

District Council Elections

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Why Elections in Hybrid Regimes?

- ❖ *Elections provide a peaceful means of power alternation*
- ❖ *Elections are a defining feature of democracy*
- ❖ *Yet, many authoritarian regimes – regimes that do not permit power alternation – also hold elections on regular basis*

Advantages

- ❖ *Appease international donors (Levitsky & Way, 2010)*
- ❖ *Discipline local officials (Gandhi, 2009)*
- ❖ *Regulate elite competition (Blaydes, 2008)*
- ❖ *Buy political support (Geddes, 2004)*
- ❖ *Signal the regime's power (Magaloni, 2008)*
- ❖ *Enhance regime legitimacy (Gerscherwsky, 2010)*
- ❖ *Divide the opposition (Lust-Okar, 2005)*

Disadvantages

- ❖ *Electoral outcomes are not always predictable*
- ❖ *To make them more predictable, the incumbents often resort to electoral malpractices*
 - *Electoral violence*
 - *Vote buying*
 - *Collective punishment*
 - *Ballot-box stuffing*
 - *Malapportionment*
 - *Gerrymandering*
 - *Disenfranchisement*

How to Reduce Malpractices

- ❖ *Rigged elections may create a focal point for mass protests*
- ❖ *Election monitoring*
 - *Site selection criteria: interesting and convenient*
 - *Code of conduct for observers*
 - *Observers' checklist*



**Ghana Presidential and
Parliamentary Elections
December 7, 2008**

Observer Team:		Team #:
Province:	Polling Location:	
City/District:	Arrival Time:	am pm
Polling Station #:	Departure Time:	am pm

Polling Station Observation Form

Instructions: Read the question carefully and put an 'X' in the appropriate box. If you cannot answer the question, or it is not relevant please put an 'X' in the 'not applicable' (N/A) box. The questions are formulated so that a 'YES' answer generally indicates that procedures are being followed, while a 'NO' answer indicates that there may be issues that require further comment. If you answered "NO" to any question, or irregularities occurred, it is important that you provide details in the 'comments section'. Election day reporting will be done by phone. Please be prepared to report on any question to which you answered "NO". Always fill out the direct observation column. Whenever possible, please ask domestic observers and/or political party agents for their observations, with particular focus on their observations during the period prior to your arrival. Any information collected from these conversation can be recorded in the "reported to TCC" column - even if it is different from your direct observation.

	Direct Observation			Reported to TCC		
	Yes	No	N/A	Yes	No	N/A

Outside the Polling Place

1	Approximately how many voters are in line?: _____					
2	Approximately how long has the first person in line been waiting to vote?: _____					
3	Is the building accessible to all voters including the disabled?					
4	Is the environment outside the polling place peaceful?					
5	Is the polling place free from campaigning and campaign materials within 500m (feet) of the entrance?					
6	Is the polling place and its surrounding environment free from obstructions to the free movement of voters, poll workers or others?					

Inside the Polling Place

Note: Questions 7-13 will require you to speak to an polling official. Please do so only when this will not disrupt the voting process.

7	How many voters are registered at this polling place? _____					
8	How many of the registered voters at the polling place are registered on the transferred voters list? _____					
9	How many voters have voted between opening and your (TCC) time of arrival? _____					
10	How many voters whose names appear on the transferred voters list have voted between opening and your (TCC) time of arrival? _____					

Why People Vote for a Party?

- ❑ *Anthony Downs (1957) An Economic Theory of Democracy: People vote for ideology*
- ❑ *Donald Stokes (1963) “Spatial Models of Party Competition” American Political Science Review: People vote on valence issues, which are issues that nobody would disagree such as low crime rate, high economic growth, cleaner environment, etc.*
- ❑ *Lower-level elections, less ideological*

Elections in Hong Kong

	Chief Executive	Legislative Council		District Councils
Constituency	Election Committee with 1,200 members	Functional Constituencies	Geographical Constituencies	District Council Constituencies
Seat Number	1	35	35	>400
Universal Suffrage	No	No	Yes	Yes
Electoral Formula	Plurality	Mixed	PR	Plurality
Terms of Office	5 years	4 years	4 years	4 years

Some Facts

- ❖ *The opposition continues to capture >50 percent of the vote in geographical constituencies, although the gap is narrowing*
- ❖ *Most district council seats go to the pro-establishment camp*

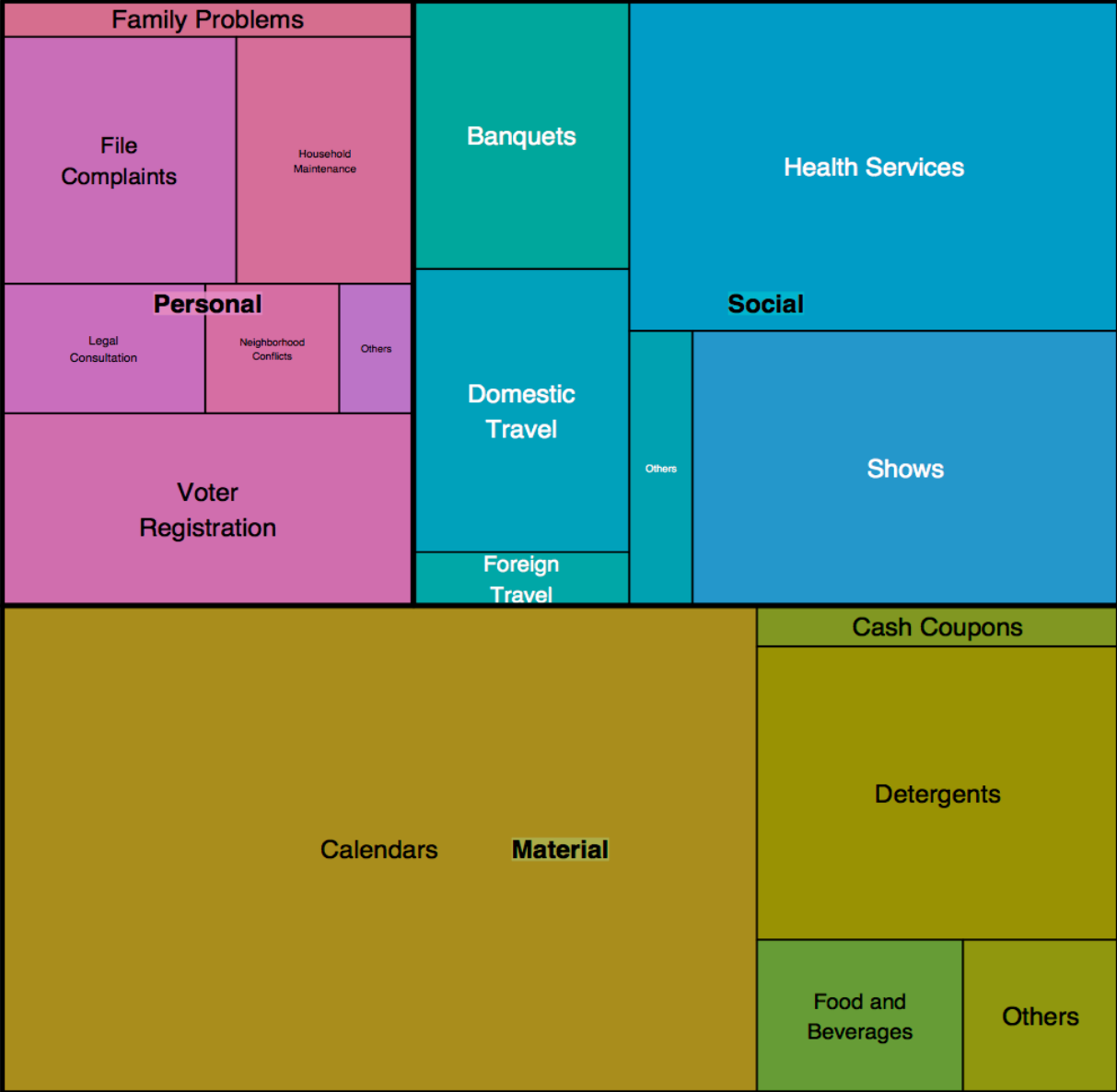
	District Council Seats	
Year	All Opposition Parties	All Pro-establishment Parties
2003	134	105
2007	98	147
2011	83	197
2015	100	199

Why is the pro-establishment camp more successful in DC elections?

Hong Kong Election Study

- ❖ *Our team consists of Stan Hok-Wui Wong (PI), Harold D. Clarke (Co-I), and Karl Ho (Co-I)*
- ❖ *We have conducted five election surveys during seven recent elections or by-elections*
- ❖ *We commissioned professional survey companies to conduct Internet surveys*

Non-programmatic Benefits



Party Organization

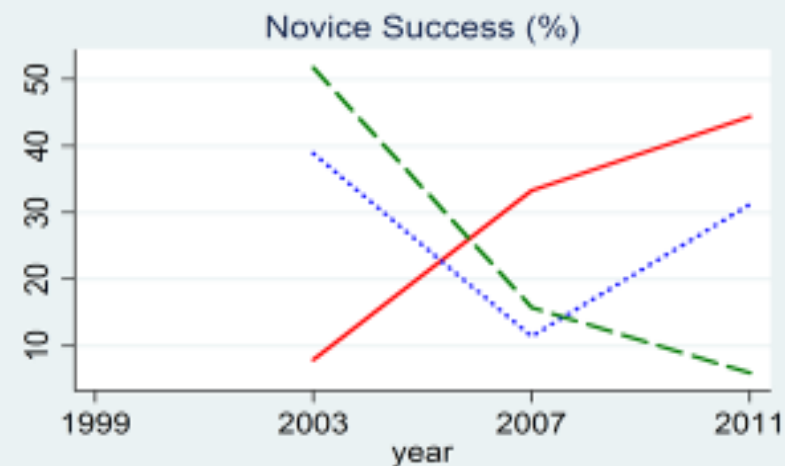
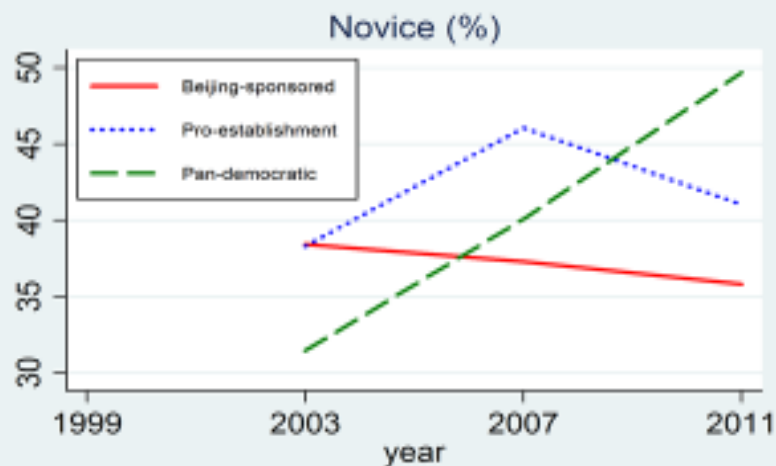
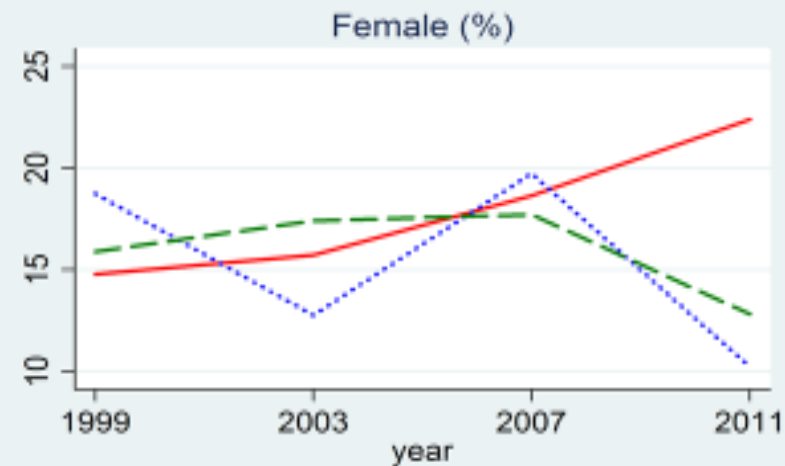
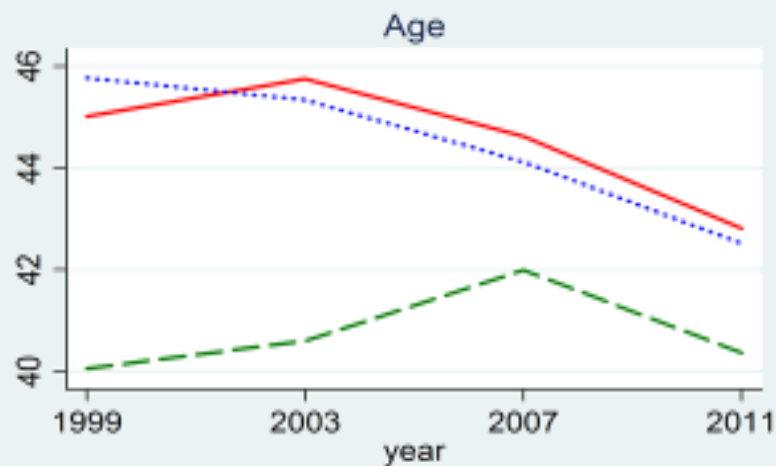


Table 5.3: Probit Estimates of Challengers' Dropout by Political Camp

Dependent Variable	Beijing-sponsored Parties' Dropout		Pan-democratic Parties' Dropout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Novice		0.085 (0.256)		0.448* (0.244)
Vote Share	-0.027*** (0.009)	-0.023* (0.012)	-0.019** (0.009)	-0.007 (0.011)
Age	0.030*** (0.008)	0.044*** (0.012)	0.011 (0.008)	0.014 (0.011)
Female	-0.105 (0.230)	-0.271 (0.293)	0.303 (0.225)	0.252 (0.273)
Female Incumbent	0.152 (0.225)	0.013 (0.281)	0.222 (0.225)	0.535* (0.281)
Age of Incumbent	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.038*** (0.012)	0.003 (0.008)	-0.006 (0.010)
Pan-democratic Incumbent	-0.382* (0.199)	-0.615** (0.263)		
Novice Incumbent	0.049 (0.256)	-0.108 (0.275)	0.110 (0.277)	0.081 (0.305)
Beijing-sponsored Incumbent			0.092 (0.167)	0.019 (0.214)
Constant	1.403** (0.707)	2.230** (1.078)	0.685 (0.671)	4.481*** (0.948)
N	308	206	284	184
AIC	390.22	261.31	417.66	277.83

Notes: A "dropout" challenger is one who chooses not to compete in the following District Council election given that he or she is defeated in the current District Council election. The dependent variable is a dichotomous variable that takes a value of "1" if a defeated candidate drops out of the subsequent election and "0" otherwise. All specifications control for district and year fixed effects, which are not reported. The data cover District Council elections from 1999 to 2011. Standard errors clustered at candidate level are in parentheses. * <0.10 , ** <0.05 , *** <0.01 .

**Why are some pro-establishment parties
so keen on capturing DC seats?**

(2)

Pan-Democrats'
Vote Share in
LegCo Elections
10 Months Later

