

## Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 3: Macro Report

June 05, 2006

**Taiwan (Republic of China)**

Date of Election: **March 22 , 2008**

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Date of Preparation: **January 14, 2009**

### NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

### **Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered**

#### 1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House
- Both
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?  
 Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?  
 Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

| <u>Name of Political Party</u>       | <u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u> |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Kuomintang (KMT)                     | 4                                  |
| Democratic Progressive Party ( DPP ) | 21                                 |
| Independent                          | 20                                 |

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

45 (including premier and vice premier)

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?

Kuomintang (KMT)

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?

Kuomintang (KMT)

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

| <u>Name of Political Party</u>       | <u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u> |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Kuomintang (KMT)                     | 24                                 |
| Democratic Progressive Party ( DPP ) | 1                                  |
| Independent                          | 20                                 |

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

45 (including premier and vice premier)

4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party.

Kuomintang (KMT)  
Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)

4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

<http://210.69.23.140/cec/cehead.asp>

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Source:

The CSES survey was conducted after the 2008 presidential election, which was held on March 22, 2008. There are only two major parties, i.e. KMT and DPP, nominated candidates. The KMT nominee, MA Ying-jeou, received 7,659,014 (58.45%) votes and won the election. The DPP nominee, Frank Hsieh, got 5,444,949 (41.55%) votes. For more information, please access the following link:

<http://vote.nccu.edu.tw/engcec/A200800E.PDF>

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election?

For the 2008 presidential election, the voter turnout is 76.33%.

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA.

- Total Population: 22,925,311

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens: 17,321,622

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

- Total Vote: 13,221,609

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes: 117,646

- Voting Age Population: age 20 and above

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

- Number of Registered Voters: voters were automatically registered.

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

The above information can be accessed via the following link:

<http://vote.nccu.edu.tw/engcec/vote421.asp?pass1=A2008A0000000000aaa>

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

| Party Name                            | Ideological Family |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| A. Kuomintang (KMT)                   | H                  |
| B. Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) | F                  |
| C.                                    |                    |
| D.                                    |                    |
| E.                                    |                    |
| F.                                    |                    |
| G.                                    |                    |
| H.                                    |                    |
| I.                                    |                    |

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

(A) Ecology Parties

(B) Communist Parties

(C) Socialist Parties

(D) Social Democratic Parties

(E) Conservative Parties

(F) Left Liberal Parties

(G) Liberal Parties

(H) Right Liberal Parties

(I) Christian Democratic Parties

(J) National Parties

(K) Independents

(L) Agrarian Parties

(M) Ethnic Parties

(N) Regional Parties

(O) Other Parties





7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Economy
2. Cross-Strait relations
3. Political Stability
4. Ethnic relation (Taiwanese vs. mainlanders)
5. Anti-corruption



8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

| <b>Party Name</b>                     | <b>Name of Party Leader</b> | <b>Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate</b> |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| A. Kuomintang (KMT)                   | WU Poh-hsiung               | MA Ying-jeou<br>Vincent SIEW                          |
| B. Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) | CHEN Sui-bian               | Frank HSIEH<br>SU Tseng-chang                         |
| C.                                    |                             |   |
| D.                                    |                             |   |
| E.                                    |                             |   |
| F.                                    |                             |   |
| G.                                    |                             |   |
| H.                                    |                             |   |
| I.                                    |                             |   |

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

March 22, 2008

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 1d, please explain why.

March 22, 2008

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

### Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

**Definitions:** A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

#### 11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes  
 No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes  
 No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

| <b>Alliance Name</b> | <b>Participating Parties<br/>(please indicate dominant members with an “*”)</b> |
|----------------------|---|
| Alliance 1:          |   |
| Alliance 2:          |   |
| Alliance 3:          |   |
| Alliance 4:          |   |
| Alliance 5:          |   |

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

NA

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

NA

## **Data on Electoral Institutions**

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

**Please access the following link:**

**<http://www.asianelections.org/cubekmeng/front/bin/ptlist.phtml?Category=32>**

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

### **Electoral Tier (Segment) and House**

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

The electoral law in the 2008 legislative election is mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) system, and the total number of seats is 113. Among them, 73 seats are elected based on the single-member districts (SMD), 34 seats based on the proportional representation (PR) in a nationwide district, and 6 seats for the aboriginals. Our answers for questions 15a through 21d were referred to **SMD tier**.

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

### **Questions about Voting**

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

1

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

The "First-Past-The-Post" (FPTP) system

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)

Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes  
 No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes  
 No

NA

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Without Sanction for Violation  
 No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Under the new parallel mixed-member system, the SMD tier is based on the plurality rule. The PR seats, on the other hand, remains to be allocated based on the largest remainder Hare formula with a 5% legal threshold.

**Questions about Converting Votes into Seats**

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes  
 No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

**Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**



15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

The electoral law in the 2008 legislative election is mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) system, and the total number of seats is 113. Among them, 73 seats are elected based on the single-member districts (SMD), 34 seats based on the proportional representational (PR) in a nationwide district, and 6 seats for the aboriginals. The following answers for questions 15a through 21d were referred to **PR tier**.

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

### Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

1

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

- Candidates
- Party Lists
- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

One

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

- Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
- Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes  
 No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

- Yes  
 No

NA

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Without Sanction for Violation  
 No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Under the new parallel mixed-member system, the SMD tier is based on the plurality rule. The PR seats, on the other hand, remains to be allocated based on the largest remainder Hare formula with a 5% legal threshold.

### Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Yes

No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

5%

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

The PR seats were allocated based on the largest remainder Hare formula with a 5% legal threshold.

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

PR

**References**

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

Eligible Voters: 17,321,622  
Total Votes: 13,221,609  
Valid Votes: 13,103,963  
Invalid Votes: 117,646  
Turnout: 76.33%

The above information can be accessed via the following link:  
<http://vote.nccu.edu.tw/engcec/A200800E.PDF>

| Administration District | Eligible Voters | Votes    |          |         | Vote shares of candidates      |       |                              |       |
|-------------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|---------|--------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|
|                         |                 | Total    | Valid    | Invalid | Frank HSIEH/<br>SU Tseng-chang |       | MA Ying-jeou/<br>Vicent SIEW |       |
|                         |                 |          |          |         | (DPP)                          |       | (KMT)                        |       |
|                         |                 |          |          |         | Votes                          | %     | Vote                         | %     |
| Total                   | 17321622        | 13221609 | 13103963 | 117646  | 5445239                        | 41.55 | 7658724                      | 58.45 |
| Taipei City             | 2042805         | 1617609  | 1604802  | 12807   | 593256                         | 36.97 | 1011546                      | 63.03 |
| Kaohsiung City          | 1163546         | 916731   | 909619   | 7112    | 440367                         | 48.41 | 469252                       | 51.59 |
| Taipei County           | 2878477         | 2247503  | 2226334  | 21169   | 867205                         | 38.95 | 1359129                      | 61.05 |
| Ilan County             | 346921          | 256642   | 254651   | 1991    | 123700                         | 48.58 | 130951                       | 51.42 |
| Taouyan County          | 1396390         | 1083348  | 1073018  | 10330   | 379416                         | 35.36 | 693602                       | 64.64 |
| Hsinchu County          | 358433          | 284346   | 281623   | 2723    | 73178                          | 25.98 | 208445                       | 74.02 |
| Miaoli County           | 420176          | 322838   | 319864   | 2974    | 92795                          | 29.01 | 227069                       | 70.99 |
| Taichung County         | 1135237         | 868165   | 859404   | 8761    | 353706                         | 41.16 | 505698                       | 58.84 |
| Changhwa County         | 981262          | 736392   | 728834   | 7558    | 309134                         | 42.41 | 419700                       | 57.59 |
| Nantou County           | 404968          | 292052   | 289585   | 2467    | 109955                         | 37.97 | 179630                       | 62.03 |
| Yunlin County           | 557704          | 390714   | 387263   | 3451    | 199558                         | 51.53 | 187705                       | 48.47 |
| Chiayi County           | 427808          | 309372   | 306436   | 2936    | 166833                         | 54.44 | 139603                       | 45.56 |
| Tainan County           | 854240          | 636774   | 631160   | 5614    | 354409                         | 56.15 | 276751                       | 43.85 |
| Kaohsiung County        | 953610          | 733092   | 727233   | 5859    | 373900                         | 51.41 | 353333                       | 48.59 |
| Pingtung County         | 679205          | 500923   | 497100   | 3823    | 249795                         | 50.25 | 247305                       | 49.75 |
| Taitung County          | 177843          | 112359   | 111382   | 977     | 29714                          | 26.68 | 81668                        | 73.32 |
| Hwalien County          | 260820          | 179577   | 177607   | 1970    | 40003                          | 22.52 | 137604                       | 77.48 |
| Penghu County           | 72170           | 43581    | 43218    | 363     | 18181                          | 42.07 | 25037                        | 57.93 |
| Keelung City            | 297794          | 226590   | 224889   | 1701    | 72562                          | 32.27 | 152327                       | 67.73 |
| Hsinchu City            | 289862          | 227600   | 225564   | 2036    | 79634                          | 35.30 | 145930                       | 64.70 |
| Taichung City           | 769926          | 598566   | 592730   | 5836    | 226751                         | 38.26 | 365979                       | 61.74 |
| Chiayi City             | 200834          | 153309   | 152155   | 1154    | 72442                          | 47.61 | 79713                        | 52.39 |
| Tainan City             | 578159          | 443692   | 439849   | 3843    | 216815                         | 49.29 | 223034                       | 50.71 |
| Kinmen County           | 65572           | 35266    | 35094    | 172     | 1710                           | 4.87  | 33384                        | 95.13 |
| Lienchiang County       | 7860            | 4568     | 4549     | 19      | 220                            | 4.84  | 4329                         | 95.16 |

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

Information from the following links might be helpful:

Web site of Taiwan's Election and Democratization Survey (TEDS)  
<http://www.tedsnet.org/>

Election Study Center, National Chengchi University, Taiwan  
<http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/>

Asian Election Studies Project, National Chengchi University, Taiwan  
<http://www.asianelections.org/>

Central Election Commission, Taiwan  
<http://www.cec.gov.tw/>

Prof. Chi HUANG's Political Geography Research Lab: Taiwan's Electoral Geography Database  
<http://tegis.nccu.edu.tw/>