入新的想法？）（克服哪些問題）

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供？

## 林意祥，某市議員辦事處主任

### Interview Consent

#### 參與研究訪談同意書

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訪談期間，您隨時有權利要求或選擇退出，且沒有義務告知原因。訪談過程中您有權利決定回答問題的深度，面對不想回答的問題也能拒絕回答，亦有權利隨時終止錄音及訪談。若您對本研究有任何意見，歡迎隨時提供。

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E-mail: h100002902490483@gmail.com

文藻外語大學國際事務系四年級學生 莊翔羽

E-mail: jungyan9055@gmail.com

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莊翔羽

林意祥，某市議員辦事處主任

祥

(一)背景 因緣際會

Q1: 請問您為何會想參與政治相關工作? 在這之前有做過甚麼工作嗎?

Q2: 請問您參與政治事務多久了? 20年

(二)關於競選承諾的重要性

Q1: 請問您對北屯區議員選舉的歷史很甚麼印象深刻的地方? 或是您可以說說

賴順仁  
解業源很分散

您看到過的選舉歷史 把王聖對李聖敗 (潘陸水涌星) 劉春財 縣爭合併前的那屆很激烈

Q2: 請問您覺得北屯區的選舉生態對比其他區或是其他縣市有甚麼特別之處嗎?

Q3: 北屯區的市議員通常都是由經驗老道的候選人當選, 您對此有甚麼看法?

Before 合併前  
in 4000 米就家選  
reason = 投票率不高

Q4: 您覺得 20 年前甚至更早以前跟現在的選舉有甚麼特別不一樣的地方嗎?

Q5: 您覺得候選人應該要跟著時代變遷調整他的競選策略嗎?

Diffomnic  
Now 科技的 improve.  
Before, 看板  
第四台  
廣告  
宣傳

Q6: 在您印象中, 有沒有哪一年的選舉有特別深刻的回憶?

Q7: 請問您是否遇過選民稱讚或是抱怨競選承諾?

公說公理

Q8: 那您決定競選承諾時是否會先考慮其競選承諾的可行性、可兌換性以及可實用性?

政績 地城廣有增加 政見  
民眾會依據是否存儲做事

Q9: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是依據親自聽到選民的心聲、利益團體的要求、

根據其他候選人的政見、核心幕僚的建議還是根據自己長年來的執政經驗呢?

Q10: 請問您在制定競選承諾時是根據您個人所看到所了解的還是黨團會大部分性的介入呢?

↓  
主要  
Q 談領域  
多聽多方專家意見

## 林意祥，某市議員辦事處主任

跟據上一次政見是否有完全，  
若沒完全，下次選舉沿用。

Q11: 請問您認為以前的競選承諾跟現在的競選承諾有何不同？不會差很大。

Q12: 請問您認為目前的政治環境狀態為何？以前的政治環境是基於候選人以及選民兩者之間得事情，現在多元化的發展，在宣傳、拜票時是否已經偏離了競選的初衷，變成黨內介入的部分太多？（例如民眾所在意的點以及方向是否一致？競選承諾的方向是否特別偏向政黨或是偏向民眾？）

Q13: 請問您覺得政治圈與其他行業有什麼較大的差異性？沒井嫌，返product頁。

Q14: 請問您覺得在野黨在監督執政黨時的政策及措施妥當嗎？

政治現金，企業籌款，小款，捐俸。

### (三)市議員競選好感度調查

Q1: 您對以往市議員候選人競選的型態有甚麼印象深刻的部分？（例如：在十字路口拜票，發送選舉小物等等）

Q2: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能有效吸引選民或增加選民們的好感度呢？

Q3: 您對新型態的競選方式有甚麼印象深刻的部分？（例如：網路直播、運用社群媒體宣傳等等）

Q4: 您覺得上述這些競選方式能吸引各年齡層選民的注意或增加他們的好感度嗎？

Q5: 您認為候選人在精選中應該展現出核心價值及他的臉，還是提出許多政見，哪一種能讓選民更有好感度？

世代交替。

喪事比喜事重要一點。

## 林意祥，某市議員辦事處主任

Q6: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，在新興媒體上宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

Q7: 您認為北屯區市議員選舉當中，採取上街宣傳能否有效提升候選人能見度?

### (四)改善/建議 (創新的改善方法)

Q1: 請問您認為目前的政治環境，是否有任何需要改善的部分?

選的分區

Q2: (承上題) 請問您是否有透過哪一種方式來改善目前的環境? (例如: 實際考察, 找出在地居民的需求, 而不是接受黨內所施壓的壓力? 世代交替, 給年輕的參選人一些機會, 注入新的想法?)

改善

Q3: 請問您是否有任何其他的建議或是想法想要提供?