

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 3: Macro Report

June 05, 2006

Country: [Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, CHINA.](#)

Date of Election: [7 September, 2008.](#)

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Date of Preparation: [August 2010.](#)

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:

[The Legislative Council in Hong Kong is *not* divided into Upper and Lower Houses.](#)

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?

The Chief Executive (CE) in Hong Kong (some equivalent of the president elsewhere) is the highest government officials of the HKSAR Government and does not belong to any political party, which is required by the Chief Executive Election Ordinance (Chapter 569, Laws of Hong Kong).

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?

No such post in Hong Kong.

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.

In Hong Kong, the Executive Council (some equivalent of the cabinet elsewhere) consists of the CE (1), official members (15 principal government officials known as "secretaries", who are CS, Financial Secretary, Secretary for Justice and 12 bureau secretaries) and unofficial members (15 before the 2008 Election). Altogether, the Executive Council had 31 members before the 2008 Legco Elections.

Before the Election, the CE and the official members were not members of any political parties; 4 of the 15 unofficial members were members of political parties (groups). They were:

1. Cheng Yiu-tong was President, Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions;
2. Tsang Yuk-sing was Vice-chairman, Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong;
3. Bernard C Chan was a member of the Alliance;
4. Mrs Selina Chow Liang Shuk-yea was vice-Chairperson of Liberal Party.

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.

31 members.

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

See 2a.

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

See 2b.

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.

After the Election, the CE and the 15 official members were not members of any political parties; 2 of the 14 unofficial members were members of political parties (groups). They are:

1. Cheng Yiu-tong is President, Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions; and
2. Lau Kwong-wah is Vice-chairman, Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong.

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.

30 members.

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.

Altogether, 11 political parties received votes in the election. The 11 parties are: Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民主建港協進聯盟); Democratic Party (民主黨); Civic Party (公民黨); League of Social Democrats (社會民主連線); Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (香港工會聯合會); Liberal Party (自由黨); Neighbourhood & Worker's Service Centre (街坊工友服務處); Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (香港職工會聯盟); Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (香港民主民生協進會); Frontier (前綫); and Civic Act-up (公民起動).

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.

Source: <http://www.elections.gov.hk/legco2008/eng/index.html>

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: <http://www.elections.gov.hk/legco2008/eng/index.html>

Legislative Council (Legco) in Hong Kong is composed of 60 members, 30 of which are returned by geographical constituency elections and another 30 by functional constituency elections. The following table shows the party vote and seat compositions of the geographical constituency part of the 2008 Legco Elections:

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民主建港協進聯盟)	347,373	22.8	7	23.3
Democratic Party (民主黨)	312,692	20.5	7	23.3
Civic Party (公民黨)	207,000	13.6	4	13.3
League of Social Democrats (社會民主連線)	153,390	10.1	3	10.0
Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (香港工會聯合會)	86,311	5.7	2	6.7
Liberal Party (自由黨)	65,622	4.3	0	0.0
Neighbourhood & Worker's Service Centre (街坊工友服務處)	42,441	2.8	1	3.3
Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (香港職工會聯盟)	42,366	2.8	1	3.3
Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (香港民主民生協進會)	42,211	2.8	1	3.3
Frontier (前綫)	33,205	2.2	1*	3.3*
Civic Act-up (公民起動)	30,887	2.0	1	3.3
Independents	151,981	10.0	2	6.7
Total	1,515,479	99.4	30	100.0

* The Frontier merged with the Democratic Party in November 2008. The Frontier elected Legco member, Ms Emily Lau Wai-hing, became the vice-chairperson of the Democratic Party.

There are 28 functional constituencies, returning 30 Legco members. It is not very meaningful to count the number and percentage of votes because of very small franchise of most of the constituencies (less than 10,000 electors). The following table shows the seat allocation of the 30 functional constituency seats by party:

Party Name	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Liberal Party (自由黨)	7*	23.3*
Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民主建港協進聯盟)	3	10.0
Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (香港工會聯合會)	2	6.7
Democratic Party (民主黨)	1	3.3
Civic Party (公民黨)	1	3.3
Independents	16	53.3
Total	30	100.0

* A Liberal Party elected member, Mr Lau Wong-fat, left the Liberal Party a few days after the election. Another three Liberal Party elected members left the Liberal Party in October 2008. The four elected members who left the Liberal Party formed a somewhat loose political group, Economic Synergy. After the split, the Liberal Party has 3 Legco members, while Economic Synergy has 4.

The following table shows the seat allocation of the overall 60 Legco seats by party:

Party Name	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民主建港協進聯盟)	10	16.7
Democratic Party (民主黨)	8	13.3
Liberal Party (自由黨)	7	11.7
Civic Party (公民黨)	5	8.3
Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (香港工會聯合會)	4	6.7
League of Social Democrats (社會民主連線)	3	5.0
Neighbourhood & Worker's Service Centre (街坊工友服務處)	1	1.7
Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions (香港職工會聯盟)	1	1.7
Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (香港民主民生協進會)	1	1.7
Frontier (前綫)	1	1.7
Civic Act-up (公民起動)	1	1.7
Independents	18	30.0
Total	60	100.0

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

There were 3,372,007 registered electors, and 1,524,249 electors voted in the geographical constituency elections. The voter turnout rate is $1,524,249/3,372,007 = 45.2\%$.

According to the government website, there were 212,227 registered electors, and 126,819 electors voted in the functional constituency elections. The voter turnout rate (excluding the uncontested constituencies) is $126,819/212,227 = 59.8\%$. But since there are 28 functional constituencies, we believe the single numbers are not able to represent the situation of each constituency and may be misleading.

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: 6.9777 million (as at mid-2008).**
Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).
- **Total Number of Voting Age Citizens: 5.8088 million (as at mid-2008).**
Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.
- **Total Vote: 1,524,249 votes (geographical constituency elections).**
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: 8,770 (1,524,249 – 1,515,479) (geographical constituency elections).**
- **Voting Age Population: 5.8088 million (as at mid-2008).**
Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.
- **Number of Registered Voters: 3,372,007 registered electors.**
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.

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. Democratic Party (民主黨)	D
B. Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民主建港協進聯盟)	D
C. Frontier (前綫)	G
D. Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (香港民主民生協進會)	D
E. Civic Party (公民黨)	G
F. League of Social Democrats (社會民主連線)	D
G. Liberal Party (自由黨)	E
H. Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (香港工會聯合會)	D

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 | (F) Left Liberal Parties | (K) Independents |
| (B) Communist Parties | (G) Liberal Parties | (L) Agrarian Parties |
| (C) Socialist Parties | (H) Right Liberal Parties | (M) Ethnic Parties |
| (D) Social Democratic Parties | (I) Christian Democratic Parties | (N) Regional Parties |
| (E) Conservative Parties | (J) National Parties | (O) Other Parties |

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). 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	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. Democratic Party, 民主黨						√						
B. Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong, 民主建港協進聯盟				√								
C. Frontier, 前綫							√					
D. Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood, 香港民主民生協進會				√								
E. Civic Party, 公民黨								√				
F. League of Social Democrats, 社會民主連線			√									
G. Liberal Party, 自由黨									√			
H. Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions (香港工會聯合會)				√								

6b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension:

Label for left hand position:

Label for right hand position:

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. Tensions between Hong Kong and Beijing: When the tensions between Hong Kong and Beijing are high, more voters tend to vote for candidates from pro-Hong Kong parties; when tensions are low, more voters tend to vote for candidates from pro-Beijing parties.

2. Government performance: When the government performs well, more voters tend to vote for candidates from pro-government parties; when the government performs badly, more voters tend to vote for candidates from anti-government parties.

3. Policy orientation or stance of parties (e.g. minimum wage legislations).

4. Strategic voting: When an imbalance of power favoring pro-government forces in the Legislative Council is perceived, more voters tend to vote for candidates from anti-government parties and candidates who are more vocal or radical.

5. Candidates' quality and constituency services.

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.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. Democratic Party (民主黨)	Ho Chun-yan, Albert	
B. Democratic Alliance for Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (民主建港協進聯盟)	Tam Yiu-chung	
C. Frontier (前綫)	Lau Wai-hing, Emily	
D. Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood (香港民主民生協進會)	Fung Kin-kee, Frederick	
E. Civic Party (公民黨)	Eu Yat-mee, Audrey	
F. League of Social Democrats (社會民主連線)	Wong Yuk-man	
G. Liberal Party (自由黨)	Tien Pei-chun, James	

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?

7 September 2008.

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

7 September 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.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)
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

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: _____

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.

The 2008 Legco Election Report prepared by the Electoral Affairs Commission is available at the following:

www.eac.gov.hk/en/legco/2008lce_report.htm

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.)

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.

Eligible individuals can register as an elector in both Geographical Constituency and Function Constituency. But, because of the restrictive franchise of the latter, there is less than 8% of the electors in the Geographical Constituency are eligible and registered in the Functional Constituency.

In geographical constituency elections, each elector can cast 1 vote.

In functional constituency (FC) elections, elector is normally has 1 vote. But there are complications as the electors of some functional constituencies are not "individuals", but corporations or organizations of which their owners and/or directors are entitled to vote.

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: In geographical constituency elections, each voter can cast 1 vote for a list that includes the names of one or more candidates (up to the maximum number of Legco members returned by that geographical constituency). The same political party (group) may put up more than one list in a constituency, and candidates on a list may belong to different political party (group). In functional constituency elections, voters cast vote for candidates.

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

In geographical constituency elections, there is only one round of voting.

In functional constituency elections, there are a total of 28 functional constituencies (FCs). Among the 28 FCs, 24 have only one round of voting.

In the remaining 4 FCs (Heung Yee Kuk, Agriculture and Fisheries, Insurance and Transport), the 'preferential elimination system of voting' is adopted. The system works as follows. (1) All valid ballot papers will be sorted with reference to the candidate for whom the first preference vote has been recorded. (2) The candidate who receives an absolute majority (i.e. over 50%) of all the first preference votes received by the candidates will be declared elected. (3) Where no candidate has received an absolute majority of all the first preference votes received by the candidates, an elimination process accompanied with a transfer of votes will be carried out, i.e. the candidate(s) with the least number of votes will be eliminated and his/their votes will be transferred to the other (remaining) candidates according to the next available preference recorded on his/their ballot papers. (4) The process in (3) above will be repeated until a candidate obtains an absolute majority of the aggregate of the total number of votes (both preference votes and transferred votes) - that candidate will then be declared elected; only one candidate is remaining - he shall be elected; or each of the remaining candidates has received an equal number of votes (i.e. the total number of the first preference votes and the transferred votes), in which case the result of the election will be determined by lot.

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

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.

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.

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.

<http://www.elections.gov.hk/legco2008/eng/index.html>

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.

Constitutional and Mainland Affairs Bureau, HKSAR:

<http://www.cmab.gov.hk/en/home/index.htm> /

Registration and Electoral Office, HKSAR:

http://www.reo.gov.hk/en/about/ceo_msg.htm

Electoral Affairs Commission:

http://www.eac.gov.hk/en/legco/2008lce_report1.htm

The Basic Law:

<http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/index.html>