

**Continuity and Discontinuity of  
Party System Institutionalization  
in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and  
South Korea.**

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## **Abstract**

Why are party systems less institutionalized in the Philippines and South Korea while they are more institutionalized in Japan and Taiwan? Under what circumstances or conditions do party systems become institutionalized? These two questions are the main focus of this research. This thesis explains why we see a difference in the levels of party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. The existing literature on party politics argue that party system institutionalization is one of the crucial components of a democratic consolidation. However, there are few cross-comparison studies exploring why party systems institutionalize differently.

Building on from Randall and Svåsand (1999, 2002) four dimensions of party system institutionalization, this study examines how changes in conditional factors bring changes to party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. The main argument of this thesis is that it is the variations in social cleavage, factionalism, and the way democratic transitions have occurred explains why Japan and Taiwan's party systems are institutionalized while the Philippines and South Korea's party systems did not.

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## **Chapter One**

### **Party System Institutionalization in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea**

#### **Introduction**

This thesis examines the concept of party system institutionalization, which essentially analyses how and why inter-party interactions consolidate over time. Though there seems to be general expectations that party system institutionalization can be found in most democratic countries, not all democracies have stable party systems. In some settings, there exists volatilities and irregularities in some of them. Thus, this study seeks to explain why some political party systems consolidate at a predictable pattern while some fail to do so. It particularly looks at the varying levels of institutionalization among the party systems in Asia to assess the reasons behind this political reality.

This concept of institutionalization can be credited to Samuel Huntington's study from almost half a century ago. He defined institutionalization as "the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability" (Huntington 1968: 12). Interpreting institutionalization as equivalent to political development, he claimed that it was a necessary component of modernization. His argument was that "political development and decay were possible outcomes of institutional change and that different qualities of institutionalization could emerge as a result of the interplay between economic and political modernization and the strength of political institutions (Huntington, 1965: 393-194).

Since the pioneering study of Huntington, his argument generated a number of compelling questions such as "why are some political systems

more stable than others?” and “how do political and economic changes in a nation affect the stability of its political institutions? And because of these questions, scholars of political parties have refined the concept and applied it to the party systems in various countries (Sartori, 1974; Janda, 1980; Panebianco, 1988; Levitsky, 1998; Mainwaring and Scully, 1995; Hicken, 2009; Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011; Ufen, 2012, to name a few).

With the expansion of the Third Wave of democratization in post-1989<sup>1</sup>, there have been a revitalized discussion on the concept of institutionalization in the 1990s. Scholars such as Mainwaring and Scully (1995) used it to classify the development of political institutions in new democracies and to understand how similar or different they were compared to the more established ones. Following Mainwaring and Scully’s study, various scholars have applied the concept of institutionalization to compare party systems in Third Wave democracies in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Post-Communist Europe, and Asia (Mainwaring, 1998; Mainwaring, 1999; Keunzi and Lambright, 2001; Lindbberg, 2007; Casal Bertoa and Enyedi, 2010, among others).

In particular, the studies that focused on the party systems in Asia reveal a deviation from the general expectations regarding institutionalization and democracy. While other party systems in the region have institutionalized, there are those that remain under institutionalized despite more than thirty years since their democratization. For instance, party system in South Korea undergo changes every four years on average since the country’s democratization in 1987. It normally experiences party mergers before elections and then parties split after. In the Philippines, party switching is common and ‘turncoat-ism’ (i.e., politics without principles) has become a system in itself. However, in Japan and Taiwan,

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<sup>1</sup> The third wave meaning the democratic transitions in Latin America in the 1980s, Asia Pacific countries and regions (Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan) from 1986 to 1988, Eastern Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and sub-Saharan African beginning in 1989. See Huntington (1991) for more details.

the same parties continue to compete for more than eight years on average and party switching occur at a lesser rate.

Such assessment is expected to enrich academic discussions on party system institutionalization in particular and comparative politics in general. This is regarded as crucial because it influences the political participation of the electorate and the performance of party organizations in their domestic politics. Moreover, it provides party organizations a system or framework that regulates or shapes the behaviour of parties. Without such institutionalization, the party system in a country may be deemed volatile. The result of which will lessen the effectiveness of party organizations and their performances as vital institutions in a democracy (for example, policy implementations) that may consequently weaken party-to-citizen linkage.

### **1.1 Research Question**

This study primarily analyses two related themes: the degree of party system institutionalization and its variations across countries. The first part of this study measures the degree of party system institutionalization in different countries, while the second part explains the reasons behind their varying degrees of institutionalization. In analyzing such differences in institutionalization, this study focuses on the party systems in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines and South Korea as case studies to addresses the following research questions:

1. How is the institutionalization of party system measured to determine the variations across the four countries?
2. Why do the levels of party system institutionalization vary in these countries?

To answer the first question, this thesis uses Randall and Svåsand's (1999, 2002) four dimensions of party system institutionalization in combination with other indicators suggested by Janda (1990), Mainwaring and Scully (1995), and Hicken and Kuhonta (2011). Generally, party system institutionalization is measured based on both the structural and attitudinal dimensions using national party systems as units of analysis. In determining party system institutionalization, this thesis utilizes the quantitative method, which will draw on the statistical data on the lower house elections of the four countries from 1986 to 2016. As will be further explained in Chapter Three, Randall and Svåsand's four dimensions (1999, 2002) includes the following: (1) continuity and stability among party system; (2) the level of political parties accepting each other as legitimate partners; (3) party-to-state relationship; (4) public's trust in electoral institutions. These will be used, along with other complementary indicators, to measure the degree of institutionalization of each country's party system.

After which, this thesis subsequently addresses the second question why there are differences in the degree of institutionalization. It presents three main explanatory factors namely: social cleavage, institutionalized factions, and the mode of democratic transitions. As will be further expounded in Chapters Five and Six, this study argues that a variation in these three main factors influences the degree of party system institutionalization across the countries.

## **1.2 Significance of the study**

Though there are several scholarly literatures on party system institutionalization, this study also offers various contributions in the field. First, it provides a scientific way of determining the degree of institutionalization of party systems based on empirical observation and numerical data. Doing so presents a new measurement for institutionalization by including the development of inter-

party competition (i.e., from non-system to system), which provides a more elaborate comprehension of the development and consolidation of party systems over time. Second, this study provides explanations on the variations in the institutionalization of party systems. Though there exist several literatures regarding the causes of institutionalization, they rarely provide the reasons why party system institutionalization varies. Lastly, this study supplements the existing conceptualization of party system institutionalization by utilizing a comparative analysis across democracies in Asia. In particular, it provides an empirical data for party systems in the region, which are relatively few compared to the voluminous studies of party systems in Latin America and post-Communist Europe (for example, see Wibbels, 1999; Tavits, 2005; Mainwaring and Torcal, 2005; Mainwaring and Zoco, 2007).

### **1.3 Thesis Outline**

This thesis comprises the following chapters:

Chapter Two presents the literature review featuring various studies related to party system institutionalization. It starts with a discussion on Huntington's (1965; 1968) original typology of different qualities of institutionalization that gave rise to subsequent studies on party system institutionalization that have developed since then. The chapter also discusses related studies in party system institutionalization in various countries located in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Post-Communist Europe, and East and Southeast Asia. It pays particular attention to the party systems in East and Southeast Asia since the focus on the region is the basis of this thesis. Aside from providing a summary of the existing and relevant research, this chapter also clarifies important concepts and ideas regarding party system institutionalization.

Chapter Three features the theory and methods employed in this study. It explains the dependent and independent variables and their relationships with each other that significantly influence party system institutionalization. This chapter also discusses how these variables are operationalized in this study.

Chapter Four discusses how party system institutionalization is measured. It provides a quantitative analysis on the party system institutionalization level of Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. After measuring the party system institutionalization of the four countries, this chapter concludes that Japan and Taiwan have institutionalized party system, while the Philippines and South Korea have under-institutionalized party systems.

Chapter Five examines the reasons behind the institutionalized party systems in Japan and Taiwan. These reasons are based on three explanatory factors: (a) salient social cleavage; (b) institutionalized party factions; and (c) top-down (i.e., authoritarian led) democratic transitions.

Chapter Six explains why the party systems in the Philippines and South Korea are under-institutionalized. The explanations are also based on the three factors: (a) no salient social cleavage, (b) no institutionalized party factions, and (c) bottom-up (i.e., people-led) democratic transitions.

Chapter Seven highlights the empirical findings of this study and concludes with a summary of its main arguments.



## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter builds on previous studies in party system institutionalization. However, we restrict our review to the available scholarly literature to those that are most relevant. This literature review focuses on previous studies in the party system institutionalization across countries, particularly across Third-wave democratic countries. The chapter, therefore, is organized with the particular question in mind—how previous literature can guide the study conducted in this research; and assess the strengths and weaknesses of the previous literature on party system institutionalization across the countries. Based on these discussion, it suggests the ways to improve the current literature in party system institutionalization and how our research can contribute to advance the scholarly debate in cross-country comparison of party system institutionalization. Here is how this chapter is organized.

This chapter begins by reviewing the literature that are relevant to party system institutionalization, particularly the studies that examines party system institutionalization across countries. Here, the discussion starts by introducing traditions in the literature: (a) those literature that conceptualize party system institutionalization using a single-dimensional concept; and (b) those that conceptualize party system institutionalization using multi-dimensional concepts. By explaining and comparing the limitations in both traditions, the author provides reasons why this study pays attention to those literatures attempting to explain/determine party system institutionalization as multi-dimensional concept.

It then discusses studies in party system institutionalization across different regions focusing on the East and Southeast Asia. This will highlight the limitations in the previous studies in party system institutionalization that this research builds on.

## **2.1 Party System Institutionalization**

In party literature, the term ‘institutionalization’ carries three broad meanings. The first one is given by Samuel Huntington. “Institutionalization is the process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability”, (Huntington, 1968: 12). Secondly, for Kenneth Janda (1980), political party’s external relations should constitute a measurement for institutionalization. Thus, according to Janda, an institutionalized party consists of a party which is ‘reified in the public’s mind’ and a party organization must be viewed as legitimate by its constituent members and publics.

Thirdly, for Angelo Panebianco (1988), ‘institutionalization’ is the “way the organization solidifies by losing its character as a tool and become “value in and of itself,” (Panebianco, 1988:4). Thus, for Panebianco, the survival of the party organization (i.e., party organization becoming a system) is a critical condition in determining if it is institutionalized. For example, if a party organization survives for many years after putting its avowed candidate into an office, the party is considered institutionalized because that particular party is thought to be running under a system, not just on individual charismatic leadership.

Following those initial studies, political party institutionalization disappeared from academic debate. However, with the beginning of the Third Wave democratization the interest in party and party system institutionalization re-emerged. The new series of studies were initiated by the work of Mainwaring and Scully (1995) in *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. They contested the existing models of party system analysis and proposed a new framework, arguing

that the institutionalization should be the main criterion for classifying party system. Following Mainwaring and Scully, subsequent studies have sought to measure the degree of institutionalization of party systems across countries. However, this thesis finds there is still some conceptual ambiguities remain in the study of party system institutionalization that needs to be addressed. For example, there is still debates on what kind of aspects (i.e., value, routinization, or external relations) should be part of a measure of institutionalization and how are these characteristics related to each other.

Therefore, the next two sections of this chapter summarize these ambiguities in relation to the literature: one section will lay out those studies that have evolved on utilizing only one aspect of institutionalization while the other section lays out those studies that have evolved on combining multiple aspects of institutionalization.

### 2.1.1 Party System Institutionalization as one-dimensional approach.

The scholarship in party politics credits Samuel Huntington (1965,1968) for his contribution of introducing ‘institutionalization’. When it was introduced by Huntington, he intended to be a multidimensional concept. Several scholars have since approached ‘institutionalization’ as a single dimensional concept for more conceptual clarity. For example, Mair’s (1996) study of party system stabilization in Western Europe takes ‘stability’ as a replacement for institutionalization and focuses on how ‘party competition’ develops. Mair then distinguishes alternation of government, governing formula, and access to government to measure the level of structural stabilization (please see Mair 1996 for more detailed explanation of these variables).

Levitsky (1998) who took both Huntington's and Panebianco's conceptualization of institutionalization and challenge them with the case of Argentina's Peronist Party— (Partido Justicialista, PJ). For Levitsky, routinization of the PJ party in Argentina suggests that the party has had strong 'value-infusion' (i.e., what Huntington conceptualized to measure institutionalization) but with lower degree of organizational routinization.' In fact, it is the low level of institutionalization of internal rules and procedures, often viewed by more traditional party scholars as inefficient and disorder, that provided organizational flexibility to the PJ. Therefore, it is not the system-ness of internal rules and procedures, as Panebianco suggested, but it is the adaptability of the PJ combined with deep links to society making the party winning stable support from electorate. Thus, for Levitsky, an institutionalized party must have higher degree of 'stability' and 'adaptability'. While there is still a continuing debate regarding, what constitute 'institutionalization', majority of contemporary party system literature uses Levitsky's conceptualization— 'routinization'.

The succeeding studies of Mair (1996) and Levitsky (1998) and other scholars such as Bertoa and Enyedi (2010) have all develop indicators to measure the conceptualization of institutionalization (i.e., stability). Building upon the same principle, Lindberg (2007) measured the degree of party system institutionalization of 21 African electoral democracies using ten indicators that affect legislative instability (see Lindberg 2007 for more detail).

These one-dimensional approaches in party system institutionalization focus on providing clear measurement criteria for institutionalization. In doing so, studies that follow one-dimensional approach forfeits providing comprehensive explanation for party system institutionalization over parsimonious explanations.

### 2.1.2 Party System Institutionalization as a multi-dimensional concept

However, it was Mainwaring and Scully's contribution in 1995 which brought a paradigm shift to the existing model of party system analysis. The authors suggested that the level of institutionalization as the foremost criterion to understand differences in the party system development in Third-Wave democracies.<sup>2</sup> Prior to Mainwaring and Scully's contribution, studies on party system institutionalization used the 'number of parties' or 'ideological distance' as the basic element for the classification of party systems (Duverger 1959; Rae 1967; Laakso and Taguepera 1979; Sartori 1976).

Mainwaring and Scully, argued that the 'degree of institutionalization' need to be incorporated to advance our understanding of the party system. Majority of the contemporary party system literature developed from Mainwaring and Scully's contributions that were used by Mainwaring and Torcal (2005); Kuenzi and Lambright (2001); Basedau (2007); Riedl (2008); Lewis (2008); Crosissant and Volkel (2010) in their studies. Other scholarly works however have drawn inspirations from different studies. For example, Meleshevich (2007) looks at autonomy and stability to measure the party system institutionalization in Baltic States, Russia, and Ukraine. Rose and Munro (2009) and Rose and Mishler (2010) proposed an interactive model of institutionalization that uses the following four criteria: (1) stability of election laws; (2) elite commitments; (3) voter demands; and (4) learning.

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<sup>2</sup> The Third-Wave democracies include the countries that have made their transitions to democracy beginning in 1974. This includes the historic democratic transitions in Latin America in the 1980s, Asia Pacific countries (Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan) from 1980-1988, East Europe after the Collapse of the Soviet Union and Sub-Saharan Africa beginning in 1989. See Samuel Huntington "The Third Wave Democratization in the late Twentieth Century.

In sum, the multi-dimensional approach to party system institutionalization has more complexity and well-versed themes that scholars can refer to. However, this sometimes creates a convoluted understanding of party system institutionalization that results in more recent studies generating more questions than answers regarding party system institutionalization. Given such complexity, most studies in party system institutionalization focus on one-dimensional approach.

Conceptualizing and explaining party system institutionalization using one dimensional approach is more approachable and concise. However, by doing so, we might not be able to capture the full understanding of party system institutionalization. For example, country A's party system could have institutionalized with regard to 'system-ness' and show lower electoral volatility rate compared to country B's electoral volatility. However, what if country B's party system could be more institutionalized in terms of value in which party organizations in country B have survive longer than parties in country A. In this case, can we confidently say country A's party system more institutionalized than country B?

Therefore, to understand more about party system institutionalization, we must strive to make an effort to incorporate 'attitudinal' as well as the 'system-ness' version of 'institutionalization' when measuring party system institutionalization to expand our knowledge of party system institutionalization.

In short, explaining why levels of party systems institutionalization varies across countries must start from measuring institutionalization of party systems in a multi-dimensional approach.

## **2.2 Party System Institutionalization in Cross-Country Comparison**

Given the relevance of the multi-dimensional approach in this study, the succeeding sections highlights party system institutionalization in various regions with cross-country comparison.

### **2.2.1 Party System Institutionalization in Latin America**

Any discussion of study in party system institutionalization across countries normally mentions the Latin American example from the contributions made by Mainwaring and Scully's (1995) in Latin America. Originally, the authors aimed at comparing Party Systems in Latin America. However, they concluded that current concepts (number of parties, ideological distance between them) are insufficient to explain the differences in their party systems. Thus, they conceptualized the institutionalization of party systems as a way to compare party systems across Latin American countries. For them, institutionalization means (a) political system possess stability in rules/nature of interparty competition; (b) major parties have stable roots in the society; (c) major political actors regard parties and electoral process as legitimate; and (d) party organizations are subordinate to the interests of its leaders.

Mainwaring and Scully's most important contribution to the literature essentially provides a paradigm shift in the study of party systems. For them, rules are important for parties and party system but they are not the only thing that matters. Thus, the authors argue that normative qualities such as 'institutionalization' also matters in the study of political parties and party systems because in the Latin American democracies, party systems are much more fluid and the methods to distinguish institutionalized party system from a non-institutionalized party system

require different tools. For example, the traditional studies that looked at the European party systems have only relied on concrete measurements for party system—the number of parties for example (see for example, Sartori, 1975). However, such concrete measurement alone is inadequate to measure party system institutionalization in Latin America.

In short, the criterion ‘number of parties’, as a measurement tool can be applicable to Western European party systems, where countries in the region have already achieved democratization and enjoyed stabilized party system. But this does not fit in the case for Latin American countries, where majority has achieved their democracy only years later as third wave democracies as Huntington described. Thus, their party systems were not yet stable then. According to Mainwaring and Scully, these countries’ party system institutionalization can vary depending on different factors.

Their contributions in the study of party system provide following inspirations to the author. First, the individual chapters in Mainwaring and Scully’s book provide discussions on a variety of political parties and party systems. Second, their research first incorporated the Latin American experience with political parties into the broader theoretical and comparative literature in political science. In addition, the authors utilized empirical evidence to advance understanding into the party system in Latin America.

In sum, the Mainwaring and Scully’s framework has five principal themes: (1) political parties and their role influence how democracies function; (2) criteria for party system institutionalization; (3) the differences in the degree of institutionalization; (4) the relationship between party system institutionalization and democratic consolidation; and (5) the impact of variation in the number of parties and the ideological distance between them. This chapter, however, focus on the second and third themes that fit into the cross-country comparison study. This is



because the second and the third principal themes are most relevant to the research questions in Chapter One.

### 2.2.2 Party System Institutionalization in Africa

The works of Lindberg (2007) and Kuenzi and Lambright (2001) are perhaps two of the most well-known and widely cited literature when studying the party systems across Africa's democratic states. Lindberg analyses the evolution of party system particularly on the stability and fluidity of legislative party configurations in Africa's democratic states. Meanwhile, Kuenzi and Lambright apply Mainwaring and Scully's framework directly to assess the level of party system institutionalization in thirty African countries.

Using legislative volatility, the average age of parties, and the effective number of parliamentary parties, Kuenzi and Lambright have explored the relationship between institutionalization and democratization in 33 African regimes. Basedau (2007) also identifies an association between higher levels of party system institutionalization and democracy. Furthermore, Lindberg (2007), Boggards (2008), all contribute to the debate on the relationship between party system institutionalization and the levels of democracy. On the one hand, Lindberg compares the degree of legislative instability in 21 African countries and delivers a typology of stable-fluid- destabilized party systems. On the other hand, Boggard's study is more concerned with the varying degrees of electoral volatility in dominant party systems. All of these studies find inconsistent relationship between democracies and levels of institutionalization. For example, Kuenzi and Lambright found that higher levels of institutionalization in older democracies (e.g., Botswana and Mauritius), while Bogaards discovered no such relationship between institutionalization and age of democracy.

These studies in African democracies provide a useful guide for this thesis. First, the contribution by the authors eliminate the democracy-institutionalization for consideration in this study. With the inconsistent link between party system institutionalization and the age of democracy, this study opts to remove this factor in the analysis. This is because both African democracies and the three countries considered in this study—namely, the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan—are all Third Wave democracies, which roughly share similar democratic experience.

Second, studies by Kuenzi and Lambright, Bogaard, Lindberg, and Basedu shed some light on the operationalizing indicators for the party system institutionalization. Particularly, Kuenzi and Lambright's indicator for party system institutionalization—the average age of parties—serve a useful guide (more will be explained in forthcoming chapters). In addition, Lindberg's typology of stable/fluid/destabilized party systems provides insights this research on how to conceptualize party system institutionalization when developing a theoretical framework for this study.

Nevertheless, since the thesis is not concerned about the relationship of party system institutionalization to democratic consolidation, studies by Kuenzi, Bogaard, Lindberg, and Basedu are not fully applied as the thesis is more concerned about explaining why the level of party system institutionalization varies across the countries.

### 2.2.3 Party System Institutionalization in post-communist countries

Those who study party system institutionalization in post-communist countries focus their attention on discovering and refining the measures (or sources, as they call it) of party system institutionalization more than explaining why the systems end up differently. For example, studies by Bertoa (2011) and Bertoa and Enyedi (2010) mainly focuses on

determining what causes institutionalization in post-communist East Central Europe. These studies are only briefly mentioned here as majority of these studies do not concern about explaining why party systems institutionalize differently.

However, like the studies in Africa, studies in post-communist countries serve a good reference to this thesis: the various independent variables determining the sources of party system institutionalization. Bertoa (2011) lists and categorizes various independent factors (p. 22) that this research can benefit from. For example, the social cleavage, previous democratization, time of transition, and party system formats are all useful factors for consideration, which will be explained in the following chapters in this thesis.

### **2.3 Party System Institutionalization variation in Asia**

The literature dealing with party system institutionalization in Asia is the major literature we focus on. Scholarly works in party system institutionalization in Asia have mainly revolved around two questions: (a) how institutionalized are party systems across the country; and (b) to what extent can the degree of party system institutionalization predict higher level of democratic performance (for example, Stockton, 2001). However, no studies have yet attempted to explain why the level of party system institutionalization vary across countries in the region. Some claim they do (for example studies by Weatherall, 2011 and Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011). However, they come short in presenting only the level of party system institutionalization and largely made some impressionistic observations and general assumptions on why party system institutionalization level varies across their case selections.

In general, recent studies reveal there are several aspects in the study of party system institutionalization in Asia. On the one hand,

scholars have been pre-occupied with how many dimensions, indicators, and elements that are considered necessary to empirically measure ‘party system institutionalization’. Aurel Croissant and Philip Volke (2012) is good example. They have analysed the level of party system institutionalization in seven democracies in East and Southeast Asia. They found that party systems in Thailand, the Philippines, and South Korea are under-institutionalized, while those in Indonesia, Mongolia, and Taiwan are considered well institutionalized. However, their study stops there without providing reasons why party systems in these countries are different.

On the other hand, there are attempts to explain why party systems vary across countries in Asia. For example, Andreas Ufen (2012) compared the different levels and types of party system institutionalization in Southeast Asia. He found that the early organizational consolidation of social cleavages such as in Indonesia, enhances party system institutionalization. Furthermore, the relation between central and local elites appear to be essential with strong bosses or political cliques undermining institutionalization in the Philippines.

Furthermore, Mark Weatherall (2012), Hicken and Kuhonta (2011) both argue that the key explanatory variable causing party system institutionalization is the legacies of authoritarian rule. These authors argued, that other explanatory factors frequently cited are insufficient to explain the causes of party system institutionalization.<sup>3</sup>

Other studies highlight some interesting explanatory factors for the causes of party system institutionalization in Asia. For example, Shin (1999), Steinberg and Shin (2006) have highlighted the role of culture while a study by Kohno (1992) highlights the role of institutions. However,

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<sup>3</sup> These factors are: the passage of time, timing of competitive elections relative to the expansion of suffrage, economic developments, the electoral system and political culture.

the big limitation of these studies is that they are inclined to one dimensional approach and show preferences for ‘structural elements’ (i.e., stability of inter-party competition) when measuring ‘party system institutionalization’. This forced previous studies to limit their conceptualization of the party system institutionalization with only one or two indicators—namely electoral volatility and led them to make questionable assumptions in why party systems vary in countries. The following sections discuss Hicken (2009), Hicken and Kuhonta (2011), and Weatherall (2012) in depth to highlight the claim made in the previous sentence.

Hicken’s (2009) work comparing the development of nationalized parties in the Philippines and Thailand provides an insightful addition to the study of party system institutionalization. He convincingly explained that why some developing democracies have less nationalized parties than others. He argues that, in the Philippines and Thailand, there is less party aggregation at cross-district level, which means that its parties remain mostly local. This is because political elites choose to cooperate or not to cooperate across district base on this ‘aggregation incentives’. Thus, the more resources to share at the central government, the more incentives for political elites to cooperate and vice versa. Hicken examines three independent factors: (1) the presence of a second chamber in the legislature; (2) the degree of party internal cohesion; and (3) the presence of reserve domains—institutional or policy domains controlled by actors who are not directly accountable to elected officials (Hicken, 2009: 30-34).

For Hicken, since political candidates calculate the expected payoffs from gaining power at the national level by looking at both ‘distribution of resources across the central government’ and the distribution of ‘resources at the local government’. These factors such as bicameral/unicameral legislature, the existence of reserve domain at the central government level will likely reduce the payoff (i.e., more people

means less to share). Therefore, the more the presence of the independent factors (i.e., presence of second chamber, party internal cohesion, the reserve domain), the less it is for political candidate to aggregate across the district to form nationalized political parties.

While Hicken provides a convincing argument, his framework implicitly assumes that all political actors are office-driven and are allocated with the same type of power and resources. However, in reality, politicians often have followed divergent goals (such as votes or policy) and utilizes very different sets of resources to mobilize voters (for example, ideas or charisma) (Strøm 1990). Hicken's framework improves our understanding of the politicians' nature to coordinate across electoral districts so long as we 'assume' that all political actors are interested in just gaining the offices ('bigger piece of pie' according to Hicken and Kuhonta's analogy) and compete in elections (as in the case of Philippine and Thailand). However, once we drop these assumptions, coordination incentives lose its explanatory power. A pie can be very simple to divide. For example, if through vote-buying politicians can prove how much they can contribute towards winning the offices, conflict over resources could be solved by simply math. However, if politicians pursue different goals and contribute to different resources, conflict becomes more difficult to manage. While politics is mostly about who gets what and how, it is not always about winning offices for all. A conflict can be over non-materialistic values such as working to reduce the regional difference as former president Roh Mu-hyun did try in Pusan for three years.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Hicken's framework does not account for voters as voters' choice is kept at the periphery. We argue that how voters choose to elect their

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<sup>4</sup> Roh ran for both Mayoral and Legislative candidate in Pusan under Democratic Party from 1995-1998. Pusan at the time was a constituency for the conservative party.

representatives and parties, however, has implications in the way party systems institutionalize.

Another work by Hicken, this time with Eric Kuhonta (2011) offers a new insight on the causes of party system institutionalization in Asian Third Wave democracies. They claim that the apparent paradox of “many Asian democracies, such as Singapore and Malaysia, as well as until recently, Taiwan are not fully democratic, although they have a competitive party system...and these party systems...are also the most institutionalized in the region” (p.5). This apparent anomaly led them to a systematic re-assessment of five major factors in relation to the causes of party system institutionalization in previous studies: (1) the effect of the passage of time; (2) the effect of suffrage expansion and transition to democracy; (3) the nature of the pre-democracy political regime; (4) political institutions; and (5) political cleavages.

According to their study, the passage of time does not have a systematic impact, neither positive nor negative, on the party system institutionalization of Asian party system. “Passage of more elections does not appear to be inexorably linked with greater institutionalization” (Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011:16). Political institutions and social cleavage also do not support the party system institutionalization in countries they have selected.

However, the impact of pre-democratic political regime, has an impact on party system institutionalization. Hicken and Kuhonta (2011) make three significant claims about the Asian experience of party system institutionalization. First, the presence of an institutionalized authoritarian party prior to democratization led to lower levels of electoral volatility in post-transition period (such as, Taiwan, Cambodia, and Indonesia). Second, the highest levels of institutionalization are found in those states that have not made a transition to a full democracy (i.e., Singapore and Malaysia after 1969). Third, the length of the authoritarian interlude also matter as

it has a negative effect. Simply, the longer the authoritarian interlude, the higher the volatility after the transition to democracy. By contrast, the shorter and less severe the authoritarian interludes, the less disruption there is to the existing party system (Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011:18).

While Hicken and Kuhonta (2011) provides an interesting way of studying party system institutionalization, the claims by the authors raises important questions. First, this thesis finds the selection of Singapore and Malaysia as case studies for party system institutionalization as problematic. Singapore is still an authoritarian state where the People's Action Party (PAP) dominate its politics. Thus, elections are not competitive as the authors' have claimed. In Malaysia, its party system is nowhere near competitive. Although the country is listed as having a multiparty system, the elections also reflect sustained and deliberate efforts to skew elections in favour of the incumbent Barisan Nasional (BN) coalition government led by Prime Minister Najib Razak's United Malays National Organization Party.

The causal relationships between the three independent variables and party system institutionalization are questionable as well. First, Hicken and Kuhonta (2011) definition of an institutionalized authoritarian party is conceptually ambiguous. The authors point to Taiwan as an institutionalized authoritarian party but did not clarify. Secondly, its use of Singapore and Malaysia as case studies reflect the obvious electoral volatility that is lower where party competition is largely skewed toward the governing PAP and BN coalition respectively. Lastly, the claim that authoritarianism has played an important role in the origins of institutionalized party system is tricky. And their argument that the concept of institutionalization needs to be strictly separated from the concept of democracy is really perplexing.

Overall, this thesis finds Hicken and Kuhonta's explanation for the institutionalization of party system in Asia limited for the following



reasons. First, the authors conceptualize party system institutionalization based on one indicator—electoral volatility. As argued earlier in this chapter, relying on a single indicator like electoral volatility may not give a full picture of party system institutionalization across the countries they have studied. For example, while Singapore has low electoral volatility, the PAP's inter-party relationship with other major and minor parties have not been consistent like in Taiwan since 1986. In addition, since PAP is a dominant party, there is a question of 'level playing field' between the government and the opposition.

Second, the causal direction between the low electoral volatility and the authoritarian legacies seem way too obvious because when authoritarianism is still integral in the elections, the field is so farcically uneven that elections in Singapore and Malaysia looks more like a hunting game rather than a fair field of play. So, does authoritarian legacy cause party system institutionalization? Maybe authoritarianism helps bring down electoral volatility but it does not cause party systems to institutionalize. Because of this, they are susceptible to accusations of making case selection bias by choosing countries that fit with the dependent variable without empirical observations.

Meanwhile, Mark Weatherall (2013)'s work compared the party system institutionalization of Taiwan and South Korea. He argues that other key variables explaining the variation in the party system institutionalization is the contrasting legacies of the authoritarian regimes in the two countries. The main argument of Weatherall is that, on the one hand, the dominance of the KMT party-state in Taiwan and its refusal to compromise on the one China principle may have paved the way for the development of an institutionalized party system following democratization. On the other hand, the military authoritarian regime in South Korea did not allow the development of an institutionalized ruling party. He also points to the regional cleavage in South Korea and argues

that an absence of any clear ideological or class-based cleavages has become the defining feature of the country's politics in post-democratization setting (Weatherall, 2013). Weatherall also contradicts his argument by pointing to social cleavage and its influence while also claiming that "the complex and multifaceted legacies of authoritarian rule is necessary to explain political development after democratization" (p.2).

Despite the confusion, this thesis applauds Weatherall's attempt to apply the multi-dimensional approach and develop an index of party and party system institutionalization (p.11). Weatherall's framework considers two dimensions: Linkages between parties and voters; and organization development of parties. The linkages between parties and voters index is indicated by electoral volatility and party identification, while organization development of parties is based on nation-wide organization and party membership. He also used data to measure electoral volatility, party identification, membership numbers in the major parties in Taiwan and South Korea, and lastly presence of a nationwide organization.

In sum, Weatherall finds that Taiwan has a higher level of party system institutionalization compared to South Korea. However, the question on whether authoritarian legacies fit in his assessment is left unanswered. What he presented is a list of measurements that he claims would explain how party system institutionalization is different between the two countries. Furthermore, it is also unclear if he is measuring the party system or party institutionalization. While Weatherall's attempt in bringing multi-dimensional way to measure party system institutionalization and compare it across Taiwan and South Korea is commendable, his analysis is limited as he does not attempt to explain why the party system institutionalization is different between South Korea and Taiwan based on their authoritarian legacies.

The literature in party system institutionalization in Asia has not yet advanced into asking the question why they are different. It remains

concerned about its institutionalization or stabilization. However, this produces an interesting research inquiry to determine the reasons behind the varying degrees of party system institutionalization in the region. In fact, historical legacies (Hicken and Kuhonta, 2001; Weatherall, 2011), and social cleavage (Ufen, 2012) have all been cited, at some point, to explain Asia's party system institutionalization. In this sense, even though only a handful of studies have focused on explaining party system institutionalization across Asian countries, there is a wide literature that can be referenced to which can explain variations in party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, South Korea (as will be described more in Chapter Three).

## **2.4 Limitations on the current literature in party system institutionalization.**

Building on the discussions in this chapter, this study finds that there are two limitations. First, there is a problem of measurement of party system institutionalization; and second, there is lack of explanation in the variations of party system institutionalization.

### **2.4.1 Problem of Measurement**

First, there is confusion on what to focus in measuring party system institutionalization. Is it individual versus systematic level of party organization, or on structural versus attitudinal behaviours of the system? Some studies, as discussed, proposes a multi-dimensional framework for the analysis of party system institutionalization (i.e., Mainwaring and Scully, 1995; Weatherall, 2011) while others attempt reducing the complexity by equating party system institutionalization with one that

creates stability (Casal Bertoa, 2010, 2011; Hicken and Kuhonta 2011, Basedu 2007; Lindberg 2007).

On the one hand, those that follow a one-dimensional approach equate institutionalization with the stabilization or routinization of certain rules (Barely and Tolbert, 1997). On the other hand, those who prefer the multi-dimensional approach tend to lump up both the 'individual versus systematic level of party organization' and 'structural versus attitudinal behaviours' (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995, Mainwaring 1998; Weatherall, 2011) without providing clear explanation on how they may individually vary. Probably this is because the way 'attitudinal elements' have been operationalized brought more confusion. Indicators to measure 'attitudinal elements' in the current literature vary widely from 'sympathy towards and trust in political parties', to 'citizen's value of democracy and of political parties', and analysis on whether political parties accepted the electoral results or boycotted the election. Wilnetsz (2006) has argued that some of these indicators say more about the attitudes toward democracy than about the party system institutionalization. Thus, we must address the issue of measuring 'attitudinal' element to make the measurement of party system institutionalization more complete.

#### 2.4.2 Direction of the Research

The second problem this research finds is the direction of research. As we have discussed in sections 2.2 to 2.3, majority of party system institutionalization literature in Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Asia have focused on how party system institutionalization predicts democratic performance across the countries or cause of party system institutionalization rather than identifying the sources of its variation.

### 2.4.3 Addressing the two issues

In this section, the thesis attempts to address the two problems mentioned in 2.4.1 and 2.4.2. Regarding the first (i.e., problems measurement) this thesis seeks to provide a more comprehensive framework for the analysis of the variation in the party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.

Randall and Svåsand (1999,2002) have developed a framework to explain several relationships in the elements of party system institutionalization that are useful in understanding and measuring the levels of party system institutionalization. Briefly, they proposed four criteria: system-ness, value infusion, decisional autonomy, and reification. System-ness means the “increasing scope, density and regularity of the interactions that constitute the party as a structure” (Randall and Svåsand, 2002:14). Value infusion denotes identifying party support with and commitment to the party. Decisional autonomy is the result of freedom from interference. Lastly, reification describes the establishment of a party in the publics’ imagination. Chapter Three will discuss these criteria in depth and how they are related in producing four dimensions of party system institutionalization measurement in detail. In general, Randall and Svåsand see party system institutionalization as an outcome of inter-party competition regulated by the state’s role in providing them with variant forms of support through the nature of the electoral system (i.e., institutions) over time.

Building on from Randall and Svåsand’s framework can overcome the two limitations in the previous literatures for the following reasons. First, unlike the previous studies that conceptualized party system institutionalization with only one elements (i.e., system-ness) Randall and Svåsand framework incorporates all of the four elements. This will generate more comprehensive measurement of party system

institutionalization. Second, by focusing on the ways inter-party competitions being regulated across countries, we might be able to explain why party systems institutionalize differently. This is because a variation in way inter-party competition being regulated explains a variation in party system institutionalization.

With regards to the second problem, this thesis treats party system institutionalization as a dependent variable. Since there is no systematic study about why party system institutionalization level varies at a cross-country level of analysis, this study attempts to systematically investigate the varying degrees of institutionalization on a cross-sectional perspective; requiring this thesis to treat party system institutionalization as a dependent variable.

## **2.5 Summary of Chapter**

This chapter began by discussing traditions in the subject of ‘institutionalization’ in party literature. First, the chapter discussed how ‘institutionalization’ in political science developed from Huntington and expanded its scope of study by Janda, Panebianco, and Levitsky. Each author added different nuances to ‘institutionalization’ and later Mainwaring and Scully took those conceptualizations further by applying it into studying the party system institutionalization in Latin American countries.

The chapter then discussed how authors applied Mainwaring and Scully’s conceptualization of party system institutionalization to different regions in the world. Volumes have been compiled already in relations to Latin American, Sub-Saharan African, and post-Soviet Eastern European countries, and Asian countries. Nevertheless, there seem to be lack in the literature explaining the variations in party system institutionalization, especially across the Asian countries mainly for one reason. That there

seem to be less scholarly attempt to understand and measure party system institutionalization in multi-dimension.

The main argument of the chapter was that to understand why party system institutionalization vary one must first understand that institutionalization of party system can vary in scopes. For example, Singapore and Taiwan both has low electoral volatility but are different in its party-to-party scope where Singapore is lower because the ‘level playing field’ is heavily favouring the dominant PAP. Therefore, on the one hand, both Taiwan and Singapore has institutionalized party system in the ‘system-ness’ aspect while on the other hand, Singapore has less institutionalized party system in relation to ‘structural and external’ aspect. Knowing where countries’ party system is different is the first step in explaining why party system institutionalization varies across countries.

This chapter then finished off by introducing Randall and Svåsand as a possible remedy as their framework implies several relationships in the elements of party system institutionalization. Understanding how these different elements interact to produce measurements for party system institutionalization and how they relate to the independent factors are discussed in Chapter Three.

# Chapter Three

## Theory and Methods

### Introduction

The previous chapter, provided an analytical survey on various studies regarding party system institutionalization across different geographical areas—Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, post-communist Europe, and Asia. From this literature review, one interesting question emerged—why is there variations in the level of party system institutionalization across different countries? As previously mentioned, while there is a lot of accumulated knowledge on the levels of party system institutionalization and the effect it has on the nature of democratic performance, no studies have yet attempted to study the reasons behind the different degrees of party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.

The two minor issues the literature review identified are: (a) limitation in which different units and levels to which the indicators have been applied to measure degree of party system institutionalization; (b) limitation in using party system institutionalization as independent variable. This thesis argues that these two limitations must be addressed prior to discussing the answer of this study's research question. This chapter attempts to overcome the two limitation and proposes a better framework to study party system institutionalization at a cross-country level.

As discussed in Chapter One, the main purpose of this thesis is to explore and investigate the main research question in the context of four Asian democratic countries: Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, and South



Korea. This chapter details how this research is developed. It identifies the dependent and independent variables and provides definitions to each term while providing justifications for the choices of the factors in this study.

Then, this chapter discusses how these variables are related. Moreover, hypothesis statements will follow each relationship to give more clarifications in this research. Lastly, this chapter deals with methods and data, and provides operationalization of both the dependent and the independent variables.

### **3.1 The Variables Explained: The Dependent and the Independent Variables**

#### **3.1.1 Dependent Variable: Party System Institutionalization**

The dependent variables are essential factors in explaining and measuring the party system institutionalization level across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. The discussion focuses on highlighting the measurement of the party system institutionalization in this research that improves on the measurements used by previous studies. It develops Randall and Svåsand's (2002) indexes of party system institutionalization and uses it as the measurement for the party system institutionalization level across the four countries in focus. This is because studies that follow one dimension—stability approach equates institutionalization or certain rules (i.e., Hicken and Kuhonta's study equating institutionalization with electoral volatility) cannot capture the full scale of institutionalization. To solve this dilemma, the approach by Randall and Svåsand (2002) will thus be used in this study.

Randall and Svåsand define institutionalization as having both a structural and an attitudinal component, which, in turn, encompasses an internal and external dimension. The structural component refers to the

relationship between parties themselves (system-ness), while the attitudinal component suggests that parties accept each other as legitimate competitors (value-infusion). Regarding the party system's external relationships with other parts of the polity, the structural component is especially concerned with the interaction of the party system with the state (decisional autonomy), and the attitudinal component relates to the public attitude towards the party system, including the degree of trust in parties as institutions and its commitment to the electoral process (reification) (Randall and Svåsand, 2002: 7-12).

More specifically, the internal dimension refers to the relationship between parties themselves, and includes both: (1) continuity and stability of inter-party interactions and the electoral support for political parties; (2) mutual acceptance (attitudinal), which requires that the different political parties or groups see one another as legitimate; (3) party organizations must be autonomous from the state in relation to general party activities such as party funding, candidate and membership recruitments; and (4) the electorate must see party organizations as legitimate.

When all four dimensions are added, the level of party system institutionalization for a country can be determined. This framework can also be used to compare the number of countries and their party system institutionalization levels. These indexes are summarised and represented in the table below.

	Internal	External
Structural	Continuity and Stability	Mutual Acceptance
Attitudinal	Party-state Relationship	Appreciation by Electorate

Figure 1 Party system institutionalization index (Randall and Svåsand, 2002)

First, in an institutionalised party system, there is continuity and stability among party alternatives (structural/internal). Continuity in a party system means the extent to which a given set of parties are competing over several elections. Stability, implies that the electoral support for the individual parties are not fluctuating from one election to the other (Randall and Svåsand, 1999: 23). Second, a party system is institutionalized if the system is composed of parties that accept each other as legitimate (attitudinal/internal). Third, party-state relationship (structural/external) is also a vital component for party system institutionalisation. The third-dimension measures extent to which political system regulates party organisations. In effect, the more party organisations and their activities are supported and encouraged by political systems—such as constitution or laws—the more the party system is considered institutionalised (p. 24). Lastly, in an institutionalised party system, the electorate must express some trust in parties; and electoral process must be perceived as the only legitimate way to select political leadership (attitudinal/external), (p.25).

This thesis uses Randall and Svåsand's comprehensive definition of party system institutionalization, which can account for the development of inter-party competition. Most importantly, it addresses the problem of 'attitudinal' measurement problems discussed in chapter Two (section 2.4.1). To advance the knowledge on party system institutionalization variations across the countries, it is necessary to study party systems from its inception to its institutionalization. This thesis see party system institutionalization as an outcome of party-interactions being shaped or regulated by some conditional factors in relation to social structural, history, and institutions over time.

Randall and Svåsand's definition of party system institutionalization also argue that it is an outcome of inter-party competition regulated by the state's role, which provides it with variant

forms of support through the nature of the electoral system over time. Moreover, their definition of party system institutionalization has not been thoroughly challenged in previous literature. Based on these three observations, this thesis develops Randall and Svåsand's definition of party system institutionalization further and uses it as the measure for the dependent variables to examine the variations in the levels of party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.

### 3.1.2 Independent Variables

This section discusses the independent variables that provide explanations on the variations of party system institutionalization levels across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.

#### 3.1.2.1 Social Structure: Social Cleavage

Lipset and Rokkan's (1967) hypothesis is considered the most widely referenced explanation for party system institutionalization. According to them, most social conflicts (for example, conflicts arising from ethnic, linguistic, or religious differences) taken up by political parties originated from the deep social divisions at a critical point in European history. Briefly the Reformation and counter-reformation periods gave rise to a deep divide between the state and the church—what Lipset and Rokkan call the 'centre and periphery'. Meanwhile, the Industrial Revolution gave rise to two further forms of social divisions: (a) rural to urban; and (b) workers versus owners. Eventually, individuals have developed attachments to these divisions and political parties began representing the social divide—their religions, class, residence (urban-rural) and culture (core versus minority culture).

Other scholars have stressed the importance of these social divisions in the formation and maintenance of a party system. They argue: “First, a cleavage involves a social division that separates people who can be distinguished from one another in terms of key social characteristics such as occupation, status, religions or ethnicity. Second, the groups involved in the division must become conscious of their collective identity, for example as workers or employers, and willing to act on this basis. Third, a cleavage must be expressed in organizational term. This is typically achieved as a result of the activities of a trade union, a church, a political party, or some other organization that gives formal institutional expression to the interest of those on the side of the division” (Gallagher et al., 1992:9; see also Bartolini and Mair, 1990, and Mair, 1997). For these authors, social divisions (hereafter simply social cleavage) have the tendency to become organized into formal institutional expressions and those ‘three characteristics’ are used as ‘rulers’ to compare a social cleavage versus a non-social cleavage.

However, authors like Rae and Taylor (1970) offer an alternative view on social cleavage, which differ from Gallagher et al., Bartolini and Mair. Both scholars argue that “cleavages are the criteria which divide the members of the community or sub-community into groups, and the relevant cleavages are those that divide groups with important political difference at specific times and places” (Rae and Taylor, 1970:1). They argue that not all social cleavages are fixed like what Lipset and Rokkan have described. Rather, social divisions change over time and members of a community or sub-community are able to transform their political differences.

Thus, for Rae and Taylor (1970), there are three principal types of cleavages: (1) inscriptive, or traits cleavage such as race or caste; (2) attitudinal, or opinion cleavages such as ideology or preferences; and (3) behavioural, or action cleavages manifested by such activities as voting or

joining organizations. Both scholars, therefore, see neither conflicts nor organization as a necessary condition for the existence of a cleavage; and see social cleavage as not something which is fixed permanently.

However, Bartolini and Mair, counters Rae and Taylor's definition. For them, the three types of cleavages Rae and Taylor conceptualized are simply the different aspects of social cleavages. Therefore, "the term [social] cleavage should be restricted to the indication of a dividing line in a polity which refers to and combines all three aspects (i.e., the 'three characteristics'), and alternative terms should be adopted when referring to social distinction or to an ideological, political and organizational divisions per se" (Bartolini and Mair, 1990:216).

In this study, social cleavages indicate a more permanent dividing line in a polity, and is expressed in an institutional and organizational term like what Lipset and Rokkan; Bartolini and Mair have explained. Those cleavages without any collective actions are not considered as such, but is referred as social distinctions. This thesis demonstrates, in later chapters, that in Japan and Taiwan, social cleavages fit closely to what Lipset and Rokkan and Bartolini and Mair have explained. Meanwhile, in the Philippines and South Korea, social distinctions did not organize into institutional and organizational expressions falling short of becoming a social cleavage. On the one hand, in Japan and Taiwan, the deep social divisions have been mobilized as a focal point for political mobilizations, leading to political representations. On the other hand, social cleavages in the Philippines and South Korea are more transient and temporary, making political parties rely more on 'attitudinal/opinion' social distinctions.

### 3.1.2.2 Institutional Design: Institutional Factionalism

Previous researches have relied mostly on the formal political institutions where findings are non-conclusive. For example, researches

have argued the choice for presidential, semi-presidential, or parliamentary forms of government may affect the survival, but also the quality of the performance of democratic regime (Foweraker, 1998; Franklin, Mackei, and Valen, 2010; Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011, Casal Bértoa, 2010).

For example, Casal Bértoa finds that parliamentarism has no effect on the “patterns of partisan interactions” (p. 12). Nevertheless, he finds semi-presidentialism is more damaging to party system institutionalization. Nevertheless, Casal Bértoa finds components of the presidential system influence positively party system institutionalization. Using Poland as example, he argues that “the composition of the electoral alliances as well as governmental coalitions has been determined from the very beginning by the patterns of inter-party collaboration established at the time for presidential elections” (p.13).

The cases of Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, and South Korea, however, are in direct contrast to what Casal Bértoa argued. For example, in Japan, the parliamentary system has free elections and a competitive multiparty system that lead to an “unbroken string of governments formed exclusively by the conservative Liberal Democratic party” (Pempel, 1992:13). Semi-presidentialism in Taiwan also have produced sustainable and structured party competition leading to institutionalization in inter-party interactions. The cases of the Philippines and South Korea directly contrast the Poland case. In both countries, inter-party collaborations clearly do not exist.

The literature suggests mixed findings too. For instance, Stepan and Skatch (1993, 17) argued that parliamentary systems are more virtuous for democracy as they support single-party coalition majorities, minimizes legislative impasse, and discourage society’s support for military coups; whereas presidential regimes are more promote to conflicts, discourage the formation of durable coalitions, maximize legislative impasse, and stimulate society to call periodically for a military coup. Lijphart (2004)

equally disfavors presidentialism as it inherently lists possibilities for power sharing. The findings are mixed for the semi-presidential regimes as well. Some authors such as Pasquino (1997) argue that it is positive to institutionalization, others sustain that it must be avoided in newly established democratic countries as the inherent potentials for conflict between the president and the prime minister may damage the prospects for successful democratization (Lijphart 2004; Valenzuela 2004). Lastly, Ferree (2010) studied the effect of presidentialism in her study of electoral volatility in African countries, she found no significant effects.

These previous studies all suggest that relationship between type of regime and party system institutionalization or democratization are inconclusive as different cases bring different results. Therefore, this thesis does not consider different regime types as an explanatory variable.

Instead, this thesis considers informal institution/s as one possible explanatory variable. If institutions are bound both by formality and informality as Hall and Taylor (1996) have argued, we should also give attention to the informal institutions and their association to party system institutionalization. In fact, personalism, clientelism, and factionalism (i.e., the web of informal institutions), are usually associated with politics in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea as numerous studies have underlined those webs of informal networks as the foremost institutional legacy form the pre-transition authoritarian regimes (Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011 for example). However, none ventured into study association of these informal structural with party system institutionalization.

This thesis attempt to fill such gap by studying a variation of an informal institution and its impact on the variation of party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines and South Korea.



To explain how institutionalized faction influences party systems institutionalization, this thesis examines if institutionalized factions really do enhance the organizational survivability of political parties at their early phase.

### 3.1.2.3 Mode of Democratic Transition

The way democratic transitions unfold could explain why countries have varying party system institutionalization, based on various studies in democratic transition literature (see for example, Rustow, 1970; Huntington 1991). This thesis argues that there is a relationship between a country's democratic transition experience and its party system institutionalization. This is because the manner in which a transition has occurred is largely determined the way institutions, especially political institutions, are arranged in post-transition setting. For example, Rustow (1970), argued that democracy "is acquired by a process of conscious decision at least on the part of the top political leadership...A small circle of leaders is likely to play a disproportionate role", (p.365). Huntington (1991) agrees and expand Rustow's arguments: "Democratic regimes that last have seldom, if ever, been instituted by mass popular action. Almost always, democracy has come as much from the top down as from the bottom up; it is as likely to be the product of oligarchy as of protest against oligarchy" (p.212). Therefore, the way democratic transitions are unfolding could explain the way institutions are arranged; and this includes the composition of party system.

In Japan and Taiwan's democratic transition, party organizations and its system from the pre-democratic transition (i.e., authoritarian period) undergo little change. Party systems in both countries achieve institutionalization in post-democratic transition; and democratic transition occurred from the top. In contrast, party organizations and its system in the

Philippines and South Korea undergo dramatic changes during their democratic transitions. Their political institutions pre-democratic period did continue into the post-transition period. Party systems continue to struggle to be institutionalized, even after more than thirty-years of being democratic. Contrary to Japan and Taiwan's experience, democratic transitions in the Philippines and South Korea occur from the bottom-up.

Therefore, the way democratic transitions occur and how it affects the continuity of the political institutions from the pre-transitions to post-transitions can largely explain the continuity and discontinuity of the political institutions across the four countries. Detailed explanations regarding how these factors actually fit into the theoretical framework of this thesis shall be discussed. It aims to produce a coherent argument to explain the variations in party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.

#### 3.1.2.4 Other alternative explanations from the literature

The thesis now examines other alternative explanations for the different levels of party system institutionalization that have appeared in the literature. It shall explain the reasons why these alternative explanations are limited in explaining party system institutionalization in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea cases.

##### 3.1.2.4.1 Previous Regime

There is a general assumption that if a democratic system is established before an imposition of an authoritarian regime, the party system is more likely to institutionalize in a post-authoritarian regime. According to Remmer (1985), the older the party system is, (previous to

the imposition of authoritarianism in a country), the more stable the party system will be at the time of re-democratization (see also, Rivera, 1996:180). The logic is that if, during the pre-authoritarian period, political parties had an opportunity to take root in society and had enough time to establish a minimal level of interaction or cooperation, then party system will likely institutionalise when democracy returns.

Kitchelt et al., (1999), corroborates Remmer's argument by explaining that the timing, which shaped the structure of communist authority, coupled with a distinct mode of transition has largely determined the party systems in post-communist countries. The argument is that the earlier the economic industrialisation, state formation, and democratisation are introduced prior to communism or authoritarianism, the more institutionalised the party system after transition.

Building on Remmer's findings, Hamman and Sgouraski-Kinsey also maintain that "the longer the interruption to competitive party politics, the less is the expected party system continuity." In addition, "the shorter the disruption, the more fixed the reputation of political parties for specific political position," (1999:56, 70) and therefore, the higher the continuity/predictability of the patterns of partisan interaction (see also Bennett, 1998:190-191). In summary, party system institutionalisation is likely to be higher in countries with prior experiences in democratic forms of governance before authoritarianism (Mainwaring, 2007:163).

The 'democratic experience' prior to authoritarianism is not a good explanation to explain the variations in party system institutionalization across Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan. For example, prior to the 1945 U.S. occupation of the Japan, political totalitarianism governed more than a decade in Japan (from 1933-1945). However, by 1948, Japan was able to transform itself to a full democracy with fairly stabilized inter-party competition.

If we consider the Philippines' case, the 'democratic experience' further loses its explanatory power because the country also had experiences with institutionalised two-party system prior to the authoritarian regime. But after the fall of authoritarianism, its party system has failed to return to its pre-authoritarian status.

#### 3.1.2.4.2 Electoral System.

Since the publication of Maurice Duverger's (1959) path breaking *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, the relationship between different types of electoral system and party system took centre stage in political science debates.

Duverger suggests that the use of proportional representation (PR) systems lead to multi-party system and coalition governments. This is because a PR system allows minor parties with lower vote shares to win seats in elections, while also encouraging voters to vote according to their preferences. Similar findings have since been made by a number of subsequent studies (Lijphart, 1994; Riker, 1982). Lijphart (1994) finds that the use of non-proportional voting system reduces the number of parties elected, and increases the chances of a single party winning a majority. But a proportional system increases the likelihood of more parties being elected and hence greater numbers of parties in coalition.

Norris (2004) also finds similar results. Her study shows that countries using PR systems, in general, had greater number of parties in the parliaments, and are thus more likely to form coalition governments with a larger number of parties. This is supported by Blais and Bodet's (2006) study, which finds a strong association between the proportionality of elections and the number of parties in government. In their study, Persson, Roland and Tabellini (2007) find PR systems encouraging the

increase in party numbers in parliament and the likelihood of multiparty coalitions as well.

Electoral rules, as an institution, thus have a big role in explaining the differences in the party system. However, the changes in electoral rules give little explanation to why party system continues to be under-institutionalised in the Philippines and South Korea. For example, under president Roh Moo-hyun, South Korea has changed electoral rule from plurality-dominated proportional representation to the incorporation of the two-ballot list in 2004. The new voting rule, often referred to as mixed-member majoritarian system (MMM), benefited nationally-based parties more than the regionally-based ones. In particular, during the 2006 legislative election, both the United Liberal Democratic Party (ULDP) with support base in Chung-chong region, and the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) in Honam (Cholla), suffered a great loss. Meanwhile, those parties with relatively wide national support, like the Democratic Liberal party and Uri Party, fared much better.

However, soon after the election and near the end of president Roh Moo-hyun's term, the governing Uri Party disintegrated and disappeared while many of the opposition parties change their names and new parties were created as a result of a split or merger.

In the Philippine case, it also adopted an electoral system that consists of both single member district (SMD) first-past-the post approach and the PR components (i.e., MMM) with minimal modification on the percentage of party-list representation and party entry threshold (2.0 percent) since 1998. Executive and legislative offices at the National, Provincial, Municipal/City, and Barangay (local) levels are determined through competitive elections. The election in the House of Representative held in 1998 gave similar expected outcome like the one in South Korea--the result benefited national-based parties while rewarding smaller parties with some seats. The election results for 2001 and 2004 reveal the same

party organisations competing with one another (i.e., Lakas, NPC, and Liberal being the dominant parties with number of smaller parties/coalition).

The Lakas Party has successfully won three elections from 2004 to 2007 but appeared as Lakas-KAMPI in 2010. The Lakas-KAMPI Party originated in 2009 with a merger of the original Lakas-CMD Party with the Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI). Furthermore, the 2010 election saw the resurrection of the Nacionalistas Party. While the changes in the electoral rules did bring significant changes to the party system in the Philippines and South Korea, the impact lasted only for few elections. After these elections, things were back to normal. Party systems have returned to their previous state, where parties change frequently, after the electoral system change.

Meanwhile, electoral system reforms occurred in Japan (1994) and Taiwan (2004) respectively. These brought changes in the political situation in both countries by forcing small parties to make electoral alliances with the bigger parties—Japan and Taiwan have also chosen the MMM system. While such electoral system change did bring party system institutionalization for Japan and Taiwan, it did not happen for the Philippines and South Korea. Since all the four countries have MMM system, electoral system is not a good independent factor to explain variation in party system institutionalization in the four countries because the independent variable remains constant.

#### 3.1.2.4.3 Aggregation Incentives

Recent studies have also discussed the relationship between government institutions and party system institutionalization. Mainwaring (1999) argued that federalism has a negative impact on the party system institutionalisation as it fosters “party decentralisation and heterogeneity,”

(263-266). Chiibber and Kollman (2004) and Hicken (2009) expands on Mainwaring's argument and explain how governing institutions affect party system. For them, the separation between federal, state, and the local powers explain the differences between the nationalised versus non-nationalised party system. They believe that the degree of political and economic centralization can influence aggregation incentives. According to them, if power is centralized, there will be a greater incentive for political parties to become nationalized. A greater concentration of power at the national and government level therefore, works like a magnet to pull those political elites who want to gain access to power. And to gain more power, political elites tend to work in unity. Therefore, the more concentrated resources and power are at the national and government level, the higher the likelihood of political parties becoming nationalized because there is more incentive for political elites (or entrepreneurs) to stick to a bigger party, as nationalized party organizations advance their chances of nomination.

Chhibber and Kollman (1998, 2004) believe that it is the changes in the national government's share of total spending in their four country cases that bring variation in the aggregation incentives. In other words, if the national government's share of total spending outweighs that of the sub-national spending, political entrepreneurs have an incentive to coordinate across districts to compete at the national level. But, if the sub-national (local government) spending is higher, candidates and party leaders focus their attention on winning the sub-national seats in order to capture the resources. It has no incentive to aggregate at a cross-district level. Thus, Chhibber and Kollman's work makes a lot of sense.

However, Japan and South Korea's cases contradict their argument. In Japan, the ratio of local government expenditure is high for government services that affect local residents more directly. The total ratio of government expenditure works out to be 58.4 percent for the local

government and 41.6 percent for the central (national) government (Atsuro, 2014: 15). However, Japan's party system is organized at a national level.

In South Korea, the budget of the Korean local governments is prepared by the executive branches and determined by the legislature. However, party system is organized on a regional basis. Thus, aggregation incentives do not explain the variation in party system institutionalization for the selected cases in this study.

### **3.2. Summary of the section**

As previously discussed, this study employs Randall and Svåsand's party system institutionalization index, which can measure the institutionalization of party system across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. Moreover, the three independent factors will be used to explain the variations in the party system institutionalization level across the four countries. First, social cleavages suggest that political parties organize around a deep and clear-cut divide. Without them, political parties merely organize around 'social distinctions' such as political issues or personal charisma to organize competition.

Second, a variation in institutional design facilitate variations in the organizations of political and their institutionalization. If Personalism, clientelism, and factionalism (i.e., the web of informal institutions) are usually associated with politics across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. What are their association to party system institutionalization? Institutionalized factions may have allowed party members to unite under one party banner and to compete against much more organized and well financed parties such as those dominant parties for some c. Thus, institutionalized factions in both countries have been a vital component in prolonging the existence of minor parties until they become major parties. However, without institutionalized factions existing among political



parties such as in the Philippines and South Korea, their party system thus remains under-institutionalized.

Third and last, different paths to democratic transition is another interesting factor to consider in explaining variation in levels of party system institutionalization in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. Since the introduction of multiparty elections in the four countries, Japan and Taiwan's polity has remained unchanged from country's first democratic multiparty election while the Philippines and South Korea have experienced reversals in more recent years and/or have attempted to alter the nature of the regime. The way four countries have made their transition to democracy may explain why there is variation in institutionalization over time.

Third, different types of democratic transition could explain the different levels of party system institutionalization across the four countries. In Japan and Taiwan, democratic transitions have occurred from top to bottom and little or no changes were made in political institutions. Political parties and the elites from the previous authoritarian regime continued in post-democratic transition period. In the Philippines and South Korea, the transitions have occurred through revolutionary struggles. Massive changes occurred in political institutions and among the political elites after the demise of the previous authoritarian regimes. Because of this, institutions from the previous authoritarian regime did not continue into the post-democratic transition period in the Philippines and South Korea. This made the establishment of elite consensus difficult to achieve.

Lastly, this section examined the number of other alternative explanations in the literature and how these do not fit well with the discussion in this study.

### **3.3 Theoretical Approach: party system institutionalization in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.**

Based on the observation in the previous sections. in this chapter, this thesis argues that a more comprehensive explanation is needed to understand why party system institutionalization level varies across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. This accounts for the development of inter-party competition and their consolidation over time. This study presents a theoretical framework that seeks to address both objectives.

The view of this research is that ‘institutionalization’ is a political outcome that exhibits how much organizations, producers, or norms have become stable and valued over time. Historical institutionalism holds the premise that political processes are structured by collective actors such as political institutions and state structures, which bear their own history and expresses particular political interest. In this sense, “political institutions, political authorities, political culture and the structure of political opportunities not only crucially shape the mobilization and the [party] organization of interest, but also the individuals’ belief that certain lines of action are possible.” (Immergut, 1998:18-21; see also Hall and Taylor, 1996; Hay and Wincott, 1998).

This thesis argues that the historical institutionalism suits the general purpose of this study for the following reasons. First, it allows an institutional approach to the study of party systems in Asia because the framework is flexible enough to accommodate both the formal and informal institutions—i.e., such as the concept of *guanxi* in Taiwan. In addition, historical institutionalism is able to combine the macro-comparative approach and proves relevant when we examine the environmental and relational conditions affecting the different paths of institutionalization.

Combining the dependent and independent factors with the historical institutional theoretical framework, the thesis presents the following party system institutionalization model for the purpose of this study.

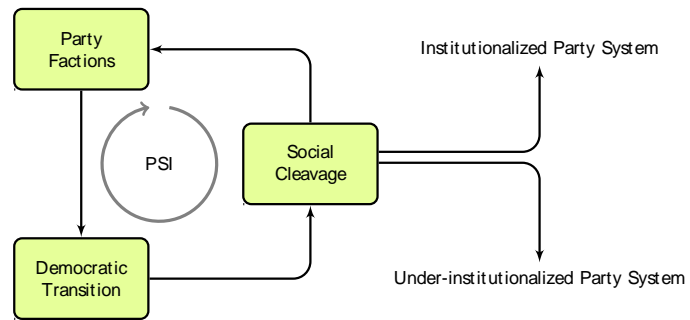


Figure 2 Process of Party System Institutionalisation<sup>5</sup>

The diagram above describes the discussions up to now. Starting from the left-hand side of the diagram, it presents a clockwise circled arrow in the middle inscribed with the “PSI” (party system institutionalization). The PSI consist of Randall and Svåsand’s four dimension of party system institutionalization: (a) continuity and stability of inter-party competition; (b) mutual-acceptance; (c) party to state relationship; and (d) appreciation by electorate.

Surrounding the ‘PSI’ circle are the three rectangular boxes: social cleavage, party factions, and democratic transition. These are the conditional factors that influence and shape party systems across Japan, Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan (i.e., PSI). Here, the interactions between these conditional factors and the party system institutionalization (PSI) produce two different outcomes: (a) an institutionalized party system; and (b) an under-institutionalized party system. A party system institutionalizes over time if the conditional factors enable the inter-party interactions to continue. Factors such as social cleavage, party factions,

<sup>5</sup> The arrow in the figure do not represent any time sequence among variables.

and democratic transitions bring marginal or no changes to the party system. On the contrary, a party system fails to institutionalize if the conditional factors change frequently and fails to provide consistent influence to inter-party interactions over time. This usually happens when social cleavage fails to mobilize into political movements and representation; party factions bring intra-party struggles instead of consensus towards common goals; and democratic transitions brings radical changes to institutions.

Lastly, the circled arrow surrounding 'PSI' and the line arrows connecting the three conditional factors indicate the time factor. This means that party interactions are influenced by the three conditional factors over time.

### 3.3.1 Relationship Among Factors and Hypotheses.

The following section explains in depth how the factors in figure 1 are related to each other. After discussing the direction of relationship of the dependent and the independent variables, the thesis will raise three hypotheses that are to be tested in Chapter Five and Six.

#### 3.3.1.1 Party System Institutionalization and Social cleavage.

Social cleavage is closely related to the development of party system and is one of the most widely studied factor used to explain party system institutionalization. The main idea is that social cleavages affect party system development because they determine the political preferences of voters and elites, who choose and elect among the different options in any given legislative body. Therefore, the continuity of clear and well organized social cleavage provides a basis of a steady support for parties that represent such division. The logic here is that since it is the social

cleavage that define and produce stable patterns of party system, an absence of social cleavage will then create an absence of conflict of divisions in which political parties can organize.

### Hypothesis 1

1.1 Salient and continuous social cleavage leads to a higher level of party system institutionalization.

1.2 Transient and changing social cleavages produce a lower level of party system institutionalization.

#### 3.3.1.2 Party System Institutionalization and institutional design: informal institution

Party theorists, in general, have paid less attention to informal institutions and their impact on the rules of the game (Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). However, growing body of research on Asia suggest that many rules of that structure political life are informally created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels (North, 1990; Knight, 1992; O'Donnell 1996; Lauth, 2000). For example, in Japan, the strict but unwritten rule of *Amakudari* (descent from heaven), thorough which retiring state bureaucrats are awarded top positions in private corporations, have survived decades of administrative reform (Colignon and Usui, 2003). In South Korea, the same practice is called Jeon-gwan ye-u, which refers to an informal arrangement in legal system whereby retired judges and public prosecutors who go on to become lawyers in private practice receive special treatment from their incumbent former colleagues. In Taiwan, famous guanxi still important at work and business while in the Philippines, political cleientelism largely determines the appointments of the offices (Yoshikawa, 1987).

Scholarly attention to informal institutions is not new in political science. We have records of earlier studies of “prismatic societies” (Riggs, 1964), “moral economies” (Scott, 1976), “economies of affections” (Hyden, 1980), “clientelism” (Scott, 1972). However, informal rules have largely remained at the margins of the institutionalist researches in comparative politics. If informal institution is associated with political life in Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, and South Korea then we can suspect that informal institution could also have influences institutionalizations of party and party system.

This thesis will closely examine the impact of party factions as one of many indicator of the informal institution. Factions, in general, are intra-party grouping which exists for a certain period of time, possesses a minimum of organizations, exhibits a common group consciousness, actively pursues political goals, can be discerned as a bloc within the party.

Party theorists, in general, have paid less attention to factions. Sartori (1976:25), for example, dismisses impact of factions on party politics: “parties are instrumental to collective benefits...In short, parties are functional agencies—they serve purpose and fulfil roles—while factions are not”.

However, studies by Cox and Rosenbluth (1993) and McCubbins and Thies (1997) show that the Japanese case makes it clear that factional politics are central to understanding the choice of leaders and policy outcomes of a party organization. In addition, Morgenstern (2001) and Gonzalez (1991) all argue central role the party factions play in elections and policy-making. Thus, party factions in the previous studies has generated an interesting debate about whether or not factions enhance the performance of party organizations. Some believe factions have significant impact on electoral outcomes (Kollner and Basedau, 2005), while others are reluctant to count them as nothing more than tendencies (Rose, 1964).

However, there are indications that institutionalized factions have helped parties to achieve organizational stability during their initial stages of party development. Therefore, the thesis constructs the following hypotheses:

### Hypothesis 2

2.1 The higher the level of institutionalization of party factions, the more the party's ability to politicize its conflicts. This leads to a highly-organized party competition and high party system institutionalization.

2.2 The lower the level of institutionalization of party factions, the lower the party's ability to politicize its conflicts. This leads to a less-organized party competition and low party system institutionalization.

#### 3.3.1.3 Party System Institutionalization and mode of democratic transition

There is also a reason to suspect that different paths to democratization lead to different levels of party system institutionalization (Wakabayashi, 1997; Hsiao (eds.), 2008). The varying path to democratic transitions is also relevant for this analysis because in this critical moment of institutional crafting (i.e., strategies developed and the choices made) during this period are relevant for their institutional outlook of the upcoming regime.

The way democratic transitions unfold could explain why countries have varying party system institutionalization, based on various studies in democratic transition literature (see for example, Rustow, 1970; Huntington 1991). This thesis argues that there is a relationship between a country's democratic transition experience and its party system

institutionalization. This is because the manner in which a transition has occurred is largely determined the way institutions, especially political institutions, are arranged in post-transition setting. For example, Rustow (1970), argued that democracy “is acquired by a process of conscious decision at least on the part of the top political leadership...A small circle of leaders is likely to play a disproportionate role”, (p.365). Huntington (1991) agrees and expand Rustow’s arguments: “Democratic regimes that last have seldom, if ever, been instituted by mass popular action. Almost always, democracy has come as much from the top down as from the bottom up; it is as likely to be the product of oligarchy as of protest against oligarchy” (p.212). Therefore, the way democratic transitions are unfolding could explain the way institutions are arranged; and this includes the composition of party system.

### Hypothesis 3

- 3.1 The top-down democratic transitions allow previous political institutions to continue, leading to a higher the level of party system institutionalization.
- 3.2 The bottom-up democratic transition hinders previous political institutions to continue, leading to a lower level of party system institutionalization.

These three sets of hypotheses are validated using a comparative historical analysis. The discussions will be presented in chapter Five (Japan and Taiwan) and in chapter Six (the Philippines and South Korea).



### **3.4 Methods and Research Design: Comparative Method**

In many instances, empirical social science studies face the dilemma of ‘too many variables and not enough cases’. This dilemma is shared by scholars such as Prezorwki (1987), Lijphart (1971, 1975), and King et al. (1994) and many other empirical researchers in political science. One solution to overcome the dilemma is by increasing the number of cases to draw a statistical inference. Studies by Kuenzi and Lambright (2001), Mainwaring and Scully (1995) demonstrate this approach to measure party system institutionalization across several countries. An alternative approach to a statistical inference is to match similar cases, which can identify the relevant explanatory variables explaining the variation in the dependent variable, in this case is the party system institutionalization. Such research method is called the ‘comparative method’; and there are two main approaches in this methodology. On the one hand, a researcher can control the effect of the omitted variables on the dependent variable by matching cases that are similar. This research method is most commonly known as the most similar systems design (MSSD) or Mill’s method of similarity. On the other hand, a researcher can focus on achieving external validity by “systematically eliminating irrelevant factors” (Pzeworski and Teune, 1970:39). Here, irrelevant factors are eliminated by selecting the cases that are most different; and the researcher’s job is to identify the most common factor which will explain the phenomenon we are interested in explaining. Hence the method is called most different system design (MDSD).

This research chooses the MSSD since it enables the researcher to compare and contrast the development of party system institutionalization across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. These countries are selected based on their similarities in terms of their political history, and institutions, as well as their experiences in economic growth and electoral

systems. The MSSD may be able to control the influence of these similar variables by identifying the factors that are most different across the four countries.

MSSD according to Lijphart, is a “method of testing hypothesized relationship among variables using the same logic as many country comparisons, given that the differences among the countries are carefully selected to compensate for the inability to sample from a large population” (p.164). MSSD, therefore, makes it possible to generalize a theory and make it applicable to other cases using practical data.

#### 3.4 1. Rationale behind the country selection as case studies

Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea were selected because of their difference in party system institutionalization while similarities in other aspects. These countries share similar political history, had experiences with authoritarian regimes/governments, foreign occupations, and national/industrial revolutions. Their party organizations, when compared to Western European mass-based parties, are considered less stable and more fluid. Political cronyism is also common among the political parties across these four countries.

Despite these similarities, party systems in the Philippines and South Korea are considered weaker and under institutionalized compared to Japan and Taiwan. On the one hand, political parties in the Philippines and South Korea appear and disappear frequently, splits and mergers occur regularly, and party switching by candidates are common especially around election seasons. Furthermore, frequent political retaliation by politicians has decreased the trust on parties' as legitimate medium for political representations. On the other hand, party systems in Japan and Taiwan are more institutionalized and their inter-party competitions show predictable patterns, while party switching behaviour rarely happens in

both countries. In following section, the thesis provides a background information of the party systems in the four countries.

#### 3.4.1.1 Party System in Japan

Japan has had, perhaps, the longest history of party politics in Asia. Political parties have emerged during the autocratic Meiji era. Despite a totalitarian military regime's oppression of party politics during World War II, parties have quickly become a focal point of legislative politics during and after the U.S. Occupation (1945-1952), took on many of the characteristics of an organization. Moreover, inter-party competition has consolidated around urban-to-rural socio-economic division, which later had been politicized into an ideological divide.

Strong one party system has dominated Japanese politics from 1955 to 1993. However, while the opposition Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) was a minor opposition party, the JSP could check the dominance of the LDP and sometimes stop the LDP's nationalist policy. In addition, it was always possible for JSP to form coalition with other opposition parties to keep the LDP from achieving the two-third majority.

At present, party system in Japan is composed of five stable parties. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Democratic Party (DP) are the two largest parties. The Komeito (Komei Party) is a middle-size party while the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) are smaller parties. Until 1993, the LDP and the Japanese Socialist Part (JSP) were Japan's two major political parties. As of today, Democratic Party splintered into two parties: Democratic party for the people and Democratic Constitutional Party. There is also a right-wing nationalist party called 'Nippon ishin no kai'. The party was formed as a result from a split in Japan Innovation Party and become the third biggest

opposition party in the National Diet following the July 2016 House of Councillors election.

#### 3.4.1.2 Party System in Taiwan

The establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986 from the Tangwai movement presented a strong challenge to the ruling Kuomintang (KMT) Party (Yu, 2005). The KMT further lost its dominance when in 1993, some of its members left the party and formed the New party. Despite such loss, the KMT had performed strongly in electoral competition until the 1996 presidential election. However, this did not last long as growing internal struggles within the KMT resulted in a party split during the 2000 presidential election, leading to KMT's historic defeat. With regards to the New Party (a splinter from KMT), it later became the People First Party (PFP) in 2001. Such developments, together with the establishment of the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU), became the impetus behind Taiwan's multi-party democracy. It emphasized a Taiwan based on a national identity social cleavage—the KMT with its pro-mainland China stance, and the DPP with its Taiwan independence stance.

The 2001 presidential election in Taiwan may serve as an example of a “critical election” (Key, 1955). In the 2001 Legislative Yuan election, the KMT lost its parliamentary majority, and the DPP became the largest party. This election also highlighted the People First Party (PFP) becoming the third party in the Legislative Yuan.<sup>6</sup> Lee Teng-hui also left KMT and organized the Taiwan Solidarity Union in time to participate in the 2001 election. Lee's popularity has not diminished and voters gave 13 seats to Lee's Taiwan Solidarity Union. In 2000, the DPP, KMT, PFP, TSU, and

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<sup>6</sup> James Soong, in 2000, left the KMT and formed PFP with a significant member of former KMT supporters

the NP along with some independent members were elected in the parliament, but no single party had the majority. Under this condition, five parties began forming partnerships. The TSU, under the leadership of Lee, maintained a close working relationship with the DPP. The KMT, PFP, and NP formed a legislative alliance in opposition to the DP and the TSU, while the other coalition was made up of the KMT, the NP, and the PFP. Thus the 'pan-green' and the 'pan-blue' divide consolidated.

#### 3.4.1.3 Party System in the Philippines

Since the 1986 democratization, party switching and party split and merger became common among political elites in the Philippine national election. A shift in popular support from one party to the other, or, the expectation of such a shift, generally leads to changes of party allegiance by many politicians (Landé, 1996). In addition, intra-party solidarity is weak. Identified by Carl Landé (1996) as 'rebel candidates', these are opposition candidates run for elections against those candidates that the administration party has selected. Similar to South Korea as we will see shortly, inter-party competition is not organized around clear social cleavages. In general, observers point to two characteristics of the Philippines political party system. First, a shift in popular support from one party to the other, or the expectation of such a change, generally leads to the evolution of party allegiance by many professional politician's eagerness to remain on the side of those in power. Second, the large number of "rebel candidates", who run for public offices demonstrate this fact. These are party members who, having failed in their efforts to have themselves named official candidates in their own parties, run for office nonetheless. They do so despite the fact that their efforts will assure the defeat of their party's official candidates.

Patterns of interparty competition in the Philippines is volatile and the party system is organized around two prominent features that is distinctively different from Japan and Taiwan. On the one hand, is the presence of elite families controlling the politics through networks of patron-clientele relationship. Political parties in the Philippines are generally weak in meaningful party platforms and are notorious for having a very high frequency of candidates switching parties. In addition, coalitions last only for a short period. The high number of party splits and mergers, dissolutions, and re-emergence are just a few more addition to the list (Teehankee, 2002, 2006; Arlegue and Coronel, 2003).

On the other hand, in the Philippines, party law allows political elites to cross from one party to another, and this is one of the many reasons why the Philippine's party system is regarded as volatile. The most prominent example of this could be the case of former president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, a founding member of the Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI), who was a candidate for Lakas-NUCD, and an honorary chairwoman of the Partido Liberalista, once the vehicle party of her father, the former president Diosdado P. Macapagal. The pork barrel (i.e., a special financial resource controlled by the president) is often blamed for party switching and the frequent shifts from one coalition to another (Arelgue and Coronel, 2003:225). Furthermore, most parties, except for few parties like the Partido Nacionalista and the Liberalista Party (LP), do not last for more than three consecutive elections.

#### 3.4.1.4 Party system in South Korea

South Korea's party system is one of the most fluid and dynamic because it is prone to changes. Years of authoritarianism under the military junta (i.e., under Park Chug-hee and Chun Doo-whan), source of a political conflict to the country. Those who opposed the authoritarian rule began to

form a coalition of anti-authoritarian movement in what Heo (2005) described as an authoritarian-to-democracy divide. Leaders of the opposition (i.e., Kim Young-sam, and Kim Dea-jung) fought to bring democratic rules to South Korea. However, the coalition broke down as soon as South Korea made transitioned to democracy. Faced with the prospect of becoming the 13<sup>th</sup> president, Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung broke away and formed parties of their own. This split the votes of the democratic camps into half and gave the presidency to Roh Tae-woo and the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) which was the ruling authoritarian party. As a consequence, people who supported the democratic movement also split into two camps. Those who support Kim Young-sam came largely from Yong-nam region (the Southwest of Korea) and the supporters of Kim Dae-jung came largely from the Ho-nam region (the Southeast of Korea). When Roh Tae-woo's 6<sup>th</sup> Republic, faced a minority government. This led Roh to form a coalition with Kim Yong-sam and Kim Jong-pil; and this is the start of the infamous regionalism-based party system which opened up the era of the three Kims.<sup>7</sup>

Similar to the Philippines, South Korean parties are also an electoral vehicle for many elites. For example, Roh Tae-woo found the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) in 1990 in order to clear off his image of the authoritarian era. This is when he reached out to Kim Yong-sam and Kim Jong-pil, with the promise of guaranteeing the 14<sup>th</sup> presidential office, formed a grand coalition. First, Roh dissolved the former ruling Democratic Justice Party and renamed it as the DLP and formed a coalition government with the two opposition parties, the Reunification Democratic Party (RDP) and the New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP). Another

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<sup>7</sup> Regionalism has been predominant in South Korea's party politics over the past 25 years. Major parties' support base has been regionally organized. The current opposition parties (Liberty Korea Party and the Right Party) support base is Yongnam and Kangwon region (Southeast and East of Korea, respectively), while the governing party (The Democratic Party) has strong support from Seoul Metropolitan area and Yongnam (Southwestern of Korea)

example of the party being used as an electoral vehicle is when in 1995, the RDP split from the DPL coalition. The splinter of RDP resulted in the creation of the United Liberal Democratic (ULD) and the National Congress for New Politics (NCNP). Then, right before the 1997 Presidential election, the UDP and NCNP re-merged again to form the Grand National Party under Lee Hoe-chang, to which Kim Yong-sam became a lame duck president.

A brief comparison of party system development across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea highlights some interesting characteristics. Both Japan and Taiwan have relatively well-institutionalized party system based on social cleavage. For more than a decade since 1955, policies in Japan show stable pattern of inter-party competition. In Taiwan, the firm presence of the DPP and a strong opposition party KMT has solidified the country's party system wherein the DPP and the KMT are organized around the strong national identity cleavage. No such trend is visible in the Philippines and South Korea.

Second, similar parties in Japan and Taiwan have, on average competed for a longer period of time allowing for party-to-party legitimacy solidify. In the Philippines and South Korea, however, party changes and party switching occur frequently. Third and lastly, parties in the Philippines and South Korea parties are weakly organized compared to Japan and Taiwan. Patron-clientele and personal charisma still determine party leadership more than having an organizational vision for the party. Typically, in the Philippines and South Korea, leaders create their own party in their bid for presidency. Therefore, party members are more dependent on the leadership. In Japan and Taiwan, political parties are relatively independent from individual leaderships.

Based on above observations, this study groups the four countries into two distinctive groups on the basis of their party system institutionalized. On the one hand, we have Japan and Taiwan whose party



systems are highly institutionalized. On the other hand, we have the Philippines and South Korea where the countries' party systems are under-institutionalized.

### **3.5 Operationalization of the Dependent and Independent factors**

This section discusses the dependent and the independent factors and their relationships with each other in this research. It provides the operational meaning to the dependent and independent variables, which will be employed to examine the level of party system institutional across the Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.

#### **3.5.1 The Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable is measured using the four party system institutionalization indexes developed by Randall and Svåsand: (a) Internal and Structural dimensions; (b) Internal and attitudinal dimension; (c) Structural and External dimension; and (d) Attitudinal/External dimension.

##### **3.5.1.1 Structural and Internal Dimension**

Internal and Structural dimension is indicated with the concept of 'continuity and stability among party system' (please refer back to section 3.2). On the one hand, continuity in party system means the extent to which a given set of parties are competing over several elections. Stability, on the other hand, implies that the electoral support for the individual parties are not fluctuating from one election to the other (Randall and Svåsand, 1999:23). One way to measure party system continuity it is to measure party age and compare how long party organizations last across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. However, measuring only party

longevity over time leaves out an important part mentioned by Randall and Svåsand—the inter-party interactions. Thus, the challenge is to come up with a way to measure and compare political parties competing over several elections across the four countries.

One way to measure the length of political parties competing over time is to examine the parties' dyadic interactions. This study borrows this concept from business and marketing studies as well as international relations.<sup>8</sup> Dyadic interaction simply means an inter-relationship between the two entities. Applying the same logic to the political environment, requires substituting firms or national actors with party organizations. This define their dyadic interactions over time as “a given set of political parties competing over several elections”.

For example, political parties A, B, C, D compete in elections and the goal is to examine whether the same party dyadic interactions continue in next year's election. Here, a party dyad for party A consists of Party A to Party B; Party A to Party C; and Party A to Party D and so on. Here, Party B to Party A is not treated as independent to the Party A to B dyad because it is recurring dyad. Therefore, this study treats Party A to Party B similar to the Party B to Party A dyad.

Once all party dyads are accounted for the analysis, we calculate the average years of each party dyad and their standard deviation across the four countries to compare the average longevity of party competition at an aggregate level. We study the legislative elections across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea from 1986-2016.

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<sup>8</sup> See for example, Christopher J. Medlin, A Dyadic Research Program: The Interaction Possibility Space Model, Forthcoming: *Journal of Business-to-Business Marketing*; David T. Wilson, 1976, “Dyadic Interaction: an Exchange Process”, in *NA-Advances in Consumer Research* Volume 3, (eds.). Beverlee B. Anderson, Cincinnati, OH: Association for Consumer Research, pp:394-397. For International Relations researches, see for example Van Jackson, 2012, *Beyond Tailoring: North Korea and the Promise of Managed Deterrence* published online:

### 3.5.1.2 Attitudinal and internal dimension

The second dimension of Randall and Svåsand indicates that party system institutionalization can be measured by looking at the way parties accept each other as a legitimate competitor. This can be determined by examining the number of times ideologically/organizationally different political parties perform party mergers or form coalitions. Ideally, if party competition is based on a clear political division with a clear party program, the competition between the parties will maximize each party's own support network, rather than parties performing candidate pooling and mergers across different party platform.

Therefore, tracing and counting the number of party mergers and splits across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea' party system development will give a clear indication of the internal and attitudinal dimension. If more party mergers or coalition occur across ideologically different parties, then there is 'less' mutual acceptance. However, if party mergers and coalition formations are limited within the same ideological spectrum (i.e., a merger or coalition formed within the same conservative-based parties), then mutual acceptance is higher. This study traces the party system development across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea from 1986-2016 and present it in a diagram format provide a visual explanation of the mergers and coalitions across the four countries.

### 3.5.1.3 Structural and External Dimension

The third dimension of Randall and Svåsand's framework describes the relationship between party system to the polity, referring to a way in which political systems regulate party systems. The authors talk about regulations of party finance and electoral campaigns..." (p.24). According to them, the more parties and their activities are supported by

public measures, such as public subsidies and access to media and legal protections for their existence based in these countries' constitutions, the more it is likely that party systems are institutionalized. This study particularly focuses on Randall and Svåsand's discussion about the 'legal protections on the existence of organizations', specifically with regards to laws on the freedom of speech and regulations on party organization (i.e., disqualification of all sitting lawmakers from representing the party) in post-1986 across the four countries.

The structural/external dimension will be evaluated using the Freedom House Survey ratings across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.<sup>9</sup> The thesis will compare the Freedom House scores for political rights and civil liberties in Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan from 1998 to 2016. It seeks to validate the following principle: the higher the average score for political rights and civil liberties, the more a country nurtures and values free and fair competition among political parties.

#### 3.5.1.4 Attitudinal and External Dimension

Lastly, Randall and Svåsand argue that for a party system to be institutionalized, the electorate must express a degree of trust in the parties, and that institutions and elections must be viewed as legitimate (p.24).

In this study, the attitudinal and external dimension will be examined by using and comparing the electoral volatility scores of Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, South Korea. Electoral volatility measures the degree of change in the voting behavior between elections. It identifies the changes in the shares of the vote for each party organization across the four countries from 1986 to 2016. To determine this, the study will employ the

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<sup>9</sup> For more information on how Freedom House reports are made, please see the following website:  
<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/methodology>

Pedersen index, which compares the changes in net-volatility. Pedersen index is the sum of the absolute changes in vote share divided by two.<sup>10</sup> The measure of volatility reveals the extent to which party organizations preferred by voters are being reallocated from one election to the next. The higher the score, higher the likelihood that voters will shift their support from one party to the other, from one election to the next. Such analysis, accounts for the parties that have received more votes than the electoral threshold. For Japan and Taiwan, the electoral threshold is 5 percent. Meanwhile, in the Philippines, the electoral threshold is 2 percent (20 percent of the lower house seat; but other parties can still qualify if the 20 per cent of the seats have not been filled up). For South Korea, the electoral threshold is 3 percent, thus a party can have a seat by winning 5 seats at the local constituencies.

In addition, if changes in the party name occur, this study considers it as a party change. For example, Grand National Party and the Saenuri Party of south Korea are considered as separate parties. This is because according to the rules in the central election commission of South Korea, once the new party submits a party name, the old party name is erased from the party lists and the party is considered a new party. This also applies to the three countries.

### 3.5.2 Building a composite index of party system institutionalization

The table below exhibits the dimensions and the indicators of the party system institutionalization index for this research. It examines how the original values of each indicators—measured in terms of average year

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<sup>10</sup>  $V_t = \Sigma(|P_{i_t} - P_{i_{t-1}}|)/2$ , where  $V_t$  stands for the net change of volatility,  $P_{i_t}$  stand for the percentage of the vote, which was obtained by party I at election t.

of party-dyadic relationship, number of mergers across ideologically/organizationally opposing parties, political freedom, and electoral volatility—are standardized into dichotomous scores.

Table 1: Composite index for levels of party system institutionalization

<b>Dimensions</b>	<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Measurement</b>
<b>Internal and structural dimension</b>	Average Party-Dyad Years (1986-2016)	3.0 = 3 to 5 years 2.0 = 2 to 3 years 1.0 = 0 to 2 years
<b>Internal and attitudinal dimension</b>	Number of party mergers across opposing political parties	3.0 = 0 to 5 mergers 2.0 = 5 to 10 mergers 1.0 = N > 10
<b>Structural and external dimension</b>	Political Freedom <sup>11</sup>	3.0 = 1.0 to 1.25 2.0 = 1.25 to 3.25 1.0 = 3.25 to 7.0
<b>Attitudinal and external dimension</b>	Electoral volatility	3.0 = 0 to 10 2.0 = 21 to 30 1.0 = N > 41

The first dimension is determined using a measurement originally developed in this study by deriving the average age of party competition. The second dimension is measured based Janda’s proposal by examining the number of mergers across ideologically opposing parties. For the third dimension, this study uses the Freedom House scores indicating the political freedom and civil liberties in each country. Lastly, the fourth dimension is analysed based on electoral volatility that is derived from Mainwaring and Scully (1995) and was eventually applied in the works of Hicken and Kuhonta (2011) and Weatherall (2013).

The measurement process basically consists of applying an ordinal scale from 1 (low institutionalization) to 3 (high institutionalization) to the values of each indicator. Taking electoral volatility as an example, values

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<sup>11</sup> Please consult <https://freedomhouse.org/report/methodology-freedom-world-2018> for how political freedom is operationalized by the Freedom House survey.

ranging from 1 to 10 are given a score 3 (high institutionalization), while values higher than 41 are given a score of 1 (low institutionalization). This score range of 1 to 3 makes it possible to compare each of the index in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea that will eventually determine their party system institutionalization levels.

### 3.5.3 Operationalization of the independent variables

#### 3.5.3.1 Social Cleavage

This study argues that the path dependent nature (i.e., recurring nature) of social cleavage explains the variation in the party system institutionalization level of the four countries. More specifically, a deep division in the social cleavage created at an early stage of political developments in Japan and Taiwan has continuously organized party competition. In the Philippines and South Korea, conflicts have given rise to social distinctions, but these however did not lead to collective actions and have failed to organize political representations.

Nevertheless, there is a large resentment with applying Lipset and Rokkan's and Bartolini and Mair's (1990:213-220) conceptualization of social cleavage to the cases of Third Wave democracies and the developing democracies. For example, Vicky Randall (1988, 2002) argues that the parties in countries like Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea can hardly fit Lipset and Rokkan's theory of social cleavage. It is without a question that the application of the cleavage concept outside the founding democracies in the West will face formidable obstacles. This is because either the national and industrial revolutions have not occurred in the same form as in Western Europe, or they have failed to produce a similar lasting impact on party systems. In order to fruitfully apply the cleavage concept to Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea, therefore, a number of

minor modifications of the original approach are in order. First, this thesis will abstract from the European experience in looking for the critical junctures that have left a lasting impact on party systems across Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan. Secondly, the thesis will examine the role of ‘agencies’ in cleavage formation. In our case, those agencies will be political elites and party organizations in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. The reason being established elites may not only have an interest in, they may also be capable of shaping party systems and even of preventing social structure (i.e., social cleavage) from manifesting itself in politics.

Then social cleavage are compared across the four countries using the Bartolini and Mair’s (1990:213-220) cleavage is comprised of three elements: (a) social cleavage must have ‘social-structural’ elements such as class, religious denomination, status, or education; (b) social cleavage must have an element of collective identity of this social group; (c) social cleavages must have an organizational manifestation in the form of collective action or a strong organization of social groups concerned.

#### 3.5.3.2 Institutionalized Factions

To examine the impact of institutionalized factionalism on party system institutionalization across the four countries, the following will be discussed. First, is to identify and compare if party factions across the four countries are institutionalized. Second is to discuss whether institutionalized factions in individual parties provide a cohesive means—becoming as one organizational unit—at the early stages of party development. The study considers major parties from Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines, and South Korea.

To understand the impact of institutionalized faction in party system directly, this study conceptualizes institutionalized faction based



on the pioneering work by Richard Rose (1964) and Dennis Beller and Frank Belloni (1976). First, Rose (1964) gave much attention on the organizational characteristic of intraparty actions in his study of English political parties. He distinguished party factions from another intra-party type of formation, calling them as “tendency”; thereby giving clear definition of ‘institutional factionalism’. According to Rose, a faction is a group of parliamentary representatives who pursue a broad range of policies through consciously-organized activity over an extended period of time. Thus, for him, factions are characterized by ideology, leadership, cadres, communication network, and financial resources.

On the contrary, a tendency is merely a set of attitudes more than an organized group. It is defined as a body of aptitudes expressed in a legislature. It deals with certain restricted ranges of problems and often in terms of a more or less coherent, but highly flexible ideology or political issues. The tendency alignments are, therefore, temporary in nature; and as new issues or controversies arise, existing tendency groups dissolve and new alignments appear. In sum, those groups that are relatively highly organized and durable are factions; while those groups that are relatively unorganized and temporary are tendencies.

Meanwhile, Beller and Belloni (1976) provide a more advanced definition of factionalism. has been given by Dennis Beller and Frank Belloni. They characterize factions according to the three following types: (a) factional clique and tendencies; (b) personal, client-group factions; and (c) institutionalized, organizational factions.

Factional cliques and tendencies have very little structure. They are either almost totally unorganized or exhibit only a very ephemeral organization set up that seeks to pursue a single issue or to fight an electoral campaign. Recruitments are more ad-hoc based and have no hierarchical command structures. Individual leadership is based on charisma than on clientelistic links. Such group only exist for a short time. Meanwhile,

personalized factions are based on clientelism, which also serves as the central mechanism for mobilizations. Such groups are characterized by what are usually asymmetrical exchanges of power resources. Hierarchies and chains of command in such groups are vertical. In contrast, the hierarchically organized (i.e., institutionalized) factions exhibit a developed organizational structure and a higher degree of bureaucratization. Recruitment regularly takes place on a non-personal and egalitarian basis. While the political ambitions of the groups' leader(s) are important for the cohesion of these groups, their survival and continued existence is—as a rule—not dependent on an individual leadership.

A summary of the typologies provided by Rose, Beller and Belloni's is summarized in the following table.

Table 2: Types of factions

Types / Character	Structure (organization)	Recruitments	Mobilization	Age
<b>Factional clique and tendencies</b>	No Structure, unorganized group	Only at ad-hoc basis	Based on individual charismatic leadership	Tend not to last long, only one election
<b>Personal, client-group factions</b>	Hierarchical & vertically organized (patron-client)	Guns for hire, members are recruited on the basis of material availability	Dispersal of patronage structures competition and factional mobilization	So long as the patron-client framework "legitimizes" the patron
<b>Institutionalized faction</b>	Group has an organizational structure	Recruitment regularly takes place on a non-personal egalitarian basis.	Mobilization and survival of the group does not depend on an individual leader	Tend to last long, multiple elections.

Source: Beller and Belloni, 1976

This thesis develops Rose, Beller and Belloni's conceptualization further by summarizing their characteristics of factions according to the key words that describe each of the types/characters as the table above displays. For example, since factional clique and tendencies will have no

structure or is an unorganized group, this study considers it as the lowest form of group. In addition, since the recruitment of members are performed at an ad-hoc basis, this study considers this as under institutionalized. For the mobilization part, factional clique and tendencies are mostly based on an individual ‘charismatic leadership’. Therefore, mobilization for clique and tendencies are also lowest in its institutionalization.

Personal, client-group factions have a hierarchical and vertically organized structure (mostly patron-client). This study considers this as a more institutionalized form of structure and organization than the cliques and tendencies. This is because members are recruited as ‘hired-guns’—or vote gatherers; and are only recruited while there as availability of resources. Since factional memberships can change depending on the availability of resources, recruiting members are based on an ad-hoc basis. Thus, this study considers client group and mobilization dimension as under-institutionalized forms of party factions because there is no difference in the degree of institutionalization among membership recruitment category between clique and personalized factions. Personalized factions last longer than tendencies. This is because so long as the so long as the patrons can pay the clients remain (Sidel, 1989:21). Thus, this study ranks personalized factions higher than clique and tendencies on age category as well.

Institutionalized factions have organizational structure for all of the following categories: structure, recruitment, mobilization, and age. For example, if factions within a party have their own regional as well as central offices, it is considered institutionalized. And if the factions are given or if recruitment of members takes place on a regular basis based on merit, those factions are considered institutionalized. Such approach will make the job of comparing the factions/groups/cliقة in the four parties across the four countries more empirical.

This study also examines if institutionalized factions provide the parties (i.e., parties where factions belong) the means to resolve intra-party conflicts and consensus building. It also determines if the parties provide organizational means to project a clear party-line against their opposition parties at an earlier phase of party development. This is because institutionalized factions enhance a party's ability to survive for longer period and stay competitive against more organized and well-financed parties in the cases of Japan and Taiwan. Meanwhile, the least institutionalized parties in the Philippines and South Korea undergo frequent mergers and contributes to the frequent changes in party system.

#### 3.5.2.3 Mode of Democratic Transition

The way democratization has unfolded in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea might explain why there is a variation in the level of party system institutionalization. The thesis argued earlier that democratization from the bottom-up (i.e., People Power) hinders the establishment of elite consensus. Therefore, political institutions from the past are less likely to continue to the post-transition period; and previous party system is more likely to collapse. Meanwhile, top-down democratic transition enhances the establishment of elite consensus. Therefore, previous political institutions are more likely to continue in the post-transition period when party system is more likely to continue and stabilize.

By examining how democratic transitions have unfolded using the proposed measurement units across the four countries, this study compares the different ways in which political institutions were able to continue and consolidate over time. An institutionalized party system generally has lesser changes during a transition. Top-down democratic transition guarantees the continuation of the system and institutions. Therefore, it is

more conducive to party system institutionalization. Meanwhile, the bottom-up democratic transition does not guarantee the continuation of the party system as conflicts among the elites during the transition phase results in the breakdown of the institutions from the previous regimes. This leads to an unstable political environment for party systems to consolidate.

## **Chapter Four**

### Data Analysis

#### **Introduction**

To what extent are party systems across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea institutionalized? This question has been answered in the past but not convincingly. This thesis argues, however, that the type of measurement used for that purpose does not fully capture the different areas and properties of party system institutionalization.

Thus, throughout Chapter IV this question is approached once more, taking into account the application of Randall and Svåsand's measure of institutionalization to the party systems across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea between 1986 to 2016: (a) structural/internal dimension, examined through party-dyadic relations in the legislative elections from 1986 to 2016; (b) structural/external dimension, analysed through number of times ideologically/organizationally different political parties perform party mergers or form coalitions from 1986-2016; (c) attitudinal/internal evaluated using the Freedom House Survey ratings across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea; (d) attitudinal/external dimension evaluated based on electoral volatility across the four countries.

This study utilizes a different way of conceptualizing party system institutionalization. Rather than relying solely on more traditional measures of party system institutionalization such as electoral volatility, political party fragmentation, and number of nationalized political parties, it focuses on measuring the longevity of inter-party competition, number of political party alignment and de-alignments, and political institutions. This study aims to provide a wider spectrum of measurement criteria to

determine the level of party system institutionalization across the four countries.

#### **4.1 Continuity in inter-party competition across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.**

The following highlights a quantitative presentation and an analytical discussion on the continuity in inter-party competition in the four countries. This is measured by aggregating the scores of party-dyad (interactions) in the four countries using data from the national legislative elections held from 1986 to 2016.<sup>12</sup> Below is a statistical summary of the four countries party dyad.

*Table 3: Party-dyad scores for Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.*

<b>Countries/Dyads</b>	<b>Election Years</b>	<b><math>\Sigma</math> no. of Dyads</b>	<b>Year of Dyad (average)</b>	<b>Coefficient of Variation (CV)</b>
<b>Japan</b>	1986-2016	281	4.2	1.62
<b>Taiwan</b>	1986-2016	78	3.7	0.73
<b>Philippines</b>	1986-2016	715	1.4	2.07
<b>South Korea</b>	1986-2016	71	0.3	3.33

This section starts by discussing briefly what the four categories (i.e., total number of dyads, average year of dyad, and coefficient of variation) means and how these indicators help us to compare ‘continuity of inter-party competition’. Starting from the left, there are four countries listed with their legislative election years alongside them. In the total number of dyad section, we are comparing the total number of pair of parties (i.e., party interactions) appeared from 1986 to 2016 in each country. Thus, for example, in Japan, there were in total of 281 pairs of

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<sup>12</sup> Please refer back to 3.5.1.1 for detailed description of the party-dyads.

parties competed in the Shugi-in elections from 1986 to 2016. Take another example, in the Philippines, in their House of Representative elections from 1987-2016, a total of 715 pair of parties have competed. The number of total party dyads for Taiwan and South Korea are very similar and remains at 78 and 71 respectively. The total number of party dyads tell us immediately that there is a high inflation in number of parties in the Philippines while in the South Korea and Taiwan, number of party dyads are very small; and Japan is in the middle.

This information simply show us that many political parties have entered in House of Representative elections in the Philippines in any given years from 1986 to 2016 while there were only a handful of political parties entering in the Legislative Yuan and the National Assembly elections in Taiwan and South Korea respectively. Japan is in the middle, showing not too much but not too little number of parties entering the Shuigi-in election each year from 1986-2016. Does this mean party system is institutionalized in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan while it is not in the Philippines? If so, how? Counting the number of party dyads will not give us a clear picture because we know from our many previous studies that party system is not institutionalized in South Korea. In addition, the number of party dyad tell us nothing about if same party pairs competed in a legislative election in 2012, for example, are contending against each other in the 2016 legislative election. Compare to a more conventional measurement, like the effective number of parties introduced by Lakkso and Taagepera (1979), party-dyad actually measures the length of party interactions. Thus, while the effective number of party measures adjusted number of political parties in a country's party system and the relative strength of parties, the concept lacks in describing the length of party interactions in a party system, which is more conducive to the study of comparing the levels of party system institutionalization across the countries.



The average years of party-dyad, which measures interaction period of parties, across the four countries is a category, which we can compare the longevity of party dyad. The average years of party dyad for each country is calculated as follow. For each party dyad across Japan, Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan, we recorded their year of interaction since 1986 election. This means all the dyadic interaction starts from zero from 1986. For example, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) versus the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) in 2012 has 16 years of interactions while a zero dyad for the LDP versus Nippon Ishin no Kai (Japan Restoration Party –JRP) indicates no interactions. The reason for this was that since 1986, there were nine consecutive House of Representative elections that took place (i.e., in 1986, 1990, 1993, 1996..., 2012). LDP and the DPJ existed since 1986 until 2012. Therefore, the two parties have competed consecutively for 16 years up to the 2012 Shugi-in election. However, party interactions for the LDP and JRP have not previously appeared and therefore, resulted in a dyad year of 0 at the 2012 election. Meanwhile, for the 2012 Legislative Yuan election in Taiwan, the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) have competed consistently for twenty years since 1986, while a dyad between KMT and Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) is only eight years.

In sum, the 2012 legislative election revealed an average dyad year of 7.1 in Japan and 9.3 in Taiwan. This study applied same logic to all the party dyads appearing in the legislative elections from 1986 to 2016 in the Philippines and South Korea. The year of dyad in table 1 is the average year of all the dyad year calculated for the four countries from 1986-2016. On the one hand, Japan has the longest year of party dyad with average party-dyad year of 4.2 while Taiwan has second highest average party dyad years (3.7). On the other hand, the average year of party-dyad in the Philippines in 1.4 years while the average year of party dyad for South Korea is mere 0.3 year, lowest among the four countries. What the average

party-dyad years in the four countries suggest following crucial information. First, with average party dyad year of 4.2, the probability of similar parties continuously competing is higher in Japan followed by Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. We can infer from this information that on average, inter-party competition of a pair of party in Japan is more likely to continue to next election year given that the average year of Shugi-in elections have recurring rate of 3.1 years from 1986 to 2016. In Taiwan, also, the average year of party dyad (3.7) is higher than the average year of Legislative Yuan elections recurring rate of 3.3. Therefore, in Japan and Taiwan, probability of the same parties continuing to the next year elections are more likely.

Second, in the Philippines and South Korea, the average years of party dyad are significantly less than their average election recurring rate. House of Representative election in the Philippines have recurred, on average, 3.2 years while in South Korea it is 4 years. However, the average year of party dyad for the two countries are 1.4 and 0.3 respectively, meaning that probability of party dyad competing in next year's election are dangerously low. We can infer from the information that there is less likelihood of same parties continue to compete in the Philippines and South Korea.

Lastly, the coefficient of variation (CV) level indicates a degree of variation of the party dyad years across the four countries. The CV will tell us about to what degree do individual years of party dyads vary in our data for Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. The CV is calculated by simply dividing a standard deviation by the average party dyad years of each country. As a rule of thumb, usually, CV score of greater than 1 (i.e.,

CV >1) indicates a relatively high variation in the data while a CV score less than 1 (i.e., CV < 1) indicates a low variation.<sup>13</sup>

The CV score for Japan, as is displayed in table 1, is 1.67. What this suggest is that for Japan, majority of party dyad year fall within the mean  $(4.2) \pm 1.67$  meaning that majority of the average year of party dyad in Japan range from 2.53 to 5.87. For Taiwan, the CV rate is 0.74 where majority of party dyad year fall within the mean  $(3.7) \pm 0.73$ , meaning Taiwan's average party dyad year fall from 2.96 to 4.43. For the Philippines,  $(1.4) \pm 2.07$  making the party dyad years fall from -0.67 to 3.47. South Korea  $(0.3) \pm 3.37$ , -3.07 to 3.67.

The comparison of the coefficient of variation tell us an important characteristic about the party system across the four countries. The likelihood of same party pair (a dyad) in an election at point  $t$  to continue into  $t_1$  is less in Japan, Philippines, and South Korea compared to Taiwan. This make Taiwan stand out as having a party system which is more institutionalized. Let us briefly discuss Japan, Philippines, and South Korea.

The range of party dyad data for Japan, on the one hand, reveals that the average year of party dyad lay anywhere from 2.53 to 5.87 years. This means that in Japan there are still many dyads that do not survive for more than 3.1, the average recurring rate of the Shugi-in election. However, with majority of party dyad surviving more than 2 years and the major parties have been continuously competing since 1986 makes Japan's party system institutionalized. On the other hand, the average year of party dyads reveal concerns for the party systems in the Philippines and South Korea. Not only the average year of party dyad are low in the two countries, their coefficient of variation reveal extreme variation. For example, the average

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<sup>13</sup> Coefficient of variation is used in this study because the measurement gives us the ability to compare how spread (or varying) the data is across the different data-sets with different mean value.

party dyad in South Korean legislative election ranges from -3.07 to 3.67 meaning that majority inter-party interactions breakdown before given a change to flourish. Since inter-party interactions break down frequently, party systems undergo changes and produces one of the most radical party realignments in every election. The coefficient of variation for the Philippines also reveal concern that is similar to South Korea case. However, at the very least, Philippines inter-party interactions show signs of consolidation as there is continuity of interactions within older parties such as Liberal Party and the Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC).

Based on this observation, this study allocates party system institutionalization score of 3 to Japan and Taiwan since their average party dyad years are between 3 to 5 years. Meanwhile, the party system institutionalization score of 1 is allocated to the Philippines and South Korea because their average party dyad years are less than 2 years.

#### **4.2 Party organizational continuity: Party mergers across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea.**

On average, parties founded in 1955 in Japan (LDP) won about 60 percent of the seat in the last lower house election in Japan while in Taiwan parties founded in 1914 and 1986 (i.e., the KMT and DPP respectively) won more than 60 percent of the seat in the Legislative Yuan. Meanwhile, in the Philippines the Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) made its comeback and won about 42 percent while the Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC) won about 17 percent of the House of the representative election. The Liberal Party was found in 1946 while the NPC was founded in 1992. In South Korea, the Democratic Party and the Saenuri Party won about 37 percent and 38 percent of the National Assembly election in 2016 respectively. The Democratic Party was found in 2014 as a merger of the Democratic Party and the New Political Vision Party while the Saenuri

Party, (currently reorganized and changed its party name to the Liberty Korea party) was known as the Grand National Party until 2012.<sup>14</sup>

The main difference between the four countries, as discussed briefly, is that party organizations in Japan and Taiwan created more than half century ago continue to win substantial seats in the national legislative elections. Meanwhile, political parties like the Nacionalista, Liberal Party, and NPC have been consistently competing in the elections held in the Philippines since 1986. However, these parties continue to compete by making coalitions with other parties. The most troubling case is the South Korea. Only the Grand National Party have survived for eight years (2000 to 2008) while other parties have performed mergers and splits to gain electoral advantages before national elections. The following section examines party system developments of the four countries and discuss part system continuity. The following historical background discusses the various episodes of mergers and cross-overs in the political system of the four countries.

#### 4.2.1 Japan: A brief history of the post-war party system.

The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) dominated Japan's post-war politics from the 1960s until now, except for momentary defeats between 1993 to 1994 and 2009 to 2012. The LDP was created in November 1955 by the merger of Japan Democratic Party and the Liberal Party. The LDP's counterpart, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP-later changed its name to Social Democratic Party (SDP) in 1996), was formed in 1945 under the U.S. occupation. Meanwhile, Japanese Communist Party (JCP), being the oldest party, survived the Taisho as well as the militant authoritarian

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<sup>14</sup> The Grand National Party reorganized its party machine to elect Park Gun-hye to the 11<sup>th</sup> president of South Korea. Former Lee Myung-bak's supporters lost their party position and excluded from nomination to party positions.

government under the *Taisei Yokusankai* (Imperial Rule Aid Association—I.R.A.A.). The JCP has continuously competed in Japan's elections until the present. What is notable about post-war party system in Japan is that there are no party mergers between one ideologically different party to another. For example, there was no party merger performed between the LDP and the JCP, nor from the SDP and vice versa.

However, party mergers occurred mostly within the conservative camps. This includes the LDP, the Koemito Party, and the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party. There were number of mergers between ideologically different parties in Japan. However, such mergers were far less in number compared to the Philippines and South Korea. For example, Shinshinto party was formed by defectors from LDP, former member of Democratic Socialist party (DP), Socialist Democratic Federation (SDF), and others. The latter two broke with Japanese Socialist Party in 1960s and 1970s. Democratic party (DP) included politicians from former LDP and also from DSP and SDF. For example, Democratic prime minister Hatoyama was originally from LDP, and his successor prime minister was from SDF. Liberal Party then split into two; members who went to DP and members who established New Conservative Party which was finally merged with LDP.<sup>15</sup> The graphical representation below shows the party mergers in the Japanese party system from 1993 to 2005.

[Figure 3, Party System Development in Japan here. See Appendix B Japan]

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<sup>15</sup> There was once a grand-coalition government formed from 1993 and 1996 between the LDP, the New Party Sekigake, and the JSP under prime minister Tomiichi Murayama, leader of the Japanese Socialist Party. However, coalition is not considered a merger in this study.

Figure 3 depicts a change in the Japanese party system due to realignments from 1993 to 2005.<sup>16</sup> This study chose the period from 1993 to 2005 because this was the first recorded interruptions in the LDP's dominant party rule. Evidently, there were a small group from the LDP that decreased the dominance of the party by forming a different coalition. Tracing the process of the LDP splinter and coalition formation from 1993 to 2005 provided a clear picture of party mergers and candidate cross-overs in the Japanese party system.

As presented in figure 3, the factions by the so-called 'reformers' led to the formation of new conservative parties particularly after the LDP's loss in the 1993 election. These parties include: the Shinseito Party (also known as the Japanese Renewal Party); and the Japan New party. Eventually, the Japan New Party and the Shinseito Party merged becoming the Shinshintō Party. Meanwhile, the New Party Sakigake split into the Sakigake Party (later absorbed into the LDP) and the Minshuto Party (later became the Democratic Party of Japan).

The Komeito Party also divided into two: the Komeito New Party and the Komei Party. The Komeito New Party later merged into the Shinshintō, while the Komei Party later re-organized into the Remei Club in 1998. That year, factions within the Shinshintō split into two different parties: One faction recognized itself into the Liberal Party (Jiyuto Party) and the other merged with the Remei Club. By early 2005, the Liberal Party split into two: One faction became the founding member of the Democratic Party of Japan, while the other established the Japan Innovation Party, which later merged back to the LDP.

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<sup>16</sup> The thesis consulted following information: Hiroshi Murakami. 2009. "The Changing Party System in Japan 1993-2007: More Competition and Limited Convergence", *Ritsumeikan Law Review* (26):27-34; Ashinova Zhanar Erbolatovna., 2002., "Modernization of Political Party System in Japan and the Republic of Kazakhstan: A Comparative Analysis."

On the progressive camp, there were less party splinters. The Social Democratic Party of Japan (SDPJ) reorganized the party into the Democratic Social Party in 1994 and then change back its name to the Social Democratic Party in 2005. The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) did not undergo any reorganization and continued competing in the Shugin elections in Japan from 1994 to 2005. However, there were some noticeable party mergers between ideologically different parties in Japan. For example, Shinshintō party was formed by defectors from LDP, former members of Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), Socialist Democratic Federation (SDF), and others. The latter two broke with Japanese Socialist Party in 1960s and 1970s. Democratic Party included politicians from former LDP and also from SDF.

Nevertheless, as the following sections will reveal, Japanese party system illustrates far less frequent party mergers across the ideologically opposing parties compared to the Philippines and South Korea.

Given these observation, party organizational continuity of the LDP developed into a two-party system in Japan. In addition, the fact that party mergers across ideologically different parties did not occur in the Japanese party system helped the system to consolidate into two party system. For this reason, Japan is allocated a party system institutionalization score of 3.

#### 4.2.2 Taiwan: 1986 to 2016

The Kuomintang (KMT) party has been in power until Taiwan underwent democratization. With Taiwan's democratization in 1986, the Democratic Progressive Party began representing that transformed into a political stance. From this period, there became a clear divide over the issue of national identity that transformed into a political ideology. Over time, party systems in Taiwan showcased two dominant camps: the pan-



Blue and the pan-Green. On the one hand, the pan-Blue consists of parties in the Legislative Yuan that share ideological similarities with the KMT, which strongly support the normalization of relations with mainland China. On the other hand, the pan-Green is led by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), composed of minor parties supporting Taiwan independence. Apart from the two groups splitting from the KMT party around the early 1990s to 2000s, there are not mergers between the two camps in Taiwan's party system since 1986.

[Figure 4, Party System Institutionalization Development in Taiwan here. See Appendix B Taiwan]<sup>17</sup>

As the figure 4 illustrates, party system in Taiwan experienced two major party splits, transforming the once dual-party system into a multi-party system. First, in 1993, a group of KMT party elites split from the KMT and formed the New Party in 1993. Then two more political parties have emerged to challenge the established political parties in 2000: The People First Party (PFP) headed by James Soong and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) led by former president Lee Teung-hui. No significant change is recorded in Taiwan's party system after 2005. Most importantly, there is no evidence of party cross over by political candidates or mergers between the pan-Blue and the pan-Green. Based on this observation,

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<sup>17</sup> Party System Development in Taiwan (1986-2016). Author's own compilation based on following information: John F. Copper. 1989, "The Evolution of Political Parties in Taiwan," *Asian Affairs*: Taylor&Francis LTD. Pp. 3-21; Ching-hsin Yu, 2005, "The Evolving Party Systems in Taiwan, 1995-2004," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Sage Journals, pp. 105-123; Dafydd Fell and Chung-li Wu, 2006, "Inter-Party Competition in Taiwan: Two Decades of Change and Continuity," *East Asia* (23):1. pp. 3-6 [http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/8620/1/New\\_Party.pdf](http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/8620/1/New_Party.pdf).

Taiwan is allocated a party system institutionalization score of 3 similar to Japan.

#### 4.2.3 The Philippines

The history of party politics in the Philippines is as old as Japan. At the beginning of the American occupation in the country,<sup>18</sup> two political parties were formed—the Federalista and the Nacionalista. Both parties have dominated the electoral arena, albeit controlled largely by the American occupational authority until the Philippines gained independence in 1946. After this, the electoral competition continued between the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party until Ferdinand Marcos was elected as president. During his last year of tenure, Marcos declares martial law and outlawed political parties except his own Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL).

With Marcos' ouster however, party system was not restored back to its two-party system in the 1940s. Under Corazon Aquino's presidency, major parties disintegrated into smaller parties, which thereafter could not form a unified coalition. What is particularly notable in the Philippine's presidential elections. The brief discussion highlighted number of interesting features in the Philippines' party system. Such characteristics are well described by the accounts of Hutchcroft and Rocamora (2003) and Almonte (2007). For them, parties serve as a vehicle for their powerful patrons to gain government access through elected members in offices. This is also affirmed by Almonte (2007:65) who describes the country's existing parties as "catch-all" parties that target to please everyone and anyone from all sector and social strata. Moreover, there exists several

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<sup>18</sup> With the signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States

“paper” parties organized to support the presidential ambitions of some members.

The brief discussion of the party system development in the Philippines from 1945 to 2010 highlighted that parties are only served as an electoral vehicle and that they are catch-all and employ populist measures instead of clearly organized party-line. This study adds one more feature of the Philippines party system. Evidently, there are frequently party coalition formation by various parties during legislative elections especially after the 1986 elections. Below is a brief sketch of party system development in the Philippines from 1945 to 1986.

[Figure 5, Party System Institutionalization Development in the Philippines here. See Appendix B Philippines]<sup>19</sup>

As figure 5 shows, there were several party mergers and coalitions and ad hoc coalition formations in the Philippines from 1945 to 2010. Interestingly, the number of parties and coalitions that have been organized and dissolved in successive national elections increased since 1987. The successive elections under the 1987 constitution reveal recurring coalition makings, mergers, and splits. In addition, once the clear divide between People’s Coalition and the Grand Alliance for Democracy quickly broke down only to be followed by another series of party splits, mergers and ad hoc coalition formations. For example, in 1992 election, the NP broke up into three factions, the LP suffered from mass defections and financial

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<sup>19</sup> Party System Development of the Philippines from 1945 to 2010. Author’s own compilation based on following information: Carl H. Lande’, 1967., “The Philippine Political Party System,” *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (5):19-39; Joel Rocamora, “Philippine Political Parties, Electoral System and Political Reform,” <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/apcity/unpan006915.pdf>.

troubles, and later allied itself with the remnants of Senator Auilino Pimentel's PDP-Laban. NPC was composed of various defectors from other parties. The Lakas-NUCD-UMDP coalition became the final vehicle for former Defense Secretary Ramos. The People's Reform Party (PRP), heavily supported by student volunteers was formed. The Lakas-NUCD-UMDP party was hastily organized for the 1992 election, after Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos lost the LDP presidential nomination to House Speaker Mitra. It was merger of newly formed Lakas ng EDSA (not to be confused with the Lakas ng Bansa) and the older National Union of Christian Democrats-Union of Muslim Democrats of the Philippines (NUCD-UMDP) founded in 1984.

Since the 2010 national election, however, the two pre-martial law political parties have made a strong comeback (i.e., the LDP and the NPC) able to compete with those post-martial law parties such as Lakas. However, party system is still very volatile and unpredictable in the Philippines. Political parties as organizations are yet to be durable and stable. In total, there were 8 party mergers across different parties and countless party candidate crossings in the Philippines' House of Representative election from 1987 to 2010. Based on this observation, a party system institutionalization score of 2 is allocated to the Philippines.

#### 4.2.4 South Korea: 1945-2016

At the end of Japan's colonialism, the Korean Peninsula was put under the trusteeship of the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union took control over the northern part of the Korea Peninsula (above the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel), while the United States had the jurisdiction over the south (below 38<sup>th</sup> parallel). Under the United States Military Government in Korea (USMGIK) trusteeship, Syngman Rhee became the first President of the South Korean Republic having won the election in 1948. Rhee's

ambition of prolonging his rule indefinitely met with nationwide student protests that led to the April 19<sup>th</sup> revolution. With the ouster of Rhee, his Liberal Party disintegrated, with some members going to the New Democratic Party. Meanwhile, a majority of former Liberal Party members joined the Democratic Republican Party, established by Park Chunghee in 1961 after his military coup d'état. After Park's assassination, Chun Doowhan became president via another military coup d'état. Chun created the Democratic Justice Party and recruited former members of the Democratic Republican Party as well as the Reunification Democratic Party.<sup>20</sup>

In June 10 1987, Chun was forced to resign as president and declared to have a free election. Chun's longtime friend, Roh Tae-woo became the president. Roh's election as president was due to a mega split in the democratic opposition, which began from 1987 onwards between those who followed Kim Young-sam and those who followed Kim Dae-joong. As the administration candidate, Roh happened to be the lucky winner of such political split in the opposition.

Then, in the 1990s, a political merger has changed the dynamics of the party system in South Korea occurred. Opposition leaders Kim Young-sam (Unification Democratic Party) and Kim Jong-pil (New Republican Democratic Party) led their parties to merge into the ruling party Democratic Justice Party and formed the Democratic Liberal Party. Kim Young-sam then was nominated as the presidential candidate and was elected. This significant party merger changed the political divided in the country from authoritarian versus democratic to divisions among regions, which has consistently weakened party system institutionalization. Similar to the Philippines, political mergers between parties were primarily

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<sup>20</sup> In fairness to the members of the Reunification Democratic Party, the Party was banned and Kim Dae-jung was sentenced to the death penalty under the charges of conspiring the Gwangjoo democratic uprising in 1980.

initiated because of personal interests. Thus, mergers between the ideologically different parties become more frequent after the 1986 democratization. Below is a party system development in South Korea from 1945 to early 2016.

[Figure 6, Party System Development in South Korea here. See Appendix B South Korea]<sup>21</sup>

From the top left-hand corner in figure 6, we have two nationalist parties, The Korean National Party (KNP) under the leadership of Kim ku<sup>22</sup> and the Korean Democratic Party formed by Song Jin-woo.<sup>23</sup> To the center-left, there are two parties: The Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI) led by Yu Woon-hyung and the People's Labour Party founded by Kim Byung-ro. Lastly, to right most side, there is the Workers Party of South Korea (WPSK). The variety of parties present a wide ideological spectrum in a liberated Korea that was as diverse as a full democracy.<sup>24</sup> However, intensified conflicts involving political

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<sup>21</sup> Party System Development in South Korea (1948-2016). Author's own compilation based on following information: Heike Hermanns, 2009, "Political Parties in South Korea and Taiwan after Twenty Years of Democratization, *Inha Journal of International Studies*, pp. 205-224; Park Jin. 1990, "Poitical Change in South Korea: The Challenge of the Conservative Alliance," *Asian Survey*, University of California Press, pp. 1154-1168; David I. Steinberg, "The Evolution of the Political Party System and the Future of Party Politics in the Republic of Korea," <https://apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/turningpoint/CH7.pdf>.

<sup>22</sup> Kim ku was one of many leaders of the Korean independence movement under Japanese occupation. Kim led the most ultra-nationalistic faction of the movement and had often clashes with the communist factions. Kim Ku served as a Premier of the Korean Provincial Government in Shanghai.

<sup>23</sup> Song Jin-woo was a Korean journalist, politician, and independence activists.

<sup>24</sup> The Worker's Party of South Korea (WPSK) was under a leadership of Park Hun-young a long time Korean Communist and Independence activist. The People's Congress (formally known as the Preparation of National Independence) was organized group led by Yu-yoon-hyung a center-left national independence activist. The National Alliance for the Rapid Realization of Korean Independence (NARRKI) was led by Rhee Sueng-man, who had a deep connection to the U.S.

assassinations from each group created more chaos than stability. Rhee Syng-man eliminated his political rivals.<sup>25</sup> The Korean Nationalist Party disbanded while some members from the Korean Democratic Party were merged into the Liberal Party of Rhee Syng-man by late 1948. The CPKI was scattered and went underground while the SKWP also went into hiding only resurfaced during the Korean War.

With the elimination of majority of his critics, Rhee Syng-man established the Liberal Party and became the president of the first Republic of Korea in 1948. Then systematically, Rhee created an anti-communist state with the help of the USAGIK. Majority of the former nationalist independence activists with a communist background were eliminated and replaced by former Korean collaborators of Japan. By 1951, Liberal Party under the authoritarian rule of Rhee Syngman consolidated due to the event of the Korean War (1950-1953).

After more than 10 years of Rhee's authoritarian rule, his Liberal Party disintegrated, while the Democratic Party and the Democratic Justice Party merged and form the Democratic Party under the leadership of Yoon Bo-sun. This was the Second Republic with the first ever parliamentary system of government in South Korea.<sup>26</sup> However, the Second Republic only existed for a short time because Lieutenant General Park Chung-hee toppled the Second Republic and installed the Third Republic through military coup d'état. Park made all political parties illegal until he ran for the presidency as a civilian. Park formed the Democratic Republican Party, which unified the opposition—the previous Democratic Justice Party and the Democratic People's Party merged under the New Democratic Party. But eventually, under the Yushin Constitution of 1972, all political parties

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<sup>25</sup> Kim-ku and Yuh Woon-hyung were assassinated by the ultra-nationalists while Park Hun-young fled to North and later accused of treason by Kim Il-sung's North Korea Worker's Party and executed.

<sup>26</sup> Yoon Bo-sun became the president of South Korea and Chang-myun was voted to Prime Minister.

and activities became outlaw. Then the Yushin fall with the death of Park. Chun Doo-whan instigated another coup d'état and took control of the government.

In 1985 when martial law was lifted, the New Korea Democratic Party was formed. However, about a year later, the New Korea Democratic Party split into two and a group left the party to form the Unified Democratic Party. Then, over the issue of presidential nomination, the Unified Democratic Party was split and formed for Peace and Democracy. This divide among the democratic opposition gave victory to the Democratic Justice Party. However, the Democratic Justice Party merged with the New Republican Party because it was outnumbered in the National Assembly. This back-stage deal created the infamous 'regional' divide party system in South Korea. Those who supported Kim Young-sam of the United Democratic Party (i.e., mostly from north and south Kyungsang province) supported this rightist party, while those who supported Kim Dae-jung of the Party for Peace and Democracy (i.e., mostly from the north and south of Cholla province) remained voting for the democratic opposition party. Seoul and the metropolitan Kyunggi region became swing states.

After the merger between the democratic opposition with the military authoritarian (conservative) party in 1990, more frequent mergers occurred in South Korea. In total, there were a total of seven mergers. As discussed, South Korea's political party organizational continuity is lowest among the four countries. Political parties have not only changed their names but have performed numerous mergers across different political parties have rendered their organizational continuity. more than 10 mergers performed across the ideologically different political parties in South Korea between 1986-2016. Based on this observation, party system institutionalization score of 1 is allocated for South Korea.



### 4.3 Political Rights, Civil Liberties, and Freedom and state-party relationship in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea

This section discusses the importance of political rights and civil liberties in determining the level of party system institutionalization using the Freedom House Scores. It argues that a low average of freedom scores in each country indicates less regulations on party organizations. This means that party organizations and their activities are fully supported and encouraged by their political system.

*Table 4 Average Freedom Scores for Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan (1998-2016)<sup>27</sup>*

<b>Country/Scores</b>	<b>Political Rights</b>	<b>Civil Liberties</b>
<b>Japan (1998-2016)</b>	1	1.89
<b>Taiwan (1999-2016)</b>	1.14	1.7
<b>South Korea (1998-2016)</b>	1.5	2
<b>Philippines (1999-2001)</b>	2.8	3

Above is the average scores of political rights, civil liberties, and freedom across Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan from 1998 to 2016. The scores are rated by the Freedom House in a scale from 1 to 7. 1 is being the freest and 7 being the least free. Briefly, political rights measure the extend of free and fairness of electoral process, political pluralism (i.e., rights to organize different political parties or groups of their choice) and degree of participation (i.e., political choice free from dominant institutions such as military, foreign powers, and economic oligarchies), and functions of government (i.e., extent of official

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<sup>27</sup> Freedom in the World: [<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2018>], under country reports section.

corruption). Civil liberties measure the extend of freedom of expression and belief, associational and organization rights (i.e., freedom of assembly, non-governmental organization, trade-union).

As shown, the average score for Japan and Taiwan's political rights is within the range of 1. This means that elections are free and competitive since 1998 and political parties represent divers ideological views in both countries. Furthermore, freedom of expression is guaranteed in Japan and Taiwan (with a 1.89 and 1.7 respectively). Meanwhile, South Korea's and the Philippines Political Right score is 1.5 and 2.8 respectively. Civil Liberties and freedom scores for South Korea and the Philippines are high as well. For example, the average Civil Liberties score for South Korea was 1.75 and 2.8 for the Philippines. This indicates that the political situation in the Philippines make elections and less competitive and free. The following are the Freedom House score for each countries and impactions of what they mean in relation to party to state relationships.

#### 4.3.1 Japan

According to the Freedom House report from 1999 to 2016, elections in Japan are free and fair. In Japan, the people's political choices are free from any dominant influence from powerful interest. There are also no legal barriers preventing ethnic and religious minorities from freely participating in the political process.

The Freedom House report for Japan suggest that Japan also has free and highly competitive media landscape. However, some control over the politically sensitive news continues by way of the government distribution of new through the *Kisha Kurabu* (press club).<sup>28</sup> In recent

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<sup>28</sup> Traditionally, institutions such as government ministries and corporate organizations usually control and restrict news that are released so that the ministries and the corporates can control any critical news to them going out.

years, however, online media such as pod-casts have challenged the traditional media with political news websites having more aggressive reporting and analysis. Despite this, the Japanese government does not restrict these new. Freedom of assembly is also protected under the Japanese constitution. Protests, large and small, take place frequently. One particular example was the demonstrations against U.S. military presence in Okinawa in 2016, with tens of thousands of participants protesting after an American base worker was arrested in May for the murder of a local woman. Moreover, labour unions and non-government organizations (NGOs) are legally recognized and protected under the Law to Promote Specified Non-profit Activities and they remained active. Based on the observation of Japan, this study allocates a party system institutionalization score of 3 because its political freedom score is 1 from 1999 to 2016.

#### 4.3.2 Taiwan

Overall, the ratings for Taiwan's political rights and civil liberties are low, averaging 1.4 and 1.7 respectively from 1999 to 2016. Taiwan's constitution grants all citizens the right to vote. This also includes members of 16 indigenous tribes, who make up roughly 2 percent of the population. They are also allocated six seats in the Legislative Yuan are reserved for indigenous candidates elected by indigenous voters.

Moreover, Taiwan's media reflects a diversity of views. It reports aggressively on government policies and corruption allegations, though many outlets display strong party affiliation in their coverage. In recent years, Taiwan's argument has resisted proposed mergers that would have placed important media outlets in the hands of businessmen with significant ties to China. This enabled the Taiwanese press to report freely on the 2016 election.

In addition, although Taiwan's Assembly and Parade Act of 1998 enabled authorities to prosecute protestors who fail to obtain a permit or follow orders to disperse, freedom of assembly in Taiwan is largely respected. Meanwhile, all civil organizations in Taiwan must register with the government, though registration is freely granted. Nongovernmental organizations typically operate without harassment. Trade unions are independent, and most workers enjoy freedom of association though the government strictly regulates the right to strike. This study allocates party system institutionalization score of 1 to Taiwan because its average political freedom score is closer to 1 from 1999 to 2016.

#### 4.3.3 The Philippines

The Republic of Philippines has received an increasing trend on political right and civil liberty ratings due to thousands of extrajudicial killings carried out as part of president Rodrigo Duterte's war on drug. Assassinations and threats against civil society activists are also part of the reason of this declining score.

While open and competitive, elections in the Philippines are typically marred by fraud, intimidation, and political violence, the 2016 national elections were credible. Though there were incidents of election-related violence, including a number of killings, these were fewer compared to previous election years. Other persistent problems included vote buying and media bias, which tends to favour wealthier candidates. Meanwhile, the country lacks a nationwide freedom of information law. However, in July 2016, Duterte issued an order establishing the country's first Freedom of Information directive, though it only mandated public disclosure of the executive branch, and did not apply to the legislature or judiciary. Moreover, the government proposed a long list of requests that

would be exempt from public disclosure order based on the Freedom of Information Law.

The Philippine constitution provides for freedoms of expression and the press, with private media companies in the country considered as one of the most vibrant and outspoken in the region. However, the media contents are criticized as being more sensationalized rather than substantive. In the Philippines, one obstacle to press freedom is the Executive Order 608. The order invokes the National Security Clearance System and the Human Security Act to protect classified information and allow journalist to be tapped by government authorities on the account of suspicious behaviour such as involvement in terrorism. Another obstacle to press freedom in the country is the threat of 'libel', which considered a criminal offense that have been used frequently to shut criticism against public officials.

However, citizen activism and public discussion are robust, and demonstrations are common in the Philippines. But these demonstrations require permits and police sometimes use violence to disperse anti-government protests. Meanwhile, assassination of civil society activist who oppose his policies, including his administration's violent war on drugs have exacerbated the already dangerous atmosphere. Environmental activist, and labour activists were all murdered in recent years and their cases remain unsolved.

A party system institutionalization score of 2 is allocated to the Philippines as its average political freedom score is in between 2.9 from 1999 to 2016.

#### 4.3.4 South Korea

South Korea constitution of 1987 guarantee political pluralism, with multiple parties competing for power and succeeding one another in

government. However, dissolving some political parties in South Korea under the National Security Law reveals that leftist progressive ideology is unwelcome in the eyes of the political elites. The National Security Law still largely controls the individual as well as political groups. For example, listening to North Korean radio program, portraying positive image of North Korea or posting pro-North Korea message online are illegal under the National Security Law. This shows that strict government censorship remains in place with regards to North Korea and leftist progressive ideology. Authorities have deleted and persecuted tens of thousands of posts deemed to be pro-North, drawing accusations that the law's broadly written provision are being used to suppress political expression.

The news media in South Korea are generally free and open. Newspaper are privately owned and report aggressively on government policies and allegation of official wrongdoings and corruption. However, some media outlets are heavily biased toward the conservative parties and journalists also face more defamation charges due to criticisms against the government with possible punishment of up to seven years in prison.

South Korean governments generally respects freedom of assembly and association, which are protected under the constitution. However, several legal provisions conflict with these principles, creating tensions between the police and protestors over the application of the law. For instance, the Law of Assembly and Demonstration prohibits activities that might cause social unrest, and police must be notified of all demonstrations. Local non-government organizations (NGOs) have alleged that police who mistreat demonstrators have not been penalized equally as with protestors. In general, human rights groups, social welfare organizations, and other NGOs are active and generally operate freely. The country's independent labour unions advocate worker's interest, organizing high-profile strikes and demonstrations that sometimes lead to

arrests. However, labour unions have diminished its influence over the years as the employment of temporary workers increases.

South Korea gets a party system institutionalization score of 2 because its average political freedom score is 1.75 from 1999 to 2016.

However, readers may be alert with the thesis using The Freedom House scores as the measure for state-to-party relationship as it can be interpreted in different ways. For example, while high score means that people express their opinion and show their voting intentions in more unrestricted ways, but it does not necessarily indicate that people embrace institutionalized party system. Therefore, this thesis is not free from criticism that indicators like state funding of party and party laws could be better indicators for state-to-party-relationships.

However, both state party funding and party laws have been adopted and institutionalized in all four countries, with the Philippines most recently passed law to state funding of the political parties in 2012 (Austin and Tjernstorm, 2003). All four countries have written law that guarantee freedom of assembly and the formation of political parties. Nevertheless, in South Korea, as mentioned previously, the freedom of assembly and freedom of speech are not fully guaranteed. They are often met with crackdown both from the opposition groups and sometimes by the government. For example, on December 2014, in the small city of Iksan, South Korea, an 18-year-old high school student detonated a homemade acid bomb during a talk by Korean born-American author Shiin Eun-mi and activist Hwang Sung. The student belongs to a right-wing online club along with other conservative groups, demanded prosecution of Shin under South Korea's National Security Law—based on comments she made about North Korea during her book tour, which they viewed as praise for the regime.

Such crackdown is not limited to individuals. On December 19, the South Korean Constitutional Court voted eight to one in favour of dissolving the left-wing Unified Progressive Party (UPP) and expelling all five UPP representatives from the National Assembly on the basis that the UPP posed a “substantial threat” to South Korea’s democratic order and had a hidden motive to install North Korean-style socialism in the country. The court’s disbanding the UPP is the culmination in a series of state actions against the party, on charges of plotting a violent insurrection and violating the National Security Law.

In the Philippines, President Rodrigo Duterte has revoked the amnesty granted to opposition senator Antonia Trillanes IV by signing the Proclamation No. 572, declaring Trillane’s amnesty “void abinito.” Senator Antonia Trillanes was one of the most vocal critics of president Duterte and the revocation of the amnesty came only after the arrest of Senator Leila de Lima, another fierce critic of Duterte (Elemia, 2018). Such extend measures to suppress the oppositions in the Philippines and South Korea often leads individuals as well as the political groups to be ‘self-conscious’ of their limitations, severely depriving social diversification.

Therefore, this thesis argues that Freedom House scores do contrast the party-to-state relations across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea better than party laws and party funding.

#### **4.4 Voter support in Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan**

Previous sections in this chapter have pointed that party system institutionalization level is higher in Japan and Taiwan while it is lower in the Philippines and South Korea. This section of the chapter examines the electoral volatility scores from 1986 to 2016 across the four countries. The electoral volatility measures the extent to ‘voters’ propensities to transfer



votes between parties' (Pendersen, 1979:4). In addition, electoral volatility is an indication of party system changes as well as of changes in the behaviour of voters.

This study followed Mainwaring and Scully's (1995) measure of electoral volatility to examine Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea's electoral volatility in their legislative elections from 1986 to 2016. Electoral volatility is calculated by taking the sum of the net change in the percentage of votes gained or lost by each party from one election to the next, divided by two. A score of 100 signifies that the set of parties winning votes is completely different from one election to the next. A score of 0 means the same percentage of votes across two different elections. The higher the volatility score the less stable the pattern of party competition.

Below is the table presenting the volatility scores for Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, South Korea for comparative purposes. This study divide the four countries' volatility scores into three different periods: (a) from 1986-1996; (b) from 1996-2006; and (c) 2006-2016. This is to compare the changes in the electoral volatility level over time.

*Table 5: Electoral volatility across Japan, Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan (1986-2016).*

<b>Country / Year</b>	<b>1986-1996</b>	<b>1996-2006</b>	<b>2006-2016</b>	<b>Average</b>
<b>Japan</b>	16.1	15.7	17.6	16.5
<b>Taiwan</b>	11.1	12.2	8.8	10.7
<b>Philippines</b>	36.7	21.2	16.9	24.9
<b>South Korea<sup>29</sup></b>	27.6	36.0	31.7	31.8

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<sup>29</sup> This study measures party change according to Harmel and Janda (1994). Harmel and Janda argue that party change occurs when changes of leadership, changes of dominant faction, and or an external stimulus for change occurs (i.e., election loss). It is evident, based on my observation of the South Korea's 1984 to the most current legislative elections, that when political party changes their party names, parties also undergo leadership as well as factional changes. Therefore, this study argues that frequent names changes in the South Korea's party organization should reflect the high electoral volatility score.

(Source: Author's own calculation using the Pedersen Index. Legislative election data for each country have been gathered from following websites: [http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2161\\_B.htm](http://archive.ipu.org/parline/reports/2161_B.htm); <https://www.cec.gov.tw/>; <http://www.nec.go.kr/portal/main.do>. For the Philippines legislative election data, this study relied on information provided by the Comparative Study of Electoral systems (CSES). [URL:] <http://www.cses.org/datacenter/download.htm>.

Two things stand out in table 3 above. First there is noticeable difference in the percentage of vote volatility across the four countries. On the one hand, the average volatility rate for Japan and Taiwan from 1986 to 2016 are low are low. Both Japan and Taiwan's score fall below 20 percent, meaning that shift of the vote from one party to another had been less than 20 percent. In fact, Japan and Taiwan's electoral volatility show decreasing trend over time suggesting that party system has consolidated over time.

On the other hand, the Philippines and South Korea's electoral volatility are higher than Japan and Taiwan confirming that party systems are not stable. However, the Philippines electoral volatility rate show signs of improvement. From 1986, the trend show improvements in voters refraining from shifting their votes from one party to another. South Korea, nevertheless, show no sign of improvements in stabilization of its party system.

#### 4.4.1 Electoral volatility in Japan: 1986 to 2016

Party politics in Japan has witnessed both the change and continuity. A dramatic change to Japan's party system came from the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) rising to challenge the might of the LDP during the 2000s; and in 2009 took power from the LDP by winning the Shugi-in elections. However, the DPJ was voted out in 2012 by landslide defeat and the LDP again assumed power, showing the party's resilience. In fact, the LDP has been ruling Japanese politics from 1955 to 2016, only briefly out of power for 3 years. This is reflected in the stability in electoral volatility. Based on the observation, this study allocates party system

institutionalization score of 2 to Japan since its average electoral volatility score from 1986 to 2016 falls within 15 to 25 range.

#### 4.4.2 Electoral Volatility in Taiwan: 1986 to 2016

Legislative Yuan elections from 1986 to 2016 show Taiwan's electoral volatility has been the lowest among four countries. Interestingly, Taiwan's low electoral volatility was achieved under a single non-transferable voting system (SNTV) before the 2005 reform.<sup>30</sup> Since 1995, the volatility rate has remained around ten points or less for each Legislative Yuan elections, with the exceptional the 2001 election showing most stabilized party system among the four countries. Based on this, a score of 3 is allocated to Taiwan since its electoral volatility rate falls between 0 to 15.

#### 4.4.3 Electoral Volatility in the Philippines: 1986 to 2016

The electoral volatility in the Philippines for the post 1986 House of Representative elections show higher rate of volatility. This high volatility rates indicate that individual parties tend to vary from one election to the other and voters tend to change the party they vote for in a greater rate than party systems in Japan and Taiwan. A score of 2 is allocated to the Philippines since its average electoral volatility score is 24.9. It is within the range between 15 to 25.

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<sup>30</sup> SNTV creates strong incentives to cultivate a personal vote and produces uncertainty in party nomination strategies, which likely to weaken the electoral cohesiveness of political parties and increase electoral volatility (Ramseyer and Rosenbluth, 1993; Bawn, Cox, Rosenbluth, 1999).

#### 4.4.4 Electoral volatility in South Korea: 1986 to 2016

The National Assembly elections from 1986 to 2016 in South Korea show consistent electoral volatility rates. Unlike Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines, the rate of electoral volatility has been increasing and has reached 31.7 percent. This indicates that in South Korea, there is frequent party ruptures, mergers, and name changes all contribute negatively towards institutionalization of party system in South Korea. South Korea receives the lowest party system institutionalization score of 1 because its volatility rate falls between 25 to N>25 range.

#### 4.5 Summary of the Chapter

By allocating the score from 1 to 3 for each dimension of Randall and Svåsand, this study is now able to compare and contrast the levels of party system institutionalization by combining the scores of all four dimensions.

Table 6. Levels of Party System Institutionalization in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea

Country/dimension (s)	Internal/Structural	Internal/attitudinal	Structural/External	Attitudinal/External	Σ
Japan	3	2	3	2	10
Taiwan	3	3	2	3	11
Philippines	2	1	1	2	6
South Korea	1	1	1	1	4

*Source: Author's own compilation based on the discussion of the four dimensions in this chapter.*

According to the table 4 above, Taiwan seem to have the highest institutionalized party system among the four countries with the score of

11. Next is Japan, with a combined score of 10. Then, the Philippines with a total score of 6. South Korea's party system is the weakest among the other countries with the score of 4.

Comparison made in this chapter may seem to have focused too much emphasis on the difference between the two groupings (i.e., Japan-Taiwan versus the Philippines and South Korea). Thus, it may seem that the thesis has neglected the difference within the groupings—Japan versus Taiwan for example. Readers may point to such factors like 'frequency of social movements' within Japan and Taiwan to argue that there are also within groups differences among the four countries. While this is true, however, this thesis argues that the difference in such factor in Japan and Taiwan are not high enough to warrant such concerns. While political movements are higher in Taiwan compare to Japan, Taiwan's social movements are mostly party-based and actually provides ground for party development rather than social movements in South Korea (Lee, 2014). Lee finds that Taiwan's party-based authoritarianism has provided grounds for party development while South Korea's personal dictatorship was inimical to party development but engendered a contentious social movement sectors.

In sum, while social movements both occur in Taiwan and South Korea and that number of social movements in Taiwan is higher in number than in Japan, the social movements themselves do affect less party organization and inter-party interactions. Thus, when you consider the impact of 'social movement' on the party organizations and their inter-party interactions over time, social movements do not bring significant variation to Taiwan's party organization and their inter-party interactions. Thus, within group difference among Japan and Taiwan remain less even after considering 'social movement'.

The difference between the Philippines and South Korea may also seem obvious. For example, a quote from Croissant and Völkel (2012) states that “it seems that Korean democracy is quite capable of compensating for shortcomings of party system, as vibrant civil society provides alternative opportunities for political participation and civic engagement.” The vibrant civil society do provide alternative opportunities for political participation in South Korea and to certain extent in the Philippines. In fact, according to Lee’s observation, the directory of South Korean NGO’s (otherwise known as civil society) states that most civil organizations are membership based, with at least 10,000 members, and have an average of 8.5 full time staff members. Cross referencing Lee’s findings to the World Value Survey also suggest that South Korea’s civil groups are more membership based. About 52 percent of Korean citizens responded that they hold membership in at least one civic organization (World Value Survey, 2010).

In fact, the World Value Survey from 1981 to 2010 show that Korean’s trust in political parties and national assembly has declined as time passed, leading to a trend of declination in the total average as well. However, the changes of the levels of people’s trust in social institutions such as non-governmental organization (NGO) has grown.

What does this mean for party organization in South Korea? Based on the findings by the World Value Survey, one can also argue that such higher number of civil society do actually debilitate the function of party organizations and lessen the chances of the people represent their interests through party organizations. Perhaps, people may get their interest represented faster by by-passing the official channels that are more slower and sometimes inefficient. Therefore, for the case of South Korea and the Philippines, their lower quality of democracy is reflected on the lower level of party system institutionalization.

## Chapter Five

### Party System Institutionalization in Japan and Taiwan

#### Introduction

The previous chapter revealed how party systems in Japan and Taiwan are highly institutionalized. In particular, Taiwan has the highest party system institutionalization level (11) followed by Japan (10). Given these results, this chapter discusses the reasons behind the high institutionalization of the party systems in both countries based on the following factors: social cleavage, party factionalism, and democratic transition.

First is social cleavage. Here, the focus is in explaining the following two areas: (a) how social cleavages came about and created a deep divide in Japan and Taiwan; and (b) how social groups organized around those divisions over time. In the second, this thesis explores how institutionalized factions in Japan and Taiwan have helped provide a *modus operandi* in organizing party competition using the cases of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in Taiwan. I explore how institutionalized factions in the LDP in Japan and DPP in Taiwan have helped parties develop clear party strategies to compete against more organized parties such as Japan's Socialist Party (JSP) and Taiwan's Kuomintang (KMT). The LDP was able to politicize the existing rural-urban socio-economic cleavage to an ideological divide over the US and Japan security treaty and constitutional revision in the 1960s to early 1980s. Meanwhile, the DPP has successfully politicized the underlying ethnic cleavage to the national identity cleavage.

Lastly, I explore how mode of democratic transition helped political institutions to continue in post-transition period, thus helping the party systems in Japan and Taiwan to reach institutionalization.

## **5.1 Social Cleavage in Japan and Taiwan**

This section explains how salient social cleavages in Japan and Taiwan have organized political parties and their interactions in contemporary history. The thesis will demonstrate how social cleavages in Japan and Taiwan came about during Japan and Taiwan's critical moments in history and then elaborate how these social cleavages progressed into political representations.

### 5.1.1 Japan's rural-urban divide

The evolution of Japan's social cleavage was evident throughout its political history. After the overthrow of the Tokugawa Bakufu (1603-1868), the Meiji Restoration of 1868 brought significant changes in the social stratification in Japan. These included the abolition of the *han* system,<sup>31</sup> the equalization of classes, and the establishment of the conscripted army. The Meiji Restoration period also eliminated the hereditary military class known as the Samurai. After the overthrow of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the samurai working for the *daimyos* (warlords) lost

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<sup>31</sup> The Han in Japanese history is fief controlled by a Daimyo, or a territorial lord, during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868).



their jobs.<sup>32</sup> This led the Meiji government to take gradual steps that would reintegrate the unemployed samurais.<sup>33</sup>

With the growing dissatisfaction of the former Samurai class, the Meiji government devised a program known officially as the “*Shizoku Jusan*” (literally the Samurai Rehabilitation, here after Rehabilitation Policy). It was implemented in December 1871 with the promulgation of the commercial law. According to Harootunian (1960), this Rehabilitation Policy, was implemented to resolve the unemployment issues of the former Samurais and to promote economic development. Based on the memoirs of Meiji government leaders such as Iwakura, Okubo, and Kido, the rehabilitation policy was not limited to protecting only the former Samurais, but could also be considered as another way for the government to accumulate capital (Harootunian, 1960; see also Smith, 1955).

The impact of such policy encouraged Samurai immigration to reclaim new land areas. Such rehabilitation also established several branches of Japan’s national bank that would safeguard investments of the Samurai class. With these banks, it set up the machinery to loan out money for the samurais to use in agriculture, industrial, and commercial enterprises. These three areas eventually served as the backbone of Japan’s industrial development, eventually resulting in its socio-political divide.<sup>34</sup>

In retrospect, the Meiji Restoration brought fundamental changes to class stratification as a result of its rehabilitation policy. Since it stimulated the growth of commerce, agriculture, and financial institutions,

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<sup>32</sup> For detailed information regarding social conditions Samurai’s have faced six years after the Meiji Restoration, see Sakeda Matsatoshi and Goerge Akita, 1986., *The Samurai Dis-established: Abe Iwane and His Stipend*. Monumenta nipponica, Vol.41. No. 3 (Autumn, 1986), pp. 299-330.

<sup>33</sup> Many of those who lost their job overnight wondered around the country causing acute social problems. <sup>33</sup> The uprisings and armed revolts did not succeed in overthrowing the Meiji government.

<sup>34</sup> For detailed accounts of the rehabilitation and its influence on the division of labour, see Harr D. Harootunian., 1960., *The Economic Rehabilitation of the Samurai in the Early Meiji Period.*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4 pp. 433-444.

the policy created a division of labor in these economic areas. Social divisions also emerged under the Meiji government as taxes were implemented under the Rehabilitation policy. In particular, small rural businesses and farmers were heavily taxed (Rieger, 2017). This led to the deep urban-rural divide in Japanese society under the Meiji government. It eventually produced labor segregation such as the urban-industrial divide and the rural-agricultural divisions. This development during the Meiji Restoration can be considered as the start of the organization of party competition in modern Japan.

Since then, such socio-economic cleavage has long considered a ‘core division’ in Japanese society. As a result, political parties have exploited this to organize themselves in politics. The Jiyu Minken Undo (Freedom and People’s Rights Movement) represented the interests of small business owners and farmers in the rural areas, which also became the first political movement opposing the Meiji government. The Jiyu Minken Undo gradually transformed into an opposition political party—the Jiyuto (Liberal Party) (Jansen, 2002). A year later, another liberal party, the Rikken Kaishinto (Constitutional Reform Party) was established to compete with the Jiyuto party and to represent the interest of those urban industrialists

Another party was also formed to compete against the *Jiyuto* and the *Kaishinto*. The hard-core supporters of the Meiji government organized the *Teiseito* (literally means the ‘Imperialists’) Party that were mostly comprised of n members of Satsuma and *Chosu* clans. The *Teiseito party* emphasized the divine right of the emperor, which according to Kawakami (1903), “seems to have endeavored to weaken the democratic movement” (Clement, 1912:671-673). During the Meiji period, it was mainly considered as a conservative party.

In sum, the Rehabilitation policies implemented from 1871 to 1880 gave birth to a modern Japan. With this modernization came a division of

labor, which then led to the establishment of various political representations in Japan. The country's two major parties underwent reorganization during the Taisho era (1912-1926). In the succeeding years, the *Jiyuto*, under Ito Hirobumi, changed its name and reorganized under the name of *Rikken Seiyukai*, while the Kaishinto was dissolved and was absorbed into the Rikken Seiyukai. The two parties become one under new name *Rikken Seiyuka*. Meanwhile, the Teiseito Party was also dissolved. In 1927, the merger between the old Meiji oligarchs (mainly from the Teseito Party) and some minor parties have created *Minseito* to oppose *Rikken Seiyukai's* dominance in the Diet (Duus, 1968, pp. 231-235; Scalapino and Masumi, 1962, p. 262).

Aside from its socio-economic division during the Meiji Restoration, Japan also experienced ideological divide concerning security and defense issues. Such issues made an imprint on post-war electoral politics.

The 1955 system reflected the divergent positions of Japan's main political parties. The leftist parties (JCP and JSP) opposed the expansion of the Emperor's political power, while also questioning the legitimacy of the Self Defense Force (SDF). These leftist parties fought proposals to revise Article 9 of the Constitution, which forbids Japan to maintain standing military forces or to engage in wars to settle international disputes. In addition, the leftist camp opposed the United States-Japan Security Treaty (Scalapino and Masumi, 1962). On the contrary, the LDP remained strongly in favor of revising the Constitution to empower the Emperor and agreed to lift the constraints on Japan's military roles.

By the middle of 1976, the multi-member district electoral system was established in Japan. However, the security and defense issue quickly lost its salience because such type of electoral system emphasized more on the local issues connected with regional or group interests (Flanagan et al., 1991, pp. 290-291).

However, the developments in the international community eventually reignited the debate over security and defense. According to Richard Samuels (2007), the Yoshida Doctrine was forged in the context of increasing complexity and uncertainties in the post-Cold War period. This led Japanese opinion leaders to debate over the appropriate contours of a new security strategy. At the same time that this debate took place, there were electoral reforms that occurred in 1994. According to Samuels (2007) both the international developments and the electoral reforms enabled political parties to make issue-based appeals to the Japanese voters. The security and defense issue once again became a salient factor that structured voters' choice under the new electoral system. This contributed to a long-term electoral realignment around the two dominant parties in Japan.

It is interesting to note how the competing platforms of pre-war political parties in Japan are similar to those of the post-war parties that carried on to the 1955 system. Prior to the war, the Jiyuto Party laid down important principles aimed at the full extension and permanent preservation of the freedom and rights of the people; declared that all men ought to be equal; and that adapting a constitutional government was best for Japan (Uyehara, 1910: 89). Meanwhile, the Kaishinto Party platform sought to maintain the dignity of the imperial throne, as well as promote the happiness of the people. Lastly, the *Teiseito* party also pledged to support Japanese Imperialism and emphasized the divine right of the emperor. In comparison, post-war political parties also promote similar competing platforms during the 1955 system. Leftist parties such as the JCP and the JSP opposed the expansion of the political power of the Emperor (similar to the Jiyuto), while also questioning the legitimacy of the Self Defense Force (SDF). Meanwhile, the LDP remained strongly in favor of revising the Constitution to empower the Emperor (similar to the *Teiseito* and Kaishinto party) and to lift the limits of Japan's military roles.

The parallelism is quite evident as if the pre-war parties have made a comeback only to be reorganized under different party names.

### 5.1.2 Taiwan's National Identity Conflict

Taiwan presents a robust case of social cleavage that shapes its party system. It highlights a persistent ethnic divide that led to the politicization of its national identity promoted by various political organizations. This ethnic divide focuses on the local Taiwanese versus the migrant Chinese who arrived with the KMT from mainland China. Taiwan's ethnicity issue has since become a focal point of the political conflict between its dominant parties.

The evolution of Taiwan's identity cleavage began when the island became a part of Japan through the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed between China and Japan on April 17, 1895. The defeated Qing Dynasty in mainland China ceded the Taiwanese Island to Japan. The Japanese government spent considerable portion of its budget to make Taiwan a first-class military base for its mission to conquer Southeast Asia (Worden and Meditz, 2005; Amsden, 1979). An elaborated network of railways, motor roads, radio communications, sea harbors, and air-fields were installed.

During its occupation, Japan not only made economic reforms, but also carried out institutional changes in Taiwan. Barclay (1954) and Myers and Ching (1964) pointed to the critical role played by the Japanese in the education sector in Taiwan. The colonial government implemented an assimilation policy that has successfully turned the aborigines into loyal supporters of Japanese imperialism. However, such 'Japanization policy' made little progress in transforming the minds of the native Taiwanese with Chinese ancestry.

With Japan's surrender in August 1945, Taiwan returned back to mainland China. However, Taiwan enjoyed economic growth and favored its modernization under the Japanese over the Chinese government. Chu and Lin (2001) argued that Taiwan's distinct experiences in nation building under the Japanese occupation triggered the search for a Taiwanese identity (pp.104-111).

However, the Kuomintang government that escaped to Taiwan from China impeded the development of this 'shared identity' among the Taiwanese. It deliberately favored mainlanders and *Banshan* (Hal-Mountaineers)<sup>35</sup> over Taiwanese residents in assigning government posts vacated by the Japanese. This resulted in widespread resentment among the local Taiwanese that led to an anti-government uprising in February 28, 1947. However, the Kuomintang violently suppressed the revolt, which became a brutal reminder of the common sorrow shared among the Taiwanese people. The incident prompted Taiwan to organize an independence movement separating itself from mainland China, which has since dominated Taiwanese politics.

Both the memories of the February 28<sup>th</sup> incident and the systematic exclusion of the local Taiwanese elites in government resulted in the ethnic tensions in Taiwan. The island eventually experienced soft-authoritarianism under the revolutionary government of the Kuomintang. Headed by Chiang Ching-kuo the son of Kuomintang's founding leader Chiang Kai-shek, the Taiwanese government led the island's modernization prior to its democratic transition.

It was during this modernization period that the *Tangwai* (literally, outside the party) political movement began to flourish. It mainly opposed the KMT's soft-authoritarianism. The *Tangwai* consisted of different groups that were united to push for the democratization and self-

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<sup>35</sup> Banshans were the Taiwanese natives who had spent the war years in China, recruited by the Nationalist government.

determination of Taiwan. It attracted large local supporters that eventually compelled the KMT to lift its decade-long ban against political parties. In 1986, the *Tangwai* officially launched the Democratic Progressive Party with the promise of a democratic and independent Taiwan (see for example Chu and Lin, 2001: 11-13; Shih and Chen, 2010).

The DPP largely exploited public sentiments against the KMT and used the existing ethnic divide between the local Taiwanese and the immigrants from mainland China. It promoted the party as a political organization that pushed for Taiwan's independence and advocated a nationalist-democratic ideology. Meanwhile, the KMT promoted the reunification of Taiwan with mainland China. This national identity divide has since resulted in a long-standing political conflict that dominated the party system in Taiwan (Rigger, 1999; Wong, 2003; Zhong, 2016).

Since the KMT's rule of Taiwan in 1945, the struggle for a separate Taiwanese identity began under its authoritarian system. When martial law was lifted in 1987 and the process of democratization followed, the Taiwanese people intensified its pursuit of their identity (Rigger, 1999). The contentious debate about who can be considered as "Taiwanese" has continuously influenced voting behavior and the prospects of democratic consolidation in Taiwan. Consequently, the 'Taiwanese national identity' has been a source of debate between the KMT and the DPP, which they mainly base their party-lines in electoral competition.

#### Summary: Social Cleavage in Japan and Taiwan

Social cleavages are instrumental in mobilizing political groups in Japan and Taiwan. These gave clarity to the competing platforms of political parties and intensified party competition in both countries. As a result, party systems in Japan and Taiwan became more institutionalized given their long-standing social cleavages.

In Japan's case, the 'Rehabilitation Plan' during the Meiji Restoration, gave rise to different labor forces and ultimately led to an 'urban-rural' cleavage. Such socio-economic divide led to intense political competition between the *Jiyuto* and *Kaishinto* parties, which eventually ceased during the Pacific war after the Japanese military government disbanded all political parties. However, these two vanguards of liberalism merged together to counter the political elites that supported the wartime government. Thus, a new division within the national Parliament (called the I.R.A.A) was comprised of those that backed Japan's war efforts and those that opposed it. Meanwhile, post-war political party system in Japan revived the old urban-to-rural political divide. The people who supported the conservative bloc (Liberal Democratic Party) came mostly from the rural areas, while those who favored the progressive bloc (Social Democratic Party of Japan, Communist Party of Japan) mostly came from the urban areas.

In Taiwan's case, the ethnic tension that fueled political divisions over national identity started when the island returned to China after the Japanese occupation. The economic development policy carried out by the Japanese were deemed more favorable compared to the KMT-led Nationalist government of China implemented in Taiwan. Moreover, the KMT prevented local Taiwanese to participate in national elections and to take high positions in the government. Because of this, resentment against the originally mainland Chinese government grew among the local Taiwanese.

Eventually, Taiwan's soft-authoritarian government resulted in the creation of opposition movements against the KMT rule. The Tangwai movement gained momentum during the 1980s and eventually launched the Democratic Progressive party (DPP). It began challenging the KMT in the national legislature of Taiwan (the Legislative Yuan, and organized its



party-line on the ethnic tension and national identity issue. The DPP eventually became a formidable opposition party in Taiwan's party system.

## **5.2 Party Factionalism in Japan and Taiwan**

The existence of social cleavages in Japan and Taiwan enabled their major parties to politicize them. In particular, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Taiwan employed such social cleavages as the basis of establishing their political organizations. During their organizational development, party factions occurred but were institutionalized. This facilitated better functionality and strong consensus in Japan's LDP and Taiwan's DPP that influenced the institutionalization of their party systems.

### **5.2.1 Institutionalized factions in Japan: The LDP**

In terms of their history, political parties in Japan have several experiences of formations, mergers, dissolution, or regroupings. For example, the reunification of the Right and Left Socialists Parties in October 1955 immediately followed the merger of the conservatives under the banner of the new Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Meanwhile, factions are more enduring, which provided a backbone for mergers and regroupings for the 'conservative' and the 'progressive' camps (Totten and Kawakami, 1965; Schmidt, 2011). Factionalism in Japan determined the post 1945 party system by grouping parties in these two opposing camps that enabled them to become cohesive units.

Party factions within major parties in Japan greatly vary. While the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) and the Clean Government party (Komeito) have strictly prevented factionalism, JSP carries different political beliefs ranging from the Marxist to social democratic ideologies

(Totten and Masumi, 1966; Stockwin, 2000:213-220). The Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), which emerged as the largest opposition party in the mid-1990s, was also divided into several factions, each headed by a senior faction leader. However, as Itagaki (2008) states, DPJ factions are more “loose” than the LDP factions.

In the case of the LDP, there were several factions operating within the party. Studies by Ike (1972); Fukui (1978); Shiratori (1988); and Kohno (1997) all confirmed that there were two informally organized groups within the LDP: *Zoku* (parliamentarian factions) and *habatsu* (personalized factions), which eventually became institutionalized within the LDP. The parliamentarian faction played a central role--- formulating policies, screening and approving legal bills and executive measures, and ensuring intra-LDP organs were reflected in government policy (Kollner, 2005:2). Meanwhile, the personalized factions managed the party.

These two factions within the LDP came from different party realignments and mergers between the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party. The union between the two parties have produced eight leadership groups retaining their separate memberships. To illustrate the extensive groups of factions within the LDP, a schematic diagram of the LDP factions from the period of 1955-2004 is presented below. In this diagram, the names of each faction leaders are mentioned indicating a separate faction. Arrows indicate lineal descent from one leadership to the next. Interestingly, some factions have a succession of leaders that survived from 1955 to 2004. Others have declined and eventually disappeared altogether.

[Figure 7, Institutionalized party faction in the LDP from 1945-2010 here. See Appendix B\_1 Japan]<sup>36</sup>

Based on the diagram above, the succession of leadership in the LDP factions has been well documented. For example, *Kochi Kai*, which was established in 1957, traces its original leaders to former Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda. The *Kochi Kai* faction was established originally by Shigeru Yoshida,<sup>37</sup> succeeded by Hayato Ikeda, Shigesaburo Maeo, Masayoshi Ohira, Zenko Suzuki, Kiichi Miyazawa, Koichi Kato to Shinzo Abe. During its reign as the most powerful faction of the LDP, the *Kochi Kai* produced four prime ministers and several lawmakers in Japan. Its stability made it as the third-largest LDP faction apart from the current Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who is from the Seiwa faction.

However, not all succession of leadership was systemized. The dissolution of the LDP's Kishi faction in 1962 is a good example, which resulted in the creation of new factions headed successively by Fukuda, Kawashima, and Fujiyama. Furthermore, the death of Ono Banboku resulted in the split of another LDP faction Kakuseikai, which created the Murakami and Funada factions. Both groups, however, have disappeared soon after.

After 2009, the LDP has seven factions. One faction is the Heisei Kenkyuaki (Heisei Research Council), managed by Nunkaga Fukushima.

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<sup>36</sup> Institutionalized party factions in the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP): 1945 to 2010. Sources: Author's own compilation based on following readings: Köllner, 2004, "Factionalism in Japanese political parties revisited or How do factions in the LDP and DPJ differ?," *Japan Forum* (16):1.pp. 87-109; Köllner, 2005, "The origins, functions, and consequences of factions in dominant parties: The case of the Japanese LDP," presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions' workshop on dominant parties and democracies; Stockwin, 1989, "Factionalism in Japanese Political Parties," *Japan Forum* (1)2: 161-171.

<sup>37</sup> Shigeru Yoshida (1878-1967) was a Japanese diplomat and politician who served as Prime Minister of Japan from 1946 to 1947 and from 1948 to 1952. He was one of the longest serving Prime Minister in Japanese history.

This is the faction which traces its history back to former Prime Ministers Yoshida Shigeru, Sato Eisaku, and Tanaka's lineage. Currently, the largest faction, Seiwa Seisaku Kenkyutai (Seiwa Policy Research Council) is managed by Machimura Nobutaka. The Seiwa faction traces its history back to former Prime Ministers Kishi Nobusuke and Fukuda, Mori, Koizumi Junichiro, Abe Shintaro, and Fukuda.

In addition, one of the two mid-sized faction is the Kochikai. This faction traces its roots back to Prime Ministers Yoshida Shigeru, Ikeda, and Miyazawa. The other mid-sized faction is Shisuikai (Political Mission Centered Group) currently led by Nikai Toshihiro and is considered the most conservative among the current factions. Another faction is the Shiko Kai (Group for Serving the Public) led by former Prime Minister Aso Taro. Among the smaller faction is Kinnmirai Seiji Kenkyukai (Research for the Political Future) or the Ishihara Nobuteru faction. Moreover, the Tanigaki group and the Oshima faction is headed by former LDP President Tanigaki (Herbenar and Nakamura, 2014).

According to the typologies put forward by Beller and Belloni (1976), the LDP can be considered as having institutionalized factions. First, the groups essentially have organization structure. Leiserson (1968) describes the LDP factions as "army divisions" headed by a "general" who have advisers among his general staff. It has line officers, fixed memberships, offices, publications, regular sources of funds, and so forth (p. 501). Second, their membership recruitment takes place regularly on a non-personal and egalitarian basis.

The LDP was a product of a party merger of the two right-wing conservative parties—the Liberal and the Democrats. The merger came as a result of the Liberal Party losing their parliamentary majority in 1953. The two parties decided to merge after a decision by left-wing and right-wing Socialists to reunite (Cox and Rosenbluth, 1993; Kohno, 1992, 1997).

The emergence of the LDP consequently had significant impact in the party system of Japan.

First, factions within the LDP played a role in settling internal conflicts through factional power-sharing and elite circulation. This structure enabled a peaceful rotation of leadership between the Democratic Party leader and the Liberal Party leader in the LDP. The original factions in the LDP were formed from the grouping of politicians from the two parent parties. Yoshida Shigeru, Ogata Taketora, and Ono Bamboku led the factions of former Liberal Party members. Kishi Nobusuke, Miki Bukichi, and Hatoyama Ichiro led the factions of former Democratic Party members. These men succeeded in solidifying their factional bases by holding monthly meetings during the LDP's first year in existence (Fukui 1978, p. 108).

Second, the LDP factions were instrumental in bringing different strands of conservative ideology under a single umbrella from 1955 to 1993. Essentially, the pattern of factionalism produced by the LDP after the 1956 elections revealed that ideology became a less important factor to win an election and tensions became less prominent between bureaucrat-turned-politicians and professional politicians.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, money became the primary means to court members to one's faction (Krauss and Pekkanen, 2010: 109-111). These factions attracted former bureaucrats and professional politicians alike. Thus, the post-war division between the two (the former Liberal Party members and the former Democratic Party members) quickly disappeared as factions willingly adopt both.

This observation is further corroborated by Reed (1991) and Richardson (1997). Both authors argue that the factions in the LDP work

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<sup>38</sup> those who served the war-time government of Japan as career bureaucrats quickly turned to politics soon after Hirohito announced Japan's defeat in the Pacific War. Yoshida Shigeru, who served as the first prime minister of post-war Japan from 1946-1947 was a prime example of the 'bureaucrat-turned-politician. Kishi Nobusuke is another good example of this.

to integrate and help prevent breakups when the party was at its infant stage. Factions also help build consensus, consolidate the conservative ideology, and transform the security issues into a major political issue.

However, party system institutionalization in Japan is also influenced by other important factors aside from organized factionalism. According to the theory put forward in this thesis (i.e., Chapter Three, pages 34-37), it also requires party interactions over time.

Aside from the LDP, there are also factions that existed in other political parties in Japan. These parties include, the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP), the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), and the Komeito Party. Totten and Kawakami (1965) notes the partisan alignment in the Shugi-in (House of Representatives) particularly in 1965. The 294 members of the LDP were divided into ten factions; the 144 members of the JSP were grouped into six factions; the 23 members of the DSP had only a single faction; and the 5 members from the JCP. While the conservative LDP party factions are regarded as ‘hierarchical’—divisions with subdivisions dubbed ‘battalions’, the factions in the socialist and other opposition parties are often referred to as ‘communities’ (Totten and Kawakami, 1965: 111).

### 5.2.2 Institutionalized Factions in Japan: The JSP and the DPJ

During the 1960s, the JSP consisted of the Kawakami, Wada, and Eda-Narita (“Structural Reform”) factions. The Marxist-influenced Sasaki-Suzuki faction, together with the Heiwa Doshikai (Peace Comrades) or Nomizo faction, opposed these reform factions.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Studies that trace changes within the party and of those factions are scarce. However, Stockwin (1989, 2000) mentions that these factions of the JSP have existed until mid 1990s.

JSP was the largest opposition party against the LDP until 1994. The JSP endured through its institutionalized factions. These factions proved to be very important to the growth of the party's membership and during the parliamentary electoral campaigns (Totten and Tamio, 1965:116). The wide ideological positions among the factions in the JSP have attracted members from the hard-core Marxists to the moderate social democrats. This provided a sense of belonging to each member that were recruited. Instead of causing infighting, having different ideological factions within the party facilitated dialogue and consultation. This led to the formulation of better-informed policy and wider strategic alternatives for the party to respond to different issues in the country (Totten and Tamio, 1965). In addition, possessing a wide ideological spectrum within the JSP have broaden the party's appeal to the Japanese public.

However, there were also some drawbacks of having factions in the JSP based on ideological differences. For example, after the formation of the JSP in 1945, the ideological conflicts among its factions led to several defections. The party's right wing faction broke away from the JSP and created the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) in the early 1960s and the secession of the center-left faction led to the establishment of the Social Democratic League in the 1970s. Both of these defections could be regarded as examples of the divisive impact of ideologically-motivated factions (Stockwin, 2000: 213-220).

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), which emerged as the largest opposition party replacing the JSP after the restricting of the party system in 1994 is also divided into several factions, each headed by a senior faction leader (Schmit, 2011). Compared to the LDP's military structured like factions, factions in the DJP are generally regarded as "loose" factions without formal hierarchical orders like the ones in the LDP (Itagaki, 2008). And compared to JSP's ideological factions, the DPJ was organized primarily on patronage and loyalty to leaders. Thus, the

tendency is that the DPJ recruited more young lawmakers who had no other party affiliations before entering the DPJ.

By 2009, the Ishinkai or more commonly known as Ozawa faction in DPJ was the strongest one with 42 members in both Houses of Representatives and the House of Councilors, while the smallest faction of Noda Yoshihiko only had seven members.

Before 2009, the largest faction within the DPJ was the Isshinkai (Political Reform Group). The faction was headed by Ozawa Ichiro. The next largest faction was the Seiken senryaku kenhyûkai (Political Strategy Study Group), led by the former Prime Minister Hata Tutomu. The Minsha kyôkai or the Democratic Socialist Society was led by Kawabata Tatsuo. The fourth largest faction was the Kuni no katachi kenkyûkai or Study Group for a New Japan, with Kan Naoto as the leader. Meanwhile, the Seiken Kôtai o jitsugen suru kai or the Group for Realizing Regime Change was headed by Hatoyama Yukio, who together with Kan and Yokomichi founded the DPJ in 1996. In addition, the Shinseikyoku Kondankai (Group Discussing the New Political Situation) was led by Yokomichi Takahiro. The Ryounkai, literally the “society above the clouds,” was jointly led by Maehara Seiji and Edano Yuko (Schmidt, 2011:4-5).

This brief account of the factions and its members of the DPJ shows that each of the factional groups are headed by the ‘big shots’ in Japanese Politics. For example, Ozaaw Ichiro, commonly known as the ‘Shadowy Shogun’ for his back-room influence, has been a Member of the Parliament since 1969, representing the Iwate 3<sup>rd</sup> district. Hata Tutomu, a former Prime Minister of Japan has been elected 14 times. Thus, the factions within DPJ tried compensating what it lacked (i.e., in their organizational cohesion and weak memberships) by recruiting the political ‘veterans’ near their retirement. In this sense, the factions in the DPJ were neither ideologically organized like in the factions of the JSP or hierarchically



organized like the ones in the LDP. However, since factions in the DPJ were led by the battle-hardened election veterans, the DPJ proved its strength by defeating the dominant LDP and gaining the largest number of seats in both the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors.

Indeed, factionalism is an important reality in party organizations in Japanese politics. The factions dominated by the conservative and the progressive parties perform various functions that essentially promote effectiveness and consensus among themselves. This ultimately enabled the continued interactions within the party and among other parties. However, there are several factors and incidences when factions can also cause the disintegration of parties.

### 5.2.3 Institutionalized Factions in Taiwan: The KMT

Founded in 1920, the Kuomintang (KMT) was established in mainland China. It relocated to Taiwan after it was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party in 1949. It has since ruled Taiwan for more than five decades and continued until the island's transition to democracy.

By the early 1990s, two major groups were identified with the KMT—the mainstream and the non-mainstream factions. The mainstream faction was composed primarily of local Taiwanese who constituted the majority in the party, while the non-mainstream faction was mostly composed of members either born in China or those born in Taiwan but whose parents were originally from the mainland (Bosco, 1992; Hood, 1996; Cheng, 2003).

Compared to most party factions in Japan, the mainstream faction in the KMT is largely viewed as quite fragmented with its members generally tied with local interests rather than national interests. In addition, most of the members in this faction supported Lee Teung-Hui in his presidency. This was primarily because of his being Taiwanese and his

ability to exclude many Chinese mainlanders from attaining important positions in the party. Thus, the mainstream faction in the KMT can be considered to be more similar to the LDP and DPJ factions in Japan. All of them were considered as pragmatic since they were organized not based on ideology, but on the basis of patronage and electoral success.

Meanwhile, the Wisdom club (*chi-shih hui*), a sub-group of the mainstream faction, came about when Taiwan's liberalization gave the KMT party members more freedom to express their own ideas (Hood 1996). With its establishment in 1989, this faction was formed by the Taiwanese KMT members of the Legislative Yuan. The Wisdom club operated in close association with the mainstream faction, but its primary interest was to gain and maintain power in the Legislative Yuan. Its advocacy was to promote a Taiwan first agenda focusing on an independent Taiwan (Hood, 1996).

For the non-mainstream faction, the New KMT Alliance (Hsin Kuomintang *Lien shien*) was one of the several groups that essentially contributed to the downsizing of KMT's power and influence in Taiwan's politics. In the December 1989 elections, several candidates for the Legislative Yuan ran on an anti-corruption platform and won sizable majorities in their districts (Hood, 1996). This led to intense conflicts within the KMT that ultimately resulted in the creation of a new party in 1993 from the breakaway faction of the New KMT alliance faction.

The succeeding years of democratization in Taiwan encouraged members in the KMT to express their political thoughts and ideas that also solidified their factions. As a result of this internal party conflicts, the KMT faced serious problems in recruiting new members and in dealing with the deepening rift between the local Taiwanese and the mainland Chinese. In addition, the KMT had to confront the looming issue of the public's clamor for a Taiwanese identity that has gained traction during its democratization phase (Hood, 1996).

Yet despite these challenges, the KMT managed to thrive and compete in Taiwan's elections. Cheng (2006) argues that the party's astute leadership as well as the island's constitution and electoral system are the factors behind KMT's survival. And because of the looming challenges that it needs to address, the KMT forced itself to adapt strategic measures to court wider domestic support by offering public service programs such as computer literacy, foreign language training, among others.

In addition, the party has tried to distance itself from its authoritarian past and focused on changing its political image (Hood, 1996:481). In a way, the factional struggles in the KMT has in a way helped the party to move away from its old reputation of a conservative 'watchdog' into its more engaging public image over the years.

#### 5.2.4 Institutionalized factions in the DPP

Aside from the KMT, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is also a major party in Taiwan. Established in 1986, it was initially created as a political opposition movement that challenged the dominant KMT. Alexander Yali Lu (1992:129) describes the DPP in the following context:

"The DPP is essentially a party movement. On the one hand, it functions as a normal party by participating in elections, engaging in legislative work, and even running a few county and city governments. On the other hand, it considers itself as a mass movement, the principal mission of which is to mobilize people to exert pressure upon the ruling KMT and the government to democratize the political structure as well as to carry out other reforms".

Because of its origin, the DPP drew support from various advocacy groups. It garnered support from groups such as the Writers Editors Alliance composed of Taiwan's nationalists and the Tangwai Public Policy Research Association whose members are advocates for democracy in the policy field. Eventually, the Writers Editors Alliance became the New Tide

Faction of the DPP. It gradually took control of the DPP's organizational machinery. Through the New Tide faction, the political stance of the DPP radically transformed. From its position of changing Taiwan's authoritarian government into a democracy, the DPP sought to achieve independence for Taiwan. The party's ideology shifted from its advocacy on the right to self-determination for Taiwan to its aspiration for Taiwanese independence.

The significant influence of the New Tide faction gave momentum to the DPP with the support of advocates for the independence movement. These supporters were mostly Taiwanese who were forced to live abroad during the authoritarian rule of the KMT-led government and eventually return to Taiwan to take part in the independence movement (Schubert, 1994: 267-270). Gradually, the DPP had moved from exploiting the ethnic cleavage for voter mobilization to adopting the independence movement as its party platform. This development in the DPP had its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the party was able to settle its internal conflict by taking on the Taiwan independence issue as its unifying platform. On the other hand, the DPP faced antagonism from the KMT hardliners and incurred the wrath from officials of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in mainland China.

Indeed, the DPP was able to create a united front against its opposition because of its promotion of an independence platform for Taiwan. Fulda (2002) argues that the DPP's hardline approach strengthened its image to its core supporters and solidified its identity as a clear opposition to the KMT rule. The election results from 1991 to 2000 support this claim. While the DPP experienced a number of electoral setbacks, it was able to progress throughout the 1990s. Eventually, the party won the following: the Taipei mayoral race in 1994, the local elections in 1997, and the Kaohsiung mayoral race in 1998. While it generally did not perform well during national elections, the DPP slowly

made its mark during the local elections against the more organized and well-financed KMT.

Despite being a younger party to the KMT with less political experience and organizational capability, the DPP was able to survive for more than 30 years. Its survival can be attributed to its appeal as an opposition party against the KMT and its strong pro-independence stance for Taiwan. Its strong party-line can be credited to the institutionalized factions within its organization.

Factions in the DPP are generally regarded as institutionalized based on the following characteristics. According to Shelley Rigger (2001:71-74), they possess formal organizational structures such as offices and staffs. These factions can be considered as quasi-autonomous actors' vis-a-vis party institution such as Central Executive Committee (CEC), and Central Standing Committee (CSC) (Rigger, 2001:76-93). For Huang (1990:93-94), factions in the DPP are considered institutionalized because they encompassed all the administrative levels in the party.

Aside from its logistical and structural characteristics, the mobilization and survival of the group in the DPP did not depend on an individual leader. This strengthens its ability to stay united despite internal divisions, which enhances the institutionalization of factions within the DPP. Because of these, factions in the DPP lasted long from 1986 to 2006, until the party officially voted to dissolve all its groups.

#### Summary: Party Factionalism in Japan and Taiwan

Factions in Japan and Taiwan's political parties are instrumental in sharpening their organizations for inter-party competition. In the case of Japan, the military-like nature of the dominant LDP enabled its factions to

effectively manage internal conflicts and build consensus to successfully compete in elections. Meanwhile, the ideologically-based factions in the opposition parties such as the JSP and the DPJ provide their members with a sense of belonging and unity through its patronage system. Other parties such as the JCP and the Komeito Party had disallowed any factions within their organization but had strong organizational foundation. Thus, party factions in Japan helped sustain its political organizations and promote continued interactions within the party and among other parties.

In the case of Taiwan, factions in both the KMT and the DPP started with its political elites that significantly influenced its party system. The early ‘authoritarian’ image of the KMT and its internal strife decreased the party’s popularity that led to increased efforts to democratize its organization. To increase its chance of survival, the KMT presented changed into a more liberal image to recruit talented party members and win elections (Hood, 1996: 481). In contrast, the different factions in the DPP were united to push for Taiwan’s Independence. It gradually progressed into a moderate party that appealed to a wider public in order to achieve electoral victories. Factions in both the KMT and DPP shaped the development of their respective parties and prolonged their existence. These factions strengthened their respective parties which contributed to the institutionalization of the party system in Taiwan.

Nevertheless, for those informed readers, institutionalized factions can also be thought as autonomous entities which enable politicians to make decisions to cross over party borders more easily. Because the designs of parties are themselves endogenous “parties are the product of design of institutions that compel politicians to erect parties of a particular sort because that sort, and not some other, serves their interest (Filippove et al., 2004:196). Thus, politicians in factions also face and must decide which strategy helps him or her advance their goals; and factions’

autonomy might provide growing incentives for different factional members to advance intra-party conflict.

Nonetheless, we have to also consider the possibility that dominant factions will also make strategic use of their dominance over party organization to counteract opposition factions. In this case, party organization becomes a device that loosens or strengthens control over regional branches to restrain decisions to cross over party borders. This is mostly evident in the example of the LDP. Park, for example, has suggested that, institutionalized factions contribute to the effective management of the party as an organization (Park, 2001:444-7; see also Richardson 2001: 154-9). In the same manner, it is noted that for many years, factions in DPJ have been useful in terms of “mutual aid during campaign periods and beyond and for exchanging information” (Kollner, 2004:100). In addition, it is evident that party leaders have frequently used the balancing principle in personnel politics to contain overt intra-party conflicts and to prevent members to cross over party borders.

For Taiwan, the factionalism carry slightly a different nuance. For the KMT the effective use of the local factions through KMT’s state patronage and party favors to win votes at a local level while intra-party struggles within the KMT helped the party shed off its authoritarian image. On the other hand, the DPP was able to survive for more than 30 years because of its strong appeal as the sole opposition party against the KMT. Such stronger appeal to voters were possible because of the party’s strong institutionalized faction controlling its agenda and pushing the party to take national identity issue. While the DPP have been deeply fragmented, it managed to stay united. Although break off of the Labor Party (LP) in 1987 and the founding of Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP) by the dissatisfied DPP-politicians in 1996 had happen, it did not prevent the DPP from falling apart. On this, Taiwan expert Stephan Grauwels discussed the likely cost of inter-party comprise for the DPP:

“Any significant DPP concessions on national identity or money politics might cause tensions within the DPP at best, or a split at worst, with especially the New Tide breaking away and realigning in a new, more “puritanical” party on the left of the political spectrum. The DPP could lose the support of ardent independents, who at present are still a captive market for the party.” (Grauwels 1996: 97).

However, such break-off of New Tide faction from the DPP as envisaged by Grauwels did not happen. Instead, the young DPP managed to maintain its unity through factional compromise.

Therefore, even after considering for the alternative explanation, institutional factions still explain the stability of inter-party interactions in Japan and Taiwan.

### **5.3 Democratic Transitions in Japan and Taiwan**

Previous sections in the chapter have demonstrated that salient social cleavage and institutionalized factionalism led party systems to institutionalize in Japan and Taiwan. This section of the chapter will demonstrate that top-down democratic transitions also lead Japan and Taiwan’s party system to institutionalize mainly by allowing its previously institutional elements to continue to the post-transition and endure over time. Such continuity allows political stability in which the inter-party interactions also stabilize.

#### **5.3.1 Japan’s Path towards Democracy: US Influence and Tutelage**



After Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, the US began occupying Japan. From September 2, 1945 to April 28, 1952, the Americans implemented various political and economic measures. The US disarmed Japan to prevent it from waging another war, while purging those who were responsible for its war crimes. Moreover, laws were enacted to support the unionization of labor and the dissolution of the Zaibatsu. These Zaibatsu companies that aided Japan's war efforts were dismantled in line with the US industrial demilitarization. The Americans also adopted "the Dodge Line" that targeted the reduction of skyrocketing Japanese inflation, which reached to 165% in 1948 (Smith, 1995:66). Another important decree that the Americans imposed on the country was the dilution of the absolute monarchical power of the Japanese emperor into a mere ceremonial role. Instead of the Emperor, the National Diet became the most powerful political institution, which was bestowed with more privileges than the Cabinet members.

To further establish the Diet as a post-war political system, left-wing parties were given support. From 1946 to 1948, the American authorities eliminated all the legislation and police controls against leftist parties. However, some two hundred thousand alleged militarists and ultranationalists were purged from public life,<sup>40</sup> with the intention of establishing a moderate Japan from its militant authoritarian past. With the implementation of "The Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office,"<sup>41</sup> nearly all the conservatives at the national level, were purged (i.e., 80% military officials and 17% of political elites). As a

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<sup>40</sup> With the intention of establishing a moderate force in Japanese politics, in January 1946, SCAP implemented the order titled "The Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office" The purge order aimed at curbing right-wing elements by prohibiting militarists and other political organizations whose aims ran counter to those of the SCAP.

<sup>41</sup> [http://www.ndl.go.jp/modern/e/img\\_t/M006/M006-001tx.html](http://www.ndl.go.jp/modern/e/img_t/M006/M006-001tx.html), accessed 10<sup>th</sup> May 2018.

result, the Socialists gained the upper hand in Japan's political landscape since the Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) secured majority of the seats in the Diet—with 143 seats in the lower house during the April 1947 election that led to the formation of a coalition government under Tetsu Katayama.

Japan's democratization process was laid down by the US under the leadership of General Douglas MacArthur. Various reforms were implemented, the most important of which was the American authored constitution of Japan. But as tensions during Cold War increased, US policymakers became increasingly concerned about further communist expansion in Japan. One measure that was adopted to shield Japan from communist influences was the establishment of a bilateral defense pact. However, growing threats of Communist expansion in Asia were evident after the victory of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. These developments led US policymakers in Washington to transform Japan from a social democracy to a capitalist democracy.

#### 5.3.1.1 Japan's Path towards Democracy: Transition through transactions

By the early 1950s, the advent of the Cold War and the takeover of China by the communists compelled the US to take a radical anti-Communist stance in designing Japan's foreign policy. This departure from its original policy of democratizing and decentralizing Japan started in 1947 known as the 'reverse course' (Curtis, 1988; Dower, 1993; Lee, 2004). In terms of its economic policy, this reverse course abandoned the laws supporting labor unions and the dissolution of the Zaibatsu. In terms of its political impact, it reinstated those individuals who were purged from public life. Between 1949 and the end of 1950s, US authorities and the Japanese government collaborated in a "Red Purge". According to

Baerwald (1979:99), this “Red Purge” had the “ultimate effect of switching the objectives of the purge from removing militarists and ultra-nationalists, to eliminating the Communists and their sympathizers,” (Baerwald, 1979:99). Eventually, the US overturned many of its earlier reform initiatives and brought back old conservatives into the Japanese political life in an effort to build Japan as a bulwark against the spread of Communism in Asia.

This ‘reversal’ and the resurgence of the old conservatives had several political implications. The comeback of the Japanese conservatives ultimately led to the emergence of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in 1955. This ‘reverse course’ policy also reinstated former wartime bureaucrats. They eventually turned into professional politicians recruited by a bureaucrat-turned politician himself, Yoshida Shigeru. They consolidated their political influence by replacing a number of the pre-war professional politicians. This created a deep divide within the conservative bloc—those bureaucrat-turned-politicians on the one side, and those pre-war politicians on the other side under Ichiro Hatoyama. However, this rivalry between the two factions did not last long as they became unified to strengthen the party’s continued reign in Japanese politics.

Meanwhile, the Zaibatsu was also able to make its comeback with the reverse course policy (Yanaga, 1968:120). It has a major influence in the consolidation of the 1955 party system (i.e., one party domination under the LDP). The Zaikai (business community) provided various methods of carrots and sticks to put pressure on the conservative factions to end their factional struggles that undermined the power of the Japanese Socialist Party (now Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ). The Yoshida faction (Liberal Party) and the Hatoyama faction (Democratic Party), pressured by the community representing the Zaibatsu—Zaikai, merged under the famous slogan, ‘Abandon small differences and concentrate on large similarities’.

With the return of the conservative politicians, bureaucrats, and the business community, Japan underwent a transformation into a full parliamentary democracy. The strong support of the skilled bureaucracy and the wealthy Zaikai were instrumental in maintaining the dominance of the LDP. This created a one-party domination in the Japanese party system, despite having multiple minor opposition parties from 1955-1994. This provided party system stability under the stewardship of the LDP government (Johnson, 1990).

Along with the initial guidance and the political reforms initiated by the US as well as the internal developments in the Japanese government, democratic transition in Japan is regarded as having a top-down approach. This facilitated the institutionalization of its party system and sustained its stability in the country's political landscape.

### 5.3.2 Taiwan's Road to Democracy: From Soft-Authoritarian to Gradual Liberal Rule

Taiwan's transition to democracy came without any foreign interference unlike the US influence in Japan's case. Its process of democratization was rather prolonged and methodical. However, its transition to democracy is considered as the most ideal example of democratic transition in Third-wave countries.

In Taiwan, democratic transition began with the decision of Chiang Ching-kuo to modernize. The changes occurred in the mid-1980s that saw Taiwan slowly transforming its soft-authoritarian regime and creating a favorable condition for more liberalization. Subsequently, more information became available to the Taiwanese public through foreign media outlets from Japan. In addition, more Taiwanese students began studying abroad, particularly in Western democratic countries. These students brought home liberal democratic ideas.

These developments and other mounting internal pressures prompted the Central Committee of Taiwan to finally announce the establishment of a constitutional democracy in March 1986. Subsequently in July 1987, Chiang Ching-kuo lifted Martial Law, which eventually restored civil rights in Taiwan. By the end of 1987, the international community considered Taiwan as having a 'partial Democracy'. Diamond and Olsen (1987) describes Taiwan's 'partial democracy' as having "genuine democratic elements that had been combined with authoritarian power" (Diamond and Olsen in Wesson (eds), 1987:167).

#### 5.3.2.1 Taiwan's Road to Democracy: From Single to Multiparty System.

In January 1988, Chiang Ching-kuo died and Lee Teng-hui was elected in the National Assembly. Through Lee, the KMT-dominated government of Taiwan allowed the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), as an opposition party to participate in politics. By 1989, the Civil Organizations Law was enacted, allowing the legal presence of other small opposition parties to compete with the DPP. Together, the DPP and the KMT laid out terms and conditions for the creation of other political parties by lifting the restrictions on campaign activities.

After Lee Tueng-hui's re-election in 1990, he strongly pushed for constitutional reforms within the current framework. By April 1991, the National Assembly passed more constitutional amendments to support this position and allowed new elections in all three parliamentary branches. Both bodies of the legislative branch, the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan, would be determined by popular elections. Candidates

would be nominated by the President and then voted on by the National Assembly (Leng and Lin, 1993:87).

In addition, Lee rescinded the “Temporary Provisions” that terminated all provisions from authoritarian powers. Thus, Taiwan transitioned to a full multiparty democracy with the continued influence of the same political institutions with the KMT and the DPP in place. This created a more stable political environment that encouraged efficient ways to implement democratic reforms. The continued co-existence and interactions between the KMT and the DPP also created an environment favorable to Taiwan’s democratization.

Essentially, the democratic transition in Taiwan came from a top-down approach. It was the decision of the KMT’s leader Chiang Ching-kuo to let go of his strong grip over Taiwan. As the dominant party leading the government, the KMT lifted Martial Law and allowed the creation of DPP as the major opposition party and other small parties. Both the KMT and the DPP were instrumental in the institutionalization of Taiwan’s party system.

#### Summary: Democratic transitions in Japan and Taiwan

As discussed in detail, the political stability institutionalized by one-party domination in the post 1955 Japanese party politics can be attributed to the way country had democratized. The democratic transition has been initiated by the US occupational authority has enabled the continuity of the pre-war party factions, strong bureaucracy, and business community to bring consolidated, one party system in Japan.

Meanwhile, Taiwan’s democratic transition came without any foreign influence. Rather, the democratic transition processed in a methodical way, which progressed in over 10 years. This slowly progressed transition has guaranteed the survival of both the authoritarian

institution (KMT) and the progressive elements (DPP) in the society to make compromises and reorganize themselves to be fully adaptable in a new environment and be able to interact continuously and thrive even under multiparty democracy.

Meanwhile, there must be concerns for an opposite outcome to top-down feature of democratic transition from what the thesis has argued. Mainly, the top-down feature of transitions will give authoritarian successor parties advantageous positions to fractionalize/or other parties. Such concerns are legitimate because regime transitions have proved to be theoretically challenging because “different kinds of authoritarianism differ from each other as much as they differ from democracy” (Geddes, 1999). Furthermore, it is generally expected that authoritarian ruling parties are exceptionally resistant to democratization. However, some of the strongest authoritarian parties in the world have not resisted democratization but have embraced it. In addition, an incremental pattern of institutional reform helped the single-party retain power while enabling fragmented opposition groups to participate in competitive elections in Senegal (Creevy, Ngomo, and Vengroff, 2005). In the case of Japan and Taiwan, the authoritarian party was a single-party regime. Single-party regime is where access to political office and control over policy are dominated by one party, though other parties may legally exist and compete in elections (Geddes, 1999). In the case of Japan and Taiwan, our empirical observations have revealed that the single-party regime (LDP and the KMT) had more chances of getting re-elected or stay in power after their transitions to democracy, thus the need for them to use their advantageous positions to fractionalize other parties seem over statement.

However, as Geddes (1999) suggested two kinds of authoritarianism use their advantageous positions to directly influence the opposition parties after democratic transition. For example, if on the one

hand, the regime is military regime where a group of officers decided to role and exercise some influence on policy (i.e., South Korean example as we will see later) it is more likely to use their advantageous positions to directly influence the election and the opposition parties. On the other hand, in a personalist regimes differ from both military and single-party in that access to office and the fruits of office depends much more on the discretion of an individual leader. The leader may be an officer and may have created a party to support him/herself (Bratton and Van de Walle 1997:61-96, Linz and Chehabi 1998: 4-45; Geddes 1999: 121-122). Both military regime and the personalist regimes may be more prone to exercise their advantageous positions.

Based on the aforementioned observations, one can confidently argue that Japan and Taiwan's top-down feature of transitions led to institutionalization of party system as the single-party regime retain power while enabling opposition groups to participate in competitive elections; and overtime leading eventually to the electoral defeat of the ruling party.

## **Chapter Six**



## Party System Institutionalization in the Philippines and South Korea

### **Introduction**

The previous chapter explained that salient social cleavages, institutionalized party factionalism, and authoritarian-led (i.e., top-down) democratic transition increased the level of party system institutionalization in Japan and Taiwan.

This chapter then discusses the cases of the Philippines and South Korea, wherein their party systems are considered as under-institutionalized. Using similar factors, it explains how their respective social cleavages, party factions, and democratic transitions affect party system institutionalization. These factors validate the low party system institutionalization scores garnered by the Philippines (6) and South Korea (4) in Chapter Four.

This chapter reveals the following findings: first, having no salient social cleavages, political parties in the Philippines and South Korea relied mostly on charismatic leaderships and social distinctions like regional cleavage. The creation of political parties was mostly on an ad-hoc basis (i.e. prior to major national elections). Therefore, inter-party competitions did not continue over time and party organizations perform frequent changes especially after each electoral defeat. Second, personalized cliques form the various factions found in the political parties of the Philippines and South Korea. These point to the prevalent party-switching among candidates based on their loyalty to their leaders. Such reality significantly reduced the parties' legitimacy and their ability to continue as effective political organizations. Lastly, the manner in which democratic transitions occurred in the Philippines and South Korea affect the stability

of their political institutions. Because of this, party systems in both countries experienced frequent changes.

## **6.1 Social Cleavage in the Philippines and South Korea**

### **6.1.1 The Philippines' Patronage Politics: From Colonial to Modern**

Generally, there is difficulty in determining a specific conflict that led to the formation and development of political movements. The establishment of national revolutions in the Philippines explains this observation.

These political movements were not only anti-colonial struggles but also a social upheaval guided by a vague ideology. The struggle against three centuries of Spanish colonial rule resulted in the Philippines declaration of independence from Spain in 1898. However, its independence did not last long due to the Philippine-American War from 1899 to 1901. Apart from its long struggle for independence, the Philippines is also home to one of the most persistent religious conflict in the world. The conflict in Mindanao, located in the southern Philippines, has a long history of conflict among armed groups that includes Muslim separatists, communists, clan militias, and other criminal groups. However, none of these conflicts have been translated into a salient political movement that would lead to the creation of a national political party. Instead, the Philippines produced a clientelistic party system throughout its political history.

During the American colonial rule, the two-party-system in the Philippines was regarded as institutionalized. Prior to this, the country neither had national-level democratic institution nor organized political parties. It was the American colonial authority that established the

foundations of political parties in the Philippines, which countered the widely-supported revolutionary threats in the country (Hutchcroft, 2000). The U.S. began granting access to political powers to mestizo elites,<sup>42</sup> who had already developed a strong economic base in major regions in the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period. To win over both the educated elites and the local chiefs who gave support to the revolutionary efforts, the U.S. created local government units and a national representative assembly (Organic Act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1902).<sup>43</sup>

Studies produced by May (1984) and Hayden (1943) explained the limited political freedom and restrictive institutions imposed by the US on the Philippines. The Americans limited the electorate to a very small elite segment of the population. The US colonial regime also actively prevented any forms of popular uprisings or popular mobilization that would challenge its authority. It also imposed the anti-sedition law that declared the pursuit of independence as a crime punishable by death (Banlaoi and Carlos, 1996: 49; Hutchcroft and Rocamora, 2003). According to Manacsa and Tan (2005), this anti-sedition law was regarded as the initial reason behind the transient nature of political parties in the Philippines, arguing that it prevented the growth of opposition groups that would compete against the elites.

But eventually, the U.S. pursued the institutionalization of the party system in the Philippines that would unabashedly advocate its colonial rule

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<sup>42</sup> In the Philippines, Filipino mestizo are people of mixed Filipino and any foreign ancestry.

<sup>43</sup> An interesting comparison can be made with regard to the Japanese colonial authority in Korea. In Korea, the Japanese colonialists largely prevented the Korean landed elites becoming politically powerful. The landholding traditional aristocrats were excluded access into political power or participating in any substantial roles in politics. Had the Japanese, instead of the Americans, become the colonial rulers of the Philippines in the 1900s, one may speculate, Japanese institutional reform would have created a very different type of Filipino elites today.

(Hutchcroft and Rocamora, 2003). Thus, the Partido Federalista was born with the support of the Americans. Cullinane (1989) and Salamanca (1984) documented the enormous political privileges the Federalistas enjoyed under the American rule. The most important of which was that the party was given the sole power to make appointments to key provincial offices in the Philippines.

By 1905, however, the Partido Federalistas lost this privilege. Cullinane (1989), Paredes (1989), Hutchcroft and Rocamora (2003) explained that the Americans eventually realized the limits of having only one Manila-based group of elites to rule an archipelago since “the political forces in the provinces were mobilizing to gain their access to the patronage and political influence” (Cullinane, 1989:240). The Americans thus implemented a ‘divide and rule’ tactic by creating a new group of Filipino leaders to “strengthen your hold on the entire archipelago”, (Paredes, 1989:53-60). Thus in 1907, the Philippines eventually had two political parties with the establishment of the Nacionalista Party as approved by the US colonial authority.

But despite having two political organizations, the Philippines’ party system was not institutionalized. This was because voting rights were strictly regulated by the constitution. According to the Act 1582 of the country’s 1935 Constitution, the Philippine Commission only allowed Filipino men over 21 years old to vote during the American occupation. Moreover, there were no inter-party interactions based on different policy issues that exist in any institutionalized party systems.

The Nacionalista Party was purportedly a more independent party under the leadership of provincial politicians like Sergio Osmeña of Cebu and Manuel Quezon of Tayabas. Unlike the Federalista Party, the Nacionalistas were more anti-American and enjoyed “a more permanent political base upon which to collaborate and compete with the colonial authorities,” (Cullinane, 1989:389-390). Martin Shefter (1994) noted that

the Nacionalistas became a prototype for many of the succeeding political parties. The party had essentially consolidated its power at the national level while being responsive to allies (or clienteles) in the provinces who wanted more autonomy from American colonial supervision. Shefter further argued that the Nacionalista party was “founded by the elites who occupied positions within the prevailing regime to mobilize a popular following behind themselves in an effort to either gain control of the government or to secure their hold over it,” (p.30).

The colonial democracy, propagated by the Americans, encouraged the emergence of the elite-controlled democratic institution that systematically excluded the masses. It also led to a provincial basis of national politics and the emergence of a patronage-oriented party (i.e., the Nacionalista Party) that did not give rise to any ideological differences. These episodes in the Philippines’ colonial history eventually resulted in this notable trend that has since been evident in the country’s modern political party system.

The independence of the Philippines from American colonial rule saw some interesting changes unfolding in its political system. First, the intra-elite disputes largely destroyed the Nacionalista that resulted in confusion among its members over the issue of ‘who shall we relate to’. Osmeña had assumed the presidency of the Nacionalista party but was defeated during the 1946 election by Manuel Roxas, a former Nacionalista member, who established the Liberal Party (Teehankee, 2002). Throughout 1946 to 1972, the Liberals and the Nacionalista alternated in power under the rules formally established in the 1935 Constitution.

Eventually, the succeeding elections in the Philippines included, not only the support of the political elites, but also the votes of the Filipino mass public. Carl Landé (1965) explains: “local elites (often landholding) patrons used variety of means—kinship, personal ties, and the offering of jobs, services, and other favors—to build a clientele composed of those

from lower social classes. This clientele constituted a large vote bank, which could be exchanged for money and power from national politicians” (p. 24). Thus, when the candidates for national offices needed votes, local leaders were tapped to provide support in return for various political favors or financial benefits.

This results in a functional interdependence of local, provincial, and national leaders in each party organization (Sidel, 1999) that exists in the current political system in the Philippines (Thompson, 2010, p.6). It largely resulted in “patronage politics” featuring patron-client networks in the country that was institutionalized under the rule of former President Fidel V. Ramos in 1995.

Under Ramos, elected representatives in the Philippine Congress were allocated a sizeable sum of discretionary funds to be used in “projects” of their own choice. These funds were popularly known as the *pork barrel* (Kasuya, 2009), which already existed during the 1920s. This *pork barrel* draws from various sources, including the Public Works Act, the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF), and the discretionary funds from the president and departmental secretaries. Ramos re-instituted the pork barrel as a tool to lure the rural elites to his side similar to what the Federalista did back in 1920s (Kasuya, 2009; Putzel, 1992). At present, pork barrel in the Philippines is used as a means to reward or sanction politicians in government.

Given its colonial history and patronage politics, the Philippines was not able to develop its party system based on a clear social cleavage. Therefore, most party members and political candidates who stand in elections do not have strong advocacies and political stance.

#### 6.1.2 South Korea’s Anti-Communism and Regionalism: Impact on its Political History

Historically, South Korea has a strong anti-communist sentiment that was propagated during the US Occupation. Such sentiment, along with hostilities against North Korea, discouraged any clear social cleavage. The outbreak of the Korean War and the subsequent military totalitarian governments under Park Chung-hee and Chun Doo-whan systematically blocked the representation of diversity (i.e., ideology, labor-unions) in South Korea. It was only from the early 2000 that South Koreans were able to voice their opinion based on distinct ideological representation.

Because of the dominance of the rightist groups and the conservatives, the existence of a social cleavage in South Korea was not apparent. The restrictive measures against opposition parties and the political assassination of leftist and communists' leaders did not result in an ideologically-based division in South Korea. In addition, subsequent authoritarian governments following Syngman Rhee's administration strictly impeded social diversity and greatly controlled labor unions and other political groups that could form a political opposition. Similar to his precursor, Rhee Syngman, Park Chung-hee's regime suppressed political dissidents and labeled them as followers of North Korea.

One of these cases was the arrest of eight college student activists and opposition party leaders on April 9, 1975. They were arrested under suspicions of espionage for North Korea, sentenced to death, and then immediately executed less than eighteen hours after the Supreme Court ruled against them on charges of treason, rebellion, and cooperation with North Korea. Until the 1990s, South Korean society remained under such totalitarian rule, wherein the government used the threat of communism and North Korea as a tool for eradicating those who opposed the government.

The same logic applied to the formation of any type of organizations such as labor unions, teachers' unions, university reading clubs, and pro-democracy marches. Any projection of differences or

dissent was construed by the government as favoring North Korea. As an illustrative example, the Chun Doo-whan regime labelled the pro-democracy marches during the May 18th Gwang-ju Democratic Uprising as riots. It alleged that the Gwangju residents are communists and pro-North Korean sympathizers (Alice, 2015).

Such draconian measures in South Korea prevented the politicization of socio-economic and ideological divisions until the late 2000s. Any rural-urban divide did not appear as South Korea had not experienced industrial revolution during this period. Rather, the industrialization was planned and led by the military government. The Park Chung-hee government reallocated rural population to urban areas to provide cheap labor for the entrepreneurs while using *Saemaul Undong* (*New Village Movement, SMU*) to control the rural sector (Moore, 1985). Because of this, no apparent rural-to-urban disparity was politicized in South Korea.

### 6.1.3 Democratization and Regionalism in South Korea.

During its democratization phase and the three-party merger<sup>44</sup> that defined its political landscape then, South Korea consolidated and promoted regional cleavage among its electorate. The provincial electorate (mostly from Youngnam and Honam area) are considered to be emotional voters who tend to vote blindly for the party that claims regional ties. But as regionalism intensified, it made political parties underperform and became weak against external shocks such as election loss. This is because

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<sup>44</sup> Briefly, the three-party merger had two greater influence on the party system institutionalization in South Korea. First it solidified regionalism and second it gave presidents enormous power which explains why party organizations are weak and undergo organizational changes frequently. The thesis will discuss the three-party merger with respect to democratic transition in more detail in the forthcoming democratic transition section.



political parties in South Korea have little loyalty to ideology or agenda. Instead, politicians focus on loyalty to individuals and regional issues. As a result, parties are easily dissolved and new parties formed. Political elites mostly exploit past grievances in order to garner support. This resulted in frequent intra-party conflicts and party splits as well as electoral volatility. Regional cleavage may thus have an indirect influence in the weakening of party system in South Korea.

But after the country's democratization period, regionalism has since been a significant influence during elections (Choi 1993; Lee 1990; Park 1993; Yang 2001). Regionalism has been found to be one of many influential factors in determining every election outcome from the 1987 presidential election to the 2016 National Assembly election.

Many political scientists in South Korea have since analyzed the causes and characteristics of the country's regionalism (Cha 1993; Park 1993; Lee 1999, 1998; Kim et al., 2007, Kang 2003 for example). However, this thesis objects to the classification of regionalism as a form of social cleavage for the following reasons.

First, politicians in the country tend to manipulate regionalism for their own electoral victory while minimizing the debate on political ideologies and policy preferences during elections. In fact, many politicians from the Honam regional base have crossed over to the conservative party while many candidates from the Younnam regional base have been members of the parties representing the Honam region depending on the political circumstances during elections. South Korea's electorate has voted based on the candidates' personalities and their regions of origin. Those who support Kim Dae-jung came largely from the Honam (South) while those who supported Kim Yong-sam came from Kyung-sang (Southeast Region). Chung-cheong (Southwest) supported Kim Jong-pil. This precipitated the era of the three KIMs in South Korean politics. Throughout the 1990s with relatively more open political playing

field, Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, and Kim Jong-pil lorded over their respective parties and formed, dissolved, merged, and then used parties in any way they could to achieve their long-desired goal of becoming the president. According to Im (2004;18), “Since 1987, the ‘three Kims’ created new parties: Kim Young-sam created three parties, Kim Dae-jung established four different political parties, while Kim Jong-pil formed three political parties.

Based on modern election results, regionalism has aided the underperformance of political parties in South Korea, which resulted in their underperformance. These enabled parties reliant on vote-rich regions and their area-specific electoral constituencies that made them resistant to outside pressures and influence. Their platforms and policies related to class, religion, or economy were subsumed under these particular motivations. As a result, South Korea’s underperforming party organizations were able to continually reinvent itself due to the public’s voting behavior based on regional rivalries. Thus, Kim (2003) view regionalism as a “disease of Korean politics” (p.29). If they encounter issues or scandals (i.e., election loss or corruption cases), parties simply changed their names and appeal to their regional constituents for renewed support (Kim 2003).

Second and more importantly, there is evidence that other factors, aside from regionalism, are involved that can affect the decisions of the Korean electorate. Economic voting (Kang, 2014), age/generational voting (Kim, 2006), and ideological voting (Cho 2003; Lee 1999; Sohn 1995) influence the people’s political choices. In fact, the 2004 National and Presidential elections revealed the significant decrease in regionalism as a factor in explaining voters’ preferences (Kim et al., 2006; Kang 2004).

Therefore, the influence of regionalism to the institutionalization of the party system in South Korea is weak. Despite its impact on voters for many years, the region-based conflict did not become the mobilizing

factor that created political parties in the country. Rather, regionalism was one of the many social distinctions that was used to sway votes during elections in South Korea.

Summary: Social Cleavages and Party Systems in the  
Philippines and South Korea.

Generally, both countries lacked either a clear a socio-economic rift or an identity divide that would have been the basis of the organization of their political parties. They did have 'social-structural elements' that could have led to divisions among their people. However, the political nature of the Philippines and the pro-North Korea ideological frame in South Korea have largely prevented them from developing salient social cleavages.

In the Philippines, the strong influence of patronage politics since the Spanish colonial period has become a dominant feature of its political culture. This patronage politics encourage relationships between powerful families and loyal supporters from local towns or provinces. In addition, the strong anti-sedition law implemented during the American occupation prevented the expansion of the opposition elites (Manacsa and Tan, 2005). The prevalence of patronage politics and the control of the opposition superseded any possible social distinctions or political conflicts to emerge that would have been politicized by local parties.

In South Korea, its strong authoritarian government prevented social dissent and political representation until the late 1990s. Any opposition against the government would be suppressed based on false allegations of supporting North Korea or communism. Meanwhile, regionalism, which has a strong influence in the way South Koreans vote since 1987, did not develop into a form of social cleavage. It did not lead

into any collective actions nor form any political parties. Instead, charismatic political figures (i.e., the three Kims) used regionalism to influence people in their region of origins to vote for them and their parties. These regions can be considered as large political machinery that are based on ‘imagined’ divisions that do not exist. Thus, despite its impact during elections, regional-based division in South Korea did not evolve into a strong social cleavage that would have firmly established political parties and enrich inter-party competition in the country.

Since party organizations and their interactions are not organized by salient social cleavages, party-to-party legitimacy in the Philippines and South Korea is low. And because social cleavages are transient, electoral volatility is high. In addition, party mergers and coalitions are rampant and occurs even across ideologically-divergent parties. Thus, the non-salient social cleavages in the Philippines and South Korea result in the under institutionalization of their party systems.

## **6.2 Party Factionalism in the Philippines and South Korea**

The history of factionalism in the Philippines is the oldest among the four countries. Factions in the country’s political parties were primarily based in towns and provinces and generally have significant influence over its national parties (Machado,1974; McCoy eds., 2009). Factionalism and politics of party factions in the Philippines, thereby, is bi-factional (Landé, 1990; Machado, 1974). In South Korea, factionalism and the politics behind it, is also a common occurrence. But unlike in the Philippines, factions in South Korea are primarily the ‘sub-units’ of political parties under individual charismatic leaders with the participation of loyal members.

### 6.2.1 The Philippines' Party Factions: Bi-factionalism and Political Transactions

The development of party factionalism in the Philippines can be attributed to the Spanish American colonial governments (Landé 1990; McCoy 2009). To effectively control the archipelago, both governments employed local chiefs to manage the country. While the Spaniards only gave the local chiefs freedom to pursue economic policies, the Americans provided economic and political power as well (Anderson, 1988, Landé, 1965).

Political factions in the Philippines are traditionally organized locally. Kinship ties have traditionally been at the center of factional organization. Aside from this kinship ties, personal loyalty creates factions, as well as mutual obligation that was born out of the exchange of favors between families at the periphery and faction leaders at the center (Landé, 1965). These factions compete for influence in local, provincial, and national elections (Machado, 1974). In many respect, the Philippines has a two-sided factionalism that both address the local as well as provincial and national interests.

The country possesses a bi-factional nature of local politics since the American colonial period. This 'bi-factionalism' is described as a two-level organization of factions. At top of the hierarchy is a patron who appoints the *datus* (lit. local princes) to various positions and rewards them individually with 'porks' and financial support. Those *datus* then use patronage and political influence at the local level to organize a faction/group underneath them. At the lower level, factions are further organized by several other leaders linked to the *datu*. These symbiotic ties between the political patron and the *datus* are expected to deliver political support (mostly votes) for the top leaders affiliated with them (Landé, 1965, Machado, 1974). Such bi-factionalism in the Philippines are still evident

in its political system. Landé (1965) suggests that it has been a dominant feature in Philippine politics based on the personal and family rivalries among politically powerful people. It was already evident during American colonialism in the Philippines that significantly influenced the development of political parties in the country. The nature of its bifactionalism emphasized on the struggle for personal rewards among political leaders. It is characterized by a descending allocation of spoils, distributed on a face-to-face basis, filtering down to the village/local leaders, and finally to the common man. Such political system provides benefits for the people involved and facilitates the dyadic ties permeating Philippine society. It essentially represents the spoils moving downward in exchange for votes going upward especially during election season.

These patrons or the political 'big shots' have been traditionally expected to give dues to the 'little people.' Such relationship produces several factions that are invariably led by the elites and composed of subordinates under them from lower socio-economic classes with various interests. This mutually beneficial relationship precludes the emergence of class or ideologically-based parties in the Philippines. In its political system, factions have not transformed into a specialized political organization with an ideology or advocacy. Instead of competing based on political issues, party factions vie for economic rewards and influence that often result in ruthless rivalry among the political elites. In addition, the competition among them also includes other activities outside of the political realm, which also includes economic and business interests.

By the late 1950s to early 1970s, these local factions eventually broke away from the traditional patterns of factionalism (Machado, 1974). Instead of relying on the influence of personal and family networks, candidates began focusing on establishing an organization, which could link barrio or community to the provincial and national parties. Machado (1974) studied a handful of local factions and found that some of these

organizations turned factions were primarily located in the islands of Luzon and Visayas have become more professionalized as machine for the interest of the barrio captains.

However, such factions in Luzon and Visayas did not become institutionalized. Rather, they remained localized and hired as a vote mobilization machine (Machado, 1974: 1188-1195). Until the 1950s, the rivalry between factions in San Miguel in the city of Manila, for example, was very intense during its local elections. The factional competition was based on several alliances with large landholding families supported by families with businesses in Manila.

However, the forms of factional competition changed from making alliances to the locally powerful families to recruiting members from outside when the local elections became diversified—from a contest to win votes for the poblacion (town-based) elections to winning both poblacion (town) and the barrios (neighborhood) elections. Thus, what was a contest between two alliances of established poblacion (town-based) family became a contest between the voters for the town and the voters in the barrio. These required factions to have wider base of membership and recruitments, leading “factions recruiting from outside the circle of traditional supporters among leading poblacion families” (Machado, 1974:1188). Nevertheless, until the time when Machada wrote his study, the factions in San Miguel remain locally- based while serving as a vote mobilizer for the Nacionalista Party (p. 1189).

The change of traditional factional competition in the local election of *Patag* in the Silay city of the Philippines, is another example. According to Machado (1974), there were three main factions each initially centered on one extended family in Patag. But since the introduction of Barangay elections in 1960s, the elected Mayor created his own political organization with his own men while remaining in regular and direct contact with the barrio leaders and allied families (p.1191).

In sum, local factions have transformed from being a promoter of the powerful local families' interests to being an effective vote mobilizer. While remaining its original ties with the local families, these factions became increasingly inclusive by actively recruiting members beyond the powerful families. However, there is no scholarly and journalistic account yet of political factions in the Philippines that have gone beyond their original roles in the 1930s and 1960s. Factions still remain locally organized and regarded as a 'vote mobilization machine' for the nationally organized party for the benefit of the political elites.

On the one hand, factions in the Philippines can be considered stable and durable because they are locally organized by powerful families. Generations after generation of members in these families normally participate in each election. Thus, the various factions that these families organize endure and last long. On the other hand, there is uncertainty on whether or not these local factions organized sub-units for nationalized parties in the Philippines where they are supposed to influence domestic policies. Perhaps a future study can explore this issue by comparing the voter turnout rate between the local and the national elections.

Another characteristic of the factions in the Philippines is that they are hired to gain votes to be rewarded with a share of government resources. From the provincial as well as nationalized parties, the loyalties of members in most factions could be bought through the lucrative 'pork barrel'. And since locally powerful families make alliances to elect barrio captains who have the best access to a town Mayor's organization (Landé 1965; Machada 1974), these families' 'loyalty' can change depending on the barrio captain's ability to bring resources back to them. Thus, loyalty changes may be more frequent in factions in the Philippines.

Given its bi-factional nature of having patrons and recipients, the Philippine's party system can thus be described as under-institutionalized. The transactional character of its political system tends to breed



widespread corruption at the local and national levels of government. And most importantly, this hinders political parties in the country to compete during elections based on policy issues and ideological views.

### 6.2.2 South Korea's Party Factions: From Splinter Groups to Party Formation.

“Korean parties are almost oblivious to their organization. Subsequently, parties organize their networks in consideration of the fame of their candidates and their personal dignity as recognized in local areas. Party candidates try to reinforce their private organizations, not on the basis of any manifest political ideology, but through human relations with local patrons who possess prominent reputation and strong authority. Both party candidates and local patrons, seek alliances resulting in a cliquish pedigree in which personal affinity count more than ideology” (Ko, 1967:16).

This observation was made in the 1960s but remains an apt description about South Korea's political parties. To some extent, they are characterized by intra-party split and one-man political parties (Diamond and Kim 2000; Hermanns, 2009). In addition, personality-driven level factions in political parties have been prevalent, which generally result in the lack of party unity and consensus (Jin Kai, 2017).

Generally, ‘charismatic individuals’ who become party leaders drive Korean politics. This was reflected from the time of Syngman Rhee to the era of the Three Kims (i.e., Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, and Kim Jong-pil). The influence of these charismatic leaders is felt both within their parties and in national politics. Known as *kae-pa-galdueng* or ‘factional struggle,’ it is considered as the main reason why party fragmentations occur—something that occurs with more frequency and greater intensity.

These party factions in South Korea have also afflicted opposition parties which sometimes fail to promote a cohesive stance against the dominance of the ruling party. Since these parties generally recruit members without any regard on their previous party affiliations, party

members are easily convened under the ‘centripetal force’ of government power. Opposition parties are normally organized from several splinter groups, merged together with the aim of toppling the ruling party. As one observer has put it, “an opposition party in South Korea is the product of factional power struggles and it is largely motivated by resistance (Denney, 2013). Moreover, factionalism in an opposition party made it difficult for this groups to have a unified single leadership. Its practice of choosing different leaders as the party heads often resulted in splinter before the presidential elections as the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> presidential elections demonstrate.

The ruling or governing party in South Korea also experiences factionalism. It generally recruits their members without any regard on their previous party affiliations. Their party members are easily convened under the ‘centripetal force’ of governmental power and factional conflicts could be appeased or suppressed with sufficient political and economic leverages. However, whether ruling or opposition party, partisan infightings are the recurring theme in South Korea’s politics. Factionalism goes beyond inter-party competition and almost always result in intra-party divergence, conflict, and even critical stand-offs. As a result, the names of political parties have changed frequently and new parties are constantly convened as the result of various intra-party deadlock and disagreements.

The case of the opposition party mergers and splits from the early 1960s to the late 1970s illustrate just how fragile political alliances in the progressive parties were. By May 1965, progressive parties made their staggering effort to create a unified stance against the military government led by Park Chung-hee. The Minjung Party (MP) or the “People’s Party” was thereby created, which was composed of a group led by Yoon Po-sun and another group led by Park Soon-chun.

Soon after its creation, however, the MP experienced intra-factional strife over the issue of party leadership. The party was split into

two factions—some followed Yoon while others followed Park. In the end, Park became the Party leader. But soon, the two factions clashed again over the Treaty between Korea and Japan and the withdrawal of Korean troops from Vietnam, which made Yoon's faction leave the party. Those who stayed in the MP (mainly Park's faction) then split into two factions again. One argued for the reorganization of the MP, while the other pushed for the creation of a new party. Those who pushed for the creation of a new party then joined Yoon (who earlier left the MP) and created the New Korea Party (NKP) in October 1965.

However, there were pressures to form a united stance among opposition parties to defeat the civilian-turned- military regime of Park Chung-hee. Despite difficulties, attempts were made to unite the two biggest opposition parties together—the NKP led by Yoon Po-sun and the MP headed by Yu Chin-o who succeeded Park Soon-chun. Subsequently a new opposition party, known as the New Democratic Party (NDP), was created on February 7, 1967 with only three months remaining before the presidential election (Kim, 1991). But alas, the internal strife within the NDP failed to prevent Park Chung-hee from becoming the president during the 1967 election. Having been directly elected by the people, Park was given the legitimacy to rule South Korea and justification for the coup d'état in 1961, which overthrew the democratic government came as a result of April 19<sup>th</sup> Revolution.

The opposition parties from the 1960s to the 1970s have shown constant internal disputes as the NDP case has illustrated. It was only during a crisis such as the 1961 coup d'état that brought the opposition politicians together. Apart from those critical events, the NDP had to endure the perennial problem of factionalism, the constant struggle for dominance, and even an open split in the party. Meanwhile, ineffective party leadership in the NDP continued through most of the 1960s along with the party's failure to recruit talented young politicians to join its ranks.

Because of these negative factors, the party's image deteriorated through a series of political miscalculations and critical errors (Kim and Kihl 1976).

Another case of party factionalism undermining the party system in South Korea is the United Democratic Party (UDP) that competed during the 1987 election. The UDP's internal party conflicts began over issues regarding the nomination of its presidential candidates. Senior party member Kim Dae-jung split from the UDP and created the Democratic Peace Party (DPP). This split of the UDP, deemed as a major opposition party, has resulted in the election of Roh Tae-woo of the Democratic Justice Party (DJP), which was the ruling authoritarian party. Because of Roh's election as president, South Korea long remained under an authoritarian regime until the 1990s.

However, internal strife between factions in a party was not limited to progressive parties in South Korea. The conservative party also suffered political setbacks and party splits because of intense factional infightings. For example, the Grand National Party (GNP) that was once a strong, nationalized conservative party changed its name to Saenuri in 2012.

The story of Saenuri's factional infightings goes back to the 2007 presidential nomination process. Assembly member Park Guen-hye and Lee Myung-bak fought viciously over the nomination for the presidential candidacy. The struggle got to a point when a member of Park's camp was detained on suspicion of violating Lee's personal privacy while members from the Lee's team continuously brought the issue of Park's scandalous relationship with Choi Soon-sil and Choi's father Choi Tae-min. When Lee was inaugurated as the 17<sup>th</sup> president, his faction within the GNP pressured those members who supported Park Guen-hye by not nominating members who supported Park. When Park Guen-hye became the presidential nominee, she changed GNP's name to Saenuri and returned the favor to Lee's faction. When Park was impeached because of her political scandal, the Saenuri split into two parties. Those who were supportive of Park

remained and renamed the party to Liberty Korea Party and those who criticized Park left the Liberty Party and formed Baerun Party.

Summary: Party Factions and Institutionalized Party Systems  
in the Philippines and South Korea

Factions within political parties did not result in party system institutionalization in both countries. These party factions are largely formed based on patronage and charismatic leadership. These factors promote expediency among politicians to bolt out of a party and create a new one, which render the political party vulnerable to rapid movement among party members.

In the Philippines, bi-factionalism is apparent in their political parties. Factions are organized as instruments for vote mobilization for the benefit of the local, provincial, and national parties. However, since most of the party factions in the Philippines are locally oriented, their influence to national party organization are minimal. But their purpose is strictly limited to generating votes and gathering loyalty for the patrons. Through political transactions, leaders from national parties financially assist their local faction leaders in exchange for political support and vote generation in favor of the party. This bi-factionalism and political transactions make the country's party system vulnerable to corruption.

Meanwhile in South Korea, party factions are dependent on charismatic leaders. This tends to encourage party members to cross over and change parties whenever personal conflicts between leaders and members arise. Party members tend to shift their loyalty to a competing party leader in exchange for better rewards or political advancement. Typically, factions come and go with individual figures and do not last long. Moreover, the country's party factions are less systematized with limited organizational structures, which cause frequent party splits.

Because of these, factionalism in the Philippines and South Korea do not promote party organizational cohesion and political endurance. Moreover, it does not have direct party-to-state relationship and party-voter-linkage in both countries. Thus, party splits are prevalent and results in the low-level of institutionalization in their party systems.

### **6.3 Democratic Transitions in the Philippines and South Korea**

The transition from authoritarian to democratic government in both countries have brought sudden changes to their political institutions and rendered party systems less institutionalized. Both the authoritarian regime and the opposition movements had less time to prepare for the post-transitional phase. Since it reluctantly lost its power, the authoritarian regime would not participate in the transitioning process. Meanwhile, the opposition movement had every reason to discredit the authoritarian regime and to destroy the working institutions it developed. And because the transition occurred abruptly, it had less time to prepare for the post-transition phase. In addition, power competition among the opposition intensified conflicts, which subsequently result in divisions in the grand ‘democratic coalition’ both in the Philippines (Teehankee, 2002) and South Korea (Heo and Stockton, 2005).

#### **6.3.1 Democratization in the Philippines: The People Power Revolution and Its Political Reforms**

Popular movements have significantly contributed in the democratization of the Philippines. The socialist group, National Democrat Front (NDF) has long been at the center of the popular movement, which initially sought to overthrow the government. Meanwhile, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CCP) has been engaged in armed struggles

through its 'National People's Army (NPA) (Devesa, 2005). In addition to these socialist and communist groups, religious organizations played a significant role in the social and political transformation in the country. Radical Catholic priests participated in political struggles by preaching 'liberation' and organizing grassroots communities aimed at freeing the nation of a repressive regime led by the dictator Ferdinand Marcos (Tornquist, 1996; Wagner, 1997).

In 1983, the assassination of the opposition leader Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. triggered a nationwide movement to end the Marcos Regime. The massive demonstrations exacerbated by an economic crisis undermined the authoritarian regime's legitimacy. The masses rallied behind the united opposition's presidential candidate, Corazon Aquino, who was regarded as the symbol of protest against the dictatorship (Magno, 1988:7). The people's peaceful assertion of their power during the presidential election and subsequently the EDSA revolution in 1986 put an end to Marcos' dictatorial regime. It started the restoration of democracy in the country and was regarded as a significant point in the evolution of Filipino democracy and led the world's 'decade of democratization (Yoo 2008; Hutchcroft and Rocamora 2003).

In the aftermath of the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution, Corazon Aquino embarked on a series of political reforms in the Philippines. Aquino organized a committee to draft a new Constitution, ratified through a referendum in February 1987. The 1987 constitution decentralized the government and eliminated officials in the central and local levels appointed by Marcos, who were considered as his cronies. These political reforms paved the way for members in the civil society and other progressive and reformed- mined groups to enter politics through direct elections (Kawanaka, 2002; Yu, 2005). Moreover, a provision in the 1987 constitution eliminated those appointed in the legislative body (the Congress) during the Marcos' era, which he had dissolved in the 1970s.

In addition, the 1987 constitution also regulated the terms of elected executives and legislators. It allowed the president to serve for only one term of six years from the previous 8 years (4 years each term) in the previous constitution. Senators can serve a maximum of two consecutive terms and members of the House of Representative can serve a maximum of three consecutive terms.<sup>45</sup> The political reforms focused on limiting or preventing the possibility of a single political patron to dominate the whole political and economic structure of the Philippines.

With the political reforms stipulated in the 1987 constitution, old political cronies of Marcos have rapidly declined and a new political structure emerged. The *Kilusang Bagong Lipunanan* (KBL, or New Society Movement) and a network of patron-client relationship that the party controlled have waned and replaced by a new political force. For example, parties like *Lakas-NUCD* (Lakas ng Tao-National Union of Christian Democrats), *Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino* (LDP), the Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC), and the *Partido ng Masang Pilipino* (PMP) were established during the Aquino administration.

These reforms unfortunately failed to produce a stable multiparty system. The sudden replacement of policies and personnel brought political instabilities during the country's democratic transition. During the Aquino presidency from 1986 to 1992, the military threatened to topple her government through coup d'état (there were five unsuccessful coups). Moreover, Philippines politics is still dominated by powerful and rich families. The 1986 People Power movement may have revived, to some degree, democratic rule in the Philippines, but it continued to promote the influence of the political elites. For example, the Lopez family who were stripped of their assets and driven into exile by Marcos, returned to Manila

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<sup>45</sup> Senators serve six years per term, and House members serve three years per term. As in the United States, elections are held for half of the Philippines Senators every three years.



in 1980 and began reclaiming both its corporations and its provincial power base.

President Corazon Aquino herself belonged to one of the most powerful oligarchs in the Philippines (McCoy, 2009). The power vacuum left by Marcos' cronies were quickly filled by those related to or have connections with politically influential families. This resulted in the revival of the patron-client network with the return of these elites. Meanwhile, election related violence and corruption also intensified as the new constitution allowed multiparty politics with only an electoral threshold level of 2 percent. This made the entry of a political party to the Congress relatively easy.<sup>46</sup> Since positions in the public office provide access to government resources, the drive of a political candidate to win an election is high. And because of the country's patronage politics, there are several incidences of candidate switching party mergers and splits.

As discussed in the previous section, Philippines politics has its roots deeply entrenched in local politics. "Local bosses rely on inter-governmental alliances...to monopolize public section resources" (Sidel, 1999: 145) and wield substantial coercive and socio-economic power. Without institutionalized political parties, the central political forces have always relied on local factions to mobilize voters, thus making the central government vulnerable to local influence. But while being dependent on local political alliances, the nationally-elected political elites have also created localized party machineries to perpetuate political control and limit the power of local and provincial-level politicians (Gera, 2007:148).

Under Marcos, the power of local elites was forfeited by the central government. With the imposition of martial law (21 September 1972), the

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<sup>46</sup> The electoral threshold is the minimum share of the primary vote which a candidate or a political party requires to achieve before they become entitled to any representation in a legislature.

provincial and municipal politicians as well as factions began tailoring their activities to the centrally-directed bureaucracies which carried out the president's policies (Turner, 1989). However, with the Philippines democratization came the decentralization of the bureaucratic power that the country had over its local and provincial elites. Hutchcroft (1998), Rood (n.d.), and Rivera (2002) argue that the democratic transition in the Philippines was infused with political agenda to accommodate the demands of the powerful local elites in exchange for support to the political objectives of the post-Marcos leadership. Thereby, the Aquino administration endorsed decentralization as a preventive measure against the re-emergence of a tyranny. However, this also restored the power of the anti-Marcos local elites. Rood (n.d.) notes that the Speaker of the House of Representatives Ramon Mitra pushed for the Local Government Code so he could gain the support of local politicians in his bid to succeed President Aquino in 1992, which did not come into fruition (p.5-6).

Without solid and stable political parties in the Philippines, the re-emergence of the local political force and the power shifting from the center to the local government units meant that the 'patronage' politics made its comeback. The nature of the political parties in the country, as a result of its democratic transition through people power, characterized the under-institutionalized nature of its party system.

### 6.3.2 Democratization in South Korea: The June Democratic Movement and Its Political Aftermath

The assassination of Park Chung-hee in 1979 brought a sudden end to his 18 years of dictatorship, which increased the people's hope for democratization. Those who were expelled for their pro-democracy movement returned to their previous posts. This development was called the Seoul Spring, a period of democratization in South Korea from October

1979 to May of 1980.<sup>47</sup> However, it ended with the Gwangju Massacre in 1980.

Soon after the Gwangju massacre, the military government led by General Chun Doo-whan extended martial law, banned all political activities, closed down universities, censored the press, and arrested opposition politicians. Then in February 1981, Chun was elected as the president of the Fifth Republic under a revised constitution and maintained authoritarian rule for the next seven years. The National Security law in combination with the anti-Communist law were routinely utilized to suppress political opposition.

In 1987, massive demonstrations known as the June Democracy Movement, swept the whole nation that led Chun to concede to the people's demand for democratization. This concession, known as the June 29 Declaration, was formally announced by Roh Tae-woo, who was Chun's handpicked successor and the ruling party, the Democratic Justice Party leader. This declaration marked the beginning of South Korea's transition to democracy.

Given the popular demand for democratization, there were high expectations that the 1987 presidential election would go to the opposition. However, when the common goal of weakening the authoritarian regime was achieved, the democratic coalition divided into two camps. Due to the country's plurality voting system, the authoritarian Roh won the election because two prominent civilian leaders split the democratic opposition votes.

Roh and his administration was by no means a continuation of the ruthless military regime. However, it was an extension of the military regime with moderate reform policies that were compatible with the

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<sup>47</sup> The word spring is used as a political metaphor. It implies the start of better time, liberation from political suppression or massive demonstrations against the political establishment. The Seoul Spring originated from the Prague Spring of 1968, which triggered the Warsaw Pact troop invasion of Czechoslovakia.

interests of the old regime supporters (Croissant, 1998). With Roh at the top representing the old regime of the military forces mixed into the democratic system, there was less likelihood of a military coup d'état occur again.

One problem the elected President (i.e., Roh Tae-woo) had was a weak legitimacy (with only 37 percent of the popular vote). In addition, his Democratic Justice Party (DJP) also failed to win an absolute majority in the 1988 National Assembly election.<sup>48</sup> For the first time in South Korea's history, there was a strong opposition against a weak majority. With the growing popularity of democratic transition, South Korea seemed heading towards a multiparty democracy. Because of this, the political elite who supported the old authoritarian regime felt threatened. Thus, Roh and the DJP thought and devised a plan to continue their rule under democracy via a grand party merger. This grand merger would give them parliamentary power to pass the laws and the life line to the authoritarian party (DJP) without the need for the party and the government going through thorough transformation from its autocratic past.

The political development of the 1991 three-party-merger leading to the National Assembly election on March 25, 1992 provided explanations on why democratic transition in South Korea failed to produce institutionalized party system. The event not only brought changes in vote alignment, but it made South Korea, based on what O'Donnell (1993) termed as a "delegative democracy," rather than a full-democratic country. According to him, "[d]elegative democracies rest on the premise that whoever wins the presidency is thereby entitled to govern as he or she sees fit, constrained only by the hard facts of existing power relations and by a constitutionally limited term of office (59)."

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<sup>48</sup> The DJP won only 125 seats out of 299 while the opposition parties Reunification Democratic Party (RDP, led by Kim Yong-sam) won 59 seats; the Peace Democratic Party (PDP led by Kim Dae-jung) won 70 seats, and the New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP led by Kim Jong-pil) won 35 seats.

### 6.3.2.1 The 1991 Three-party Merger

By mid 1989, the media outlets supported the merger of the opposition groups, believing that it is necessary for South Korea to have a political re-organization. They argued that such “political re-organization will bring political stability and economic growth to the nation, which had been afflicted by unrest and instability in the course of democratization in recent years” (Lee, 1990:127). However, most importantly, the merger of the opposition groups will isolate the remains of the authoritarian past and end the DJP in most democratic way. Amidst the media bombardment, Roh approached the leaders of each opposition parties promising constitutional reforms through changing the government from presidential to parliamentary system. Roh and his DJP approached Kim Dae-jung with the promise of giving the Peaceful Democratic Party (PDP) full legislative power to handle the Gwangju Massacre issue. But when Kim Dae-jung did not take the offer, Roh’s DJP then approached Kim Young-sam’s Unification Democratic Party (UDP), and Kim Jong-pil’s New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP). Kim Young-sam thought that he had a better chance of becoming the next president if his UDP merged with the DJP. Meanwhile Kim Jong-pil believed that his NDRP had a better chance of survival by merging with the DJP.

Thus, the authoritarian DJP and the democratic opposition groups UDP and NDRP merged and formed the Democratic Liberal Party (DLP). The merger allowed the old authoritarian groups’ resources and power bases intact, thereby making the consolidation a deepening of delegative democracy in Korea. The authoritarian groups could also have gained access to government institutions such as the presidency and the National Assembly, and also exert a considerable influence on public policy making, especially on electoral laws.

The newly created DLP allowed authoritarian rule to continue and then gradually decay (Lee, 1995; Yang, 1995) rather than undergo a thorough adaptation to democratic principles. Eventually, the DLP became an absolute majority in the National Assembly with 218 seats. Kim Dae-jung and his PDP became the sole opposition.

This three-party-merger caused the party system in South Korea less institutionalized because of the following reasons: First, the merger allowed the authoritarian groups to gradually decline. This gradual decline in authoritarian rule produced strong-man presidents in South Korea. The delegative democracy in South Korea render party organization meaningless as the president in power can have enormous influence. Such president can determine who to nominate for party leadership in the governing party. Since democratization, every president in South Korea has practiced this style of governance.

For example, most of the reform efforts in the National Assembly and electoral politics are driven by the president. Kim Yong-sam's reform efforts in these areas were mostly driven by his own will and were inconsistently implemented. Nevertheless, the reforms were popular with the public and were meant to consolidate Korean democracy, but the manner in which the president carried out the reforms was personalistic (Lee, 1999). During his presidency, Kim issued around 1,780 presidential decrees, nearly twice the number of laws passed by the parliament (Crosisant and John (eds.), 2002:19).

Another sign of delegative democracy in South Korea was showcased during Park Gyen-hye's presidency. Park forced floor leader Yoo Seung-min, her longest aid and a floor leader of the Saenuri Party, to step down from his post by publicly lambasting him for leading negotiations with the main opposition party on the passage of a parliamentary revision bill which she earlier vetoed. As soon as Park made her public remarks on Yoo, the Saenuri Party hurriedly came up with a

resolution recommending his resignation. This revealed the sheer power presidents can exercise to political parties in South Korea. Moreover, presidents have a long history of dissolving opposition parties in South Korea.<sup>49</sup>

Second, given that presidents had enormous power during their term (i.e., five-year single term), rampant corruption has always been the problem in South Korean politics. Kim Yong-sam and Kim Dae-jung were incapacitated in the second half of their presidencies because of corruption scandals that involved their families and close associates. The corruption scandals involving their sons hit a fatal blow on the authority and leadership of the democratic government of the two Kims (Im, 2004: 191-2). What is worse, these corruption cases usually result in party splits or party change, as the ruling party of the president wants to distance itself from their leader. At the end of his tenure, Kim Yong-sam's DLP changed its party name to the Hanara Party (lit. Grand National Party, GNP) and elected Lee Hoe-chang as presidential candidate and party leader. Kim Dae-jung and his National Congress for New Politics Party (NCNPP) faced the same fate. The NCNPP merged with smaller New People's Party (NPP) led by Lee In-jae and created Millennium Democratic Party. Roh Mu-hyun, Lee Myung-bak, and Park Gun-hey all faced similar issues.

Summary: Democratic and Party System institutionalization in the Philippines and South Korea

Both countries experienced people-led transitions to democracy with the active influence and participation of opposition groups. Though they have succeeded in removing authoritarian regimes, the people's

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<sup>49</sup> For example, Rhee Syngman charged his political opponent, Cho Bong-am with espionage and eliminated the Progressive Party. Cho was executed the following year.

democracy movements in the Philippines and South Korea have not established strong political parties and institutions during their transition phases. Therefore, rather than making compromises with the outgoing authoritarian regime, the democratic opposition groups ended up making political compromises among themselves. They intended to consolidate and protect their share of political power and influence at the expense of promoting a stable political environment and a stable party system.

In the Philippines, the People-Power Movement brought decentralization in its bureaucratic institutions. But with decentralized power comes the resurgence of the powerful local elites and the proliferation of patronage politics. Such decentralization increased the influence of local patrons on national parties that enabled corruption and inefficiencies. The rise of the local patrons and their increased influence on the nationalized party turned parties back to the 'old boys club' (Rocamora, n.d.). Since its democratic transition, the length of inter-party interactions has shortened and party-to-party legitimacy became lower.

In South Korea, the June Democracy Movement led to its democratization and the restructuring of its party system. The greed for power in post-transition Korea resulted in a split among the democratic coalition, with half of it making a pact with the former authoritarian power that formed the 1991 Three-Party merger. Because of this, previous authoritarian influence remained among parties in South Korea and led the country to entrust enormous power to elected presidents with limited terms. These powerful presidents have often undermined party politics and further consolidated personalism over to party politics. This concentration of power make the presidents and his family members vulnerable to corruption. From Roh Tae-woo to Park Guen-hye, all democratically elected presidents have had scandals related to their family members and closest friends and these scandals have always led into party splits near the end of their tenure. This contributes to frequent changes in inter-party



interactions, party-to-party legitimacy, and high electoral volatility. Moreover, opportunism and a quest for power rather than continued inter-party interactions define the party system in South Korea.

The bottom-up democratic transitions in the Philippines and South Korea may vary, yet their impact is largely similar. Inter-party competition became superficial as politicians and their parties competed during elections for power and not based on policies. Moreover, this people-led democratic transition influenced their voting behaviour in a negative way. With the decentralization of government and the resurgence of regional divide, Filipinos and Koreans voters are largely affected by the influence of local elites and charismatic leaders. These factors point to patronage politics to mobilize votes in both countries. Therefore, this approach to democratization served to undermine the institutionalization of party systems in the Philippines and South Korea.

## Chapter Seven

### Conclusion

This thesis expounded on the existing scholarly studies on party system institutionalization. Chapter Two discussed how the literature have progressed from Huntington's 'institutionalization' to Mainwaring and Scully's 'party system institutionalization'. According to studies, party system institutionalization is mainly conceptualized in one-dimension (i.e., system-ness), which led some scholars to produce subsequent arguments based on non-empirical assumptions. Moreover, most studies treated party system institutionalization as an independent variable rather than a dependent variable. Such limitations were addressed in Chapter Three and suggested scholarly approaches to contribute to the existing literature and broaden understanding on party system institutionalization.

This study also presented institutionalization as a concept and discussed its variations in the party systems of different countries. Chapter Four analyzes this using Randall and Svåsand's four indexes and applying them in the political context of Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea. Based on the composite index, the level of institutionalization of each country's party system is revealed in the following scores: Taiwan (11); Japan (10); the Philippines (6); South Korea (4). Such quantitative analysis provides a scientific way of determining the degree of institutionalization of party systems based on empirical observation and numerical data. Thus, this study has contributed to a new measurement of institutionalization.

The divergent party system institutionalization scores across the four countries point to both external and internal factors. These external factors include social cleavage (the core of political competition within a polity) and democratic transitions (the critical juncture in a nation's

political life that can significantly influence change and continuity of party systems). Both are considered relevant since they alter existing systemic constraints and redesign the contours of the political system. In addition, the internal factor involves party factions. Essentially, factions that are well-structured favor the development of party systems in a country.

These external and internal factors are further examined based on the following hypothesized relationship: The first one linked party system institutionalization with social cleavage, arguing that a silent social divide would sustain political parties based on clear party lines. Second, party system institutionalization is associated with institutionalized factions, which enabled parties to continuously operate without experiencing major changes. Lastly, party system institutionalization involves different modes of democratic transition. The top-down (authoritarian-led) and bottom-up (people-led) transitions result in changes in political institutions that may impact the development of party systems. Using comparative historical analysis, this study examines the reasons behind the variation of party system institutionalization across the four countries.

Chapter Five explains the reasons behind the high-level of party system institutionalization in Japan and Taiwan. Social cleavages in both countries have long sustained the existence of their political parties based on clear party lines. Moreover, institutionalized factions in their political parties helped organize and sustain competition since their early development (as in the case of Japan's LDP and Taiwan's KMT). In addition, the top-down (authoritarian-led) democratic transitions led to the preservation of political and economic institutions in Japan and Taiwan. Each of these factors has influenced the continuity and durability of parties and the stability of interparty competition, party-to-state relations, and voter-to-party linkages over time. Based on both countries' cases, this thesis contends that salient social cleavages, institutionalized factions, and

top-down democratic transitions have not only prolonged the existence of their political parties, but also institutionalized their party systems.

Chapter Six explains why there is low-level of party system institutionalization in the Philippines and South Korea. First, social distinctions in both countries did not result in an organized political expression that would have institutionalized their party systems. Second, the absence of institutionalized factions among their political parties hindered the development of their party systems. Third, bottom-up (people-led) democratic transitions resulted in radical changes in the political and economic institutions of the Philippines and South Korea. Each of these factors has caused disruptions in the existence of party organizations, unpredictability in inter-party competition, complexities in party-to-state relations, and decline in voter support over time. Based on both of these countries' cases, this thesis contends that social distinction (rather than social cleavage), non-institutionalized factions in party organizations (such as localized groups and personal cliques), and democratic transition (based on bottom-up approach) deterred the growth of their political parties and undermined the institutionalization of their party systems.

The following table summarizes the main points of this study:

Table 7: Summary of the main points

<b>Party System</b>	<b>PSI Score*</b>	<b>Social Cleavage</b>	<b>Institutionalized Factions</b>	<b>Democratic Transition</b>
<b>Japan</b>	10	Rural to urban socio-economic cleavage organizes party system and encourages collective actions	Nationalized LDP feature hierarchically-structured factions	Top-down democratic transition through transactions allow continuation of political institutions

<b>Taiwan</b>	11	National-identity cleavage organizes party system and encourages collective action	Nationalized DPP feature hierarchically-structured factions	Top-down democratic transition through consensus allow continuation of political institutions
<b>Philippines</b>	4	Patron-client relations, instead of social cleavages organize party system and hinder collective actions	Patron-client relations produce internal factions in political parties	Bottom-up democratic transition result in radical changes in political institutions
<b>South Korea</b>	1	Regional distinctions, instead of social cleavages organize party system and hinder collective actions.	Personal cliques produce internal factions in political parties.	Bottom-up democratic transition result in radical changes in political institutions

\* PSI stands for party system institutionalization.

The following provides the rationale behind the variations in the level of party system institutionalization of each country: Japan has a relatively institutionalized party system. Its rural-urban social cleavage organized political representations that produced a clear party line. Moreover, institutionalized factions in Japan's LDP helped unify and organize the party to compete against major and more established political parties. These factors eventually led to the growth of the party, becoming a major political organization in the country's party system. Meanwhile,

Japan's top-down democratic transition provided regime stability and the continuation of its political institutions.

Taiwan has the most institutionalized party system among the countries discussed. It has a clear national identity cleavage that is highlighted in inter-party competition and enabled the mobilization of voters. In addition, institutionalized factions in Taiwan's DPP empowered the party to compete against major parties and to mobilize voter support. Meanwhile, Taiwan's gradual top-down democratic transition maintained its political institutions.

The Philippines has a relatively low level of party system institutionalization. The pervasive nature of 'patronage politics' centering on patron-client relations affected the country's political institutions. Because of this, there was no distinct social cleavage that would have influenced and organized competition among political parties. Moreover, party factions are less institutionalized since they are largely organized around personal and family rivalries of the politically powerful personalities, leading to frequent party crossovers among politicians. Meanwhile, the bottom-up democratic transition in the Philippines through People Power Revolution brought political instability as its political elites from the Martial law era continued to influence the country's political institutions.

South Korea has the least institutionalized party system among the other countries evaluated. Its previous political organizations that promoted democratic socialist ideology were suppressed and persecuted by its past authoritarian regime. Since then, political parties were organized according to the political issues presented to them at any given time, resulting in the absence of a well-defined social cleavage. Moreover, the country's political parties were organized around personal cliques and loyalty of members, which leads to frequent party splits and contributes in undermining party longevity. Meanwhile, South Korea's bottom-up

democratic transition through the June Democratic Movement produced abrupt and sudden changes in its institutional arrangements that prevented its party system to be more stable and institutionalized.

Aside from the discrepancies in their degree of institutionalization, this thesis also assessed the quality of institutionalization of the party systems across the four countries. It demonstrated that party system institutionalization is not only based on systematic level but also at an attitudinal level. This study also considered not only the extent to which party systems are institutionalized, but also the degree to which these political organizations perform democratic tasks (i.e., organize and represent based on a clear social cleavage) and the level of public involvement in politics. Based on this thesis, political parties in Japan and Taiwan are able to perform democratic tasks with an increased political participation among their people compared to those of the Philippines and South Korea.

Empirically, this thesis has established that the development of party systems requires state institutions to be stable and political parties be adaptable to the ongoing macrosocial changes for party systems to be institutionalized. But despite the contributions of this study, the complex nature of party system institutionalization warrants further studies especially on the dynamic properties of political organizations. It is hoped that this academic research on party system institutionalization can influence future academic analysis on party politics in particular, and contribute to the field of political science in general.

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**Appendix A: Party Dyads Across Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, South Korea (1986-2016)**

**Japan**

<b>Election Years</b>	<b>Party Dyads</b>	<b>Year of Dyads</b>
<b>1986</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Socialist Party of Japan	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Komeito Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Liberal Club	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Socialists Party of Japan vs Komeito Party	0
	Socialist Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Socialist Party of Japan vs Jaapan Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Socialist Party of Jpaan vs New Liberal Club	0
	Socialist Party of Japan vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Komeito Party vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Komeito Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Komeito Party vs New Liberal Club	0
	Komeito Party vs United Socialit Democratic Party	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs New Liberal Club	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Democratic Socialist Party vs New Liberal Club	0
	Democratic Socialist party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	New Liberal Club vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
<b>1990</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Socialist Party of Japan	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Komeito Party	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japanese Communist Party	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs United Socialist Demcoratic Party	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Prorssive Party	0

	Socialist Party of Japan vs Komeito Party	4
	Socialist Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	4
	Socialist Party of Japan vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	4
	Socialist Party of Japan vs United Socialist Democratic Party	4
	Socialist Party of Japan vs Progressive Party	0
	Komeito Party vs Japanese Communist Party	4
	Komeito Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	4
	Komeito Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	4
	Komeito Party vs Progressive Party	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	4
	Japanese Communist Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	4
	Japanese Communist Party vs Progressive Party	0
	Japan Democratic Socialist Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	4
	Japan Democratic Socialist Party vs Progressive Party	0
	United Socialist Democratic Party vs Progressive Party	0
<b>1993</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic party of Japan	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Shinseito Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Komeito Party	8
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japan New Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	8
	Liberal Democratic party vs Japanese Communist Party	8
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Sakigake	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	8
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs Shinseito Party	0
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs Komeito Party	0
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs Japan New Party	0
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs Japan Democratic Socialist party	0
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs Sakigake	0
	Social Democratic Party of Japan vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Shinseito Party vs Komeito Party	0
	Shinseito Party vs Japan New Party	0
	Shinseito Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Shinseito Party vs Japanese Communist Party	0

	Shinsheito Party vs Sakigake	0
	Shinseito Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Komeito Party vs Japan New Party	0
	Komeito Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Komeito Party vs Japanese Communist Party	8
	Komeito Party vs Sakigake	0
	Komeito Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	8
	Japan New Party vs Japan Democratic Socialist Party	0
	Japan New Party vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Japan New Party vs Sakigake	0
	Japan New Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Japan Democratic Socialist Party vs Japanese Communist Party	8
	Japan Democratic Socialist Party vs Sakigake	0
	Japan Democratic Socialist Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	8
	Japanese Communist Party vs Sakigake	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
	Sakigake vs United Socialist Democratic Party	0
<b>1996</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Frontier party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japan Communist Party	11
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic Party	11
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Party Sakigake	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Reform Party	0
	New Frontier Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	0
	New Frontier Party vs Japan Communist Party	0
	New Frontier Party vs Social Democratic Party	0
	New Frontier Party vs New Party Sakigake	0
	New Frontier Party vs Democratic Reform Party	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Japan Communist Party	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Party Sakigake	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Democratic Reform Party	0
	Japan Communist Party vs Social Democratic Party	11
	Japan Communist Party vs New Party Sakigake	0
	Japan Communist Party vs Democratic Reform Party	0
	Social Democratic Party vs New Party Sakigake	0



	Social Democratic Party vs Democratic Reform Party	0
	New Party Sakigake vs Democratic Reform Party	0
<b>2000</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Komeito	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Liberal Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japanese Communist Party	15
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic Party	15
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Conservative Party	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Liberal League	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Komeito	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Liberal Party	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	4
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	4
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Conservative Party	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Liberal League	0
	New Komeito vs Liberal Party	0
	New Komeito vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	New Komeito vs Social Democratic Party	0
	New Komeito vs New Conservative Party	0
	New Komeito vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	New Komeito vs Liberal League	0
	Liberal Party vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Liberal Party vs Social Democratic Party	0
	Liberal Party vs New Conservative Party	0
	Liberal Party vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	Liberal Party vs Liberal League	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Social Democratic Party	15
	Japanese Communist Party vs New Conservative Party	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Liberal League	0
	Social Democratic Party vs New Conservative Party	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Liberal League	0
	New Conservative Party vs Mushozoku-no-kai	0
	New Conservative Party vs Liberal League	0

	Mushozoku-no-kai vs Liberal League	0
<b>2003</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	7
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Komeito	3
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japanese Communist Party	18
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic Party	18
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Conservative Party	3
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Komeito	3
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	7
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	7
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Conservative Party	3
	New Komeito vs Japanese Communist Party	3
	New Komeito vs Social Democratic Party	3
	New Komeito vs New Conservative Party	3
	Japanese Communist Party vs Social Democratic Party	18
	Japanese Communist Party vs New Conservative Party	3
	Social Democratic Party vs New Conservative Party	3
<b>2005</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	9
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Komeito Party	5
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japanese Communist Party	20
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic Party	20
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Komeito Party	5
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	9
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	9
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Kokumin Shinto	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
	New Komeito Party vs Japanese Communist Party	5
	New Komeito Party vs Social Democratic Party	5
	New Komeito Party vs Kokumin Shinto	0
	New Komeito Party vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	New Komeito Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Social Democratic Party	20

	Japanese Communist Party vs Kokumin Shinto	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Party)	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Kokumin Shinto	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	Social Demcoratic Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Party)	0
	Kokumin Shinto vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	Kokumin Shinto vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
	Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan ) vs Shinto Diaichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
<b>2009</b>	Democratic party of japan vs Liberal Democratic Party	13
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Komeito	9
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	24
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	24
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Your Party (Minna no To)	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	4
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	4
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Komeito	9
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Japanese Communist Party	24
	Liiberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic Party	24
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Your Party (Minna no To)	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	4
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	4
	New Komeito vs Japanese Communist Party	9
	New Komeito vs Social Democratic Party	9
	New Komeito vs Your Party (Minna no To)	0
	New Komeito vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	4
	New Komeito vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	4
	New Komeito vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	4
	Japanese Communist Party vs Social Democratic Party	24
	Japanese Communist Party vs Your Party (Minna no To)	0

	Japanese Communist Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	4
	Japanese Communist Party vs Shinto nippon (New Party Japan)	4
	Japanese Communist Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	4
	Social Democratic Party vs Your Party (Minna no To)	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	4
	Social Democratic Party vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	4
	Social Democratic Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	4
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	0
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	0
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mther Earth)	0
	Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party) vs Hinto Nippon (New Party Japan)	4
	Shinto Nippon (New Party Japan ) vs Shinto Diaichi (New Party Mother Earth)	4
<b>2012</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	16
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Nippon Ishin no Kai (Japan Restoration Party)	0
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Komeito	12
	Liberal Democratic PARTY VS YOUR PARTY (Minna no To)	3
	LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY VS NIPPON MIRAI NO TO (Tomorrow Party of Japan)	0
	Liberal Democratic party vs Japanese Communist Party	27
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Social Democratic Party	27
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	7
	Liberal Democratic Party Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	7
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Nippon Ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party)	0
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Komeito	12
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Your Party (Minna no To)	3
	Demcoratic party of Japan vs Nippon Mirai no To (Tomorrow Party of Japan)	0
	Democratic party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	27
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	27
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	7
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	7

	Nippon Ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party ) vs New Komeito	0
	Nippon ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party) vs Your Party (Minna no To)	0
	Nippon ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party) vs Nippon Mirai no To (Tomorrow Party of Japan)	0
	Nippon ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party) vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Nippon ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party) vs Social Democratic Party	0
	Nippon ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party) vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	0
	Nippon ishi no Kai (Japan Restoration Party) vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
	New Komeito vs Your Party (Minna no To)	3
	New Komeito vs Nippon Mirai no To (Tomorrow Party of Japan)	0
	New Komeito vs Japanese Communist Party	12
	New Komeito vs Social Democratic Party	12
	New Komeito vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	7
	New Komeito vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	7
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Japanese Communist Party	0
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Social Democratic Party	0
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	0
	Your Party (Minna no To) vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Social Democratic Party	27
	Japanese Communist Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	7
	Japanese Communist Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	7
	Social Democratic Party vs Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party)	7
	Social Democratic Party vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	7
	Kokumin Shinto (People's New Party) vs Shinto Daichi (New Party Mother Earth)	7
<b>2014</b>	Liberal Democratic Party vs Democratic Party of Japan	18
	Liberal Democratic Party vs Nippon Ishin no To (Japan Restoration Party)	2
	Liberal Democratic Party vs New Komeito	14
	Liberal Democratic party vs Japanese Communist Party	29
	Liberal Democratic party vs Social Democratic Party	29
	Liberal Democratic party vs Jisedai no To (Party for Future Generations)	0
	Liberal Democratic party vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	0

	Democratic Party of Japan vs Nippon Ishin no To (Japan Restoratio Party)	2
	Democratic Party of Japan vs New Komeito	14
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Japanese Communist Party	29
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Social Democratic Party	29
	Democratic Party of Japan vs Jsedai nn To (Party for Future Generations)	0
	Democraitc Party of Japan vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	0
	Nippon Isihin no To (Japan Restoration Party) vs New Komeito	2
	Nippon Ishin no To (Japan Restoration Party) vs Japanese Communist Party	2
	Nippon Ishin no To (Japan Restoration Party) vs Social Democratic Party	2
	Nippon Ishin no To (Japan Restoration Party) vs Jisedai no To (Party for Future Generation)	2
	Nippon Ishin no To (Japan Restoration Party) vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	2
	New Komeito vs Japanese Communist Party	14
	New Komeito vs Social Democratic Party	14
	New komeito vs Jisedai no To (Party for Future Generations)	0
	New Komeito vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	0
	Japanese Communist party vs Social Democratic Party	29
	Japanese Communist Party vs Jisedia no To (Party for Future Generation)	0
	Japanese Communist Party vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Jisedai no To (Party for Future Generation)	0
	Social Democratic Party vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	0
	Jisedai no To (Party for Future Generation) vs Seikatsu no To (People's Life Party)	0

## Taiwan

Election Year	Party Dyad	Year of Dyad
<b>1986</b>	Koumintang- Chinese Youth Party	0
<b>1989</b>	Koumintang- Chinese Youth Party	3
	Koumintang-Democratic Progressive Party	0
	Chinese Youth Party vs Democratic Progressive Party	0
<b>1992</b>	Koumintang-Democratic Progressive Party	3
	Koumintang- Chinese Social Democratic Party	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Chinese Social Democratic Party	0
<b>1995</b>	Koumintang- Democratic Progressive Party	6
	Koumintang- New Party	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs New Party	0
<b>1998</b>	Koumintang-Democratic Progressive Party	6
	Koumintang-New party	3
	Koumintang-Democratic Union of Taiwan	0
	Koumintang-New Nation Alliance	0
	Koumintang-Taiwan Independence Party	0
	Koumintang-Nationwide Democratic Non-partisan Union	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs New Party	3
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Democratic Union of Taiwan	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs New Nation Alliance	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Taiwan Independence Party	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Nationwide Democratic Non-Partisan Union	0
	New Party vs Democratic Union of Taiwan	0
	New Party vs New Nation Alliance	0
	New Party vs Taiwan Independence Party	0
	New Party vs Nationwide Democratic Non-Partisan Union	0
	Democratic Union of Taiwan vs New Nation Alliance	0
	Democratic Union of Taiwan vs Taiwan Independence Party	0
	Democratic Union of Taiwan vs Nationwide Democratic Non-Partisan Union	0
	New Nation Alliance vs Taiwan Independence Party	0
	New Nation Alliance vs Nationwide Democratic Non-Partisan Union	0
	Taiwan Independent Party vs Nationwide Democratic Non-Partisan Union	0
<b>2001</b>	Koumintang-Democratic Progressive Party	9

	Koumintang-People First Party	0
	Koumintang-Taiwan Solidarity Union	0
	Koumintang-New Party	6
	Democratic Progressive Party vs People First Party	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs New Party	6
	People First Party vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	0
	People First Party vs New Party	0
	Taiwan Solidarity Union vs New Party	0
<b>2004</b>	Koumintang vs Democratic Progressive Party	12
	Koumintang vs People First Party	3
	Koumintang vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	3
	Koumintang vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	0
	Koumintang vs New party	9
	Democratic Progressive party vs People First Party	3
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	3
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	0
	Democratic Progressive Party vs New Party	9
	People First Party vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	3
	People First Party vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	0
	People First Party vs New Party	3
	Taiwan Solidarity Union vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	0
	Taiwan Solidarity Union vs New Party	3
	Non-Partisan Solidarity Union vs New Party	0
<b>2008</b>	Koumintang vs Democratic Progressive Party	16
	Koumintang vs People First Party	7
	Koumintang vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	4
	Democratic Progressive Party vs People First Party	7
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	4
	People First party vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	4
<b>2012</b>	Koumintang vs Democratic Progressive Party	20
	Koumintang vs People First Party	11
	Koumintang vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	8
	Koumintang vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	8
	Democratic Progressive Party vs People First Party	11
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	8
	Democratic Progressive Party vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	8



	People First party vs Taiwan Solidarity Union	7
	People First party vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	8
	Taiwan Solidarity Union vs Non-Partisan Solidarity Union	4
<b>2016</b>	Democratic Progressive party vs Koumintang	24
	Democratic Progressive Party vs People First Party	15
	Democratic Progressive Party vs New Power Party	0
	Koumintang vs People First party	15
	Koumintang vs New Power Party	0
	People First Party vs New Power Party	0

## Philippines

<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Party Dyads</b>	<b>Dyad Years</b>
<b>1987</b>	Lakas ng Bansa (Nations' Power) vs Philippine Democratic Party - LABAN (PDP-LABAN)	0
	Lakas ng Bansa - United Nationalist Democratic Organization	0
	Lakas ng Bansa - Liberal Party	0
	Lakas ng Bansa - Lakas ng Bayan (LABAN)	0
	Lakas ng Bansa - Nacionalista (Nationalist Party)	0
	Lakas ng Bansa - Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	0
	Lakas ng Bansa- Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD)	0
	Lakas ng Bansa - Partido ng Bayan (Party of the People)	0
	PDP-LABAN vs United Nationalist Democratic Organization	0
	PDP- LABAN vs Partido Liberal Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	0
	PDP-LABAN vs LABAN	0
	PDP-LABAN vs Nacionalista Party	0
	PDP-LABAN vs Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	0
	PDP-LABAN vs Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD)	0
	PDP-LABAN vs Partido ng Bayan	0
	United Nationalist Democratic Organization vs Liberal Party	0
	United Nationalist Democratic Organizaiton vs LABAN	0
	United Nationalist Democratic Organization vs Nacionalista Party	0
	United Nationalist Democratic Organization vs KBL	0
	United Nationalist Democratic Organization vs GAD	0
	United Nationalist Democratic Organization vs Partido ng Bayan	0
	Liberal Party vs LABAN	0
	Liberal Party vs Nacionalista	0

	Liberal Party vs KBL	0
	Liberal Party vs GAD	0
	Liberal Party vs Partido ng Bayan	0
	LABAN vs Nacionalista	0
	LABAN vs KBL	0
	LABAN vs GAD	0
	LABAN vs Partido ng Bayan	0
	Nacionalista vs KBL	0
	Nacionalista vs GAD	0
	Nacionalista vs Partido ng Bayan	0
	KBL vs GAD	0
	KBL vs Partido ng Bayan	0
	GAD vs Partido ng Bayan	0
<b>1992</b>	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino - Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino - Nationalist People's Coalition	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino - Kaolisyong Pambansa	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino - Partido Nacionalista Party	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino - Kilusang Bagong Lipunan	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats vs Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats vs Kaolisyong Pambansa	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats vs Kilusang Bangog Lipunan (KBL)	0
	NPC vs Kalisyong Pambansa	0
	NPC vs Nacionalista Party	0
	NPC vs KBL	0
	Kalisyong Pambansa vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Kalisyong Pambansa vs KBL	0
	Nacionalista Party vs KBL	3
<b>1995</b>	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Lakas-Laban Coalition	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas Bayan (PDP-Laban)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	3

	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Pwersang Masang Pilipino (Party of the Filipino Masses-PMP)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Partido ng Manggagawa at Magsasaka (Lapiang Manggagawa)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipina (Philippine Democratic Socialist Party-PDSP)	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Lakas-Laban Coalition	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	3
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas Bayan (PDP-LABAN)	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	3
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	3
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Partido ng Repormang Pantao (PRP)	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Pwersang Masang Pilipino (PMP)	0
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP) vs Nacionalista Party	3
	Lakas-Laban Coalition vs Liberal Party	0
	Lakas-Laban Coalition vs PDP-Laban	0
	Lakas-Laban Coalition vs NPC	0
	Lakas-Laban Coalition vs KBL	0
	Lakas-Laban Coalition vs PMP	0
	Liberal Party vs PDP-Laban	0
	Liberal party vs NPC	0
	Liberal party vs KBL	0
	Liberal Party vs PMP	0
	PDP-Laban vs NPC	0
	PDP-Laban vs KBL	0
	PDP-Laban vs PMP	0
	NPC vs KBL	3
	NPC vs PRP	0
	NPC vs PMP	0
	KBL vs PMP	0
<b>1998</b>	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats - Laban ng Makabyang Masang Pilipino (LAMMP)	0
	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats- Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	6
	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	6

	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	0
	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats- Probinsya Muna Development Initiative (Provinces First Development initiative)	0
	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats- Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	Lakas ng Tao- Christian Muslim Democrats- Ompia Party	0
	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino vs NPC	0
	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino vs Liberal Party	0
	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino vs Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	0
	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiative	0
	Laban ng makabayang Masang Pilipino vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino vs Ompia Party	0
	NPC vs Liberal Party	0
	NPC vs Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	3
	NPC vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiative	0
	NPC vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	NPC vs Ompia Party	0
	Liberal Party vs Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	0
	Liberal Party vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	0
	Liberal Party vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	Liberal Party vs Ompia Party	0
	Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	0
	Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs Ompia Party	0
	Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives vs Ompia Party	0
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs Ompia Party	0
<b>2001</b>	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	9
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Laban ng Democrratikong Pilipino (LDP)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	9
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Aksyon Demokratiko	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino	3

Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban)	3
Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (PDSP)	0
NPC vs LDP	3
NPC vs Liberal party	3
NPC vs Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	6
NPC vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	3
NPC vs Aksyon Demokratiko	3
NPC vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	0
NPC vs PDP-LABAN	3
NPC vs PDSP	0
LDP vs Liberal Party	0
LDP vs Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	0
LDP vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	0
LDP vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
LDP vs Pwersa ng massang Pilipino	0
LDP vs PDP- Laban	0
LDP vs PDSP	0
Liberal Party vs Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma	3
Liberal Party vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	3
Liberal Party vs Aksyon Demokratiko	3
Liberal Party vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	0
Liberal Party vs PDP-Laban	0
Liberal Party vs PDSP	0
Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives	3
Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs Aksyon Demokratiko	3
Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	0
Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs PDP-Laban	0
Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma vs PDSP	0
Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives vs Aksyon Demokratiko	0
Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	0
Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives vs PDP-Laban	0
Probinsya Muna Development Initiatives vs PDSP	0
Aksyon Demokratiko vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	0
Aksyon Demokratiko vs PDP-Laban	0
Aksyon Demokratiko vs PDSP	0

	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs PDP-Laban	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs PDSP	0
	PDP-Laban vs PDSP	0
<b>2004</b>	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	12
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	12
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP)	6
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino	6
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Aksyon Demokratiko	6
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats-Nacionalista Party	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Demokratiko Pilipino- Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban)	6
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (PDSP)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Chrsitian Muslim Democrats- Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma Reporma-LM)	0
	NPC vs Liberal Party	6
	NPC vs LDP	6
	NPC vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	0
	NPC vs Aksyon Demokratiko	6
	NPC vs KAMPI	0
	NPC vs Nacionalista Party	0
	NPC vs PDP-LABAN	6
	NPC vs KBL	0
	NPC vs PDSP	3
	Liberal Party vs LDP	3
	Liberal Party vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	3
	Liberal Party vs Aksyon Demokratiko	6
	Liberal Party vs KAMPI	0
	Liberal Party vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Liberal Party vs PDP-Laban	3
	Libeal Party vs KBL	0
	Liberal Party vs PDSP	3
	Liberal Party vs Reporma-LM	0
	LDP vs Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino	3
	LDP vs Aksyon Demokratiko	3

	LDP vs KAMPI	0
	LDP vs Nacionalista Party	0
	LDP vs PDP-Laban	0
	LDP vs KBL	3
	LDP vs PDSP	3
	LDP vs Reporma-LM	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs Aksyon Demokratiko	3
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs KAMPI	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs PDP-Laban	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs KBL	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs PDSP	0
	Pwersa ng Massang Pilipino vs Reporma-LM	0
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs KAMPI	0
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs PDP-Laban	3
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs KBL	0
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs PDSP	3
	Aksyon Demokratiko vs Reporma-LM	0
	KAMPI vs Nacionalista Party	0
	KAMPI vs PDP-Laban	0
	KAMPI vs KBL	0
	KAMPI vs PDSP	0
	KAMPI vs Reporma-LM	0
	Nacionalista Party vs PDP-Laban	0
	Nacionalista Party vs KBL	0
	Nacionalista Party vs PDSP	0
	Nacionalista Party vs Reporma-LM	0
	PDP-Laban vs KBL	0
	PDP-Laban vs PDSP	3
	PDP-Laban vs Reporma-LM	0
	KBL vs PDSP	0
	KBL vs Reporma-LM	0
	PDSP vs Reporma-LM	0
<b>2007</b>	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	15

	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	15
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Nactionalista Party	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Laban ng Democratikong Pilipino (LDP)	9
	Laska ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Partido Demokratiko Pilipino- Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban)	9
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino (PMP)	0
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats - Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (PDSP)	6
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats- Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	3
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats-Lingkod Taguig	0
	KAMPI vs NPC	3
	KAMPI vs Liberal Party	3
	KAMPI vs Nacionalista Party	3
	KAMPI vs LDP	3
	KAMPI vs PDP-LABAN	3
	KAMPI vs PMP	3
	KAMPI vs PDSP	3
	KAMPI vs KBL	3
	KAMPI vs Lingkod Taguig	0
	NPC vs Liberal Party	9
	NPC vs Nacionalista party	3
	NPC vs LDP	9
	NPC vs PDP-Laban	9
	NPC vs PMP	3
	NPC vs PDSP	6
	NPC vs KBL	3
	NPC vs Lingod Taguig	0
	Liberal Party vs Nacionalista Party	3
	Liberal Party vs LDP	6
	Liberal Party vs PDP-Laban	3
	Liberal Party vs PMP	6
	Liberal party vs PDSP	6
	Liberal party vs KBL	3
	Libeal party vs Lingod Taguig	0
	Nactionalista Party vs LDP	3
	Nacionalista Party vs PDP-Laban	3
	Nacionalista Party vs PMP	3



	Nacionalista Party vs PDSP	3
	Nacionalista Party vs KBL	3
	Nacionalista Party vs Lingod Taguig	0
	LDP vs PDP-Laban	3
	LDP vs PMP	6
	LDP vs PDSP	6
	LDP vs KBL	6
	LDP vs Lingod Taguig	0
	PDP-Laban vs PMP	3
	PDP-Laban vs PDSP	3
	PDP-Laban vs KBL	3
	PDP-Laban vs Lingod Taguig	0
	PMP vs PDSP	3
	PMP vs KBL	3
	PMP vs Lingod Taguig	0
	PDSP vs KBL	3
	PDSP vs Linkgod Tauig	0
	KBL vs Linkgod Tauig	0
<b>2010</b>	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats - Kabalikat ng Bayan sa Kaunlaran (KABAKA)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christain Muslim Democrats- Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Nacionalista Party	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- People's Champ Movement (PCM)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino (PMP)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Navoteno (Navoteno)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Magdiwang (Magdiwang)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Demokratiko Pilipino- Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Partido Demokratiko Sosyalista ng Pilipinas (PDSP)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christain Muslim Democrats- Laban ng Democratikong Pilipino (LDP)	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian Muslim Democrats- Aksyon Demokratiko	0
	Lakas KAMAPI Christian muslim Democrats- Partido ng Manggagawa at Magsasaka (Lapiang Manggagawa)	0
	KABAKA vs Liberal Party	0

KABAKA vs Nacionalista Party	0
KABAKA vs PCM	0
KABAKA vs PMP	0
KABAKA vs Navoteno	0
KABAKA vs Magdiwang	0
KABAKA vs NPC	0
KABAKA vs PDP-LABAN	0
KABAKA vs PDSP	0
KABAKA vs LDP	0
KABAKA vs KBL	0
KABAKA vs Lapiang Manggawa	0
Liberal Party vs Nacionalista Party	6
Libeal Party vs PCM	0
Liberal party vs PMP	9
Liberal party vs Navoteno	0
Liberal Party vs Magdiwang	0
Liberal Party vs NPC	12
Liberal Party vs PDP-Laban	6
Liberal Party vs PDSP	9
Liberal Party LDP	9
Liberal Party vs KBL	6
Liberal party vs Lapiang Manggawa	0
Nacionalista Party vs PCM	0
Nacionalista Party vs PMP	6
Nacionalista Party vs Navoteno	0
Nacionalista Party vs Magdiwang	0
Nacionalista Party vs NPC	6
Nacionalista Party vs PDP-Laban	12
Nacionalista Party vs PDSP	6
Nacionalista Party vs LDP	6
Nacionalista Party vs KBL	6
Nacionalista Paty vs Lapiang Manggawa	0
PCM vs PMP	0
PCM vs Navoteno	0
PCM vs Magdiwng	0
PCM vs NPC	0
PCM vs PDP-Laban	0

PCM vs PDSP	0
PCM vs LDP	0
PCM vs KBL	0
PCM vs Lapiang Maggagawa	0
PMP vs Navoteno	0
PMP vs Magdiwag	0
PMP vs NPC	6
PMP vs PDP-Laban	6
PMP vs PDSP	6
PMP vs LDP	9
PMP vs KBL	6
PMP vs Lapiang Maggagawa	0
Navoteno vs Magdiwang	0
Navoteno vs NPC	0
Navoteno vs PDP-Laban	0
Navoteno vs PDSP	0
Navoteno vs LDP	0
Navoteno vs KBL	0
Navoteno vs Lapiang Maggagawa	0
Magdiwang vs NPC	0
Magdiwang vs PDP-Laban	0
Magdiwang vs PDSP	0
Magdiwang vs LDP	0
Magdiwang vs KBL	0
Magdiwang vs Lapiang Maggagawa	0
NPC vs PDP-Laban	12
NPC vs PDSP	12
NPC vs LDP	12
NPC vs KBL	6
NPC vs Lapiang Manggagawa	0
PDP-Laban vs PDSP	6
PDP-Laban vs LDP	6
PDP-Laban vs KBL	6
PDP-Laban vs Lapiang Manggagawa	0
PDSP vs LDP	9
PDSP vs KBL	6
PDSP vs Lapiang Manggagawa	0

	LDP vs KBL	9
	LDP vs Lapiang Magaggawa	0
	KBL vs Lapiang Magaggawa	0
	KBL vs Grand Alliance for Democracy	0
<b>2013</b>	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Bukidnon Paglaum	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Kusung Agusanon	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Akbayan Citizens' Action (Akbayan)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs United Nationalist Alliance (UNA)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Kabalikat ng Bayan sa Kaunlaran (KABAKA)	3
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Partido Magdiwang (Magdiwang)	3
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Kambilan ning Memalen Kapampangan (Kamblian)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Unang Sigaw-Partido ng Pagbabago	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs United Negros Alliance	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Partidong Pagbabago ng Palawan (PPP)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Ompia Party	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	15
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Nacionalista Party	9
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Lakas KAMPI Christian Muslim Democrats (LAKAS)	3
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	9
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP)	12
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Centrist Democratic Party of the Philippines (CDP)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Partido ng manggagawa at Magsasaka (Lapiang Manggagawa)	3
	Bukidnon Paglaum vs Kusung Agusanon	0
	BuKidnon Paglaum vs Akbayan Citizen's Action (Akbayan)	0
	Bukidnon Paglaum vs United Nationalist Alliance (UNA)	0
	Bukidnon Paglaum vs KABAKA	0
	Bukidnon Pagluam vs Magdiwang	0
	Bukidnon Pagluam vs Kamblian	0
	Bukidnon Pagluam vs Unang Sigaw- Partido ng Pagbabago	0
	Bukidnon Pagluam vs United Negro Alliance	0

Bukidnon Pagluam vs PPP	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs Ompia Party	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs NPC	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs Nacionalista party	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs LAKAS	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL)	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs LDP	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs CDP	0
Bukidnon Pagluam vs Lapiang Manggagawa	0
Kusung Agusanon vs Akbayan	0
Kusung Agusanon vs UNA	0
Kusung Agusanon vs KABAKA	0
Kusung Agusanon vs Magdiwang	0
Kusung Agusanon vs Kamblian	0
Kusung Agusanon vs Unang Sigaw- Partido ng Pagbabago	0
Kusung Agusanon vs United Negro Alliance	0
Kusung Agusanon vs PPP	0
Kusung Agusanon vs Ompia Party	0
Kusung Agusanon vs NPC	0
Kusung Agusanon vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
Kusung Agusanon vs Nacionalista Party	0
Kusung Agusanon vs LAKAS	0
Kusung Agusanon vs KBL	0
Kusung Agusanon vs LDP	0
Kusung Agusanon vs CDP	0
Akbayan vs UNA	0
Akbayan vs PMP	0
Akbayang vs Magdiwang	0
Akbayang vs Kamblian	0
Akbyayng vs Unang Sigaw-Partido ng Pangbabago	0
Akbayang vs United Negro Alliance	0
Akbayang vs PPP	0
Akbayang vs Ompia Party	0
Akbayang vs NPC	0
Akbayang vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
Akbayang vs Nacionalista Party	0

Akbayang vs LAKAS	0
Akbayang vs KBL	0
Akbayang vs LDP	0
Akbayang vs CDP	0
UNA vs KABAKA	0
UNA vs Magdiwang	0
UNA vs Kambilan	0
UNA vs Unang Sigaw-Partido ng Pangbabago	0
UNA vs United Negro Allaince	0
UNA vs PPP	0
UNA vs Ompia Party	0
UNA vs NPC	0
UNA vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
UNA vs Nacionalista Party	0
UNA vs Lakas	0
UNA vs KBL	0
UNA vs LDP	0
UNA vs CDP	0
KABAKA vs Magdiwang	0
KABAKA vs Kamblian	0
KABAKA vs Unang Sigwa-Partido Pambabago	0
KABAKA vs United Negro Allaince	0
KABAKA vs PPP	0
KABAKA vs Ompia Party	0
KABAKA vs NPC	0
KABAKA vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
KABAKA vs Nacionalista Party	3
KABAKA vs Lakas	0
KABAKA vs KBL	3
KABAKA vs LDP	3
KABAKA vs CDP	0
Magdiwang vs Kambilan	0
Magdiwnag vs Uang Sigwa-Partido Pambbago	0
Magdiwang vs United Negro Allaince	0
Magdiwang vs PPP	0
Magdiwang vs Ompia Party	0
Magdiwang vs NPC	3

	Magdiwang vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
	Magdiwang vs Nacionalista Party	3
	Madiwang vs Lakas	3
	Magdiwang vs KBL	3
	Magdiwang vs LDP	3
	Magdiwang vs CDP	0
	One Cebu vs Kambilan	0
	One Cebu vs Usang Sigwa-Partido Pambbago	0
	One Cebu vs United Negro Alliance	0
	One Cebu vs PPP	0
	One Cebu vs Ompia Party	0
	One Cebu vs NPC	0
	One Cebu vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
	One Cebu vs Nacaionlista Party	0
	One Cebu vs Lakas	0
	One Cebu vs KBL	0
	One Cebu vs LDP	0
	One Cebu vs CDP	0
	Kamblian vs Usang Sigwa-Partido Pambbago	0
	Kamblian vs United Negro Alliance	0
	Kamblian vs Hugpong	0
	Kamblian vs PPP	0
	Kamblian vs Ompia Party	0
	Kamblian vs NPC	0
	Kamblian vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
	Kamblian vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Kamblian vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	0
	Kamblian vs KBL	0
	Kamblian vs LDP	0
	Kamblian vs CDP	0
	Usang Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs United Negro alliance	0
	Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs PPP	0
	Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs Ompia Party	0
	Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs NPC	0
	Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
	Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs Nacionalista Party	0
	Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs Lakas KAMPI CMO	0

Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs KBL	0
Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs LDP	0
Usung Sigwa-Partido Pambbago vs CDP	0
United Negro Alliance vs PPP	0
United Negro Alliance vs Ompia Party	0
United Negro Alliance vs NPC	0
United Negro Alliance vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
United Negro Alliance vs Nacionalista Party	0
United Negro Alliance vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	0
United Negro Alliance vs KBL	0
United Negro Alliance vs LDP	0
United Negro Alliance vs CDP	0
Hugpong vs PPP	0
Hugpong vs Ompia Party	0
Hugpong vs NPC	0
Hugpong vs National Unity Party (NUP)	0
Hugpong vs Nacionalista Party	0
Hugpong vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	0
Hugpong vs KBL	0
Hugpong vs LDP	0
Hugpong vs CDP	0
PPP vs Ompia Party	0
PPP vs NPC	0
PPP vs NUP	0
PPP vs Nacionalista Party	0
PPP vs Lakas	0
PPP vs KBL	0
PPP vs LDP	0
PPP vs CDP	0
Ompia Party vs NPC	0
Ompia Party vs NUP	0
Ompia Party vs Nacionalista Party	0
Ompia Party vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	0
Ompia Party vs KBL	0
Ompia Party vs LDP	0
Ompia Party vs CDP	0
NPC vs NUP	0



	NPC vs Nacionalista Party	9
	NPC vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	3
	NPC vs KBL	9
	NPC vs LDP	15
	NPC vs CDP	9
	NUP vs Nacionalista Party	0
	NUP vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	0
	NUP vs KBL	0
	NUP vs LDP	0
	NUP vs CDP	0
	Nacionalista Party vs Lakas KAMPI CMD	3
	Nacionalista Party vs KBL	3
	Nacionalista Party vs LDP	3
	Nacionalista Party vs CDP	3
	Lakas KAMPI CMD vs KBL	3
	Lakas KAMPI CMD vs LDP	3
	Lakas KAMPI CMD vs CDP	0
	KBL vs LDP	12
	KBL vs CDP	0
	KBL vs PLM	0
	LDP vs CDP	0
<b>2016</b>	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	18
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs National Unity Party (NUP)	3
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Nacionalista Party	9
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs United Nationalist Alliance (UNA)	3
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Partido Demokratiko Pilipino-Lakas ng Bayan (PDP-Laban)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Lakas KAMPI Christian Muslim Democrats (Lakas)	6
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Aksyon Demokraktiko (Aksyon)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Aseno Manileno	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Kusog Baryohanon	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Partido Tinig ng Masa	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs People's Champ Movement (PCM)	0
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Bukidnon Paglaum	3
	Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Lingap Lugud	0

Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Laban ng Demokratiko (LDP)	15
Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Arangkada San Joseno (ASJ)	0
Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal party) vs Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino (PMP)	0
Partido Liberal ng Pilipinas (Liberal Party) vs Kabalikat ng Bayan sa Kaunlaran (KABAKA)	6
NPC vs NUP	0
NPC vs Nacionalista	12
NPC vs UNA	3
NPC vs PDP-LABAN	0
NPC vs Lakas	6
NPC vs Aksyon	0
NPC vs Aseno Manileno	0
NPC vs Kusog Baryohanon	0
NPC vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
NPC vs People's Champ Movement (PCM)	0
NPC vs Bukidnon Paglaum	3
NPC vs Lingap Lugud	0
NPC vs LDP	18
NPC vs Arangkada San Joseno (ASJ)	0
NPC vs KABAKA	3
NUP vs Nacionalista	0
NUP vs UNA	0
NUP vs PDP-LABAN	0
NUP vs Lakas	0
NUP vs Aksyon	0
NUP vs Aseno Manileno	0
NUP vs Kusog Baryonhanon	0
NUP vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
NUP vs People's Champ Movement (PCM)	0
NUP vs Bukdnon Paglaum	0
NUP vs Lingap Lugud	0
NUP vs LDP	0
NUP vs Arangkda San Joseno (ASJ)	0
NUP vs KABAKA	0
Nacionalista vs UNA	3
Nacionalista vs PDP-Laban	0
Nacionalista vs Lakas	6

Nacionalista vs Aksyon	0
Nacionalista vs Aseno Manileno	0
Nacionalista vs Kusog Baryonhanon	0
Nacionalista vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
Nacionalista vs People's Champ Movement (PCM)	0
Nacionalista vs Bukdnon Palgaum	3
Nacionalista vs Lingap Lugud	0
Nacionalista vs LDP	6
Nacionalit vs Arangkda Sn Joseno (ASJ)	0
Nacionalist vs KABAKA	6
UNA vs PDP-Laban	0
UNA vs Lakas	3
UNA vs Aksyon	0
UNA vs Aseno Manileno	0
UNA vs Kusog Baryonhanon	0
UNA vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
UNA vs PCM	0
UNA vs Bukdnon Palgaum	0
UNA vs Lingap Lugud	0
UNA vs LDP	3
UNA vs ASJ	0
UNA vs KABAKA	0
PDP-Laban vs Lakas	0
PDP-Laban vs Aksyon	0
PDP-Laban vs KBL	0
PDP-Laban vs Aseno Manileno	0
PDP-Laban vs Kusog Baryonhanon	0
PDP-Laban vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
PDP-Laban vs PCM	0
PDP-Laban vs Bukdnon Palgaum	0
PDP-Laban vs Lingap Lugud	0
PDP-Laban vs LDP	0
PDP-Laban vs ASJ	0
PDP-Laban vs KABAKA	0
Lakas vs Aksyon	0
Lakas vs Aseno Manileno	0
Lakas vs Kusong Baryonhanon	0
Lakas vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0

	Lakas vs PCM	0
	Lakas vs Bukdnon Palguam	0
	Lakas vs Lingap Lugud	0
	Lakas vs LDP	6
	Lakas vs ASJ	0
	Lakas vs KABAKA	3
	Aksyon vs Aseno Manileno	0
	Aksyon vs Kusong Baryonhanon	0
	Aksyon vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
	Aksyon vs PCM	0
	Aksyon vs Bukdnon Palguam	0
	Aksyon vs Lingap Lugud	0
	KBL vs Aseno Manileno	0
	KBL vs Kusong Baryonhanon	0
	KBL vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
	KBL vs PCM	0
	KBL vs Bukdnon Palguam	3
	KBL vs Lingap Lugud	0
	KBL vs LDP	15
	KBL vs ASJ	0
	KBL vs KABAKA	6
	Aseno Malineno vs Kusong Baryonhanon	0
	Aseno Malineno vs partido Tining ng Masa	0
	Aseno Malineno vs PCM	0
	Aseno Malineno vs Bukdnon Palguam	0
	Aseno Malineno vs Lingap Lugud	0
	Aseno Malineno vs LDP	0
	Aseno Malineno vs ASJ	0
	Aseno Malineno vs KABAKA	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs Partido Tining ng Masa	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs PCM	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs Bukdnon Palguam	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs Lingap Lugud	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs LDP	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs ASJ	0
	Kusong Baryonhanon vs KABAKA	0
	Partido Tining ng Masa vs PCM	0

Partido Tining ng Masa vs Bukdnnon Palguam	0
Partido Tining ng Masa vs Lingap Lugud	0
Partido Tining ng Masa vs LDP	0
Partido Tining ng Masa vs ASJ	0
Partido Tining ng Masa vs KABAKA	0
PCM vs Bukdnnon Palguam	0
PCM vs Lingap Lugud	0
PCM vs LDP	0
PCM vs ASJ	0
PCM vs KABAKA	0
Bukdnnon Palguam vs Lingap Lugud	0
Bukdnnon Palguam vs LDP	3
Bukdnnon Palguam vs ASJ	0
Bukdnnon Palguam vs KABAKA	3
Lingap Lugud vs LDP	0
Lingap Lugud vs ASJ	0
Lingap Lugud vs KABAKA	0
Padayon Pilipina vs LDP	0
Padayon Pilipina vs ASJ	0
Padayon Pilipina vs KABAKA	0
One Cebu vs LDP	0
One Cebu vs ASJ	0
One Cebu vs KABKA	0
LDP vs ASJ	0
LDP vs KABAKA	6
ASJ vs KABAKA	0

## South Korea

Election Years	Party Dyad	Year of Dyad
<b>1988</b>	Democratic Justice Party vs Reunification Democratic Party	0
	Democratic Justice Party vs Party for Peace and Democracy	0
	Democratic Justice Party vs New Democratic Republican Party	0
	Democratic Justice Party vs Hangyore Democratic Party	0
	Reunification Democratic Party vs Party for Peace and Democracy	0
	Reunification Democratic Party vs New Democratic Republican Party	0
	Reunification Democratic Party vs Hangyore Democratic Party	0
	Party for Peace and Democracy vs New Democratic Republican Party	0
	Party for Peace and Democracy vs Hangyore Democratic Party	0
	New Democratic Republican Party vs Hangyore Democratic Party	0
	<b>1992</b>	Democratic Liberal Party vs Democratic Party
Democratic Liberal Party vs United People's Party		0
Democratic Liberal Party vs New Political Reform Party		0
Democratic Party vs United People's Party		0
Democratic Party vs New Political Reform Party		0
United People's Party vs New Political Reform Party		0
<b>1996</b>	New Korea Party vs National Congress for New Politics	0
	New Korea Party vs United Liberal Democrats	0
	New Korea Party vs United Democratic Party	0
	National Congress for New Politics vs United Liberal Democrats	0
	National Congress for New Politics vs United Democratic Party	0
	United Liberal Democrats vs United Democratic Party	0
	United Liberal Democrats vs Great Korean Democratic Party	0
<b>2000</b>	Grand National Party vs Millennium Democratic Party	0
	Grand National Party vs United Liberal Democrats	0
	Grand National Party vs Democratic People's Party	0
	Grand National Party vs New Korean Party of Hope	0
	Millennium Democratic Party vs United Liberal Democrats	0
	Millennium Democratic Party vs Democratic People's Party	0
	Millennium Democratic Party vs New Korean Party of Hope	0
	United Liberal Democrats vs Democratic People's Party	0
	United Liberal Democrats vs New Korean Party of Hope	0
Democratic People's Party vs New Korean Party of Hope	0	

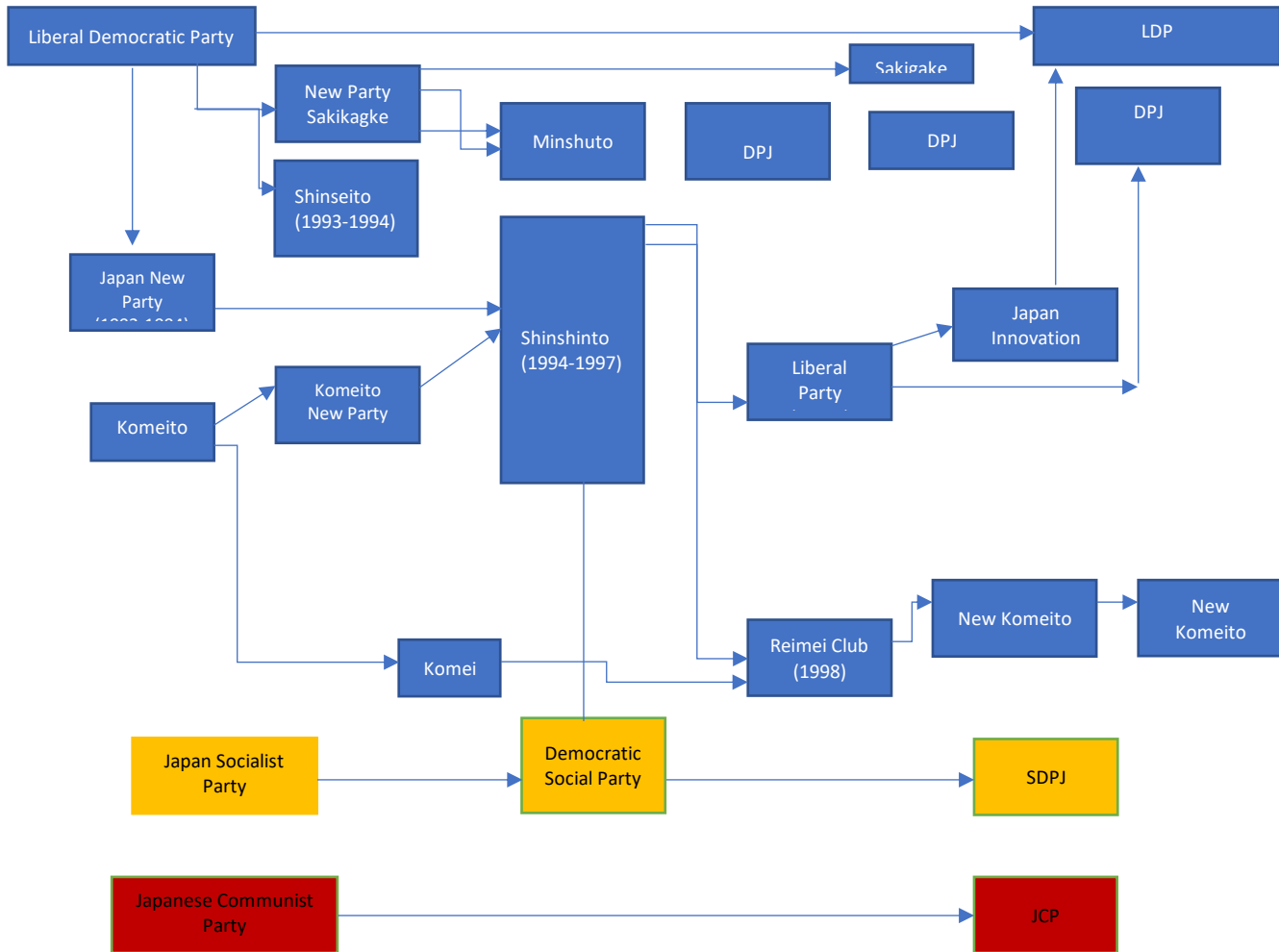
	New Korea Party of Hope vs Republican Party	0
<b>2004</b>	Uri Party vs Grand National Party	0
	Uri Party vs Democratic Labour Party	0
	Uri Party vs Millenium Democratic Party	0
	Uri Party vs United Liberal Democrats	0
	Grand National Party vs Democratic Labour Party	0
	Grand National Party vs Millenium Democratic Party	4
	Grand National Party vs United Liberal Democrats	4
	Democratic Labour Party vs Millenium Democratic Party	0
	Democratic Labour Party vs United Libeal Democrats	0
	Millenium Democratic Party vs United Liberal Democrats	4
<b>2008</b>	Grand National Party vs United Democratic Party	4
	Grand National Party vs Liberty Forward Party	0
	Grand National Party vs Pro-Park Coalition	0
	Grand National Party vs Democratic Labour Party	4
	Grand National Party vs Creative Korea Party	0
	United Democratic Party vs Liberty Forward Party	0
	United Democratic Party vs Pro-Park Coalition	0
	United Democratic Party vs Democratic Labour Party	0
	United Democratic Party vs Creative Korea Party	0
	Liberty Forward Party vs Pro-Park Coalition	0
	Liberty Forward party vs Democratic Labour Party	0
	Liberty Forward Party vs Creative Korea Party	0
	Pro-Park Coalition vs Democratic Labour Party	0
	Pro-Park Coalition vs Creative Korea Party	0
	Democratic Labour Party vs Creative Korea Party	0
<b>2012</b>	Saenuri Party vs Democratic United Party	0
	Saenuri Party vs Unified Progressive Party	0
	Saenuri Party vs Liberty Forward Party	0
	Democratic United Party vs Unified Progressive Party	0
	Democratic United Party vs Liberty Forward Party	0
	Unified Progressive Party vs Liberty Forward Party	0
<b>2016</b>	The Minjoo Party vs Saenuri Party	0
	The Minjoo Party vs People's Party	0
	The Minjoo Party vs Justice Party	0
	Seanuri Party vs People's Party	0
	Seanuri Party vs Justice Party	0

	People's Party vs Justice Party	0
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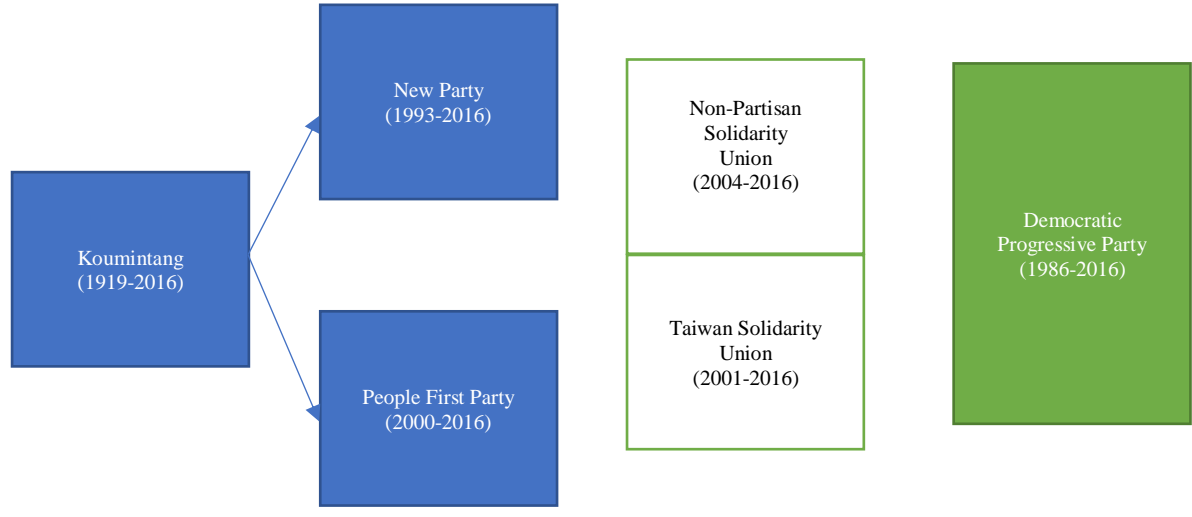


**Appendix B: Party Systems Development chart for Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and South Korea**

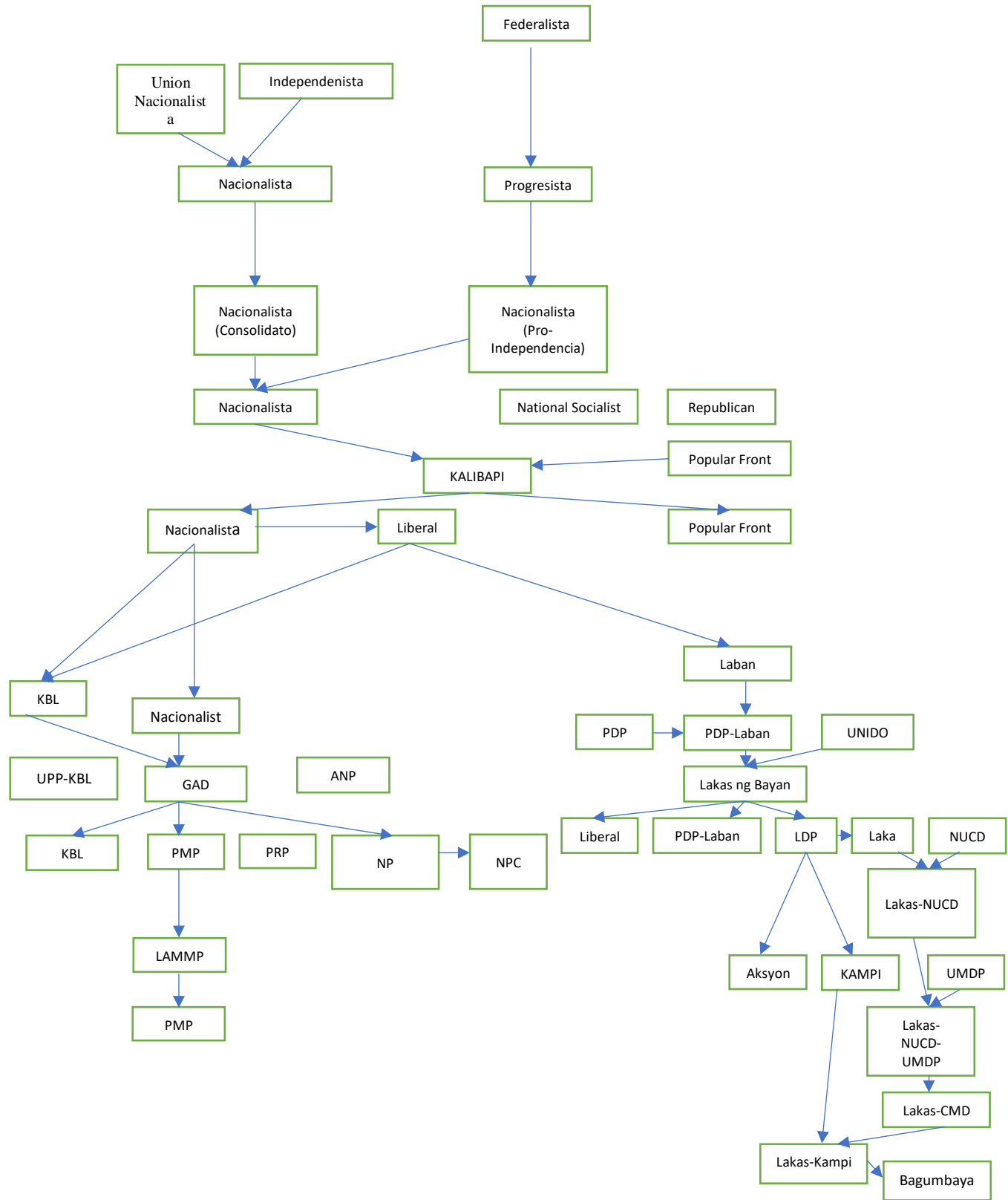
**Japan (1993-2010) Figure**



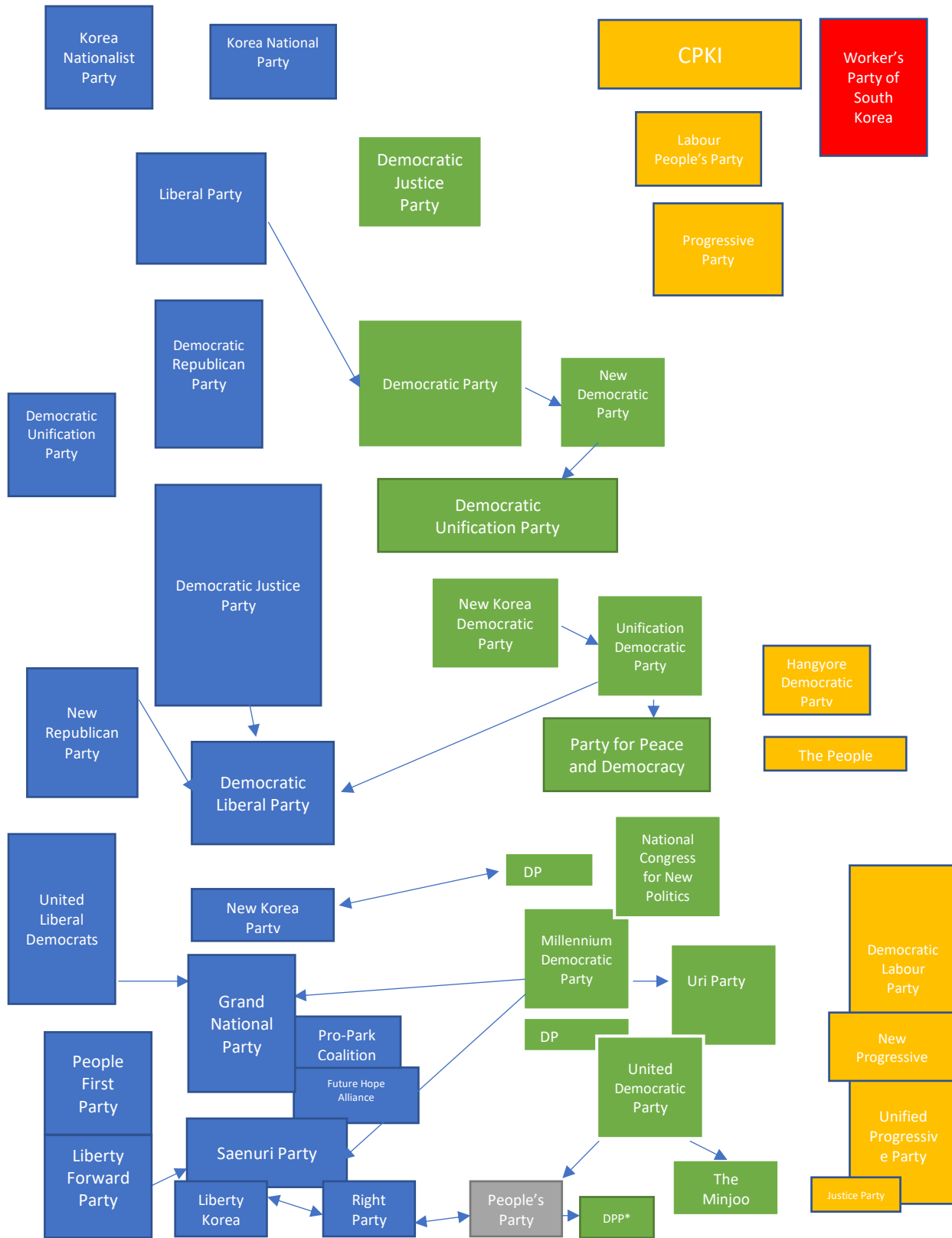
**Taiwan (1919-2016)**



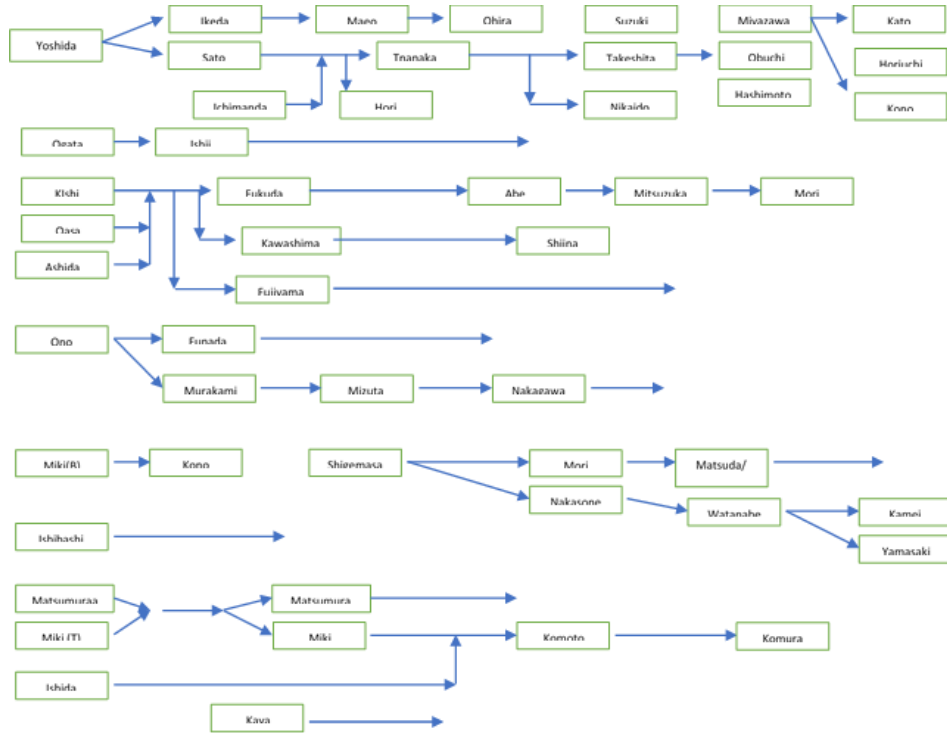
# The Philippines



## South Korea



## Appendix B 1 Japan



**Appendix C: Freedom House Scores for Japan, Taiwan, Philippines,  
and South Korea**

**Japan**

Freedom in the World: Japan (1998-2016)			
	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Freedom
1998	1	2	1.5
1999	1	2	1.5
2000	1	2	1.5
2001	1	2	1.5
2002	1	2	1.5
2003	1	2	1.5
2004	1	2	1.5
2005	1	2	1.5
2006	1	2	1.5
2007	1	2	1.5
2008	1	2	1.5
2009	1	2	1.5
2010	1	2	1.5
2011	1	2	1.5
2012	1	2	1.5
2013	1	2	1.5
2014	1	2	1.5
2015	1	1	1
2016	1	1	1

## Taiwan

Freedom in the World: Taiwan (1999-2016)			
	Political Rights	Civil Liberties	Freedom Rating
1999	2	2	2
2001	1	2	1.5
2002	1	2	1.5
2003	2	2	2
2004	2	2	2
2005	2	2	1.5
2006	1	1	1
2007	2	1	1.5
2008	2	1	1.5
2009	2	1	1.5
2010	1	2	1.5
2011	1	2	1.5
2012	1	2	1.5
2013	1	2	1.5
2014	1	2	1.5
2015	1	2	1.5
2016	1	2	1.5

## The Philippines

Freedom in the World: Philippines (1999-2016)			
	Political Right	Civil Liberty	Freedom Rating
1999	2	3	2.5
2001	2	3	2.5
2002	2	3	2.5
2003	2	3	2.5
2004	2	3	2.5
2005	2	3	2.5
2006	3	3	2.5
2007	3	3	3
2008	4	3	3
2009	4	3	3.5
2010	4	3	3.5
2011	3	3	3.5
2012	3	3	3
2013	3	3	3
2014	3	3	3
2015	3	3	3
2016	3	3	3



## South Korea

Freedom in the World: South Korea (1998-2016)			
	Political Right	Civil Liberty	Freedom Rating
1998	2	2	2
1999	2	2	2
2001	2	2	2
2002	2	2	2
2003	2	2	2
2004	2	2	2
2005	1	2	1.5
2006	1	2	1.5
2007	1	2	1.5
2008	1	2	1.5
2009	1	2	1.5
2010	1	2	1.5
2011	1	2	1.5
2012	1	2	1.5
2013	1	2	1.5
2014	2	2	2
2015	2	2	2
2016	2	2	2

**Appendix D: Electoral Volatility in Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, and  
South Korea (1986-2016)**

**Japan**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Parties</b>	<b>Constituency vote</b>	<b>Party vote</b>	<b>volatility</b>
<b>1986</b>	Liberal Democratic party (LDP)	49.42		
	Japanese Socialist Party (JSP)	17.23		
	Japanese Communist Party	8.79		
	Komeito Party	9.43		
	Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)	6.44		
<b>1990</b>	Liberal Democratic party (LDP)	46.14		7.185
	Socialist Party of japan (JSP)	24.35		
	Komeito Party	7.89		
	Japanese Communist Party	7.96		
	Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)	4.84		
<b>1993</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	36.62		20.535
	Japanese Socialist Party (JSP)	15.43		
	Shinseito (Renewal Party)	10.1		
	Komeito Party	8.14		
	Japan New Party (JNP)	8.05		
	Democratic Socialist Party (DSP)	3.51		
	New Party Sakigake (New Party Harbinger)	2.64		

	Japanese Communist Party (JCP)	7.7		
<b>1996</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	38.63	32.76	23.56
	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	2.19	6.38	
	New Frontier Party (NFP)	27.97	28.04	
	Democratic Party (DPJ)	10.1	16.1	
	Japan Communist Party (JCP)	12.55	13.08	
<b>2000</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	40.97	28.31	22.21
	Komeito Party	2.02	12.97	
	Democratic Party (DPJ)	27.61	25.18	
	Liberal Party	3.37	11.01	
	Japan Communist Party (JCP)	12.08	11.23	
	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	3.8	9.36	
<b>2003</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	43.85	34.9	14.165
	New Komeito	1.49	14.8	
	Democratic Party (DPJ)	36.66	37.4	
	Japan Communist Party (JCP)	8.13	7.7	
	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	2.87	5.2	
<b>2005</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	47.77	38.18	7.185
	New Komeito Party (NKP)	1.44	13.25	
	New Party Nippon (NPN)	0.2	2.42	
	Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)	36.44	31.02	
	Japanese Communist Party (JCP)	7.25	7.25	

	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	1.46	5.49	
<b>2009</b>	Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)	47.43	42.41	11.14
	Social Democratic Party (SDP)	1.95	4.27	
	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	36.68	28.73	
	Japanese Communist Party (JCP)	4.22	7.03	
<b>2012</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	43.01	27.79	31.855
	Democratic Party (DPJ)	22.81	15.49	
	Restoration Party (JRP)	11.64	20.5	
	Your Party (YP)	4.71	8.77	
	Tomorrow Party (TPJ)	5.02	5.72	
	Japanese Communist Party (JCP)	7.88	6.17	
<b>2014</b>	Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)	48.1	33.11	17.25
	Democratic Party (DPJ)	22.51	18.33	
	Innovation Party	8.16	15.72	
	Japanese Communist Party (JCP)	13.3	11.37	

## Taiwan

<b>Election Year</b>	<b>Political Parties</b>	<b>Constituency Votes</b>	<b>Volatility</b>
<b>1986</b>	Kuomintang	0	
	Chinese Youth Party	0	
	Independents	0	
<b>1989</b>	Kuomintang	0	
	Chinese Youth Party	0	
	Democratic Progressive Party	0	
	Independents	0	
<b>1992</b>	Kuomintang	53	
	Democratic Progressive Party	31	
	Chinese Social Democratic Party	1.3	
	Independents	14	
<b>1995</b>	Kuomintang	51.83	13.73
	Democratic Progressive Party	32.93	
	New Party	12.8	
	Independents	2.44	
<b>1998</b>	Kuomintang	54.67	9.825
	Democratic Progressive Party	31.11	
	New Party	4.89	
	Democratic Union of Taiwan	1.78	
	New Nation Alliance	0.44	
	Taiwan Independence Party	0.44	
	Nationwide Democratic Nonpartisan Union	1.33	
	Independents	5.53	
<b>2001</b>	Democratic Progressive	38.67	29.115
	Kuomintang	30.22	
	People First Party	20.44	
	Taiwan Solidarity Union	5.78	
<b>2004</b>	Kuomintang	35.11	2.445
	People First Party	15.11	
	Democratic Progressive Party	39.56	
	Taiwan Solidarity Union	5.53	
<b>2008</b>	Kuomintang	71.68	33.235
	People First Party	0.88	
	Democratic Progressive Party	23.89	

<b>2012</b>	Kuomintang	56.64	14.16
	People First Party	2.65	
	Democratic Progressive Party	35.4	
<b>2016</b>	Democratic Progressive Party	67.12	30.48
	Kuomintang	27.4	

## Philippines

Year	Parties	Constituency Votes (%)	Volatility
<b>1987</b>	Lakas ng Bansa	17.48	
	PDP-Laban	17.32	
	United Nationalist Democratic Organisation (UNIDO)	12.8	
	Liberal Party	10.46	
	Nacionalista	7.19	
	Kilusang Bangong Lipunan (KBL)	4.1	
	Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD)	1.34	
	Partido ng Bayan	1.63	
<b>1992</b>	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino	33.73	42.84
	Lakas ng Tao-Christian Muslim Democrats (Lakas-CMD)	21.2	
	Naationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	18.66	
	Koalisyonang Pambansa (National Coalition)	8.82	
	Nacionalista (Nationalist Party )	3.92	
<b>1995</b>	Lakas-CMD	40.66	29.615
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino	10.83	
	Lakas-Laban	10.4	
	Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	12.19	
<b>1998</b>	Laksa-CMD	49.01	28.37
	Laban ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino (LAMMP)	26.68	
	Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	4.08	
	Liberal Party	7.25	
	Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma (Reporma-LM)	3.95	
	Probinsya Muna Development Initiative (PROMDI)	2.4	
<b>2001</b>	Lakas-CMD	35.6	20.49
	Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	19.5	
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP)	10.2	
	Liberal Party	9.2	
<b>2004</b>	Lakas-CMD	37.2	5.15
	Naationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	21.5	
	Liberal Party	11.8	
	Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino (LDP)	6.1	
<b>2007</b>	Lakas-CMD	33.1	19.45
	Kabalikat ng Malayang Pilipino (KAMPI)	16.4	

	Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC)	10.4	
	Liberal Party	8.6	
	Nacionalista	4.1	
<b>2010</b>	Lakas-CMD	37.41	17.15
	Liberal Party	0.53	
	Kapayappan, Kaunlaran, and Katarnagan (KKK)/Liberal	15.3	
	Nacionalista	10.72	
<b>2013</b>	Liberal Party	38.31	53.695
	United Nationalist Alliance (UNA)	9.31	
	NPC	17.36	
	NUP	8.69	
	Nacionalist	8.55	
	Lakas-KAMPI-CMD	5.33	
<b>2016</b>	Liberal Party	41.72	6.1
	NPC	17.04	
	NUP	9.67	
	Nacionalista	9.42	
	UNA	6.62	



## South Korea

Election Year	Political Parties	Constituency Votes (%)	Volatility
<b>1988</b>	Democratic Justice Party (DJP)	33.96	22.19
	Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD)	19.26	
	Reunification Democratic Party (RDP)	23.83	
	New Democratic Republican Party (NDRP)	15.59	
<b>1992</b>	Democratic Liberal Party (DLP)	38.5	42.55
	Democratic Party (DP)	29.2	
	Unification National Party (UNP)	17.4	
<b>1996</b>	New Korea Party (NKP)	34.5	17.25
	National Congress for New Politics (NCNP)	25.3	
	United Liberal Democrats (ULD)	16.2	
	United Democratic Party (UDP)	11.2	
<b>2000</b>	Grand National Party	39	42.395
	Millenium Democratic Party (MDP)	35.99	
	United Liberal Democrats (ULD)	9.8	
<b>2004</b>	Uri Party	38.3	47.1
	Grand National Party	35.8	
	Demoratic Labour Party	13	
	Millennium Democratic Party	7.1	
<b>2008</b>	Grand National Party	43.45	18.24
	United Democratic Party (UDP)	28.92	
	Liberty Forward Party (LFP)	5.72	
	Pro-Park Coalition	3.7	
	Democratic Labour Party	3.39	
	Creative Korea Party	0.42	
<b>2012</b>	Saenuri Party (New Froentier Party)	43.28	30.86
	Democratic United Party (DUP)	37.85	
	United Progressive	5.99	
	Liberty Forward Party (LFP)	2.2	
<b>2016</b>	Minjoo Party of Korea	37	29.245
	Saenuri Party	38.3	
	People's Party	14.9	
	Justice Party	1.61	

