

Dynamics of Voting Credentials in Municipal Elections: Comparative Study of Kaohsiung and Chicago City Councils

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Abstract

Study of voting behavior at congressional and senatorial levels, especially in North American region, has been extensively analyzed, within which research results often suggest visible causal relationships between incumbency, racial factor, campaign expenditure, party support, etc, with vote share of candidates. Surprisingly among the broad voting literature, few have derived their potential generalizable findings on the basic analytical unit of local election which shall be invariably the most numerous and frequent type of elections in any existing democratic system. Furthermore, before any generalization of voting behavior, if any, could be drawn, different political systems with various culture bonds shall be carefully looked into.

This paper as a result intends to tackle on these research gaps via two angles: firstly by quantitatively examining voting credentials in city council election turnout for Kaohsiung, the second biggest city located in southern Taiwan with a population of 1,5 million; secondly, by comparing the findings of Kaohsiung with the existing researches on Chicago city council electoral turnout.

Data set for the analysis of Kaohsiung city council voting behavior will be constructed within the time period dating from 1981, the first city council public election after the elevation of Kaohsiung city to the status of Special Municipality, to the year of 2002, marked the 6th election of Kaohsiung city councilor. Variables, which are claimed by previous scholars to have substantial impact on vote share of candidates, such as incumbency, education level, ethnic factor or even sex will be respectively included. Lastly, comparative analysis will be drawn between Kaohsiung City Council voting behavior and its counterpart in Chicago.

Keywords: incumbency, Kaohsiung, Chicago, city council, election, voting behavior

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I. US Voting Credentials

Study of voting behavior at congressional and senatorial level, especially in North American region, has been extensively analyzed, within which research results often suggest visible causal relationships between incumbency (Abramowitz 1991; Cox and Morgenstern 1993), racial factor (Lieske and Hillard 1984; Inglot and Pelissero 1993), party affiliation (Arrington 1978), campaign expenditure (Giles 1985), media support (Graber 1990; 1993), face-to-face political mobilization (Gerber and Green 2000), etc, with vote share of candidates.

A. Incumbency Advantage

Incumbent members of the United States Congress have, according to the quantitative analysis of 24 U.S. states over the period from 1970 to 1986 done by Cox and Morgenstern, been suggested to enjoy electoral advantages over others. Indeed, advantages incumbents have benefited from include the franking privilege¹ (Mayhew 1974) to the opportunity to perform casework for constituents (Fiorina 1977) to the use by voters of incumbency as a cue (Ferejohn 1977). Specifically speaking, the advantage of incumbency is rooted in the resources of office, namely official, financial, and reputational. While Holbrook and Tidmarch emphasize the impact of incumbency on electoral turnout, they further hypothesize that occupancy of party and committee leadership positions can be translated into an increased incumbency advantage in state legislative elections.² In their model, it is statically supported that party leaders and committee chairs have a higher margin of victory than other incumbents in their state election.

¹ On November 8, 1775, The American Continental Congress authorized franking privileges to its members as a means of informing their constituents. The first U.S. Congress enacted a franking law in 1789. In another word, back in 18th century, members of US Congress can simply use signature instead of postage on mass mailing. Nowadays, franking privilege has been modified significantly; beginning with FY 1999, Members of Congress may use any portion of their official budget for mailings.

² Thomas M. Holbrook. 1993. "The Effects of leadership Positions on Votes for Incumbents in State Legislative Elections". *Political Research Quarterly* 46:897

At municipal level, the pioneer researches concerning incumbency are works of Prewitt³, in which research has shown that the single most important factor in predicting candidates' vote share in city council elections is incumbency. Furthermore, a recent survey by the International City Management Association have showed that 84% of city council incumbents were successful in their reelection attempts (DeSantis and Renner 1994, 40), while incumbent reelection success also seems to have increased since the 1960s (Karnig and Walter 1977, 66). Krebs, the Chicago election expert, invariably confirms the positive and significant relationship between political experience and candidates' percentage of the vote.(Krebs 1998)

B. Racial Factor

In land such as the United States, where racial or ethnic diversity is highly notable, election will be inevitably colored by ethnicity. Prior research on voting behavior, especially in local election suggests the firm tendency of voters to cast ballots for candidates of their own racial group (Lieske and Hillard 1984; Vanderleeuw 1990; Inglot and Pelissero 1993). The alleged phenomenon is further elaborated through two social and political settings. On the one hand, a positive relationship between the socioeconomic position of white voters and white voter support for black candidates as noted by numerous researches. Among all, Hahn and Almy, by observing elections in Los Angeles, suggests an inverse relationship between socioeconomic status and voter's support for black liberal candidates in biracial politics. "We are moving from "ethnic politics" to "class politics"⁴ A possibility of a black and blue collar white political coalition in urban election based on mutual economic benefit is emerging.

On the other hand, partisanship in local election is perceived to play a minimum role. Even if where partisan attachments are relatively strong, race can be an even stronger determinant of

³ Prewitt, Kenneth. 1970. *The Recruitment of Political Leaders: A Study of Citizen-Politicians*. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

⁴ Quote from Alan C. Acock. "Ethnic Politics and Racial Issues Reconsidered"

voting behavior in local election (Thompson 1984). As concerned with why racial factor is more visible in urban election, rather than national level, Williams provides an explanation: while national politics has generally been dominated by distributive economic issues, urban politics has been more preoccupied with the distribution of spatial turf, social access, and cultural life styles.⁵

C. Party Affiliation

In 1952, the leading scholar of Michigan School, Angus Campbell firstly delineates the importance of party identification in relation to voting turnout.⁶ What has been extensively cited is later the “funnel of causality” (see Fig. 1) model contributed in *The American Voter* which characterizes partisan orientation as a long term critical psychological cause in influencing voting behavior whereas candidate orientation being the short term cause. The model, explained by R. G. Niemi and H. F. Weisberg, as well puts an essence on time dimension. Indeed, the funnel itself is the “time”. As series of events happen along the way from the open-end of the funnel to the end, i.e. the election date approaches, voter’s choices are undergone a multiple layers of struggles. Although party affiliation or the concept of “unmoved mover” by and large is conceived of as a highly stable orientation, performance of candidates, political sensitive events, etc. will potentially cause a change-over in voter’s election. Especially in modern era where information flow is unbounded and party loyal is less glorified, it has been pointed out that significant numbers of people report changes in their party identification over short periods of time (Fiorina 1981).

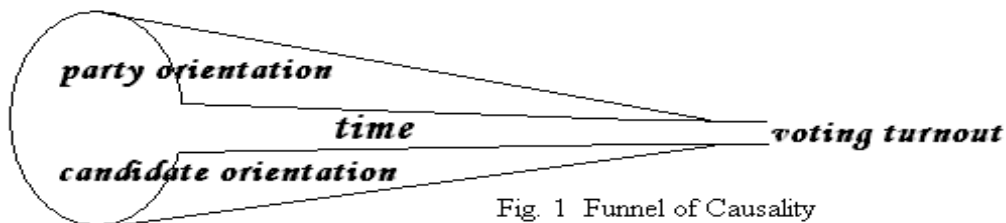


Fig. 1 Funnel of Causality

⁵ Williams, Oliver. 1967. “Life-style values and Political Decentralization in Metropolitan Areas.” *Social Science Quarterly* 48:299-310.

⁶ Angus Campbell and Robert Kahn. 1954. *How People Elect a President*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

D. Campaign Expenditure/Media Support/Face to Face Mobilization

Although in some cases, campaign expenditure is found to be a less important factor than incumbency or racial factor in voting share, the general positive relation demonstrated between the amount of money candidates spend and the according increase of voting share in election cannot be neglected. Giles and Pritchard also confirm the above findings and support by examining the case of Florida Election of House of Representatives from 1972 to 1980, in which expenditure is found to influence the electoral outcome. As regards to media support and its effect on voting share, Graber in *Mass Media and American Politics*⁷ offers an interesting interpretation. The author unfolds the fog initially by making an analogy between the oracle in ancient Greeks' Apollo temple and the voice of the people as the voice of God - vox populi, vox dei, in modern democracies. That is in the oracle's language, ambiguity is always unsolved. To the same token, while voices of voters convey through their votes are seen nowadays as 'truth', yet voters are easily manipulated through different interpretations of media coverage; therefore convey the different 'truth'. Another concern is the favor media coverage often does for incumbents. Inevitably, incumbents would naturally have more news coverage than challengers who are not incumbents. As Table 1-1 depicts, in political attributes, 49 percent of news are for incumbent while only 4 percent given to challengers. This inadequate election news is hard to be avoided since more resources are at the hand of incumbents.

Table 1-1

Themes	Incumbent news	Challenger news
Campaign organization	22	27
Personal characteristics	10	13
Political attributes	49	4
Issues/Ideology/Group ties	29	12

Source: Peter Clarke and Susan H. Evans, *Covering campaigns: Journalism in Congressional Elections* (Stanford, Calif.,: Stanford University Press, 1983), 61.

⁷ Graber, Doris A. 1993. *Mass Media and American Politics*. Congressional Quarterly Inc. pp. 246

Lastly, face-to-face political mobilization is thought to demonstrate a positive relation with the voter turnout. Gerber and Green from Yale University in 2000 successfully prove the proposal that declining turnout rates in the United States since the 1960s⁸ has been the result of decline of personal mobilization, including personal canvassing, telephone calls, and direct mail. Specifically speaking, the experiment they designed studied approximately 30,000 registered voters in New Haven, Connecticut and built upon the hypothesis that personal canvassing mobilizes voters more effectively than other modes of contact that have taken its place. (see Table 1-2) The carefully designed experiment procedure is carried each Saturday and Sunday for our weeks before the election, during which canvassers were sent to contact randomly selected registered voters and be communicated by their mother language, English or Spanish.⁹ What is worth mentioned is the technique they utilized. Upon consultation with experts of campaign, the messages encouraging people to vote are delivered by nonpartisan appeals. The conversation would begin with the following opening: “Hi. My name is _____. I’m part of Vote New Haven ’98, a nonpartisan group working together with the League of Women Voters to encourage people to vote. I just wanted to remind you that the elections are being held this year on November 3d.” In the findings of the experiment above, Gerber and Green illustrate the fact that face-to-face interaction dramatically increases the chance that voters will go to the polls. If applying such observation into voting share, although whether the same effect can be feasible in voting share is unclear, the former case study case could provide an initial step to trigger further regarding researches on how personal canvassing affect voting behavior and consequently increase the voting share of designated candidates. .

⁸ Not only a general decrease of voting turnout since 1960s in the US, decline in size of nonpartisan organizations has also been noted. Putnam found that in the mid-1960s, 2.4 of every 1,000 women over the age of 20 belonged to the League of Women Voters, compared to .79 in 1998.

⁹ New Haven has a substantial minority population and a significant proportion of non-English speakers. More than half the canvassers were African American or fluent in Spanish and when possible they were matched to the racial and ethnic composition of the neighborhoods they walked.

Table 1-2 Results of Previous Voter Mobilization Experiments¹⁰

Study	Date	Type of Election	Number of Subjects	Treatment	Effect on Turnout*
Gosnell (1927)	1924	Presidential	3,969	Mail	+1%
Gosnell (1927)	1925	Mayoral	3,676	Mail	+9%
Eldersveld (1956)	1953	Municipal	41	Canvass	+42%
			43	Mail	+26%
Eldersveld (1956)	1954	Municipal	276	Canvass	+20%
			268	Mail	+4%
			220	Telephone	+18%
Adams and Smith (1980)	1980	Special election, City Council	2,650	Telephone	+9%
Miller, Bositis, and Baer (1981)	1981	Primary	79	Canvass	+21%
			80	Mail	+19%
			81	Telephone	+15%

Note: The subjects in all experiments were registered voters. *These are the effects given in the tables of the research report. They are not adjusted for contact rates.

II. Taiwan Voting Credentials

Differing from the observation of American voting behavior, electoral study of Taiwan, although mostly still focuses on national election level, collectively suggests Taiwanese voters are to vote according to firstly candidate orientation (55%), issues orientation (30%) and lastly party orientation (15% yet still under further debate)¹¹

A. Incumbency Advantage

Contrary to voting credentials study in the United States where a sizable researches on incumbency advantage can be found, few Taiwan electoral literatures concerns the issue of incumbency advantage and its relationship with voting behavior.¹² Therefore the effect of incumbency on voting share is not confirmed in Taiwan yet. This paper will in the later section conduct a quantitative study on that. Instead, Taiwan voting behavior study is elaborated on a

¹⁰ Gerber and Green (2000) pp. 654.

¹¹ Chen, Yi-Yen. 1986. "Review of Voting Behavior in Taiwan". *The Thought and Word* 23:557

¹² In fact, none incumbency advantage literature in Taiwan electoral study has been found, either in Chinese or English.

grand scale of candidate orientation, obviously including past experience and accomplishment of candidates, education level, whether he or she is incumbent or not, etc. In fact, since 1990s after parties in Taiwan exhibited tendency of re-structure and re-grouping, Taiwanese voters in modern era have reconsidered the route of issues orientation or candidate preference, rather than sticking the party identification router as preoccupied previously.¹³ According to a survey conducted by National Science Council, 26.29% of voters in the chosen sample vote for specific candidate because of his or her past experience and accomplishment while 13.81% answered vote for the good image candidates has demonstrated in the past.¹⁴ The other candidate orientation issue deals with the “coat-tails” effect. That is the consequence of one popular candidate in an election drawing votes for other members of the same party. Comparative study of 1998 Taipei City Mayoral Election and City Councilmen election can provide one of the best examples of coat-tail effect. Hsu, by measuring the amount of support delicate to the Mayoral candidate Ying Jiu Ma and the coat-tails effect in relation to the same year city councilmen election. The research concludes that the more confirmation on Dr. Ma’s candidate image, the higher probability that voters would vote along the party line of Ma in Taipei city council election.¹⁵

B. Racial Factor

The ethnic war between mainlander and native Hok-lo Taiwanese rooted immediately after the evacuation of Nationalist from China to Taiwan in 1949. Although language barrier among them poses no problem for communication thanks for the centralized language policy, namely mandarin is regulated by the Nationalist government as the official language in Taiwan. At the election front, especially during competitive campaigns, the racial issue which can stir emotional

¹³ Before 1990s, voters in Taiwan had no choice but vote for KMT. After 1990s, new parties such as the DDP, New Party, People First Party, etc have emerged and provide voters more options to vote.

¹⁴ National Science Council project “Voting Behavior and the Evaluation of Electoral Affairs---The Analysis of Legislative Election in 1998”

¹⁵ Hsu, “Ticket Splitting: The 1998 Taipei City Mayoral Election”.

bias is often been used as a manifesto differing one camp from the other. While pan-blue alliance, including the KMT, New Party, People's First Party, are holding the flag under the general label of mainlander who favor Chinese reunification, pan-green alliance calls for a unification of Taiwanese consists of the DDP and Taiwan Solidarity Union party. However, statistical analysis measuring racial factor in relation to voting behavior did not demonstrate a strong link between the two variables. "The racial factor is not the predominant variable in determining voting share (P=0.398). Neither mainlander voters nor Hok-lo Taiwanese voters ignore the personality and qualification of candidates which are often counting over 40 percents of voters' decision making process.¹⁶ Moreover, data also suggests that age is undermining the leverage power of racial factor. Under frequent exposure of democratization experience and effect of inter-marriages, younger generation of voters in Taiwan exhibit a voting behavior more along the line of candidate than race. Within which, yet, there is a slight difference between voting behavior of young mainlander generation and the one of Hok-lo Taiwanese. Hsu found that the percentage of split ticket voting among the third generation of mainlander is in steady increase while new generation of Hok-lo Taiwanese voters remains loyal to the green-pan with few divided voting behavior.¹⁷

C. Party Affiliation

Rapid political changes dated in the mid-1980s in Taiwan are marked by the process of democratization and notably the founding of the first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP) in 1986 in defiance of martial law to counterbalance the 30 years-long ruling elites of the Kuomintang (KMT). While party affiliation in the US plays a dominant role in determining voting behavior, the issue of party identification only counts for one out of tenth of voters' voting credentials. In Taiwan, experiencing from the period of democratization to democratization

¹⁶ Chu, National Science Council Project

¹⁷ Hsu, pp133

consolidation, the overall support for Kuomintang is in its decline. In 1999 the KMT received 68.8% of voting share, 42.1% in mayoral election and 21.1% in 1996 presidential election. The latest party affiliation data piled in 2001 indicates that 14.5% of voters identified themselves with the KMT, 13.1% with People's First Party and 34% and 3% with the DDP.¹⁸ Furthermore, what is interesting is that through a 10 years period of research project on the emerging of independent voters in Taiwan from 1989 to 1999, Chuang Tien Lien¹⁹ critically points to the fact that numbers of independent voters in Taiwan are decreasing in incremental rate. Yet there are indeed more than 30% of voters remain independent in voting preference and do not vote with party identification which could be interpreted as the characteristic of an immature democratic.

D. Campaign Expenditure/Media Support/Face-to-Face Canvassing

Virtually few researches of Taiwan election explore the micro-level variables in voting behavior, such as campaign expenditure, media support or face-to-face canvassing effect since data in Taiwan might not be easily collected and even data is available, the legitimacy and credibility of data can be problematic. Moreover existing literature on media support varies in its finding. Tsai Chi-Chin in 1977 studied registered voters in Taichung area and the sixth provincial councilmen election and concluded that media is a critical reference while voters make their decisions. Public debates, newspapers, pamphlets, direct mail.²⁰ Lee Chan conducting an electoral survey, a sample group of 2,135, measuring response for 1980 election, found that voters rely primarily on face-to-face canvassing, personal connection and media coverage exhibit the least influence on voting behavior.²¹ Another research though suggests that the more exposure of a

¹⁸ Wu and Hsu, 'Who are Partisans and Independents?

¹⁹ Chunag, Tien Lien. "The Developing and Changing situation of Independent Voters in Taiwan from 1989 through 1999." pp103

²⁰ Chen, pp574-578

²¹ Chen, pp577

candidate in daily newspapers, the higher voting share and the probability of being elected shall be.²²

III. Research Design and Hypotheses

The above literature review has revealed the gap and differences between the US voting credentials study and that of Taiwan. To dig further in the terrain of comparative voting credentials, this paper is intended to quantitatively study Kaohsiung city council elections for a total of 594 candidates from 1981, the first city council public election after the elevation of Kaohsiung city to the status of Special Municipality, to the year of 2002, marked the 6th election of Kaohsiung city councilor. In a later section, a comparison with its counterpart in Chicago will be drawn and primarily and gratefully contributed by the data mine Timothy B. Krebs, an expert of Chicago urban election at the University of New Mexico, gather from 1979 to 1995. In the vote share model, Krebs concludes that a consistent message which has been found in nationwide election researches is being confirmed as success in city council elections is a function both of being widely known and having one's candidacy legitimized by outside sources, whereas incumbency advantage is related to spending, media support and party support²³. However, whether the above pronounced voting pattern observations of Krebs and others will coincide with the case of Kaohsiung which is setting on a completely distinct political culture remains under close scrutiny in this paper.

To construct a Kaohsiung City Council Election Credentials Data (KCCEC data)

Variables, which are claimed by previous scholars to have substantial impact on voting share of candidates, such as incumbency, party support, racial factor or even education level will be respectively included. The dependent variable is the voting share of each candidate and the

²² Chen, pp585. Study of 1983 Legislative election.

²³ Timothy b. Krebs, "The Determinants of Candidates' Vote Share and the Advantages of Incumbency in City Council Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 42, No. 3, July 1998, Pp. 921-935

election result. As regard to voting share, candidates who received less than 1000 ballots are coded 0; between 1000 - 5000 ballots coded 1 and more than 10,000 coded 2. Candidates who are elected are coded 1 whereas the contrary coded 0. The independent variables include the followings:

Incumbency and Candidate's Political Experience

Numerous electoral researches in the United States as extensively discussed in the former section suggest a strong role incumbency plays in voting share. While few studies in Taiwan put attention on this matter, this study will hypothesize the role of incumbency is also an important predictor in candidates' vote share in Kaohsiung city council elections. The name recognition benefits, abundant resources and personal connections shall give incumbents higher chances of being re-elected. All incumbents are decoded 1, nonincumbents 0. Candidates who held previously high-rank government position are decoded 2. I expect a positive and significant relationship between incumbency and candidates' percentage of the vote.

Party Affiliation

Throughout the Taiwan electoral history, party affiliation is not yet proven to have significant effects on voting behavior firstly due to the immature democratization process with predominance of Nationalist party in earlier decades and lacking of party loyalty in younger generation in Taiwan. As Dr. Chen Yi-Yen noted in late 1980s, only party affiliation could only explain 15% of voting behavior in Taiwan.²⁴ However if by following the funnel of causality model developed by western political scientists, Niemi and Weisberg, it is suggested that a long term voting share effect party orientation shall exhibit in general election. Therefore, I hypothesize a positive relationship will be exhibited in relation to candidate's voting share. Candidates gaining the endorsement of pan-blue party are coded 1, pan-green party coded 2 and those stand in independent status coded 0.

²⁴ Chen, pp557

Racial Factor/Education Level

In the case of Taiwan, although intermarriages have undermined the degree one can determine the racial status of one individual, racial factor could be strongly tight to the birthplace or the original household registers. That is the individual who has the original register in mainland China, he or she will be labeled as mainlander; whereas those register in Taiwan island shall have more chance of being Hok-lo Taiwanese.²⁵ Therefore, in order to capture the racial status of each candidate, those who have original registers in mainland China are coded 0; those in Kaohsiung city are coded 1, the remaining coded 2. However, it shall cautiously note that no data on candidates' original registers after the third Kaohsiung city council election dated in 1985 can be available. The main reason behind that is the unavailability of original registers, rather than current household registers information of candidates were filed in the election registration booklet. In order to become an eligible candidate in the Kaohsiung city council election, all participants must be holding a Kaohsiung city household register. Therefore, all household registers of candidates are in Kaohsiung city and it is hard to distinguish in this case the racial status of each candidate.

Moreover, education level of each candidate is also carefully examined. While candidates who do not hold a college degree are coded 0, bachelor degree holders coded 1 and master degree and above are coded 2. At this point, it is unclear what kind of relationship shall the education level play in candidate's voting share. After carefully analyzing the KCCEC data, hopefully the myth can be unwrapped.

Number of Competitor/media support

Concerning number of competitors, Holbrook and Tidmarch (1993) found that competition is measure by the number of opponents one faces on election day. As this number increases, it is

²⁵ Not all citizens whose original registers are in Taiwan are Hok-lo Taiwanese, some of them could be from family of Haka, indigenous people, etc.

expected that candidates' vote share will decrease. However, since Kaohsiung city council election practices the multiple members in single district system, number of competitors are roughly equal in each election district; therefore, this paper do not think the claim that number of competitors shall have an effect on voting share is feasible in this case. To the token of media support, obviously in the advent of multimedia equipments in virtually every family, the positive effect of media support in relation to voting behavior is undeniable. Yet, due to time constrain and lack of concerning data collections, this paper will not as well discuss through interpretation of data on how media support shall relate to voting share.

IV. Analysis

Candidate's Voting Share Analysis

Table 1 demonstrates the result of multiple regression models of all Kaohsiung city council election candidates for each election year. Except data for *Education* (candidate's educated level) in 1981, 1985, 1989 election and that of *Racial Factor* in 1994, 1998, 2002 are not available, the model in general performs extremely well. Most party of the model can explain approximately 40% of the variation in candidates' voting share (1985 - 44.5%; 1994 - 38.7%; 1998 - 38.8%; 2002 - 46.4%) whereas model in 1981 and 1989 might suffer from the defect of missing data and therefore only account for less than 7% of variation. As the paper has hypothesized initially, incumbency and candidates' political experience display a significant and positive effect on candidates' voting share.²⁶ Notably in 1994, 1998 and 2002, incumbency produces an increase in these candidates' voting share by over 42.9%, 55.2% and 51.3% respectively at the significant level of 0.01. Party affiliation also matched the earlier hypothesis, confirming the important role of party play in voting behavior. Over 50% of candidates' vote share increased is the result of

²⁶ Please note that there are some missing data for *Incumbency* in 1981, 1985 and 1989, which might cause the lower correlation result of incumbency in relation to voting share if compared to result of 1994 and beyond.

party identification, disregard which party one affiliated to. (1994 – 52.6%; 2002 – 50%; 1985 – 35.4%; 1998 – 36.1%)

How racial factor and education level of candidates affect the quantity of vote one received is not statistically demonstrated at significant level. Missing data and the inability to distinguish and locate effectively mainlander and Hok-lo Taiwanese as two large ethnic groups in Taiwan might be the two primary reasons that the role of race is mitigated in voting behavior. However, interestingly noted, education is a significant predictor in voting share and the more a candidate is educated, the higher the alleged vote share will be obtained. At most in 1998, 22.1% of votes could be increased due to the high education level candidates hold.

Lastly, overall sex exhibits negative correlation with candidates' voting share. Yet with or without surprise, sex accounts for 34.3% of vote increase in 2002. One of many explanations might be the effect of inclusion of female governor strategy introduced by President Chen's new government in 2000 in which more women have been included into the Chen administration ever than any other previous political eras. Led by the first female Vice-President in history – Annette Lu, 2000 also marks the first time Cabinet members were occupied by one fourth of female representatives. However, since sex variable in 1998 and 1994 does not exhibit positive or indicate great influence on candidates' voting share (-.058 and .042), only an observation rather than an generalizable trend can be made at this point before further elections in the future being studied.

Table 1.
Candidate's Voting Share, Kaohsiung City Council Elections, 1981-2002

Independent Variables	1981	1985	1989	1994	1998	2002
Incumbency	.257 (n = 40)	.154 (n=42)	.255 (n=43)	.429*	.552**	.513**
Party Affiliation	.140*	.354*	.006	.526*	.361**	.500**
Racial Factor	.018	– .136	.137	-----	-----	-----

Education	-----	-----	-----	.117	.221*	.127
Sex	- .140	- .328*	- .093	.042	- .058	.343**
N	81	70	94	129	105	114
R	.412	.707	.404	.637	.641	.695
R Square	.170	.499	.163	.406	.411	.483
Adj. R Square	.075	.445	.075	.387	.388	.464
F. Value	1.786	9.226	1.850	21.188	17.455	25.440

Note: *Significant <0.05 **Significant <0.01

Election Result Analysis

If not counting candidates' voting share, instead use purely *election result* of whether being elected or the contrary as dependent variable, slight variants can be noted as one can refer to Table 2. Incumbency once again as hypothesized plays a visible role in election turnout, mostly notably to the foremost in 1998 approximately 60% of winning chance has been induced simply by the status of incumbent at significant level of 0.01. Party affiliation to the same token concurs with the prediction of being positively related to election result. However, the influence of party is stronger in determining candidates' voting share than election result. (refer to table 1 to 2) Racial factor for the same reasons given earlier cannot demonstrate its clear influence. Education in 1998 produced a 22.4% increase of winning opportunity confirms the same observation in the relation between voting share and education. (Table 1 1998 education .221*) Invariably, sex in 2002 exerts the most influential weight on election turnout, accounting for 10.8% chance, if comparing with all other election year. Once again, since only in 2002 sex displays a positive correlation to election result whereas the rest correlated negatively. No generalization can be noted at this moment before further election, 2006 city council election for instance, being observed.

Table 2.
Election Result, Kaohsiung City Council Elections, 1981-2002

Independent Variables	1981	1985	1989	1994	1998	2002
Incumbency	----- (n = 40)	----- (n=42)	----- (n=43)	.569**	.606**	.392**
Party Affiliation	.227*	.304*	.041	.364**	.179	.450**
Racial Factor	.149	- .112	- .101	-----	-----	-----
Education	-----	-----	-----	.061	.224*	- .004
Sex	- .113	- .093	- .085	- .006	- .049	.108
N	81	70	94	129	105	114
R	.313	.553	.163	.632	.637	.581
R Square	.098	.306	.027	.400	.405	.338
Adj. R Square	.063	.231	- .006	.380	.381	.313
F. Value	2.794	4.085	.817	20.636	17.033	13.893

Note: missing data reported in Incumbency for 1981, 1985, 1989 election

**Sig. <0.05 **Sig. <0.01*

Aggregate Analysis

Overall, the Kaohsiung city council election regression model sustains findings which are hypothesized yet not tested or confirmed previously. Throughout Taiwan electoral literature, very few studies have dealt with the issue of incumbency and its influence in either election of national or local level. As to the survey conducted by National Science Council, 26.29% of voters in the chosen sample vote for specific candidate because of his or her past experience and accomplishment, the survey result is further strengthened and supported by the exceptional performance of incumbency variable in both determining candidates' voting share and the ultimate election turnout. Furthermore, as Taiwan only recently undergoes from the transitory democracy to the democracy consolidation period within the past two decades or less, while the shadow of a strong party remains, party affiliation in local election still occupy a crucial role, despite the

existence of independent voters without a straight ticket among whom might focus more on candidates' performance and political experience. The influence of voting credential of racial factor is dismissed in the grand picture of this data set due to insufficient and inability to distinguish races between mainlander and Hok-lo Taiwanese in Taiwan. Sex variable in general exhibits negative correlation with election turnout while education can assert a more critical influence in voters' decision.

Table 3.
Kaohsiung City Council Elections, 1981-2002

Independent Variables	Voting Share	Election Result
Incumbency	.454**	.471**
Party Affiliation	.342**	.240**
Racial Factor	- .137*	- .006
Education	.140*	.090
Sex	- .043	- .020

*Note: *Sig. <0.05 **Sig. <0.01 N= 594*

V. Chicago and Kaohsiung city council election comparison

Variants in electoral regulation and political culture are thought to alter voters' behavior in distinct manner. Before getting into the heart of comparing Chicago and Kaohsiung city council election results, a good understanding of Chicago city political culture might be required.

Brief Chicago City Political History

Chicago city with current population of more than nine millions has granted the status of city in 1837 as the population reached 4000. Ever since, a ward system²⁷ is being used in city council

²⁷ Big cities in the US such as Chicago, Boston and New York all elect city council members to represent a geographic district, or ward. Advocates of the ward plan say it's a better way to address the needs of specific neighborhoods and

election. State law stipulates that ward boundaries are to be adjusted every ten years so that population shifts can be taken into consideration and equality of representation be based thereon. Over the years political division of the city has been as table 4 displays. Number of wards increases as the city expands in population, at present time, the Chicago City Council consists of 50 aldermen, namely city councilmen which is a tradition followed since 1923, one representing each city ward. The council meets regularly to discuss legislation, orders and ordinances whose subject matter includes traffic code changes, the city's relationship with utility providers, taxes, and much more.

Table 4 Chicago Ward History

Date	Authority	Number of wards
March 4, 1837	City Charter of March 4, 1837	6
1847	General Assembly	9
1857	General Assembly	10
1863	Revised charter of 1863	16
March 10, 1869	General Assembly	20
April, 1875	General Incorporation Act of April, 1875	18
1888	General Assembly	24
1889	General Assembly	34
1900	General Assembly	35
1923	General Assembly	50

Note: Since the adoption of the 50-ward system there have been six redistrictings, in 1931, in 1947, in 1961 and in 1970. Since 1970, 1981 and 1992. Court ordered partial redistrictings have also occurred in 1973, 1974, 1982, 1983, and 1986.

Source: Chicago public library source <http://www.chipublic.org/004chicago/timeline/poldivision.html>

Deductively speaking, two characteristics of Chicago city council election are noted. First of all, the hallmark of Chicago politics is its infamous political machine, the Cook County Democratic Party Organization, which has lost its power in 1990 yet still asserts influences in

minority groups. In Chicago, for example, when a resident has a problem with a street light on his block he can call his alderman. Indeed, a ward system would make each council member accountable for resolving problems in their section of the trouble-plagued city.

political map of Chicago until present day. Immediately after it lost the bid to elect its slated candidate for Cook County board president, the election of populist black reform leaders, such as Mayor Harold Washington²⁸, the first African-American mayor of Chicago city and the emergence of Hispanics revealed. Secondly, due to the fact that Chicago is one of the most ethnic conscious cities and ethnic diverse cities in the US where ethnic labels are still the message as where your ancestors came from, the so called “rainbow theory” of Chicago machine politics shall be kept in mind. Rainbow theory (Merton 1968) contests that the Chicago machine is a functional body that pursued political incorporation of many ethnic groups in the political party. In return for loyalty to political party, machines delivered a variety of social services to ethnic immigrants, in addition to jobs, friendship and opportunities for social and economic advancement.

Chicago & Kaohsiung City Council Election Comparison

A similar candidate voting share dataset on Chicago City Council as compared to Kaohsiung city council elections was assembled by Timothy B. Krebs at the University of North Carolina. With the dataset Krebs provided, the following analysis can be drawn as table 5 demonstrates. Concerning the candidate’s vote percentage, analysis confirms the claim that single most important factor in predicting candidates’ vote share in city council elections is incumbency (Prewitt 1970). In each election year, incumbency accounts for over 20% increase of vote percentage. Although a lesser degree of influence incumbency assert upon voting share if compared to the result of Kaohsiung city council election with at most 55.2% increase (refer to Table 1), both elections, despite different political culture, display a strong role of incumbency in municipal level election.

²⁸ Miranda, Rowan A. “Post-Machine Regimes and the Growth of Government.” *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 28 No. 3, March 1993 397-422

Furthermore, minority status (.061, .051, .068) does not correlate significantly with voting share in Chicago city council election for at least two reasons. First of all, very few nonmajority race candidates run in elections due to large amounts of racial segregation in the city and the present of super-majority wards. Secondly, the rainbow theory mentioned earlier, majority race incumbents will still seek support from minority group by providing extra care and allocation of resources in their preference. For instance, white incumbents have historically and currently represent the majority black Fifth Ward from 1983 to 1995. Thomas Murphy currently represents the majority black Eighteenth ward on the city’s southwest side.²⁹ As for the case of Kaohsiung city council, although whether there is also a “rainbow effect” is subjected to further investigation, the racial factor only represents a mild predictor of candidates’ voting share from 1981 to 1989. (.018, .136, .137) What is not available in Kaohsiung city council election data, yet in Chicago data is the campaign spending which is a positive and significant predictor of vote share in each election.

Table 5.
Candidates’ Vote Percentage, Chicago City Council Elections, 1979 – 95, by Election Year

Independent Variables	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	Note
Incumbency	.212**	.264***	.280***	.300***	.280***	
Campaign Spending	.025***	.019***	.021***	.017***	.025***	
Minority Status	-.052	.061	-.003	.051	.068	
Adj. Square	.64	.65	.73	.76	.74	
Number of Case	79	134	133	159	126	

Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients
*+p =.10; *p=.05; **p=.01; ***p=.001*

Table 6 displays results when removing incumbents from the candidate list. As Chicago is often referred to as the Machine City as marked by the machine of Democratic Party organization.

²⁹ Krebs, pp928

The role of Democratic support is examined. The result shows that candidates who received the backing of the Democratic organization in their wards can expect an increase in their share of the vote in the range of 10-19%. Besides, if one looks more carefully, from 1979 to 1995, the influence of Democratic support is in its decline which matches the fact that Democratic Party began to lose its influence since 1990. Similar observations can be noted in Kaohsiung city council elections where party affiliation plays an even greater role in determining voting share, at most up to 50% increase of vote and most interestingly noted is that the importance of the role of party increases along time from 1981 (.140*) to 2002 (.500**). Political experience and campaign spending also have significant influences on elections outcomes.

Table 6.
Nonincumbent Candidates' Vote Percentage, Chicago City Council Elections, 1979 – 95,
by Election Year

Independent Variables	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	Note
Democratic Support	.127***	.191***	.112***	.101***	.029	
Political Experience	.024	.005	-.008	.037**	.065***	
Campaign Spending	.019***	.011***	.016***	.014***	.016***	
Adj. Square	.73	.73	.53	.57	.55	
Number of Case	61	104	100	121	94	

*Note: Entries are unstandardized regression coefficients
+p =.10; *p=.05; **p=.01; ***p=.001*

Conclusion

All in all, distinct voting behaviors shall display throughout elections at national level and local level. This paper firstly, by studying the case of Kaohsiung city council elections and Chicago elections, concurs with the observation of many American political scientists that incumbency is the single most important factor in predicting candidates' vote share in city council elections. Despite cultural differences, incumbency in Kaohsiung city council elections plays a significant role in terms of increase of candidates' vote share. Secondly, as to the issue of race and

its role played in voters' decisions, no significant correlation between racial factor and voting share has been found in both Kaohsiung and Chicago city council elections turnout. Especially in the case of Kaohsiung, after 1989 city council election, candidates' racial status is hardly identified to a degree raising the doubt that whether race can be counted as an issue in Taiwan or simply as a tool of election manifesto. Thirdly, the funnel of causality model proposed by Niemi is still feasible yet party affiliation in the chosen two cities only differentiates in the degree party influence on voter's behavior. Due to time constrain and data availability, many missing data in KCCEC such as race or media support have caused the limited explanatory power of the current analysis.

Once again, this research can be served as the initial step in understanding the importance of various voting credentials in different countries in which not only electoral rules but also culture might vary. Future researches with a more completed dataset on similar matter are in great need as to further our knowledgeable territory of the voting behavior at local or municipal level.

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