



TAIWAN'S 2016 PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS



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Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University
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SPOILER ALERT:

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President-elect Tsai Ing-wen

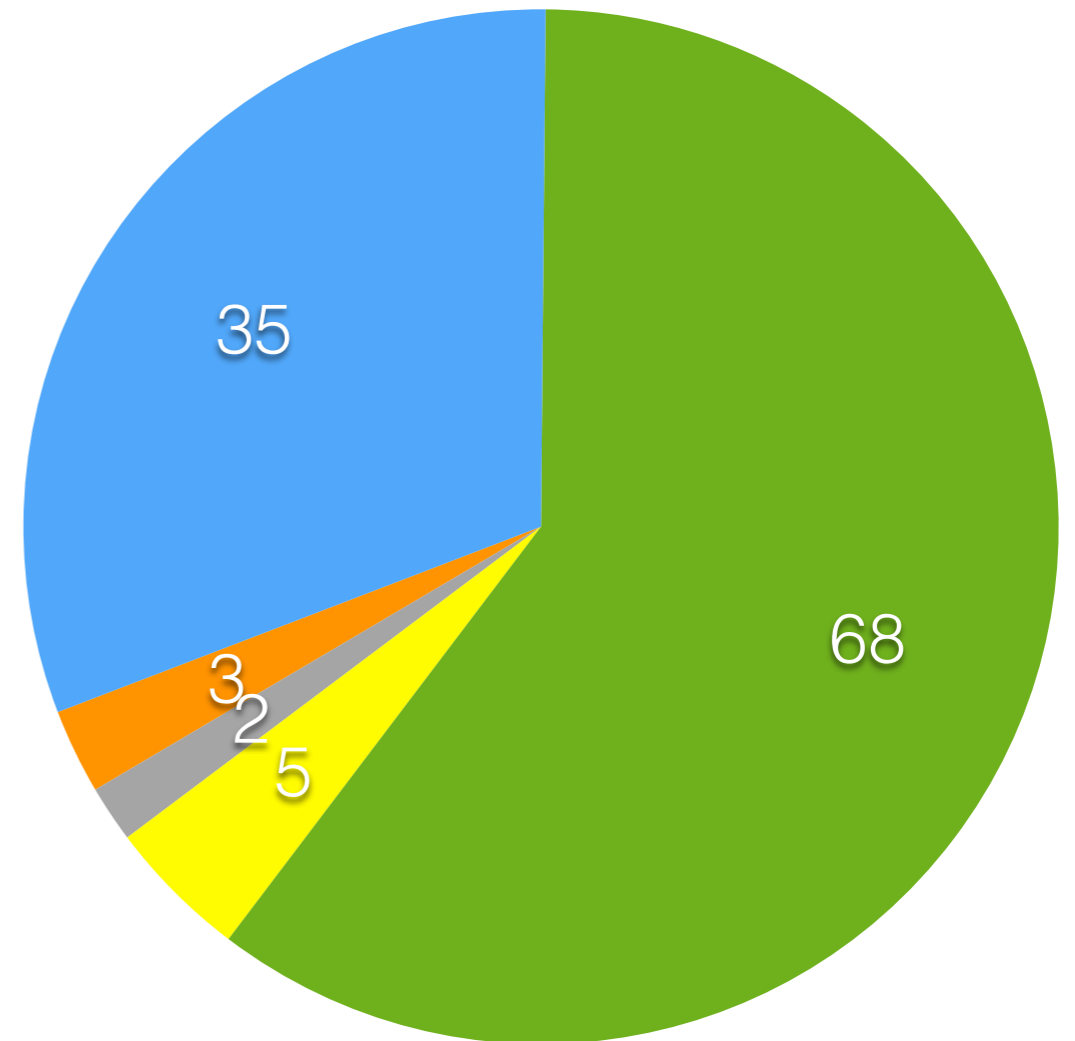


SPOILER ALERT:

President-elect Tsai Ing-wen



DPP Majority in Legislature



WHERE WE'RE HEADED

- What was at stake
- **Presidential election:** candidates, campaign, results
- **Legislative election:** parties, campaign, results



WHAT WAS AT STAKE?

- Presidency: Ma Ying-jeou term-limited out
- 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)

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KMT: Hung Hsiu-chu (洪秀柱)

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KMT: Eric Chu (朱立倫)

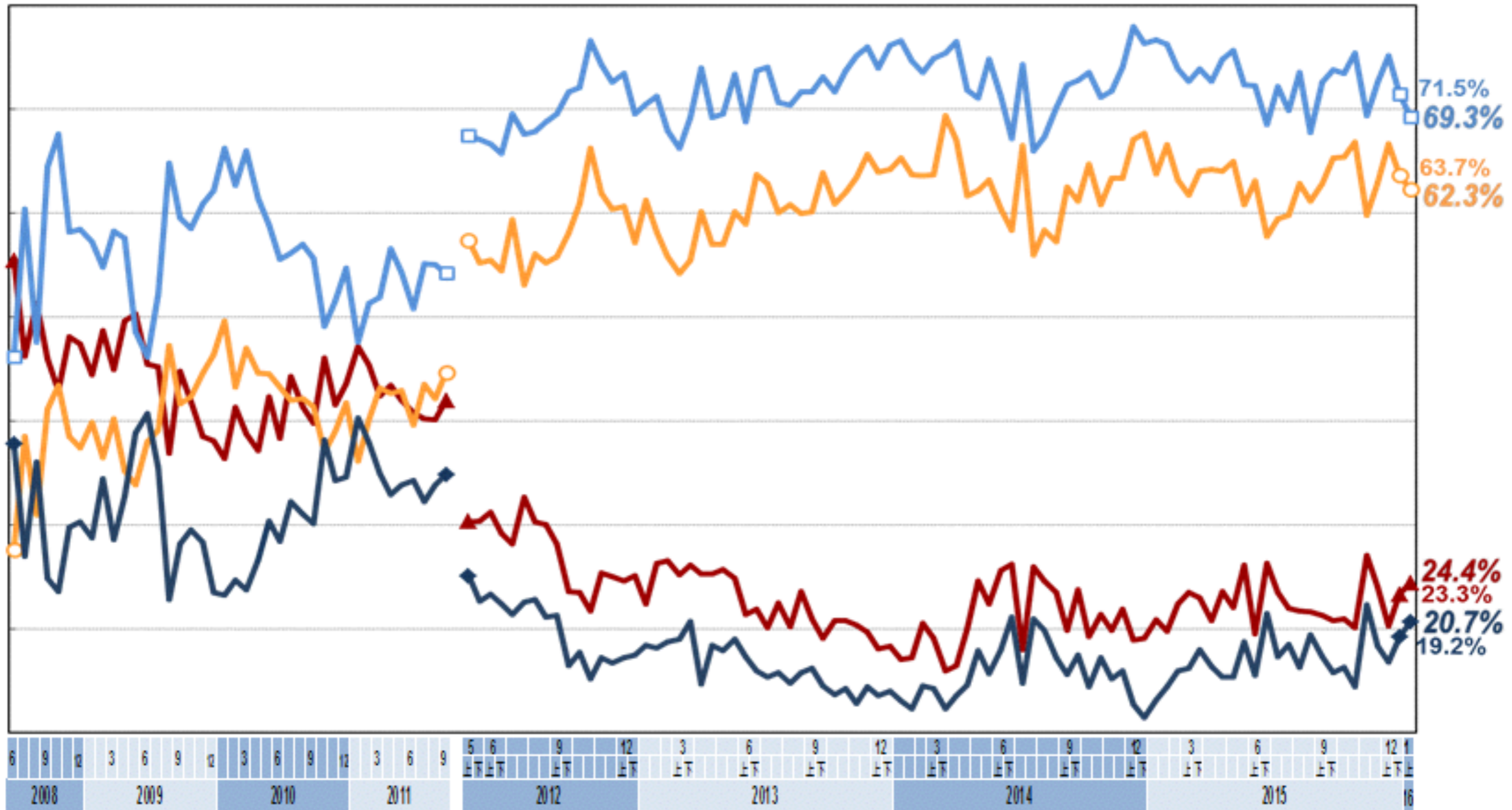
KMT DYSFUNCTION

- President Ma very unpopular for most of 2nd term



馬總統滿意度及信任度趨勢

信任 不信任 滿意 不滿意



註：2011/9 前於遠見民調執行，資料引自該網站（2012 總統大選期間宣布轉型與終止相關民調）。

TISR 台灣指標民調

Source: Taiwan Indicators Survey Research, I.14.2016

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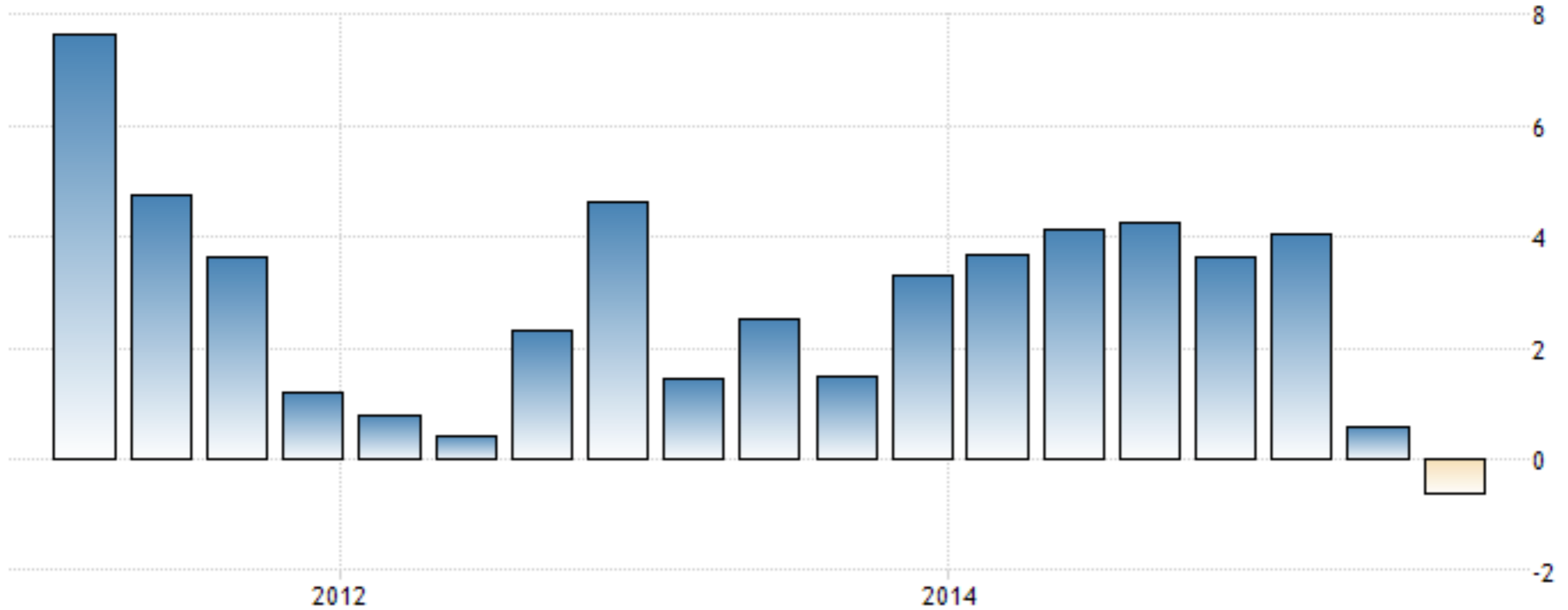
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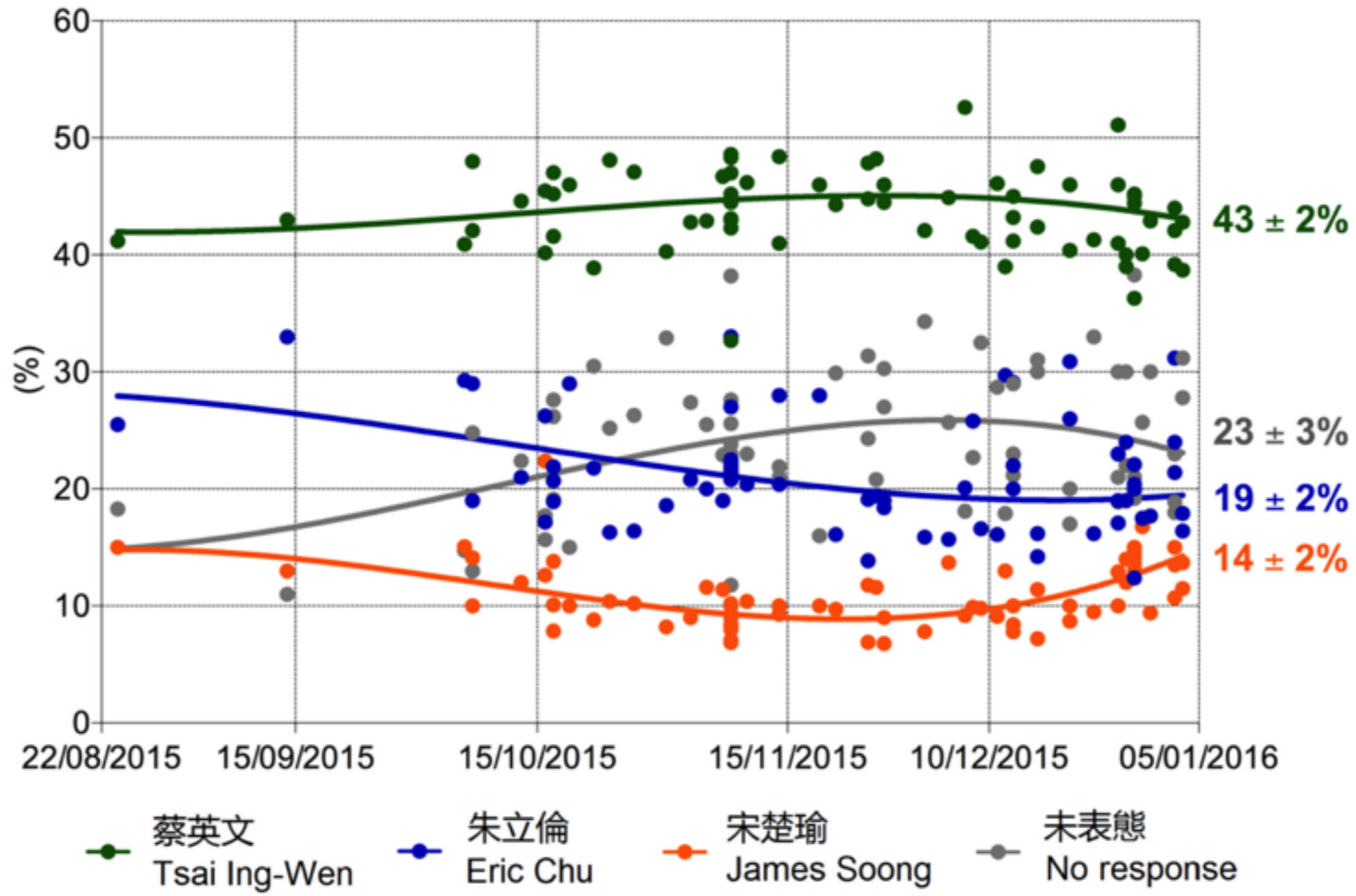
ECONOMIC DOWNTURN IN 3RD-4TH QUARTER 2015

TAIWAN GDP ANNUAL GROWTH RATE



SOURCE: WWW.TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL STATISTICS, REPUBLIC OF CHINA

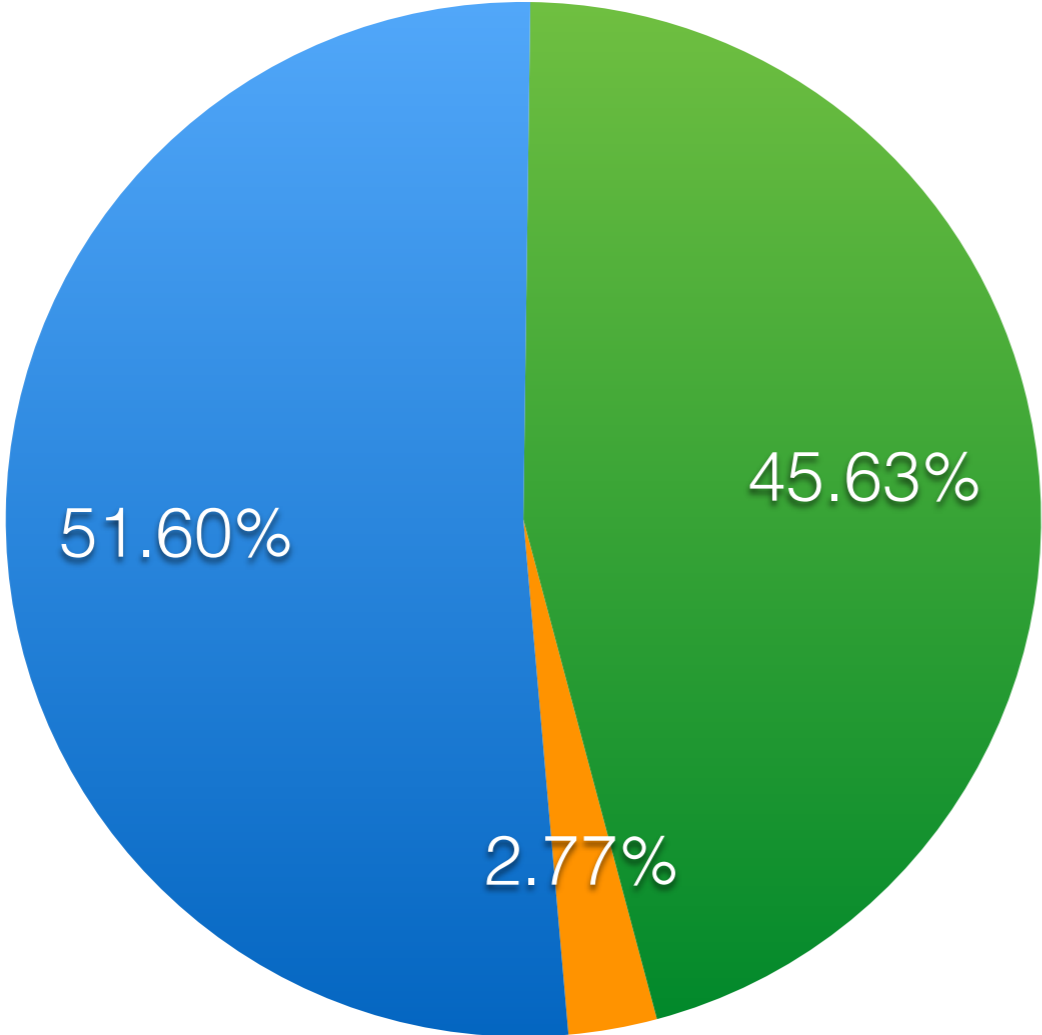
KMT DYSFUNCTION + ECONOMIC DOWNTURN: TSAI WIN EXPECTED FOR MONTHS



PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS: 2012 vs 2016

● KMT ● DPP ● PFP

2012

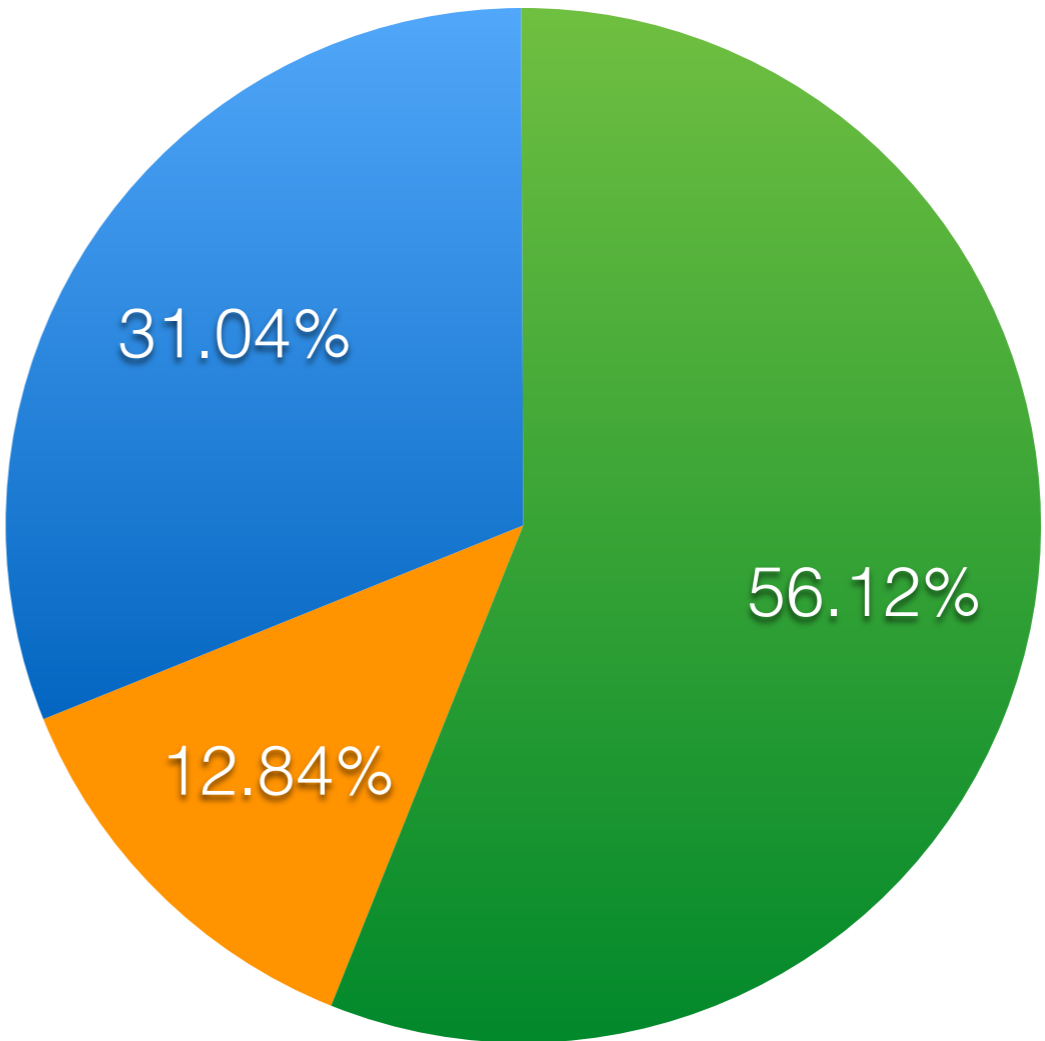
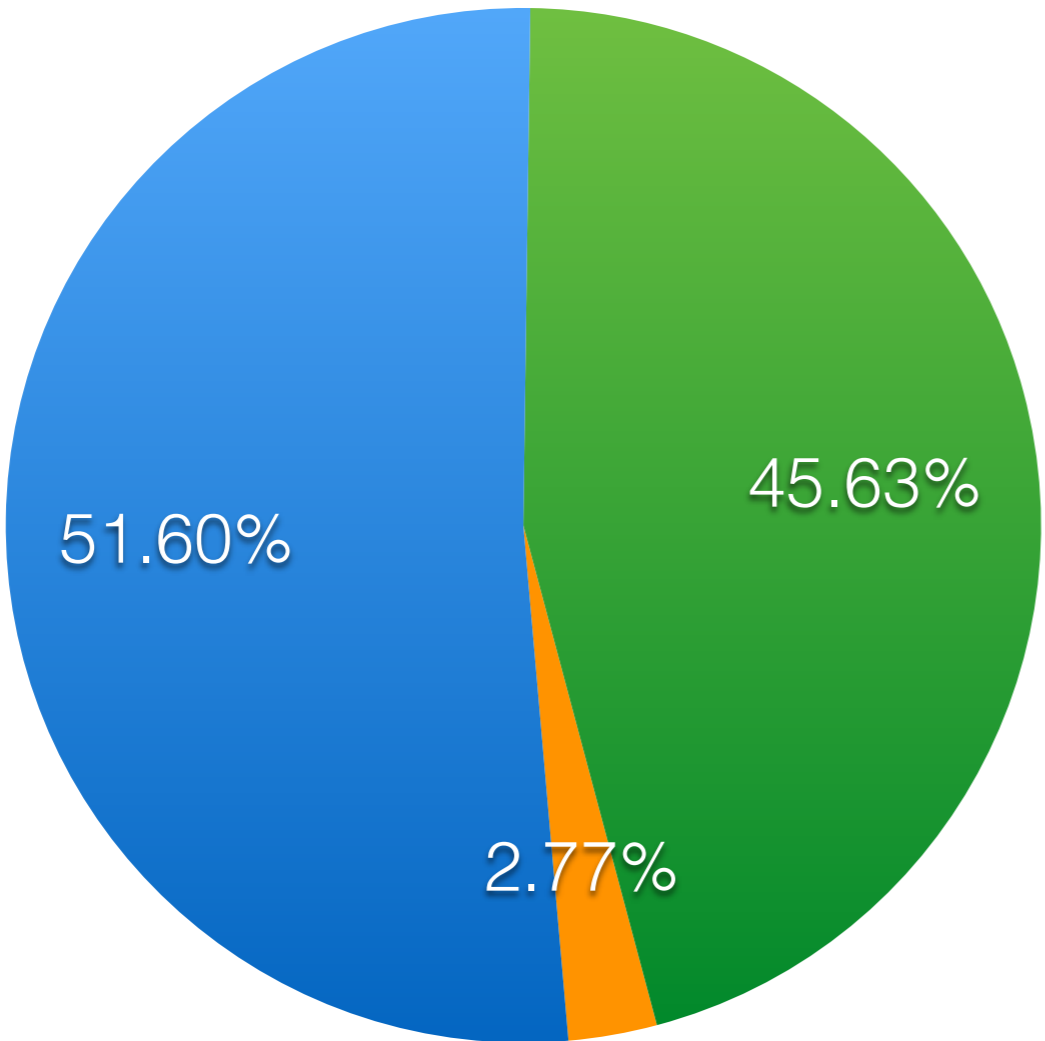


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2016 PRESIDENTIAL RESULT MORE ABOUT KMT AND MA YING-JEOU THAN DPP

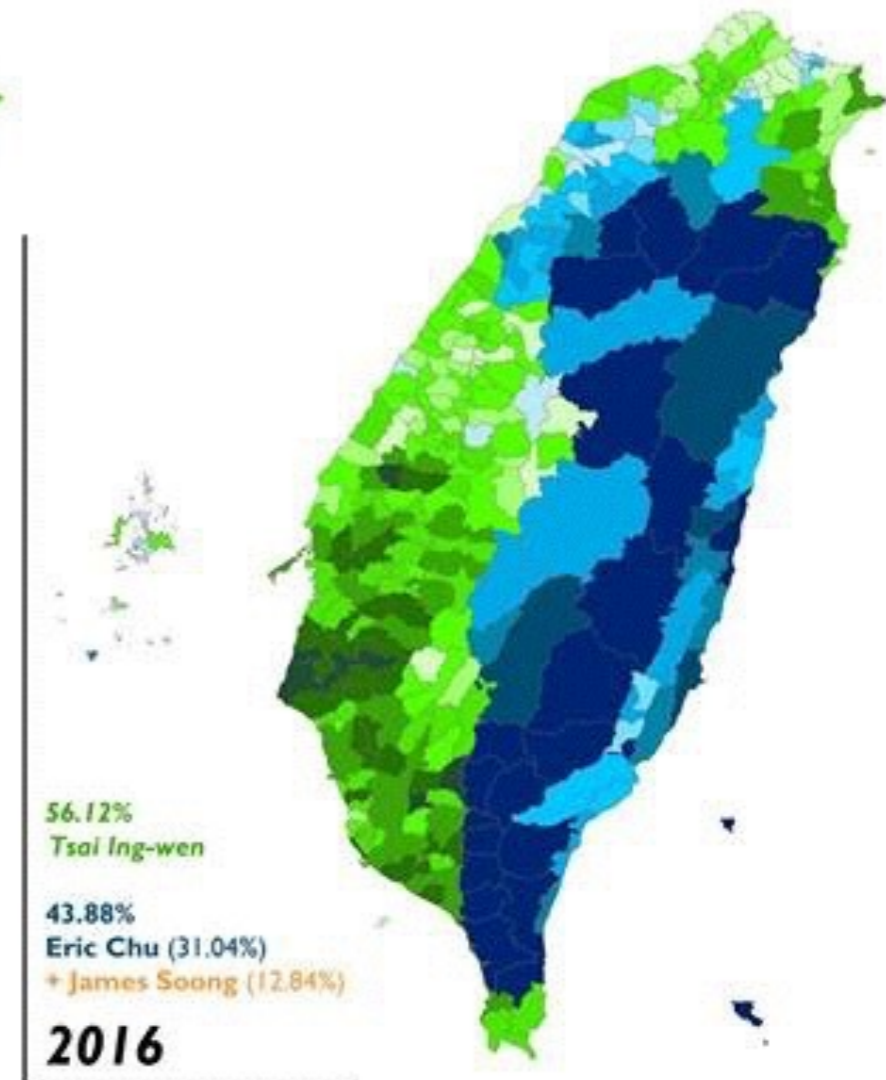
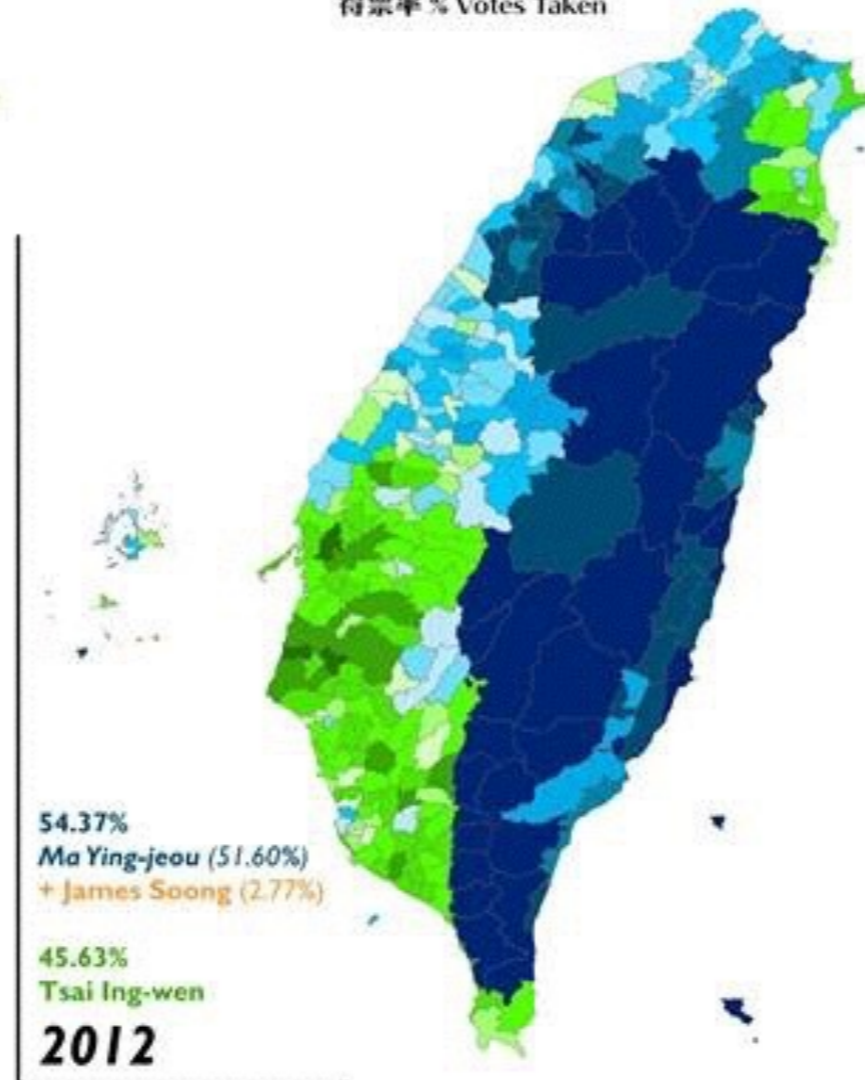
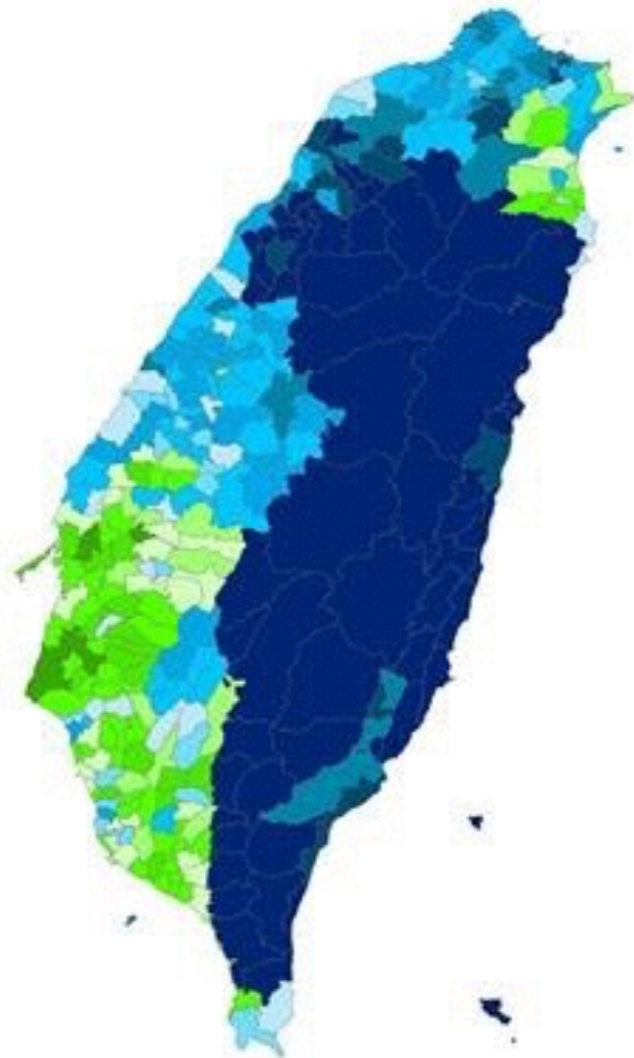
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- Lack of progress in many domestic areas: tax base, inequality, youth employment, etc.
- Tsai had to be “not Ma Ying-jeou,” and she was.

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

藍綠大對決:
過去三屆總統大選
藍綠勢力的消長



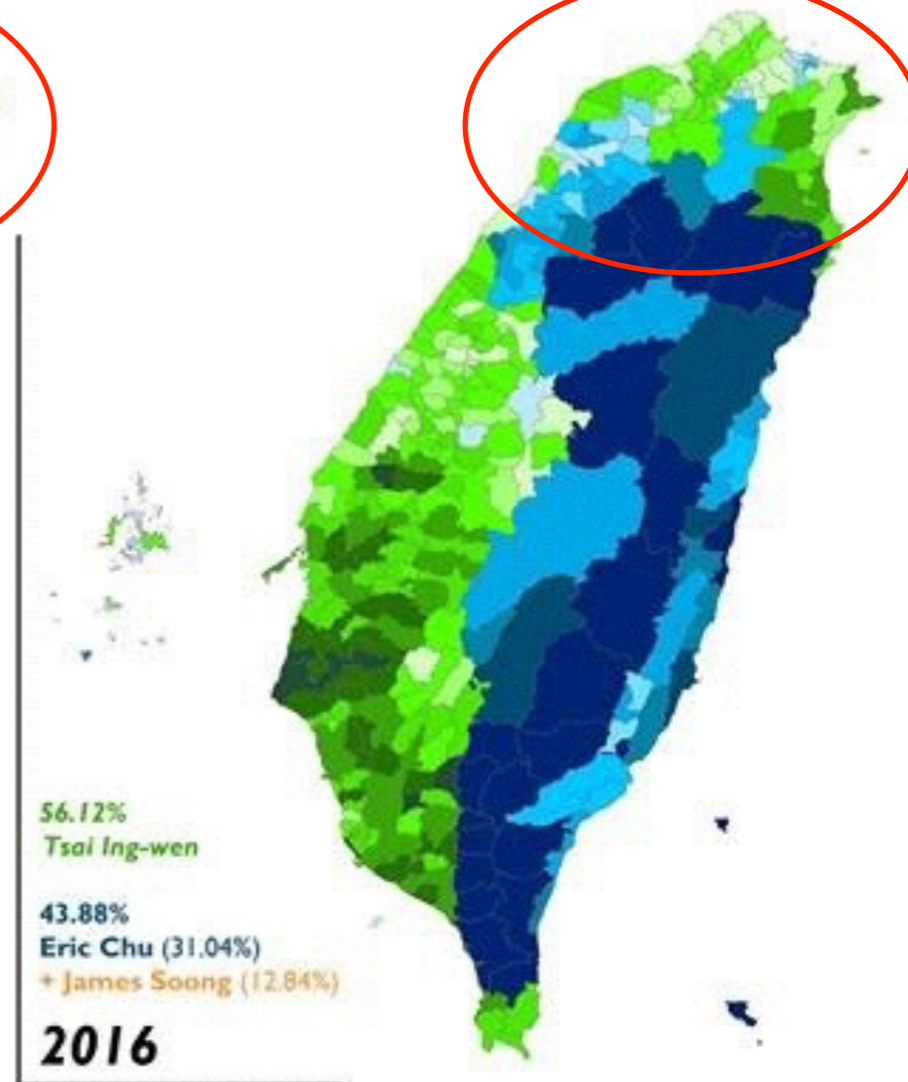
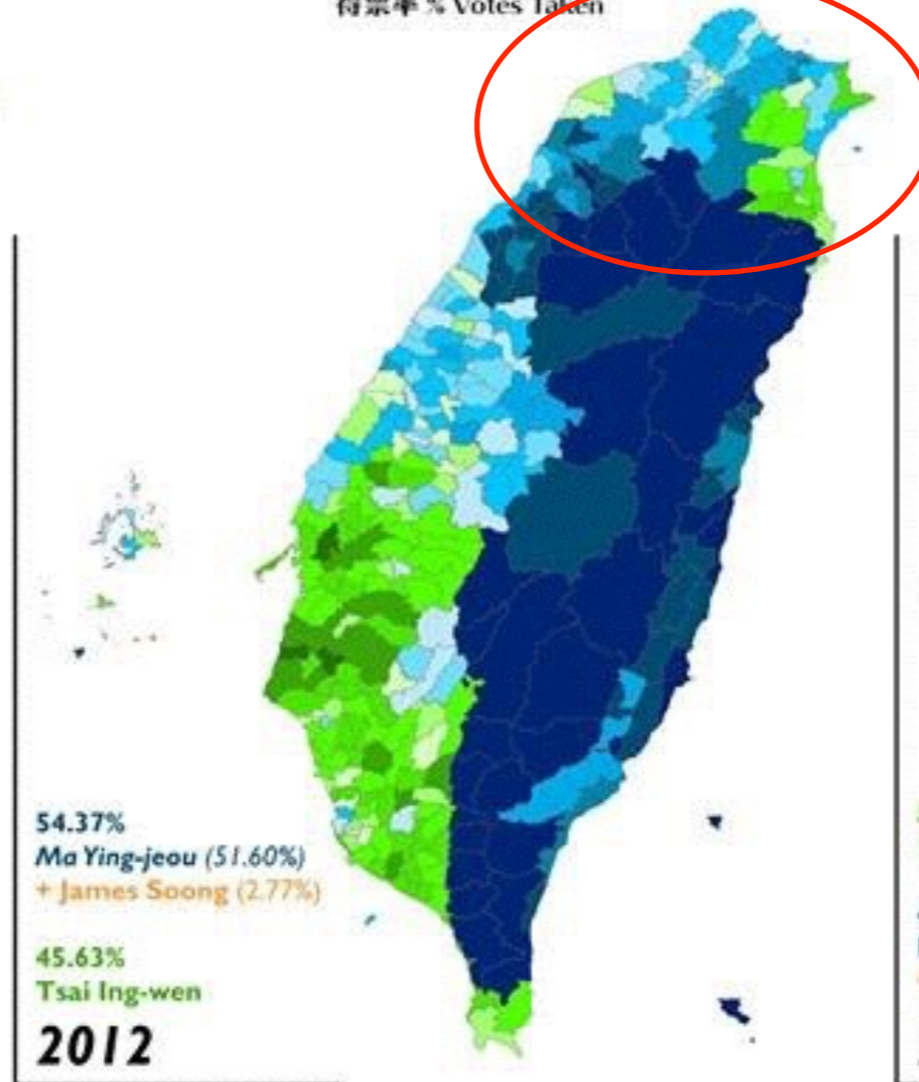
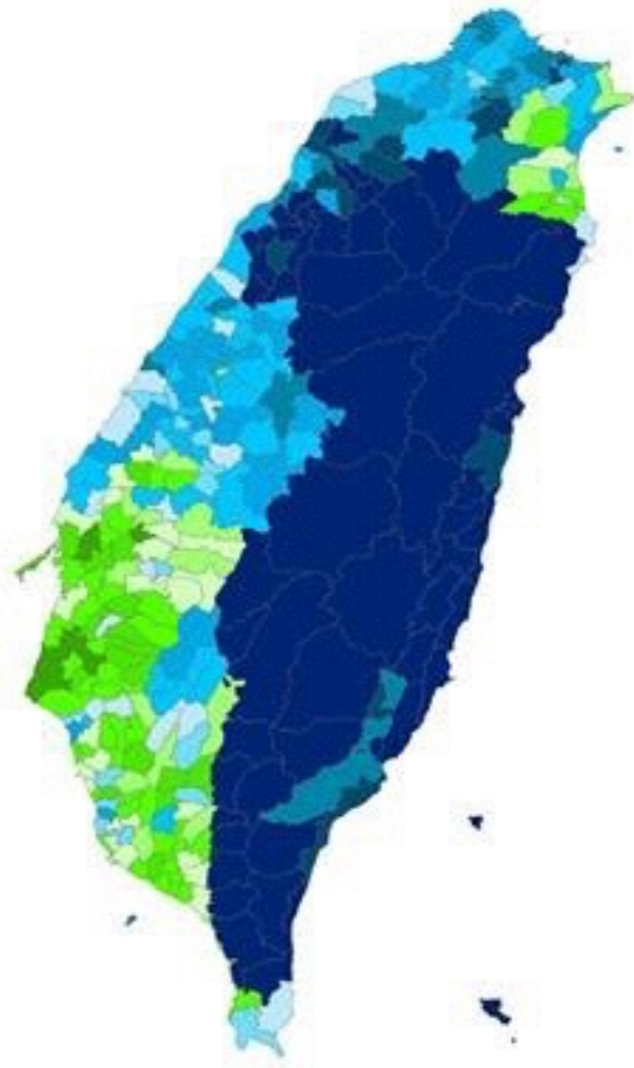
Basemap: 政府資料開放平台 data.gov.tw, Election Data: 中央選舉委員會 www.cec.gov.tw

www.lucien.earth

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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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- 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

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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

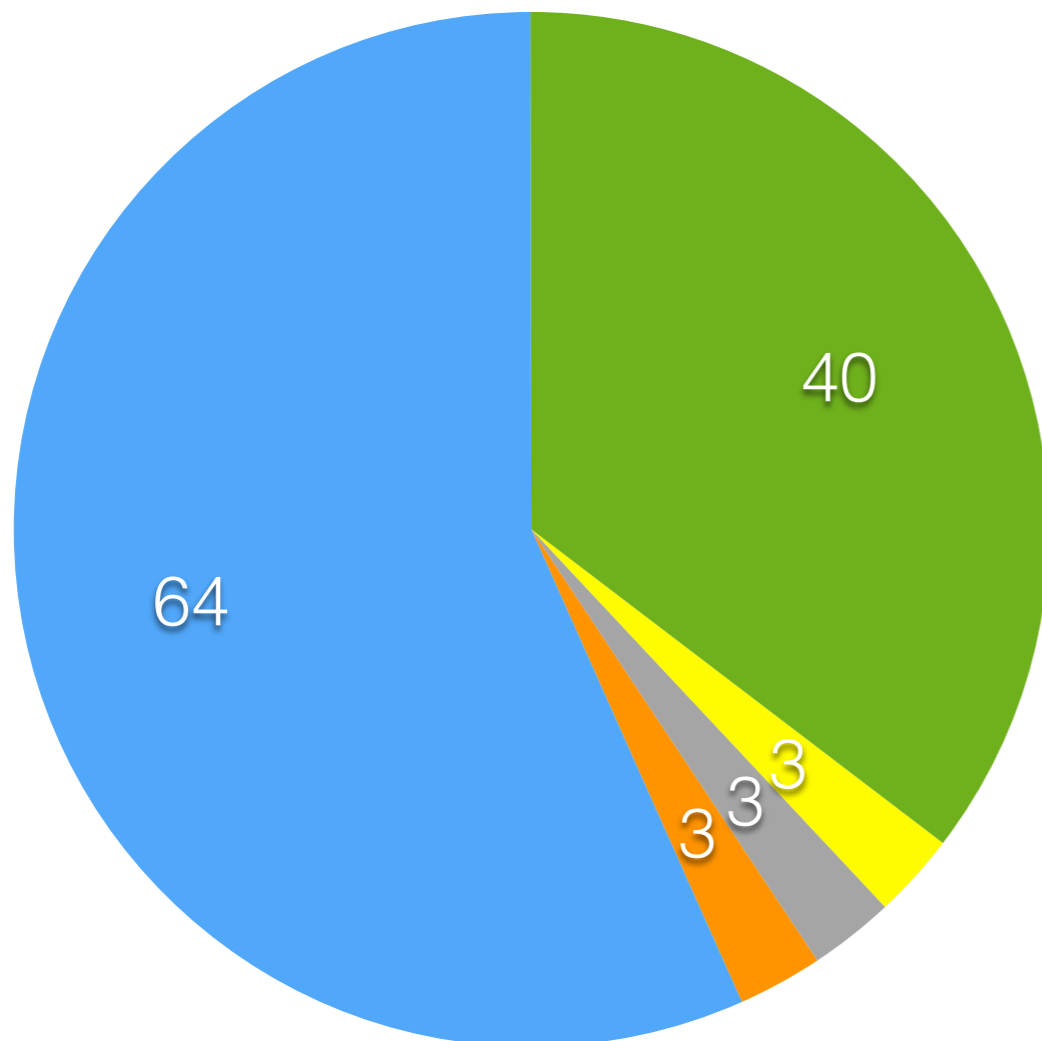
New Parties: 20%

- 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

● KMT ● DPP ● TSU / NPP ● Other ● PFP

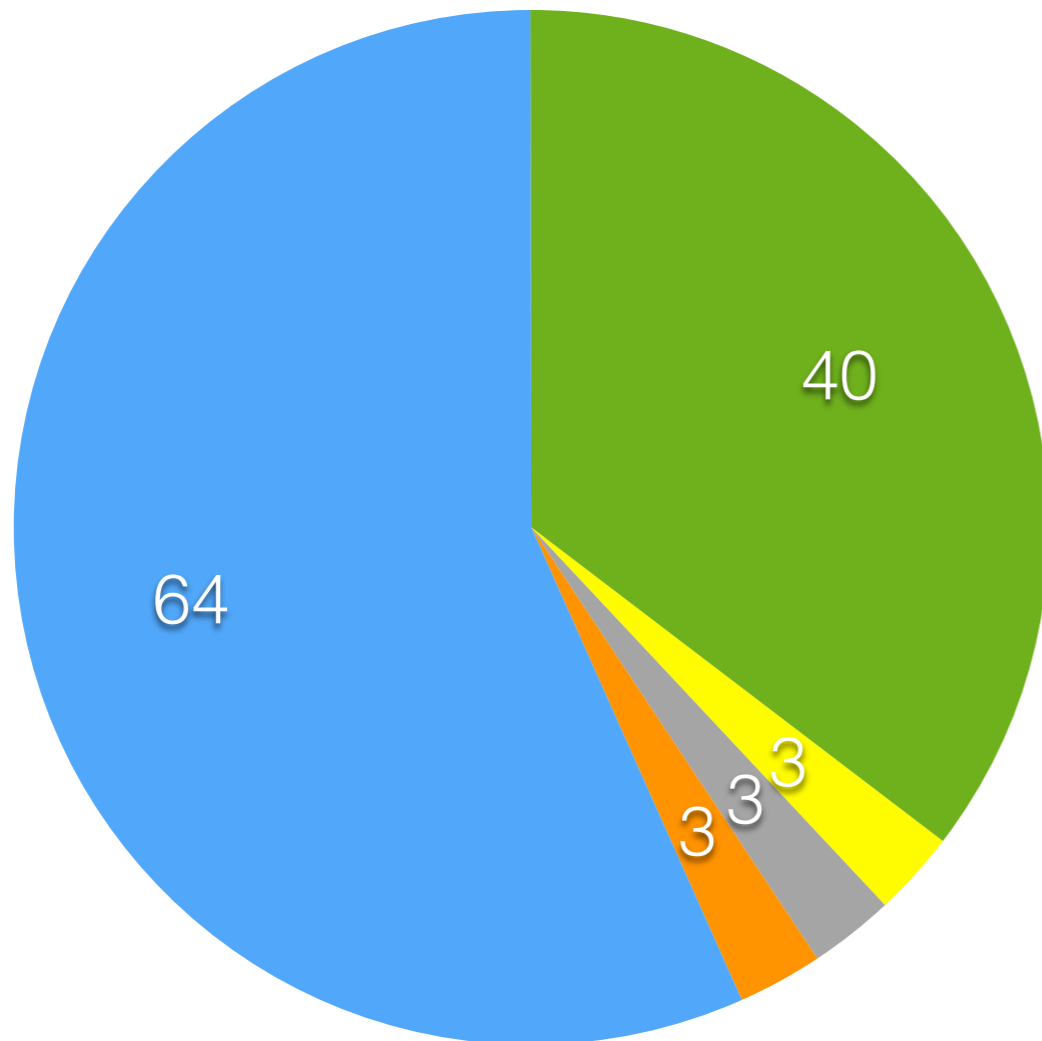
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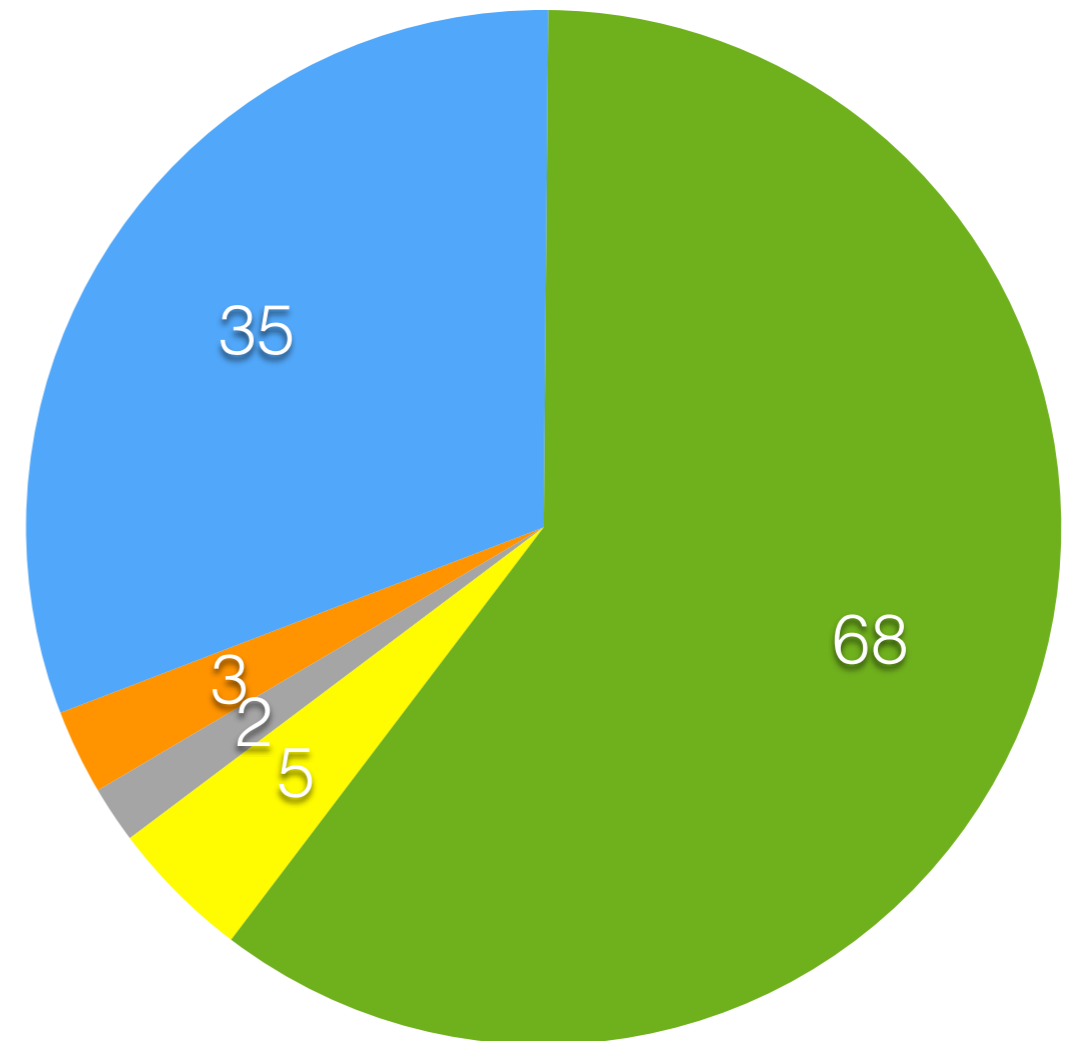
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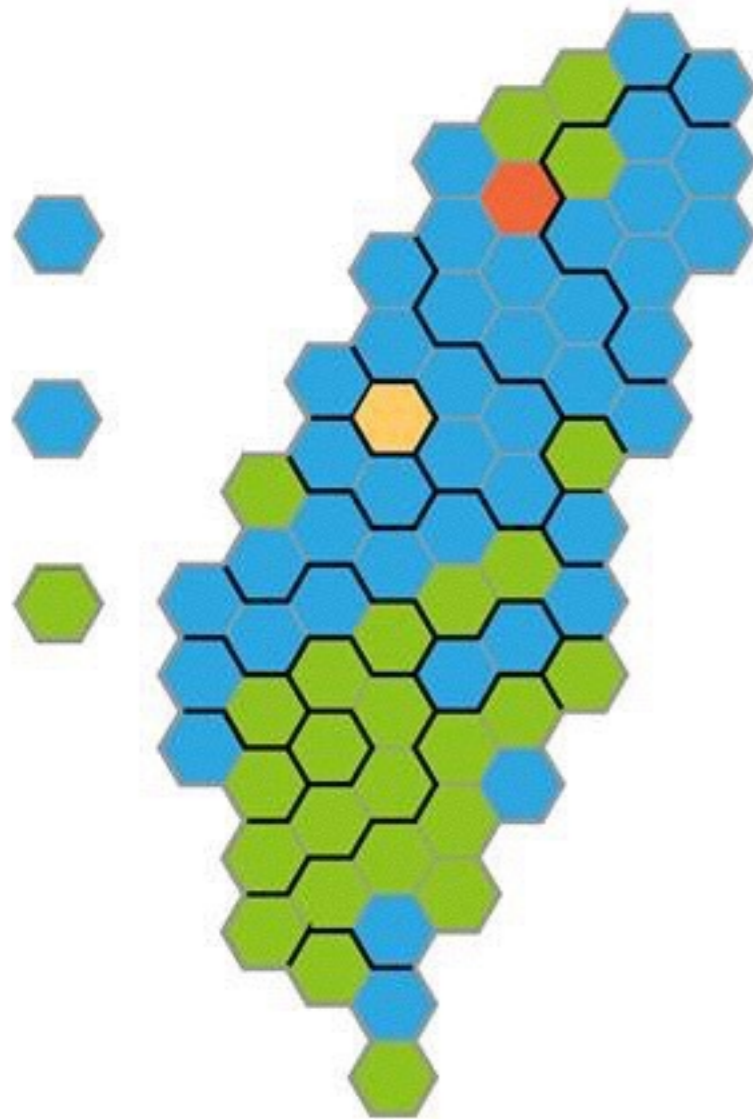
2012



2016



區域
Legislative
Districts



原住民
Aborigine



不分區
Proportional
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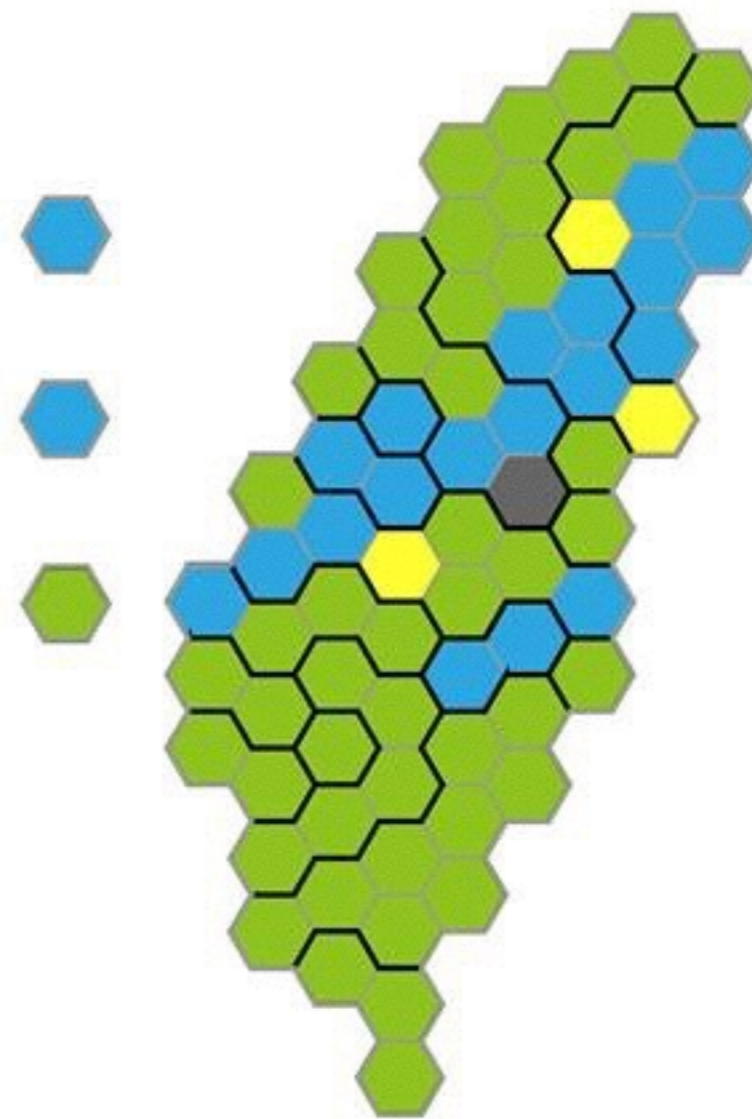


2015年11月第八屆立法委員席次現況
Taiwanese Legislative Make-up as of Nov 2015
Reflecting party-switches and nullified seat



Graphic by www.lucien.earth
Based on map by Sleepingstar (cc) Wikimedia Commons

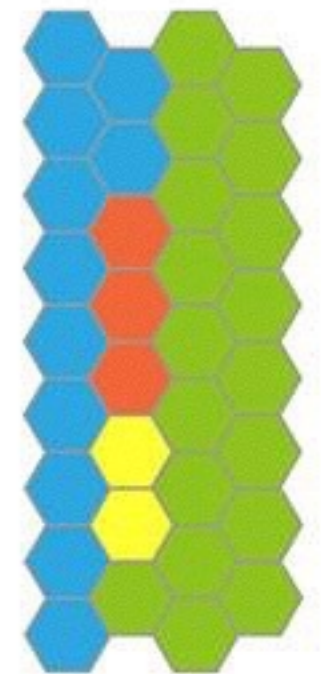
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2016年第九屆台灣立法委員選舉結果
Taiwanese Legislative Election Result



Graphic by www.lucien.earth
Based on map by Sleepingstar (cc) Wikimedia Commons
Prediction by tsjh301.blogspot.tw

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

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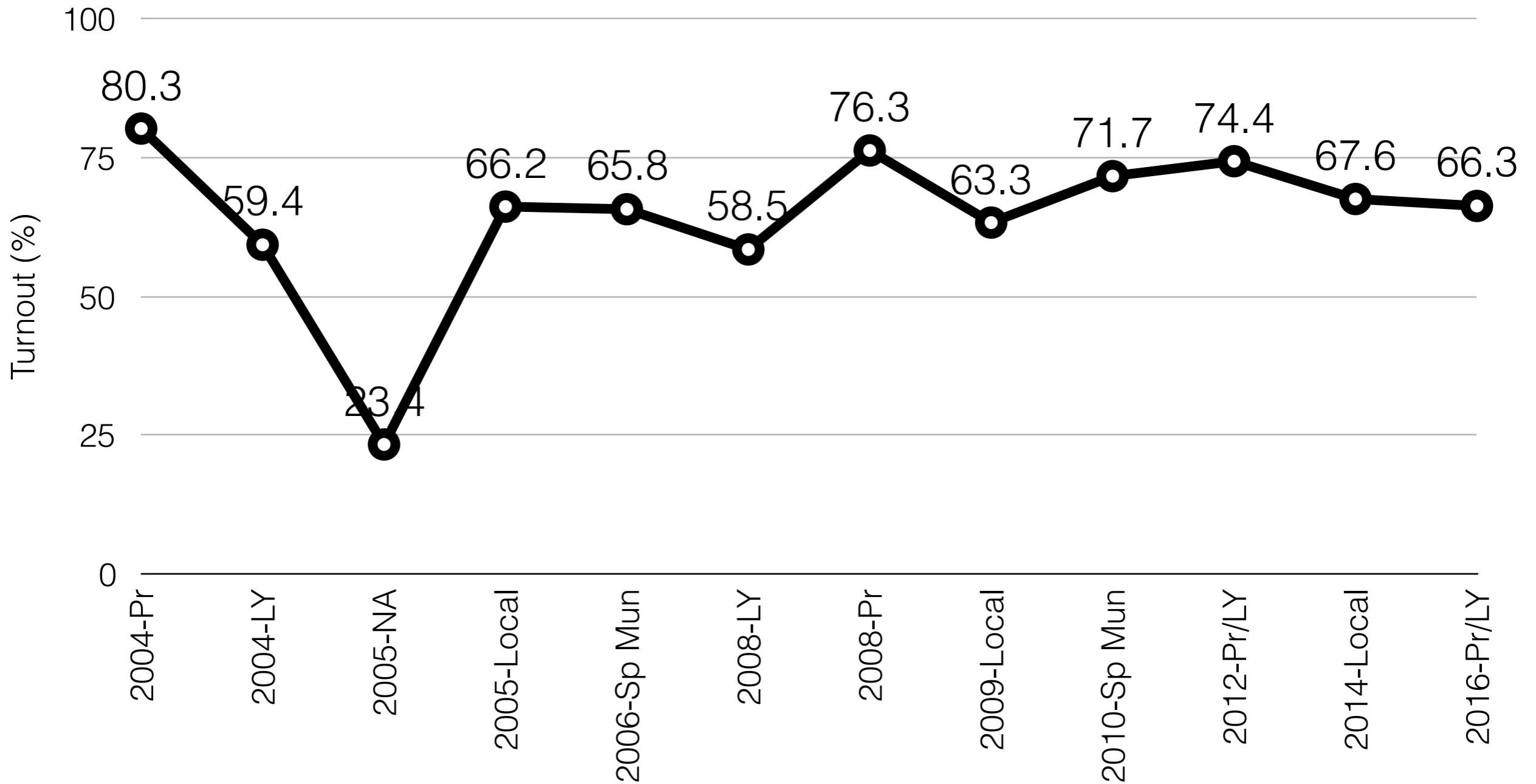
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- Turnout very low for a national election

TURNOUT IN ELECTIONS, 2004-2016



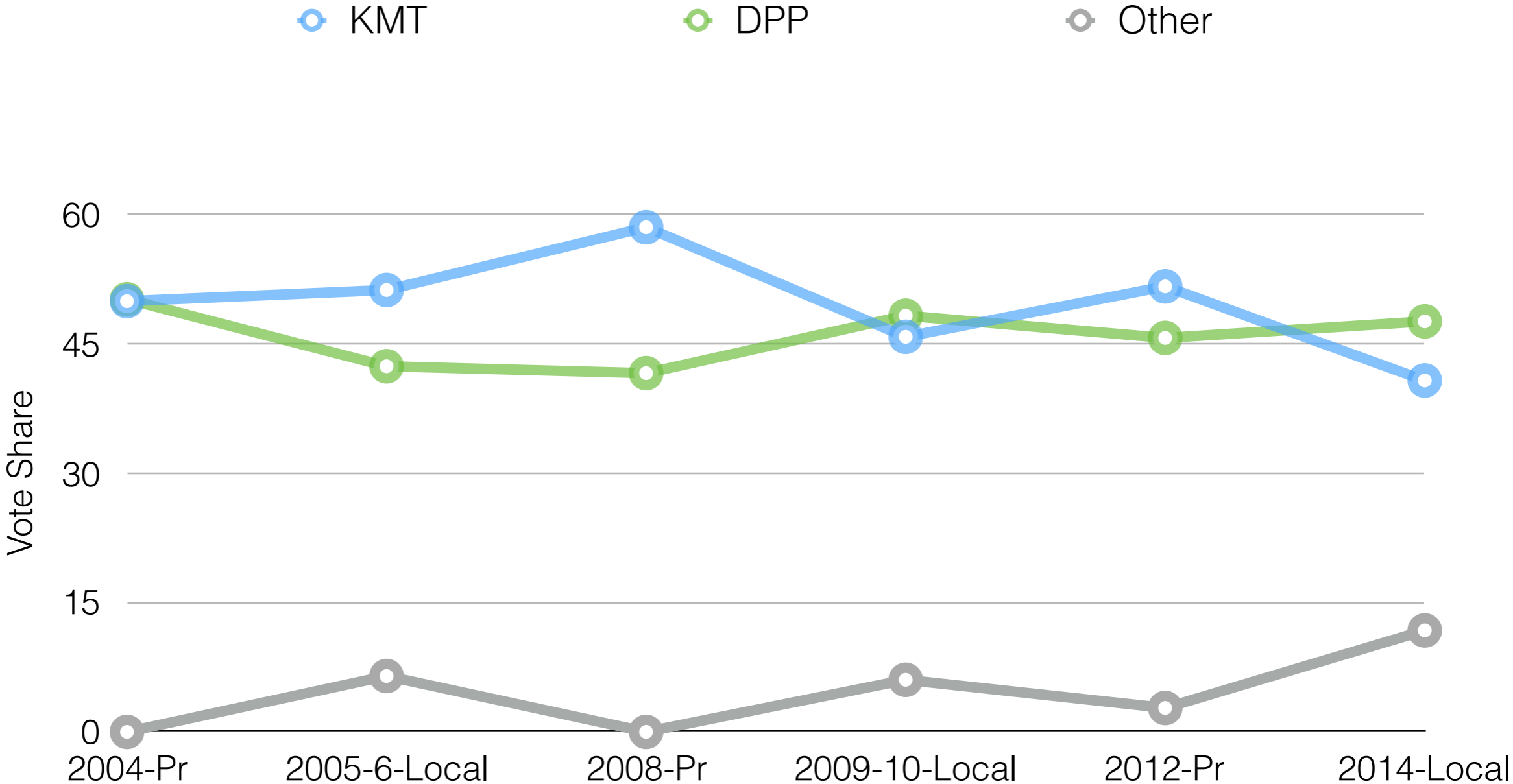
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- Taiwan's election practices are a model for Asia and the world: vigorous campaigns, smooth voting and efficient counting
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- Year of the Woman in Taiwan: 38% of incoming legislators are women

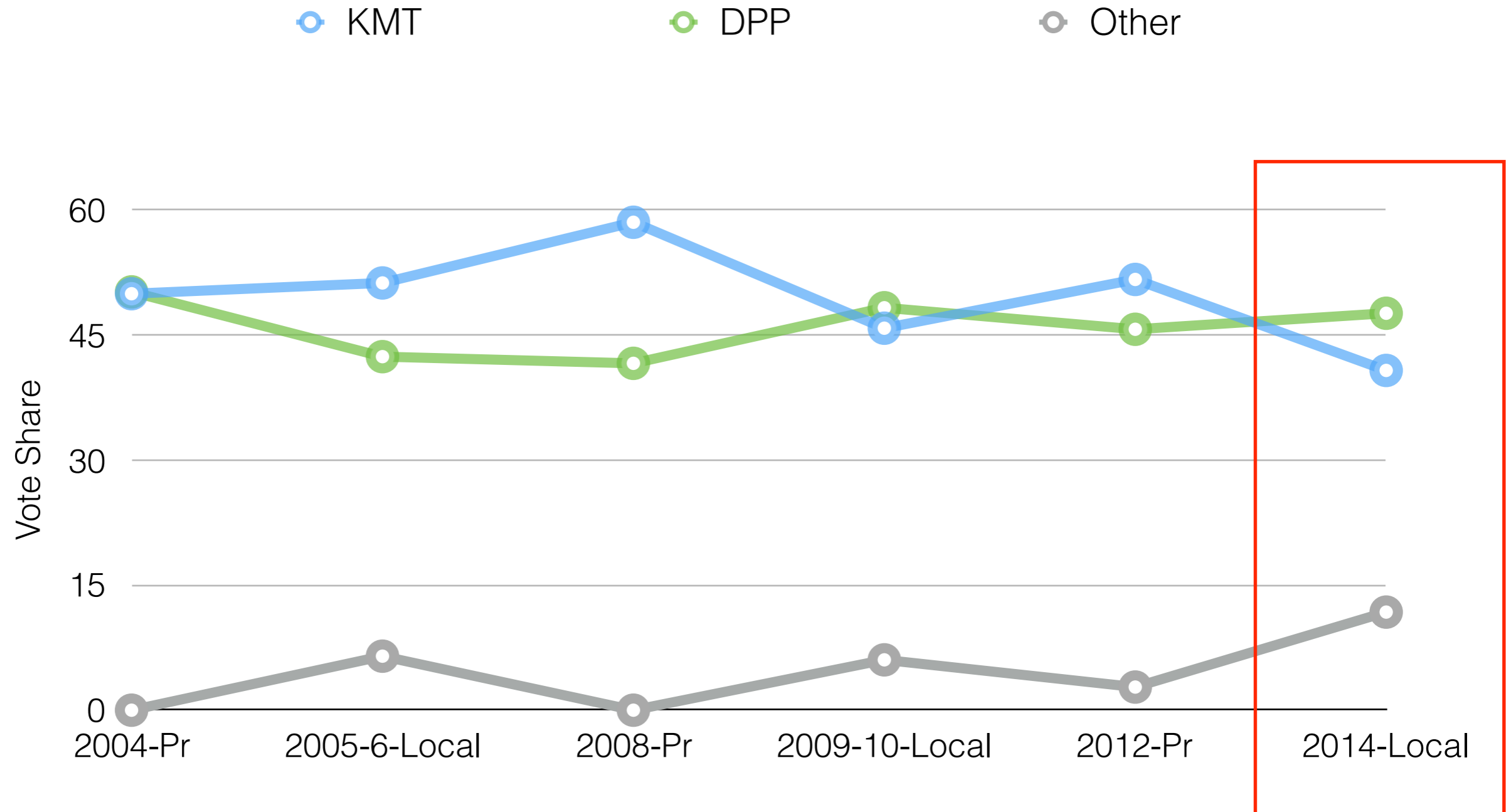
THANKS!



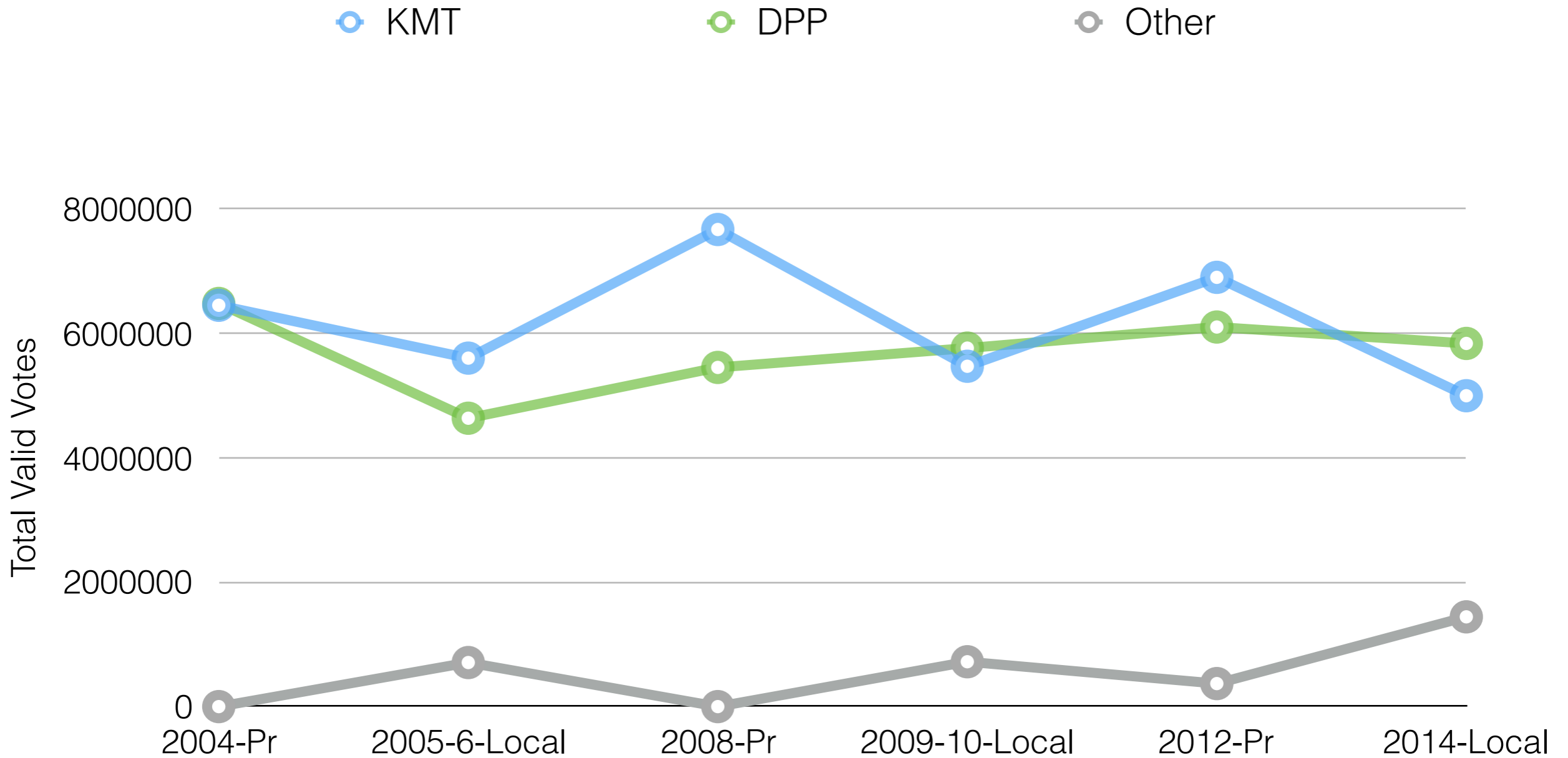
PARTY **VOTE SHARES** BY EXECUTIVE ELECTION, 2004-2014



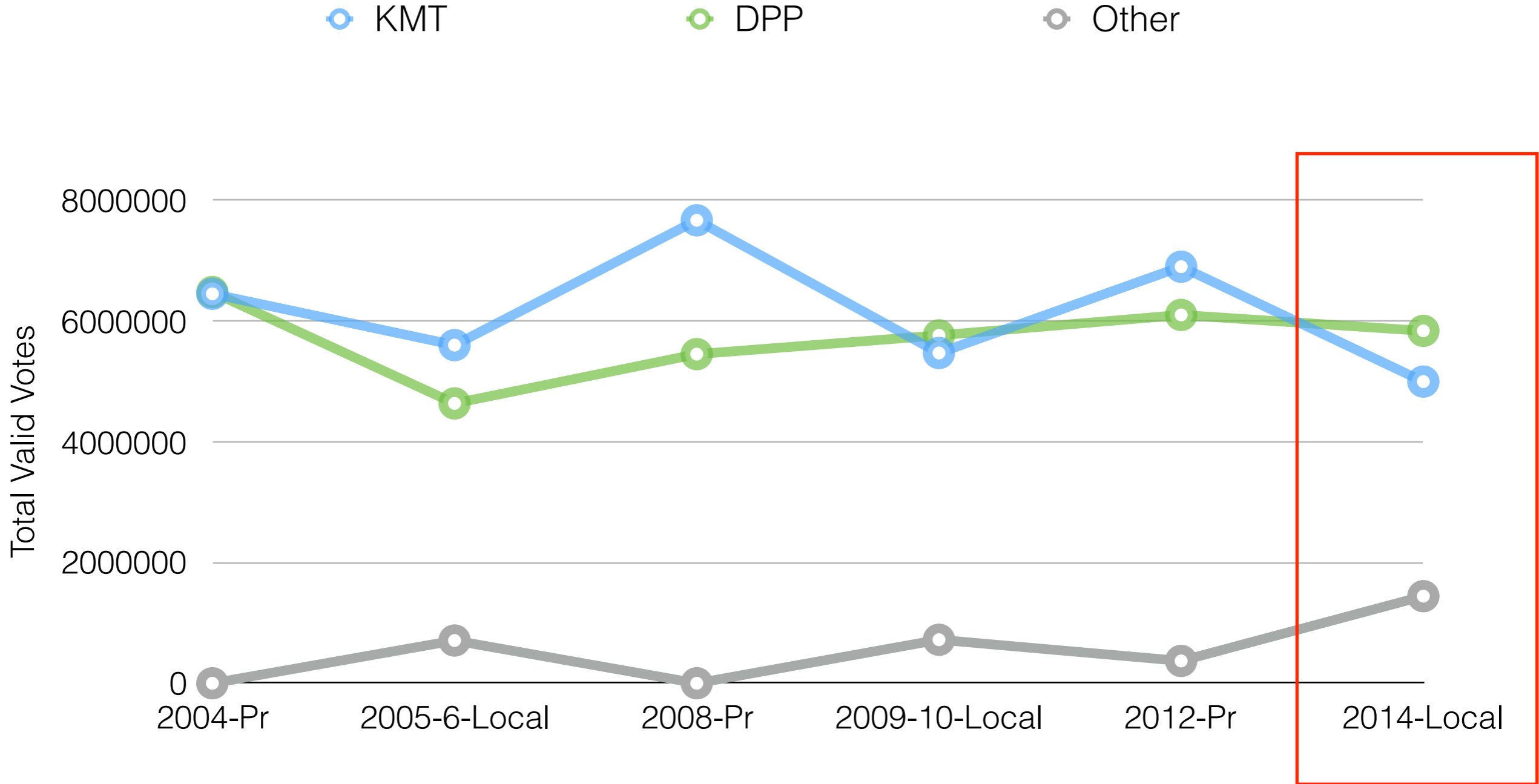
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PARTY **VOTE TOTALS** BY EXECUTIVE ELECTION, 2004-2014

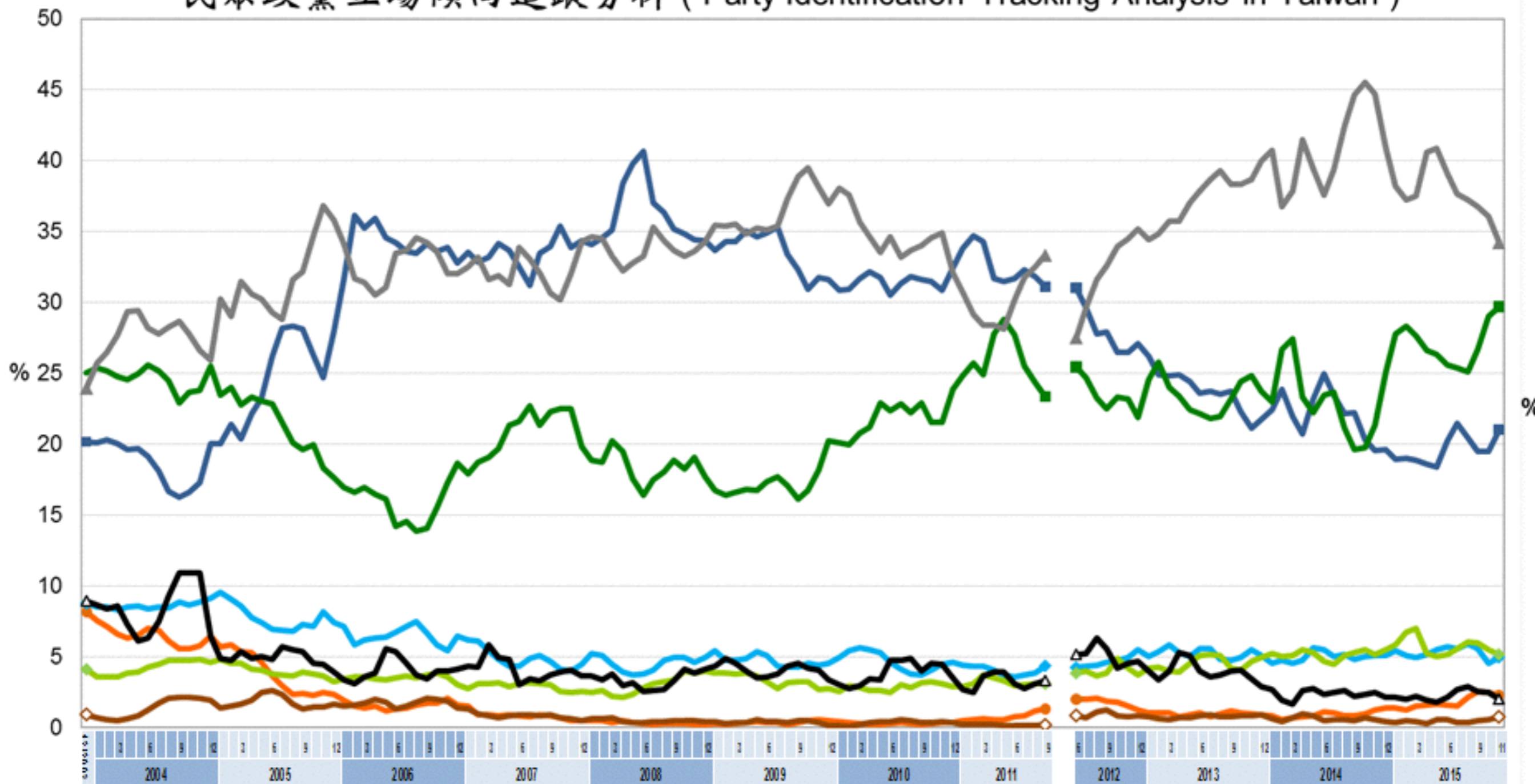


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PARTISAN ID 2004-2015

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

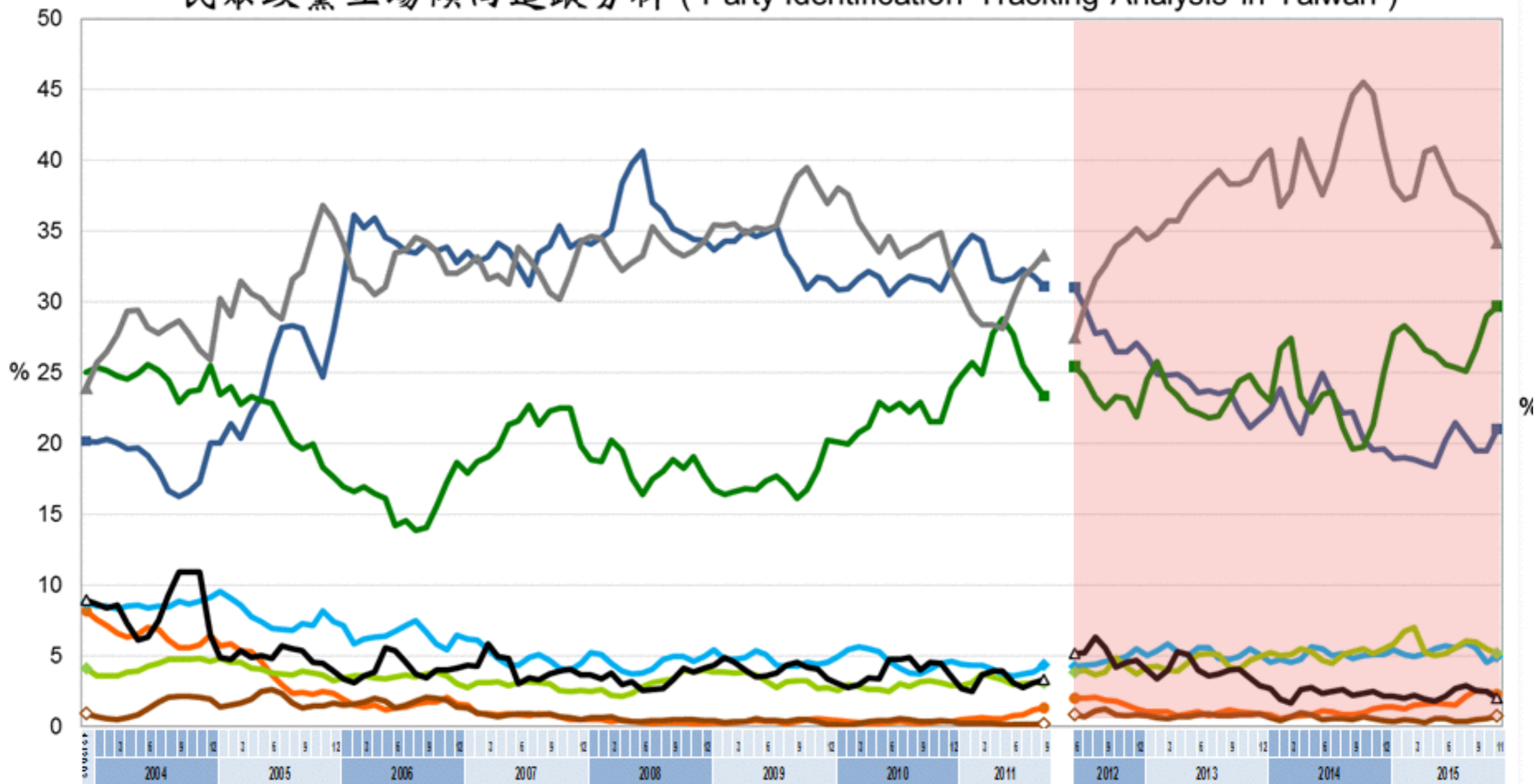


2015/11	國民黨	親民黨	傾泛藍	民進黨	台聯	傾泛綠	中左	未表態
	21.0%	2.3%	5.0%	29.7%	0.8%	5.2%	34.2%	2.0%

註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。
 註2：2011/9前各時點資料為連續三個月調查（每月至少一次調查）之算術平均值。
 註3：2012/6後各時點資料為連續二個月調查（每月至少二次調查）之算術平均值，例如2015/11資料為2015/10、2015/11調查之平均值。

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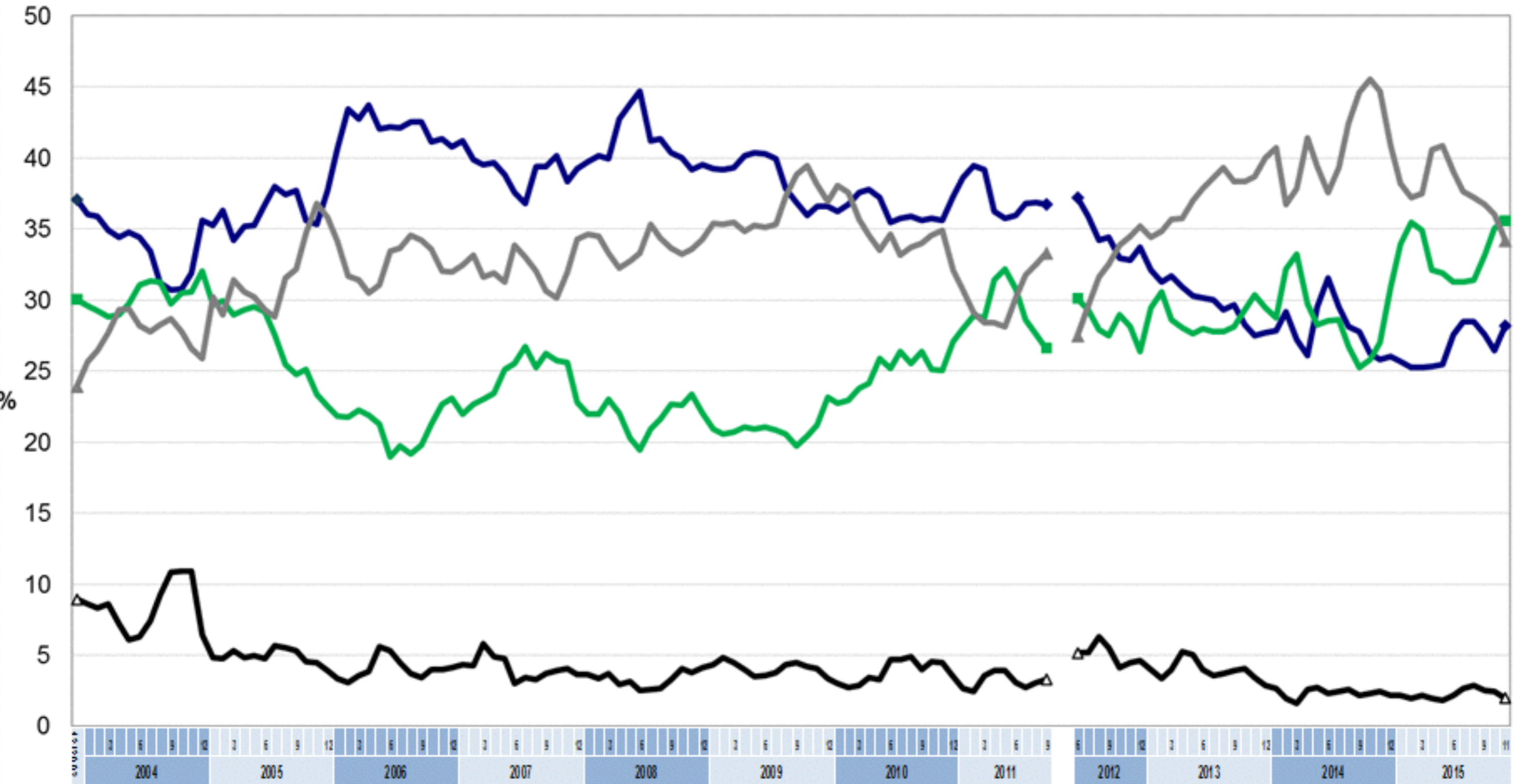
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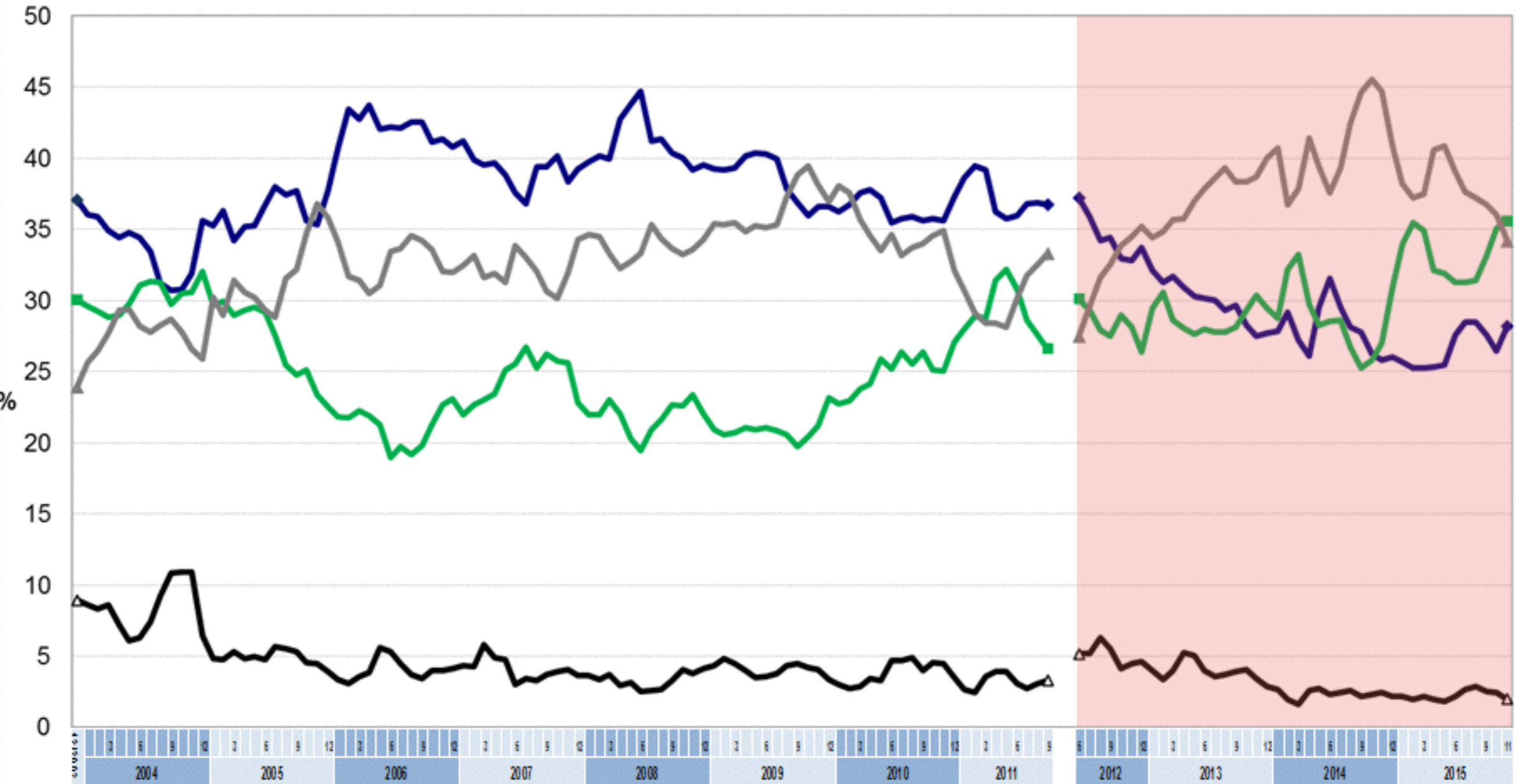


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Seat Rank	LY District	Tsai 2012 lead	Swing to flip district
1	Tainan City 1	27.24	-13.62
2	Tainan City 2	25.76	-12.88
3	Chiayi County 1	17.51	-8.76
4	Kaohsiung 4	17.20	-8.60
5	Chiayi County 2	16.83	-8.42
6	Pingtung County 1	14.48	-7.24
7	Pingtung County 3	13.80	-6.90
8	Kaohsiung 1	13.54	-6.77
9	Kaohsiung 2	12.47	-6.24
10	Yunlin 1	12.39	-6.20
11	Tainan City 3	12.38	-6.19
12	Kaohsiung 9	12.28	-6.14
13	Tainan City 5	11.83	-5.92
14	Yunlin 2	10.92	-5.46
15	Kaohsiung 5	8.50	-4.25
16	Ilan County	5.05	-2.53
17	Kaohsiung 6	4.88	-2.44
18	New Taipei 2	2.93	-1.47
19	New Taipei 3	2.34	-1.17
20	Pingtung County 2	2.14	-1.07
21	Chiayi City	2.08	-1.04
22	Tainan City 4	2.04	-1.02
23	Kaohsiung 7	1.38	-0.69
24	Kaohsiung 8	1.36	-0.68
25	Taipei City 2	0.45	-0.22
26	New Taipei 4	-2.38	1.19
27	Changhua County 3	-4.00	2.00
28	Changhua County 1	-4.92	2.46
29	New Taipei 5	-5.14	2.57
30	Taichung 3	-5.66	2.83
31	Taichung 8	-5.80	2.90
32	New Taipei 6	-5.83	2.92
33	Taichung 1	-6.62	3.31
34	Kaohsiung 3	-6.90	3.45
35	Changhua County 4	-7.45	3.73
36	Taichung 7	-7.97	3.99
37	New Taipei 7	-8.22	4.11
38	Penghu	-8.70	4.35
39	Taichung 2	-9.38	4.69
40	Taichung 6	-9.52	4.76
41	New Taipei 10	-10.45	5.23

42	Taoyuan 2	-10.78	5.39
43	Nantou 2	-11.76	5.88
44	Changhua County 2	-11.89	5.95
45	Taipei City 1	-13.68	6.84
46	Taoyuan 1	-14.56	7.28
47	New Taipei 1	-14.90	7.45
48	New Taipei 12	-15.60	7.80
49	Taipei City 5	-16.18	8.09
50	Taoyuan 4	-17.85	8.93
51	Taichung 5	-17.94	8.97
52	Taichung 4	-18.58	9.29
53	Nantou 1	-19.10	9.55
54	Taipei City 3	-20.52	10.26
55	Miaoli 1	-20.80	10.40
56	Hsinchu City	-21.02	10.51
57	Taoyuan 6	-24.30	12.15
58	Taipei City 4	-24.48	12.24
59	New Taipei 8	-25.06	12.53
60	Taipei City 7	-25.24	12.62
61	Keelung City	-26.46	13.23
62	Taoyuan 3	-27.16	13.58
63	Taoyuan 5	-27.78	13.89
64	Taipei City 6	-31.78	15.89
65	New Taipei 11	-34.28	17.14
66	New Taipei 9	-37.32	18.66
67	Taipei City 8	-37.32	18.66
68	Hsinchu County	-38.68	19.34
69	Taitung County	-38.99	19.50
70	Miaoli 2	-44.82	22.41
71	Hualien County	-48.12	24.06
72	Kinmen County	-83.57	41.79
73	Lienchiang County	-83.94	41.97

Seat Rank	LY District	Tsai 2012 lead	Swing to flip district
1	Tainan City 1	27.24	-13.62
2	Tainan City 2	25.76	-12.88
3	Chiayi County 1	17.51	-8.76
4	Kaohsiung 4	17.20	-8.60
5	Chiayi County 2	16.83	-8.42
6	Pingtung County 1	14.48	-7.24
7	Pingtung County 3	13.80	-6.90
8	Kaohsiung 1	13.54	-6.77
9	Kaohsiung 2	12.47	-6.24
10	Yunlin 1	12.39	-6.20
11	Tainan City 3	12.38	-6.19
12	Kaohsiung 9	12.28	-6.14
13	Tainan City 5	11.83	-5.92
14	Yunlin 2	10.92	-5.46
15	Kaohsiung 5	8.50	-4.25
16	Ilan County	5.05	-2.53
17	Kaohsiung 6	4.88	-2.44
18	New Taipei 2	2.93	-1.47
19	New Taipei 3	2.34	-1.17
20	Pingtung County 2	2.14	-1.07
21	Chiayi City	2.08	-1.04
22	Tainan City 4	2.04	-1.02
23	Kaohsiung 7	1.38	-0.69
24	Kaohsiung 8	1.36	-0.68
25	Taipei City 2	0.45	-0.22
26	New Taipei 4	-2.38	1.19
27	Changhua County 3	-4.00	2.00
28	Changhua County 1	-4.92	2.46
29	New Taipei 5	-5.14	2.57
30	Taichung 3	-5.66	2.83
31	Taichung 8	-5.80	2.90
32	New Taipei 6	-5.83	2.92
33	Taichung 1	-6.62	3.31
34	Kaohsiung 3	-6.90	3.45
35	Changhua County 4	-7.45	3.73
36	Taichung 7	-7.97	3.99
37	New Taipei 7	-8.22	4.11
38	Penghu	-8.70	4.35
39	Taichung 2	-9.38	4.69
40	Taichung 6	-9.52	4.76
41	New Taipei 10	-10.45	5.23

42	Taoyuan 2	-10.78	5.39
43	Nantou 2	-11.76	5.88
44	Changhua County 2	-11.89	5.95
45	Taipei City 1	-13.68	6.84
46	Taoyuan 1	-14.56	7.28
47	New Taipei 1	-14.90	7.45
48	New Taipei 12	-15.60	7.80
49	Taipei City 5	-16.18	8.09
50	Taoyuan 4	-17.85	8.93
51	Taichung 5	-17.94	8.97
52	Taichung 4	-18.58	9.29
53	Nantou 1	-19.10	9.55
54	Taipei City 3	-20.52	10.26
55	Miaoli 1	-20.80	10.40
56	Hsinchu City	-21.02	10.51
57	Taoyuan 6	-24.30	12.15
58	Taipei City 4	-24.48	12.24
59	New Taipei 8	-25.06	12.53
60	Taipei City 7	-25.24	12.62
61	Keelung City	-26.46	13.23
62	Taoyuan 3	-27.16	13.58
63	Taoyuan 5	-27.78	13.89
64	Taipei City 6	-31.78	15.89
65	New Taipei 11	-34.28	17.14
66	New Taipei 9	-37.32	18.66
67	Taipei City 8	-37.32	18.66
68	Hsinchu County	-38.68	19.34
69	Taitung County	-38.99	19.50
70	Miaoli 2	-44.82	22.41
71	Hualien County	-48.12	24.06
72	Kinmen County	-83.57	41.79
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永遠與人民站在
 政黨票請投
 6 民國

徐欣瑩
 副總統候選人
 國民黨主席




政治 從家開始
 2016 大安區 立委候選人

9 曾獻瑩

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FHL 信心希望聯盟



廣告出租
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Triumph 黛安芬

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監督的力量
①吳育昇

幫台灣留住一席
監督的力量
①吳育昇

吳育昇

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吳育昇



人民本無黨 團結力量大

1月16日立法委員



政黨票請投 15

無黨團結聯盟

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 懇託









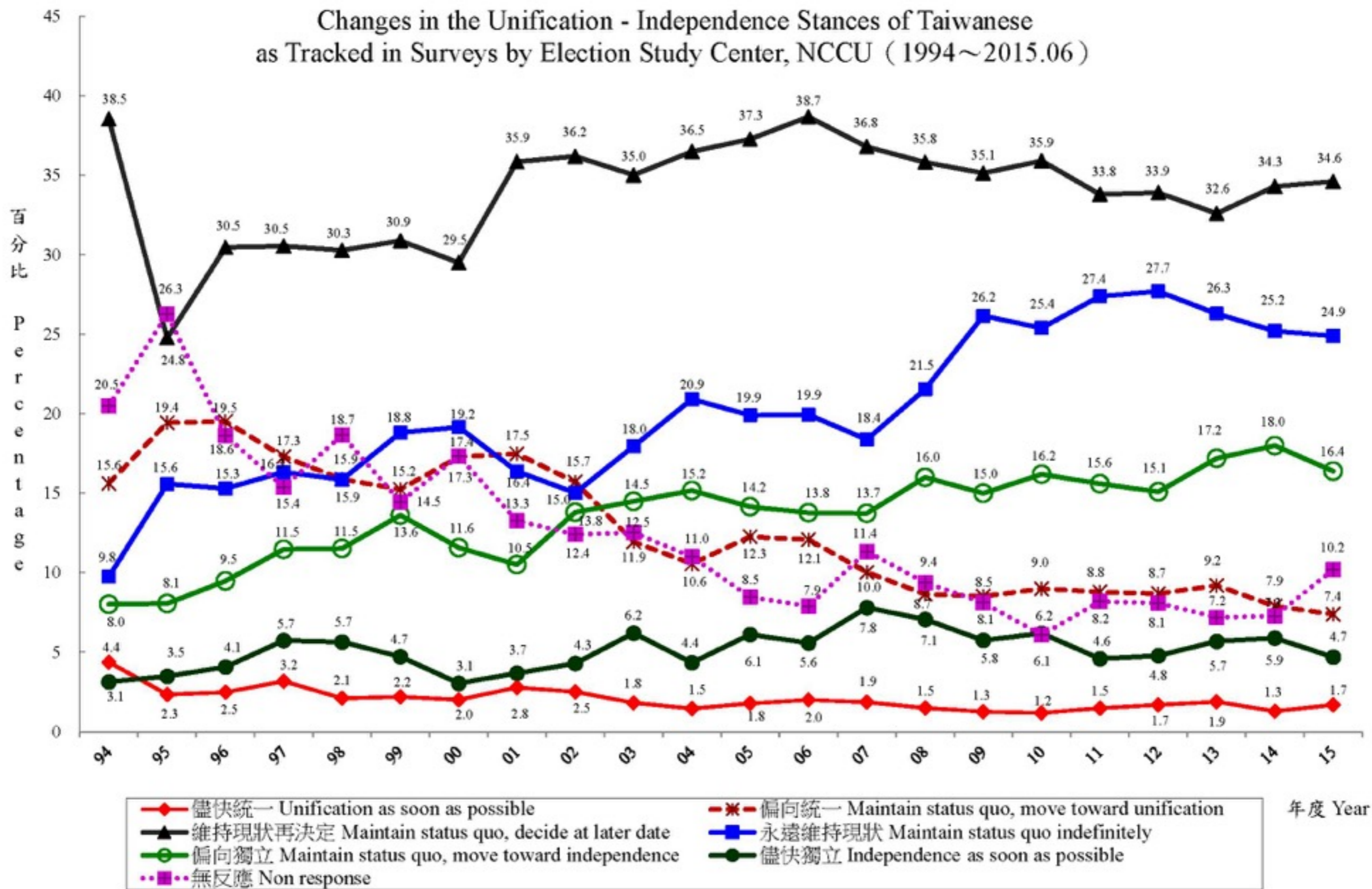






臺灣民眾統獨立場趨勢分佈 (1994~2015.06)

Changes in the Unification - Independence Stances of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by Election Study Center, NCCU (1994~2015.06)



臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈 (1992~2015.06)

Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese
as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2015.06)

