

# III. Democratization and Multi-party Competition

## Effect on Political outcome in Japan (and increasingly in Taiwan)

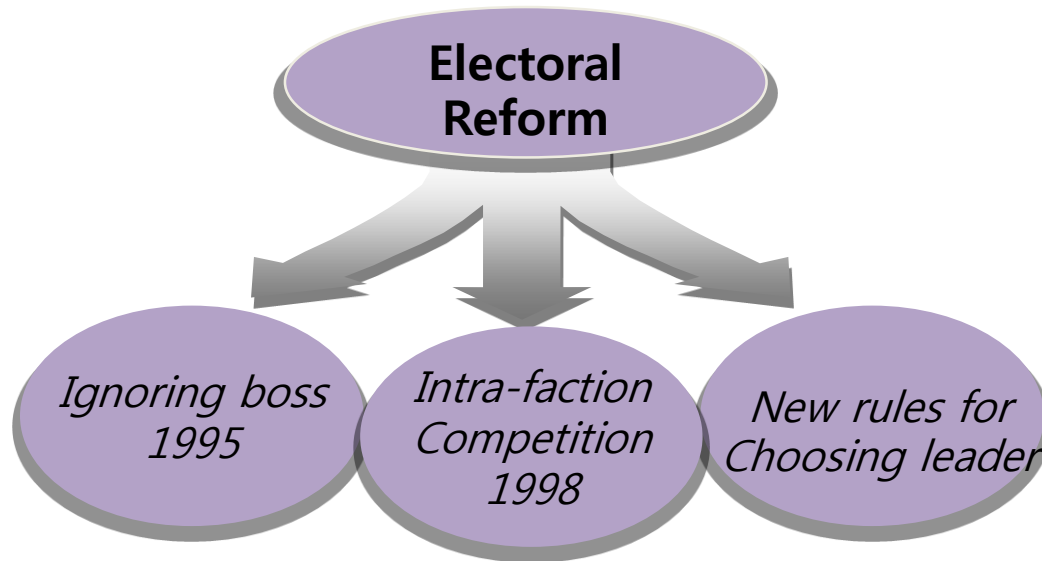
- **Today's Faction:** Small and numerous, flexible membership.
- **Party Centralization** Public Financing: mandated all private contributions only to parties, Not to individuals
- Importance of **party leadership**: the rise of Koizumi and his relationship with the media

Related YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UJYUG1o22DI>

# IV. Japanese Developmental Model and its Variants

## 1. Fate of Factions

**Theory:** if factions are by-products of intra-party competitions, it should be eliminated.



**Result:**

- **Instant changes** in Individual electoral campaign, party leadership selection
- **Later change** in post allocation: Koizumi's meritocracy

⇒ Today's Faction: Small and numerous, flexible membership.

# IV. Japanese Developmental Model and its Variants

## 2. Party Centralization

1) **Public Financing:** mandated all private contributions only to parties,  
Not to individuals



2) **Nomination:** each party nominates only one person per district,  
Stricter rules for the electability of its field of candidates (two chances)

⇒ Voters are now freed of choosing between same party competitors, can rely on the general reputations and platforms of parties to guide their decisions. Party now choose leaders who best represent and articulate unified message of the party.  
Eg. Koizumi

# IV. Japanese Developmental Model and its Variants

## 2. Party Centralization



3) **Prime-ministerial leadership:** increased authority and resources of prime-minister  
(logical adaptation by politicians to new rule, **institutional inter-complementarity**)

- Eg. Revising cabinet law to **empower prime minister to oversee the line ministries**  
**Several new advisory councils** responsible directly to PM Administrative Reform:

# IV. Japanese Developmental Model and its Variants

## 3. The Big Bang

**Before:** MOF guaranteed bank solvency by limiting competition among financial institutions. **Consolidate the convoy system** at the time of crisis.



- **Big Bang Reforms (1996):** permits any type of financial institution to provide banking, brokering, investment, or insurance; brokers' commissions deregulated, entry into the currency exchange business was liberalized.

# IV. Japanese Developmental Model and its Variants

New Corporate  
Governance

Banks sold large portions of their stable holdings of firm share. Firms sold bank share as well. Foreign ownership increase..

⇒ **More exits** to external bonds and stock market, **Negative correlation b/w main bank and corporate profits** (low-productivity firms depending on banks)



No more long-term access to fund caused no more long-term contract

⇒ **Especially in service sector companies in banking**, insurance, and commerce. **Manufacturing firms continue lifetime employment for their core workers as an incentive**. Easy hiring and firing practice led the **increase of women employment**

Labor Markets



# **WEEK 3: MASS MEDIA, VOTING BEHAVIOUR, AND PUBLIC OPINION IN NORTHEAST ASIA**

**Government and Politics in Northeast Asia**

**(by Jaemin Shim)**

## II. MEDIA AND POLITICS: BASIC IDEAS

- Importance of Media in Politics
  - People actually visit government web-pages or receive government publications to update themselves ?
- Agenda power and Framing
  - “What” and “how” certain things are presented
  - The media can exaggerate, add, and remove certain facts to make readers recognise reality in the way they want





## II. MEDIA AND POLITICS: BASIC IDEAS

- Agenda power and Framing
  - People take in the “framed reality” without being critical (Nimmo and Combs, 1990)
  - Discourses reflect certain groups’ power and, at the same time, can be used to exercise their power (Foucault , 1981)
- Examples based on my own work
  - Work 1: Effect of media on inequality perception
  - Work 2: Media and legislature on social policy issues in Korea



## II. MEDIA AND POLITICS: BASIC IDEAS

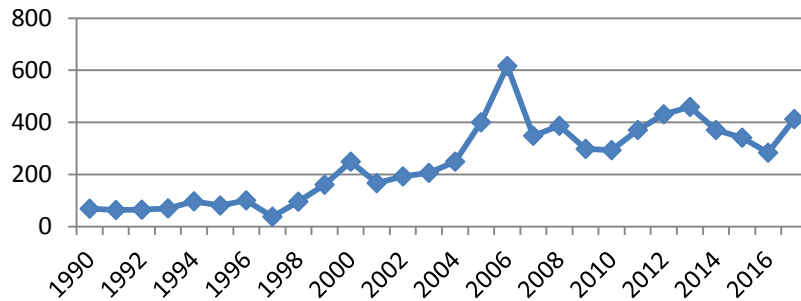
- Examples based on my own work
  - Effect of media on inequality perception
    - Inequality is equally worsening in South Korea and Japan in the past two decades (measured by the GINI index)
    - But various surveys show Koreans “perceive” the current level of inequality much more “less acceptable” and “unfair”
    - Why?



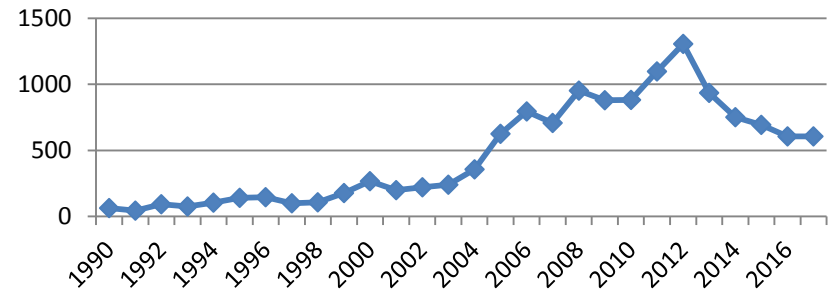
## II. MEDIA AND POLITICS: BASIC IDEAS

### ○ Agenda power and Framing

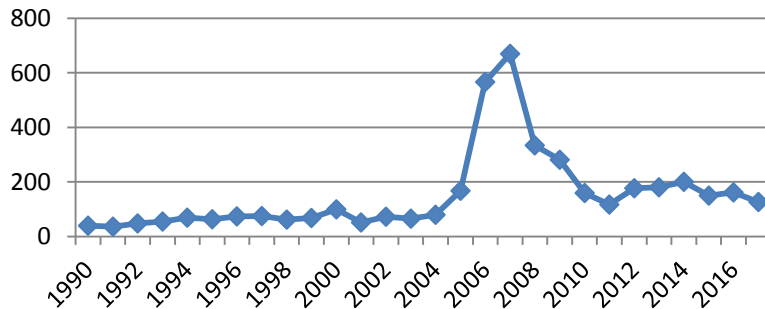
**Right-wing, Korea**



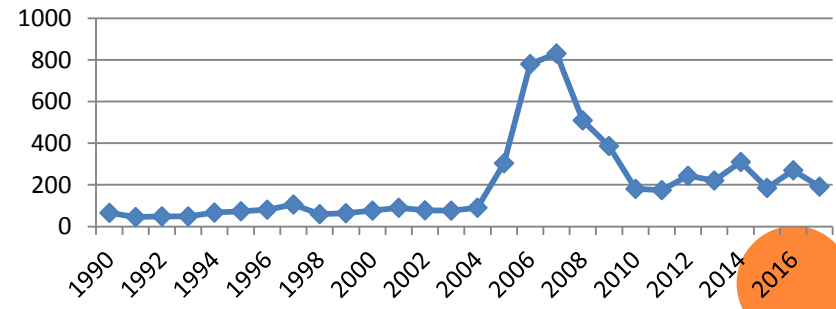
**Left-wing, Korea**



**Right-wing, Japan**

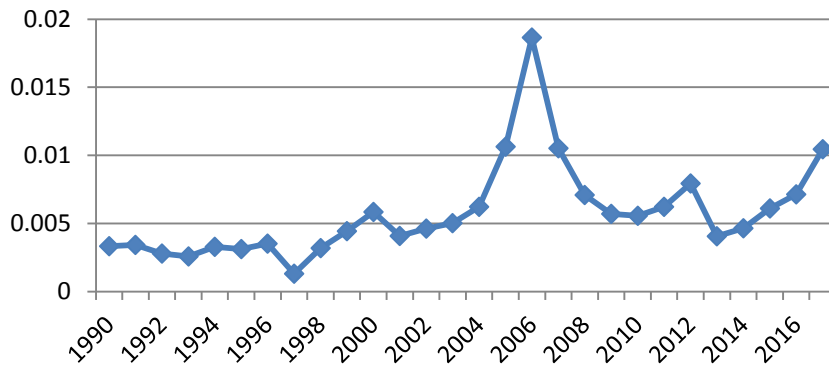


**Left-wing, Japan**

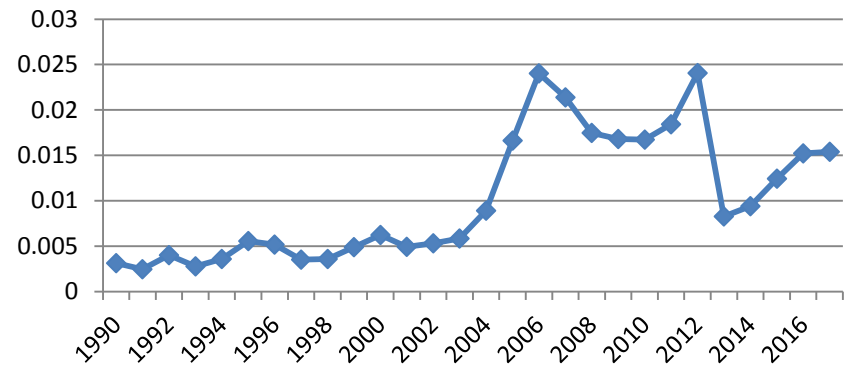


## II. MEDIA AND POLITICS: BASIC IDEAS

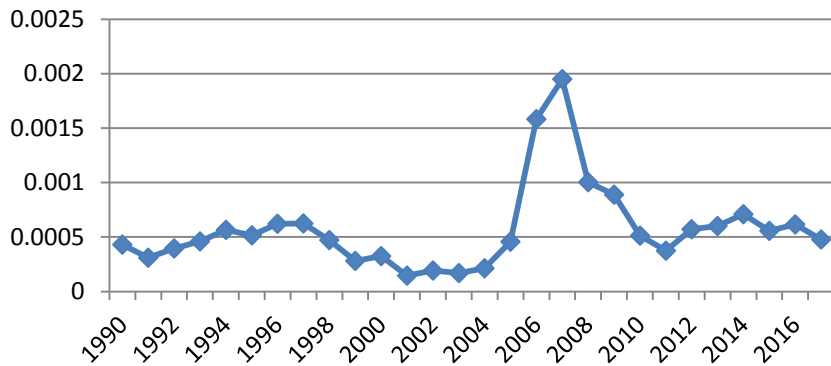
### Right-wing, Korea (%)



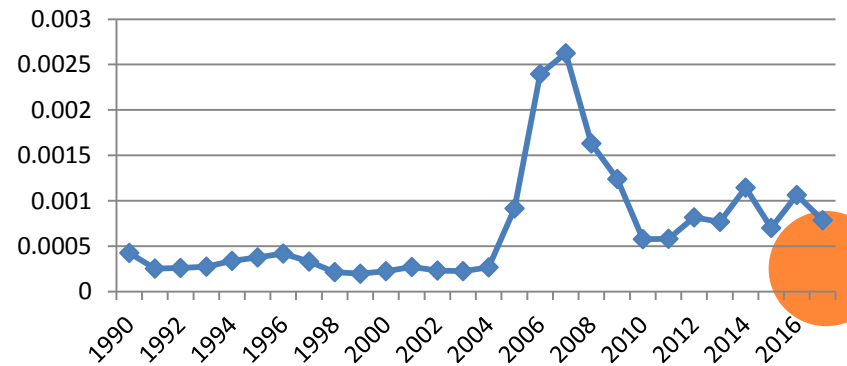
### Left-wing, Korea (%)



### Right-wing, Japan (%)



### Right-wing, Left (%)



### III. MEDIA AND POLITICS: KOREA, JAPAN, AND TAIWAN

<i>Index</i>	<i>Japan</i>	<i>South Korea</i>	<i>Taiwan</i>
Political system	Parliamentary	Presidential	Presidential
Campaign duration	3 weeks	2 weeks	4 weeks
Parliamentary system	Bicameral	Unicameral	Bicameral
First major use of network TV	1969	1992	2000
TV ads	Unlimited (party only)	30 times	Unlimited
Radio ads	Unlimited (party only)	30 times	Unlimited
Print ads	Unlimited magazine and newspaper (party only); free limited newspaper ads (candidate and party)	Newspaper only (70 ads)	Unlimited (newspaper and magazine)
Free TV time	Candidate only	Candidate and party (11 times)	Candidate only
Free radio time	Candidate only	Candidate and party (11 times)	None
TV debates	Major parties only	More than 3 times	No more than 3 times
Campaign restrictions	Somewhat strict	Strict	Moderate
Expenditure limits	Somewhat strict	Strict	Moderate
Dominant campaign media	TV and mass rallies	TV	TV and mass rallies
Public finance	Some	Almost	Some
Opinion polls	Announcement prohibited	Announcement prohibited	Prohibited from 10 days before the ballot
Internet campaigning	Weak	Strong	Moderate
Internet ads	None	None	None



### III. MEDIA AND POLITICS: KOREA, JAPAN, AND TAIWAN

- Restrictions?
  - Korea > Japan > Taiwan
    - TV ads, Radio ads, Print Ads
    - Campaign and expenditure restrictions
  - Internet campaign restriction?
    - Pros?
    - Cons?



### III. MEDIA AND POLITICS: KOREA, JAPAN, AND TAIWAN

- Americanization of media and politics?
  - Election campaign advertisement...
    - Korea: <https://youtu.be/JOuTgtGCCts>
    - Taiwan: <https://youtu.be/tv1ZCDoiovA>
  - How about Japan?
    - Presidentialization of Japan after the electoral reform...
    - Evidence?



### III. MEDIA AND POLITICS: KOREA, JAPAN, AND TAIWAN

- From issue to person

Table 10.1 Content of Election News (Percentages)

SUBJECT OF COVERAGE	UNITED STATES					JAPAN						
	NETWORK EVENING NEWS	ERIE TIMES/NEWS	L.A. HERALD EXAMINER	L.A. TIMES	TIME/NEWSWEEK	MACHIDA				TOKYO		
						ASAHI	MAINICHI	YOMIURI	SUNRISE	ASAHI	MAINICHI	YOMIURI
Winning & losing	24	26	25	20	23	6	5	14	4	6	4	6
Strategy, logistics	17	19	18	19	22	7	4	9	3	4	5	6
Appearances	17	14	14	12	9	8	6	9	6	7	4	4
Character						7	6	11	6	12	12	7
Hoopla & others						7	3	4	7	9	10	13
Subtotal	59	59	57	51	54	35	24	47	27	29	36	36
Issues, policies	18	19	18	21	17	11	14	8	18	13	17	6
Ideology, coalition						26	23	10	16	27	27	31
Campaign issues						4	2	2	1	0	0	0
Traits, records	7	6	5	8	11	5	5	4	3	2	5	1
Endorsement	4	4	5	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	29	29	28	35	32	45	44	24	38	43	49	39
Others	13	12	15	14	14	19	31	29	35	18	15	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Data on Japan in this and all subsequent tables in this chapter are from the 1986 Machida mayoral election and the 1979 Tokyo gubernatorial election; U.S. data are derived from a reanalysis of the data presented in Patterson's 1980 study of the 1976 U.S. presidential election (Thomas E. Patterson, *The Mass Media Election: How Americans Choose Their President* [New York: Praeger, 1980]). Table based on a random sample of the election news coverage provided by each news source. The U.S. network figures are combined averages for the ABC, NBC, and CBS evening news programs. The figures for the *Erie Times* and *Erie News*, and those in *Time* and *Newsweek*, also have been combined because the separate figures were substantially the same.





### III. MEDIA AND POLITICS: KOREA, JAPAN, AND TAIWAN

- From logos (logic) to pathos (emotion), e.g. political style of Koizumi



- Koizumi spoke to the public in a clear-cut language dubbed ‘one-phrase’
- His penchant for casting issues as matters of good and evil
- Press briefings were held twice a day, once at midday and once in the evening (then broadcasted on the evening news programmes)
- Koizumi favoured the weekly tabloid magazines and sports newspapers
- Forced the cabinet press club to admit sports newspapers.





**THE END!!!**

**Government and Politics in Northeast Asia**

**(by Jaemin Shim)**