

THE ORIGINS AND CHANGES OF EAST ASIAN PARTY SYSTEMS AND VOTER
ALIGNMENTS: SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ISSUE EFFECTS AND PARTY
COALITIONS

A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
University of Missouri

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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THE ORIGINS AND CHANGES OF EAST ASIAN PARTY SYSTEMS AND VOTER
ALIGNMENTS: SOCIAL CONDITIONS, ISSUE EFFECTS, AND PARTY
COALITIONS

Presented by YONG JAE KIM

A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines both how East Asian party systems formed and why they have changed since the end of the World War II. East Asian party politics were considered to be an outlier of social cleavage theory and issue effects in party politics research. The related literature maintained that East Asian exceptionalism was caused by the homogeneous culture and the philosophy. However, I argue that the issues of economic development and national security strongly affected East Asian party system formations and contributed to making majority coalitions over the four decades. In other words, the strong issue effects across social groups suppressed social cleavages and other agendas in the Cold War and industrialization period. The overarching issues were closely associated with East Asian socioeconomic settings and international relations. Based on severe economic conditions and external threats, long-term governmental parties effectively emphasized both general concerns and made the party coalitions. Meanwhile, successful economic development in a short amount of time and the end of the Cold War caused a decline in both strong issue effects on social groups and issue agendas. As the urgent problems declined, social divisions and new issues emerged since the 1990s. Also, the new generations had different political orientations compared to the old generations. To put it differently, the decline of the overarching issue effects brought about the recent change of East Asian party politics. This research extends social cleavage theory by adding the importance of issues, external threats and national industrialization to Lipset and Rokkan (1967)'s list of "revolutions."

Chapter 1. Introduction

Political scientists assert that East Asian political parties are neither explained nor accurately described by social cleavage theory. Electoral support among western party systems correlates with religion, ethnicity, class, and similar social differences; no such divisions seem to distinguish party supporters of Japan, Korea¹, and Taiwan. (Curtis 1988, Dalton, Shin and Chu 2008, Flanagan 1991, Fukuyama 1989; 1992, Watanuki 1967; 1991) The near-consensus view is that these countries are homogeneous societies that share the same Confucian culture, have few ethnic conflicts,² economically egalitarian conditions, and one dominant language. Thus, East Asian party systems have been understood as the unique cases which could not be explained by the perspective of social cleavage theory. Homogeneous politics scholars attribute it to their cultural background or values derived from a distinctive conception of their community. However, East Asian party support is recently associated with the social conflicts of generation, ethnicity, region, class, and even religion, as other party systems in the world.

Why were the linkages between political parties and social divisions in East Asia considered as unrelated examples of social cleavage theory? How can the origins and changes of the party systems be explained? My dissertation will examine

¹ Korea not otherwise specified means South Korea.

² Ethnic conflict related to national identity is an important issue in Taiwan, but it is exceptional from a homogeneous perspective.

this exceptionalism of East Asian party politics. The main argument puts forth that the overarching issue effects of national security and economic development suppressed other internal conflicts and lessened over time in the party competition. The overriding issue effects were the reason social cleavages seemed not to exist in the war and industrialization period. However, in fact, there had been social divisions in East Asian party politics since at least the 1960s, based on the evidence of different social bases between political parties. This research will show that the existence of the long-term powers can be explained by the strong issue effects that played an important role in building the parties' coalitions. In other words, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan, Liberal Party (LP) and Democratic Republican Party (DRP) in Korea, and Kuomintang (KMT) in Taiwan effectively utilized the general concerns of external threats and poverty to mobilize a majority of social groups. As a result, the grand issue effects contributed to keeping one dominant party system or single party dictatorship in East Asia.

However, social differences emerged and party coalitions changed. As the economy was developing and the Cold War was ending, the overarching issues weakened. A majority of social groups, which in the past had been long-term governmental parties' coalitions, changed by the declining overarching issue effects in the new social conditions. New generations also have played an important role in changing East Asian party politics since the transitional period. Consequently, the social bases of political parties in the post-transitional era are clearly different compared to the economic development and the Cold War period.

Political parties also represent diversified issue agendas of their social groups to gain support. Generally speaking, the overarching issues allowed very limited agendas which were only related to economy and external threats in the war and industrialization period. However, social groups raised a variety of issues since the 1990s, and their issue concerns had an impact on election results.

This study will offer an explanation for why the political conflicts around social differences was minimized from the end of World War II (WWII) until the democratization wave or governmental power turnover in the early 1990s. Then, it will investigate whether recent party conflicts have become more typical of party conflicts in other societies. It is important to answer these questions because East Asian party politics have lasted about six decades since WWII and have passed two decades after the end of long-term Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government in Japan (1955 – 1993) and democratization in South Korea (1987) and Taiwan (1996). This historical time period created the opportunities to change the party systems.

I will examine how the national drives of external threats and industrialization suppressed the representation of social divisions by political parties in societies where people were conditioned to behave homogeneously. It is the first study to explain East Asian party systems depending on social bases and also tries to make an argument that extends Lipset and Rokkan (1967)'s social cleavage theory by adding the importance of issues, external threats and national industrialization to their list of “revolutions.”

To examine these arguments, I will use both content and survey data. The content data are used to analyze presidential candidates' speeches, televised debates,

and the documents on political parties' electoral campaign issues to confirm what kind of issues were highlighted in each election. The parties' electoral issue records are the materials used to examine how the overarching issues of national security and economic development suppressed other social divisions and agendas in the party system formations. At the same time, these will provide evidence that the focus of party campaigns had the effect of limiting opportunities for social differences to become politicized. The analysis of the records also serves to clarify the changes of overarching issue effects since WWII. The survey data are for showing the changes of party coalitions and issue emphases. The survey analysis is useful to examine how the overwhelming issues affect the voting behaviors of social groups over time. As a result, these data and analyses will contribute to supporting the arguments that both general, overarching concerns which stemmed from East Asian societal settings significantly influenced the origins and changes of the party systems.

In terms of the cases of this study, I select three East Asian democratic countries: Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. The countries share a common cultural background, Japanese colonies, experiences of incessant wars, and successful industrialization in modern history.³ The time period for studying East Asian party systems is the post-World War II period. In fact, in this period, the party systems had already been formed; thus, related

³ In terms of the geographic scope of this research, other democratic countries in East Asia such as Philippines and Mongolia or South East Asian Countries might be included in the same category. But these countries have clearly different ethnic and religious heterogeneities (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>) and different historical experiences in modernization and industrialization. The party systems and electoral behaviors of these countries should be studied in other research.

materials and data during this period are available, making it possible to collect and analyze the appropriate data.⁴

1.1. Outline of the Dissertation

This research will begin with general theoretical approaches on homogeneous politics and social cleavage theory, emphasizing the overarching issue effects on social divisions of the party systems in the societal setting. Then, I will present related data, measurement of issue content and other methodological processes employed to offer the evidence of the issue effects and the changes of social bases in the party systems (chapter 2).

Chapter 3 will examine the effects of the overarching issues, economic development and national security which suppressed social conflicts and other issues since the end of WWII. It will explain how the grand issues affect East Asian party system formations and voter alignments. In the West, the conditions for the development of distinct working-class parties emerged well before World War I as the final stage on social cleavages. But East Asian countries did not develop this social conflict before WWII. East Asia was based upon an agrarian economy at that time. Furthermore, after WWII and the Korean War, destruction and poverty virtually made everyone share economic growth as the most desired goal in East

⁴ The time period previous to World War II might be considered in order to examine the party systems of these countries. An alternative starting point could be the Opium War (1839). But this period would need to include other countries, like China and North Korea.

Asia. They needed a rapid change from an agrarian to an industrial economy. As a result, they were very successful in the desired economic development, which most people supported; this allowed for the urban middle class to sharply increase. The common concerns of poverty and successful industrialization across social groups contributed to keeping long-term powers of East Asian governmental parties and limiting the social bases of working-class parties in industrialization era.

On the other hand, China and Korea were divided into two Chinas and two Koreas, failing to establish one nation. Therefore, the issues related to national security and foreign relations in South Korea and Taiwan have been critical issues for their stability. Even though Japan was not split into two Japans after its defeat in WWII, the issues of war and peace, national security treaties, and the peace constitution were consistently raised in elections during the Cold War era. In East Asia, there was very strong tension among the related countries. Long-term governmental parties continued to emphasize the importance of national security and succeeded in mobilizing a majority of people who perceived the real problems.

Chapter 4 will identify the change of party coalitions in the developed economy and in the post-Cold War period. As has occurred in other party systems, the change in East Asian party politics is a political response to the social changes taking place. The recent emergence of social divisions is due to the decline of the overarching issue effect by drastic social change. East Asian party systems have needed to adapt to different sociopolitical setting.

Meanwhile, the young generation influenced new social base and new issue reputations of the political parties. East Asian new cohorts grew up during the economic

development and democratization period. They themselves did not experience horrible wars and poverty. Young cohorts who were politically socialized in different societal environments raised new issues, but previous party systems did not do enough to deal with them. The generation effect is also related to other social divisions. Generally speaking, the generation effect could not be independent of other social divisions over a long period. Young voters also followed their social characteristics and played a role in deepening other social divisions. However, how long the generational difference continues to be effective in election results depends on how strong the other social cleavages might be in their ability to absorb new voters. In short, new party systems represent new party coalitions driven by social change and the decline of the overarching issue effect.

Chapter 5 will deal with issue ownership of East Asian political parties in new party competition. Since the late 1980 and early 1990s, political parties represent diversified issues based on new social bases. Each party in the new systems gained new issue reputations. Parties appealed to the supporters for their own issues. Parties' issues depend on the records of agendas. They focused on the issues about which their social groups were most concerned. The issue analysis of political parties will show that the theory of issue ownership is applicable for East Asian elections, contrary to the literature mentioned.

The final chapter will recapitulate the findings in this research and refer to the implications of this study in understanding East Asian politics. Furthermore, I will mention the applicability of the argument to other countries' party politics and the theoretical contribution of this study in party politics research.

Chapter 2. Issue Effects on Formations and Changes of Party Systems

If East Asian party systems were not explained from the theories of Western party systems and voting behaviors, what features are so different compared to other cases? How did they come to be? First, this chapter will introduce “cultural politics” according to the mainstream literature in the study of East Asian political parties and elections. This approach maintains that the uniqueness of East Asian party politics has originated from the Asian cultural value that emphasizes social homogeneity; however, I will outline the problems with this approach as it seeks to explain East Asian party system formations and changes.

Then, I will alternatively argue that the systems have been seriously influenced by strong issue effects during the post-World War II era. In other words, the issues of national security and economic development overwhelmed social differences in forming the party systems in East Asia. However, as overarching issue effects were declining, generation replacement and social divisions emerged, which in fact changed the party systems.

To support my argument, I will use survey data and electoral issue contents of political parties. The following method section will demonstrate content and categorical data analyses, and other methodological issues.

2.1. Literature Review: Homogeneous Politics

Academics who study East Asian party systems are reluctant to apply the theories of Western party systems and voting behaviors to East Asia. Even in Lipset and Rokkan (1967)'s seminal edited book, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, Watanuki deals with the Japanese party system as a case for which Western party system theories do not apply (chapter 9). Western democracies' party systems represent social differences depending on the conflicts of center vs. periphery, religions, ethnicities, and social classes (Lipset and Rokkan 1967; Ladd 1970; Rose 1974; Lijphart 1979; Petrocik, 1981; Petrocik, 1987; Hout et al. 1995; Brooks et al. 2006; Ang and Petrocik 2012). However, Watanuki emphasizes that Japan's political parties do not show differentiation of their support as parties of advanced countries or at best very weak relationships with these social cleavages. This characteristic of the Japanese party system has been referred to as "cultural politics" or "value politics" to highlight its uniqueness. The key variables of cultural politics are value factors which are connected to psychological resources of traditional value systems such as Confucianism and hierarchical culture. Thus, the stability of Japanese politics coincides with cultural factors which change slowly (Watanuki 1967, 458 – 460; 1991, 60).

Fukuyama defines the characteristics as homogeneous politics. According to him, in Western democracy, political parties represent different interests or ideologies to attain governmental power. By contrast, East Asian society as a whole tends to regard itself as a single group with a stable source of authority. The

importance on group harmony tends to push social conflicts to be marginalized in politics. As a result, there is no change of government among political parties based on issue differences but rather the long-term dominance of LDP in Japan. Therefore, the Japanese system of government has reflected a broad social consensus rooted in Japanese group-oriented culture that would not be familiar with the alternation of governmental power since WWII. The pattern of universal homogeneous politics can be found in not just Japan but also South Korea and Taiwan. Finally, he proclaims that Japan has replaced the United States as the model for the political order as well as modernization in much of Asia (Fukuyama 1989; 1992, 238 – 244).

Based on the above explanation and the concept of homogeneous politics, case studies of each party system in East Asia have mainly endeavored to provide insights and evidence for the homogeneity in a country. In reality, cultural politics is accepted as the leitmotif among the related scholars to describe East Asian party politics (Curtis 1988, Chapter 1; Watanuki 1991; Flanagan 1991; Lee 2008).⁵ Modern (libertarian) values are more linked to support for the left, and traditional (authoritarian) values are linked to support for the right. These value cleavages are still accepted as significant factors to affect party votes in East Asian countries. Thus, culturalists argue that these voting

⁵ In detail, culturalists of East Asian politics classify their theoretical concepts such as traditional vs. modern values (Watanuki 1967, 1991) or authoritarian vs. libertarian values (Flanagan 1991; Lee 2008). Traditional values are emperor worship, emphasis on hierarchy and harmony, and belief in a militarily strong nation which were strongly supported in the prewar era. Modern values consist of the postwar era of individualism, equality, and fear of military buildup and war (Watanuki 1991, 60). On the other hand, the central axes of authoritarian values are authority and conformity which are related to traditional values and social norms. Libertarian values include autonomy and openness associated with modern norms (Flanagan 1991, 81 – 95).

behaviors are similar to “a mosaic or matrix pattern” rather than a social cleavage model (Watanuki 1991, 83).

In the meantime, political scientists claim that fledgling democracies such as South Korea and Taiwan suffer from underdevelopment of party systems. These political parties’ popular support could not be explained by social bases. The key variable which retards the growth of partisanship is traditional Confucian culture. At best, East Asian parties have very weak social bases and try to be political organizations for all people (Shin 1999; Dalton, Shin and Chu 2008). In particular, McAllister (2008) tries to find the social bases of party choice in the survey data of Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES, module 2) and concludes that social cleavages have a weak impact on voting choice, but age differences commonly emerge in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan as a residue of the transition to democracy. But this cultural determinism does not provide systematic explanation for the reasons of undifferentiated characteristics of East Asian party politics as well as the recent changes related to generational replacement and the emergence of social divisions. Why did these recent changes of the party systems happen? What brought about power turnover in homogeneous societies? According to homogeneous politics, in a homogeneous society, it is difficult to explain the existence of different social groups and power turnover. But they have occurred in the countries, so we must look for other reasons behind cultural explanation on East Asian party politics.

On the other hand, previous literature documents that age is generally the most important factor to explain voting behaviors in East Asia (Watanuki 1967, 1991; Flanagan 1991; Lee 2008; McAllister 2008). The question is, however, whether the

age effect, which can be redefined as generation effect, is the proxy of cultural cleavages as the culturalists have mentioned. They mainly focus on the different cultural patterns between old and young generations because they contend that the cultural differences could explain the party support of both generations.

But, if the young generation has different cultural values, why do they have them? Is it only due to the weakened Confucian or traditional values in the young generation? Based on cultural politics, different values are likely to be unrelated to any social differences in a society. They also seem to confound generation replacement with cultural effects. Furthermore, in contrast to McAllister's argument (2008), generational replacement may not be a residue of the transition to democracy but one of the main reasons of democratization and power turnover in East Asia, because these both were achieved by the democratic movements and voting decisions of the young generation in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Indeed, generation effect was not following democratic transition but democratic transition was following generation replacement. In brief, even though culture is crucial to understanding party support and voting behaviors, we cannot avoid saying that it is also politically and economically shaped.

2.2. Issue Effects on East Asian Party Systems

National security and economic development issues overarched social differences across East Asian countries and strongly affected the party system formations and changes since the end of World War II. Overarching issues originated from national and

industrial revolutionary junctures in compressed time in East Asia. While the genesis of cleavages in Western countries are sequential consequences at three crucial junctures, the Reformation, national and industrial revolutions in national community over more than four centuries (Lipset and Rokkan 1967), East Asian cleavages are relatively overlapped and even occurred in the time span of about half century (1945 – 1992).⁶

While coping with grand historic turmoil, East Asian people had to form political parties rapidly to build modern nation-states and to industrialize their economies so that they could respond against external threats from the countries who were trying to extend their sphere of influence. In this situation, three giant conservative parties effectively stressed both the issues of defending their countries and industrializing the economy, which were the most common concerns of the people. Attending to these issues allowed the parties to be successful at keeping their governmental powers for a long period. These two grand issues closed out other social differences and narrowed down the small number of related issues in the party systems. However, as the Cold War ended and economy developed, overarching issue effects declined. Thereafter, social cleavages and different generations could emerge. These triggered the changes of the party politics in East Asia. At the same

⁶ The period of East Asian party system formations starts from the end of WWII to the first renewal of Taiwanese legislative election (1992) in which the two-party system was established. The first East Asian party, Jiyuto (Japanese Liberal Party) was founded in 1881 to establish the national assembly (Jansen 2000). However, the post-war period is appropriate to explain the relationship between social cleavages and party system formations in East Asia with respect to analyzing available documents and data. It can be presumed that East Asian party formations since the late 19th century were not much different from the pressures of two grand issues. They also faced the grand problems of modern nation building against external threats and industrialization at that time.

time, political parties have developed diversified issue ownerships based on various social differences in electoral competitions.

The theoretical foundation of this argument relies on the relationship between party systems and a set of sociopolitical bases (Beck 1974; Ladd 1970; Ladd and Hadley 1975; Lipset and Rokkan 1967; Nie, Verba and Petrocik 1976; Petrocik 1981; Petrocik 1996). Party systems could respond to sociopolitical settings which bring party coalitions and their political agendas. Thus, critical social change could require new party systems. However, social change is necessary but not a sufficient condition in explaining East Asian party systems. My argument consistently emphasizes that the political parties utilize the importance of their issues to make party coalitions. If the giant conservative parties did not stress the issues and achieve the goals, they could not keep their long-term governmental powers. Also, political parties have emphasized a variety of issue reputations since the late 1980s. The parties' successes rest not only on social conditions but also on the fact that they consistently encourage a positive reputation related to important issues and consistently form party coalitions. As a result, with respect to issue reputations, the conservative parties of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan effectively took advantage of economic development and national security issues to form majority coalitions.

In this research, party system change is defined as “realignment as change in party coalitions (Petrocik 1981, 1987, 2007).”⁷ New party system needs the measurable change

⁷ In fact, there are a variety of researches on realignment of political parties. Scholars define realignment differently and offer their own ways for the measurement. See the following studies on the different definitions and measurements (Beck 1974; Burnham 1970; Dalton, Flanagan and Beck 1984; Key 1955, 1959; Miller 1991; Petrocik 1981, 1987, 2006; Sundquist 1983).

of party bias within social groups. Therefore, the changes of party systems are not just related to the number of political parties but the change of party coalitions. In this theoretical background, I will explain why social divisions were suppressed and then later emerged in East Asia.

The next sections will specifically deal with the issue effects on the formations and changes of East Asian party systems during the post-WWII period. Furthermore, the sections will outline how the data from the three countries was collected, how the electoral issues were coded, and how the data was analyzed. Other methodological issues will be added in each analytical process in the following chapters.

2.2.1. Overarching Issue Effects and Party System Formations

Why did overarching issues affect party system formations in East Asia? How did the issues suppress social divisions and other issues? To answer these questions, we must understand the societal setting and party coalitions with respect to the issue effects in East Asian politics since the end of World War II. Catastrophic experiences of wars and poverty raised national security and economic development issues; the people were most concerned about resolving these problems. National security issues are also related to geopolitics in the region. The countries were located in the front line of the Cold War. There was serious military tension between former socialist and other capitalist blocs concerning ideologies, unresolved reunification problems, security treaties, and territorial disputes. As a result, overarching issues were traumatic forces necessary for the grand conservative parties

to mobilize a majority of people toward biased partisan alignment in party system formations. Even if there had been potential social conflicts between regions, ethnicities, ethnicities, classes, and religions, the differences were very weakened by the issues derived from wars and the severe economic condition because these social settings made more or less everyone equally concerned about the urgent problems from the end of WWII to the late 1980s.

The giant governmental parties, for example, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan, Democratic Republican Party (DRP) in South Korea, and Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) in Taiwan, effectively emphasized both issues based on real external threats and poverty. They strongly focused on the importance of the national cooperation across social groups to defend the countries and develop the economy. At the same time, they actually produced valence goods for a majority of people such as dramatic improvement of living conditions and strong national defense. Based on these situations, a majority of people's party orientations across social divisions were subjected to the intense pressure of the most important issues. Therefore, long-term conservative governmental parties consistently made majority coalitions because they were very successful in mobilizing people and achieving the goals during four decades. Consequently, East Asian conservative parties were supported by majority coalitions and gained issue reputations on both grand concerns of people.

Meanwhile, majority coalitions and governmental parties could limit the abilities and concerns of other social groups and oppositional parties. Even though oppositional coalitions and their parties raised other issues besides national security and economic growth, these were considered as obstacles. Oppositional groups that did not make the

two grand issues a priority were pushed into minority positions. Minority coalitions were the groups who raised complaints about governmental parties' functioning problems. Oppositional parties focused on corruption, incompetence, scandal, and reform issues in order to criticize long-term governmental parties and keep their own parties in opposition against the strong parties. These issues were the most important political resources for oppositional parties. But these resources were not enough to take over government power.

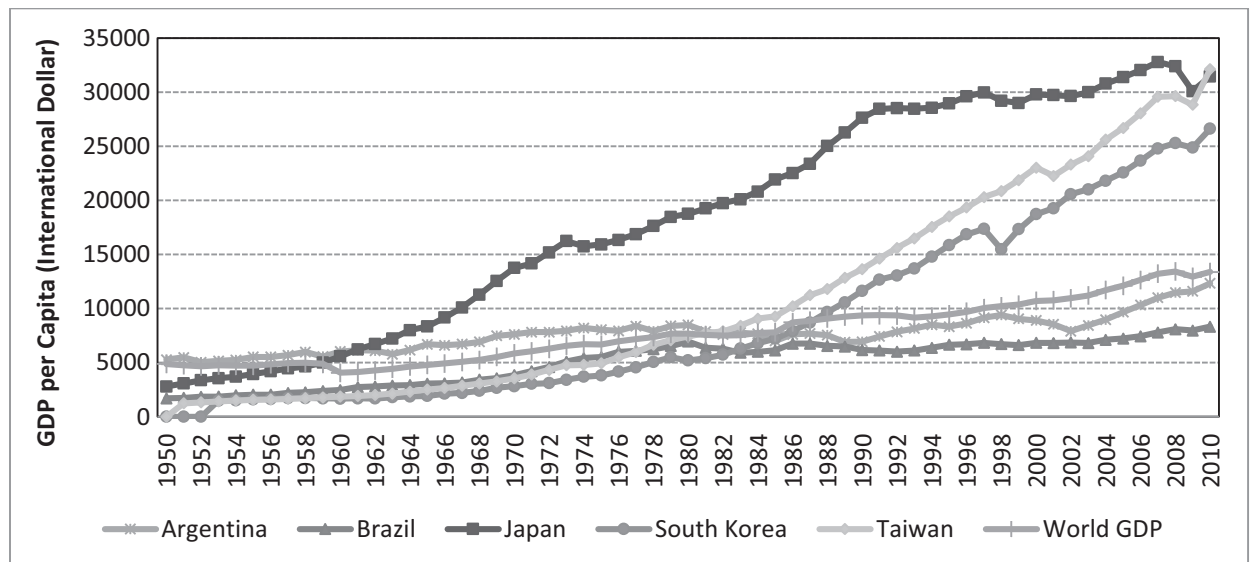
In fact, with respect to national security, Japan's Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and other center and left parties have raised "*Anpo* (National security)" and the Peace Constitution⁸ issues in every legislative election (Patterson 1994; Beason and Patterson 2012, chapter 8). LDP maintains the need for strengthening the military forces and the new constitution to prepare increasing external threats and territorial disputes between Russia (the former Soviet Union), Korea, and China. But, center and left parties blame LDP as the beginning of a militarism revival, as in WWII period, and they argue for the importance of peaceful relationships with neighboring countries. These endless debates, which were a product of the security issues, elicited party differences. In South Korea, issues of national security, reunification, and the relationship with North Korea, have played important roles in party support between conservative and liberal parties since the Korean War. Finally, both issues of the Taiwan Strait tension and independence have been great political

⁸ The Constitution of Japan was enacted under the Allied occupation after WWII. It is also known as the Peace Constitution because Japanese armed forces cannot wage war according to the article 9. The revision of the constitution is in the center of every Japanese election campaign between the left and the right parties.

resources in Taiwan's party politics since 1949 when President Chiang Kai-shek evacuated the government from the mainland to Taiwan.

On the other hand, economic development also overwhelmed other social conflicts. East Asian countries had suffered from severe economic conditions after WWII. As Table 1 shows, the economic growth of Japan and Taiwan was below most Latin American countries from 1950 to 1960. After the Korean War, the GDP per capita of South Korea was lower than Mozambique at that time (Trindade 2005, 22). Indeed, they were on the verge of starvation at that time. However, East Asian countries experienced unprecedented success in economic development in very short time. Annual GDP growth rate of these countries was about 9 percent from the 1970s to 1980s (World Bank 1992).

Figure 2 - 1. Economic Growth in East Asia and Latin America, 1950 - 2010



**Note:* The international dollar is a hypothetical currency to compare the same purchasing power of goods and services in all countries. This data uses the 2005 constant prices of the

United States as baseline. The equation of converting national currencies into international dollars is as follows: Amount in National Currency / Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) Exchange Rate = International Dollar Value. *Source:* Alan Heston, Robert Summers and Bettina Aten, Penn World Table Version 7.0, Center for International Comparisons of Production, Income and Prices at the University of Pennsylvania, June 2011.

The societies were dramatically changed from agrarian to advanced industrial societies in 30 years (1960s – 1980s). The Japanese economy was able to take off owing to the Korean War boom. And then, developmental state led economic growth (Johnson 1982). South Korea and Taiwan also developed economies by state-led industrialization and export-oriented strategy (Wade 1990; Haggard 1990; Kohli 2004). At that time, East Asian conservative governments continued to suggest national economic plans. In reality, citizens' real incomes and living conditions were sharply improved. The economic development issues such as economic plans, industrial policies, and infrastructure reconstruction projects took priority over other internal issues and divisions in the process of industrialization.

In the West, the conditions for the development of distinct working-class parties emerged well before World War I as the final stage on social cleavages (Lipset and Rokkan 1967). However, in East Asia, the common concerns across social groups of poverty and the need to industrialize contributed to sustaining long-term powers of East Asian conservative governmental parties and to marginalizing the social bases of working-class parties in industrialization era. In other words, conservative governmental parties were very successful in economic development and working for the increase of urban middle class, which most people supported.

Accordingly, the issue effects formed a single-party state in Taiwan and dominant party systems in Japan and South Korea during the war and industrialization period (1940s – 1980s). The systems were the combination of long-term conservative governmental parties and liberal or socialist oppositional parties. Conservative parties enjoyed the advantages of overarching issue effects. Meanwhile, oppositional parties could keep their social bases by virtue of corruption and reform issues against grand conservative parties.

2.2.2. Generational Effect, Social Division and Issue Ownership

A lack of controversy on the most desired goals reflects latently suppressed conflicts.⁹ The emergence of social divisions is associated with weakened effects of national security and economic development issues. As overarching issue influence was waning, other social differences sprang up in party competition. Why did the issue effects decline and social divisions emerge? First of all, the party systems were the receptacles of social changes. The thaw of the Cold War and successful economic development lead to the decline of the strong issue effects derived from wars and poverty. The most important goals of the people were fairly resolved by the giant governmental parties in the post-WWII era. In turn, the giant parties' successful achievement of the common concerns of the people gave the suppressed social differences in East Asian party politics an

⁹ Theoretically, overarching issue effects could be related to “non-decision making” in that a decision can suppress other choices (Bachrach and Baratz 1962; Bachrach and Baratz 1963).

opportunity to emerge. Also, political parties in the new party systems made their new party coalitions based on pluralized social groups. East Asia has dramatically changed from agrarian to industrialized societies over three decades. Even if the countries still have some problems with external relations, since the collapse of the socialist bloc the tension about external threats has also become relatively relaxed compared to the Cold War.

These rapid social changes evoked the other social differences which had been suppressed in the beginning stages of the party system formations. The divisions of social class, region, ethnicity, and even religion became the bases of East Asian political parties. In reality, the base of the Japanese party system has been diversified over time. There are divisions based on urban vs. rural splits (Reed et al. 2012), class (Miura 2011) and religion. After democratization Korean party politics is based on regional (Choi 2002; Park 2009) and religious divisions. Ethnic division (mainlanders vs. Taiwanese) and social class are crucial bases of Taiwanese political parties after finishing martial laws for 38 years (Huang 1996; Chu and Lin 1996; Yu 2005). Regional difference is also one of Taiwanese political parties' bases. Taiwanese southerners strongly support Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).

Second, the respondents of changing society were new cohorts. Young generation played a crucial role as the common cause of emerging social divisions in East Asia. Generation can change the social base of a party system or alter the party base because the new cohort who entered the electorate in fundamental social

changes makes an impact on political alignment.¹⁰ In fact, generational effect changed East Asian party systems. The old generation lived with the memory of the wars, national insecurity, poverty, rapid economic growth, and authoritarian society in their whole lives. However, as the traces of the wars slowly disappeared and the societies were sharply changed by economic development, the young generation has come to live in totally different environments compared to their parents' generation.

Relatively, the East Asian young generation has enjoyed material affluence and social freedom. But, they have experienced economic recess and have not enjoyed the job stability that came from the East Asian economic miracle from the previous decades. They also take a different approach on external relations. The young generation perceives that old-fashioned party politics is not related to their concerns. Their partisan orientations are more associated with their social groups and issues than the old generation. The war and industrialization generation was seriously influenced by two overriding issues, while the post-democratization and post-transitional period generations experienced different partisan socialization compared to the previous generation, due to drastic social changes. As a result, the new generation contributed to the change of the party systems. However, East Asian generational difference in party support is not unrelated to other social divisions because young voters could also cast their votes based on their social characteristics such as class, ethnicity and region. In other words, social cleavages could weaken independent generational effect.

¹⁰ The research on generation effect of American party system and voting behaviors demonstrates why young cohorts experience different partisan socialization and how they change the social base of the party system (Beck 1974; Nie, Verba and Petrocik 1976; Petrocik 1981; Petrocik 1987; Petrocik and Brown 1999).

In terms of generational effect, the theory of postmaterialism might be raised from political changes of East Asia. The scholars of postmaterialism consistently maintain that the young generation is free from materialist values such as “physical sustenance and safety” but emphasize the postmaterialist values of “belonging, self-expression and the quality of life” in their political orientations (Dalton 1984; Inglehart 1971, 1981, 1997, 2008). They also argue that this intergenerational shift from materialism to postmaterialism contributes to “New Politics” which supports “environmental, zero-growth and antinuclear movements.”

Besides the debate on post-materialism in advanced countries,¹¹ the theory is not closely associated with the changes of East Asian politics. Since the late 1980s, the East Asian young generation is still more concerned about Materialist rather than Post-materialist issues. The first reason could be related to the abrupt explosion of diversified issues which were suppressed for a long time. Materialist as well as Post-Materialist issues sprung up over a short time in East Asia. To some degree, the new cohorts are interested in the environment, quality of life and other postindustrialist issues, but they are still quite concerned about ethnic, economic inequality and other materialist issues which were overwhelmed during four decades.

Second, geopolitics is still important in East Asian politics. Even though the Cold War ended, external relations issues are still crucial in East Asian party politics. In the war and industrialization period, the conflict between different perspectives of external relations in East Asia was not very serious in party competition. However,

¹¹ For the critics, see Brooks and Manza (1994) and Clark and Lipset (2001).

they have been much more important than before in electorate's party support since the late 1980s. The young also have an interest in competitive approaches on external relations issues.¹² Therefore, "New Politics" is not highly significant, even though the generational effect is important in East Asia.

Meanwhile, as overarching issue effects were weakened, diversified issues increased in electoral campaigns. Since the late 1980s and the early 1990s, East Asian political parties have owned more diversified issues. Diversified issues emerged from their multiple groups in a society. However, old party systems had difficulties in dealing with the diversified issues with which electorates are concerned. Overarching issues were mainly performance issues (external relations and economic issues) which giant parties owned in the past. However, as East Asian societies have become more pluralized, social groups are more concerned about new issues, and political parties significantly emphasize their diversified issue reputations to win elections. The issues are more specified agendas to mobilize their various social groups in electoral competition.

Consequently, social changes and generational replacement between the late 1980s and the early 1990s are the social conditions that allowed social differences and issue ownership to emerge in East Asian party politics. In the new societies, political parties effectively emphasize a variety of issues in which each party gains the reputations in electoral campaigns. New party systems represent new party coalitions mobilized by

¹² Compared to Korea and Taiwan, Japanese party competition was more associated with different agendas of foreign affairs in the war and industrialization period. However, the issues of national security and international peace in Japan are still the agendas of important electoral debates between the left and the right parties in the post-Cold War era.

political parties and diversified issue ownership by the decline of overarching issue effects.

2.3. Research Design

To examine the arguments, I will employ both content analysis and categorical data analysis. For the former, presidential candidates' speeches and the associated electoral campaign records will be analyzed to determine the issues highlighted in each election and also to examine how overarching issues of national security and economic development suppressed other social divisions and issues in the party system formations. At the same time, these will provide evidence that the issue emphases had the effect of limiting opportunities for social differences to become politicized. The records are also analyzed to clarify the changes of overarching issue effects since WWII. In other words, the analysis will show that the decline of the issue effects is directly associated with the emergence of social differences.

The latter method of categorical data analysis is used to survey data in order to show the changes of party coalitions and issue emphases. The survey data are useful to examine how the overwhelming issues affect the voting behaviors of social groups over time. As a result, these methods will contribute to supporting the argument that both shared goals have significantly influenced the origins and changes of the party systems.

2.3.1. Case Selection, Time Period, and Generation Classification

The cases are three East Asian democratic countries. Most of all, these countries share historical experiences of party system formations and changes. The systems have lasted about six decades since WWII and passed two decades after the end of long-term Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government in Japan (1955 – 1993) and democratization in South Korea (1987) and Taiwan (1996). Even though there are some differences in that Japan has been a democratic country since the end of WWII, but South Korea and Taiwan first experienced dictatorship and then democratized, these countries similarly share the change from single-party state or dominant party system to two or multi-party systems, not to mention they both share the change of party coalitions. They also have common cultural background in that they all were colonies of Japan and share the experience both of incessant wars and also industrialization in modern history. However, China and North Korea are not included in this study because they are still single party states since WWII. They have not shown significant change of party systems. In terms of the geographic scope of this research, other democratic countries in East Asia such as Philippines and Mongolia or South East Asian countries might be included in the same category. But these countries have clearly different ethnic and religious heterogeneities (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013)¹³ and different historical experiences in

¹³ *The World Factbook* 2013-14. Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2013. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html> (Date of Access: 2014, December 1)

modernization and industrialization. The party systems and electoral behaviors of these countries could be examined in another study.

The time period for studying East Asian party systems is the post-World War II period. This historical time span created the opportunities to form and change the systems. Therefore, the period allows us to examine why people were conditioned to behave homogeneously, how the national drives to protect from external threats and encourage industrialization suppressed the representation of social divisions, and why suppressed social differences finally emerged. It is a good time period to study because it is fairly easy to collect and analyze the related materials.¹⁴

The next step of the analyses on the party systems and the voter alignments is to classify historical periods because overarching issue effects were differentiated over time and each generation experienced different political socialization. East Asian political history could be divided into war and industrialization (1945 – 1986), democratization in Korea and Taiwan or governmental power turnover in Japan (1987 – 1995) and post-democratization or post-transitional periods (1996 – present). Even though presidential elections during the dictatorship period in Taiwan (1945 – 1995) and South Korea (1972 – 1986) were virtually for years and days to the only candidate, the issue emphases are also important to find what issues were accentuated to justify the authoritarian party governments and how the party systems were stabilized by mobilizing the governmental parties' supporters.

¹⁴ The time period before World War II might also be considered in examining the party systems of these countries. An alternative starting point could be the Opium War (1839), but in researching this period, China and North Korea's political history would need to be included.

In the meantime, I will divide East Asian generations into three different generations based on their political socialization: the War and Industrialization (W & I), the Transitional, and the Post-Transitional generations. As mentioned in East Asian historical periods, the generations have had very different experiences as cohorts in their socioeconomic and political environment. Therefore, each generation's political socialization was differentiated. In addition, they could have different issue concerns and show different voting choices.

2.3.2. Data and Method

The first data are a set of issue contents to examine each party or candidate's issue emphases in electoral periods. Electoral issues should be classified in order to examine the extent to which overarching issues suppressed other issues and coalitions. Basically, I coded the issues following the categories of Manifesto Project Database (MPD) in the election periods. Then, the issue categories include overarching (national security and economic development issues), corruption and reform, and other issues.

The data of the Japanese party system are party platforms of each party in lower house elections in the post-war period. The documents are compiled from MPD for Japanese party system (1960 - 2005).¹⁵ However, Japanese data from 1945 to 1959 and from 2006 to 2014 does not exist in the MPD. To add the data, the document coded is the

¹⁵ Volkens, Andrea et al. 2013. The Manifesto Data Collection. Manifesto Project (MRG/CMP/MARPOR). Version 2013b. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). MPD covers Korean legislative elections, 1992 – 2008 and does not Taiwanese cases.

collection of *koyaku* (electoral pledge) in *Asahi Shimbun* (Asahi Newspaper)'s articles. It is the raw data which compiled the parties' electoral platforms during the period (Murakawa, 1998; Proksch et al. 2011).

As for analyzing Korean parties' issue emphases, the data are drawn from 2, 116 news reports about electoral issues and promises of presidential elections in the *Donga Ilbo* (*Donga Daily*) from 1952 to 1987.¹⁶ The other issue contents are televised presidential candidate speeches in the 1992 election and televised presidential debates from the 1997 to 2012 elections.¹⁷ As for Taiwan, the data of issue impact analysis come from 25 candidates' acceptance speeches in presidential elections collected from the official documents of Kuomintang (KMT)'s history committee (1991) and the Secretariat for National Affairs Conference (1991) during the dictatorship period (1949 – 1991). The other data of the issue contents for Taiwan are the video files of televised presidential debates in YouTube (2004 – 2012).¹⁸

The election surveys of each country are used in analyzing issue effects, party coalitions and voting behaviors. To investigate the changes of party coalitions, first,

¹⁶ Korean electoral issues are coded based on Donga Daily's articles in the news archive in Naver.com (1948 – 1987).

¹⁷The video files of televised presidential candidate speeches in the 1992 election and televised presidential debates in the 1997, 2002, and 2012 elections were obtained from the Korean National Election Broadcasting Debate Commission (date of access: 2014, December 10, retrieved from <http://elecinfo.nec.go.kr/>). The video files of the 2007 televised presidential candidate debates were acquired from the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) (date of access: 2014, December 15, retrieved from http://2007.kbs.co.kr/17th/tv_list_2nd.html).

¹⁸ The search terms for the video files are 2004 總統大選電視辯論 (the 2004 televised presidential debate), 公共電視 PTS 2008 總統大選電視辯論 (the 2008 televised presidential debate), 12/3 總統第一場辯論實況 (the first televised presidential debate in 2012), and 12/17 總統第二場辯論實況 (the second televised presidential debate in 2012).

social groups should be classified based on socioeconomic status, ethnicities, regions, and religions. The Japanese lower legislative election surveys were collected from 1967 to 2012.¹⁹ However, the survey data of South Korea and Taiwan has only existed since democratization. The surveys of the Korean presidential elections are from 1992 to 2012²⁰ and Taiwanese presidential elections from 1996 to 2012.²¹ These will also contribute to providing us with the evidence of overarching issue effects, emergence of social divisions and issue ownership.

Content analysis is based on presidential candidates' speeches, televised debates, and debates, and news reports of electoral campaigns or party platforms in electoral periods since 1945. It will measure the degree to which each issue was highlighted in the party records. Issue categories are needed for content analysis. At first, the issue categories will follow MPD's categories to compare the issue emphases of political parties but also should be modified to reflect the problems considered by respondents in the election surveys and characteristics of each country's party politics. The criteria of news reports about candidate-generated issues also follow Petrocik's rules (1996, 2007). News reports are those that document speeches and position papers that mention problems, issues or

¹⁹ Japanese National Election Study (JNES), 1967 and the surveys of the Society for the Promotion of Clean Elections (*Akarui Senkyo Suishin Kyōkai*, ASSK), 1971 – 2012. ASSK data from the 1972 to the 2005 lower house elections were obtained from the *Leviathan Data Set*. The 2009 and 2012 ASSK data was acquired from the Social Science Japan Data Archive (SSJDA) at the University of Tokyo.

²⁰ The Korean Social Science Data Center (KSDC), Korean Presidential Election Surveys, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company. South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. Korean Elections Panel Studies (KEPS), the 2012 Presidential Survey Data.

²¹ The data are compiled from Taiwan Presidential Election Surveys, 1996 – 2008 in the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) and the Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2012 (TEDS 2012).

policies. These speeches and papers are from the candidates themselves or their surrogates (Petrocik 1996, 2007; Petrocik, Benoit, and Hansen 2004).

On the other hand, categorical data analysis also will show overarching issue effects on the changes of party coalitions and voting behaviors. The analysis will use survey data of Japanese lower house elections, Korean and Taiwanese presidential elections. I will employ logistic regression models depending on the features of variables on voting choice in each country. These will offer the evidence of the strength of the overarching issues and how the impacts are changing with respect to voting behaviors and the social bases of the party systems over time.

2.4. Conclusion

In a conclusion, East Asian party systems will be explained systematically by issue effects and social cleavage theories. As Table 2 – 1 indicates, East Asian long-term governmental parties effectively mobilized a majority of social groups based on the general concerns of economic development and national security during the war and industrialization period. East Asian party politics seemed to be homogeneous during the war and industrialization period due not to the unique culture but to the overarching issue effects which suppressed social conflicts in the period of rapid social changes. However, the recent party systems have represented new party coalitions and more diverse issues than the previous systems as the importance of the general concerns have declined over time. This research will be also the evidence of

issue ownership in this region even though many scholars argue that the issue ownership in East Asia cannot be found.

The next chapters will show how two strong issues affected the three countries' party system formations and changes. Chapter 3 will demonstrate how East Asian political parties effectively emphasized narrow issue areas during more than four decades. Chapter 4 will deal with the period of party system changes when generations were replaced and social cleavages emerged. In chapter 5, issue ownership of East Asian political parties will be examined in recent electoral competitions. Finally, I will summarize the analytical results and mention the theoretical contributions of this research.

Table 2 - 1. Social Conditions, Overarching Issues, and Change of East

Asian Party Politics

Time Period	The War and Industrialization Period (1945 – 1986) 1 st Party System	Transitional Period (1987 – 1995)	The Post-Transitional Period (Since 1996) 2 nd Party System
Social Condition	World War II, Korean War, Cold War & Severe Economic Condition	End of the Cold War, Successful Economic Development & Democratization	The Post- Cold War & Economic Downturn
Issue Effect	Overarching Issues (Economic Growth & National Defense)	Declining Overarching Issues	Emerging Diverse Issues
Party Coalition	Long-Term Governmental Parties' Coalitions across Classes, Regions, and Ethnicity	Generational Difference, Change of Party Coalitions (Divisions of Class, Region, and Ethnicity)	New Party Coalitions

Chapter 3. Overarching Issues and Party System Formations in East Asia

What issues did East Asian political parties emphasize in building new modern countries since the end of World War II (WWII)? How were inchoate party systems stabilized over the four decades? This chapter will demonstrate how East Asian governmental parties, responding to societal upheaval during the war and industrialization era, successfully mobilized a majority of people. The main argument is that the issues of external threats and economic development suppressed the social differences and diversified issue ownership during the war and industrialization period in East Asia. These overarching issues were the most important concerns of East Asian people, and giant conservative parties successfully achieved the reputations for handling these serious concerns. As a result, long-term governmental parties consistently made majority coalitions due to overarching issue effects.

These grand issue effects can be confirmed in East Asian countries: Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan even if the emphases of both issues were different among three countries. To examine the overarching issue effects, I will analyze electoral issues and voting behaviors during the war and industrialization period. Presuming that the literature finds the significant relationship between issue emphases of political parties and party support (Budge and Farlie 1983; Petrocik 1996; Petrocik et al. 2004; Hayes 2005; Green and Jennings 2012), content analysis plays an important role in confirming what electoral

issues contributed to building East Asian party systems since the end of WWII. Survey data only exists in Japanese election cases since the 1967 election. There were no systematic surveys in Korea and Taiwan during the war and industrialization period. However, data on election results, party support, and party members in Korea and Taiwan identify how overarching issues affected party support and social divisions.

First, I will compare the extent to which East Asian political parties emphasized the issues of national security and economic development to that of political parties in the Western world. Then, I will explain why these issues in East Asian countries were more important than they were in other countries during the same period. The final section will briefly summarize my argument and mention the implication on East Asian party politics.

3.1. Overarching Issue Emphases in the War and Industrialization Period

The overarching issues of economic development and international conflicts seriously affected East Asian party politics after WWII. The grand issue effects explain how the party systems were formed and stabilized during the war and industrialization period regardless of democratic or non-democratic regimes. The giant governmental parties such as Liberal Democratic Party (LDP, 1955 - 1992) in Japan, Liberal Party (LP, 1951 – 1960), Democratic Republican Party (DRP, 1963 –

1980) and Democratic Justice Party (DJP, 1980 – 1986) in Korea, and National People's Party (Kuomintang, KMT, 1948 - 1995) in Taiwan effectively gained the support of a majority of people across social groups by the reputation of how they handled the issues of the common concerns of economy and national security.

On the other hand, oppositional parties survived in the drastic societal changes mainly emphasizing governing functioning problems against the giant parties. They focused on corruption, peace, and democracy issues to criticize long-term governmental parties. These were the crucial issues of oppositional parties to make minority coalitions during the war and industrialization period.

First of all, Figure 3 - 1 shows that East Asian political parties focused more on both valence issues than Western political parties until the 1980s. The issue emphases of economic development and international conflicts are clearly different among British, German, and three East Asian countries' parties from 1945 to 1990. British and German political parties are useful as comparable cases in terms of examining the high extent to which East Asian political parties were concerned about two grand agendas rather than other issues at that time. For those two western countries were also the countries directly involved in WWII and had the problems of economic recovery and international conflicts in the post-war era.

The bars in Figure 3 - 1 represent the mean proportions of main political parties' electoral issues in each country from 1945 to 1990.²² With respect to electoral issues, it is

²² The main parties of Great Britain were the Conservative Party and Labor Party. But, in Germany, there were the Social Democratic Party (SPD), Free Democratic Party (FDP), and Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU). The Green Party or 90/Green Alliance has been regarded as one of main parties since 1983 in Germany; In Japan, LDP, CGP (Clean Government Party, CGP or

interesting that British political parties raised both issues at the lowest level (25.14%) among the five countries.²³ In this period, German parties also dealt with the two a level of 29.36%, which is the second lowest level. Meanwhile, Japanese parties emphasized the overarching issues about 10% more than German parties. Korean issues of economic development and national security are at a level of 42.07 %. Taiwanese KMT even stressed the issues in more than 50% of all their issue concerns.

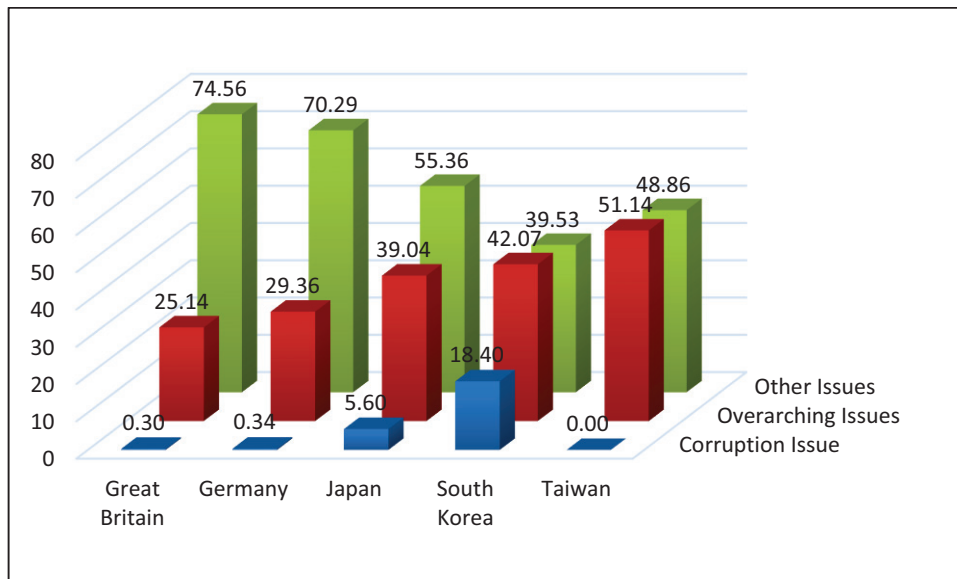
As for the issue of corruption, Korean parties highlighted it more than any other country's parties (18.40 %) during the same period. Japanese parties were also more seriously concerned about the issue than Western parties (5.60%). Given that corruption is one of 56 issues in the category of MPD and two western countries' parties just focused on it less than 0.5%, the percentages of Japanese and Korean parties' corruption issue are at a striking proportion among total electoral issues. However, KMT's presidential candidates in Taiwan did not mention corruption

Komeito), JSP, JCP, and DSP have been considered as the main parties. But the Japanese Cooperative (1946 – 1947), Liberal Party (1946 – 1955), Democratic Party (1946 – 1955), Reform Party (1952 – Separatists of Liberal Party (1953), Left-Wing of JSP (1952 – 1955), Right-Wing of JSP (1952 – and New Liberal Party (1976) are also included in the main parties. Korean parties are Liberal Party – 1960), Democratic Republican Party (DRP, 1963 – 1980), Democratic Justice Party (DJP, 1980 – Democratic National Party (1952), Democratic Party (1956- 1960), Civil Rule Party (1963), New Democratic Party (1963 – 1971), and Democratic Korea Party (1981). In addition, Korean presidential candidates' electoral issues (1952, 1956, 1979, and 1980) were also included in the because the candidates gained the second largest votes or won elections. The Taiwanese party in the was the National People's Party (Kuomintang, KMT) which was the only one legally permitted.

²³ In the analysis, economic development issues are related to industrial policy, financial subsidies for enterprises, economic planning, collaboration of employers and trade unions, infrastructure, and economic goals. In the MPD category, economic development issues are incentives (per 402), market regulation (per403), economic planning (per 404), corporatism (per 405), economic goals (per 408), technology and infrastructure (per 411), and controlled economy (per 412). External relations issues indicate the agendas on special foreign relationships with countries, military, peace, and internationalism. External relations issues of MPD mean positive and negative foreign special relationship (per 101; per 102), positive and negative military (per 104; per 105), peace (per 106), and positive internationalism (per 107).

during the period in which KMT remained in power. Even if corruption was one of the issues at that time, it was hard for KMT itself to mention the byproduct of its long-term governmental power as a serious problem. Furthermore, since it was a dictatorship, there were no oppositional parties to raise the corruption issue.

Figure 3 - 1. Overarching, Corruption, and Other Issues by Countries, 1945 – 1992



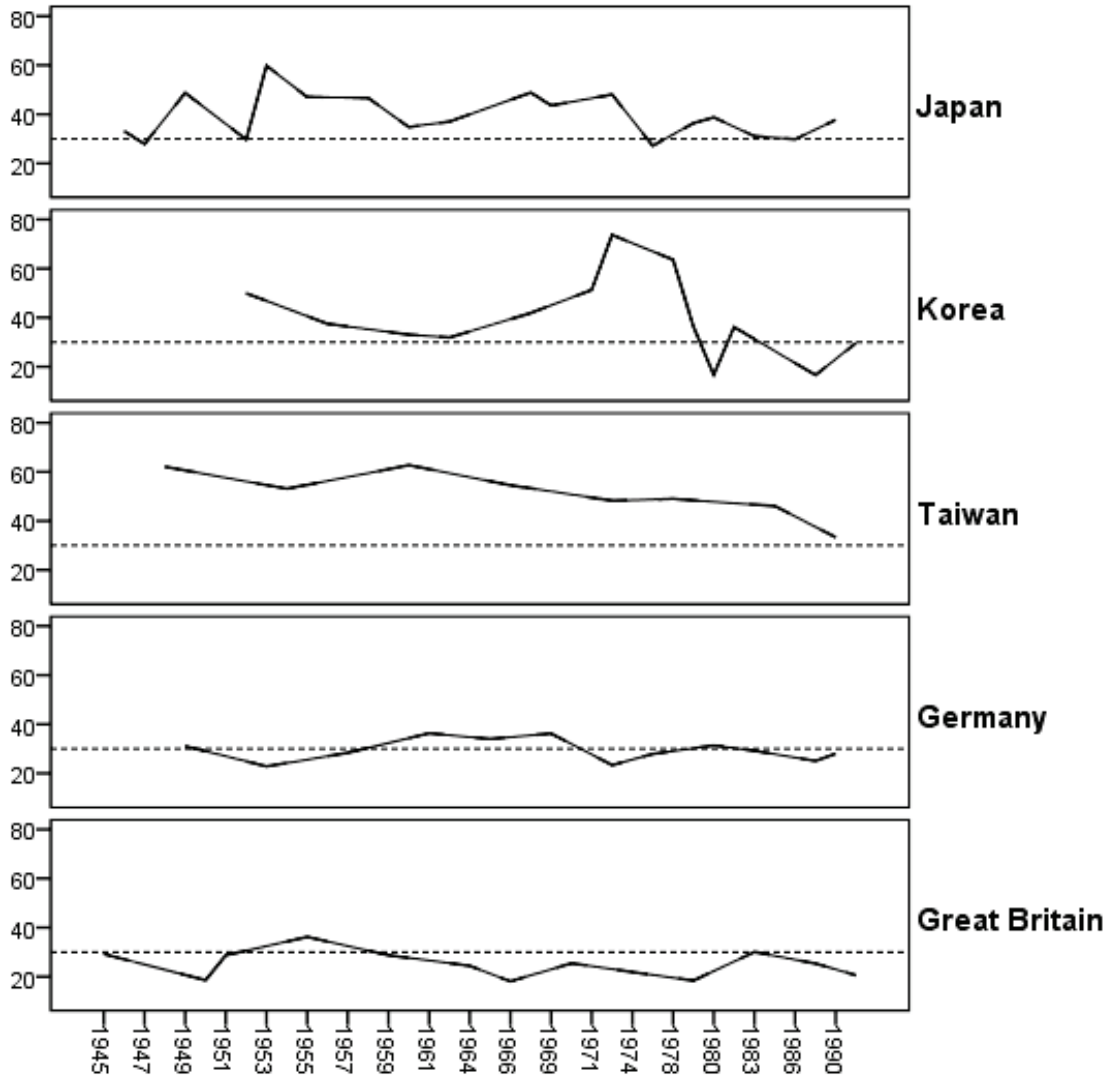
* *Source:* Data for Germany (1949 – 1990) and Great Britain (1945 – 1992) from MPD, Japan from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990), Korea from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1987), and Taiwan from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990).

Meanwhile, Figure 3 - 2 presents the trend lines of overarching issues during five decades. It shows that the two grand issues continued to be emphasized more in East Asia than in Western countries over the period. At the same time, the issue emphases declined over time as economic growth was achieved and the Cold War began thawing in the

region. Figure 3 - 3 represents the great significance of the corruption issue in East Asian politics. The issue proportion in Korea peaked when the Liberal Party's government collapsed due to the April Revolution in 1960 and the proportion declined thereafter. On the other hand, in Japan, since the 1950s when LDP came into existence by merging the Liberal Party and Democratic Party, the corruption issue continuously increased until LDP government ended in 1993.

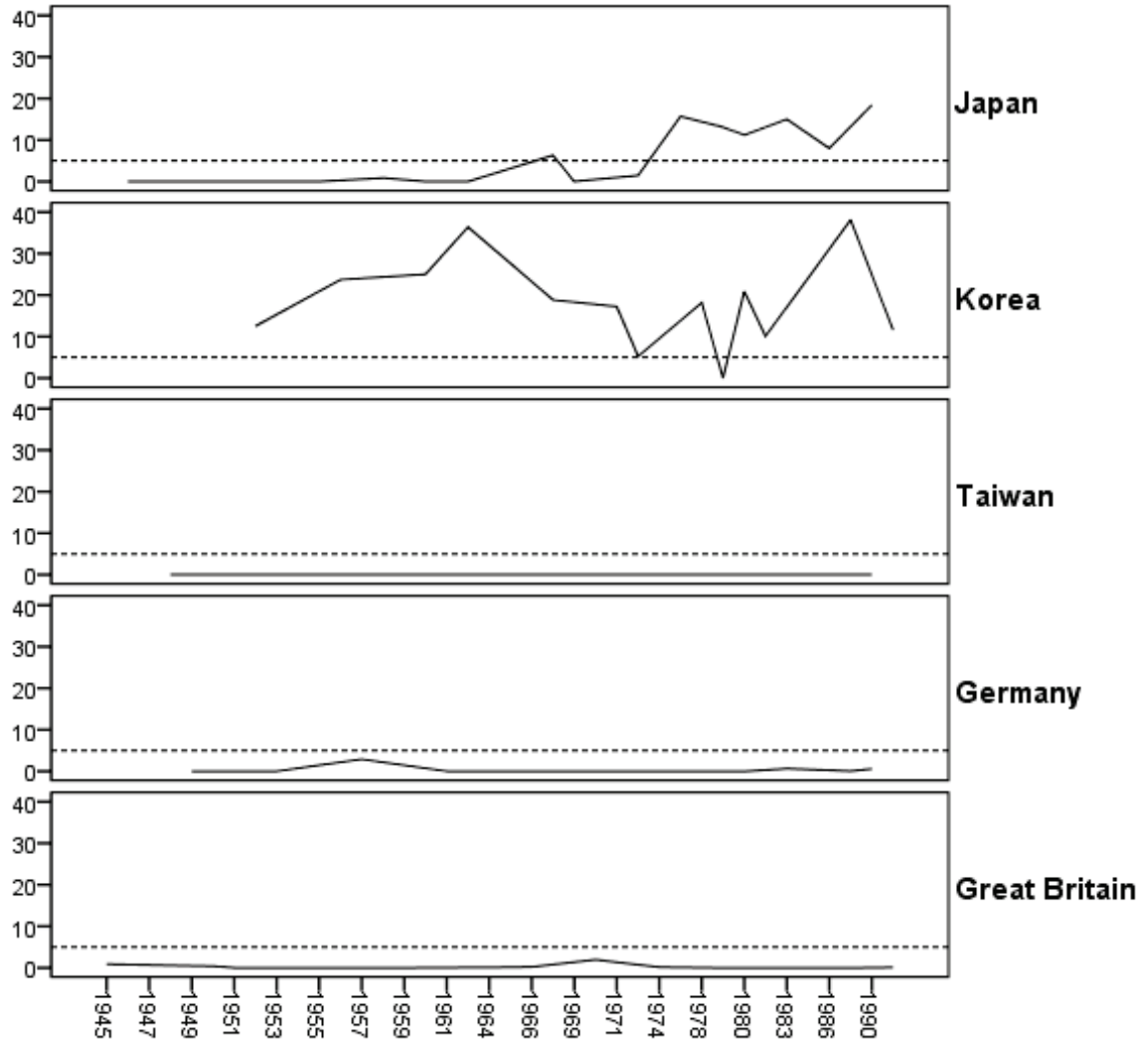
In detail, Figure 3 - 4 compares what agenda between economic development and national security each party stressed more than the other. Compared to other countries' parties Japanese parties were relatively more concerned about developmental issues regardless of their ideological spectrum. Taiwanese KMT had overridingly maintained the importance of national security issues under the martial law during 38 years since the defeat by Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the Civil War. Korean parties focused on the two issues in a balanced way compared to Japanese and Taiwanese parties. Finally, as Figure 3 - 2 already indicated, the overarching issue emphases of East Asian political parties in Figure 3 - 4 were close to Western parties over time after industrialization success and the end of the Cold War.

Figure 3 - 2. Change of Overarching Issues by Countries, 1945 - 1992



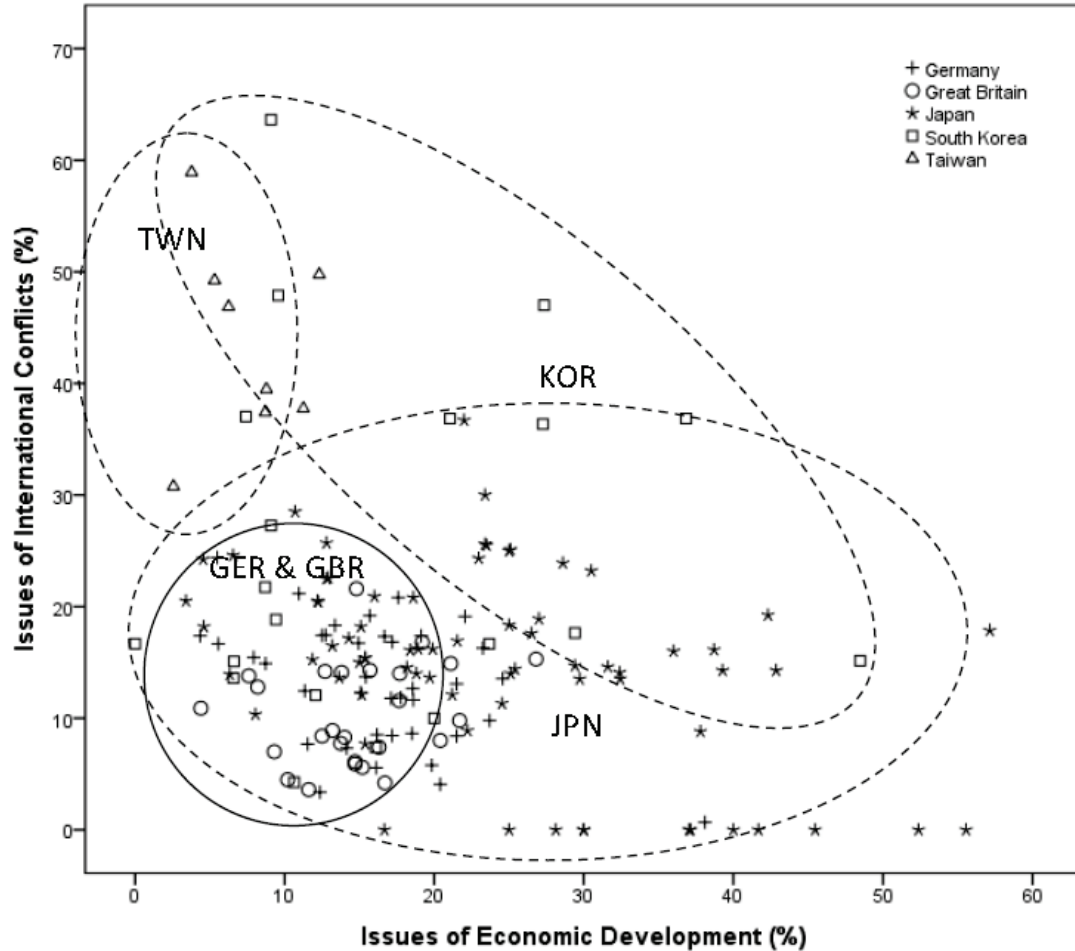
* Note: The x axis indicates the election year and the y axis the mean percentage of issue emphasis on economic development and national security in each country. Source: Data for Germany (1949 – 1990) and Great Britain (1945 – 1992) from MPD, Japan from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990), Korea from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1987), and Taiwan from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990).

Figure 3 - 3. Corruption Issue Emphasis, 1945 - 1992



* Note: The x axis indicates the election year and the y axis the mean percentage of issue emphasis on corruption in each country. Source: Data for Germany (1949 – 1990) and Great Britain (1945 – 1992) from MPD, Japan from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990), Korea from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1987), and Taiwan from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990).

Figure 3 - 4. Issue Emphases of National Security and Economic Development by Political Parties, 1946 - 1990



* Source: Data for Germany (1949 – 1990) and Great Britain (1945 – 1992) from MPD, Japan from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990), Korea from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1987), and Taiwan from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990).

Why did East Asian political parties emphasize the issues of economic development and international conflicts more than other issues since the end of WWII? Both Great Britain and Germany also seriously faced the problems of economy and foreign relations

at that period and yet the two performance issues were not highly represented after the war. This is due to the fact that before the war, they both had relatively well-established parties such that in the post-war era, they simply resumed a focus on their issue divisions and social differences since the late 19th and the early 20th century when the conflicts were frozen.²⁴ But, East Asian parties were relatively free from divided and weakly aligned social groups. Therefore, they were only concerned with the question of how to mobilize a majority of social groups in the beginning stage of the party formation after the end of the great devastation. In this situation of East Asia, economic development and external relations were the initial and fundamental concerns of the general population throughout the countries, and there were no prior issues linked to the parties that had to be overcome. Thus, these rudimentary agendas were surely effective to gain a majority of East Asians' support.

However, as the urgent problems were solved, the proportion of grand issues gradually declined, and other issues increased to total agendas. In fact, the characteristics of these issues were the essential agendas which had originated from national and industrial revolutions and were the sources of forming Western political party systems (Lipset and Rokkan 1967; Ladd 1970; Petrocik 1981; Sundquist 1983). In the initial stage of party politics, political parties should highlight the general population's most urgent problems in order to gain a majority of support. East Asian political parties overwhelmingly stressed both valence issues and successfully

²⁴ Lipset and Rokkan (1967) claim that the freezing of social cleavages in Western party politics ended in the early 20th century.

handled the grand issues to gain the general population's support over the five decades, even though the three East Asian countries' political parties focused on the issues at different levels.

The next sections will specifically deal with the parties' issues in each country and will explain why the issue emphases were different among the three countries. The following sections will also show how the issue reputations contributed to keeping long-term governmental parties.

3.2. Japanese Party System Formation and Overarching Issues

3.2.1. Different Party Issue Formations

LDP emphasized the issues of economic development and national security during the war and industrialization period. In terms of economic development, LDP government was the symbol of developmental state theory because the government effectively industrialized the economy (Haggard 1990; Johnson 1982; Kohli 2004; Wade 1990; Woo-Cummings 1999). The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) made economic plans and industrial policies as the center of industrialization during the long-term LDP government period. Developmental state meant that LDP government intervened into the private sector of economy. Economic bureaucrats led the industrialization drive and strictly instructed the business goals of Japanese conglomerates (Zaibatsu, Keiretsu). This model was very successful to develop the

Japanese economy. However, at first, the parties were mainly concerned about economic recovery and severe food problem after WWII. Then, LDP government suggested national economic projects such as income doubling (1960) and national reconstruction (1972) plans. As a result, LDP government succeeded in encouraging economic growth and in improving peoples' living conditions. In doing so, the giant party maintained governmental power, gaining the support of a majority of social groups for the whole war and industrialization period.

On the other hand, Japan, as a country defeated in WWII, was occupied and governed by Douglas McArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP/GHQ) from 1945 – 1951; thus the political parties did not raise the issue of foreign relations until the 1952 election. Although Japan has not experienced wars or severe conflicts against other countries since WWII, in the post-war era Japanese parties began to underscore the issues of external relations, and this has influenced election results since the 1950s. The Korean War (1950 – 1953) gave the parties the opportunity to bring up the issues of external relations by raising the question of how the Japanese government should deal with the war situation of the neighboring country. Following the introduction of the issues of the external relations, later the parties maintained different positions throughout the Cold War. As to what kind of relationship Japan should have with two Chinas, two Koreas, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

In fact, the issues of external relations are more complicated than other agendas in terms of the party reputation in Japan. These were mainly based on the feature of Japanese Constitution (“Peace Constitution”) and geopolitics. The Constitution was

drafted from McArthur's notes including three provisions: the emperor's symbolic role, the renunciation of war, and the abolition of the feudal system.²⁵ According to the Constitution, Japan does not have the right to war. The peace constitution has been in the center of national security and peace issues in every election. Right parties have claimed the revisions of the Constitution and the United States-Japan Security Treaty to regain independent national defense capability. Meanwhile, center-left parties have opposed the trials for revisions. They have exclaimed that this was the beginning of LDP government's militarism which reminded people of their miserable war experience.

Geopolitics is also an important component of foreign relations in Japan as in other East Asian countries. Even though Japan is not located on the front lines against former socialist countries, the relations with two Chinas, two Koreas, the Soviet Union, and the United States were very important issues in most of the elections. For example, the emphases of peace and national security issues were accelerated by the Korean War (1950 – 1953), the 1960 *Anpo* (National Security) opposition movement²⁶, and the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between China and Japan (February, 5, 1973). Since the early 1970s, center-left parties have put less emphasis on the peace issue, as traumatic forces of the war disappeared and the international environment changed, while right parties have consistently emphasized the national security issue.

²⁵ See the original text at <http://www.ndl.jp/constitution/e/shiryu/03/072/072tx.html>.

²⁶ The social movement against renewal of the United States-Japan Security Treaty (March 28th, 1960 – June 19th, 1960) was the biggest protest during the post-war era. Still haunted by the fear of war, protesters sought to refute the trial of LDP government's rearmament. Left parties represented this movement to oppose LDP (Ishikawa 2006, 118 – 126).

On the other hand, left parties in advanced countries focus on the issues of welfare and social groups (Budge and Farlie 1983; Petrocik 1996; Petrocik et al. 2004). However, Japanese left parties made more differences on the issues of peace and corruption than other left issues. Because economic and national security issues were predominant and suppressed other issues, oppositional parties had difficulties in raising left issues against the successful governmental party. A platform of encouraging economic growth to solve starvation and devastation problems was more powerful than pushing welfare and social group issues. Successful industrialization really improved people's living condition without any special social welfare policies at that time. Thus, the traditional issues of left parties were not effective in mobilizing voters. Instead, left oppositional parties mainly emphasized two issues: peace issues, which were derived from the fear of war, and the long-term government problem of corruption. These issues were more effective than other left issues in the middle of the pressure of overarching issues. In fact, several scandals involving LDP tycoons, such as "Black Mist Incidents (1966)", "Lockheed Bribery Case (1976)", "Recruit Stock-for-Favors Scandal (1988)", and "Sagawa Kyubin Scandal (1992)," seriously affected election results (Johnson 1982; Hideo 1996).

Even if the parties commonly recognized both issues as great concerns, why was LDP more successful in making these issues their own, compared to oppositional parties? First, Japanese conservatives who were directly or indirectly responsible for the defeat of the war had difficulties in retaking governmental power after the end of WWII. Japanese socialist party, which was free from war guilt, was the largest party in the House of Representatives in the 1947 election. Therefore, they had to focus

acutely on the general population's concerns in order to gain the majority of voter support. Japanese conservative parties emphasized economic development more heavily than national security issues (Figure 3 - 4) because they still bore some of the responsibility for the war. It was hard for the conservatives to have the reputation of national security after the WWII. Rather, the war tragedy made left parties successful in owning the peace issue. However, Japanese conservative parties gradually emphasized the national security issue along with the Korean War and the Cold War. Thus, Japanese conservatives stressed economic development more at first and gained the reputation of national security thereafter.

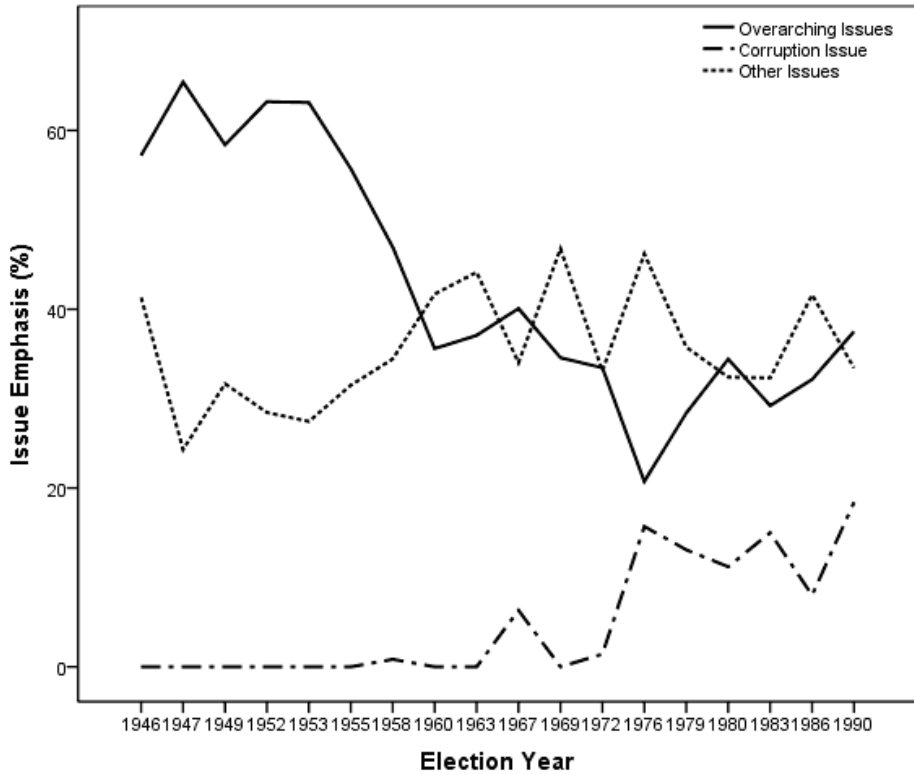
Meanwhile, the literature claims that the Japanese party system was settled in 1955. Namely, the "55 system" means that LDP gained dominance by merging the Liberal Party and Democratic Party into one conservative party. The Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) also integrated the Left-Wing Socialist Party and Right-Wing Socialist Party at that time (Pempel 1998, Ch. 1 - 3; Scheiner 2006; Krauss and Pekkanen 2010; Kabashima and Steel 2010, 1 - 27). In short, the scholars maintain that the '55 system replaced a fragmented multiparty system with a one-dominant party system. However, in contrast with the previous argument, I argue that in terms of the electoral issues and their social base, Japanese party politics were formed and settled before 1955. Electoral agendas of political parties are not just political rhetoric but the expression of important problems and interests of their social groups (Budge and Farlie 1983; Hayes 2005; Petrocik 1996; Petrocik et al. 2004). Therefore, their electoral agendas which represented their social groups' serious concerns were already set right after the end of WWII. The '55 system was just the organizational integrations of split right and left parties.

Finally, the overarching issues of security and economic development overshadowed other issues and social differences among Japanese political parties. The concerns of economy and foreign relations were the most important issues and served to suppress other diverse issues. Political parties were commonly obsessed by these two agenda areas because the general population was preoccupied with these urgent concerns during the war and industrialization era. The critical point in the party competition was the question of which party could solve the problems better than the other parties. In this situation, LDP gained the reputations of both grand issues which led to success in the elections during the war and industrialization period.

3.2.2. Political Parties' Issue Emphases and Voters' Concerns in Elections

Overarching issues were predominant issues in Japanese party competition during the war and industrialization period. As Figure 3 - 5 shows, Japanese political parties mainly emphasized the issues of economic development and international conflicts until the 1990 election. The corruption issue was also important in the party competition since 1967. Japanese political parties were mainly concerned about these valence issues and did not stress other issues over the five decades.

Figure 3 - 5. Electoral Issues of Japanese Political Parties, 1946 – 1990

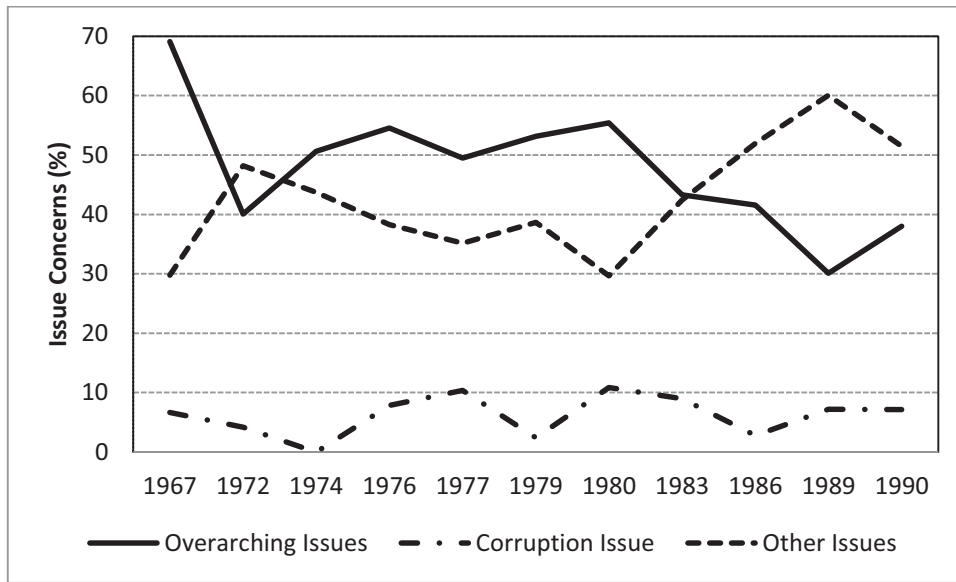


*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

Furthermore, the pattern of issue emphases on external relations and economy can be also confirmed in the surveys from 1967 to 1990. The sources are Japanese National Election Survey (1967) and the surveys of the Society for the Promotion of Clean Elections (*Akarui Senkyo Suishin Kyōkai*, ASSK) which were collected between the 1972 and 1990 elections. Even though survey data existed only after the 1967 election, the pattern of voters' issue concerns (Figure 3 - 6) is similar to the degrees of the parties' issue emphases in the content analysis (Figure 3 - 5). This indicates that parties' electoral issues are closely related to voter's concerns. Japanese voters and parties focused on the

importance of economy, external relations, and corruption issues. But the emphases of overriding issues have declined while other issues have gained more prominence over time.

Figure 3 - 6. Japanese Voters' Issue Concerns, 1967 - 1990



* Source: JNES 1967 and ASSK 1972 – 1990

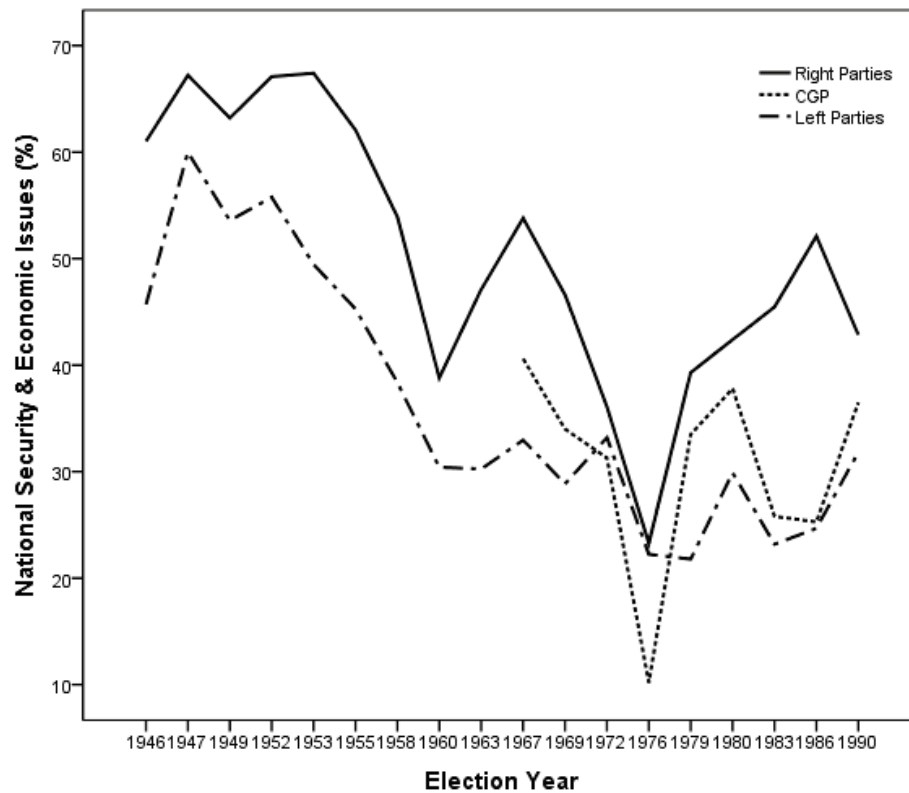
Even if Japanese parties shared the importance of the overarching issues, LDP continued to stress economy and national security issues more than oppositional parties over the five decades. Figure 3 - 7 shows the gap of overarching issue emphases among right, middle (Clean Government Party, CGP or *Komeito*), and left blocs since the 1946 election which was the first election after the end of WWII.²⁷

²⁷ In this analysis, external relations issues are the same category as Figure 3 - 1. But economic issues include all economic issues in the category of MPD.

LDP's emphases of the issues peaked in the early 1950s when the '55 system started and then declined even though the proportion of both issues fluctuated over time.

Figure 3 -7. Difference of Overarching Issue Emphases among Japanese

Political Parties



*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

The period of late 1960s to early 1970s is one of the critical junctures to explain the overarching issue effects. It was the period in which the Japanese economy quickly grew after the devastation of the war. LDP suggested national economic projects such as income doubling (1960) and national reconstruction (1972) plans. In 1967, Japanese GDP per capita was higher than \$10,000, which was a little bit lower level than that of Great

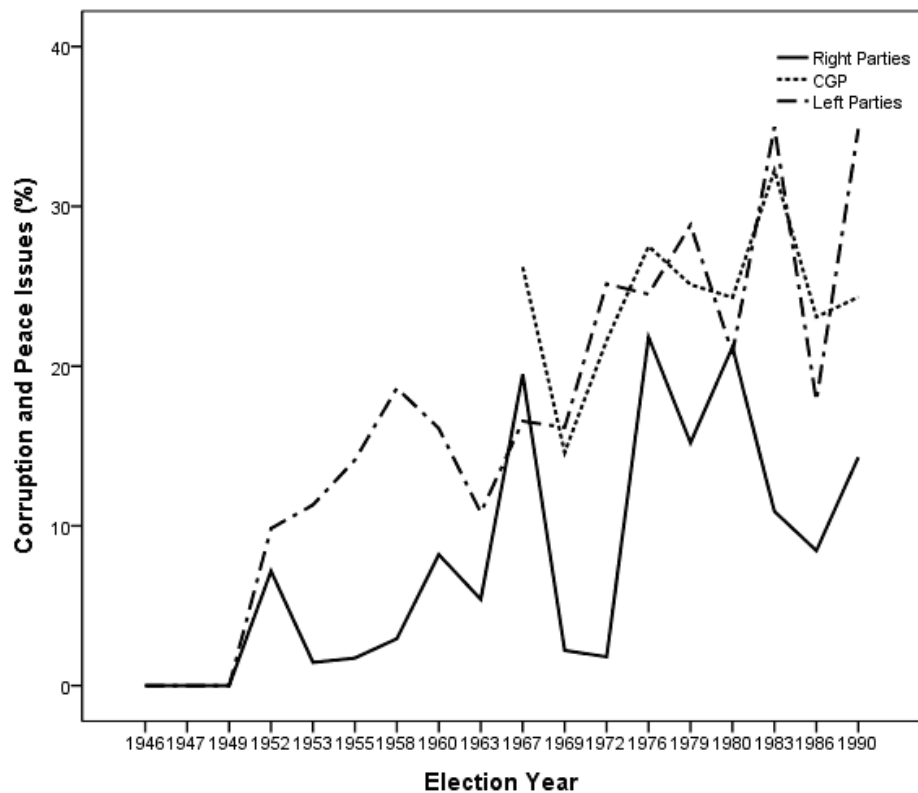
Britain at that time.²⁸ Especially, the trend line sharply plummeted in the 1960 election when the *Anpo* (National Security) opposition movement happened. In the middle of the changing political environment, CGP, which had a Buddhist social base (*Soka Gakai*), entered as one of the main oppositional parties in Japanese politics in the 1967 election. It shows that the emergence of social differences and diversified issues were closely associated with the decline of the overarching issue effects. In other words, as economy development and the *Anpo* opposition movement lessened the importance of overarching issues, religious members could have their own party which represents their interests and opinions. Additionally, in the 1976 election, the scandal “Lockheed Bribery Case (1976)” caused LDP to lose its majority control in the Lower House. In sum, two grand issues suppressed other issues and social divisions over the five decades. However, as the overarching issues weakened, social differences emerged so that CGP had political opportunity in the electoral competition.

In the meantime, oppositional parties paid more attention to corruption and peace than other issues. Figure 3 - 8 displays that CGP and left parties consistently emphasized the issues more than right parties. Even though left parties stressed welfare issues, the difference of the issue emphasis between right and left parties was

²⁸ According to Penn World Table, in 1967, Japanese GDP per capita at 2005 constant prices was \$ 10,095.84 and British GDP was \$ 12,915.17. Even if British value was higher than Japanese, it could confirm that the Japanese economy was not developing at that time, but had already developed. (See <https://pwt.sas.upenn.edu/index.html>. Date of Access: 2014. October 21).

small and not consistent.²⁹ Interestingly, while the percentage of the overarching issues declined in Figure 3 - 7, the percentage of corruption issue increased over time.³⁰ It means the overarching issues and oppositional parties' issues had a negative relationship during the war and industrialization period.

Figure 3 - 8. Difference of Peace and Corruption Issue Emphases among Japanese Political Parties



*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

²⁹ For example, the issue gap between right and left parties was 4.13 % in the 1953 election and 4.89 % in the 1980 election. However, the difference was not consistent in other elections over the five decades.

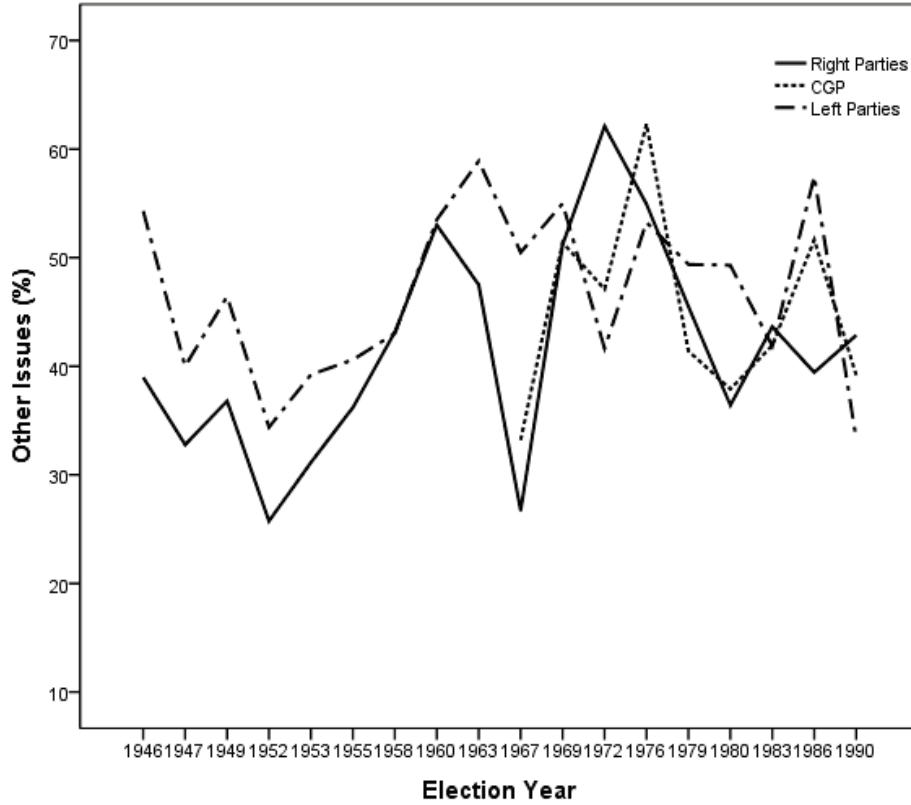
³⁰ Although oppositional parties' issues were corruption and peace issues, the proportion of corruption issue increased as the most differentiated agenda over time compared to LDP.

On the other hand, in Figure 3 - 9, other issues of freedom and human rights, democracy, political system,³¹ environment, social justice, education, morality, law and order, social groups³² were not significantly different among the three party until the 1990 election. In addition, the trend lines of other issues seem to be flat the fluctuation before 1960. This pattern is closely associated with overarching issue emphases. Because the parties intensively focused on security and economic development issues which were a majority of voters' urgent concerns, the differentiation of other issues between the parties was not significant in electoral competition.

³¹ Corruption issue is excluded in the category of political system because it is included in left parties' issues.

³² The issue of farmers is in right parties' issue.

Figure 3 - 9. Difference of Other Issue Emphases among Japanese Political Parties



*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

Although the political parties commonly underlined two grand issues, Figure 3 - 7 and Figure 3 -8 specifically show that they emphasized different issues in very limited issue categories. Relatively, right parties focused on national security and economic issues, meanwhile middle and left parties accentuated corruption and peace issues. Consequently, overarching issues were the right parties' issues and other agendas except corruption issue could not emerge as important issues due to the pressure of strong issues in party competition during the war and industrialization period.

3.2.3. Overarching Issue Effects in Election Results

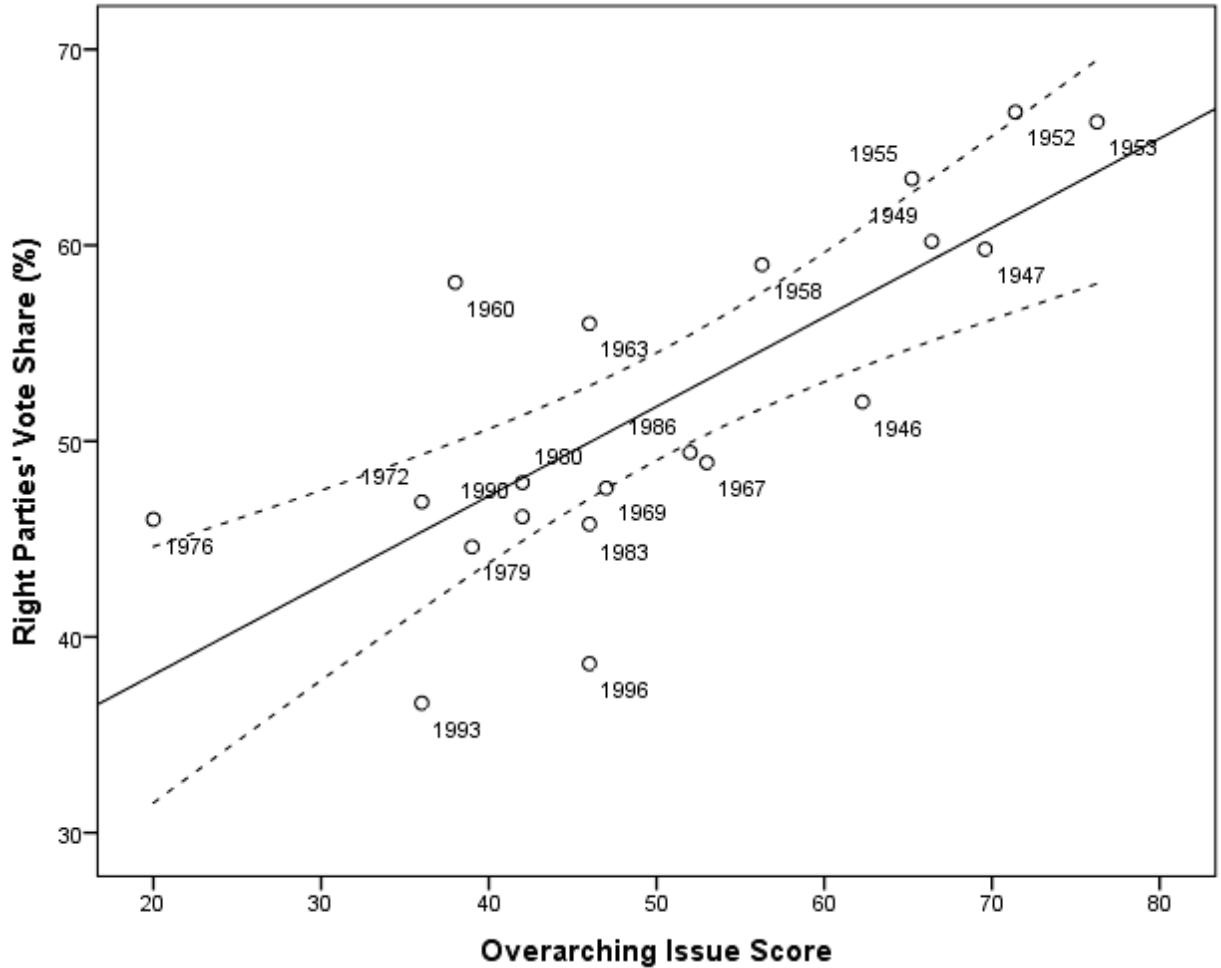
Overarching issues were influential in Japanese election results throughout six decades. Figure 3 - 10 illustrates that the overarching issues positively affected right parties' vote share. It displays the simple linear relationship between the issue emphasis and the parties' vote. In the analysis, overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of right parties' issues of national security and economy over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the right parties' vote share of the lower house elections.

The impressive feature is that the overarching issue emphasis is highly associated with right parties' vote from 1946 to 1990. Most of the election results are included in the 95 percent confidence interval of the fitted line (coefficient = 0.456, p-value = 0.0001, and $R^2 = 574$) except the outliers of the 1960, 1993, and 1996 elections. The 1960 election was affected by the opposition movement of U.S- Japan Security Treaty. Due to this movement, which was the biggest social movement during the post-war era, LDP emphasized the overarching issues in the election less than previous elections. But, LDP's vote share was higher than expected by the overarching issue emphases because economic growth was very successful at that time. Japanese voters supported LDP's achievement even though left parties criticized the rearmament trial and even though LDP did not underscore the issues in the election as much as previous elections. In the 1960 election, LDP gained 13.1 percent more votes than predicted based on the regression line. Meanwhile, in the

1993 and 1996 elections, LDP's vote was lower than expected. Even if LDP emphasized economy and national security issues in a level lower compared to the previous period, the party could not gain the predicted vote. The gap between the expected and real vote was 6.4 percent in the 1993 election and 10.4 percent in the 1996 election.

Generally, the overarching issue effects were significantly positive on right parties' vote until the 1990 election. But, the effects were no longer influential in the 1990s when Japan faced long-term economic recess. As a result, LDP had to end its long-term government period with the electoral loss in 1993.

Figure 3 - 10. The Effects of National Security and Economic Issues on Right Parties' Vote



*Note: overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of right parties' issues of national security and economy over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the right parties' vote share of the lower house elections. *Source:* Data for overarching issue score from *Asahi Shimbun's* articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

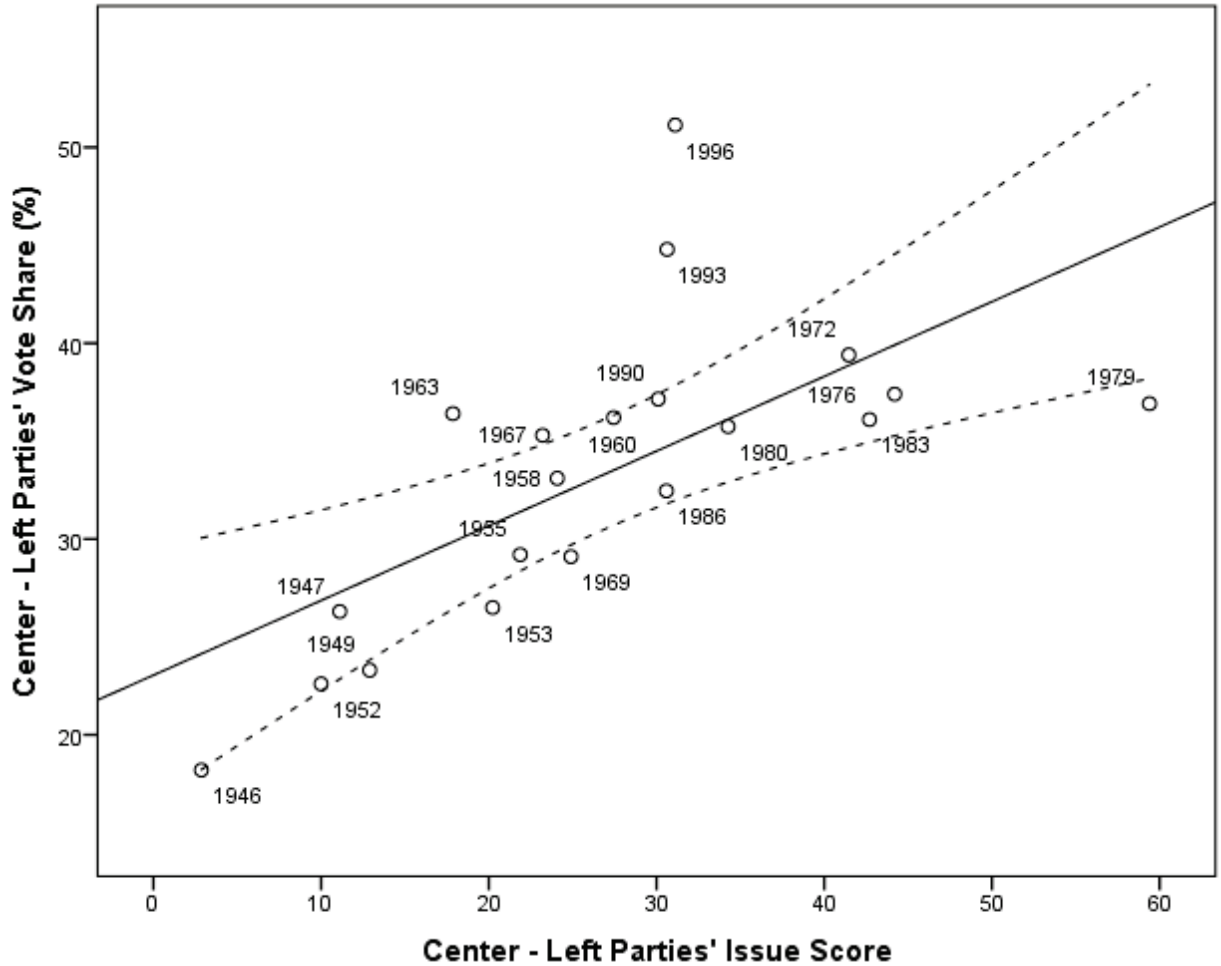
Meanwhile, center-left parties' vote is also associated with the level of their issue emphasis. In Figure 3 - 11, the parties' issue score (X-axis) is the percentage of the issues of peace, corruption, and social welfare over their total electoral issues.

Center-left parties' vote (Y-axis) also represents the parties' vote share of the lower house elections. Interestingly, the most of election results are also in the 95 percent confidence interval of the regression line except the 1993 and 1996 elections (coefficient = 0.381 and p-value = 0.002, $R^2 = 0.435$). But the issue effects were weaker than overarching issue effects during the war and industrialization period.

In Figure 3 - 11, the election results in 1993 and 1996 were also the outliers as LDP's cases. In the elections, LDP's votes were lower but, center – left parties (CLP)' votes were higher than expected based on the regression line. The parties gained 12 percent more vote in the 1993 election and 18 percent more vote in the 1996 election compared to the predicted estimates. In the period of economic recess, oppositional parties focused more on corruption and welfare issues than other issues. In the situation that the overarching issue effects declined in the elections, center-left issues had more impact on election results and center-left parties gained more votes than predicted. Finally, they could make their coalitional government after the 1993 election.

Given that peace issue is also involved in international conflicts, it is obvious that the issues of economy and external relations were highly influential in Japanese party politics during the war and industrialization era. Japanese political parties mainly focused on a few issues that the majority of voters were seriously considering. Most of the election results were highly associated with these strong issues. However, after economic growth and the change of international relations, the overwhelming issue effects on electoral outcomes were also decreased. After the 1993 election, LDP government, which had lasted for 38 years, ended its long-term reign.

Figure 3 - 11. The Effects of Peace, Corruption, and Welfare Issues on Center-Left Block's Vote



*Note: overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of the center – left parties’ issues of peace, corruption, and welfare over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the center-left parties’ vote share of the lower house elections. *Source:* Data from *Asahi Shimbun*’s articles (1946 – 1958) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

3.2.4. The Overarching Issues and Social Cleavages

In contrast to the literature, Japanese social cleavages have existed and affected electoral results. The social base is not single but clearly divided into several groups. LDP had been supported by a majority of social groups who recognized the overarching issues were the most important problems in Japan. In other words, LDP government was possible thanks to the majority coalition of social groups which were formed by the overarching issue effects. The following survey analysis of Japanese elections will show the extent to which the issues clearly affected the electoral results and suppressed social cleavages.

Social groups are categorized by the decision tree analysis which is useful to search for structural differences in the data (Songquist et al. 1973; Petrocik 2007; Alemi and Gustafson 2006). In this analysis, socioeconomic status (SES) is divided into three groups by the differences of occupation, education, and income.³³ Residential variable is classified into urban and rural area. Urban area indicates the cities in which the

³³ Socioeconomic status (SES) depends on respondents' degrees of education, income, and occupation. The respondents were categorized by three education groups (less than high school, high school or vocational school graduate and higher than college). Their occupations were also divided into three levels. The first group is manager and small-business owners. The second is special technicians, professionals, and sales services; the third is laborers. Farmers and fishermen are excluded in the occupational categories because they are the groups who are traditional LDP's supporters. Then, each SES was classified based on their levels of education and occupation. The SES classification was highly correlated to income level. Furthermore, this method of SES classification is more appropriate to ASSK dataset than others such as the Alford index and class based on occupation because the response rate of income is very low; education and occupation are relatively high. However, the response rate of occupation in JNES is very low. Thus, SES in JNES is mainly classified by income and education levels. Housewife's occupation followed her husband's job.

population is more than 100,000 people; rural area is the residential places in which the population is less than 100,000 people.

Table 3 - 1 shows how differently social groups casted their votes in the 1976 election. LDP was generally supported by a majority of social groups including urban high and middle classes, rural residents, and farmers and fishermen. Meanwhile, oppositional parties were supported by a minority of social groups. Urban low class and union members supported left parties. Finally, religious organization members were CGP's supporters. Surprisingly, as Table 3 - 2 displays, the pattern of these party votes was consistent until the 1980s. At the same time, the reason why LDP lost in the 1993 election can be explained based on the social groups' party votes, The reason is that the urban high, middle, rural high and low classes who were LDP's supporters for five decades defected from the giant party. They mainly voted for new liberal parties (Japanese Renewal Party and Japanese New Party) in the 1990s, "the lost decade" which means the period of economic recess. They disapproved of LDP's policies that caused economic recess.

Table 3 - 1. Japanese Social Cleavage and Party Vote, 1976

SES	Union	Farmer & Fishermen	Religion
<i>Urban Area</i>	Member -54.6	Yes 61.2	Member -20.2
High	12.6		
Middle	5.4		
	-		
Low	18.6		
<i>Rural Area</i>			
High	20.2		
Middle	14.1		
Low	3.5		

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between LDP and left parties. Positive numbers mean a plurality of LDP's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of left parties' vote share. The value of religious member indicates the difference of party vote shares between LDP and CGP. Negative numbers mean a plurality of CGP's vote share; Positive numbers a plurality of LDP's vote share. *Source:* ASSK, 1976.

Why did the researchers argue that Japanese social groups are homogeneous? First of all, they disregarded the effects of the overarching issues to have suppressed social differences since the end of WWII. Even if different social groups existed, they were overwhelmingly mobilized by the strong issue effects. LDP's electoral success was due not to a large single group but due to a majority of different social divisions which agreed that both issues were the most important.

Second, as mentioned before, scholars excessively pointed out the importance of cultural factors such as Asian philosophy or traditional vs. modern values in voting behaviors (Flanagan 1991; Fukuyama 1992; Lee 2008; Watanuki 1967; Watanuki 1991).

Third, only focusing on class division, they overlooked cross-cutting effects between social cleavages. High, middle, and low SES seemed to not show critically voting behaviors during the war and industrialization period. But, social cleavages were different when urban and rural division is also considered with SES variable. The subdivision of SES in the residential base clearly displays different voting patterns. Finally, the scholars are not concerned about religious cleavage presuming that the Japanese main religions of Shinto and Buddhism are not exclusive in classifying principles and believers (Mair and Sakano 1998).

However, a majority of the members answering that they participated in religious organization surely cast their votes for CGP compared to other voters. When LDP was strongly dominant and socialist blocs (JSP, SDP, and JCP) were the main oppositional parties for four decades, CGP also was the third party and needed to be considered in the analysis of Japanese party politics. Since 1967, CGP has consistently been one of the main parties in terms of any criteria to measure significantly effective parties. The party has gained more than 4 percent vote share of total votes and an effective number of seats in the Diet. The party has also played an important role in forming coalitional governments since 1993.

The overarching issue effects blurred social cleavages until the 1980s. Table 3 - 3 shows the percentages of each social group's concerns about economy and national security over all electoral agendas. Until the 1983 election, a majority of voters across social groups except union members responded that economy and national security issues were the most important issues. Even a majority of union members answered that these issues were more important than other issues in the 1972

election. In other words, the two grand issues had been considered as the electoral issues which should be resolved at first across social groups, meanwhile other differentiated issues were not seriously raised by each social group. As a result, LDP successfully took advantage of these issues to gain most of the social groups' support over the four decades.

Table 3 - 2. Social Groups and Party Vote, 1967 - 1993

	1967	72	76	79	80	83	86	90	93
Urban High	9.3	17.3	12.6	24	15.2	18.2	32.9	14.4	-25.1
Middle	-11.1	-9.3	5.4	5.4	15.4	11.5	19.1	2.2	-18.9
Low	13.1	-29.3	-18.6	-14.4	-1.4	-7.2	2	-26.2	-16.1
Rural High	30.8	24.1	20.2	50.8	58.1	42.5	54.6	39.4	-1.3
Middle	20.8	20.5	14.1	29.1	28.9	37.3	41.4	19.5	6.2
Low	21.4	-2.9	3.5	1.9	18.4	19.7	31.1	5.3	-12.5
Union	-55.4	-63.9	-54.6	-32.7	-34.2	-40.1	-22.5	-41.7	-40.2
Farmer & Fishermen	47.6	68.7	61.2	70.3	77.1	61.5	79.4	68.3	63.3
Religion Member	59.2	-14.3	-20.2	-19.7	-17.7	-9.9	-28.9	2.6	-21.2

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between LDP and left parties. Positive numbers mean a plurality of LDP's vote share; negative numbers a plurality of left parties' vote share. The value of religion member indicates the difference of party vote shares between LDP and CGP. Negative numbers mean a plurality of CGP's vote share; Positive numbers a plurality of LDP's vote share. *Source:* JNES, 1967; ASSK, 1972 - 1993.

However, in the 1993 election when Japan began to experience economic recess, the voter population who answered that overarching issues were important problems, dramatically lessened in Table 3 - 3. In reality, as Table 3 - 2 illustrated, a majority of social groups defected from LDP. The fewer voters that were concerned about the grand issues, the more voters were interested in other issues. Consequently, the overarching issues suppressed social conflicts throughout the war and industrialization period. But as these issue effects declined, social differences and their agendas have emerged to a more prominent place since the 1990s than they were before.

Table 3 - 3. Concerns of Social Groups on National Security and Economic Development

	1967	1972	1983	1993
Urban High	50%	45%	41 %	30%
Middle	55	52	41	30
Low	53	56	38	39
Rural High	63	52	57	34
Middle	54	55	58	36
Low	62	68	63	30
Union Member	48	56	38	22
Farmer & Fishermen	65	89	74	53
Religion Member	60	52	25	37

**Note:* Table entries are the percentage of each social group's concerns about economy and national security compared to the total issues. The cases of "don't know" and "no response" are not included in the total cases. *Source:* JNES 1967; ASSK, 1972, 1983, and 1993.

Finally, overarching issue effects can be confirmed in statistical evidence. The data includes the four surveys in the 1967, 1972, 1983, and 1993 lower house elections. The surveys offer sufficient sample size to analyze election results with respect to electoral issues and social groups. Throughout the analyses, the dependent variable is major party vote choice, coded as a categorical variable, with 1 for center-left parties, 2 for CGP, and 3 for LDP. However, due to the use of multinomial logistic regression analysis which is appropriate for testing categorical variables,

each model will show the outcome utilizing center-left parties' vote as a baseline to compare with other parties' votes. Thus, the dependent variable could be understood by the dichotomous variable coded as 0 for center-left parties' vote and 1 for the votes of LDP or CGP.

The explanatory variable in the model is coded for the overarching issues of national security and economy. The center-left issue variable is also measured for peace, corruption, and welfare issues. Other issue variables except LDP and center-left issues will also be examined to show how the issues affected the party votes over time. In the electoral surveys, respondents answered the question of which issues were very important in elections, which allowed for plural responses. To test the issue effects on the party votes, I used two kinds of measures, the frequency of each party's issues and the dummy variable coded into 1 for the respondents whose answers included overarching or center-left issues more than other issues. The following analysis will employ dummy variables for confirming issue effects. The appendix will also offer the results which will use the measure of the frequency to test the issue variables. Both analyses could show similar results for the party votes (see Appendix). The variables of social groups will play roles in control variables to evaluate not only how much social differences affected party votes but also how much overarching issues suppressed social differences in the party votes. Based on the analysis of social groups (Table 3 – 2), control variables include religious members, farmers, union members, and SES variables in urban and rural areas.

According to the features of these categorical variables, I will employ multinomial logistic regression models for the four election surveys. They will show what variables were influential in the party votes and how the effects of the variables changed over time.

Furthermore, it is useful to predict the degree to which the explanatory variable affects the dependent variable by employing the method of marginal effects on variables.

Table 3 – 4 reports the analytical outcomes on the relationship between influential variables and the party votes. First, with respect to issue variables, the results confirm that the respondents who were more concerned about economy and national security issues than any other issues, consistently voted for LDP. Among issue variables, the overarching issues clearly had positive impact on LDP's vote during the war and industrialization period. As Table 3 - 3 shows, even if the percentage of the voters lessened, a majority of social groups significantly supported the dominant party compared to center-left parties, which were the oppositional parties for a long time. In the 1967 election, LDP gained strong support from the voters who were concerned about the most issues. At that time, voters recognized that LDP could successfully deal with the most electoral agendas including the overarching and other issues.

However, interestingly, the effects of center-left issues on the party votes increased over time. In the 1967 election, the issue effects were very weak and even seemed negative for left parties' votes (coefficient = 0.04, p –value = 0.85). But, the positive effects have increased since the 1972 election and been significantly associated with gaining center-left parties' votes in the 1983 and 1993 elections. In the 1967 election, center-left parties did not effectively gain the votes of the people who were concerned about center-left issues. But the parties were able to gain the reputations for the issues of peace, corruption, and social welfare over time. At least,

the center-left issues clearly have affected the parties' votes since the 1983 election. The effects of other diversified issues were positive for LDP's vote until the 1983 election. But the effects declined over time and were negative for LDP's vote in the 1993 election.

Table 3 - 4. Overarching Issue Effects, Social Groups, and Party Votes in Japanese Elections, 1967 - 1993

	1967		1972		1983		1993	
	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP
Overarching	0.37**	-0.15	0.65***	0.28	0.32**	-0.20	0.50***	-0.10
Issues	(0.19)	(0.50)	(0.14)	(0.38)	(0.16)	(0.32)	(0.16)	(0.40)
Center – Left	0.04	-0.56	-0.02	-0.12	-0.66***	-0.62*	-0.43***	0.52
Issues	(0.23)	(0.64)	(0.18)	(0.45)	(0.18)	(0.34)	(0.16)	(0.32)
Other Issues	0.58**	-15.85	0.40	0.59	0.10**	0.28	-0.25	0.73**
	(0.28)	(1710.96)	(0.26)	(0.60)	(0.20)	(0.33)	(0.16)	(0.31)
Religion	0.38***	1.49***	0.50	3.96***	0.21	2.71***	0.63 ^a	3.47***
Members	(0.17)	(0.47)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.39)
Farmers	0.33 ^b	-15.33	1.00***	-0.66	0.41 ^c	-0.84	1.42***	-0.87
	(0.23)	(1408.63)	(0.28)	(0.93)	(0.26)	(0.85)	(0.32)	(1.06)
Union	-1.61***	-0.09	-1.85***	-1.17**	-1.64***	-1.39***	-0.82***	-1.10*
Members	(0.24)	(0.55)	(0.22)	(0.50)	(0.20)	(0.39)	(0.23)	(0.56)
Rural High	0.26	0.10	0.15	0.09	0.16	0.85	-0.20	-1.22*
	(0.35)	(1.27)	(0.28)	(0.76)	(0.26)	(0.57)	(0.26)	(0.67)
Middle	-0.00	-15.34	0.19	0.06	0.25	0.42	-0.05	-1.38**
	(0.32)	(1287.86)	(0.25)	(0.74)	(0.28)	(0.66)	(0.23)	(0.66)

Low	-0.21 (0.34)	0.19 (1.27)	-0.35 (0.26)	0.28 (0.66)	-0.08 (0.27)	-0.09 (0.69)	-0.48** (0.24)	-0.47 (0.51)
Urban High	0.03 (0.33)	0.43 (1.16)	0.18 (0.25)	-0.35 (0.71)	-0.38 (0.24)	1.02** (0.49)	-0.60*** (0.19)	-0.71* (0.40)
Middle	-0.20 (0.33)	1.25 (1.09)	-0.44* (0.24)	0.41 (0.61)	-0.35 (0.26)	1.31*** (0.50)	-0.480** (0.20)	-0.42 (0.39)
Low	-0.31 (0.38)	0.85 (1.21)	-1.00*** (0.25)	0.59 (0.58)	-0.64** (0.26)	1.23** (0.52)	-0.53** (0.25)	0.12 (0.40)
Constant	0.01 (0.31)	-3.42*** (1.12)	0.23 (0.20)	-3.06*** (0.55)	0.89*** (0.20)	-2.21*** (0.46)	0.15 (0.12)	-2.21*** (0.26)
Pseudo- R ²	0.0944		0.1678		0.1281		0.1011	
Number of Cases	789		1441		1338		1331	

*Note: Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$. CLP's vote is the baseline comparison group in the dependent variable. ^ap-value = 0.108; ^bp-value = 0.147; ^cp-value = 0.116.
Source: JNES 1967; ASSK, 1972, 1983, and 1993.

The changes of issue effects are closely related to voters' concerns of economy and national security. Generally, a majority of Japanese voters were more interested in overarching issues than other electoral agendas up to the early 1970s. However, as economic growth was successful and international relations with neighbor countries were changed with Nixon's doctrine (1972)³⁴, the concerns of both agendas declined and a variety of issues increased in elections. The main oppositional parties consistently emphasized peace, corruption, and social welfare issues and improved their reputations in relation to corruption and social welfare. Since the 1990s, because of the harder economic times, Japanese people have become more interested in the problems of long-term LDP's governmental power and the economic recess.

In terms of social groups, the analytical results show that they also had an impact on party votes. Religious members clearly continued to vote for CGP and relatively supported LDP rather than center-left parties. Farmers were strong supporters for LDP, but union members consistently supported center-left parties. When it comes to the SES effects between urban and rural areas, most of the SES supported LDP until the 1980s. But, urban low SES was the main social base of center-left parties. Thus, in the statistical analysis, it can be confirmed that LDP was supported by a majority of social groups; center-left parties were supported by union members and urban low SES until the 1980s.

³⁴ President Nixon visited Beijing in 1972 for the détente between the United States and China. Japanese people were surprised at "Nixon Shock" which meant the strategic shift of U.S. foreign policy in East Asia. In fact, Nixon's visit to Beijing was possible by the Nixon's Doctrine (November 3, 1969). The doctrine meant US foreign interests could be protected through the devolution of international responsibility to regional influential countries (Litwak 1986; Hurrell 2006).

However, in the 1993 election, social groups defected from LDP to center-left parties, mainly new liberal parties (Japanese Renewal Party and Japanese New Party). Based on the results, urban high and rural low SES remarkably changed their support among social groups in the 1993 election. Furthermore, the results of multinomial logit analyses on social groups are similar to real vote changes in Table 3 - 2. Compared to the 1983 election, they changed their votes for liberal parties in the 1993 election due to LDP's failure of economic policy. As Table 3 - 4 indicates, the emergence of social differences and the decline of overarching issue effects decided the 1993 election result. Social groups highly affected party votes and played critical roles in the end of the long-term LDP government. Meanwhile, the overarching issue effects lessened over time.

How much did the overarching issues affect party votes and suppress social differences? Based on the multinomial logit analyses, I can show the overarching issue effects on party votes and social groups. Table 3 - 5 summarizes the marginal effect of overarching issues on LDP's vote in four elections. The changing estimates are based on the predicted proportions of LDP's vote share by the overarching issue variable given that all other variables in the equation of the model are fixed in the mean values. Overall, the overarching issues contributed to an increase of 6 through 15 percent for LDP's vote share over the elections.

Table 3 - 5. The Overarching Issue Effects on LDP's Vote

	1967	1972	1983	1993
Not Effective	0.48*** (0.03)	48*** (0.18)	0.58*** (0.02)	0.40*** (0.02)
Effective	0.58*** (0.03)	63*** (0.03)	0.64*** (0.02)	0.55*** (0.03)
Δ Overarching Issues	0.10	0.15	0.06	0.15

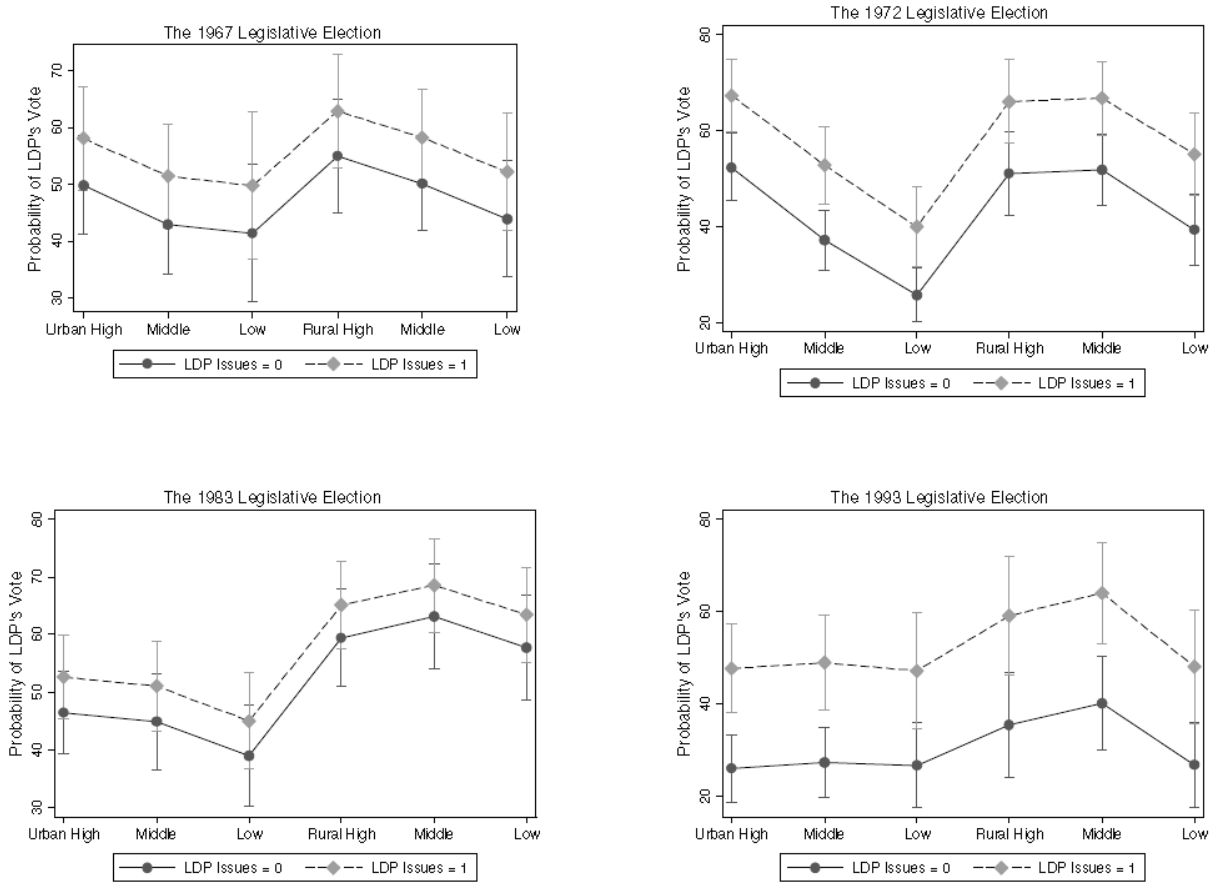
Note:* Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. $*p < 0.1$; $p < 0.05$; $***p < 0.001$. These entries are the predictive probability of LDP's votes assuming overarching issues are effective and all other variables are fixed in the mean values. The difference between not-effective and effective percentages means marginal effects of overarching issue variable. *Source:* JNES 1967; ASSK, 1972, 1983, and 1993.

In particular, this analysis allows us to evaluate the overarching issue effects on LDP's vote of social groups in detail. Figure 3 – 12 illustrates the conditional marginal effects of the overarching issues on LDP's votes with each social group. These different LDP's vote shares mean the gaps of the predicted percentages when overarching issue variable is effective or not effective on party votes. At the same time, they assume a social group is influential and other variables are fixed in the mean values in the equation. In the analyses, the overarching issues contributed to religion members' 2 percent increase and rural middle voters' 20 percent increase of LDP's vote in the 1993 election. The overarching issues substantively affected the increase of LDP's vote share even if their effects are different on each social group. The strong issues consistently affected electoral results even in the 1993 election when LDP's long-term government ended. Had the grand issue effects not existed in

the election, LDP's vote share might have plummeted even more than it did in the real vote share in the 1993 election. In any case, Japanese voters were no longer overwhelmingly concerned about the two grand issues after the 1990s. In terms of social groups' party votes, as Table 3 – 4 shows, the prediction obviously confirmed that LDP's votes of rural voters, urban high SES, and religious members remarkably declined between the 1983 and 1993 elections. LDP's vote of rural low SES declined 16 percent; rural high SES 9 percent; rural middle SES 8 percent, religion members 11 percent, and urban high class 8 percent between two elections.

Figure 3 - 12. The Overarching Issue Effects on the Social Base of Japanese

Party Support



**Note:* Solid lines are the probabilities of social groups' LDP votes without overarching issue effects and dashed lines are the probability of social groups' LDP votes with overarching issue effects. The vertical lines indicate 95 % confidence intervals. The probabilities are conditional marginal effects given all other variables are constant at the average values. *Source:* JNES 1967; ASSK, 1972, 1983, and 1993.

In sum, the fact that LDP government was able to stay in power for 38 years was made possible by its reputation in regards to the overarching issues of economic development and national security. A majority of social groups supported LDP government's success in both issues. The overarching issue effects were able to

suppress social differences in Japanese party politics. However, the long-term government ended due to the decline of the strong issue effects in the 1993 election. Japanese social differences emerged in “the lost decade” and political parties focused on different kinds of electoral issues in party competition more than they had before.

3.3. Korean Party System Formation

3.3.1. Party Issue Formations

The issues of national security and economic development were the most important agendas in South Korean party competition during the war and industrialization period (1948 – 1986). Governmental parties effectively emphasized a majority of people’s concerns based on war phobia and poverty. In Japan and Taiwan, during that period the governmental party was only one party – LDP in Japan and KMT in Taiwan. However, in South Korea there were three conservative governmental parties: Liberal Party (LP, 1951 – 1960), Democratic Republican Party (DRP, 1963 – 1980) and Democratic Justice Party (DJP, 1980 – 1986).³⁵ Even though Korean governmental parties changed, two grand issues consistently contributed to keeping their governmental power. Also, these strong issues blocked social differences and other issues to be important electoral agendas in party competition.

³⁵ LP government collapsed due to the April Revolution which was caused by a rigged presidential election and corruption in 1960. However, General Park, Jung Hee and General Chun, Doo Hwan carried out military coups in 1961 and 1979, establishing a DRP government and DJP government, respectively.

Reunification and the tension among two Koreas, China, Japan, Soviet Union and the United States continued to be national concerns since the division of North and South Korea. The Korean War (1950 – 1953)³⁶ was the critical event which sharply accelerated the antipathy between North and South Korea. Furthermore, 300,000 South Korean soldiers, the second-largest number of foreign troops, took part in the Vietnam War (1964 – 1973), and the fall of South Vietnam was an alarm to South Korea. In the Cold War, Korean conservative governments incessantly claimed the necessity of strong national security against North Korea.

Meanwhile, economic development was one of the conservative parties' issue reputations. The conservative governments' economic plan (1962 – 1991) was very successful for development. Over three decades, the governments specifically established industrial policies and infrastructure projects. They exclusively supported a few conglomerates (*Chaebol*) like Japanese conglomerates (*Zaibatsu, Keiretsu*) which helped bring about the "Big Push" of the industrialization.³⁷ Therefore, the growth of conglomerates directly meant national industrialization. This economic development model was effective in a very short time and elicited governmental parties' support from the general population.

On the other hand, the most important issue of oppositional parties such as Democratic Party (DP, 1955 – 1961) and New Democratic Party (NDP, 1967 –

³⁶ The Korean War was the outcome of complicated relationships among six countries. The relationships were associated with not only two Koreas but also four strong nations in the world (Cummings 1981, 1990; Park 1996).

³⁷ The "Big Push" theory of industrialization is applied for the cases of East Asian developmental states. In the theory, the state should play a crucial role in economic development (Gerschenkron 1962; Jang 1999; Johnson 1982; Rosenstein-Rodan 1943; Scitovsky 1954).

1980) was corruption. They claimed that the long-term governmental parties were corrupt and committed abuses of power. The second issue was the problem of democracy. They implored people to protect the democracy against any hints of dictatorship. Even if oppositional parties emphasized a peaceful relationship with North Korea, the issue gap between governmental and oppositional parties did not make big difference at that time.

Conservative governmental parties used the issue reputations of national security and economic development for their long-term power. The parties often had difficulties in the legitimacy of power due to rigged elections or military coups. But they needed the support of a majority of people to keep governmental power. If they provided a good performance in regards to the general people's concerns, the issue of legitimacy was not a severe problem in extending their governmental power. However, if they did not achieve the goals on national security and economic development, the government faced serious challenge from oppositional parties. In fact, to extend their governmental power, the Liberal Party committed strongly rigged elections before the "economic miracle." However, the government collapsed due to the April Revolution in 1960. Meanwhile, whenever Korean authoritarian governments abolished democratic presidential elections, they emphasized the necessity of national security and economic development to legitimize authoritarian governmental power. They emphasized national cooperation beyond social divisions in order to obtain a higher level of industrialization under the Northern threat. DRP (1972 – 1979) and DJP (1980 - 1986) governments utilized overarching issues to keep illegitimate power without democratic elections.

South Korean parties have had electoral competition since 1948. Although military elites succeeded military coups in 1961 and 1979, they gained governmental power

through perfunctory elections between political parties. But these elections were always embroiled in controversy whether they were fair, rigged, or a sham. South Korean governmental parties wanted to look like they were winning in democratic elections because they needed to show that they were a different political regime compared with North Korea. In this situation, Korean presidential elections were held even after military coups. The electoral issues were analyzed to confirm what agendas governmental parties focused on to win elections or to legitimize their power during the war and industrialization period.

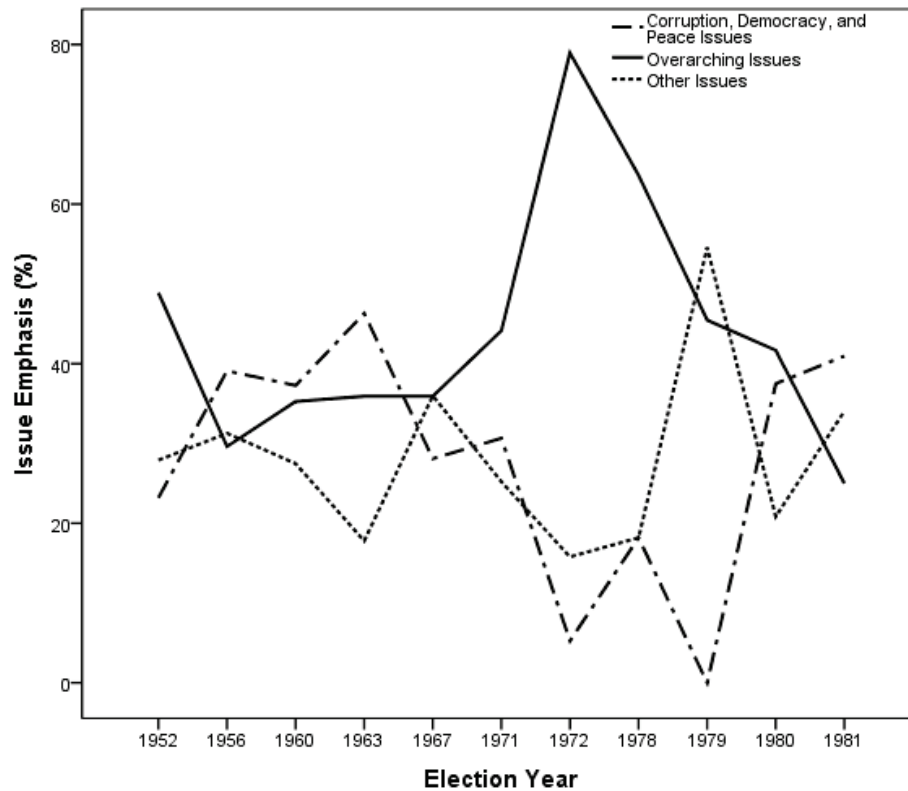
3.3.2. The Issue Emphases of Political Parties

Figure 3 – 13 displays how overarching issues were predominant in party competition over four decades. Especially, the emphases of both grand issues reached the peak in the 1972 election right after the DRP government enacted a new constitution (*Youshin Hunbub*) to guarantee President Park, Jung Hee's unlimited reelection. The DRP crushingly emphasized overarching issues to justify a new constitution. The government exclaimed that the new constitution was to build resolute leadership for inexorable development and strong national security. However, the emphases of both issues declined thereafter.

Korean political parties highly emphasized corruption and democracy issues from 1956 to 1963 when LP had troubles in corruption and rigged elections and when General Park, Jung Hee carried out a military coup. Then, political parties reemphasized these issues after the second military coup in 1979.

On the other hand, the percentage of a variety of issues was low over the whole period. Political parties did not handle diversified issues because they had to focus on people's urgent concerns of national security, economic development, corruption, and democracy at that time. The various agendas except the valence issues continued to be marginal in Korean party competition during the war and industrialization period.

Figure 3 -13. Electoral Issues of Korean Political Parties, 1952 - 1981

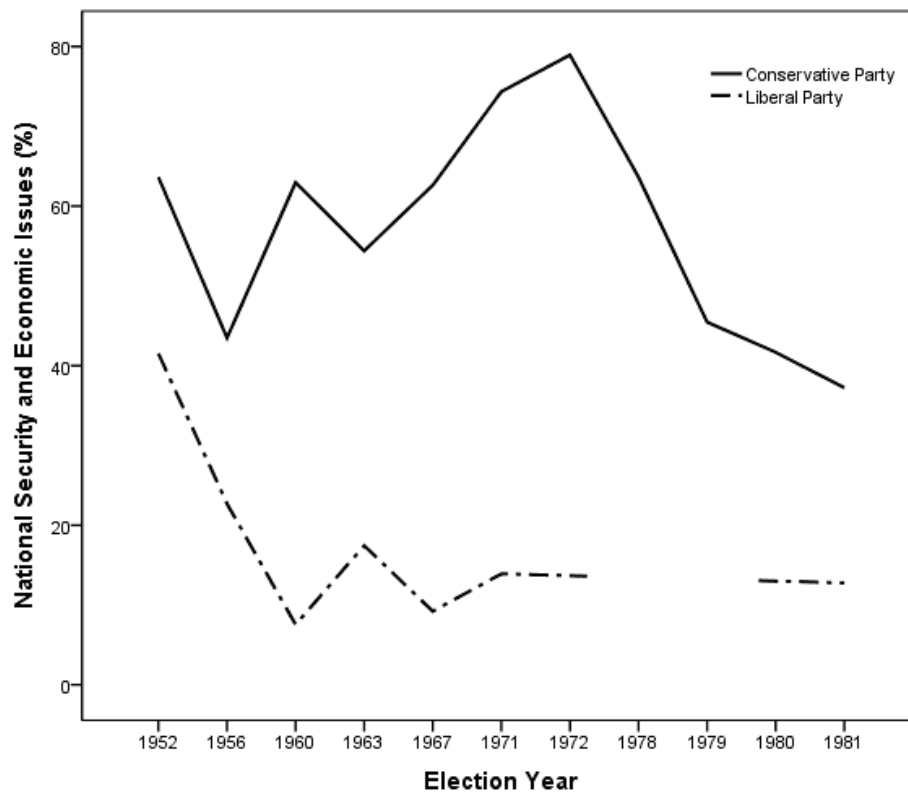


*Source: Data from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1981) on electoral issues

In electoral campaigns, as Figure 3 - 14 indicates, conservative governmental parties consistently focused on national security and economic issues more than oppositional

parties. After the 1960 election, from 1960 to 1972, the issue gap between political parties overwhelmingly increased. In fact, Korean economy developed during DRP governmental period. In other words, DRP successfully industrialized the country emphasizing the importance of both national agendas. Then, the issue emphases declined as economic development was achieved and the Cold War was coming to a close.

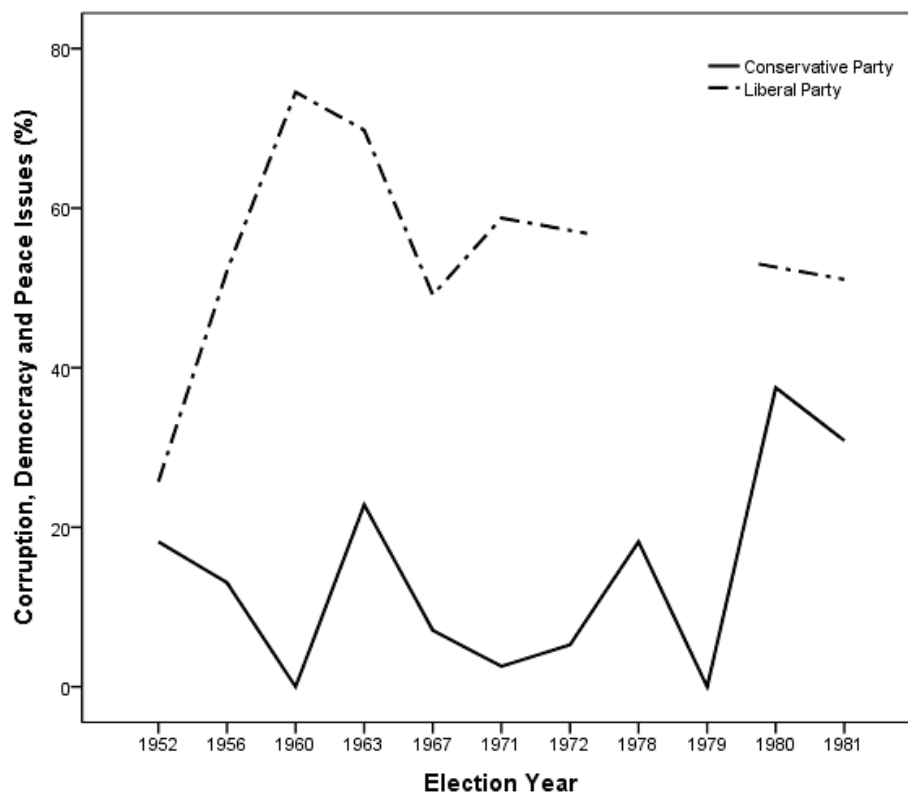
Figure 3 - 14. Difference of Overarching Issue Emphasis between Korean Parties, 1952 - 1981



*Source: Data from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1981) on electoral issues

On the other hand, Figure 3 - 15 shows that oppositional parties stressed corruption and democracy issues to criticize governmental parties. In the 1960 election which directly caused the April Revolution and the collapse of LP government, oppositional parties extremely emphasized both issues to attack the government. Thereafter, the percentage of the issues declined but corruption and democracy were the most important issues of oppositional parties during the war and industrialization period.

Figure 3 - 15. Difference of Corruption and Democracy Issues between Korean Parties, 1952 - 1981

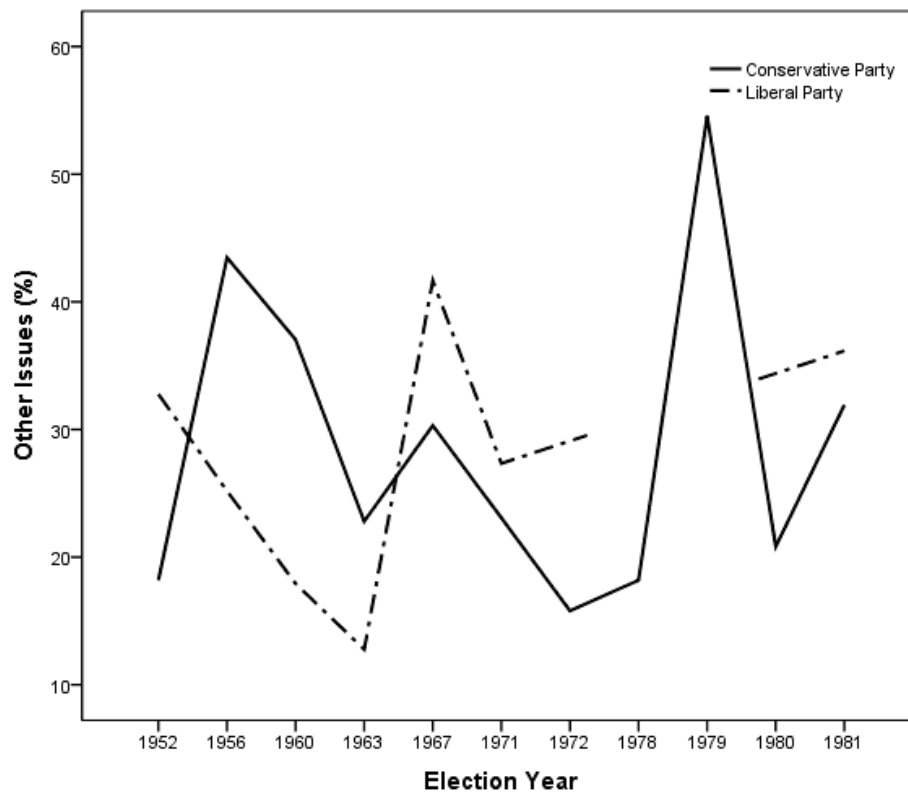


*Source: Data from *Donga Daily's* articles (1952 – 1981) on electoral issues

However, governmental and oppositional parties did not show the difference of other diversified issues. In Figure 3 - 16, governmental parties claimed the importance of law and civil order in the 1956 and the 1960 elections. Oppositional parties stressed social justice in the 1967 election. But political parties did not continue to make a difference on the issues. Overarching issues were the most important agendas and suppressed other concerns during four decades.

Figure 3 - 16 Difference of Other Issues between Korean Parties, 1952 –

1981



*Source: Data from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1981) on electoral issues

3.3.3. The Overarching Issues and Election Result

There were four presidential elections in 1952, 1963, 1967, and 1971 which could be considered as competitive elections between governmental and oppositional parties during the war and industrialization period.³⁸ Thus, it has a small-N problem to investigate the relationship between overarching issues and election results. However, as the issue emphases between political parties were clearly different in Figure 3 - 14 and 3 - 15, we can reasonably assume that the issues affected election results in the four presidential elections.

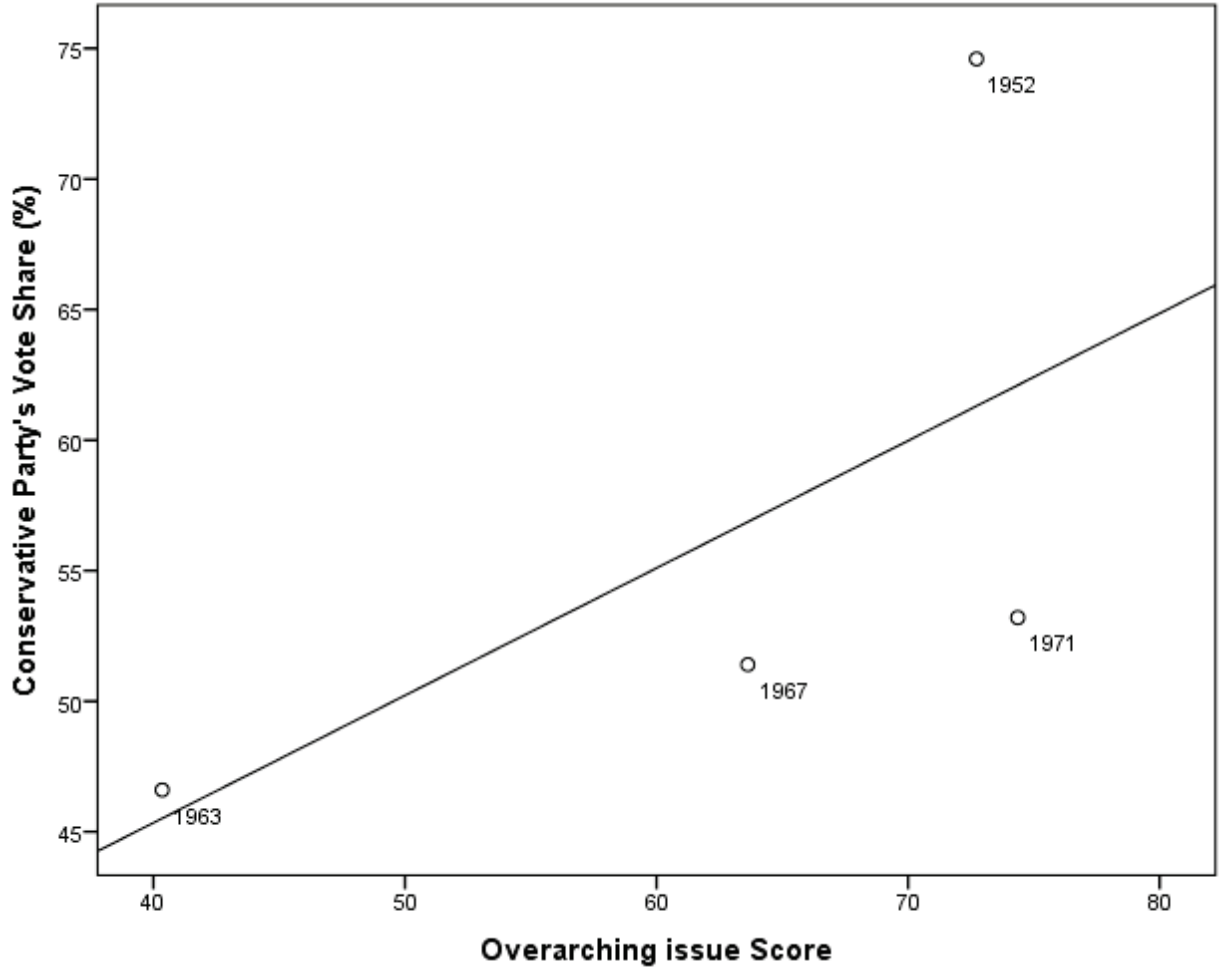
Overarching issues have positive impact on governmental parties in Figure 3 - 17 - A even if the relationship is not statistically significant (coefficient = 0.488, p-value = 0.384, and $R^2 = 0.379$). However, as Figure 3 - 15 shows, the governmental party (Liberal Party, LP)'s vote share in the 1952 election result is much higher than in other elections. Because the 1952 election was an exceptional case in the middle of the Korean War (1950 – 1953), a small percentage of total voters participated in the election and people did not want to change the government in the middle of the war. Therefore, in the war situation, LP government was successful in gaining more votes than expected. Even if LP did not greatly emphasize the importance of the national security issue in the election, general population directly realized the great concern of the issue in the war.

³⁸ Although presidential elections were held in 1948, 1956, 1960, 1972, 1979, 1980, and 1981 during war and industrialization period, these were not competitive or relatively fair elections.

However, overarching issue emphasis is significantly associated with governmental party vote share, except in the 1952 election (coefficient = 0.196, p-value = 0.03, and $R^2 = 0.998$) in Figure 3 - 17 - B. Even though the cases are statistically too few to thoroughly examine the relationship between overarching issues and governmental party votes, overarching issue effects are clearly influential. In addition to the one war-time election and the three competitive elections (1952, 1963, 1967, and 1971), the military governments overwhelmingly stressed the importance of national security and economic development to legitimize their governmental power in all the other non-competitive elections, too: in 1972, 1978, 1979, 1980, and 1981.³⁹ The overarching issue effects were substantially strong in election results and were integral for governmental parties to keep their governmental powers.

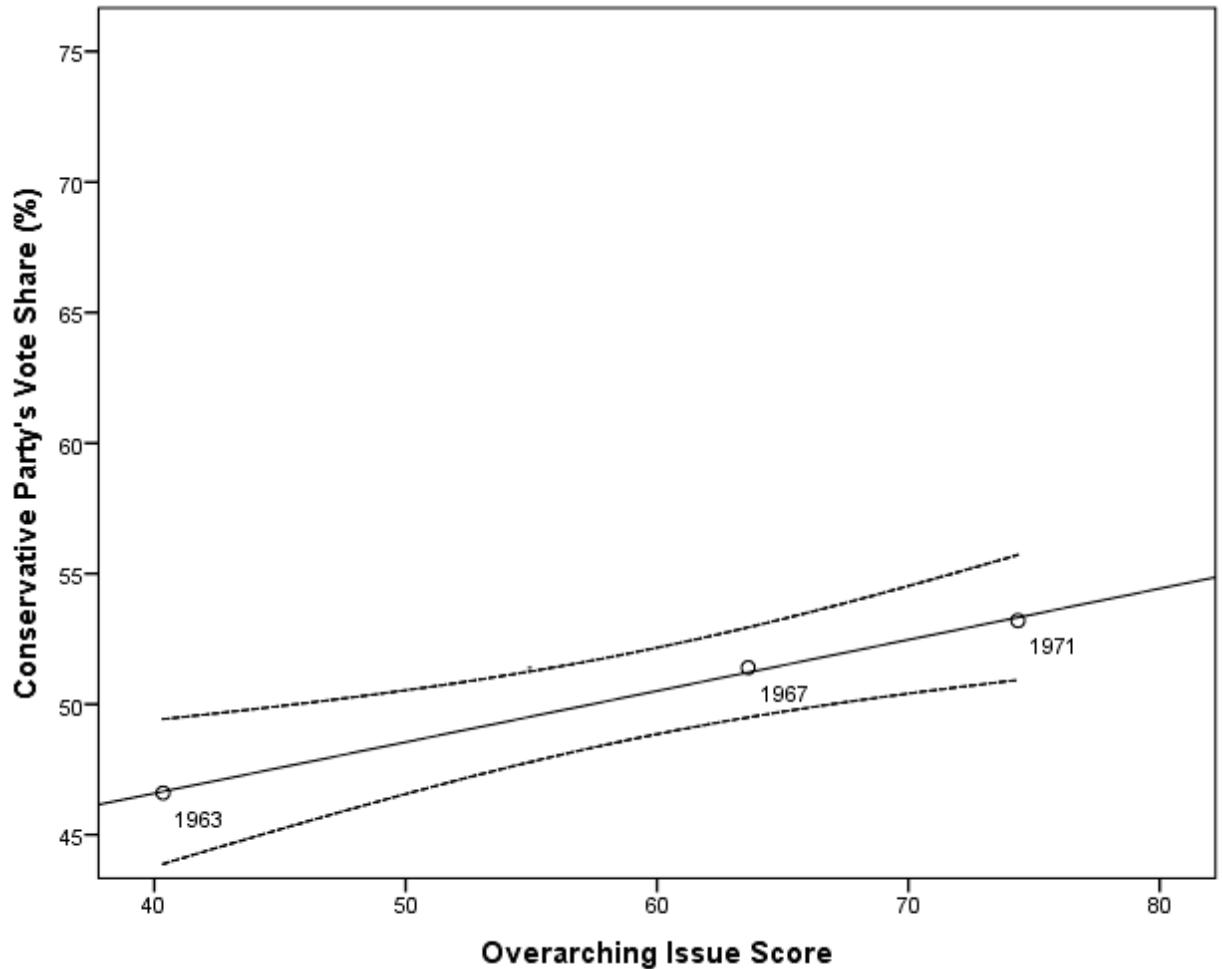
³⁹ Governmental parties gained more than 90 percent vote in all five elections because pro-governmental electoral colleges elected the president in the election.

Figure 3 - 17 - A. Overarching Issues and Korean Election Results, 1952 - 1971



*Note: overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of conservative party's issues of national security and economy over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the conservative party's vote share of the presidential elections. Source: Data for overarching issue score from *Donga Daily's* articles on electoral issues.

Figure 3 - 17 - B. Overarching Issues and Korean Election Results, 1963 - 1971



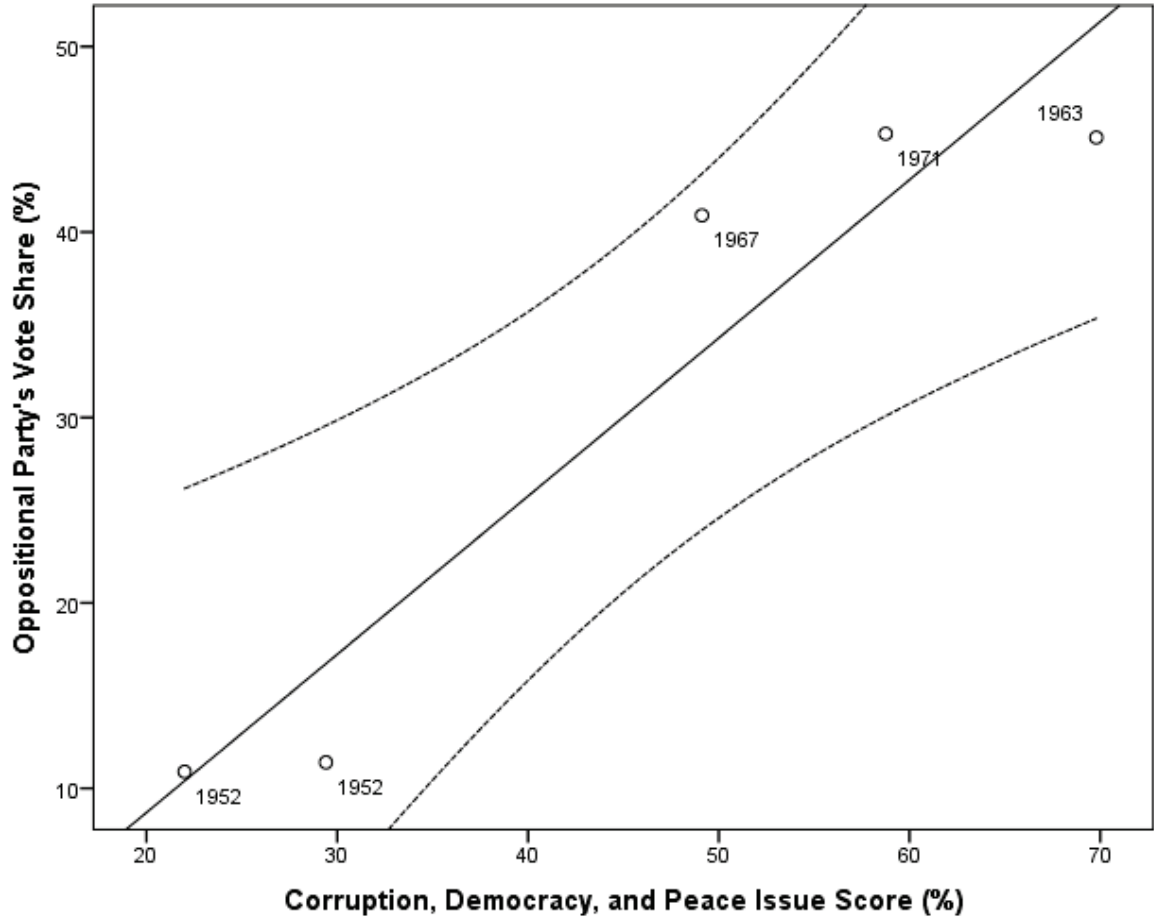
*Note: overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of conservative party's issues of national security and economy over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the conservative party's vote share of the presidential elections. *Source:* Data for overarching issue score from *Donga Daily's* articles on electoral issues.

On the other hand, the issues of corruption, democracy, and peace were also significant in oppositional parties' vote shares from the 1952 to 1971 elections in Figure 3 - 18 - A (coefficient = 0.853, p-value = 0.014, and $R^2 = 0.897$). However, as governmental party's cases in Figure 3 - 17 - A, the 1952 presidential election was

also the outlier in Figure 3 - 18 - A. Even if the election in the middle of the Korean War was excluded, the relationship between oppositional parties and their issues was positively influential in Figure 3 - 18 - B (coefficient = 0.198, p-value = 0.384, and $R^2 = 0.678$). Oppositional parties continued to emphasize the issues to criticize long-term or military governmental power. Of course, in Figure 3 - 15, these issues were still the most important issues of oppositional parties in presidential elections during the military dictatorship (1972 – 1986).

Figure 3 - 18 - A. Oppositional Parties' Issues and Korean Election Results,

1952 - 1971



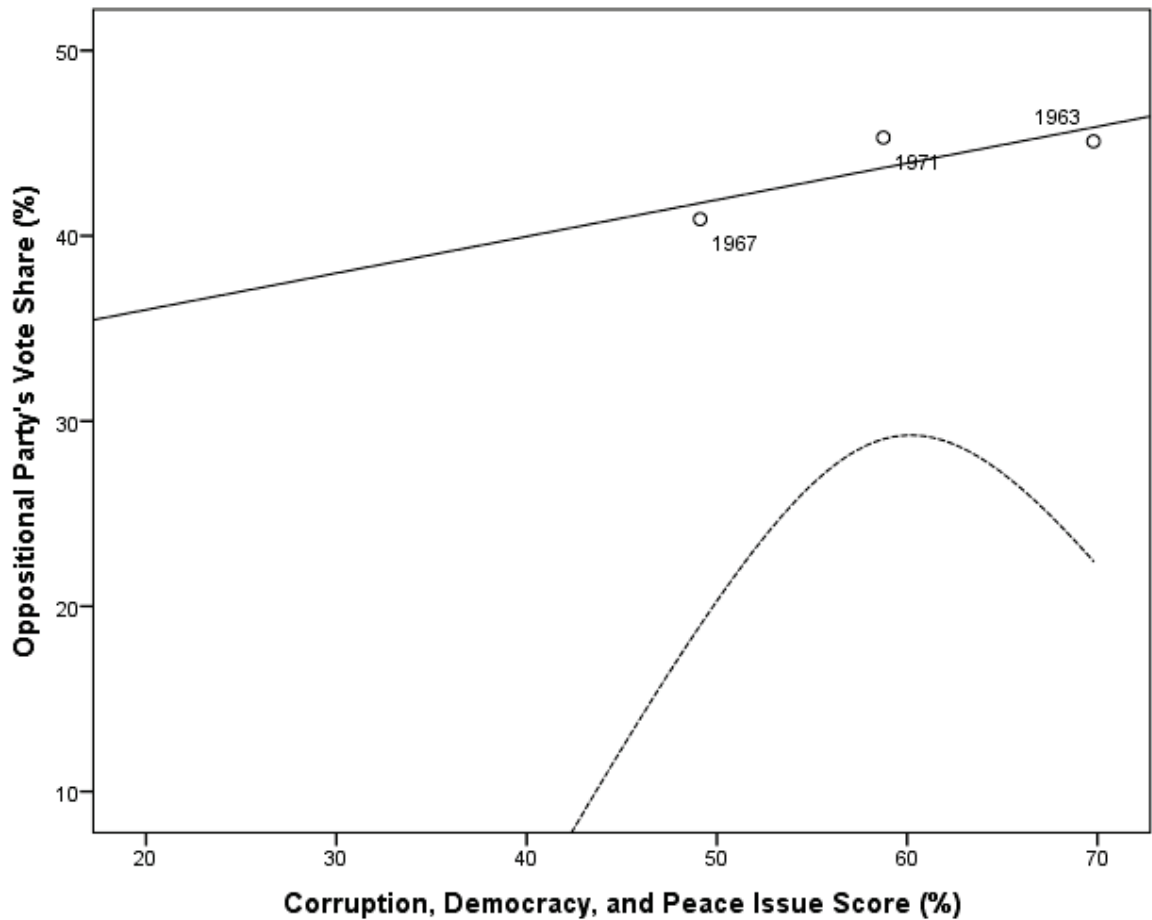
*Note: overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of conservative party's issues of national security and economy over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the conservative party's vote share of the presidential elections. *Source:* Data for overarching issue score from *Donga Daily's* articles on electoral issues.

In brief, it is obvious that national security and economic issues were the crucial agendas that governmental parties used to gain and maintain support. The issues played important roles in the electoral success of the governmental parties. The agendas of corruption, democracy, and peace were the important issues for the

oppositional parties and were used to criticize the governmental parties. The issues were highly influential in the oppositional parties' vote.

Figure 3 - 18 - B. Oppositional Parties' Issues and Korean Election Results, 1963

- 1971



*Note: overarching issue score (X-axis) was measured by the percentage of conservative party's issues of national security and economy over all their electoral agendas. Y-axis indicates the conservative party's vote share of the presidential elections. *Source:* Data for overarching issue score from *Donga Daily's* articles on electoral issues.

3.3.4. The Overarching Issues and Social Cleavages

Overarching issues consistently suppressed social cleavages over four decades in Korea. Korean election survey data do not exist before the 1992 presidential election. However, the literature of Korean elections demonstrates which social groups supported political parties during the war and industrialization period. First, the social groups of Liberal Party (LP, 1951 - 1960), which was the first governmental party, was rural voters and farmers, while urbanites were the supporters of Korean Democratic Party (KDP), the oppositional party (Yoon 1960). After the end of the Korean War (1953), LP gained issue reputations of national security and agriculture from land reform during the late 1940s and the early 1950s. The success of the reform collapsed the landlord class and increased small-holders (Im 1987). Considering that the population was over 70 percent rural until the early 1960s, the LP's supporters made up over the majority of total voters.⁴⁰ The social base was the rural voters and farmers who were concerned about national security and economic issues at that time.

Meanwhile, urban upper and middle classes, and farmers were the major supporters of Democratic Republican Party (DRP) which was the second governmental party since the early 1960s (Choi 2002; Yoon 1981). The supporters of DRP were the beneficiaries of DRP's industrialization. DRP government which was

⁴⁰ The percentage of rural population was 72 percent in 1963. The rural area indicates the population is less than 50,000 (Gil 1993).

established by military elites successfully led economic development in a very short time from the 1960s to the 1970s. Table 3 - 6 shows DRP's vote share in the presidential elections which were held during DRP's government era. DRP gained a majority of votes from the rural areas in the 1963 election. Surprisingly, DRP gained more than 50 percent of total votes from urbanites as well as rural voters in the 1967 election when the economy drastically developed. Then in the 1971 election, DRP's vote gap between rural and urban areas declined compared to the 1963 election. Table 3 – 6 confirms that both rural and urban voters, probably urban upper and middle class, commonly supported DRP government.

Table 3 - 6. Change of DRP's Presidential Vote Share

	1963	1967	1971
Big City	41.5 %	55.4 %	41.8 %
Middle City	40.1	54.7	48.5
Small City	41.1	54.4	53.2
Rural Area	55.0	55.7	60.1

**Note:* The population of big city is more than one million; middle city is between 200,000 and one million; small city is between 50,000 and 200,000; rural area is less than 20,000. ** Source:* Kim's Dissertation, as cited in Kim, 1991, p. 233.

On the other hand, the composition of party membership could show the social base of DRP because the proportion of social groups in the party members reflects what social groups supported DRP. The party tried to make a majority coalition to stabilize their long-term governmental power. Table 3 - 7 compares the occupations of DRP partisans. The largest group was still farmers, as they were the main supporters of LP. However, the

percentage sharply declined from more than 70% in the early 1960s to 33.4% in 1971. On the contrary, office workers, whose support increased as the economy developed, were the second largest group in 1971.

Table 3 - 7. DRP's Members' Occupation, 1970

Farmer	Merchant	Manufacturer	Self-Employed	Office Worker	Student	Manual Worker	Unemployed
33.4%	9.2%	4.0%	3.3%	12.7%	2.2%	6.1%	29.1%

*Source: Cho's Book, as cited in Shin, 1989, p. 165

When it comes to income level of DRP members, middle high (34%) and middle low (21.8%) groups in Table 3 – 8, who rose sharply thanks to the industrialization, were the main supporters. Interestingly, the proportions of DRP members' occupations and income levels reflected the percentages of total social groups in the society (Shin 1989, 165). This indicates that DRP was supported by the general Korean population which was concerned about economic growth and threats from the north during the war and industrialization period.

Table 3 - 8. DRP Members' Income Level, 1970

High	Middle High	Middle Low	Low	Extremely Low
6.7 %	34%	33.3%	21.8%	4.2%

*Source: Cho's Book, as cited in Shin, 1989, p. 165.

After DRP won the 1971 presidential election, the DRP government changed the Constitution to guarantee President Park's unlimited reelection. But the justification for the constitutional change was to ensure successful industrialization and for the protection of the country against the North. However, in September 26th, 1979, President Park was assassinated by the Chief of Korean Central Agency (KCIA), his hometown friend. Then, Park's successors who were military elites carried out a coup again in December 12th, 1979 and established the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) government (1980 – 1990). As seen in Figure 14, displayed above, the DRP and DJP governments continued to emphasize national security and economic issues in order to legitimize their governmental powers, but the emphases declined over time.

Interestingly, the social base of Korean governmental parties was similar to Japanese LDP. Rural voters, urban upper and middle classes were the supporters of governmental parties in both countries during the war and industrialization period. Even though Korean governmental parties changed due to the revolution and military coups, they commonly kept their governmental powers based on the overarching issue effects. A majority of social groups supported governmental parties because general people wanted to solve the problems of the economy and external threats. Consequently, governmental parties gained a majority of social groups' support due to the issue reputations of national security and economic development. In this situation, overarching issues suppressed other social agendas and social divisions in party competition.

3.4. Taiwanese Single-Party State Formation

3.4.1. Kuomintang's Most Important Issue

Taiwan had been the single-party state which KMT governed for five decades (1949 – 1986) after the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) defeated the KMT government in the mainland in the civil war. Even though there were attempts to form oppositional parties, they ended in failure due to the KMT's government repression.⁴¹ KMT's candidate was the only candidate until the 1990 presidential election. During that period, the KMT government put an overwhelming emphasis on the importance of national security, dominating the island under martial law. During the war and industrialization period, Chiang, Kai-Shek was the president for 26 years (1949 – 1975) and his son, Chiang, Ching-Kuo followed soon after, residing as president for 10 years (1978 – 1988). In every National Affairs Conference held to choose the Taiwanese president, the presidential candidates exclaimed “with one heart and one mind, retake the country (一心一德, 反攻復國).” The issue of national security was the agenda which KMT continued to stress in mobilizing the Taiwanese.

⁴¹ Liberal writer Hu Shih and his colleagues asked for the right to form a new political party in 1958. Journalist Lei Chen and other political leaders tried to create the China Democratic Party (CDP) in 1960. In 1986, opposition politicians eventually formed Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and DPP gained 21 seats to propose legislation in the 1989 legislative election.

CCP posed a threat to the old nationalist party several times. In the Korean War, the U.S. and Taiwanese governments seriously worried about CCP's invasion of Taiwan (Roy 2003). Taiwan and mainland China came to the brink of war twice: First Taiwan Strait Crisis (1954 – 1955) and Second Taiwan Strait Crisis (1958). Furthermore, the United Nations expelled Taiwan from the members of General Assembly and the mainland China took over the membership in 1971. This event was a severe blow to Taiwan's international relationships because Taiwan subsequently had to face diplomatic breaks with most countries. Obviously, Taiwanese had to be seriously concerned about real threats from the mainland and severe international relationships.

On the other hand, since the 1960s, Taiwan had started to develop economically. The KMT government took the lead in economic plans and infrastructure projects. The first export procession zone opened in Kaohsiung in 1966 and the “Ten Major Construction Projects (1974 – 1979)” improved national infrastructure. Taiwan was the most state-directed economic model among East Asian developmental states. Although East Asian governments commonly led economic development, Taiwan's share of state-owned enterprises in the industrial sector was the highest among three countries (Amsden 1985; Woo-Cummings 1998). Therefore, the KMT government more directly controlled people in distributing economic resources and benefits. Among the three countries during that period, Taiwan's ruling party was the one who kept the tightest rein on their society in terms of military and economic aspects.

Why did KMT excessively emphasize national security more than any other issues? The first reason is that the KMT government had faced real threats from the mainland since the defeat in the Chinese civil war (1927 – 1949). In addition, Taiwan experienced

diplomatic isolation because if a country wanted to establish a diplomatic tie with Taiwan, Beijing would sever their tie with that particular country (Copper 1992). the KMT government had utilized the issue of national security to quash ethnic conflict between the mainlanders and native Taiwanese. The KMT government urged national unity to protect and recover the country against the CCP. Contrary to Japan and Korea, the KMT government had a potentially severe ethnic problem. In fact, native Taiwanese revolted against KMT government in the “2-2-8 incident.” But, KMT militants appallingly suppressed rebels in 1947.⁴² After that, the KMT government controlled the island under martial law for 38 years (1949 - 1987). However, the issue of Taiwanese identity emerged right after KMT’s single-party state period ended (Fleischauer 2007). Therefore, the national security issue was the predominant issue which contributed to KMT’s long-term power.

Interestingly, even if Taiwan was a single-party state in the war and industrialization period, the presidents were elected in the National Affairs Conference by members representing all provinces of China including the mainland. Most of the members were mainlanders who moved to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek. It was a ceremonial process to decide on only one candidate of KMT to be the president every 6 years. Thus, the documents of presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference gave researchers the chance to analyze what issues KMT emphasized to mobilize Taiwanese and to legitimize its long-term government.

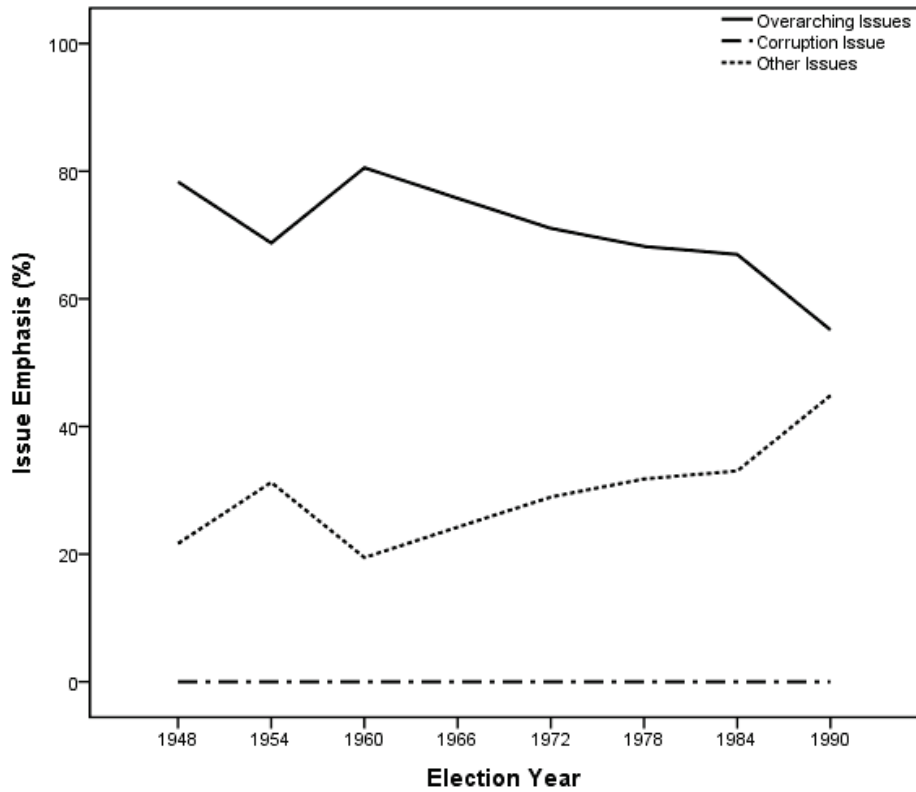
⁴² The 2-2-8 incident was an anti-government uprising which happened on February 28 in 1947. Tens of thousands of native Taiwanese and mainlanders were killed or injured in the incident.

3.4.2. KMT's Issue Emphases

Figure 3 - 19 simply shows how much KMT highlighted overarching issues over the five decades. Especially, the KMT government considered national security as the most important issue to protect the island against CCP. In the 1960 election which was held after the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis (1958), the issue emphasis peaked. The percentage of national security issues in 1960 was 76.76 %, as seen in Figure 20. Following that, the national security emphasis declined over time even though the issue was still the most important during the war and industrialization period.

On the other hand, KMT did put less emphasis on the issue of economic development compared to other East Asian countries. But, the KMT government's economic plans were very successful in improving people's living conditions (Amsden 1985; Jang 1999; Woo-Cummings 1998). Economic growth as well as national security was the backbone of KMT's long-term governmental power. In addition, the proportion of other issues consistently increased in Figure 3 – 20. As the national security issue declined, other issues such as human rights, democracy, welfare state expansion, and law and order gradually emerged since 1960. This phenomenon was related to Chiang, Ching-Kuo's administration (1978 – 1988)'s Taiwanization policy. As the KMT governance stabilized, it was a responsive adaptation to accept local issues in Taiwan (Dickson 1996). Furthermore, Lee Teng-Hui who was the first native Taiwanese president emphasized other diversified issues in the 1990 election more than in previous elections.

Figure 3 - 19. KMT's Electoral Issues, 1948 - 1990

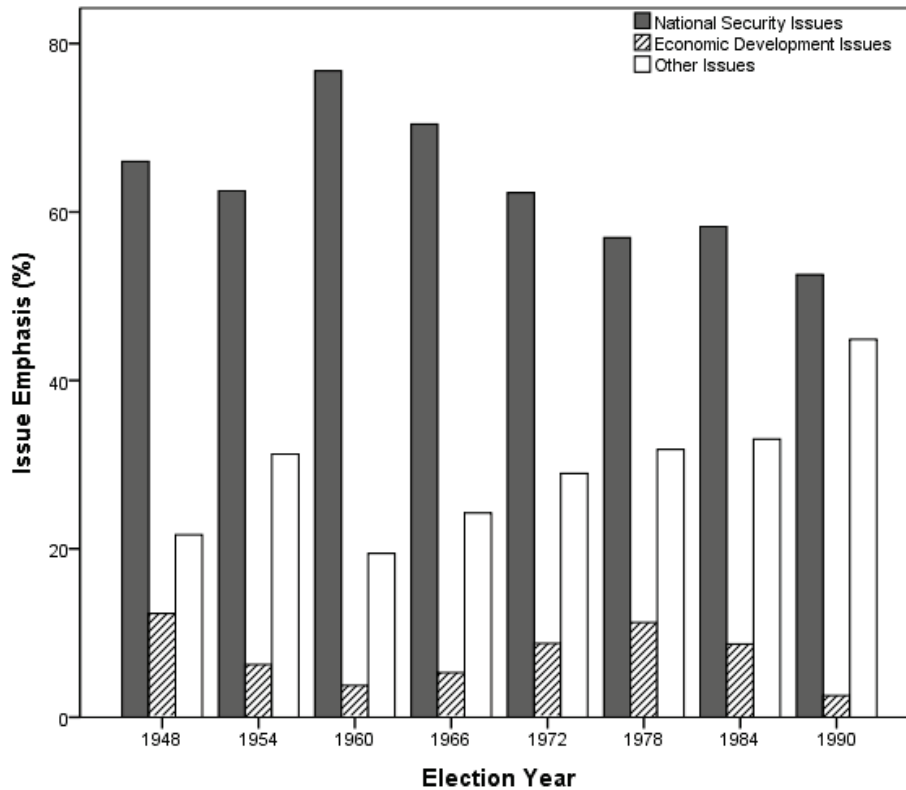


*Source: Data from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990).

3.4.3. KMT's Social Base

Even if survey data did not exist, KMT's social base could be confirmed based on the party membership. Only KMT was able to form the government and represent Taiwanese people during the war and industrialization period. KMT utilized overarching issues to suppress social divisions. The characteristics of KMT's members provide us with information about which social groups made up the party base.

Figure 3 - 20. KMT's Issue Emphasis, 1948 - 1990



*Source: Data from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990).

Table 3 - 9 reports the change in the composition of KMT's members in terms of occupation and ethnicity. In 1952, the largest group of the national Leninist party was soldiers who had evacuated from the mainland with General Chiang Kai-Shek.⁴³ The second largest group was party and governmental officials and teachers. At that time, KMT's main members consisted of mainlanders' military and governmental groups who

⁴³ Dickson (1993; 1996) claims that KMT is Leninist party in terms of historical origin, organizational structure, and leadership.

were occupying the island. However, in 1974 the largest occupation group was the professional group, which sharply outnumbered other groups when the economy was developing; the military group had sharply decreased in number as the KMT stabilized in Taiwan. Workers and farmers were also crucial groups who supported in 1952 and 1974. In sum, the change of KMT's members reflected the changing nature of the whole Taiwanese society (Dickson 1996, 58). As the data show, KMT was able to stay in power even though the party membership changed as the society changed. This is consistent with the argument that the KMT effectively emphasized overarching issues to elicit general population's support and to suppress social differences in Taiwan. Meanwhile, the ethnic proportion of party membership between Taiwanese and Mainlanders did not change significantly to represent the ethnic composition of the whole population since 1952.

Table 3 - 9. KMT's Members' Occupation and Ethnicity Rate

	1952	1974
<i>Occupation</i>		
Farmer	7.7 %	9.5 %
Worker	13.8	12.9
Industry and Commerce	4.4	9.4
Student		11.0
Party and Governmental Official and Teacher	18.6	19.0
Professional		20.7
Soldier	39.6	5.8
Retired Soldier		2.5
Housewife	n.a.	3.4
Other	15.5	5.9
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Taiwanese	56.9	55.2
Mainlander	43.1	44.8

**Source:* Xu's Book, *Shijie sizhong huiyi yilai zhongyang weiyuanhui ge danwei zhongyao gongzuo gaikuang baogao* (Report on the working conditions of Central Committee organs since the Fourth Plenum of the Tenth Central Committee), and Tien's book, as cited in Dickson, 1996, p. 59.

However, even if there were more Taiwanese than mainlanders, a majority of KMT cadres were mainlanders especially in the higher positions. As Table 3 – 10 displays, mainlanders were still overwhelmingly major cadres in the provinces until 1985, but the Taiwanese members seriously increased in the districts and counties. It means that the ethnic division was concealed during the war and industrialization period. However, it was still able to directly erupt when the overarching issue effect weakened starting in the 1990s. Therefore, KMT's supporters were mainlanders, urban upper and middle class,

and farmers who formed the majority coalition of KMT government. They were the beneficiaries of economic development and national security throughout the six

Table 3 - 10. Ethnic Characteristic of KMT Cadres, 1975 and 1985

	Province		County		District	
	1975	1985	1975	1985	1975	1985
Taiwan	n.a.	27.9 %	34.5	53.9	56.6	73.3
Mainland	n.a.	72.1 %	65.4	46.1	43.4	26.7

**Source:* Yang's work, as cited in Dickson, 1996, p. 55.

Like Japan and South Korea's political parties, KMT also emphasized overarching issues to keep the governmental power and suppress social divisions. The social base of KMT was similar to the governmental parties of other two East Asian countries in that urban upper and middle class, and farmers were the supporters. Contrary to other countries, however, KMT had serious ethnic conflict between mainlanders and Taiwanese. Even though overarching issues suppressed this possible division, it had the potential to be a volatile dispute.

3.5. Conclusion

The overarching issues had a grand effect on long-term governmental power in East Asia. The effects also suppressed social cleavages and narrowed the area of the party's issues. Political parties had reputations within limited issues during the war

and industrialization period. Long-term governmental parties in East Asia emphasized the great concerns of national security and economic development; oppositional parties focused on the issues of corruption, peace, and democracy. For East Asian people were mainly concerned about these fundamental problems as the party system formed after WWII. Geopolitics is also very important in understanding East Asian political issues. East Asian conservative governmental parties directly took advantage of the national security issue due to the Cold War in the region. As a result, as far as building the nation and industry, the first concerns were urgent problems from which the general population was not free. But as the urgent concerns were heading towards resolution, the importance of the agendas declined and other issues were raised in party politics.

The social base of East Asian party politics was not a single group but the social divisions were suppressed by the overarching issue effects during the war and industrialization period. Long-term governmental parties successfully took advantage of the strong issue effects to make a majority coalition. On the other hand, the general population supported their economic and national security policies because they could benefit from the governmental parties' success.

3.6. Appendix

Table 3 - 11. Issue Effects, Social Groups, and Party Votes

	1967		1972		1983		1993	
	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP	CLP/LDP	CLP/CGP
Overarching	0.77*	15.64	0.11 ^a	0.00	0.16**	-0.09	0.43***	-0.24*
Issues	(0.41)	(2386.45)	(0.09)	(0.22)	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.14)
Center – Left	0.39	15.97	-0.53***	-0.24	-0.53***	-0.19	-0.40***	-0.04
Issues	(0.42)	(2386.45)	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.08)	(0.16)
Other Issues	1.03**	15.27	-0.31***	0.23	0.06	0.13	-0.18***	0.32***
	(0.44)	(2386.45)	(0.11)	(0.26)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.06)	(0.12)
Religion	0.39**	1.40***	0.45	3.93***	0.34	2.71***	0.71*	3.41***
Members	(0.17)	(0.46)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.39)
Farmers	0.35 ^b	-15.08	1.01***	-0.62	0.34 ^c	-0.83	1.30***	-0.84
	(0.23)	(1194.62)	(0.28)	(0.93)	(0.26)	(0.85)	(0.32)	(1.07)
Union Members	-1.63***	-0.25	-1.72***	-1.16**	-1.61***	-1.40***	-0.74***	-1.08*
	(0.24)	(0.55)	(0.22)	(0.51)	(0.20)	(0.39)	(0.23)	(0.56)
Rural High	0.25	0.16	0.24	0.08	0.10	0.82	-0.22	-1.16*
	(0.35)	(1.27)	(0.28)	(0.76)	(0.27)	(0.57)	(0.27)	(0.68)

Middle	0.06 (0.32)	-15.02 (1076.83)	0.17 (0.25)	0.05 (0.75)	0.12 (0.29)	0.38 (0.66)	-0.06 (0.23)	-1.40** (0.66)
Low	-0.18 (0.35)	0.28 (1.26)	-0.37 (0.26)	0.33 (0.66)	-0.16 (0.27)	-0.08 (0.69)	-0.51** (0.25)	-0.49 (0.51)
Urban High	0.04 (0.33)	0.43 (1.15)	0.27 (0.25)	-0.30 (0.71)	-0.44* (0.24)	0.99** (0.49)	-0.62*** (0.19)	-0.74* (0.40)
Middle	-0.16 (0.33)	1.25 (1.09)	-0.38 (0.24)	0.44 (0.61)	-0.44* (0.26)	1.29** (0.50)	-0.55*** (0.20)	-0.45 (0.39)
Low	-0.24 (0.39)	0.78 (1.20)	-1.02*** (0.25)	0.57 (0.58)	-0.79*** (0.27)	1.17** (0.52)	-0.54** (0.25)	-0.05 (0.40)
Constant	-0.48 (0.48)	-19.27 (2386.45)	0.85*** (0.22)	-2.92*** (0.59)	1.22*** (0.21)	-2.13*** (0.47)	0.27** (0.12)	-2.01*** (0.24)
Pseudo- R ²	0.0957		0.1743		0.1392		0.1141	
Number of Cases	786		1441		1338		1331	

*Note: Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$. CLP's vote is the baseline comparison group in the dependent variable. ^a p – value = 0.214; ^b p – value = 0.122; ^c p – value = 0.190. Source: JNES 1967; ASSK, 1972, 1983, and 1993.

Chapter 4. New Party Coalitions and Generational Effect

East Asian countries have sharply changed since the end of World War II and the Korean War. Severely underdeveloped countries were transformed into developed countries over only four decades. When it comes to comparing Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of these countries between 1953 and 1990, Japanese GDP increased to a level that was 7.77 times that of its GDP in 1953, Korean GDP increased to 7.79 times, and Taiwanese GDP increased to 9.62 times (Heston, Summers and Aten 2011).⁴⁴ The people's urgent goals of national industrialization and improvement of living conditions were basically solved and ceased to be severe concerns. Second, international relations in East Asia entered upon a new phase in the 1980s. Deng Xiaoping's administration opened the Chinese market in the 1980s, and the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. These international events signified the end of the Cold War, which was closely related to the strong effect of national security issue in this area. While national defense still remains an important issue in East Asia today, international relations among China, Russia, Japan, North and South Korea, Taiwan, and the United States are much less of a flashpoint now compared to the Cold War era. Third, democratization also changed party competition in Korea and Taiwan in the late 1980s and the early 1990s.

⁴⁴ In 1953, Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese GDPs per capita were \$ 3,558.01, \$1,493.32, and \$1,419.27. But they were \$27,638.50, \$11,633.13, and \$13,651.56 in 1990 based on the international dollar.

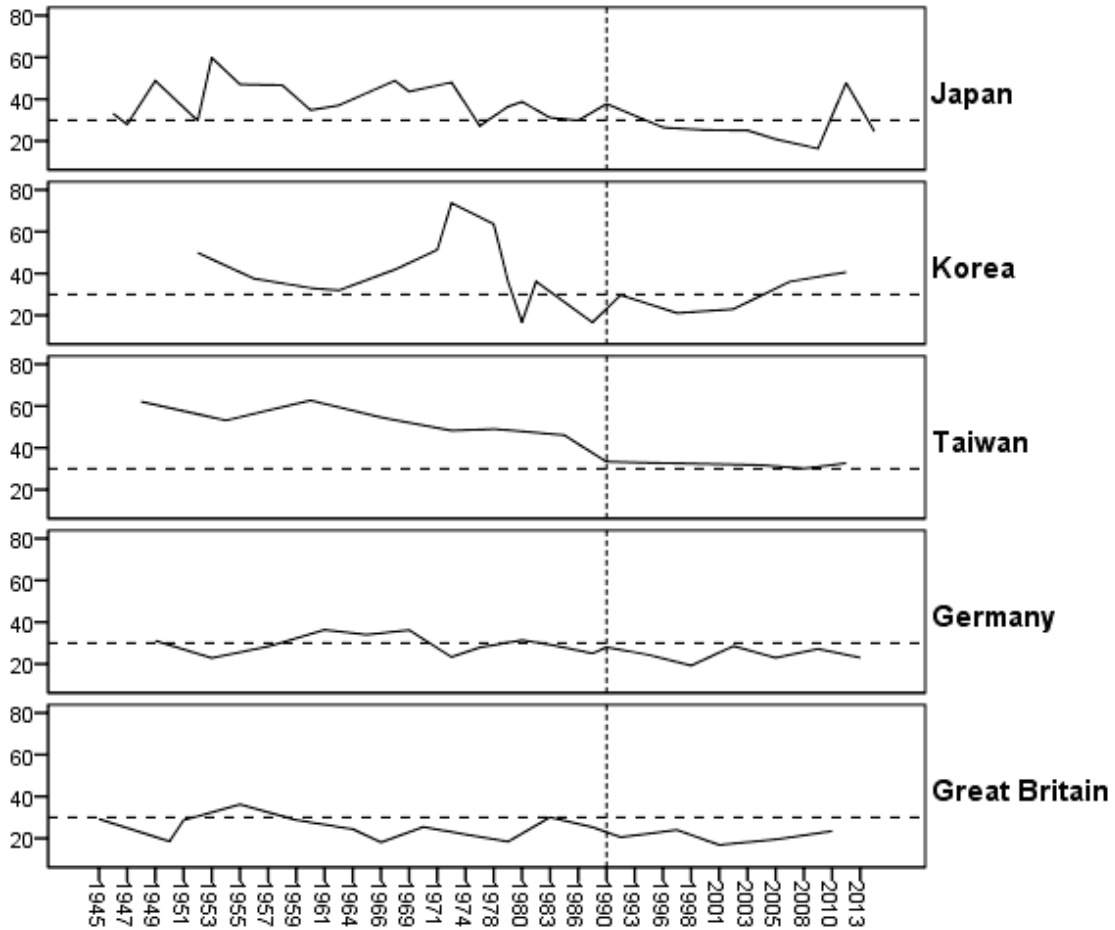
Oppositional parties criticized long-term governmental parties and raised new issues and social divisions which previously had been suppressed by the overarching issues of economic development and national defense.

Overarching and corruption issues declined to close to the level of western advanced countries since the 1990s; this contributed to forming party competition during the war and industrialization period. Meanwhile, different social divisions, which the severe nationwide problems suppressed during the war and industrialization period, could emerge. People were not only concerned about the general matters of the country but also the issues of subgroups with regard to region, class, religion, and ethnicity. As a result, party coalitions were realigned in the post - transitional era.

Figure 4 – 1 illustrates the change in the overarching issue emphases of economic development and national security in the countries of Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Germany, and Great Britain from 1945 to 2014. As Figure 4 – 1 shows, the emphasis of two strong issues rapidly declined in the transitional period. East Asian political parties emphasized the issues on average 16.83% more than German and British political parties from 1945 to 1990. However, the percentage of East Asian overarching issues was close to the level of two western European countries since the 1990s. Between 1990 and 2014, the political parties of the five countries highlighted both issues at a level of more or less 30% out of the total electoral issues, except in Japanese and Korean 2012 elections. Political parties of both countries accentuated the issues more than 40% in the 2012 elections due to recovery of economic recess and the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake and

Tsunami Disaster. Overall, the issues of economic development and national security in East Asian developed countries were not urgent problems in the post – Cold War era.

Figure 4 - 1. Decline of Overarching Issues, 1945 - 2014



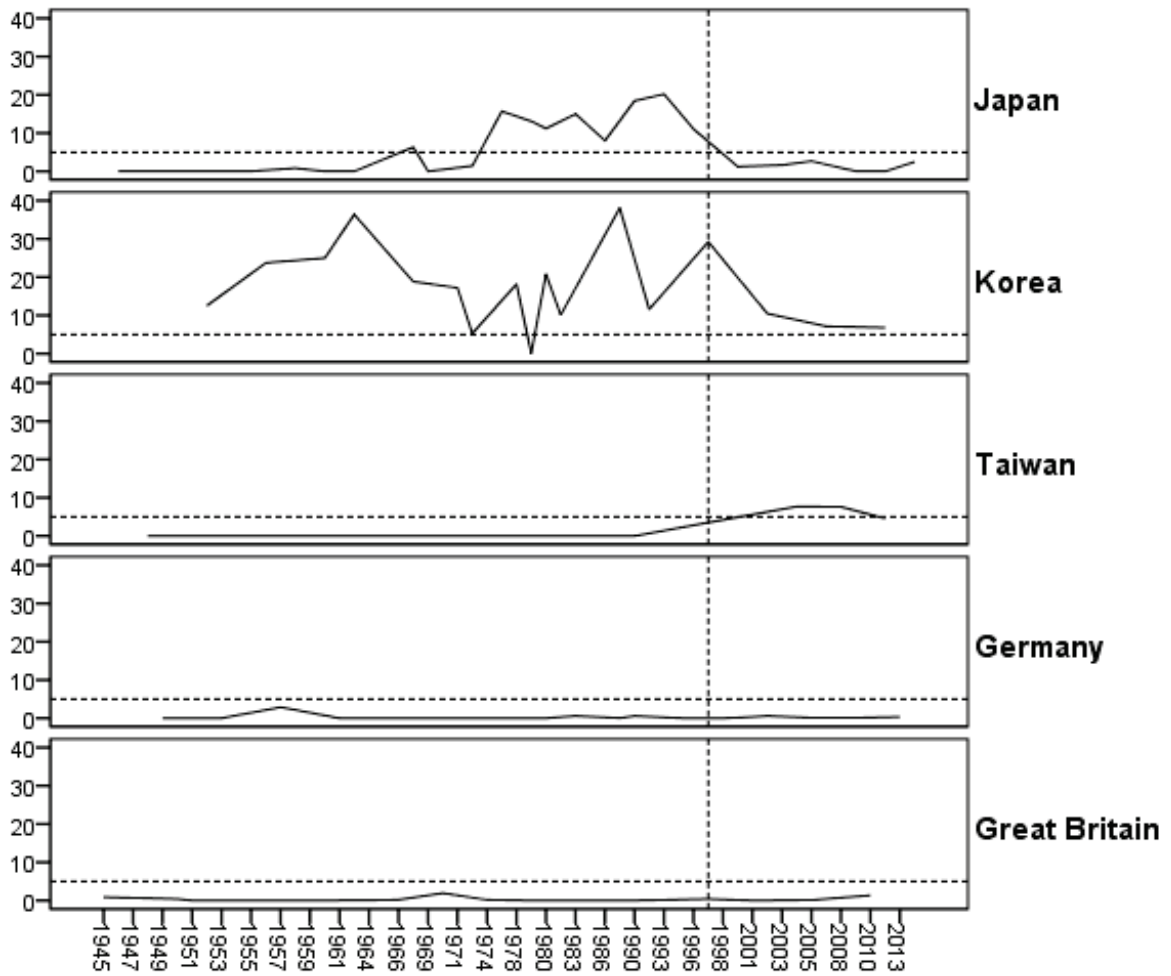
*Note: The x axis indicates the election year and the y axis the mean percentage of issue emphasis on economic development and national security in each country. *Source:* Data for Germany (1949 – 2013) and Great Britain (1945 – 2010) from MPD, Japan from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958 and 2009 – 2014) and MPD (1960 – 2005), Korea from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1987), televised presidential candidate speeches (1992) and televised presidential debates (1997 – 2012), and Taiwan from the collection

of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990) and televised presidential debates (2004 – 2012).

Meanwhile, Figure 4 – 2 displays the change in the emphasis of the corruption issue in the five countries from 1945 to 2014, measured by a percentage which reflects the amount of focus on the corruption issue over the political parties' total electoral issues. The corruption problem, which was the major issue of oppositional parties during the war and industrialization period, also decreased in significance. On average from 1945 to 1990, East Asian political parties emphasized the issue 7.68% more than the two western countries' political parties. Since the 1990s, however, East Asian political parties' corruption issue captured about 5% of total electoral issues.

Interestingly, the declining patterns of overarching and corruption issues were different. The corruption issue declined more slowly than economic development and national defense issues in the proportion of electoral issues. In Figure 4 – 1, since 1990, the overarching issues declined to close to the level of western countries' political parties, but as Figure 4 - 2 indicates, the corruption issue dropped since the 1993 Japanese election and the 1997 Korean election both of which were the first long-term oppositional parties' successful election in the two countries. Furthermore, Taiwanese political parties began to raise the corruption issue since democratization. However, the corruption issue also decreased in the 2012 election in Taiwan. This signifies that the corruption issue played an important role in long-term oppositional parties' first election success. But since center-left parties won the first election, corruption was not just the long-term oppositional parties' issue anymore; it also declined during the post-transitional period.

Figure 4 – 2. Change of Corruption Issue Emphasis, 1945 - 2014

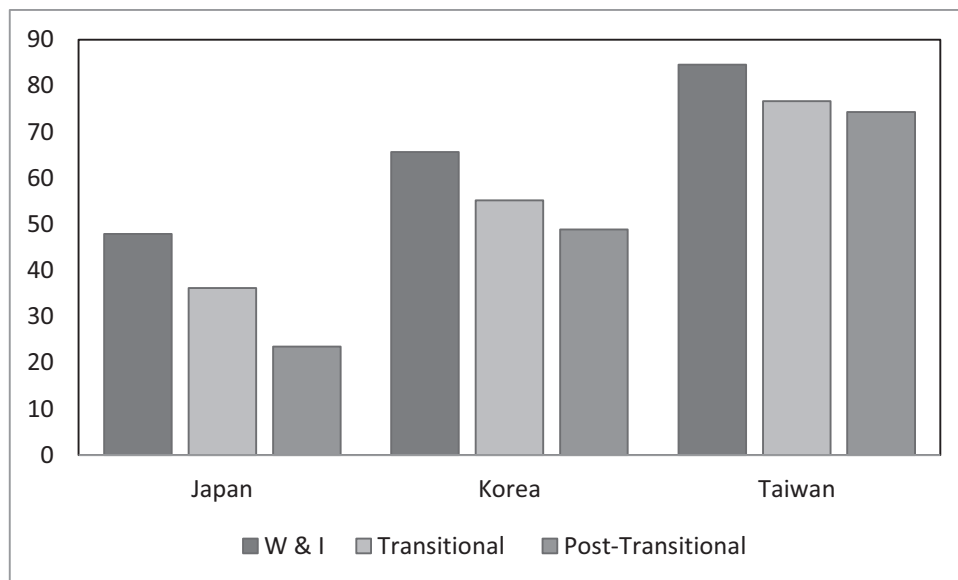


*Note: The x axis indicates the election year and the y axis the mean percentage of issue emphasis on corruption in each country. *Source:* Data for Germany (1949 – 2013) and Great Britain (1945 – 2010) from MPD, Japan from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958 and 2009 – 2014) and MPD (1960 – 2005), Korea from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1952 – 1987), televised presidential candidate speeches (1992) and televised presidential debates (1997 – 2012), and Taiwan from the collection of KMT's presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990) and televised presidential debates (2004 – 2012).

The young generation also played an important role in changing party politics in three countries. The young cohort who participated in the election at the first time

since the transitional period showed different party support compared to the old cohort. Generally speaking, young voters supported long-term governmental parties less than old voters in Figure 4 – 3 during the transitional period. In fact, the young generation helped the end of LDP dominance and democratization in Korea and Taiwan. The young generation had a totally different experience as the new voters. Because they were relatively free from poverty and external threats, they were able to have more of an interest both in diversified issues and in their own social groups. However, the generational effect weakened over time, and new voters assimilated into social divisions based on their social characteristics, even though there was variation in the relationships between generational effect and social divisions in three countries. The following sections will deal with the changes of party coalitions and generational effect in the elections of each country since the 1990s.

Figure 4 – 3. Generation Gap of Long - Term Governmental Party Support



**Note:* Generation gap indicates the different percentage of long – term governmental party’s vote share between three generations. East Asian generations are divided into the war and industrialization (W & I) cohort, the transitional cohort, and the post-transitional cohort. This analysis is based on the 1993 Japanese lower house election, the 1992 Korean presidential election, and the 1996 Taiwanese presidential election.

4. 1 Japanese Party Politics, 1993 – 2014

The change of Japanese party politics is an example which offers relatively rich evidence on overarching issue effects, because there are more content and survey data than the other two countries. Figure 4 – 4 shows the different trends of electoral issue emphases during the post-WWII era. Japanese political parties focused on overarching issues during the war and industrialization period. However, the emphasis of economic and defense issues declined overtime. The interesting point is that Figure 4 - 4 displays the opposite direction between overarching and diversified issue emphases. Furthermore, political parties clearly emphasized diversified issue agendas more than overarching issues since the 1990s.

Figure 4 - 4. Change of Japanese Electoral Issue Emphasis by Content Analysis



*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958 and 2009 - 2014) and MPD (1960 – 1990).

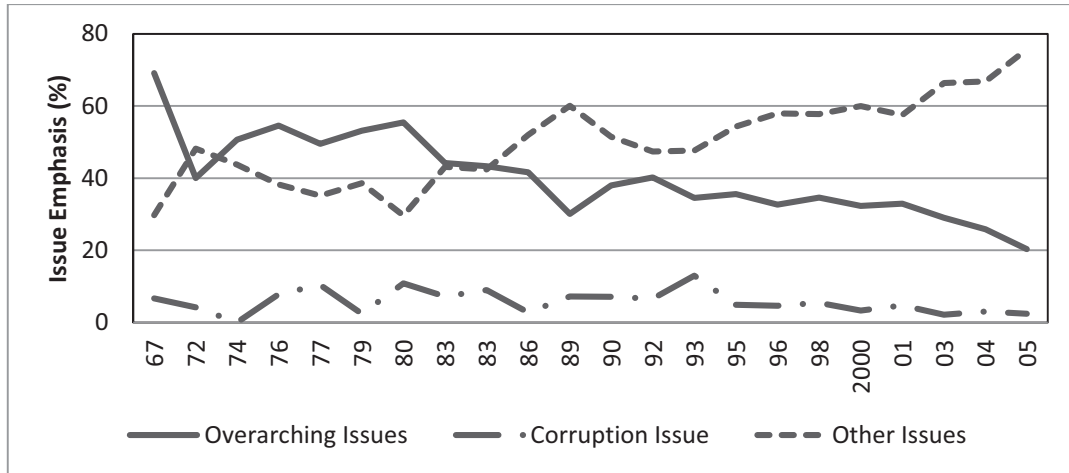
Meanwhile oppositional parties' corruption issue emphasis reached its peak in the 1993 election when LDP lost the election for the first time. In fact, the corruption issue contributed to long-term oppositional parties' election success in 1993. Thereafter, overarching and corruption issues generally dropped and other diverse issues climbed except in the 2012 election. In that election, Japanese political parties reemphasized

economic issues such as reconstruction of infrastructure and economic recovery after the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami Disaster.⁴⁵

Figure 4 – 5 also confirms these patterns of electoral issues based on survey data analysis. Since the 1967 election, Japanese voters' issue concerns on economic development and national defense lessened and corruption issue climaxed in the 1993 election and declined, too. Meanwhile, a variety of other issues consistently increased throughout the elections. The similar outcomes in Figures 4 – 4 and 4 – 5 indicate that political parties' electoral issue emphases are closely associated with voters' issue concerns. Political parties paid attention to voters' concerns and also mobilized voters' support to make a majority of coalitions. Thus, because voters were interested in more diversified issue agendas beyond general concerns, overarching issues no longer had as strong of an impact on election outcomes. As declining the strong issue effects, social groups raised their own interests and issues other than common goals. As a result, party coalitions were reshaped.

⁴⁵ This terrible catastrophe which was 9.0 magnitudes caused 15,889 deaths, 6,152 injuries, and 2,601 people missing. At the same time, it brought about Fukushima nuclear power plant explosion and severe infrastructural damage in Japanese northeastern area (National Police Agency of Japan 2014).

Figure 4 - 5. Change of Japanese Electoral Issue Emphasis by Survey Analysis



*Source: JNES, 1967 and ASSK, 1972 – 2005.

4.1.1 Change of Japanese Party Coalitions

As the importance of economic and national security issues declined, Japanese voters realigned during the post-transitional period. Since the 1990s, after successful economic development and the end of the Cold War, long-term LDP government faced economic recess. Even if LDP government intended to boost the economy with several supplementary budgets and stimulus packages since 1987, the government was not able to solve the economic downturn (Patterson and Beason 2001). Consequently, LDP's social base, which made majority coalitions during the war and industrialization period, was reformulated after the 1993 election.

Table 4 - 1. Japanese Social Cleavage and Party Vote, 1976 and 2000

	1976	2000
<i>Urban Area</i>		
High	12.6	-27.0
Middle	5.4	-23.5
Low	-18.6	-2.4
<i>Rural Area</i>		
High	20.2	37.5
Middle	14.1	9.3
Low	3.5	29.5
Union Member	-54.6	-35.5
Farmer & Fisherman	61.2	53.4
Religious Member	-20.2	27.1

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between LDP and center - left parties. Positive numbers mean a plurality of LDP's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of left parties' vote share. The value of religious member indicates the difference of party vote shares between LDP and CGP. Negative numbers mean a plurality of CGP's vote share; Positive numbers a plurality of LDP's vote share. **Source:* ASSK, 1976 and 2000.

Table 4 – 1 compares the change of party votes of social groups between the 1976 and the 2000 elections. LDP's coalition during the war and industrialization period consisted of urban high and middle classes, rural residents, and farmers. These social groups supported LDP's long-term government, which was the beneficiary of two grand issue effects. But, a majority of urban high and middle classes did not support LDP after the 1993 election (See Tables 4 – 1 and 4 – 2). This realignment of these groups was closely related to LDP's failure of economic policy. Koizumi's neoliberal reforms such as free market, privatization of governmental

agencies, and decentralization succeeded to regain the votes of urban high and middle classes in the 2005 election. But both these groups' voters generally realigned except in the 2005 election. Furthermore, even if rural voters and farmers still supported LDP, the degree of their LDP support was also lessened, as seen in Table 4 - 2. However, the level of religious voters' LDP support increased since 1993.

Meanwhile, center-left party coalition also changed. Urban low class and union members were the social groups that supported center-left parties during the war and industrialization period. Since the 1993 election, however, urban high and middle classes also began to support center-left parties in Table 4 - 2. But, union members' support of center-left parties weakened.

In practice, Japanese election results and party politics during the post-transitional era reflected the change of party coalitions. Center-left parties winning in the 1993 election and DPJ's sweeping victory in the 2009 were thanks to new center-left parties' coalitions, especially the support of urban high and middle classes. Also, the alliance between LDP and CGP since the 2000 election was the response against new center-left parties' coalitions. As Table 4 – 2 shows, more religious members voted for LDP since the 2000 election.

Table 4 - 2. Change of Japanese Party Coalitions, 1967 - 2009

	67	72	76	79	80	83	86	90	93	96	00	03	05	09
Urban High	9.3	17.3	12.6	24	15.2	18.2	32.9	14.4	-25.1	-17.7	-27	0.4	7.7	-37
Urban Middle	-11.1	-9.3	5.4	5.4	15.4	11.5	19.1	2.2	-18.9	-33.7	-23.5	-12.1	26.6	-36
Urban Low	13.1	-29.3	-18.6	-14.4	-1.4	-7.2	2	-26.2	-16.1	-36	-2.4	-4.5	27.7	-22
Rural High	30.8	24.1	20.2	50.8	58.1	42.5	54.6	39.4	-1.3	28.2	37.5	0.7	33.3	-8
Rural Middle	20.8	20.5	14.1	29.1	28.9	37.3	41.4	19.5	6.2	8.6	9.3	22	19.8	-36
Rural Low	21.4	-2.9	3.5	1.9	18.4	19.7	31.1	5.3	-12.5	6.7	29.5	-14.2	26.9	-14
Union Member	-55.4	-63.9	-54.6	-32.7	-34.2	-40.1	-22.5	-41.7	-40.2	-26.5	-35.5	-27.3	-1.8	-49
Farmer & Fishermen	47.6	68.7	61.2	70.3	77.1	61.5	79.4	68.3	63.3	63.5	53.4	55.1	48	-33
Religion Member	59.2	-14.3	-20.2	-19.7	-17.7	-9.9	-28.9	2.6	-21.2	-16.6 ^a	27.1	-2.2	50	16

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between LDP and center - left parties. Positive numbers mean a plurality of LDP's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of center - left parties' vote share. The value of religious member indicates the difference of party vote shares between LDP and CGP. Negative numbers mean a plurality of CGP's vote share; Positive numbers a plurality of LDP's vote share. ^a: the number is the higher percentage of LDP's vote share compared to center-left parties' vote share because CGP was temporally dissolved in the 1996 election. **Source:* JNES, 1967 and ASSK, 1972 – 2009.

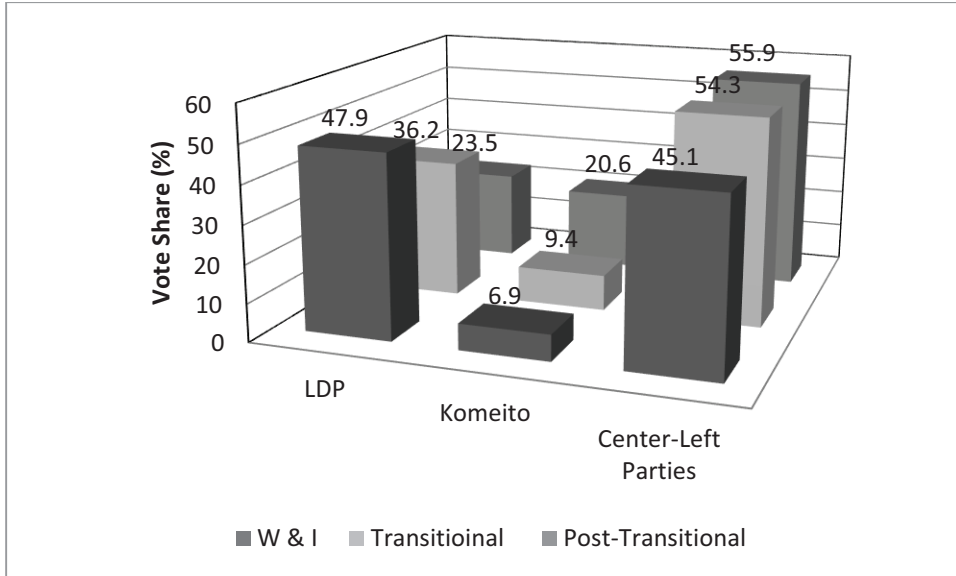
4.1.2 Japanese Generational Effect

The young generation played an important role in the end of long-term LDP government and in new party coalitions.⁴⁶ Figure 4 – 6 shows the different percentage breakdown of how the three generations voted for political parties. A majority of the transitional and post-transitional generations voted for center-left parties in the 1993 election. On the contrary, a majority of the war and industrialization cohort was still the group which voted for LDP, even if 45.1% of the generation supported center-left parties. Young and old generations showed opposite voting choices. The end of LDP dominance in the 1993 election was due to the voting choice of the young generation as well as the defection of the old generation. Old voters were also disappointed about the failure of LDP's government.

The young generation who are transitional and post-transitional cohorts experienced different political socialization as new voters. They were relatively free from the general concerns of external relations and economic growth. They grew up in an advanced economy during the post-Cold War era and were more concerned about new issues related to economic recess, welfare, quality of life, new international relationships, and other diversified issues.

⁴⁶ Each generation was classified by their different political experiences. In fact, Japanese generations are highly divided in the study of tourism, marketing, and anthropology (Hole et al. 2012; Mathews and White 2004).

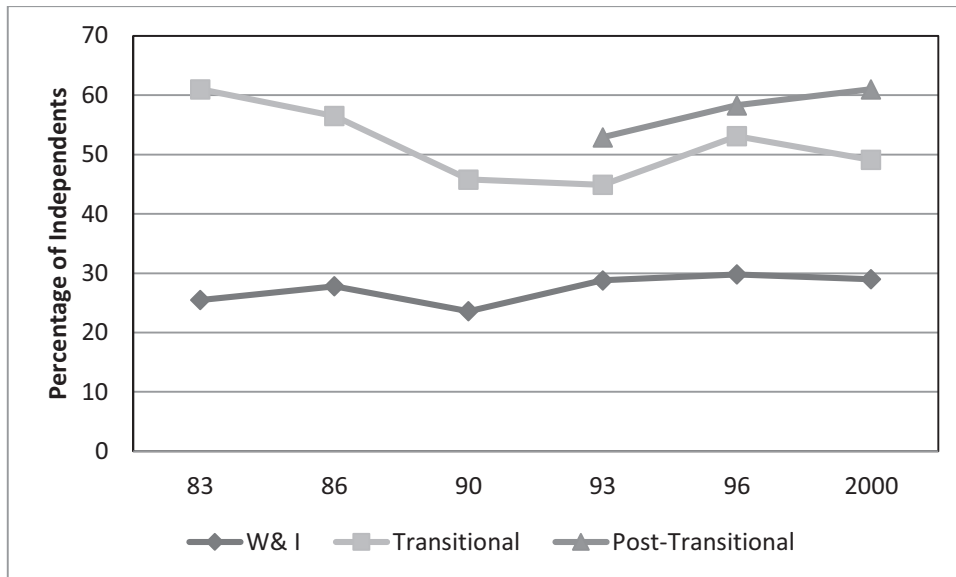
Figure 4 - 6. Generation and Party Vote in the 1993 Election



**Source: ASSK, 1993.*

How did the young generation change party politics? First of all, in the Figure 4 – 7, the percentage of independents in young voters is higher than old voters. In the 1993 election, independents of the post-transitional generation were 52.9%, and independents of the transitional generation were 44.9%, but independents of the war and industrialization generation were 28.8%. It indicates that a majority of young voters did not have party identification yet.

Figure 4 - 7. Independent across Japanese Generation, 1983 - 2000

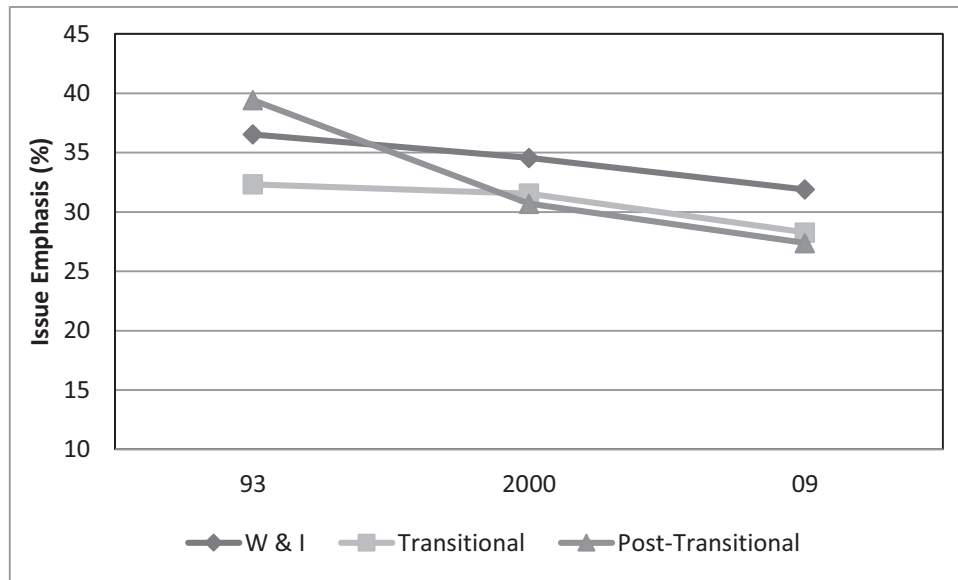


*Source: ASSK, 1983 – 2000.

Meanwhile, issue concerns across the generations show different patterns in elections. As the Figures 4 – 8, 4 – 9, and 4 – 10 display, the interests of overarching and corruption issues generally declined but diversified issues increased across the generations. In particular, young cohorts were less concerned about economic growth and national security issue agendas, but more concerned about small government, social justice, welfare, environment, education and other issues than the old cohort, even if the post-transitional generation was also highly concerned about overarching issues in the 1993 election. Interestingly, the transitional generation had more interest in corruption than any other generations. After 1993, the concern of corruption sharply decreased across the generations. Overall, young cohorts were a key player in the emergence of new electoral issue agendas as well as in the increase of independent voters. In other words,

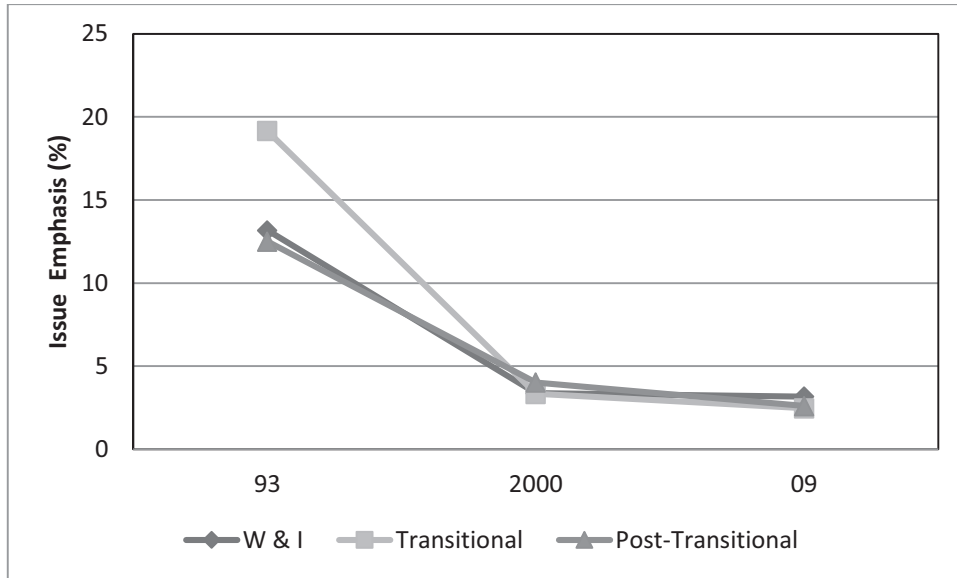
young voters contributed to dealigning the party base of the war and industrialization period.

Figure 4 - 8. Overarching Issue Concerns by Generation



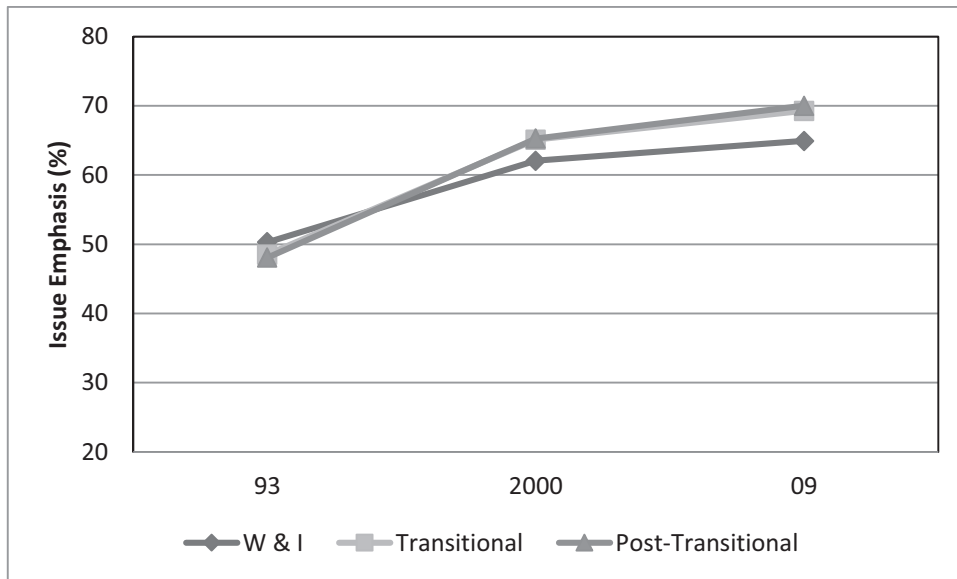
*Source: ASSK from selected years

Figure 4 - 9. Corruption Issue Concern by Generation



*Source: ASSK from selected years

Figure 4 - 10. Diversified Issue Concerns by Generation

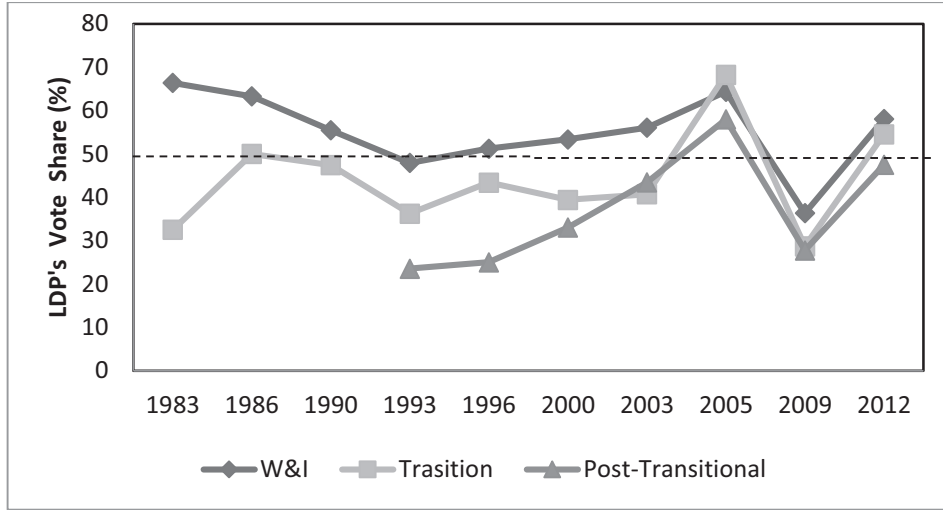


*Source: ASSK from selected years

However, the generation gap in voting choice lessened over time. Even if young cohorts contributed to the end of LDP's dominance in the 1993 election and to the emergence of new agendas, the generation difference of LDP's vote was smaller in the following elections and quite minimized since the 2005 election (Figure 4 – 11).

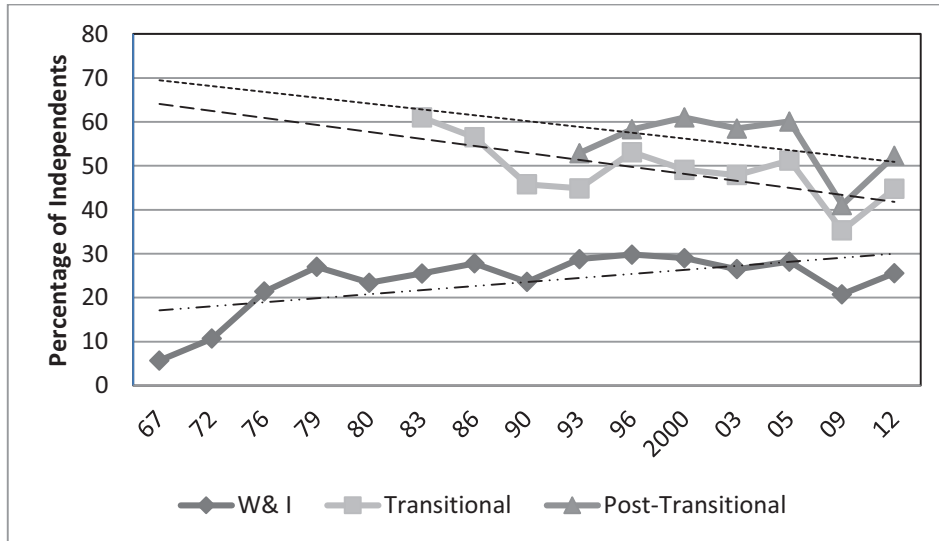
The increase of independents since the 1990s was generally due to the younger generations, not the old generation, as seen in Figure 4 - 12. Even if the independents of the war and industrialization cohort saw a slight increase since 1967, most of the independents were from the transitional and post-transitional generations. However, generation difference of independents decreased over time. In Figure 4 – 12, linear lines of party identifications between the three generations show the convergence trend. The independents' percentages of the transitional and post-transitional generations lessened. Throughout the elections, the young cohorts also have had their party identifications. In sum, the generational effect had an important impact on electoral outcomes, issue concerns, and party identification, but also declined over time.

Figure 4 - 11. Japanese Generational Difference in LDP's Vote



*Source: ASSK, 1983 – 2012.

Figure 4 - 12. Independents across Japanese Generations, 1967 - 2012



*Source: JNES, 1967 and ASSK, 1972 – 2012.

4.1.3 Japanese Generational Effect and Social Cleavage

What is the relationship between the generational effect and other social divisions in elections? The young generation played an important role in changing party coalitions. However, the generational difference between young and old cohorts diminished and young voters contributed to consolidating new party coalitions over time.

The generational difference was found in other social divisions, as Table 4 – 3 indicates. In the 1993 election, in which LDP lost for the first time, the party vote of the post-transitional generations was decided by small number of voters because the post-transitional voters entered the election for the first time. Thus, the party vote of the post – transitional generation made a big difference among social divisions from 100% vote for LDP to 100% vote for center – left parties. However, for instance, across social divisions in the 2000 election, the post-transitional generation consistently voted for LDP less than the war and industrialization generation. At the same time, new party coalitions are also confirmed across generations. In the 2000 election, urban high and middle voters across generations voted for LDP less than other voters even if old voters supported LDP more than young voters in the urban high and middle classes. As a result, the 2000 election results showed generational difference is strong across social groups.

Table 4 - 3. Japanese Generations and Social Divisions, 1993 - 2009

	1993			2000			2009		
	W& I	Post- Transitional	Post- Transitional	W& I	Post- Transitional	Post- Transitional	W& I	Post- Transitional	Post- Transitional
<i>Urban Area</i>									
High	-23.7	-36.8	0.0	-28.4	-11.9	-47.1	-22.4	-48.8	-60.9
Middle	-17.8	-13.3	-100.0	-11.6	-46.3	-50.0	-38.0	-14.7	-48.8
Low	-15.5	0.0	-100.0	0.0	-8.3	-10.0	-26.7	-25.0	-7.7
<i>Rural Area</i>									
High	1.4	-20.0	0.0	41.5	26.3	9.1	-4.1	-46.7	5.9
Middle	12.2	-46.2	100.0	18.5	-39.1	15.0	-15.9	-72.7	-50.0
Low	-4.7	-52.9	0.0	26.0	63.6	0.0	0.0	-60.0	-33.3
Union Member	-42.4	-35.0	0.0	-41.7	-30.0	-12.5	-70.4	-29.4	-38.5
Farmer & Fisherman	62.5	100.0	0.0	56.8	-100.0	-100.0	0.0	-100.0	0.0
Religious Member	-10.9	-75.0	-66.7	40.0	0.0	-75.0	9.7	45.5	0.0

*Note: Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between LDP and center - left parties. Positive numbers mean a plurality of LDP's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of center - left parties' vote share. The value of religious member

indicates the difference of party vote shares between LDP and CGP. Negative numbers mean a plurality of CGP's vote share; Positive numbers a plurality of LDP's vote share. *Source: ASSK from selected years.

However, contrary to the 2000 election, the generational difference is not consistent across social divisions in the 2009 election. Instead, in Table 4 – 3, the generational difference strengthened new party coalitions. For example, as Table 4 – 2 shows, urban high and middle classes are center-left parties' supporters since 1993. In Table 4 – 3, the post-transitional cohort voted for LDP less than the war and industrialization cohort in urban high and middle classes.

On the other hand, the post-transitional cohort voted for LDP more than the war and industrialization cohort in rural high class which is still the strong LDP's supporters. In addition, the post-transitional cohort voted for LDP more than the war and industrialization cohort in urban low class which is weakening center-left parties' base. Also, as Japan rapidly changed from an agricultural to an advanced industrial society, the population of farmers who were the traditional LDP's supporters was highly shrinking from 11.7% in 1965 to 2.6% in 2005. Furthermore, most of the farmers were over 65 years old and young farmers were very small proportion in total voters.⁴⁷ Thus, farmers just had a small impact on election results. It means that social divisions could weaken independent generation effect in elections over time. But, young voters contributed to clarifying new party coalitions because young cohorts cast their votes based on their social characteristics rather than their generation. In other words, as the general concerns of economy and national security came to be resolved, young voters focused on the

⁴⁷ The farmers aged 65 and over made up 19.5 % of the population in 1985 but were at 57.4 % in 2005. The percentages were calculated from data based on the annual reports of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the Census of Agriculture and Forestry, and the population census in each year in Japan.

interests and concerns of their social groups more than older voters who relatively adhered to grand issues and interests.

In sum, the young generation's voting choice had an impact on the change of party coalitions but the generational difference weakened over time. The generational effect was temporal. Japanese young voters were also affected by their social characteristics which intensified new party coalitions.

4.1.4 Japanese Social Divisions in the Post-Transitional Period

This section examines the statistical evidence of new party coalitions and generation effect. After the 1993 election, the Japanese electoral system was changed from the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV) to mixed electoral system which combined the Single-Member District (SMD) into proportional representation (PR) rules. It was the compromise of political parties in the name of the solution for local paternalism (*Koenkai*) and corruption (Curtis 1999, Chapter 4; Kabashima and Steel 2010; Krauss and Pekkanen 2011). Therefore, the following analyses will be for two kinds of election results.

As Tables 4 – 4 and 4 – 5 point out, the generational difference was influential but the effect decreased over the elections. Farmers still supported LDP, but their support level weakened since the 1993 election. Also, union members also weakened their voting support for center-left parties including DPJ. Religious members' support for CGP also weakened. It could be related to LDP and CGP's coalition government since the 2000 election. Even if a majority of religious members cast

their votes for CGP, more religion members voted for LDP than before. LDP also began to emphasize the issues of ethics and morality since the 1993 election (See chapter 5).

In fact, since the 1993 election, with respect to realignment the most important group was urban voters. A majority of urban high and middle classes changed their party vote from LDP to center-left parties except the urban middle class' vote in the 2005 election. Both urban voters were beneficiaries of the economic success of LDP's government and supporters of LDP during the war and industrialization period. However, urban professionals and middle classes have changed their party support since the economic hard times in the 1990s.

As a result, Japanese party coalitions altered as the overarching issue effects declined. Since the 1990s, Japanese voters experienced economic downturn in the post-Cold War era after successful industrialization. Support from traditional LDP's groups, rural voters and farmer voters weakened and even urban high and middle classes changed their vote. On the other hand, union members were no longer as strong supporters for center-left parties as they had been before the 1990s. The generational effect in elections was important in ending LDP's long-term government period. Young voters were highly biased in their party votes in the 1990s. However, the generation gap in the party vote lessened over time, and the young cohorts also cast their votes based on their social groups.

Table 4 - 4. Social Divisions in Japanese SNTV and SMD Vote

	1993		2005		2009	
	LDP/CLP	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP
Generation	0.40*** (0.15)	0.65*** (0.23)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.65*** (0.25)	0.18** (0.08)	0.54*** (0.20)
Religion Member	-0.54 (0.38)	2.71*** (0.32)	-0.50 (0.41)	1.68*** (0.52)	-1.36*** (0.37)	1.74*** (0.42)
Union Member	0.79*** (0.22)	-0.06 (0.48)	0.68** (0.31)	0.34 (0.82)	0.36 (0.30)	-0.57 (0.84)
Farmer	-1.29*** (0.29)	-2.50** (1.06)	-0.55 (0.36)	-13.16*** (0.34)	0.03 (1.21)	-14.12*** (0.98)
Urban High	0.69*** (0.18)	0.15 (0.36)	0.41** (0.20)	-1.09 (0.81)	0.07 (0.19)	-0.98 (0.66)
Urban Middle	0.50*** (0.19)	0.01 (0.34)	-0.17 (0.24)	-0.27 (0.59)	0.07 (0.19)	0.00 (0.47)
Urban Low	0.46** (0.23)	0.39 (0.37)	-0.30 (0.37)	0.61 (0.63)	-0.29 (0.31)	-14.50*** (0.36)
Rural High	0.19 (0.24)	-1.14* (0.68)	-0.32 (0.28)	-0.59 (0.76)	-0.52** (0.22)	-1.73 (1.05)
Rural Middle	-0.06 (0.21)	-1.53** (0.60)	0.02 (0.25)	-1.53 (0.94)	0.03 (0.22)	-0.94 (0.78)
Rural Low	0.37* (0.22)	-0.32 (0.48)	-0.22 (0.34)	-0.05 (0.76)	-0.42 (0.34)	-14.48*** (0.36)
Constant	-0.63*** (0.18)	-2.71*** (0.32)	-0.61*** (0.16)	-3.90*** (0.46)	0.42*** (0.14)	-2.99*** (0.37)
Pesudo - R ²	0.0795		0.0300		0.0455	
N	1519		1022		1315	

*Note: Votes of LDP are the baseline comparison group in the multinomial logit regressions. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. CLP means center – left parties. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$.

*Source: ASSK, 1993, 2005 and 2009.

Table 4 - 5. Social Divisions in Japanese Proportional Representation Vote

	2005		2009	
	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP
Generation	0.01 (0.11)	0.16 (0.16)	0.16* (0.09)	0.36** (0.16)
Religion	0.40 (0.45)	2.68*** (0.40)	0.76 (0.65)	4.26*** (0.63)
Union Member	0.46 (0.33)	0.23 (0.57)	0.58* (0.34)	0.35 (0.64)
Farmer	-0.88** (0.39)	-1.43* (0.84)	-0.70 (1.36)	-14.05*** (0.94)
Urban High	0.23 (0.21)	-0.68* (0.40)	0.20 (0.20)	-0.35 (0.50)
Urban Middle	-0.28 (0.25)	-0.32 (0.37)	0.24 (0.21)	0.21 (0.42)
Urban Low	-0.16 (0.35)	-0.53 (0.53)	-0.34 (0.32)	-1.25 (1.07)
Rural High	-0.25 (0.27)	-0.53 (0.48)	-0.45** (0.23)	-0.90 (0.64)
Rural Middle	-0.12 (0.26)	-0.91* (0.52)	0.03 (0.24)	0.18 (0.48)
Rural Low	0.23 (0.34)	0.21 (0.53)	-0.17 (0.36)	-13.67*** (0.35)
Constant	-0.59*** (0.17)	-2.00*** (0.26)	0.46*** (0.15)	-2.32*** (0.32)
Pseudo - R ²	0.0383		0.0822	
N	1004		1224	

Note:* Votes of LDP are the baseline comparison group in the multinomial logit regressions. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.001$. **Source:* ASSK, 1993, 2005 and 2009.

4.2. Korean Party Politics, 1987 – 2012

The emphasis of economic development and national security sharply declined in Korean political parties' electoral issues since the 1980s. Both general issues contributed to keeping the Liberal Party's government (1951 – 1960) and Democratic Republican Party (DRP)'s long-term dominance (1961 – 1979). Especially, DRP was supported by rural voters and the urban high and middle classes who were all beneficiaries of national industrialization in the Cold War era. However, as the strong issue effects weakened, party coalitions changed and new issues emerged since successful industrialization and democratization, as well as and new relationships with China and Russia in the post-Cold War era.

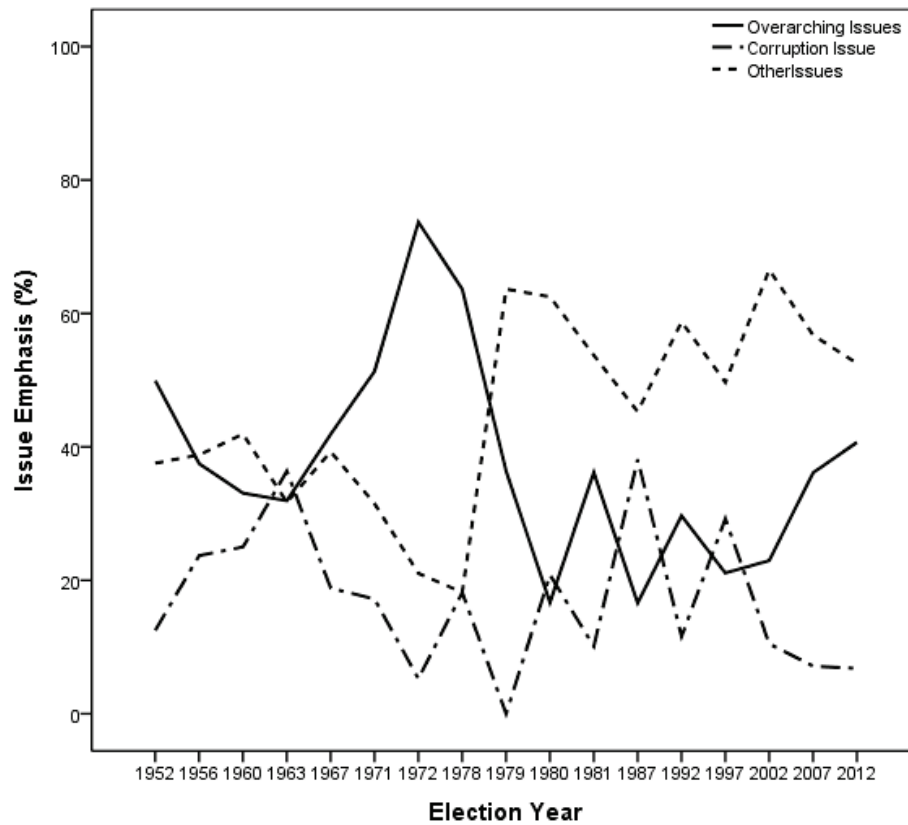
The 1980s were a transitional period in terms of socioeconomic base and external relations. When the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) took over governmental power after a military coup in 1979, it did not emphasize both agendas as much as DRP did; it partially accepted the emerging new issues in order to mitigate its dictatorship. After the June Democracy Movement in 1987, Korean people made a new Constitution and had democratic presidential voting right again. As Figure 4 – 13 shows, two general issues on economy and external threats drastically declined since the 1980s, while other diversified issue agendas increased.

Interestingly, the corruption issue sharply declined after the 1997 election. In fact, when the National Congress of New Politics (NCNP) won the 1997 presidential

election, it was the first time in history for an oppositional party to win. The corruption issue played an important role in the oppositional party's first successful election. However, after the governmental power transfer between political parties in the democracy, political parties did not focus as much on the corruption issue in election campaigns.

Figure 4 - 13. Change of Issue Emphasis in Korean Presidential Elections, 1946

- 2012



*Source: Data from *Donga Daily's* articles (1952 – 1987) on electoral issues, televised presidential candidate speeches (1992) and televised presidential debates (1997 – 2012).

4.2.1 Change of Korean Party Coalitions

In the post-transitional period, different social cleavages emerged and party coalitions changed. As Chapter 3 mentioned, conservative governmental party coalitions consisted of rural voters and urban upper and middle class voters during the war and industrialization era. However, after the first presidential election of democratization in 1987, regional division became one of the cleavages in party support (Table 4 – 6). Kyungsang voters supported the conservative candidate but Cholla voters cast their votes for the liberal candidate. In the process of industrialization, Kyungsang became a highly developed province, while Cholla remained one of the underdeveloped provinces. After democratization, political parties effectively mobilized regional voters through their level of emphasis of the problem of regional unbalanced development (Cho 2000; Park 2013).

Table 4 - 6. Korean Social Cleavage and Party Vote, 1992

Region		Religion	
Cholla	-91.5	Buddhist	47.1
Kyungsang	78.5	Christian	12.4

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between right party and center - left party. Positive numbers mean a plurality of right party's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of center - left party's vote share. **Source:* KSDC, 1992.

In the literature, unfortunately, researchers have not yet examined the topic of religious members' voting choices, due to the fact that both ordinary people and scholars presume that there is no religious cleavage in Korea (Lee 2011). However, since democratization, religious members have shown different voting choices. Korean religious members make up 53% of the population as of 2007. Three major religion groups are Buddhist (23%), Protestant (18%), and Catholic (11%).⁴⁸ Among these groups, a majority of Buddhists voted for the conservative presidential candidates from the 1992 to 2012 elections. The other two religion groups consistently supported conservative candidates less than the Buddhist group (Table 4 – 7). Interestingly, a majority of Buddhists live in conservative regions, Kyungsang, Kangwon, and Choongbuk, meanwhile Protestants and Catholic believers mainly live in metropolitan areas such as Seoul, Incheon, and Kyunggi, or Cholla province.

Table 4 - 7. Korean Social Cleavage and Party Vote, 1992 - 2012

	92	97	2002	2007	2012
Cholla	-91.5	-95.6	-98.7	-60.7	-65.3
Kyungsang	78.5	67.4	32.0	72.7	35.5
Buddhist	47.1	26.4	5.1	65.6	36.4
Christian*	12.4	-24.6	-23.7	38.7	0.6

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between right party and center - left party. Positive numbers mean a plurality of right party's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of center - left party's vote share. *Christian indicates Protestants and Catholic believers. **Source:* KSDC, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute,

⁴⁸ Korea National Statistical Office (<http://kosis.kr/>, Date of Access: 2015. February 12)

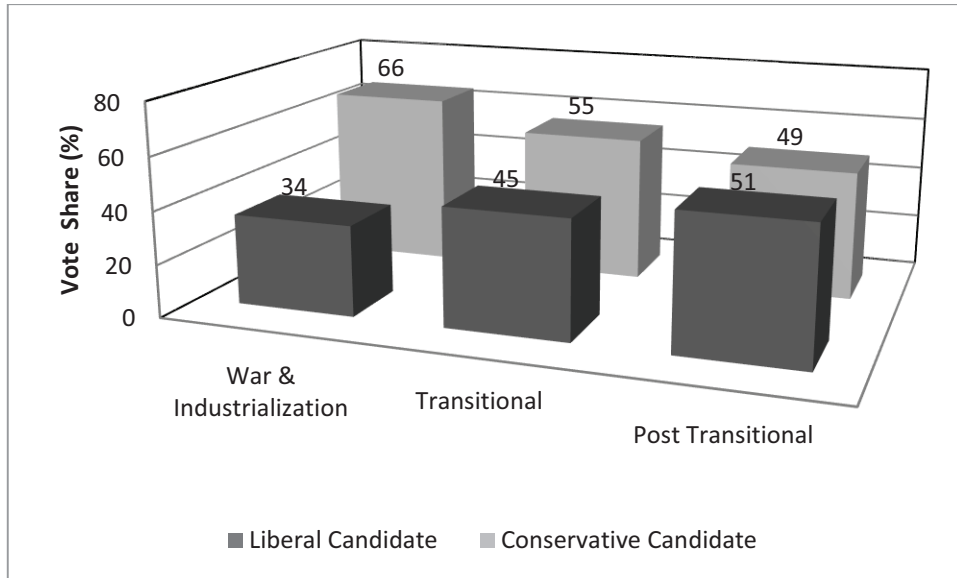
JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

After democratization, regional and religious cleavages became the main party base. In the post-transitional period, different social groups had different interests based on their social conditions beyond the general concerns of economic development and national defense. In brief, these different divisions are closely associated with party support.

4.2.2 Korean Generational Effect

Different societal setting emerged new generations. Young voters had different experiences and interests compared to the old voters. Thus, the young generation was concerned about new issues, and this affected party politics. In Figure 4 – 14, the three generations showed different voting patterns in the 1992 election. Of the war and industrialization cohort, 65.6% voted for the conservative presidential candidate, but 51.2% of the post-transitional cohort supported the liberal presidential candidate.

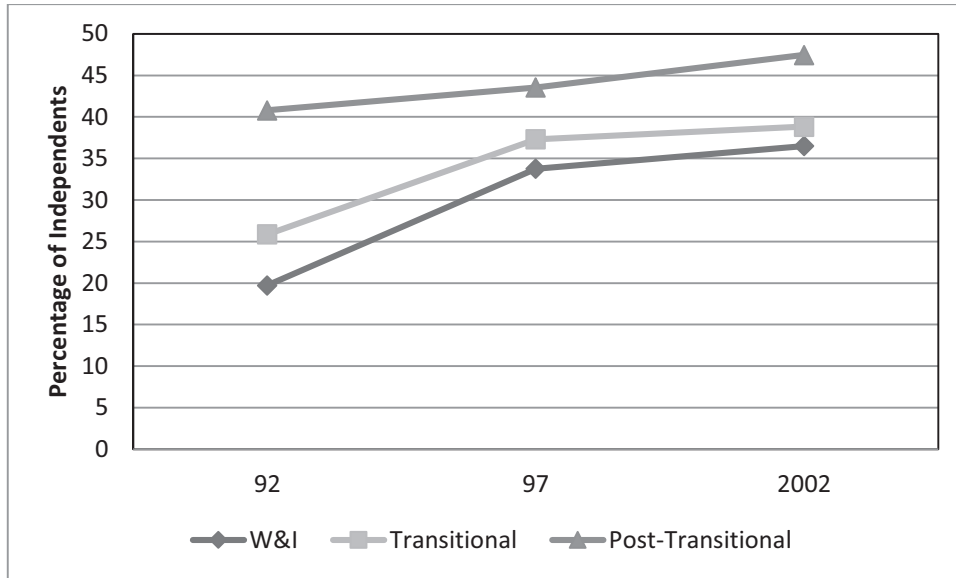
Figure 4 - 14. Korean Generation and Party Vote in the 1992 Election



**Source: KSDC, 1992.*

With respect to party identification, since the 1992 election, the percentage of young independents is larger than old independents. The independents of the post-transitional cohort are 40.8% of the generation but the war and industrialization cohort is 19.7% of the generation in the 1992 election (Figure 4 – 15). This gap between generations means the young cohort’s voting choice is relatively free from party identification compared to the old cohort.

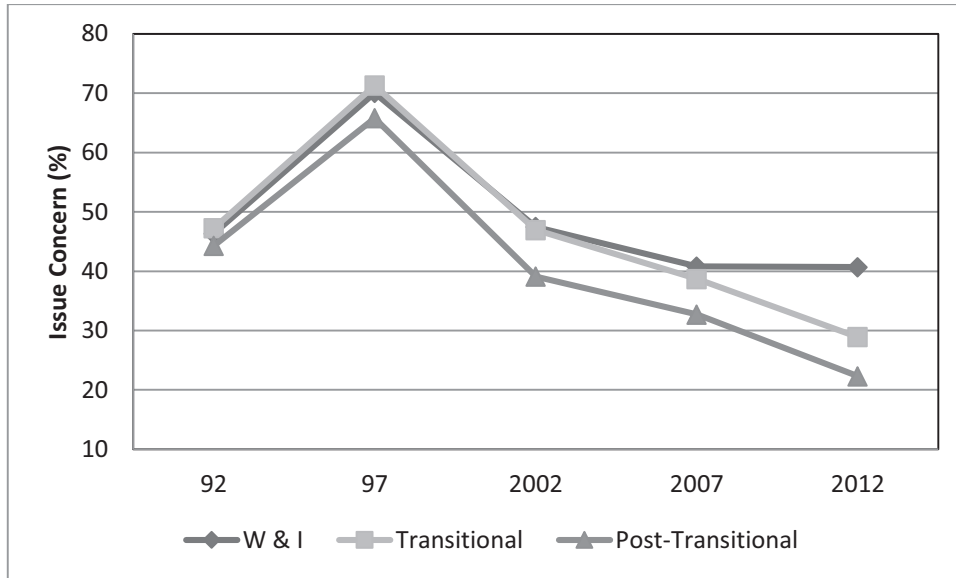
Figure 4 - 15. Independent across Korean Generations, 1992 - 2002



*Source: KSDC, 1992 – 2002.

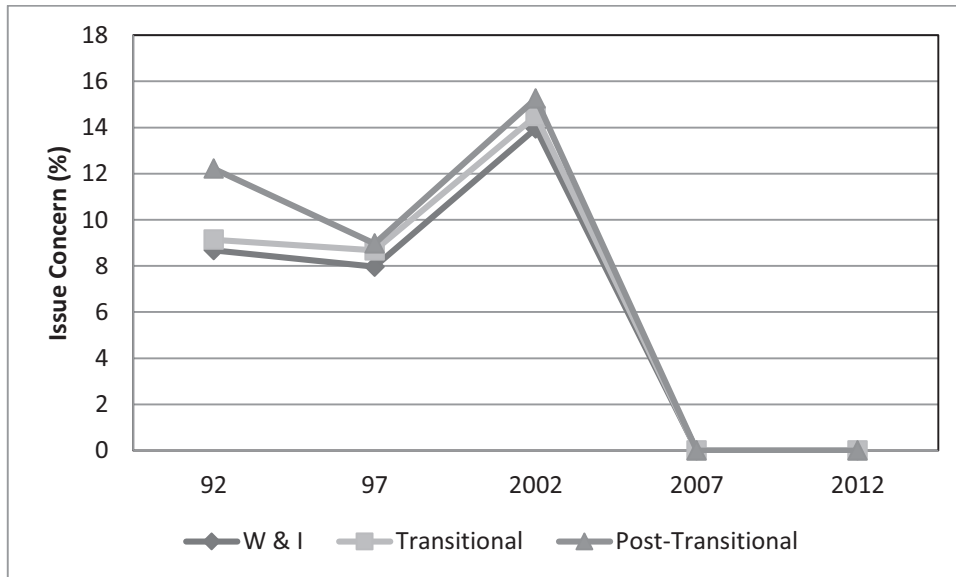
On the other hand, young voters were less concerned about overriding issues than old voters. Generally, in Figure 4 – 16, overarching issue concerns across generations declined over time except the 1997 election which was held in the middle of Asian financial crisis. Meanwhile, young voters were more concerned about corruption than old voters, and the corruption issue also declined across generations in Figure 4 – 17. Also, young voters had more interests in diversified issue agendas than old voters in Table 4 – 18. Generally, voters were more interested in a variety of issues since the 1992 election, except in 1997. Young voters were more likely to have different views which affected their support for political parties, compared to older voters who still retained their political loyalties based on two grand issues.

Figure 4 - 16. Overarching Issue Concerns across Korean Generations



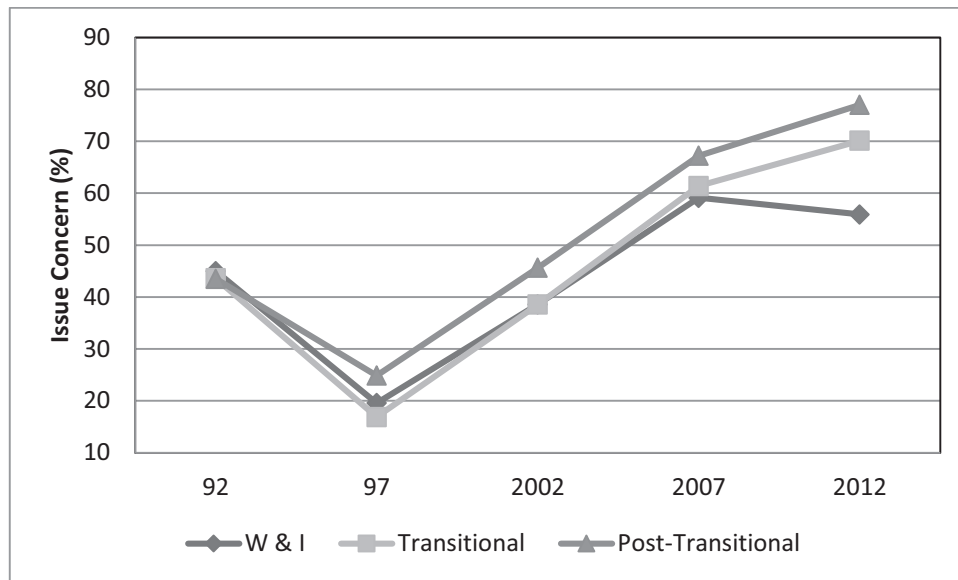
*Source: KSDC, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

Figure 4 - 17. Corruption Issue Concerns across Korean Generations



*Source: KSDC, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

Figure 4 - 18. Diversified Issue Concerns across Korean Generations



*Source: KSDC, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

In Figures 4 – 16 and 4 – 18, the 2012 election did not follow the general trends on overarching and diversified issue concerns. Especially, the war and industrialization cohort’s two general issue concerns did not decline in the 2012 election compared to the 2007 election although the young cohorts’ overarching issue concerns continued to decline as in previous elections. On the contrary, the old cohort’s diversified issue concerns lessened in the 2012 election compared to 2007, but the young cohort’s diversified issue concerns consistently increased. Generally

speaking, however, economic growth and national security issues decreased and diversified issues increased over generations.

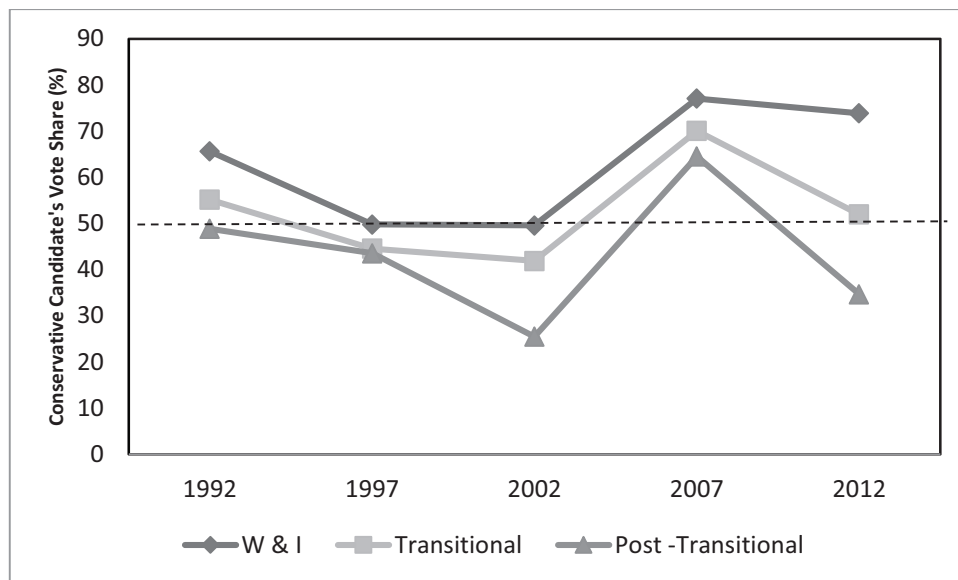
The exceptionality of the 2012 election could be related to the conservative candidate effect, Park, Geun-Hye. She is the daughter of President Park, Jeong-hee who led successful industrialization after a military coup in 1961. In the 2012 election, Park stressed economic growth and national defense more than had been stressed in previous elections. She followed in her father's footsteps by stressing the two general agendas to a high degree, effectively mobilizing the war and industrialization cohort based on her personal background. But, the young cohort criticized the conservative candidate Park more in the 2012 election than in previous elections. This presidential candidate effect contributed to the larger generational gap in the 2012 election than in other elections.

In Figure 4 – 19, three generations consistently showed different voting behaviors. More than 50% of old voters continued to vote for the conservative presidential candidates, but since the 1992 election young voters voted for these candidates less than old voters. Surprisingly enough, the generational difference in Korea spanned longer than in other two countries' cases. Japanese and Taiwanese young generations converged with the old generations in terms of their voting choices and increased new party coalitions (See Tables 4 – 3 and 4 - 12). However, Korean young voters still voted for the conservative candidates less than old voters. In particular, the generational gap was larger in the 2012 election than in other post- 1990 elections.

As linear lines indicate in Figure 4 – 20, the percentages of independents across generations lessened over elections, especially since the 2002 election. But compared to previous elections, the difference of independents among three generations increased in

the 2012 election. The independents of young voters increased, while the independents of old voters were almost same between the 2007 and the 2012 elections.⁴⁹

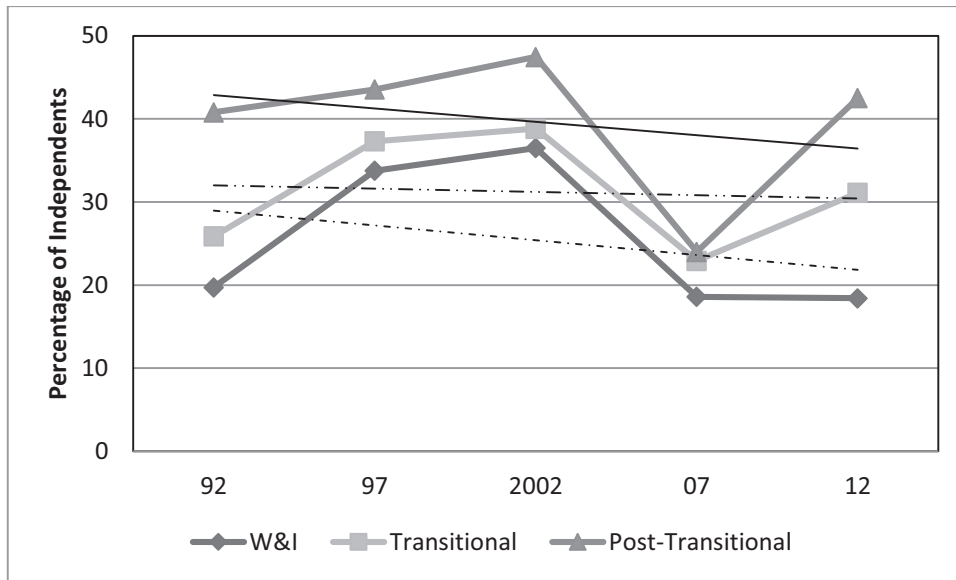
Figure 4 - 19. Party Vote and Generation in Korean Presidential Elections, 1992 - 2012



*Source: KSDC, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

⁴⁹ The independents of the war and industrialization cohort were 18.6% in the 2007 election and 18.4% in the 2012 election.

Figure 4 - 20. Independent across Korean Generation, 1992 - 2012



*Source: KSDC, 1992 – 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

In brief, young voters had more variety than older voters in their issue concerns and political identification. Even though the older cohort also had some different issue concerns and political identification, the young cohort’s variety of issue concerns had more impact on changing party votes than the older cohort.

4.2.3 Korean Generational Effect and Social Cleavage

Compared to Japanese and Taiwanese young cohorts, the Korean young cohort voted for the liberal candidate more than old cohort. In particular, the generational difference was strongly confirmed across social groups in the 2002 and 2012 voting choices (Table 4 – 8). Regardless of social groups, young voters supported the liberal candidate more

than old voters. But, generational difference across social groups lessened in the 2007 election compared to the previous election. In the 2012 election, however, generation gap in social groups was larger than in the 2007 election and even in the 2002 election.

Table 4 - 8. Korean Generations and Social Divisions, 1993 - 2009

	2002			2007			2012		
	W& I	Post-		W& I	Post-		W& I	Post-	
		Transitional	Transitional		Transitional	Transitional		Transitional	
Cholla	-97.6	-100.0	-100.0	-59.0	-64.1	-60.7	-53.8	-64.3	-80.5
Kyungsang	54.0	34.9	-7.2	80.6	62.5	71.4	80.7	22.6	-7.5
Buddhist	16.8	2.7	-34.6	76.2	54.2	55.9	66.1	25.4	-20.5
Christian	-7.6	-21.7	-50.7	45.1	36.0	31.1	33.7	-6.1	-32.6

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between conservative and liberal candidates. Positive numbers mean a plurality of conservative candidate's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of liberal candidate's vote share. Christian indicates Protestant and Catholic believers. **Source:* KSDC, 2002. East Asia Institute, JoongAng Ilbo, Seoul Broadcasting System, and Hankook Research Company, South Korean Presidential Election Panel Study: Six Waves, 2007. KEPS, 2012.

Contrary to the Japanese and Taiwanese cases, Korean generational difference is larger in the 2012 election than previous elections with respect to voting choices, issue concerns, and party identification. However, Korean generational difference might become weaker in the future as young voters might cast their votes depending more and more on their social characteristics, like the young generations of other East Asian countries.

4.2.4 Korean Social Divisions in the Post-Transitional Period

This section statistically confirms the above analyses on new party coalitions and generational effect. The supporters of conservative parties as majority coalition were rural voters and urban high and middle classes during the war and industrialization period. But, the old cohort, Kyungsang, and Buddhist voters have been the social base of conservative parties during the post-transitional era. In Table 4 – 9, generation effect was influential over five presidential elections but generally declined except in the 2012 election. Regional cleavage had a strong impact on voting choices, but the effect declined over elections. Buddhists consistently supported conservative candidates, meanwhile Christians' support was not consistent between conservative and liberal candidates since the 1992 election.

In brief, Korean party coalitions changed as the emphases of economic development and national defense weakened. Since 1987, Korean voters gained direct presidential voting rights again. The transitional generation led the democratization movement, and new social cleavages and agendas emerged. Young

voters showed different voting choices compared to old voters. In the post-transitional period, regional and religious divisions were the main social bases of political parties.

Table 4 - 9. Explaining Korean Presidential Election Votes, 1992 - 2012

	1992	1997	2002	2007	2012
Generation	0.75*** (0.15)	0.13 (0.11)	0.60*** (0.08)	0.36*** (0.08)	0.90*** (0.07)
Cholla	3.80*** (0.43)	3.57*** (0.60)	4.66*** (1.01)	2.55*** (0.21)	2.06*** (0.28)
Kyungsang	-1.61*** (0.24)	-1.77*** (0.21)	-1.22*** (0.15)	-0.71*** (0.17)	-0.57*** (0.15)
Buddhist	-0.22 (0.22)	-0.55*** (0.20)	-0.29* (0.17)	-0.59*** (0.20)	-0.43** (0.17)
Christian ^a	0.05 (0.21)	0.09 (0.20)	-0.22 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.14)	0.06 (0.14)
Constant	-1.56*** (0.27)	0.14 (0.23)	-0.40** (0.19)	-1.64*** (0.20)	-1.93*** (0.20)
Pseudo - R ²	0.3008	0.2448	0.1854	0.1631	0.1593
N	871	849	1250	1484	1289

*Note: The dependent variable means the vote for presidential candidate. 0 indicates the votes for the conservative candidate and 1 represents the votes for liberal candidate.

*p<0.1, ** p<0.05, ***p<0.01. Robust standard errors in parentheses. ^a Christians means Protestants and Catholic believers.

4.3. Taiwanese Party Politics, 1996 - 2012

New Taiwanese party coalitions were the most drastic change of the three East Asian countries' cases. In the very short political turmoil, Taiwanese party system changed from Kuomintang's dictatorship which governed the country by martial law to a competitive party system. Four social divisions, including generation, class, ethnicity, and region, were suppressed for the four decades, then rapidly emerged all together at once.

After Kuomintang (KMT) was defeated by the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the civil war, Chiang, Kai-Shek and the mainlanders' elites governed Taiwan, stressing the recovery of the mainland and industrialization since 1949. Chiang, Ching-Kuo, Chiang, Kai-Shek's son, implemented localized policies through the "Taiwanization" process (1978 – 1988). After successful industrialization and the end of the Cold War, Taiwanese democratization was closely related to Lee, Teng-Hui's political role as Chiang, Ching-Kuo's successor. Lee was the first Taiwanese-born president in KMT. When he became Chiang, Ching-Kuo's successor, a majority of KMT's elites objected to President Lee because most of KMT's elites were mainlanders who came to Taiwan from the mainland with Chiang, Kai-Shek. Furthermore, in "The Wild Lily Student Movement" for democracy in 1990, he supported students and promised a democratic presidential election in 1996. Finally, he also became the KMT

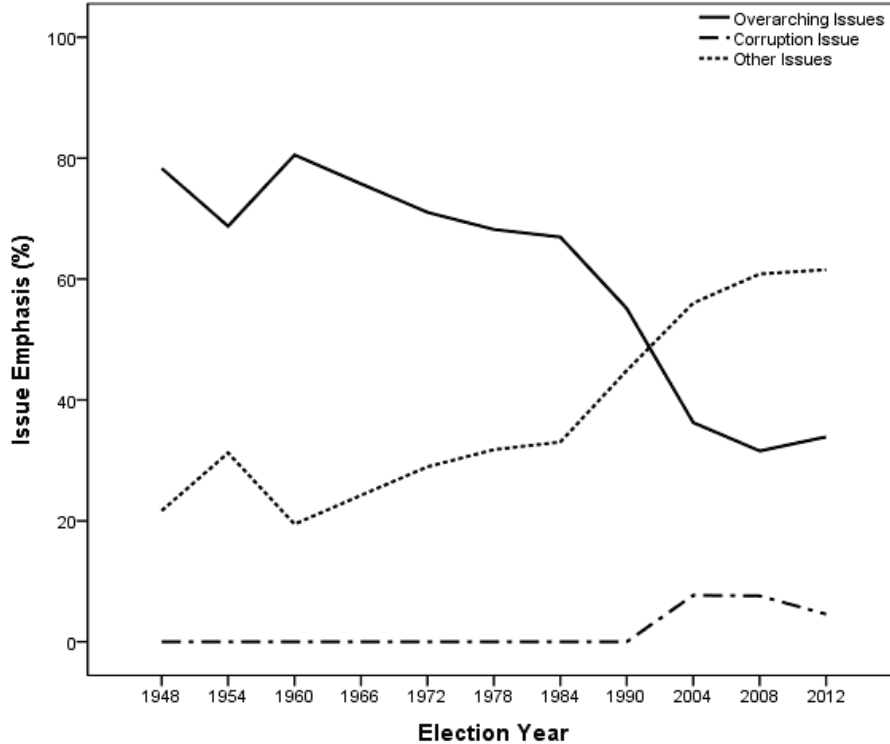
Taiwanese president who overwhelmingly won the first democratic election thanks to KMT's supporters, native Taiwanese, and even the young generation.⁵⁰

Through this political process, overwhelming issues continued to decline over the five decades (Figure 4 – 21). Since 1996, a variety of electoral issues began to overtake national security and economic development issues in election campaigns. Even though the corruption issue increased after democratization, it was just one of the issue agendas of political parties. The emphasis was 6% on average from the 2004 to 2012 elections. In the post-Cold War era, Taiwanese voters were more concerned about a variety of issues rather than the two general issues and the corruption problem in their advanced economy. Also, new conflicts between social groups were raised in elections.

⁵⁰ Roy (2003) introduced a brief political history in modern Taiwan.

Figure 4 - 21. Issue Emphasis in Taiwanese Presidential Elections, 1946 –

2012



*Source: Data from the collection of KMT’s presidential candidate speeches in the National Affairs Conference (1949 – 1990) and televised presidential debates (2004 – 2012).

4.3.1. Change of Taiwanese Party Coalitions

Since the 1990s, Taiwanese election outcomes reflected emerging social cleavages which were totally different from KMT’s coalition during the war and industrialization era. As chapter 3 pointed out, KMT’s dictatorship was supported by mainlanders, professionals, workers, and farmers. However, after democratization, KMT’s social base was comprised of mainlanders, aborigines, and high and middle

classes (Table 4 – 10). Meanwhile, Southerners, low class, and Hak-Ka and Min-Nan groups supported Democratic Progressive Party (DPP).⁵¹

Taiwan (or Formosa) is a small island where 23,359,928 people live, as of 2014. In Taiwan, there are four different ethnic groups, regional conflict, and class divisions in the party politics. Hak-Ka and Min-Nan people who came from Southern China around the end of Ming dynasty (17th century) believe they are the real Taiwanese people. They are a majority of Taiwan’s population (84 %). On the other hand, mainlanders (14%) and Aborigines (2%) are minority groups.⁵² But mainlanders are richer than the other ethnic groups. Southerners complain that there was unbalanced development in the different regions in the industrialization period. They claim that the Northerners who live in Taipei (the capital of Taiwan) metropolitan area are unjustly the beneficiaries of economic development.

Table 4 - 10. Taiwanese Social Cleavages and Party Vote, 2004

SES		Ethnicity	Region	
High	8.7	Hak-Ka & Min-Nan	-37.2	South -32.5
Middle	8.7	Mainlander & Aborigine	42.6	
Low	-29.6			

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote share between KMT and DPP. Positive numbers mean a plurality of KMT’s vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of DPP’s vote share. **Source:* CSES, 2004

⁵¹ Southerners are the voters who reside in Yunlin, Chiayi, Tainan, Kaohsiung, Pingtung counties and Chiayi, Tainan, and Kaohsiung cities.

⁵² In terms of the composition of Taiwan’s population, see the World Fact Book (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>, Date of Access: 2015. February 22)

In fact, since the 2004 election, these social cleavages have been clearer. In the 1996 election, KMT's supporters and Taiwanese (Hak-Ka and Min-Nan) cast their votes for Taiwanese KMT's president Lee. In the 2000 election, KMT was split into two groups because one of mainlanders' candidates, Soong, Chu-Yu became an independent candidate, blaming Taiwanese president Lee for intervention in KMT's presidential candidate nomination. Then, Soong gained the second largest amount of votes, more than KMT's candidate, Lien, Chan. In this situation, KMT's supporters were also divided into two groups. However, since the 2004 election, Taiwan's presidential elections have been a competition between "Pan- Blue" coalition, which KMT leads and "Pan-Green" coalition, which DPP leads. The different voting patterns between social groups are consistent in elections as Table 4 – 11 indicates. In brief, the Taiwanese party base was comprised of ethnic, regional, and class divisions in the post-transitional era.

Table 4 - 11. Taiwanese Social Cleavages and Party Vote, 1996 - 2012

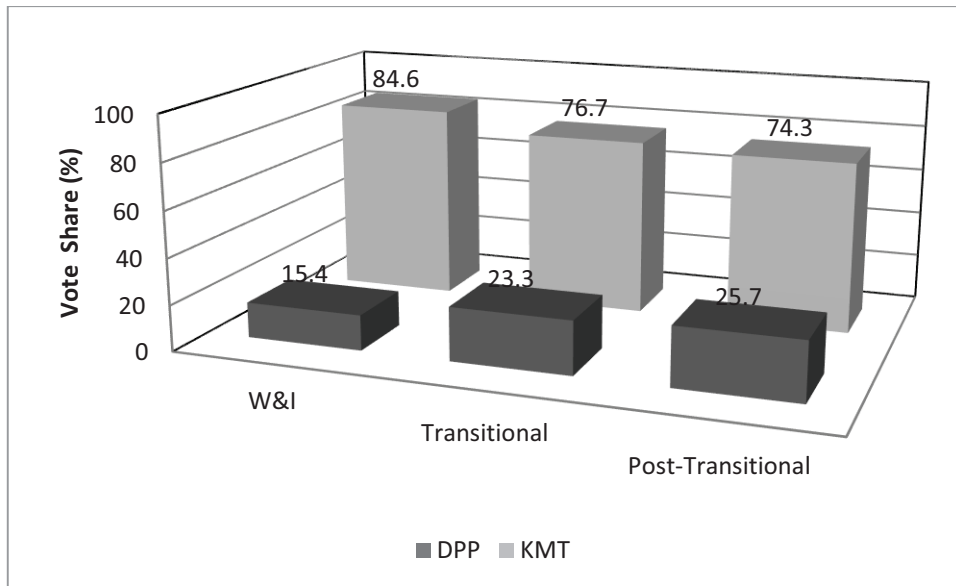
	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012
High	39.9	-30.1	8.7	39.9	32.0
Middle	64.4	-28.9	8.7	42.6	29.9
Low	74.3	-38.3	-29.6	12.0	7.2
Hak-Ka & Min-Nan	59.8	-43.3	-37.2	12.2	-25.7
Mainlander &					
Aborigine	93.8	13.4	42.6	96.3	70.4
South	62.6	-47.1	-32.5	0.0	-7.6

**Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote share between KMT and DPP. Positive numbers mean a plurality of KMT's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of DPP's vote share. **Source:* CSES, 1996 – 2008 and TEDS, 2012.

4.3.2. Taiwanese Generational Effect

The Taiwanese young generation played a role in changing party coalitions, but the effect rapidly disappeared. In fact, Taiwanese protesters and young students led democratization and supported DPP in the 1990s. For instance, Figure 4 – 22 shows the generational difference in KMT's vote share in the 1996 election. Even though a majority of three generations voted for the first Taiwanese President Lee, the post-transitional generation supported DPP's candidate relatively more than other generations.

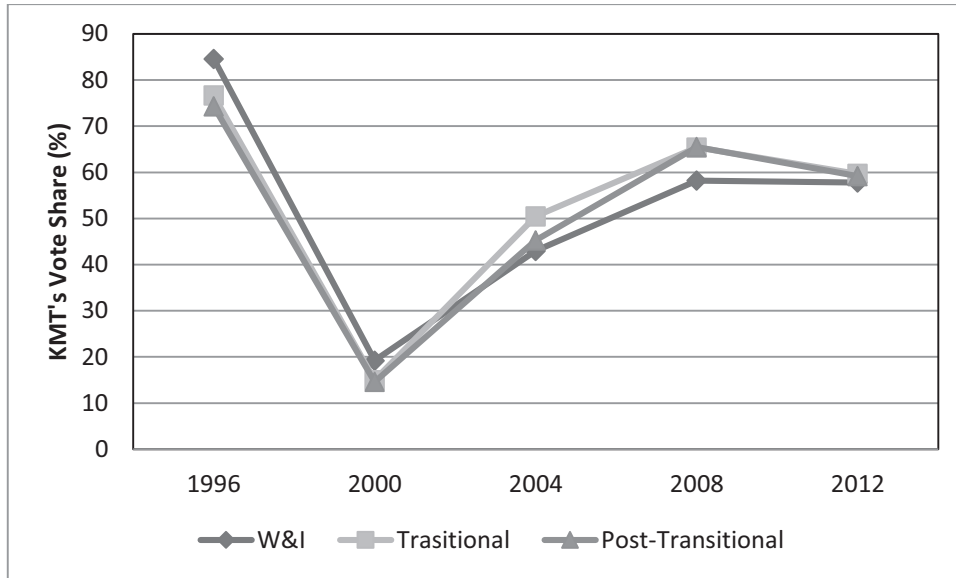
Figure 4 - 22. Generation and Party Vote in the 1996 Taiwanese Election



**Source: CSES, 1996.*

However, the generational difference in party vote is not much larger than the difference in other East Asian countries. In practice, the generational gap has not been significant since the 2000 election as Figure 4 – 23 displays. Generally, East Asian young voters in the transitional period voted for the center-left parties that had been the long-term oppositional parties during the war and industrialization period. The Taiwanese young generation was also the main group of DPP’s supporters in the 1990s. But, since the 2000 election the young voters did not vote more for DPP’s candidate than the old voters. The young voters even supported KMT’s candidate more than the old generation in the 2008 election.

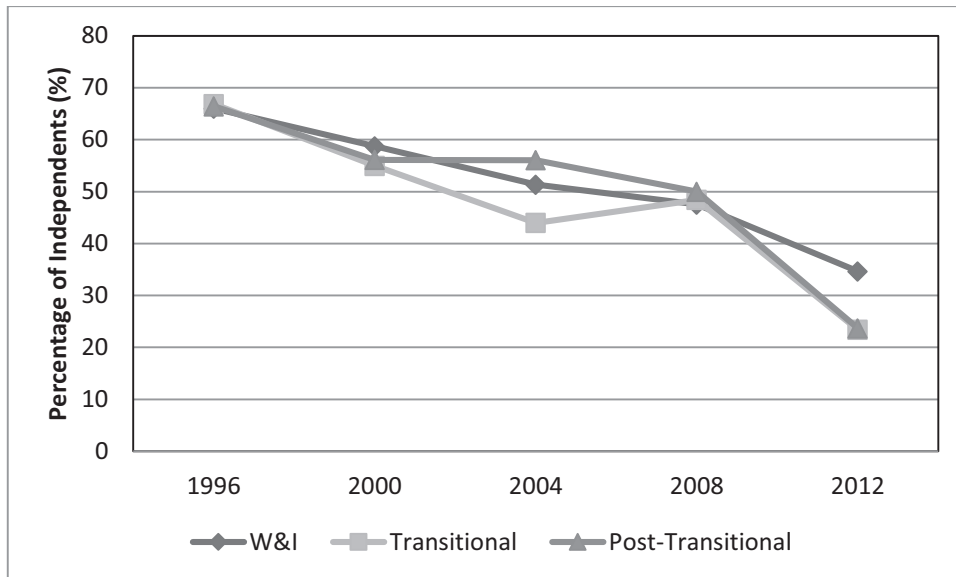
Figure 4 - 23. Taiwanese Generational Difference in KMT's Vote



*Source: CSES, 1996 – 2008 and TEDS, 2012.

Party identification also did not make a difference between generations (Figure 4 – 24). In the first democratic election, the level of Taiwanese party identification was not high but rapidly increased over time across generations. In the 2012 election, the level of the young generation's party identification was even higher than the old generation. The generation difference quickly vanished, contrary to Japanese and Korean cases.

Figure 4 - 24. Independents across Taiwanese Generations, 1996 - 2012



*Source: CSES, 1996 – 2008 and TEDS, 2012.

4.3.3 Taiwanese Generational Effect and Social Cleavage

Why did Taiwanese generation difference have very short impact on party coalitions? The reason is that the generation difference was quickly absorbed by the other social divisions. Even if the young generation contributed to democratization and the change of party politics, they supported political parties based on their social characteristics such as class, ethnicity, and regional base. Table 4 – 12 shows the relationship between generations and other social divisions in the presidential elections. At first, young and old generations showed different voting patterns. Across social groups, young voters supported DPP's candidate in the 1996 election more than old voters.

However, the gap between young and old generations narrowed in the 2004 and 2012 elections. Particularly, the generation gap was not found in high class, Min-Nan and Hak-Ka, mainlanders and aborigines, and Southerners. In addition, young low class voters and the Southerners voted less for KMT than the old low class and the old Southerners. Meanwhile, young mainlanders and aborigines voted for KMT more than their old counter partners. This indicates that young voters in subgroups consolidated social. Overall, the young generation voted for their parties based on their social groups and social differences which had become more pronounced.

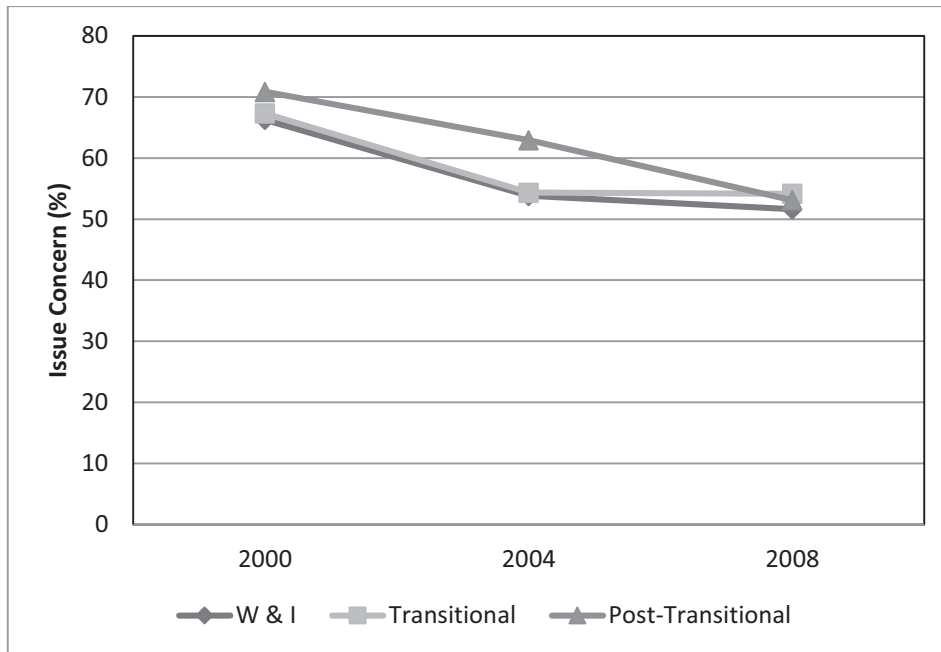
The weak generational difference can also be confirmed by looking at the issue concerns. Although overarching issues generally declined across generations, young generations were still concerned about economic issues and national security issues, contrary to Japanese and Korean young generations. Taiwanese young voters even had more interest than old voters in both issues in the 2000 and 2004 elections (Figure 4 – 25). This is because young voters were already paying attention to the issues about which their social groups were concerned.

Table 4 - 12. Taiwanese Generations and Social Divisions, 1996 - 2012

	1996			2004			2012		
	W& I	Transitional	Post- Transitional	W& I	Transitional	Post- Transitional	W& I	Transitional	Post- Transitional
High Class	45.5	35.4	33.3	15.2	10.1	1.3	45.5	11.1	39.5
Middle Class	66.7	67.9	33.3	20.0	24.7	-1.7	40.8	20.8	-16.7
Low Class	74.0	86.7	55.6	-25.0	-27.7	-44.1	2.0	21.1	-33.3
HakKa & MinNan	66.3	49.0	44.6	-43.1	-20.9	-34.9	-25.6	-25.0	-35.0
Mainlander & Aborigine	100.0	81.8	100.0	68.3	52.3	16.6	69.9	63.1	71.4
Southerners	73.7	36.4	39.1	-33.8	-26.3	-35.7	-5.1	-13.0	-16.5

* *Note:* Table entries are percentage differences of party vote shares between KMT and DPP candidates. Positive numbers mean a plurality of KMT candidate's vote share; Negative numbers a plurality of DPP candidate's vote share. **Source:* CSES, 1996 and 2004; TEDS, 2012

Figure 4 - 25. Overarching Issue Concerns across Taiwanese Generations



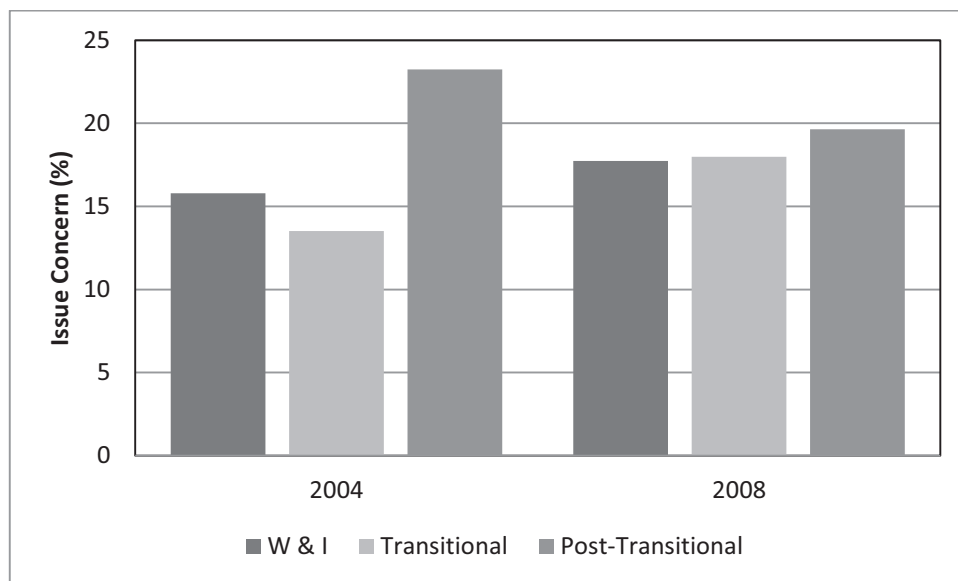
*Source: CSES, 1996 – 2008.

For example, as shown in Figure 4 – 26, the young generation was more concerned than the old generation about the issue of the cross-strait relations, even though the trend decreased in the 2004 and 2008 elections. It was the fourth most important issue in the 1996 election (Fell 2004). This issue is related to the national security and national identification issues that KMT and DPP emphasize in elections. When it comes to comparing Korean and Taiwanese young voters, although both countries have to successfully deal with neighboring socialist countries, Taiwanese young voters were more concerned about external threats than Korean young voters.

The issues of the cross-strait relations, national security, and national identification issues are closely associated with ethnic division. Furthermore, there are no differences in corruption and diversified issues across generations in Tables 4 – 27 and 4 – 28. In other

words, generational difference vanished because the effects of ethnicity, region, and class were stronger than generational effect.

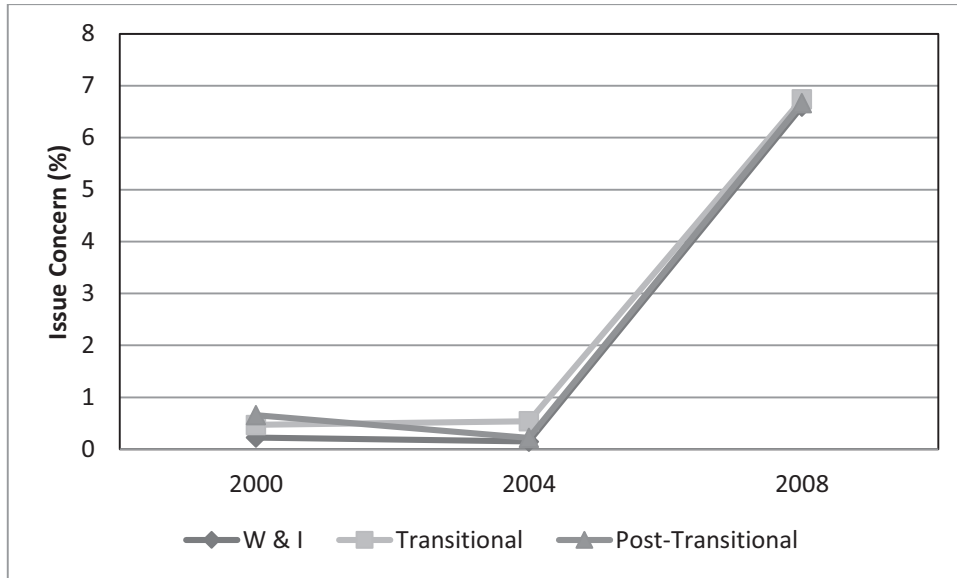
Figure 4 - 26. The Issue Concern of the Cross-Strait Relations across Taiwanese Generations



*Source: CSES, 2004 and 2008.

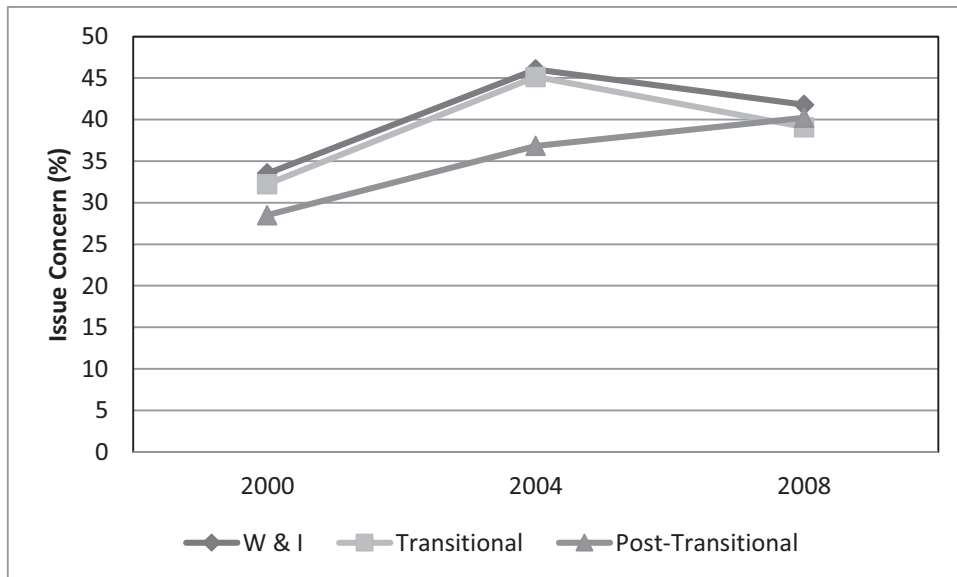
Three generations in social groups share their concerns based on their social characteristics and interests. Therefore, as generational difference quickly disappeared, the issue concerns did not make any sizable difference across generations.

Figure 4 - 27. Corruption Issue Concern across Taiwanese Generations



*Source: CSES, 2000 – 2008.

Figure 4 - 28. Diversified Issue Concerns across Taiwanese Generations



*Source: CSES, 2000 – 2008.

4.3.4. Taiwanese Social Divisions in the Post - Transitional Period

New party coalitions can be confirmed by statistical evidence. Table 4 – 13 is the analytical results of logistic regression models. As explained above, Taiwanese social cleavages have been clear since the 2004 election, in which “Pan-Blue” and “Pan-Green” coalitions were differentiated without an independent candidate who defected from KMT. The generational effect has weakened and is not consistent in elections. Socioeconomic status (SES) has been effective in voting choices since the 2004 election. Mainlanders, aborigines, high and middle classes are KMT’s social base. But, low class, Southerners, Hakka and Min-Nan voters are DPP’s supporters. The analyses also show regional and ethnic divisions are more significant than generation and SES in election outcomes.

Taiwanese social cleavages related to generation, SES, region, and ethnicity came out almost simultaneously in the post-transitional era. Generational difference affected the party vote in the beginning of democratic election. However, it disappeared quickly as young voters supported their parties based on their social divisions and strengthened social cleavages.

Table 4 - 13. Explaining Taiwanese Presidential Elections, 1996 - 2012

	1996	2000		2004	2008	2012
		KMT/DPP	KMT/Soong			
Generation	0.26 ^a (0.17)	0.09 (0.12)	0.17 (0.13)	0.29*** (0.09)	-0.10 (0.08)	0.10 (0.13)
SES	-0.52*** (0.16)	0.08 (0.12)	0.09 (0.12)	0.27*** (0.10)	0.19** (0.09)	0.05 (0.07)
South	0.34 (0.24)	0.21 (0.25)	-0.55* (0.29)	0.48*** (0.18)	0.52*** (0.20)	0.56*** (0.17)
Hakka & Minnan	---	-13.95*** (0.94)	-13.53*** (1.25)	0.47*** (0.18)	1.28*** (0.25)	1.46** (0.67)
Mainlander & Aborigine	---	-15.57*** (1.01)	-12.58*** (1.26)	-0.96*** (0.20)	-2.68** (1.03)	-0.72 ^b (0.68)
Constant	-0.89** (0.44)	14.79*** (0.99)	13.64*** (1.22)	-1.10*** (0.32)	-1.88*** (0.37)	-1.35** (0.67)
Pesudo - R ²	0.0341	0.0688		0.0874	0.0953	0.1908
N	527	945		869	935	799

Note:* The dependent variable means the vote for presidential candidate. 0 indicates the votes for conservative candidate and 1 represents the votes for liberal candidate. *p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *p<0.01, ^a p = 0.13, ^b p = 0.29. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

**Source:* CSES, 1996 – 2008; TEDS, 2012.

4. 4. Conclusion

East Asian party coalitions changed after the successful industrialization and the end of the Cold War. As the issue effects of economic growth and national security declined, majority coalitions that supported long-term governmental parties disintegrated. As a result, new social cleavages emerged and voters realigned.

In the beginning of new party coalitions, the new generation had an impact on the dissolution of majority coalitions in the war and industrialization era and the formation of new party coalitions in the post-transitional period. However, the generation effect depends on how much other social cleavages reduce the generational difference. Comparatively, the Japanese generation effect slowly weakened, while the Taiwanese generational difference quickly vanished, with young voters casting their votes based on class, ethnicity, and regional base. The Korean generation difference was still influential until the most recent election. Korean young voters still independently voted for their parties not based on their social characteristics. In other words, it means Korean social cleavages did not weaken the generational effect and Korean young voters were not absorbed by other social divisions yet in terms of party support.

New social divisions, which were suppressed by the overarching issues during the war and industrialization era, reformulated party base in the post-transitional period. Japanese urban high and middle classes changed their support from LDP to center-left parties. Union members and farmers weakened their party support and religious members supported LDP more than before. Korean regional and religious groups are a new party base. Class, region, and ethnicity emerged as new Taiwanese social divisions at the same time. In the post-transitional period, East Asian voters cast their votes based on their new social cleavages.

Chapter 5. Issue Ownership in East Asian Party Politics

This chapter will deal with issue ownership of East Asian political parties. As occurred in other countries, East Asian political parties emphasized their own issues to persuade voters to support them. Also, a variety of electoral issues were influential in election results.⁵³ The end of the Cold War and successful industrialization weakened the overarching issue effects in party competition. National security and economic development ceased to be the people's urgent goals. Even though these issues are still important in East Asian politics today, the effects which created the long-term governmental parties lessened in importance and were not as overwhelming as they were during the war and industrialization period. As the effects of overarching issues declined, party coalitions also changed. Political parties needed to represent the issues of their changing social groups. Therefore, political parties focused on not only performance issues but also on their own diversified issues to win elections since the transitional period.

⁵³ Unfortunately, a majority of issue ownership studies examine European and U.S. elections (Abbe et al. 2003; Ansolabehere & Iyengar 1994; 2005; Blomqvist & Green-Pedersen 2004; Budge & Farlie 1983; Christensen et al. 2015; Damore 2004; Egan 2013; Holian 2004; Kaufmann 2004; Klingemann et al. 1994; Petrocik 1996; Petrocik et al. 2003; Popkin 1991).

5. 1. Issue Ownership of Japanese Political Parties

The period of LDP dominance during four decades ended in the 1993 election. Since then, the character of Japanese politics has been very different (Pempel 1998; Beason and Patterson 2012). In particular, since then, the belief in economic miracle has disappeared and Japanese have experienced “the lost decades.” Economic downturn essentially meant the failure of LDP government. Even though the government was the symbol of the “developmental state,” LDP’s economic plan and industrial policy were no longer successful in economic hard times. In fact, LDP’s government used 12 fiscal and economic stimulus packages in election times to stop the decline of party support from 1987 to 1998 (Patterson and Beason 2001). But the effects were just temporary and failed to elicit the defectors and young voters.

On the other hand, in the post – Cold War era, Japan reformulated international relationships with neighbor countries. Even though the Chinese economy opened and the Soviet Union collapsed, LDP continued to stress national defense issue. LDP accelerated the issues of constitutional amendment for Japanese rearmament and territorial disputes about small islands with China, Korea, and Russia. Meanwhile, center-left parties still opposed the amendment of the peace constitution since the *Anpo* (National Defense) protest in 1960. Furthermore, there was the generation gap between old and young voters in terms of issue concerns as mentioned in chapter 4. The old generation was more concerned about the two general issues than the young generation. But the young generation had interests in more differentiated issues than the old generation.

New issues emerged as the political environment changed, and social groups also had different political positions on the issues. Japanese political parties responded to new societal conditions and voters' issue concerns during the post-transitional period. Political parties began to emphasize more diversified issues and suggested different solutions on the agendas facing the country.

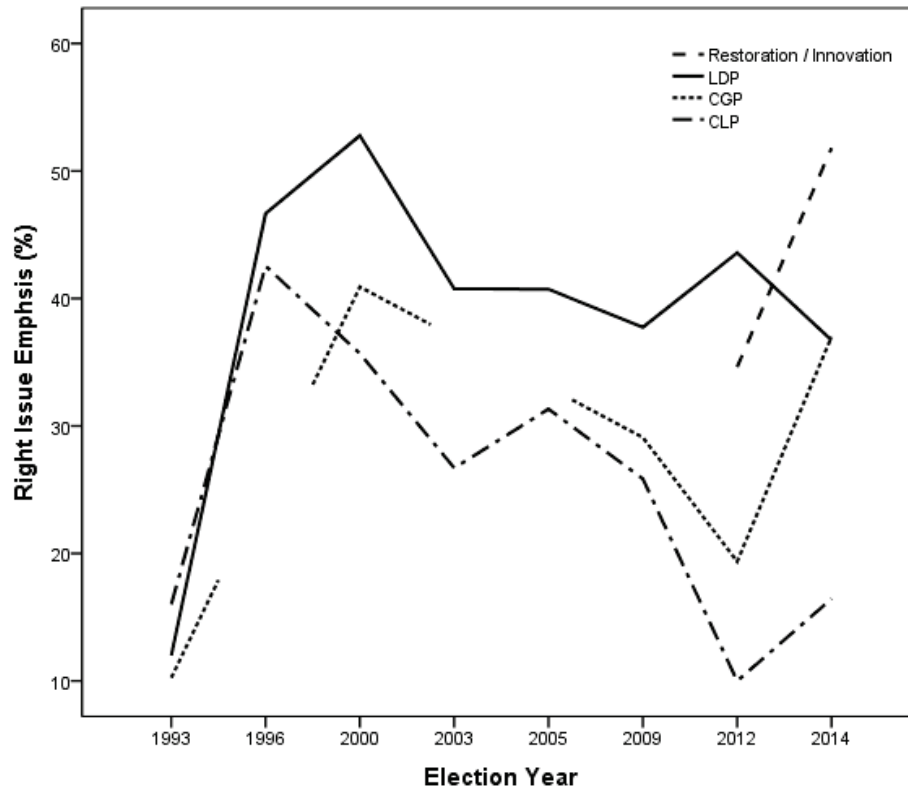
Most research on Japanese electoral issues maintains that there is no significant and consistent issue difference between political parties. The scholars of Japanese party politics argue that the electoral issues play minimized or at best temporal roles in certain elections (Pempel 1982, 218 – 54; Kohei et al. 1991; Kabashima and Steel 2010, 59). Political parties commonly emphasized the same issues such as economic and other domestic issues. In particular, “the collapse of a sharp conservative - progressive cleavage” contributed to LDP's predominance by promoting interparty cooperation (Curtis 1988, 241). LDP and oppositional parties were likely to share a norm of consensus-based policy making (Proksch et al. 2011, 117). For instance, Kohno showed the pattern of policy compromises among Japanese political parties was possible due to the ideological/policy convergence (Kohno 1997, 125 - 126). Japanese parties' issues are just mainly more different in foreign policy rather than other issues during the post-WWII era (Proksch et al. 2011). However, contrary to conventional understanding of Japanese party politics, Japanese political parties clearly stressed different issues, which significantly affected election results since the 1990s.

5.1.1 Content Analysis of Electoral Issues

The content analysis of electoral issues clarifies which issues political parties emphasized in electoral campaigns and clarifies how Japanese party politics competed with one another in the post – transitional period. Since the 1990s, responding to their changing social divisions, political parties have stressed their own issues in elections, as well as common agendas. LDP focused not only on the national defense issue, but also free market, governmental efficiency, morality, law and order, and decentralization issues. LDP targeted conservative urban and rural voters on economic, domestic, and external issues. In economic recovery, LDP claimed conservative solutions which consisted of market autonomy, small government, and privatization. The issues of military expansion and constitutional amendment for Japanese own army were LDP’s external issues. In the domestic issue area, LDP emphasized the importance of decentralization, traditional morality and public safety.

Figure 5 – 1 shows right issue difference of political parties from 1993 to 2014. Right issue difference is illustrated through a percentage value, which reflects the amount of emphasis each party placed on the right issue over the total issues between LDP and center-left parties. It is interesting that the issue gap between political parties increased over time. The level of right issue emphasis between LDP and center-left parties was very similar in the 1993 election. However, the issue difference was much clearer since the 1996 election. To overcome electoral loss in the previous election, LDP argued more conservative issues than other political parties from the 1996 to the 2014 elections.

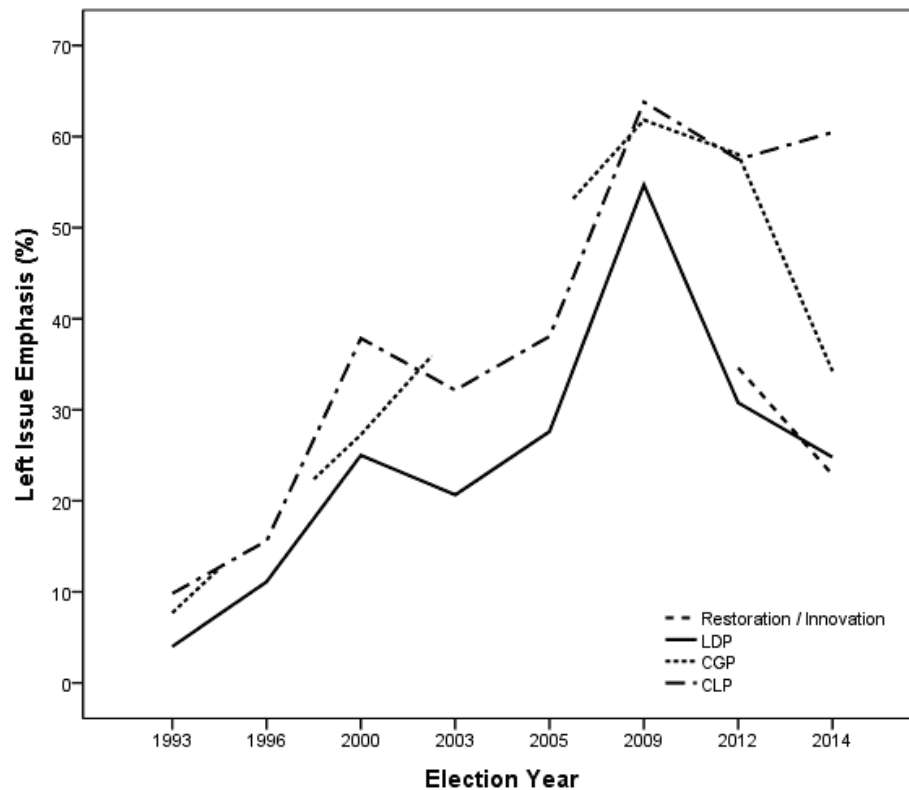
Figure 5 - 1. Right Issue Difference of Japanese Political Parties, 1993 - 2014



*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun's* articles (1946 – 1958 and 2009 – 2014) and MPD (1960 – 2005).

Meanwhile, Figure 5 – 2 indicates the difference of left issue emphases between political parties. Left issue difference reflects the varying levels of emphasis placed on the left issue over the total issues. Center-left Parties emphasized not only the issues of international peace, environmental protection but also welfare, social group, and social justice. Similar to right issue difference, the difference of left issue emphasis also increased in recent elections. The patterns in the two figures illustrate that the political parties provided voters with more differentiated and specified solutions on current agendas since the 1993 election.

Figure 5 - 2. Left Issue Difference of Japanese Political Parties, 1993 - 2014



*Source: Data from *Asahi Shimbun*'s articles (1946 – 1958 and 2009 – 2014) and MPD (1960 – 2005).

CGP placed the issue position between right and left parties in stressing major issues (Figures 5 – 1 and 5 – 2) and kept its third party position in the Diet. In addition, Japanese Restoration Party (JRP) and Japanese Innovation Party (JIP) recently became one of main parties in the House of Representatives. JRP had 11.25 % (54 seats) out of total of 480 seats in the 2012 election and JIP had 8.63 % (41 seats) out of total seats in the 2014 election. Both conservative populist parties' issue positions seemed to have no clear emphasis between right and left issues because

they simultaneously emphasized both right and left issues in the same election even though they stressed right issues slightly more than left agendas. In brief, contrary to conventional understanding of Japanese party politics, in the electoral campaigns during the post-transitional period, the differences between major political parties' emphases of right and left issues are very distinct.

5.1.2 Issue Effects on Vote Choice: the 1993, 2005, and 2009 Elections

This section will examine if each party's electoral issues affected voting choices in the 1993, 2005, and 2009 elections. These elections are the examples which identify the degree to which parties' issues were influential in voting choices. First, the 1993 election was the case that LDP lost governmental power at the first time since 1955. This signifies that while the Japanese party system during the war and industrialization period ended, a new system started. In this election, I will investigate what kinds of electoral issues played important roles in LDP's historic loss. The second case is the 2005 election. Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi led neoliberal economic reform to recover Japanese economy and suggested new agendas of LDP. However, oppositional parties and even some of LDP's legislators disagreed about Koizumi's policies such as privatization of post office, fiscal reform, and administrative efficiency, decentralization, and foreign affairs. In the gridlock between Koizumi administration and the Diet, he dissolved the lower house and called for a new election in 2005. As a result, LDP scored a landslide victory and Koizumi eliminated political opponents in LDP. Since then, Koizumi's successors followed his agendas (Kabashima and Steel 2010, 112 – 127). In the analysis of the 2005

election, I will confirm how much Koizumi's agendas strongly influenced the election result. Finally, the 2009 election was DPJ's counter-attack of Koizumi's reform drive. DPJ criticized the LDP's neoliberal policies and new agendas. This new major oppositional party stressed the issues of medical treatment, pension, unemployment, and income gap as well as international peace and environmental protection. At that time, the election result was DPJ's most overwhelming victory ever. DPJ won 308 seats out of the total of 480 seats (64 %). The analysis of this election will show how important DPJ's issues were in winning the election.

Table 5 – 1 reports political parties' issue effects on single-nontransferable (SNTV) vote in the 1993 election and single-member district (SMD) vote in the 2005 and 2009 elections. The analytical results confirm that diversified issues of political parties are closely associated with electoral outcomes. Interestingly, the end of LDP's long-term government was much more related to performance issues such as general economic and corruption issues rather than LDP and center-left issues. It is consistent with the decline of overarching issue effects and center-left parties' advantage of corruption issue as mentioned in chapters 3 and 4. However, LDP and center-left parties also had the advantages of their own issues from the 1993 election as the coefficients pointed out.

In the 2005 election, Koizumi's landslide winning was due to the voters who supported Koizumi's neoliberal reform policies and new agendas. His reform agendas on free market, governmental efficiency and the conservative external and domestic issues were strongly influential in the next elections as well as the 2005

election because the coefficients of LDP' issues highly increased in the 2005 and the 2009 elections compared the 1993 election.

Meanwhile, the effects of center-left parties' issues were also larger over three elections. DPJ's issues contributed to DPJ's triumphant win in the 2009 election. DPJ's electoral success since the 2000 election was closely related to the party's issue effects. In fact, DPJ was one of center-left parties in the 1996 election. But, DPJ continued to emphasize its own issues and was the second largest party since the 2000 election and finally the largest party in the 2009 election.

CGP was in the middle of right and left parties with respect to issue effects in the elections. LDP significantly gained its own issue effects against CGP's votes in the 1993 and 2005 elections. But CGP gained more conservative votes than LDP in the 2009 election. It was one of reasons LDP lost votes in 2009.

Next, Table 5 – 2 represents substantial issue effects on SNTV and SMD vote. Voters' issue concerns were substantially influential in election results except LDP's issues in the 2009 election. When it comes to comparing three issue variables after the 1993 election, the effects of political parties' issues increased but performance issues decreased. As seen in Table 5 – 1, performance issues such as economic and corruption issues significantly affected LDP's loss in the 1993 election. In Table 5 – 2, performance issues contributed to an increase of 19% of Center – Left parties' votes, presuming the effects of other variables are fixed in the average values. Koizumi's agendas in the 2005 election caused an increase in LDP's votes by 19%, and DPJ's issues brought about a 6% increase in the party's vote in the 2009 election.

In the meantime, Table 5 – 3 shows the issue ownership of political parties in proportional representation (PR) votes. The analytical results of PR votes are also similar to Table 5 – 1. In the 2005 and 2009 elections, political parties' issues were influential in gaining their PR votes. Furthermore, political parties' issue effects in other analyses are more statistically significant than the analyses in Tables 5 – 1 and 5 – 2 (See Appendix).

Table 5 - 1. Issue Effects in Japanese SNTV and SMD Elections

	1993		2005		2009	
	LDP/CLP	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP
LDP's Issues	-0.27 ^a (0.21)	-0.78* (0.44)	-1.05*** (0.26)	-2.08** (0.98)	-1.45 ^b (1.24)	1.48 (0.96)
Center-Left Issues	0.09 ^c (0.18)	0.42 (0.29)	0.30* (0.17)	0.38 (0.42)	0.28* (0.17)	0.73 (0.48)
Performance Issues	0.75*** (0.13)	-0.20 (0.28)	0.29 ^d (0.18)	-0.98 (0.67)	0.14 ^e (0.15)	0.68 (0.45)
Generation	0.27*** (0.09)	0.63*** (0.14)	0.03 (0.10)	0.54** (0.27)	0.29*** (0.08)	0.40* (0.21)
Religious Member	-0.52 (0.39)	2.80*** (0.32)	-0.54 (0.42)	1.68*** (0.59)	-1.45*** (0.38)	1.64*** (0.43)
Urban High	0.47** (0.18)	0.11 (0.37)	0.44** (0.21)	-0.98 (0.84)	-0.06 (0.19)	-1.08 (0.67)
Farmer	-1.25*** (0.31)	-2.23** (1.07)	-0.47 (0.37)	-12.58*** (0.34)	-0.18 (1.25)	-14.34*** (1.08)
Urban Middle	0.39** (0.19)	-0.13 (0.35)	-0.13 (0.26)	-0.33 (0.63)	-0.04 (0.20)	-0.04 (0.47)

Urban Low	0.48** (0.24)	0.39 (0.39)	-0.21 (0.38)	0.57 (0.64)	-0.41 (0.31)	-14.54*** (0.37)
Rural High	-0.00 (0.25)	-1.19* (0.68)	-0.24 (0.29)	-0.38 (0.80)	-0.61*** (0.23)	-1.81* (1.05)
Rural Middle	-0.19 (0.22)	-1.62*** (0.57)	-0.02 (0.26)	-1.55 (0.98)	-0.07 (0.23)	-0.91 (0.80)
Rural Low	0.27 (0.21)	-0.41 (0.48)	-0.29 (0.20)	-0.16 (0.78)	-0.54 (0.35)	-14.56*** (0.38)
Union Member	0.66*** (0.22)	-0.25 (0.51)	0.72** (0.32)	0.51 (0.79)	0.20 (0.31)	-0.52 (0.84)
Constant	-0.79*** (0.16)	-2.88*** (0.29)	-0.78*** (0.20)	-3.77** (0.61)	0.06 (0.19)	-3.45*** (0.58)
Pseudo - R ²	0.1039		0.0549		0.0515	
N	1519		1022		1315	

**Note:* Voters of LDP are the baseline comparison group in the multinomial logit regressions. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. CLP means center – left parties. ^a $p < 0.1$; ^b $p < 0.05$; ^c $p < 0.001$. ^a p – value = 0.21; ^b p -value = 0.24; ^c p -value = 0.61; ^d p -value = 0.12; ^e p -value = 0.33. **Source:* ASSK, 1993, 2005 and 2009.

Table 5 - 2. Substantial Issue Effects in Japanese SNTV and SMD Elections

	1993			2005			2009		
	LDP's Issues	CLP's Issues	Performance Issues	LDP's Issues	DPJ's Issues	Performance Issues	LDP's Issues	DPJ's Issues	Performance Issues
Not Effective	.47*** (.01)	.47*** (.02)	.40*** (.02)	.35*** (.02)	.30*** (.02)	.31*** (.02)	.65*** (.01)	.63*** (.02)	.63*** (.02)
Effective	.42*** (.05)	.48*** (.04)	.59*** (.02)	.16*** (.03)	.37*** (.03)	.38*** (.04)	.28 ^a (.24)	.69*** (.03)	.66*** (.02)
Δ Issue Effect	-.05	.01	.19	-.19	.07	.07	-.37	.06	.03

Note:* Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. CLP means center – left parties. **p* < 0.1; *p* < 0.05; ****p* < 0.001. ^a p – value = 0.25. These entries are the predictive probability of Center-Left Party (CLP or DPJ)'s votes, assuming party's issues are effective and all other variables are fixed in the mean values. The difference between not-effective and effective percentages means marginal effects of the issues. **Source:* ASSK from selected years.

Table 5 – 4 summarizes the substantial issue effects in PR votes. The issue effects are also similar to SNTV and SMD votes. Compared to Tables 5 – 3 and 5 – 4, DPJ’s issue effects are slightly lower in PR than SMD votes but performance issue effects are a little higher in PR than SMD votes. LDP’s issue ownership in PR votes is still as strong as SMD votes. Overall, the issue effects of the political parties were significant and were not noticeably different with regard to electoral systems. Issue ownership of Japanese political parties is substantially and statistically important to gaining party votes across electoral rules since 1993.

Table 5 - 3. Issue Effects in Japanese Proportional Representation Vote

	2005		2009	
	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP
LDP’s Issues	-1.14*** (0.28)	-1.01** (0.44)	-1.65 ^a (1.24)	-0.30 (0.82)
Center – Left Issues	0.22 ^b (0.18)	0.31 (0.28)	0.20 ^c (0.18)	0.30 (0.36)
Performance Issues	0.32* (0.19)	-0.38 (0.35)	0.28* (0.16)	0.28 (0.33)
Generation	0.06 (0.10)	0.29* (0.15)	0.34*** (0.09)	0.45** (0.17)
Religious Member	0.41 (0.49)	2.76*** (0.42)	0.72 (0.66)	4.20*** (0.65)
Union Member	0.50 (0.33)	0.24 (0.56)	0.31 (0.35)	0.17 (0.64)
Farmer	-0.80** (0.40)	-1.23 (0.79)	-0.93 (1.38)	-13.47*** (1.01)

Urban High	0.24 (0.22)	-0.68* (0.40)	-0.03 (0.21)	-0.56 (0.51)
Urban Middle	-0.25 (0.27)	-0.41 (0.38)	0.06 (0.21)	0.05 (0.42)
Urban Low	-0.10 (0.36)	-0.54 (0.57)	-0.53 (0.34)	-1.42 (1.07)
Rural High	-0.20 (0.29)	-0.46 (0.51)	-0.62** (0.24)	-1.07* (0.63)
Rural Middle	-0.17 (0.27)	-1.00* (0.53)	-0.15 (0.25)	0.04 (0.50)
Rural Low	0.17 (0.34)	0.04 (0.53)	-0.36 (0.36)	-12.99*** (0.36)
Constant	-0.70*** (0.20)	-2.21*** (0.34)	-0.02 (0.20)	-2.74*** (0.45)
Pseudo-R ²		0.0627		0.0910
N		1004		1224

Note:* Voters of LDP are the baseline comparison group in the multinomial logit regressions. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.001$. ^a p-value = 0.19; ^b p-value = 0.20; ^c p-value = 0.25. **Source:* ASSK, 2005 and 2009.

Table 5 - 4. Substantial Issue Effects in Japanese Proportional Representation Election

	2005			2009		
	LDP's Issues	DPJ's Issues	Performance Issues	LDP's Issues	DPJ's Issues	Performance Issues
Not Effective	.35*** (.02)	.31*** (.02)	.30*** (.02)	.66*** (.01)	.65*** (.02)	.63*** (.02)
Effective	.16*** (.03)	.35*** (.03)	.38*** (.04)	.28 ^a (.24)	.69*** (.03)	.69*** (.02)
Δ Issue Effect	-.19	.04	.08	-.38	.04	.06

Note:* Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. $*p < 0.1$; $p < 0.05$; $***p < 0.001$.
^a p – value = 0.25. These entries are the predictive probability of DPJ's votes assuming party's issues are effective and all other variables are fixed in the mean values. The difference between not-effective and effective percentages means marginal effects of the issues. **Source:* ASSK, 2005 and 2009.

5. 2 Issue Ownership of Korean Political Parties

Koreans regained democratic voting rights in the presidential election after the 1987 democratic movement, so political parties began to compete to win the elections again. Korean society had totally changed since the 1950s, as it experienced dramatic economic growth from the level of Mozambique to the level of Great Britain, based on GDP per capita. Recovery of diplomatic relationships with the Soviet Union (1990) and China (1992) for the first time since the Korean War (1950 -1953) meant new international relations around the Korean peninsula. The effects of economic development and national security no longer overwhelmed a variety of issues which had been marginalized during the war and industrialization period. Due to changing society and international relations, the effects of the two grand issues were lessened.

Voters began to raise diversified issues beyond the limited agendas of national defense, economic development, and corruption. Different social groups had different ideas to solve important problems in the country. Right parties stressed the importance of national defense against North Korea, free market, political stability, and social harmony. Interestingly, even if DRP's government developed the Korean economy based on a state-directed model, right parties argued that free open market economy was the next step for economic development. However, center-left parties raised new agendas of peaceful relationship with North Korea, unbalanced regional development, economic inequality, and social justice. In fact, these conflicts had been growing during the industrialization process in the Cold War era but were not solved. The following sections

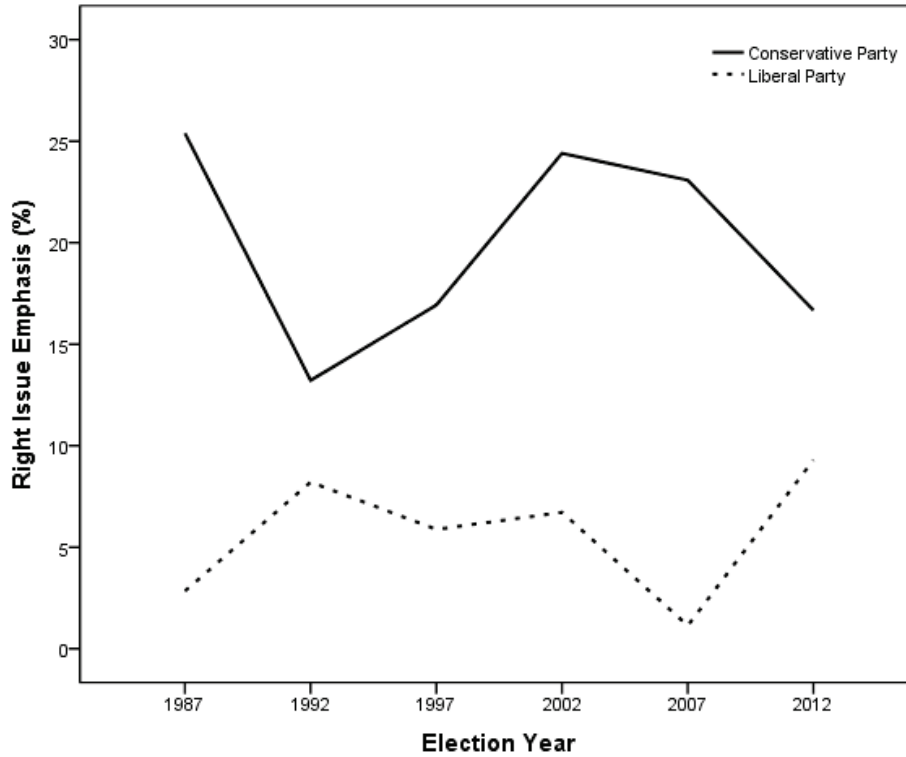
will present how Korean political parties emphasized differentiated issues and whether their electoral issues were significantly effective in election results.

5.2.1 Content Analysis of Korean Electoral Issues

Figure 5 – 3 shows the percentage which political parties referred to conservative party's issues in their election campaigns. Conservative parties emphasized their issues more than liberal parties in every presidential election since democratization in 1987. The level of right issue emphasis between conservative and liberal parties was clearly different. Conservative parties stressed the issues of free market and governmental efficiency. In domestic issues, they criticized liberal parties as causing social instability and argued the importance of political stability and social harmony.

Figure 5 - 3. Right Issue Difference between Korean Political Parties, 1987 -

2012



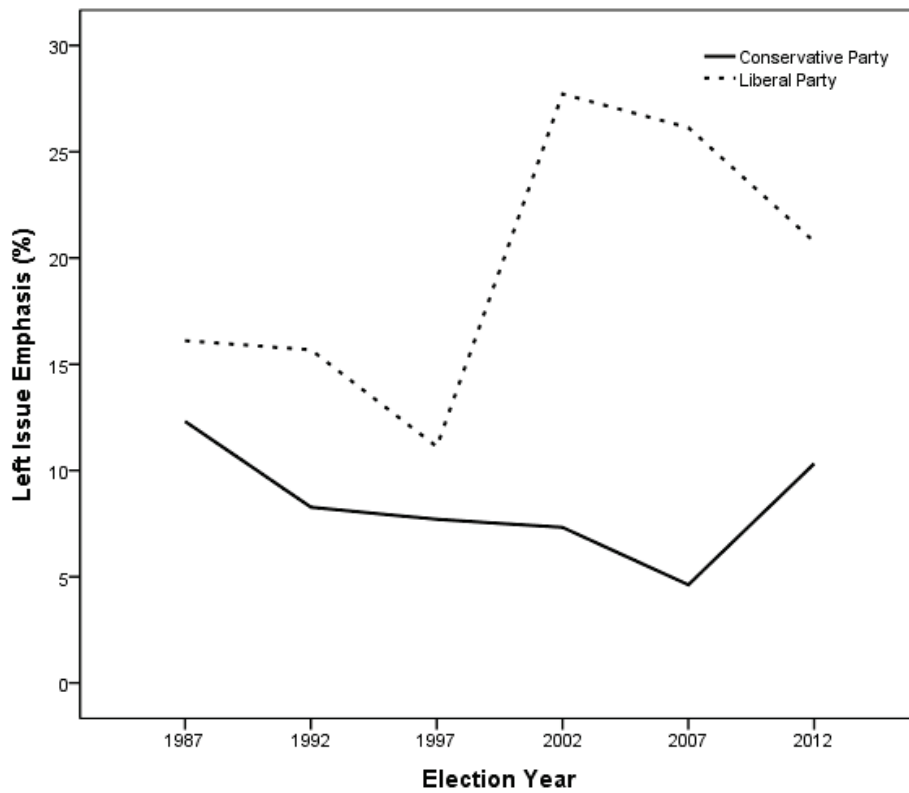
*Source: Data from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1987) on electoral issues, televised presidential candidate speeches (1992) and televised presidential debates (1997 – 2012).

On the other hand, Figure 5 – 4 indicates that liberal parties focused on their issues more than other issues during the post-transitional period. However, left issue gap between conservative and liberal parties shows a different pattern, contrary to right issue emphasis. Since the 1997 election, liberal parties have emphasized their issues more than before. When the Asian financial crisis struck the Korean economy in the winter of 1997, the liberal parties criticized the right party's neoliberal economic policies, and accentuated the issues of unemployment, economic inequality, and welfare. In fact,

National Congress for New Politics (NCNP) won the 1997 presidential election. Since then, liberal parties emphasized their own issues more.

Figure 5 - 4. Left Issue Difference between Korean Political Parties, 1987 -

2012



*Source: Data from *Donga Daily*'s articles (1987) on electoral issues, televised presidential candidate speeches (1992) and televised presidential debates (1997 – 2012).

5.2.2 Issue Effects on Voting Choice: The 1997 and 2012 Elections

The following analyses show the extent to which each political party's issues affected election results in two important presidential elections during the post-transitional period. The first case was the 1997 election in which liberal party (NCNP) won for the first time after democratization. Kim, Dae-Jung was NCNP's presidential candidate who represented Cholla province. Cholla voters claimed they had been discriminated against since the war and industrialization period. In the 1997 election, NCNP and United Liberal Democrats (ULD), which represented another region Choongchung province, agreed that Kim, Dae-Jung would be the single candidate for both parties against Grand National Party (GNP). On the other hand, the election was held in the middle of the Asian financial crisis. In this situation, Kim, Dae-Jung stressed the issues of unemployment, regional reconciliation, and social welfare more than GNP's candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang.

Secondly, in the 2012 election, conservative party (Saenuri Party)'s candidate was former president, Park, Jung-hee's daughter. The charismatic leader President Park was an army general and led the country in successful economic development during the war and industrialization period. Saenuri Party's candidate, Park, Geun-Hye highlighted the importance of global market competitiveness, national security, and national solidarity relatively more than Democratic United Party (DUP)'s candidate, Moon, Jae-In. Meanwhile, DUP's candidate emphasized the issues of economic inequality, social justice, peaceful relationship with North Korea, and quality of life.

Table 5 - 5. Issue Ownership Analysis in Korean Presidential Elections

	1997	2012
Right Issues	-1.13* (0.59)	-0.52** (0.26)
Left Issues	2.04*** (0.65)	0.53** (0.21)
Performance Issues	0.03 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.22)
Generation	0.09 (0.11)	0.85*** (0.08)
Cholla	3.60*** (0.60)	2.12*** (0.28)
Kyungsang	-1.83*** (0.21)	-0.55*** (0.15)
Buddhist	-0.56*** (0.21)	-0.47*** (0.17)
Protestant	0.40* (0.22)	-0.08 (0.16)
Catholic	-0.46 (0.28)	0.35 (0.22)
Constant	0.19 (0.24)	0.85*** (0.08)
Pseudo - R ²	0.2596	0.1812
N	849	1289

* *Note:* 0 is the vote for conservative candidate and 1 is the vote for liberal candidate in dependent variable. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$. **Source:* Korean Social Science Data Center (KSDC) Survey 1997 and Korean Elections Panel Studies (KEPS) 2012.

Table 5 – 5 displays issue effects on party votes in two elections. Each political party's issue emphasis had clear impacts on both election results. In the 1997 election, right and left issues strongly affected voters' choices. Left issues were more influential than right issues. In the Asian financial crisis, voters were seriously concerned about NCNP's issues. Furthermore, NCNP's candidate, Kim, Dae-Jung was the beneficiary of regional reconciliation issue as the single candidate of Cholla and Choongchung provinces. On the other hand, GNP's candidate, Lee, Hoi-Chang continued to claim the importance of free market economy and condemned NCNP as the party which stimulated social instability and ignored national defense against North Korea. Voters who agreed to GNP's issues cast their votes for candidate Lee.

Meanwhile, in the 2012 election, GNP changed the name of the party into *Saenuri* (New World) Party and nominated Park, Geun-Hye, the daughter of the former charismatic president Park. Voters who were concerned about Saenuri Party's issues supported Park. However, voters who paid more attention to DUP's issues voted for Moon. Interestingly, comparing both elections, left issue effects were stronger than right issues in the 1997 election. In the middle of the 1997 Asian financial crisis, DUP took more advantage of left issue effects. However, in the most recent election, right and left issue effects were similar to voting decisions.

Table 5 – 6 summarizes the substantial issue effects on presidential votes. Similarly to logistic analysis in Table 5 – 5, political parties' issues are consistently influential in both elections. Also, in the 1997 election, left issue effects were 6% higher than right issue effects. But, in the 2012 election, the gap of issue effects between right and left parties showed that left issues had just a 1% advantage.

In sum, Korean political parties clearly focused on their own issues more than other parties' issues in election campaigns. Also, parties' issues were significantly and substantially effective in election results during the post-transitional period.

Table 5 - 6. Substantial Issue Effects in Korean Presidential Elections

	1997			2012		
	Right's Issues	Left's Issues	Performance Issues	Right's Issues	Left's Issues	Performance Issues
Not Effective	.59*** (.03)	.58*** (.03)	.58*** (.03)	.48*** (.02)	.40*** (.03)	.46*** (.02)
Effective	.32** (.13)	.91*** (.05)	.59*** (.04)	.36*** (.05)	.53*** (.03)	.45*** (.04)
Δ Issue Effect	-.27	.33	.01	-.12	.13	-.01

Note:* Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. $*p < 0.1$; $p < 0.05$; $***p < 0.001$. These entries are the predictive probability of center-left party's votes assuming party's issues are effective and all other variables are fixed in the mean values. The difference between not-effective and effective percentages means marginal effects of the issues. **Source:* Korean Social Science Data Center (KSDC) Survey 1997 and Korean Elections Panel Studies (KEPS) 2012.

5. 3. Issue Ownership of Taiwanese Political Parties

After the end of martial law (1949–1987) and “the Wild Lily Student Movement (1990)”, the first Taiwanese president Lee Teng-Hui accepted democracy in Taiwan. In the first democratic election (1996), President Lee was reelected as Kuomintang (KMT)’s candidate. Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) could also compete with KMT to win presidential elections. Since industrialization had succeeded and the Cold War had ended, Taiwanese politics totally changed in democratization. Social groups raised new agendas and had different issue concerns. Political parties also responded to this drastic change of political environment.

The divisions of ethnicity, region, and class, which were suppressed by KMT’s grand issues over the time period of four decades, simultaneously emerged in elections after democratization. First of all, the debates of unification *vs.* independence and Chinese *vs.* Taiwanese identity are the most differentiated issues in all electoral agendas between KMT and DPP (Fell 2005). These issues are closely related to ethnic cleavage. In terms of ethnic composition, Hak-Ka and Min-Nan (84 %) are a majority of the population, but mainlanders (14%) governed Taiwan. Also, aborigines (2%) supported KMT. However, since democratization, ethnic conflict became the important political resource which political parties could utilize to mobilize voters. Hak-Ka and Min-Nan group argue they are not Chinese but Taiwanese and stress the necessity of independence, whereas mainlanders continue to claim they are Chinese and stress the unification of mainland and Taiwan.

On the other hand, KMT emphasizes ethnic harmony and criticizes that DPP lacks government competence. DPP stresses human rights and democracy, inequality, social justice, and welfare expansion and criticizes KMT's dictatorship. In fact, the issue emphasis of political parties originated from their social base. KMT represents the issue concerns of mainlanders, high and middle classes, while DPP focuses on the agendas of Min-Nan and Hak-Ka, Southerners, and low class.

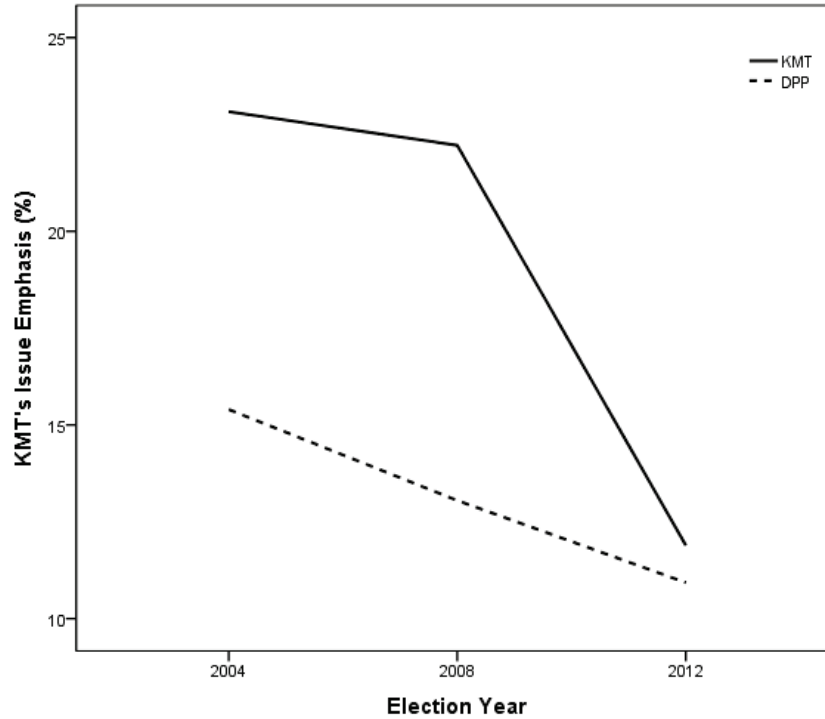
5.3.1. Content Analysis of Taiwanese Electoral Issues

Taiwanese political parties emphasized different issues compared to their counterparts in presidential elections. During the war and industrialization period, KMT government legitimized its long-term dictatorship claiming the importance of retaking the mainland and economic development. However, after the Cold War ended and economy developed, social groups raised a variety of issues in democratic party competition. Political parties underscore not only general concerns but also specific issues to win election during the post-democratization period.

KMT stressed ethnic harmony, unification of China, and government competency. Figure 5 – 5 shows the percentage of right issue emphasis in each party's electoral issues. KMT focused on right issues more than DPP over the three elections. In fact, Taiwanese party competition was differentiated since the 2004 election because “Pan-Blue” and “Pan-Green” coalitions were clearer than before.

Figure 5 - 5. KMT's Issue Difference between Taiwanese Political Parties,

2004 - 2012

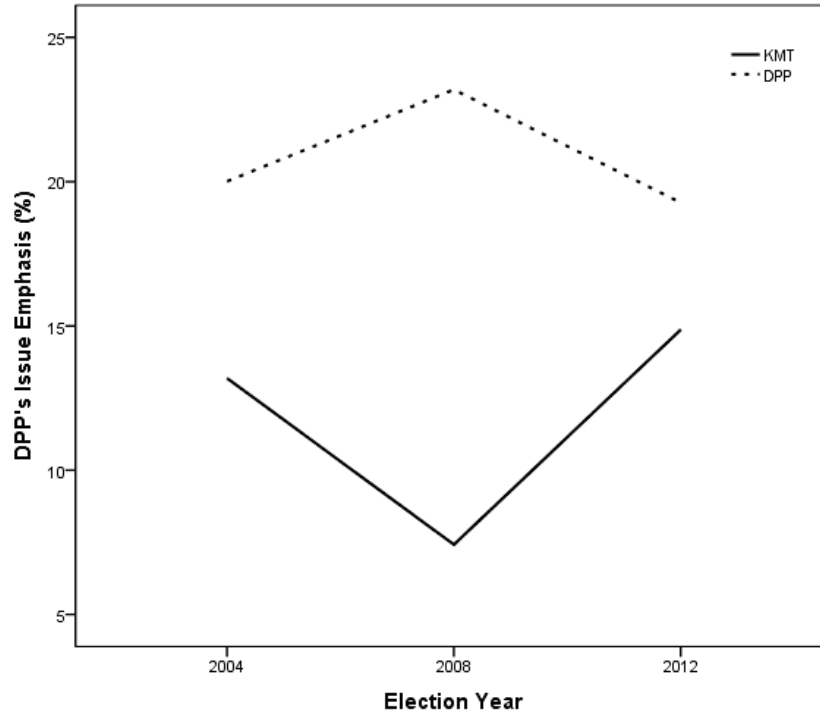


**Source:* Data from televised presidential debates (2004 – 2012).

In the meantime, DPP's issues were freedom and human rights, welfare expansion, unemployment, Taiwanese independence, social justice, environmentalism, and quality of life. Figure 5 – 6 displays the percentage of left issue emphasis in each party's electoral issues. As the figure indicated, DPP focused on left issues, as well as Taiwanese independence, more than KMT. Even if Taiwanese democracy just started in 1996, KMT and DPP highlighted their issues in elections as political parties in other democratic countries. Since democratization, Taiwanese social cleavages, ethnicity, region, and class rapidly emerged and political parties represented their social groups' issue concerns in election campaigns.

Figure 5 - 6. DPP's Issue Difference between Taiwanese Political Parties, 2004 -

2012



**Source: Data from televised presidential debates (2004 – 2012).*

5.3.2. Issue Effects on Voting Choice: The 2000 and 2008 Elections

The issues that political parties emphasized were also effective in election results. The 2000 election was the first transfer of governmental power in Taiwan. DPP's candidate Chen, Shui-Bian defeated KMT's candidate Lien, Chan in presidential election. However, internal strife in KMT contributed to DPP's win. A popular politician James Soong Chu-Yu left KMT and became an independent presidential candidate. KMT's supporters were divided into two groups—those who supported James Soong Chu-Yu, and those who didn't. Finally, DPP's candidate Chen, Shui-Bian could gain the most

votes of the three candidates. In the election, I will examine what kinds of electoral issues affected DPP's first win. Secondly, KMT won the 2008 election after DPP's winning in the 2000 and 2004 elections. KMT's candidate Ma, Ying-Jeou challenged DPP's candidate Frank Hsieh Chang-Ting. Both parties' candidates continued to focus on their own electoral issues.

Table 5 – 7 reports the logistic regression analyses on both presidential election results. In the 2000 election, both parties' issues are not statistically effective in terms of the ordinary confidence levels. However, KMT's issues and DPP's issues are positively related to their votes. DPP also took the lead in performance issues. In addition, based on another logistic regression analyses, electoral issue effects were significantly effective in voting choices with respect to the confidence levels (See Table 5 – 12 in Appendix). A majority of voters criticized the KMT government by claiming it did not perform well. In the 2000 election, voters blamed KMT for its dictatorship and KMT also lost Taiwanese President Lee's advantage. As a result, DPP's issues and performance issues had a positive impact on DPP's first election winning.

Table 5 - 7. Issue Ownership in Taiwanese Presidential Elections

	2000	2008
KMT's Issues	-0.29 ^a (0.56)	-1.44*** (0.46)
DPP's Issues	0.37 ^b (0.29)	0.49 ^c (0.75)
Performance Issues	0.23 ^d (0.15)	-0.47** (0.24)
Generation	-0.16** (0.08)	0.15 (0.16)
High	-0.32 (0.25)	-0.59 (0.41)
Middle	-0.43* (0.26)	-0.35 (0.40)
Low	-0.32 (0.25)	-0.03 (0.38)
South	0.43*** (0.16)	0.41* (0.21)
Hak-Ka & Min-Nan	-1.36 (1.16)	0.52 (0.94)
Aborigine & Mainlander	-3.45*** (1.20)	-1.59* (0.95)
Constant	1.53 (1.19)	0.06 (1.02)
Pseudo- R ²	0.0672	0.2156
N	1242	566

* Note: 0 is KMT's vote and 1 is DPP's vote in dependent variable. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$. *Source: CSES 2000 and 2008. ^ap-value = 0.61; ^bp-value = 0.20; ^cp-value = 0.52; ^dp-value = 0.12.

However, in the 2008 election, KMT's issues strongly affected the increase of candidate Ma, Ying – Jeou's votes. Since the 2000 and 2004 election losses, KMT stressed their issues, government competency, ethnic harmony, and national defense more than DPP. Furthermore, KMT had benefits from performance issues as well. Voters supported KMT, criticizing DPP's government for not performing well.

Table 5 – 8 summarizes the substantial effects of electoral issues in the 2000 and 2008 elections. Even though the issue effects in the 2000 election are not statistically significant based on the confidence levels in logistic analyses (Table 5 – 7), the effects are substantially significant in both presidential elections. In particular, DPP's issue effects in the 2000 election were higher than KMT's issues, not to mention DPP's advantage of performance issues. In the 2008 election, KMT were superior to DPP in performance issues as well as KMT's issues. Consequently, Taiwanese political parties' issues were influential in election results.

Table 5 - 8. Substantial Issue Effects in Taiwanese Presidential Elections

	2000			2012		
	KMT's Issues	DPP's Issues	Performance Issues	KMT's Issues	DPP's Issues	Performance Issues
Not Effective	.39*** (.02)	.39*** (.02)	.36*** (.03)	.40*** (.03)	.37*** (.02)	.40*** (.03)
Effective	.33*** (.12)	.48*** (.07)	.41*** (.02)	.14*** (.05)	.49** (.19)	.29*** (.04)
Δ Issue Effect	-.06	.09	.05	-.26	.12	-.11

Note:* Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.001$. These entries are the predictive probability of DPP's votes, assuming party's issues are effective and all other variables are fixed in the mean values. The difference between not-effective and effective percentages means marginal effects of the issues.

5.4. Conclusion

As overarching issues declined, political parties responded to changing social bases and represented their supporters' issues. Voters' evaluation of governmental performance and political parties' electoral agendas influenced election results. In other words, political parties consistently emphasized their own issues and issue ownership had a substantial and statistical impact on voting choices during the post-transitional period.

East Asian political parties stressed different issue agendas with respect to the problems facing their countries. Japanese political parties have continued to debate a constitutional amendment related to national defense and international peace. Korean political parties have had different solutions about the relationship with North Korea and unbalanced development issues between provinces. Taiwanese political parties have had different issue positions between reunification and independence, and ethnic conflicts. Meanwhile, since the economic recess and the 1997 Asian financial crisis, right and center-left parties in the three countries have had different agendas to overcome the economic hard times. Right parties emphasized free market and governmental efficiency while center-left parties focused on economic inequality, welfare expansion, and social justice. In addition, right parties stressed law and civil order, political stability, and social harmony. Therefore, political parties' issues and governmental performances are important in East Asian voters' decisions.

5.5. Appendix

Electoral issues are measured by dummy variables and the frequency of each party's issues. Dummy variables are coded into 1 for the voters who were more concerned about each party's issues than other issues. The above analyses used dummy variables to examine issue ownership. The analyses in Appendix use the measure of the frequency.

Table 5 - 9. Issue Effects in Japanese District Votes

	1993		2005		2009	
	LDP/CLP	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP
LDP's Issues	-0.43*** (0.09)	-0.57*** (0.17)	-0.69*** (0.10)	-0.89*** (0.30)	-0.29*** (0.09)	0.10 (0.18)
Center - Left Issues	0.02 (0.07)	0.49*** (0.12)	0.33*** (0.07)	0.46*** (0.17)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.04 (0.14)
Performance Issues	0.34*** (0.05)	0.08 (0.10)	0.24*** (0.06)	-0.01 (0.18)	0.09** (0.04)	-0.05 (0.10)
Generation	0.26*** (0.09)	0.63*** (0.14)	0.08 (0.10)	0.54** (0.26)	0.26*** (0.08)	0.42* (0.21)
Religious Member	-0.51 (0.38)	2.70*** (0.33)	-0.34 (0.43)	1.87*** (0.57)	-1.71*** (0.40)	1.65*** (0.45)
Urban High	0.51*** (0.18)	0.09 (0.38)	0.43* (0.22)	-0.85 (0.85)	-0.09 (0.20)	-1.03 (0.67)
Farmer	-1.16*** (0.30)	-2.07* (1.06)	-0.36 (0.38)	-13.07*** (0.35)	-0.26 (1.37)	-14.87*** (1.05)
Urban Middle	0.43** (0.19)	-0.14 (0.36)	-0.17 (0.26)	-0.24 (0.62)	-0.06 (0.20)	-0.04 (0.47)

Urban Low	0.47*	0.44	-0.43	0.41	-0.30	-15.03***
	(0.25)	(0.39)	(0.39)	(0.64)	(0.32)	(0.38)
Rural High	-0.01	-1.20*	-0.24	-0.42	-0.57**	-1.83*
	(0.25)	(0.67)	(0.30)	(0.81)	(0.23)	(1.05)
Rural Middle	-0.17	-1.58***	0.06	-1.42	-0.05	-0.93
	(0.22)	(0.57)	(0.27)	(1.01)	(0.23)	(0.80)
Rural Low	0.28	-0.40	-0.37	-0.26	-0.50	-15.11***
	(0.22)	(0.49)	(0.35)	(0.79)	(0.36)	(0.37)
Union Member	0.66***	-0.29	0.86**	0.71	0.19	-0.51
	(0.22)	(0.53)	(0.35)	(0.82)	(0.32)	(0.83)
Constant	-0.66***	-3.04***	-1.10***	-4.03***	-0.21	-2.96***
	(0.16)	(0.31)	(0.21)	(0.55)	(0.19)	(0.48)
Pseudo - R ²	0.1082		0.0887		0.0630	
N	1519		1022		1315	

*Note: Voters of LDP are the baseline comparison group in the multinomial logit regressions. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$. *Source: ASSK, 1993, 2005 and 2009.

Table 5 - 10. Issue Effects in Japanese Proportional Representation Votes

	2005		2009	
	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP	LDP/DPJ	LDP/CGP
LDP's Issues	-0.56*** (0.09)	-0.30* (0.18)	-0.26*** (0.09)	0.01 (0.16)
Center-left Issues	0.32*** (0.07)	0.32** (0.12)	0.20*** (0.06)	0.13 (0.12)
Performance Issues	0.23*** (0.06)	0.00 (0.10)	0.12** (0.05)	-0.02 (0.08)
Generation	0.09 (0.10)	0.28* (0.15)	0.33*** (0.09)	0.48*** (0.17)
Religious Member	0.52 (0.48)	2.76*** (0.43)	0.44 (0.66)	4.09*** (0.64)
Urban High	0.23 (0.23)	-0.68* (0.40)	-0.02 (0.22)	-0.53 (0.51)
Urban Middle	-0.28 (0.26)	-0.41 (0.37)	0.05 (0.21)	0.04 (0.42)
Urban Low	-0.31 (0.37)	-0.64 (0.55)	-0.43 (0.34)	-1.37 (1.07)

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Rural High	-0.17 (0.29)	-0.49 (0.50)	-0.57** (0.24)	-1.07* (0.64)
Rural Middle	-0.14 (0.28)	-0.98* (0.53)	-0.14 (0.24)	0.03 (0.50)
Rural Low	0.13 (0.35)	0.05 (0.56)	-0.34 (0.36)	-13.88*** (0.35)
Union Member	0.65* (0.35)	0.31 (0.58)	0.30 (0.36)	0.16 (0.65)
Farmer	-0.70* (0.41)	-1.27 (0.81)	-1.34 (1.28)	-14.56*** (0.96)
Constant	-1.07*** (0.21)	-2.47*** (0.36)	-0.35* (0.21)	-2.82*** (0.41)
Pseudo-R ²	0.0783		0.1033	
N	1004		1224	

Note: Voters of LDP are the baseline comparison group in the multinomial logit regressions. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$. *Source: ASSK, 1993, 2005, and 2009.

Table 5 - 11. Issue Ownership Analysis in Korean Presidential Elections

	1997	2012
Right Issues	0.21 ^a (0.36)	-0.52** (0.26)
Left Issues	0.60 ^b (0.37)	0.53** (0.21)
Performance Issues	0.36 ^c (0.35)	-0.03 ^d (0.22)
Generation	0.07 (0.11)	0.85*** (0.08)
Cholla	3.58*** (0.60)	2.12*** (0.28)
Kyungsang	-1.78*** (0.21)	-0.55*** (0.15)
Buddhist	-0.55*** (0.21)	-0.47*** (0.17)
Protestant	0.36 (0.22)	-0.08 (0.16)
Catholic	-0.45 (0.28)	0.35 (0.22)
Constant	-0.46 (0.70)	-1.98*** (0.27)
Pseudo - R ²	0.2551	0.1812
N	849	1289

Note:* 0 is the vote for conservative candidate and 1 is the vote for center-left candidate in dependent variable. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.001$. *Source: Korean Social Science Data Center (KSDC) Survey 1997 and Korean Elections Panel Studies (KEPS) 2012. ^a p – value = 0.56; ^b p – value = 0.11; ^c p – value = 0.30; ^d p – value = 0.88.

Table 5 - 12. Issue Ownership in Taiwanese Presidential Elections

	2000	2008
KMT's Issues	-0.16 (0.31)	-0.67*** (0.24)
DPP's Issues	0.46* (0.27)	0.85*** (0.27)
Performance Issues	0.31* (0.16)	-0.19 (0.15)
Generation	-0.15** (0.08)	0.13 (0.16)
High	-0.35 (0.25)	-0.55 (0.42)
Middle	-0.46* (0.26)	-0.37 (0.40)
Low	-0.33 (0.25)	0.00 (0.38)
South	0.44*** (0.16)	0.49** (0.21)
Hak-Ka & Min-Nan	-1.29 (1.16)	0.43 (0.94)
Aborigine & Mainlander	-3.39*** (1.20)	-1.60* (0.95)
Constant	1.40 (1.20)	-0.19 (0.15)
Pseudo- R ²	0.0678	0.2129
N	1242	566

Note:* 0 is KMT's vote and 1 is DPP's vote in dependent variable. Cell entries are maximum likelihood estimates; robust standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.001$. **Source:* CSES 2000 and 2008.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

East Asian party politics were one – dominant system or one – party state during the war and industrialization period. It was due to the effect of overarching issues of economic development and national security. Long-term governmental parties were supported by majority coalitions which were concerned about these common goals while in a severe economic condition during the Cold War era. For example, Japanese Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Korean Democratic Republican Party (DRP), Taiwanese Kuomintang (KMT) succeeded in industrialization and national defense. During this period, social divisions were suppressed by the two general agendas. Even if social conflicts existed, the grand issue effects across social groups overwhelmed the problems.

Issue agendas were only raised in limited areas. Oppositional parties also agreed to peoples' urgent concerns and just complained about the issues of corruption, democracy, and external relations. The issues were effective to mobilize oppositional parties' supporters, but these continued to be the agendas of minority coalitions.

However, party coalitions changed after successful economic growth, the end of the Cold War, and democratization. In the new political environment, the overarching issue effect highly declined. People were no longer as seriously concerned about poverty and external threats as they were during the previous four decades. The living conditions sharply improved and the importance of national

security decreased to a certain degree in the post-Cold War era. Social cleavages emerged as the two general concerns decreased in urgency. The differences between social groups were clarified and each group began to raise their specific agendas, as well as common issues. In Japan, the social base of LDP was weakened. In particular, urban high and middle classes defected from the giant conservative party. Meanwhile, urban low class's support of center-left parties including Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) lessened. Since the democratization in Korea, regional and religion groups were the main base of Korean political parties, and divisions of ethnicity, region, and class were important factors that affected voting choices in Taiwan.

New generations played an important role in reformulating East Asian party politics. Young cohorts did not experience poverty and wars as did the war and industrialization cohorts. Young voters entered into elections in an advanced economy and the post-Cold War era. In practice, the young generation was one of the main forces to end long-term conservative governments in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. At first, they criticized long-term governmental parties and supported oppositional parties across social divisions. However, their voting patterns followed their social characteristics such as class, ethnicity, religion, and region as old voters did. The convergence between young and old voters depends on how much stronger the social differences are than the generational difference. Strong social cleavages tend to reduce the generational effect more quickly than weak cleavages. For example, Taiwanese ethnic and regional divisions reduced the generational difference in voting decisions faster than class division.

Issue ownership is based on social cleavages in a society. As social differences were revealed and were deepened in East Asia, social groups became more concerned than

before about their own agendas in elections. Right parties emphasize the issues of small government, free market, law and order, and ethnic or social harmony. On the other hand, center-left parties stress the issues of welfare expansion, economic inequality, social justice, independence, and peaceful international relationship. As a result, political parties represent new social divisions in East Asia. Political parties' electoral issues and agendas were not the same. Their policies were not based on consensus between right and left parties. In fact, each political party's different issues substantially affect their vote share in elections.

One – dominant party or single party state did not just keep their power by diktat or military forces. The government was supported by overriding issues and the successful solutions of general concerns. Different social groups also were able to build long-term governmental party's coalitions based on the national drive of industrialization and external relations. The argument of strong issue effects might be extended into the study of East Asian single party states such as China, North Korea, and Vietnam. The reason the socialist long-term governmental parties still control the countries after the collapse of other socialist regimes might be due not only to political ideology or pressure but also the grand issue effects of economic development or national security. The parties might continue to emphasize the importance of national solidarity in order to develop the economy or protect their countries against external threats even if they are not performing well. As a result, the issue emphasis could contribute to mobilizing people and stabilizing the one-party dictatorship.

This research confirms that East Asian party systems can be explained systematically by issue effects and social cleavage theories, just as other countries' party systems in the world. East Asian party politics seemed to be homogeneous during the war and industrialization period due not to unique culture but to the overarching issue effects which suppressed social conflicts in the period of compressed economic development in the Cold War era. The recent party systems represent new party coalitions and more diverse issues than the previous systems. This study is also the evidence of issue ownership in this region even though many scholars argue that the issue ownership is not applicable for East Asian countries and new democracies.

Theoretically, Lipset and Rokkan (1967)'s social cleavage theory argues that party systems were established by national and industrial revolutions which contrasted social conflicts. But the overarching issues which also stemmed from two revolutionary junctures clearly affected East Asian party system formations. Therefore, issues have had a great impact on the foundations of the party systems. Meanwhile, Lipset and Rokkan consider nation building problem in terms of the cleavage of the center vs. the periphery within historically given national communities. But, they did not take into account the external impact in the middle of nation building. They generally focus on the domestic conflicts. However, In East Asia, party systems are more related to external threats than the West. Therefore, party systems were able to be formed and were affected by not only domestic divisions but also external factors including the issues of national security and foreign relations.

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