

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE, POLITICAL PARTIES APPROACH, AND PEOPLE'S  
PERCEPTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF TAIWAN

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**TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE, POLITICAL PARTIES' APPROACH, AND  
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**ABSTRACT**

Taiwan transitioned from autocracy to democracy. since then, this island began work on transitional justice to preserve the achievement of democratization. Both KMT and DPP are working on transitional justice with different approaches to implementing institutional reforms to strengthen the rule of law, deepen democracy, and protect human rights. Nonetheless, people feel sensitive and unfamiliar with this issue, due to different party identification and collective memory. Therefore, it left a scar on different generations, the society needs more dialogue and seeks reconciliation.

Since the majority of citizens don't really understand or are familiar with what transitional justice is, the author created a questionnaire survey that divided up the various ways it is applied, in order to gauge public opinion. This, along with party identification and collective memory, aims to offer a fresh perspective on transitional justice research. Government and political parties' official websites are used to find out the attitude whether similar to the peoples' or not.

The finding shows some ways of transitional justice gain people's support, such as truth-seeking and promoting social reconciliation. some ways did not, like the removal of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. Taiwanese attitudes show that our country needs truth and seeks social reconciliation rather than other political parties' ideological confrontations.

Keywords: Taiwan, transitional justice, political parties, party identification, voting behavior, social reconciliation

## 轉型正義，政黨方向與人民看法－以臺灣為例

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### 摘要

臺灣經歷了專制時期而逐漸走向民主化，從那時起，政府一直致力於轉型正義以維護民主化的成就。國民黨和民進黨都致力於各項轉型正義，兩黨以不同的方式實施體制改革，目的是加強法治、深化民主和保護人權。然而，在民間由於不同的政黨認同和集體記憶，人們對這個問題感到敏感和陌生。因此，它給不同的世代留下了傷痕，因此社會需要更多的對話來尋求和解。

由於大多數公民並不真正了解或熟悉什麼是轉型正義，因此作者設計了一個網路問卷調查，將轉型正義應用的各種方式進行了劃分，以衡量公眾輿論。且比較了政黨認同和集體記憶，旨在為轉型正義研究提供新的視角。過程當中也將利用政府的官方網站和政黨人士的社群網站來了解其發文的論述與人民的態度是否相似。

調查結果表明，轉型正義的一些方式獲得了人們的支持，例如尋求真相和促進社會和解的部分。有些方法沒有，比如拆除中正紀念堂。臺灣人民的態度表明，我國需要真相亦須尋求社會和解，而不是帶入政黨之間的意識形態對抗。

關鍵字:臺灣,政黨,轉型正義,政黨認同,投票行為,社會和解

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## INTRODUCTION

### Background

Taiwan, an island country usually highly recognized as a free-democratic state in East Asia, has a bunch of achievements related to the process of democratization, even nowadays this vigorous country has proved to the global society its democratic value and function by the two-turnover test. The political party in Taiwan plays a key role, KMT(Kuomintang) (Chinese Nationalist Party) used to be a ruler of the single-party authoritarian era and has done several anti-human rights oppression and various levels of abuse toward the citizens of Taiwan.<sup>1</sup>

Transitional justice work initially focuses on the February 28 incident. In the beginning, it is just a conflict of checking smuggled cigarettes in Taipei, however, the process of it might not be appropriate, citizens went on strike, marched, and protested the next day, causing more protests and conflicts, violent incidents occurred in major cities, local Taiwan and Waishengren fight each other, more seriously the army opened fire, killing and injuring a large number of people.<sup>2</sup> The February 28 incident might reflect the conflict between these two ethnic communities, of course, what really happened at that time can't be explained fully as it is too hard to verify whether the historical documents are true or not,<sup>3</sup> The only thing we known was that after February 28, when the troop sent by Chiang Kai-Shek came to Taiwan and with others to oppress the chaos and protest, it is a massacre between all the citizen in the island, This incident had an impact on the local political ecology, deepening ethnic alienation

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<sup>1</sup> Ernest Caldwell, "Transitional Justice Legislation in Taiwan before and During the Tsai Administration," *Washington International Law Journal Association* 27 (2018).

<sup>2</sup> 林安儒, "228 事件那年, 台灣究竟發生了什麼? 讓這位美國記者用第三方視角告訴你由來," Storm Media Group, <https://www.storm.mg/lifestyle/413323?mode=whole>.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Edmondson, "The February 28 Incident and National Identity," *Memories of the future: National identity issues and the search for a new Taiwan* (2002).

and conflict, and the KMT even took advantage of it to announce martial law, the various authoritarian colonial behavior adopted later to consolidate rule and strengthen control toward the citizen. NGO in Taiwan tried to heal the wound of the February 28 incident, for example, the 228 Memorial Foundation works in three directions: "commemoration, education, and culture," It creates an international exchange platform to practice Taiwan's transformational justice and carry on the historical mission of February 28.<sup>4</sup>

After the third wave of democracy, due to the emergence of a significant entrepreneurial class, largely composed of native Taiwanese, established a form of power and wealth independent of the state's mainlander-dominated government,<sup>5</sup> the KMT government led by Chiang Ching-Kuo (蔣經國) and Lee Teng-Hui (李登輝) start to shift this country into a free-democratic state, during this process, the citizen and several scholars, and also DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) asked for transitional justice, to solve the dispute and expose the truth in the past authoritarian era, make Taiwan as a more consolidated free-democratic state. At that time Taiwan's atmosphere between the Waishengren (外省人), those who migrated to Taiwan from mainland China after WWII or the Kuomintang retreat after the mid-to-late-1940s,<sup>6</sup> which marked the end of the Chinese Civil War, and local Taiwanese is quite a tension, not only happens in civil society but also inside the KMT party, leader like Lee began to bring the KMT out of the Party-state system, and those non KMT political asked for transitional justice.<sup>7</sup>

In 2016, DPP won both congress and the presidential election and after 1 year, on December 5, 2017, the Legislative Yuan passed the " Act on Promoting Transitional

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<sup>4</sup> 財團法人二二八事件紀念基金會, <https://228.org.tw/228museum.php?sn=1>.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel P Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of democracy* 2, no. 2 (1991).

<sup>6</sup> Yang Zhong, "Explaining National Identity Shift in Taiwan," *Journal of Contemporary China* 25, no. 99 (2016).

<sup>7</sup> 江宜樺, "台灣的轉型正義及其省思," *思想*, no. 5 (2007).64-81

Justice" in the third reading. On May 31, 2018, the Transitional Justice Commission was officially established. During the presidential campaign, Tsai Ing-wen had high profile announcement that implements transitional justice as her five major policies as the President, although transitional justice is not a brand new issue in Taiwan, almost every former president has executed a different kind of transitional justice, some of them even cause a dramatic change in the society, this is a very divergent and sensitive issue in Taiwanese heart, some people strongly asked for transition justice, to restore the wrong of the past authoritarian era, however, the opposition side usually condemn as a political conspiracy, the government doesn't need to do more about this issue, Words such as hatred, reckoning, and struggle that appear from them.

Take a look at KMT's previous Mayor of Taipei Hau Lung-pin(郝龍斌) who declared that "Transitional Justice policy is not a goal, but a means for the DPP."<sup>8</sup> Another opinions was that the government should focus on the compensation and understand the real demands of those victims or their families, KMT Legislator Chiang Wan-an (蔣萬安) expresses that: "Transitional justice should respond to the hope of the victims, rather than provoke disputes and confrontations and drive malicious abuse and attacks."<sup>9</sup> Those statements reflect the difficulty of implementing Transitional Justice, each politician has their concern, and in the case of Taiwan's political party confrontation, this issue cannot be ignored even more. What's worse, owing to the Blue-Green antithesis, both sides' political ideologies cannot recognize each other, which contributes to a vicious circle, gradually, the supporters don't discuss this issue in a rational way, and the rift of opposition widens and deepens under the amount of mobilization. Hence, the core value and original purpose of

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<sup>8</sup> 郝龍斌, "民進黨「虛偽」的轉型正義, 不敢說的真相!", (Facebook, 2017.0227).

<sup>9</sup> 蔣萬安, "轉型正義需要朝野及全民共同努力, 才能撫平傷痕, 讓臺灣繼續向前邁進。", (Facebook, 2022.0228).

Transitional Justice might be ignored by people. This is a zero-sum result for the whole society of Taiwan.

The media perspective in Taiwan is quite divided as well, which caused the first impressions of transitional justice to some Taiwanese to be totally divergent. The report on transitional justice is not appropriate and complete enough, most of them report the action and execute aspect but ignore discourse on the core value and purpose of traditional justice.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, both sides of supporters may not even understand what they are arguing about, most of them directly think it is an easy true and false question, actually, some scholars have pointed out that Taiwan's political design of transitional justice and compensation for the victim, was almost its only act, and yet it lacked legal or moral prosecution of the perpetrators, along with true discovery.<sup>11</sup> Transitional Justice is an important part of Taiwan's attempt to shed the shadow of authoritarianism and pursue Taiwan's democratic values; However, in comparison to cross-strait policies and economic development, the issue of transitional justice has never become a mainstream issue in Taiwan, and there are differences in the blue and green parties' positions on this issue, making this issue more sensitive and people may simply classify it as a simple political issue.

### Motivation

Several decades ago, we heard the term "Blue, Green antithesis" even until now, basically every time when our society has a dispute and argument on some social issue or country policy. It seems that Taiwanese society usually is separated into two camps that disagree with each other. From a country's education policy to how to

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<sup>10</sup> 許賀鈞, "「轉型之後, 何謂正義?」台灣轉型正義論述探析" (National Chengchi University, 2021).

<sup>11</sup> Chen Chun-Hung and Chung Han-hui, "Unfinished Democracy: Transitional Justice in Taiwan," *Studia z Polityki Publicznej* 3, no. 4 (12) (2016).

decide on a road name, part of these conflicts is because they have different understandings and identities of history, some historical events easily ignite social debate and division due to other kinds of collective memory. Because Taiwan's two major political parties have never stopped arguing, many of the country's policies would be boycotted or opposed by the other party, making it impossible for citizens to rationally debate and dialog on social issues like transitional justice. Dating back to the junior high school period, the textbook began to teach us about the mid-1980s and some historical incidents, like the White Terror era, February 28 incident and democratic development in Taiwan, our former president Mr. Chiang, Ching-Kuo, as well as Mr. Lee Teng-hui, reacted to economic and social change by gradually opening up politics in Taiwan society. Personally, I'm proud of their decision and policy, they brought a more open and healthy Taiwanese society that still affects our daily routine.

The political issue is usually a sensitive topic during discussion. Nevertheless, Taiwan needs a healthy political environment to discuss these disputes, as this is also the value of democracy, reflecting Voltaire's statement: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it". In 2016, Tsai Ing-wen became the president of Taiwan, she advocated the implementation of transitional justice as one of her signature policies. After that, the DPP administration set up "Transitional Justice Commission" to deal with this issue. Personally, I would like to know whether this issue could have a possibility of reuniting all Taiwanese by providing a suitable transitional justice policy and calling for a more widespread discussion within the city. The author would also like to find out what citizens are concerned about and the insufficient transitional justice approach and find out the association between transitional justice and voting behavior.

## Research Purpose

In my study, I would like to solve the controversial gap toward transitional justice, based on several scholars' arguments. There have many ways to pursue transitional justice, which include judicial and non-judicial mechanisms, such as truth-seeking, individual prosecutions, reparations, institutional reform, archives, and memorialization. However, our government is not spending enough effort on a large-scale political reconciliation,<sup>12</sup> making matters worse, both parties blame each other rather than negotiating the Transitional Topic issue, which affect their supporter's emotions and the news media standpoint.

In the reality, both parties' execution method is different, with DPP tending to execute the retributive approach, which focuses on democratic reforms measures to keep perpetrators out of authority and criminal prosecution. It reinforces the importance of putting an end to impunity in transitional societies. The goals are to pursue accountability, rebuild the principles of democracy, and avoid human rights violations,<sup>13</sup> but some of the extreme party members' actions caused the citizen a negative image on when implementing Transitional Justice. KMT, therefore, their policy and action of transitional justice, aims to assist victims in recovering from past brutality through compensation and memorialization, in the beginning, some of their members downplayed KMT's political and humanitarian responsibilities, avoided a trial, and investigated their own party's wrongs and crimes in the past authoritarian era, which might affect their legitimacy in the future.<sup>14</sup> As a citizen of the Republic of China, the researcher also would like to understand the association between the

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<sup>12</sup> 林雨佑, "走進兩場相異卻並存的導覽, 中正紀念堂志工們的轉型衝擊," *The Reporter*, <https://www.twreporter.org/a/228-2022-chiang-kai-shek-memorial-hall>.

<sup>13</sup> Nien-Chung Chang-Liao and Yu-Jie Chen, "Transitional Justice in Taiwan: Changes and Challenges," *Wash. Int'l LJ* 28 (2019).

<sup>14</sup> 陳翠蓮, "歷史正義的困境: 族群議題與二二八論述," *國史館學術集刊*, no. 16 (2008).

transitional justice approach within both parties, which has highly affected voters' opinions and ideology. Most importantly, seeking any possibility is help with social communication and resolve the division, to pursue social reconciliation.

### Research Questions

1. What are Taiwanese people's perceptions of the transitional justice?
2. Are Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice similar to DPP's and KMT's approaches? '

### Contribution

My contribution to this research is to learn about Taiwanese voters' attitudes toward Transitional Justice and to offer some new directions for Taiwan's Transitional Justice policy by collecting data on people's opinions about transitional justice, analyzing the collective memory and party identification influences to find out why or why not people support transitional justice, therefore, I would like to discover more about Taiwanese attitude and whether it is similar to KMTs and DPPs' Transitional Justice approach, to decreasing the dispute and pursue a peaceful future within Taiwan society.

The academic literature to date usually focuses on the past events in Taiwan society related to transitional justice, and the successful transitional justice case in some countries, I analyzed them and provided a different version from a college student's perspective, which might make more students in the same generation more concerned about this issue to ignite a positive debate on the social issues, encourage more communication between DPP and KMT supporters, and let them understand that this issue is a benefit to the whole society not only for reconciliation but also the

gatekeepers which prevent a democratic retreat and the restoration of authoritarianism.<sup>15</sup>

#### Limits

- It may be difficult to study every single transitional justice case in Taiwan. the relevant data and literature are very diverse and detailed.
- Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it is more challenging to find enough semi-structured interview samples with academics who are well-known for discussing transitional justice issues as well as members of various political parties. The majority of them declined to interview because my topic is controversial and sensitive, and the rest refused to allow the interview to be recorded.

#### Delimits

- The focus of my research is Taiwan's Transitional Justice issues, and the author use as many academic theses and journal articles from Taiwan and other countries as possible to consolidate my findings. The term "transitional justice" can also refer to the Taiwan indigenous community issue, but this is not what I intend to investigate.
- To fill the disadvantage of not having an interview. This research utilizes narrative analysis to discover and realize how politicians and political parties express Transitional Justice. There are many government and organization websites that provide interviews and reports on the victim and Politician. I'd like to evaluate their speech to see what reasoning lies behind their words.

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<sup>15</sup> Chun-Hung and Han-hui, "Unfinished Democracy: Transitional Justice in Taiwan."

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Quotation

In this part, the researcher defines what is transitional justice, and why certain countries execute this issue, by indicating some scholars' and the United Nations' ideas and descriptions. Then the researcher takes a look at Taiwan's transitional justice case and briefly introduces some injustice issues. Moreover, they illustrate the achievement of what the Taiwan government has done through this issue in the past.

This paper points out the problems and the lack of Taiwan transitional justice and discusses the different types of methods that have been used. In 2016, the DPP government implemented a series of transitional justice policies, which caused lots of controversy within Taiwan's society. As a result, the researcher tries to connect the relationship between the collective memory of transitional justice and voter party identification toward DPP and KMT.

### What is transitional justice?

Transitional justice usually refers to a panoply of mechanisms, activities, and investigations focused on how societies or governments deal with the legacies of past individuals and groups within the country that experienced various levels of abuse during long periods of authoritarian or colonial rule.<sup>16</sup> These mostly include human rights oppression, mass atrocity, or other forms of severe social and ethnic trauma. While those emerging countries move towards liberalization and democratization, they are bound to face the threats of the past.<sup>17</sup> Frankly, the idea of Transformational

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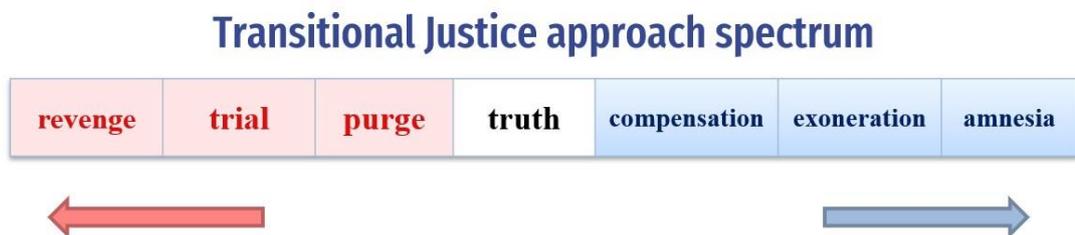
<sup>16</sup> International Center for Transitional Justice, "What Is Transitional Justice?," International Center for Transitional Justice

<https://www.ictj.org/what-transitional-justice>.

<sup>17</sup> Ruti G Teitel, *Transitional Justice* (Oxford University Press on Demand, 2000).

Justice is simple: How to compensate victims, how to treat perpetrators, and how to preserve historical memory based on the truth.<sup>18</sup> Different countries often handle the above work in different ways due to different historical and political circumstances, as stated by Zheng-Feng Shi Pathways of transformational justice presented in a spectral manner with the indicators: Revenge, Trial, Purge, Truth, Compensation, Exoneration, And Amnesia.<sup>19</sup>

Table 1 Transitional Justice approach spectrum



(This table are amendment from 施正鋒, "轉型正義的探討——由分配到認同,")

The common goal is to build a more democratic, justified and a peaceful future, to prevent those tragedies happening again in the future. It is a process transitive of the wrong old authoritarian or colonial-era to the right path and bringing justice to the new free-democratic era, providing "a depth, wealthy, and wider perspective of justice that seeks to confront perpetrators, address the needs of victims and in the start of a process of reconciliation and transformation."<sup>20</sup>It is not a simple thing or a process, nor is it a single-outcome formula for replicating systems. Rather, transitional justice includes different perspectives and modus, each modus can conduct a different outcome, but all come to the same goal, to prevent those illegal and injustice incidents

<sup>18</sup> 吳乃德, "自由共和國》吳乃德／轉型正義的台灣想像," Liberty Times, <https://talk.ltn.com.tw/article/paper/1376620>.

<sup>19</sup> 施正鋒, "轉型正義的探討——由分配到認同," 戰後資源分配問題學術研討會, 台北國立台灣師範大學 (2007).

<sup>20</sup> Alexander L Boraine, "Transitional Justice: A Holistic Interpretation," *Journal of International Affairs* (2006).

happening again in the future, this reflect a path and aisle that can get you closer to where you want to be: a more peaceful, fair, and reconciliation society that has embraced its violent past and brought justice to its victims and their families.<sup>21</sup>

### The beginning of transitional justice in Taiwan

In Asia, Taiwan's achievements in democratization have been recognized and praised internationally to a considerable extent. Despite democratization having seemingly mature, there are still some unsolved problems that have been deliberately suppressed in the past. Transitional justice is an obvious example.<sup>22</sup> In addition to Taiwan, there are other countries that execute transitional justice as well, for instance: Germany and South Africa, both countries face some tough issues related to culture, ethnicity and even genocide. Therefore, this issue is not only broad and convoluted, it includes multiple aspects and is also a sensitive topic that can ignite the fury of certain ethnicities. According to the United Nations Security Council report in 2004, transitional justice was defined as “the full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempt to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, in order to ensure accountability, serve justice, and achieve reconciliation.”<sup>23</sup>

Taiwan has gone through a long path from an authoritarian rule era, which means the period from 15 August 1945 to 6 November 1992,<sup>24</sup> until now under a free-democratic regime. During that period of the authoritarian regime, the single-party system ruled by KMT ruled by evading the constitution as the basic function of

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<sup>21</sup> Justice, "What Is Transitional Justice?".

<sup>22</sup> Yi-Li Lee, "The Institutional Choice and Contextual Factors of Transitional Justice-the Case of Taiwan," *台灣人權學刊* (2012/06).

<sup>23</sup> United Nations Security Council, "The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies," (United Nations Security Council, 23 August 2004).

<sup>24</sup> Transitional Justice Commission, "Act on Promoting Transitional Justice," ed. Executive Yuan (Executive Yuan, 2017-12-27).

regulating the state apparatus.<sup>25</sup> Several incidents that violate the human rights or oppressed the citizens' freedom of speech and the property, like the February 28 incident in 1947, still affects Taiwan's political ecology today, deepening ethnic estrangement, social division, and confrontation.<sup>26</sup> The February 28 incident is one of the major topics that when arise discussing the transitional justice in Taiwan. White terror era is another issue once we talk about the authoritarian period ruling by KMT, among this period, the government monitors the public, fabricated false cases against people who spoke or acted suspicious, and labeled people as spies(匪諜). Citizens were arrested, killed, tortured, and property confiscated indiscriminately across the country, resulting in many unjustified deaths, imprisonments, and injuries. Citizens' lives, property, health, and spirituality were all badly harmed, with different ethnic political elites being prosecuted for the belief that they had the potential to overthrow of the government. Based on literary historian LEE: "The state has committed disproportionate human rights violations against the people with institutional violence."<sup>27</sup> Most of them were innocent and were tortured or treated with other anti-humanitarian actions. All these things cause a scar inside the victims and their family.

At the end of the twentieth century, due to The Third Wave of Democratization, most significantly, with the indigenization of the KMT power structure and the decrease of KMT authoritarian rule came a vibrant Taiwanese nationalist movement with growing and broad-based social support,<sup>28</sup> based on a new Taiwanese identity, more and more native Taiwanese political elites gradually reach the political status inside the KMT, one of them is Lee Teng-hui, who is credited as the president who

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<sup>25</sup> 王思為, "轉型正義視野下的憲政改造," *新世紀智庫論壇* 第 69 期 (2015.03.30).

<sup>26</sup> Caldwell, "Transitional Justice Legislation in Taiwan before and During the Tsai Administration."

<sup>27</sup> 葉瑜娟, "隱藏的共犯——白色恐怖加害者在哪裡?," Storm Media Group, <https://www.storm.mg/article/69427?page=1>.

<sup>28</sup> Yun-han Chu and Jih-wen Lin, "Political Development in 20th-Century Taiwan: State-Building, Regime Transformation and the Construction of National Identity," *The China Quarterly* 165 (2001).

initiated Taiwan's transition to the democratic era, dubbed "Mr. Democracy". The local faction headed by Lee Teng-hui took the leadership of the KMT, and he launched a systematic reform in order to guide Taiwan through liberalization and democratization reforms. In his terms of office, the Lee administration led the revision of the constitution many times and achieved a number of democratization milestones, such as comprehensive re-election of the Congress and direct election of the president by all people.<sup>29</sup>

During Lee Teng-hui's presidency, the martial law was eventually lifted in 1987 officially, and temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion were also abolished in 1991.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, due to the pressure from the public and the civil society groups, Lee's administration initiated to investigate of the truth behind the February 28 incident. This was the first step of the KMT administration working on the transitional justice issue, by doing some preliminary investigation and forming the legislating compensation act (The February 28 incident Disposition and Compensation Act) addressed to those victims and their families who should be consoled by the government. To improve public understanding of the incident, to heal historical wounds, promote racial integration, and designate February 28 as Peace Memorial Day—a national memorial day and a day off. Last but not least, president Lee Teng-hui on behalf of the KMT government, apologized to the families of the victims of the incident, <sup>31</sup>saying: "I bear the fault of the government and express my sincere apologies." 「承擔政府所'犯的過錯，並道深摯的歉意。」 Lee's action and speech on the February 28 incident brought Taiwan to move forward in the path of

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Caldwell, "Transitional Justice Legislation in Taiwan before and During the Tsai Administration."

<sup>31</sup> He-Chun Hsu, "What King of Justice Is Needed after Democratic Transformation? Analysis and Discussion of Discourses About Transition Justice in Taiwan" (National Chengchi University, 2021).

transformational justice.

### Dilemma of Lee Teng-hui

Lee Teng-hui used a serious attitude, sincere words, and practical actions to give an account to the victims of the February 28 incident and their families. He played a key role of Taiwan Transitional Justice,<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, he also faced a dilemma. The KMT in the 1990s still outperformed the DPP in terms of volume and public opinion. The pressure from the KMT party member also against aggressive action and speech about transitional justice issues, although the political atmosphere of pursuing democracy can't be irreversible after all, in 1996, the president and vice president were directly elected by citizens for the first time. Lee Teng-hui and Lien Chan of KMT won with 54% of the vote, becoming the first democratically elected government after the relocation of the Republic of China government to Taiwan.

On the one hand, as the democratically elected president, he should always respond to the legacy of the previous authoritarian government; on the other hand, as the chairman of the Kuomintang Party and the successor to Chiang Ching-Kuo, he cannot completely deny the behavior of the previous authoritarian government,<sup>33</sup> Taiwan's rapid industrialization and economic growth in the latter half of the twentieth century might gave KMT administration a chance to hyped or promote as the political achievements of the KMT authoritarian government. In many previous cases, studying political collective memory can reveal how certain agents manipulated history by distorting part of the truth,<sup>34</sup> causing some of citizens want to date back to that "wonderful" time. Even in 2003, a nationwide telephone survey conducted by the

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<sup>32</sup> 陳翠蓮, "歷史正義的困境: 族群議題與二二八論述."

<sup>33</sup> Edwin A Winckler, "Institutionalization and Participation on Taiwan: From Hard to Soft Authoritarianism?," *The China Quarterly* 99 (1984).

<sup>34</sup> Peter J Verovšek, "Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past: The Politics of Memory as a Research Paradigm," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4, no. 3 (2016).

Institute of Sociology of the Academia Sinica found that nearly half (46%) of respondents believed that "Politics like the Chiang Ching-Kuo era before will be better for Taiwan."<sup>35</sup>

At the beginning "The February 28 incident Disposition and Compensation Act" ,uses the term “bu chang” (補償) for {compensation,}and this in Taiwanese administrative law signifies a form of restitution for injuries caused by a considered to be a word used by the KMT government to avoid responsibility for the various injuries caused in the past, rather than admitting the government's past mistakes and taking responsibility to compensate the victims, avoiding any liability or blame on the KMT. It is more like setting the tone for all of these relative tragedies, including human rights violations happening only because of historical atmosphere.

#### Lack and difficulty of Taiwan transitional justice

Taiwan's mode of dealing with transitional justice has also brought lots of discussion among different fields of scholars, politicians, citizens and so on, some of them are glad to support this issue to consolidate Taiwan's democracy. Nevertheless, the report from Academia Sinica tells us part of some scholars and citizens criticize the method of implementing Transitional Justice as too disruptive, vengeful, and polarizing.<sup>36</sup> It reflected the difficulty of doing transitional justice in Taiwan confronting plenty of issues, exceedingly different party identification, educational backgrounds, and, of course, party identification and political ideology. It is inevitable that there have different opinions and debates in the selection of the transitional justice model.

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<sup>35</sup> 吳乃德, "轉型正義和歷史記憶: 台灣民主化的未竟之業," *思想* 2 (2006).

<sup>36</sup> Yen-Tu Su, "Transitional Justice and Political Compromise in Taiwan" (paper presented at the International Colloquium on Global Ethics of Compromise, 2019).

Based on research of Liu Hao-han, has pointed out that “some people tend toward "justice", which is ask for trial and restore the correct judicial order; while others incline toward "peace" by compensating the victim, tolerant the wrong and give a form of comfort.”<sup>37</sup>In addition to the serious "party diametrical" in Taiwan, once one party proposes that transitional justice requires "trial". It is easily associated by other as political struggle, rather than a choice for a just position. Meanwhile, when one party calls for "letting go of the past," it is also easy to be accused of whitewashing peace or escaping the truth, rather than seeking the truth.<sup>38</sup>

Those who support KMT, tend to recognize the action done by KMT, such as compensation to those victims and their families. This includes setting up The February 28 incident Disposition and Compensation Act, President Lee apologizing publicly, and so on. Some scholars argue that DPP transitional justice approach is only used when facing the election to manipulate voters. In 2004, DPP president Chen Shui-bian talked about transitional justice and mentioned that he will deal with this issue if DPP won a majority in the legislature. Wu argues that he was not required to wait until his party obtains a majority in the legislature, it was also unnecessary to declare such a determination during the campaign. As a result of such a statement, transformational justice with a high level of morality has been reduced to a power struggle tool. Making such a declaration during an election serves no purpose for transitional justice or the reconstruction of social morality.<sup>39</sup> According to Jiang Yihuah: “As a result of the misuse of transitional justice, It deprives the current government of the legitimacy to pursue the injustices of the previous regime and also complicates the transition. The pursuit of justice casts an oppressive pall.”<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> 劉昊翰, "A Study on the Boundary between Executive and Judicial Power in Transitional Justice—Focusing on the Act on Promoting Transitional Justice" (Tunghai University, 2019).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> 吳乃德, "轉型正義和歷史記憶: 台灣民主化的未竟之業."

<sup>40</sup> 江宜樺, "台灣的轉型正義及其省思."

On the other side, those who would like to take advantage of transitional justice to consolidate the democratic system tend to eradicate the old, corrupt, injustice Party-state system. Initially, they are more likely to be more pro-DPP ideology and recognize providing compensation, setting up truth committees, and reconciliation. Furthermore, society also needs to review the system of the government to make sure that these injustices will not happen in the future again. Therefore, criminal justice is in some way a ritual of liberalizing states, giving them a way to create their new norms in public, ultimately creating a brighter and peaceful future.<sup>41</sup>

During the process of transitional Justice, the whole society must implement justice and institutional reform. According to Chen, If there is no justice and accountability for the perpetrators of the authoritarian system, then even if we enter democracy, institutional reform will not be completed. Therefore, the one-party rule must be removed, and investigation, return and reuse of the ill-gotten political party assets becomes a very serious job and goal to having an equal environment of political party competition, making healthiness of democratic politics.<sup>42</sup>

The ultimate goal always came to look for justice, however, in addition to restorative justice for the victims, retributive justice must also be done for the perpetrators. Otherwise, history will only repeat itself, but there is also plenty of military law enforcement personnel who have been transformed from perpetrators to victims due to several factors. For the general public, the line between the perpetrator and the victim is quite blurred, some of the perpetrators might be forced to execute those orders, and others may just be a bystander tolerating the crime happen. Evaluating different kinds of circumstances is quite hard.<sup>43</sup> The other reason is

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<sup>41</sup> Ruti Teitel, "Transitional Justice as Liberal Narrative," in *Out of and into Authoritarian Law* (Brill Nijhoff, 2002).

<sup>42</sup> 陳芳明, "轉型正義與台灣歷史" *思想* 5 (2007).

<sup>43</sup> 葉瑜娟, "隱藏的共犯——白色恐怖加害者在哪裡?" *風傳媒* (2015)

Authoritarian regimes have created many supporters and sympathizers during their long rule. Pursuing the crimes of political leadership often creates tension and division in society.<sup>44</sup>

### Tsai Ing-wen era transitional justice approach

Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee was established on August 31, 2016 to oversee and manage the investigation, return, expropriation, and restoration of rights of ROC political parties during the period of martial law in Taiwan.<sup>45</sup>

According to the Republic of China Constitutional Interpretation No.793: "The Chinese Kuomintang has in fact been in an absolutely dominant position leading the state for a long time. During its long-term rule, the Chinese Kuomintang has been assigned to the management of previous Japanese government properties, the Executive Yuan, and government agencies at all levels. Subsidies, transfers, grants, etc., to obtain a property with no or incommensurate consideration, or to obtain a large number of assets by means of the government's permission for party-run enterprises to operate specific businesses with privileges so that they have the opportunity to govern through elections. Compared with other political parties, they still have an unfair competitive advantage. Such improperly acquired properties should be restored to create a level playing field for political parties to implement transitional justice."<sup>46</sup>base on this explanation, some of the KMT Ill-gotten party assets gradually be confiscated.

Without a doubt, KMT's unyielding response to this committee and arguing that

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<sup>44</sup> 吳乃德, "轉型正義和歷史記憶: 台灣民主化的未竟之業." 思想 2(2006)

<sup>45</sup> Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee, "About Cipas," Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee  
<https://www.cipas.gov.tw/about>.

<sup>46</sup> The Constitutional Court of R.O.C., "釋字第 793 號【黨產條例案】," in 中華民國 109 年 08 月 28 日 院台大二字第 1090024723 號, ed. The Constitutional Court of R.O.C. (2020/08/28).

they violate administrative neutrality, At the time KMT spokesperson argue that “Kuomintang (KMT) had its special historical background in the past and participated in enterprises, but also assisted the growth and development of Taiwanese enterprises. The DPP has been established for more than 30 years. They have also established more than 50 foundations through other means or raised funds to build their own party properties. Both sides have different models.”<sup>47</sup> By this announcement, KMT argued about the definition of Ill-gotten party asset which they refer to as assets means assets the political parties has either acquired for themselves or allowed their affiliated organizations to acquire through conducts which are against the nature of political parties and the principles of democracy and the rule of law.<sup>48</sup>

The legislative yuan passed the "Act on Promoting Transitional Justice" in 2017. Within the act, they intend to carry out several actions, including the opening of political archives, the removal of authoritarian symbols, and the redress of judicial lawlessness. The value of this plan can be seen in President Tsai Ing-Inaugural wen's Address for the 14th term of the Republic of China. Today, the public has lost memory of authoritarian rule and is very unfamiliar with the concept of transitional justice. Tsai administration's way of executing Transitional Justice is different than the past DPP administration, the scholar analysis that Tsai try to seek a moderate and neutral attitude than before,<sup>49</sup> meanwhile, she reinforces that the goal of transitional justice is to pursue true social reconciliation so that all Taiwanese can take to heart the mistakes o perpetratorf that era.<sup>50</sup> However, the Tsai administration and the

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<sup>47</sup> 鄭仲嵐, "民進黨「黨產委員會」展開調查 國民黨回擊," BBC 中文網,

[https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/business/2016/09/160906\\_taiwan\\_investgation](https://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/business/2016/09/160906_taiwan_investgation).

<sup>48</sup> Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee, "The Act Governing the Settlement of Ill-Gotten Properties by Political Parties and Their Affiliate Organizations," (2016-08-10).

<sup>49</sup> 葉浩, "從過去的執拗低音到今日的主旋律-關於台灣轉型正義論述的側寫," *二十一世紀*, no. 159 (2017).

<sup>50</sup> President Tsai Ing-wen, "Inaugural Address of Roc 14th-Term President Tsai Ing-Wen," ed. Office of the President (2016-05-20).

Transitional Justice Committee's approach have been accused that violating the rationale for the separation of powers, according to the Taiwan Association for Truth and Reconciliation, Instead of "leading social dialogue and presenting a public discourse," the TJC focuses on "concrete implementation." Exacerbating misunderstandings and antagonisms in society does not help build a democratic culture.<sup>51</sup>

### Party identification and collective memory

Based on social divisions, Taiwanese voters identify with political parties representing different ideologies; based on this identity they decide who they vote for.<sup>52</sup> Between the KMT and the DPP, there is a significant ideological divide, particularly in cross-strait relations, which influence national identity, the younger generation usually has multi access to a political issue, and their understanding of DPP and KMT is different than other generations, they also have more interest in transitional justice issues. Transitional justice policy contains fabricating shared experiences about authoritarian government violence in the ROC's early years, conducting cultural and political distinction from China's irredentism and authoritarianism, and illustrating adherence to international democratic and human rights norms. In certain words, encouraging this kind of value is part of Tsai's broader geopolitical strategy, not just a domestic political legitimacy strategy.<sup>53</sup> Her supporter's negative image toward China might have an opportunity to transform into a positive attitude to acknowledge the Transitional Justice policy because those people

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<sup>51</sup> 陳嘉銘, "「台灣轉型正義再來該如何？」公聽會 | 台灣民間真相與和解促進會理事長發言全文" (the Taiwan Association for Truth and Reconciliation, 2022).

<sup>52</sup> 吳乃德, "家庭社會化和意識型態: 台灣選民政黨認同的世代差異," *台灣社會學研究* 3 (1999).

<sup>53</sup> Ian Rowen and Jamie Rowen, "Taiwan's Truth and Reconciliation Committee: The Geopolitics of Transitional Justice in a Contested State," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* (2017).

tend to prefer the democratic value such as the United States or Japan.

The language of "democracy," "freedom", and "human rights" usually repeatedly expressed in Tsai's speech<sup>54</sup> might ignite Taiwanese different generations' collective memory, which is the bridge between historical knowledge and social and political changes, in regard to the White Terror era, which usually refers to injustice, unfreedom, lack of basic human rights, frequency monitoring by the government, all of these features are relate to the image of an authoritarian regime. The collective memory of state violence and historical perspective has increasingly become a cross-generational issue, <sup>55</sup>

Both youth and the elderly see efforts to revisit the violence of the KMT regime as a way to point out the enduring legacies of colonial violence and to develop a new political identity, the young generation hasn't experienced the White terror era, as they were born in the atmosphere of liberal democratization after martial law, through the reform of curriculum, textbooks, and differences in history teaching, these people formed their own national identity, their understanding of democracy and human rights, have influenced by a different version of history curricular, <sup>56</sup>report and documentary even the game talk about and make them reflect and criticize that period.

In other words, some victims in the elder generation might have witnessed and undergone some of the oppression and violation caused by KMT, which may transfer to the incentive to vote for DPP. The DPP government believes that implementing transitional justice will bring democratic consolidation and value, and in the end, it brings a brighter future, a more freedom democratic country, and a reconcile civil society; some KMT party members refuse to recognize the legitimacy of the bill

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> 許賀鈞, "「轉型之後, 何謂正義?」台灣轉型正義論述探析."

<sup>56</sup> 陳君愷, "民主時代所需要的歷史教育——以台灣高級中學歷史教科書為中心的探討," *臺灣國際研究季刊* 11, no. 4 (2015).

related to promoting Transitional Justice and Ill-gotten Political Parties Properties, they deem that the transitional justice policy is a political struggle launched by the DPP to incite hatred among citizens against the KMT, which only benefit the DPP itself, not the victim.

Maurice Halbwachs, a philosopher and sociologist, studied and advanced the concept of collective memory. Based on his book "On Collective Memory" he asserts, "It is always selective; various groups of people have different collective memories, which in turn give rise to different modes of behavior."<sup>57</sup>

In Taiwan, this theory can fit into how citizens understand and learn about certain historical events and people. The government adopts various ways to spread ideology and collective memory in educational policy, for example, National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and 228 Peace, Memorial Park. Once we take a look at a country's or nation's memorial architecture or statue that may represent a portion of its collective memory, whether people commemorate or not can reflect their perspective and attitude toward collective memory as well. The reason why Chiang Kai-shek becomes controversial in Taiwan usually relates to his order and decision during the February 28 incident which paved the way for The White Terror era.<sup>58</sup> Overall, Chiang Kai-shek's responsibility in the February 28 incident is an important issue for political reconciliation and historical evaluation of this land.

Collective memory, can cause the reinterpretation of events within a group and lead to a conflict between social groups that have different recollections about a shared event.<sup>59</sup> Different people, ages, or ethnic groups may interpret the same issue or event differently depending on family and educational backgrounds, and this is also

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<sup>57</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press, 1992).

<sup>58</sup> 陳婉如, "Historical Context and Transformational Justice: A Network Questionnaire Study on the Abolition of the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall" (Nanhua University, 2019).

<sup>59</sup> Franklin Zaromb et al., "Collective Memories of Three Wars in United States History in Younger and Older Adults," *Memory & cognition* 42, no. 3 (2014).

applicable to transitional justice discussion within the Taiwan community. In the research attempting to understand the collective memories of war within different generations in the United States, the large disparity between younger and older adults' perceptions of dropped "atomic bombs" may be better explained by contrasting their war narratives, which reflect intergenerational differences in historical interpretations of the same events.<sup>60</sup> Like Taiwan, with a distinct understanding of the White terror era and the February 28 incident, citizen perspectives on National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and 228 Peace Memorial Park be opposite. Thus, a wider debate within civil society and the cultural sphere plays an important role in influencing political expressions of collective remembrance.

How citizens come to form long-term, affective attachments to political parties has been the subject of numerous studies. Political socialization is a multifaceted process via parental, and family influence. It is commonly assumed that schools are particularly important in political socialization contexts.<sup>61</sup> Childhood socialization at school inputs the basic political idea from the curricula and lectures, with the official education policy shaping the fundamental ideology. According to Tu Cheng-sheng, the KMT government realized that teacher and education curricula were crucial to ruling and shaping student ideas. Therefore, they have tightened their control over institutions that train teachers,<sup>62</sup> as a result, some of the staff formerly served as the ruling party's thought police on the campus. All these above reasons contribute to the decision-making in the voting process. Transitional Justice might not be the major controversial and conflicting point in the election campaign. However, the value and

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Joakim Ekman, "Schools, Democratic Socialization and Political Participation: Political Activity and Passivity among Swedish Youths," *Nordidactica: Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, no. 1 (2013).

<sup>62</sup> Tu Cheng-sheng, "Taiwan's Educational Reform and the Future of Taiwan" (paper presented at the Speech given at London School of Economics, 2007).

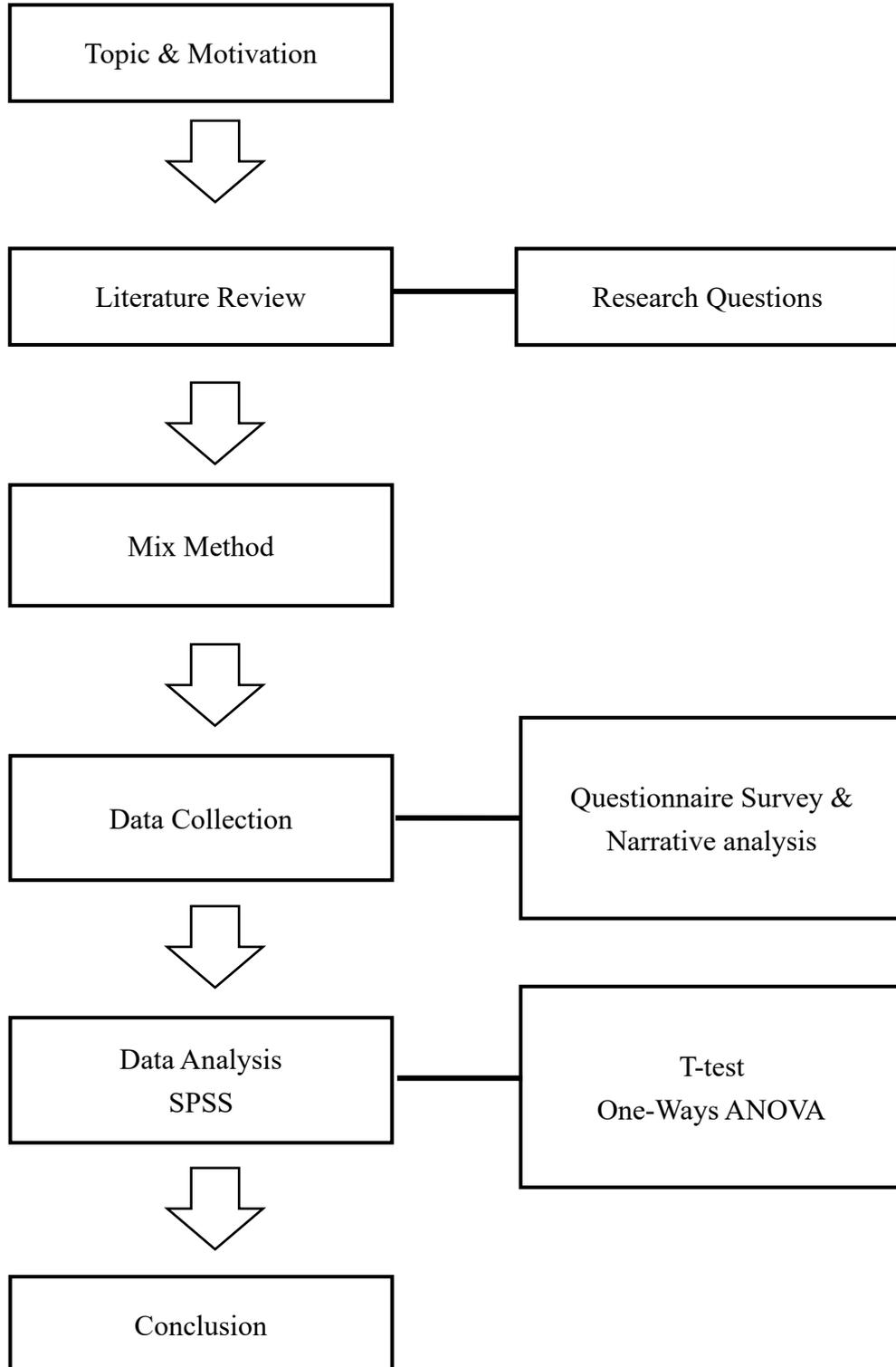
purpose inside of it will solely stimulate the ideology inside of the voter. DPP and their supporter are usually seen as holding out the significance of the Transitional Justice, therefore, Tsai use the narrative of “democracy consolidation” and broke from the “authoritarian era” during the presidential campaign and the founded ceremony of the Transitional Justice Commission, conveying that this is the time for us to make a break with the authoritarian age. Only after this step can Taiwan's democracy be truly consolidated.” We can’t deny that the value of democracy spread from her speech brought a significant echo, especially for the voter who already experienced the white terror era or direct oppression from the KMT. Interestingly though will it transform the direct voting rate of the election?

### Summary

So far, this paper discusses the purpose and meaning of Transitional Justice, which relates to Taiwan's democratization and democratic consolidation. This issue has been in discussion since a decade ago, along with the process of political party development of DPP and the political reform of KMT. Both party ideologies are dramatically different, and so are their attitudes toward the authoritarian era ruled by the KMT administration. In Taiwan, reunification issues and ethnic disputes are separated into two types of party identification and cause conflict within Taiwan society, therefore, the polarization of political ideology indirectly turns into an obstacle when executing and promoting Transitional Justice. What's more, lack of people consensus, our country did not have enough social dialogue and public discourse about transitional justice, which made our citizens can't understand the purpose of relevant implementation.

# METHODOLOGY

Research process



## Research design

This research utilized “Mix Methods Research” based on diversified, multi-faceted data to enhance the reliability and validity of the research. The quantitative method carries more weight in my study because I need to analyze the response to the questionnaire survey in order to answer my research questions. The survey employed a 5-point Likert scale response with all closed-ended questions, it consisted of the indicator of Transitional Justice, collective memory, and party identification. The purpose of the survey is to investigate the attitudes of the Taiwanese about this topic. This survey questions design had consulted Taiwan’s Election and Democratization Study<sup>63</sup> relative survey before, to make sure of its reliability.

The duration of data collection did not exceed three months, and the ideal number of respondent’s amount is about 200~300, the study population have to fulfill three following characteristic: First, he/she must have Republic of China nationality. Therefore, the researcher just sent this survey to Taiwanese; and second, people who are qualified to vote in the presidential election, in other words, he/she has to be above 20 years old, and it took about 3 minutes to respond to all the questions.

On the other side, narrative analysis is used to auxiliary aid my research, I would like to understand subjective experiences, beliefs, and concepts, it provides an empirical basis for monitoring shifts in public opinion.<sup>64</sup> More deep knowledge and idea are what I want to collect from reviewing government official documents, and Legislative Yuan meeting transcripts. Furthermore, an analysis of transitional justice on politicians' posts and news also was one of the sources in my study, it can provide how politicians describe, think, express, communicate, and how they express

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<sup>63</sup> "Taiwan’s Election and Democratization Study," <http://teds.nccu.edu.tw/main.php>.

<sup>64</sup> Steve Stemler, "An Overview of Content Analysis," *Practical assessment, research, and evaluation* 7, no. 1 (2000).

transitional justice, and what kind of narrative language they use, by conducting this method, I can document the experience and language when they discuss about this issue.

### Sources of data

The data included in this academic study have primary data and secondary data. Reviewing the government's official documents, website, speech, and news related to Transitional justice can collect secondary sources, especially DPP's, and KMT's official websites. Those secondary data can make the research process cost-effective and convenient.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, I would like to apply narrative analysis as a minor way of my study. Reviewing the posts from KMTs and DPPs politicians since 2016 to realize some in-depth information related to my questionnaire. For narrative analysis, the sources and results of the data are:

1. Politicians' Facebook Posts (24)
2. KMT's official website (5)
3. DPP's official website (6)

Most importantly, using the questionnaire survey which can collect the primary data from my study population. The researcher issued questionnaires to different populations and regions within Taiwan, the questionnaire included basic information about the responses, redressing judicial wrongs, promoting social reconciliation, removing symbols of authoritarianism, ill-gotten Properties by political parties, collective memory, political party identity, and voting behavior.

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<sup>65</sup> Melissa P Johnston, "Secondary Data Analysis: A Method of Which the Time Has Come," *Qualitative and quantitative methods in libraries* 3, no. 3 (2017).

## Instrumentation and data collection

Mix method: The original goal of executing the mixing method seems as to enhance the diversity and mutable perspectives and viewpoints, as the result, using an explanatory sequential research design entails collecting and analyzing qualitative data after collecting and analyzing quantitative data. In my plan, the narrative analysis started at the end of the survey, after I have collected all of the quantitative data, which the author utilized to compare the preliminary quantitative results.

1. Quantitative research is the process of gathering and examining numerical data for an academic questionnaire. It can make predictions, demonstrate preliminary causal relationships, find patterns and averages, and generalize findings to larger populations about transitional justice by collecting the responses via a Google form. This questionnaire survey has been randomly released on Instagram, Line group, and Facebook questionnaire survey exchange groups, it can reach different generations' target audiences and enhance engagement.
2. Narrative analysis, according to Schwandt further explains that "stories are central to all aspects of narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry includes not only generating data in the form of stories but is also a means of analyzing stories about life experiences and a method of representing and reporting the findings of that analysis."<sup>66</sup> It might be the most appropriate way for me to study how politicians construct the meaning of their opinion toward transitional justice, their speech and comment reflect the opinion and the understanding of the Taiwanese. Thus, collecting relative narrative approaches can get through my research purpose.

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<sup>66</sup> Thomas A Schwandt, *The Sage Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry* (Sage publications, 2014).P.5

## Ways of data analysis

Quantitative method, the result of the quantitative data would be counted from 5(very satisfied) to 1(very dissatisfied) by Excel and input into SPSS for analysis. Conducting independent T-tests and One-Ways ANOVA to test whether the different variables have statistical significance (p-values) or not, also understand their distribution and basic statistic.

The main purpose is to test whether the Attitude toward Transitional Justice, collective memory, and party identification are these three main indicators that have a correlation or not, the last part of the survey evaluates the voting behavior relationship and the above indicators to test whether they affect voting behavior.

The quantitative primary data was 308 responses, which included 304 valid data and 4 invalid data. The reason why they are counted invalid is that all of these responses answer the same option (neutral).

In a qualitative method, in order to receive a bunch of reliable data from scholars and professors, the researcher has resorted to narrative analysis to collect the idea or some deep opinion relevant to Transitional Justice influence and how both parties approach dealing with this issue, to make sure the validity, the sources of the content linkage with the survey and should come from the government official website.

Generality, this research is related to the political narrative as well, based on this reason, the analysis of the Transitional Justice narrative from the major political party members' or leaders' Facebook posts, is also counted in the analysis, after all, find out how those Politian describe and telling the story about Transitional Justice, is it negative or positive? and where they emphasize within the content, and what kind of value they repeatedly mentioned.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The author has demonstrated the general statistic of the quantitative data to point out and explain. This chapter includes three major sections, Data profile, Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice and Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice and political parties' approaches.

### Data profile

This questionnaire survey has taken reliability tested, with the Cronbach's Alpha of the data being .931 which is closer to the coefficient is to 1.0, this outcome can ensure the reliability of this paper. (Please see table 2)

Table 2 Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on standardized items	N of Items
.931	.928	31

Source: sorted by the author

Demographic information displays that male is 42.8% and female is 57.2%. Most of the respondents are 20~30 years old, which is over 69%, the rest of the generations have all reached at least 10 samples. College is the most choices in education level, and junior high school and elementary school are less than 10 samples, Therefore, the final analysis will not compare these two variables. For the location, north and south are quite equal, with over 70% of respondents living in the north and south Taiwan. (Please see table 3)

Table 3 Demographic information

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	130 42.8%
	Female	174 57.2%

Age	20~30	211	69.4%
	31~40	21	6.9%
	41~50	29	9.5%
	51~60	33	10.9%
	60up	10	3.3%
Education	Elementary school	2	0.7%
	High school	18	5.9%
	College	242	79.6%
	Master degree	42	13.8%
Location	North	134	44.1
	Middle	40	13.2
	South	121	39.8

Source: sorted by the author

## **Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice**

### **Redressing judicial and administrative wrongs**

The Table 4 presents people's attitudes toward the “Redressing judicial and administrative wrongs” section of transitional justice. Inside this section of questions, NJ3(Revocation of criminal convictions of the victims) is the one with the highest Mean (3.88). The author believes that redressing judicial and administrative wrongs is not that controversial, compared with other methods of transitional justice. Because it aims to the victims, and can be accepted by different groups of people, this method recovers the reputation of them and manifests the judicial fairness. NJ2(Publishing judicial misconduct in an authoritarian era) is an idea that both KMT and DPP claimed it is helpful for the whole Taiwan society. It directly aims to the truth, which is the central part of transitional justice. Plenty of victims and their families of the

authoritarian era have been proven innocent or guiltless during the democratization of Taiwan. (Please see table 4)

Table 4 Redressing judicial and administrative wrongs

Variable	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
NJ1	304	3.69	0.931
NJ2		3.85	0.968
NJ3		3.88	0.899
NJ4		3.47	1.059

Source: sorted by the author.

### **Promoting social reconciliation.**

The result of Table 5 presents people's attitudes toward the “Promoting social reconciliation” section of transitional justice. It showed a high support rate on SP1(Invitation to civil society organization for dialogue) and SP4(Promoting Transitional Justice Education). In this section, all these ways of implementing transitional justice have less relevant to the government or political parties. As the result, the author realizes that the character of the civil society organization group might play a key role when the country discusses the transitional justice issue. In Taiwan, we have the "Taiwan association for truth and reconciliation" that provides and criticizes the measures of transitional justice from a civil society perspective.

Furthermore, promoting transitional Justice education also gains a high support rate, the mean of 3.73 shows respondents realize that this might help social reconciliation. This result mirrors that education might change the status quo that both parties arguing on transitional justice because a fair and just transitional Justice education can help our next generation get rid of the social argument relate to transitional justice. In this case, how to design and which branch of the government is going to be in charge might be the potential arguments in the future. The author thinks

that working together with civil groups and the government to present this social issue will be a good beginning. Instead of polarizing this issue, both parties must engage in communication that promotes social reconciliation.

SP2 and SP3 ask about whether the February 28 Peace Memorial Day and the park help promoting social reconciliation. The support number declined. Refer to previous study of Tsui-Lien Chen, Nai-teh Wu and Yi-hua Jiang, the researcher predicted that on the one hand, the February 28 incident is too sensitive and controversial in our society; on the other hand, the February 28 Peace Memorial Day for most citizens is just a day off, and some politicians even claim that it just a day for both parties to advertise their politics. It is a tragedy for all Taiwanese, and no one gains from it, but some politicians use it as an opportunity to spark social conflict and create a bad impression in people's minds. This is the worst behavior for fostering social harmony. (Please see table 5)

Table 5 Promoting social reconciliation.

Variable	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
SP1	304	3.73	0.891
SP2		3.17	1.082
SP3		3.15	1.089
SP4		3.73	1.056

Source: sorted by the author

### **Removing authoritarian symbols**

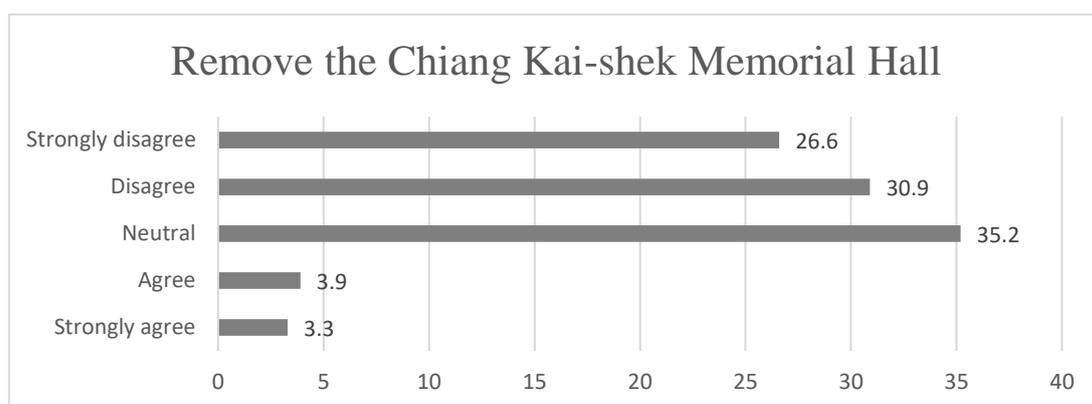
When the researcher hasn't started studying transitional justice, the first image of it is removing authoritarian symbols, which included removing the statue of Chiang Kai-shek or renaming the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall even removing Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. Some citizens might think this is the only way for transitional justice. In fact, the symbols of Chiang Kai-shek are highly argumentative

within Taiwanese society.

Chiang was the leader of the KMT he ended the Japanese ruling era in Taiwan after WW2. To some generations or people, his status and meaning can't be changed. Although he made some policies or orders during the white terror era damaged Taiwanese human rights and democracy, he was still one of the most important leaders of this country. The questionnaire result shows, the mean of the three questions related to Chiang couldn't even gain over 3, which reflects that respondent's perspective of this way of transitional justice is lower than average. The amount of disagreeing and strongly disagreeing surpasses people who support these ideas. Over 56% of respondents against to remove the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall(R3), only 7.2% agree. This told us that the government should suspend or redesign the transitional justice policy aims for Chiang. Otherwise, it might ignite citizens' fury and contradict the main goal of executing transitional justice. This is a potential crisis splitting our society. (Please see table 6)

Table 6 Removing authoritarian symbols

Variable	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
R1		2.74	1.058
R2	304	2.66	1.054
R3		2.26	1.003



Source: sorted by the author

### **Improper party asset**

The investigation of improper party asset (ill-gotten assets) has been discussed for a long period. When the Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee was founded in 2016, this issue has immediately become a hot topic reported by the mass media. The opinions of respondents are quite interesting. Although all of the means are above 3 PP1(Do you support the investigation and recovery of improper party property related to the KMT) which direct aim at KMTs asset is the lowest with a score of 3.48, another option that aims at KMT's affiliated organizations (PP2 investigation and recovery of improper property related to affiliated organizations of the KMT) gains more score of 3.52 than KMY itself, which reflects that the respondents don't want to direct investigate toward KMT, which can seem as political revenge. In this part, the highest score goes to PP3(Use identified improper party assets to compensate victims of the authoritarian era or their families) with 3.55, it shows again that people do sympathize with those victims and their families and are willing to compensate them with identified improper party asset. (Please see table 7)

Table 7 Improper party asset

Variable	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
PP1		3.48	1.155
PP2	304	3.52	1.155
PP3		3.55	1.119

Source: sorted by the author

### **Collective memory**

The mean of CM1("white terror period" has harmed all Taiwanese) is 3.87 and for CM2("February 28 Incident" caused harm to all Taiwanese) 3.77. It demonstrates that respondents acknowledge that the White Terror era and the February 28 incident do harm all Taiwanese. Thus, this kind of scar inside the Taiwanese heart needs to be

healed, which links to the purpose of transitional justice. we can't deny that the process of seeking the historical truth causes harm to those victims again, but it's a necessary part of the healing process, blindly ignoring and amnesia can't solve this problem. Facing mistakes, correcting them, and not making the same mistakes again, is the greatest wish for all the citizens of this land. (Please see table 8)

Table 8 Collective memory

Variable	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
CM1	304	3.87	0.992
CM2		3.77	1.027
CM3		3.29	1.097
CM4		3.28	1.116
CM5		3.2	1.154
CM6		3.29	1.12

Source: sorted by the author

Although the respondents agree that the February 28 incident and the White Terror era hurt all Taiwanese, (CM1&CM2) on the other side, they are less focused on holding those responsible. CM4 (should "Chiang Kai-shek" be held responsible for the harm that caused all Taiwanese during the White Terror period) and CM6(should "Chiang Kai-shek" be held responsible for the harm that caused all Taiwanese during February 28 Incident) means are lower than the previous question.

For CM3(Should "KMT" be held responsible for the harm caused to all Taiwanese during the White Terror period) and CM5(Should "KMT" be held responsible for the harm caused to all Taiwanese by the February 28 Incident) support means also lower than CM1 and CM2. This indicates that Taiwanese society is still not prepared or has not reached a consensus on how to deal with February 28 incident and the White Terror era issue. The author also believes that holding them responsible

now might divert attention from efforts to promote social harmony, we should put more emphasis on dialogue and communication, which are currently lacking in our political atmosphere.

### **Party identification & Election voting behavior**

Table 9 is about party identification. The option is different than the previous questions. The order is (5) DPP, (4) Tend to the DPP, (3) neutral/ neither, (2) Tend to the KMT, (1) KMT. The author tries to find the correlation between party identification and transitional justice. (Please see table 9)

Table 9 Party identification

Variable	Valid	Mean	Std. Deviation
PI1		3.08	0.771
PI2		3.12	0.906
PI3	304	3.23	0.932
PI4		3.02	0.816
PI5		3.11	0.857

Source: sorted by the author

When the question is directly related to a political party (PI1), respondents were more likely to remain neutral or refused to share their opinion. In terms of cross-strait relations (PI2) and the consolidation of democracy (PI3), DPP received more support than KMT. Therefore, when asked which party's transitional justice policy was more appealing, DPP received more support than KMT. (PI5) The author predicts that the links created by the DPP between the value of transitional justice and democracy consolidation is attractive to the younger generation, and the language and story they convey from their post and releases might evoke more resonance. However, which party can "reduce people's divisions" through transitional justice? (PI4) The fact that KMT scored higher than the DPP may indicate that the DPP's approach to transitional

justice is too polarizing or prone to dividing society. (Please see table 9) The result is similar to the previous study by professors Ye Hao and Bao Zhenghao.

Both parties made positive social contributions, such as providing compensation to the victims' families and declaring February 28 a national holiday to serve as a reminder to Taiwan's leader that he or she must prevent a repeat of the same tragedy. DPP approach tries to further investigate the improper party asset and remove authoritarian symbols, which caused some social argument. However, linking Taiwan's transitional justice to democracy consolidation does gain support from citizens as well.

Table 10 is about election voting behavior, which option is different than the previous question. The order is (5) DPP, (3) neutral/ neither (1) KMT.

E1: During the election, consider the transitional justice policy. which party do you prefer to vote for? E2: During the election, ignore the transitional justice policy. which party do you prefer to vote for? (Please see table 10)

Table 10 Election voting behavior

Variable	Valid	KMT support rate	Neutral/Neither	DPP support rate
E1	304	13.5%	58.2%	28.3%
E2		16.1%	61.9%	22%

Source: sorted by the author

The result demonstrated that when ignoring the transitional justice policy (E2), KMT receives 16.1% of the support rate, DPP receives 22%, and 61.8% of respondents chose to be neutral or neither. In another case, (E1) when considering transitional justice, DPP receives 28.3% of the support rate, KMT receives 13.5%, and neutral or neither rate decreases to 58.2%. The increase in the DPP and the decrease in the KMT show that transitional justice might become one of the factors that influences peoples' voting behavior. Based on the result of E1, KMT lost 2.6% of

votes, and the DPP obtain an extra 6.8% of votes. People who originally choose neutral or neither switch their answer, in the end, DPP benefit from it.

To briefly answer Taiwanese people's perceptions of the transitional justice issue, Taiwanese has a common consensus on these three ways of implementing transitional justice 1. redressing judicial and administrative wrongs, 2. promoting social reconciliation. 3. the use of Improper party asset planning. Taiwanese have more willingness to believe these three ways are beneficial for our society. The measure on Improper party assets might not try to aim at KMT itself, people are more inclined to use the identified improper party asset to compensate the victims and their families first, rather than keep investigating KMT. Removing the authoritarian symbols, it is not a good idea to use this kind of action to achieve transitional justice. It causes a zero-sum game in Taiwanese society.

Voting behavior and party identification may reflect how both parties' philosophies impact public opinion. Both the KMT and the DPP have advantages in the transitional justice approach. The DPP emphasizes the connection between the implementation of transitional justice and the consolidation of democracy, while the KMT approach has received more support for bridging social gaps.

### **Gender & Transitional Justice**

The researcher also investigates whether gender held different view on Transitional Justice, the result from Independent-Sample T-test show that. Male was more willing to support the Revocation of criminal convictions of the victims (NJ3). The difference between the mean of the 130 males' support level to NJ3 ( $M = 4.05$ ,  $SD = .909$ ) and that of the 174 females ( $M = 3.76$ ,  $SD = .873$ ) was significant,  $t(302) = 2.866$ ,  $p = .004$ .

Other questions don't have statistical significance in Sig.(p-value). We might say that the information and thought between male and female are similar, compared with

other political issues like abortion or salary inequality, transitional justice won't face the obstacles in gender issue. (Please see table 11)

Table 11 NG3 Independent-Sample T-test between gender

NJ3	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Male	130	4.05	.909
Female	174	3.76	.873
Sig.	t	DF	Sig. (2-tailed)
.396	2.866	302	.004

Source: sorted by the author

### **South and North & Transitional Justice**

The region is a factor on Transitional Justice is also one of concerns of independent-sample T-test was employed to test that NJ3, SP1, PP3, CM3, and PI1. The results showed there were a statistically significant differences between Taiwan's south and north region.

In NJ3, SP1, PP3, and CM3, respondents living in the south inclined to support these ways of transitional justice more than those in the northern region. PI1 is party identification, the south region was tended to support DPP more than KMT. Most of the northern citizens tended to choose neutral or neither. It truly confirms that DPP influenced more in southern Taiwan. The citizens who lived in the north were not that willing to support DPP. They tried to be neutral and do not show that more advocate to both parties.

As a result, both regions support means on (NJ3) The Revocation of criminal convictions of the victims is above 3, and the south region is even above 4. Frankly, we can claim that both regions are willing to support the revocation of criminal convictions of the victims, and the south strongly supported that. To prove the result, an Independent-Sample T-test comparing the means of South and North Taiwan's

level of support to NJ3 (Do you support the Revocation of criminal convictions of the victims) confirmed this general observation. The difference between the mean of the 134 north Taiwan respondents support level to NJ3 ( $M = 3.77$ ,  $SD = .949$ ) and that of the 121 south Taiwan respondents ( $M = 4.01$ ,  $SD = .801$ ) was significant,  $t(253) = -2.166$ ,  $p = .031$

For SP1(Invitation to civil society organization for dialogue), the mean of both regions is all above 3, but the south citizen even show more effect on it, to verify it, An Independent-Sample T-test comparing the means of South and North Taiwan's level of support to SP1 (Do you think "inviting civil society to dialogue" helps to promote social reconciliation?) confirmed this general observation. The difference between the mean of the 134 north Taiwan respondents support level to SP1 ( $M = 3.57$ ,  $SD = .928$ ) and that of the 121 south Taiwan respondents ( $M = 3.90$ ,  $SD = .712$ ) was significant,  $t(253) = -3.175$ ,  $p = .002$ .

PP3 deals with (The use of identified improper party asset to compensate victims of the authoritarian era or their families) therefore, an independent-sample T-test comparing the means of South and North Taiwan's level of support to PP3 Do you support "the use of identified improper party asset to compensate victims of the authoritarian era or their families"?) confirmed this general observation. The difference between the mean of the 134 north Taiwan respondents support level to PP3 ( $M = 3.19$ ,  $SD = .967$ ) and that of the 121 south Taiwan respondents ( $M = 3.52$ ,  $SD = .776$ ) was significant,  $t(253) = -3.023$ ,  $p = .003$

Collective memory, is related to whether the KMT should be held responsible for the harm done to all Taiwanese during the White Terror period (CM3), the south showed a more positive attitude toward this issue, as independent-sample T-test told us that the difference between the mean of the 134 north Taiwan respondents support level to SP1 ( $M = 3.14$ ,  $SD = 1.158$ ) and that of the 121 south Taiwan respondents ( $M$

= 3.47, SD = .958) was significant,  $t(253) = -2.459, p = .015$ .

In the mass media and some previous studies, south Taiwanese were more willing to support DPP and the north were more willing to support KMT. Part of these studies can be verified in this research. Citizens who lived in the south were more willing to support DPP; however, the north was not that support the KMT. In contrast, their preference is not obviously. The independent-sample T-test shows that the difference between the mean of the 134 north Taiwan respondents support level to PI1 ( $M = 3.00, SD = 8.41$ ) and that of the 121 south Taiwan respondents ( $M = 3.21, SD = .710$ ) was significant,  $t(253) = -2.193, p = .029$ . (Please see table 12)

Table 12 Independent-Sample T-test between South and North.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig.	t	DF	Sig. (2-tailed)
<b>NJ3</b>							
North	134	3.77	.949	.013	-2.166	253	.031
South	121	4.01	.801				
<b>SP1</b>							
North	134	3.57	.928	.000	-3.175	253	.002
South	121	3.90	.712				
<b>PP3</b>							
North	134	3.39	1.207	.017	-2.641	253	.009
South	121	3.64	1.033				
<b>CM3</b>							
North	134	3.14	1.158	.261	-2.459	253	.015
South	121	3.47	.958				
<b>PI1</b>							
North	134	3.00	.841	.001	-2.193	253	.029
South	121	3.21	.710				

Source: sorted by the author

Note: DF = degree of freedom

This crosstab (Table 13) indicated how south and north people did their

party identification (PI1). As it demonstrates, people in the south favor the DPP over the KMT; however; the north, supported by both parties is close.

Table 13 Crosstab between north/south and PI1

Count	PI1					Total	
	KMT	Pro KMT	Neutral or Neither	Pro DPP	DPP		
Location	North	8	17	82	21	6	134
	South	1	7	88	15	10	121
	Total	9	24	170	36	16	255

Source: sorted by the author

The two tables below showed that residents of both regions might tend to support the DPP due to the transitional justice policy; KMT, on the other hand, can win more support from both regions if the voter chooses to disregard the transitional justice policy. In E1, five people from the north switched to the DPP, and twelve from the south switched to the DPP. (Please see table 14 and 15)

Table 14 Crosstab between north/south and E1

Count	Neutral			DPP	Total
	KMT	or Neither			
Location	North	23	74	37	134
	South	9	74	38	123
	Total	32	148	75	255

Source: sorted by the author

Table 15 Crosstab between north/south and E2

Count	Neutral			DPP	Total
	KMT	or Neither			
Location	North	28	74	32	134
	South	11	84	26	123
	Total	39	158	58	255

Source: sorted by the author

### Age & Transitional Justice

In the below table, we can see that different generations have different levels of support for redressing judicial and administrative wrongs.

A statistically significant difference exists between the younger generation, who are 20~30 years old, and those aged 51-60. The former is more willing to support redressing judicial and administrative wrongs. (Please see table 15) Inside the section on redressing judicial and administrative wrongs between different ages, NJ4(whether support "holding accountable perpetrators of authoritarian times"?) has a huge gap between those who are 20~30 years old with a mean of 3.64 and those aged 51-60 with the mean of 2.85, this two-generation reflect an opposite attitude of the transitional justice. Although other parts of redressing judicial and administrative wrongs cause some different as well, at least both generations agree that method, only if we mention about accountable perpetrators of authoritarian times their attitude turn to be such polarized situation. (Please see table 16)

Table 16 Redressing judicial and administrative wrongs between different age.

	Sum of squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
NJ1						
B. G	10.658	4	2.664	3.163	.014	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	251.892	299	.842			Sig.
Total	262.549	303				0.12
NJ2						
B. G	24.216	4	6.054	6.975	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	259.518	299	.868			Sig.
Total	283.734	303				.000

NJ4

B. G	24.301	4	6.075	5.760	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	315.370	299	1.055			Sig.
Total	339.671	303				.000

Source: sorted by the author

Note: DF = degree of freedom B.G = between groups, W.G = within groups

In table 17, we can see that different generations have different levels of support for the use of Improper party asset planning. A statistically significant difference exists between the younger generation, who are 20~30 years old, and those aged 51-60. The former is more willing to support redressing judicial and administrative wrongs. (Please see table 16) The three questions mention the use of improper party asset planning, all contribute to a gap between the two generations, 20~30 generation mean of the three questions is all above 3.7, yet, the 51~60 generation mean of the three questions is all below 3. It reflects that even though people who are 51~60 years old have experienced the Party-state system, they are not like eager to deal with improper party asset, but people who are about 20~30 show higher and positive attitude though this ways of implement transitional justice. (Please see table 17)

Table 17 The use of improper party asset planning between different age.

	Sum of squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
PP1						
B. G	47.812	4	11.953	10.037	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	356.070	299	1.191			Sig.
Total	403.882	303				.000
PP2						
B. G	52.027	4	13.007	11.053	.000	20~30 > 51~60

W. G	351.855	299	1.177			Sig.
Total	403.882	303				.000
<hr/>						
PP3						
<hr/>						
B. G	37.173	4	9.293	8.121	37.173	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	342.182	299	1.144			Sig,
Total	379.355	303				.000

Source: sorted by the author

Note: DF = degree of freedom B.G = between groups, W.G = within groups

In table 18, we can see that different generations have different levels of support for the use of collective memory. A statistically significant difference exists between the younger generation, who are 20~30 years old, and those aged 51-60. (Please see table 18)

Collective memory 1 and 2 ask about whether the "White terror period" and "The February 28 incident" have harmed all Taiwanese. The former issue, the 20~30-year-old response means 4.09 which is very high, while the 51~60 who might experience the White Terror era response means only 2.97, the latter issue, the 20~30-year-old response means 3.99 which is still high, while the 51~60 respond mean remain 2.97. Thus, these two generations do exist a different idea though the same issue or period of time.

Collective memory 3 and 4 ask about whether "Chiang Kai-shek" and "KMT" should be held responsible for the harm that caused all Taiwanese during the White Terror period, the younger generation attitude mean is similar close to 3.5, 51~60 generation attitude mean is only 2.67; collective memory 5 and 6 ask about whether "Chiang Kai-shek" and "KMT" should be held responsible for the harm that caused all Taiwanese of the February 28 incident, 20~30 generation mean also close to 3.5, but

the 51~60 generation show even lower mean with 2.39 when talk about whether "KMT" should be held responsible for the harm that caused all Taiwanese of the February 28 incident. We can realize that this part of the gap is the largest issue when both generations discuss the relation between "KMT" and the February 28 incident. (Please see table 18)

Table 18 Collective memory between different age.

	Sum of squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
CM1						
B. G	41.717	4	10.429	12.168	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	256.280	299	.857			Sig,
Total	297.997	303				.000
CM2						
B. G	41.647	4	10.412	11.189	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	278.235	299	.931			Sig,
Total	319.882	303				.000
CM3						
B. G	28.877	4	7.219	6.423	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	336.067	299	1.124			Sig,
Total	364.944	303				.000
CM4						
B. G	34.233	4	8.558	7.451	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	343.438	299	1.149			Sig,
Total	377.671	303				.000
CM5						
B. G	41.547	4	10.387	8.584	.000	20~30 > 51~60

W. G	361.808	299	1.210			Sig,
Total	403.355	303				.000
CM6						
B. G	34.977	4	8.744	7.576	.000	20~30 > 51~60
W. G	345.125	299	1.154			Sig,
Total	380.102	303				.000

Source: sorted by the author

Note: DF = degree of freedom B.G = between groups, W.G = within groups

PI3 is about Which political party's transitional justice policy do you think can "consolidate Taiwan's democracy" in the long run? As the data shows, it attracts more respondents aged 20~30 to support pro DPP or DPP

Table 19 Age and PI3 Crosstab.

Count		KMT	Pro KMT	Neutral or Neither	Pro DPP	DPP	Total
Age	20~30	7	10	120	48	26	211
	31~40	0	2	13	3	3	21
	41~50	1	4	17	5	2	29
	51~60	5	7	17	3	1	33
	60up	3	1	5	0	1	10
	Total	16	24	172	59	33	304

Source: sorted by the author

PI4 is about Which political party's transitional justice policy do you think can "reduce the division of the people" in Taiwan in the long run? People who aged 20~30 reduce their support toward DPP and the total number of all aged shift to the KMT.

Table 20 Age and PI4 Crosstab.

Count		KMT	Pro KMT	Neutral or Neither	Pro DPP	DPP	Total
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Age	20~30	3	16	156	19	17	211
	31~40	1	3	14	2	1	21
	41~50	1	7	16	3	2	29
	51~60	5	7	20	0	1	33
	60up	4	1	4	0	1	10
	Total	14	34	210	24	22	304

Source: sorted by the author

PI5 is about Which political party's transitional justice policy do you think is more "attractive" to you, DPP still have the advantage in this part, however, people tend to support KMT even lower than the previous result.

Table 21 Age and PI5 Crosstab.

Count		KMT	Pro KMT	Neutral or Neither	Pro DPP	DPP	Total
Age	20~30	7	7	145	35	17	211
	31~40	1	1	15	1	3	21
	41~50	1	5	18	3	2	29
	51~60	5	7	19	1	1	33
	60up	3	2	4	0	1	10
	Total	17	22	201	40	24	304

Source: sorted by the author

E1: During the election, consider the transitional justice policy. which party do you prefer to vote for? The generation of 20~30 and 50~60 and 60 up have a huge different choice.

Table 22 Age and E1 Crosstab.

Count		KMT	Neutral or Neither	DPP	Total
Age	20~30	15	123	73	211
	31~40	1	15	5	21
	41~50	9	15	5	29

51~60	10	21	2	33
60up	6	3	1	10
Total	41	177	86	304

Source: sorted by the author

E2: During the election, ignore the transitional justice policy. which party do you prefer to vote for? The generation of 20~30 decreasing a lot when ignore the transitional justice policy.

Table 23 Age and PI5 Crosstab.

Count		Neutral			Total
		KMT	or	DPP	
		Neither			
Age	20~30	21	134	56	211
	31~40	1	16	4	21
	41~50	8	15	6	29
	51~60	12	21	0	33
	60up	7	2	1	10
	Total	49	188	67	304

Source: sorted by the author

### Education level & Transitional Justice

The relation between collective and SP1(Invitation to civil society organization for dialogue), people whose education level is college are statistically significantly different than high school education level, college level attitude of SP1 is the highest.

In other questions, according to the post-hoc test, they are not statistically significantly different. The author only can observe that in the part of redressing judicial and administrative wrongs, master's degree education level means are higher than people whose education level of high school, so do the amount of improper party asset, however, it only shows that master's degree in this two-part is more support than high school level. ((Please see table 24)

Table 24 Collective memory between different age.

	Sum of squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Post Hoc Tests (Tukey HSD)
SP1						
B. G	9.154	3	3.051	3.959	.009	College > High school
W. G	231.185	300	.771			Sig.
Total	240.339	303				0.40

Source: sorted by the author Note: DF = degree of freedom B.G = between groups, W.G = within groups

### **Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice and political parties' approaches**

After analyzing the result of the quantitative survey, the author discovers some similarities with the political party approach. The narrative analysis of both parties' posts and releases about transitional justice are focused on three themes. 1. The truth of transitional justice, 2. The description of the February 28 incidents, 3. The value of democracy.

#### **The truth of transitional justice**

Both parties agreed that the truth of Transitional Justice has to be announced. The high support rate of NJ2 (Publishing judicial misconduct in an authoritarian era) also reflects the people's perception of it. (Please see table 25)

Table 25 The truth of transitional justice

KMT	
Jiang Qi-chen 江啟臣*	"Truth, consolation, and reconciliation are the only way to face the wounds of history."
Jiang Wan-an	"I always believe that only by facing history and restoring the

蔣萬安\*\* truth, Taiwan can truly move toward reconciliation.”

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DPP

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Tsai Ing-wen  
蔡英文\*\*\* ” The true goal of transitional justice is to allow the errors made by authoritarian institutions to be exposed so that victims can learn the truth about history, not to liquidate.”

---

Chen Chu  
陳菊\*\*\*\* “The freedom of life cannot be violated, and the truth of history cannot be avoided. We anticipate the arrival of justice and the truth. We can hold our heads high in this manner.”

Source: sorted by the author

Note: \*江啟臣, "轉型正義，不該是蠻橫無理的抹除歷史！" (Facebook, 2021)

\*\*蔣萬安, "轉型正義需要朝野及全民共同努力。" (Facebook, 2022)

\*\*\*蔡英文, "推動轉型正義的初衷," (Facebook, 2021)

\*\*\*\*陳菊, "228，是令人痛心的日子。" (Facebook, 2022)

### The description of the February 28 incidents

Both sides mentioned the February 28 incidents many times, but they describe them in different ways. KMT talked about reconciliation, while, DPP talked about how transitional justice help deals with the scar of the February 28 incident. The quantitative data indicate that people feeling about the February 28 incidents are inconsistent as well. Especially in SP2 and SP3, which relate to the February 28 incidents demonstrate the division (Please see table 26)

Table 26 The description of the February 28 incidents

KMT

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Han Guo-yu:  
韓國瑜\* “What February 28 left Taiwan is not only pain but also the spirit of human rights care and democracy and freedom. Bless Taiwan, from now on there will be only tolerance and peace, and no more pain.”

---

Ma ying-jeou  
馬英九\*\* "Facing history, it is clear what is right and what is wrong; facing victims' family members, comparing one's heart to one's heart, is the only way to restore mutual trust and harmony in society."

---

“The DPP emphasizes that solidarity is not based on forgetting the past. DPP official releases On the contrary, solidarity should be built to bravely face the common historical pain, cherish the democratic freedoms shared by the present, and work together to gradually restore the truth and clarify responsibilities through the project of transformational justice and then to reconciliation.”

Source: sorted by the author

Note: \*韓國瑜, "在二二八和平紀念日中找出屬於自己的和平意義。," (Facebook, 2020).

\*\*馬英九, "參加「228 事件」中樞紀念儀式," (Facebook, 2016).

\*\*\*民進黨新聞稿, "二二八事件 75 週年，應共同珍惜此刻得來不易的民主自由，團結面對未來挑戰,".

### The value of democracy

The value of democracy usually exists in their post, but both sides used this word with different purposes. KMT argued that the DPP policy of Transitional Justice has no benefit toward reducing societal division and only serves as a tool in political struggle, which violates the value of democracy. While DPP emphasizes how transitional justice works for democratic consolidation and mentions the achievement of Taiwan's democratization. (Please see table 27)

Just like the results of PI3 and PI4, people are more prefer to choose the DPP in the answer to the consolidation of democracy. On the contrary, people are more supportive of the KMT in terms of reducing social division. This outcome told us that both parties posts do influence peoples’ perception when they answer the part of party identification.

Table 27 The value of democracy

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Hou You-yi 侯友宜*	“Transitional justice has become a tool of political struggle, which is already a disgrace to Taiwan's democracy.”
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Hao Long-bin “Even Taiwan has long been a model for Asian democracies, "228 truth"  
郝龍斌\*\* and "transitional justice" will always be #vote ATMs for the DPP.”

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#### DPP

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Tsai Ing-wen “In the process of deepening and consolidating democracy in Taiwan, we  
蔡英文\*\*\* must pass the level of #Transitional Justice. Only when we collectively face  
the truth and mend the wounds can Taiwanese society bid farewell to grief  
and move towards a common future.”

---

Su Tseng-chang “Taiwan will promote transitional justice work. Taiwan is now a "complete  
蘇貞昌\*\*\*\* democracy" recognized by the Economist Intelligence Unit and "Asia's No.  
1". The results are hard-won. We will spare no effort to protect Taiwan's  
democracy and freedom and continue to pass it on to future generations.”

Source: sorted by the author

Note: \*侯友宜, "『促轉會不該成為一個選舉打手的機關，而我，不會被打倒！』," (Facebook, 2018).

\*\*郝龍斌, "民進黨「虛偽」的轉型正義，不敢說的真相"(Facebook, 2017).

\*\*\*蔡英文, "從歷史的縫隙中，找出真相，還給當事人一個公道，這就是轉型正義的意義。," (Facebook, 2021).

\*\*\*\* 蘇貞昌, "沒有民主，自由就變成奢侈品。," (Facebook, 2022).

#### Summary

This chapter demonstrated the result of the survey and narrative analysis. The survey told people’s perceptions of each element of transitional justice and compare them with Politicians' posts.

Taiwanese attitudes toward strategies that don't directly stimulate social conflict, like seeking the truth and fostering social reconciliation received more support. When the questions mention the incident from February 28 or Chiang Kai-shek will get a more divided response. There are differences in collective memory between generations, particularly between those in the 20–30 and 51–60 age ranges. The

southern Taiwanese population has a more favorable attitude toward each method than the northern residents do.

People believe that the DPP's transitional justice policies help to consolidate democracy; in contrast, the KMT is gaining more support for its efforts to heal societal divisions. In general, the DPP can benefit from the election if voters consider the transitional justice policy, which received an additional 6.8% of the vote.

## CONCLUSION

This paper seeks to comprehend Taiwanese perceptions of transitional justice and to complete the picture by incorporating the perspectives of collective memory and party identification. In this chapter, the author presents the answer to the two research questions and discusses their value in the social science and cultural study field. Meanwhile, provide some suggested opportunities for future relative research.

Conclusion 1: What are Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice? The quantitative analysis results exposed people's attitudes toward transitional justice. The previous study told us the difficulty of Taiwan's transitional justice process is that people show indifference to this issue. This paper separates different ways of implementing transitional justice which does provide a detailed outcome from people's responses.

Looking at the big picture, Taiwanese perceptions are clear. They are looking for truth-seeking and promoting social reconciliation, especially revocation of criminal convictions of the victims, an invitation to civil society organizations for dialogue, and promoting Transitional Justice Education these three methods. Until today, the Taiwan government still working on the work of transitional justice. Therefore, this outcome can be a reference for the policymaker. People's attitude toward political party asset issues is clear too. Use identified improper party assets to compensate victims of the authoritarian era or their families receive a high support rate, but when the improper asset issue directly aims at a certain party (KMT), their attitude becomes less clear. This result reflects why the Ill-gotten Party Assets Settlement Committee couldn't gain enough citizens' backing, it will be blamed as a political struggle. Furthermore, people's positive response to the issue of removing authoritarian symbols and holding them accountable to certain parties or people is not as strong as

to other methods. As a result, the government and political parties must offer a platform where the public can access all the information. Additionally, creating a forum allows people from various backgrounds to express their ideas and opinions. In this case, the idea from civil society which freely expresses itself could be learned and could be beneficial for social reconciliation, rather than being carried out without sufficient civil dialogue. The result of the data just demonstrated that citizens are willing to accept some transitional justice methods, one of them is promoting transitional justice education, however, without civil dialogue, it wouldn't start.

Conclusion 2: Are Taiwanese people's perceptions of transitional justice similar to DPP's and KMT's approaches? The part about party identification and collective memory told us that Taiwanese people's attitudes do fit with the party transitional justice approach. Thus, both parties' transitional justice approaches have similar to the respondents' answers. The respondent's attitude toward the February 28 incident still has a gap, which is just like KMT and DPP transitional justice approach. KMT argues that the DPP method ignites hatred and increases social opposition; DPP claims that transitional justice is helping democratic reconciliation. The previous research about transitional justice in Taiwan from Yi-hua Jiang, Tsui-Lien Chen and Nai-teh Wu has pointed out that the February 28 incident is the dispute core because it is too easy to link to the political party struggle.,

People from the south and the north had different views on transitional justice; the former showed greater positive willingness than the latter. Fortunately, the citizens of both regions have positive perceptions of promoting social reconciliation and seeking the truth. What is consistent with the earlier study is that the south is more likely to support the DPP while the north does not show a sizable preference for party identification.

Most Taiwanese people are willing to support the ideas that both political parties

agree on, such as seeking the truth and fostering social reconciliation. Additionally, these mechanisms are less argumentative; this is the way Taiwan's transitional justice system can advance. Different generation support rates do exist disparity in Taiwanese collective memory of holding responsibility for specific political parties or politicians in regard to the February 28 incident and the White terror era. Government can release official documents or invite civil organizations to dialogue, to discuss the direction of transitional justice, which nowadays our society lacked. People's attitude toward removing authoritarian symbols is controversial and debatable. Both parties also couldn't seek a consensus on this part. This result offers a straightforward way for the policymaker that what kind of implementation should be avoided to reduce societal controversy.

This study uses a quantitative approach to understand people's numerical feedback, the suggestion for future study is that if it can be compared to in-depth interviews, it may be able to identify additional factors that influence how people view transitional justice.

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表單圖片參考自: 《轉型正義之路》第一章 何謂「轉型正義」  
<https://reurl.cc/pWqa2d>

## APPENDIX A

### Questionnaire Survey form

#### 轉型正義，政黨方向與人民看法－以台灣為例

親愛的填答者：

您面前的學術研究問卷，主要宗旨是為了理解「轉型正義，政黨方向與人民看法－以台灣為例。」。

在此本人誠摯地希望能耽誤您寶貴的時間，望能察納雅言，體察社會輿論。

填答時間約略兩分鐘，您提供之每一份寶貴意見，皆對研究有莫大的幫助。

本問卷採不記名方式作答，您的回答僅供學術探討使用，絕不對外公開，請安心填寫。

非常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，在此致上最誠摯的謝意。

敬祝：平安順心、健康愉快！

文藻外語大學國際事務系

指導教授：謝仁和 教授

學生：黃偉倫



**轉型正義**的概念包含了該社會嘗試面對過去威權時期大規模人權迫害的完整程序與機制。目的在於**確認責任**，**追求正義**最終達成**社會的和解**，亦可以看見民主轉型的一部份，通常具有司法改革、還原歷史真相、紀念、審判、賠償等面向。

本研究提出轉型正義之作法以及透過政黨認同與集體記憶來找尋其與投票行為是否相關。

## 第一部分：您的基本資料

1. 性別：男女
2. 年齡：20歲以下20~30歲31~40歲41~50歲51~60歲60歲以上
3. 教育程度：國小 國中 高中（職） 專科及大學 研究所及以上
4. 居住地區：北部 中部 南部 東部 外島海外中國大陸

## 第二部分：平復司法不義

1. 您是否支持對威權時期受害者及其家屬進行「賠償」?(NJ1)  
Do you support " reparations " for victims of the authoritarian era and their families?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
2. 您是否支持「公布威權時期司法不法事件」?(NJ2)  
Do you support " publishing judicial misconduct in authoritarian times " ?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
3. 您是否支持「撤銷威權時期對受害者的刑事定罪」?(NJ3)  
Do you support " Revocation of criminal convictions of the victims During Authoritarian Times " ?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
4. 您是否支持「追究威權時期肇事者的責任」?(NJ4)  
Do you support "holding accountable perpetrators of authoritarian times " ?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持

## 第二部分：促進社會和解

1. 您認為「邀請民間團體進行對話」是否有助於促進社會和解?(SP1)  
Do you think "inviting civil society to dialogue" helps to promote social reconciliation?  
 非常有幫助  有幫助  普通  沒有幫助  非常沒有幫助
  
2. 您認為「設立228和平紀念日」是否有助於促進社會和解? (SP2)  
Do you think the establishment of the 228 Peace Memorial Day will help promote social reconciliation?  
 非常有幫助  有幫助  普通  沒有幫助  非常沒有幫助
  
3. 您認為「設立228和平紀念公園」是否有助於促進社會和解? (SP3)  
Do you think "the establishment of 228 Peace Memorial Park " will help promote social reconciliation?  
 非常有幫助  有幫助  普通  沒有幫助  非常沒有幫助
  
4. 您認為「推動轉型正義教育」是否有助於促進社會和解? (SP4)  
Do you think " Promoting Transformational Justice Education " can help promote social reconciliation?  
 非常有幫助  有幫助  普通  沒有幫助  非常沒有幫助

## 第三部分：移除威權象徵(去蔣化)

1. 您是否支持「拆除蔣中正銅像」?(R1)  
Do you support " demolition of Chiang Kai-shek bronze statue " ?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
  
2. 您是否支持「改名」中正紀念堂? (R2)  
Do you support " renaming " Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
  
3. 您是否支持「拆除」中正紀念堂? (R3)  
Do you support the " demolition " of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall?

- 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持

#### 第四部分：不當黨產規劃運用

1. 您是否支持「調查與追討中國國民黨相關不當黨產」?(PP1)  
Do you support the " investigation and recovery of improper party properties related to the KMT " ?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
2. 您是否支持「調查與追討中國國民黨之附隨組織相關不當財產」?(PP2)  
Do you support the " investigation and recovery of improper property related to affiliated organizations of the KMT " ?  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持
3. 您是否支持「將已認定之不當黨產用以賠償威權時期受害者或其家屬」?(PP3)  
Do you support " Use identified improper party asset to compensate victims of the authoritarian era or their families  
 非常支持  支持  普通  不支持  非常不支持

#### 第五部分：集體記憶

1. 您是否認為「白色恐怖時期」對全體台灣人造成傷害?(CM1)  
Do you think the "White Terror Era" caused harm to all Taiwanese?  
 非常同意  同意  普通  不同意  非常不同意
2. 您是否認為「228事件」對全體台灣人造成傷害?(CM2)  
Do you think the " 228 Incident" caused harm to all Taiwanese?  
 非常同意  同意  普通  不同意  非常不同意
3. 您是否認為國民黨要對「白色恐怖時期」間造成全體台灣人傷害的行為負責?(CM3)  
Do you think the KMT should be held responsible for the harm done to all Taiwanese during the "white terror era"??  
 非常同意  同意  普通  不同意  非常不同意

4. 您是否認為「蔣中正」要對白色恐怖時期間造成全體台灣人傷害的行為負責? (CM4)

Do you think " Chiang Kai-shek " should be held responsible for causing harm to all Taiwanese during the White Terror era?

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

5. 您是否認為國民黨要對「228事件」的造成全體台灣人傷害的行為負責? (CM5)

Do you think the KMT should be held responsible for the " 228 Incident" that caused harm to all Taiwanese?

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

6. 您是否認為「蔣中正」要對228事件造成全體台灣人傷害的行為負責? (CM6)

Do you think " Chiang Kai-shek " should be held responsible for the 228 Incident that caused harm to all Taiwanese?

非常同意 同意 普通 不同意 非常不同意

## 第六部分：政黨認同

1. 您認為自己的「理念」更支持哪一個黨? (PI1)

2. Which party do you think your "idea" supports more?

民進黨 偏向民進黨 中立(都不考慮) 偏向國民黨 國民黨

3. 您認為哪一個黨「兩岸政策」更合適 (PI2)

Which party's "cross-strait policy" do you think is more appropriate?

民進黨 偏向民進黨 中立(都不考慮) 偏向國民黨 國民黨

4. 您認為哪個政黨轉型正義政策長久下來可以更加「鞏固臺灣民主」? (PI3)

Which political party's transitional justice policy do you think can "consolidate Taiwan's democracy" in the long run?

民進黨 偏向民進黨 中立(都不考慮) 偏向國民黨 國民黨

5. 您認為哪個政黨轉型正義政策長久下來可以使臺灣「減少人民分裂」?  
(PI4)

Which political party's transitional justice policy do you think can "reduce the division of the people" in Taiwan in the long run?

民進黨 偏向民進黨 中立(都不考慮) 偏向國民黨 國民黨

6. 您認為哪個政黨轉型正義政策更加「吸引」你? (PI5)

Which party's transitional justice policy do you think is more "attractive" to you?

民進黨 偏向民進黨 中立(都不考慮) 偏向國民黨 國民黨

### 第七部分：中央以及地方選舉投票行為

1. 在選舉的時候（地方跟中央）以國民兩黨的轉型正義政策來說您會更傾向投給? (E1)

During the election, consider the transitional justice policy. which party do you prefer to vote for?

民進黨 國民黨 中立(都不考慮)

2. 在選舉的時候（地方跟中央）不考慮國民兩黨的轉型正義政策來說您會更傾向投給? (E2)

During the election, ignore the transitional justice policy. which party do you prefer to vote for?

民進黨 國民黨 中立(都不考慮)

問卷到此結束 再次感謝您的填答

敬祝：平安順心、健康愉快！