

**The Voting Behavior of 2020 Taiwan Presidential Election:  
The Perceptive of Spiral of Silence and Cross-pressure**

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**Abstract**

This research focused on the phenomenon of voting in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election and investigated whether the spiral of silence influenced voting behavior. The spiral of silence assumes that people don't speak their opinions because they fear of isolation; furthermore, the Chinese feel the power of the spiral of silence on the internet due to their traditional "face" culture, and worry about opposition caused by public opinion. Therefore, the study compared "fear of isolation" and "maintaining of harmony" and put on the cross-pressure theory to analyze.

This research used the quantitative research approach of the survey, collected voting behavior in Taiwan via Google Forms, and analyzed Taiwanese voting behaviors toward the original election in a retrospective manner. The phenomena of the spiral of silence were discovered through a questionnaire study in particular groups, with substantial disparities between males and females. Male was more impacted by the spiral of silence than female; in terms of age, voters aged 20 to 29 were less susceptible to the influence of the spiral of silence; at the regional level, the spiral of silence had a considerable impact on the southern Taiwan area. Furthermore, there were no significant differences in cross-pressure in terms of genders or regions; nevertheless, voters aged 20 to 29 agreed more influence from cross-pressure than other age groups.

Keyword: The spiral of silence, Cross-pressure, Voting behavior, 2020 Taiwan Presidential Election

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## INTRODUCTION

### Background

The 2020 presidential election was one of the most explosive elections in history. At that moment, the three parties were having intense campaigns, especially Kuo-Yu Han of KMT and Ing-Wen Tsai of DPP. Due to Kuo-Yu Han's popularity and his election win to be Kaohsiung's mayor, he was soon after chosen to run for the presidential election, but his support rate from the public decreased gradually. At the beginning of the election, the public opinion poll showed that the figures supporting Kuo-Yu Han were lower than Ing-Wen Tsai. The situation didn't get well. Some people thought that was because the mainstream during the time was tending against Kuo-Yu Han representing KMT to attend the 2020 presidential election, so that caused people who supported Kuo-Yu Han to start to keep silent or to change their minds instead of supporting him. However, even was under the situation of a low support rate on the statistics of the public opinions poll, each of the campaigns rallied, and there were still lots of fans of Kuo-Yu Han would be there. Therefore, the chairman of the Taiwanese campaign power claimed that the static figure can't show the real number of support and that the ruling party had controlled all the media resources, so the situation is a spiral of silence.<sup>1</sup> What he wanted to mention was that the ruling party led the media to show the mainstream of the election and influenced the opinions of voters. He thought that the mainstream ruling party affected the people

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<sup>1</sup>姜庚宇原文網址:【2020 大選】泛藍民調:韓國瑜輸蔡英文 8% 但人氣與網絡熱度大勝 | 香港 01,"【2020 大選】泛藍民調:韓國瑜輸蔡英文 8% 但人氣與網絡熱度大勝原文網址:【2020 大選】泛藍民調:韓國瑜輸蔡英文 8% 但人氣與網絡熱度大勝 | 香港 01 "  
<https://www.hk01.com/%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E6%96%B0%E8%81%9E/395642/2020%E5%A4%A7%E9%81%B8-%E6%B3%9B%E8%97%8D%E6%B0%91%E8%AA%BF-%E9%9F%93%E5%9C%8B%E7%91%9C%E8%BC%B8%E8%94%A1%E8%8B%B1%E6%96%878-%E4%BD%86%E4%BA%BA%E6%B0%A3%E8%88%87%E7%B6%B2%E7%B5%A1%E7%86%B1%E5%BA%A6%E5%A4%A7%E5%8B%9D>.

who had neutral opinions and attempt to falter those supporters who were at disadvantage.

Simultaneously, in the final public opinion poll, Kuo-Yu Han asked his supporters to give the wrong answer during the phone call and to create inaccurate statistics.<sup>2</sup> The reason why Kuo-Yu Han would use this strategy was because he was trying to get back those rates of the supporters that they had lost. He used the strategy to misunderstand the result of the public opinion poll. In this strategy, the wrong support rate would become the hidden number of supporters and make the support rate mainstream to make the poll become an unreliable statistic. When the stream becomes unreliable, people would not be influenced by the number but use their opinions independently.

Since the first domestic election, the candidates would use the media to promote themselves. In the early generation, the candidates usually used advertisements on the billboard or television. After 2000, the internet started to flourish, hence the candidates' advertisements not only appeared on television but on internet websites. In the past decade, due to the internet, social media sprung out quickly, for example, Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, and so on. The candidates changed their way from using advertisements to the media for increasing interaction with the voters. Most of the candidates began using their accounts on media to post their perceptions and opinions on social issues for their supporters. The strategy became the new way how they advertise themselves in past few years.

At the time of the beginning media, the candidates used to post their perceptions and to promote the policies that they want to do for the citizens; however, in recent years, with media advertising father, the candidates use short videos, the stream, the

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<sup>2</sup>張讚國, "張讚國觀點：沉默不是金，何來螺旋？,"  
<https://www.storm.mg/article/2010385?page=1>.

command below the posts, etc to interact with their supporters or to attract voters to increase their support rates.

Although the internet and media provide a bigger picture and opportunity for the candidates to promote themselves and share their ideologies, voters can easily share their different perceptions of the issue as well and this situation might cause people who have the same ideology to gather together. At the same time, those people with different thoughts might have a lot of discussions which might reduce the willingness to vote rate and the support rate. Two different theories can explain the situation, the cross-pressure and the spiral of silence.

The cross-pressure theory is a theory that we use to describe a situation in which a group of people has the same idea of a social issue or political ideology. This phenomenon refers to people who have the same thoughts on the media, they will support the same candidates and the crowd power will lower the cross-pressure and that means people who have the lower cross-pressure will have more willingness to vote for those who they want to support. On the other hand, the groups of voters who might have different thinking will try to have fierce conversations and that will cause the cross-pressure to be higher than those people who have the same perceptions. This goes without saying, the situation will cause this group of people to be not willing to raise their opinions or to give support to their candidates. This is what we call the cross-pressure on the media in elections.

The other theory used to discover the support rate or the voting rate on each of the public opinion polls or each of the elections is the spiral of silence. The Spiral of silence is a theory about politics and the media and mass communication theory. This theory was mentioned by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann who is a German communication scholar. In the theory, it mentions the reason why the spiral of silence influences the voters through public opinions on the media or on the other

advertisement. It's almost the same as the cross-pressure theory which means both of the theories are all about the crowd effect.<sup>3</sup> A spiral of silence usually appears under the situation of the mainstream opinion. When the mainstream opinions work in the media, the crowd opinions will form the strong statement to lead the whole circumstances. In contrast, people who have a low agreement will start to keep silent about their opinions. The reason is reflected in the hypothesis of the spiral of silence. In the hypothesis, they assume that people who don't raise their opinion are due to their fear of the public opinions. In the hypothesis, people don't want to be isolated by the other people, hence, people would choose to change their opinions or remain silent on the issue rather than initiate a conflict on the election issue. The public opinions will always make the other opinions different to mainstream continuous inferior. This is the process that causes the spiral of silence made up.

Under the spiral of silence, as the theory that is about the crowd effect and people use the crowd effect on the public forums or any other social media on the internet, that also causes the issue of the relationship between candidates, social media, and voters. The candidates use social media to share their opinions about the social issue or their perceptions of the elections and the future policies to attract voters to support them. In these three relations, there are invisible loops between the three conditions.

During the cycle of the candidates, media, and the voters, we will find out how the candidates use the media to attract the voters and their supporters.

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<sup>3</sup>Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, *The "Spiral of Silence" Theory* (1980).

## Motivation

The motivation behind the research data was back to the presidential election in 2020. As we all know Kuo-Yu Han was one of the candidates in the 2020 presidential election. During the time, the statistics showed that the support rate of Kuo-Yu Han was not as high as the time he won mayor election in Kaohsiung. There was an interview involving the host asking the personal staff about their thoughts on the election situation of the public opinion result, and the personal staff gave an explanation that the situation could be explained as the spiral of silence. The personal staff mentioned that the mainstream during the time sided to Ing-Wen Tsai more than Kuo-Yu Han. That of staff mentioned that the public opinion gave the stress to those were not in the mainstream. That staff also said that the stress would give the opportunity to people start to think about whether they have to think of something like the mainstream as ordinary and trying to give up their original opinion to cooperate with the mainstream.<sup>4</sup> This situation is the theory of the spiral of silence. Additionally, during the final public opinion poll, Kuo-Yu Han told his supporters if they received a phone call to ask for the public opinion poll, just answered they would vote for Ing-Wen Tsai so that the public opinion poll would be invalid.

At the same time, the public opinion poll in the rest of the whole world was becoming untrustworthy such as the Obama re-election in 2012, the election in the U.S, and Brexit in 2016. The public opinion poll had more and more deviations. During the election in the U.S in 2020, they had some people claimed that they were under a spiral of silence as well. In the speech of Hung-An Kao, she mentioned the reason why the public opinion poll was becoming untrustworthy was because of the

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<sup>4</sup>袁茵, "王淺秋談韓國瑜民調下降是「沉默螺旋」 周玉蔻：你們活在同溫層？," <https://www.ettoday.net/news/20191216/1603033.htm>.

problems of the analysis of implicit supporters.<sup>5</sup> They found out that the public opinion poll of Joe Biden always predicted higher than others. In the article, she quoted the perceptions of the advisor of the former prime minister in the U.K and the establishment of the public opinion poll institution. The advisor of the former prime minister in the U.K pointed out that the whole media held hatred involved Donald Trump and his supporters, so when there were people who might support him, they would not admit they wanted to support him. The other perception from the establisher said that the people who were too shy to claim they support Donald Trump was getting larger. They didn't want to make any position to support Trump because once you have different supporters from the mainstream; you would be hit by others.<sup>6</sup>

The above perceptions showed that in these years, regardless of any elections, people would be afraid of showing their support to those people who were outside the mainstream. People usually would speak some opinions that most people would want to listen to, but not speak out their own real opinion. It was confusing that when the spokesman pointed out the spiral of silence was the reason that influenced the decision-making; are people influenced by the mainstream and become afraid to speak out about who they want to support? What if during the election, they made the decision dependent on other conditions, would the spiral of silence establish the reason; what other conditions would affect people the most?<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>黃鞠禾, "美選民調失準是「沉默螺旋」 高虹安：隱性川粉面臨社會期許壓力," <https://www.ettoday.net/news/20201107/1849214.htm>.

<sup>6</sup>ibid.

<sup>7</sup>思想坦克, "王宏恩／蔡韓差距 30%？為何藍綠都不太相信這次的總統民調？," <https://opinion.udn.com/opinion/story/12705/4252242>.

## **Research Purpose**

Since the 2020 presidential election, each of the candidates used different strategies in an attempt to win voters' support. The candidates chose the most efficient way to publicize their political points of view through social media, with its expanding and becoming more influential in recent years. The candidates use different types of media to become the medium. When the candidates create their group of supporters, they would have strong public opinions so that they could easily make influence neutral supporters. In the 2020 presidential election, Ing-Wen Tsai used different media platforms to announce her perceptions on political issues or social events. Meanwhile, Guo-Yu Han used particular media to influence his public opinion poll. The two candidates used their methods to attract voters and increase their support rate results.

How public opinions influenced voters became one of the phenomena of the theory in society. In 1974 the theory of the spiral of silence was mentioned, that people, would due to the fear of isolation keep silent or follow the mainstream. The spokesman of Guo-Yu Han mentioned in an interview on the radio, that they thought that the 2020 presidential elections were under a spiral of silence, which caused people to start to follow the mainstream, and not support the candidates who supported them in the beginning. In this research, the researcher will focus on the theory of what happened in the election and see whether people supported the mainstream during the election due to fear of being isolated or not. While studying the spiral of silence theory in the 2020 presidential election, the researcher will find out the cross-pressure on the public opinions that influence voters' decision making of the supporters' candidates. At the same time, the research will show the relationship between the voters, media, and the candidates so that I can elaborate on what strategy

can influence voters.

### **Research Questions**

I am going to do the research. I will use these two theories to know the author would like to know whether the theories, the spiral of silence and the cross-pressure, happened on the time of the presidential election in 2020. Furthermore, the researcher would like to answer the research question in the report as following:

- 1.) Did the decision made by people influenced by the spiral of silence?
- 2.) Were the voters under the cross-pressure?
- 3.) What did the voters think about the candidates using the media to influence the voters' decision?

### **Contribution**

In the research, the researcher mentioned the presidential election in 2020 and the two types of theory about public opinion. Back through the presidential election, the public opinion poll was undertaken as one process in the standards of the election. From the survey, it acted as a reference value figure to predict the future result of the election.

However, in the last presidential election, some people claimed that there was a spiral of silence during the elections and that caused the public election to go in a different direction, farther away than others thought. In the motivation mentioned above, this research will help to know whether the voters were under the spiral of silence and whether the strategy that candidates used in the media was working or not. After the research, it can provide some suggestions to the other candidates on what strategies can influence the election and some can't.

## Limits

The research will be limited to the 2020 presidential election period. The researcher will focus on the spiral of silence theory which was mentioned by the candidate's spokesman of KMT. Besides in the theory of the spiral of silence, Noelle-Neumann provided a hypothesis that the spiral of silence was established on the fear of isolation so that people would keep silent about showing their opinions in front of others. Therefore, the main point of the research will take the hypothesis into assumption and the movement will probably miss out on other potential social conditions. At the same time, the study will only focus on the spiral of silence on the internet.

In the cross-pressure, the researcher will keep the eye on the relative between the candidates, the voters, and the media<sup>8</sup>; to understand whether the strong opinions of voters will influence the weak opinions of voters and have the stress to speak out or to avoid making the opinions with the strong opinions. In the situation of the society, the voters will be skipped out which means I will only pay attention to the conditions of the result between the strong opinions and the weak opinions. Compared with the others, the research will be limited to the two conditions under the spiral of silence and the cross-pressure theory and combined with the particular period during the election to do the analysis.

Here is the most essential point, however, the issue was almost three years later than the last election, and it would be some conditions that made the research misaligned. The first condition is that the questionnaire that the researcher asked the voters to do would only ask them to flash back their feeling during the time and it probably would be affected by the result of the election of the social society; also the

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<sup>8</sup> 周應龍, "不同社會系絡因素對臺灣選民投票抉擇的影響:以 2016 年總統選舉為例\*," *選舉研究* 第二十八卷第一期 (2021).

second condition will be the figure of the questionnaire. As the general public opinions poll, the figure of it should be in the range of one thousand to one thousand and five hundred, but the problem is that the research had a time limitation, so due to the time, the figure of the questionnaire would not be missed out some parts and that would cause the research biased. Although the research might need to face the advance, all the thing that the researcher had to do was to do the research best and try to make the research perfect.

### **Delimits**

The delimited in the research is that I would make the hypothesis of the theory to be the architecture base on the result of the public opinion poll. The sentence that the spokesman of the candidates in KMT provided will be the basic reason for the research and I will use the assumptions and also use the questionnaire to collect the opinions about the perceptions of voters so that I can analyze whether the hypothesis holds water.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Since the 2020 presidential election, the citizens started to pay more attention to the election and social issues. The statistics in the 2020 presidential election showed that the total voting number was 14.3 millions people, meaning that there was 74.9 percent of people that went out to vote for their president. The central election commission pointed out that this is the highest percentage since 2008. The statistic indicated that compared to fourteen years ago, the citizens had more willingness to choose who should be the next leader of Taiwan. We can check through the data in the central election commission that there were three groups of candidates, which were KMT, DPP, and People First Party and each of the voting rates that the commission added up were 38.61 percent, 57.13 percent, and 4.26 percent respectfully. The statistics showed that DPP had a large scale percentage in the election. However, the situation between DPP and KMT did not always have this kind of scale gap. At the beginning of the election, the supporting rate of DPP was almost equal to KMT. There was the first public opinion poll on May 1, 2019, which took by TVBS and it shows that in the first poll, the support rate of DPP was 34 percent and 52 percent for KMT. During the time, KMT has much more support than DPP; however, when you find the public opinion poll between June and August, you will find out that the support rate of KMT and DPP starts to become closer. After the middle of August, the support rate of DPP had grown beyond expectation, even the poll in September the poll took by Formosa News pointed out that the support rate of DPP had grown by almost two times of KMT.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>"2020 關鍵大選," The News Lens 關鍵評論, <https://www.thenewslens.com/interactive/125402>.

## Candidates, voters and media

To flip their poll result or to win the support rate from the voters, it was crucial for candidates to make the situation different during the election period. Nowadays the candidates use different media to advertise themselves and also there are lots of candidates who want to increase their reputation, so the diffusivity of internet media will be the best choice to use for cooperating with the internet celebrity to increase candidates' reputations. In light of that, the relationship between candidates, voters, and the media has a strong influence on each other. By the same token, the current issue and the result of public opinions poll showed to have a lot of relations as well. We can see that when each of the results of the public opinions poll was released, the current issues will be the conditions that influenced voters' decisions, and before the result of the public opinion poll, the voters will compare the current issues that happened during the period of the time and make the comparison with each of the candidates' attitude toward the political issue as well. In the nowadays, the candidates would put the media to influence the voters, so between voters and candidates, there were s strong connections.

In the research on the power of issues by Yi-Ning Katherine Chen, Chia-Ho Ryan Wen, and Yue XU<sup>10</sup>, they focus on the media, candidates, and the public opinions poll and combined the influence of the current issues, so that we can see the relationship between each of them and to know how they influence between each other. The research, pointed out that the agenda-setting theory is according on communication studies and bases on the massive issues of the media agenda-setting which means that the media create the Images in people's minds. However, in the context of the political election, the agenda-setting is the process of the election and

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<sup>10</sup>陳憶甯、溫嘉禾、許悅, "議題的力量：由大數據解析 2020 年台灣總統大選中的議題," *傳播與社會學刊* 59 (2022).

for those candidates and voters; the main point of the election is to focus on the result after communications with each other and to getting known whether the result is integration or disagreement. According to the article, it proved the vital discovery is that the relationship between the two presidential candidates, the media, and the massive issues are absolutely in high relation. Therefore, the investigation of the research has showed that the media, the candidates, the voters, and current issues have huge relevance. As a result, when the candidates have the election strategies during the 2022 presidential election, the way how the current issues can influence the voters to make the decision to choose who they want to support go through the media will make a huge influence.<sup>11</sup>

### **The spiral of silence theory**

The spiral of silence was proposed by a German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann. In the theory, Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann pointed out that the hypothesis was based on people who would be afraid the social isolation.<sup>12</sup> It emphasizes the people afraid of isolation in society. If their opinions were the same as the mainstream, they would have more confidence to speak out their opinions in the public. On the contrary, in order to make sure they would not be treated alone, they would try to change their opinions and to be close to the mainstream.

The research on the spiral of silence mostly takes on the internet or social media. With the internet becoming more easily accessible, public opinions will be more influenced by the media and once the opinions and the media become intertwined, the spiral of silence takes place. Public media plays the main role in influencing the spiral of silence; it can be the platform that allows the spiral of silence to occur. For several years, the elections in Taiwan began to use the media as one of their methods to attract

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<sup>11</sup>陳憶寧、溫嘉禾\*、許悅, "議題的力量：由大數據解析 2020 年台灣總統大選中的議題," *ibid.* 59 (2022).

<sup>12</sup> "The "Spiral of Silence" Theory," <https://noelle-neumann.de/scientific-work/spiral-of-silence/>.

people. During this time, the internet and social media become flourished.

There was a forum, PTT, which was founded in 1995 and now become the main media for people to type thoughts on social media. The forum played a key point for people to deliver their thinking and win approval or receive disagreement. Even nowadays, PTT is one of the forums that people use the most. In the forum, each of the different types of articles is classified into different categories. In the research of the segmentation and "the spiral of silence" on the website: a case study of the PTT by Chia-Yi Chou picked the two of the article categories to become her study population, which were KMT and DPP.<sup>13</sup> The research showed that the situation in PTT had too much board to separate the parts. In addition, the research pointed out that on the each of political party's boards, the articles were limited and the rules in each of the boards showed that the public opinion doesn't have opposite opinions. During the research, it mentioned that this was easy to see when there were different opinions on the board; the opinions would be critiqued by the main supporters on the board. This movement shows it handicaps the way that makes the communication opportunity with the opinions outside the mainstream on the board. In this case, it shows evidence that the spiral of silence exists in the forum. We know through the article that in the forum, on each of the boards, there are different rules but these rules would give the limitation to how people give their personal opinions, causing the group of people who have the same opinions to get around together to argue with those people who have different opinions. On the other hand, in the research article, the author also found that the hypothesis of the spiral of silence was established.<sup>14</sup> In the research, the interviewees indicated that they were afraid to show their opinions about the events and kept neutral on the non-stable issue. The reason was that people don't have the

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<sup>13</sup> 周佳儀, "網路論壇的自我孤立與沉默螺旋現象—以 ppt 為例," *傳播與管理研究* 第七卷第一期 (2007-07).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

willingness to reveal more about their real selves on the virtual internet world and prefer to keep it low-key. In this case, we can know from the research that people would consider the mainstream. If there was already a mainstream, most of the interviewees would choose not to give other opinions on the issues.

However, compared to the research of Chia-Yi Chou, the spiral of silence not only appears in the political situation but under cultural or controversial societal issues as well. The study of how the face culture affects the spiral of silence indicated that there are still lots of issues about how people can't raise their opinions and make their own choices. In 2010, research done by Ru-Jun Xiao to know whether the spiral of silence was affected by the different cultures, and was the hypothesis that showed the fear to be isolated established.<sup>15</sup> On the internet, we also know that the internet is not face-to-face but a platform to speak out about something without being named. Anonymity plays a key term in the spiral of silence on the internet, if people already know each other's identities. They will be more concerned about speaking their opinions. The different opinions will struggle with each other and influence how people give their own opinions which cause the spiral of silence to be established. However, once people don't know exactly who speaks out their opinions, spiral of silence becomes worth doing the study on it.

In the previous study of whether the spiral of silence was established under the anonymity situation on the internet, the research of Chia-Yi Chou<sup>16</sup> showed that anonymity would not absolutely cause the spiral of silence on the internet. Anonymity is not the reason that causes people to be concerned about being isolated because of their opinions. At the same time, the research on the cross-culture under the spiral of

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<sup>15</sup>蕭如君, "Chinese Face Culture and the Spiral of Silence on Website: A Case of Peopo," (2010-07).

<sup>16</sup>周佳儀; *ibid.*

silence by Hui Ping Hung in 2005<sup>17</sup> mentioned that compared the individualism and centralism fearing the isolated from society would not be the structural reason to cause the situation. Instead, people would want to keep harmonious and provide more persuasive reasoning. The article in the research by Hui Ping Hung in 2005 explained that how we can elaborate on the study is that in centralism, people will feel that what they want to claim are not valuable to the public, in addition, they don't feel they have the confidence to announce their opinions so that they will choose to keep silent about their opinions. As the result, it claimed that the theory of the spiral of silence was not based on the people's fear of being isolated from society.

In 2010, the research done by Ru-Jun Xiao mentioned the idea that compared the two reasons, the fearing of isolation or keeping harmonious, and keeping the harmony between people and people would be the main reasons to explain why the spiral of silence exists. The point of view also works in concert with the culture theory at the key point in the research which was that in the Chinese traditional culture people are more likely to fix the relationship between each other than have conflicts on the issue. Regardless of the research done in 2005 or the research done in 2010, they show that based on the culture, the hypothesis of the spiral of silence can't be established. People are more likely to fix the relationship but not to make an argument about it.

### **The cross-pressure theory**

Under the cross-pressure, a person takes other people's positions or opinions, combines them with his idea, and gets a result that made by him. In picture, it is used to lead, win and stabilize the political system. The theory of cross-pressure by Frank A mentioned that the voters would rather support those people who support the mainstream or the political party which have a strong leading status and which party

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<sup>17</sup>Huiping Huang, "A Cross-Pressure Test of the Spiral of Silence," *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 17 (2005).(Hung 2005)

has the structural policy to solve the conflict.<sup>18</sup> In the research on cross-pressure, Frank found out that before the theory was established, the previous assumption should have corresponded to the two conditions. The first condition is about the social norms and the political policy. The second condition is to make people interested in the expectation of the result and to feel excited to participate in the issue. The cross-pressure usually happens under the situation of political elections and societal conflicts. Although there are two conditions causing the cross-pressure, we can't just assert that the cross-pressure is the reason that reduces the tension between society and politics. When people are under cross-pressure, Frank A points out that people will have three ways to response.<sup>19</sup> The first one was to avoid and get rid of it. People will try not going to talk about this or try to jump out of the situation. The second one was that people will over the promises or over to ensure that. The last is using the power or the authorities to make innovative solutions or the backup plan. What we mentioned above shows how people tolerate the inner conflict in a group and also is a contradiction in the theory. Frank A also mentioned that the cross-pressure cannot predict how individuals or the whole society are influenced by the particular conditions. On the contrary, the particular personal characteristics or the role in the special society structure can be one of the conditions to make the cross-pressure.<sup>20</sup>

The previous paragraph mentioned that the cross-pressure theory is based on whether the voters can increase the supporters or just win the status to lead the political party to solve the conflicts. In the past few years, candidates used traditional advertising to promote the candidates, but nowadays, new media has become the most easily accessibility for candidates to promote themselves. In the research of

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<sup>18</sup>Frank A. Pinner, "Cross Pressure."

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>彭伊絹、劉正山, "網路社會裡的政治討論、新聞閱聽與投票動能," *電子商務與網路社會新境界* (2017).

Yun-Ching Tsai and Song-In Wang, they took the 2018 nine-in-one election in the Chiayi region for research.<sup>21</sup> The research pointed to the cross-pressure of how much people care about the election news through the traditional media and how much people will discuss politics. The theory shows that each of the regions in Chiayi has a deep influence on the vote willingness based on these two points. Therefore, in the traditional media, when people received information about the election, people would have more wiliness to have a conversation on the election issues and the movement can efficiently increase the rate of voting for people. In the same way that nowadays on the internet, the research shows that the cross-pressure on how much people care about the election news through the traditional media and how much people will discuss politics have an obvious effect on the participation rate.

However, during the research Yun-Ching Tsai and Song-In Wang also mentioned that they found a reference to Yamamoto who provided the opposite result. He pointed out that the cross-pressure on the news of the political issue and the discussion of politics on the internet do not influence the voting rate of voters.<sup>22</sup> The opposite show that the internet and the voting rate have no relative between them. We can also explain that he wants to point out that the way we define voting should be a political movement or a social norm, so it would not be easily influenced by the information from the internet or political discussion. Unfortunately, the research of Yun-Ching Tsai and Song-In Wang showed that in the Chiayi regions on the theory of cross-pressure, the cross-pressure was higher, but the influence was lower, in the contrast, the cross-pressure lower, and the rate of people who have the willingness to participate in politics will be higher.

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<sup>21</sup>Yun-Ching、王嵩音 Wang 蔡雲卿 Tsai, Song-In, "差異收穫模式與交叉壓力的結合：以 2018 年嘉義縣市長選舉為例

Integration of the Differential Gains Model and Cross Pressure: The Case of the 2018 Mayoral Elections in Chiayi County and Chiayi City," *新聞學期刊* (2020-04).

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

In the conclusion, the discussion of the politics and the cross-pressure under the elections are all proved in the region of Chiayi and proved part of it in Chiayi county. The result also points out that the point of how the candidates doing the promotion can focus on traditional and internet advertising to get the exposure rate. At the same time, it can increase the willingness of political participating rate of voters as well.

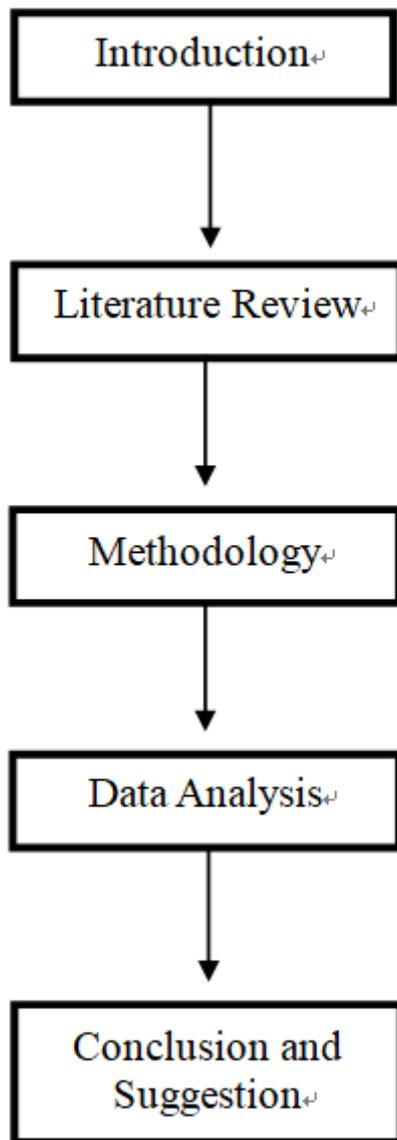
## **METHODOLOGY**

The methodology in the research is to use the theory I found in the literatures and put the theory in the questionnaires, so I would use the quantitative to analysis the research. In the previous research that provide the theory of the spiral of silence and the cross-pressure. It shows that in the theory of the spiral of silence, under the public opinions, people will fear about saying the issues which different from the public opinions because they will afraid of being isolated. Due to the basic theory, I'll put the basic theory to make the related questions to get the data. In the theory of the cross-culture, it mentioned the basic hypothesis is that people will afraid of the public opinions so that they will choose not to speak out their opinions. I'll put these two theories in the research and to combine the situation of the election in 2020 to analysis the theory during the situation.

In the chapter, I will mention the research instructor, the research design, the research hypothesis, the research populations, the research instrument, and the research analysis.

### **Research instructor**

First, the research's motivation and purpose were described. Next, a number of research questions were developed. Second, the articles and research papers were gathered and studied in accordance with the key terms of the research questions to be answered. Then the methodology was determined and the researcher started to design questionnaires and collected data. The researchers took a long time to write the data analysis, which was the final finding of the study's results.



### **Research design**

This study adopted a quantitative research method and designed questionnaires to collect research data. The design of the questionnaire is based on the theory of the spiral of silence and cross-pressure. As pointed out in the literature review, these two theories will help in my data analysis of Taiwanese voters' voting behavior in the 2020 presidential election.

In the first research question, I use the hypothesis in the spiral of silence which is being afraid of being isolated by public opinion to make the questions in the

questionnaire to know whether people were afraid of speaking out their perceptions due to being afraid of being isolated. There was also the other hypothesis that came from the literature which assumed that people will choose not to speak out not because of being isolated but because people don't want to argue with other people. Due to the upside-down hypothesis, the two hypotheses were used to put in the questions to make the comparison. In the second research question, the cross-pressure theory will be put in the questions to know whether people were under the theory and did they make decisions that were influenced by the mainstream. The last research question was about the voters' perceptions of candidates using social media to increase their influence on the voters, as the result, I make different options for social media and forums to know the different platforms which can make a huge influence on the voters.

### **Research populations**

In the research, the population will focus on people who have the voting right and to give the vote on the last presidential election. The reason why I will particularly choose to focus on the elections is because that the statistic from the Central Election Commission showed that the election during the time was the highest in the past eight years and people who have the right to give the vote in the 2020 presidential election will become the people who have the qualifications in the research.

### **Research instrument**

In n the research, I will use the two theories to proof the hypothesis whether is established; because of the theories, I will use the theories make the specific questions on the questionnaire and to combine the content that I found out in the literature content to compare the result. First of all, I will create the Google Form and to put the questions I design in the form; secondary, I will use the software to analysis the questions that I collected from the questionnaire which SPSS. I will use On-Way ANOVA in the SPSS to get the analyze result and to use the contents that I found out to compare the results.

### **Research analysis**

The research started with data collection. The data in literature review data all came from Google scholar, Airiti Library, and JSTOR. I will use the literature I found from the platforms to compare the data that I collect in the questionnaire. The data that I collected was from the platform Google which is Google form. I create the questions from Google form and put the form on Facebook, Instagram, Discard, PPT, and Line to hand out them. After the collection of data from the form, I will use SPSS to analyze it. Using One-Way ANOVA to find out each figure of the questions and to compare the gender, age, and domicile with the questions I create, so that I can understand the relationship throughout the comparison. Down in below is the information on the questionnaire:

Table 1

Total number of sample	442
The valuable sample	441
Missing value	1

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

In the data analysis, I will use the T-test and One- Way ANOVA to make the statistics. In the data, there will be an analysis from different aspects. First, the analysis shows whether the spiral of silence influenced people's opinions. Second, the analysis will focus on the cross-pressure theory which is about people's opinions under the mainstream. The last one is about the candidates' social media.

### **Voting decision and spiral of silence**

In this section, the researcher is going to answer the 1st research question: Did people's voting decisions be influenced by the spiral of silence? The researcher will also explore whether the voters' traits will affect their voting behavior.

The survey result showed that in the seven questions about the spiral of silence which focus on the mainstream would influence the interviewees, and there were 19 percent of interviewees showed that they would change the candidates they supported, there was 17 percent of interviewees would reconsider who they would like to support, and the percentage of not to follow the candidates they support was 12, and the percentage of afraid of speaking out their perceptions was 27.6 (see table 2). The data above showed that the spiral of silence influenced less than 30 percent of voters. In contrast, there were more than half of the people would not be influenced by the mainstream on the internet. The figure showed that the percentage of insisting voters' supporters was 55.7 percent; the percentage without reconsidering the candidates they support was 59.5, the percentage of keeping following their supporters was 64.9 percent, and the percentage without fearing to speak out their opinion was 39.9 (see table 2). The figure of people who strongly believe and without fear of speaking out their

opinions was huge numbers, so that means there were most people would not be influenced by the spiral of silence.

In the research people who were afraid of isolation were showed rarely agree. The research mentioned people would afraid of speaking out their opinions due to the mainstream and the data from the questionnaires showed that the percentage of not speaking out about who you support was 32 percent, the percentage of speaking out about the perceptions of the candidates was 36.2 percent of, and the percentage of fearing isolation was 21.7. In addition, the research showed that fearing isolation happened in a few groups of people and that was around 30 percent of people; however, there was almost 40 percent of people in the opposite showed that they didn't fear isolation. The percentage of speaking out about who they want to support was 39 percent, the percentage speaking out their opinions was 37.6 percent of people, and the percentage of people who wanted to keep the harmony was 55 percent (see table 2). The figure showed that they didn't influence by others and bravely speak out the supporting. Especially the data on keeping harmony, 55 percent of respondents didn't want to have conflicts with people on the internet and were afraid of breaking the harmony with others. Therefore, fear of isolation and influenced by the isolation were around 30 percent of voters.

Table 2

	Five-point scale	Three- point scale
Aa1	Strongly Disagree	23.3
	Disagree	32.4
	Neural	25.3
	Agree	16.3
	Strongly Agree	2.7
	Total Percentage	100
<p>❖<b>Aa1:</b> Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will change the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.</p>		
Aa2	Strongly Disagree	26.5
	Disagree	33.0
	Neural	23.5
	Agree	12.7
	Strongly Agree	4.3
	Total Percentage	100
<p>❖<b>Aa2:</b> Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will reconsider the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.</p>		
Ab1	Strongly Disagree	30.1
	Disagree	34.8
	Neural	23.1
	Agree	6.1
	Strongly Agree	5.9
	Total Percentage	100

❖**Ab1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions

on the internet media is different from mine, I will unfollow the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

Ac1	Strongly Disagree	16.1	39.9
	Disagree	23.8	
	Neural	32.6	32.6
	Agree	21.3	27.6
	Strongly Agree	6.3	
	Total Percentage		100

❖ **Ac1:** Back through presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will afraid of speaking out about the candidates who I support on the internet media.

Ca1	Strongly Disagree	14.1	39.3
	Disagree	25.2	
	Neural	28.8	28.8
	Agree	22	32
	Strongly Agree	10	
	Total Percentage		100

❖ **Ca1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out the position about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of having different opinions from the mainstream.

Cc1	Strongly Disagree	12.7	37.6
	Disagree	24.9	
	Neural	26.2	26.2
	Agree	24.7	36.2
	Strongly Agree	11.5	
	Total Percentage		100

❖ **Cc1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my perceptions about the candidates

whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.

Cd1	Strongly Disagree	6.3	21.7
	Disagree	15.4	
	Neural	23.3	23.3
	Agree	31.2	55
	Strongly Agree	23.8	
	Total Percentage		100

❖**Cd1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out about my perceptions of the candidates I support. The reason is that they want to avoid conflicts with each other, but rather than be afraid of being isolated.

### **The effect of gender on voting behavior**

The general observation is that males usually have a strong mind they insist on what they believe more than females. An independent-sample t-test compares the data of males and females of support to Ab1 ( Back through the presidential election in 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will unfollow the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation. ) to confirm the general observation. The difference between the mean of 206 males' support level to Ab1 (M=2.34, SD=1.215) and that of the 236 females (M=2.13, SD=1.024) was significant,  $t(253) = -2.166, p=.031$ . The cross-tabulation showed the statistic indicated that under the comparison of males and females, males had the opposite opinion of 28.5 percent, and females had the opposite opinion were 36.4 percent. As the figure showed previously, females were not influenced by public opinions very likely than males.

In Ab1 research about public opinions can make voters reconsider the candidates who they support at the beginning. The figure showed a significantly different,

P= .031. As for the total number of gender in the research, it showed that males were 206 and females 236. The percentage of males was 46.6 percent and the percentage of females was 53.4 percent. 64.9 percent of people choose not to change their opinions and that means people will not be influenced by other opinions in the public, but 64.9 percent, males only 28.5 percent disagree but for females, there was 36.4 percent of females will insist on their opinions. However, despite the traditional concept that males mostly should be stubborn and more rational than females, the statistics showed that females are the people who will insist on their opinions. There can be some reason to explain the situation that the research showed. One of them can be that because males have more interest in political issues, males will take the initiative to the different public opinions about political issues. Due to a lot of different public opinions, males will easily be influenced by public opinions; yet, compared to males, when females didn't have that much passion for political issues, they will only insist on what they think about the political issue by their subjective opinions. The first concept of the candidates and the party impression become the deep stated in females' perception.

Table 3

		N	Average	Std. different
Ab1	Male	206	2.34	1.215
	Female	236	2.13	1.024

◆**Ab1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will unfollow the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

Table 4

	t	d.f	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.
				Different		
Ab1	-2.166	253	.031	3.77	.949	.002
	2.043	440	.042	.218	.106	

Table 5

		Male	Female	Total number	
Ab1	Strongly Disagree	Each number	59	74	133
		Percentage	13.3%	16.7%	30.1%
	Disagree	Each number	67	87	154
		Percentage	15.2%	19.7%	34.8%
	Neutral	Each number	49	53	102
		Percentage	11.1%	12.0%	23.1%
	Agree	Each number	12	15	27
		Percentage	2.7%	3.4%	6.1%
	Strongly Agree	Each number	19	7	26
		Percentage	4.3%	1.6%	5.9%
	Total number	Each number	206	236	442
		Percentage	46.6%	53.4%	100.0%

### **The effect of age on voting behavior**

In this generation, candidates usually use the different social media to promote themselves and the universal social media also can disseminate their information to all the age group; however, in the 2020 presidential election, did the widespread social media cause the influence to the voters' decision? A one-way ANOVA was showed to compare the effect of ages on Aa1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will change the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.), Ab1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will unfollow the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.), and Ac1 (Back through presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will afraid of speaking out about the candidates who I support on the internet media.). It indicated that there were statistically significant differences in each of them. In Aa1, the score between ages subgroups ( $F(4,437)=5.534, P=.000$ ) showed significant.

Tukey's HSD Test found out that on Aa1 score for the ages in 20 to 29 was clearly has more influence than the other ages. Compare to the age 30 to 39 (MD=.400), the age 40 to 49 (MD=.573), and the age 50 to 59 (MD=.436), there was significant lower than the age 20 to 29,  $P=.043$ ,  $P=.001$ , and  $P=.021$ . Interestingly, there was no significant on over the age 60 (MD=.548,  $P=.618$ ). On Ab1, the score of the age 20 to 29 was obviously different than the other age; yet, there was only the age over 60 (MD=.803) that had no significant,  $P=.352$ . The age 30 to 39 (MD=.492), age 40 to 49 (MD=.493), and the age 50 to 59 (MD=.426) were less influenced by the age 20 to 29,  $P=.008$ ,  $P=.011$ , and  $P=.032$ . On the lass figure Ac1 showed completely different than the data above. In Ac1, there was only one age was significant with comparison with

age 20 to 29. The age 40 to 49 (MD=.748) was the only one significant that compare to 20 to 29,  $P = .000$ . The other figures of age 30 to 39 (MD=.331), 50 to 59 (MD=.269), and the age over 60 (MD=.896) was no significant,  $P = .169$ ,  $P = .369$ , and  $P = .169$

Comparing with the age of 20 to 29, the age of 30 to 39 (MD= .400,  $P = .043$ ), the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .573,  $P = .001$ ), and the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .436,  $P = .021$ ) had significant different. On the significant subgroups the researcher was assuming that the age of 40 to 49 should be the group that may influenced by the public opinions on the internet; the reason was people in the oldest age might received more information than the age when they was young. Beside, people in the age 40 to 49 should be the group of people who had no experience to distinguish the true news and the fake news, so the unstable thinking can be changed through the massive information they received any times. However, the true was the age under 30 had more possibility to influence by the public opinions.

In general picture, the data pointed out there was the huge significantly different compare the age of 20 to 29 with the age of 40 to 49 in each of the significant questions. In this information explosion generation, people of age 40 to 49 might not used to the massive information came out at one time on the internet, so when they were young, there was no one use internet to discuss their political opinions. In addition, the traditional cultural, the collectivism, can be one of the affecters as well. In the Chinese cultural, the Confucianism is the main core of the whole society. Under the Confucianism, it tough that collectivism was the theory to build the whole society situation and this traditional theory influenced the age of 40 to 49 not to live different than others. For the reason, when the age of 40 to 49 used the social media or the online website, they would focus on what they believed which means they would keep

their opinions a firm place in their heart. Therefore, people in the age of 40 to 49 will not influence by the public opinions more than other ages.

In the comparisons, people in the age of 20 to 29 would be the one that used to the opinions on the public. People in the age of 20 to 29 were the generation Z, so they born in the generation with the information explosion. The age of people did not have the stable thinking; besides, cyber bully on the internet was used to happen on their generation. That means, even though people in the age of 20 to 29 were under the individualism, their action of speaking out was influenced by the internet environment. In addition, it caused people in the age of 20 to 29, they cared about their opinions would be bullied or not, so that was the reason made people in the age of 20 to 29 had no willingness to speak out their opinions.

Table 6

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Aa1						
B.G	25.563	4	6.391	5.534	.000	20~29 > 30~39
W.G	504.621	437	1.155			40~49
Total	530.183	441				50~59
Ab1						
B.G	26.005	4	6.501	5.382	.000	20~29 > 30~39
W.G	527.916	437	1.208			40~49
Total	55.921	441				50~59
Ac1						
B.G	34.301	4	8.575	6.947	.000	20~29 > 40~49
W.G	539.412	437	1.234			

Total	573.713	441
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❖**Aa1**: Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will change the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

❖**Ab1**: Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will unfollow the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

❖**Ac1**: Back through presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will afraid of speaking out about the candidates who I support on the internet media..

Table 7

Various	Age(I)	Age(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Aa1	20~29	30~39	.400	.143	.043
		40~49	.573	.148	.001
		50~59	.436	.144	.021
		60	.548	.387	.618
Ab1	20~29	30~39	.492	.146	.008
		40~49	.493	.152	.011
		50~59	.426	.147	.032
		60	.729	.396	.352
Ac1	20~29	30~39	.331	.148	.169
		40~49	.748	.153	.000
		50~59	.269	.149	.369
		60	.894	.400	.169

### **The effect of location on voting behavior**

People from different places with different cultural who use the social media from the internet can caused the different level's influence by the public opinions on the internet. A one-way ANOVA was performed to compare the effect of location on Ac1 (Back through presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will afraid of speaking out about the candidates who I support on the internet media.). It showed that the there was a statistically significant different in mean Ac1 score between at least two location subgroup ( $F(3,438)=4.325, P=.005$ ).

Tukey HSD Test for the multiple comparisons found that the mean Ac1 score for respondents from southern Taiwan is significant lower than central of Taiwan ( $MD=-.381, P=.025$ ) and the Eastern of Taiwan and Outlying island ( $MD=-.885, P=.030$ ). Compare to southern of Taiwan, the northern of Taiwan ( $MD=.176$ ) is the one that has no statistically significant different,  $P=.638$ .

In Ac1, the region of southern of Taiwan had a significant different than other places. Comparing the central of Taiwan and the eastern of Taiwan and outlying island, people are had more willingness to speak out on the internet. The reason might base on the political party they follow. In the politics aspect, we can also explain that the reason might be the stable political party. People in the south they have had the same party of the mayors for decades. Once people had the same political party prefer, people will speak out their opinions will become not necessary. The stable political party they had makes people to have almost the same opinions, so they will not afraid of speak out their opinions to others; however, compare the massive political party in the central of Taiwan and the region of eastern and outlying island, the political party

will mostly change a lot, so the different opinions and the different mainstream will become the stress to depress people to speak out their opinions.

Table 8

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Ac1						
B.G	16.506	3	5.502	4.325	.005	
W.G	557.207	438	1.272			S. > C. E. and O.I
Total	573.713	441				

❖ S.=Southern, C.= Central, E. and O.I= Eastern and Outlying island

❖ **Ac1:** Back through presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will afraid of speaking out about the candidates who I support on the internet media.

Table 9

Various	Location(I)	Location(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Ac1	Southern	Northern	.176	.149	.638
		Central	-.381	.135	.025
	Eastern and Outlying island		-.885	.320	.030

## **Fear of isolation**

### **The effect of age on fear of isolation**

Under the widespread internet generation, massive information will influence people become more anxious to speak out their opinions. People in different ages with different experience will also cause the different level's influence by the public opinions on the internet. A one-way ANOVA was performed to compare the effect of Ca1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out the position about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of having different opinions from the mainstream.), Cc1(Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my perceptions about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.) and Cd1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out about my perceptions of the candidates I support. The reason is that they want to avoid conflicts with each other, but rather than be afraid of being isolated.). In Ca1, it indicated that there was a statistic significant different between the ages subgroups (  $F(4,436)=3.510, P= .008$ ). The statistic showed that there were significant in means Cc1 and Cd1 between ages ( $F(4,437)=4.057, P= .003$ ) and ( $F(4,437)=2.787, P= .026$ ) In Tukey HSD Test for multiple comparisons found that the data Ca1 score for respondents from the age of 20 to 29 and the age of 30 to 39. In Ca1, compare to the age of 20 to 29, it indicated that the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .514)was the only significant in subgroup,  $P= .015$ , and that there were mostly have no significant difference in the age of 30 to 39 (MD= .083), the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .417), and the

age over 60 (MD= .182), P= .985, P= .067, and P= .993. Comparison of Cc1 indicated that the data of it were significant difference with the age of 20 to 29 to the age 40 to 49 (MD= .523) and the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .510), P= .014 and P= .013; however, there was no significant between the age of 30 to 39 (MD= .259) and the age over 60 (.194), P= .479 and P= .991. In Cd1, the data showed that there were two significant with the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .573) and the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .528) to compare with the age of 30 to 39, P= .029 and P= .046, and there were no significant difference to compare with the age of 30 to 39 were the age of 20 to 29 (MD= .313) and the age over 60 (MD= .344), P= .271 and P=.936.

In the figure below, we can see that the age of 40 to 49 was the only one that had significant subgroup in each of significant questions. When we see the questions of Ca1 and Cc1, they are both tending to know that what ages of people would influence a lot by the public opinions. The result showed that people in the age of 40 to 49 had the most possibility to choose to speak out their opinions when they found out their opinions was different than others. The reason is because people in the age of 40 to 49 are the generation Y. In the generation, people were in the diversity society. According to the perception from Chiang, Chen-Yin<sup>23</sup> and Ti-Yun Hung<sup>24</sup>, new identity was just coming and this generation was the witness of the development of internet. Since the individualism came in the society, it influenced the traditional society situation from the collectivism to the individual. When the society was in the collectivism, people would focus on the group benefit and tried to obey the mainstream and to abandon their own opinions; yet, the individual came to influence the society, people in the society started to keep their opinions and to speak out their thinking. As the reason,

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<sup>23</sup>姜貞吟, "Y 世代女子大生勇於追求與表現," <https://www.gvm.com.tw/article/9407>.

<sup>24</sup>洪緹芸 Ti-Yun Hung, "台灣地區民眾的個人主義、家族主義與集體主義價值取向及其變遷 an Analysis on Taiwan People Individualism、Familism, and Collectivism Orientation from 1994 to 1999," no. 綜合社會即行為科學學類 (2004).

the figure showed that the age of 40 to 49 was significant because they will not afraid of to speak out their opinions.

However, when we keep looking down, the significant of the age of 40 to 49 in the fearing of isolation question was the opposite with the result that they don't afraid of speaking out the opinions. When we think the age of 40 to 49 was influenced by the individualism, it was just the started that the individualism came into the cultural society. As the result, people still kept the traditional thinking of the collectivism, so even if people can speak out without fear the difference with others, they still bonded with the collectivism thinking.

Table 10

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Ca1						
B.G	19.539	4	4.885	3.510	.008	
W.G	606.792	436	1.392			20~29 > 40~49
Total	626.331	440				
Cc1						
B.G	23.154	4	5.788	4.057	.003	
W.G	623.572	437	1.427			20~29 > 40~49 50~59
Total	646.726	441				
Cd1						
B.G	15.536	4	3.884	2.787	.026	
W.G	608.944	437	1.393			20~29 > 40~49 50~59
Total	624.480	441				

❖**Ca1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out the position about the candidates

whom I support, only because I am afraid of having different opinions from the mainstream.

❖**Cc1**: Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my perceptions about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.

❖**Cd1**: Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out about my perceptions of the candidates I support. The reason is that they want to avoid conflicts with each other, but rather than be afraid of being isolated.

Table 11

Various	Age(I)	Age(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Ca1	20~29	30~39	.083	.157	.985
		40~49	.514	.163	.015
		50~59	.417	.159	.067
		60	.182	.425	.993
Cc1	20~29	30~39	.259	.159	.479
		40~49	.523	.165	.014
		50~59	.510	.160	.013
		60	.194	.430	.991
Cd1	30~39	20~29	.313	.157	.271
		40~49	.573	.195	.029
		50~59	.528	.191	.046
		60	.344	.438	.935

### The effect of location on fear of isolation

People from different places will have different level influence base on their born environment. In the one-way ANOVA, it performed that to compare the places on Cb1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet

media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my opinions about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.). It revealed that there was a statistically significant difference in mean Cb1.

Tukey’s HSD Test for multiple comparisons found that the mean Cb1 figures for respondents from southern of Taiwan is significantly lower than the figures of Eastern and outlying island (MD= .921), P= .032; however, there were no strongly difference significant on the Northern of Taiwan (MD= .169) and Central of Taiwan (MD= .277), P= .699 and P= .202.

During the 2020 presidential election, the political party was changing from the party blue to the party green. In the mainstream, people were in the one-sided. When the mainstream found, the political environment would influence the individual political preference gradually. The individual opinions would be weakened and that’s why people in the southern had the most influence on the fear of isolation.

Table 12

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Cb1						
B.G	12.924	3	4.308	3.085	.027	
W.G	611.555	438	1.396			S. > E. and O.I
Total	624.480	441				

❖ S.=Southern, C.= Central, E. and O.I= Eastern and Outlying island

❖ **Cb1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my opinions about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.

Table 13

Various	Location(I)	Location(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Cb1	Southern	Northern	.169	.156	.699
		Central	.277	.141	.202
		Eastern and Outlying island	.921	.335	.032

In the sum of the research question of spiral of silence in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election, there was the spiral of silence in the election; however, the influence of spiral of silence should depend on the particular ages and the places. In the research, we found out that people with the age 40 to 49 and people in the southern had the most significantly influenced. In the ages of 40 to 49, the researcher found that the generation can explain the questions. When the age of 20 to 29 compare the age of 40 to 49, it was also the comparison of the Z generation and the Y generation. People in the Y generation were influenced by the individualism for the short time, so they still kept the traditional concept of the collectivism; yet, in the Z generation, people were more care about themselves, so they were defined the generation with individualism. In fact, compare to the generation Y, generation Z was the generation lives under the internet society. Therefore, some researchers called it the loneliest generation. In the generation Z, people would think that they were easily to get the information on the internet due to they were individualism, they were not easily influenced by the others. However, the research showed that people in the generation Z, which means the age of 20 to 29, had to endure more pressure from the internet. The generation Z can give the match answer to the result of people in the age of 20 to 29. The age of 20 to 29 were influenced by the public opinions a lot on the internet was because people in the internet generation, they knew the internet more

than others. Although they were in the individualism society, they still had the pressure when they had to speak out their opinions on the internet. They had seen lots of cyber bully, so they were carefully to speak out their opinions. In addition, that's the reason that compare to fearing of isolation, they would more care about to keep the harmony.

It's totally opposite than the impression between the age of the 20 to 29 and the age of 40 to 49. In the research, the age of 40 to 49 would insist the opinions when they had the different opinions than others. As the Y generation theory, people in the age of Y generation, they had the enlightenment of individualism but they still kept the collectivism concept. Therefore, people in the age of 40 to 49 could insist their opinions and not to influence by the others, but due to the collectivism concept, they still had scruples to be isolation by the others. The spiral of silence theory can explain depend on the generation between the most significant ages.

The region of southern was the place that showed the significant of spiral of silence. People in the southern of Taiwan were in the stable political party environment, but it changed in the 2020 presidential election. The political party was changed and during the election, it changed again. According to the research of Wang Yan-Cheng<sup>25</sup>, the unstable political party would make the mainstream different and at the same time, the personal opinions would become weaken. That's why people in the southern of Taiwan had the spiral of silence.

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<sup>25</sup>王彥程, "台灣不同族群政黨認同之區域差異 the Regional Difference of Party Identification in Taiwan's Different Ethnic Groups."

### **Cross-pressure theory**

In this section, the researcher is going to answer the 2<sup>nd</sup> research question: Did the voters under the cross-pressure? The researcher will also explore whether the decision making and the functions on the internet influence the voters.

The cross-pressure influenced rarely people's decisions making in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election. In the questions, it was base on the family and friend's opinions would influence the decision making. The figure showed that the percentage of not speaking out their opinions was 51.8 percent, the percentage of changing their perceptions of the candidates was 18 percent, the percentage of showing people they would not support was 18.8 percent, and the percentage of without any wiliness to share their opinions even in the echo chamber was 12.5 percent (see the table 14). The result indicated that people in the elections has less people influenced by the others and there even showed that there were some people had no wiliness to share their opinions under the echo chamber. In contrast, the research indicated that the cross-pressure was mostly had no influence to the voters. The questions were base on whether the voters' decision making would be influenced by the family or friends. The data showed that the percentage of keeping speak their opinions was 24.7 percent, the percentage of insisting support the candidates was 66.7 percent, the percentage of keeping believe the candidate was 61.7 percent, and the percentage of speaking out their opinions in the echo chamber was 60.8 percent (see table 14). Therefore, the result showed that people's decision making in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election was rarely influenced by the cross-pressure. People tended to show their real decision to the election.

Table 14

	Five-point scale	Three- point scale
Ba1	Strongly Disagree	6.8
	Disagree	17.9
	Neural	23.5
	Agree	29.4
	Strongly Agree	22.4
	Total Percentage	100
<p>◆Ba1 : Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out about the candidates I support.</p>		
Bb1	Strongly Disagree	30.3
	Disagree	36.4
	Neural	18.3
	Agree	12.7
	Strongly Agree	2.3
	Total Percentage	100
<p>◆Bb1 : Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my families or friends, I will change the perceptions of the candidates who I support base on the group pressure.</p>		
Bb2	Strongly Disagree	30.3
	Disagree	31.4
	Neural	19.5
	Agree	13.6
	Strongly Agree	5.2
	Total Percentage	100
<p>◆Bb2 : Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will chose not to support the candidates I support based on group pressure.</p>		

Bc1	Strongly Disagree	4.1	12.5
	Disagree	8.4	
	Neural	26.7	26.7
	Agree	36.4	60.8
	Strongly Agree	24.4	
	Total Percentage		100

❖**Bc1** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions of candidates are strongly supported by my family or friends, I will have a higher willingness to speak out about the perceptions of the candidates whom I support.

Da1	Strongly Disagree	8.4	36.2
	Disagree	27.8	
	Neural	31.9	31.9
	Agree	22.2	31.9
	Strongly Agree	9.7	
	Total Percentage		100

❖**Da1** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are not anonymous, I will afraid to speak out about the perceptions of the candidates whom I support in front of people

Db1	Strongly Disagree	11.8	29.7
	Disagree	17.9	
	Neural	29	29
	Agree	32.4	41.4
	Strongly Agree	9	
	Total Percentage		100

❖**Db1** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, wherever I speak out your opinions, I will try to use the sentence "I heard..." to avoid showing my real point of view about the candidates whom I support.

Dc1	Strongly Disagree	4.3	14.5
	Disagree	10.2	
	Neural	28.5	28.5

Agree	31.9	57
Strongly Agree	25.1	
Total Percentage		100

❖**Dc1** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, wherever I speak out my opinions, I will have a higher willingness to speak out my perceptions on the candidates whom I support after I know that the opinions will be anonymous.

### **The effect of age on decision making**

In 2020 presidential election, candidates use the social media to control the public opinions on the internet and social media. The mainstream will caused the different level of influence to voters. A one-way ANOVA was indicated to compare to the effects of the age on Bb1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will change the perceptions of the candidates I support based on group pressure.) and Db1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, wherever I speak out your opinions, I will try to use the sentence " I heard..." to avoid showing my real point of view about the candidates whom I support.).

Tukey's HSD Test for multiple comparisons found that the figure Bb1 andDb1 for respondents from the age 20 to 29 on Bb1 were significantly lower than that of the age of 30 to 39 (MD= .483) and the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .503), P= .006 and P= .006; yet, there were no significant different between the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .365) and the age over 60 (MD= .181), P=. 075 and P= .989. The other figures was Db1 which indicated that there were only two significantly different compare the age of 20 to 29 between 40 to 49 ( MD= .475) and 50 to 59 (MD= .500), P= .022 and P= .010; nevertheless, it showed that the age of 30 to 39 (MD= .159) and the age over 60 (MD= .539) compare to the age 20 to 29 were no obviously significant, P=.831 and P= .681.

Under the figure that the research came out, it showed the same results as the comparison with the public opinions on the internet. People in the age of 20 to 29 and the age of 40 to 49 were significant on the both internet and the family and friend. The result could explain not only limited on the internet environment but also the public opinions from their closing people. The impression of the friends and family should have a group of people who had the same thinking, but it showed that people in the same group they would have the affiliate cross-pressure. The opinions would change because people in the age of 20 to 29 had the awareness of the verbal bully, they thought the different opinions could be the excuse to cause the bully and that's why people didn't want to speak out their opinions.

Table 15

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Bb1						
B.G	22.270	4	5.680	5.083	.001	20~29 > 30~39
W.G	488.360	437	1.118			40~49
Total	511.079	441				
<p>❖<b>Bb1:</b> Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will change the perceptions of the candidates I support based on group pressure.</p>						

Table 16

Various	Age(I)	Age(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Bb1	20~29	30~39	.483	.141	.006
		40~49	.503	.146	.006
	50~59	60	.365	.141	.075
		60	.181	.381	.989

### **The effect of age on anonymity**

The public opinions can be the way to influence people to have the different thought. When the public opinions become the mainstream, some of the neutral people will use the mainstream become the reference to making the final decision. A one-way ANOVA was indicated to the effect of ages on Db1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, wherever I speak out your opinions, I will try to use the sentence " I heard..." to avoid showing my real point of view about the candidates whom I support.). It revealed that there was a statistically significant different in the mean Db1 figure between the one age of 20 to 29.

Tukey's HSD Test for multiple comparisons showed that the mean Db1 score for respondents from the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .475) and the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .500) were significant different,  $P= .022$  and  $P= .010$ ; however, there were no strongly significant different compare with the age 20 to 29 to the age of 30 to 39 (MD= .159) and the age over 60 (MD= .539),  $P= .831$  and  $P= .681$ .

As the figure of research, people in the age of 20 to 29 had the significant result on the hypothesis of the anonymity. In the elaboration of the result on the public opinions showed that the anonymity can become the function that gave people the ability to speak out their opinions without fearing. The reason was that people in the generation had seen the cyber bully since they know how to get the information online, so that to avoid making the opinion conflicts with others, they would choose not to give the obvious personal information when they tried to give the onions. Besides, people in the generation had individualism, they would not to make people under the situation on the

Table 17

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Db1						
B.G	21.597	4	5.399	4.178	.002	20~29 > 40~49
W.G	564.784	437	1.292			50~59
Total	586.380	441				

❖**Db1:**Back through the presidential election on 2020, wherever I speak out your opinions, I will try to use the sentence " I heard..." to avoid showing my real point of view about the candidates whom I support.

Table 18

Various	Age(I)	Age(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Db1	20~29	30~39	.159	.151	.831
		40~49	.475	.157	.022
		50~59	.500	.152	.010
		60	.539	.409	.681

### The marketing strategy on the internet

In the section, the researcher is going to answer the last research question: what do the voters think about the candidates using the media to influence the voters' decision? The researcher will also explore what kind of media that the voters' preference of using to receive the election information

The research showed people's preference of receiving the candidate's

information. In the survey, the percentage of using traditional methods to get the information was 11.5 percent, in the other ward, the percentage of using the social media to receiving the information was 50.9 percent which means people had more receivable to use the social media. The research on the different social media could make the bigger influence, so the percentage of streaming attract voters was 42.1 percent, the percentage of using YouTube to promote was 52.3 percent, the percentage of Facebook portfolio increasing the attention was 41 percent, the percentage of sharing perceptions on Instagram was 48.6 percent, and the percentage of sharing perceptions on Facebook was 55.6 percent (see table 19). The percentage indicated that the candidates used the social media could get the more attention from the voters. However, social media could not influence everyone. There were some of voters still didn't influence by any of social media which made the research percentage of less attractive on the stream was 18.8 percent, the percentage of no interest in YouTube promotion video was 13.4 percent, the percentage of no interest in the candidates' Facebook portfolio was 18.8 percent, the percentage of no interest in the candidate sharing the perceptions on the Instagram was 15.2 percent, and the percentage of no interest in the candidates sharing the perceptions on the Facebook was 10.2. The percentage showed that the social media could have a scale of attraction to the voters, but not for all of people agreed with the functions.

Table 19

		Five-point scale	Three-point scale
Ea1	Strongly Disagree	3.4	11.5
	Disagree	8.1	
	Neural	37.6	37.6
	Agree	36.4	50.9
	Strongly Agree	14.5	

Total Percentage		100	
<p>◆<b>Ea1</b> : Back through the presidential election on 2020, compared to the traditional candidates' policy advertising, I would rather than notice internet advertising.</p>			
Eb1	Strongly Disagree	3.4	18.8
	Disagree	15.4	
	Neural	39.1	39.1
	Agree	29.4	42.1
	Strongly Agree	12.7	
	Total Percentage		100
<p>◆<b>Eb1</b> : Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates using the Youtube video to advertise themselves will be more attractive to me to get to know them.</p>			
Eb2	Strongly Disagree	3.4	13.4
	Disagree	10	
	Neural	34.4	34.4
	Agree	40.3	52.3
	Strongly Agree	12	
	Total Percentage		100
<p>◆<b>Eb2</b> : Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates use social media streaming to advertise themselves will be more attractive to me to get to know them.</p>			
Ec1	Strongly Disagree	7.5	20.6
	Disagree	13.1	
	Neural	43	43
	Agree	22.6	36.4
	Strongly Agree	13.8	
	Total Percentage		100
<p>◆<b>Ec1</b> : Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates establishing their own fan pages on Instagram will make me more willing to get to know them.</p>			
Ec2	Strongly Disagree	5.7	18.8

Disagree	13.1	
Neural	40.3	40.3
Agree	29	
Strongly Agree	12	41
Total Percentage		100

◆**Ec2** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates establishing their own fan pages on Facebook will make me more willing to get to know them.

Ed1	Strongly Disagree	4.5	
	Disagree	10.7	15.2
	Neural	36.3	36.3
	Agree	32	
	Strongly Agree	16.6	48.6
	Total Percentage		100

◆**Ed1** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates sharing their perceptions about the social issue on their fan pages on Instagram will make me more willing to get to know their opinions

Ed2	Strongly Disagree	2.7	
	Disagree	7.5	10.2
	Neural	34.2	34.2
	Agree	40	
	Strongly Agree	15.6	55.6
	Total Percentage		100

◆**Ed2** : Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates sharing their perceptions about the social issue on their fan pages on Facebook will make me more willing to get to know their opinions.

### **The effect of age on marketing strategy**

In the internet widespread generation, the convenient social media can give to candidates a better place to promote themselves, but each of ages who use the social media in different ages will have different level influence. A one-way ANOVA was performed to compare the effect of the ages on Ea1 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, compared to the traditional candidates' policy advertising, I would rather than notice internet advertising.) and Ed2 (Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates sharing their perceptions about the social issue on their fan pages on Facebook will make me more willing to get to know their opinions.).

Tukey's HSD Test for multiple comparisons found that the mean Ea1 and Ed2 had significantly influence on the age of 20 to 29. In Ea1, the age of 20 to 29 was only lower than the respondents from the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .405),  $P = .012$ ; yet, the age of 30 to 39 (MD= -.178), the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .064), and the age over 60 (MD= -.200) were no significant influence comparing with the age of 20 to 29,  $P = .616$ ,  $P = .988$ , and  $P = .976$ . In Ed2, compare with the age of 20 to 29, the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .365) had much more significant influence than other ages,  $P = .026$ . In Ed2, there were no statistically significant influences in the age 30 to 39 (MD= .058), the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .335) and the age over 60 (MD= .595) comparing with the age of 20 to 29,  $P = .990$ ,  $P = .066$ , and  $P = .378$ . There was a interesting figure in Ea1. The age of 20 to 29 was not the only comparison giving the significant to the other ages. The age of 30 to 39 compared the age of 50 to 59 (MD= .583) had the significant different than other ages,  $P = .001$ ; however, the age of 20 to 29 (MD= .178), the age of 40 to 49 (MD= .242), and the age over 60 (MD= -.023) had no significant with the age of 30 to 39,  $P = .616$ ,  $P = .526$ , and  $P = 1.000$ .

The candidates who used the social media to promote themselves would be the

best choice to win the youngest ages of people's support. The generation explanation could be the answer of the research questions. When people in the age of 20 to 29, they were in the generation Z, people used to received the information through the internet. Therefore, the candidates used the social media to promote themselves could be the most useful function for the age of 20 to 29. As the same time, people in the age of 30 to 39 had the significant on the promotion on the social media. The reason could be that even though the age of 30 to 39 was not defined in the generation with the internet, but the age of 30 to 39 was the part of the generation of late period of generation Y. It showed that people in the late period of generation Y had pass through the investment process of the internet, so that people in the generation Y could take the social media became one of the promotion platform. However, in the age of 50 to 59 had the totally different habit of using the social media, people in the age of 50 to 59 was defined the generation of X and they would rather than to see the words on the promotion but not only watch the picture of the advertisement; therefore people in the age of 50 to 59 had less significant than the age of 20 to 29 on the candidates using the social media to do the promotion.

When the candidate used the social media such as Facebook to share their opinions about the current events, the action could win the notification on the age of 20 to 29; yet, people in the age of 50 to 59 was the age that could not give their attention on the candidates' opinions on Facebook about the current issues. The generation habit of using the social media could be the main reason that caused the result.

Table 20

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
Ea1						
B.G	14.597	4	3.649	4.133	.003	
W.G	358.894	437	.883			20~29 > 50~59
Total	400.491	441				30~39 > 50~59
Ed2						
B.G	12.811	4	3.203	3.777	.005	
W.G	370.592	437	.848			20~29 > 50~59
Total	383.403	441				

❖**Ea1:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, compared to the traditional candidates' policy advertising, I would rather than notice internet advertising.

❖**Ed2:** Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates sharing their perceptions about the social issue on their fan pages on Facebook will make me more willing to get to know their opinions

Table 21

Various	Age(I)	Age(J)	Mean Different	Std.	Sig.
Ea1	20~29	30~39	-.178	.125	.616
		40~49	.064	.130	.988
		50~59	.405	.126	.012
		60	-.200	.338	.976
	30~39	20~29	.178	.125	.616
		40~49	.242	.155	.526
		50~59	.583	.152	.001
		60	-.023	.349	1.000

	20~29	30~39	.058	.123	.990
Ed2		40~49	.335	.127	.066
		50~59	.365	.123	.026
		60	.595	.332	.378

## CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

In the whole research, the researcher focused on the theory of the spiral of silence and the cross-pressure in the period of the time in the 2020 Taiwan Presidential Election. There was the phenomenon of the spiral of silence and the cross-pressure in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election. These two phenomena caused a scale of influence on the voters. Social media was the method to improve candidates and to increase the support rate.

In the below of conclusion, the researcher will separate the results into three parts based on the theory that I mentioned above the research. In the theory of the spiral of silence, the research of the spiral silence showed a significant result. The cross-pressure theory showed the significance of the result. During the time in 2020 Taiwan Presidential Election, the most influential social media for the candidates to do the promotion was Facebook. The reason will write detail in below.

### **Spiral of silence**

The research of the spiral of silence existed in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election. The hypothesis that was mentioned by Noelle-Neumann was people keep silent because they fear being isolated by others, so they hold their opinions instead of speaking out. Though Zhou's research<sup>26</sup> found that the spiral of silence on the PTT had disappeared, my research showed that the spiral of silence still existed. The portion of respondents who changed voting behaviors because of the influence of mainstream on the internet was no more than 40%..

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<sup>26</sup>周佳儀; *ibid.*

People in the result of the age, gender, and location had the influence on the spiral of silence. The percentage showed that most people were had no influence on the public opinions, but there were still rare of the voters claimed that they had the influence on the public opinions. In addition, the spiral of silence still influenced people' voting behavior and its percentage were around 20 percent of voters influenced. In the hypothesis of the spiral of silence, the result was showed that people were rarely influenced by the fearing of isolation. The percentage was around 30 percent. Therefore, even though there were still a huge number of voters chose keeping the harmony, the fearing of isolation still existed in the voter's voting behavior.

### **Cross-pressure**

The research showed the cross-pressure was in the 2020 Taiwan presidential election. The family and friends the influenced the decision making (QIU,SHI-YI,2012<sup>27</sup>). The percentage of the influence was around 20 percent. In the research I found, the anonymity could improve more willingness of weakened opinion speaker to speak out their opinions without fearing (Zhou Jia Yi, 2007<sup>28</sup>); yet, the theory mentioned that although the anonymity could increase the willingness to speak out, as the same time it decreased people's responsibility to their opinions (Xiao Ru Jun, 2010<sup>29</sup>) which is the research result that people would use "I heard" to decrease the relation between the sentence and themselves. The percentage of people who would use "I heard" to avoid the responsibility was around 40 and it showed that most people chose the less responsible way to speak out their opinions even though the willingness of people who weren't influenced by the cross-pressure showed that they

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<sup>27</sup> 邱師儀, "避免衝突、交叉壓力與政治不活動," *台東大學人文報* 2 卷 2 期 (2012).

<sup>28</sup> 周佳儀; *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> 蕭如君; *ibid.*

were around 30 percent of people were not afraid of public opinions.

### **Social media strategy**

The research on the percentage of candidates used social media to lead the mainstream that was showed more than 40 percent. The voters would be influenced by social media and had more willingness to use social media to receive information about the candidates. However, even though people nowadays had more willingness to use social media to follow the information, there were still 11.5 percent of people who would choose not to use social media to know the candidates' information. The previous literature mentioned that the medium which people used to get the information can help improve the voters to participation the political issues (Tsai, Yun-Ching, Wang, Song-In, 2020<sup>30</sup>). Besides, the research also showed that when the candidates used Facebook to post some perceptions of current issues, the voters would have more willingness to give their opinion feedback (Cheng Wen Chang, 2018<sup>31</sup>).

### **Suggestions**

In the research, I found out that in the different generation of people would have difference influence level on the spiral of silence, cross-pressure and the way how the social media influence the voters are base on the generation different. However, the generation difference could cause make the he influence was the result that I did not expect. Perhaps some days in the future, the research of generation and the spiral of silence in Taiwan can be one of the researches and to see the interesting influenced between generation to generation.

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<sup>30</sup>蔡雲卿 Tsai; *ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>張政文 Cheng-Wen Chang, "探討臉書意見氣候與害怕對政治表達意願的影響極其調節因素 Exploring the Moderators of the Impact of Facebook Opiniion Climate on Political Discussion through Fear of Isolation," (2018-06).

## Appendix A

### The Voting Behavior of 2020 Taiwan Presidential Election:

#### The Perceptive of Spiral of Silence and Cross-pressure

親愛的先生/小姐：

這是一份學術研究問卷，主要目的是探討「候選人網路行銷對於選舉情勢影響之問卷調查」。在此希望能耽誤您幾分鐘的時間，依您的真實感受填寫問卷，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，您的協助將使本研究更具貢獻，在此獻上最誠摯的謝意。

敬祝 事事順心、健康愉快！

指導老師：文藻外語大學國際事務系 謝仁和 教授

#### 第一部分：網路媒體 Internet Media

Aa1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我看見網路媒體上的大眾輿論偏向我不支持的候選人，我會因為這樣的情境而改變我對於我支持候選人的看法

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will change the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Aa2. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我看見網路媒體上的大眾輿論偏向我不支持的候選人，我會因為這樣的情境就動搖我對候選人的支持

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will reconsider the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Ab1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我看見網路媒體上的大眾輿論偏向我不支持的候選人，我會因為這樣的情境而不再關注（Unfollow）我所支持的候選人  
Back through the presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will unfollow the candidates I support based on the mainstream situation.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Ac1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我看見網路媒體上的大眾輿論偏向我不支持的候選人，我會因為這樣的情境而不敢在網路媒體上面表達我對於支持者的言論

Back through presidential election on 2020, when I see the mainstream of public opinions on the internet media is different from mine, I will afraid of speaking out about the candidates who I support on the internet media.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

## 第二部分：人際傳播 Social communication

Ba1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，當我身旁的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧，我會選擇不發表我對於我所支持的候選人的意見

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out about the candidates I support.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Bb1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，當我身旁的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧，我會因為這樣的人際壓力就改變我對於我所支持的候選人的想法

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media is different from my families or friends, I will change the perceptions of the candidates who I support base on the group pressure.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Bb2. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我身旁的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧，我會因為這樣的人際壓力就選擇表態不支持我目前支持的候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will chose not to support the candidates I support based on group pressure.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Bc1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，當我身旁的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人表達高度的贊同，我會更願意去與他們表達我對此候選人的看法

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions of candidates are strongly supported by my family or friends, I will have a higher willingness to speak out about the perceptions of the candidates whom I support.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

### 第三部分：輿論孤立 Isolation of public opinions

Ca1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我身邊的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧，我會因為因為害怕他人與自己的想法不同而不表態支持我原先支持的候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out the position about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of having different opinions from the mainstream.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Cb1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我身邊的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧，我會因為害怕被他人輿論上孤立而不敢表態我對所支持的候選人的意見嗎

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my opinions about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Cc1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我身邊的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧，會因為害怕他人與自己想法的不同而不發表我對支持的候選人的看法

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out my perceptions about the candidates whom I support, only because I am afraid of being isolated by the mainstream.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Cd1. 回想2020年總統大選時，當我身邊的親友輿論對於我所支持的候選人與我有所分歧時，比起害怕孤立而選擇保持沉默，更會因為想要避免衝突而選擇不去發表意見

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are different from my family or friends, I will choose not to speak out about my perceptions of the candidates I support. The reason is that they want to avoid conflicts with each other, but rather than be afraid of being isolated.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

#### 第四部分：匿名性 Anonymity

Da1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，不論在哪發言，在知曉每個發言者是誰的情況下，我會害怕在他人面前表達我對我所支持的候選人看法

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are not anonymous, I will afraid to speak out about the perceptions of the candidates whom I support in front of people.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Db1. 回想2020年總統大選時，不論在哪發言，在知曉每個發言者是誰的情況下，我會害怕在他人面前表達我對我所支持的候選人看法

Back through the presidential election on 2020, when my opinions on the internet media are not anonymous, I will afraid to speak out about the perceptions of the candidates whom I support in front of people.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Dc1. 回想2020年總統大選時，不論在哪裡發言，當有關選舉候選人的社會輿論偏向我所不支持的候選人時，而我在知曉我所表態的輿論將是匿名的狀態，我會更願意表態支持我所支持的候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, wherever I speak out my opinions, I will have a higher willingness to speak out my perceptions on the candidates whom I support after I know that the opinions will be anonymous.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

### 第五部分：媒體行銷 Internet Marketing

Ea1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，比起一般對於選人的政見廣告，我較能接受候選人利用網路來宣傳自己

Back through the presidential election on 2020, compared to the traditional candidates' policy advertising, I would rather than notice internet advertising.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Eb1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，對於候選人使用社群媒體直播與選民互動會吸引我去關注此候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates using the streaming to do the interaction with voters will be more attractive to me to get to know them.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Eb2. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，對於候選人使用社群媒體直播與選民互動會吸引我去關注此候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates using the Youtube video to advertise themselves will be more attractive to me to get to know them.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Ec1. 回想 2020 年總統大選時，對於候選人使用 Instagram 建立自己的專頁會吸引我願意去關注此候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates establishing their own fan pages on Instagram will make me more willing to get to know them.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Ec2. 回想2020年總統大選時，對於候選人使用 Facebook建立自己的專頁會吸引我願意去關注此候選人

Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates establishing their own fan pages on Facebook will make me more willing to get to know them.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Ed1. 回想2020年總統大選時，對於候選人使用Instagram 於自己的專頁中分享時事看法會吸引我去了解他的觀點

Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates sharing their perceptions about the social issue on their fan pages on Instagram will make me more willing to get to know their opinions

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

Ed2. 回想2020年總統大選時，對於候選人使用 Facebook於自己的專頁中分享時事看法會吸引我去了解他的觀點

Back through the presidential election on 2020, the candidates sharing their perceptions about the social issue on their fan pages on Facebook will make me more willing to get to know their opinions.

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

## 第七部分：基本資料

Fa1. 性別 Gender

男性 Male  女性 Female

Fb1. 年齡 Age

20歲~29歲  30歲~39歲  40歲~49歲  50歲~59歲  60歲~69歲  70歲~79歲  80歲~89歲  90歲以上

Fc1. 戶籍地區 Domicile

- 基隆 Keelung  台北 Taipei  新北 New Taipei  桃園 Taoyuan  
 新竹 Hsinchu  苗栗 Miaoli  台中 Taichung  南投 Nantou  
 彰化 Changhua  雲林 Yunlin  嘉義 Chiayi  台南 Tainan  
 高雄 Kaohsiung  屏東 Pingtung  台東 Taitung  花蓮 Hualien  
 宜蘭 Yilan  金門 Kinmen  澎湖 Penghu  馬祖 Matsu

Fd1. 常關注政黨 Political party

- 泛藍 Relative to KMT  泛綠 Relative to DPP  泛橘 Relative to PFP   
其他

《問卷到此結束，感謝您用心的問答》

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