

Party System Institutionalization in Asia

This book provides a comprehensive empirical and theoretical analysis of the development of parties and party systems in Asia. The studies included advance a unique perspective in the literature by focusing on the concept of institutionalization and by analyzing parties in democratic settings as well as in authoritarian settings. The countries covered in the book range from Northeast Asia to Southeast Asia to South Asia.

Allen Hicken is Associate Professor of Political Science, Research Associate Professor at the Center for Political Studies, and Faculty Associate at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Michigan. He is the author of Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies (2009) and the editor of Politics of Modern Southeast Asia: Critical Issues in Modern Politics (2010). His articles have appeared in the American Journal of Political Science, the Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, the Journal of East Asian Studies, Asian Survey, and Electoral Studies.

Erik Martinez Kuhonta is Associate Professor of Political Science and Member of the Institute for the Study of International Development at McGill University. He is the author of *The Institutional Imperative: The Politics of Equitable Development in Southeast Asia* (2011), which was short-listed for the 2012 Canadian Political Science Association Prize in Comparative Politics. He is also coeditor of *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis* (2008). His articles have appeared in *Comparative Political Studies, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Asian Survey*, and *Pacific Review*.





Party System Institutionalization in Asia

Democracies, Autocracies, and the Shadows of the Past

Edited by **ALLEN HICKEN** *University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

ERIK MARTINEZ KUHONTA

McGill University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107614239

© Cambridge University Press 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Party system institutionalization in Asia: democracies, autocracies, and the shadows of the past / [edited by] Allen Hicken University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Erik Martinez Kuhonta, McGill University.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-107-04157-8

1. Political parties – Asia. 2. Asia – Politics and government – 21st century. I. Hicken, Allen, 1969 – editor. II. Kuhonta, Erik Martinez, 1973 – editor. III. Weiss, Meredith L. (Meredith Leigh), 1972 – Antidemocratic potential of party system institutionalization. Container of (work)

JQ39.P37 2014

324.2095-dc23 2014027897

ISBN 978-1-107-04157-8 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-61423-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To Neric Acosta and Andrew MacIntyre





Contents

Lisi	t of figures	page 1x
List	t of tables	X
Lis	t of contributors	xiii
	knowledgments	xvii
Ι.	Introduction: Rethinking Party System Institutionalization in Asia Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta	I
2.	The Antidemocratic Potential of Party System Institutionalization: Malaysia as Morality Tale? <i>Meredith L. Weiss</i>	25
3.	Institutionalized Succession and Hegemonic Party Cohesion in Singapore Netina Tan	49
4.	Party System Institutionalization in Japan Kenneth Mori McElwain	74
5.	Long in the Making: Taiwan's Institutionalized Party System Tun-jen Cheng and Yung-ming Hsu	108
6.	The Making and Unmaking of the Communist Party and Single-Party System of Vietnam Tuong Vu	136
7•	The Institutionalization of the Communist Party and the Party System in China Yongnian Zheng	162
8.	Party System Institutionalization in India Csaba Nikolenyi	189

vii



viii		Contents
9.	Party and Party System Institutionalization in Cambodia Sorpong Peou	212
10.	Explaining Party System Institutionalization in Indonesia Paige Johnson Tan	236
II.	South Korea's Weakly Institutionalized Party System Joseph Wong	260
12.	Thailand's Feckless Parties and Party System: A Path-Dependent Analysis Erik Martinez Kuhonta	280
13.	Party and Party System Institutionalization in the Philippines <i>Allen Hicken</i>	307
14.	Party System Institutionalization: Reflections Based on the Asian Cases Scott Mainwaring	328
Index		349



Figures

4.I	Representation of Independent Legislators	page 81
4.2	Representation of New Political Parties	82
4.3	Gini Coefficient in Japan (1960–2000)	86
4.4	Effective Number of Parties	89
4.5	Malapportionment by Level of Urbanization	91
4.6	Public Support of Political Parties (1960–1994)	93
4.7	Vote Fluctuations across Elections	95
4.8	Stability of Incumbent Reelection Races until Reforms	96
4.9	Multi-Partyism to Bi-Partyism	99
7 . I	Hegemonization: Domination and Legitimation	169
8.1	Electoral Volatility in India (1952–2004)	192
8.2	Volatility and Fragmentation in the Indian Party System	202
13.1	Electoral Volatility Pre- and Post-Martial Law	312
	Party Rirth and Death Rates during House Flections (Seats)	2 T 4



Tables

I.I	Electoral Volatility across the Globe	<i>page</i> 11
1.2	Electoral Volatility in Asia	12
2.1	Percentage Shares of Votes and Seats for Past Four	
	Malaysian General Elections	44
3.1	Key Political Parties in Singapore	53
3.2	Parliamentary Turnover (1980–2011)	57
3.3	Occupational Background of MPs (1988–2011)	60
3.4	Occupation Profiles of Cabinet Ministers (2001–2011)	61
5.1a	Volatility of Taiwan's Legislative Elections (1986–2012)	113
.1b	Volatility of Presidential Elections in Taiwan	
	(1996–2012)	114
5.2	Party Fractionalization in Taiwan: The	
	Laakso-Taagepera Index	115
5.3	Party Identifiers for the Two Camps (KMT-Centered Blue	
	and DPP-Centered Green)	117
5.4a	Direct Local Elections and KMT's (K) Performance	123
.4b	Direct Elections at National Level and KMT's Performance	125
5.5	KMT Candidate Selections for Local Elections	129
5.6	Legislative Candidate Selection Methods for the DPP	
	(1989–2012)	130
5.7	DPP's Seat Bonus for Legislative Elections in Taiwan	
	(1986–2012)	132
6.1	Parties and Party Systems	139
7 . I	Functional Groups of the Eleventh CPPCC (2008)	178
8.1	Confidence in Political Parties	194
8.2	Confidence in Parliament	195
0.1	Share of Votes and Seats, Indonesian Parliamentary Elections	
	under Reform	245

X



List of tables		xi
10.2	Top-Scoring Political Parties from the 1999 Elections	
	and Their Social Base of Support	246
12.1	Effective Number of Parliamentary Parties (1979–2011)	284
12.2	Effect of Factional Infighting on Change in Government	-
	Party (1976–2001)	285
13.1	Party System Institutionalization	309
13.2	Electoral Volatility in Asia	311
13.3	Party Birth and Death Rates during House Elections (Seats)	313
13.4	Vote Differentials between First- and Last-Place Candidates	316
14.1	Regime and Party System Indicators in 12 Asian	-
•	Countries, 2013	335





Contributors

Tun-Jen Cheng is Class of 1935 Professor in the Department of Government, College of William and Mary. He received his B.A. from National Taiwan University, his M.A. from the University of Waterloo, and his Ph.D. from the University of California–Berkeley. He has written extensively on political and economic change in East Asia. Among his recent publications are two coedited volumes, *China under Hu Jintao* (2005) and *Religious Organizations and Democratic Transition in East Asia* (2006). He was editor-in-chief of the *American Asian Review*, is editor of *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, and is on the editorial board of a number of leading journals on China and Asian studies.

Allen Hicken is Associate Professor of Political Science, Research Associate Professor at the Center for Political Studies, and Faculty Associate at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at the University of Michigan. He studies political parties, institutions, political economy, and policy making in developing countries, with a focus on Southeast Asia. He has carried out research in Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Cambodia and is the author of a book on parties and elections in Thailand and the Philippines, entitled Building Party Systems in Developing Democracies (2009). He is the editor of Politics of Modern Southeast Asia: Critical Issues in Modern Politics (2010). His articles have appeared in American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Journal of East Asian Studies, Asian Survey, and Electoral Studies.

Yung-ming Hsu is Associate Professor of Political Science at Soochow University. His research analyzes issues such as political learning, party realignment, and ethnic politics in Taiwan. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Michigan.

Erik Martinez Kuhonta is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and Member of the Institute for the Study of International Development

xiii



xiv List of contributors

at McGill University. He is the author of *The Institutional Imperative: The Politics of Equitable Development in Southeast Asia* (2011), which was shortlisted for the Canadian Political Science Association Prize in Comparative Politics, and coeditor of *Southeast Asia in Political Science: Theory, Region, and Qualitative Analysis* (2008). Kuhonta has published articles in *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Comparative Political Studies, Asian Survey, and Pacific Review. He received his Ph.D. from Princeton University and has held visiting fellowships at Stanford University, the National University of Singapore, the East-West Center, and Kyoto University.

Scott Mainwaring is the Eugene and Helen Conley Professor of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. He is the coeditor of Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America (1995) and the author of Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil (1999), among many other books. His latest book is Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall, coauthored with Aníbal Pérez-Liñán (2013). He was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2010.

Kenneth Mori McElwain is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor. His research focuses on the politics of institutional design, including the manipulation of electoral rules and the democratization of political parties. His current project examines the evolution and survival of national constitutions. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University and a B.A. in Public Policy and International Affairs from Princeton University. He is a coeditor of Political Change in Japan: Electoral Behavior, Party Realignment, and the Koizumi Reforms (2009). His research has been published in the American Journal of Political Science, Journal of East Asian Studies, Journal of Social Science, and numerous edited volumes.

Csaba Nikolenyi received his Ph.D. from the University of British Columbia and has taught at Concordia University since 2000. He has held visiting fellowships at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Australian National University. A former English coeditor of the Canadian Journal of Political Science (2006–2011), he is currently co-directing the Azrieli Institute of Israel Studies. His recent publications include a number of articles on the politics of governing coalitions, book chapters on the selection and de-selection of cabinet ministers, the volume Minority Governments in India (2010), and the forthcoming book Institutional Design and Party Government in Post-Communist Europe. His current research looks at the causes and consequences of anti-defection and electoral integrity legislation in democratic states.

Sorpong Peou received his Ph.D. from York University. He is Professor and Chair of the Department of Politics and Public Administration at Ryerson University (Toronto). Prior to this appointment, he was Chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Winnipeg, Professor of International Security at



List of contributors

ΧV

Sophia University (Tokyo), and Canada-ASEAN Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore). His major publications include *Human Security Studies* (2014), *Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific* (2010), *Human Security in East Asia*, ed. (2008), *International Democracy Assistance for Peacebuilding: Cambodia and Beyond* (2007), *Intervention and Change in Cambodia: Toward Democracy* (2001), and *Conflict Neutralization in the Cambodia War: From Battlefield to Ballot-Box* (1997).

Netina Tan is Assistant Professor of Political Science at McMaster University. Her dissertation, *Access to Power: Hegemonic Party Rule in Singapore and Taiwan*, from the University of British Columbia, was awarded the 2011 Canadian Political Science Association Vincent Lemieux Prize for the best Ph.D. thesis submitted at a Canadian institution. Her research interests include democratization, electoral authoritarianism, party and electoral politics, and gender and governance in East and Southeast Asia. Her work has appeared in *Electoral Studies*, *International Political Science Review*, and other edited volumes.

Paige Johnson Tan is Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science at Radford University, Virginia. Her research focuses on political parties and their role in democratization. Tan has contributed articles on Asian topics to Current History, Indonesia, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Asian Journal of Political Science, Inside Indonesia, Education about Asia, and Asian Perspective. She has consulted on Asian governance topics with Sea-Change Partners (Singapore), the Drug Enforcement Administration and the State Department (Washington, DC), and the World Bank (Jakarta, Indonesia), as well as the U.S. military (Fort Bragg and Camp Lejeune, NC). Her Ph.D. is from the University of Virginia.

Tuong Vu is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Oregon. He has held visiting fellowships at the National University of Singapore and Princeton University. His recent publications include "Socialism and Underdevelopment in Southeast Asia," in *Handbook of Southeast Asian History*, ed. Norman Owen (2013) and "Workers under Communism: Romance and Reality," in *Oxford Handbook on the History of Communism*, ed. S. A. Smith (2014). Currently he is completing a book about the Vietnamese revolution as a case of radical movements in international politics.

Meredith L. Weiss is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University at Albany, State University of New York. She received her Ph.D. from Yale University in 2001. Weiss has held visiting fellowships or professorships at universities and institutes in Australia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and the United States. Weiss is the author of Student Activism in Malaysia: Crucible, Mirror, Sideshow (2011) and Protest and Possibilities: Civil Society and Coalitions for Political Change in Malaysia (2006), as well as numerous journal articles and book chapters. She is editor or coeditor of six books – most recently, Handbook of Contemporary Malaysia (forthcoming); Electoral Dynamics in Malaysia: Findings from the Grassroots (2013); and Global



xvi

List of contributors

Homophobia: States, Movements, and the Politics of Oppression (2013). Her research addresses political mobilization and contention, the politics of development, civil society, nationalism and ethnicity, and electoral change in Southeast Asia. Weiss has previously served as Chair of the Southeast Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies and has served in several positions in the American Political Science Association and component sections.

Joseph Wong is the Ralph and Roz Halbert Professor of Innovation at the Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto. He is also Professor and Canada Research Chair in the Department of Political Science and the Director of the University of Toronto's Asian Institute. He is the author of Healthy Democracies: Welfare Politics in Taiwan and South Korea (2004) and Betting on Biotech: Innovation and the Limits of Asia's Developmental State (2011). Wong is also coeditor (with Edward Friedman) of Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose (2008) and (with Dilip Soman and Janice Stein) Innovating for the Global South: Towards an Inclusive Innovation Agenda (2014).

Yongnian Zheng is Professor and Director of the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore. He is the editor of the Series on Contemporary China and editor of China Policy Series. He is also the editor of China: An International Journal and of East Asian Policy. He has studied both China's transformation and its external relations. He is the author of numerous books, including The Chinese Communist Party as Organizational Emperor (2009) and Globalization and State Transformation in China (2004). Zheng has also been an academic activist. He served as a consultant to the United Nations Development Programme on China's rural development and democracy. In addition, he has been a columnist for Xinbao (Hong Kong) and Zaobao (Singapore) for many years, writing numerous commentaries on China's domestic and international affairs.



Acknowledgments

This project began in the corridors of academic conferences when the two editors of this book began discussing their common interest in the concept of party system institutionalization. Our goal was to bring the concept more directly in conversation with the study of Asian politics. A workshop held at McGill University on August 27–28, 2009, was crucial in getting this project off the ground and bringing together a wonderful group of scholars to write papers on party system institutionalization in Asia. The workshop was generously supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (Singapore), the University of Michigan, and McGill's Institute for the Study of International Development. Discussants at the workshop included Jim Glassman, Christopher Goscha, Manuel Litalien, Kimberley Manning, Mariam Mufti, Illan Nam, Phil Oxhorn, Ben Reilly, Wolfgang Sachsenroeder, Richard Stubbs, and Suranjan Weeraratne. A big thanks to all the discussants for helping make the papers stronger.

We would like to express our gratitude to one anonymous reviewer and one not-so-anonymous reviewer – Ben Smith – who provided very helpful and constructive comments on the whole manuscript. Many thanks also to Lew Bateman at Cambridge University Press for his support of this project.

Parts of the introductory chapter are from Allen Hicken and Erik Martinez Kuhonta, "Shadows from the Past: Party System Institutionalization in Asia," *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 5 (May): 572–597. We acknowledge permission from Sage Publications to use parts of this article.

Finally, we thank all of our contributors for their patience and willingness to revise their papers for the sake of the collective enterprise. It was a real pleasure working with all of the chapter writers.

This book is dedicated to two individuals who have committed much of their careers to institution building: Neric Acosta, Philippine Presidential Adviser for Environmental Protection and General Manager of the Laguna Lake

xvii



xviii

Acknowledgments

Development Authority; and Andrew MacIntyre, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, International and Vice-President of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University.

Allen Hicken Erik Martinez Kuhonta