

What Do the Polls Say? Predicting the Winner of the 2008 Taiwan Presidential Election

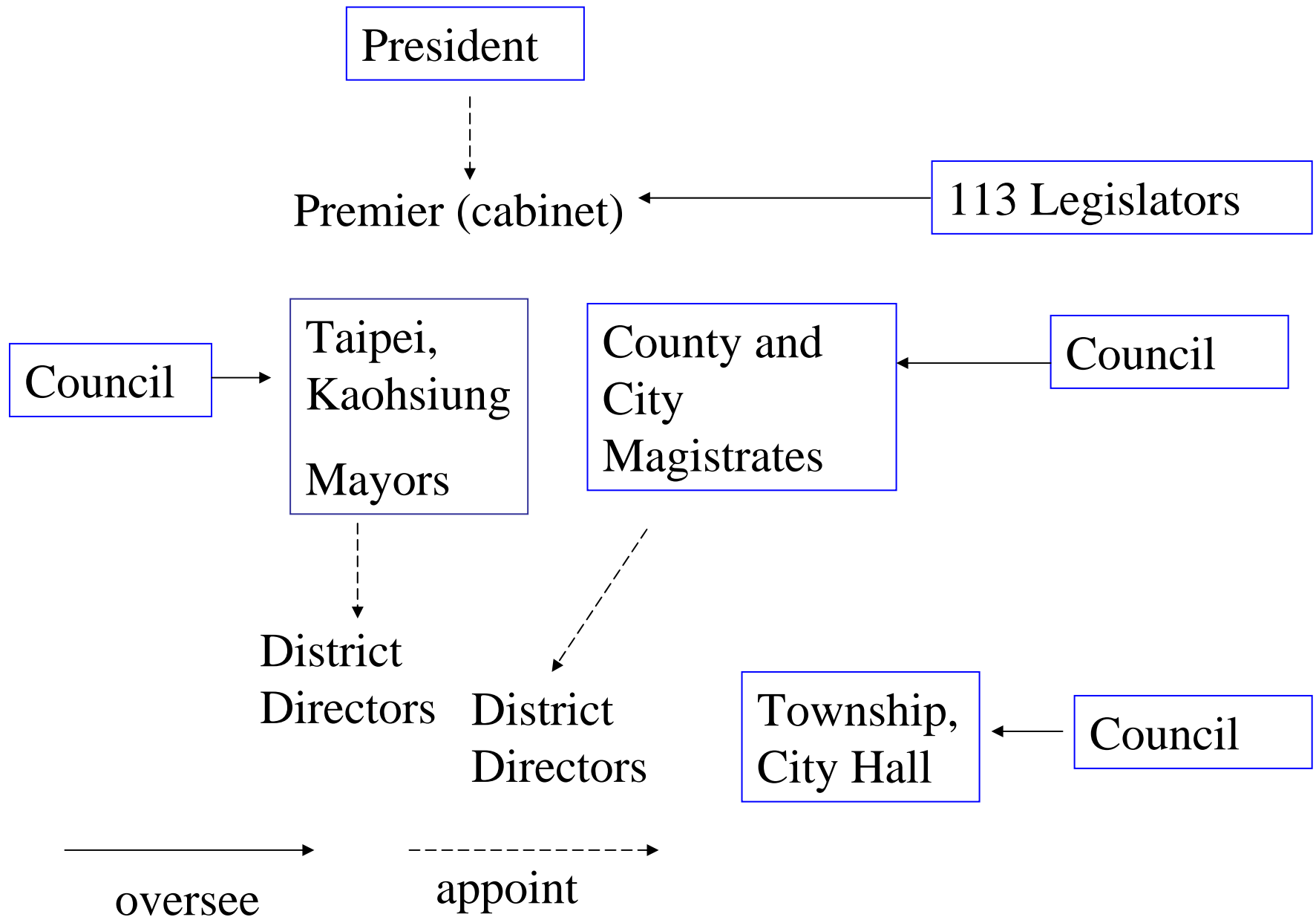
Chia-hung Tsai
Election Study Center
National Chengchi University
3.13.2008

Outline

- Introduction & Campaign Updates
- Issue and Social Cleavages
- Preliminary Predictions

2008 Taiwan Presidential Election

- The 4th popular presidential election
- Simple majority rule
- No incumbent president or former vice president—It's wide open
- Eligible voters: 17 million
- Election day: March 22nd.(Sat.)
- The pan-KMT won the $\frac{3}{4}$ of seats in the last legislative election.



總統大選號次出爐



長昌1號 馬蕭2號

Frank Hsieh

Ma Ying-jeou

Platforms

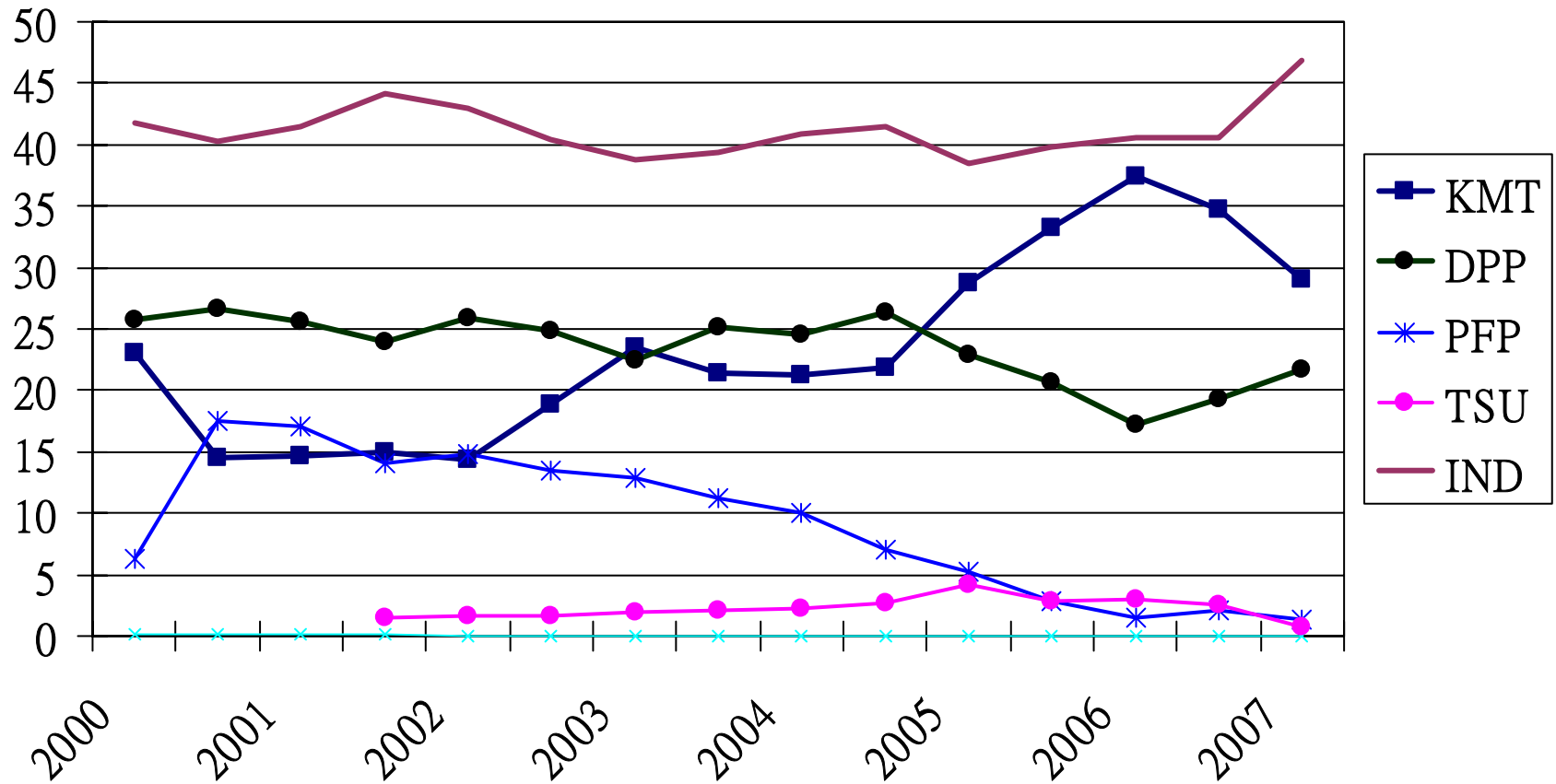
Hsieh

- Tax cut
- Flexible management of investment in China
- Balance Taiwanese identity and cross-Strait relations
- The premier is from the majority of the LY

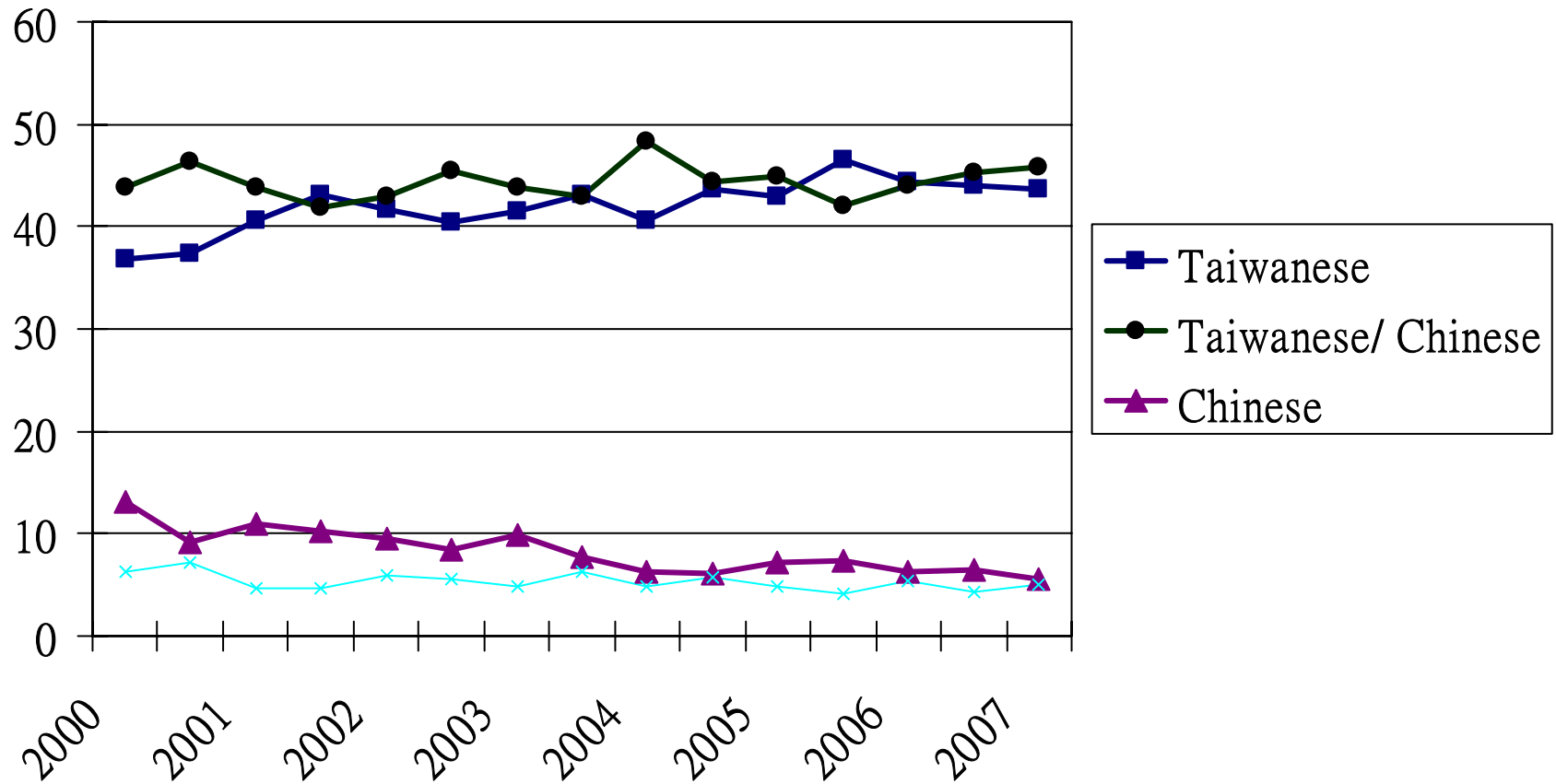
Ma

- Cross-strait common market, direct link
- 12 major constructions
- Flexible names in international organizations
- More negotiations with China

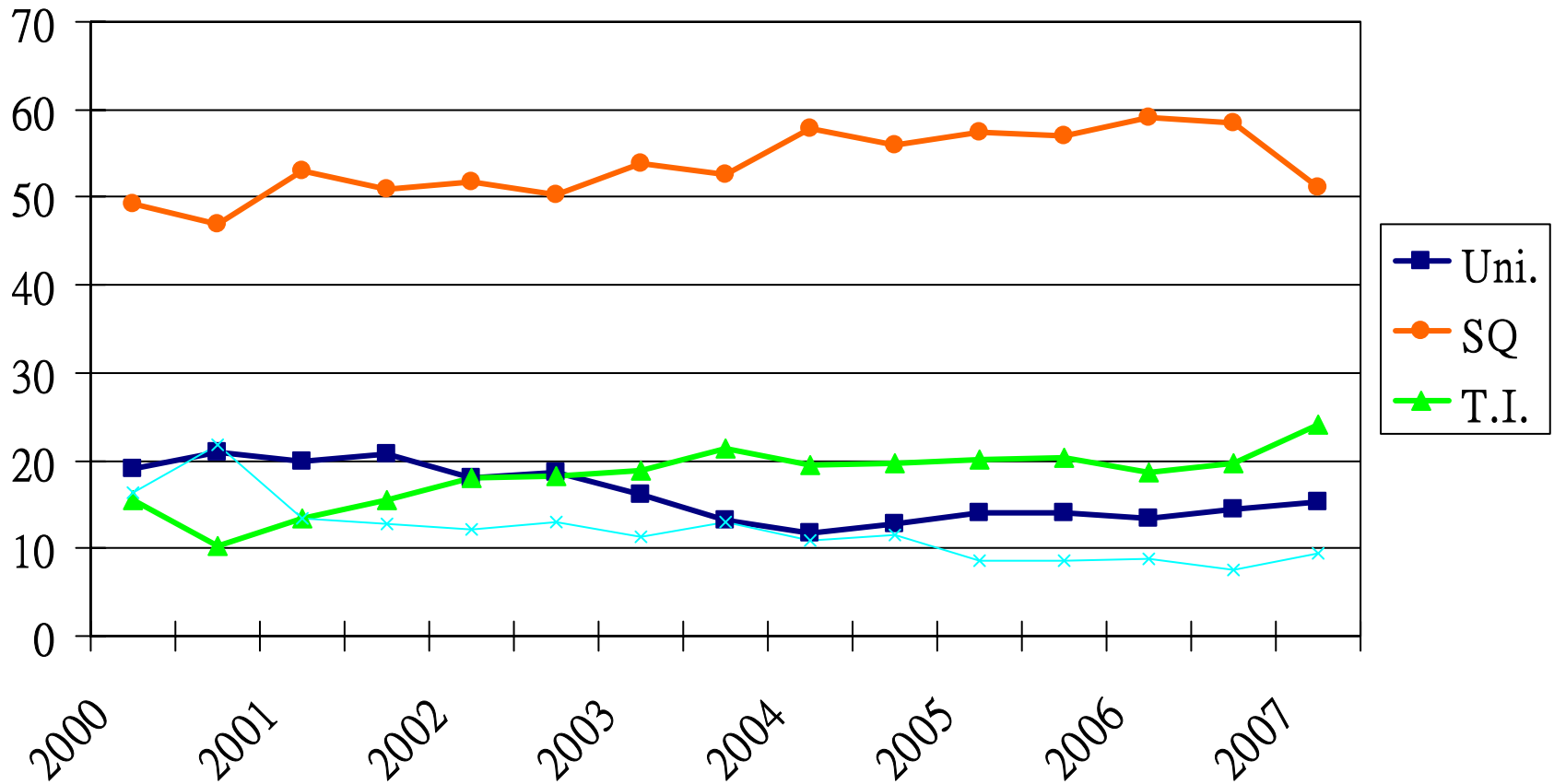
Partisanship (ESC data)



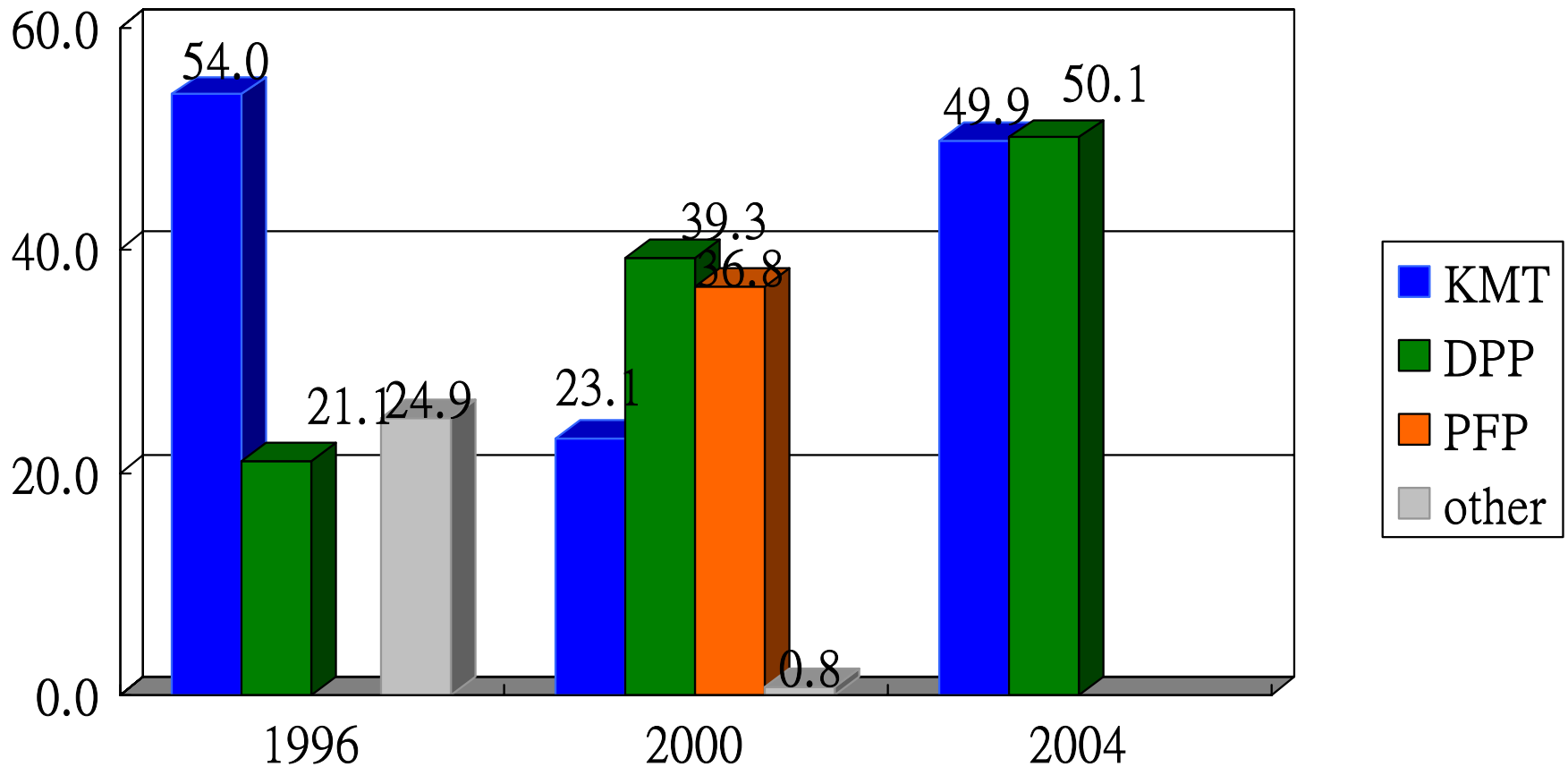
Taiwanese or Chinese Identity (ESC data)



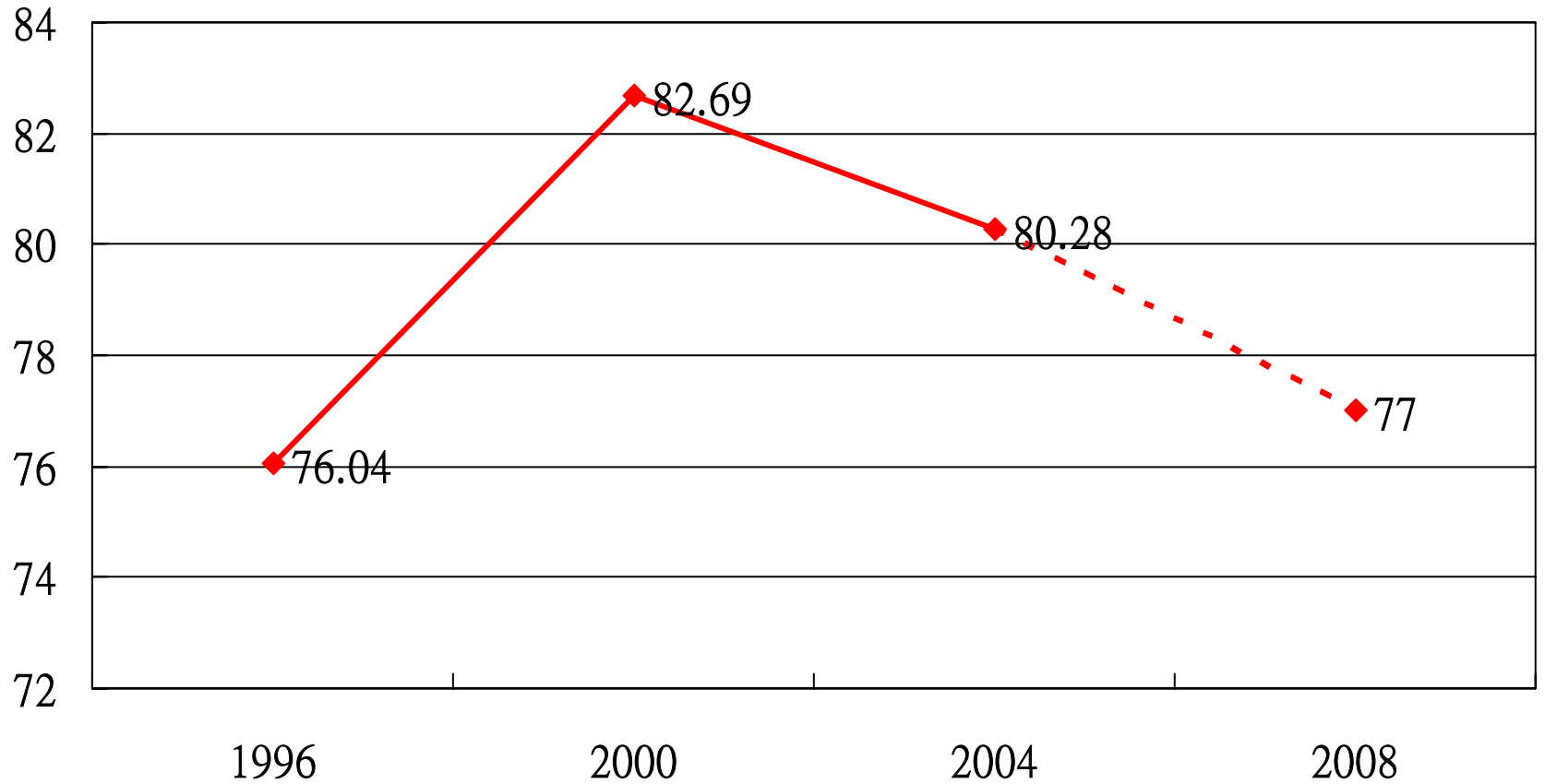
Unification vs. Taiwan Independence Issue Position (ESC data)



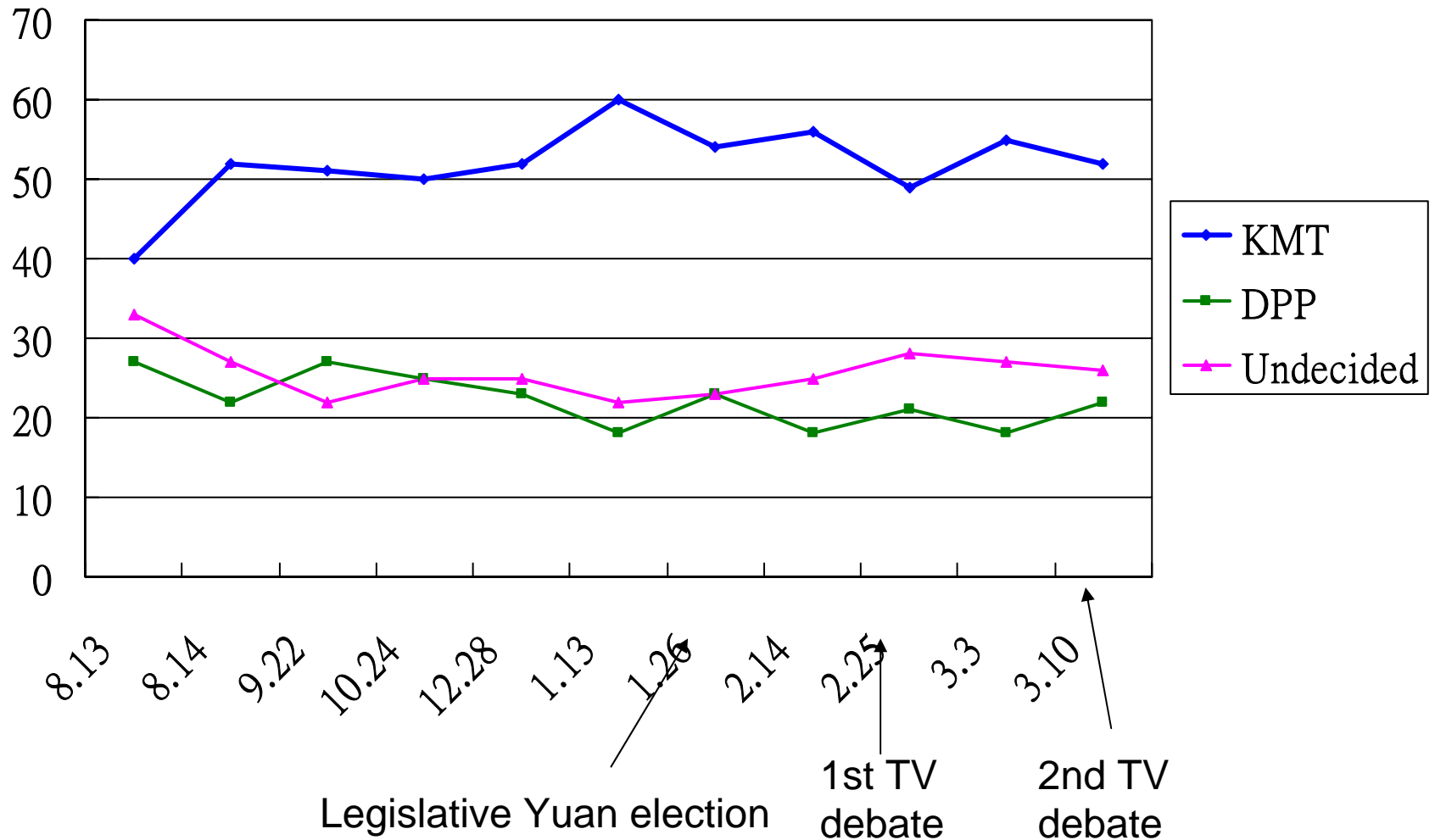
Vote Shares of Parties in Presidential Elections, 1996-2004



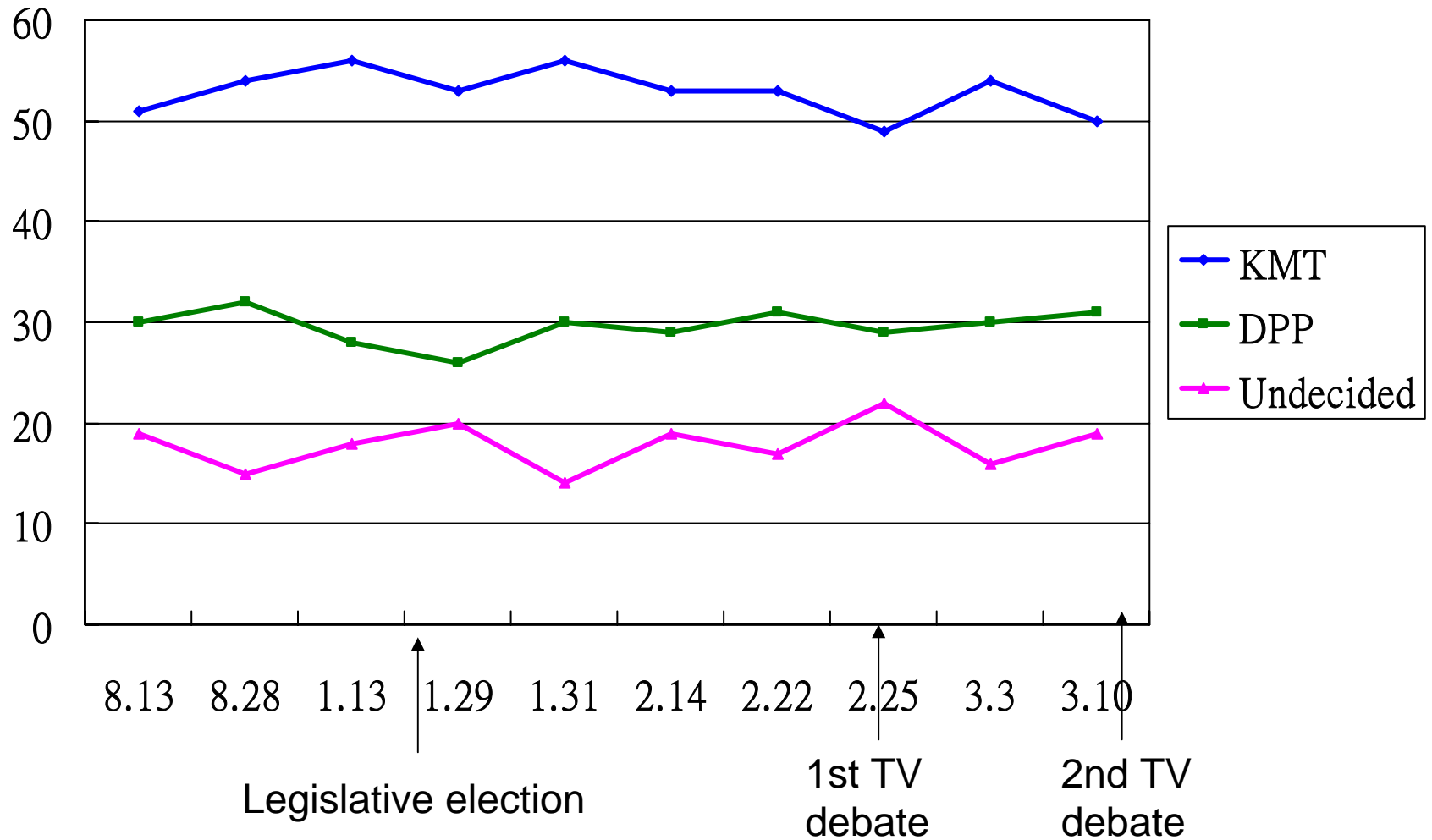
Turnout Rate



Media Polls 1



Media Polls 2



Analyzing Media Polls

- The KMT's support lies within the 50-60% range.
- Compared to 2004, polls show bigger margin between the 2 candidates.

Previous Findings

- Over 50% of respondents agree that the DPP has been in power for 8 years. It is time for turnover.
- 40% of respondents agree that Provided that the KMT won the legislative election, the KMT should win the presidency for political stability.
- Over 50% agree that the presidential candidate **cannot** hold foreign citizenship or permanent residency

Is Economy THE Issue?

Subjective Assessment on Taiwan's Economy

Comparison between “Now and Two Years Ago” (2007)	
Better	5%
About the Same	21.9
Worse	70.4

Comparison between “Now and three or four Years Ago” (2003)	
Better	3.8
About the Same	16.5
Worse	77.9

Is Economy THE Issue?

Subjective Assessment on Personal Economic Status

Comparison between “Now and Two Years Ago” (2007)	
Better	8%
About the Same	48.1
Worse	42.5

Comparison between “Now and three or four Years Ago” (2003)	
Better	6.5%
About the Same	47.2
Worse	45.3

Cross-Strait Economic Relation

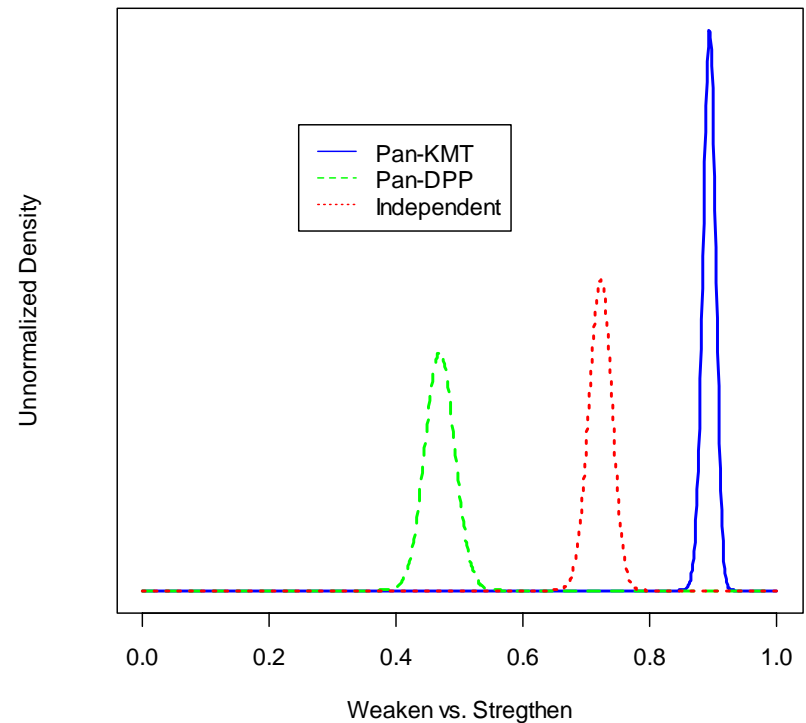
Should we increase or decrease trade with Mainland China?

Strengthen or weaken trade tie with Mainland China? (2007)	
Increase	65%
Decrease	22
Don't Know	13

Increase or decrease economic relations with Mainland China (2003)	
Increase	35%
About the Same	49
Worse	11

Partisan Breakdown on Cross-Strait Economic Relation

- KMT:
 - 90% support closer trade tie
- DPP:
 - 45% increase vs. 55% decrease
- Independent:
 - 75% increase



Provincial Background & Party Support

	DPP	KMT	DK
Hakka	25.9%	56.9	17.2
Minnan	32.2	43.3	24.5
Mainlander	10.1	69.7	20.2
Aboriginal	22.2	61.1	16.7

Education

	DPP	KMT	DK
Junior high or below	32.6%	35.7	31.6
Senior high & 2-year college	25.2	54.1	20.8
University or above	30.6	56.2	13.2

Gender

	DPP	KMT	DK
Male	33.0%	44.1	23.0
Female	24.8	51.3	23.9

Age

	DPP	KMT	DK
20-29	26.2%	57.2	16.6
30-39	26.4	53.3	20.3
40-49	25.9	50.0	24.1
50-59	37.8	38.3	28.4
60 or above	32.5	39.2	28.4

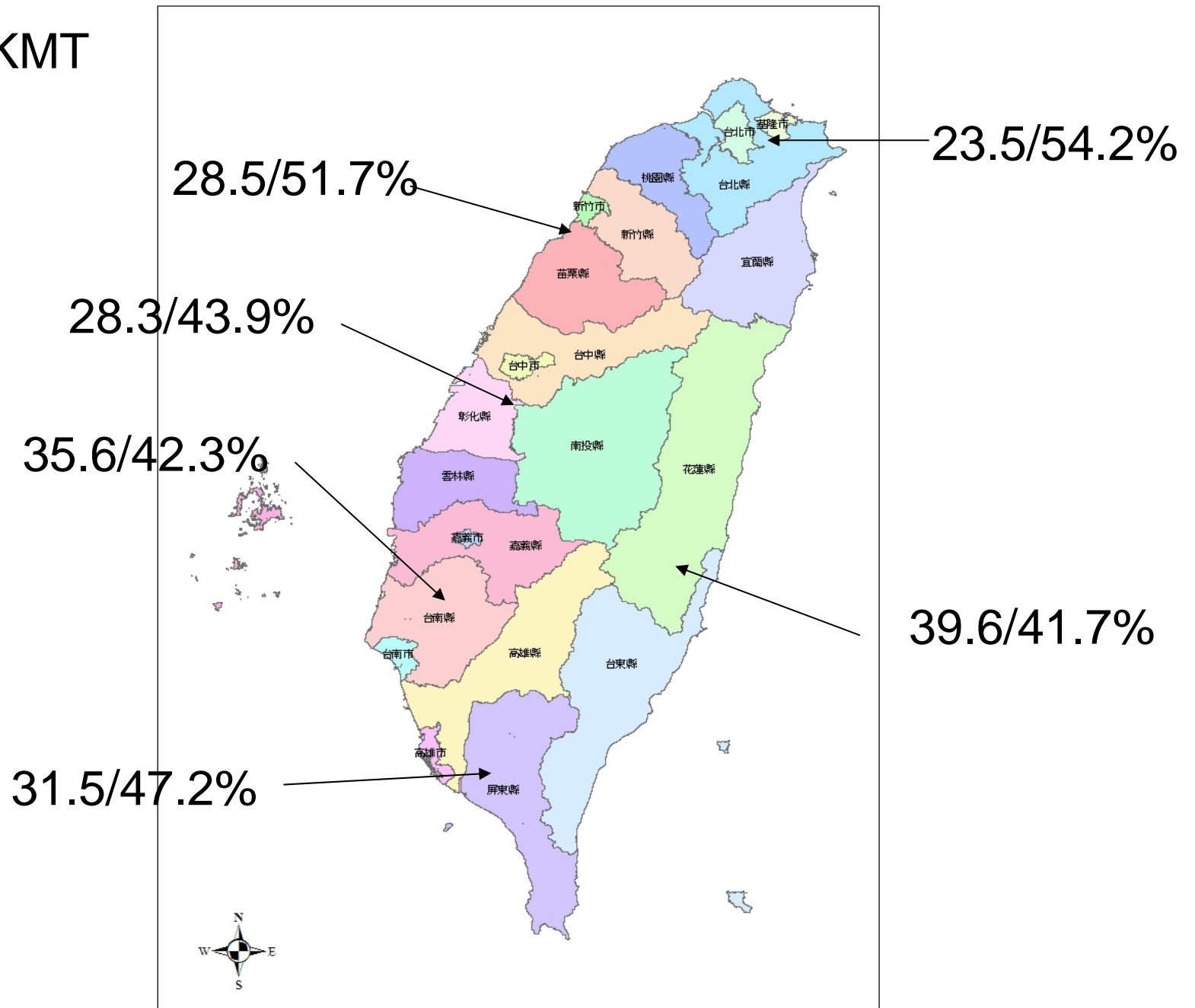
Occupation

	DPP	KMT	DK
Civil servants	25.3%	62.6	12.1
White collars	28.6	52.1	19.3
Labor	33.2	42.4	24.5
Farmer	35.8	29.9	34.3
Student, housekeeper	25.7	46.2	28.1
Retired/Unemployed	16.7	33.3	50.0

Partisanship

	DPP	KMT	DK
KMT	2.1%	91.5	6.5
DPP	81.2	9.8	9.1
PFP	3.0	78.8	18.2
TSU	66.7	21.4	11.9

DPP/KMT



Population of Area

Area	Eligible voters
Taipei, Keelung	5,156,991
Taoyuan, Hsin-chu, Miiiao-li	2,418,041
Tai-chung, Chun-hwa, Nan-tou	3,248,782
Tun-lin, Chia-yi, Tainan	2,599,512
Kaohsiung, Ping-tung, Penghu	2,847,251
Yi-lan, Hwa-lien, Tai-tung	783,641

2004 presidential election

	DPP	KMT	DK
Chen	58.6%	23.8	17.6
Lien	7.3	86.7	6.0
Didn't vote	13.7	44.3	42.0
Not eligible	22.0	61.0	17.0

Cannot Own Citizenship or PR

	DPP	KMT	DK
Strongly agree	55.6%	26.4	18.0
Agree	27.1	49.7	23.3
Disagree	12.0	69.4	18.6
Strongly disagree	10.0	78.9	11.1

Remarks

- Civil servants, white collars, mainlanders, Hakka, high-educated, female, and people under 50-year-old tend to support the KMT.
- The northern Taiwan gave more support to the KMT than the DPP.
- Cross-strait Economic Relation is a major issue.

Multivariate Analysis

	DPP vs. No-response	KMT vs. No-response
KMT identity	-0.90	1.90 ***
DPP identity	2.00***	0.06
Voted for Chen	1.12 ***	0.07
Voted for Lien	1.08 *	1.74 ***
Holding citizenship/PR	0.43**	-0.67***
Constant	-2.11 ***	1.61 ***

No-response people

- How are no-response people going to vote?
 - following their family members or friends
 - following their partisanship
 - following their past behavior
 - following the sentiment
 - don't turn out

Besides, the coverage rate of telephone samples may skew the results.

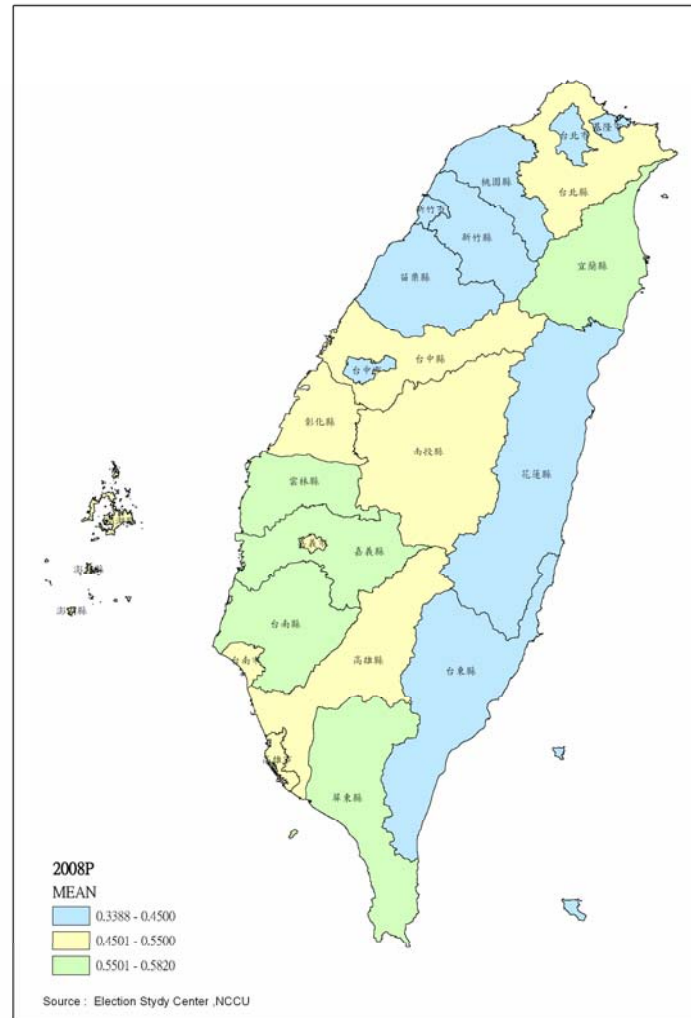
Party and Area-Based Prediction

- Assuming that every no-response people turn out to vote.
- Assign the no-response people to each camp based on the 2004 vote share in each county.
- For example, the DPP gained 46% in Taipei County, 2004. Assign 46% of no-response people to the DPP.

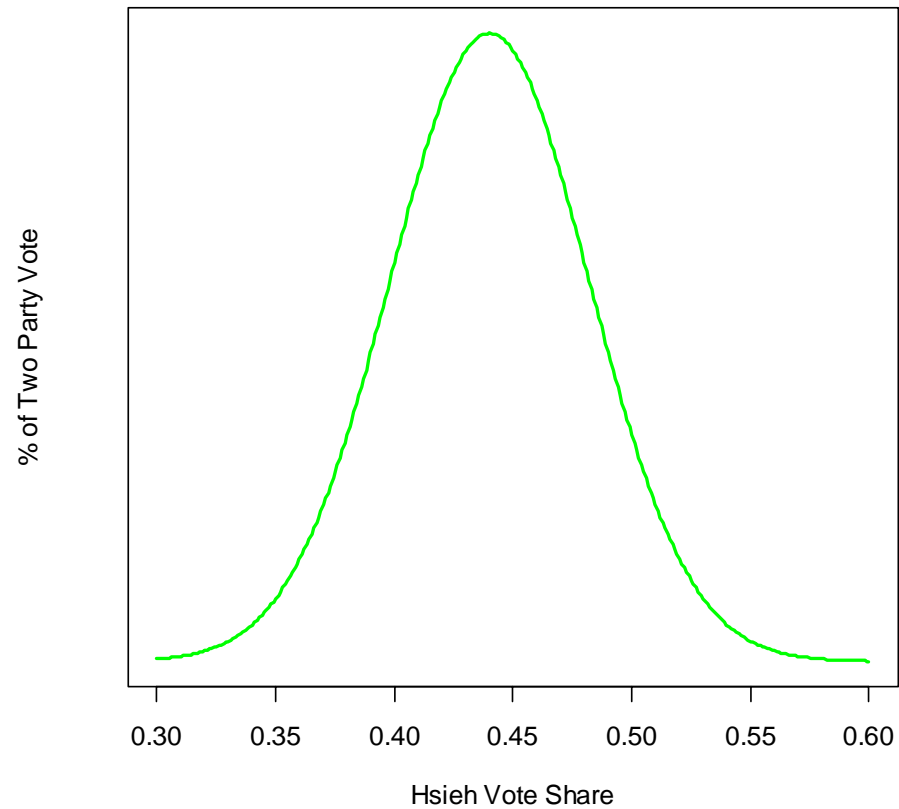
Alternative Prediction

- Simulation Method—Bayesian multilevel estimations with post-stratification
 - Individual Level: Survey data
 - Aggregate Level: 2004 Vote share of each county
- **Combination of survey data, aggregate data (past vote share), and census data**

Results from Simulations



Results from Simulations



Expert's Forecasts

- Ma's vote share is about 60% or higher--
http://nccu.swarchy.org/contract_groups/74
- Turnout rate is about the same as the 2004--
http://nccu.swarchy.org/contract_groups/290

END

Q & A