

Vote Shifting and Democratic Consolidation in East Asian Democracies Evidence from Taiwan and South Korea

Eric C. C. Chang

Abstract

Drawing on survey data from Taiwan and South Korea, this essay examines the electoral sources and democratic implications of vote shifting in these two young East Asian democracies. First, I complement the conventional Asian identity voting literature by demonstrating that vote shifting is a form of rational voting involving critical evaluations of government performance and careful weighing of policy issues. I then extend these findings by showing that determinants of vote shifting also represent critical forces conducive to citizens' support for democracy. This essay contributes to comparative democratization theory by offering a new vantage point for addressing both the electoral and attitudinal aspects of the democratization process.

Key words: Electoral turnover, democratization, voting, Taiwan, South Korea.

Drawing on survey data from Taiwan and South Korea, this essay investigates why voters in these emerging East Asian democracies deviate from their previous electoral choices after their founding elections. Specifically, I ask two interrelated questions pertinent to the democratization process in these two countries: (1) why did Taiwanese and South Korean voters who previously voted for the winning party decide to vote for other parties in the subsequent election, and, (2) why did voters who did not vote for the winning party in the previous election, choose to support the incumbent the next time?

These questions of vote shifting are theoretically important for two reasons. First, from a comparative democratization perspective, probing the causes of vote shifting bears directly on our understanding of Huntington's "two-turnover test." According to Huntington, a nascent democracy is considered

Eric C. C. Chang is Associate Professor of Political Science at Michigan State University. <echang@msu.edu>

consolidated only after it has experienced two peaceful electoral alternations.¹ While passing the two-turnover test does not imply that a democracy has become fully developed, the test itself remains widely used in indicating whether a new democracy has matured.² Despite the popularity and usefulness of Huntington's test, however, the extant literature on comparative democratization offers little theoretical guidance on the mechanisms that lead to electoral alternations in young democracies. Thus, little is known about why some new democracies are more likely to pass the two-turnover test while others are not. To redress this deficiency, this essay investigates what has caused Taiwanese and South Korean voters to shift their votes between elections, and thereby contributes to our understanding of the prerequisites for passing the two-turnover test in comparative democratization theory.

Second, vote shifting represents an important theoretical anomaly that the conventional wisdom of East Asian voting behavior cannot explain. Specifically, the literature regards voting in Taiwan and South Korea as an expression of affective identity. According to this perspective, the most dominant predictor of how Taiwanese and Koreans vote is whether voters and candidates share the same regional or ethnic identity.³ However, the fundamental problem inherent within this identity voting thesis is that regional or ethnic affiliation is an inborn attribute invariant within each individual, so consequently, voters are not expected to change their voting patterns. More precisely, one can unambiguously predict how Taiwanese and Koreans vote based solely on

¹ Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Note that a more demanding interpretation requires two peaceful turnovers after the founding election.

² Andreas Schedler, "Measuring Democratic Consolidation," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (2001): 66-92. Also see, Michael Bratton, "The 'Alternation Effect' in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 4 (2004): 147-158. The rationale, as Bratton argues, is that a new democracy must prove its potential to change its ruler regularly by elections before being considered consolidated. Passing the two-turnover test also indicates that all political forces already have agreed to challenge for office via legitimate electoral means rather than by force or violence. Thus, the two-turnover test is very useful in evaluating the level of democratic commitment among political elites.

³ John Hsieh and Emerson Niou, "Salient Issues in Taiwan's Electoral Politics," *Electoral Studies* 15, no. 4 (1996): 219-35; Tse-min Lin, Yun-han Chu, and Melvin Hinich, "Conflict Displacement and Regime Transition in Taiwan: A Spatial Analysis," *World Politics* 48, no. 4 (1996): 453-81; and Soong H. Kil, "Development of Korean Politics—A Historical Profile," in *Understanding Korean Politics: An Introduction*, ed. Sung-Hum Kil and Jung-In Moon (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), 33-69. In South Korea, many argue for the dominance of regional voting, and the 2000 parliamentary election serves as an illustrative example: the Grand National Party won more than 90 percent of the vote and 64 of the 65 seats in Yongnam, whereas the same proportion went to the Millennium Democratic Party in Cholla. Therefore, elections result in a political map with contrast regional colors. See Samuel Kim, *Korea's Democratization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Meanwhile, extant research shows that place of birth and national identity are the two most important predictors of Taiwanese voting behavior. Minninese and those who identify themselves as Taiwanese tend to support the Pan-Green camp, whereas mainlanders and those who identify themselves as Chinese support the Pan-Blue bloc.

voters' identity origins, and this one-to-one correspondence between voters' electoral choice and their affective identity is assumed to be constant over time.⁴ In this rather pessimistic theory, voting is guided by predetermined identity rather than by careful consideration of policy positions or government performance. As Kim forcefully notes, "what seems to matter most in Korean politics is not what politicians do or say, but where they were born."⁵ Nevertheless, as this essay soon demonstrates, vote shifting did indeed occur in both Taiwan and especially within South Korea. The conventional wisdom based on the identity voting thesis falls short of explaining this empirical phenomenon.

Recently, several studies which revisited the validity of the identity-voting thesis convincingly demonstrated that a sizable portion of the electorate of new Asian democracies is not bound by identity at the ballot box.⁶ This essay extends these scholarly efforts and seeks to offer a more balanced view than that of the conventional wisdom. Drawing from the insights of several interrelated perspectives, I posit that vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea is a form of rational voting consisting of critical evaluations of government performance and careful weighing of policy issues. Utilizing a transition model with data collected in the 2004 Taiwanese presidential election (TEDS henceforth)⁷ and the 1998 Korea Barometer Survey (KBS henceforth),⁸ I find that voters who are performance-minded, economically instrumental, politically sophisticated, and partisan-independent are more likely to engage in such rational calculations and to shift their votes between elections accordingly. Meanwhile, I show that identity has little bearing on vote shifting. The results hold for an alternative estimator, and are also robust against self-reporting bias, abstention, and various model specifications. I further demonstrate the influence of quality citizens in the democratization process by showing the importance of political and economic rationality in shaping citizens' support for democracy. In short,

⁴ For instance, the regional voting thesis in South Korea would predict that a voter who was born in Yongnam will give the Grand National Party her lifelong support. Similarly, the ethnic voting model in Taiwan would posit that a mainlander will always vote for the Pan-Blue camp all the time.

⁵ Kim, *Korea's Democratization*, 195.

⁶ Yun-han Chu, "Taiwan's National Identity Politics and the Prospect of Cross-Strait Relations," *Asian Survey* 44, no. 4 (2004): 484-512; John Hsieh, "Economic vs. Identity Voting: The Case of Taiwan," paper presented at the Conference on the Taiwan Election and Democratization Studies Survey for the 2004 Legislative Yuan Election, November 12-13, 2005, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan; and Wengang Tang, "Nationalism and Electoral Outcome in Taiwan: The Impact of Identity Fence-sitting on Voting Behaviour," *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 1 (2007): 481-496.

⁷ The 2004 presidential election data (TEDS2004P) was administered by Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study between June and September 2004. For more information, see <http://www.tedsnet.org/cubekm1/index.phtml> (accessed December 20, 2010).

⁸ I am deeply grateful to Doh C. Shin for sharing the data. For more information regarding the KBS, please see <http://www.koreabarometer.org/> (accessed December 20, 2010).

this essay provides a new framework for integrating voters’ characteristics, their electoral behavior, and their attitudinal support for democracy in the context of Asian democracies.

The next section elaborates on the concept and potential sources of vote shifting. In the process, I review several important studies of electoral politics and voting behavior, and draw a pertinent set of hypotheses from them. The third section tests these hypotheses and presents the empirical results. The fourth section discusses the implications of the results for democratic consolidation. In the last section, I summarize my conclusions and lay out areas of future research.

Vote Shifting and Its Determinants

Vote shifting refers to an individual-level dynamic electoral process in which a voter deviates from her previous vote choice in the subsequent election. Using a simple dichotomy of whether a voter voted for the current ruling party in the past two consecutive elections, we can use a two × two table to represent voting patterns. As shown in table 1A, this essay categorizes voters into three groups on the basis of their voting history: ruling party loyalists who vote for the ruling party throughout, ruling party opponents who vote against the ruling party throughout, and voters who shift their votes. The main focus of this essay is on those shifting voters who occupy the last category of table 1A—those voters who voted against (for) the winning party in the previous election but voted (did not vote or simply cast an invalid vote) for that party in the subsequent election.

Table 1A. Typology of Vote Shifting

		Vote for ruling party this time?	
		Yes	No
Voted for ruling party last time?	Yes	Ruling Party Loyalists	Shifting Voters
	No	Shifting Voters	Ruling Party Opponents

So, what are the characteristics of these swing voters, and why do they shift their votes in Taiwan and South Korea? More specifically, why do supporters of the incumbent penalize the ruling party by shifting votes to the opposition, and why did voters who initially supported the opposition then turn to the incumbent? As I explain more thoroughly later, I posit that vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea is rationally driven by purposive evaluations of government performance and instrumental calculations of policy issues. I also find that voters who are partisan-independent and politically sophisticated are more likely to conduct such rational calculations and shift their votes. In

short, this essay identifies performance evaluation, issue calculation, partisan independence, and political sophistication as potentially important determinants of vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea.

Evaluations of Government Performance

Theorists of electoral accountability have long argued that elections serve as the simplest yet most critical instrument of representative democracy.⁹ As a result of elections, citizens have the opportunity to periodically evaluate incumbents' performance and decide whether to "throw the rascals out." Consequently, elections create a conduit for citizens to exert their influence by forcing elected officials to act in the citizens' interests. Importantly, citizens can vote retrospectively to hold elected officials accountable.¹⁰ Besley and Case offer a vivid demonstration of how elections enhance accountability by showing that politicians are more likely to shirk when reelection is no longer a concern.¹¹

The economic voting literature explicitly addresses how voters' electoral behavior is guided by rational evaluations of government performance. Briefly summarized, theories of economic voting posit that voters' support for the incumbent is instrumental and materialistic and that voters are more likely to reward governments that perform well and punish the ones that perform unsatisfactorily.¹² As Lewis-Beck and Stegmaier succinctly summarize, "good times keep parties in office, bad times cast them out."¹³ Particularly when voters can clearly link the incumbent to policy outcomes, voters' positive economic evaluations lead to substantially higher support for the incumbent.¹⁴

The economy is by no means the only item on the checklist when voters evaluate the incumbent's governing performance. Political performance matters as well. Evans and Whitefield find that the effect of political variables, such as citizens' evaluations of institutional responsiveness, outweigh the effect

⁹ John Ferejohn, "Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control," *Public Choice* 50 (1986): 5-25, and Bingham Powell, *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ For a rebuttal discussion, see Christopher Achen and Larry Bartels, "Musical Chairs: Pocketbook Voting and the Limits of Democratic Accountability," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 2004.

¹¹ Timothy Besley and Anne Case, "Does Electoral Accountability Affect Economic-Policy Choices? Evidence from Gubernatorial Term Limits," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 110 (1995): 769-798.

¹² For a more comprehensive view, see Peter Nannestad, and Martin Paldam, "The VP Function: A Survey of the Literature on Vote and Popularity Functions after 25 Years," *Public Choice* 79 (1994): 213-245.

¹³ Michael Lewis-Beck and Mary Stegmaier, "Economic Determinants of Electoral Outcomes," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 183.

¹⁴ Bingham Powell and Guy Whitten, "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context," *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1993): 391-414.

of economic variables on citizens' support for democracy in post-communist European countries.¹⁵ Bratton and Mattes reveal a similar pattern in Africa, finding that the way African citizens view democracy goes far beyond the instrumental form.¹⁶

While the theory of economic voting has evolved into various sub-branches, the strong empirical linkage between voters' evaluations of government performance and their voting behavior remains a common theme and endorses the rationality of democratic electorates. Building on these insights, this essay argues that citizens' overall evaluation of government performance is a crucial determinant of vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea. Voters who previously voted for the opposition may choose to support the incumbent in the subsequent election if they come to realize and appreciate the performance of incumbents. On the other hand, a government could find itself betrayed by its core supporters if those supporters perceive poor government performance in either the economic or political domain.

Calculations of Policy Issues

Unlike theories of economic voting in which voters evaluate incumbents based on governing performance, theories of issue voting argue that voters evaluate competing candidates based on their relative positions on salient issues. More precisely, the issue voting model posits that voters and candidates are clearly positioned in issue dimensions by a set of ideal points. Depending on how voters derive their utilities over candidates' positions, however, this literature has branched off into two opposing approaches. The proximity model posits that the voter prefers the candidate who is closest to her (Downs), whereas the directional model argues that the voter supports the candidate who is the strongest defender of her side (Macdonald et al.).¹⁷ Finally, an emerging literature critically evaluates the competing arguments and the underlying assumptions, and declares the debate methodologically unsolvable.¹⁸

In line with this emerging literature, this essay does not intend to reconcile the proximity vs. directional debate. Instead, it argues that vote shifting is issue-oriented and determined by expected utility calculations. I suggest that South Korean and Taiwanese voters can clearly perceive differences among candidates in the issue domain. Following Downsian logic, I argue that citizens

¹⁵ Geoffrey Evans and Stephen Whitefield, "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies," *British Journal of Political Science* 25 (1995): 485-514.

¹⁶ Michael Bratton and Robert Mattes, "Support for Democracy in Africa: Intrinsic or Instrumental?" *British Journal of Political Science* 31 (2001): 447-474.

¹⁷ Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1957), and Elaine Macdonald, Ola Listhaug, and George Rabinowitz, "Issues and Party Support in Multiparty Systems," *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991): 1107-1131.

¹⁸ Jeffrey Lewis and Gary King, "Evidence on Directional vs. Proximity Voting," *Political Analysis* 8 (2000): 21-33.

vote for the candidate whose positions on policy issues are closest to their own. In this model, vote shifting occurs as a result of updated calculations of policy distance between voters and candidates. In stark contrast to conventional wisdom on identity theory voting, I contend that voting behavior is dynamic rather than static.

Partisan Independence

The next logical step is to identify who is more likely to engage in these rational calculations in Taiwan and South Korea. Fortunately, Tan et al. provide very useful clues.¹⁹ Using the strength of voters' party self-identification to measure partisan independence, their study shows that independents in Taiwan and South Korea are highly educated and well-informed. Independents also have a strong interest in politics and actively turn out to vote. More importantly for the purposes of this essay, partisan independents in these two countries are extremely issue-oriented, very attentive to governments' performances, and tend to view the incumbent in a more critical way. It seems plausible, then, that independents are more likely to shift their votes between elections than those who are strongly partisan. This hypothesis also falls in line with the conventional wisdom of split-ticket voting, which attributes vote splitting to the absence of strong party attachment around the world.²⁰

Astute readers may have noticed that independents in South Korea and Taiwan are quite different from those described in the United States. In their seminal study, Campbell and his colleagues posit that independents in the United States are politically apathetic, issue inattentive, and poorly informed. As they forcefully put it, independents "have somewhat poorer knowledge of the issues, their image of the candidates is fainter, their interest in the campaign is less, their concern over the outcome is relatively slight."²¹ Nevertheless, despite this glaring difference, the Michigan model yields the observationally identical proposition that independents are more likely to shift their votes. This literature argues that political parties guide voting behavior by providing to voters the most tangible and direct psychological bridge to candidates, and that voting is a means for voters to attach themselves to their preferred party and to express group loyalty. Moreover, partisan attachment is argued to be persistent and stable, so voters with strong partisan identity should support

¹⁹ Alexander Tan, Kyung-Tae Kang, Karl Ho, and Tsung-Chi Yu, "What If We Don't Party? Political Partisanship in Taiwan and Korea in the 1990s," *African and Asian Studies* 35 no. 1 (2000): 67-84.

²⁰ Paul Allen Beck, Lawrence Baum, Aage R. Clausen, and Charles E. Smith, Jr., "Patterns and Sources of Ticket Splitting in Subpresidential Voting," *American Political Science Review* 86 (1992): 916-928, and Raymond Duch and Harvey Palmer, "Strategic Voting in Post-Communist Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2001): 63-91.

²¹ Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, *The American Voter* (New York: Wiley, 1960), 143.

their party consistently over time.²² By contrast, due to the lack of partisan loyalty, independents are more likely to be influenced by short-term factors during elections and exhibit more volatile voting behaviors.

Political Sophistication

Finally, this essay uses insights from the political sophistication literature to gain deeper insights into the profile of voters who shift their electoral support in Taiwan and South Korea. Political sophistication, or the quantity and organization of a person's political cognitions (Luskin), is argued to affect virtually every dimension of voters' political behavior (Zaller).²³ As Dalton succinctly summarizes, theories of political behavior are premised on voters' mental grasp of political issues. After all, "for voters to make meaningful decisions, they must understand the options."²⁴ Various studies corroborate Dalton's theory by illustrating systematic differences between sophisticated and unsophisticated voters in their voting behavior. MacDonald et al. show that sophisticated voters are more sensitive to issue information than less sophisticated ones and that sophisticated voters are also more likely to act upon this information during elections.²⁵ Similarly, Duch et al. (2000) suggest that political sophistication conditions the way citizens perceive economic conditions. Gomez and Wilson further demonstrate that political sophistication accounts for variation among voters in attributing responsibility for national and personal economic conditions to the incumbent.²⁶

Political sophistication is particularly relevant to voting behavior. A growing recent literature, focusing on the mixed electoral system as a quasi-experimental laboratory, strongly corroborates the existence of Duverger's psychological effect among rational and sophisticated voters.²⁷ These

²² While subsequent studies pointed out the growing proportion of independents as rebuttal evidence against the Michigan model, recent studies have rejuvenated the importance of partisan attachment in shaping voting behavior. For instance, see Larry Bartels, "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996," *American Journal of Political Science*, no. 44 (2000): 35-50.

²³ Robert Luskin, "Measuring Political Sophistication," *American Journal of Political Science* 31 (1987): 856-899, and John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²⁴ Russell Dalton, "Citizen Attitudes and Political Behavior," *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (2000): 919.

²⁵ Elaine Macdonald, George Rabinowitz, and Ola Listhaug, "Political Sophistication and Models of Issue Voting," *British Journal of Political Science* 25 (1995): 453-483.

²⁶ Brad Gomez and Matthew Wilson, "Political Sophistication and Economic Voting in the American Electorate: A Theory of Heterogeneous Attribution," *American Journal of Political Science* 45 (2001): 899-914.

²⁷ Raymond Duch and Harvey Palmer, "Strategic Voting in Post-Communist Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 32 (2001): 63-91, and Jeffrey Karp, Jack Vowles, Susan Banducci, and Todd Donovan, "Strategic Voting, Party Activity, and Candidate Effects: Testing Explanations for Split Voting in New Zealand's New Mixed System," *Electoral Studies* 21 (2002): 1-22.

contributions find that sophisticated voters are more likely to split their party and candidate votes under mixed systems since they are more alert to a wasted-vote situation. They are also more capable of identifying and supporting a strategic alternative in order to minimize the chance that their least-preferred candidate will win office.

In sum, political sophisticates are better equipped to incorporate new political information into their voting calculations. Extending these insights into the domain of vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea, I expect that more sophisticated voters will be more likely to shift their votes between consecutive elections than less sophisticated ones, since they are more sensitive to updated information and more readily incorporate it into their voting decisions. Sophisticates have better political knowledge concerning the relative competence of the candidates and the issue positions the candidates take, and they are more likely to base their votes on their own understanding of a constantly changing political world. By contrast, less sophisticated voters tend to be uninformed about the political process and depend more heavily on party labels as voting cues.

In synthesizing these various insights from the literature, this essay hypothesizes that vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea is rationally driven by voters' evaluations of government performance and calculations of policy issues. Moreover, vote shifting is more likely to occur among voters who are partisan independent and politically sophisticated.

Empirical Analysis

This essay utilizes the TEDS and KBS survey data from Taiwan and South Korea to test the above hypotheses. In the East Asian democratization literature, Taiwan and South Korea traditionally have served as particularly strong cases for comparison. In this study, several theoretical and empirical reasons lead to focus on these two East Asian democracies. First, Taiwan and South Korea provide ideal laboratories for studying vote shifting because they present a rare opportunity for voters in emerging democracies to evaluate their democratic governments immediately following the founding elections.²⁸

²⁸ In brief, the victory of Democratic Liberal Party (DLP) candidate Kim Young Sam in the 1992 presidential election gave birth to the first civilian government in the history of South Korea. The ruling party then was renamed the Grand National Party (GNP) in the 1997 presidential election, but its candidate, Lee Hoi Chang, lost the battle to the opposition candidate, Kim Dae Jung. In Taiwan, the Democratic Progressive Party (the DPP) won the presidential election in 2000, thereby marking the end of long-term rule by the Kuomintang (KMT). The DPP incumbent candidate was later reelected in the 2004 presidential election. For a background discussion of the democratization processes and presidential elections in these two countries, see Soong Kil, "Development of Korean Politics—A Historical Profile," in *Understanding Korean Politics: An Introduction*, ed. Sung-Hum Kil and Jung-In Moon (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), 33-69, and Dafydd Fell, *Party Politics in Taiwan: Party Change and the Democratic Evolution of Taiwan, 1991-2004* (London: Routledge, 2005).

Second, turnout rates were 81.9 percent and 80.6 percent in the 1992 and 1997 elections in South Korea, and 82.6 percent and 80.2 percent in the 2000 and 2004 Taiwan presidential elections, respectively. These relatively stable turnout rates are helpful for minimizing potential complications arising from factors such as mobilization effects from parties or generational replacement among voters. Third, among the six East Asian democracies studied in Shin and Wells, Taiwan and South Korea rank as the two lowest nations in terms of citizens' preference for democracy.²⁹ Therefore, studying these two complex cases should yield valuable implications for democratic consolidation in other emerging democracies. Finally, from an empirical perspective, studying vote shifting among individual voters requires individual-level data that systematically tracks voters' voting history in consecutive elections. Of the East Asian democracies, the TEDS and the KBS data are the only available data that meet this demanding requirement.

The TEDS survey is of particular interest because it asks respondents whether they voted and for whom they voted in the 2000 and 2004 Taiwanese presidential elections. Utilizing this information, I empirically reformulate table 1A into table 1B to document the voting transition between the two Taiwanese presidential elections. The data suggest a strong inertia in Taiwanese voters' electoral behavior: among the 569 respondents who identified themselves as supporters of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2000, only 58 respondents deviated from their previous choice and voted for the opposition in 2004. Additionally, among the 531 respondents who voted against the DPP in 2000, 448 respondents did not change their minds after four years.

Similarly, the KBS survey identifies Korean voters' choices in the 1992 and 1997 presidential elections. Table 1C repeats the same exercise and traces the electoral history for South Korean voters. Interestingly, South Korean voters exhibited much more flexibility in their voting behavior than their Taiwanese counterparts: more than half of the respondents (165 of 304) who voted for the

Table 1B. Vote Shifting in Taiwan

		Voted for the DPP in 2004?		
		Yes	No	Total
Voted for the DPP in 2000?	Yes	511 (46.4%)	58 (5.2%)	569
	No	83 (7.5%)	448 (40.7%)	531
	Total	594	506	1,100

²⁹ Doh Chull Shin and Jason Wells, "Is Democracy the Only Game in Town?" *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 2, (2005): 88-101.

Democratic Labor Party (DLP) candidate, Kim Young Sam, in 1992, voted for the opposition candidate, Kim Dae Jung, in 1997. This sharp contrast between Taiwan and South Korea provides *prima facie* evidence that the number of swing voters who shift their votes between elections may be important in determining whether new democracies experience electoral alternations after the founding election.

Table 1C. Vote Shifting in South Korea

		Voted for the GNP (formerly the DLP) in 1997?		
		Yes	No	Total
Voted for the DLP in 1992?	Yes	139 (21.9%)	165 (26.1%)	304
	No	37 (5.8%)	291 (46.0%)	328
	Total	176	456	632

Model Specification

I employ a transition model to systematically track the determinants of vote shifting in Taiwan and South Korea.³⁰ The transition model is most appropriate for this essay because it explicitly takes into consideration the past history of the unit, while accounting for the occurrence of current events. In the context of this essay, the transition model enables this study to investigate why vote shifting occurs by attributing a voter’s current electoral choice to the covariates suggested by the theory, while conditioning upon her past voting history. In slightly more technical terms, I conceptualize whether voters support the incumbent party or not as two different “states.” Using the Taiwanese presidential election as an example, I denote “O” as “vote for the opposition” and “I” as “vote for the incumbent,” and I use a first-order transition matrix to capture vote shifting between the two presidential elections:

$$\begin{pmatrix} P_{II} & P_{IO} \\ P_{OI} & P_{OO} \end{pmatrix}$$

where $P_{ST} = P(y_{i,2004} = t \mid y_{i,2000} = S)$ represents transition probabilities between two elections.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of the transitional model, see Simon Jackman, “In and Out of War and Peace: Transitional Models of International Conflict,” typescript (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 2000).

This essay is most interested in estimating the off-diagonal entries of the transition matrix, since they represent the voters who shift their votes. More explicitly, in the case of Taiwan, I estimate a set of conditional logistic regressions:

$$\text{logit}(P_{IO}) = \text{logit}[P(y_{i,2004} = O \mid y_{i,2000} = I)] = X_{i,2004} \beta$$

$$\text{logit}(P_{OI}) = \text{logit}[P(y_{i,2004} = I \mid y_{i,2000} = O)] = X_{i,2004} \beta$$

Similarly, in the case of South Korea, I estimate another set of conditional logistic regressions to capture vote shifting between the 1992 and 1997 elections:

$$\text{logit}(P_{IO}) = \text{logit}[P(y_{i,1997} = O \mid y_{i,1992} = I)] = X_{i,1997} \beta$$

$$\text{logit}(P_{OI}) = \text{logit}[P(y_{i,1997} = I \mid y_{i,1992} = O)] = X_{i,1997} \beta$$

In other words, I employ the following estimation strategy: First, I divide the data into two mutually exclusive sub-samples, based on whether respondents voted for or against the incumbent party in the first election. For the sub-sample in which voters supported the incumbent previously, the binary dependent variable takes the value of one if voters shift away from the incumbent, and zero if they remain loyal in the subsequent election. Repeating the same process for the other sub-sample, the dependent variable equals one for those who previously opposed the incumbent yet shift toward the governing party in the next election, and zero for those respondents who vote against the incumbent again. Finally, this essay relates the dependent variable of vote shifting in both Taiwan and South Korea to variables of performance evaluation, issue calculation, partisan independence, and political sophistication that are explained in more detail below.

To measure performance evaluations, the TEDS survey asks respondents to evaluate their incumbent DPP president and his governing team's overall performance over the past four years. These evaluations are rescaled and averaged into a metric of 1-4, where 1 represents "very dissatisfied" and 4 indicates "very satisfied." Obviously, the coefficient is expected to be positive for voters who shift toward the incumbent and negative for voters who shift away from the incumbent.

The KBS does not directly ask respondents to evaluate the DLP government during its 1992-1997 presidential term. Instead, it probes respondents' evaluations of the Kim Dae Jung government in 1998 on a scale of 1 to 10 (10 meaning full satisfaction) regarding how satisfied they were with the way the Kim Dae Jung government handled problems in their society. Despite this difference between the surveys, we can still utilize this information with backward reasoning, since Kim Dae Jung was the main opposition candidate

in the 1997 election. More concretely, assuming that most Korean voters did not reverse their opinions toward Kim Dae Jung between the 1997 election and the time they were surveyed in 1998, this question usefully reveals voters' rational expectations in the 1997 election about their future led by the Kim Dae Jung government, as opposed to the previous DLP government. Therefore, we should expect a positive (negative) coefficient for voters who voted for (against) the Kim Dae Jung government. Despite the subtle difference in retrospective and prospective evaluations, these variables conceptually encompass both political and economic realms and usefully reflect voters' overall government evaluations in Taiwan and South Korea.

With respect to issue calculation, few issues are as important as the relationship with China in contemporary Taiwanese politics. To examine its effect on the 2004 presidential election, the TEDS survey first asked respondents to self-identify their positions on the Taiwan independence (0) versus unification with China (10) issue spectrum. The survey further asked respondents what position they thought the presidential candidates of the two major camps occupied. Based upon these scores, I calculate the relative issue distance of the two presidential candidates from the voter. By this construction, this variable of issue distance takes a negative value if a voter felt closer to the incumbent DPP candidate, a positive value if closer to the opposition, and zero if indifferent. Hence, the coefficient of issue voting should be positive (negative) for voters who shifted their votes away from (toward) the DPP incumbent in 2004. Unfortunately, the KBS does not provide any data on issue voting in South Korea, forcing this essay to rely solely on Taiwan's case to examine the effect of issue calculation on vote shifting.

I follow the standard practice and capture partisan attachment through the strength of partisan identification. Conventionally, the partisan spectrum in Taiwan has been divided by two competing camps: Pan-Green vs. Pan-Blue. The TEDS survey asked respondents how strongly they thought of themselves as either closer to one of these two groups or whether they considered themselves to be independent. Therefore, I create a variable that breaks voters into three categories: the strongly partisan, the weakly partisan, and the independent.³¹ In the context of South Korea, the KBS asks respondents whether they feel close to any political party, including the National Congress for New Politics, the Grand National Party, the United Liberal Democrats, others, or none. However, no extra information is available to capture the strength of attachment, so I create a dummy variable that equals one if a respondent associates herself with any of the parties. I expect the variable of partisan attachment to be negative for

³¹ Specifically, the TEDS explicitly asked respondents whether they thought of themselves as closer to the Pan-Green camp or the Pan-Blue camp, and those who strongly leaned to either the Pan-Blue camp or Pan-Green camp are regarded as strongly partisan. Meanwhile, those who reported to be somewhat leaning to the Pan-Blue or the Pan-Green camp are coded as weakly partisan. Finally, those who considered themselves neutral are treated as independents.

both voters who shift toward and voters who shift away from the incumbent.

Political sophistication operates at a number of closely related levels. While previous scholarly works tried to capture political sophistication by examining how respondents used abstract principles in evaluating political issues, the current approach relies on gauging respondents' political awareness or knowledge.³² This knowledge-based approach incorporates the quality of political information a voter possesses and is ideal for measuring political sophistication in emerging democracies, since it demands less complexity (Setzler) and has widely been adopted in several studies.³³ Following this approach, I use an additive scale constructed from counts of correct answers to five political knowledge items asked in the TEDS. The scale is then normalized to range from zero to one, where one indicates that a respondent answered all questions correctly. Once again, the lack of directly comparable data in South Korea forces this essay to rely on respondents' interests in politics as a proxy, based on a reasonable assumption that those who are more interested in politics are more likely to seek political information actively. I expect the variable of political sophistication to be positive for both types of vote shifters.

While the key independent variables are constructed differently in Taiwan and South Korea, we can still compare the distribution of these variables across these two countries. Preliminary analysis suggests that there are more independent and dissatisfied citizens in South Korea: among previous incumbent supporters, around 50 percent of South Korean voters identify themselves as independent, while only 30 percent do so in Taiwan. Additionally, almost 80 percent of previous incumbent supporters in Taiwan remained satisfied with the incumbent's performance, while the corresponding figure in South Korea is only slightly over 50 percent. These preliminary results plausibly suggest that the greater proportion of independent and evaluative voters in South Korea may largely account for South Korea's electoral alternation in 1997.

Results

Model 1 in table 2 focuses first on the sub-sample of previous incumbent supporters in Taiwan, and it examines whether performance evaluation, issue calculation, partisan independence, and political sophistication lead to electoral betrayal of the incumbent in the next election. As we can see, the coefficients for all variables are statistically significant with the expected signs, and the

³² John R. Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

³³ Mark Setzler, "The Acquisition of Political Knowledge and Electoral Accountability in a Developing Democracy: Evidence from Brazil," paper presented at the Annual Conference of American Political Science Association, 2002. See also, Duch and Palmer, "Strategic Voting in Post-Communist Democracies"; Karp et al., "Strategic Voting, Party Activity, and Candidate Effects"; and Michael Bratton, Robert Mattes, and E. Gyimah-Boadi, *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Table 2. Determinants of Vote Shifting in Taiwan

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Hypothesized Sign	Incumbent Supporters	Hypothesized Sign	Incumbent Supporters
Performance Evaluation	-	-2.395*** [.388]	+	2.827*** [.379]
Issue Calculation	+	.224*** [.061]	-	-.233*** [.060]
Partisan Attachment	-	-.945** [.382]	-	-.886*** [.325]
Political Sophistication	+	2.155** [1.000]	+	.398 [.882]
Constant	+/-	3.136*** [1.066]	+/-	-.7332*** [1.102]
N		434		461
Prob > LR		0.000***		0.000***
R^2_{Efron}		0.439		0.491

Note: Standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$. All tests are two-tailed.

Prob > LR = Chi-squared test of all coefficients; R^2_{Efron} = Efron's R^2

goodness-of-fit tests suggest that the data are well captured by the model. Therefore, the results provide strong support for the hypotheses in this essay.

Figure 1 demonstrates the results graphically to facilitate interpretation. Holding the variable of performance evaluation and issue distance at their mean, the upper panel in figure 1 clearly shows that Taiwanese independents consistently are more likely than loyalists to shift their votes. Meanwhile, the probability for vote shifting increases as voters become more sophisticated. Similarly, holding the variable of sophistication and issue distance at their mean, the lower panel in figure 1 illustrates that independents and those who are dissatisfied with government performance are more likely to shift away from the incumbent in Taiwan.

Model 2 turns to the other Taiwanese sub-sample and examines whether voters who are instrumental, sophisticated, and independent are also more likely to shift their votes toward the incumbent whom they previously opposed. The results reinforce the importance of performance evaluation, issue calculation, and partisan independence in attracting previous opposition supporters' electoral support.

Finally, I examine the Korean case and see whether the findings in Taiwan can be replicated. The results in table 3 corroborate that partisan independence and performance evaluation represent important driving forces for vote shifting. Specifically, the negative and significant coefficient of partisan attachment in

Figure 1. Determinants of Vote Shifting

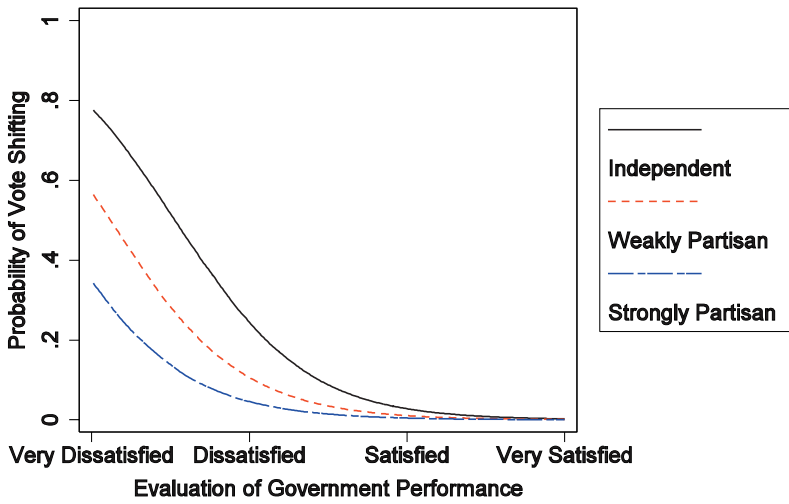
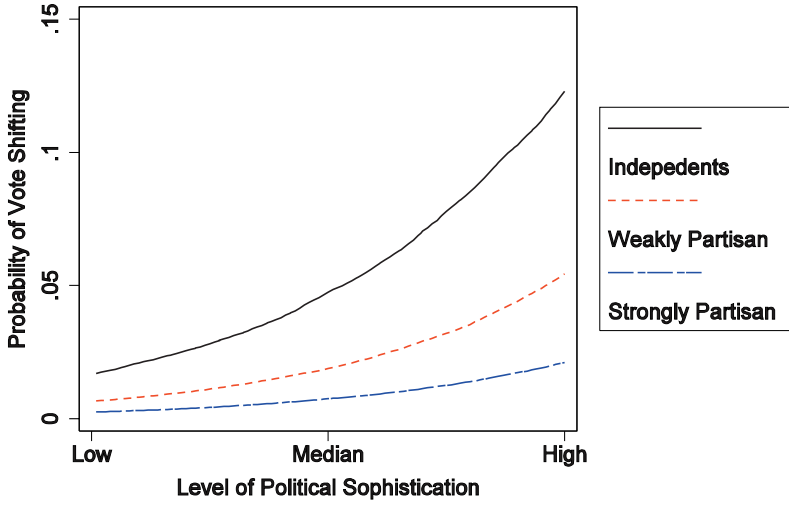


Table 3. Determinants of Vote Shifting in South Korea

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Hypothesized Sign	Incumbent Supporters	Hypothesized Sign	Incumbent Supporters
Performance Evaluation	+	.248*** [.079]	-	-.379*** [.119]
Partisan Attachment	-	-.494** [.277]	-	-.881** [.394]
Interest in Politics	+	.244* [.151]	+	-.021 [.227]
Constant	+/-	-1.460** [.573]	+/-	.583 [.856]
N		290		319
Prob > LR		0.002***		0.000***
R^2_{Efron}		0.051		0.061

Note: Standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$. All tests are two-tailed.

Prob > LR = Chi-squared test of all coefficients; R^2_{Efron} = Efron's R^2

both Model 3 and Model 4 suggest that Korean independents are more likely to shift their votes, regardless for whom they voted in the previous election. Meanwhile, the results also emphasize the importance of governance, as even voters who previously disliked the incumbent can be swayed and change their minds due to good performance. On the other hand, the results also demonstrate that political sophistication seems to have only marginal impact on vote shifting toward the incumbent in both Taiwan and South Korea.³⁴

Robustness Checks

I perform a series of robustness checks to ensure the validity of the empirical results before concluding this section. I pay special attention to several issues surrounding variable construction and model specification. Due to both data availability and space considerations, I conduct the analysis using Model 1 as the baseline model.³⁵

First, as stated earlier, I argue that the conventional identity voting thesis is incapable of explaining vote shifting in nascent East Asian democracies. To

³⁴ It is plausible that sophistication *per se* does not lead to vote switching toward the incumbent, since sophisticates are more critical. Instead, they are more likely to update their evaluations of incumbent performance and vote accordingly.

³⁵ For instance, only the TEDS provides another set of panel data to tease out self-reporting bias (see the text below). In other cases in which the KBS data are available for analysis, they yield conclusions that parallel those of the Taiwan case.

demonstrate this point empirically, I operationalize the regional/ethnic voting thesis by adding a dummy variable of ethnicity to Model 1. More precisely, the variable of ethnicity equals one if a TEDS respondent is a mainlander. Since mainlanders traditionally do not support the DPP, conventional wisdom would lead us to expect a positive coefficient for the ethnicity variable. However, in stark contrast to conventional wisdom, the results in table 4 (throughout Model R1 to R5) contradictorily show that ethnicity is an insignificant predictor of vote shifting in Taiwan.³⁶ Meanwhile, all the main results reported earlier remain unchanged and provide corroborating evidence of the previous findings. While this finding cannot, and does not, intend to entirely falsify the traditional literature, it highlights the limitations of the conventional wisdom that overemphasizes the dominance of identity, and calls for an alternative framework to account for voting behaviors in Taiwan and South Korea.

Second, as we saw from table 1B, only slightly more than 10 percent of respondents report vote shifting in Taiwan, and one might naturally question the validity of inferences drawn from such limited information. While a full account of the stability of Taiwanese electoral behavior is beyond the scope

Table 4. Robustness Checks

	Expected Sign	Model R1 Ethnic Voting	Model R2 Panel	Model R3 Rare Event	Model R4 Abstention	Model R5 Election Events
Performance Evaluation	-	-2.386*** [.389]	-2.418** [.994]	-2.274*** [.402]	-1.689*** [.286]	-.256*** [.429]
Issue Calculation	+	.219*** [.061]	.372*** [.100]	.209*** [.061]	.177*** [.046]	.160** [.064]
Partisan Attachment	-	-.966** [.384]	.953 [.758]	-.927** [.383]	-1.047*** [.288]	-1.024** [.409]
Political Sophistication	+	2.186** [1.006]	.356 [2.118]	2.104** [1.000]	1.747** [.774]	1.824* [1.072]
Mainlanders	+	.495 [.788]	Dropped	.550 [.836]	-.075 [.741]	.315 [.841]
Election Events	-					-1.213*** [.314]
Constants	+/-	3.084*** [1.069]	3.126 [3.022]	2.914*** [1.132]	2.474*** [.855]	4.042*** [1.194]
N		429	152	429	454	424

Note: The dependent variable is vote *against* the current governing party. Standard errors in brackets. * $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$. Two-tailed test.

³⁶ I repeat the same exercise in the case of South Korea, and find that the dummy variable of the Kyongsang region is not significantly associated with vote shifting against the governing DLP party.

of this essay, I explicitly take on one obvious possibility—the self-reporting bias. Since during a single survey a respondent is likely to associate herself consistently with the winning camp in both elections, a systematic bias may occur.³⁷ This self-reporting bias is particularly consequential for the results in Model 1, because it is likely that a good proportion of respondents overreport their loyalty to (or underreport their defection from) the incumbent party. Fortunately, the 2004 TEDS survey provides a separate set of panel data that recorded respondents' voting history at two different times.³⁸ Therefore, I utilize these alternative data to rerun Model 1 to guard against this self-reporting bias. While the coefficients for political sophistication and partisan attachment become insignificant in Model R2, the substantive results regarding issue calculation and performance evaluation remain unchanged.

The tradeoff for using the panel data is the loss of usable observations.³⁹ Therefore, I resort to the original TEDS data and employ an alternative estimator created by King and Zeng to buttress the empirical analysis.⁴⁰ This rare events logistic regression technique is relevant for data in which the ones in the binary dependent variable are disproportionately fewer than the zeros. As King and Zeng vividly demonstrate, using this refined procedure not only avoids the potentially biased estimates obtained by the traditional logistic estimator but also frees researchers, particularly important in this case, from a restrictive dataset. Following this insight, Model R3 reestimates and again corroborates the effects of performance evaluation, issue calculation, partisan attachment, and political sophistication on vote shifting.

Next, I address the issue of abstention. Recall that vote shifting refers to voters' deviation from their previous voting choice. However, it is fair to argue that abstention, especially among the incumbent's supporters, represents a weaker form of disapproval toward the incumbent and should be taken into consideration. Hence, I generalize the notion of vote shifting to a broader level by adding to the analysis those who abstained during the 2004 election. Reestimating Model 1 with this newly constructed dependent variable, Model R4 shows that the results are insensitive to the issue of abstention.

Finally, various campaign or election-related events occurred before the 2004 Taiwanese presidential election, and it is reasonable to believe that these events might affect the electoral outcome, even though theoretically they do

³⁷ For example, the DPP party won only 39.4 percent (50.1 percent) of the vote in the 2000 (2004) presidential election, yet roughly 51 percent (54 percent) of TEDS respondents reported that they voted for the DPP.

³⁸ See footnote 7 for the source of the panel data analyzed here. The survey was conducted between June and September 2004.

³⁹ Note that the sample size of panel data is much smaller, yielding only 153 useful observations in Model R2.

⁴⁰ Gary King and Langche Zeng, "Logistic Regression in Rare Events Data," *Political Analysis* 9, no. 2 (2001): 137-163.

not affect vote shifting *per se*. To gauge the potential influence of these events on the 2004 election, the TEDS survey provided a list of important election-related events and asked respondents whether these incidents affected their vote decisions. Drawing from this item, I create a variable that takes the value of 1 if a respondent was moved by pro-incumbent events,⁴¹ -1 if a respondent was guided by anti-incumbent events,⁴² and 0 if a respondent believed that none of these events had any influence. Model R5 takes into account and verifies empirically the influence of campaign events on electoral outcomes. Most importantly, Model R5 further reinforces the previous findings on the sources of vote shifting.⁴³

Discussion and Implications

In sum, the results presented so far strongly support the vote shifting hypotheses in this essay. I find that among previous incumbent supporters, those (1) who have drifted apart from the incumbent on important policy issues, (2) who are dissatisfied with government performance, and (3) who are sophisticated and independent, are more likely to shift their electoral support away from the incumbent. Meanwhile, among previous opposition supporters, those (1) who have converged toward the incumbent on salient policy issues, (2) who are pleased with good government performance, and (3) who are independent, are more likely to shift their electoral support toward the incumbent. These results remain robust, even after employing an alternative estimator and after controlling for the conventional regional/ethnic voting thesis, the self-reporting bias, the abstention, and the influences of election-related events.

The findings in this essay on vote shifting have direct and immediate implications for understanding Huntington's two-turnover test in young East Asian democracies. The root of electoral alternations appears to stem from substantial defection among the incumbent's supporters. By comparing the South Korean and Taiwanese historical experience, this essay suggests that

⁴¹ Including the "Hand-In-Hand" rally, the campaign regarding the origins of former Vice President Lien Chan's property, the question of the KMT's financial assets, and the shooting incident on March 19.

⁴² Including the discussion regarding the former first lady Wu Shu-chen's stock market operations, political monetary contributions from a controversial businessman, Chen You-hao, and the "Change the President, Save Taiwan" rally.

⁴³ During the course of empirical testing, this study also explored the effects of demographic factors, such as age, income, and education level on voters' electoral choices, and the results largely conform to the conventional wisdom. However, as Achen aptly argues (1992), demographic variables alone crudely represent the complexity of political actors, and the correlation between social structural variables and voting behavior is the object rather than the answer of social science research. This study thus removes all of these demographic factors from the model entirely, and simply notes that the key variables are unaffected by including these demographic factors.

new East Asian democracies with more independent and critical electorates are more likely to experience electoral alternations and hence pass the two-turnover test of democratic consolidation. To a greater extent, this essay also echoes a vast literature that emphasizes the importance of economic instrumentality in shaping voting behavior in new democracies around the world.⁴⁴

Through these findings, this essay engages in a critical dialogue concerning the relationship between elections and democratic consolidation. Note that this essay does not equate electoral turnovers with democratic consolidation. As many leading scholars have warned us, one could easily fall into the trap of electoralism by overemphasizing the electoral criteria of democratic consolidation and neglecting other important components of democracy.⁴⁵ By contrast, this essay argues the importance of quality citizens in facilitating democratic consolidation in transitional East Asian democracies. As Huntington and Shin succinctly put it, ordinary citizens act as “democratizers.”⁴⁶

Indeed, no democratic theorist could possibly deny the importance of free, competitive elections in the establishment of democracy. However, while elections act as an important instrument for democracy by building an institutional channel of electoral accountability, high-quality citizens who can maintain the flow of accountability in the electorate are also necessary. As the findings in this essay indicate, rational voters in Taiwan and South Korea play a non-neglectable role in the democratization process by shifting their votes between elections and demanding political turnover. Bratton echoes this proposition and argues that electoral turnover helps African citizens reinstate their faith in democracy.⁴⁷ Importantly, the presence of these independent and sophisticated voters who are not blindly held hostage by partisan and ideological dogmas helps offset the political and economic extremism that commonly plagues young democracies. Meanwhile, through critical evaluations of government performance and careful weighing of policy issues, instrumental voters in new Asian democracies can not only attenuate the moral hazard problem inherent in the delegation relationship with their governments, but also they can induce better governance and democracy. In sum, I highlight the

⁴⁴ Alexander Pacek and Benjamin Radcliff, “The Political Economy of Competitive Elections in the Developing World,” *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 3 (1995): 745-759, and Joshua Tucker, *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic, 1990-1999* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴⁵ Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Richard Rose and Doh C. Shin, “Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third-Wave Democracies,” *British Journal of Political Science* 31, no. 2 (2001): 331-375; and Bratton et al., *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa*.

⁴⁶ Doh Chull Shin, “Democratization: Perspectives from Global Citizenries,” *Center for the Study of Democracy*, paper 06-01 (2006), <http://repositories.cdlib.org/csd/06-01> (accessed December 20, 2010).

⁴⁷ Michael Bratton, “The ‘Alternation Effect’ in Africa,” *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 4 (2004): 147-158.

importance of quality citizens in democratization, and argue that democratic consolidation needs to be buttressed by cognitive awareness of democratic principles and rational evaluations of democratic practices. Specifically, I argue that the quality of voters, especially with regard to partisan independence, political sophistication, and evaluative rationality, represents an important driving force toward democratic consolidation.

I construct an empirical model explicitly to link quality voters and the attitudinal foundation of democratic consolidation, which is commonly measured by citizens' support for democracy. As Easton forcefully posits, democracy thrives on popular support and withers in its absence.⁴⁸ Following this tradition, I first construct an index of citizens' support for democratic principles. In accordance with the current practice, this essay places the abstract concept of democracy in the context of concrete comparison and asks citizens to evaluate democracy against alternative forms of government.⁴⁹ More specifically, the KBS asks South Korean voters whether democracy is preferable to any other kind of government, whether a dictatorship can sometimes be preferable, or whether the choice of regime simply does not matter. In slightly different wording, the TEDS survey asks respondents to what degree they agree with the statement, "Democracy may have problems, but it is still the best system." I create a binary dependent variable that takes the value of one in Taiwan if a respondent agrees or strongly agrees with this statement, and in South Korea if a respondent unambiguously prefers democracy.

Next, I relate the support for democracy variable to partisan attachment, performance evaluation, and political sophistication in both the Taiwanese and South Korean data. The evidence in table 5 clearly shows that the determinants of vote shifting are also consequential for shaping public attitudes toward democracy. Consistent with existing studies, the results suggest that popular support for democracy is strongly driven by government performance. As the World Bank points out, various forms of misgovernance have plagued the prospects for democracy in many developing regions. Meanwhile, sophisticated citizens are found to express more favorable attitudes toward democracy. This finding corroborates other studies that citizens with broader political knowledge are more likely to support democracy.⁵⁰ At face value, sophisticates are arguably more capable of making associative linkages to democratic principles. As a result, they are more likely to identify with democratic ideals and become actively engaged in civil matters, and hence emerge as a key component of democracy. After all, the extent to which voters

⁴⁸ David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: Wiley, 1965).

⁴⁹ Richard Rose, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer, *Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), and Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁵⁰ Bratton et al., *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa*.

can actually hold politicians responsible during elections depends crucially on whether voters can reach informed and objective judgments about candidates.

Table 5. Implications of Vote Shifting: Support for Democracy

	Hypothesized Sign	Model 5 Taiwanese Voters	Model 6 South Korean Voters
Partisan Attachment	-	.043 [.106]	.205 [.136]
Performance Evaluation	+	.573*** [.103]	.152*** [.041]
Political Sophistication	+	1.576*** [.360]	
Interest in Politics	+		.383*** [.080]
Constant	+/-	-.524 [.323]	-1.679*** [.308]
N		1437	968
Prob > LR		.000***	.000***
R^2_{Efron}		.031	.046

Note: Standard errors in brackets.

* $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$. All tests are two-tailed.

Prob > LR = Chi-squared test of all coefficients; R^2_{Efron} = Efron's R^2

Conclusion

The volume of the democratic consolidation literature has grown enormously since the third wave of democratization began in the 1970s. This flourishing research agenda reflects the sad fact that only a moderate proportion of democratic transitions has evolved successfully into stable democracies, whereas several democratization experiments have resulted in incomplete democracies or have even failed miserably.⁵¹ This essay continues this scholarly tradition and explores a previously unnoticed link among voting behavior, electoral alternations, and democratic consolidation in Taiwan and South Korea. By examining why citizens deviate from their previous voting patterns, this essay points to the importance of quality citizens. Taiwanese and South Korean voters who are instrumental, independent, and sophisticated are more likely to shift their votes between elections and to demand electoral alternation. The quality of voters, especially with respect to partisan independence, political sophistication, and evaluative rationality, also represent crucial determinants

⁵¹ Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley: University of California, 1973). See also, Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, and Rose and Shin, "Democratization Backwards."

for enhancing support for democracy. In short, this essay provides to us a new vantage point for understanding both the electoral and attitudinal aspects of the democratization process.

In addition, during this inquiry, this essay argues for the importance of rationality in addition to identity in voting behavior in new East Asian democracies, and hence offers a more balanced view than that of the conventional Asian identity voting literature. While this essay highlights the importance of rational voting, it does not imply that identity voting should lead to a less consolidated democracy. However, the prospect of democracy is rather bleak if voters in young democracies are blindly bound by their identity affiliation at the ballot box without demanding government accountability. Meanwhile, this essay does not argue that the quality voter is the only decisive factor to achieve democratic consolidation. By sharp contrast, the citizenship approach in this essay seeks to complement the conventional structural explanations of democratic consolidation, such as economic development, political institutions, and international political and economic forces.⁵²

Finally, it is also useful to contrast the findings in this essay with other research paradigms. First, the focus on individual-level attributes that lead voters to alternate their governments in this essay departs from studies that examine aggregate change in the voting patterns among electorates.⁵³ As McFaul persuasively argues, while contextual forces are important in shaping individuals' preferences, "ultimately these forces have causal significance only if translated into human action."⁵⁴ Second, this essay focuses on the change in voters' electoral behavior, not in their partisan identification. The difference is not trivial: partisan realignment involves a long-term evolution of voters' partisan identification, and by contrast, vote shifting deals with voters' short-term voting calculations. As Key succinctly summarizes, partisan realignment results from "trends that perhaps persist over decades and elections may mark only steps in a more or less continuous creation of new loyalties and decay of

⁵² On economic development, see Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Remando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); on political institutions, see Timothy Power and Mark Gasiorowski, "Institutional Design and Democratic Consolidation in the Third World," *Comparative Political Studies* 30, no. 2 (1997): 123-155; and on international and economic forces, see Quan Li and Rafael Reuveny, "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (2003): 29-54. For a thorough survey of the democratization literature, see Barbara Geddes, "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-44, and Valerie Bunce, "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (2000): 703-734.

⁵³ Sadafumi Kawato, "Nationalization and Partisan Realignment in Congressional Elections," *American Political Science Review* 81, no. 4 (1987): 1235-1250.

⁵⁴ Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (2002): 214.

old.”⁵⁵

Perhaps this essay is mostly limited by data constraints. In an ideal setting, one would have a single cross-national survey that covers all of the new East Asian democracies, with identically comparable measurements for all key variables. Unfortunately, to the best of the author’s knowledge, no such dataset is currently available.⁵⁶ While this essay is confined to the cases of Taiwan and South Korea in which some of the survey questions are not exactly identical, these two countries constitute a representative and informative sample and this essay strives to draw maximum inferences from the available data.

Several interesting questions remain unanswered. First, while this essay treats political sophistication as exogenous, one might be curious to know from where sophisticated voters come. Put differently, what are the determinants of political sophistication in new democracies? This question becomes even more pertinent in light of recent evidence documenting a low and declining political sophistication, even in advanced democracies. A study by Shin et al. has started to explicate the notion of democratic political sophistication in the case of South Korea,⁵⁷ and understanding of political sophistication constitutes a fruitful research agenda for the near future. In a similar vein, if the quality of citizenship is crucial in making democracy work, how can we account for variation in partisan attachment among voters?⁵⁸ More broadly, why would some young democracies have more quality voters who lead to government alternations (and likely democratic consolidation) than others? While several scholars highlight the important role of a matured and institutionalized party system,⁵⁹ others have reasonably been concerned that politicians in nascent democracies have turned to populism as a mobilizing strategy during elections at the expense of increasing social cleavages and partisan polarization. All these important issues are unfortunately beyond the scope of this essay and await further investigation.

⁵⁵ VO Key, Jr., “Secular Realignment and the Party System,” *Journal of Politics* 21 (1959): 198-199.

⁵⁶ The closest survey agency might be the Asian Barometer, but it does not track voters’ electoral history.

⁵⁷ Doh Chull Shin, Chong-Min Park, and Jiho Jang, “Assessing the Shifting Qualities of Democratic Citizenship: The Case of South Korea,” *Democratization* 12, no. 2: (2005): 202-222.

⁵⁸ Indeed, some recent studies have documented a substantial fluctuation of the proportion of independent voters in Taiwan. See Chia-hung Tsai and Shuang-Chun Chao, “Nonpartisans and Party System of Taiwan: Evidence from 1996, 2000, and 2004 Presidential Elections,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 43, no 6 (2008): 615-641.

⁵⁹ Teh-fu Huang and Emerson Niou, “Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation: The Cases of Taiwan and South Korea,” paper presented at the International Conference on Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Trends and Challenges, organized by the Institute for National Policy, Taipei, and the International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, D. C., 1996, and Hans Stockton, “Political Parties, Party Systems, and Democracy in East Asia: Lessons from Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no. 1 (2001): 94-119.

