Taiwan’s 2016 Presidential and Legislative Elections

Kharis Templeman
Program Manager, Taiwan Democracy Project
Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law
Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University
January 26, 2016
SPOILER ALERT:
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President-elect Tsai Ing-wen
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DPP Majority in Legislature

- 68
- 35
- 32
- 5
WHERE WE’RE HEADED

• What was at stake
• Presidential election: candidates, campaign, results
• Legislative election: parties, campaign, results
WHAT WAS AT STAKE?

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• Legislature: always controlled by KMT or pan-blue majority
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- Legislature: always controlled by KMT or pan-blue majority
- President Ma and KMT very unpopular for last four years
- Sunflower Movement: students occupied legislature for three weeks in March 2014
- DPP did well in December 2014 local elections
KEY QUESTIONS GOING INTO 2016 CAMPAIGN

1. Would KMT be able to recover from 2014 defeat?

2. Would DPP be able to capitalize on unhappiness with Ma Ying-jeou and KMT?

3. Would so-called “Third Force” parties and candidates convert protest energy into actual votes, especially the New Power Party (NPP)?
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN
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DPP: Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文)
Presidental Campaign

DPP: Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文)

KMT: Hung Hsiu-chu (洪秀柱)
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

DPP: Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文)

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DPP: Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文)

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KMT: Eric Chu (朱立倫)
KMT Dysfunction

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ECONOMIC DOWNTURN IN 3RD-4TH QUARTER 2015

TAIWAN GDP ANNUAL GROWTH RATE

SOURCE: WWW.TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL STATISTICS, REPUBLIC OF CHINA
KMT Dysfunction + Economic Downturn: Tsai Win Expected for Months
PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS: 2012 VS 2016

2012

- KMT: 51.60%
- DPP: 45.63%
- PFP: 2.77%

2016

- KMT: 25.12%
- DPP: 56.12%
- PFP: 12.84%
Presidential Results: 2012 vs 2016

2012
- KMT: 51.60%
- DPP: 45.63%
- PFP: 2.77%

2016
- KMT: 31.04%
- DPP: 56.12%
- PFP: 12.84%
2016 Presidential Result More about KMT and Ma Ying-jeou Than DPP
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• Ma’s cross-Strait policies increasingly unpopular
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- Tsai had to be “not Ma Ying-jeou,” and she was.
2016 Presidential Result More about KMT and Ma Ying-jeou Than DPP

• Ma’s cross-Strait policies increasingly unpopular
• Lack of progress in many domestic areas: tax base, inequality, youth employment, etc.
• Tsai had to be “not Ma Ying-jeou,” and she was.
• But long-term trends bode poorly for KMT: lost youth vote (age 20-29) 5-1, no young leaders.
Blue vs. Green: Voting Trend in Taiwan For the Past 3 Presidential Elections

2008:
- Ma Ying-jeou 58.45%
- Frank Hsieh 41.55%

2012:
- Ma Ying-jeou (51.60%) + James Soong (2.77%)
- Tsai Ing-wen 45.63%

2016:
- Tsai Ing-wen 56.12%
- Eric Chu (31.04%) + James Soong (12.84%)

Credit: Lucien Wei Hickman, Ketagalan Media
Blue vs. Green: Voting Trend in Taiwan
For the Past 3 Presidential Elections

Credit: Lucien Wei Hickman, Ketagalan Media
Legislative Campaign
THE BASICS:
TWO TIERS, THREE GROUPS OF SEATS

• 73 single-member district seats chosen through plurality rule

• 6 reserved aborigine seats chosen through SNTV in two national districts

• 34 closed-list proportional representation seats, chosen through a separate party vote, with a 5% threshold
The Campaign in the District Races

- Minor party district candidates a challenge for both major parties
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• For KMT: PFP, MKT (Republic Party), New Party, independents

• For DPP: TSU, New Power Party, Social Democratic-Greens alliance
The Campaign in the District Races

- Minor party district candidates a challenge for both major parties
- For KMT: PFP, MKT (Republic Party), New Party, independents
- For DPP: TSU, New Power Party, Social Democratic-Greens alliance
- DPP cooperated fairly well, but pan-blue coordination failures were rampant
Ex: Hau Lung-bin in Keelung

- Hau (KMT): 36.1%
- Liu (PFP): 12.1%
- Yang (MKT): 10.0%
- Tsai (DPP): 41.5%
KMT Candidates Ran away from The Party and Ma Ying-jeou
DPP Candidates Embraced Tsai, But Played Down Party
The Party List Vote

- 18 (!) parties qualified for the party list ballot
- Open question how viable new parties would be
- Coordination problem within camps, e.g. DPP vs NPP vs Green-SPD
RESULTS
**Regular District Races**

- DPP won 49 constituencies
- KMT won only 20
- New Power Party won 3
- Independents won 1

Freddy Lim, lead singer of metal band Chthonic and now legislator-elect
REGULAR DISTRICT RACES

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Freddy Lim, lead singer of metal band Chthonic and now legislator-elect
ABORIGINE DISTRICT RACES

- 4 KMT incumbents won
- 1 DPP challenger won
- 1 independent incumbent won
PARTY LIST VOTE

Existing LY Parties: 80%

- DPP: 44.1% = 18 seats
- KMT: 26.9% = 11
- PFP: 6.5% = 3
- TSU: 2.5% = 0

New Parties: 20%

- NPP: 6.11% = 2
- New Party: 4.18%
- Green-SDP: 2.51%
- FHL: 1.70%
- MKT: 1.62%
LEGISLATIVE YUAN SEATS BY PARTY:
2012 vs 2016
LEGISLATIVE YUAN SEATS BY PARTY:
2012 vs 2016

2012
- KMT: 64
- DPP: 40
- TSU / NPP: 3
- Other: 3
- PFP: 3

2016
- KMT: 35
- DPP: 68
- TSU / NPP: 3
- Other: 5
- PFP: 2
2015年11月第八屆立法委員席次現況
Taiwanese Legislative Make-up as of Nov 2015
Reflecting party-switches and nullified seat

2016年第九屆台灣立法委員選舉結果
Taiwanese Legislative Election Result

Credit: Lucien Wei Hickman, Ketagalan Media
LY Campaign Take-Aways

• DPP cooperation with minor parties helped it avoid splits.

• Came at cost of yielding winnable seats to New Power Party, which will have a party caucus.

• KMT incumbents wiped out: 19 lost, 9 didn’t run. Those close to Ma Ying-jeou did especially badly.

• “Third Force” and other minor parties only played spoiler roles, except NPP replaced TSU.
SOME FINAL THOUGHTS
Some Final Thoughts

- Taiwan’s election practices are a model for Asia and the world: vigorous campaigns, smooth voting and efficient counting
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• Taiwan’s election practices are a model for Asia and the world: vigorous campaigns, smooth voting and efficient counting
• Turnout very low for a national election
Turnout in Elections, 2004-2016

Turnout (%)

2004-Pr  80.3
2004-LY  59.4
2005-NA  23.4
2005-Local  66.2
2006-Sp Mun  65.8
2008-LY  58.5
2008-Pr  76.3
2009-Local  63.3
2010-Sp Mun  71.7
2012-Pr/LY  74.4
2014-Local  67.6
2016-Pr/LY  66.3
Some Final Thoughts

- Taiwan’s election practices are a model for Asia and the world: vigorous campaigns, smooth voting and efficient counting
- Turnout very low for a national election
- Year of the Woman in Taiwan: 38% of incoming legislators are women
THANKS!
PARTY VOTE SHARES BY EXECUTIVE ELECTION, 2004-2014

Vote Share

KMT
DPP
Other

2004-Pr 2005-6-Local 2008-Pr 2009-10-Local 2012-Pr 2014-Local
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PARTY VOTE TOTALS BY EXECUTIVE ELECTION, 2004-2014

Total Valid Votes

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PARTISAN ID 2004-2015

Party Identification Tracking Analysis in Taiwan

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<th>领泛蓝</th>
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<th>亲民党</th>
<th>台联</th>
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注1：2006/3前资料系在「年度民调中心」执行及公布，2006/5～2011/9资料系在「民众民调中心」执行及公布；调查范围不含金门县、连江县。
注2：2011/9前各时点资料为连续三个月调查（每月至少一次调查）之算术平均值。
注3：2012/6后各时点资料为连续二个月调查（每月至少二次调查）之算术平均值，例如2015/11资料为2015/10、2015/11调查之平均值。
PARTY CAMP ID, 2004-2014

民眾政黨立場傾向追蹤分析（Party Identification Tracking Analysis in Taiwan）

2015/11

- 浮藍: 28.2%
- 浮綠: 35.6%
- 中立: 34.2%
- 未表態: 2.0%

注1: 2006/3前資料係在“年代民調中心”執行且公佈，2006/5~2011/9資料係在“遠見民調中心”執行且公佈；調查範圍不含金門縣、連江縣。
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政治 從家開始
2016 大安區立委候選人
曾獻瑩
1月16日立法委員
政黨票請投15
非黨團結聯盟
Non-Partisan Solidarity Union
不分區立法委員候選人
新北市議會 議員
無黨團結聯盟總召 蔡錦賢
台灣 就是力量。
為人民 為地方
點亮台 灣

總統 參選人
蔡英文
立法 員參選人
吳其銓
臺灣民眾統獨立場趨勢分佈（1994～2015.06）
Changes in the Unification - Independence Stances of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by Election Study Center, NCCU (1994～2015.06)

百分比
Percentage

年度
Year

圖表說明:
- 儘快統一 Unification as soon as possible
- 偏向統一 Maintain status quo, move toward unification
- 儘快獨立 Independence as soon as possible
- 偏向獨立 Maintain status quo, move toward independence
- 永遠維持現狀 Maintain status quo indefinitely
- 無反應 Non response

國立政治大學選舉研究中心 製
Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU (1992~2015.06)