

Taiwan College Students' Perceptions of the Debates on Transitional Justice: Opinions from Students in the Department of History

By

Yi-Hsin, Hu

胡以心

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This senior paper was presented

by

Yi-Hsin, Hu

胡以心

It was defended on

November 19, 2022

And approved by

Reviewer 1: _____, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Reviewer 2: _____, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Advisor: Daniel Lin, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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Yi-Hsin Hu

Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages, 2022

Abstract

The Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee was established in 2016. Its goal was to retrieve the money, buildings, and lands that were taken away by parties with inappropriate means. It was a prominent step in Taiwan's history of Transitional Justice, and from this point, people started focusing on the topic as the policy has been executed. College students, as the future backbone, thoughts do influence the perspectives of society, in the other words, a policy's success or failure is highly related to their support when it comes to long-term development. The purpose of this study was to understand students' perceptions of debates on Transitional Justice. In this study, the researcher used questionnaires to get general thoughts about government policy. According to the result, the growing-up environment would affect an individual's perception since the received information shapes a person's mind, even the characteristics as well as parents' tendency to political parties. Also, a person's political inclination has an obvious influence on the issues of removing symbols of the authoritarian period. The study provided a better understanding of how college students majoring in History think, and the most possible reasons that shaped their thoughts, to improve the current situation in Taiwan.

Keywords: transitional justice, college student, white terror period

台灣大學生對於轉型正義爭議的看法:歷史系學生的看法

胡以心

文藻外語大學 2022

摘要

於 2016 年，以清查過去政黨以不正當手段奪取之資產為目標的不當黨產委員會正式成立。這被視為台灣轉型正義歷史上的一大跨越，從這一政策的頒發及執行中，大眾也開始關注這個話題。而大學生作為未來的中堅力量，他們的想法對整個社會的觀點有著一定的影響力，換句話說，這個族群的支持對於一項需要長期發展的政策有著近乎於成敗的關鍵。因此，本研究的目的是了解學生對於目前台灣轉型正義爭議的看法。在這項研究中，研究者使用問卷調查來獲得大學生對於現行政策的普遍想法。並且根據結果，在成長過程接受到的訊息都會成為塑造每個人現在思想的源頭，從個性、觀點到政治傾向都在影響範圍內。此外，在這個與政治相關性極高的議題—權威象徵的移除，個人的政治傾向也出現了明顯的影響。這項研究提供了一個更清楚的檢視—即歷史系的大學生是如何思考這個議題，以及探討塑造其思想的因素，藉此改善台灣的現狀，以達到最有效的政策制定。

關鍵字：轉型正義、大學生、白色恐怖時期

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Background	1
Motivation	2
Research Purpose	3
Research Questions	3
Contribution	4
Limits	4
Delimits	4
LITERATURE REVIEW	5
Transitional Justice	5
The history and background of Transitional Justice	5
The development of Transitional Justice around the world	7
Transitional Justice in Taiwan.....	12
Taiwan’s Background History in White Terror Period	12
Taiwan’s policies toward Transitional Justice, and the Debates	17
METHODOLOGY	19
Research Design	19
Source of Data	19
Locale of Study	19
Population Sampling.....	20
Instrumentation and Data Collection	20
Tools for Data Collection	21
DATA ANALYSIS	22
Introduction of Collected Data	22
Data Profile	22
Research Question One.....	24
On Gender Difference.....	24
On Age Difference	25
On College Difference	26
On Parents’ Political Inclination Difference	26
Research Question Two	28
Data Summary	30
Finding One:	30
Finding Two:.....	31

CONCLUSION.....	32
Discussion	32
Conclusion and Suggestion	34
APPENDIX A	35
APPENDIX B	39
BIBLIOGRAPHY	43

INTRODUCTION

Background

Transitional Justice refers to the process of making up for the victims who suffered oppression during the authoritarian dictatorship. The reasons why this activity is important are;

First, it is executed after a country turned into a democratic regime. To create an atmosphere for people to believe in the new government, compensation to victims is the basic step to building a sense of trust, and showing the values the society holds.

Secondly, it's inevitable to uncover the real history and horrible facts to the public through the procedure of bringing justice back to sufferers, and calling the perpetrators to account. However, this means it would be an alert for later generations to stop following the tracks of overturned carts.

Finally, it is a method to mend the rift in society. While the authoritarian leader burdened resisters, the behaviors were also separating people into different groups and creating opposition between them. If transitional justice can be fulfilled, it will help people understand each other's standpoint and decrease the conflicts of misunderstanding and hates.

Today, this topic becomes popular in Taiwan as the Tsai government has started related policies, such as the founding of the Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee. Even though it is great to be seen by the public, arguments are increasing as well. People who disagree with the policies claimed Transitional Justice is an excuse for the ruling party to manipulate voters and liquidate political opponents. Meanwhile, the disagreement that is led by the implementation of governments' policies emerging endlessly, tells that there are massive problems with regulation.

The timing of the topic has been brought out was nearly the elections, and the political implication was undeniable. As a prominent part of society, the voice of college students cannot be ignored, and the opinions are variable and divergent.

From an objective perspective, Transitional Justice should be executed for the explanations mentioned in the above paragraph. And students studying history need to understand the importance and urgency of this topic since they are the ones who get specific details about those historical events. But, supporting Transitional Justice, and supporting the policies are not quite the same. And that's how opinions and disagreements appear, hence, dealing with these problems is crucial. Understanding students' perceptions of the debates are indispensable.

Motivation

Transitional Justice has been executed for over 4 years, and the related problems didn't seem to be solved, or discussed enough in society. Even though the most controversial fragment in the Tsai Government's policies, the Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee, gradually disappeared in the public eye, what has been left is the combats between parties. Topics like that faded out from people's memories are serious drifts, and should be spotted as soon as possible. A vital point when we are doing Transitional Justice is to learn from the past, and prevent it from happening again. So, college students, as the highly educated group in the young generation, opinions should be considered a prominent part the of the decision-making process. Additionally, this topic is to resolve the wrongs, and traumas backed in the White Terror Period, the information of the history is the basic step to clarify the issues. As a result, the researcher believes that students from the department of History, and Laws

equip sufficient knowledge about Taiwan's history, and their opinions must be valid when it comes to the situation, as well as the arguments.

With their views, these students can not only offer great thoughts on these issues but also let it be popular in college student groups. What's more, the researcher would like to explore what shapes their beliefs as well. Understanding how the thoughts were formed is beneficial while planning policies, and altering the deficiency of education. In sum, it helps us learn more about the study population.

Research Purpose

The purpose of the study aimed to understand college students' perceptions of debates on Transitional Justice, which the researcher referred to as the policies in Taiwan. And most importantly, to observe whether the growing-up environment makes a difference when it comes to the formation of their thoughts on this topic, together with elements like gender, residence, parents' political leanings, and self-identity. Also, to see whether the difference in school mattered, or their beliefs has already been molded before getting in, and that affected their determinations in choosing universities.

Research Questions

1. Did the growing-up environment shape college students' perceptions of the debates of Transitional Justice in Taiwan?
2. Did political inclination influence college students' perceptions of removing the symbols of the Authoritarian period in Taiwan?

Contribution

The contribution of this essay would be the understanding of college students' perceptions of debates on Taiwan's policies of Transitional Justice. On the other hand, it has mentioned other nations' methods toward the topic, which provided comparisons between Taiwan's and foreign countries' situations and regulations. Similarly, the study could be a reference to explore what direction Taiwan is going.

Limits

The limitations of the study would be the small study population and the shortage of time. Since the population is limited in the History, and Laws-related departments, it couldn't take a wider scope of the whole college students' groups, which the researcher considered there were probably deviations in the analysis.

In data collection, the researcher only had two months to save questionnaires from the filler, it might be not able to obtain all the responses from student who had received the links. Meanwhile, it was difficult to ensure everyone in the target population gain the surveys.

Delimits

The researcher would focus on in-school students from the Department of History, and Laws-related majors. There were no limitations in universities, which allowed the researcher to reach divergent respondents, and got more accurate opinions from them.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Transitional Justice

The history and background of Transitional Justice

Transitional Justice indicates how society respond to massive violation of human rights, and that is to say the term illustrates a process of repairing the outcomes, and making up for the victims when a country had been from authoritarianism to democratization. In accord with the United Nations' statements, the four pillars of Transitional Justice are truth, justice, reparation, and guarantee of non-recurrence.

The works had been practiced for over decades around the world, the origin of this term can be traced back to the post-war trials in Europe which were held by the International Military Tribunal, as known as the Nuremberg trials. The judgment was considered to be a remarkable milestone since it contributed two precedents in the history of International Laws, the first one was turning collective responsibility for crimes into personal ones. With the changes in liability, every perpetrator in the system would be held accountable for their behaviors, which decreased the possibility to escape from jails as it was hard to define the boundary as a criminal group.

Moreover, the punishments were judged under public trial, and it was based on the common values of this generation. From other perspectives, the above was also considered to be the basic theory of modern Transitional Justice's cores. To sum up the meanings of the trial, the author of *Legal Functions of Transitional Justice*, Jong-sheng Lin, wrote that it is to emphasize the point of pursuing justice, not penalizing.¹

As criminal justice had been cited, the relationship between it and Transitional Justice was questioned, and challenged since they might contradict each other for the

¹ 林雍昇, "轉型正義過程中法律的功能與作用" 台灣國際研究季刊 12, no. 1 (2016).

reasons like the former are expressed in a certain tough regulation, and the latter usually means to find out the truth, and it seems that the difference in pursuits would get the investigation to the wrong side.

However, the discourse of Alexander L. Boraine, an anti-apartheid activist, and a politician from South Africa, had a very different standpoint. He stated that “Rather than detracting from criminal justice, transitional justice offers a deeper, richer, and broader vision of justice.”² Laws are fundamental to the stability of a society, as well as a nation’s core values. After escaping from the oppressed rule, society has to find a way to recover the wounds, and rebuild the trust between people, and the government, which is the meaning of Transitional Justice.

Under the premise, the addition of criminal justice just brings legitimacy, and laws to the movements, which the researcher believed it’s an understandable way to keep society together again.

On the other hand, the context of the statements from ICTJ (International Center for Transitional Justice), illustrates that “Trials remain a key demand of victims. But prosecutions cannot achieve justice in isolation.”³ And it would be unrealistic to conduct the ordinary criminal justice system while facing a large-scale of crimes. To have an effective way to deal with the subsequent process, focusing on the planners and organizers is more important. Also, initiatives along the lines of reparations projects, reformation of institutions, and truth-seeking movements are indispensable for victims to get real help, and recover from pain.

The background characteristic of the times makes the viewpoints differ from each other, and the emphasis on Transitional Justice transforms as well. And that the

² Alexander L. Boraine, "Transitional Justice: A Holistic Interpretation," *International Affairs* 60, No.1 (2006). <https://doi.org/http://www.jstor.org/stable/24358011>.

³ "Criminal Justice," <https://www.ictj.org/criminal-justice>.

accumulation of experiences, and knowledge provides a better framework for the current generation to think, and promote the systems to a more comprehensive level.

The development of Transitional Justice around the world

As Ph. D. Ruti Teitel wrote in the article, *Transitional Justice Genealog*, the development of Transitional Justice can be divided into three genealogies, which were the post-World War II phase in 1945, the post-Cold War in the 1970s, and the steady-state transitional justice phase.⁴ In Phase I, the author indicated that “the Nuremberg Trial was a triumph of transitional justice, and the fact that criminalized state wrongdoing as universal rights exceeded the influence of being historic precedents, and they formed the basis of modern human rights law.” Phase II corresponded to the third wave of democracy, which was the post-Cold War era. This fragment showed that international law considerably inhabits an alternative source of rule of law to guide national trials in a transitional society. Aside from the general development around the world, various countries started executing policies related to Transitional Justice with different core ideas to achieve their justice.

In Germany’s experience, it aims to bring justice back to victims. “Obedience equals guilty” describes the attitudes they hold. Even though perpetrators are already in later life, the judgment of being jailed will still be legally binding. And there are the so-called Nazi Hunters, who trace the former Nazi, or those who were involved in the Holocaust. What they did are not just search the perpetrators’ location but also gather the evidences, and information to prove their identities that sent them to the judges, and be accounted for what they done over 70 years ago. A notable example was Dinko

⁴ Ruti G. Teitel, "Transitional Justice Genealogy (Symposium: Human Rights in Transition)," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16 (2003).

Sakic, a former commander of the Jasenovac concentration camp, which was located in Croatia when it was controlled by the Nazi Germany, got arrested in his late 70s for sentenced 20 years in jail. The happening of the trial should give the credit to Zuroff Ph.D., he put efforts to investigate, to prosecute the former Nazi, and relevant staff, just for the justice of his people.⁵ And the Nazi Hunter is a non-government organization, and most of them are individually carrying on the works.

Back in the summer of 1932, the Nazis had about 40% of seats in elections in the German parliamentary, which made them the prevailing largest party. Also, their supporters came from almost everywhere beyond the difference in religions, genders, ages, and so on. And with a strong supporting base of followers, Adolf Hitler was appointed as a chancellor in a coalition government.⁶ Right after 1 year, Hitler officially took over the position of chancellor, which had been seen as the beginning of the Holocaust. "The term usually refers to the Nazis' genocide against the Jews, and in a broader sense, it also implies all of the victims of Nazi state-organized murder, including the Roma, gay people, and others." quoted from the newspaper HAARETZ.⁷ The massacre did not suspend until the collapse of the German Nazis in 1945. The number of victims was hard to estimate, and they were all over Europe.

After the war, the German government implemented a series of measures for Transitional Justice, trials of criminals started in 1946, and continued till today. However, the condition, in the beginning, was not optimistic. The total number of convicted defendants in 1992 was 6487, and it was not an improvement compared to the number in 1950, which was 5228. Also, the percentage of sentencing for death

⁵ 斯瓦米納森·納塔拉揚 (Swaminathan Natarajan), "「最後的納粹獵手」: 追捕在逃納粹嫌疑人," (Oct. 3 2021).

⁶ Spencer Kimball, "Fact or Fiction: Adolf Hitler Won an Election in 1932," in *Deutsche Welle* (Germany2015).

⁷ "When Did the Holocaust Begin? A Genesis of Genocide," HAARETZ 2014.

penalty was quite low, and the majority was light ones. What' worse, most of them did not serve the whole sentence. The early trials did not meet the expectations under the international situations, and Germany's domestic policies, the outcomes were visible. In Professor David Cohen's conclusion, the trials helped the German public focus on new politics, and removed the Nazism-related signs. And that made truth shown, and other reconciliation started.⁸ Since the structure are complex, and not able to be concluded in small paragraph, the researcher only pointed out the policies that Taiwan is doing at the moment. Friedliche Revolution was an anti-violence protest that used peaceful methods to seek for the truth, and demand the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) step down, the movement happened between 1989 to 1990, which was the timing that the west, and the east Germany got united again in 40 years. And after, the new government established UKPV, the German illegal party assets committee, to investigate the illegal assets SED held, to achieve the goals of tracing back properties, and expressing the truth of what the dictatorship regime done through the process of investigation.⁹ And now, Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung, as a foundation, takes over the responsibilities of SED's assts, human rights violation related problems as well as a prominent part of Transitional Justice, the education, and exchange knowledge to different institutions, and even international associations.¹⁰

All these efforts combined, and promoted public's awareness of the issue, and educated students, but also adults in the society with the memories, understandings of history, and the attentions from every citizen in the nation.

⁸ David Cohen, *Transitional Justice in Divided Germany after 1945* (2009).

⁹ Illegal-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee, 德國「聯邦專責處理東德社會統一黨獨裁政權基金會」董事長耶朋曼等人拜訪本會交流不當黨產及轉型正義議題 (2018).

¹⁰ 不當黨產委員會, "從德國經驗看轉型正義," *黨產研究* 2 (Jan. 19 2018).

In South Africa's experience, a brief statement to describe its core value of doing Transitional Justice is to give amnesty to expose the truth to the public. It's believed that the more we know, the more possible we avoid tragedies from happening again.

Through back to 1652, the first white immigrant ran to the land of South Africa, and they became the later so-called Boer. And in 1795, the British came in for the gold mines, led to a serious war between these two groups of the white people. What the deal of the end of wars were that they build up the political power together in 1910, and avoided the black to get involved.¹¹ The regulations on lands that limited only on the black people had been executed even earlier than the regime, which can consider it as the sprout of Segregation.

More than 40 years of living under the racial discrimination policy, the democratization of South Africa is advancing. The damages caused in the past were numerous, and related information was missed or deleted. In general, there are two common kinds of Transitional Justice, the Nuremberg trial model, which overlapped the concept of retributive justice, that emphasizes the implementation, and importance of punishment when laws have been break. The other one is the model of collectively forgetting the past, which literally illustrates building the new society without dealing with the history. As the advocators of this model, they believed that a newborn democracy is fragile, and the behaviors of chasing after the truth will tear apart the relationship between people from different ethnic groups. Also, there were no qualified groups of people could take over the roles that executed the justice, and other related policies owing to these governors might be the oppressors backed in the authoritarian period.¹²

¹¹ 江子揚, "轉型正義南非模式的價值與啟迪," *黨產研究* 5 (Apr. 2020).

¹² 石海雄 and 王勃, "在“遺忘”与“审判”之间*——论南非社会转型正义模式选择," *云南行政学院学报* 6 (May 23 2016).

Basically, the boundaries were difficult to draw, and that was harder to implement the so-called justice under the situation.

Nevertheless, this country chose the third way in this situation, established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), to deal with the problems. It was considered to be a form of restorative justice, which refers to the collectively called practices of apologies, and acknowledgments of harm and injury. It mainly focuses on heal, and reintegrate the victims, offenders, and the communities they lived in since a crime's occurred would have larger influence on the society, not just about the parties of the events as Menkel-Meadow Ph.D. mentioned in the introduction of the article.¹³

To help victims' families, figure out the truth, the commission provides perpetrators with amnesty to be an incentive. According to article of Hao Yeh Ph.D., he summarized the idea that TCR aimed to pursue the complex promise rather than utilizing the restorative justice, the value of this path was to find a balance between justice, and the harmony in the society.¹⁴ In these measures, truth was easier to be brought out while perpetrators got lighter sentence compared to their original ones.

To summarize the countries' methods to executed Transitional Justice can be separate to the three dimensions,

First, redressing, and compensating victims of the authoritarian period.

Secondly, convicting predators, and punishing them.

Last but not least, investigating, and releasing the truth to the public.

In the book *No Future Without Forgiveness*, Desmond Tutu had mentioned that we usually forgot Transitional Justice is more than just about rules of the transformation to democracy, it also includes nation-building, indicated the

¹³ Carrie Menkel-Meadow, "Restorative Justice: What Is It and Does It Work?," *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.110005>.

¹⁴ 葉浩, "價值多元式轉型正義理論：一個政治哲學進路的嘗試," *台灣政治學刊* 12, no. 1 (2008).

integration of country, and reconstruction of nations.¹⁵ The two famous instances in above paragraphs, have shown the qualities like truth expression, rebuilt the trust, reconciliations, which are the key to genuinely accomplish the Transitional Justice. The researcher believes these are what Taiwan is heading to, but still requires efforts.

Transitional Justice in Taiwan

Taiwan's Background History in White Terror Period

Through back to 1945, Taiwan was taken over by the KMT government after the Empire of Japan surrendered in World War II, and a year later, the Constitution of The Republic of China was enacted; however, the regulations of the National Mobilization for the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion came out in 1948, and the clauses expanded the president's authority which was not limited in the Constitution. Between the legislation of the two prominent laws in the Taiwan History, the desperate 228 Incident happened in 1947. Before the event, the atmosphere of hatred to governors was all around the society since everything worsened after the KMT regime came to the land, for example, from the aspect of economy. The industries that built up under Japan colonial rule were deprived from Taiwanese who actually put efforts in. Besides, the policies were not committed to the solve the financial problems in this society, stable merchandises were sent to China for the purpose of war reserve. And the currency regulation led to serious inflation.¹⁶ And then, the trigger, an elder woman got caught for selling smuggled cigarettes, and was attacked by the investigators when she tried to stop them from taking away the goods. The conflict begun, and there was even another man was killed by the official staff. The very next

¹⁵ Desmond Mpilo Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, trans. 江紅 (左岸文化, 1999).

¹⁶ 史明, *簡明台灣人四百年史* (Taiwan: 前衛出版社, 2017).

day was the revolution, people joined the rally to demonstrate. Workers, and even students called a strike for the justice, and go against tranny. These activities started from north to south part of Taiwan, even though there was a 228 Incident Settlement Committee that consisted of both the Chinese officers, and Taiwanese representatives, they were not able to stop the fights around the island, not to mention improving the situation. The committee was delaminated to three layers, and branches were set in each county. According to the resources, part of the members in committees were found out that their identities as secret polices. It was considered to be reasons of failures in these organizations since the dominance was never shared equally to the two groups, and information was misleading, and messy.¹⁷ What's worse, lots of people engaged in the committees were settled a score with the National Revolutionary Army after they landed in Taiwan. At least 13 people got killed, or lost connections with their families during the period.¹⁸ After the massacre, the policy turned to appeasing, Pai Chung-hsi launched a series of reformation in system, and dismissed the Taiwanese groups that formed in this time, illuminated insurgents, and communists. Basically, the main works here were check the census, and Qingxiang(清鄉) that refers to the government utilizes the military force to investigate, and the rebels, or anyone suspect. And the permission they held can put these people to death without conviction.¹⁹ In 1949, the martial law was imposed to enhance the controlling power of the new regime, and violating the citizens' privacy, and human rights. For a long time, Taiwanese had lived in depressed, and fear. Before the lifting of this law in 1987, and abolishment of the terms for National Mobilization in 1991, there were numerous cases of people's lives being threatened by the public power.

¹⁷ 侯坤宏, "重探「二二八事件處理委員會」的角色," *台灣史研究* 21, no. 4 (2014).

¹⁸ 侯坤宏.

¹⁹ 史明.

The following were some of the most famous ones in Taiwan's history, the statements are represented in chronological order:

The first one was the Lei Chen Case in 1960, the publisher of the magazine Free China, Lei Chen, was sentenced for 10 years due to the accusation of sheltering the spy, which specifically implied not only the intelligent agents sent by China but also the betrayers of this country since he issued articles illustrated the idea that there was no chance to retake Mainland China, and it was published in 1957. Before the conviction, the conflicts between the magazine authors, and the Chiang government had happened several times, and to efficiently handle the critics from Free China, the Political Warfare Bureau also published a book about the so-called toxic thoughts, and the standard of illegal comments mentioned in the contents were highly similar to what the victims of Lei Chan case had been accused of.²⁰ Overall, comments that were considered to be slander to the Kuomintang, and its policies would be questioned, or even confronted with the court.

In this case, the government tried to limit people's freedom to speak, and most importantly, the abuse of authority. The Amendment of Printing Act in 1958 elevated the government's power over censorship of comments to next level, and helped with KMT's late 1950s policies on manipulating the medias in Taiwan, which referred to the incorporation of repression, and cooptation. The government would sponsor medias like magazine publishers, and gave pressure when there was something they wanted to change, or promote.²¹ On the other hand, as a citizen, who was not a soldier, Lei Chen was judged in court-martial because of the Punishment of Rebellion

²⁰ 楊秀菁, "權衡下的 10 年罪責: 雷震案與 1950 年代的言論自由問題," *國史館館刊* 40 (Jun. 2014).

²¹ 任育德(Yu-Te Jen), "中國國民黨宣傳決策核心與媒體的互動(1951-1961)," *國立政治大學歷史學報* 32 (Nov. 2009). [https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30383/TJH.200911_\(32\).0006](https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30383/TJH.200911_(32).0006).

Act, this criminal code was based on the Martial Law that begun in 1949; however, the established of Martial Law was questioned with the lack of legal basis.²² And as the principles of laws, judgement should be carry out independently, but the former President Chiang had stated that Lei Chen must be sentenced for at least 10 years. Under the situation, legitimacy of this case was controversial.

The second one was Kaohsiung Formosa Incident in 1979. The background of this events was quite complicated, Taiwan was on the intersection of going to democracy, or continuing the authoritarianism. However, this country just faced the break off diplomatic relations with the United States, and the data indicated that the KMT government were not ready to give up the control of powers. Under the tough conditions, KMT choose to depress the voices, and actions of the advocators, that labeled as non-party members(黨外人士), and the methods led to serious conflicts between citizens, and the government. The beginning of the series of problems was Yu, Deng-Fa(余登發), the former County mayor of Kaohsiung, got arrested for being claimed engaging in the rebellion. People went to the street to support him, and encouraged the non-party members gathered together, and even established the Formosa Magazine. On the Human Day, the members held a memorial assembly for human rights, which did not get permission from the office. Still, it attracted thousands of supporters, and there were some people did not follow the rules, so the police started to repress with forces.²³ Eight people who were claimed as the heads of the activities were accused of the Crimes of Rebellion, including Ng Sìn-kài(黃信介), Tân Kiok(陳菊), Shi Ming-de(施明德), and so on. And this incident even extended

²² 蘇瑞鏘, "從雷震案看戒嚴時期政治案件的法律處置對人權的侵害," *國史館學術* 15 (Apr. 26 2007).

²³ 馮國鏘, *美麗島事件*.

another misery, The Formosa Lin Family Massacre, the family of Lâm Gĩ-hiông(林義雄), one of the activists, were murdered before the trials. The trial itself was already a significant case in the history, it was the first public trial about politics-related issues. Similar to the Lei Chen case, the trial was influenced by the government, the former President Chiang Ching-kuo states that the number of people who originally might have to be convicted should decrease, and avoided death penalty. And in accord with the author Chen's viewpoints, the purpose of this trial was to create enemies from the outside, and concentrate the sentiment of people.²⁴

From all these cases, it is clear that the KMT government used laws as weapons to regulate the nation, just to keep their power in hands. The end of the White Terror Period was considered to be the termination of the Punishment of Rebellion Act in 1991, and the amendment of Article 100 in Criminal Code, which was happened in the following year.²⁵ This article 100 originally convicted criminals for having intentions to commit the Offenses Against the Internal Security of the State, and the revised version focuses on the point that people should have implemented anything against laws so he/she will be found guilty. And the second terms in the Punishment of Rebellion Act indicated that a person who perpetrate one of article 100 to 104 would be sentenced to death, in other words, if the judge thinks the suspect had the intentions to go against the country, which referred to the original version of article 100, this person will have to face death penalty.

²⁴ 陳佳宏, "從「美麗島軍法大審」看國民黨當局對黨外力量的壓制," *二十一世紀* 177, no. 100-122 (Feb. 1 2020).

²⁵ 蘇瑞鏘.

Taiwan's policies toward Transitional Justice, and the Debates

The earliest official expression toward Transitional Justice in Taiwan can trace back to 1995, which was the first time the government made apologies to the victims of the February 28 incident, and their families. Also, the official monument, and the Memorial Foundation of 228 was established in the same year, and there was another foundation for compensation of victims of Martial Law. Both organizations shared the same amount of compensation under the standard that the highest number per person was only 6 million for all the compensation, and the part of being sentenced in jail could not exceeded 5 million.²⁶ However, the political prisoners usually have been longer for the so-called reform education, and this period of times were not qualified the rules of having compensation. On the other hand, the government has published the Research Report on Responsibility for 228 Massacre: A Brief Introduction, which revealed what exactly happened, and the responsibility assignment of the leaders of different departments in the bureaucracy. Overall, the policies during the time of the former President Lí Ting-hui, aimed to focus on the victims, and the responsibilities of perpetrators was even not mentioned.

Later in 2016, the Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee has been established, which its goal is to retrieve the money, buildings, or lands that were taken away by parties with inappropriate means. And in the next year, 2017, Transitional Justice Commission was founded as well. This was the second time that drove the public's attention to the issue again after years of ignorance, or unawareness. The Tsai government dedicates to track down perpetrators, but there are massive number of arguments appeared as the new government tried to provide new policies, or the

²⁶ 吳乃德, "轉型正義和歷史記憶: 台灣民主化的未竟之業," *思想* 2 (Sep. 1 2006). <https://doi.org/10.29848/SX.200609.0001>.

debates on the ongoing projects. For instance, the DPP believed that it is prominent to eliminate the symbols of Chiang Kai-shek, so there are policies like renaming the street names as well as the CKS Memorial Hall which were quite controversial that the cost is too heavy, and unnecessary.²⁷ Moreover, the commissions also got troubles since they are found. The members of the Transitional Justice Commission got caught for saying Hou You-yi(侯友宜) was target, and claimed they were Dongchang(東廠), a center of intelligence in the ancient China, which was emperors' method to controlled the freedom to speak, and remove political enemies. This scandal not just made the legitimacy of the ongoing campaign but also stigmatize Transitional Justice.

With efforts from all these years, Taiwan still seems to be a little far away from the complete of Transitional Justice since the policies switched whenever there is a party alternation. According to words of Fan Ph.D., the truth was reexplained while the rotation happened, and the history we learned had been revised as well. The wrestling of the two parties has exceeded the social justice of this country.²⁸

In the words of Academia Sinica researcher, Wu Nai-The stated, the only way to get rid of the authoritarian period was to reveal the truth, and bring the justice back. And the thought should be the direction Taiwan makes policies.

²⁷ 江宜樺, "台灣的轉型正義及其省思," *思想* 5 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.29848/SX.200706.0004>.

²⁸ 范盛保, "猶太人大屠殺進程及轉型正義-以審判及成立紀念館為例*," *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly* 8, no. 1 (Mar. 2012). <https://doi.org/10.29800/TLSQ.201203.0006>.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The purpose of this study aims to explore Taiwan college students' perceptions of the debates on Transitional Justice, especially in Taiwan's case. As a result, Quantitative Research would be applied in the study. This method refers to collecting and analyzing countable data, which provides the average thoughts of a specific group of people. On the other hand, it can reach a wider population. With this design, the researcher will be able to figure out whether the differences in gender, residence, or self-identity influence college students. And in the second to fifth sections were about the debates on the Taiwan government's policies, and the questions were designed with the Likert Scale (Strongly Agree =1, Strongly Disagree= 5), which helped with estimating the levels of agreement and disagreement of college students' thoughts on the four aspects of Transitional Justice.

The way that conducted the survey was an online questionnaire, which delivers information efficiently, decreases the risk of missing papers, and encourages people to fill out the blanks. In the meantime, the application the researcher would use was Google Form, which automatically offers complete, and understandable charts. Moreover, it can save drafts when respondents can't finish questions at the moments.

To analyze the differences between opinions and the members' attributes, the researcher would use the methods with T-Test, and one-way ANOVA.

Source of Data

Locale of Study

The data of this study contains questionnaires filled out by college students from the History, and Law-related Departments of universities in Taiwan. The main

resources were from the National Chiayi University, and National Chung Cheng University. Also, there were over 10 other colleges' students engaged in the survey. With data from various colleges, the information the researcher would be able to collect was more dependable, and reliable.

The purpose was to investigate whether the different educational environments dramatically influence students' thoughts or not. Hence, the questionnaires could be the references to see how the difference in schools affected their perceptions. In other words, it explored the environment, professors, and even classmates about the foremost effects on the study population. Overall, the researcher would like to find out the key that shapes interviewees' thoughts on the topics.

Population Sampling

To validate this study, the researcher planned to obtain approximately 110 questionnaires. And the surveys would be sent to the communication platform by students in that department so they could upload the links to the Line groups of their classes. Other than that, the researcher would post the questionnaires on Dcard, a website for college students. Additionally, Facebook's groups are used as an approach to scope diverse population in this case as well.

Instrumentation and Data Collection

In this research, methods to collect data was questionnaire surveys. To obtain the general opinions of college students, the researcher used Google Form to explore the mainstream ideas of students from the Department of History, and Laws. The first part of the questions, would investigate if an individual's family background affects their perspectives. For example, parents' political inclination, and residence. Also, it would

estimate the relationship between the person's opinions and their personal life, such as gender, age, self-identity, and if they have a part-time job or not. The second part aimed to understand their support for current policies, and the last one was about students' overall opinions on the debate on the execution of Transitional Justice.

Examples of questions contain the following statements:

Do you think the government ignores the Transitional Justice for aboriginals?

Do you support removing the statue of Chiang Kai-Shek?

In sum, the researcher intended to investigate how college students react to the up-to-date situation in Taiwan, and how their beliefs have been shaped.

Finally, to validate this study, the researcher got 115 responses from various universities, which included public, and private schools.

Tools for Data Collection

The tool the researcher used to investigate students from the Department of History, and Laws' thoughts would be conducted through online questionnaires. And these surveys were planned to send to respondents from June to September 2020. The link to the questionnaire was provided in the Line group by one of the classmates in their classes, and also on other social media platforms. The analysis of the data was conducted with SPSS. What's more, the survey consisted of five sections, including basic information, the debate on the Transitional Justice Commission, the Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee, the removal of authoritarian symbols, and the issues of aboriginals. Aside from questionnaires, the researcher would ask detailed questions to explore the elements that shape interviewees' perceptions. And analyze if the difference in schools has dramatic influences on this topic, or if they already have a strong belief before, they choose the university they are trying to get in.

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction of Collected Data

The topic of this research was to explore Taiwan's college student's opinions of the debates on Transitional Justice, especially among those who major in History, and subjects that consist of historical knowledge, taken in the department of Laws.

The questionnaires were delivered through the following methods in the summer of 2022, including posting to Facebook clubs which aim to help each member fill in their surveys, and share related experiences. Meanwhile, the researcher also uploaded the link of the questionnaires to different colleges' Dcard boards as well as Line groups of specific classes. In total, the final collection of data was 115, and all of the data analyses were conducted with SPSS.

Data Profile

Of the 115 questionnaires, there were 61 males, and 53 females answered the survey, and the ratio is about 53% and 46.1%. Background information is crucial in this research, as a result, sex, age, school, residence, political inclination, and parents' tendency to parties were attributed variables.

According to the data, the majority of respondents were from the age of 21 to 30, which accounts for 68.7% of the whole group, and people under the age of 20 take the second high figure in this section. In the factor that the college the interviewees came from, CCU, and NCYU were the common answers, the former had 39 people which represents almost a quarter of this part, and the latter had 20.6% of the sampling population. The third-high number was 15 people from THU, and 29.1% are from the rest of the universities. The Department of History was the main population here.

As for residence, the outcomes were quite even, there are 40.9%, 31.3%, and 26.1% from Northern to Southern Taiwan respectively.

The nationality of respondents' parents were mainly Taiwanese families, which the researcher defined the term as both parents considering themselves Taiwanese, and the percentage of this group reached 81.7%. Similarly, the figure was close to respondents' self-identity, which is 83.3%, in other words, 93 out of 115 people in this survey claimed themselves as Taiwanese. Also, the 9.6% of people who stated they were both Taiwanese and Chinese seem to have corresponded to the 7% of those whose parents were from China.

The distribution of political inclination differs among respondents, and their parents. In the younger generation, their party tendencies were more diverse, as the elder groups stayed between KMT and DPP (46.4%, 37.5%).

After analyzing with SPSS, the outcomes of the analysis were to answer the following two research questions:

1. Did the growing-up environment shape college students' perceptions of the debates of Transitional Justice in Taiwan?
2. Did political inclination influence college students' perceptions of removing the symbols of the Authoritarian period?

Research Question One

Research question one: “Did the growing-up environment shape college students’ perceptions of the debates of Transitional Justice in Taiwan?” Nine questions about respondents’ background information, and the researcher considered the attributes to be factors that shaped respondents’ thoughts. Next, the researcher would analyze the differences in gender, age, parents’ political inclination, and college, to see the results.

On Gender Difference

There were 61 male respondents, which were just 8 more people compared to the female groups in this survey, and one person chose not to reveal their gender. Since the option “Other” only had one submission, the gender difference was conducted with t-test.

As demonstrated in Table 7, an independent sample t-test indicated that there were no significant effects for gender.

Take one question of each aspect of the debates, for example, the average of the support level of Aa1(Do you support the establish of the Transitional Justice Commission?) for males and females were 2.32, and 2.19. The outcome was $t(111) = .859$, $p = 0.661$, despite that female ($M = 2.19$, $SD = .833$) showed higher support level than male ($M = 2.32$, $SD = 1.172$).

As for Ba1(Do you support chasing back the assets that parties obtained with illegal methods?), the average extent of males’ and females’ support to it was 2.82, and 2.72. Bb1, an issue related to illegal party assets, $t(111) = .423$, $p = 0.673$, which also had no significant effects for gender. However, female ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.116$) showed higher support level than male ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.197$).

In the section of symbols of authoritarian period, Ca1(Do you support removing the CKS status?) showed the average of both genders' support levels were 2.95, and 2.92, and $t(110) = .118, p = 0.906$. Additionally, the opinions of the male and the female were just slightly difference from each other, and the figures were ($M = 2.95, SD = 1.307$), and ($M = 2.92, SD = 1.064$), respectively.

The last part of Taiwan' controversial subjects on Transitional Justice, aboriginal's sector, the mean of Dd1(Do you think the Transitional Justice should be conducted as two separate groups, the Han Chinese and Indigenous people?) for men, and women were 2.62, and 2.53. The issue to gender was $t(111) = .464, p = 0.644$. And the female's support level which was $M = 2.53, SD = .912$, was higher than the male's $M = 2.62, SD = 1.091$. Overall, there were no significant divergences.

On Age Difference

The researcher ran a one-way ANOVA analysis to investigate the difference between the age groups, and there was a significant effect of age on the support of Bd1 (Do you support returning illegal party assets to the victims?) at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions [$F(3, 111) = 3.31, p = .023$]. The average number of the 4 groups' support levels on Bd1 were under 20 for 3.48, 21 to 30 for 3.43, 31 to 40 for 4.5, and over 50 for no answer.

Also, there was a significant effect of age on the support of Cd1 (Do you support maintaining the Negative Cultural Heritage?) at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions [$F(3, 111) = 2.73, p = .047$]. And for this part's mean toward Cd1 were 2.55, 2.41, 4.5, and 3.0, the order was the same as the previous description of Bd1.

Since one of the age groups, people over 51, only has one submission, there was no way to conduct the Post Hoc analysis.

On College Difference

After analyzing the average of each school's support level of Ba1, the number came out as 2.34, 2.68, and 1.96 as the order of NCYU, CCU, and the other option.

A one-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of CCU, NCYU, and other colleges' conditions. There was a significant effect of colleges on supporting tracing back the assets that parties got in illegal ways at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions [$F(2, 104) = 3.45, p = .035$]. Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the CCU condition ($M = 2.68, SD = 1.13$) was significantly different from the other colleges' conditions ($M = 1.96, SD = 0.977$). However, the NCYU condition ($M = 2.34, SD = 1.24$) did not significantly differ from the CCU, and other colleges' conditions. Taken together, these results suggest that differences in schools do influence students' perceptions of illegal parties' assets.

In this comparison, there was also another significant effect of colleges on supporting the idea that the native was ignored in the Tsai government's Transitional Justice projects at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions [$F(2, 104) = 3.45, p = .002$]. The Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the NCYU condition ($M = 2.34, SD = .745$) was significant to the other colleges' conditions ($M = 3, SD = 0.86$). However, the CCU condition ($M = 2.5, SD = 1.01$) did not significantly differ from the NCYU, and other colleges' conditions. In sum, it showed that differences in schools do affect opinions on aboriginal issues.

On Parents' Political Inclination Difference

As the first social group an individual would engage in, the family definitely shapes the members' behaviors, attitudes, and values. So, the researcher used it as a

factor to analyze whether parents' political inclination would make an obvious difference or not.

After comparing with ANOVA, there were 2 significant effects of parents' party tendency on the policies of removing the Authoritarianism symbols at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions, and the means of each variance were:

First, Cb1(Do you support renaming the Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) Memorial Hall?) to KMT, which was 3.16, 2.74 to DDP, 3 to TPP, and NPP, and 3.75 to the other option. The average of the above attributes was 3.08.

Second, Cc1(Do you support renaming street names) to the parties mentioned above was 3.45, 2.81, 3, and 3.75. Finally, the average number was 3.24.

The former was support level of Cb1 [$F(4, 107) = 3.08, p = .039$], and the latter was Cc1 [$F(4, 107) = 3.59, p = .016$].

However, it was a lack of responses on the options of TPP, and NPP, so the Post Hoc could not be implemented in this section.

Research Question Two

Research question two: “Did political inclination influence college students’ perceptions of removing the symbols of the Authoritarian period in Taiwan?” From this aspect, it demonstrated that Transitional Justice is more than just a social issue, it is highly related to politics, hence, a respondent’s political inclination is possible to affect his/her belief.

Out of the 4 questions, there were 3 significant effects of political inclination on the support of removing CKS’s status, renaming CKS Memorial Hall, and street names at the $p < .05$ level for the three conditions, the results were $[F(5, 105) = 5.77, p = .001]$, $[F(5, 106) = 4.93, p = .00]$, and $[F(5, 106) = 2.85, p = .033]$, respectively.

The average number of each topic’s support level was 2.93, 3.1, and 3.23 in accord with the order written above.

After finding significant results, the researcher used the Post Hoc test to compute detailed information, and selected the Tukey HSD test which was designed to compare each of the conditions to one another.

In the first question, it indicated that the mean score for the KMT condition ($M = 3.75, SD = 1.13$) was significantly different than the DPP condition ($M = 2.50, SD = 1.10$), and TSP condition ($M = 1.60, SD = .548$) while DPP condition did not significantly differ from the TSP condition.”

The second question pointed out KMT condition ($M = 3.81, SD = 1.05$) was significantly different than the DPP condition ($M = 2.82, SD = 1.01$), and TSP condition ($M = 1.60, SD = .548$) while DPP condition did not significantly differ from the TSP condition.” However, TSP was different from the TPP condition ($M = 3.18, SD = .951$) and the “Other” condition ($M = 3.34, SD = 1.08$), and KMT and DPP conditions had nothing to do with these 2 conditions.

In the last paragraph, the mean score for the KMT condition ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.03$) was significantly different than the DPP condition ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 1.13$). However, the TPP condition ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.21$) did not significantly differ from the KMT and DPP condition.”

Data Summary

Summarized the graphics, and statements mentioned in the previous paragraphs, there are two major findings in this research. The growing-up environment would affect an individual's perception on the debates of Transitional Justice, and personal political inclination was related to college students' opinions when it comes to the issue of remaining, or removing symbols from authoritarian period.

Finding One:

The gender of college students did not have statically effect on their perceptions of the four aspects of Taiwan's controversial policies. However, there are differences in illegal party assets related issue between the five age groups. It revealed that the group of 31 to 40 years old showed higher disagreement to the issue of returning the illegal party assets to the victims. Meanwhile, age also has influence on the aspect of removal of authoritarian symbols, and people between age 31 to 40 held a negative attitude toward the issue of maintaining the Negative Cultural Heritage while other age groups expressed a more positive answer.

In the data of different in colleges, there are two aspects of the debates, that students have distinctive opinions, one is about illegal party assets, another one is Aboriginal-related issue. The overall statics indicated that general opinions about tracing back the illegal party assets tended to agree with the policy, but students from schools other than NCYU, and CCU represented a higher support level on it. On the contrary, these groups of students held a less supportive attitude in the subject whether the Tsai government's Transitional Justice projects excluded the native.

Last but not least, parents' political inclination significantly influences college students' perceptions on the authoritarianism symbols. The average answers indicated

that most supporters from each party prefer to sit on the fence on supporting renaming the Chiang Kai-shek (CKS) Memorial Hall, and DPP supporters tend to agree with it. The consequences are similar to the other policy which was about renaming the street names, respondents of DPP supporters still have positive attitudes on this issue.

Finding Two:

In the section of individual's political inclination, there are three differences in policies of authoritarian symbols, including renaming CKS Memorial Hall, street names, and eliminating CKS's status.

DPP, and TSP supporters showed higher agreement on both topics that directly related to former president Chiang Kai-shek, while rest of the supporters held very different opinions. On the other hand, the rename of streets was less supportive by these two parties in comparison to the former ones, and the percentage of KMT supporters that held opposite attitudes got the highest number of all the parties.

Taken altogether, these results suggest that higher levels of pan-DPP do affect the support to remove the white terror signs. Specifically, our results suggest that when college students tend to be in the pan-DPP party, the level of supporting eliminating the buildings is higher. However, TSP is a relatively more progressive political party than DPP, so the researcher suggested that the level should be labeled as a person's ideology that leans towards Taiwan independence, anti-China, etc.

CONCLUSION

Discussion

With all the data collection above, the researcher would like to discuss the major findings of the survey to clarify the research questions.

In the finding one, there are three major points, the first one is the age group of 31 to 40 held a more negative opinions toward the policies of Transitional Justice, compared to younger generation. The researcher considered the differences might due to the education the respondents received backed in high schools, or junior high schools. The years when this group of people went to school was around 1997 to 2008, which was under the period after Taiwan terminated the martial law, even though it had been eliminated for at least 10 years, the influence still remained. One of the examples were the instruction system, the party-state oriented education.

Party state implies to a country was completely controlled by one-single party, and the government of Republic of China kept this system for over 30 years. To fulfill the core of this system, and stabilize the control of the country, KMT had formulated a series of guidelines for the idea of being assimilated as a part of China. The policies were consisted of promoting Mandarin, enhancing the so-called national spirits that established on the Three Principles of People, and focusing on military training.²⁹ The education aimed to teach Taiwanese become Chinese, so it was clear that all these policies tried to get rid of the thoughts of being Taiwanese, and not to mentioned the influence from being colonized by the Empire of Japan.

In accordance with Wen-Yao, Chou Ph.D., she indicated the history of Taiwan was not written in textbooks until 1997, and the high school historical books added

²⁹ 黨國體制下的國民教育 [黨國.pdf](#)

this section in 2006.³⁰ All these information showed the point that the knowledge different generations have learned were not the same, which led to the difference in perceptions on this issue. Without being informed the history, most people cannot understand the what happened, and why the current policies tried to head to this direction. As the result, the consequence tends to be neutral, or negative attitudes.

The second major point is that students from CCU, and NCYU have similar opinions on the debates of specific aspects, these two groups of people support the policies on tracing back the illegal party assets, and don't fully agree with the idea that the Aborigines were ignored in the Tsai government's Transitional Justice projects. Both CCU, and NCYU are located in Chiayi, where is usually considered to be pan-DPP section when it comes to politics.

As mentioned in above paragraph about party state problems, the authoritarian symbols possibly still remain important meanings for some people in the society, and that's why political inclination is crucial in this issue, which led to the third major point in finding one, and another important element in finding two. The thoughts that held by different parties represent a quite distinctive opinion from each other. In data collection, it indicated supporters of DPP, and TSP agree with policies about removal symbols of authoritarian period, and the researcher considered that to be the values they held make the differences. Compared to KMT, DPP, and TSP have similar political direction, which is simply described as the independence of Taiwan, and to extreme extent, supporter might tend to anti-China, and that's contrary to KMT's current policy orientation.

³⁰ 謝孟穎, "黨國教育讓台灣人 60 年來都不認識自己! 台大教授周婉窈嘆台灣史最大缺憾," *風傳媒*, Nov. 2 2017.

Meanwhile, parents' preference in parties usually have huge impacts on children's belief. According to research, it proves that influence on political identification from parents do exist, as long as parents consider issues are important, the level of effects increase. Also, the adolescence's perceptual accuracy of the parent attitude matter as well.³¹ And there are three significant consequences, which are renaming streets' names, and Chiang, Kai-sek Memorial Hall as well as the dilemma of keeping the Negative Cultural Heritage. In all three circumstances, the supporters of KMT always expressed disagreement while DPP, and TSP showed high support levels among all of the parties. The outcomes might relate to the third major points in finding one. Hence, this part is about the parental influence on children's development of cognition, which the researcher believe it is the main reasons why the data of personal, and parents' political inclination have similar perspectives these issues.

Conclusion and Suggestion

Overall, the support level of the current policies is on the above average, except for the maintenance of the symbols from the white terror period.

The research aims to find out the college students' general thought about the debates when the government is processing the Transitional Justice. The researcher suggest that education is prominent in the project. Without the sufficient knowledge, the glowing-up environment, and parents' political inclination might make negative effects on an individual's perceptions. Hence, the point is the construct of Transitional Justice should increase the part of education in students' history textbooks.

³¹ Kent L. Tedin, "The Influence of Parents on the Political Attitudes of Adolescents," *The American Political Science Review* 68, no. 4 (1974). <https://doi.org/https://doi-org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/10.2307/1959943>.

APPENDIX A

台灣歷史系大學生對於轉型正義爭議的看法問卷

<https://forms.gle/Nrkw1Tczyw45AQDW7>

親愛的先生/小姐：

這是一份學術研究問卷，主要目的是探討「台灣歷史系大學生對於轉型正義爭議的看法」。在此希望能耽誤您七分鐘左右的時間，懇請您提供寶貴意見。

本問卷採不記名方式作答，您的回答僅供學術研究使用，絕不對外公開，請放心填寫。感謝您在百忙之中抽空填答此問卷，在此獻上最誠摯的謝意。

敬祝 事事順心、健康愉快！

文藻外語大學國際事務系

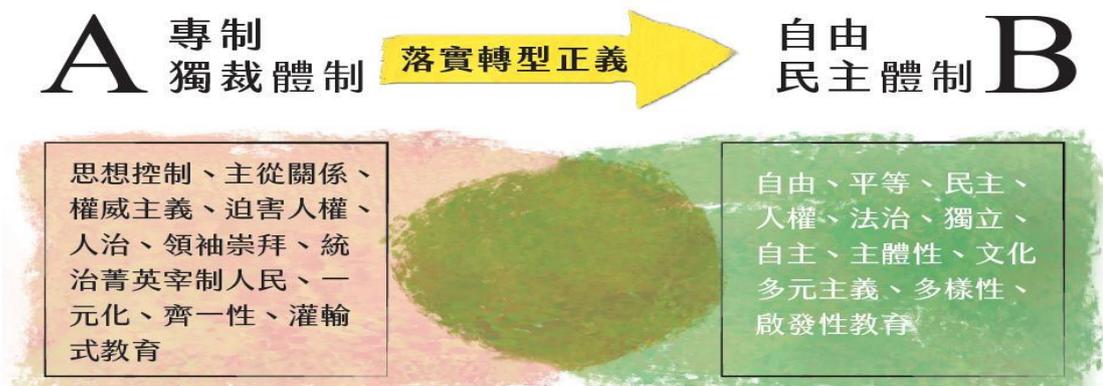
指導老師：林建宏 教授

學生：胡以心

轉型正義(Transitional Justice):

一個社會在民主轉型之後，對過去威權獨裁體制的政治壓迫、以及因壓迫而導致的社會（政治的、族群的、或種族的）分裂，所做的善後工作。這些工作包括：

1. 對遭受政治迫害的人給予正義。
2. 對從事政治迫害的人，必須在法律上或道德上予以追究。
3. 對過去政治迫害的真相和歷史，必須完整地加以呈現。³²



圖表 1 取自台灣與海洋亞洲《轉型正義之路》第一章 何謂「轉型正義」？

³² 台灣民間真相與和解促進會

第一部分、基本資料

1. 性別

男性 女性 其他

2. 年齡

20 以下(含) 21-30 31-40 41-50 51 以上(含)

3. 居住地區

北部 中部 南部 東部 離島

4. 您的政治傾向(取最相近即可)

國民黨 民進黨 台民黨 基進黨 時代力量 綠黨 其他

5. 您對於自己的身分認同是什麼?

台灣人 中國人 以上皆是 其他

6. 您現在是否有在打工?

是 否

7. 您來自哪一所大學的歷史系?

國立中正大學 國立嘉義大學 其他: _____

7. 您的父母來自哪個國家?

雙方皆來自台灣 一方來自中國 雙方皆來自中國

一方來自上述外的國家 其他

5. 您認為父母的政治傾向為何?

國民黨 民進黨 台民黨 基進黨 時代力量 綠黨 其他

非常反對 反對 沒意見 支持 非常支持

第二部分、促進轉型正義委員會

1. 您支持「促進轉型正義委員會」的成立嗎?

*主要針對過去的統治時期，規劃和推動還原歷史真相、開放政治檔案、平復司法不公、促進社會和解、的處理及運用等工作。以下簡稱「促轉會」。

2. 您支持促轉會可再延任嗎?

第三部分、不當黨產委員會

1. 您支持「不當黨產委員會」的成立嗎?

*職掌事項是之中華民國政黨財產的調查、返還、追徵、權利回復。

2. 您支持將過去政黨使用不當手法得來的財物
追查回來嗎?

3. 您支持將不當黨產回歸受害人嗎?

4. 您支持追查黨產條例規範政黨的附屬機關嗎?

*黨產條例規範之政黨：民國 76 年 7 月 15 日前成立並依照動員戡亂時期人民團體法規定備案之政黨。

計有：中國國民黨、中國青年黨、中國新社會黨、中國中和黨、民主進步黨、青年中國黨、中國民主青年黨、民主行動黨、中國中青黨及中國民主社會黨等共 10 個政黨及其可能的附隨組織。

5.

6. 您認為現在的政府有完善處理財產回歸受害人嗎?

第四部分、去除威權象徵

1. 您支持去除「蔣中正銅像」嗎?

2. 您支持改名「中正紀念堂」嗎?

3. 您支持改名「街道名稱」嗎?

4. 您支持保留「不義遺址」嗎?

*國家透過不當手段和體制，系統性傷害人權的種種「不義作為」所發生的歷史現場。而廣義也可以擴充到其他承載人民傷痛記憶的地景空間。

非常
反對
沒
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支持
非常
支持

第五部份、原住民問題

1. 您認為原住民的轉型正義尚未完成嗎?

2. 您認為原住民的轉型正義仍需要繼續進行嗎?

3. 您認為原住民在蔡政府的轉型正義計畫中遭到忽視嗎?

4. 您認為原住民社和漢人社會的轉型正義應該分開來處理嗎?

第六部分: 訪問意願調查

*為了使這份報告能夠有更深入的細節，誠摯邀請您接受我們的面談。若是有意願，我們會依照下方的連絡資訊，從中各校抽出一定比例的同學。依雙方意見，採用親自面談或是線上視訊的方式進行。同時，願意接受訪談的同學，我們將抽取4位同學給予300元7-11商品卡。

聯絡資訊 (請填入電子信箱及稱謂)

問卷到此結束 再次感謝您的填答!

APPENDIX B

Table 1. Demographic Information of Respondents

	Attribute	Number of People	Percentage
Gender	Male	61	53%
	Female	53	46.1%
	Other	1	0.9%
Age	Under 20	33	28.7%
	21-30	79	68.7%
	31-40	2	1.7%
	41-50	0	0
	Over 50	1	0.9%
Political Inclination	KMT	16	14.3%
	DPP	33	29.5%
	TPP	16	14.3%
	TS	5	4.5%
	NPP	12	10.7%
	Other	30	26.7%
	Missing Value	3	3
School	CC	39	36.4%
	NCYU	22	20.6%
	THU	15	13.9%
	WZU	5	4.6%
	Other	26	24.5%
	Missing Value	8	8
Self-identity	Taiwanese	95	83.3%
	Chinese	1	0.9%
	All of the above	11	9.6%
	R.O.C	2	1.8%
	Other	16	4.4%
	Missing Value	1	1
Total Number of Respondents		115	

Table 2. The ANOVA Statistics of Differences in Universities

		df	F	Sig.
您支持追回過去政黨使用不當手段得來的財物	Between Groups	2	3.450	.035
	Within Groups	104		
	Total	106		
您認為原民在蔡政府的轉型正義計畫遭忽略	Between Groups	2	6.725	.002
	Within Groups	104		
	Total	106		

Table 3. The Post Hoc Statistics of Differences in Universities

Dependent Variable	(I) College	(J) College	MD (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
您支持追回過去政黨使用不當手段得來的財物	NCCU	NCYU	.340	.296	.488
		Others	.724(*)	.286	.034
您認為原民在蔡政府的轉型正義計畫遭忽略	NCYU	NCCU	-.158	.229	.770
		其他	-.658(*)	.187	.002
	NCCU	NCYU	.158	.229	.770
		其他	-.500	.221	.066

Table 4. The Descriptive Statistics of Differences in Parents' Political Inclination

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error
您支持改名中正紀念堂	KMT	51	3.16	1.065	.149
	DDP	43	2.74	1.071	.163
	TPP	1	3.00	.	.
	NPP	1	3.00	.	.
	Others	16	3.75	1.183	.296
	Total	112	3.08	1.116	.105
您支持改變街道名稱	KMT	51	3.45	1.045	.146
	DDP	43	2.81	1.052	.160
	TPP	1	3.00	.	.
	NPP	1	3.00	.	.
	Others	16	3.75	1.125	.281
	Total	112	3.24	1.101	.104

Table 5. The ANOVA Statistics of Differences in Political Inclination

		df	F	Sig.
您支持拆除蔣中正銅像	Between Groups	5	4.713	.001
	Within Groups	105		
	Total	110		
您支持改名中正紀念堂	Between Groups	5	4.791	.001
	Within Groups	106		
	Total	111		
您支持改變街道名稱	Between Groups	5	2.526	.033
	Within Groups	106		
	Total	111		

Table 6. The Tukey HSD Statistics of Differences in Political Inclination

Dependent Variable	(I) PL	(J) PL	MD (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
您支持改名中正紀念堂	KMT	DDP	.994(*)	.309	.021
		TPP	.636	.354	.471
		TSP	2.213(*)	.520	.001
		NPP	.979	.388	.126
		Other	.468	.316	.678
	TPP	KMT	-.636	.354	.471
		DDP	.358	.303	.844
		TSP	1.576(*)	.516	.033
		NPP	.343	.383	.947
		Other	-.168	.310	.994
	Other	KMT	-.468	.316	.678
		DDP	.527	.258	.328
		TPP	.168	.310	.994
		TSP	1.745(*)	.492	.007
		NPP	.511	.348	.685

**Only showed selected information that indicated complex conditions at $p < .05$ level*

Table 7. The T-test Graphic of Difference in Gender

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		T-Test				
		F-test	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (Two-tailed)	MD	St. Error
您支持促轉會的成立	Equal variances assumed	5.465	.021	.661	111	.510	.128	.194
	EV not assumed			.675	106.355	.501	.128	.190
您支持促轉會可再連任	EV assumed	7.086	.009	.661	111	.510	.133	.201
	EV not assumed			.674	107.568	.502	.133	.197
您支持黨產會的成立	EV assumed	1.933	.167	.130	110	.897	.026	.199
	EV not assumed			.132	109.169	.896	.026	.197
您支持追回過去政黨使 用不當手段得來的財物	EV assumed	.978	.325	.423	111	.673	.092	.219
	EV not assumed			.425	110.673	.672	.092	.218
您支持黨產條例所例條 規定之政黨的附屬機構	EV assumed	2.444	.121	.607	109	.545	.123	.203
	EV not assumed			.613	108.834	.541	.123	.200
您支持將不當黨產歸還 給受害人	EV assumed	.002	.966	.223	111	.824	.037	.165
	EV not assumed			.224	110.516	.823	.037	.164
您認為現在的政府有完 善處理不當黨產回歸受 害人	EV assumed	.169	.682	-.035	109	.972	-.006	.176
	EV not assumed			-.035	108.528	.972	-.006	.176
您支持拆除蔣中正銅像	EV assumed	3.600	.060	.118	110	.906	.027	.227
	EV not assumed			.120	109.586	.905	.027	.224
您支持改名中正紀念堂	EV assumed	1.066	.304	.622	111	.535	.131	.211
	EV not assumed			.626	110.839	.533	.131	.210
您支持改變街道名稱	EV assumed	4.557	.035	1.337	111	.184	.270	.202
	EV not assumed			1.356	109.723	.178	.270	.199
您支持保留不義遺址	EV assumed	3.142	.079	.248	111	.805	.049	.199
	EV not assumed			.251	110.073	.802	.049	.197
您認為原民轉型正義尚 未完成	EV assumed	1.236	.269	-.400	111	.690	-.077	.194
	EV not assumed			-.405	110.057	.686	-.077	.191
您認為原民轉型正義仍 需要繼續進行	EV assumed	1.283	.260	1.397	109	.165	.272	.195
	EV not assumed			1.416	108.341	.160	.272	.192
您認為原民在蔡政府的 轉型正義計畫遭忽略	EV assumed	6.219	.014	-1.511	111	.134	-.257	.170
	EV not assumed			-1.531	110.298	.129	-.257	.168
您認為原民和漢人社會 的轉型正義應該分開處 理	EV assumed	2.446	.121	.464	111	.644	.088	.191
	EV not assumed			.469	110.679	.640	.088	.188

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