

**Feasibility of Compulsory Voting Implementation in Taiwan: A Case Study of
Public Opinion and Political Elites**

By

Yu-Wen, Lin

林毓雯

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This senior paper was presented

by

Yu-Wen, Lin
林毓雯

It was defended on

November 20th, 2021

and approved by

Daniel Lin, Associate Professor, Departmental of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Yuan-Ming Chiao, Assistant Professor, Departmental of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Advisor: Ren-Her Hsieh, Associate Professor, Departmental of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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Yu-Wen, Lin, B.A.

Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2021

ABSTRACT

Compulsory voting, namely mandatory voting, shifts voting from merely being a democratic right to becoming a civic duty for the electorate. Even though compulsory voting has long been promoted as a way to achieve better democracy, it in itself limits the extent of the electorate's freedom to choose whether to vote or abstain. This study aims to evaluate the willingness and feasibility of implementing compulsory voting in Taiwan using both quantitative (online survey) and qualitative (expert interview) methods.

The findings indicate that the public does not support the policy as they are opposed to the violation of their rights to abstain. In addition, experts also suggest that before considering compulsory voting, Taiwan's civic literacy still needs to be strengthened, absentee ballots should be made available and the right to be candidates must evolve.

In conclusion, while the collected data suggests that compulsory voting feasibility in Taiwan would have a low chance of success, at least at the current time, there is still room for further discussion, research and debate that may make it a possibility in the future.

Key words: Compulsory Voting, Mandatory Voting, Public Policy, Civic Duty, Public Opinion.

強制性投票在臺灣實施之可行性研究

林毓雯

文藻外語大學國際事務系

摘要

強制性投票，也稱為義務性投票，強調投票從權利轉成為公民的義務。儘管長期以來強制性投票一直在爭論其實現民主的益處，但它本身就是一種限制自由的非民主手段。本研究旨在評估台灣實施強制性投票的可行性，使用量化（線上問卷調查）和質化（專家訪談）的研究方法。調查結果顯示，因反對不投票權遭受侵犯，因此民眾普遍不支持此政策。此外，從專家訪談中得到的建議是，在考慮實施強制性投票之前，還有其他因素必須先行考量與解決，如台灣的公民素養仍有待加強，應完善建立不在籍投票制度，以及公平地賦予人民被選舉權的權利。以整體研究數據總結結論：至少在目前，台灣實施強制投票是不可行的，然而，未來仍有進一步討論的可能性與空間。

關鍵詞：強制性投票、義務性投票、公共政策、公民義務、公眾意見

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Imagine voting is no longer optional but compulsory, this idea may sound unpleasant and disagreeable since freedom is a human nature. However, compulsory voting is still in practice in several countries. The idea of compulsory voting is emphasizing on making it into a civil duty rather than just a right which it was also known as mandatory voting. Citizens at this stance are required to vote or else sanctions could be addressed. Compulsory voting as a direct form of political participation has its unique historical context that could be related to earliest by the fifth century B.C.E. in Athens.¹ Athenian democracy claims that the participation in the process of decision making is the duty for all, penalties might be enforced if failed to fulfill.² Moving on to the modern period of time, Belgium introduced compulsory voting first in 1892, which is the country practices the longest compulsory voting system until now, then following by Argentina in 1914, Australia in 1924 and Switzerland in 1934.³ In addition, some countries also had once practiced such model

¹ *Social Studies*, s.v. "Democracy (Ancient Greece)," <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/democracy-ancient-greece/>.

² *Ibid.*

³ "Compulsory Voting," Voter Turnout Database International IDEA, <https://www.idea.int/data-tools/data/voter-turnout/compulsory-voting>.

in the past such as Austria, Netherlands, Italy, and Spain.⁴ Compulsory voting is not novel in the field of political science, and for the facts that some countries are still practicing, and some abolished it, conspicuously that the proponent and opponents would have the existing of such system for election in a very fierce debate.

Providing by many scholars that the most noticeable and indisputable advantage of compulsory voting is the impetus to the voter turnout. The best evidence for this argument could be the voter turnout data provided by Australian Electoral Commission, even since the compulsory voting was implemented in 1924, the voter turnout from 1925 to present maintain no less than the average of 90%.⁵ According to International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, there are five types of sanctions for non-voters: Explanation, Fine, Possible imprisonment, Infringements of civil rights or disenfranchisement and Other.⁶ The role of sanctions are undeniably having certain extent of influence to enforce people to execute their rights and civic duty which is surely and positively affect people's participation in politics in the result of high turnout.⁷ The additional benefit that advocated by scholars is to improve the campaign and broader the interests for more citizens. In order to win the election as

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "Voter Turnout," Federal elections, Australia Electoral Commission, last modified 10 December 2019, 2019, https://www.aec.gov.au/Elections/federal_elections/voter-turnout.htm.

⁶ , "Compulsory Voting."

⁷ Nina A. Kamath, "'I Voted': Examining the Impact of Compulsory Voting on Voter Turnout" (Claremont McKenna College, 2016), http://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmcc_theses/1286.

the voting was made compulsive, campaigns will be pressurized to not focus only on specific groups of voters but seek the interests that could best represent for all citizens.⁸ Further as everyone is almost guaranteed to vote, it hinders the possibility of minority of voters to take control of the end result of the election and enhance the legitimacy for the elected candidate as he represents majority of the population on the other hand. The same logic could be understood and applied to constraint the elected person to abuse the legitimacy. Compulsory voting also helps to promote a more informed voting which indicated that the electorate would take their votes into serious consideration as a vote means a given entrance to the government of which they are forming to govern themselves.⁹ It stimulates people to gain more political information and encourages the learning process of the political knowledge, which prone to build a more united nation and optimistically contribute to democracy consolidation.¹⁰

The arguments raised by the opponents however are as well persuasive against the proponents. One very remarkable reason to be opposed to the compulsory voting was claimed that it is a violation of individual's freedom of choice. Human

⁸ FindLaw, "The Compulsory Voting Debate," Thomson Reuters, last modified March 17, 2020, <https://www.findlaw.com/voting/how-u-s--elections-work/the-compulsory-voting-debate.html>.

⁹ Shane P. Singh, "Compulsory Voting and Parties' Vote-Seeking Strategies," *American Journal of Political Science* 63, no. 1 (2019), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45132461>.

¹⁰ Bart Engelen, "Why Compulsory Voting Can Enhance Democracy," *Acta Politica* 42, no. 1 (2007), <https://dx.doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ap.5500167>.

being was born to inherently entitled the Human Rights included the free choice but making voting mandatory is namely being disrespectful to Human Right. The backlash would be especially significant if the sanctions to non-voters were imposed since it is unacceptable to push the enforcement to people to make use of their rights to suffrage as people should be able to choose whether to vote or not to vote.¹¹ Not to mentioned that some religions such as Jehovah's Witnesses, the faiths their congregation believed refuses themselves to be engaged in “earthly politics”, reasoned with “the pledge allegiance to God’s kingdom, not to a national icon” by Robert Hendriks, U.S. spokesman for the Jehovah’s Witnesses.¹² Compulsory voting under this circumstance principally violates people to practice their religion as it forces people to participate in politics. The other distinctive argument counter to compulsory voting is the concerns to enforce such a law that if the absence of voting were counted unlawful, the resources that the government would need to track the non-voters and to impose sanctions could be a magnificent amount.¹³ This concern leads the opposition to doubt if the costs of forcing the voting is worthy in actuality or it would be little to gain and much to lose.

¹¹ Gabriela Sainati Rangel, “Voting as a (Mandatory) Duty: Citizen Attitudes, Political Engagement, and Party Outreach under Compulsory Voting” (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 2017), https://uknowledge.uky.edu/polysci_etds/21/.

¹² Eliza Relman, "America's 1.3 Million Jehovah's Witnesses Will Be Sitting out This Election," Business Insider, 2020, <https://www.businessinsider.com/americas-13-million-jehovahs-witnesses-dont-vote-2020-10>.

¹³ *The ACE Electoral Knowledge Network*, s.v. "Compulsory Voting," <https://aceproject.org/main/english/es/esc07a.htm>.

In Taiwan, the issue of whether to implement compulsory voting has not yet been widely discussed or studied by the lawmakers, the scholars, and the public. However, by looking at the benefits that compulsory voting may possibly bring to the society and taking the reference internationally from Australia or Belgium as they both have practice compulsory voting for years, this topic is deserving and worthwhile for a further exploration of its feasibility and how it is going to influence Taiwan's political landscape.

Motivation

In the case of the relations of Australia with Taiwan was escalating, for instance, Australia since pushed investigation into the origins of COVID-19, its relationship with China is moving into an unfriendly term in which brings Taiwan a chance to be involved in such crisis, not to mentioned Australia specifically identified Taiwan by name, indicated to take Taiwan into serious consideration as a candidate of travel bubble. It brought me certain extent of interest and stimulated me to seek more information about what values or believes Australia shared are the same as Taiwan. During the exploration, I found not just that we are all democratic in common but one uniqueness is Australia have been practicing the compulsory voting as their election mode which is the main reason motivated me on studying if compulsory voting

implementation in Taiwan were feasible.

Research Purpose

This study is aiming to investigate the feasibility of compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan. The pros and cons and the debates of compulsory voting will be provided alongside with the analyzed data of the public opinions as a new election model and the results of interview with political elites simultaneously. This study would expectantly be able to contribute to the future policy maker a direction of where to find the right antidote if the related issues were brought to the surface to discuss.

Research Questions

1. What is the public opinion towards compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan?
2. What is the correlation of different factors towards compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan?
3. How different concerns affect the level of support?
4. How may implementation of compulsory voting system affect the politics in Taiwan?

Limits

As collecting the data from the total population of Taiwan was considered impossible, this study will only be focusing on partial but sufficient population to reflect the public opinion towards the studying issue. To clarify that this study is aiming to provide a broad sense of feasibility towards the implementation of compulsory voting system in Taiwan, the given analysis may not represent each individual.

Delimits

This study will only accept and analyze the valid data from the respondents within the scope of eligible Taiwanese citizens aged above 18. The sample size to meet the desired statistical constraints requires 385 responses to be representative of the population that the researcher shall investigate. However, concerning the capability of the author as she is still an undergraduate academic degree student, the minimal sample size was suggested to be at least 300 responses. The political elites to be qualified as interviewees would need to be certified as a professor or working in political relevant backgrounds.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Debates Analysis on Compulsory Voting

If voting were made compulsory and a duty-right for all citizens, the analysis of detailed pros and cons should be further clarified and understood to provide stakeholders the ability to evaluate the feasibility of such a mandate. In this section, the positive and negative arguments will be provided one after the other.

Voter Turnout

The most evident benefit that compulsory voting features is its efficiency to increase the voter turnout, namely the political participation. The political participation is a key value for democracy as it is essential to ensure the legitimacy of a country's government and political system.¹⁴ Since democracy does not mean that laws are made by legislators which only represents a small number of qualified voters, high turnout rate is relatively important to reflect the concerns of the majority of the population. On the other hand, does a low turnout really matter? The correlation between low turnout with inequality is often cloudy.¹⁵ The common knowledge in Political Science is that people who have lower income and educational levels, or

¹⁴ Engelen.

¹⁵ Michael M. Bechtel, Dominik Hangartner, and Lukas Schmid, "Does Compulsory Voting Increase Support for Leftist Policy?," *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 3 (2016), <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/24877493>.

people that are younger or ethnic minorities are especially the ones that are less likely to vote. These least privileged groups of people would then have the best turnout to demand the government to improve on the welfare system and labor's employment conditions if the voting were made mandatory.¹⁶ Under this circumstance, it could be seen as a remedy to achieve substantial equality. Bart Engelen underlines that compulsory voting can better "restore rather than harm democracy and its values".¹⁷

Violation of Freedom

It is not difficult to predict that there is going to not just be for but also againsts when discussing the compulsory voting system. The major against that has been argued by both the public and the experts is the violation of the human right, the freedom of not to vote, namely suffrage.¹⁸ Suffrage is an expression of the people's free will which is strictly regulated in Taiwan's constitution. According to article 129 of the constitution, under the circumstances that the principles of social equality, equality, direct, and anonymous are satisfied, the government should not use coercive means to interfere with whether the people want to exercise it or not otherwise the principle of freedom of suffrage is violated.

One of the major oppositions to the debate claims that compulsory voting is a

¹⁶ Emilee Booth Chapman, "The Distinctive Value of Elections and the Case for Compulsory Voting," *American Journal of Political Science* 63, no. 1 (2019), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45132465>.

¹⁷ Engelen.

¹⁸ Arend Lijphart, "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma," *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 1 (1997), <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2952255>.

violation of suffrage and deprivation of the right not to vote. An Australian political scientist Lisa Hill has defended that not all the rights should be treated lightly especially in the matter of voting as she defined voting is not just a right but also a duty - a duty-right.¹⁹ Another scholar Heather Lardy also demonstrated that compulsory voting was believed on a wrong interpretation of the concept of voting rights that confused the freedom represented by voting rights and ignores the core value of participation in elections, therefore, the non-voting right was rejected as a reason to against compulsory voting. Under these circumstances she argued that even if it did not do any harm to those who did not participate in voting as it is simply just a behavior of not exercising a specific right, it should not be recognized by the law.²⁰

Even though compulsory voting does limit a certain extent of freedom from the people that is a fact which could not be denied, the limit which is as a duty only possesses a minimal enforcement.²¹ Compulsory voting to the meaning of its word is the compulsion of people to attend to vote which does not necessarily mean to cast a valid ballot.

Moreover, compulsory voting entails a very small decrease in freedom compared with many other problems of collective action that democracies solve by

¹⁹ Lisa Hill, "Does Compulsory Voting Violate a Right Not to Vote?," *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50 (01/09 2015), <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2014.990418>.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Heather Lardy, "Is There a Right Not to Vote?," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 24, no. 2 (2004), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3600594>.

imposing obligations: jury duty, the obligation to pay taxes, military conscription, compulsory school attendance, and many others.²² These obligations are much more burdensome than the duty to appear at the polls on election days. That is to say, compared with many other collective action problems that democracies clarify by imposing obligations, forced voting will only result in a slight decrease in freedom. Then duty of having to pay tax, fulfill military service and national education and so on, these duties are much heavier than showing up at the polling stations.

However, there is one problem that is worth noting that is always a threat to the collective interests - the free riders.²³ But the framework of the rational choice theory suggested that through law enforcement to impose sanctions could resist the free riders.²⁴

Burden on Law Enforcement

The implementation of the compulsory voting system is mainly backed by the accompanied administrative sanctions towards the people who did not turnout.

However, according to historical record of the voting rate in Taiwan, even in the 2020 presidential election, Taiwan has set a record for the highest number of votes since the direct presidential election was opened, the eligible electorate for the presidential

²² Lijphart.

²³ Annabelle Lever, "Compulsory Voting: A Critical Perspective," *British Journal of Political Science* 40, no. 4 (2010), <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/40930591>.

²⁴ John H. Aldrich, "Rational Choice and Turnout," *American Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 1 (1993), <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2111531>.

election was 19.31 million but only 14.46 million turned out to vote, this means there are still 5 million people who were absent.²⁵ Taking such number into consideration, if compulsory voting were implemented, there is a considerable proportion of voters who may not participate, in this case, the Central Election Commission (CEC) will inevitably need to impose a large number of sanctions. With the current capacity of manpower of the CEC and related departments, whether the government can carry such a heavy workload to enforce the laws and also the administrative issues regarding the enforcement of fines, the human resources, or the financial ability to handle the burden of the enforcement is greatly in doubt.

Even if the government planned the budget to cope with the policy, the willingness of the public, the taxpayers' money to be used to execute sanctions is also a tough task to enforce. This derivative issue of the disapproval of the sanctions for not going to vote then is also a major against as it may be the force of building up the public's anger and be rebounded with massive backlashes and protests by the public, then conceivably burdensome the national resource and finance. But in fact, studies have confirmed that the sanction for the non-voter is directly proportional to voter turnout, which means when the enforcement rate of sanction is high, voters will then

²⁵ "2020 Presidential and Vice Presidential Election," Presidential Elections, Central Election Commission, 2020, <https://web.cec.gov.tw/central/cms/109news/32361>.

be more unlikely to abstain from voting.²⁶

However, there is one consideration that compulsory voting can compensate for. In the case that the elected candidate was not chosen by the majority of the voters, if the selected candidate is inappropriate and failed to do his jobs properly, even worse is having no contribution to the electoral district, then how to calculate such losses that the local residents had to bear?

Furthermore, if the electorate are dissatisfied with the elected candidate to a certain extent, causing the collective action of recall, for the election commission, the whole process of voting for the recall, and re-election of the new candidate, the serial movement will certainly affect the operation of the electoral district or even the whole city and country. On this assumption, the administrative and financial burden and loss compared to the enforcement of compulsory voting may be even greater.

The burden or the loss depend on how much damage the inappropriate candidate has made to the area. Nonetheless, there are things that cannot be restored once they have been changed such as cultural relics and historical sites or cultural related matters, etc., that cannot be measured by monetary value. If these mentioned matters are badly damaged, the intangible cost will be difficult to even calculate.

²⁶ Costas Panagopoulos, "The Calculus of Voting in Compulsory Voting Systems," *Political Behavior* 30, no. 4 (2008), <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/40213328>.

Black Gold Politics

From the Analysis of the Feasibility of Adding a "Compulsory Voting" Clause in the Election Law written by HE ZHAN XU, argues that who oppose compulsory voting believe that if people who did not vote were forced to vote, election candidates only need to give little incentives to manipulate their voting decisions, subsequently influencing the end result of the election.²⁷ That is to say, in the case of the voluntarily voting, the original cost of buying votes is relatively high, but because compulsory voting restricts everyone to participate in voting, votes can then be bought at a relatively low cost. The punishment of fines in this situation has turned into a means to encourage "black gold politics", giving candidates the opportunity to exploit loopholes to wheel and deal. However, in the election candidate's perspective, there is no need to do vote-buying to those who did not vote originally, however if compulsory voting was implemented, such "extra expenditure" then must be included.²⁸ Regardless of the cost of the additional expenditure, the overall cost of buying votes will doubtlessly be higher than when "compulsory voting" was not implemented. Although there is indeed a high possibility to rouse the black gold politics, the arguments of those who are against the implementation of compulsory

²⁷ HE ZHAN XU, "Analysis of the Feasibility of Adding a "Compulsory Voting" Clause in the Election Law," National Policy Foundation, 2007, <https://www.npf.org.tw/3/1246>.

²⁸ Ibid.

voting however are logically contradictory.²⁹ The argument of the lower cost of buying votes from the voters who originally did not go to vote is merely hypothetical and lacks empirical evidence.³⁰ Therefore, some scholars defended that compulsory voting actually has the benefit of lowering the importance of money in politics.³¹ When the majority of the population is compelled to participate in voting, the need for funds of campaign to encourage voters to vote is not as necessary.³²

Informed Electorate

Compulsory voting was also supported in that it has the advantages to stimulate voters to gain political knowledge to be informed.³³ Political parties under the system of compulsory voting are more likely to devote more energy to voter education.³⁴ As well as the countries that have compulsory voting may also have or develop a political culture that encourages participation in politics.³⁵ What's more is such changing of the party politics and the political culture can also force the media to increase their intensity of voters' education.³⁶

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Lijphart.

³² Singh.

³³ Kevin J. Mullinix Matthew R. Miles, "(Un)Informed Voting? A Test of Compulsory Voting Feedback Effects," *Policy Studies Journal* 49 (2021), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/psj.12366>.

³⁴ Singh.

³⁵ Kamath.

³⁶ Peter John Loewen, Henry Milner, and Bruce M. Hicks, "Does Compulsory Voting Lead to More Informed and Engaged Citizens? An Experimental Test," *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 41, no. 3 (2008), <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/25166295>.

Standing with the side of the voters as compulsory voting compels people to vote, the election would be seen more seriously as the voters are likely wanting to make the most of their votes, thus the process of self-educating to research about candidates for them to make a right decision will be conducted. When the majority of the people are doing so, a better democratic nation could then be expected. An experimental study demonstrates that when voters were forced to vote, the participation will increase, so the political learning behavior will be raised. However, the one side effect to it is the dissatisfaction of the public might be the resistance of compulsory voting.³⁷

The opposition to such an argument which appeared on USA Today claimed that compulsory voting will actually encourage ignorant voters to vote.³⁸ When people are compelled to do something they wish to do, they would not treat it seriously. In other words, compulsory voting may randomly cast their votes to whoever in which the election will be ruined. The consequence following afterwards is it would then increase invalid ballots which then is of no use to the voting process nor making the voluntary voting compulsory. Scholar Abraham responded, "An unwilling or indifferent vote is a thoughtless one." To illustrate that when people do not have

³⁷ Matthew R. Miles.

³⁸ Trevor Burrus, "Mandatory Voting Guarantees Ignorant Votes," Cato Institute, 2015, <https://www.cato.org/commentary/mandatory-voting-guarantees-ignorant-votes>.

interests and knowledge in politics, well-considered votes are not likely to be cast.³⁹

Broader Party's Vision

When the citizens are compelled to cast their votes means that the majority of the population will participate in the election, then the parties and candidates will have to take care and listen to what their voters truly need to win the votes; the involving politicians and campaigns have to be diverse and broaden themselves for all citizens.⁴⁰ The problem of voluntary voting is that the campaign will only target certain and specific interest groups, besides the wisdom that had been passed on in political science and also studies from scholars also showed that the poor vote less than the rich; laborers vote less than the capitalist. In this case, it is more likely that the political parties and politicians will favor more towards the spectrum of well off and well educated, and this is definitely of no good as they are not the majority of the population but minority.⁴¹

On the other hand, compulsory voting has also been doubting its risk to worsen political confrontations and conflicts. Under the situation that the citizens were forced to vote, it could be imagined as mobilization of the whole country and the election is

³⁹ Lijphart.

⁴⁰ Engelen.

⁴¹ "Chapter 5: Compulsory Voting - for and Against," Find Legal Answers, State Library New South Wales, <https://legalanswers.sl.nsw.gov.au/hot-topics-voting-and-elections/compulsory-voting-and-against>.

the battlefield.⁴² The different political camps will act within all its means to attack the opposition in order to seize most votes in which case, a partisan catfight is predicted to occur.

Case of Compulsory Voting in Australia

In Australia, rather than a right so to speak, the privilege might better be categorized as a civic duty to vote. Information provided by Australian Electoral Commission (AEC) introduced that under the Commonwealth Electoral Act and related state laws, voting is made mandatory in Commonwealth, state, and territory elections; excluding South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania voting is also mandatory in local government elections.⁴³

In all practicality, mandatory voting means those who are eligible to vote must show up physically to a place where votes are being polled, have their name crossed off the list of eligible voters, receive ballot forms and submit them into a ballot box. They do not actually have to fill out the ballot forms. If the ballot forms are not filled out correctly, they are set off to the side and marked as 'informal'. When looking at the statistics of those who vote, compulsory enrollment and voting in Australia have

⁴² XU

⁴³ "Voting," Australian Electoral Commission, last modified 29 November, 2016, <https://www.aec.gov.au/Voting/>.

successfully achieved the goal of a larger voter turnout.

The Australian Electoral Commission spends a significant amount of time and money making sure eligible people are enrolled and that they are able to cast their vote on polling day, or beforehand. During the days for ballots to be cast, the Australian Electoral Commission employs a sizable number of polling places in each electorate. Voters who are unable to attend a polling booth on polling day can still vote by casting a mail-in vote or a pre-poll vote during the period after the selection process to contest the election close. The Australian Electoral Commission provides services to utilize mobile polling for hospitals, prisons, and isolated areas of Australia before polling day to permit eligible voters in these places the ability to vote and to have their vote counted.

After every election, if there are eligible voters who are not marked down for voting officials will send a penalty notice to those individuals. If those individuals do not respond by giving a 'valid and sufficient reason' for not voting, they would be fined. The amount of the penalty for federal elections is \$20. If they do not give a proper and adequate reason for not voting and do not pay the penalty fee, the matter will then be taken to the court. If the court finds justification for a fine and the eligible voter still refuses to pay, the court may take further action, which may include a jail sentence in some jurisdictions.

What is considered to be a 'valid and sufficient' excuse? Officials decide this basis on the merits of each individual case, in agreement with the law that has previously been interpreted by the courts, and by using guidelines drawn up by the Australian Electoral Commission. In order to keep people from using false reasons that they know will excuse their behavior, guidelines are kept confidential. In 1994, the Commonwealth Administrative Appeals Tribunal ruled that the general populace could not have access to these guidelines under the Freedom of Information Act. Australian Electoral Commission publications suggest that a citation would be 'unlikely' in the cases of 'the elderly and frail, women in late pregnancy, or the intellectually disabled'. According to the provisions of the Commonwealth Electoral Act, a voter's belief, as it pertains to their religion, is that it is his or her duty to abstain from voting is also seen as a valid and adequate excuse for not voting.

Over the years, the courts have ruled out numerous reasons for not voting. These have pertained to political or moral objections rather than physical or intellectual inability. In the first important High Court case, *Judd v McKeon* [1926] HCA 33; (1926) 38 CLR 380, the majority of judges found that belonging to a political organization that prohibits members from voting, or objecting to the views of all the candidates, were invalid reasons for not voting.⁴⁴ Later cases affirmed that not having

⁴⁴ "Chapter 4: Compulsory Enrolment and Voting," State Library New South Wales, <https://legalanswers.sl.nsw.gov.au/hot-topics-voting-and-elections/compulsory-enrolment-and->

a preference among candidates, or not knowing enough to choose between them, were also invalid reasons.

In September 2012, Anders Holmdahl went to court to fight his penalty for failing to vote in the 2010 federal election in the South Australian Supreme Court. The Supreme Court dismissed his argument that voting was a right rather than a responsibility and that Australian citizens should have the choice to choose whether to vote or not.⁴⁵ Holmdahl appealed this judgement to the Full Bench of the High Court of Australia, which dismissed his appeal in April 2013.

Research Approaches

Regarding to what the research is trying to discover on whether implementing compulsory voting is feasible in Taiwan, one thing that is indisputable is that it is a major policy to change the country's electoral system, and such decision will determine the overall political trend of Taiwan in the future. Therefore, the researcher believes that by taking both quantitative and qualitative method would be a more cautious and rigorous decision as it would allow the viewers to have a more comprehensive insight when it comes to evaluate the feasibility of a new electoral system yet to be implemented.

voting.
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Public Opinion

The opinion of the public is no doubt the core factor to be taken into serious consideration, as it represents the value of the popular sovereignty in a democratic country. In Machiavelli's theory of politics, public opinion is the central foundation to a political system to be well functioning.⁴⁶ Before the government implements any new public policy, based on the principle of popular sovereignty, the government has the responsibility to understand the public opinions which includes the awareness of, the acceptance of and as well as the preferences of a new policy.⁴⁷ Regardless of whether the government agrees or not, it must accept the results from the public. If the government cannot act accordingly to the wishes of the people, then the sovereignty of the people is just a mere talk, which also means that the democratic politics has not been truly carried out. Besides, a policy requires the cooperation of the public to be able to be smoothly executed. If a policy cannot obtain the consensus of the public and represent the masses' opinions, then the public may refuse to cooperate which would lead a policy to be a waste of social resources. Therefore, when studying the important public policy of changing Taiwan's current voting system to mandatory voting, people's awareness of the policy and opinion surveys are necessary and also

⁴⁶ David W. Minar, "Public Opinion in the Perspective of Political Theory," *The Western Political Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1960), <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/444332>.

⁴⁷ Barbara Norrander, "Comment: Choosing among Indicators of State Public Opinion," *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (2007), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40421575>.

indispensable preparatory work that must be done. In conclusion, opinion polls or surveys are mostly recognized as the effective way to appraise the public will.⁴⁸

Political Efficacy

In the perspective of comparative political in a political system, the distribution and intensity of the majority of voters' political attitudes had significant relationship with the stability of the system.⁴⁹ The sense of political efficacy is one of the most important psychological components as it represents the individual's overall value system and faith in politics.⁵⁰ The political efficacy is a feeling of an individual that his political behavior can have an impact on the political process; a feeling that political and social change were possible to be made as a citizen can play a considerable role to facilitate such a change. In other words, the individual believes that it is worthwhile to fulfil the civic duties.⁵¹

Generally speaking, the higher of political efficacy, the higher the degree of the individual's political participation, i.e., voting. In addition, the higher the political efficacy of majority of the citizens, the higher the willingness they would have to

⁴⁸ Adam J. Berinsky, "Measuring Public Opinion with Surveys," *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017), <https://dx.doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-101513-113724>.

⁴⁹ Ching-Ping Tang Chung-li Wu, Chi Huang, "A Pilot Study on Measuring the Sense of Political Efficacy in Taiwan," *Journal of Electoral Studies* 6, no. 2 (1999), <https://dx.doi.org/10.6612/tjes.1999.06.02.23-44>.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Teh-Yu Wang Ching-Hsing Wang, "The Effects of Political Participation on Political Efficacy: An Analysis of Taiwan's 2004 Presidential Election," *Taiwan Political Science Review* 11, no. 1 (2007), [https://dx.doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.6683/TPSR.200706.11\(1\).69-107](https://dx.doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.6683/TPSR.200706.11(1).69-107).

abide by the regulations formulated and implemented by the government in power.⁵²

It simply results as the legitimacy of the governance to be more stable.

The political efficacy then was considered as an important indicator, especially for the government to formulate and implement a new policy. The above-mentioned literature also indicated that when people have a relatively high level of political efficacy, they are more willing to cooperate with the government's instructions, and this also granted the government a certain degree of legitimacy. By looking at whether people are willing to support the compulsory voting system from this point of view, we can as well know the extent to which people are willing to cooperate and the legitimacy of this policy.

Civic Engagement

In the past, scholars in Taiwan believed that political elites' perceptions and attitudes towards democratic values were most important. However, in a democratic country, only the unity of all people is the real master of the country. Therefore, a positive and active civic engagement is the main driving force for the political modernization and democratization of a country.⁵³

The aim of civic engagement is for people to express their concerns in the

⁵² Hsin-Hao Huang, "The Continuity and Change of Political Efficacy in Taiwan: A Comparison before and after the Alternation of the Power," *Journal of Electoral Studies* 12, no. 2 (2005), <http://dx.doi.org/10.6612/tjes.2005.12.02.111-147>.

⁵³ Wen-Jong Juang, "Citizen Consciousness and Political Participation in Taiwan," *Zhi Nan New Deal*, 2021, <https://css.nccu.edu.tw/zhinannewdeal/>.

society in order to better improve the society. Hence, civic engagement is a process of the public forming the collective interest and acting to the problems in the society, and it can also be seen as an "instrumental to democracy".⁵⁴

Additional Indicators

There are many legal and administrative procedures required before a policy to be implemented. Pre-evaluation is the very first step, which refers to the "feasibility evaluation", "pros and cons evaluation" and "priority evaluation" during the planning stage.

In a democratic society, public policies must be consented by the citizens. The appropriateness of policy value, the procedural justice of the decision-making process, and the effectiveness of implementation are all the factors that would affect the legitimacy of policy legitimization.⁵⁵

As the process of policy legitimation is a collective choice added that democracy generally adopts the principle of majority rule and attaches importance to procedural justice, therefore, the implementation of compulsory voting in Taiwan will use different indicators to evaluate whether this policy is feasible. The indicators that the author would apply to such evaluation process are Level of Understanding, Possible

⁵⁴ Barry Checkoway and Adriana Aldana, "Four Forms of Youth Civic Engagement for Diverse Democracy," *Children and Youth Services Review* 35 (11/01 2013), <https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2013.09.005>.

⁵⁵ Tom R. Tyler, "Procedural Justice, Legitimacy, and the Effective Rule of Law," *Crime and Justice* 30 (2003), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147701>.

Political Behaviors, Public Perception and Level of Support.

Expert Opinion

The opinions of experts in related fields are also equally critical. Especially the political elites had long been considered as the representation of power, wealth, deference, skill, and most importantly the monopoly of crucial information.⁵⁶ When there is no sufficient empirical evidence to judge and evaluate the feasibility of a policy, government usually seek for expert advice. Additionally, the demands of policy makers that require the assistance from experts has increased due to the globalization and the development of the specialization.⁵⁷ Accordingly, in the process of planning and evaluating the feasibility of a policy, the decision maker needs to gain the advice from experts, especially to avoid possible risks in certain situations, minimize the uncertainty and to help decision makers.⁵⁸ In particular the experts advise would be most useful when facing a complex public policy and to back up with the authoritative basis and legitimacy for the final decision.⁵⁹ Because it's beyond the capability of any single person to understand everything on a subject matter, there is

⁵⁶ Michael P. Smith, "Elite Theory and Policy Analysis: The Politics of Education in Suburbia," *The Journal of Politics* 36, no. 4 (1974), <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2129404>.

⁵⁷ Matthew Thomas and Luke Buckmaster, "Expertise and Public Policy: A Conceptual Guide," Research Publications, Parliament of Australia, 2013, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/PublicPolicy#_Toc370116042.

⁵⁸ Stephen P. Turner, *Liberal Democracy 3.0: Civil Society in an Age of Experts* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2003).

⁵⁹ Zoltan Majdik and William Keith, "Expertise as Argument: Authority, Democracy, and Problem-Solving," *Argumentation* 25 (08/01 2011), <https://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10503-011-9221-z>.

an increased need for intellectual specialization.⁶⁰ This specialization is critical as it leads to mastery of specific skill sets which consume a significant amount of time, energy and effort developing the competence, gathering, and putting together evidence, all of which play an important role.⁶¹ These are the sources of creating and growing specialist expertise and professional knowledge in a specific sphere. Therefore, the content and level of public services provided by a political system generally depend on the views and attributes of political elites.⁶²

The Interview method allowed the author to gain the feedback of these elites which can better provide a deeper insight of the pros and cons on whether a policy can be implemented or not. Hence, most countries in world, before formulating and implementing a new public policy, it is essential to discuss and evaluate the feasibility of the policy with experts.

⁶⁰ Buckmaster

⁶¹ John Hardwig, "Toward an Ethics of Expertise," (1994).

⁶² Smith.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This research is designed to adopt both quantitative and qualitative methods to gain primary data. As the figure was shown below, this research employed a two-pronged research method: both online survey for quantitative research and expert interviews for qualitative research.

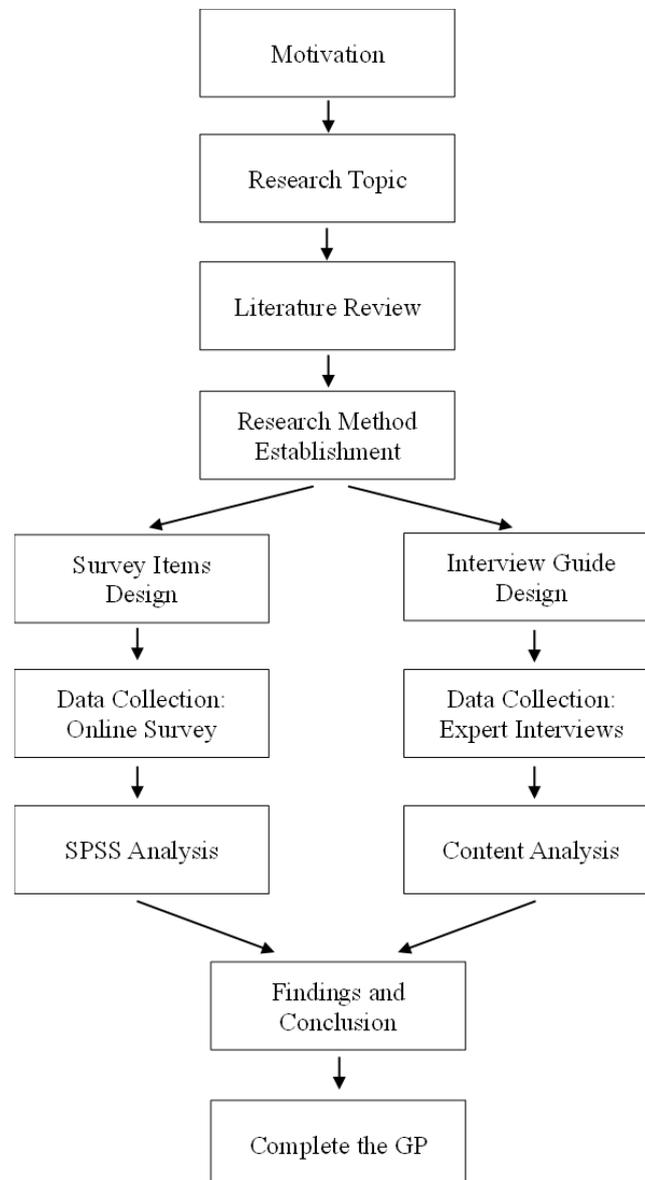


Figure 1. Research Design

The purpose is to collect public perception and opinions of the implementation of a compulsory voting system in Taiwan, and to discover expert' positions, perspectives and thoughts of this policy. After collecting the data of the above two research methods, the author statistically analyzed the feedback contents of the survey to clarify the public's perception and the level of support for compulsory voting implementation in Taiwan by using SPSS software. A further step taken in the survey was to find out the reasons why people are not supporting the proposal, thus the survey required the respondents to rank their reasons. Such ordering is helpful for the government to understand and address these problems and concerns, and if the government intended to discuss this policy in the future, it is hoped that this study can provide reference directions for decision and policy making.

Quantitative Method: Online Survey

The target population is all the eligible citizens who are entitled to vote in Taiwan. The sample size to meet the desired statistical constraints requires 385 responses to be representative of the population that the researcher would like to investigate. However, considering the capability and resources of the author, as she is still an undergraduate academic degree student, the minimal sample size was suggested to be at least 300 responses.

The online platform where the survey was implemented is 'SurveyCake'.

Although it has the well-known advantage of 'UX', there are two reasons which influenced the author's mind to choose the former over the latter: It has a feature that enables the respondents to rank their preference which is an essential function that the designed survey in this research required, not to mention that it gave one-month free trial which made SurveyCake the best option for the budgeted student under Bachelor degree.

The online survey can reach out to the potential respondents efficiently without the constraints of the time and space, especially during the research process as the Covid-19 pandemic unfolded, it was considered the best method that could ensure the safety for both the researcher and the respondents. In addition to the health concerns, online surveys are also a fast and simple solution to share out to the public. However, there are some disadvantages such as: difficulty to prevent biases, difficulty verifying the validity of a respondent. However, SurveyCake provides a time calculator and IP address for the user to filter the responses, which the researcher can use to reduce invalid or unqualifying sample data to a considerable extent.

The author designed the anonymous online survey on SurveyCake and posted to various social platforms with the technique of snowball sampling that was mainly applied in the data collection process of this research. The highlight of the design of

the survey is that it involved a reward mechanism. Based on the author's observation, the best reward to be the incentive is cash, therefore, a lottery system was applied as a means to attract the public to fill out the survey (See Appendix A) considered the general preferences of the Taiwanese people.

The survey consisted of the total of 25 questions, applied with nominal scale, ordinal scale, and interval scale. There are a total of 5 descriptive questions falling under the nominal scale, i.e., age, career, and etc. Within the interval scale, there are total of six indicators using matrix questions measured on a 7-point Likert scale in the survey: Political Efficacy, Civic Engagement, Level of Understanding, Possible Political Behaviors, Public Perception and Level of Support. The items to measure these concepts were developed applying deductive method which safeguard the validity of the survey as the items were once created and proved before. Participants generally spent 5 to 10 minutes in average to complete the survey anonymously.

The survey was published on the 1st of August and planned to close on the 1st of September with the period of one month time for collecting the data. However, when it was due, the received respondents were not enough which resulted in an extension of time. As of the 1st of October, the author received 302 respondents and closed the online survey. There is no respondent aged above 65 and worked in agricultural industry in the received data. Within the received 302 respondents there is only one

invalid observed value due to its failed entitlement of qualified citizen which made the total amount of valid data to be 301.

Qualitative Method: Experts Interview

This research used the form of semi-structured interview for the qualitative method. This structure allows the interviewees to freely express their real opinions. At the same time, the researcher can also raise new questions when the interviewee puts forward new opinions, which is even better as the researcher can also pursue and probe further and ask the interviewee to expand on their viewpoint. It explains why semi-structured method can methodically keep the interview in the certain range within the research topic and make the obtained data more precise and relatively easier to analyze. As the semi-structured interview is known for its flexibility, it allows the interviewee to speak without the slightest hesitancy that can also effectively improve the validity and reliability of the data.

The classification regarded ‘experts’ are scholars and politicians, which are the main research targets. For the scholars’ who participated in this study, their course specialization was law, politics, public policy, and policy analysis. Moreover, this study also included an author who took political issue as the theme of articulation. This author had 200,000 plus followers on Facebook page and is widely considered as

an opinion leader. Each interviewee had different perceptions regarding this research topic and unique personal experiences resulting in their responses having both similarities and differences. Of the valuable feedback they provided, the interviewer is able to classify, analyze, and finally produce an objective conclusion. The list of the interviewees that were involved in this study is shown below (See Table 1).

Table 1. Demography of the Expert Interviewees

No.	Date of Interview	Name	Educational Level	Title
1	14 th August	@hateyoufiveminutes	Remain anonymous	Social Media Operator, Opinion Leader Political Staff
2	23 th August	Chien-Yuan Tseng*	Doctor of Graduate Institute of National Development, National Taiwan University	Professor
3	23 th August	Cheng-Hua Hsiang	Doctor of College of Social Science, National Sun Yat-sen University	Professor
4	30 th August	Meng-Chang Yao	Doctor of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London	Professor
5	8 th September	Chen, Yi-Chi	Master of Graduate Institute of Labor Research, National ChengChi University	Politician, Chairperson of Taiwan Statebuilding Party
6	9 th September	Dr. Yen	Remain anonymous	Professor

* The transcript of the interview with Chien-Yuan Tseng was written into article and published online by Scoop Weekly Taiwan <https://www.scooptw.com/thinktank/education/62985/>

The design of the semi-structured interview for this research took approximately 15 to 30 minutes. The interview guide was provided to the interview beforehand.

However, the guide was only for reference. Questions to be added or reduced depended on the situation in the process. The interview discussed two main aspects, the experts' perceptions on "compulsory voting" and the opinions on "the feasibility of implementing compulsory voting in Taiwan." The questions designed for the two aspects mentioned above do not have right or wrong answers which allows the interviewees to express their thoughts as thoroughly as they wanted. Before asking these questions, the author asked permission to record the interview and also the willingness of the experts to disclose their identity or remain anonymous in the research at the beginning of each interview. The interview guide consisted of four major questions:

1. Do you personally support compulsory voting and why?
2. Overall, do you think it is feasible to implement compulsory voting in Taiwan?
3. What impacts do you think the implementation of compulsory voting in Taiwan will have in Taiwan's politics?
4. If Taiwan implemented compulsory voting, what other concerns might you have?

After the interviews, the author had sent emails to ask the confirmation of the transcripts, as so the primary data collected in this research that had used in analysis were all approved by the interviewees.

DATA ANALYSIS

There are two sections corresponded with two research methods in this chapter of data analysis which are Quantitative Method – Online Survey and Qualitative Method – Experts Interview. Within these two sections, there are several subsections followed underneath. The first section has three subsections conducted by SPSS software using the statistical methods includes Descriptive Statistics, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), Regression Analysis to answer the first three research questions. The introduction of this section displayed the table showing the frequency distribution of five items within the nominal scale including gender, age, level of education, career, and party identification. The first subsection used the result of descriptive statistics of the mean of each variable to evaluate the public perception toward compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan. The second subsection was to figure out if there is a significant relationship between the different groups with dependent variables by using the techniques of independent sample t test and one-way ANOVA. The third subsection was the result of the regression analysis, it uncovered what were the variables that had impact on the level of support of this research topic. The second section summarized the results of the six interviews with the selected experts. All the transcripts were integrated and classified to be three subsections

answering the last research question “How may implementation of compulsory voting system affect the politics in Taiwan?”

Quantitative Method – Online Survey

As the Table of Frequency Distribution of Gender, Age, Level of Education, Career, and Party Identification that was shown, the proportion of women is slightly higher than that of men, but overall, it is fairly evenly distributed. For the age groups, no one over the age of 65 participated in the data collection process, and the only sample under the age of 18 has been deleted from the data. Therefore, the total number of received survey is 302, but the number of valid samples is 301. More than half of the total responses were given by people aged 18 to 24, and nearly one-third of people aged 25 to 44 answered, and only 12.3% of respondents aged 45-64. Hence, in this survey sampling, the respondents' career as students accounted for more than one-third of the total samples, followed by the career within service industry of 16.3% and business of 12.3% both of which take up more than the proportion of one-tenth. In addition, there are no agricultural workers who participated in this collection.

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Gender, Age, Level of Education, Career, and Party Identification

N=301		Responses	Percentages (%)
Gender	Female	178	59.1
	Male	123	40.9
Age	18-24	170	56.5
	25-44	94	31.2
	45-64	37	12.3
Level of Education	Junior High School	9	3.0
	High School	89	29.6
	Bachelor's Degree	180	59.8
	Master's Degree	20	6.6
	Doctoral Degree (Ph.D.)	3	1.0
Career	Police/Military Officer	3	1.0
	Civil Servant	7	2.3
	Educational	24	8.0
	Business	37	12.3
	Industrial	10	3.3
	Medical	5	1.7
	Service Industry	49	16.3
	Housekeeping	6	2.0
	Students	120	39.8
	None	11	3.7
	Others	29	9.6
Party Identification	Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)	105	34.9
	Kuomintang (KMT)	17	5.6
	Chinese Nationalist Party		
	New Power Party	2	0.7
	Taiwan People's Party	4	1.3
	Taiwan Statebuilding Party	14	4.7
	Others	13	4.3
	None	147	48.5

Reliability

Before unveiling the prelude to the mentioned three subsections related to statistical analysis, the coefficient of reliability, or more specifically, internal consistency of the designed sets of multiple questions in the survey must be measured. The value of Cronbach's alpha of each variable is therefore provided as follows.

Table.3 Reliability Analysis - Internal Consistency

Variables	Number of Items	Cronbach's Alpha	Comment
Political Efficacy	3	0.749	Accepted
Civic Engagement	5	0.897	Accepted
Level of Understanding	5	0.719	Accepted
Possible Political Behaviors	3	0.882	Accepted
Public Perception	3	0.799	Accepted
Level of Support	6	0.805	Accepted

Note: Acceptable Reliability Level = $0.8 > \alpha \geq 0.7$

The designed sets of questions were all reached to the acceptable standard value which means the basic reliability of the survey is safeguarded.

Validity

This survey design was conducted employing the deductive method, items are designed based on existing literatures for reference, therefore the validity of the wish-to-measure concept was ensured.

The Negativity of the Public Opinions

The listed six variables are designed on a 7-point Likert scale forasmuch the minimal value to the maximum; strongly disagree to agree ranged from 1 to 7 and

median scored as 4. There are two findings that are worthy to be highlighted and taken a further step to go into the whys and wherefores of in Table.4: the mean of the ‘Civic Engagement’ and the Max of ‘Level of Support’

Table.4 Descriptive Statistics of All Variables

Variables	Min	Max	Mean
Political Efficacy	1.00	7.00	4.6955
Civic Engagement	1.00	7.00	6.3714
Level of Understanding	1.40	7.00	4.8671
Possible Political Behaviors	1.00	7.00	4.3843
Public Perception	1.00	7.00	4.1661
Level of Support	1.00	5.33	3.9114

The value of the mean of the ‘Civic Engagement’ is 6.3714 whereas the Max is 7, as the number is nearly hitting the ceiling, it shows that the people in Taiwan have high involvement in voting in general which matched with the percentage of the voting rate of 74.90% in the 2020 presidential election in Taiwan. Although there is still room for improvement, it also means that the average voting rate in Taiwan is considered high already, which made the necessity of implementing a compulsory voting system in Taiwan pales in comparison.

The Max value of ‘Level of Support’ only scored 5.33 out of 7. The further explanation of such value informed the message that public on average did not have a significant agreement on supporting a compulsory system to be implemented, and it is also easy to predict that the mean was proportionally low as a result of such low point.

The Correlations of the Public Opinions

The table that was shown below is a comparison of the differences between the two independent samples of females and males for the six variables of this study. As females and males are only two and both categorical variables, thus the independent sample t test was employed to be the correct analytical method to testify the significant differences.

Table.5 Independent Sample t Test - Gender

		Mean	S.D.	F	Significance	t	P	Significance
Political Efficacy	Female	4.6948	1.16814	0.131	0.717	0.140	0.889	ns
	Male	4.6748	1.27999		ns			
Civic Engagement	Female	6.4011	0.66332	3.268	0.072	0.885	0.377	ns
	Male	6.3203	0.92106		ns			
Level of Understanding	Female	4.8124	1.00060	0.971	0.325	-1.05	0.296	ns
	Male	4.9398	1.09123		ns			
Possible Political Behaviors	Female	4.4794	1.41284	6.185*	0.013	1.231	0.220	ns
	Male	4.2520	1.67883		sig			
Public Perception	Female	4.2753	1.13153	12.110**	0.001	1.712	0.088	ns
	Male	3.9973	1.53555		sig			
Level of Support	Female	3.9710	0.82335	10.85**	0.001	1.392	0.165	ns
	Male	3.8115	1.06664		sig			

In the table, we can observe that in both groups of female and male, there is no significant differences towards the six predictor variables. That is to say, the gender does not have a significant influence on the listed independent variables, namely people's opinions on compulsory voting implementation in Taiwan.

The result of the analysis of variance (ANOVA) with different age groups is shown below.

Table.6 ANOVA - Age

Age		Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F	Post-Hoc Scheffe
Political Efficacy	B.G.	6.611	2	3.305	2.265	ns
	W.G.	434.825	298	1.459		
	Total	441.436	300			
Civic Engagement	B.G.	5.845	2	2.922	4.948**	2>4
	W.G.	176.009	298	0.591		
	Total	181.854	300			
Level of Understanding	B.G.	4.972	2	2.486	2.324	ns
	W.G.	318.698	298	1.069		
	Total	323.670	300			
Possible Political Behaviors	B.G.	13.039	2	6.519	2.824	ns
	W.G.	687.889	298	2.308		
	Total	700.927	300			
Public Perception	B.G.	19.983	2	9.992	5.956**	2>3
	W.G.	499.926	298	1.678		
	Total	519.909	300			
Level of Support	B.G.	0.995	2	0.497	0.572	ns
	W.G.	258.499	297	0.870		
	Total	259.494	299			

Note: B.G.= Between Groups; W.G.= Within Groups; ns= not significant

2= aged 18-24; 3= aged 25-44; 4= aged 45-64

p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***; p >0.05 not significant

In Table.6, there are two significances can be observed that is, firstly, the groups of people aged from 18 to 24 and people aged from 25 to 44 have significant higher civic engagement than the group of people aged from 45 to 64. Secondly, the group of people aged from 18 to 24 have a relatively positive perception towards the implementation of compulsory voting in Taiwan than the people aged from 25 to 44.

(See Table.6)

As the tables presented below (Table.7 and Table.8) of the ANOVA test of groups of different levels of education and career, no significance can be found. It indicates that both factors are not influential to the independent variables.

Table.7 ANOVA - Level of Education

Level of Education		Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F	Post-Hoc Scheffe
Political Efficacy	B.G.	5.071	4	1.268	0.860	ns
	W.G.	436.365	296	1.474		
	Total	441.436	300			
Civic Engagement	B.G.	0.786	4	0.196	0.321	ns
	W.G.	181.068	296	0.612		
	Total	181.854	300			
Level of Understanding	B.G.	2.147	4	0.537	0.494	ns
	W.G.	321.523	296	1.086		
	Total	323.670	300			
Possible Political Behaviors	B.G.	12.360	4	3.090	1.328	ns
	W.G.	688.567	296	2.326		
	Total	700.927	300			
Public Perception	B.G.	16.191	4	4.048	2.379	ns
	W.G.	503.718	296	1.702		
	Total	519.909	300			
Level of Support	B.G.	4.110	4	1.028	1.187	ns
	W.G.	255.384	295	0.866		
	Total	259.494	299			

Note: B.G.= Between Groups; W.G.= Within Groups; ns= not significant
 $p < 0.05^*$; $p < 0.01^{**}$; $p < 0.001^{***}$; $p > 0.05$ not significant

Table.8 ANOVA - Career

Career		Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F	Post-Hoc Scheffe
Political Efficacy	B.G.	32.567	8	4.071	2.950**	ns
	W.G.	401.627	291	1.380		
	Total	434.194	299			
Civic Engagement	B.G.	10.308	8	1.288	2.21*	ns
	W.G.	169.668	291	0.583		
	Total	179.976	299			
Level of Understanding	B.G.	8.412	8	1.052	0.971	ns
	W.G.	315.253	291	1.083		
	Total	323.665	299			
Possible Political Behaviors	B.G.	17.363	8	2.170	0.924	ns
	W.G.	683.187	291	2.348		
	Total	700.550	299			
Public Perception	B.G.	26.276	8	3.284	1.936	ns
	W.G.	493.607	291	1.696		
	Total	519.883	299			
Level of Support	B.G.	7.428	8	0.929	1.068	ns
	W.G.	252.915	291	0.869		
	Total	260.343	299			

Note: B.G.= Between Groups; W.G.= Within Groups; ns= not significant

p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***; p >0.05 not significant

As the Democratic Progressive Party is currently in power, it is not difficult to foresee the political efficacy that its supporters would be higher than its opponents, and in addition, the political efficacy is also higher than those who do not have identification to any party. Moreover, the level of the civic engagement is also showing the logical result extended from the political efficacy of those who have affiliation with DPP are expected to be more supportive to be involved with political events.

Table.9 ANOVA - Party Identification

Party Identification		Sum of Square	df	Mean Square	F	Post-Hoc Scheffe
Political Efficacy	B.G.	61.280	6	10.213	7.899***	1>2
	W.G.	380.156	294	1.293		1>7
	Total	441.436	300			
Civic Engagement	B.G.	16.294	6	2.716	4.823***	1>2
	W.G.	165.559	294	0.563		
	Total	181.854	300			
Level of Understanding	B.G.	10.395	6	1.733	1.626	ns
	W.G.	313.274	294	1.066		
	Total	323.670	300			
Possible Political Behaviors	B.G.	15.718	6	2.620	1.124	ns
	W.G.	685.209	294	2.331		
	Total	700.927	300			
Public Perception	B.G.	16.204	6	2.701	1.576	ns
	W.G.	503.705	294	1.713		
	Total	519.909	300			
Level of Support	B.G.	4.559	6	0.760	0.873	ns
	W.G.	255.793	294	0.870		
	Total	260.351	300			

Note: B.G.= Between Groups; W.G.= Within Groups; ns= not significant;

1= Democratic Progressive Party (DPP); 2= Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese Nationalist Party;

3= New Power Party; 4= Taiwan People's Party; 5= Taiwan Statebuilding Party; 6= Others; 7= None

p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***; p>0.05 not significant

However, the party identification does not have significance towards other variables including the level of support. Such results demonstrate that the supporters of different parties will not have an impact on deciding whether to support the policy of implementing compulsory system in Taiwan or not. The relationship between the five descriptive items and the variables is summarized as below.

Table.10 Summary of Gender, Age, Level of Education, Career and Party Identification

	Sex: 1= Female 2= Male	Age: 1= Below 18; 2= 18-24; 3= 25-44; 4= 45-64; 5= Above 65	Level of Education: 1= Junior High School; 2= High School; 3= Bachelor's Degree; 4= Master's Degree; 5= Doctoral Degree (Ph.D.)	Career: 1= Police/Military Officer, Civil Servant, Educational; 2= Business 3= Industrial 4= Medical 5= Service Industry 6= Housekeeping 7= Students 8= None 9= Others	Party Identification: 1= Democratic Progressive Party (DPP); 2= Kuomintang (KMT) Chinese Nationalist Party; 3= New Power Party; 4= Taiwan People's Party; 5= Taiwan Statebuilding Party; 6= Others; 7= None
Political Efficacy					*1>2 *1>7
Civic Engagement		*2>4 *3>4			*1>2
Level of Understanding					
Possible Political Behaviors					
Public Perception					
Level of Support					

p<0.05*; p<0.01**; p<0.001***; p >0.05 not significant

Regression Analysis

The results of the correlation analysis are shown in the table.11. As in the regression analysis of this study is aims to predict the level of support, figuring out the correlation of different variables towards the dependent variable is a basic step to

take. The data illustrated that, besides ‘Political Efficacy’, all the other independent variables have significant positive correlation towards the ‘Level of Support’.

Table.11 Correlation Matrix

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations							
Variables	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5
1. Political Efficacy	4.69	1.212					
2. Civic Engagement	6.37	0.778	0.384**				
3. Level of Understanding	4.86	1.037	0.136*	0.289**			
4. Possible Political Behaviors	4.39	1.526	0.007	0.153**	0.511**		
5. Public Perception	4.16	1.315	-0.029	0.194**	0.556**	0.606**	
6. Level of Support	4.16	0.931	0.039	0.240**	0.401**	0.550**	0.610**

$p < 0.05^*$; $p < 0.01^{**}$

N= 301

There are three parts of notable findings from Table.12, the regression analysis presented: F statistic with the p value, individual variables were tested predictable to ‘Level of Support’ and the value of the R-squared and the adjusted R-squared.

Table.12 Standardized Regression Coefficients Analysis

Standardized Regression Coefficients from Analyses Predicting Level of Support (N=301)	
Independent Variables	Model 1
Political Efficacy	0.005
Civic Engagement	0.119*
Level of Understanding	-0.013
Possible Political Behaviors	0.282***
Public Perception	0.424***
Model F	45.886***
ΔF	65.769
R^2	0.437
ΔR^2	0.376
Adjusted R^2	0.428

$p < 0.05^*$; $p < 0.01^{**}$; $p < 0.001^{***}$

Firstly, the F statistic with the p value is found to be significant which indicates that the model has overall predictive capability. The second part is the significances of the individual variables: 'Civic Engagement', 'Possible Political Behaviors', and 'Public Perception' which tested the capability to predict the 'Level of Support'. By looking at them separately, 'Civic Engagement' is 0.119, a positive number which indicates that the more the citizens are involved in politics, the more the likelihood to be proportional to the 'Level of Support'. 'Possible Political Behaviors' valued 0.282, a positive number which indicates that the more political behavior that people practice (See Appendix 1), the more likely that it has a direct impact on the 'Level of Support'. The same trend occurs with 'Public Perception' with a positive 0.424. The more it leans toward the positive spectrum, the easier it is to influence the 'Level of Support'. The last part is the value of the R-squared is 0.437, which indicates that this model has 43.7% of variation of dependent variables was explained by this designed model. And the adjusted R-squared is 0.376, which only has 0.061 equivalent to 6.1% reduced, such a decline was scoped within a tolerable range. The R-squared values of 0.10 is most commonly suggested within social sciences to be deemed acceptable. As the adjusted R-squared of this model gained 0.376, it is considered sufficiently respectful.

Concerns regarding Compulsory Voting

In this part of the survey, the respondents have multiple choice questions to select the listed reasons why they do not support a compulsory voting system to be implemented in Taiwan. The table displayed below is the result of the statistical analysis.

The concerns that human rights may be deprived, and the invalid votes might increase are the two major reasons that holds 73 responses, following with the concern of encouraging ignorant voters to vote with 72 responses, are the top three concerns that people may have towards the study.

Table.13 Unsupported Reasons **N= 113**

Reasons	Code	Responses	Percentage
Violating the Constitution and human rights	1	73	64.6%
Worsening the black gold politics	2	49	43.3%
Increasing the administrative and financial burden on law enforcement of government	3	20	17.6%
Disapproval of the sanction for not to vote	4	60	53%
Encouraging ignorant voters to vote	5	72	63.7%
Worsen political confrontations and conflicts	6	42	37.1%
Increase invalid ballots	7	73	64.6%
No special reason or purely unsupported	8	4	3.5%

However, if using other methods to take a deep look in the ranking of different reasons and how they may concern the public, the results then have subtle changes compared to the previous question. The respondents who had done the previous part of selecting the multiple reasons why they do not support the implementation of compulsory system in Taiwan, are required to rank their reasoning in order - referred to in the following Table.14.

Table.14 Ranking of Unsupported Reasons

N= 113

Reasons	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Rank 7	Rank 8	Weighted Score	Result
Violating the Constitution and human rights	46	14	12	11	11	8	10	1	682	1
Worsening the black gold politics	4	12	19	15	17	23	16	7	481	6
Increasing the administrative and financial burden on law enforcement of government	2	3	12	13	25	20	29	9	401	7
Disapproval of the sanction for not to vote	8	28	15	22	13	15	7	5	576	4
Encouraging ignorant voters to vote	22	23	19	12	16	7	12	2	622	2
Worsen political confrontations and conflicts	8	14	19	24	12	20	16	0	536	5
Increase invalid ballots	21	17	17	13	15	14	15	1	587	3
No special reason or purely unsupported	2	2	0	3	4	6	8	88	183	8

As per the results shown above, the top concern remains the fear of the deprivation of the human rights, however, the second and third were switched, the

notably the worries from having the ignorant people to vote are greater than the increasing outcome of invalid votes. The fourth concern is also important as the weighted score is notably close to the third one is that public do not approve of the possible punishment for not turning out to vote.

Summary

As each statistical analysis was explained, the results are to answer to the first three research questions s:

Q1: What is the public opinion towards compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan?

Looking at the mean of the dependent variable of 'Level of Support', as the mean is 3.9114 which is below 4, it clearly shows the overall unwishful opinion of the respondents representing the public. In other words, the public hold conservatively negative opinions towards the implementation of a compulsory voting system in Taiwan.

Q2: What is the correlation of different factors towards compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan?

The five possible factors under the nominal scale are gender, age, level of education, career, and party identification. The outcome from the statistical analyses however do not prove there is any correlation linked between these five factors and

the level of support towards compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan.

Nevertheless, the result from the independent sample t test shows that the gender does not matter with all the independent variables, and same with the different groups of level of education and careers conducted by the one-way ANOVA analysis. However, people's age ranged from 18 to 24 and 25 to 44 are both more active and involved in political activities than the people aged from 45 to 64. And DPP supporters have higher political efficacy than KMT's forasmuch they also have more civic engagement.

Q3: How different concerns affect the level of support?

There are two parts of analysis taken to answer this question. The first part is by looking at the result of regression analysis. As the designed model has a F statistic with the p value examined significant, it allowed the author to further investigate the individual variables to seek the answer. The independent variables that are predicted to be influential to the 'Level of Support' are 'Civic Engagement', 'Possible Political Behaviors', and 'Public Perception'.

Taking a further look into the concerns of the people and how much they are concerned about, the results from an additional set of questions in the survey reflected the possible reasons why people do not support the compulsory voting system implementation in Taiwan and the ranking of listed reasons to represent their concerns

in priority. As a consequence, people concerned that their human rights might possibly be violated, worry that it (compulsory voting) might encourage ignorant voters to vote and possibly increase the invalid ballots.

Qualitative Method – Expert Interview

Table.15 Opinions of Experts

No.	Name	Title	Comment
1	@hateyoufiveminutes	Social Media Operator, Opinion Leader	Conditional Support
2	Chien-Yuan Tseng	Professor	Not Support
3	Cheng-Hua Hsiang	Professor	Conditional Support
4	Meng-Chang Yao	Professor	Not Support
5	Chen, Yi-Chi	Politician, Chairperson of Taiwan Statebuilding Party	Not Support at this moment
6	Dr. Yen	Professor	Conditional Support

Compilation of Supporting Arguments

Taiwan is a democratic country; the people are the masters of their country.

Therefore, public opinion is indeed important. As democracy looks upon and believes in popular sovereignty as the destiny, which is what Dr. Yen stated.

“If talking about democratic politics, everyone should express their opinions, so that it can be regarded as a real democratic politics. In other words, if most people do not express or have no way to express it, then such a democratic politics may lack a lot.” - Dr. Yen

In addition, Cheng-Hua Hsiang added that in this modern society, media framing is commonly seen during the campaign with numbers of cyber warriors involved in manipulating the media.

“The system of compulsory voting can ensure all citizens to make their own decisions for the purpose to better represent the public opinion.” - Cheng-Hua, Hsiang

He thought that the opinions which interpreted from online or the news, strictly speaking, they cannot be recognized as real public opinion. Only the vote cast is the real public opinion which compulsory voting system could help achieve. In addition to the benefit on the more legitimate public opinions, @hateyoufiveminutes mentioned that compulsory can also bring the public’s attention and awareness to the politics as it is a part of everyone’s life.

“I think it (compulsory voting) has a positive effect on the whole, because it will drive more people to face up to the political issues. Even if your position were contrary to mine, it will still encourage you to at least, not to treat politics as nothing, because as a matter of fact, politics is closely related to everything.” - @hateyoufiveminutes

Moreover, Dr. Yen commented that the compulsory voting can also prompt the public to be more engaged with politics.

“Public policy is a political matter that will affect everyone’s life, so supposedly everyone should pay attention and care about it. The compulsory voting system could play the role to educate people to care about the politics more and also give a bigger room for discussion of public issues” - Dr. Yen

To better reflect public opinions, Cheng-Hua Hsiang pointed out that democratic politics inherently requires continuous learning and improving, regardless of the

people or the entire society to consolidate the ideal democracy.

“Using learning as an analogy: students can choose to listen to the class or not. However, the examination can be the driving force behind such decision to push students to learn and absorb the knowledge they should obtain to face the exams. Such logic can be applied to the issue of compulsory voting as well to stimulate the citizens to think and judge to vote.” - Cheng-Hua, Hsiang

As the major concern from the survey study from the public was the worries that the compulsory voting system might encourage the ignorant people to vote, Cheng-Hua, Hsiang argued that the new policy that the government is trying to revise, namely the age for the people who reached 18 to be able to vote is also contradicting itself.

“Taiwan is also currently drafting a law to revise the voting age to 18 years old. It can be seen as the society as a whole has a consensus that Taiwan’s democratic politics has gradually matured to dare to open up. Young people who have reached the age of 18 are responsible for their criminal actions. It’s unreasonable and illogical to doubt that they cannot be responsible for themselves.” - Cheng-Hua, Hsiang

He suspected that if the reason to disapprove the compulsory voting were based on the concern of participation of ignorant voters, then lowering the voting age is also a risk too.

Finally, summarizing the feasibility of implementation of compulsory voting system in Taiwan in the practical perspective, No.1, No.3 and No.6 interviewees all believe that Taiwan is capable to do so.

“Taiwan because of its small size, although it has a large population, but I think we should have no problems with the technical and executive issues. Thus, I think we can actually think about promoting such system.” - Dr. Yen

“What Taiwan lacks is to take a step forward and give it a try” - Cheng-Hua, Hsiang

A Growing Teenager of Democracy

The major result from the interview study is that the implementation of compulsory voting in Taiwan does not tally with our national conditions. If we narrowly defined Taiwan's qualification of democratic politics, it would be the time after the martial law was lifted in 1987. The history of Taiwan's democracy is only 34 years old. Hence, No.5 Interviewee reasoned that the overall consciousness of citizenship still has a lot to be cultivated.

“There is a theory called Postcolonialism which means that although the colonizer has left, the country's colonial status has not been lifted, the local political elites, their ideology and thinking are all the same as the colonizer in the past.” - Yi-Chi, Chen

Regarding the relationship between voting and democratic politics, most people do not take it seriously, not to mention that in the process of Taiwan's democratization, voting is merely a right whether to vote is a personal decision.

“Since the history of voting in Taiwan, compulsory voting is different from what the people are accustomed to, or a concept and habit that everyone has formed for a long time, then the people's will, and mentality will be a big resistance.” - Chien-Yuan, Tseng

What Taiwanese people have long been practicing is against the idea of turning voting into an obligation and making it compulsory, it also greatly challenges the constitution that people have generally obeyed to a maximum extent.

“Taiwan's long-standing political culture have not been able to quickly accept and adapt to a new form of voting, such as compulsory voting, forcing the people to exercise their right to vote.” - Chien-Yuan, Tseng

Such idea is not only challenging the people's will but is also against the constitution.

If Taiwan wanted to adopt the compulsory system, then amending the constitution and laws would definitely be the major steps to take.

“It is necessary to amend our constitution first as people have the right of election, recall, initiative and referendum. It means that people can decide to exercise it or not. As long as the people do not violate relevant laws and regulations, then it is unrightful to have any unprofitable results against them.” - Meng-Chang, Yao

The feasibility of amending the constitution and laws remains pessimistically which was also backed up by No.6 interviewee:

“From a legislative perspective, the process of amending the laws will be difficult in reality.” - Dr. Yen

Adding the possible punishment to those who did not turn out to vote, a backlash from the public could be easily foreseen, which means in consequence that people will not be likely to cooperate with the implementation of the policy. It simply represents the failure of legitimacy towards this policy.

Democracy and Human Rights

The analyzed data from the survey indicates that people generally cannot accept their suffrage to be restricted. As voting was considered to be a basic human right, both interviewees Chien-Yuan, Tseng and Meng-Chang, Yao stand that to choose whether to vote or not, is the most basic freedom.

“Regarding voting rights, civil rights, and political rights, I still hold the more traditional and conservative concept of freedom” - Chien-Yuan, Tseng

“Voting is my right, unless I violate the essence of voting when exercising this right, such as the principles of ordinary, equal, direct, and anonymous.

Otherwise, why should I be restricted or forced because of my voting behavior, why?" - Meng-Chang, Yao

A quote from Chien-Yuan, Tseng could be the best conclusion to such argument:

"How can it be called freedom if it one can keep the inner isolation and tranquility, without the right to be alone?" - Chien-Yuan Tseng

In addition, compulsory voting has been argued as a tool to help promoting the value of democracy. Although @hateyoufiveminutes conditionally supports the compulsory system, she also questioned such methods are contradictory.

"It uses non-democratic methods to achieve a democratic result, which is a conflict in itself." - @hateyoufiveminutes

Adding to the necessity of the compulsory voting is in doubt for the current status of Taiwan, Yi-Chi, Chen and Meng-Chang, Yao both shared the same opinion.

"Democracy as a tool is to solve the problems encountered in the development of different stages in the society"- Yi-Chi, Chen

"In our current system, unless it can be proved that voting is a major public interest so that it must be made compulsory to force people to achieve the goal, otherwise, why must use a way to restrict and restrain the people to reach the goal instead of other method?" - Meng-Chang, Yao

Moreover, the election is based on the expression of citizens' autonomous opinions,

Meng-Chang, Yao thought that it is inappropriate to interfere with citizens' autonomous consciousness.

"A very important principle in democratic politics is that the government should not arbitrarily interfere with people's voting behavior" - Meng-Chang, Yao

In conclusion to the relationship between a democratic country and its people, Chien-Yuan, Tseng expressed that the real democracy is its respect to the people's right to be involved or not to be.

“People have the right to say No, to refuse to participate in politics, or to be able to walk out freely even when they are participating politics. This then is the manifestation of a true democratic country that respects the political freedom of the people.” - Chien-Yuan Tseng

Taiwan is Not Prepared

There are also no coordinated schemes to cope with the compulsory voting system. Taiwan’s voting system does not yet have absentee ballots available. If the citizens are forced to vote without comprehensive schemes plus the possible sanctions, confusion, chaos, backlashes, and protests are predicted to occurred.

Therefore, having absentee ballots to establish was put forward by most of the expert interviewees no matter whether they support a compulsory system or not.

“Absenteeism is supposed to be the right of the people. If some people cannot return to their hometown to vote because of work, location, or time, etc., isn't this depriving their right to vote?” - Dr. Yen

“It may need a lot of supporting schemes. For example, you can vote in your place of residence without returning to where the domicile place was registered. If you could reduce the troubles of voting, maybe the public will not rebound so much at the beginning.” - @hateyoufiveminutes

“Compulsory voting, as the name suggests, people must vote otherwise penalties will be addressed. So, the related supporting schemes are absolutely needed to be considered and planned properly.” - Cheng-Hua, Hsiang

“Without absentee ballots, returning home to vote will cause a large increase in the traffic load and a great burden on the transportation and administrative units.” - Chien-Yuan Tseng

However, there are still extra problems to be taken into careful consideration even if there were absentee ballots. Electoral fraud is no doubt the major concerns for Chien-Yuan Tseng, especially if the absentee ballots opened to the overseas Taiwanese residents, vote-buying can be a serious issue specifically in China.

“The Chinese authorities can buy votes from the Taiwanese businesses personnel to interfere with the voting results in Taiwan.” - Chien-Yuan Tseng

Chien-Yuan Tseng also added that it may also be unfair for the locals in rural or offshore islands areas. This is the case for most of the population where their domicile is registered are not living there but have moved to the big cities to seek working opportunities. He took Kinmen as an example to argued that the absentee ballots are unfair to the local residents.

“This is unfair to the Kinmen people who live locally for a long time, because only the local people can know the real needs of local public affairs most deeply and what public policies to cope with the issues.” - Chien-Yuan Tseng

It will unrightful to grant them the votes through absentee ballots as only the locals who lived there should know better about what they need and are more legitimate to vote to decide the public issues which they are truly facing. Without comprehensive schemes to go alongside with compulsory voting system, it could be a deprivation of the people’s political right which sadly runs counter to the original good intentions to encourage people to practice their political right.

The Defect Obscure the Virtue

Chen, Yi-Chi believes that even if Taiwan no longer has the problems of

nationality and identity confusion, Taiwan still has something more important to be dealt with other than the voting system which is the serious flaw structured in Taiwan's election. The flaw in Taiwan's electoral system is a significant factor that the author has not considered but however does exist. In Taiwan, or in most countries in the world, with the exception of Japan (Japan has strict rules on election campaigns for candidates), the rate of victory in elections are greatly based on who holds the most capital. As Taiwan has bipartisan politics, the capital is mostly in the hands of blue and green parties, ranging from a member of a parliament to a president. The result of the election is nothing more than who can buy the most multimedia spaces and advertisements and publish the most news. Chen, Yi-Chi described that if a representative had the funds to buy numerous billboards, the exposure and popularity among the local residents will naturally result on the votes.

“Taiwan’s democracy is piled up with money.” - Chen, Yi-Chi

The election seems to be a competition between the two major political parties.

However, the voices and demands of the people are diverse.

“The first thing to do is to win back our true right to be elected, which in broad perspective means that our suffrage can be restored and returned to the people. Because suffrage has not improved, even if compulsory voting were implemented, the people who have the capital and resources can greatly control the election, we will still and always vote for these people.” - Chen, Yi-Chi

He supposed that the unfair competition in Taiwan's current voting system can be so easily observed, then if the people are forced to vote, the wounds of the unfair

elections may be worsened even more.

The effect of political knowledge learning and the enhancement of political sensitivity when compulsory voting is implemented on the circumstances of major parties which hold majority of the capital, is tantamount to limiting the scope of people's ability to absorb relevant political knowledge as the media is expected to be manipulated.

CONCLUSION

Compulsory voting is an obligation that forces everyone for exercising their political right. If compulsory voting is regarded as a means, then when discussing or evaluating whether to implement it, this process could be seen as a process of end-legitimate means. Its ultimate purpose is to pursue democracy, or ideally, it can be seen as a goal of strengthening Taiwan's democracy. In other words, electoral voting is the core of democratic politics, specifically when everyone is made responsible to vote, the idea of popular sovereignty can then be reflected in the public, rather than just political elites who take control of the politics.

In addition, when everyone has to vote, the result will then be more legitimate, as well it can better be represented people's opinions. Moreover, compulsory voting can also stimulate the people to participate in politics and to learn political knowledge, which means that the overall political sensitivity of the Taiwanese people can be possibly improved. In short, such a policy is considered by the author as a means to deepen, and even consolidate Taiwan's democracy.

After conducting a survey research and interviews with six experts with relevant backgrounds, the author's assumptions have indeed been challenged. However, it is also the most precious gain throughout this research. The multi-faceted results of

evaluation provided this research valuable and practical answers on whether a compulsory voting system is suitable for Taiwan.

The feasibility of the implementation of compulsory voting in Taiwan in this study is that it is not suitable at this current stage, but there is still room for further discussion in the future. The reasons for the unsuitability are firstly, Taiwan's democracy is not yet mature, citizens' civic literacy are still lacking, as well as the culture of Taiwan's politics is ruling out such kind of enforcement onto their freedom of choice. Secondly, the coordinated schemes to company the voting system are not yet complete. Publics and Experts opinions both suggested that absentee ballots should be made legal before considering the compulsory system. On the top of these, the flaws within the electoral system may cause it to be ashamed, as the existing inequality of political franchise is highly possible to worsen the overall justice of election.

It cannot be denied that Taiwan's democracy has taken its root, but it is not deep and stable enough. Although the advantages of compulsory voting are seemly ideal, they are too dazzling and impractical if embodied in practice. Taiwan is still too immature on the road to the consolidation of democracy as it requires generations of people to stack up and accumulate the efforts achieve to a steady stage.

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APPENDIX A – Survey Items

Items of Political Efficacy

Items of Political Efficacy		SD	D	SWD	N	SWA	A	SA
1.	我們老百姓對政府的作為有影響力。							
(A1)	People like me have influence on what the government does.							
2.	政府在乎我們老百姓的想法。							
(A2)	Government cares much what people like me think.							
3.	總體來說，我認為政府的施政有考量到全體公民的意見與需求。							
(A3)	Overall speaking, I think the government does take the consideration of citizens' opinion and needs.							

Cronbach's alpha = 0.749

Note: SD= Strongly Disagree, D= Disagree, SWD= Somewhat Disagree, N= Null or No opinion, SWA= Somewhat Agree, A= Agree, SA= Strong Agree

Source:

A1-A3: Chung-li Wu, Ching-Ping Tang, Chi Huang. "A Pilot Study on Measuring the Sense of Political Efficacy in Taiwan." *Journal of Electoral Studies* 6, no. 2 (1999): 23-44.

<https://dx.doi.org/10.6612/tjes.1999.06.02.23-44>.

Items of Civic Engagement

Items of Civic Engagement		SD	D	SWD	N	SWA	A	SA
4. (B1)	在民主國家中，投票對於人民是重要的。							
	In a democratic country, voting is important to the people.							
5. (B2)	投票是一種公民直接對政治的參與。							
	Voting is a direct citizenship Participation in politics.							
6. (B3)	投票是公民意見的表達。							
	Voting is the expression of the public opinion.							
7. (B4)	投票是您意見的表達。							
	Voting is the expression of your opinion.							
8. (B5)	身為一個具有投票權的公民，我應該去投票。							
	As a citizen whose suffrage is granted, I should vote.							

Cronbach's alpha = 0.897

Note: SD= Strongly Disagree, D= Disagree, SWD= Somewhat Disagree, N= Null or No opinion, SWA= Somewhat Agree, A= Agree, SA= Strong Agree

Source:

B1: "Participating in a Democracy." Intermediate Level Rights and Responsibilities.

https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/lesson-plans/Intermediate_RightsandResponsibilities_handouts.pdf.

B2: Learning, Lumen. "Voting as Political Participation."

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B3-B4: Lang, Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang. "The Impact of Polls on Public Opinion." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 472 (1984): 129-42. Accessed 2021/11/09/. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1043889>.

B5: "Exercising the Right to Vote Is Essential to Being a Good Citizen." CIVICS-

ONLINE.ORG. <https://www.civics-online.org/voting-rights/exercising-the-right-to-vote-is-essential-to-being-a-good-citizen/>.

Items of Level of Understanding

Items of Level of Understanding		SD	D	SWD	N	SWA	A	SA
9.	強制性投票能增加投票率。							
(C1)	Compulsory Voting can increase the voter turnout.							
10.	強制性投票能提高公民參與。							
(C2)	Compulsory voting can increase the civic engagement.							
11.	強制性投票能使政黨更加地為全民的利益服務。							
(C3)	Compulsory voting can encourage the political party to better serve the interests of all citizens.							
12.	強制性投票是指投票的權利變成權利義務或義務。							
(C4)	Compulsory voting is arguing to shift voting from a right to a duty-right or civic duty.							
13.	總體來說，我對於強制性投票有一定的了解。							
(C5)	Overall speaking, I have certain level of understanding about compulsory voting.							

Cronbach's alpha = 0.719

Note: SD= Strongly Disagree, D= Disagree, SWD= Somewhat Disagree, N= Null or No opinion, SWA= Somewhat Agree, A= Agree, SA= Strong Agree

Source:

C1- C3: Lijphart, Arend. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 1 (1997): 1-14. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2952255>.
C4: Hill, Lisa. "Does Compulsory Voting Violate a Right Not to Vote?" *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50 (01/09 2015): 1-12. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2014.990418>

Items of Possible Political Behaviors

Items of Possible Political Behaviors		SD	D	SWD	N	SWA	A	SA
14. (D1)	若台灣實施強制性投票，我會更加關心政治。							
	I will pay more attention to politics if compulsory voting were implemented in Taiwan.							
15. (D2)	若台灣實施強制性投票，我會汲取更多資訊以便於選賢與能。							
	I will learn more information to select an election candidate if compulsory voting were implemented in Taiwan.							
16. (D3)	若台灣實施強制性投票，能刺激整體人民學習政治知識。							
	If compulsory voting were implemented in Taiwan, it can increase the possibility of political learning of the people.							

Cronbach's alpha = 0.882

Note: SD= Strongly Disagree, D= Disagree, SWD= Somewhat Disagree, N= Null or No opinion, SWA= Somewhat Agree, A= Agree, SD= Strong Disagree

Source:

D1-D2: Lijphart, Arend. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 1 (1997): 1-14. <https://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2952255>.

D3: Matthew R. Miles, Kevin J. Mullinix. "(Un)Informed Voting? A Test of Compulsory Voting Feedback Effects." *Policy Studies Journal* 49 (2021). <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/psj.12366>.

Items of Public Perception

Items of Public Perception		SD	D	SWD	N	SWA	A	SA
17. (E1)	若台灣實施強制性投票，小黨政黨將有更多機會崛起。							
	The arise of small size political party would be encouraged if compulsory voting were implemented in Taiwan.							
18. (E2)	若台灣實施強制性投票，政治能更有效地為全民服務而非特定群族。							
	Politics will be serving for all citizens better than only certain groups of people if compulsory voting were implemented in Taiwan.							
19. (E3)	總體來說，實施強制性投票對於民主政治是正向的。							
	Overall speaking, compulsory voting can make positive impact on democratic politics.							

Cronbach's alpha = 0.799

Note: SD= Strongly Disagree, D= Disagree, SWD= Somewhat Disagree, N= Null or No opinion, SWA= Somewhat Agree, A= Agree, SD= Strong Disagree

Source:

E1: FindLaw. "The Compulsory Voting Debate." Thomson Reuters. Last modified March 17, 2020. <https://www.findlaw.com/voting/how-u-s--elections-work/the-compulsory-voting-debate.html>.

E2: Singh, Shane P. "Compulsory Voting and Parties' Vote-Seeking Strategies." *American Journal of Political Science* 63, no. 1 (2019): 37-52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45132461>.

E3: Engelen, Bart. "Why Compulsory Voting Can Enhance Democracy." *Acta Politica* 42, no. 1 (2007): 23-39. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.ap.5500167>.

Items of Level of Support

Items of Level of Support		SD	D	SWD	N	SWA	A	SA
20.	投票不僅只是公民的權利。							
(F1)	Voting is not only a right for citizens.							
21.	投票是公民的權利與義務。							
(F2)	Voting is a duty-right of citizens.							
22.	投票是公民的義務。							
(F3)	Voting is a civic duty.							
23.	如台灣實施強制性/義務性投票，請問您是否還會去投票？	NO (1)	N/A					YES (7)
(F4)	Will you still vote if compulsory voting were implemented in Taiwan?							
24.	總體來說，我支持台灣實行強制性/義務性投票。							
(F5)	Overall speaking, I support the implementation of compulsory voting system in Taiwan.							

Cronbach's alpha = 0.805

Note: SD= Strongly Disagree, D= Disagree, SWD= Somewhat Disagree, N= Null or No opinion, SWA= Somewhat Agree, A= Agree, SA= Strong Disagree

Source:

F1-F3: Hill, Lisa. "Does Compulsory Voting Violate a Right Not to Vote?" *Australian Journal of Political Science* 50 (01/09 2015): 1-12. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2014.990418>

F4: YES/NO Item, Yes will be valued as 7 and No will be valued as 1 in a 7-point Likert scale.

APPENDIX B – Interview Guide

Introduction

Hi, my name is Lin Yu-wen, a student studied in the Department of International Affairs of Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages. Million thanks for agreeing to participate in my research interview. The estimated duration time for this semi-structured interview is between 10 to 30 minutes.

In this interview, we will discuss your opinions on "compulsory/mandatory voting" and "the feasibility of implementing compulsory/mandatory voting in Taiwan." During the process, I will ask several questions. Please note that there is no standard answer to the designed questions, please express your thoughts freely.

During the interview, I will record for subsequent data analysis and sorting. This audio recording is for academic research use only and will not be used for other purposes.

Outline (This outline is only for reference, questions will be added or reduced depending on the situation in the process)

1. Do you think the implementation of compulsory/mandatory voting in Taiwan has a positive or negative impact on Taiwan's politics?
2. Overall, do you think it is feasible to implement compulsory/mandatory voting in Taiwan?
3. Do you personally support compulsory/mandatory voting, if so, why? / if not, why?
4. If Taiwan implements compulsory/mandatory voting, what other concerns might you have?

Thank you for your participation!

If you have any suggestions or questions, please do not hesitate to advise.

APPENDIX C – Interview Transcript

Table 1. Demography of the Expert Interviewees

No.	Date of Interview	Name	Educational Level	Title
1	14 th August	@hateyoufiveminutes	Remain anonymous	Social Media Operator, Opinion Leader Political Staff
2	23 th August	Chien-Yuan Tseng*	Doctor of Graduate Institute of National Development, National Taiwan University	Professor
3	23 th August	Cheng-Hua Hsiang	Doctor of College of Social Science, National Sun Yat-sen University	Professor
4	30 th August	Meng-Chang Yao	Doctor of School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London	Professor
5	8 th September	Chen, Yi-Chi	Master of Graduate Institute of Labor Research, National ChengChi University	Politician, Chairperson of Taiwan Statebuilding Party
6	9 th September	Dr. Yen	Remain anonymous	Professor

* The transcript of the interview with Chien-Yuan Tseng was written into article and published online by Scoop Weekly Taiwan <https://www.scooptw.com/thinktank/education/62985/>

No.1 Interviewee

@hateyoufiveminutes

職稱：我要討厭你五分鐘 - 政治性插圖作者 / 20 萬粉絲社群經營者 / 政治幕僚(立委、議員助理)

- ✓ 同意參與學生林毓雯訪談
- ✓ 同意錄音授權學術研究使用
- ✓ 不同意公開專家姓名資訊

訪談時間：2021 年 08 月 14 日

訪談地點：訪談者家裡

台灣實施強制性投票是可行的嗎？以及對於台灣的政治會有什麼正面或負面的影響嗎？

我覺得整體而言會是正向的吧？如果現在提出我覺得反彈聲量會很大，就會覺得是不是政府在搞鬼。但是長遠來看，我覺得長遠來看啦，就像同婚一樣，同婚通過且大家很反對，就覺得爸爸媽媽都不知道怎麼教了阿，會有這種很多奇怪的問題，但是你會發現同婚過後，其實我的生活還是沒改變，所以同婚這件事情，它可能就會去習慣、去變成日常。所以我覺得，強制性投票是這樣，就是前面一定有很多人反對，反彈聲量很大，可是當如果真的同意，而且這件事情開始執行了，你會發現其實只是是多了一個，我必須要回家投票這件事情要做而已。但他不影響你，因為你去投票的時候，你就是選擇是或否或廢票，那跟你本來你不用投票的時候，你沒有去投票的時候，你一樣你的那一票就是廢票啊？所以並沒有太影響你，只是多了一個你必須要回家投票的動作。

您說您覺得會是正向的，整體而言您覺得是在哪一方面呢？

就是像我剛剛講，因為他就是多了一個的動作：投票，那你既然都被強制要去投票了，這件事情影響到你的行為，我的認為是，大家會去思考：好吧？那我都是都要回家、都要投票了，那我該怎麼投？我覺得起碼會促進某部分的人去思考、正視政治這件事情，而不是反正我又沒有要投票，我幹嘛管你這個。

那您剛剛所說的，這些反彈的聲量，您覺得會大於正面的影響嗎？

它是算是一種民意，而這可以被解決嗎？這我真的不敢保證，因為它就是一種輿論、一種風向，然後你要看意見領袖他們的意見，如果今天你是身為意見領袖，也不代表所有的意見都跟領袖意見都一樣。那如果有些意見領袖，他們講錯話，雖然他是支持這個議題的，可是他的論述錯了，我就不講像范綱皓了，統一那麼大，他作為民進黨的，我沒記錯的話是網路部主任嗎？你看看他，他的用意是好的，他立場也是支持的。但是他講出來的東西，它變成一個被操作的，而且可以被拿來狂打的點，那他到底是正向或反向？就是想做正向的事，但是對，一不小心卻造成反效果，這是一個政治角力，他是很有趣，但其實也非常危險，我不覺得我自己有辦法操控政治意見風向，所以你說可以解決嗎？這我真的沒有辦法告訴你。

那就是整體而言，您覺得在台灣實行強制性投票，這件事情是可行的嗎？以您個人的經驗或是以您對台灣人民加上您也在政治圈工作，也身為政治性網紅、粉絲專頁的經營者，您對於台灣這個國家、國情的觀察會覺得是可行的嗎？如果真的被提出來說好，我們要來行這個制度？你覺得行的通嗎？

我個人可能比較樂觀啦，所以我是覺得可行的。

那您個人會支持強制性投票嗎？

我支持啊。

那您為什麼會覺得您想支持？是指您覺得這一項研究可以去支持呢，還是您同意實行這個制度的支持？

但這只是初步啦，我現在對於強制性投票的理解也就是很平面的，因為這些事情他就是還沒被提出。如果有被提出，就會有更多專家、學者的意見，那到時候我可能又會有不同的想法，可能我就會有其他需要斟酌的地方，我先舉個例，就是像藻礁，我一開始人家給我連署單的時候，我就覺得保護藻礁，我就簽了，但後來有很多的論戰出現，然後我再去看，才知道原來保護藻礁不是這麼簡單而已，它牽扯到很多能源的政策，然後背後的結構等等一大堆的細項要去思考，所以現在我也只能告訴你，以我目前對強制性投票的初步瞭解，我支持，那我會支持是因為就像我剛剛提到，我認為它整體而言是有正面影響的，因為它會帶動更多人去正視政治的問題，即便你跟我是立場相反好了，但是他也是促進讓你至少不要把這件事情當作與你無關，因為其實政治它就是與所有事情都息息相關。

那您有什麼想法想要補充呢？或是有什麼其他的顧慮？例如您會擔心哪些點會成爲它實施的阻力？

我覺得，執政黨也會是一個問題，就是今天執政政府是民進黨，我因為信任民進黨，我就會覺得喔好啊我 OK 啊，就是不會有其他作弊、或是說死人投票這些疑慮，就是我基於信任政府的關係是我可以這樣做。所以今天我就是拿疫苗高端，或者說，甚至戴口罩罰錢，這件事情來講好了，我是因為基於相信這政府做這樣的決定所以我配合，但可能國外像美國、歐洲，他們比較崇尚人身自由的，他們可能就不服從政府這樣子的確定。

那換個角度來想，如果今天是國民黨政府，今天是國民黨政府下達這樣子的指令，我可能會質疑他的決定，我會質疑他的判斷，那在我質疑了他的決定及判斷之後，會不會支持這件事情，又是另外一回事。所以政黨的認同會是一個蠻大的因素，就拿疫苗來講，今天民進黨 support 高端出來，然後丟了很多數據出來，然後看一看覺得喔不錯啊，我願意支持國產，可是，如果今天是國民黨支持這個疫苗，然後他丟了很多數據出來，我可能第一個就會先懷疑是不是為了圖利？，這疫苗真的能用嗎？ 或你這個是中間有些東西是中國來的，那同樣都是疫苗，同樣都是國產，兩個不同的政府執政會完全影響到我的決定，所以政黨認同會是一個蠻重要的因素。

那您覺得對於那些，例如可能就是對政治沒有什麼太大興趣的人，那些算是大部分的民眾，平常就沒有在關注政治，您問他為什麼支持藍、為麼麼支持綠，他們可能就會說，藍綠一樣爛的這種大部分老百姓、且真的占不在少數的老百姓，您覺得他們會有政黨認同、或是這個因素會成爲他們不支持這個政策決定嗎？

我覺得對這些小清新來說，不管政治的人來說，如果今天，政府決定要強制性投票，一般百姓聽到一定百分之九十反彈，就是覺得喔我要投不投我家的事，你幹嘛規定我一定要投，這個就是強權、鴨霸、專制！

或者是那如果強制性投票，這個詞把它改成義務性投票呢？

名字變比較好聽啦，但是我覺得就是你一樣是在強迫人家回家投票吧？人家都會覺得本來就不用投，我就有工作啊、我就怎樣怎樣，你現在逼我要投票？

那他可能會很多配套，比方說，我猜測，你可以不要回戶籍地，你可以在你的居住地，或者說，你可以用註記名的方式。或者是說郵寄投票，有很多種方式，但這些方式我覺得他都一定會有漏洞，那你如果真的要回戶籍地投你就是造成民眾困擾，民眾就會有民怨，那就是它的民意。

那如果是對一般的民眾，如果配套措施做的好，機率就會比較大嗎？

就是對，減少民眾投票的困擾的話，也許他們在一開始的反彈不會那麼大。

但是就像我剛剛講，它會延伸出一些配套週邊的漏洞，那這些漏洞也是需要被討論的。尤其當這些漏洞遇到的是國民黨政府執政的時候，停個電，電都可以多好幾萬，遇到這種政府的時候，你就會怕，所以政黨認同涉入的層面是還蠻廣的。

那您有沒有覺得在有沒有什麼事您覺得需要討論，但是目前為止還沒有討論到？

我有在想說，其實滿微妙的就是投票這件事情，他是民主的表現，可是就要透過一種約束的手法，而且是非民主的方式去達成這個民主的結果。這讓我不知道去怎麼解釋那種心情的描述，是一種衝突的感覺。

它會是我我未來不知道我會支持或反對的點，就是我現在可以告訴你我支持，因為我現在對他瞭解，大概是這個樣子，可是就像我剛剛講了，它是用非民主的方式去達成一個民主的結果，那它本身就是一個衝突。那我是一個支持民族、崇尚民主、自由的人，所以如果他日後的發展，比方說，現在在我認知他是可能非民主四十趴，民主六十趴非民主，可是如果他隨著這些發展，到時候變成說，它是六十趴的非民主去約束人民，然後去達成這個四十趴的民主的話，我就覺得那我還要繼續支持嗎？因為他有點違背了我的初衷。

但最一開始您覺得整體正向的原因是因為你覺得強制性投票，就只是多一個投票的動作，但這還是不阻礙您對於投票這件事情表達，就是您可以投廢票，這件事是您的言論，政治的言論自由可以被完好的被保留的，對那這個東西是您一開始覺得整體而言是正向的部分，這部分是目前在其他有實施強制性投票的國家中是存在的，並且都是絕對沒有辦法被限制的地方。基於這一點上，您還會覺得非民主會大於民主嗎？

我剛剛比較考慮的是，人生自由的部分，它是用什麼樣的方式去執行投票，這件事情。

所以假如今天他就是硬性規定說，對你要強制性投票，而且您只能在戶籍地投票，那這件事情的非民主就會比較大這樣嗎？

對大概是這種感覺。

所以就是如果要強制性投票那它的配套措施一定要做好，就是要不能造成民眾困擾？

這是一定會造成造成困擾，可是你有沒有配套，然後配套你要怎麼做，它是會需要很全面的被討論的，所以我現在，僅就於現在是初步對於強制性投票這件事情的話，我還是認為，對它整體而言，我認為它是有一個正向的能量、正向的幫助。

No.2 Interviewee

Chien-Yuan Tseng Professor

*本篇訪談內容刊登於《獨家報導周刊》

<https://www.scooptw.com/thinktank/education/62985/>

學歷：國立臺灣大學國家發展研究所法學博士

職稱：國立中央大學客家語文暨社會科學學系兼任副教授

研究領域：憲法學、政治學、臺灣憲法變遷、客家研究

- ✓ 同意參與學生林毓雯訪談
- ✓ 同意錄音授權學術研究使用
- ✓ 同意公開專家姓名資訊

訪談時間：2021年08月23日，上午09:00

訪談媒介：ZOOM

會議連結：

<https://us04web.zoom.us/j/3462057541?pwd=VjJlU2xSMXFQbjE0aGNVeVFJlV1VnQT09>

會議 ID：346 205 7541

密碼：UaKh9N

臺灣實施強制性投票是可行的嗎？在臺灣實行強制性投票對於臺灣的政治而言是否有正向或負向的影響？

《憲法》本來就規定人民享有秘密投票的權利，且多數國家也認為投票是一種權利，基於個人自由的意志，可以選擇行使或者不行使，如將投票改成強制投票，在臺灣有選舉投票的歷史以來，與人民所習慣的不相同，或者與大家長期以來已經形成的觀念不相符，人民的意願與心態上將會是一大阻力。

如實施強制性投票，需要有相關配套：例如投票日的交通，是否要幫人民解決？戶籍離島卻住在本島選民的返鄉投票將導致交通運載量大增，也會造成交通行政單位很大的負擔。原本的自由投票是以鼓勵返鄉投票作為政治動員的方法，強制投票等於讓每個人民都要自己負擔交通成本，因為原本人民可以選擇不返鄉投票繼續工作。

那麼在這種情況下通訊投票可行嗎？我是金門人，可以在臺北將選票寄回金門嗎？又或者人在國外，將選票寄回來可以嗎？現在在臺灣，人們對於通訊投票的接受度是至少必須是住在國內的人民才能有此權利，若人是在中華人民

共和國，情況就可能比較複雜，因為中華人民共和國可以買票干擾我們的投票結果，可以去買通臺商，這可能會是通訊投票制度成功與否的最大阻力。

我對於強制性投票制度會持保留的態度，原因在於在臺灣內部實施通訊投票也有問題：對於偏鄉與離島的人，例如金門人，金門投票權人多半分布在臺灣本島，因為金門的工作機會比較少，所以大多數的金門人會離開本地去外地找工作，但若可以通訊投票，這些長期不在本地的金門人（外地人）便可以決定當地的政治事務，這對於長期居在、生活在本地的金門人也是不公平的，因為只有本地人才能最深切地知道當地公共事務政策上的需求，所以在這種在外地人口比在地人口數還多的地區，會更容易產生買票的疑慮。如果地方選舉實行強制性投票，將會產生很多問題，不過，唯一比較有可能開放強制性投票的選舉，會是總統大選，因為全國就是一個單一選區，沒有外地人左右選舉成為關鍵力量的情況，所以如果真的要採取通訊投票，唯一有可能實施的選舉也就會是總統選舉。

綜上所述：

1. 臺灣長期以來所形成的政治生態、文化，還無法很快接受與適應強制性投票這樣子的一個新的投票形式，——強迫人民行使投票的權利。

2. 在地方選舉上，非在地長住的選民會影響在地選民的權益，以及會有對岸干涉選舉的風險。而總統選舉可行的原因是因為全國是一個單一選區。

3. 可能可以修改成使用登記投票及戶籍地投票並行，選民可以在選舉前先聲明要在居住地投票或戶籍地投票，居住地投票就相當於登記投票，須證明有在當地居住滿一定時間或繳稅事實，這可以通過修法的方式讓兩者並行及當事人可以選擇在什麼地方投票，這也許是一個變通的方式。這樣也能很大程度解決返鄉投票的交通問題。

投票的成本如果很低，讓人民非常容易去完成投票這個動作，那麼就很有可能可以成功實行強制性投票，例如電子投票以及居住地投票又或者如通訊投票，如果隨著時代科技的進步，能夠採取電子投票，則就強制投票而言，就缺少了成本與空間的考量，這樣大家的接受程度就會相對提高。

個人贊不贊成強制性投票？

個人不贊成。我認為投票應是基本人權，人民可以選擇要不要投票，這是一種最基本的自由。個人如果不想表達他的政治傾向，先不管是不是實施秘密投票，也都應當基於思想自由予以尊重，甚至秘密投票本身也是一種政治立場、態度的表達，只是沒有讓任何人知道；又或者關於政治參與，有些人就是對政治沒有興趣，根本不想參與，那為何要強迫他去投票呢？

因為是國家的公民，因為是國家的主權者，就透過強制投票的方式去讓民眾知道自己是國家的主人，這樣的說法接近英國思想家以撒·柏林 (Isaiah Berlin) 所談的兩種自由的問題：一般所講的自由，是指外在的自由、不受國家干涉的自由，而以撒·柏林他提到，專制國家會以實現每個人的內在自由的名義，強制個

人去表達內在的思想與立場，但內在自由完全與外在的自由無關，一個人可以保留內心的隔絕、寧靜，Be alone 的權利都沒有的話，怎麼能稱為自由呢？

基於這樣的觀念，對於投票權、公民權與政治權的這些權利，我還是持比較傳統保守的自由權利的概念。人民可以自由選擇而不受國家干涉，國家也不能以要促成「個人成為國家的主人」、「個人政治自由的實現」，以這種名義來強制每個人要參與公共、政治生活、參與投票，因為這樣子就違反了我們對於自由本質的認識，那是一種變相的專制。

義務性投票只是強制人民投票，人民可以投無效票，並沒有真正強迫去表達政治態度與政治傾向？

整體而言，不太能接受。如果從權利的觀點出發，《憲法》本來就保障人民不投票的權利，強制投票是一種對於《憲法》保障的權利的剝奪。

我理解強制性投票當然還是尊重每個人在政治上的選擇，但若是真的不想投票，不去投票總可以吧？若根本不想去投票也不想有任何表達，為何不可？為何要強迫人去做他們不想做的事情？

剛剛提到的總統大選或許可能實施強制投票，那麼如果如同剛剛老師所提到的，如在投票的配套措施完善的情況下，老師會贊成嗎？

如果臺灣在總統大選採用電子或通訊投票，在臺灣基本上不會有技術性的困難，但差別還是在制度上是否開放。我還是傾向人民有不投票的權利。但若通過修法，多數認為應當要在集體投票的行動當中，去彰顯臺灣是一個政治共同體，這則有助於國民意識、國家認同的凝聚，如果有這種考慮，我尊重多數，不會反對。

若臺灣實行強制性投票，您會去投票嗎？

我本來就都會去投票，就算候選人我都很討厭，也起碼會去選擇一個不那麼討厭的人來投，儘量不要讓真的很討厭的人得逞，又或者就投廢票、無效票。

額外想補充的：

強制性投票畢竟只有少數國家實施，不是全球的趨勢，若從全球的範圍來看，未來最有可能執行的可能就是中華人民共和國，因為它們科技進步，也有社會信用體系、監控體系，不投票可能被國家扣分。臺灣與中華人民共和國是不同的國體，如果在投票行為與投票制度設計上未來走向相同，會令人感到不太舒服。

強制性投票畢竟是少數國家採行的方法，除了澳洲之外，大多數是專制國家，所以我不認為這是民主和進步的象徵。反而是人民可以說 No、可以拒絕參與政治，這才是真正民主國家尊重人民的表現。

No.3 Interviewee

Cheng-Hua Hsiang Professor

學歷：國立中山大學中山學術研究所社會科學博士

職稱：中國文化大學行政管理學系 專任助理教授

研究領域：憲法學、行政法、地方政府與自治、公共事務與法律、法學緒論

- ✓ 同意參與學生林毓雯訪談
- ✓ 同意錄音授權學術研究使用
- ✓ 同意公開專家姓名資訊

訪談時間：2021年08月23日，下午20：00

訪談媒介：Google Meet

會議代碼：rme-qndp-grq (<https://meet.google.com/rme-qndp-grq>)

可行性立場與個人立場：

在有完善的配套措施，如：通訊投票、不在籍投票的情況下，認為在台灣實行強制性投票是可行的，且保持樂觀態度。也認為台灣也有足夠的能力去執行。而個人層面的部分也是支持的。

支持強制性投票的論述結論：

1. 體現真正多數的民意
2. 實現主權在民
3. 深化民主政治，如刺激人民在政治上的學習與判斷

支持的原因論述

我認為台灣是民主政治國家，人民是國家的主人，因此民意是重要的，強制性投票的制度能確保民眾，去做出一個決定。且現下台灣的政治情況，網路操作與媒體風向是決定選舉結果與民意調查的手段，很多所謂的鍵盤魔人，常常只會在網路上表達意見、帶風向、操作媒體、混淆視聽，那這些操作不一定是真正的民意，他們有可能是被指使的，也有可能他們就是專門的網軍。還沒進投票所投下那一票表述意見前的操作，又甚至是所謂的民意調查，嚴格來說都不能算是真正的民意，只有投下了的那張選票，才是真正的民意。

而除了可以更完善地體現真正的民意以外，其實民主政治本來就是需要不斷的精進與學習的，無論人民或是整個社會，就拿學習來做比喻，學生上課可以聽課也可以不聽，那經由考試的手段，就能成為一個背後的推力，進而使學

生去學習、汲取該得到的知識面對考試，那強制性投票也是一樣的邏輯，民眾在被強迫去投票時，總得會有幾秒鐘、幾分鐘的時間去思考：我等等要投給誰；又或者是議題在公投時，會有時間去、會被強迫去思考，我要贊成還是不贊成，加上強迫性投票能使他們當下能做出一個決定、一個判斷，這就是民主政治需要的民意。

如果沒有強制性投票，就像現在的台灣，要不要去投票人民都可以自己決定，可能投票日放假就睡到中午，下午拖一拖可能就到四點了，投票所也要關了，算了這次就不投了，又或者，這次的候選人我都不認識、不喜歡，就不投了，這個情況下，就是由別人替你做決定，放大來看，現在的台灣無論投票率是多少，就是有本來就會去投票、多數族群，替沒去投票與少數族群做決定的問題，台灣社會目前的狀態也就是像這個樣子，比較懶散，要不要投票都可以、無所謂，但很多人總是在沒有投票後，出現狀況了或是結果不如預期，再來後悔哀呀，差我這一票，後續需要彌補的成本可能更大，強制性投票則可以避免掉這部分的風險。

反駁論述回應

對於強制性投票將鼓勵無知選民增加論述的看法：

民眾在幾十年來的民主政治下，已經趨於成熟，因台灣已經進入了工商業化的社會，不再是傳統的農業社會，大眾可以輕易快速地取得各種資訊，不太會有所謂無知投票的情況。何況現在資訊科技、教育在台灣都已經非常普及，街上的大學生可能比流浪狗的數量還多的情況下，無知、不理解情況的情況應該是會很少，另外也不要小看各行各業，例如計程車司機，如果有機會上計程車可以跟他們聊聊各種公共議題，他們大多數絕對是能跟你侃侃而談的。台灣的人民已經在多年的民主政治的學習當中，也已經學會辨識一些伎倆了，尤其在選舉前，各候選人的事故與小動作層出不窮，常常選前因為一些突發事件，對於選舉結果就有了大翻盤的影響，這些相信人民都是經歷過也懂得。

且按這論述，台灣現在也在擬法下修投票年齡，正是因為社會整體有共識，台灣的民主政治已經逐漸成熟，才敢開放，且18歲的年輕人都要為自己的刑事行為負責，他們不能為自己的投票做決定這一點也很說不過去，不符合邏輯。

對於強制性投票將造成衝動性的投票論述的看法：

沒有政策是完美的，我們所能做的是盡量在不完美之中，尋找最完美的。當然衝動的投票行為是無法避免的，不過就算在非強制性投票中，也還是會有這種情況發生，而且台灣現行的規定在投票當天是不可以有任何的宣傳，也有秘密投票的規定不能任意告知宣揚投給誰，意思是，投票當天是寧靜的，是有足夠的空間、時間去思考、不被左右，我的選票要投給誰的。若因為擔心衝動投票而否定強制性投票，那麼下修投票年齡不是也是一大風險嗎？年齡更低的

民眾也有更大的機率衝動投票。

台灣實施強制性投票的顧慮

強制性投票的配套措施

對於不在籍投票的會造成的行政作業上的負擔，這牽涉到非常多的層面以及各部門會需要負擔的行政作業，因為不在籍投票，首先就是需要登記、登記要在哪裡投票，就像現在的疫苗登記一樣，要打哪支疫苗，幾點；在哪裡打，這些都是需要先登記的，這些行政作業會是一個大工程。

再者就是通訊投票的部分，台灣在外的台商、駐外的大使或者僑胞僑生們，他們也有投票的權利，美國也有通訊投票，例如那些在伊朗的美軍們，他們也是需要通共通訊投票來投票的。而強制性投票顧名思義就是必須要執行，否則就會面臨罰法，那們配套措施絕對需要考慮周全，但是牽扯到通訊投票的配套措施，就是一大顧慮，海外寄選票回來，可能有做票或遺失選票的風險等等，這的確會是如果台灣實行強制性投票的我的擔憂。

台灣實施強制性投票的建議

台灣缺乏的就是跨出一步去嘗試，國外實施強制性投票的國家，無論是實施結果或者是研究結果，都沒有什麼大問題，但台灣，尤其不管任何執政黨，都不太可能會去想要推動推行這樣一個制度，因為對誰都不利，尤其之後會有的公投，執政黨有可能會推嗎，不太可能。但事實上，公投反而更需要這樣一個強制性的制度去推動、去給人民一個壓力表態，無論是贊成或者不贊成，亦或者不想表態棄權投廢票，這就是公共政策背後所需要被支持的民意，整體而言是贊成實施，並且認為這對於台灣的民主政治來說是好的，起碼比現況還好。

No.4 Interviewee

Meng-Chang Yao Professor

學歷：英國倫敦大學亞非學院法學博士

職稱：輔仁大學學士後法律學系 助理教授

研究領域：法理學、比較憲法、國際公法、憲法

- ✓ 同意參與學生林毓雯訪談
- ✓ 同意錄音授權學術研究使用
- ✓ 同意公開專家姓名資訊

訪談時間：2021 年 8 月 30 日，下午 06:35

訪談媒介：Google Meet

會議代碼：ucg-jthp-dys (<https://meet.google.com/ucg-jthp-dys>)

台灣實施強制性投票是可行的嗎？

可能就要先修改我們的憲法，因為人民有選舉、罷免、創制、複決的權利吧。那這個權力就代表人民，他決定要怎麼行使，他只要沒有違反相關法令的話，那你不能夠對他有任何不利益的結果，因為還是採取秘密投票的方式。所以如果我們是採取強制性的方式，那形同人民非得表意不可，那這就形同是侵犯了人民在參政權上他的權限。包含說因為本來我們就可以決定這個權力到底要不要行使，那他沒有放棄，他只是說我暫時不行使，那這個在不管民法也好，或在我們在公法上的權利，他都不是一種強制性要去執行，如果是強制性一定要去執行的時候，可能我們就要修改憲法成人民有投票的義務。在現行憲法還沒有修改之前，要推動這個強制性投票，我覺得可能它的合憲性會有問題，也就是違憲。

我們憲法目前有規定人民有納稅服兵役的權利，並不是每一個人都要去服兵役，因為憲法沒有規定，是委由給法律來規定，所以法律如果在規定個人的納稅或個人的服兵役上面違反了憲法的基本權的規定的話，那這個法律即使有國會授權，這個法律也是無效的，所以回過頭來就是說我們今天在講到修憲的話，那人民的參政權是一種權利還是義務，這一點要先釐清。那在我的理解上，從比較憲法的觀點，基本上參政權是一種權利，權利的話就會有他可以決定要如何行使、要不要放棄，我們唯一只有這種情形就是褫奪公權，就是在這個人違反了刑法，你才能夠剝奪他投票的權利，或限制他投票的權利。那這個大概跟你講的強制性投票的概念也不太一樣。所以可能就像剛剛提到過的，恐怕我們必須要修憲，才有辦法推動你這個強制性投票的概念。

整體而言的話，投票，這是我的權利，除非是說，我在行使這個權利的時候，違反了投票的本質，比如說：普通、平等、直接、無記名的精神，否則的話我為什麼要因為我的投票行為而受到約制或強迫，WHY？

個人贊不贊成強制性投票？

第一，這個制度並不是一個普遍性的制度，他只是在個別的國家裡面有採用，那除非就是說這個採用有它很堅強的、譬如說：傳統或者憲法的理由，否則這樣的一個推動強制性投票，我是覺得對我來講無可無不可，因為對我來說，我一定會去投票，然後那是否因此要強迫其他人也要跟我一樣都一定要去投票，這一點我沒有定見，我只能這樣回答你。

問題是我們推動強制性投票，它的目的是什麼？

提高參政率是否代表這就是民主？或就可以讓這個整個民主制度更為活化、更為正向？或我們的國會組成具有更強的代表性呢？

可是呢？代表性跟人民投票率其實沒有必然的關係，或民主制度跟到底人民有多少人來投票，沒有必然的關係。一般來講，只要能夠達到有效選出，不管是總統也好或是國會議員也好，只要能夠有效選出的話，這個部分的人民有一定的自由，他可以決定要如何投，那他沒有被強迫，那我們就認為這個是符合民主啊。

所以有必要要用強制投票來達到更民主、更具代表性的目的嗎？在沒有必然關聯性的時候，沒有辦法確保強制投票更民主或具有代表性，我也沒有辦法確保，就是說，如果大家都去投票，所以呢？我們的政治決策就會更正確嗎？要讓民主深化，跟大家都去投票，跟強制性投票也沒有必然關係。

因為基本上投票、不投票都是一種意見的表達，如果說我們對於人民意見的表達只限於投票的話，那你就會忽略掉有些情況，人民不願意去投票到底是什麼原因，是不是因為我們選務辦的很差？或我們選擇投票時間不恰當？或是說就像以前我做學生的時候，那時候國民黨為了不要讓大家都去投票，會在要投票日舉行世界盃棒球比賽，這樣大家就都會去看棒球啦，用這種方式。這個部分，選舉本身是建立在公民的自主意見的表達，那就盡可能不要去干預公民自主意識的表達會比較比較恰當。也就是說，今天你去投一個票，是因為你基於公民的責任心，基於你想要去支持你想要支持的人所以你去投票，這跟不管你支持，不知是真的喜歡或不喜歡這個人反正你都要去投票解讀出來會不一樣。

一般來講，今天大家會辛苦跑去投票花時間，他一定對於政治有一定的熱情、他對這個候選人有一定強烈的支持度，他才會去投票。

那我們這時候如果說大家都要去投票，那就變成反正大家都要去投票，幹的好或不好，大家都要去投票。

我去投廢票，你可以解讀：我對A不滿或者B不滿，但在某些情況下，我

難道不能夠對整個選務不滿嗎？如果我是對選務不滿去投廢票，那請問你的解讀是因為我對於這個選務部門、還是對 A 不滿或 B 不滿，這你就不確定了。所以說，人民的投票行為盡可能不要去乾擾它，這是我們在談到民主制度裡面很重要的一個原則，政府不要隨便去干擾人民的投票行為。比如說，用鼓勵的方式去鼓勵人民投票，我們都覺得這是不應該的，更何況用強迫的方式去讓人民去投票？

從整個民主制度的行程，包含憲法來講，這部分除非你給我很強而有力的理由，否則我會覺得說我們去改動這個，有什麼特別的意義？或有什麼特別的需要嗎？還是只是為了要讓大大家去投票，也能讓我們的投票率都九十幾趴所以我們去做？

在台灣實行強制性投票對於台灣的政治的影響、其他的顧慮

基本上所有美好的制度來到台灣都會變質，所以呢很多時候我們現行的制度都沒有辦法實踐的很好。那我個人認為應該保守一點，繼續去深化我們現有的不管投票行為啦、或我們投票文化，那你再加上這個東西下去，會不會更好

我真的不確定，也就是說，如果我們要採取強制性投票的時候，有相關配套的東西要一併思考，比如說你今天用強制性投票的方式會造成不利的結果，那對於比如說身心障礙者，你怎麼讓這些身心障礙者在投票的時候能夠達到無障礙設施的一個保障？你不可能在對於身心障礙者的投票，沒有確保他去享有無障礙設施的情況下去強迫投票，那強迫性投票就形同對身心障礙者的一種變相歧視及強迫。

第二個部分，你在採取強制性投票的時候，不可能每一種投票的行為都是採取強制性的方式來進行，所以一定有一些選擇，那到底我們要選擇哪些來做一些強制性投票的一個課題？

第三個問題就是說，投票如果它是一個國家公民的權利的話，那我因為沒有去執行這個權利？以至於要受到一些強迫喔，那這個東西違反了我們對權利這個概念的理解。當然如果你說，這是一種義務呢？所有中華民國國民，時間到你都要去投票，你沒有投票，你沒有履行這個義務的話，你可能會被罰款或會被加稅，或是你就停止公民權之行使，我們現行的制度當中，除非你能夠證明投票這屬於重大的公共利益以至於他必須要用強制的方式來強迫人民必須要履行，除非啦，否則你沒有辦法達成這個目的？

那這個重大性的公共利益是什麼？這時候比例原則概念就會出現，你希望我承擔這個義務，如果我沒有承擔，我就要受到不利的對待，那我就會問說，有沒有合乎比例？

我剛剛提到幾個嘛？如果要深化民主、或增加代表性，其實還有很多方式可以達成吧？那你為什麼不用其他方式一定要用限制、抑制我的方式去達成？而且你剛剛提到的是選舉，那罷免要不要也比照這個強制性投票的方式進行？

如果這個罷免容易提出，形同我隨便提出罷免案成功的話，全國人民或高雄市的市民就要陪我玩一次，如果你不陪我玩一次的話，你就要受罰，這就會造成政治上很多不穩定的因素，會發生一些衝擊。

No.5 Interviewee

Chen, Yi-Chi

Chairperson of Taiwan Statebuilding Party

學歷：國立政治大學勞工研究所碩士

職稱：現任台灣基進黨主席

- ✓ 同意參與學生林毓雯訪談
- ✓ 同意錄音授權學術研究使用
- ✓ 同意公開專家姓名資訊

訪談時間：2021年09月08日，下午02:00

訪談地點：台灣基進黨高雄黨部（高雄市三民區博愛一路150號）

台灣實施強制性投票是可行的嗎？以及對於台灣的政治會有什麼正面或負面的影響嗎？

分兩個層次，民主做一個工具，它是為了做什麼？是為了解決每一個在地人所遇到的問題。所以兩千年的時候，巴西選擇了他們的總統，巴西是一個有黑人、黑人跟白人混血，等等之類的一個那個社會，但巴西他沒有像美國一樣有這麼嚴重的黑白種族問題，但是它有很嚴重的階級問題。所以巴西在兩千年的時候，他們高唱他們的民主深化的一個表現是他們選出的一個只有小學畢業的盧拉做他們的總統，因為他們想要用民主的工具來解決他們在地的問題。

所以民主作為一種工具，是為了解決每一個不同的社會所在那個該階段發展所遇到的問題。

第二個美國在二零零八年選出歐巴馬做總統，是因為他們歷史上從來、而且他們認為，他們的黑白種族問題嚴重，其實是美國的認為這是他們民主深化的表現，象徵說黑白已經沒有制度性的歧視了。

那麼回到台灣來講現在這個脈絡之下，強制投票會是一個重要的主題嘛？第二的台灣經過整個威權走向民主的過程，一九八七年七月十五號台灣才解嚴，但解嚴之後的台灣人並不會再比如說，一九八七年八月十四號，我是戒嚴狀態，那一九八十七年八月十五號，我就是一個自由人了，沒有。國際上有一個理論叫後殖民理論，殖民主人走掉後可是殖民狀態還沒有解除。因為這些統治精英，這些在地的精英，他們跟意識形態上面，他們的世界觀，他們的想、他們的思維模式都跟過去的殖民主人一樣，所以它其實是在實行這些政策的過程裡頭或相關的那個想像裡頭，其實都付出的相同的殖民做法，這叫後殖民狀態，就是所謂的殖民主人走掉，但殖民狀態卻沒有解除。同樣道理國民黨

在一九八七年的七月十五號，過去幾十年的洗腦教育，台灣人民現在最重要的東西，國家身份的認同都有那麼大的錯亂了，去講所謂的強制投票，這不是很可怕嗎？最重要的國民黨這種政黨在民進黨來看，他其實是不具參政資格的，他沒有裂解，沒有辦法有重申參政的資本，連這種事情我們都會投國民黨了，怎麼可能會去做強制投票？所以我認為這個問題在這個時間點對台灣的民主深化，其實事實上是一個平行的問題，根本不是台灣目前民主深化的下一步，或當前迫切要解決跟面對的問題。在這個時間點，沒有解決國家身分認同錯亂的問題，沒有讓台灣人民整個成為具有公民意識，然後整個黨國史觀、黨國遺毒還這麼多，到現在還整個跟中國糾纏不清，然後一堆人這麼簡單的問題，台灣人民都搞不清楚。你跟我說，推行強制投票，完全不同意，因為這個不在問題裡頭，不在目前的問題裡頭。

所以如果強制投票，這些人我都很懷疑，台灣人民連投票、連基本的共識都沒有建立，這時候談投票要強制？台灣現在最大的問題是，我們是不是可以確認，我們透過投票部分保護我們的共同體，你要當中國人自己買飛機過去就好了，你不要在台灣投。因為你是中國人的話，有一個中國在那裡，你可以過去，但現在台灣，根本台灣人沒有一個台灣國，所以他們有兩種選擇，當中國人的人可以留在台灣，逼你們當中國人，或者到中國成為中國人，那我們要成為台灣國的人，完全沒有選擇。這是不對稱的。所以台灣最大的一個問題是，連國家整個認同身份，認同的錯亂的狀態之下，去談所謂的強制投票，我覺得那是很遺憾，就是說在這個脈絡之下，我對這個議題完全認為，這是一個不是台灣適合去處理的，至少在目前這個狀態下不適合，所以不適合的狀態之下，談這個問題就會變成什麼，東西會變成誤用，就會出現了很多很多的狀況。

我不是不同意強制性投票，只是在這個時間點，這個脈絡之下，台灣根本還不到那邊，這個概念就像是說吃法式料理好不好，我說好啊，但問題是我們現在連滷肉飯都端不起了，連滷肉飯下一餐的滷肉飯在哪裡都不知道，我們在談法式料理？你根本還沒有到那裡的時候你在談這個，就好像窮人在講說我們要開什麼跑車，拜託，你連摩托車都買不起了，你在講你要開跑車，但是如果你問我開跑車好不好，當然好啊，有跑車開有什麼不好？但這個問題，其實是不在我目前的狀況之下，那個只是叫作幻想，那是一個幻想出來的問題。台灣現在最迫切的問題根本不是處理那個問題。就像我以前也不同意審議式民主，台灣明明是代議式民主失靈，代議式民主的問題，跟我講審議式民主，笑死人了，所以我跟台灣的學界，雖然我自己做學術研究，但是對台灣的學術研究我有很多不同的意見，你們都為了自己的論文去做你們的研究，探討一些不再情況下的問題來用，談法式料理談怎麼做？假設啦，你連滷肉飯都端不起來了，跟我講法式料理要怎麼去做？我們連代議式民主都還沒有建構好完整的時候，民主失靈的，你跟我講什麼是民主，這個概念有一點像一部機器一定是兩個層次所構成，第一個是大齒輪要運作的時候，一定有一個大齒輪，主要的齒輪跟小齒輪對吧，大齒輪失靈、大齒輪運作不好，但是台灣人都喜歡講小齒輪

的問題，因為大齒輪你就要立場表態啦，大家都不敢，都迴避，這都很噁心的事情。所以你看幾年前太陽花的時候，那一群、那一個時間點，兩三點在立法院外面那邊，我就跟大家講代議式民主失靈，大家都在講審議式民主，結果過幾年之後，大家有在講審議式民主嗎？沒有。那你為什麼要耗費大家的心力去討論那些東西？

就像說，現在我們下一餐的滷肉飯要怎麼找出來、要怎麼製作？但就有一群人說法式料理怎麼樣？法式料理好、法式料理應該怎麼樣、還有甜點要什麼、還有紅酒，都講得很好聽，三年過去之後，大家還是在端滷肉飯。為什麼不要把那個心力說，我們如何讓我們的滷肉飯可以端的穩，下一餐的滷肉飯慢慢改良，讓滷肉的品質提升，也可以，就這樣逐步的，否則那些問題都是學者或我們自己跟現實社會脫鉤所想像出來的問題，這個東西在我看來這就叫小說，因為他跟社會脫節，除非是在做抽象的哲學的問題，這我同意，如果不是的話就請面對台灣社會發展狀態底下真實出現的問題，應該是這樣。我們台灣還沒有到那邊，也就是台灣的民主還沒有到。現在的問題要先處理掉，沒有處理掉這個東西的時候，連台灣你到底是為台灣人民的而投，還是為那個中國而投，你都不知道、搞不清楚。張鈞甯最近還說，兩岸中國人阿對不對，為了賺錢可以這樣嗎？所以你要強制投票？中國國民黨絕對不會倒，我們在做的事情就是讓中國國民黨支持者覺得丟臉，不要出來投票，結果現在逼他們都要出來投票，他們一定投國民黨，雖然他不講剛剛他投國民黨，那這樣子的話，國民黨永遠都會執政，永遠都會存在在台灣成為主要的政黨之一，那這樣的話，只要幾年國民黨一定會再回來執政，那他再回來執政、定期改選，就定期亡國感。

所以台灣基進小黨為什麼堅持一定要存在在台灣就是這樣，因為台灣基進就是要打造作為台灣的另外一個本土在野監督的政黨，然後打造出一個團隊，才能夠跟本土執政治理團隊進行整個競爭，然後你是本土，我是本土，所以大家應以台灣利益優先、大家都是為台灣好，但現在臺灣最大問題是說，你想要藉由民主來為中國謀福利、還是為台灣人謀福利，國民黨所做的東西，你就覺得好像都是在為中國，他做的東西都是中國會爽的東西，我們就會懷疑說，我要逼所有國民黨支持者都出來投票，那國民黨永遠都不會倒啦，這樣台灣永遠都變得很弔詭。

民主的前提是一人一票，但是這個前提要能夠有效運作，則是人民的公民意識、素養要具足。但是他的錯誤前提是設定大家都是公民，在西方社會可能，我可以同意，但台灣社會是你經過威權黨國五十年、六十年的洗禮，然後突然之間，一九八七年七月十五號我解嚴了，我是自由人了，所以我是一個公民？可是我們要尊重這個一人一票的遊戲規則。最好是這些長期就國民黨餵養的、長期國民黨教育的，今天我告訴你，不然你就不要出來投票，你不投或你不敢投我們這些本土的沒有關係，但是你不要出來投票害人可不可以，所，現在強制他出來投票哇，這個這個脈絡之下，做這件事情，一定是……。

最後你是那假如您剛剛上述所說的，台灣目前現階段的問題解決了，例如就是國民黨消失了？那你覺得強制性投票這個制度在台灣而言，你覺得是適合的嗎？可行的嗎？

還有我覺得我們要用另外一個方式說，如果台灣沒有這些，像國民黨這個問題，大家都會是共同體的一份子，對吧？那我們對共同體的這個責任，投票是不是一個盡責任的方式、是共同體的責任跟義務。那我們要用什麼東西來彰顯出我們對共同體的那個責任，希望投票嗎？還是用什麼？已經沒有國民黨之後，那時候台灣的整個民主政治要強調的，共同體的一份子、的義務的時候是用投票嗎？還是有更基本、結構的問題亟待解決？我舉個例子：現在在台灣選舉最困難的地方是什麼？高雄市選舉選市議員保證金二十萬，二十萬那叫登記費，登記的時候你是賠版的，人家掛一百塊看板，一個月假設一個看板三萬塊，便宜的，我們上次掛了一個看板，五個人只能掛一個版，一個月就要七萬八，假設我們啊，你看那個候選人會掛幾十塊、上百塊的看板，然後一個月三萬塊，一百塊的看板就三百萬，然後要掛半年，三百萬成以半年就一千八百萬，那請問一下這表示什麼？台灣的民主政治用錢堆出來的。

我如果做一個公民，有兩種權利，我們所謂的選舉權是包含所謂的投票權、被選舉權，這樣我們所謂的廣義的選舉權，其實是兩個層次，台灣人民大部分一般你我沒有家庭背景的那種平凡人等，然後也不是什麼富有人家很有錢，選一個舉都是幾千萬啊，在高雄選一個舉，可能都要上千萬，他們連大版都要經過黨內初選跟那個大選加起來都上千萬，上次高雄有一個無黨籍，花了八千多萬。你我根本就出來陪版的阿，人家掛一百塊看板整個這個選區的人就會知道你啊，我根本不可能阿沒沒無聞。所以說這個選舉制度的公平性根本不公平、不公平的經濟狀況之下，導致於我們的被選舉權其實是相對弱勢的。

所以我覺得，首先要做的是爭取回我們真正的被選舉權，也就是讓我們的是廣義的選舉權，包含你們的政治投票跟被選舉權能夠真正恢復交給人民，因為這個東西沒有改善，就算實行強制性，還是會有很多掌握資源的人掌握選舉，我們永遠都會投他們。雖然我才會說，民主制度、民主的深化、民主工具的深化要一個階段一個階段進行。

另外的問題是我們永遠都會選出同意票，有錢的人或同一群人、已經在上面的人，所以基進好難參選，連要參選個議員都很困難，大家都以為基進是一個反中的政黨，是一個臺獨，但其實我們基進還在做一件事情，就是我們從基層開始要帶領大家要重新從基層理念把選舉權奪回來，給你我這種所謂的平凡家庭出身的小孩，不然你永遠都選你們啊(有資源、有錢在上位的人)，我永遠都選你們，然後我還被迫去選你們。所以在那之前，我要解決這些問題。這些問題沒有先解決的時候，那就像是我們在打手遊、我一關一關過，你那個(強制性投票)可能是最後的大魔王，碰到他之前要先一關一關去破，意思是說，台灣的民主的深化的問題或民族所遇到的問題，你那個問題(強制性投票)其實對台灣人而言太奢侈了。

您認為實施強制性投票會對你們這種小黨(基進黨)比較負面的意思嗎？

強制性投票的人，在這些人都不是具備了所謂的、獨立的、公民意志的時候誰有辦法掌握這些樁腳名單？我安排車載你們去投票好不好？那某某里長阿就載他的樁腳去投票阿，在準備飲料阿，那些人當然都會很開心啊，那這些人很容易就會是你叫我投誰我就投給誰啊，就是公民的素養跟水平其實要有一個階段然後再怎樣。

我講一個小故事，以前我在荷蘭唸書的時候，我要買國際的火車票排了很久，明明前面才三四個人卻等了二十幾分鐘，那時我就覺得荷蘭人很沒效率，就覺得這是一個很沒有效率的社會，可是等到我被服務的時候，櫃檯問我，先生是二十六歲了嗎，我都三十多了，原來是二十六歲以下的買到比利時的車票有明信片，還問我是不是周末要去？我回沒有不是周末喔，他才告訴我所謂的周末是從禮拜四晚上開始算起喔，他就跟你講有什麼 package？如果我都沒有查電腦，我都不知道有這麼多的優惠。但他認為，這是你應該要有的，如果你有符合資格是該享有的這些優惠，他就會告訴你，這才真的是服務業。可是我會想這樣的荷蘭火車公司會不會倒？這樣根本賣不到多少車票。後來才知道我大錯特錯，人家是工欲善其事，必先利其器，其實他們十個人裡面，只有一個人會去排隊，九個都是用機器，一下子就買了票就上去等車。也就是說，它利用一個很便利的機器解決了大部分的問題。

我回到台灣，然後台鐵我們的服務人員都好快喔，那時候機器很爛又很難看，而且傳統的補號還不靈光，他們就排隊排的很長，可是他動作很快。我想說，這個你知道，他痛苦，我們也痛苦，你為什麼不要把機器搞好讓大家總體而言，我們的總體效率比較好。所以我才會說我們要把大問題、大齒輪給解除掉，因為他決定了百分之七十，其餘的百分之三十是小齒輪，那麼我們要讓這個機器運轉好，首先就是把大大齒輪做好。

台灣人的思考問題，就是都沒有考慮這個問題，所以我在思考問題的時候一定是說，好那我們先把大問題、主要的問題給解決掉。我當時候說我們目前最大問題是代議式民主失靈，你不要跟我講什麼是民主，審議式民主只是你們這些教授學者，因為西方流行審議式民主，你們為了要發表論文，所以你們在談這些，然後等論文發表、升等拿到了，就不在對談，這樣對台灣會有什麼貢獻？只是自欺欺人。作為一個務實的政治工作者沒有辦法，因為我是要來解決的問題的，不能因為理想跟現實脫節。

我記得瑞士有一個很經典的公投好像是那個核廢料的公投，要放置核廢料的地點，那要被放核廢料那個小鎮就說好吧，就放我們這裡，他們說這個社會總是要有人、有一個地方願意承擔，那如果要放我們這裡也可以得到一些補助，那我們就來為國家承擔。這個就是他們對這個共同體的那個承擔、責任義務的認知。公民素質到這個態度的時候，就容易知道這樣比較好的。真正的民眾之敵，就是冷漠不關心，就是因為大家冷漠不關心。

我們的選舉公平其實並沒有落實，我們應該要思考的是選舉公平的制度，在要強迫投票之前，選舉公平的制度怎麼進度？那時候我們就想說如果當選了，就要提出說可不可以在高雄市的自治條例提出說選舉看板不應該是商業性的看板、政治的廣告看板不能掛上去。政府、市政府必須要在公共場所、區公所、相關公家單位用歐洲、日本一樣，大家大小一樣，否則的話誰有錢大家就一直掛，他們掛一百面、兩百面看板，平凡人根本沒辦法去競爭。政治的腐敗就是這樣，你花大錢選舉，議員四年的薪水，你知道多少嗎？一千萬頂多，可是四年一千萬，他們花了一千多兩千多萬，那請問一下殺頭生意，有人幹賠錢生意，沒人說什麼，議員一定都會用自己的職權搞灰色收入，怎麼會是這樣，這樣的制度就是變相鼓勵了。那些議員們就會變成說選舉一次一定要把這次的錢賺回來甚至是下一次的錢也給賺足，不然他之後怎麼繼續選？

所以選舉要公平、公開、公正，好那我們選舉的公平的制度的建構，所謂的公平是什麼？你不能有錢人掛一百塊看板，這樣平民永遠也沒有機會，所以我們連投票權都還只有一半，所以強迫他們去投票太有風險在現階段。那你說，我不同意嗎？沒有喔，有沒有公民素質到，我就覺得可以理性討論，瑞士的公民投票竟然可以說我們小鎮的公民投票決定，關於核廢料的那個問題，那時候我看到這都覺得眼淚快流下來了，這個國家的人民公民素質絕對很高。

No.6 Interviewee

Dr. Yen

學歷：國立台灣師範大學法學博士

職稱：義守大學財務金融管理學系 副教授

研究領域：憲法、政治思想、行政法、兩岸關係、政黨政治

- ✓ 同意參與學生林毓雯訪談
- ✓ 同意錄音授權學術研究使用
- ✓ 同意公開專家部分姓名資訊（姓氏）

訪談時間：2021 年 09 月 09 日，上午 09：00

訪談媒介：Line

台灣實施強制性投票是可行的嗎？在台灣實行強制性投票對於台灣的政治而言是否有正向或負向的影響？

可能沒有那麼樂觀。全面性、強制性投票，我們首先要確定一下就是說，這個民主政治最好的表現方式就是投票嗎？我們講這個民主政治是講主權在民，應該是由所有的人民來表達他的意思，所以這個前提應該是民主政治，應該是由所有的人都來表示意見，但如果是要所有的人都來表示意見的前提下，他應該是每一個人都要來投票才對，要不然不知道啊。今天只有百分之五十投票，贊成的是百分之二十，不贊成的是百分之十幾的，然後現在有投廢票的，那整個過程就是整個社會的決策過程就是那百分之二十人在決定，跟民主政治的原來的道理差的完全不一樣。

那我們現在就是說，你要來這個強迫、強制性投票、義務性投票，這就是說，你把投票看成一種權利，還是種義務，這樣子對不對？我剛剛講的意思就是說，如果講民主政治，那你應該是每一個人都來表達意見，這樣才算真正的民主政治。那如果說有大部分的人都不表達或者沒有辦法表達，那這樣的民主政治可能就欠缺很多。理論上應該是說，大家都要來投票才對，不投票我就處罰你，有些國家是這樣像這個新加坡、澳洲、歐洲，這是每一個國家選擇不一樣啦。

我們在這個投票的過程裡面，在台灣有一個很關鍵性的問題是不在籍投票。就是不要在原本的戶籍地投票，那因為這些人沒有在他戶籍地他不能投票啊，他想投票都不能投票啊，那現在是目前的執政黨這個民進黨在反對不在籍投票。

我們目前啦。目前的情況下，次民進黨反對不在籍投票喔？這其實就可以

很清楚地反映出來，就是去這個限制投票，強制性投票或者不在籍投票，這個問題上面，你就很清楚的可以瞭解啦。

老師你是覺得說，如果有不在籍投票這個制度的話，那你會覺得您個人支持強制性投票嗎？

我是支持強制性投票的。

可是是要有就是這個不在籍投票的配套，您才會支持嗎？還是就是你本來就會支持這個制度？

這是兩個事情，因為不在籍投票本來這就應該是人民的權利，他是可以去投票嗎？現在有些人因為工作的關係或者因為地點關係或時間上的很多的原因，不能投票，那這不就是剝奪他投票權的意思了不是嗎？這是一件事情。

那另外就是剛剛講的，是不是應該叫每一個出來投票，這是民主政治最理想的狀態。但因為我們就是沒有不在籍投票所以就是基本上，你就排除了限制性投票的問題了。

所以老師你是贊成這個制度的嗎？

如果是說站在民主政治的角度來看，公民本來就應該關心你的這個所謂的政治，要不然我們就沒有辦法真正知道這個社會到底怎樣？如果任由它在底下發酵、層面醞釀這樣反而不好。

那老師您個人還有其他支持義務性投票或是強制性投票的理由嗎？

這個我支持應該要有強制性投票，一個從理論上民主政治來看，然後從實務上就是因為我們有很多人沒有辦法去投票，就是剛剛講的所謂的不在籍投票，對，那你應該要讓他們有投票的機會，這就是要把限制性投票的問題拿開啦。

所以老師您的意思是如果要實施強制性投票，就也要有不在籍投票嗎？

沒有錯啊，就是這樣子。在我們目前的社會對啊？就是目前的執政黨，它是強力反對不在籍投票的，所以剛剛你講在我們社會有沒有可能嗎，因為這是我們目前有一個這個執政黨在反對這個事情，所以不可能。

老師，那透過您對政治的觀察，您覺得如果是國民黨政府執政的話，這個制度是有可能推行的嗎？

這個我不能夠拍胸脯保證，但是至少到目前為止，我們看得出來是以前國民黨一直是在推動、想要推動不在籍投票的問題。就這個推動不在籍投票問題，應該是在陳水扁時代、還有這個蔡英文時代很強烈，但是在馬英九時代，

就是國民黨自己執政是沒有人在討論這個問題，他說有可能變成一個政治上的操作的問題。所以我們不知道是說，國民黨這些人到底是真正的支持還是反對，但是就是目前看起來是這樣子，我不是預言家，沒有辦法說，國民黨一定是怎樣，對但是目前我們看到的現象就是如此。

但如果是說未來、或者是說國民黨執政的話，他會不會去推動這個事情，因為國民黨執政的時候就沒有在講啦，民進黨應該就是反對。因為他反對他不會講，在國民黨執政的時候民進黨更不會去推說，我跟他來談不在籍投票，對不對？那國民黨執政時候，他也不主動說，我們來談不在籍投票，所以說國民黨它是不是真的想要推動，我們也不知道。這是我們所看到，過去的發展是這樣子啦。

好那老師，就是因為您站在對這個制度而言，是比較支持的角度，那我想問下，現在西方的學者推動這個制度的研究是說，通過強制性投票，可以刺激人民對於在政治知識的汲取或學習上是比較有正面樂觀的影響的，那對這種論述，您的感覺如何？

我想這個應該是沒有錯啊。我們可以支持這樣的看法。

也就是說，這個他要求人民應該去關心這些事情，我剛剛一開始講，這是民主政治，本來就是人民應該關心政治的問題，但是現實上面，我們就很多人就是不關心，為了生活每天在奔波，但是因為政治決策喔，這種政治高層次的事情，他決定了以後會影響到我們每個人的生活，所以他應該是要鼓勵人民去關心的，如果你強迫他去投票，他可能就必須要去關心這些事情，要不然他沒有辦法做判斷，所以這是一種看法，那這種看法是我們可以支持啦，老師也是支持這樣的看法。教育人民對於你要去更關心你的事情，去發揮對公共議題的討論，諸如此類，但這個是完全是理想，這就是你可以看到說，為什麼實施人民一定要去投票這種制度的國家不多。就是他把它看成是一種義務，民主政治真正需要義務，不能夠只講權利，但我現在看到我們那時候就是大家都想要權利，不想負擔義務，對不對，如果不負擔義務，民主政治他可能到最後可能會是失敗，他可能會自我瓦解，有沒有會變成這樣子，我們會不會投降，投成對於一個強勢的人領導，那你就跟民主政治的原理就違背了嘛是不是。

所以這個是可能牽涉到一個基本的人性的問題啦，一個是基本的政治現實生活的問題，所以說那個理論上非常好啦，但現實上面你可以舉出來的例子很少就說強迫他去投票。這個事情對因為大部分國家還是不可能實施，但我們是盡量，讓所有的人都願意來參加的、都能夠來參加的一個這個逐步的改變這樣子。

那老師，您個人會覺得說，假如排除執政黨強烈反對這一件事，然後設想，這個制度在台灣實行，您覺得是實施的起來的嗎？

我想應該是可以。

你覺得您對台灣之政治或是人民的了解來說，你覺得就是我們是會接受？或者是我們會強力反對的嗎？

我想，我的看法是這樣子，就是說，台灣人在政治議題上面，其實是不是這麼樣的關心，就是沒有人很積極的去推動、去倡導這個事情。這個其實也是現實的問題，就是每個國家都是碰到這樣的問題，因為最後還是都是要透過立法。

那真的立法成功呢？就每一個都要遵守，對不對，但這個立法能不能成功，就是一個很可以討論的問題啦。

可是目前呢？這個整個立法不可能扣在在台灣。目前你剛剛講的這個問題，如果我們在台灣排除，這些都只是可能會覺得這些因素的話有沒有可能，我是覺得不大可能喔，以立法面來看的話，這個立法的過程，恐怕我覺得現實上面是有困難的。

那老師，您覺得台灣是一個適合這樣子義務性投票或強迫性投票制度的地方嗎？就是您覺得台灣適合這個制度嗎？

我覺得是應該適合啦，因為台灣、它範圍小，因為範圍小，我們雖然人口算是有點多，但是我們在很多的技術上面啦，我想都應該是沒有問題。所以在台灣我覺得其實可以思考來推動這個制度。

所以就是您個人而言、整體而言，是支持這個制度的，對嗎？會支持這個制度在臺灣實施嗎？

是，我支持啊。