

# How Taiwanese Electorates Choose their Presidents: Candidate-Driven or Partisan-Driven?''\*

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Summary\*\*\*

There has been a long-running controversy about whether or not the 'party' or 'candidate' plays the more important role in influencing voters' voting behaviour. This paper tries to evaluate this contending argument with particular reference to Taiwan's presidential elections between 1996 and 2004. My research question is set out as follows: "In the three Taiwan's presidential elections (1996,2000,2004), is the Taiwanese voter's voting pattern more inclined towards party-driven voting or candidate-driven voting?" The analysis demonstrates that among Taiwanese voters, party identification has been the increasing potent component in their decision calculus over three presidential elections. The political communication in election campaigns may have changed with its increasing emphasis on highlighting party candidates, but the political psychology of voting pattern has not changed too much, partisanship still dominates Taiwanese voting behaviour in presidential elections, especially after 2000.

Keywords: Candidate-driven voting; Partisan-driven voting;  
Presidential elections

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\* Paper presented at the 13<sup>th</sup> Annual North American Taiwan Studies Conference, University of Wisconsin at Madison, USA, 8-10 June, 2007.

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\*\*\* Data analyzed in this paper were drawn from the Survey Research Data Archive, Academia Sinica and Election Study Center, National ChengChi University. The author appreciates the assistance in providing data and the views expressed here, however, are the author's own.

## I. Introduction

There has been a long-running controversy about whether or not the ‘party’ or ‘candidate’ plays the more important role in influencing voters’ voting behaviour. Students from the political science community tend to emphasize the dominant role of party attachment and overlook the effects of candidates or leaders in the process of political choices. On the other hand, students trained in the communication or political communication tradition usually highlight the key role of candidate factors and argue that the voter’s evaluation of party candidates will influence their voting decisions to a certain extent, and in turn, change the overall election outcomes, especially in a close election. Each of the contending views (candidate-driven voting vs. party-driven voting) has its argument and evidence and previous findings have varied across different political systems<sup>1</sup>.

Focusing on the subject of “party-driven” voting or “candidate-driven” voting is vital for several reasons. First, from the political science point of view, this kind of research will influence the rules and operations of intra-party nomination mechanisms. It is reasonable to expect that a party will choose the most competitive candidate running for elections by the introduction of some public-appealing operations (e.g. public opinion polls) on a great proportion in its intra-party nomination rules, if research shows that voters are candidate-driven rather than party-driven in their voting. Second, from the perspectives of political communication scholars, this kind of research will also provide some guidelines for party campaign strategies. It is evident that a party will concentrate its campaign themes on “candidate-centred” (ex. candidate images) rather than “party-centred” (ex. party identification) strategy, if research shows electors’ voting choices are candidate-driven rather than party-driven. Moreover, from the public policy point of view, this kind of research could affect the package of policies that parties promise to present to the public. It is expected that the leading power of elective officials will be weakened and they will have less capability to enact successfully the promised policies following their taking up of government office, if research shows their

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<sup>1</sup> For more information about these discussions may refer to King (2002).

winning in election is much more due to the party they belong to than to themselves. All the reasons given above, therefore, point to the value of research in this area of study.

This paper tries to evaluate this contending argument with particular reference to Taiwan's presidential elections between 1996 and 2004. My research question is set out as follows: "In the three Taiwan's presidential elections (1996,2000,2004), is the Taiwanese voter's voting pattern more inclined towards party-driven voting or candidate-driven voting?" To say this more specifically, firstly, "has the Taiwanese voter's partisanship (or party identification) become less important as a predictor of vote choice in the three most recent presidential elections?" Secondly, "has the Taiwanese voter's candidate evaluation increased in importance as a source of vote choice in the three most recent presidential elections; and in particular, has it increased in importance relative to partisanship (party identification)?"

To this end, the corresponding theory of voting model will be discussed in section II and the theoretical hypothesis will be presented thereafter. Then, I will talk about the research design issues in section III and present the empirical results in section IV. The analysis demonstrates that among Taiwanese voters, party identification has been the increasing potent component in their decision calculus over the three presidential elections.

## **II. Theory and Hypothesis**

### 2.1 Partisan-driven voting theory

Since the publication of the book entitled "The American Voter" in 1960, The Michigan's view of partisan voting theory has dominated the subsequent decade of academic research on voting behaviour with its emphasis on the role of "Party Identification". The basic idea of partisan-driven voting theory indicates that voter's party identification (or "party identity" or "partisanship") is regarded as a long-term stable factor which will influence a voter's perceptions or evaluations of other objects and issues, and in turn, dominate a voter's final vote choice (Campbell, et al., 1960:Ch.6). That is to say, voters who identify with a particular party will be much more likely to vote for that party than for

other parties. And the more strongly an individual has the party identification the more likely that individual will vote for the party he/she belongs to.

Party identification, according to the original authors' usages, is referring to a kind of "affective attachment or orientation" towards a party (Campbell, 1960:121)<sup>2</sup>. A political party, as an "extension of ego", is the group which an individual belongs to and identifies with (Miller, 1976: 22-23). In essence, a voter's party identification is very similar to his/her "religious identification". As surely as faithful Christians go to church on a Sunday, so will people who have identified with a specific party vote for it automatically on the election day (Miller & Shanks, 1996:120).

In the Michigan's view, voters' party identifications are formed mainly from a series of socialisation processes in childhood, youth, and working life and will be reinforced by their continually voting for a specific party when they become adults (Denver, 2003: 63). According to this view, a voter's party identification is regarded as a long-term stable political predisposition through which political messages pass to the individual. Party identification acts as a cue to simplify the task of understanding the complex world of politics; as a cue for evaluating political events, candidates and issues; as a cue to stabilize voting patterns, both at the individual level of vote choice and the aggregate level of party system. (Dalton, 2002: 182-183). Party identification functions not only as a cue but also as the "ultimate heuristics" through which political messages are understood and evaluated in line with an individual's established party identification and consequently, many election results have been determined at the beginning (Converse & Pierce, 1992).

There is an abundance of empirical evidence to support the partisan voting thesis across different countries and time periods<sup>3</sup>; these empirical studies continually point out the statistical significance of the voter's party identification on vote choice and cannot be ignored in voting research.

## 2.2 Candidate-driven voting theory

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<sup>2</sup> "... the individual's affective orientation to an important group object in his environment" (Campbell et al., 1960:121).

<sup>3</sup> For example, in the British context, see Sarlvik & Crewe (1983); Heath et al., (1985, 1991); Evans and Norris (1999); Clarke et al., (2004). In the American context, see Miller (1991); Miller & Shanks (1996); Bartels (2000). In the Taiwanese context, see Chen (陳義彥)(1986, 1994); Chug (朱雲漢)(1996); Liu(劉義周)(1996a).

Contrary (or supplementary) to the partisan-centred voting thesis mentioned above, some scholars have argued that party candidates or party leaders have played a more significant role than party identification in the process of vote choice. The main idea of candidate voting theory lies in the claim that voters' candidate evaluations have outweighed their party identifications and have become more crucial as a causal influence on the vote. That is to say, people are now more likely to vote on the basis of their evaluations of party candidates or party leaders rather than of parties. The rationales of this thesis can be summarized as in the following two main arguments: the declining trend in party alignment since the 1970s in western democracies and the increasing trend of media coverage which focuses on party candidates or party leaders (Graetz & McAllister, 1987: 485).

Since 1970, many advanced industrial democracies have been experiencing a new period of so-called "partisan dealignment"—the significant decreasing (or increasing) in the proportion of partisan (or non-partisan) identifiers. The weakening of party attachment first became apparent in the United States (esp., between the mid 1960s and the mid 1970s), followed by Great Britain (esp., between the 1970s and the mid 1980s), as well as in Germany, France, and 17 nations in total out of 19 western industrial nations (Dalton, 2002: 183-185; Dalton & Wattenberg, 2000). The implication of partisan dealignment on voting theory is that as partisanship has weakened, voters have become more likely to use some other relative short-term cues or heuristics (such as candidate evaluation or others) more frequently than party identification to make their vote choices (Himmelweit et al., 1981). Consequently, the patterns of partisan-centred voting are expected to weaken and the shift in party vote share between elections is expected to increase (Dalton, 2002: 86-87). In brief, the dealignment in party attachment will bring voters' candidate evaluation or other non-partisan cues into their voting considerations--the weaker partisan ties among voters are, the higher will be their tendency towards candidate-centred voting.

The rising of media politics, accompanied by the prevalence of television in households since the 1970s, has also contributed to the tendency of candidate voting. Television needs relevant, accessible, visual images to

project messages, and the presentation of the images of party candidates or leaders just suits the need of TV and no party manifesto can hope to match this (Mughan, 1993:194; Dalton & Wattenberg, 2000:51). In the meantime, the parties themselves also respond to the demands of the TV media by focusing their campaigns on their candidates. When both media and parties simultaneously turn the spotlight of their campaign themes on candidates, this moves the election campaign from a traditional (pre-modern) party-centred contest towards a more modern candidate-centred or presidentialized contest (see Asher, 1988; Kavanagh, 1992; Wattenberg, 1996, Mughan, 2000; Norris, 2000). Party candidates or leaders, under such circumstances, will be highly visible (King, 2002: 11) and can be used as a cue to make electoral choices (Clarke et al., 2004:29). If such trends are in fact occurring, it may be expected that the criteria people utilize in arriving at their voting choices will shift towards their evaluations of competing candidates more than ever before. As pointed out by Anthony King's explanation about this perspective: "If superstars are undoubtedly big box office, it is hard to imagine that super-politicians are not also big box office" (King, 2002: 10).

Similarly, there are a lot of empirical studies to support the candidate-voting thesis which highlights the importance of the voter's candidate evaluation on vote choice, and this importance is fairly similar across differing political systems<sup>4</sup>.

### 2.3 Hypothesis

As noted above, the two competitive voting models have their empirical grounds in many other countries as well as in Taiwan's electoral politics. However, there still exists an unsolved question and needs to be clarified. The question is: Which pattern of voting choice model is more plausible to

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony King and others have made a systematic review of these empirical studies between USA, Britain and major industrial western democracies (see King, 2002, esp. ch1.). In the Taiwanese context, people may refer to the following literature: Chen (陳義彥) (1995) for 1993 County Magistrates/City Mayors elections; Liang (梁世武) (1994), Liu (劉義周) (1996b) and Fu (傅明穎) (1998) for 1994 Provincial Governor/Taipei City Mayor elections; Huang (黃秀端)(1997) and Liu (劉念夏)(1996) for 1996 Presidential elections; Liu (劉念夏)(2000) for 1997 County Magistrate/City Mayors elections; Sheng (盛治仁)(2000) for 2000 Presidential election; Huang (黃秀端)(2005) and Cheng et al., (鄭夙芬等)(2005) for 2004 Presidential election.

explain Taiwanese voters' voting behaviour? Do Taiwanese vote for party candidates relying mainly on their party identifications rather than on candidate evaluations? Will the pattern of the partisan-driven voting model increase over time or decrease over elections? If we only focus on Taiwan's three presidential elections (1996, 2000, 2004), how can we postulate the relationship and direction between the two rival voting theories of partisan-driven and candidate-driven models? To this end, it is helpful to first look at the distribution and trend of party identification in Taiwan.

As pointed out by Niemi & Weisberg (1976) and Larry Bartels (2000), "the increase in the number of independents and the corresponding decrease in the proportion of partisan identifiers" is the most important evidence in support of the party dealignment thesis. That is to say, if the proportion of non-partisan identifiers (i.e. independents) increases over time, we can expect that the trend of the partisan-centred voting pattern will decrease accordingly, and vice versa. The reason is that where there are increasing proportions of independents among electors over time, there will have more individuals who base their vote choices on more information-driven heuristics---such as their evaluations of party candidates instead of their partisanship. As a result, the partisan ties between voters and electoral choices will be weakened and in turn, will decrease the prevalence of the partisan-driven voting pattern.

Figure. 1 shows the trends of partisan identifiers and non-partisan identifiers (Independents) in Taiwan between 1995 and 2005 with two separate lines.

(Figure 1. about here)

This trend can be divided into three stages for discussion in this paper. As can be seen, in the first stage before the 1996 presidential election, the percentage of non-partisan identifiers (independents), shown as the lower line, has risen slightly from 46.8% to 48% suggesting that there might have been a "lower" level of partisan-driven voting pattern compared to candidate-driven voting in the 1996 Taiwan's presidential election. In the second stage between 1996 and 2000, the percentage of independents went up abruptly from 43.6% at the end of 1996 to 53.3% at the end of 1997. Afterwards, the

percentage dropped off to 37.7% at the end of 1999. This trend in the second stage suggests that there might be a “higher” level of partisan-driven voting in the 2000 than in the 1996 presidential election. Finally, in the third stage between 2000 and 2004, the figure shows a state of rough stability both in the percentage of partisan identifiers (62.3% at the beginning of 2000 and 60.7% at the end of 2003) and in the percentage of independents (37.7% at the beginning of 2000 and 39.3% at the end of 2003). Therefore, we would expect there might be a steady pattern of partisan voting between the 2000 and 2004 presidential election.

Accordingly, based on the reported results of Figure.1, I will forecast the possible hypothetical direction for this paper:

H1: The impact of party identification will be expected to increase over time while the impact of candidate evaluation will be expected to decline over time among Taiwanese electorates for the three presidential elections, 1996-2004.

This theoretical hypothesis will be tested in the following sections by the use of survey data, the introduction of model specifications, and the application of appropriate statistical analytical methods.

### **III. Data, model, variables, analytical method and operational hypothesis**

The data I use here for this paper are drawn from “Survey Research Data Archive, Academia Sinica”.<sup>5</sup> All the data are weighted by “gender”, “age” and “living area” to correspond to the population distributions so that the sample analytical results can be referred to Taiwan’s population.

The general model specification employed in this analysis is:

<sup>5</sup> These data are drawn from: (1) “An Interdisciplinary Study of Voting Behaviour in the 1996 Presidential Election” (post-election face to face survey data and was directed by John F.S. Hsieh)(謝復生); (2) “The Study of Voting Behaviour in Taiwan’s 2000 Presidential Election”(post-election face to face survey data, directed by Siou-Duan Huang)(黃秀端); (3) “Taiwan’s Election and Democratization Studies, 2004 (TEDS2004P)” (post-election face to face survey data, directed by Siou-Duan Huang)(黃秀端)).

Vote for candidate  $(i)$  /not

=  $f$  (respondent's party $(i)$  identification + respondent's party candidate $(i)$  evaluation + control variables).

$(i)=1-k$ ,  $k$ = the parties running for specific presidential election.

### *Dependent variable*

The dependent variable is the respondent's vote choice. It is recorded as a binomial variable with "1" representing "vote for a specific party presidential candidate's ticket" (ex. KMT party candidate's ticket) vs. "0" as "vote for another candidates' tickets" (ex., Non-KMT party candidates' tickets).

### *Independent variables*

The *party identification* variable denotes whether the respondent identifies the party in the questionnaires. It was measured in a little different format and wording in the three dataset and I here assume these differences were random and will not affect the reliability of the measurements. Respondents' answers about these questions are recorded into an interval scale from "0" to "1"; with "1" indicating "identified with targeted party (ex. KMT party) very strongly", "0" representing "identified with non-targeted party (ex., DPP/NP/PFP/TSU party) very strongly" in a specific election.

The *candidate evaluation* variable denotes the respondent's evaluation of the party candidates' traits and characteristics such as "competence", "leadership", "integrity", and "empathy". These candidate traits were presented to respondents varying across three dataset and were also assumed to have the internal reliability to contour the dimensions of candidate images. Similarly to the recording of party identification, in each presidential election, respondents' answers about these different candidates traits are summed up and recorded into an interval index from "0" to "1"; with "1" indicating "the highest evaluation of candidates (ex. Lien Chan) in terms of his/her traits and "0" representing the lowest evaluation of candidates' traits (ex. Lien Chan 連戰).

By the transformation of the responsive categories into the same scale of 0 to 1, we can have a straightforward comparison of the magnitudes of the

coefficients for the party identification and candidate trait evaluation variables for my study purpose.

### *Control variables*

For this paper, control variables are the selected common/similar variables from the three dataset and fall into three broader blocks: socio-demographic, ideological and retrospective governing performance. The socio-demographic controls are respondents' gender, age, education, provincial origins, occupation, and location. The ideological control variables are respondents' ethnical identity (Taiwanese/Chinese/both) and Ton-Du (統獨) attitudes (toward Taiwan independence/Unification with China/Status Quo). The retrospective governing performance controls are the KMT party's performance for the past years (for 1996,2000 election) and Chen's (陳水扁) performance as a President for the past years (for the 2004 election).

On the statistical analytical method for model estimation, I here adopt the binary logistic regression model to estimate the coefficient of independent variables on vote choice, as it is more appropriate than OLS regression for the binominal responses (Aldrich & Nelson, 1984: 43).

Coming back to the hypotheses stated above, these hypotheses now need to be further operationalized in statistical terms. The key concepts of the hypotheses I have postulated are the measure of "increasing/declining impact over time". Basically, the "increasing/declining" impacts relate to the magnitudes of the coefficient in the estimated models (Sanders, 2003:249). The hypothesis I have postulated in section 2 can be re-phrased as the following operational working hypothesis:

OH1: The ratio of the magnitude of the party identification coefficients to the magnitude of candidate trait evaluation coefficients will be expected to increase over time among Taiwanese electorates for three presidential elections, 1996-2004.

The next section will present the empirical results for each of Taiwan's presidential elections and make a synthetically remark for this study.

#### IV. Empirical results

The empirical results for the three presidential elections are shown in Tables 1 to Table 3.

Table 1 shows the impacts of respondent's party identification and candidate trait evaluation on vote choice for the 1996 presidential election. First we can look up the "B-value" coefficient as the first step. By "B-value" in logistic regression, it means how much change in log value (i.e.  $\log [P(y=1) / P(y=0)]$ ) of voting for party candidate<sub>(i)</sub> will be expected. Thus, for example, the B-value for "Taiwanese" in Table 1 indicates that people who identify themselves as "Taiwanese" will have a higher log value ( $b=+0.77$ ) to support the Peng, Min-ming ticket (彭明敏) the DPP party candidate than those who regard themselves as "both Taiwanese and Chinese" (i.e. reference group) with similar characteristics in other variables in the model. To say it simply, in 1996, others things being equal, respondents were significantly more likely to vote for Peng, Min-ming if they regarded themselves as Taiwanese ( $b=+0.77$ ). They were significantly less likely to support Peng, Min-ming if they were living in middle Taiwan ( $b=-1.33$ ). Besides, if they were very strong DPP identifiers, they were significantly more likely ( $b=+2.21$ ) to support Peng than if they were very strong Non-DPP party identifiers. Moreover, if they put the highest candidate trait evaluation on Peng, they were significantly more likely ( $+6.76$ ) to vote for Peng than if they put the lowest candidate trait evaluation on Peng. The overall model fit is acceptable (Nagelkerke Pseudo  $R^2=0.70$ ) with not too bad a percentage of correct prediction (84.4%).

(Table 1 about here)

Now, we will focus on the ratio of the magnitude of party identification coefficient to candidate trait evaluation. As for the DPP party candidate Peng's (彭明敏) ticket, the ratio of the magnitude of the DPP party identification coefficient to Peng's candidate trait evaluation is 0.33 ( $2.21/6.76$ ) suggesting that the impact of the Taiwanese elector's DPP party identification on the DPP

party candidate Peng's vote is smaller than the impact of Peng's candidate trait evaluation on Peng's vote. With regard to the KMT party candidate Lee, Teng-hui (李登輝) in 1996, the relationship is similar. As shown also in Table 1, the ratio of the magnitude of the KMT party identification coefficient to Lee's candidate trait evaluation is 0.38 (2.14/5.54) indicating that the impact of the KMT party identification is also smaller than the impact of Lee's candidate trait evaluation on Lee's vote. Similar findings can be found in the NP party camp. Again, in Table 1, the ratio of the magnitude of the NP party identification coefficient to Lin, Yang-kang's (林洋港) candidate trait evaluation is 0.34 (3.14/9.28).

The voting pattern shown in Table 1 is clear. It suggests that in the 1996 presidential election, Taiwanese electors tended to use their evaluations of party candidates as the primary cue in their decision calculus of voting behaviour; in other words, they had a more candidate-driven than partisan-driven voting tendency.

Contrary to 1996, the voting pattern in the 2000 presidential election is very different and will be shown in Table 2.

(Table 2 about here)

Table 2 shows the impact of the respondent's party identification and candidate trait evaluation on vote choice for the 2000 presidential election. There were three main candidate camps running for President: The DPP candidate Chen, Shu-bian (陳水扁), the KMT candidate Lien Chan (連戰), and the independent candidate James Soong (宋楚瑜), who defected from the KMT party and established the PFP party following his defeat in the campaign.

For Chen's voting model, the ratio of the DPP party identification coefficient to Chen's trait evaluation is 1.37 (3.00/2.18). For Lien's model, the ratio of the KMT identification to Lien's evaluation is 1.28 (3.00/2.33). For Soong's model, the ratio of the combined NP and PFP identification<sup>6</sup> to

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<sup>6</sup> I acknowledge the fact that PFP party is established after the 2000 election and it is arguable to put the PFP partisan identifiers into the James Soong's voting model as a part of analytical independent variable in this analysis. However, if we otherwise do, James Soong's voting model will be difficult to establish. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that PFP party is widely regarded as James's Soong

Soong's evaluation is 1.03 (+4.13/+3.99). So, the voting pattern is very clear. For the 2000 election Taiwanese electors' voting behaviour was more partisan-driven than candidate-driven.

Finally, for the 2004 presidential election, there were two camps for running for President, the pan-green candidate Chen, Shu-bian(陳水扁) and the pan-blue candidate<sup>7</sup>, Lien Chan(連戰). Again, as shown in Table 3, the pattern of the voting model is very similar in both Chen's vote and Lien's vote. On one hand, the ratio of the pan-green party identification coefficient to Chen's evaluation is 1.36(4.08/2.99); on the other hand, the ratio of the pan-blue party identification coefficient to Lien's evaluation is 1.49 (4.46/2.86). Both ratio figures suggest that the effect of party identification outweighed the candidate evaluation among Taiwanese voters in the 2004 election.

(Table 3 about here)

Table 4 summarises the results presented in Table 1 to Table 3 for the three presidential elections of 1996-2004. In Table 4 the voter's party identification is re-classified into pan-green and pan-blue the two broad categories (if needed) for straightforward comparative purpose and the set of ratio coefficients which directly test my hypothesis.

(Table 4 about here)

Consider the pan-green camp ratio figures first. In 1996, the ratio of the impact of party identification to candidate trait evaluation on party candidate was 0.33. The figure went up to 1.37 in 2000 and remained steadily at 1.36 in 2004. This indicates that the relative influence of party identification and candidate evaluation on pan-green camp voting increases over time between the 1996 and 2000 elections and maintains a certain degree of stability

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party, it is predictable that respondents will not distinguish very clearly the difference between the evaluation of the PFP party and James Soong.

<sup>7</sup> By pan-green camp, we usually refer to the collective name or general identification of the DPP, TSU, and TIDP; on the other hand, the pan-blue camp usually refers to the collective name or general identification of the KMT, NP, and PFP parties.

between the 2000 and 2004 elections. This partly supports my hypothesis, but we need to look up the pan-blue camp to see if it also remains in a similar pattern.

In the pan-blue camp ratio figures, after the re-grouping of voter's partisanship and the re-scoring of each individual's candidate evaluation for the 1996 and 2000 elections<sup>8</sup>, the ratio of the impact of party identification to candidate trait evaluation on candidate vote was 0.37 in 1996, 1.39 in 2000, and 1.49 in 2004. This indicates that, in the pan-blue camp voting model, the voter's partisanship also become more important in influencing his/her electoral choice than candidate evaluation does in the 1996 to 2004 elections.

Therefore, the overall voting pattern presented in Table 4 suggests that the relative effect of party identification on vote choice increases over time between the 1996 and 2004 Taiwan's presidential elections, which is in support of my hypothesis postulated in section III. Then, what are the implications for the studies of party politics in Taiwan? I will mention these a little in the conclusion section.

## **V. Conclusions**

According to this paper, two major findings can be listed as follows. First, partisan dealignment, which refers to the increasing number of non-partisan identifiers, does not happen significantly in Taiwan's party politics; which is in contrast to some studies on the partisan declining thesis among western industrial democracies. Second, the importance of party identification as a determinant of vote choice, relative to candidate trait evaluation, has increased over time and remained constant between the 1996 and 2004 presidential elections. These findings imply the notion that the political communication in election campaigns may have changed with its increasing emphasis on highlighting party candidates, but the political psychology of voting pattern has

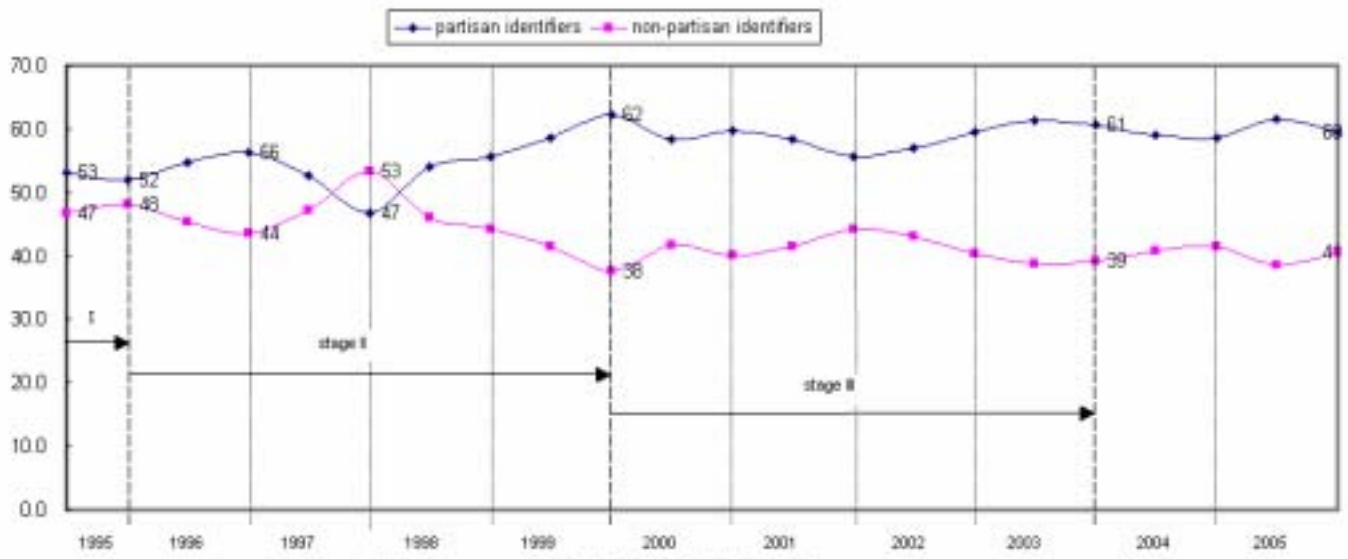
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<sup>8</sup> For the 1996 election, I group the KMT and NP identifiers into the pan-blue partisanship and use the average score of voter's candidate evaluations between Lee and Lin as the representative of the pan-blue candidate evaluation. For the 2000 election, I group the NP and PFP identifiers into the pan-blue partisanship and use the average score of voter's candidate evaluations between Lien and Soong as the representative of the pan-blue candidate evaluation.

not changed too much, partisanship still dominates Taiwanese voting behaviour in presidential elections, especially after 2000.

Of course, there still exists some measurement issues on the party identification and candidate evaluation in this study; and it is questionable as to whether or not the empirical results presented here can be applied to magistrate/city mayors or legislators elections. These issues need to be further investigated to make more valid and more generalised conclusions about the electoral effect of partisanship relative to candidate evaluation. Temporarily putting aside these limitations, we can say: partisanship still matters, its explanatory power still cannot be ignored in the study of Taiwan's presidential electoral politics. Among Taiwanese electorates, partisan-driven voting rather than candidate-driven voting has been the increasing potent component in their voting decision calculus over the period of three presidential elections.

Figure 1. (non)Partisan identifiers in percentages in Taiwan, 1995-2005



Source: Original data were conducted and collected by Election Study Centre, National Cheng-Chi University, Taiwan.

**Table 1. The impact of party identification and candidate evaluation on voting: 1996 presidential election**

	Peng's ticket vs. Non-Peng's ticket			Lee's ticket vs. Non-Lee's ticket			Lin's ticket vs. Non-Lin's ticket		
	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.
<b>Gender (ref=Female)</b>									
Male	-0.14	0.42		<b>0.67</b>	0.31	*	0.23	0.54	
<b>Age (ref= 60 above)</b>									
20-29	0.67	0.81		-0.49	0.56		-0.95	0.95	
30-39	0.71	0.78		-0.63	0.52		-0.43	0.85	
40-49	0.08	0.81		0.40	0.53		-0.87	0.93	
50-59	-0.16	0.98		-0.19	0.66		-0.69	1.25	
<b>Education Level (ref=Elementary and below)</b>									
Junior high school	0.40	0.70		<b>-1.03</b>	0.50	*	0.94	0.96	
Senior high school	0.32	0.66		<b>-1.13</b>	0.45	**	0.98	0.93	
College	0.91	0.70		<b>-1.22</b>	0.53	*	0.72	1.01	
University and above	0.79	0.71		<b>-1.03</b>	0.51	*	0.04	1.05	
<b>Provincial Origins (ref= Taiwanese Minan)</b>									
Taiwanese Hakka	-0.05	0.55		0.44	0.44		<b>-2.00</b>	0.94	**
Mainlander	0.18	0.61		-0.78	0.42		0.36	0.59	
<b>Occupation (ref=Housewives and others)</b>									
Upper/Middle White-collar	0.11	0.52		-0.20	0.40		<b>1.85</b>	0.87	*
Lower White-collar	-0.30	0.62		-0.07	0.43		0.88	0.93	
Blue-collar workers	1.06	0.65		-0.57	0.49		1.13	1.05	
Farmers/Fishermen	-0.68	1.18		0.25	0.63		1.10	1.30	
<b>Location (ref=Great Taipei)</b>									
North Taiwan	-0.98	0.66		0.17	0.45		<b>1.71</b>	0.69	**
Middle Taiwan	<b>-1.33</b>	0.64	*	<b>0.79</b>	0.39	*	0.82	0.61	
South-west Taiwan	-0.93	0.54		<b>1.55</b>	0.42	***	<b>-3.15</b>	1.57	*
South and East Taiwan	-0.06	0.44		0.40	0.38		-1.25	0.88	
<b>Ethnic Identity (ref=Both)</b>									
Taiwanese	<b>0.77</b>	0.39	*	<b>-0.82</b>	0.30	**	-0.38	0.60	
Chinese	0.02	0.63		0.12	0.39		-0.66	0.58	
<b>Ton-Du Attitude (ref=Status Quo)</b>									
Toward Taiwan Independence	0.51	0.38		-0.39	0.33		<b>-2.15</b>	0.82	*
Toward China Unification	-0.19	0.53		<b>-0.86</b>	0.34	**	0.02	0.51	
<b>Governing Performance</b>									
KMT party performance (0-1 score)	-0.12	0.10		<b>0.30</b>	0.09	***	<b>-0.41</b>	0.13	***
<b>Party Identification</b>									
DPP Identifiers (0-1 score)	<b>2.21 (a)</b>	0.39	***						
<b>Candidate Trait Evaluation</b>									
Peng,Min-ning(0-1 score)	<b>6.76 (b)</b>	0.98	***						
<b>Party Identification</b>									
KMT Identifiers (0-1 score)				<b>2.14 (a)</b>	0.33	***			
<b>Candidate Trait Evaluation</b>									
Lee,Yeng-hui (0-1 score)				<b>5.54 (b)</b>	0.61	***			
<b>Party Identification</b>									
NP Identifiers (0-1 score)							<b>3.14 (a)</b>	0.60	***
<b>Candidate Trait Evaluation</b>									
Lin,Yang-kang (0-1 score)							<b>9.28 (b)</b>	1.30	***
Constant	-3.99	1.07	***	-2.55	0.78	***	-3.13	1.51	*
	<b>Ratio of [(a)/(b)]</b>	<b>0.33</b>		<b>0.38</b>			<b>0.34</b>		
N	782			782			782		
Model Chi-Square	407.55			399.61			362.32		
DF	26			26			26		
P value	0.000			0.000			0.000		
Nagelkerke Pseudo R2	0.70			0.73			0.73		
% of correctly classified	84.4			87.5			95.9		
Source: data analyzed from Hsieh (1996)									



Table 3. The impact of party identification and candidate evaluation on voting : 2004 presidential election						
	Chen's ticket vs. Non-Chen's ticket			Lien's ticket vs. Non-Lien's ticket		
	B	S.E.	Sig.	B	S.E.	Sig.
Gender (ref=Female)						
Male	-0.15	0.24		0.00	0.24	
Age (ref= 60 above)						
20-29	0.59	0.47		-0.10	0.48	
30-39	0.76	0.44		-0.37	0.47	
40-49	0.23	0.42		-0.01	0.46	
50-59	0.15	0.39		-0.19	0.44	
Education Level (ref=Elementary and below)						
Junior high school	<b>-0.90</b>	0.40	**	0.12	0.44	
Senior high school	<b>-1.22</b>	0.41	***	0.30	0.42	
College	<b>-1.03</b>	0.47	*	0.31	0.49	
University and above	<b>-1.33</b>	0.49	**	0.52	0.51	
Provincial Origins (ref= Taiwanese Minan)						
Taiwanese Hakka	0.15	0.33		-0.18	0.33	
Mainlander	<b>-1.06</b>	0.37	***	0.56	0.44	
Occupation (ref=Housewives and others)						
Upper/Middle White-collar	-0.36	0.38		0.24	0.39	
Lower White-collar	0.12	0.38		-0.25	0.41	
Blue-collar workers	0.26	0.38		0.26	0.40	
Farmers/Fishermen	0.65	0.48		-0.22	0.53	
Location (ref=Great Taipei)						
North Taiwan	-0.53	0.34		<b>0.91</b>	0.34	**
Middle Taiwan	-0.23	0.31		0.58	0.31	
South-west Taiwan	<b>0.96</b>	0.32	***	-0.24	0.34	
South Taiwan	0.43	0.32		-0.37	0.33	
East Taiwan	-0.35	0.67		0.01	0.83	
Ethnic Identity (ref=Both)						
Taiwanese	<b>1.04</b>	0.23	***	<b>-0.94</b>	0.23	***
Chinese	-0.17	0.45		0.27	0.48	
Ton-Du Attitude (ref=Status Quo)						
Toward Taiwan Independence	<b>0.86</b>	0.27	***	<b>-1.15</b>	0.28	***
Toward China Unification	0.02	0.29		-0.03	0.29	
Governing Performance						
Chen's governing performance as President (0-1 score)	<b>1.57</b>	0.24	***	<b>-2.83</b>	0.25	***
Party Identification						
<b>Pan-Green Camp Identifiers (0-1 score)</b>	<b>4.08 (a)</b>	0.62	***			
Candidate Trait Evaluation						
<b>Cheng, Shu-han (0-1 score)</b>	<b>2.99 (b)</b>	0.39	***			
Party Identification						
<b>Pan-Blue Camp Identifiers (0-1 score)</b>				<b>4.46 (a)</b>	0.59	***
Candidate Trait Evaluation						
<b>Lien Chan (0-1 score)</b>				<b>2.86 (b)</b>	0.40	***
Constant	-2.58	0.47	***	-0.36	0.50	
	<b>Ratio of [(a)/(b)]</b>	<b>1.36</b>		<b>1.49</b>		
N		1222			1222	
Model Chi-Square		1046.8			1079.4	
DF		27			27	
F value		0.000			0.000	
Nagelkerke Pseudo R2		0.77			0.79	
% of correctly classified		89.7			89.9	
Source: data analysed from TEDS (2004P)						



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