

## SUMMARY

This thesis examines the causes of the persistence of factions in parties. It undertakes this analysis using both qualitative and quantitative methods by performing statistical analysis at the level of the country and the party. It also looks in depth at case studies in Japan, Botswana and Ireland.

It begins by outlining the state of knowledge about the causes of factionalism, and discusses the definitional issues around the concept. A definition is presented for factionalism that can be applied on a cross-national basis. Those variables at the party level and at the country level identified by the literature as explaining the causes of factionalism are also discussed. The development of a measure of “perceived factionalism” is outlined and it is shown how this can be used in quantitative analysis on a cross-country basis.

We firstly examine the role of electoral systems in explaining factionalism, using data from 85 countries. Our main finding here is that the less proportional an electoral system, the more factionalised parties are. We also examine other possible causes of factionalism at the national level, such as executive-legislature relations and party finance rules. We found slight support for the argument that there is slightly more factionalism in presidential systems than in parliamentary systems.

At the party level, we investigated whether or not there were characteristics of a party that made it more conducive for factions to persist. Using data concerning some 479 parties in 85 countries, we found some support for the argument there is a positive relationship between the size of a party and the level of factionalism, as well as the fact that newer parties are less likely to contain factions. We also present a multi-level analysis integrating party and country variables and find that party characteristics explain factionalism more than institutional effects.

To investigate the complex causal relationships that underlie the persistence of factions, we look at the extent of factionalism in the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party, the Botswana Democratic Party, the Botswana National Front and Fianna Fáil in Ireland. Firstly, we find there is evidence to suggest that electoral systems can facilitate the emergence of factionalism, without necessarily being the cause. Secondly, we observe that internal party structures and rules are important in explaining factionalism, particularly the manner in which the party leader is chosen and whether or not control of the party is in the hands of one level of the party. Thirdly, we argue that the interaction of institutions with party structures can also explain the extent of factionalism.

The contribution made by this thesis to the scholarly literature is a study that looks at factionalism on a cross-country basis, and attempts to establish if claims made in the abundant single-case studies of factionalism can be validated at the macro-level. While it shows that the size of parties is a key determinant in explaining the extent of factionalism, it also shows that parties may have certain historical characteristics that can define the extent to which factions persist (or not).