



TAIWAN'S HISTORIC 2014 LOCAL ELECTIONS

Kharis Templeman
CDDRL, Stanford University
December 2, 2014



WHAT'S "HISTORIC" ABOUT THE 2014 ELECTIONS?

- I. Culmination of long process of consolidation to concurrent elections. From now on, Taiwan will hold a major election every two years: 2014, 2016, 2018, etc.



“9-IN-1” ELECTIONS: WHAT’S AT STAKE?

Special municipalities 直轄市:

1. Mayors 市長
2. Councilors 會議員
3. Aborigine district heads 原住民自治區區長
4. Aborigine district representatives 原住民自治區區代表

County/city 縣市:

5. Executives 縣市長
6. Councilors 議員

Township/town/city 鄉鎮市:

7. Heads 鄉鎮市長
8. Councilors 鄉鎮市代表

Ward/Village 村里:

9. Chiefs 村里長





TAIWAN ELECTIONS, 2000-2002

March 20, 2000

Presidential election

Dec 1, 2001

City/county mayors

Legislative election

Jan 26, 2002

City/county councilors

Township/town chiefs

May 8, 2002

Township/town reps

Village/ward chiefs

Dec 7, 2002

Taipei, Kaohsiung mayors



WHAT'S "HISTORIC" ABOUT THE 2014 ELECTIONS?

- I. Culmination of long process of consolidation to concurrent elections. From now on, Taiwan will hold a major election every two years: 2014, 2016, 2018, etc.



WHAT'S "HISTORIC" ABOUT THE 2014 ELECTIONS?

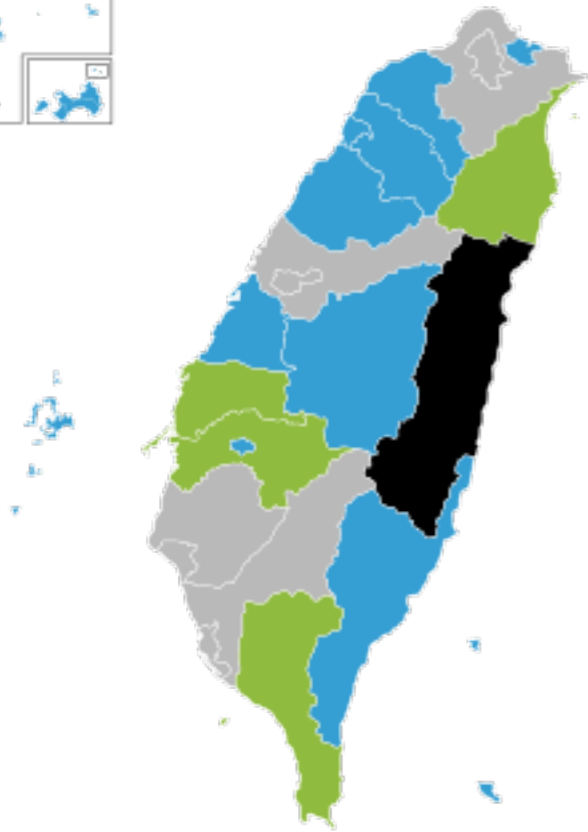
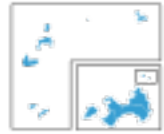
1. Culmination of long process of consolidation to concurrent elections. From now on, Taiwan will hold a major election every two years: 2014, 2016, 2018, etc.
2. A national "wave" election:
 - Races all broke the same way, toward the DPP, including major upsets in Taoyuan and Hsinchu City;
 - County and city races were effectively "nationalized," and the KMT party label was a major disadvantage;
 - Probably the KMT's worst local performance ever.



RESULTS

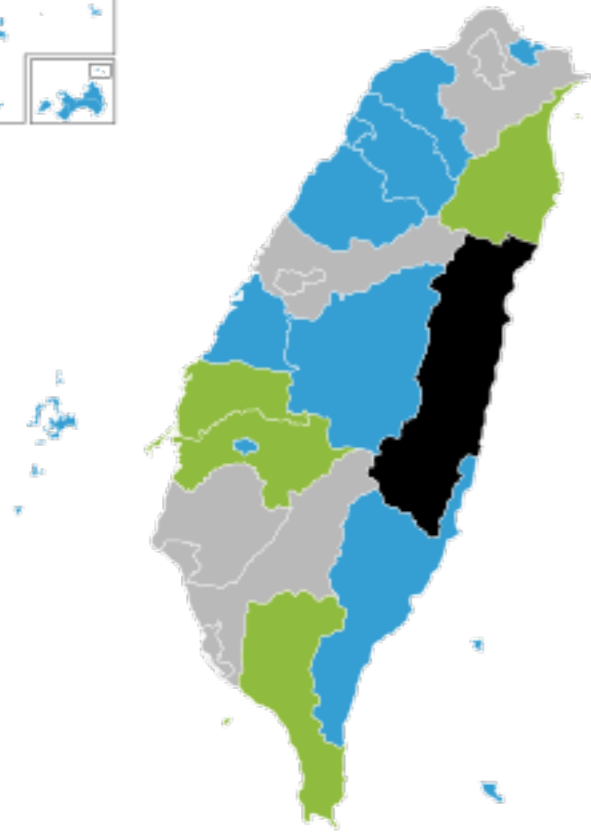
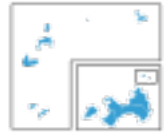


2009 County/City Elections





2009 County/City Elections

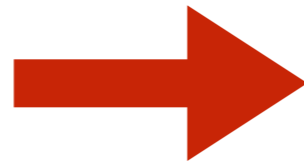
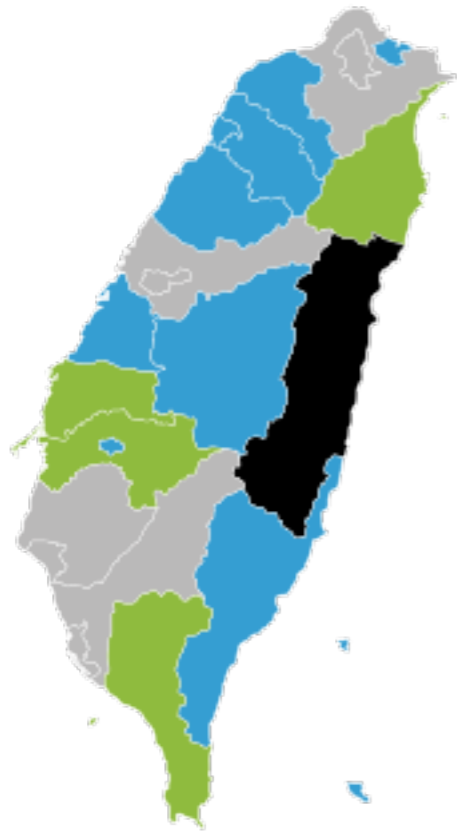
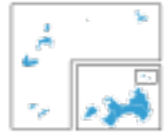


2010 Special Municipality Elections

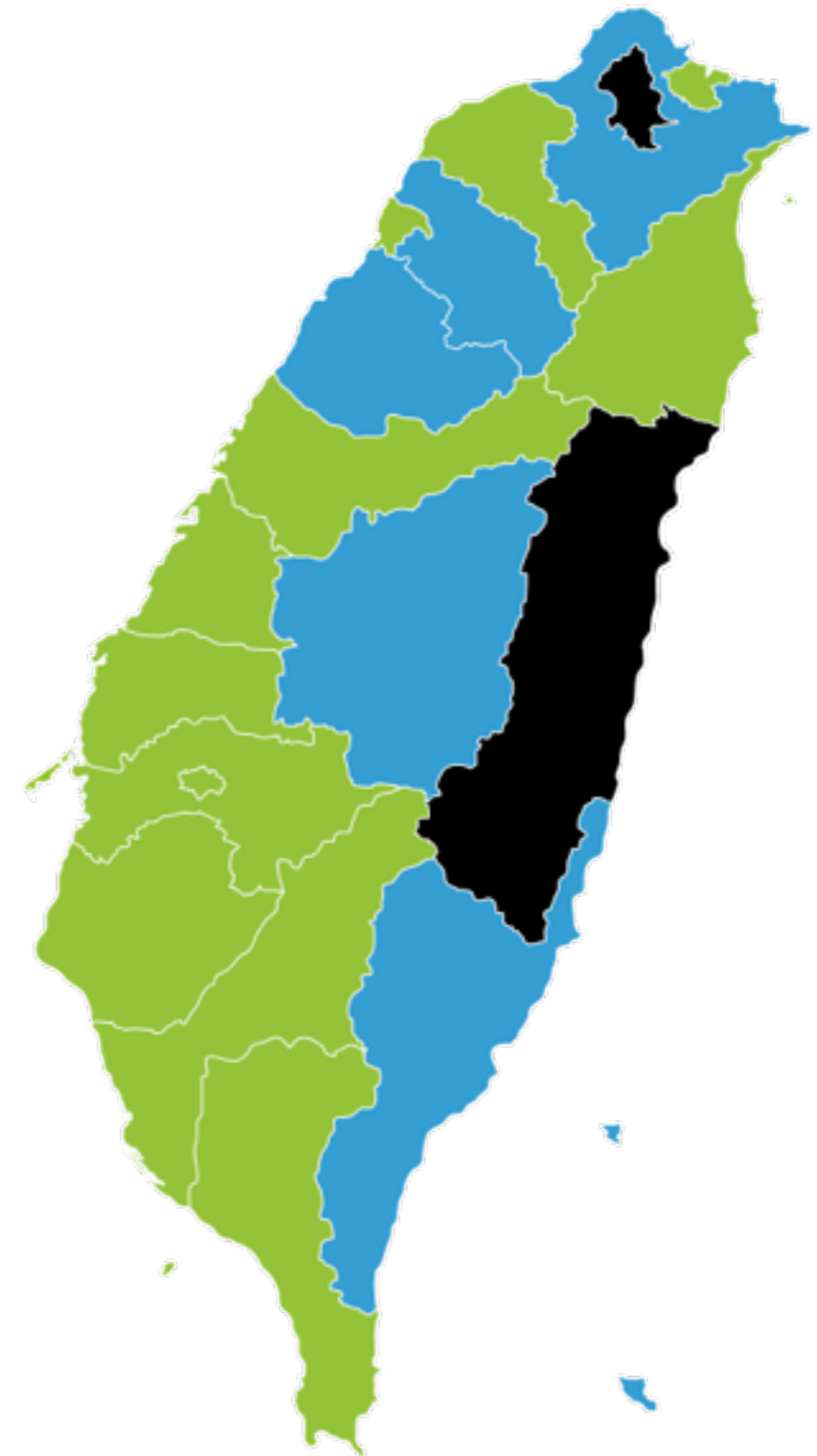




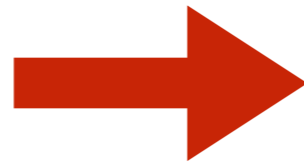
2009 County/City Elections



2014 Elections



2010 Special Municipality Elections





EXECUTIVE SEATS CHANGING PARTIES

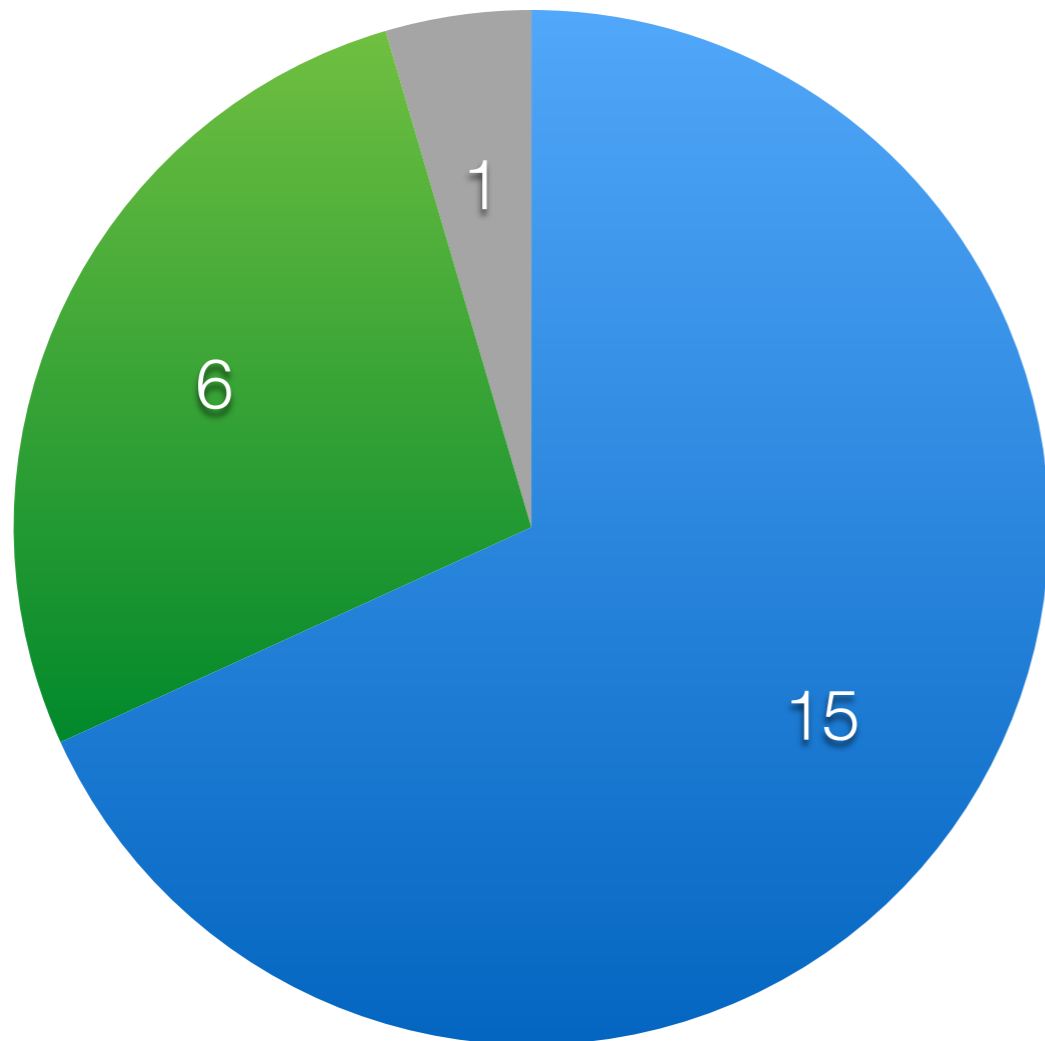
| KMT to DPP | | | KMT to Independent | | |
|--------------|-------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | DPP | KMT | | Ind | KMT |
| Keelung | 53.2% | 27.5% | Taipei | 57.2% | 40.8% |
| Taoyuan | 51.0% | 48.0% | Kinmen | 52.8% | 33.4% |
| Hsinchu City | 38.4% | 37.9% | | | |
| Taichung | 57.1% | 43.9% | | | |
| Changhua | 53.7% | 39.6% | | | |
| Chiayi City | 51.4% | 45.5% | | | |
| Penghu | 55.3% | 44.7% | | | |



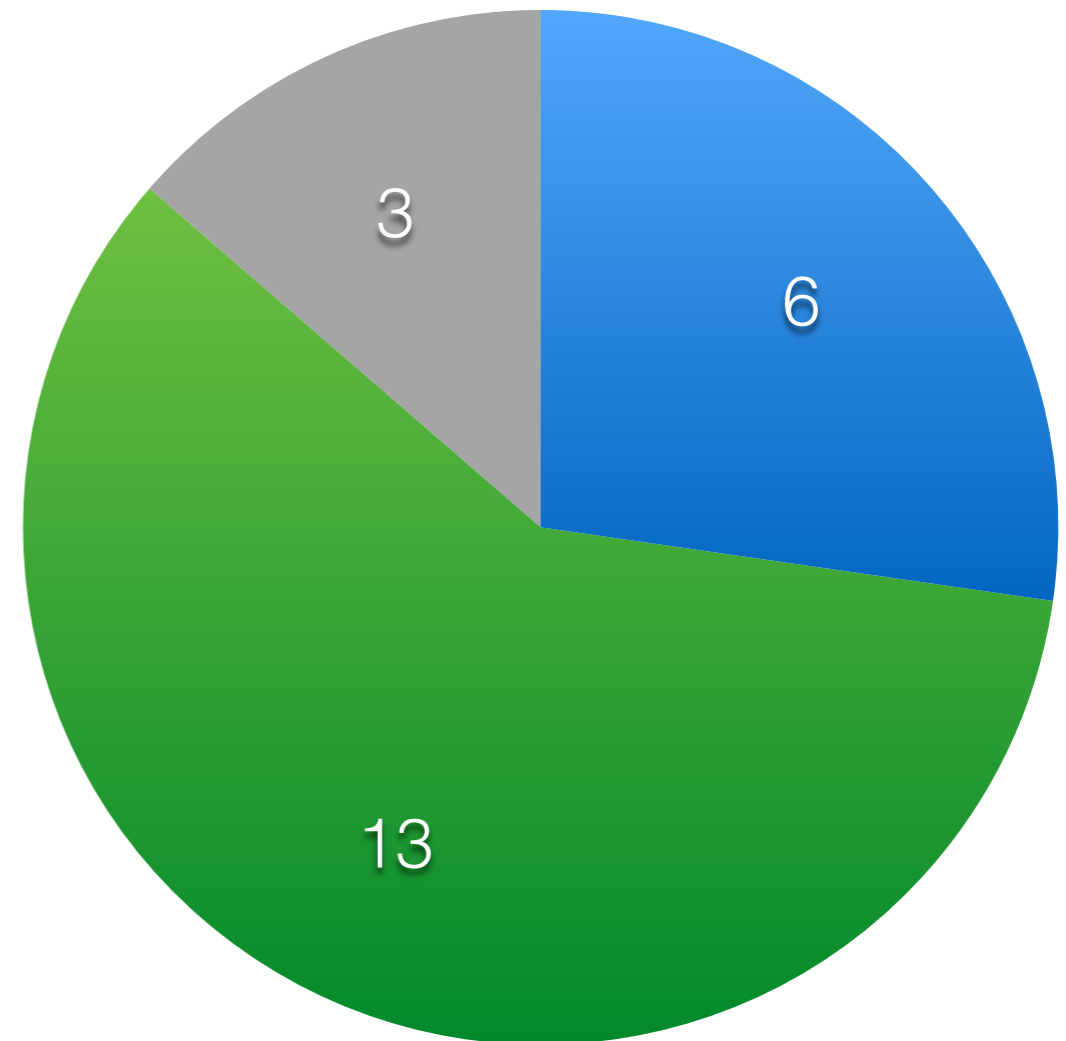
COUNTY AND CITY EXECUTIVE SEATS, BY PARTY

● KMT ● DPP ● Other

2009-10



2014





HEADLINE RACES VS TYPICAL RACES

Taipei:



Lien Sheng-wen 40.8%; Ko Wen-je 57.2%



HEADLINE RACES VS TYPICAL RACES

Taichung:



Jason Hu 43.9%; Lin Chia-lung 57.1%



KMT vote swing from 2012 to 2014



| City/County | 2012 KMT share | 2014 KMT share | Swing |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Taipei | 57.9% | 40.8% | -17.1% |
| New Taipei | 53.7% | 50.1% | -3.6% |
| Keelung | 59.3% | 43.7% | -15.6% |
| Taoyuan | 57.2% | 48.0% | -9.2% |
| Hsinchu City | 57.4% | 37.9% | -19.5% |
| Hsinchu County | 65.8% | 46.9% | -18.9% |
| Miaoli | 63.9% | 46.6% | -17.3% |
| NORTH - AVERAGE | | | -14.5% |
| Taichung | 52.2% | 42.9% | -9.3% |
| Changhua | 50.6% | 39.6% | -11.0% |
| Nantou | 54.6% | 51.0% | -3.6% |
| CENTRAL - AVERAGE | | | -8.0% |
| Yunlin | 41.7% | 43.0% | 1.3% |
| Chiayi City | 46.3% | 45.5% | -0.8% |
| Chiayi County | 39.0% | 34.0% | -5.0% |
| Tainan | 39.8% | 27.1% | -12.7% |
| Kaohsiung | 44.2% | 30.9% | -13.3% |
| Pingtung | 42.9% | 37.1% | -5.8% |
| SOUTH - AVERAGE | | | -6.05% |
| Yilan | 44.9% | 36.1% | -8.8% |
| Hualien | 70.3% | 27.6% | -42.7% |
| Taitung | 66.5% | 54.4% | -12.1% |
| EAST | | | - |
| Penghu | 49.8% | 44.7% | -5.1% |
| Lienchiang | 86.6% | 100% | +14.4% |
| Kinmen | 89.2% | 33.4% | -55.8% |
| ISLANDS | | | - |



KMT vote swing from 2012 to 2014



| City/County | 2012 KMT share | 2014 KMT share | Swing |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Taipei | 57.9% | 40.8% | -17.1% |
| New Taipei | 53.7% | 50.1% | -3.6% |
| Keelung | 59.3% | 43.7% | -15.6% |
| Taoyuan | 57.2% | 48.0% | -9.2% |
| Hsinchu City | 57.4% | 37.9% | -19.5% |
| Hsinchu County | 65.8% | 46.9% | -18.9% |
| Miaoli | 63.9% | 46.6% | -17.3% |
| NORTH - AVERAGE | | | -14.5% |
| Taichung | 52.2% | 42.9% | -9.3% |
| Changhua | 50.6% | 39.6% | -11.0% |
| Nantou | 54.6% | 51.0% | -3.6% |
| CENTRAL - AVERAGE | | | -8.0% |
| Yunlin | 41.7% | 43.0% | 1.3% |
| Chiayi City | 46.3% | 45.5% | -0.8% |
| Chiayi County | 39.0% | 34.0% | -5.0% |
| Tainan | 39.8% | 27.1% | -12.7% |
| Kaohsiung | 44.2% | 30.9% | -13.3% |
| Pingtung | 42.9% | 37.1% | -5.8% |
| SOUTH - AVERAGE | | | -6.05% |
| Yilan | 44.9% | 36.1% | -8.8% |
| Hualien | 70.3% | 27.6% | -42.7% |
| Taitung | 66.5% | 54.4% | -12.1% |
| EAST | | | - |
| Penghu | 49.8% | 44.7% | -5.1% |
| Lienchiang | 86.6% | 100% | +14.4% |
| Kinmen | 89.2% | 33.4% | -55.8% |
| ISLANDS | | | - |



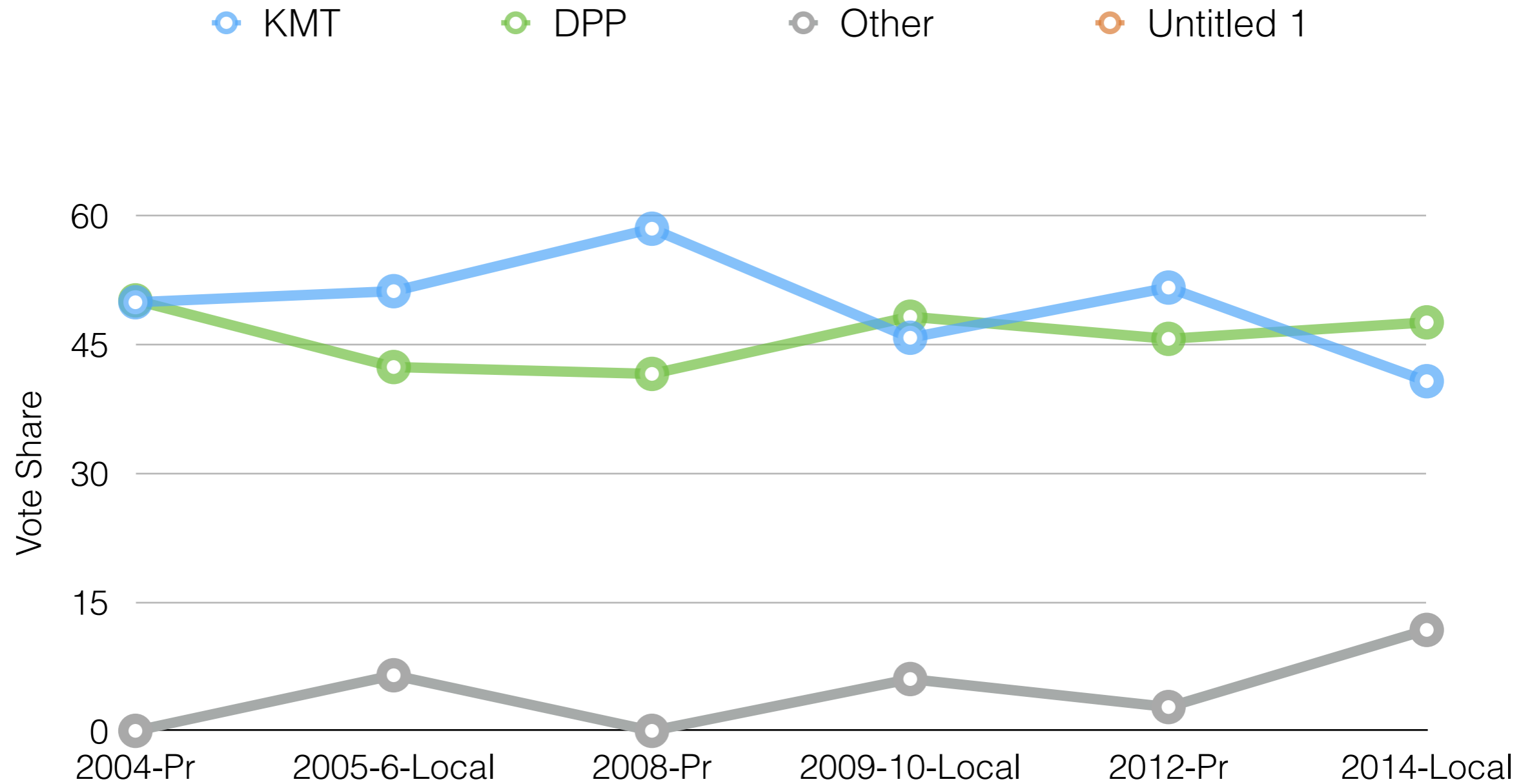
KMT vote swing from 2012 to 2014



| City/County | 2012 KMT share | 2014 KMT share | Swing |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Taipei | 57.9% | 40.8% | -17.1% |
| New Taipei | 53.7% | 50.1% | -3.6% |
| Keelung | 59.3% | 43.7% | -15.6% |
| Taoyuan | 57.2% | 48.0% | -9.2% |
| Hsinchu City | 57.4% | 37.9% | -19.5% |
| Hsinchu County | 65.8% | 46.9% | -18.9% |
| Miaoli | 63.9% | 46.6% | -17.3% |
| NORTH - AVERAGE | | | -14.5% |
| Taichung | 52.2% | 42.9% | -9.3% |
| Changhua | 50.6% | 39.6% | -11.0% |
| Nantou | 54.6% | 51.0% | -3.6% |
| CENTRAL - AVERAGE | | | -8.0% |
| Yunlin | 41.7% | 43.0% | 1.3% |
| Chiayi City | 46.3% | 45.5% | -0.8% |
| Chiayi County | 39.0% | 34.0% | -5.0% |
| Tainan | 39.8% | 27.1% | -12.7% |
| Kaohsiung | 44.2% | 30.9% | -13.3% |
| Pingtung | 42.9% | 37.1% | -5.8% |
| SOUTH - AVERAGE | | | -6.05% |
| Yilan | 44.9% | 36.1% | -8.8% |
| Hualien | 70.3% | 27.6% | -42.7% |
| Taitung | 66.5% | 54.4% | -12.1% |
| EAST | | | - |
| Penghu | 49.8% | 44.7% | -5.1% |
| Lienchiang | 86.6% | 100% | +14.4% |
| Kinmen | 89.2% | 33.4% | -55.8% |
| ISLANDS | | | - |



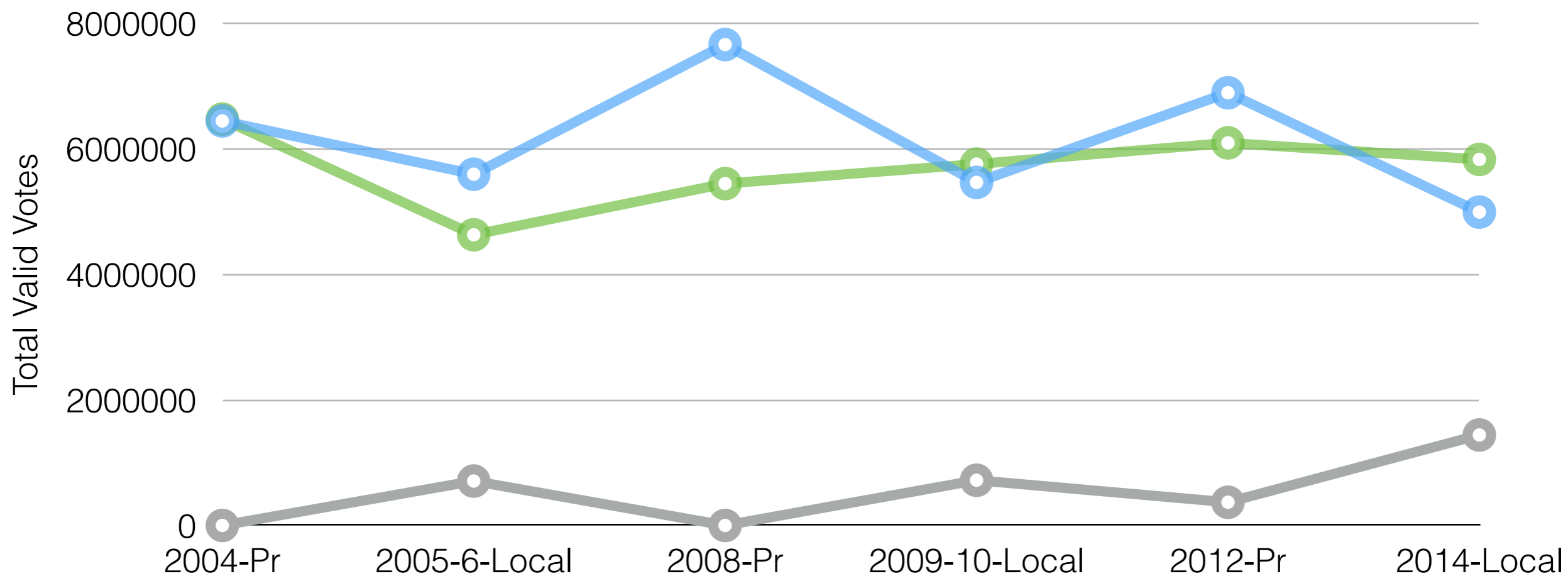
PARTY **VOTE SHARES** BY ELECTION, 2004-2014





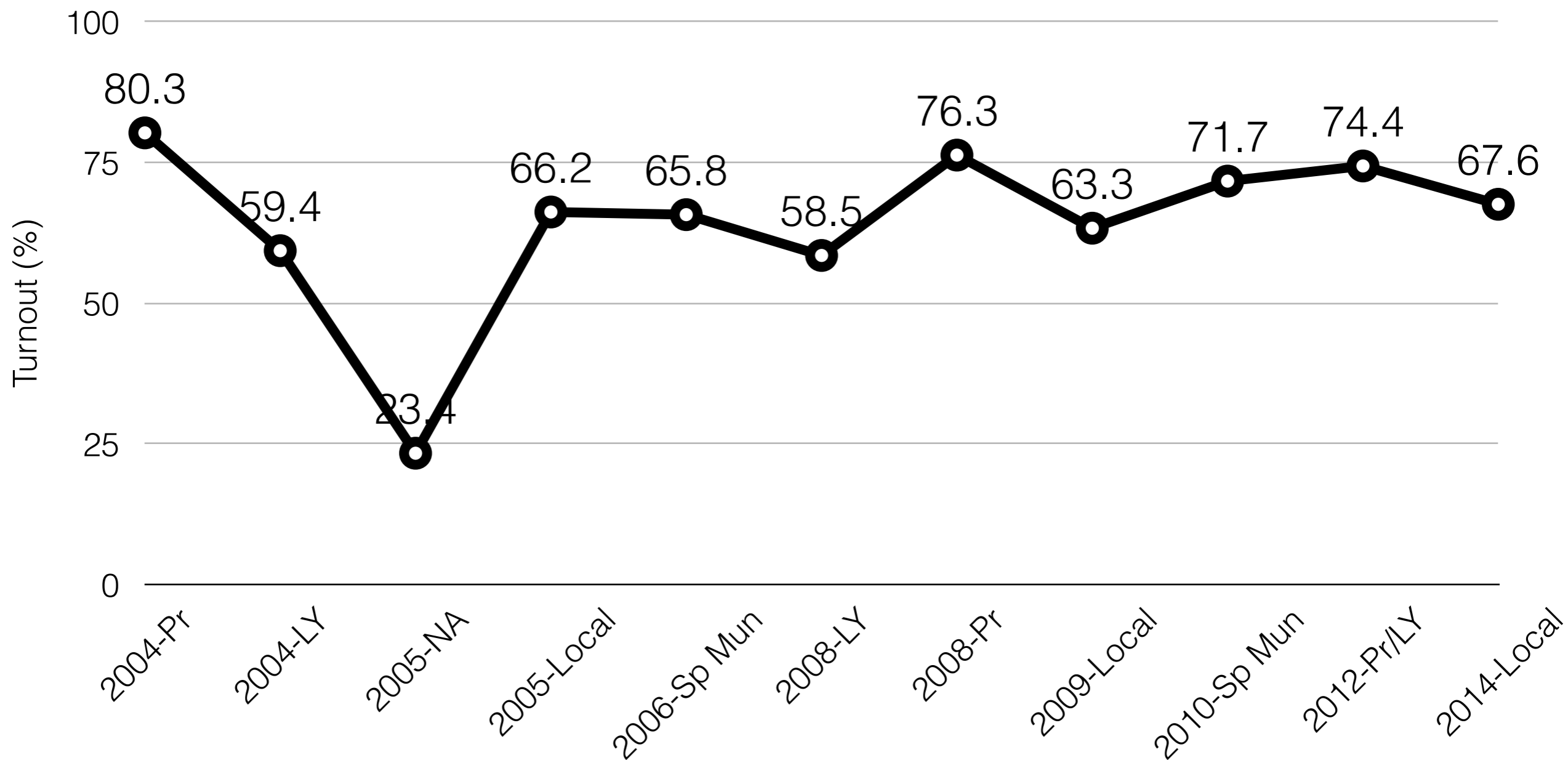
PARTY **VOTE TOTALS** BY ELECTION, 2004-2014

○ KMT ○ DPP ○ Other





TURNOUT IN ELECTIONS, 2004-2014





COUNTY AND CITY COUNCILOR SEATS, BY PARTY

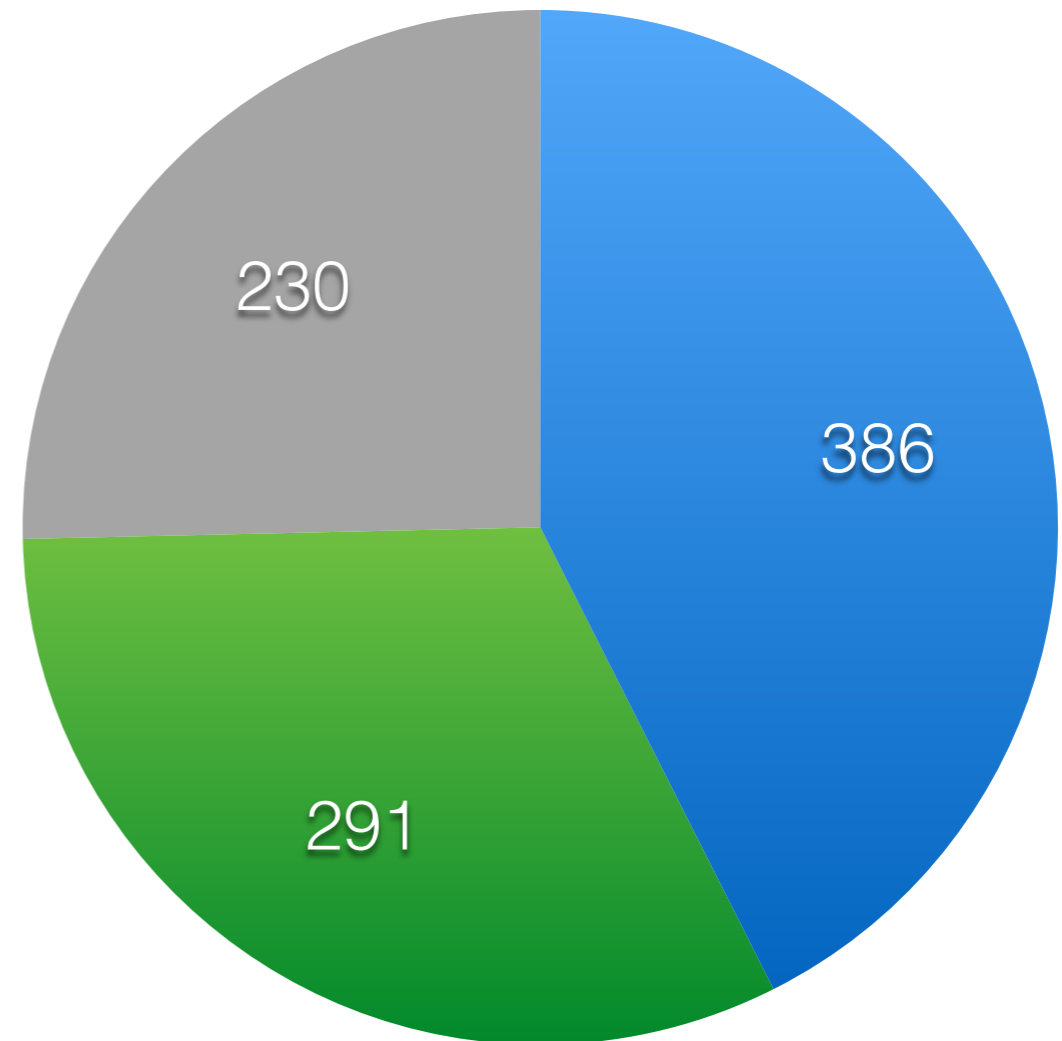
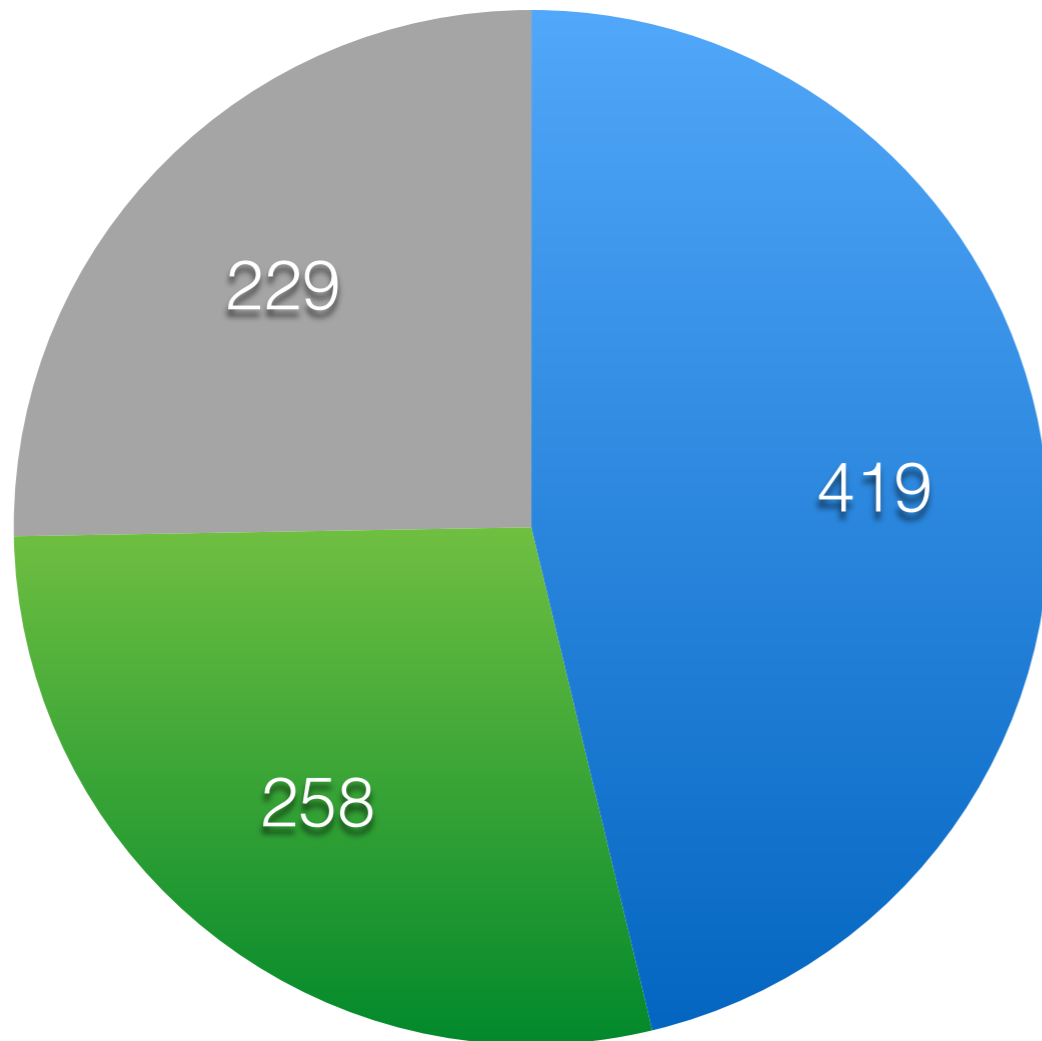
● KMT

● DPP

● Other

2009-10

2014





VOTES FOR COUNTY / CITY COUNCILORS, BY PARTY

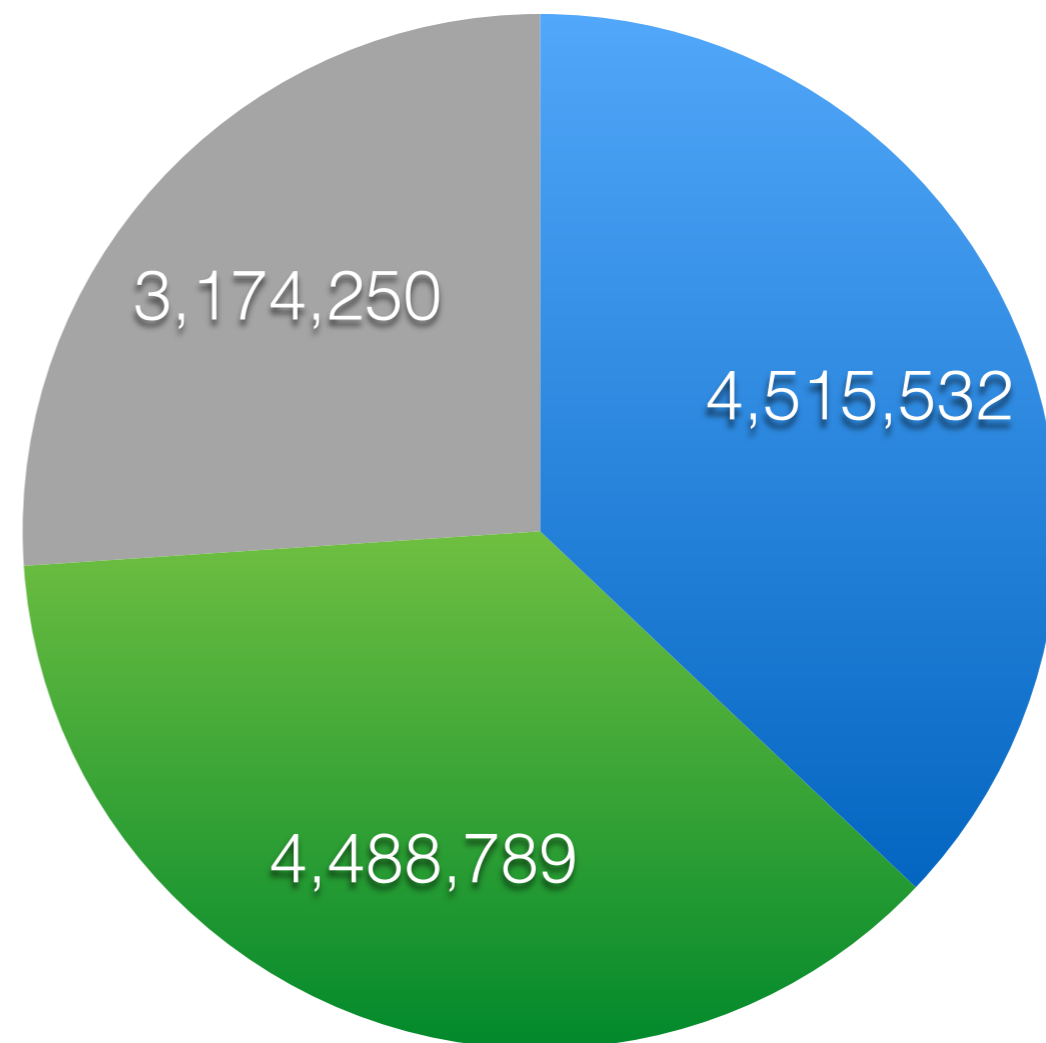
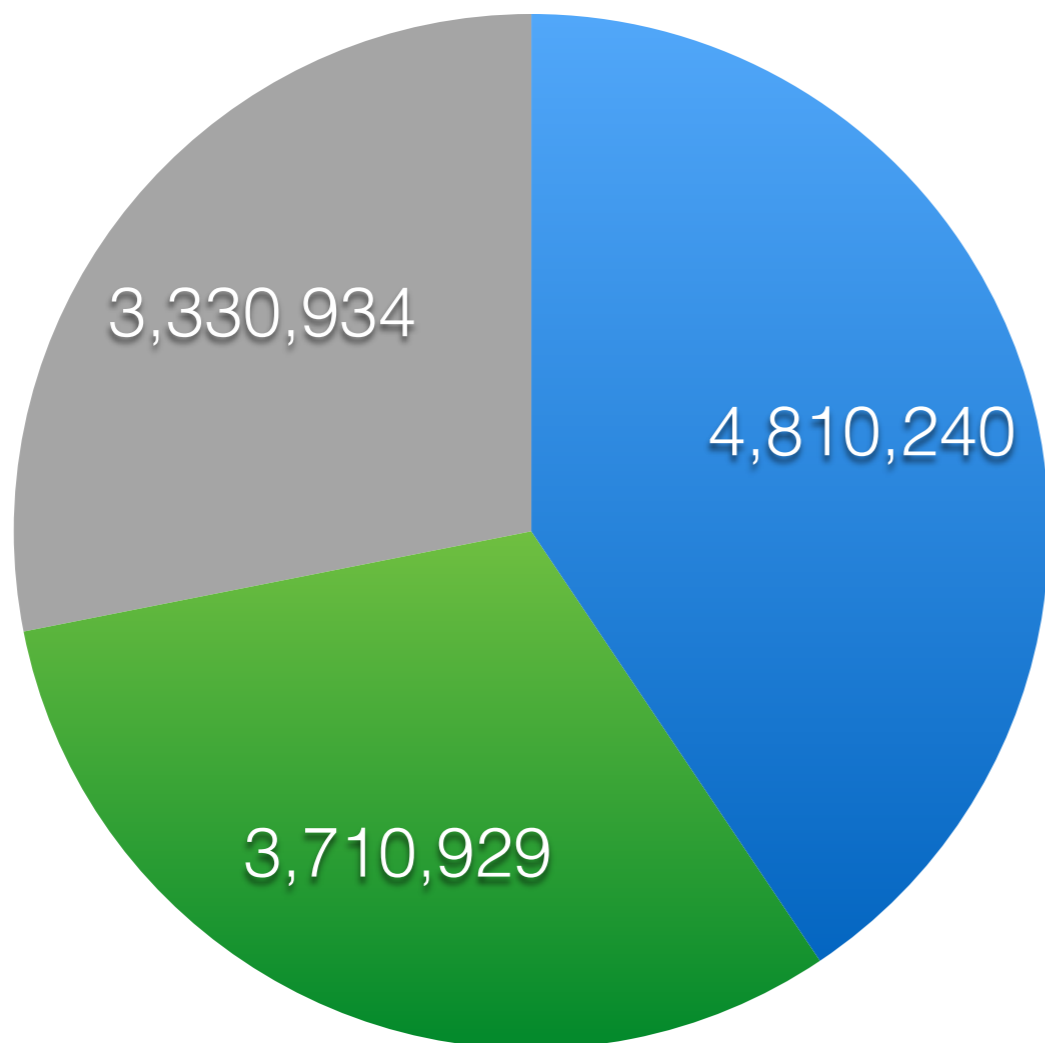
● KMT

● DPP

● Other

2009-10

2014



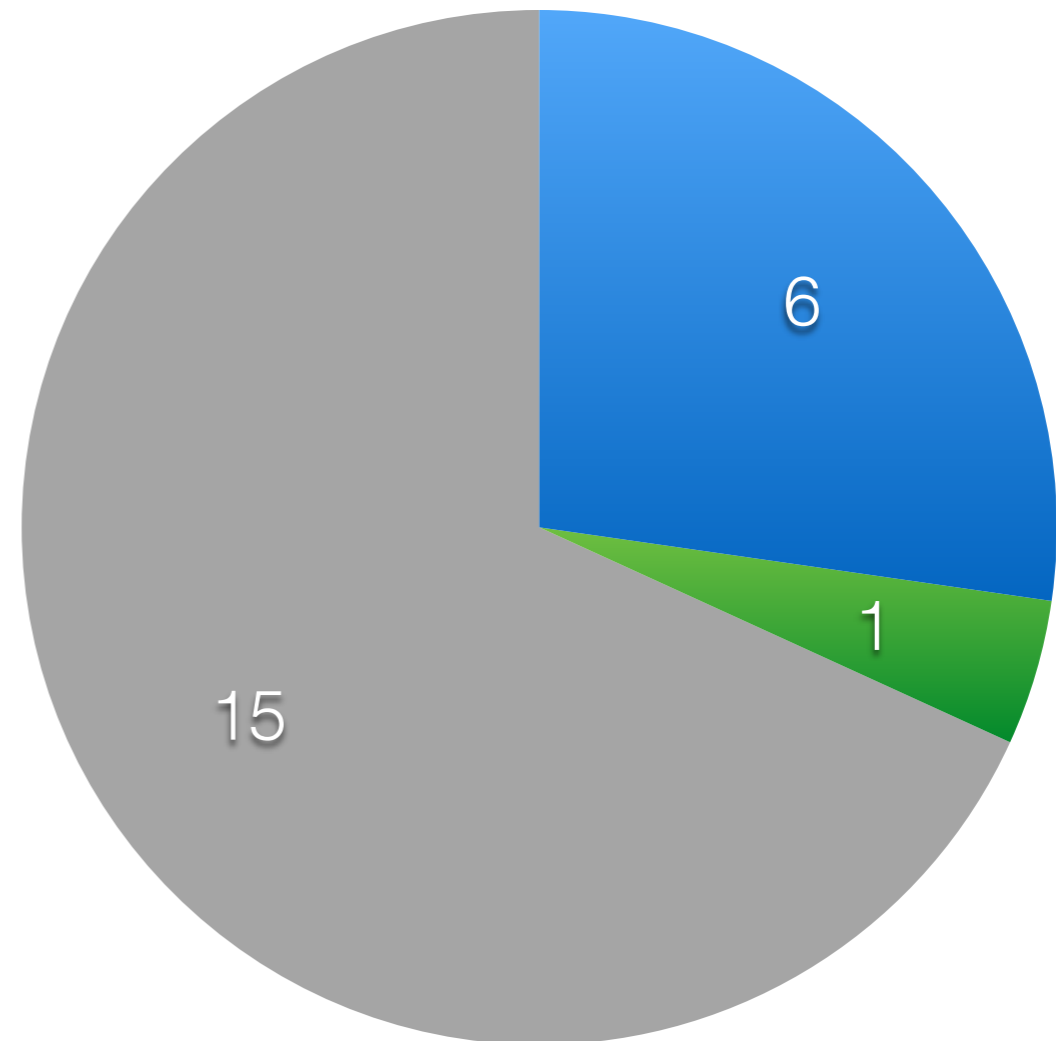
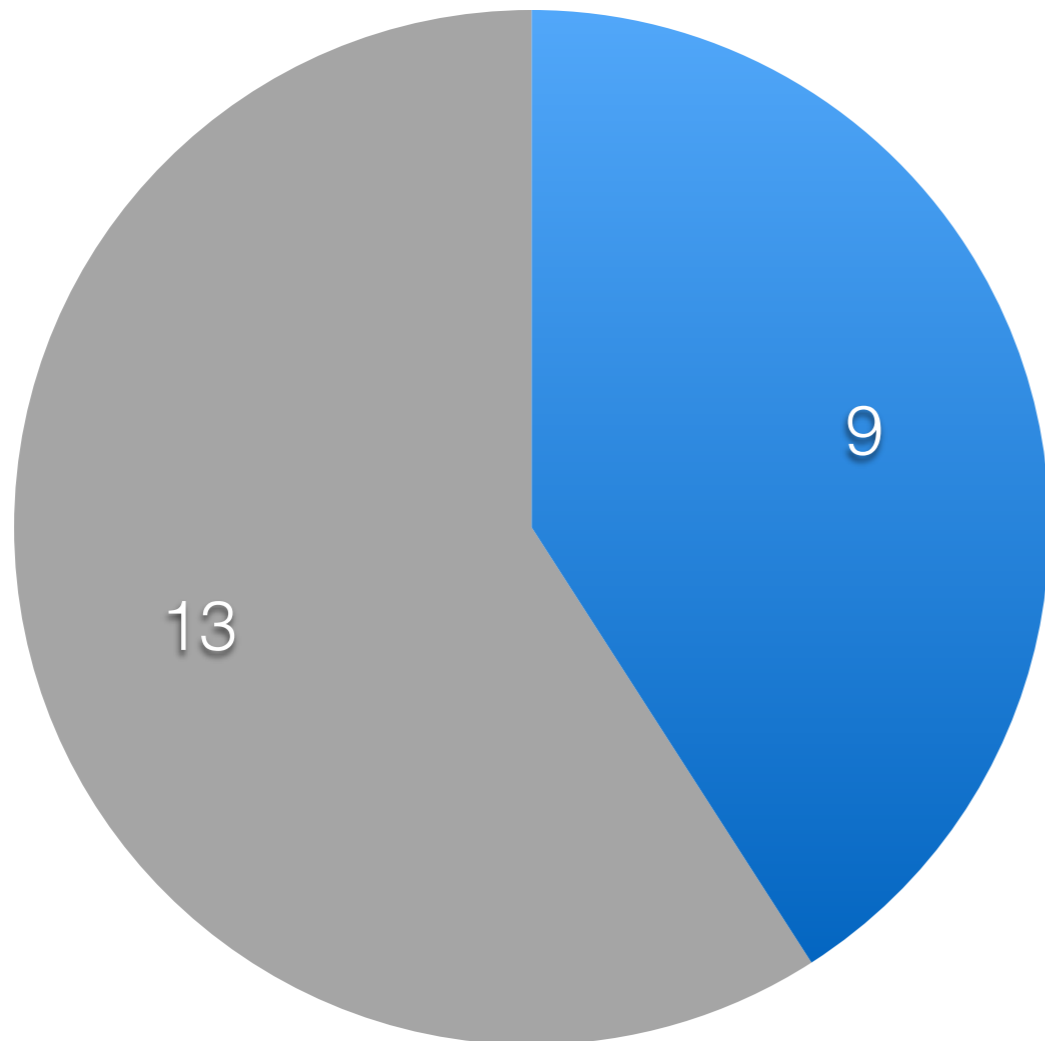


PARTY CONTROL OF COUNTY / CITY COUNCILS

● KMT majority ● DPP majority ● No majority

2009-10

2014

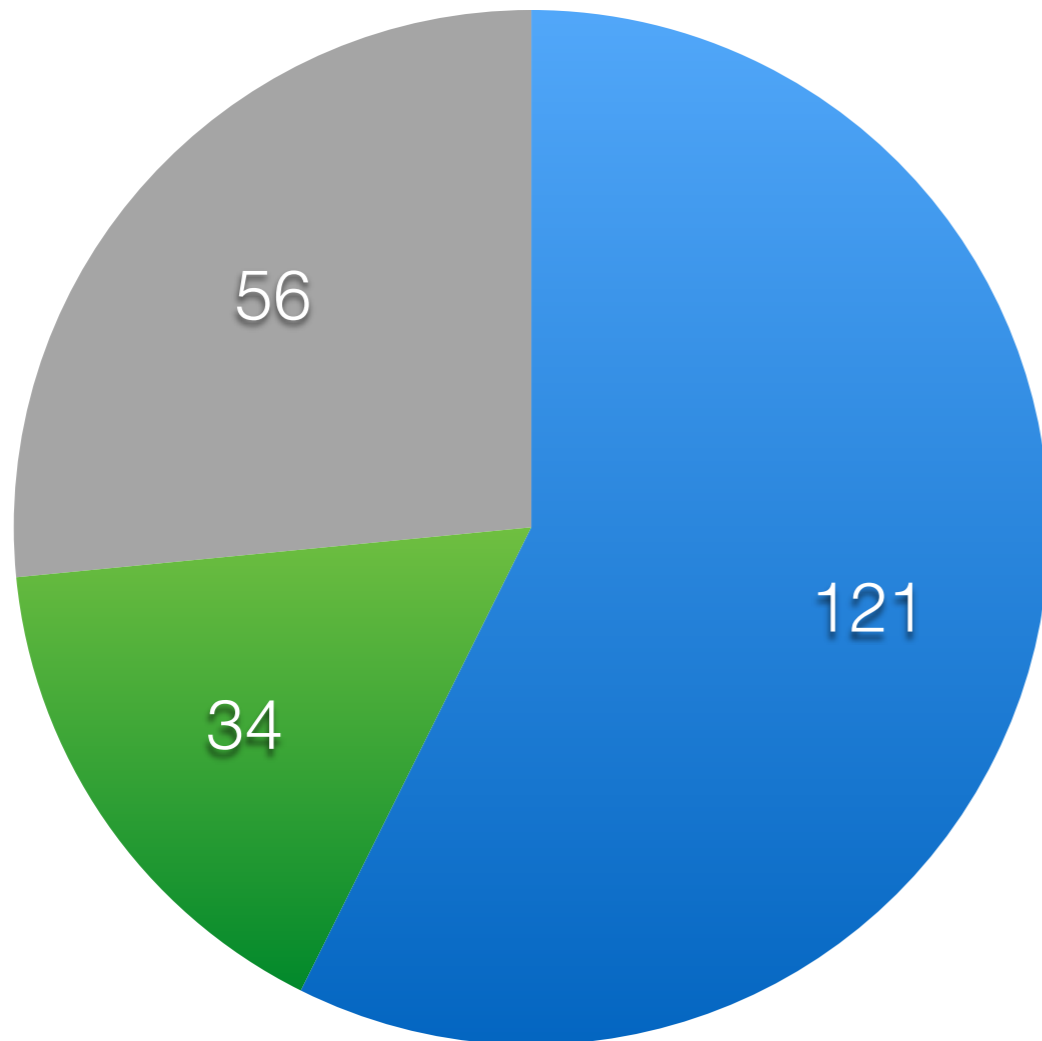




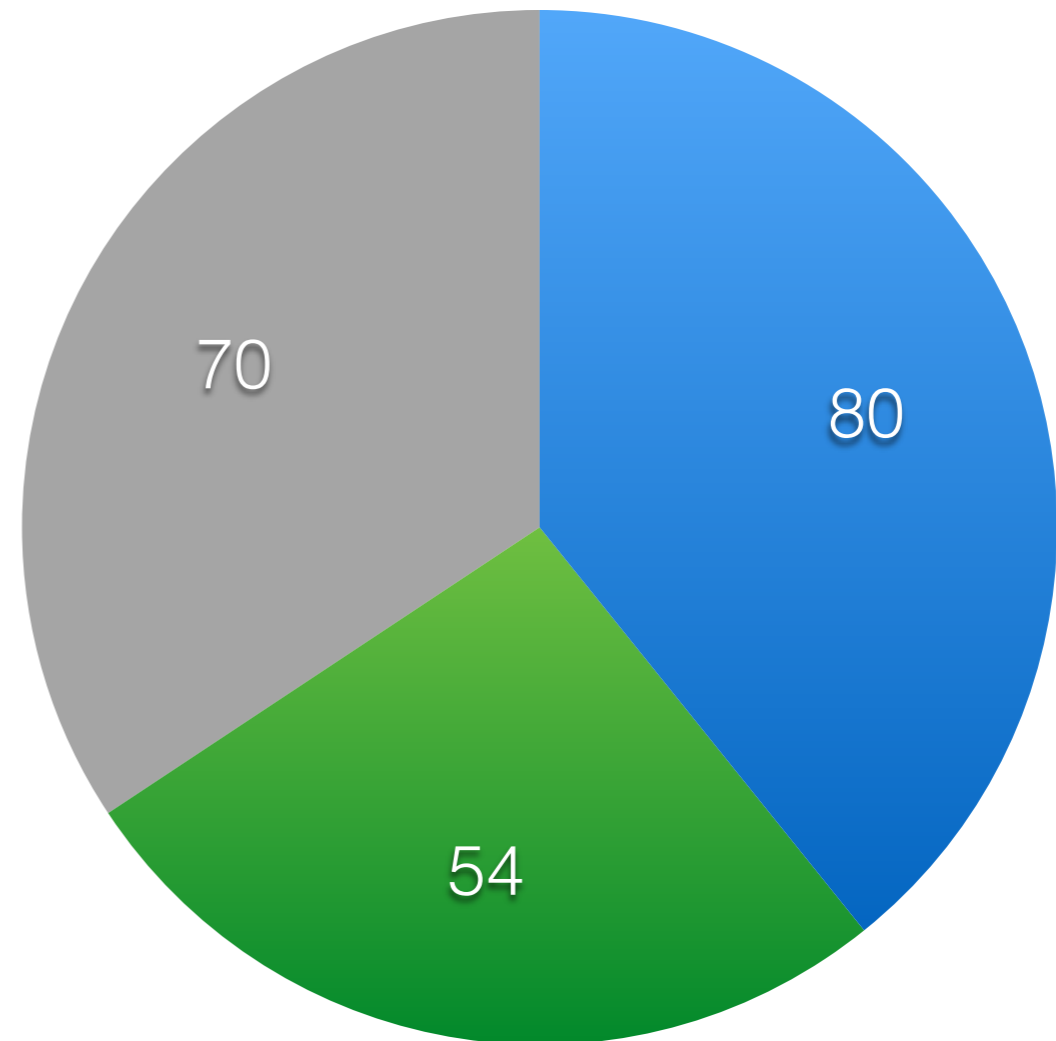
TOWNSHIP-LEVEL HEADS BY PARTY, 2009 vs 2014

● KMT ● DPP ● Other

2009



2014

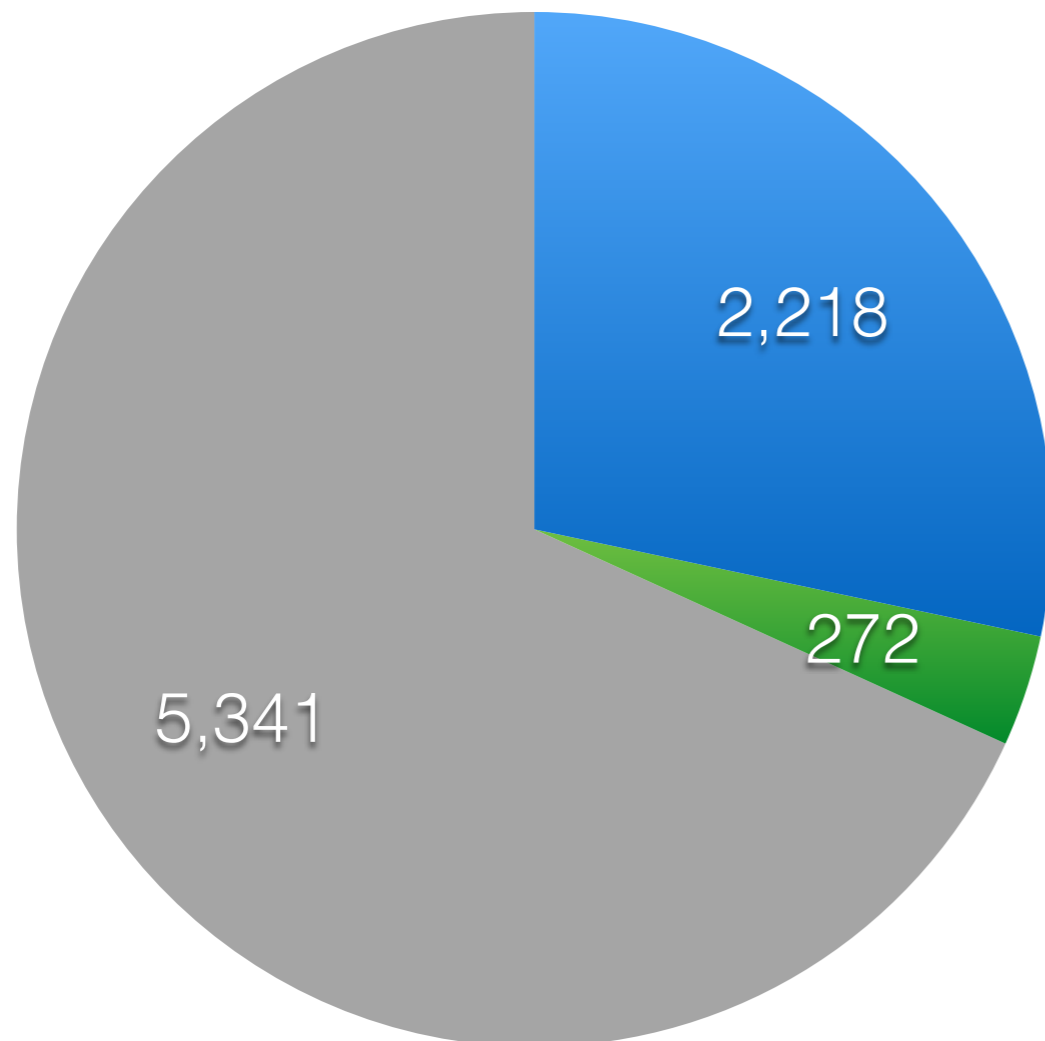




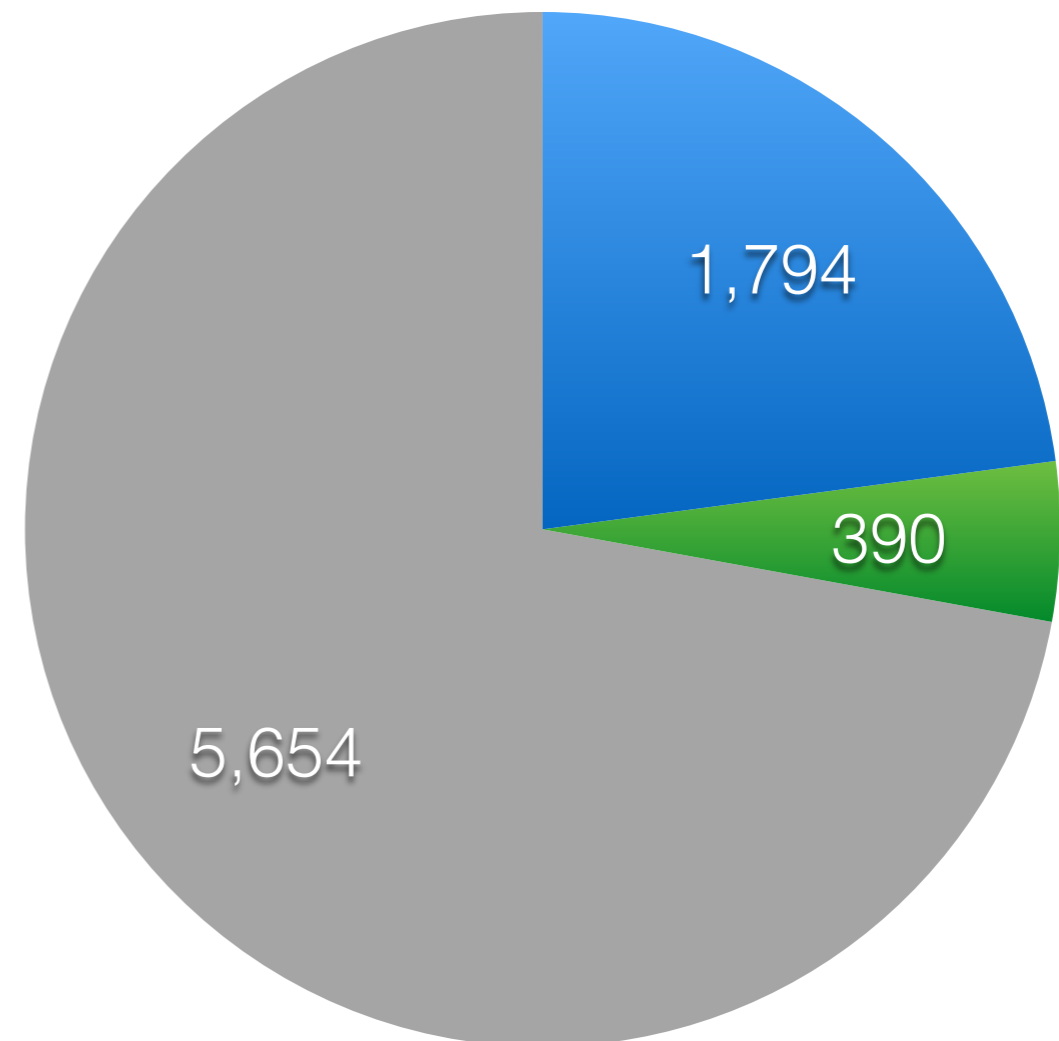
VILLAGE/WARD HEADS BY PARTY, 2009-10 vs 2014

● KMT ● DPP ● Other

2009



2014





VILLAGE/WARD HEADS **VOTES** BY PARTY, 2009-10 vs 2014

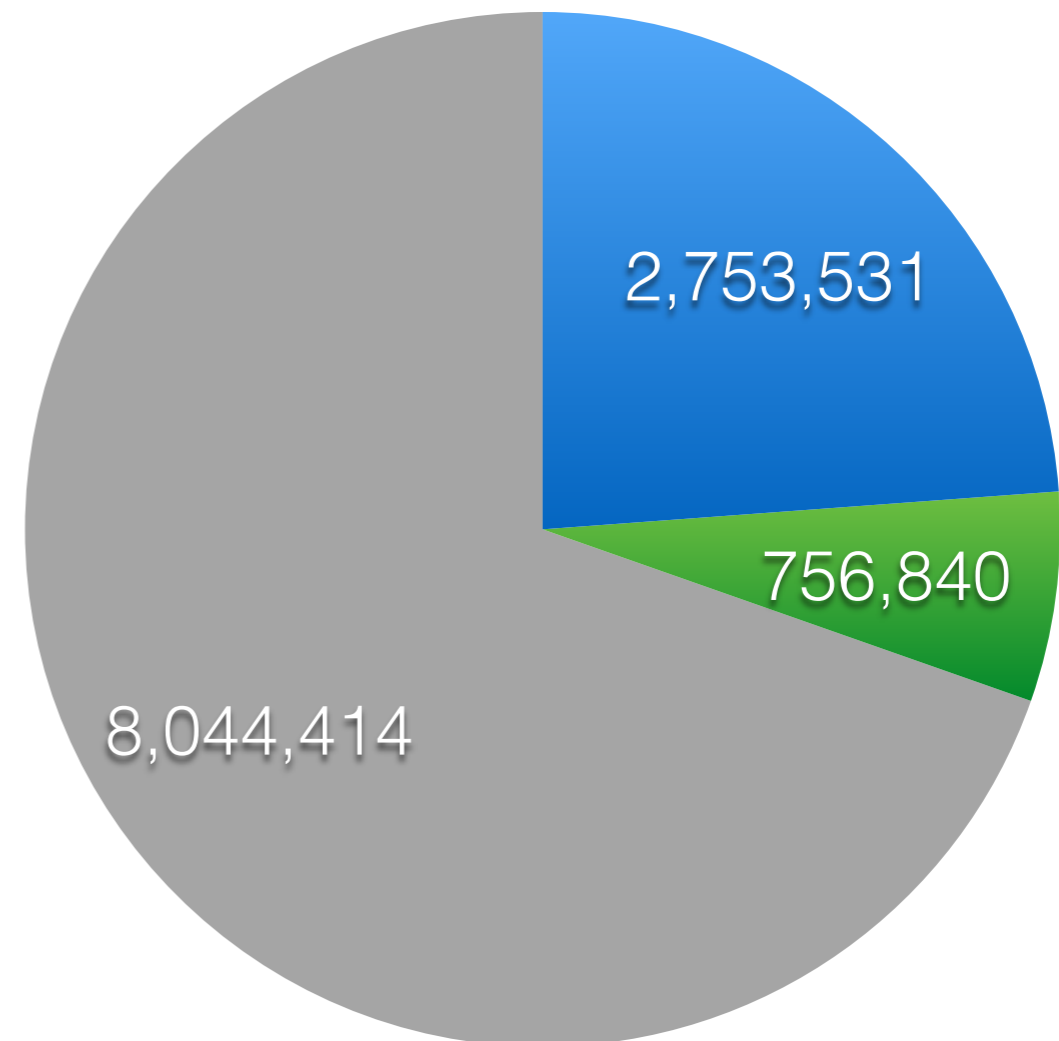
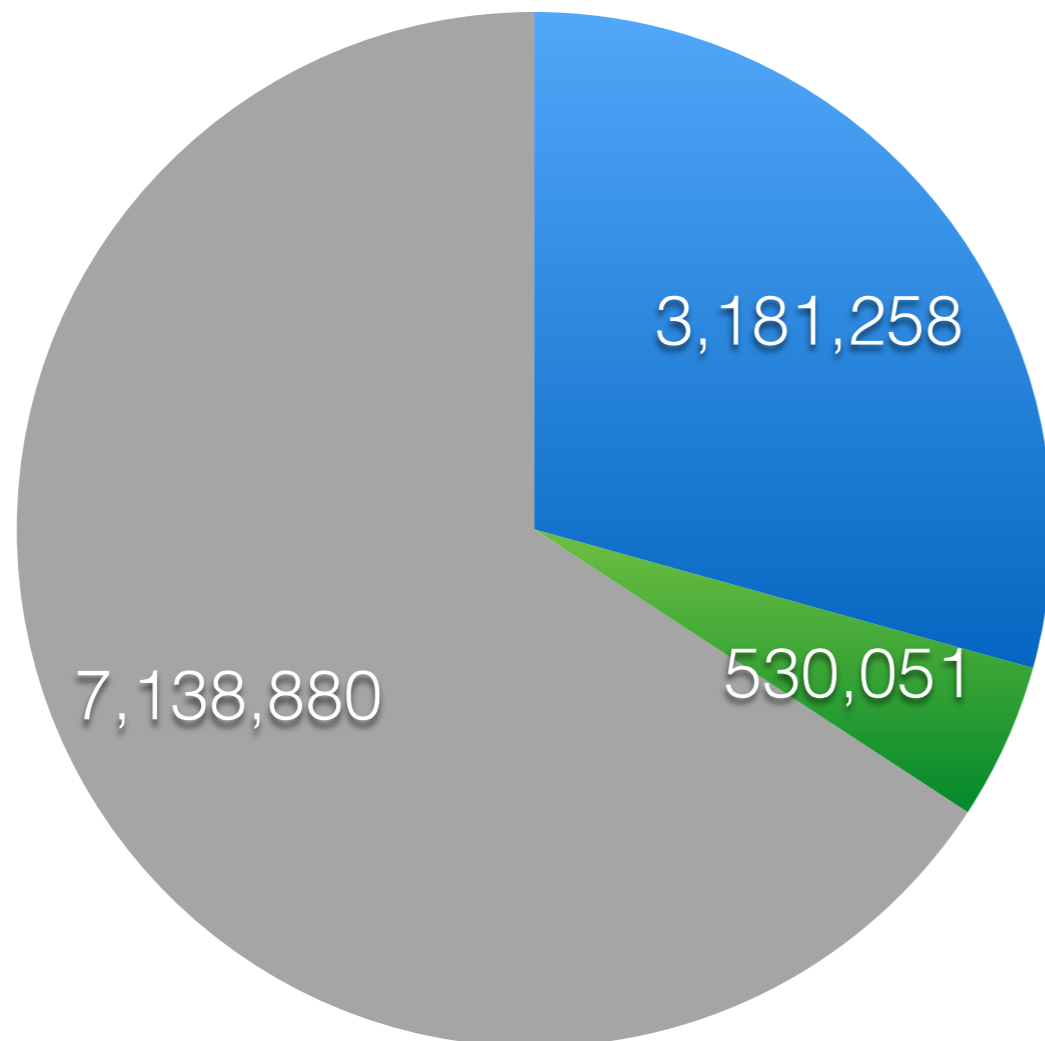
● KMT

● DPP

● Other

2009-10

2014





IN SUM

- The KMT performed worst in the highest-profile elections: special municipalities, county and city executive races
- These races were nationalized: turned on party, not factional ties, ethnicity, etc.
- At lower levels, where party matters less, the KMT fared a bit better.
- That suggests the KMT brand was toxic in this election



DEEPER IMPLICATIONS

- A “wave” election: big races nationalized, everything broke against the KMT. The KMT brand is damaged: unpopular president and executive branch.



DEEPER IMPLICATIONS

- **A “wave” election:** big races nationalized, everything broke against the KMT. The KMT brand is damaged: unpopular president and executive branch.
- **Electoral accountability:** when an incumbent party is unpopular, voters punish it at the polls. These elections turned on party, not personality.



DEEPER IMPLICATIONS

- **A “wave” election:** big races nationalized, everything broke against the KMT. The KMT brand is damaged: unpopular president and executive branch.
- **Electoral accountability:** when an incumbent party is unpopular, voters punish it at the polls. These elections turned on party, not personality.
- **Democratic consolidation:** Street protests channeled into the existing system, elections well-administered, result respected and has immediate political consequences. This is a good sign for the health of Taiwan’s democracy.



THANKS!





KMT vote swing from 2009-10 to 2014



| City/County | 2009-10 KMT share | 2014 KMT share | Swing |
|--------------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Taipei | 55.64% | 40.80% | -14.84% |
| New Taipei | 52.60% | 50.10% | -2.50% |
| Keelung | 55.10% | 43.70% | -11.40% |
| Taoyuan | 52.22% | 48.00% | -4.22% |
| Hsinchu City | 55.63% | 37.90% | -17.73% |
| Hsinchu County | 52.19% | 46.90% | -5.29% |
| Miaoli | 63.79% | 46.60% | -17.19% |
| NORTH - AVERAGE | | | -10.5% |
| Taichung | 51.11% | 42.90% | -8.21% |
| Changhua | 54.88% | 39.60% | -15.28% |
| Nantou | 50.87% | 51.00% | 0.13% |
| CENTRAL - AVERAGE | | | -7.8% |
| Yunlin | 34.63% | 43.00% | 8.37% |
| Chiayi City | 46.30% | 45.50% | -0.80% |
| Chiayi County | 40.66% | 34.00% | -6.66% |
| Tainan | 39.58% | 27.10% | -12.48% |
| Kaohsiung | 20.52% | 30.90% | 10.38% |
| Pingtung | 40.67% | 37.10% | -3.57% |
| SOUTH - AVERAGE | | | -0.8% |
| Yilan | 45.74% | 36.10% | -9.64% |
| Hualien | 25.44% | 27.60% | 2.16% |
| Taitung | 52.59% | 54.40% | 1.81% |
| EAST | | | |
| Penghu | 49.36% | 44.70% | -4.66% |
| Lienchiang | 57.18% | 100% | 42.82% |
| Kinmen | 37.27% | 33.40% | -3.87% |
| ISLANDS | | | |