

Converging or Diverging? The Dynamics of Cross-Strait Social Relations

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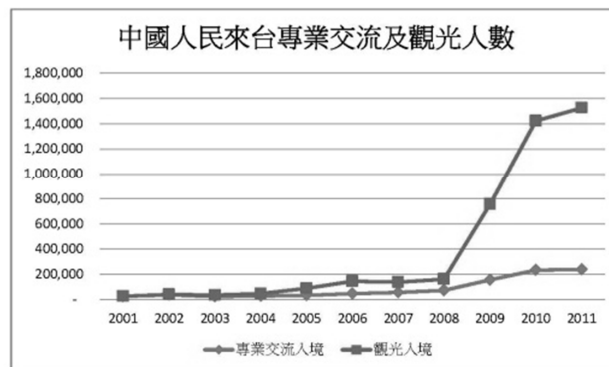
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The Research Agenda:

- Social impacts of China's rapid rise in global economy and its powerful influence over cross-strait relations in Taiwan.

 - The relationship between social differentiation (and/or cleavages) and cross-strait policies in Taiwan.
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Number of Visitors from China to Taiwan, 2001-11



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Number of Visitors from China to Taiwan, 2001-11

	Professionals and Businesspeople		Tourists	
	2011	2012 / 1-9	2011	2012 / 1-9
Total	238,520	168,248	1,286,574	1,470,512
Monthly Average	19,877	14,021	107,215	122,543
Daily Average	663	467	3,574	4,085

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Development of China-related Policies

- May, 2008: Alteration of the ruling party from DPP to KMT
- June, 2008: Opening to Chinese tour groups
- June, 2010: The cross-strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA)
- August, 2010 : Educational exchanges
 - Taiwan recognizes 41 Chinese universities
 - Taiwan accepts Chinese full-time degree students
- June, 2011: Opening to Chinese individual tourists

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Questions

- Are people's attitudes different toward different China-related policies (economic vs. social policies)?
- In addition to the economic issues (ECFA), what are people's attitudes toward other social issues in cross-strait affairs?

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Questions

- What are the factors that affect public opinion in China-related policies in Taiwan?
- Are there other factors that affect cross-strait attitudes apart from political identification, such as generation, socio-economic status, and gender?
- How social differentiation and social cleavages have affected attitudes on cross-strait issues in Taiwan?

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Data and Measurement

- Social Image Survey, Academia Sinica
 - Conducted in 2010
 - First round: June, 2010; 1242 cases
 - Second round: December, 2010, 1238 cases

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Dependent variables and indicators

- Economic Opening:
 - ECFA
- Educational Exchange and Social contacts:
 - Allowing Chinese students in Taiwan;
- Institutional Acknowledgment:
 - Recognizing Chinese degrees;
- Social Interaction:
 - Opening Taiwan to individual Chinese tourists;
 - Increasing the daily cap of Chinese group tourists.

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Independent variables

- Age
- Socioeconomic Status: Education; Income
- Gender
- Marriage
- Ethnicity (Mainlanders vs. Taiwanese Minnan / Haka)
- Party Identification
- National Identity (Unification or Independence)

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Attitudes on cross strait policies in Taiwan 對中政策的態度分布

Conceptualizations 概念	Indices 指標	Agreement 贊成%	Opposition 反對%	Range 差距
Economic opening 經濟開放	ECFA Don't know or didn't answer (23%)	45	32	+13
Educational exchange 文教交流	Support allowing Chinese students to study in Taiwan 陸生來台	50	45	+5
Institutional acknowledgement 制度認可	Support recognizing Chinese degrees 大陸學歷	44	50	-6
Social interaction 社會交往	Support allowing individual Chinese tourists into Taiwan 陸客自由行 Relax restrictions on number of Chinese group tourists to Taiwan 陸客配額增加 Don't know or didn't answer	43	48	-5
		39	44	-5

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Personal characteristics and China-related policies (support)

	ECFA	Allow Chinese students	Recognize Chinese degrees	Open to individual travelers	Increase group tourist quotas
Generation					
Young (<=42)	42%	50%	43%	44%	40%
Old (>42)	48%	51%	45%	45%	40%
Education					
Below high school	35%	42%	35%	37%	35%
College and above	58%	61%	55%	54%	46%
Gender					
Male	48%	55%	49%	50%	47%
Female	44%	46%	40%	39%	33%
Party affiliation					
Blue	77%	72%	65%	59%	58%
Middle	37%	47%	40%	41%	33%
Green	8%	19%	15%	26%	22%

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Factors influencing support for China-related Policies (Binary logistic regression models)

	ECFA	Chinese students in Taiwan	Recognizing Chinese degrees	Individual tourists into Taiwan	More Chinese group tourists
Age	0.03 **	0.01	0.02 *	0.0 **	0.0
Education					
High School	0.81 **	0.45 *	0.76 ***	0.4	-0.2
College	1.08 ***	0.80 ***	1.06 ***	0.8 **	0.2
Female	0.10	-0.32 *	-0.35 *	-0.4 *	-0.6 ***
Unmarried	0.56 *	0.40	0.33	0.5 *	-0.1
Income	0.11 **	0.08 **	0.09 **		
Ethnicity (Fujian)					
Hakka	-0.13	-0.07	0.01	0.3	-0.3
Mainlander	1.17 ***	0.58 *	0.94 ***	0.4	0.2
Party affiliation (KMT)					
DPP	-4.24 ***	-2.44 ***	-2.36 ***	-1.3 ***	-1.6 ***
Middle	-1.91 ***	-0.90 ***	-0.93 ***	-0.9 ***	-0.5 *
	-1.70 ***	-0.50	-0.46		
	-2.10 ***	-1.05 ***	-0.87 ***	-0.6 **	-0.8 ***

Table 8 : The cross table of gender, party, and ECFA 性別、政黨、簽定 ECFA 的交叉表

		ECFA		
Party affiliation 政黨支持		support 贊成 (N=280)	oppose 不贊成 (N=32)	total 合計 (N=312)
Blue 泛藍	Male 男	51%	56%	52%
	Female 女	49%	44%	48%
		Support 贊成 (N=198)	oppose 不贊成 (N=317)	total 合計 (N=515)
Non-blue 非泛藍	Male 男	56%	55%	56%
	Female 女	44%	45%	45%

Table 9 : The cross table of gender, party, and permitting Chinese students
 性別、政黨、開放陸生的交叉表

Permitting Chinese students 開放陸生				
Party affiliation 政黨支持		support 贊成 (N=277)	oppose 不贊成 (N=92)	total 合計 (N=369)
Blue 泛藍	Male 男	55%	36%	50%
	Female 女	45%	64%	50%
		support 贊成 (N=274)	oppose 不贊成 (N=386)	total 合計 (N=660)
Non-blue 非泛藍	Male 男	54%	49%	51%
	Female 女	46%	51%	49%

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Table 10 : The cross table of gender, party, and recognition of Chinese degrees
 性別、政黨、承認大陸學歷的交叉表

Recognition of Chinese degrees 承認大陸學歷				
Party affiliation 政黨支持		support 贊成 (N=250)	oppose 不贊成 (N=113)	total 合計 (N=363)
Blue 泛藍	Male 男	55%	38%	50%
	Female 女	45%	62%	50%
		support 贊成 (N=233)	oppose 不贊成 (N=431)	total 合計 (N=664)
Non-blue 非泛藍	Male 男	56%	49%	52%
	Female 女	44%	51%	49%

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Table 12: The cross table of gender, party, and increasing Chinese group tourist quotas
 性別、政黨、陸客人數增加的交叉表

Party affiliation 政黨支持		Increasing Chinese group tourist quotas 陸客增加人數		
		support 贊成 (N=148)	oppose 不贊成 (N=89)	total 合計 (N=237)
Blue 泛藍	Male 男	59%	36%	50%
	Female 女	41%	64%	50%
		support 贊成 (N=141)	oppose 不贊成 (N=243)	total 合計 (N=384)
Non-blue 非泛藍	Male 男	56%	45%	49%
	Female 女	44%	55%	51%

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Remarks: Who Support China-related Policies

- Generation and Socioeconomic status effects:
- Who support: The older and those with higher socioeconomic status
 - Who oppose: The younger and those with lower socioeconomic status
- Party identification and national identity
 - Blues: support
 - Greens: oppose cross-strait polices
 - Middle voters: relatively closer to Greens' positions

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Gender differences

- For economic issues (ECFA)
 - No significant gender difference
- For non-economic issues, such as institutional acknowledgement, educational exchange, and social interaction
 - Women were more likely to take an opposing position than men.

Why Taiwanese women opposed socially “over” interacting with China?

- Such policies tend to change the predictability and stability of everyday life.
- Many women do not think they will benefit from further cross-strait social exchange. In fact, they are more likely to lose a stable home and a committed relationship; Taiwanese women feel a potential threat from Chinese mistress.
- There may be impacts of Chinese people on the marriage market in Taiwan which worry Taiwanese single ladies and mothers with children.

Cross-Strait Social Relations

- Converging or Diverging?
 - It depends on different social groups.
 - The disparity of attitude reflects social differentiation and social cleavages in Taiwan.
 - In addition to political identity factors, social factors such as generation, class and gender also play important roles.
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