

交叉網絡與政治參與： 2001 年縣市長與立法委員選舉的實證研究*

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本研究旨在探討，在不同的人際互動關係之下，是否會影響民眾的政治參與？迥異於以往研究政治參與所偏重的「社會人口因素」(sociodemographic factor) 與「政治動員」(political mobilization) 等解釋途徑，本文嘗試援引「交叉網絡」(cross-cutting networks) 為研究架構，分析在 2001 年縣市長暨立法委員競選期間，社會網絡「交叉壓力」(cross-pressures) 對於選民從事政治活動和投票參與的影響。作者採用「2001 年台灣選舉與民主化調查研究：民國九十年立法委員選舉全國大型民意調查研究」資料，利用「雙變數交叉分析」(cross-tabulation analyses)、「有序勝算對數模型」(ordered logit model)，以及「勝算對數模型」(logit model) 進行檢證。研究結果顯示，政黨認同、族群認同、統獨立場等變數與交叉網絡具有顯著相關；另外，交叉網絡對於民眾政治參與具有相當程度的影響。這印證本文所提出的研究假設：於 2001 年縣市長與立法委員選舉期間，在社會網絡中處在高度交叉壓力的選民，其從事政治活動和投票參與的程度較低；反之，在社會網絡中處在低度交叉壓力的選民，其從事政治活動和投票參與的程度較高。

關鍵詞：社會網絡、交叉壓力、政治參與、投票行為

Cross-Cutting Networks and Political Participation: Lessons of the 2001 County Magistrate, City Mayoral and Legislative Yuan Elections in Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

This research aims at examining whether the public's political participation is influenced by different people's interactive relations and social environments in Taiwan. Different from the approaches of "sociodemographic factor" and "political mobilization" in the previous studies of political participation, this research employs "cross-cutting networks" as its theoretical structure, analyzing the influence posed by social network "cross-pressures" on voters engaging in political activities and voting participation in the 2001 county magistrate, city mayoral and legislative elections. This work takes advantage of the 2001 Taiwan Election and Democratization Study (TEDS 2001) survey data, using "cross-tabulation analyses," "ordered logit models," and "logit models" to test the association between cross-cutting networks and political participation. The findings demonstrate that the variables of party identification, Taiwanese (vs.) Chinese identification, and unification (vs.) in-

dependence preference present statistically significant associations with respondents' cross-cutting networks. More importantly, the results confirm the research hypothesis proposed in the work: people in cross-cutting networks involving greater political disagreement are less likely to participate in politics; in the contrary, individuals having homogeneous social interactions and under low-level cross-pressures are predisposed to participate in politics more actively.

Key Words: social network, cross-pressure, political participation, voting behavior