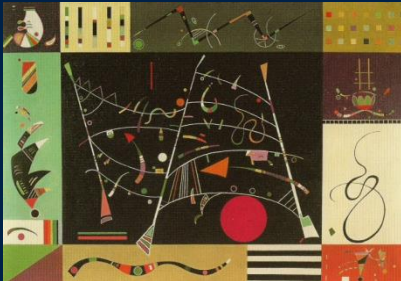


18<sup>th</sup> Sep 2018



## Government and Politics in Northeast Asia:

### Day 1 - Democratic Transition and Multi-party Competition in Northeast Asia



Jaemin Shim (Post-doctoral Research Fellow, GIGA)

## ■ Korea

- 1. Hankyoreh: <http://english.hani.co.kr/kisa/section-014000000/home01.html>
- 2. Kyunghyang <http://english.khan.co.kr/>
- 3. Kinds: <http://www.kinds.or.kr/>

## ■ Japan

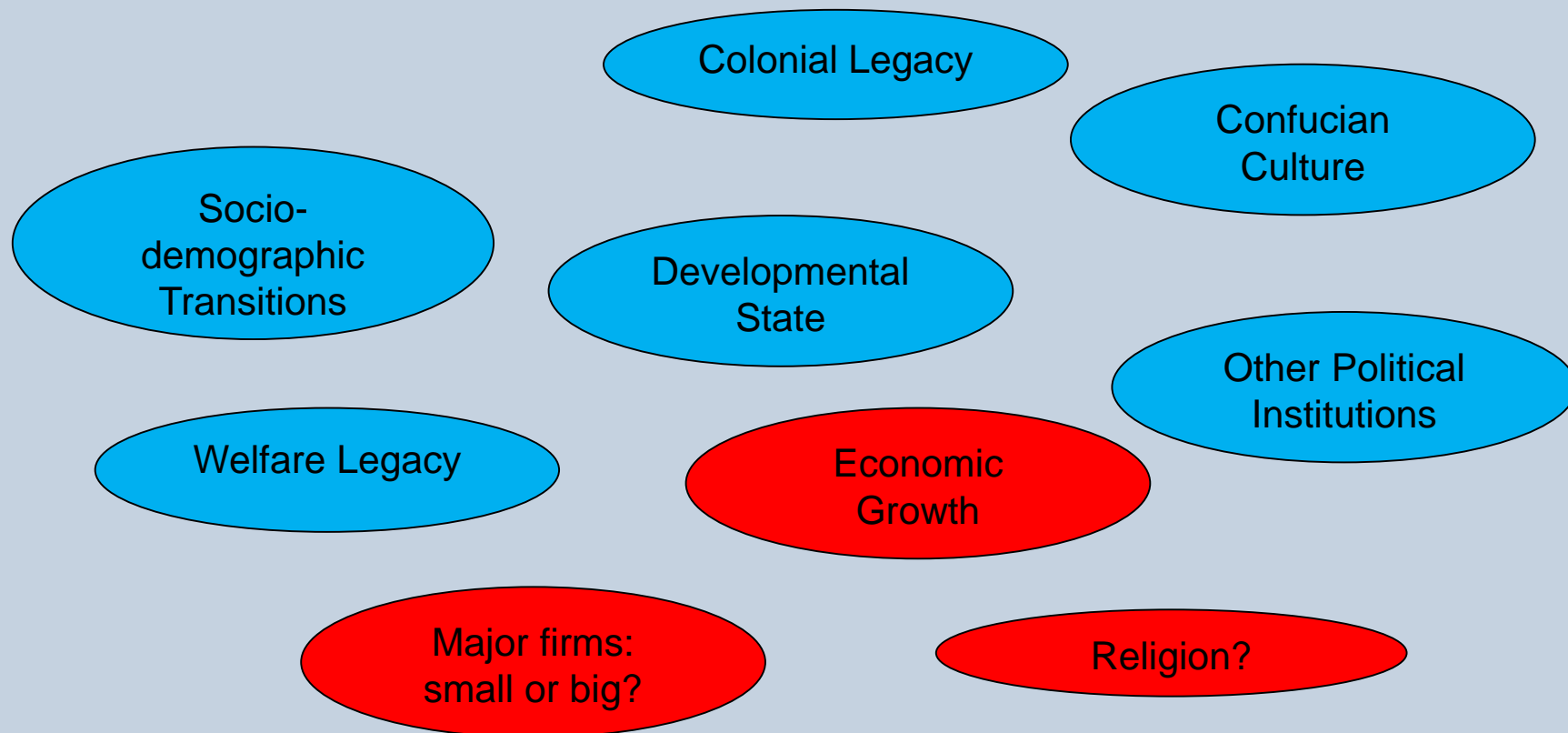
- 1. Japan Times: <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/>
- 2. The Asahi Shimbun: <http://www.asahi.com/ajw/>
- 3. Japan Today: <https://japantoday.com/>
- 4. Mainichi Shinbun: <https://mainichi.jp/english/>

## ■ Taiwan

- 1. Taipei Times: <http://www.taipeitimes.com/>
- 2. China Post: <https://chinapost.nownews.com/>
- 3. Taiwan News Online: <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/>

## II. Comparative Approach to East Asian Politics

- ◆ **South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan:** Similarities and differences?



## II. Comparative Approach to East Asian Politics

- ◆ Rule 1: choose relevant factors related to what you want to explain!



Foods?



Relaxed?

People's temperament?

Shy?

Short-tempered?

◆ Basic examples of comparative methods

■ Rule 2: comparing cases shouldn't be completely identical nor different!

➤ **Method of agreement** (based on most different cases) / **Method of difference** (based on most similar cases)

	Accident (Y)	Drunk driving (X1)	Car entering from Right-hand direction (X2)	Driver Speeding (X3)	Runs a Red light (X4)
<u>Case A</u>	<u>Yes</u>	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	No	Yes
<u>Case B</u>	<u>No</u>	Yes	<u>No</u>	No	Yes

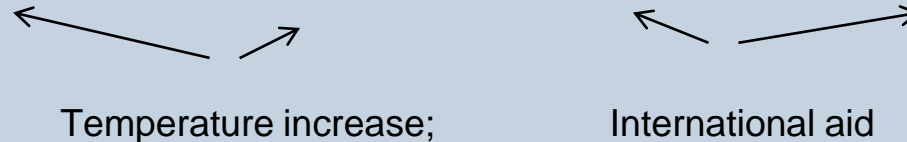
## II. Comparative Politics and Comparative Methods

### ◆ South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan

- Rule 3: Think about external factors affecting cause and outcome!

➤ **Spurious** (there is a common cause)

⊕ Example: NYC ice cream sale → Crime rate; Economic development → Democratic transition

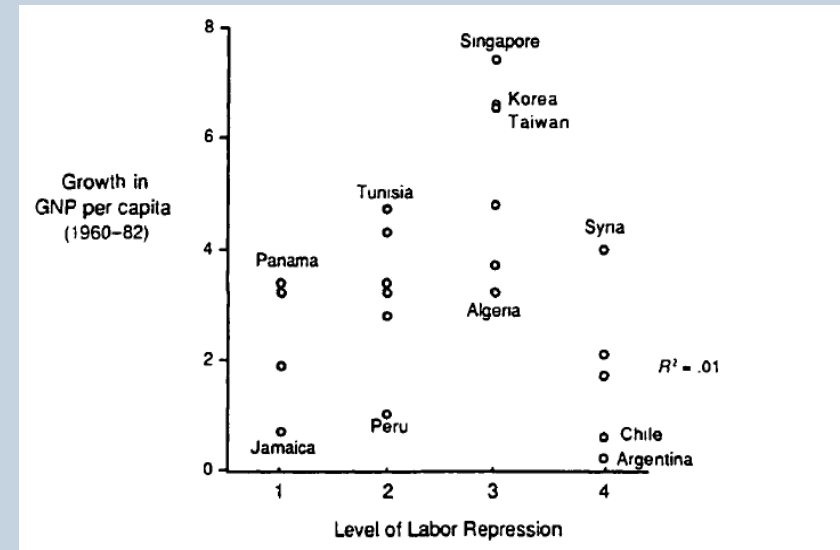
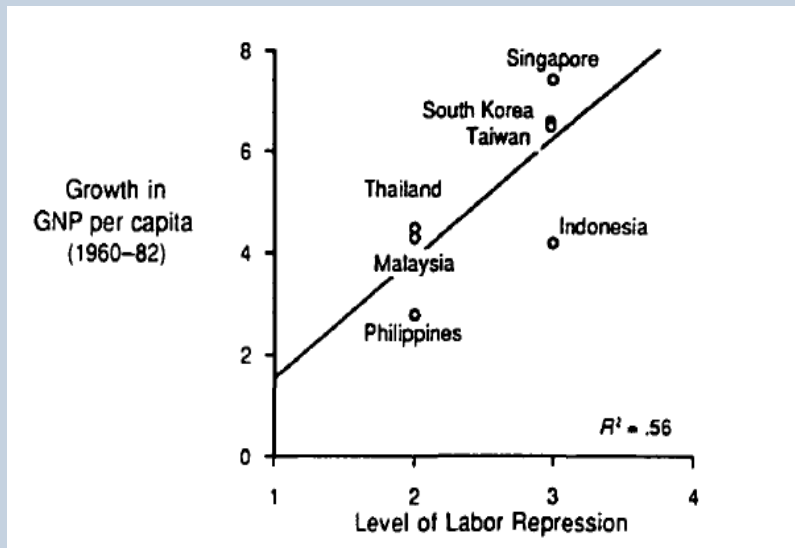


## II. Comparative Approach to East Asian Politics

### ◆ South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan

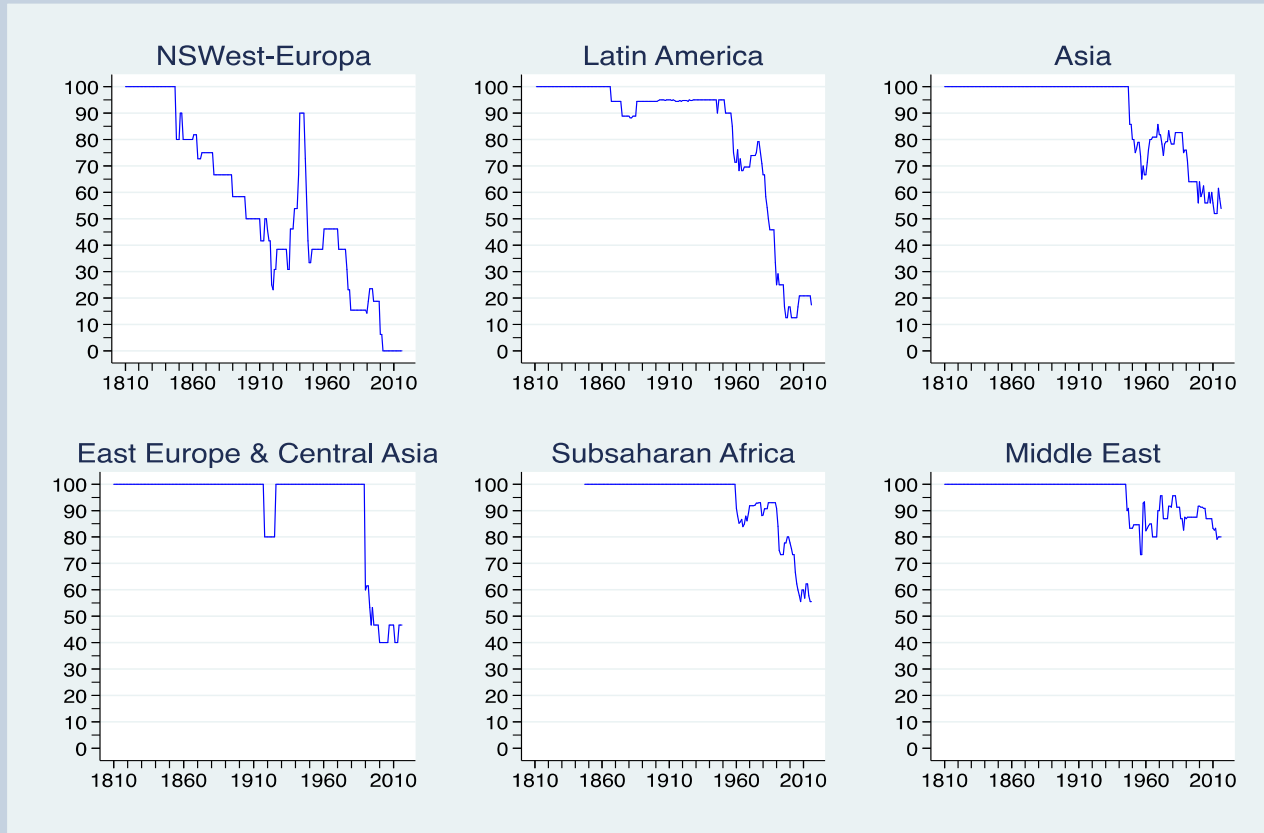
#### ■ Rule 4: Don't over-generalize!

- Selection-Bias: : Relationship between Level of **Labor Repression (X)** and **Growth in GNP per capita (Y)**, (Geddes, 1999)



# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## ◆ Global Comparison of Democracies, Polity IV scores





# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## Before the early 1990s..

### ➤ Similarities

- One-party dominance until the late 1980s/early 1990s
- Repression of labor, male-bread winner model, weak civil society
- Elite bureaucrats-driven policy making
- Anti-communist orientation..

### ➤ Differences

- Different levels of democracy: Japan > Korea > Taiwan
- Different beginning: particularly with regards to foreign intervention...

# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

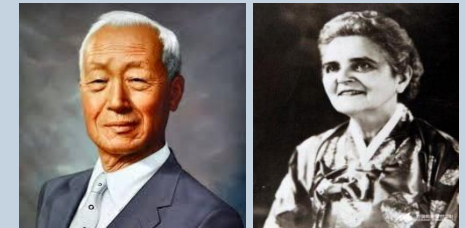
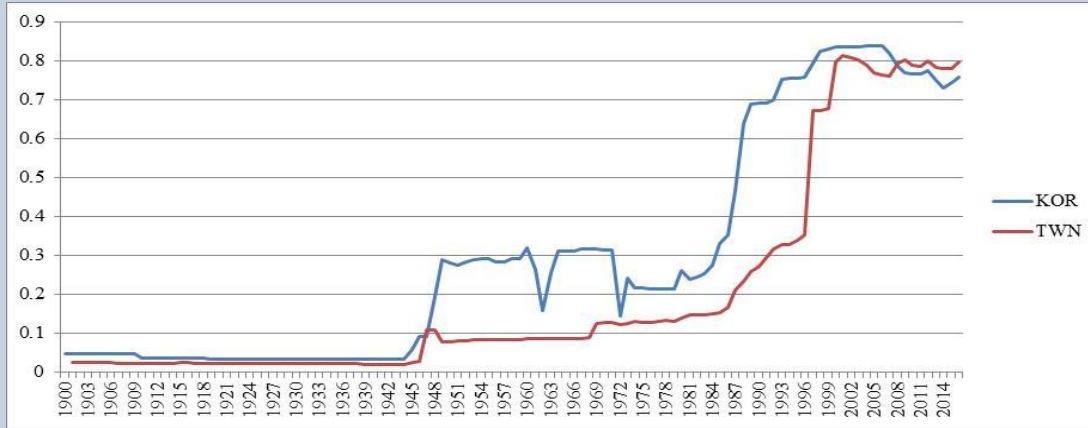
## ◆ Different Levels of Democracy....

### ➤ How to measure it?

- Simple one: direct election to citizens or not?
- More complicated:
  - 1) measuring freedom of association
  - 2) free and fair elections
  - 3) freedom of expression
  - 4) elected officials
  - 5) Universal suffrage

# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

- ◆ Authoritarianism, Democratic Transition, and Democratic Consolidation (Varieties of Democracy indicators)



**Authoritarian period:** from 1948 to 1987 (Korea) and from 1949 to 1992 (Taiwan)

Difference? No election allowed in Taiwan.. Elections allowed in South Korea....

# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## ◆ Differences at the beginning

- Japan

: Japan was an empire state until 1945...



A) American occupation from 1945 to 1952...

- Tokyo Trial (1946)... Japan maintained its monarchy

- e.g. Japanese calendar 2019 is year Heisei 31



# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## ◆ Differences at the beginning

B) With the exception of Okinawa (until 1972)

- Okinawa was an interdependent Kingdom until 1879.. (mixture of Southeast Asian, Chinese, and Japanese culture)

- A similar story can be told...



Until 1893.....



# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## ◆ Differences at the beginning

- Taiwan (Japan's colony from 1890 to 1945 and then....

A) Émigré regime... KMT vs. Communist party in mainland.. Fled in 1949

B) Taiwanese calendar

2019 is year 107? Why?

Leaders of China

- Mao Zedong-
  - Leader of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
- Chiang Kai-shek-
  - Leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang/ KMT)



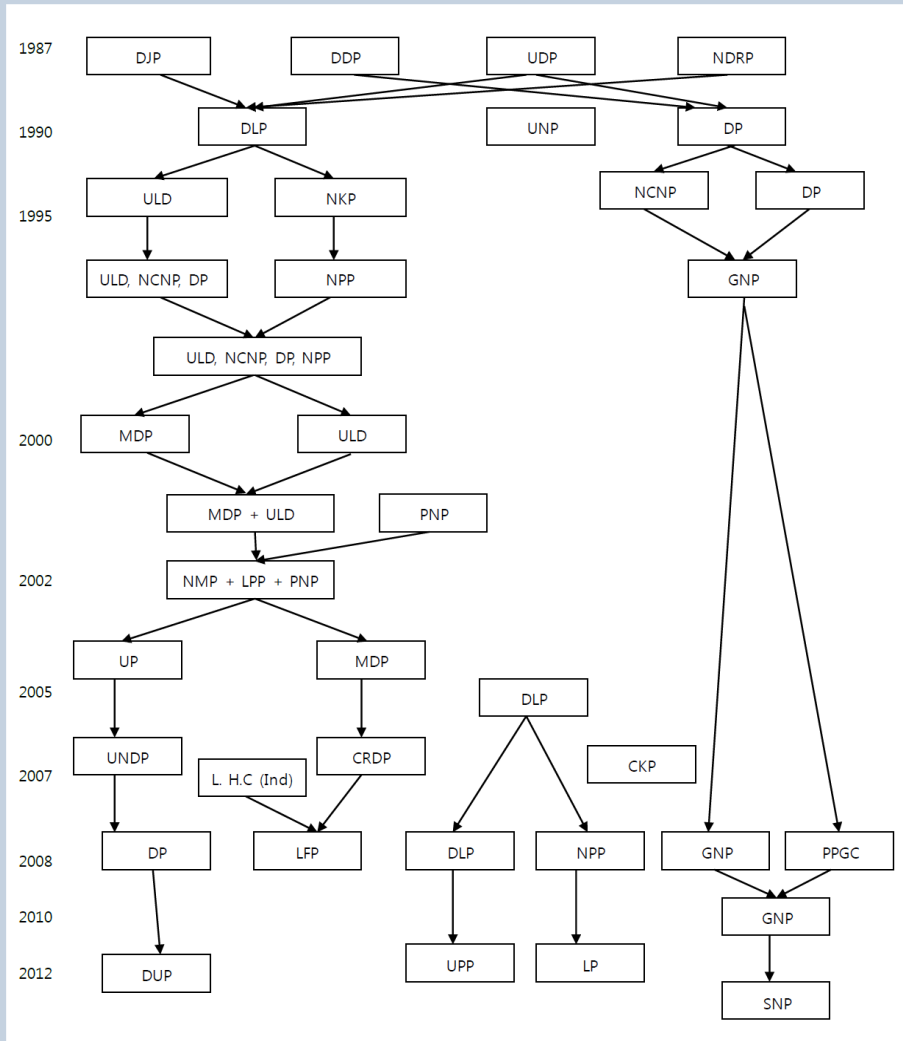
# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## ◆ Differences at the beginning

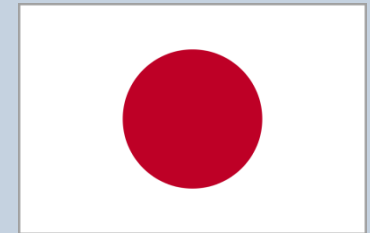
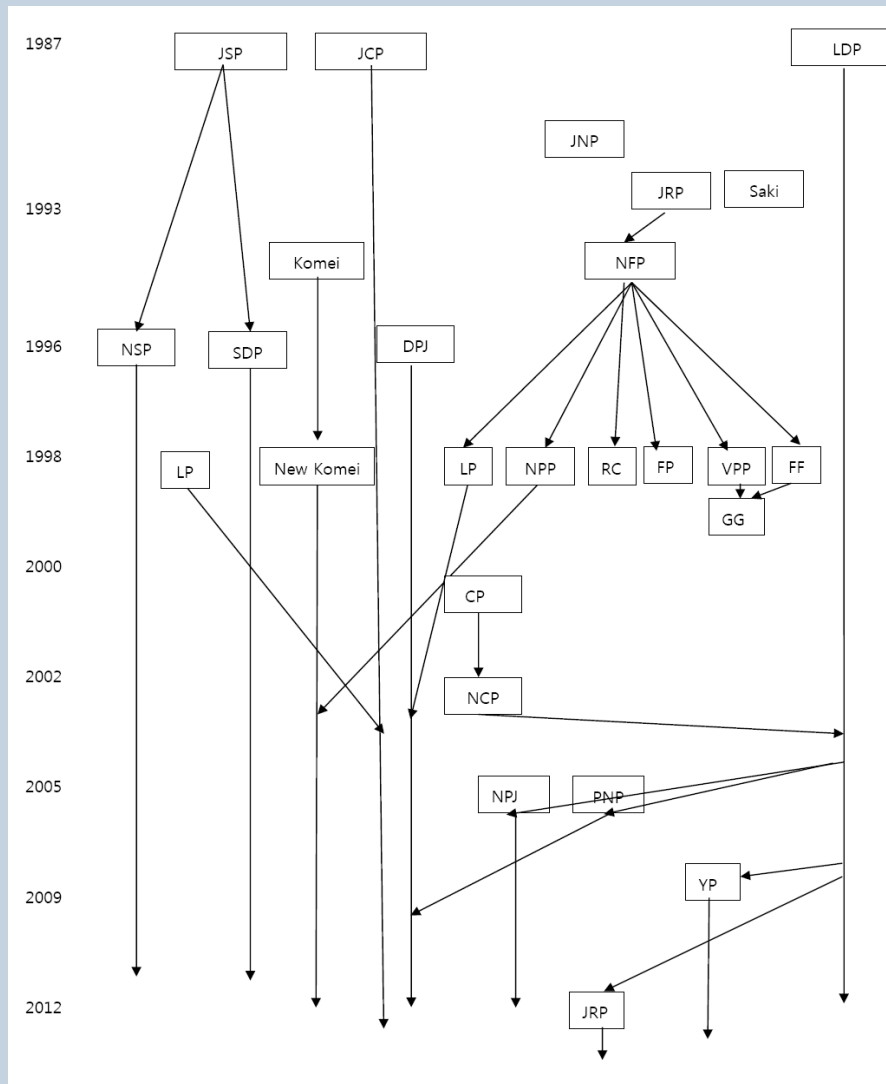
- Korea (colonized by Japan from 1910 to 1945)
- A) American trusteeship until 1948 (North and South separate governments)
- Originally one country (previous kingdom: Joseon Dynasty 1392-1910)
- Yalta Declaration (Feb 1945)

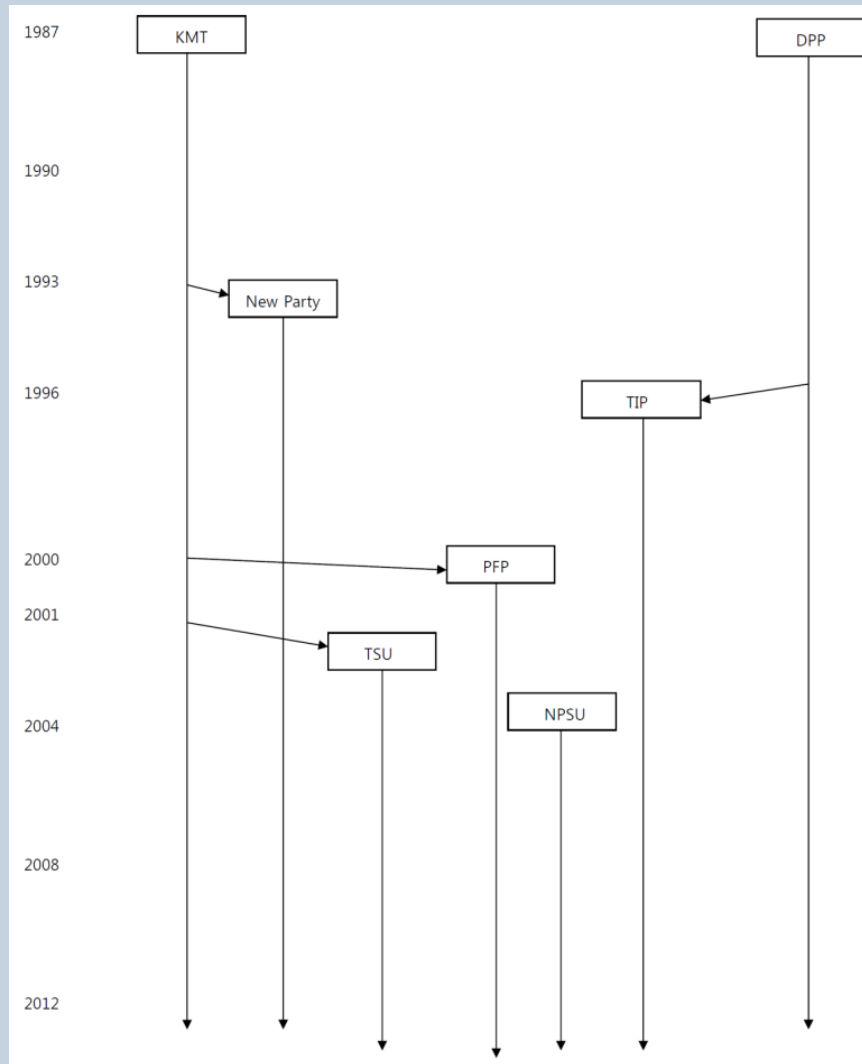


- B) Korean War in 1950.... (invaded by North Korea)







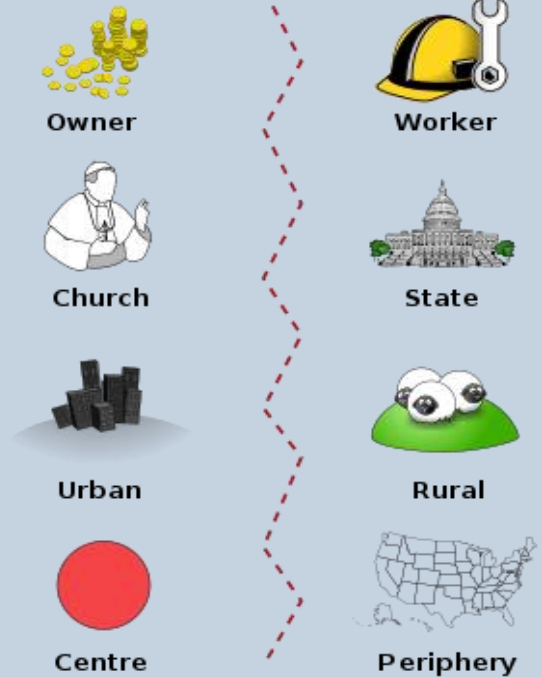


# III. Multi-party Competition and Political Institutions

## ◆ Key Dividing Lines in Politics...

### ■ Varieties of Political Cleavages....

- *Urban VS Rural*
- *Labour VS Capital*
- *Post-material values based on LGBT, Environment, gender issues VS traditional values*
- *Democratic VS authoritarian*
- *Globalist VS Nationalist*
- *Etc.. Ethnic, linguistic, racial, and others...*



### III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

- **Political cleavages in East Asia?**
- **No political cleavage?** new democracies lack structure (Mair, 1997; Bertoa, 2014), and parties are known for making little effort to establish clear party identifications, resulting in incoherent ideological dividing lines...



# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## ■ Political cleavages in East Asia?

**Cleavage formation:** primordial view (natural representatives of people who share common interests.. bottom up), instrumental view (role played by political elites and entrepreneurs)

**Korea, Japan, and Taiwan:** foreign policy issues plays an important role in politics and tend to be elites-driven

⊕ **Korea:** diplomatic and military stance towards North Korea or the US

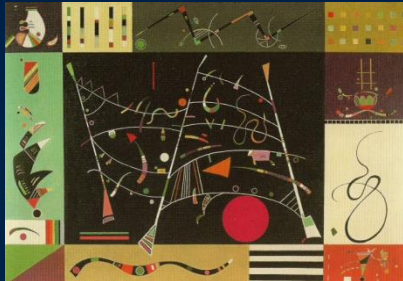
⊕ **Japan:** preserving/reserving peace constitution and military alliance with the US

⊕ **Taiwan:** diplomatic and military stance towards mainland China

18<sup>th</sup> Sep 2018



End of the Presentation



Jaemin Shim (Post-doctoral Research Fellow, GIGA)