Prepared by: Yunhan Chu, Ching-hsin Yu and I-chou Liu

Date: June 16, 2005

Comparative National Election Project
Memo on Macro Information

Country: Taiwan
Date of Election: December 11, 2004
Election Type (Presidential, Legislative- two chambers or one): Legislative Election (one chamber)

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Survey was Administered

1. Political Parties (Receiving at least 3% of the vote, OR electing one MP):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Ideological Family</th>
<th>European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)</th>
<th>International Organizational Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Kuomintang (KMT)</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
<td>23 (NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
<td>21 (NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. People First Party (PFP)</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. New Party (NP)</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
<td>00 (NA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Single Issue Parties
(M) Agrarian Parties
(N) Ethnic Parties
(O) Regional Parties
(P) Other Parties

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations to which a particular party might belong. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:
(1) European People’s Party
(2) European Democrats
(3) Party of European Socialists
(4) European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
(5) Confederal Group of European United Left
(6) Nordic Green Left
(7) Greens
(8) European Free Alliance
(9) Europe for the Nations
(10) Europe of Democracies and Diversities
(00) Not Applicable
(98) Don’t Know
International Party Organizations:
(11) Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
(12) Caribbean Democratic Union
(13) Christian Democratic International
(14) Christian Democratic Organization of America
(15) Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
(16) Democratic Union of Africa
(17) Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
(18) Green Movement
(19) Humanist Party
(20) International Communist Union
(21) International Democrat Union
(22) International League of Democratic Socialists
(23) Liberal International
(24) National Law Party
(25) Pacific Democratic Union
(26) Organization of African Liberal Parties
(27) Socialist International
(28) Socialist Inter-Africa
(00) Not Applicable
(98) Don't Know

2. Please place the parties that you have characterized according to the Gunther and Diamond 2001 typology. Please see the documents attached which include the article by Gunther and Diamond, as well as the tables, references and figure. Please note that in the figure, the lines connecting party species to their respective genus are missing. [Gunther, and Diamond, (2003), “Species of Political Parties: A New Typology”, in Party Politics, vol.9, no.2., pp. 167-199]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>In English and Own Language and Party Label</th>
<th>Party Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.KMT</td>
<td></td>
<td>Catch-all(also Electoralist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.DPP</td>
<td></td>
<td>Catch-all(also Electoralist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.PFP</td>
<td></td>
<td>Programmatic(also Electoralist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.TSU</td>
<td></td>
<td>Personalistic(also Electoralist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. NP</td>
<td></td>
<td>Elite(also Ethnicity-based)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Please give the complete election results for the most recent election and the previous election of the type you are analyzing.

MOST RECENT ELECTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Parliamentary Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. KMT</td>
<td>32.83</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. DPP</td>
<td>35.72</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PFP</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. TSU</td>
<td>7.79</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. NP</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREVIOUS ELECTION OF THE SAME TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Parliamentary Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. KMT</td>
<td>31.28</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. DPP</td>
<td>36.57</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PFP</td>
<td>20.34</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. TSU</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. NP</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate Parties A-F’s positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CNEP Principal Investigator).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name in English /Label</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.KMT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.DPP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.PFP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.TSU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country?
No

4.2. Would you agree that the “Left-Right” cleavage is a meaningful concept in your country?
No

4.3. Are there any other relevant cleavages in your country? Where would you place each party regarding that/those cleavages? (For each cleavage fill out a table below, indicate the cleavage name, and what values 0 and 10 represent as well as each party’s position along the cleavage)

CLEAVAGE NAME:
0 =Unification with China
10 =Taiwan Independence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name in English /Label</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. KMT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. DPP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PFP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. TSU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. 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)?

1. Position on Unification with China or Taiwan Independence

2. Preference of Self-identity (or sub-ethnic identity to be a Chinese or a Taiwanese)

3. Economic situation of the nation

4. Candidate images

5. Party images
6. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?
Yes (but may be not exactly in that order)

7. Electoral Alliances:

Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances among parties are made at the national level - these are the alliances that we would like you to identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

☐ No
☒ Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

Alliance Name    Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")
Alliance 1: Pan-Blue: KMT* + PFP + NP

Alliance 2: Pan-Green: DPP* + TSU
8. **Party Leaders, Prime Ministerial and Presidential Candidates:**

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party, as well as the PM candidate.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name English and Label</th>
<th>Name of Party Leader</th>
<th>Presidential / PM Candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. KMT</td>
<td>Lien, Chan</td>
<td>Lien, Chan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. DPP</td>
<td>Su, Tseng-chang</td>
<td>Chen, Shui-bian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PFP</td>
<td>Soong, James</td>
<td>Soong, James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. TSU</td>
<td>Shu, Chin-Chiang</td>
<td>Lee, Teng-hui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. NP</td>
<td>Yok, Mu-ming</td>
<td>Li, Ao</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II: The Media and Secondary Organisations

In order to contextualise the information which is provided by the surveys on media use, as well as organizational memberships, we would like to ask you to provide some details concerning these intermediary organizations.

TV

1. Please list the major TV networks in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.
   - Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), private owned but receiving sponsorship from government
   - China Television Company (CTV), private owned
   - Chinese television System (CTS), private owned but receiving sponsorship from government
   - Formosa Television (FTV), private owned
   - Public Television Service (PTS), publicly owned
   - TVBS, private owned
   - TVBS-N, private owned
   - CTI, private owned
   - ETTV, private owned

2. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.
   - Taiwan Television Enterprise (TTV), political biased slightly toward the DPP
   - China Television Company (CTV), political biased slightly toward the KMT
   - Chinese Television System (CTS), political biased toward the DPP
   - Formosa Television (FTV), private owned political biased toward the DPP
   - Public Television Service (PTS), difficult to tell
   - TVBS, difficult to tell,
   - TVBS-N, difficult to tell
   - CTI, difficult to tell
   - ETTV, difficult to tell

3. Is the political information that the networks provide high or low quality information? Generally low

RADIO

4. Please list the major Radio channels in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.
   - Central Broadcasting System (CBS), publicly owned
   - Many other private local radio channels

5. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.
   - CBS, politically biased to the incumbent party
   - Other local radio channels, politically biased to certain parties
6. Is the political information that the radio channels provide high or low quality information?
Low

NEWSPAPERS

7. Please list the major Newspapers in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.
Liberty Times, private owned
China Times, private owned
United Daily News, private owned
Apply Daily, private owned

8. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.
Liberty Times, politically biased toward Taiwan independence
China Times, difficult to tell
United Daily News, politically biased toward unification with China
Apply Daily, difficult to tell

9. Is the political information that the newspapers provide high or low quality information?
Low

SECONDARY ORGANISATIONS

TRADE UNIONS

10. Please identify the major Trade Unions in your country. Describe their internal characteristics, including whether they function as closed/open shop; how the members are elected; their approximate size vis-à-vis the labour force, as well as other relevant information.
NA

11. Please indicate for each Trade Union above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.
NA

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

12. Please identify the major Religious organizations /Churches in your country. Describe their approximate size vis-à-vis the population, as well as other relevant information.
Tzu Chi (Buddhist), difficult to get information on size

13. Please indicate for each Religious organization/Church above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.
Tzu Chi, does not link to a specific political party
OTHER RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS

14. Please give details of any other relevant secondary organizations. Describe its internal characteristics, where relevant, as well as its size, and state its political links.
Part III: Data on Electoral Institutions

Definitions: Whenever a country's electoral system includes only one electoral formula, it is said to have one segment. Increasingly, electoral systems around the world use more than one electoral formula. In these cases, the number of segments that exist depend on whether the formulas are related for the purposes of seat allocation or not. If they are, then there is still only one segment since the formulas are integrated to some extent. That is the case in Germany. If they are not related, then each electoral formula and the districts it is applied in counts as one segment. This is the case in Lithuania, for example: there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota).

An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

1. How many segments are there, as defined above, in your electoral system?

1

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 7) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

31

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district? If district variation exists please state the average district dimension as well as its range. From 1~10, average at 4 ~ 6

4. Please explain in detail how votes are cast by voters. First, indicate how many votes can be cast. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? Are votes cast for candidates, lists, or both? Finally, state whether votes are transferable. Voter has one vote under multi-member plurality system (single nontransferable vote) and closed list.

5. We would like you to explain exactly how votes are converted into seats. Please state the electoral formula(s) which are used. Indicate whether there is a legally mandated threshold that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats, and state what the threshold is. If there are lists, please explain their characteristics, namely whether they are open, closed or flexible.

5% threshold for a party to win nation-wide seats
Party list is closed.

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the
top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

Please repeat questions 2 through 5 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.
Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the de jure (or legal) situation and the de facto (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the de facto situation. Otherwise, describe the de jure situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

Definitions: The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Please indicate who the Head of State is and how s/he is selected. If the Head of State is elected, please indicate in detail the election system. Is it a direct or indirect election? If the election is direct, how many rounds of voting are there? If there is a second round of voting how are candidates chosen for this second round? If the Head of State is elected indirectly please state the procedure involved. How is the electoral college formed? Does it deliberate? What voting procedure is used by the electoral college?

President, first-past-the-post, popularly elected.

In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

2. Please indicate who the Head of Government is and how s/he is selected. If the Head of Government is elected independently of the legislature, please indicate in detail the election system. If the Head of Government is selected after legislative elections, please indicate how it happens.

President, first-past-the-post, popularly elected.

3. Indicate the way(s) in which the government can be dismissed, and the Legislature can be dissolved, if at all.

The President may, within ten days following the passage by the Legislative Yuan of a no-confidence vote against the Executive Yuan, declare the dissolution of the Legislative Yuan after consulting with the President of the Legislative Yuan.
In some countries, the Legislature has two Chambers. We would like to obtain the following information regarding the organization of the Legislature in your country:

4. Please indicate whether there is a second chamber in your country, and explain briefly the way it is formed, i.e. whether through direct or indirect election. National Assembly (but it has been abolished in May 2005)

5. How would you describe the actual legislative powers of the Second Chamber:

   a. Equal to those of the first Chamber
   b. Less than those of the first Chamber but still substantial
   c. Unable to make substantial alterations in legislation, but some minor improvements in bills are often proposed
   d. Effectively powerless.

C (before it was abolished in May 2005)

8. Please indicate if there is a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments? Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments?

Yes, there are constitutionally guaranteed division of power. The Executive Yuan can remove the electoral official of local governments if he/she violates the law.
Part VI: References.

Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CNEP community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described here.

www.president.gov.tw/1-roc-intro
www.gio.gov.tw
Macro Context of 2004 Taiwan Election

Structure of Government

Taiwan is a unitary state. The President elected by popular vote is the head of the state. According to the current Constitution, the system is closer to a semi-presidential government. The President enjoys power related to national security affairs; the rest to be the domain of the Premier appointed by the President. As to the national legislature, Taiwan has a unicameral Legislative Yuan (division) which is composed of 225 members. The major function of the Legislative Yuan is to write all laws, to supervise all governmental activities, and to control government budget. In addition to the Legislative Yuan, the Executive Yuan headed by the Premier is responsible for policy-making and implementation; the Judicial Yuan supervise court system; the Examination Yuan administers examination and personnel affairs of public servants; the Control Yuan has a role similar to Ombudsmen in some other countries.

Electoral System

1. Taiwan is using a SNTV system for legislator election. The total 225 seats are composed of 168 legislators elected from 29 plurality districts (district sizes vary between 1 and 13), 8 legislators elected from 2 plurality districts reserved for aboriginals, 41 legislators elected from a national district by party-list proportional representation, and 8 legislators representing overseas Taiwanese elected by party-list proportional representation.

2. The current system is to be changed after a constitutional amendment in 2005. The total legislator seats are reduced to 113. Among them, 73 seats are to be elected from single member districts, 34 seats by party-list proportional representation. The rest are 6 seats reserved for aboriginals. These seats are to be elected by two at large districts. The new system will be implemented in next election in 2007.

3. Taiwan voters are automatically eligible if they are 20 years old or older on the election date. Turnouts in the Legislator election vary between 60% and 70%. Candidacy may be obtained either by individual registration or party nomination plus registration.
4. There is an official “campaign period” in all elections in Taiwan. The campaign period for Legislator election is 15 days. However, all candidates launch their campaign much earlier. In most cases it has to be 3-6 months prior to the official campaign period because they need to build publicity and to win nomination by their parties. Donations and expenditures are regulated by law. It is believed that most candidates spent far more than the law allowed.

**Political Parties**

There are more than 95 political parties registered to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the year of 2004. Among them, however, only five parties own parliamentary seat at the Legislative Yuan. They are: the Kuomintang (KMT), the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the People First Party (PFP), the Chinese New Party (NP) and Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU).

1. KMT

   Founded by Sun Yat-sen before the establishment of the Republic of China the KMT moved to Taiwan after its defeat by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. KMT continued to govern Taiwan until it lost the presidential election to the DPP in 2000. The KMT effectively dominated the society of Taiwan for more than 50 years. It built party cells in government agencies, schools, unions and all major social organizations. The KMT also owned several businesses that allowed it to financially support the operation of party affairs such as cadre training and election campaign. The KMT used to be considered a conservative party. Its major supporters were public servants (including military servicemen and police), voters with Mainland China origins, elder generations.

2. DPP

   The DPP was founded in 1986. It was organized by a group of dissidents even before the official termination of Martial Law which prohibited new party organization without consent of the KMT. The DPP became the second largest party immediately after its establishment. Most supporters are Taiwanese with Min-nan ethnic origin. Its major political platform include: seeking a full independent (from China) Taiwan State, pursuing more aggressive social welfare and environmental protection policies, clean politics, etc. The DPP began to govern Taiwan after Chen Sui-bian won the presidential election in March of 2000. Chen was re-elected by a very close margin in a highly disputed election in March of 2004. Due to a poor performance in economy and relation with the PRC, both Chen Sui-bian and his party gradually lost their support among grass roots 6 years after the DPP came to power.
3. PFP

The PFP was founded in 2000 after James Song lost his bid for president in March. A portion of KMT supporter, dissatisfied with then party Chairman Lee Teng-hui's performance and policy, followed Song to establish a new party. The PFP made strong appearance in its first campaign for legislator and won 46 seats. However, since its lack of distinction, in terms of policy positions and major electoral bases, between the party and the KMT and also the emergence of a new party charismatic chairman, Ma Yin-jiou, in the KMT, some important politicians and supporter of the PFP switched back to the KMT. The PFP has gradually lost its attractiveness among Taiwan voters.

4. TSU

The TSU was founded after former president Lee Teng-hui step down from presidency in 2000. The party has a more radical agenda for Taiwan independence compared to that of the DPP. For example, the TSU very often criticize the DPP government of any "loosen" policy related to Taiwan-China relations. The party prefers a controlled economic relationship with China because they worry about a full economic dependence would introduce security threat against Taiwan. TSU Legislators at the Legislative Yuan usually ally with the DPP on most policy issues.

5. NP

The founders of the NP were KMT cadres before they broke up with the later in 1993. The NP is perceived as a political party seeking a closer relationship with the PRC and maintaining the goal of re-unification of both sides of Taiwan Strait. Most supporters at the beginning were youths and intellectuals. These supporters left the party after the NP experienced a fierce internal power struggle between 1997 and 1998. It never came back after that. The NP is able to win only a small number of seats at local elections in a couple of urban areas. Most of its cadres already switched to join the KMT.
Seats distribution among the above parties after the 2004 legislator election is listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KMT</td>
<td>32.83%</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPP</td>
<td>35.72%</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFP</td>
<td>13.90%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSU</td>
<td>7.79%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>0.12%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Candidates</td>
<td>9.63%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Social Cleavage and National Identity**

Of the 23 million residents, about 73% have Min-nan ethnic background, 12% with Mainland China background, 10% Hakka, and 2% are aboriginals. These ethnic differences do not cause any significant problem or inconvenience in daily life. However, it becomes very problematic whenever an election comes. The ethnic cleavage is highly related to an individual's national identity. The Min-nan group is the major supporter of a Taiwan State while the Mainlander group prefers a re-unification with the PRC. This political difference has been used to mobilize voters in election campaign by both sides.
Major Findings in the 2004 Survey

1. Interest in campaign

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>No interest</th>
<th>Very little interest</th>
<th>Not very much interest</th>
<th>Somewhat interested</th>
<th>Very interested</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interested in following this election campaign</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interested in politics in general</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entries are percentages; N of cases = 1252

2. Participation

**Question:** “How frequently did you talk about the candidates, parties or issues with your (primarily contacted individuals)?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>74.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-workers</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entries are percentages; N of cases = 1252

**Question:** “Could you please tell me if you belong to any of the types of organizations?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>One Group</th>
<th>Two Groups</th>
<th>Three Groups</th>
<th>Four Groups</th>
<th>Total N of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Media use

**Question:** “During the electoral campaign, how frequently did you follow political news through (news media)?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Almost every day</th>
<th>3-4 days a week</th>
<th>1-2 days a week</th>
<th>Less frequently</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>74.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entries are percentages; N of cases = 1252

**Question:** “Do you think (the media the respondent most frequently used) favored a particular political party or candidate?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>DK / Not sure</th>
<th>In-applicable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>74.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entries are percentages; N of cases = 1252

4. The most important campaign issue

The most important issue debated in the 2004 election was Taiwan’s slow economy. This is perceived by the respondents. In this survey half of the respondents (49.9%) say the most important issue is “economy.” At the same time, almost half (47.4%) of the respondents believed that the government was doing a poor job in handling Taiwan’s economy. Following is Taiwan voters’ evaluation of macro and micro economic conditions during the survey.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Better</th>
<th>About the same</th>
<th>Worse</th>
<th>Missing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan economy in the past year</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan economy in the coming year</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family’s economic condition in the past year</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family’s economic condition in the coming year</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entries are percentages; N of cases = 1252.

5. Party identification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Label</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KMT</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPP</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFP</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSU</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Entries are percentages; N of cases = 1252; Others (supporter for other minor parties, independents, cases missing for different reasons) are not included in the table.