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**Environmental Policy Implementation and  
Electoral Institutions in Germany and Japan**

by

**Kaia N. Rendo**

A Proposal Submitted to the Honors Council  
For Honors in Political Science

05/11/23

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### **Acknowledgments**

Thank you to my amazing advisor, Professor Christina Xydias, for being the most understanding and supportive person.

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## Abstract

In an era when attention to reconstruction and preservation of the environment is crucial, this thesis looks at the effect that electoral institutions have on attention paid to the environmental policy issue dimension. Specifically, it looks at party manifestos and policies in post-1980 Germany and Japan to determine if specific electoral structures, such as the number of parties in a system, correlates with a greater amount of either attention paid to environmental policy in party platforms or in the actual passing of policy. It finds that though both Germany and Japan employ multi-member proportional systems, the greater number of parties with proportionally larger shares of seats in Germany alongside its environmentally-dedicated Green party incentivized its 'winning' parties to pay attention to ecological policy. Conversely, in Japan, the Liberal Democratic Party's power left it up to smaller parties to bring the environmental conversation to the table.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Though there have been many movements trying to incentivize individuals to put more effort into lowering their carbon footprint, it is going to be big changes to things like the Amazon rainforest or legal changes that affect lots of the population or big companies that will make the difference. Sometimes people don't care until you make them care, or sometimes people will never care and you just have to find a way to make them comply. The only way to do that is through the law. In addition, it is the hope that in democracies the legislative system would be working either towards the will of or to the benefit of the people. Political parties, and system-side institutions, make very different kinds of efforts to discuss climate change, and they display very different levels of willingness to act. This thesis project examines variation among parties and systems specifically in their attention to and advocacy about protecting our environment. Through this analysis, it offers broader commentary on how different electoral systems can affect the legitimacy of democracy.

The passing of legislation within an electoral system is dependent on a number of factors, such as electoral rules, number of parties within a system, and the important issues within that system, to name a few. It is thus important to note if there are certain electoral institutions and structures which produce incentives either for or against the passage of environmental policy. If one country is able to very effectively pass progressive green legislation, what allows it to do so, and how can those ideas be absorbed by other systems?

This thesis is on the concept of issue dimensions, or if parties in an electoral system differentiate themselves from others based on their stance on a specific issue. There are two ways to define issue dimensions: party-defined dimensionality and raw party-defined dimensionality. The former is related to the number of salient conflicts that are independent once party positions on such conflicts are considered. The latter is the number of conflicts which parties consider to be salient. In other words, a concept can be an issue dimension because parties differentiate themselves on that issue, whether they take an active position on it or not.<sup>1</sup> The issue dimension of particular interest is *environmental protections*. To what degree, and in what ways, do political parties differentiate themselves along this issue? How does this differentiation change over time? And what role do broader institutions play?

Empirically, this thesis examines party manifestos from Germany and Japan, 1980 through 2020, to document the change over time of environmental discussions. This was then combined with the information available regarding seats won in the Diet and Bundestag during the same period of time, as well as environmental policies passed, to attempt to discern any incentives within these two systems that have contributed to effective passing of policy. These analyses show that within Japan and Germany's electoral systems it is the number of parties that have the most impact on if environmental policy was a tangible issue dimension. More specifically, the number of *effective parties* within the system correlated with which parties were able to create substantial differences in incentivizing ecological conversations.

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<sup>1</sup> Stoll, Heather. "Dimensionality and the number of parties in legislative elections." *Party Politics* 17, no. 3 (2011): 405-429.

## Chapter 2

### Review of Prior Literature

#### Issue Dimensions

Political systems are not one-dimensional; within a given system, there is constant change in the issues being discussed, from women's rights to tax institutions to the criminalization of marijuana. Change comes about when the individuals or parties with power in a system are able to garner sufficient support to redact, enact, or edit legislation. However, literature claims that underlying all this are the "electoral rules [that] mediate the changes in the underlying political space, and as a result, affect the dynamics of party systems."<sup>2</sup>

#### Plurality and Proportional Representation

Literature on electoral systems pays considerable attention to differences in function and style between plurality-majority where a single seat is won with simply more votes than another candidate, versus proportional representation (PR) systems where seats are distributed proportional to percentage of vote won. Plurality rules have been noted to emphasize voting for individuals, versus proportional representation which has been claimed to incentivize voting for parties rather than individual candidates. Parties thus become the representatives of policy preferences in PR systems, and policy agreement between voters and their parties serve as a measure of the functionality of representation.<sup>3</sup> Party leaders and individual candidates are also incentivised to lose their individual opinions for more homogeneity, as "Strong political views on the part of party leaders may make them less responsive to their actual views...they are selling an ideology, rather than selling what the political market wants."<sup>4</sup> Plurality systems, on the other hand, have been noted to disincentivize voting for the candidate that most aligns with your voter

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<sup>2</sup> Cantillon, "Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions." 2.

<sup>3</sup> Dalton, "Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions." 2.

<sup>4</sup> Dalton, "Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions." 11.

preferences if a voter feels they would lose.<sup>5</sup> Instead, it is more beneficial to give a vote to the candidate that fulfills the highest degree of compromise between likelihood of electoral success and alignment with personal preferences, as “voters are assumed to be sincere and parties are purely electoralist.”<sup>6</sup> Additionally, voters may choose to give their vote to candidates not in their self-identified party. Within systems where individual candidates are emphasized above specific parties, “Voters, and party elites, can identify as being Left or Right without holding consistent or even informed views on the issues that typically are associated with this label - much as party identifiers support “their” party while having incomplete agreement with their party’s positions.”<sup>7</sup>

Prior literature also notes that plurality systems have ballot-type nuances that can affect its incentives. Within plurality there can be (1) a bloc vote, where each voter gets as many votes as seats to be hand, (2) a limited vote, where there are fewer votes than seats to be filled, or (3) a cumulative vote, where voters can cast more than 1 vote for a particular candidate.<sup>8</sup> Each of these three categories created by researchers could impact the way a plurality system functions even within its categorization.

### **Number of Parties**

Prior analysis on the dynamics and incentives of party systems has focused on only the nuances between two-party and multiparty systems. Two-party systems have been regarded by literature as more stable, while multiparty systems have less clearly focused responsibilities and no unifying order. This has been hypothesized by multiple authors to make policy formation more difficult in multiparty systems.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Myerson and Weber, “A Theory of Voting Equilibria.”

<sup>6</sup> Cantillon, “Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions.” 2.

<sup>7</sup> Dalton, “Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions.” 10.

<sup>8</sup> Cox, “Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems.”

<sup>9</sup> Lijphart, “Typologies of Democratic Systems.”

However, in order to fully understand what incentives exist within a certain electoral institution, it is necessary to not only look at if there are two or multiple parties but also the number and range of parties. Looking from this angle allows for a link to be created between parties and party systems and the issue dimensions within a system. Issue dimensions are salient differences within a system along which parties can differentiate themselves. According to a 2001 study, there are two types of issue dimensions, “partisan issues correspond to issues on which parties can take opposite stances... [while] only one stance can be taken on non partisan issues.”<sup>10</sup>

According to a study on the effect of number of parties on the homogeneity within a system, “more than any other single factor, the number of parties affects the nature of politics.”<sup>11</sup> There have been authors in the past who have claimed there to be an equivalent number of political parties as there are issue dimensions, but that assumption has recently fallen out of favor.<sup>12</sup> In any singular system, it is in fact quite common for there to be more issues to discuss than there are parties.<sup>13</sup> This means that parties can be expected to encompass a number of issue dimensions within their platforms. Additionally, an issue can exist yet voters do not care about it, and parties can give more weight to some issues than others. In other words, an issue can technically exist on a party platform without being given any priority, or a party can choose to not take a stance on an issue altogether.<sup>14</sup> Thus, this framework expects it to be impossible for any one party to completely align with all its supporters on every possible issue. Instead party-defined dimensionality (the number of salient conflicts that are independent once we consider party positions on those conflicts) is linked to the number of parties.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Cantillon, “Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions.” 2.

<sup>11</sup> TAAGEPERA, “The Number of Parties As a Function of Heterogeneity and Electoral System.” 531.

<sup>12</sup> Stoll, “Dimensionality and the Number of Parties in Legislative Elections.”

<sup>13</sup> Dalton, “Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions.”

<sup>14</sup> Cantillon, “Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions.”

<sup>15</sup> Stoll, “Dimensionality and the Number of Parties in Legislative Elections.”

Stoll, a specialist in comparative politics, political parties and elections, political institutions, political representation, categorizes party-defined dimensionality in four themes: raw issue, raw ideological, effective issue, effective ideological. As such, “party system fragmentation will go hand-in-hand with a rise in the number of conflicts on the political agenda only when the electoral system is permissive.”<sup>16</sup> Under Stoll’s mode of analysis, it becomes possible to assume the number of parties in a system by understanding the number of salient issue dimensions. In addition, it is not necessarily the case that new parties are entering the system. Instead, it is that larger parties fragment in order to better align with more specific groups of potential voters. By increasing the number of parties, “more choices should mean that voters have more opportunity to find a party that is closer to their preferred mix of issue positions.”<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, Estonian political scientist and former politician Taagerpera noted that “on one hand, the number of parties depends on sociopolitical heterogeneity, that is, the number of social cleavages that are politicized. on the other hand it also depends on the electoral system permissiveness toward small-party representation”<sup>18</sup> Taagepera sees electoral systems as an adaptable triangle, with the three sides constituting electoral system permissiveness (effective magnitude), sociopolitical heterogeneity (number of issue dimensions), and number of parties (effective number of assembly parties).<sup>19</sup> Anything that causes a change in any corner of the triangle, no matter if the effect is long or short term, will cause a change in the other corners of the triangle. The number of parties can be calculated either as a function of sociopolitical

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid. 406.

<sup>17</sup> Dalton, “Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions.” 6.

<sup>18</sup> TAAGEPERA, “The Number of Parties As a Function of Heterogeneity and Electoral System.” 531

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

heterogeneity or permissiveness, but not both. In this mode of analysis, the number of parties is not a function of voter preferences but rather the structure of the system only.

### **Number of Effective Parties**

Regardless of mode of analysis, not every party within a system would have the same effect should they make a change. There can exist a difference between the number of parties competing in the legislature and the number of parties winning seats in the legislature.<sup>20</sup> The effective number of parties tends to be smaller in parliamentary systems, and greater in comparison in popular-vote style systems. In any case, the greater the discrepancy between the number of parties and the actual number of effective parties is indicative of political instability.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, Cantillon notes two types of parties with regards to issue dimensions: generalist parties which give more or less equal weight to most issues voters care about, and single-issue parties which devote most of their energy to pursuing specific issues, typically newer issues.<sup>22</sup>

Taagepera's triangle analysis claims that shifts in the number of issue dimensions and the magnitude of system permissiveness can be used to calculate not only the total number of political parties, but specifically the number of effective parties.<sup>23</sup> Two systems can have a similar number of effective parties even with a great difference in the number of issue dimensions or magnitude. For example, when combining issue dimensions with effective magnitude, Germany and Japan calculated to display similar values of effective number of assembly parties despite great differences in systems. Japan calculates to an effective number of 3.1 with a high number of issue dimensions and low magnitude. On the other hand, Germany

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<sup>20</sup> Stoll, "Dimensionality and the Number of Parties in Legislative Elections."

<sup>21</sup> Laakso and Taagepera, "'Effective' Number of Parties."

<sup>22</sup> Cantillon, "Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions."

<sup>23</sup> TAAGEPERA, "The Number of Parties As a Function of Heterogeneity and Electoral System."

calculates to an effective number of 3.0 with less issue dimensions but a greater amount of magnitude.

### **Electoral Equilibrium**

Another factor at play in electoral institutions is the push towards electoral equilibrium. Equilibrium has been defined in two ways: when telling voters the predicted electoral outcomes causes them to act in line with these predictions<sup>24</sup>, or when everyone in the system is arranged in such a fashion such that changing positions provides no advantage.<sup>25</sup> The former definition, coined by American economist Myerson, notes that whatever polls or the media predict to happen is most likely what will happen, and campaigners are forced to try as hard as they can to just get attention. In this setting plurality rule has a multitude of equilibria points, thus any policy outcome can theoretically occur.

In contrast to Myerson the later definition, coined by American political scientist Cox, notes that there are 2 types of systems, those with centripetal and centrifugal incentives. The findings of this study are purely institutional, not societal. Cox claims there are four factors that affect voter equilibrium: (1) electoral formula, or the method by which vote totals are translated to claims on available seats, (2) ballot structure, or the number of votes a voter gets, if they are allowed to abstain, and if votes are cumulative, (3) district magnitude, or the number of seats to be filled, and (4) the number of competitors, the more there are the more centrifugal tendencies will arise.<sup>26</sup> These four categories connect well with the previous studies on plurality vs. proportional representation in systems, as well as specifications on the number of parties within a given system. In plurality systems, equilibria is based on the number of candidates that are available. If the number is small enough relative to the number of votes per voter, there are

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<sup>24</sup> Myerson and Weber, "A Theory of Voting Equilibria."

<sup>25</sup> Cox, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems."

<sup>26</sup> Cox, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems."

centripetal forces. If the number is larger, there are centrifugal forces. Cumulation always leads to centrifugal forces. However, the forces at play are quite different in proportional systems. Here, equilibrium is reached when each party has a well-defined ideological approach, and parties are dispersed fairly widely across the ideological spectrum.

### **Emergence and Development Of Issue Dimensions**

Taking into consideration single vs. multi-party systems, proportional vs. plurality, electoral incentives and electoral equilibrium leaves to question how each of these factors interact to change or shape the incentives within a specific electoral system. Regardless of institutions, prior literature has claimed that “democratic representation is not closely bound to specific institutional arrangements or types of political parties”.<sup>27</sup> This multitude of factors affects the incentives with which parties will approach various issue dimensions within a system. Dalton claims that parties are less representative of their supporters on the newer cultural issues of immigration and authority, as well as gender issues.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, Stoll claims that the introduction of new issue dimensions is entirely system-dependent. While permissive electoral systems incentivise new and existing but marginal parties which bring new conflicts to the political arena, restrictive systems leave existing winning parties “in the driver’s seat” when it comes to what issue dimensions are discussed.<sup>29</sup> Cantillon agrees, noting that parties attempting to enter forces existing parties to be readily responsive to voter preferences on new issue dimensions.<sup>30</sup> Regardless, the interactions between electoral rules, number of parties and emphasis on elective parties, and the state of electoral equilibrium affect the ways in which a

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<sup>27</sup> Dalton, “Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions.” 11.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>29</sup> Stoll, “Dimensionality and the Number of Parties in Legislative Elections.” 421.

<sup>30</sup> Cantillon, “Electoral Rules and the Emergence of New Issue Dimensions.” 19.

political system interacts with new or existing issue dimensions and translating citizen desires to party platforms to policy.

## Environmental Policy

The focus of this paper, environmental policy, is a complex and nuanced topic with many influencing factors. At its basics, Cotgrove Duff's 1981 piece on "Environmentalism, Values, and Social Change" defines environmentalists as those who "attach particular importance to the need for fundamental changes in values if mankind is to survive and...have been at the forefront in political protest and direct action."<sup>31</sup> In essence, environmentalism is the practice or belief that greater attention needs to be paid to the current global community with regards to how certain practices affect the environment on a greater scale. These impacts, in recent decades, have been viewed as more permanent and radical change has been viewed as necessary to work against any further permanent damage to the global environment. Environmental goals can be both material and nonmaterial in nature<sup>32</sup>, and values are defined not by what is present but rather by what environmentalists wish to see, in terms of conditions of social existence.

### Who Are Environmentalists?

First, it is important to note the type of people who tend to be environmentally aware and active. Cotgrove Duff breaks environmentalists down into two categories: basic environmentalists who focus on protecting wildlife, preserving the countryside, and giving a higher priority to the protection of the environment, and 'utopian' environmentalists who believe that fundamental change is necessary to survive resource depletion. Cotgrove Duff found no significant impact on the chance of any one person becoming an environmentalist with regards to education level or economic status. With regards to occupations, though there does appear to be a

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<sup>31</sup> Cotgrove and Duff, "Environmentalism, Values, and Social Change." 92.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 96.

correlation between being an environmentalist and trying to choose occupations that align with the public post-material values and social ideals of the practice, “congruence between occupation and values is only possible for those for whom a choice of occupation is a reality... [as such] environmentalists have achieved an above average level of education.”<sup>33</sup> Thus, claiming that environmentalists exist because they are affluent enough to focus on other things ignores the fact that it may rather be tied to things such as personal ideals, however it is also necessary to consider the necessary security in socioeconomic status necessary to devote oneself to environmentalism.

### **The Relationship to an Industrial Capitalist World**

A tension is therefore drawn between environmentalism and the industrial capitalist nature of the current global economy. Policymakers face mutually conflicting demands from profit-speaking corporations/industrial groups and organizations interested in environmental preservation. However, according to Scruggs’ 2001 piece on a potential link between neo-corporatism and environmentalism, there are reasons to believe that neo-corporatist practices may be able to form a link between capitalist practices and environmentalist values.<sup>34</sup> Neo-corporatism is a form of corporatism which includes economic tripartism, consisting of strong labor unions, employers’ associations, and government cooperation in the form of a social partner. This structure may force groups to be more willing to “consider the negative environmental externalities of their decisions, since those externalities fall on their own constituents.”<sup>35</sup> In addition, these groups have greater incentives to monitor compliance with environmental law, in addition to finding solutions to industry pollution problems. Finally, though these solutions that are found by corporatist groups may provide less than ideal solutions,

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<sup>33</sup> Cotgrove and Duff, “Environmentalism, Values, and Social Change.” 102.

<sup>34</sup> Scruggs, “Is There Really a Link Between Neo-Corporatism and Environmental Performance?”

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 687.

the alternative of a competitive pluralistic system of interest intermediation can lead to severe coordination and enforcement problems. In summation, “corporatist institutions are closely associated with the effectiveness of national environmental performance...such arrangements encourage public policy with a greater eye to aggregate interests.”<sup>36</sup>

### **Environmentalism and Politics**

As environmental actions and movements are able to have such a profound impact on the economic sphere and the political rhetoric of a country, there has naturally been interest in creating or advancing environmental policies. There has been, in the last few decades, an increase in literature studying how governance affects environmental outcomes, focusing on the roles of constitutions, legal systems, degree of democratization and other institutional features of countries’ mode of governance.<sup>37</sup> While “support for post-material goals does not imply opposition to material goals,”<sup>38</sup> literature has noted a correlation between those who regard themselves as politically ‘left’ with post-material values, and those who regard themselves as politically ‘right’ with materialist values. Environmentalism appears to be a right-left issue which generally befalls more liberal peoples.<sup>39</sup> Politically, environmentalists have shown a preference for both participation in and suspicion of the market, while holding middle positions on individualism vs. collectivism. However, there has been a strong demonstration of the rejection of unlimited economic growth.<sup>40</sup>

Specific groups of people may be predisposed to supporting certain political groups based on how their identity values certain societal rules and regulations. On the one hand, industrialists show a preference for a society which rewards risks and achievements, and where market forces

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<sup>36</sup> Scruggs, “Is There Really a Link Between Neo-Corporatism and Environmental Performance?” 690.

<sup>37</sup> Halkos, Sundström, and Tzeremes, “Regional Environmental Performance and Governance Quality.” 621.

<sup>38</sup> Cotgrove and Duff, “Environmentalism, Values, and Social Change.” 97.

<sup>39</sup> Cotgrove and Duff, “Environmentalism, Values, and Social Change.” 99.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

predominate, with a premium on economic individualism. Trade unionists, a social group which consists of specialized workers looking to improve the conditions of their work, value a society which emphasizes participation, the moderation of market mechanisms in the public interest, and collective instead of individualistic approaches to problems. Thus the divide on environmental practices, according to prior literature, is at least in part motivated by different values with regards to economic practices. Though these practices may not always be directly with regards to environmental issues, for example a company may not always decide on whether or not to dump toxic materials into water sources, personal values with certain market practices will naturally tend to enforce consistent anti-environmental policies.

### **Environmentalism and Democracy**

Regardless of specific political party inclination, prior literature on environmentalism focuses on attempting to establish a link between democracy and better environmental performance. A 2019 piece on the relationship between extreme weather and national environmental performance by Eisenstadt et al. notes that democracy, with relation to environmentalist values, places a greater emphasis on the free flow of ideas; the ability of voters to hold leaders accountable for problems affecting health and well-being; and regimes' need to deliver public goods to constituents.<sup>41</sup> Pellegrini Gerlagh notes in a 2006 work on "Corruption, Democracy, and Environmental Policy" that democracy is a significant positive determinant of whether governments choose to place any sort of importance on environmental protections.<sup>42</sup>

However, Eisenstadt emphasizes that with regards to environmental policies, more important than specific regime type is the general energy with which a government responds to the wishes of its citizens.<sup>43</sup> Eisenstadt's work found no statistically significant association with

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<sup>41</sup> Eisenstadt, Fiorino, and Stevens, "National Environmental Policies as Shelter from the Storm." 96.

<sup>42</sup> Pellegrini and Gerlagh, "Corruption, Democracy, and Environmental Policy." 333.

<sup>43</sup> Eisenstadt, Fiorino, and Stevens, "National Environmental Policies as Shelter from the Storm." 97.

environmental performance for democracy. Cotgrove Duff agrees that “the alignment of post-materialists with the left is not because the left would necessarily share their rejection of economics but because they have nowhere else to go.”<sup>44</sup> With regards to the research to be conducted in this body of work, though there appears to be a lot of literature that looks to if democracy vs. non-democracy has an effect on environmental policy, there is not necessarily a look at the nuanced differences between democratic regimes and their specific institutions.

Following these works, it becomes clear that specific institutions within democratic regimes may have an effect on environmental policy. In this theory, needs underlie choices, and choices are the expression of values. As noted in Cotgrove Duff’s analysis on environmentalists aligning with left-leaning parties merely out of a lack of alternative options and not because of a truly liberal nature that befalls environmentalism, the choices that either individuals or larger corporations make are limited to the options available.<sup>45</sup> The values that wish to be expressed may not perfectly align with any available choice, thus forcing social actors to consider other values. Thus it becomes important to look at already existing policy avenues and the processes through which policy changes are made in order to explore any potential nuances that have a positive effect on environmental actions.

### **Additional Policy Factors**

The aforementioned piece by Scruggs notes six main factors that affect environmental policy within any state: population density, per capita income, economic growth, strength of environmental movements, economic structural change, and cultural factors. In addition to these factors, environmental issues must fight with all other issue dimensions for valence within a system. According to Scruggs, the period of time since the end of the Cold War has, within

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<sup>44</sup> Cotgrove and Duff, “Environmentalism, Values, and Social Change.” 105.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

Europe specifically, lowered “the political salience of environmental issues.”<sup>46</sup> However, “the influence of the European Union on national environmental policy is argued by many to have created upward policy convergence among its member countries.”<sup>47</sup> Thus, international affairs and organizations can either incentivise or disincentivize a focus on environmentalist practices.

A 2015 analysis conducted by Halkos et al. on the link between state environmental performance and government quality found corruption to have a significant impact on environmental policy. In general, bad governance and the presence of any corrupt government institutions “are described...to have a negative influence on the environment.”<sup>48</sup> While specific environmental problems such as carbon dioxide emissions may vary even across regions within nations,<sup>49</sup> the effect of corruption on such policy is consistent. Corruption first affects “the substantial stringency of environmental policy, as bribery and lobbying directed toward decision makers shape the formulation of environmental regulations in corrupt societies.”<sup>50</sup> Those in seats of power may yield to the wishes of corporate groups or individuals which have substantial power in the form of influence or money and who benefit greatly from the abuse of the environment in one way or another. This may be true of the dumping of waste, deforestation, or any other practices which if done in a non-environmentally conscious manner may be more cost-effective. Secondly, according to Halkos, corruption “hampers law enforcement and compliance - allowing emitters to evade responsibility or violators to avoid sanctions through bribery to public officials - and thus tends to encourage pollution or overexploitation.”<sup>51</sup> While politicians and other governmental bodies may be able to overcome the efforts of lobbyists or bribes and push through positive environmental policies, the actual policing of compliance with

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<sup>46</sup> Scruggs, “Is There Really a Link Between Neo-Corporatism and Environmental Performance?” 688.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Halkos, Sundström, and Tzeremes, “Regional Environmental Performance and Governance Quality.”

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 621.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 640.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 624.

these policies is able to be affected by the very same mechanisms. As such, the greater the amount of corruption within a society, specifically one with actors that benefit from environmentally dangerous practices, the greater the negative impact on environmental performance as a whole.

However, Halkos admits that beyond politics, government structures, and institutional corruption, there are “other maybe “more influential” factors in regions and societies which after a certain point play a greater role than the overall regional institutional arrangements.”<sup>52</sup> In fact, Halkos found that though corruption had a significant negative impact on the level of care given to environmental policy, the reverse of high governance quality is itself not a guarantor of increased environmental efficiency.<sup>53</sup>

One of these external factors, which is not completely unrelated to the political sphere but less easily controlled by man, is weather. Eisenstadt found that extreme weather events that lead to high economic losses are associated with lower levels of environmental performance, specifically low levels of ecosystem protection.<sup>54</sup> While one may expect that ecosystem protection would be increased to offset the environmental damage done by the catastrophe, Eisenstadt instead found that economic resources were instead directed away from the environment, perhaps to pad any negative effect on industry. With regards to catastrophes that result in the loss of life, “while vulnerability to human loss spurs nations to increase overall environmental performance, economic vulnerability caused by extreme weather events dramatically decreases a country’s capacity to protect the environment.”<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Halkos, Sundström, and Tzeremes, “Regional Environmental Performance and Governance Quality.” 639.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 640

<sup>54</sup> Eisenstadt, Fiorino, and Stevens, “National Environmental Policies as Shelter from the Storm.” 101.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

## **Discussion**

Taken together, prior research on issue dimensions and environmental policy provides a foundational understanding of the institutions and factors at play within the political sphere. The nuances of incentives that exist within plurality and proportional representational systems provides a context within which individual parties are attempting to maintain seats while simultaneously presenting new policy for implementation. The number of parties already existing within a system, combined with the state of electoral equilibrium, determines the system's permissiveness to the entrance of new issue dimensions and/or new parties. System permissiveness can either block environmental policy attempts, or the entrance of new parties with a focus on the environment, or it can openly welcome the change and force all other parties to actively adopt environmental ideas. Additionally, while a party may be able to enter in to an electoral system, there is no guarantee that said party would be able to have an 'effective' impact.

Within the realm of environmental policy, an important topic to continually note is the impact of a continually growing industrial world. States would, ideally, need to balance an appropriate level of permissiveness to potentially environmentally-harming corporations for economic gain with adequate protections of natural resources. However, in times of economic hardship or economic flourishing, the balance between the two may continually shift to prioritize one over the other. Finally, the presence of natural disasters can influence policy practices to compensate for damage done as well as mitigate or prevent future harm. While a natural disaster may be country-specific, globalization and the interconnectedness that international organizations provide can allow for systematic change even within separate countries.

## Chapter 3

### Case Study Selection and Methods

#### Case Study Selection

The setup of this project was to select two countries with a general history of positive environmental progress, alongside similar electoral systems, and analyze changes over time with regards to environmental policy. The two countries selected were Germany and Japan, which are commonly known as “most similar” cases<sup>56</sup>. Both have been traditionally successful in passing legislation with regards to bettering their environmental footprint. Furthermore, both Germany and Japan are “successful parliamentary democracies with weak democratic histories”. Both countries had influential conservative parties following postwar reconstruction, can be classified as coordinated market economies, and have maintained a “male breadwinner model of the welfare state”<sup>57</sup> in the postwar period. The similarity in their sociopolitical factors allows for a more controlled comparison of specific electoral institutions and system nuances. Finally, both countries have institutionalized significant connections between the private and public sectors. Germany is *corporatist* (trade unions and other civil society groups have access to policymakers), while in Japan corporations have significant connections with policymakers<sup>58</sup>. Although these forms of corporatism are not identical, the comparison between the two will be useful to note if the nuances between the structures have an effect or if the corporatist structure in general correlates with policy outcomes in any way. With regards to electoral systems, both Germany and Japan have very similar systems, and almost identical electoral rules and processes.

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<sup>56</sup> Gaunder, Alisa, and Sarah Wiliarty. "Conservative Women in Germany and Japan: Chancellors versus Madonnas." *Politics & Gender* 16, no. 1 (2020): 99-122.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Siaroff, Alan. "Comparative presidencies: The inadequacy of the presidential, semi presidential and parliamentary distinction." *European journal of political research* 42, no. 3 (2003): 287-312.

My analysis of these countries will serve to examine why Japan and Germany, two countries with different political systems that are otherwise very similar institutionally, have found success in the passing of policy to influence global environmental progress, with regards to population size and key natural biomes, have been otherwise unsatisfactory in their addressing of environmental issues. The purpose of focusing on a few countries in this context is to then find hopefully generalizable knowledge to be applied to other relevant cases. This thesis hopes to employ the use of cross-case analysis to uncover the influential factors or explanations; it will not only look at if something is happening, rather, it will attempt to uncover the why and how the phenomenon occurs.<sup>5960</sup>

### Germany's Electoral Structure

Germany is classified as a mixed member proportional system. In order to implement this mixed system, the German ballot is split into two. Citizens cast two votes: one for a political

Party Name	Political Position	Abbreviation
Social Democratic Party of Germany	Centre-Left	SDP
Christian Democratic Union of Germany	Centre-Right	CDU
Christian Social Union in Bavaria	Centre-Right	CSU
Alliance 90 / The Greens	Ecological Left	GRÜNE
Free Democratic Party	Centre/Centre-Right	FDP
Alternative for Germany	Far Right	AfD
The Left	Left Wing	LINKE

party, and one for an individual candidate. The vote for a constituency candidate as representative of the geographical area in which a voter lives is decided by the first-past-the-post simple majority system. The candidate with the most votes wins. When voting

for a political party, once seats are allotted based on the proportion of votes received, party leaders select the candidates to be sent to the Bundestag. A hurdle of 5% of the vote exists for

<sup>59</sup> Gaunder, Alisa, and Sarah Wiliarty. "Conservative Women in Germany and Japan: Chancellors versus Madonnas." *Politics & Gender* 16, no. 1 (2020): 99-122.

<sup>60</sup>Ragin, Charles C. "Introduction: Cases of "What is a case?." *What is a case* (1992): 1-17.

any party to be awarded parliamentary seats. However, any party winning at least 3 first-vote constituency seats (votes for candidates) could overcome this 5% rule and be allotted second-vote seats (votes for political party) proportionally distributed.<sup>61</sup>

The second vote for political parties is the vote which traditionally determines the Federal Chancellor, as the Chancellor is generally the leader of the party with the largest number of Bundestag seats. When determining candidates to be given second-vote versus first-vote seats, first-vote seats won are prioritized. Parties rank their candidates in order of preference. The number of seats a party is allowed is determined by the second vote. Then, any candidate winning a first-vote seat will be subtracted from the party's ranked list, and the rest of seats will be allocated in order to the corresponding number of remaining ranked candidates. Voters will only be aware of the first 5 names on a party's candidate list, and get no say in the order of which names are to appear.<sup>62</sup>

With respect to the number of parties, Germany is a multi-party system. Since the 1980s seven parties have won multiple seats in the Bundestag. The 1980 election, the first covered by this thesis, saw only three parties gaining seats. This number increased to four in 1983, five in 1990, and six in 2017. However, the distribution of seats was never equal between the parties. Traditionally, one or two parties would hold a large number of seats, while the rest were generally evenly distributed amongst the remaining parties. The largest party held between 206 and 319 seats during the 1980-2020 time frame, while the smallest number of seats won by a

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<sup>61</sup> James, Peter. *The German Electoral System*. N.p.: Taylor & Francis, 2017. 23-25.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 25-27.

party was two. Germany can thus be classified as a multi-party system where parties do not all have equal political capital.

Important to note within the context of this paper is the existence of the Green Party in the German electoral system. The 1983 introduction of a party dedicated to environmentalism into the Bundestag marked a significant shift in national attention towards environmental policy. The Green Party uniquely emerged out of activist social movements of the 1970s including focuses on women, peace, anti-nuclear, and civil

Bundestag Term	Party of Chancellor	Major Seat Distributions	Coalitions
1980 - 1983	SPD	CDU/CDU - 226 SPD - 218 FDP - 53	SPD - FDP
1983 - 1987	CDU	CDU/CSU - 224 SDP - 193 FDP - 34 The Greens - 27	CDU/CSU - FDP
1987 - 1990	CDU	CDU/CSU - 223 SDP - 186 FDP - 46 The Greens - 42	CDU/CSU - FDP
1990 - 1994	CDU	CDU/CSU - 319 SPD - 239 FDP - 79 PDS - 17 The Greens - 8	CDU/CSU - FDP
1994 - 1998	CDU	CDU/CSU - 294 SPD - 252 The Greens - 49 FDP - 47 PDS - 30	CDU/CSU - FDP
1998 - 2002	SPD	SPD - 298 CDU/CSU - 245 The Greens - 47 FDP - 47 PDS - 36	SPD - The Greens
2002 - 2005	SPD	SPD - 251 CDU/CSU - 248 The Greens - 55 FDP - 47 PDS - 2	SPD - The Greens
2005 - 2009	CDU	CDU/CSU - 226 SPD - 222 FDP - 61 LINKE - 54 The Greens - 51	CDU/CSU - SPD
2009 - 2013	CDU	CDU/CSU - 239 SPD - 146 FDP - 93 LINKE - 76 The Greens - 68	CDU/CSU - FDP
2013 - 2017	CDU	CDU/CSU - 311 SPD - 193 LINKE - 64 The Greens - 63	CDU/CSU - SPD
2017 - 2021	CDU	CDU/CSU - 246 SPD - 153 AfD - 94 FDP - 80 LINKE - 69 The Greens - 67	CDU/CSU - SPD
2021 - present	SPD	SPD - 206 CDU/CSU - 196 The Greens - 118 FDP - 92 AfD - 83 LINKE - 39	SPD - FDP - The Greens

rights sentiments.<sup>63</sup> It was a nationwide peace movement against the usage of new nuclear technology that allowed the Green Party to first gain seats in the Bundestag.<sup>64</sup> From 1998 to 2005 the Green Party was able to hold considerable force in the Bundestag by forming a coalition government with the SPD, and in the 2021 election they were able to acquire 15% of the total vote.<sup>65</sup>

### **Japan's Electoral Structure**

The Japanese electoral system is unsurprisingly very similar, given the nature of comparison to be made. The Japanese Diet members are also elected through a mixed member proportional system, with two votes dedicated to political parties and candidates respectively. The differences between the Japanese and German electoral institutions lay in their parties.

Though Japan is technically a multi-party system, the LDP has had such a dominant control over the Diet in terms of number of seats since 1955 the system acts more like a hegemonic system with various minority parties sharing the remaining seats amongst themselves.

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<sup>63</sup> Conradt, D. P. "Green Party of Germany." Encyclopedia Britannica, February 13, 2023. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Green-Party-of-Germany>.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

Though in the 1980s through the 2010s there would generally be two major parties, one with over 200 seats and one with over 100, while the rest had smaller numbers. However, starting in 2012 until the 2020s, the LDP would continually have over three times the amount of seats than the second-largest party.

Additionally, in contrast to the German system with relatively stable parties existing over

Year	Parties With Seats	Prime Minister
1980	Liberal Democratic Party - 284 Japan Socialist Party - 107 Japanese Communist Party - 29 Komeito - 33 Democratic Socialist Party - 32 New Liberal Club - 12 Socialist Democratic Federation - 3 Independents - 11	Masayoshi Ohira
1990	Liberal Democratic Party - 275 Japan Socialist Party - 136 Komeito - 45 Japanese Communist Party - 16 Democratic Socialist Party - 14 Socialist Democratic Federation - 4 Independents - 21	Toshiki Kaifu
2000	Liberal Democratic Party - 233 Democratic Party of Japan - 127 New Komeito Party - 31 Japanese Communist Party - 20 Liberal Party - 22 Social Democratic Party - 19 New Conservative Party - 7 Assembly of Independents - 5 Liberal League - 1	Yoshiro Mori
2003	Liberal Democratic Party - 237 Democratic Party of Japan - 177 New Komeito Party - 34 Japan Communist Party - 9 Social Democratic Party - 6 New Conservative Party - 4 Independents - 11 Liberal League - 1	Junichiro Koizumi
2005	Liberal Democratic Party - 296 Democratic Party of Japan - 113 New Komeito Party - 31 Independents - 18 Japanese Communist Party - 9 Social Democratic Party - 7 People's New Party - 4 New Party Nippon - 1	Junichiro Koizumi

periods of time, the Japanese system displays multiple parties entering, leaving, and changing from election to election. Over the 1980 through 2020 time period, Japan had over 11 different political parties hold seats in the Diet, with some changing their official name multiple times.

The dominant party in Japan's post-WWII political system has been the LDP. The LDP

was created when the Liberal and Democratic parties combined following losses of power in 1955.<sup>66</sup> The majority of LDP party members are former high-level bureaucrats and locally elected officials, and faction-building within the LDP membership allowed for a monopoly of

<sup>66</sup> Robert Pekkanen. *Critical Readings on the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan : Volume 1*. Critical Readings on the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan. Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2018. 13-15.

Japan's prime ministership, cabinet ministerships, and parliamentary vice ministerships. Though policy platforms are deemed important, it was this faction building alongside, post allocation, and the securing of political funds that allowed the LDP to maintain its control.<sup>67</sup> Over the years, the LDP has seen threats of splits due to severe factional

Year	Parties With Seats	Prime Minister
2009	Democratic Party of Japan - 308 Liberal Democratic Party - 119 New Komeito Party - 21 Japanese Communist Party - 9 Social Democratic Party - 7 Independents - 6 Your Party - 5 New Party Nippon - 1	Yukio Hatoyama
2012	Liberal Democratic Party - 294 Democratic Party of Japan - 57 Japan Restoration Party - 54 New Komeito Party - 31 Your Party - 18 Tomorrow Party of Japan - 9 Japanese Communist Party - 8 Independents - 5 Social Democratic Party - 2 People's New Party - 1	Shinzo Abe
2014	Liberal Democratic Party - 291 Democratic Party of Japan - 73 Japan Innovation Party - 41 Komeito - 35 Japanese Communist Party - 21 Independents - 8 Party for Future Generations - 2 Social Democratic Party - 2 People's Life Party - 2	Shinzo Abe
2017	Liberal Democratic Party - 284 Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan - 55 Kibo no To - 50 Komeito - 29 Independents - 22 Japanese Communist Party - 12 Nippon Ishin no Kai - 11 Social Democratic Party - 2	Shinzo Abe

disputes; however, outside pressures such as funding kept the party together.<sup>68</sup>

Japan does, similar to Germany, have an environmentally-focused party called the Greens. According to the party's website, they were established as an official party much later than the German party in 2012, but no candidate has ever succeeded in winning a seat in the Diet. The Japanese Green party wishes to emphasize "responsibility towards future generations and a society based on trust," and importantly, aims to put global interests above national ones.<sup>69</sup>

Prior to the formation of the Greens, several Japanese university professors conducted research in 2010 explaining the lack of a green party in Japan. This research claimed that the historical lack of a green party "cannot be clarified by such conventional explanations as its

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 40, 83.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 42.

<sup>69</sup> <http://greens.gr.jp/world/english/>

electoral institutions, party competition, and degree of post-materialism.”<sup>70</sup> Their reasoning for

Party Name	Abbreviation	Ideology	10+ Seats in National Diet?
Liberal Democratic Party	LDP	Japanese Nationalist	Yes
Democratic Party of Japan	DPJ	Liberalism	Yes
Japan Communist Party	JCP	Communism	Yes
Social Democratic Party	SDP	Social Democracy	Yes
New Clean Government Party	Komeito	Social Conservatism	Yes
Constitutional Democratic Party	CDP	Social Liberalism	Yes
Japan Restoration Party	Ishin	Economic Liberalism	Yes
Independent Party	-	N/A	Yes
People's New Party	-	Far Right	No
Your Party	-	Centre-Right	No
New Party Nippon	-	Centre	No
Liberal League	LL	Classical Liberalism	No
New Conservative Party	NCP	Right-Wing	No

the relative success of a green party in Germany was due to the alternative or techno social group with higher-education qualifications and left-libertarian values that actively support the Green

Party. Conversely, while there are social environments in Japan that could theoretically support a Japanese green party, the passivity and apolitical behavior of its target social group has led to failed attempts to gain enough support.<sup>71</sup>

### Expected Incentives Within Mixed-Member Proportional Systems

Prior literature, as outlined in this paper’s literature review, provides a basis for understanding the expected incentives that exist within a mixed-member proportional system. Firstly, the existence of multiple (more than 2) parties expects that agreement and therefore policy formation is more difficult than in systems with 2 parties. This system might most incentivise voting based on party and not pay as much attention to the individual, because

<sup>70</sup> Higuchi, Naoto, Midori Ito, Shunsuke Tanabe, and Mitsuru Matsutani. "Explaining Japan’s lack of green parties: A social-milieu approach." 73.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

constituents vote for one representative while many additional pertinent seats are allocated based on party.

With regards to system permissiveness of new and small parties, prior analysis would not expect neither Germany nor Japan to be permissive to small parties. Taagepera's research found both systems to have an 'effective party' number of 3, meaning that beyond the three parties with the most seats it can be difficult to have any major influence. As such, new parties that begin with smaller support systems and seat counts would theoretically need to work first to increase seat count prior to attempting to have effective impacts.

Finally, a larger number of candidates per voter in both mixed-member proportional systems means that electoral equilibrium lies not only centrifugal, but also specifically when parties have a well-defined ideological approach that is dispersed widely across the ideological spectrum. Paradoxically to the effective party analysis, this means that new entering parties would theoretically force existing parties to consider new issue dimensions and be readily responsive to voter preferences.

## Methods

I will draw my evidence from articles and scholarly sources, party programs, national archive websites, and digitized parliamentary documentation. Existing databases in political science include many of these documents; for example the Deutscher Bundestag which contains records of party minutes, inquiries, and meeting notes. I will use prior research on party dynamics and institutions to analyze and apply any findings I come upon. I will not be using news media analysis so as not to introduce any potential bias for a party or any misleading information about what a party exactly defines their platform to be. In addition, previous studies

on the presence or absence of environmental policies in both countries will be critical to the application of my theoretical foundations of policy steps to real-life examples.

In addition, the wide availability of official documents will allow me to use primary sources such as party platforms to analyze attention paid to environmental policy. Specifically, the Comparative Manifesto Project holds party programs going back to 1940, which I can filter and examine. I will look at every decade starting in the 1980s until 2020, to give myself multiple data points to examine when, if ever, environmental policy made it onto a platform. Relative changes in party power, defined as the number of governmental seats won, were then analyzed in correlation with the presence or absence of environmental discussion within a platform. Data points were not available for 1990 Japan and 2010 Germany. However, the main purpose of analyzing the party manifestos in addition to the change in electoral seats was to note a difference over time.

The process of analyzing the manifesto documents began with categorizing the party for which the manifesto is for and the decade which it is from. Then, online translation apps such as Google Translate were used to translate a table of contents or similar document outline if one was available. While such a translation method may not always yield entirely accurate results, the purpose was to see if a section on environmentalism existed. It would then be noted if such a section was a primary topic, or embedded within another area. If a table of contents did not exist, section headers or other markers would be translated in the search of language regarding environmentalism. Such language would include topics such as energy, recycling, planting of greenery, and international efforts to reduce carbon emissions, among others.

## Chapter 4

# Evolution of the Environmental Issue Dimension in Party Manifestos

### Introduction

Party manifestos are a way in which to see into what themes and topics are of the utmost importance within a specific election cycle. If many parties dedicate significant manifesto space to stating their platform on a specific issue dimension, this signals that said party deems this issue dimension to be crucial either to their identity as a party or to their accumulation of votes (or both).

The sections that follow address, in chronological order, German and Japanese political parties' evolving attention and commitments to environmental protections. Whether these parties include this attention in their party programs, and whether they specify policy commitments, suggests *issue dimensions* that can advance this issue on the agenda. The sections on Germany and Japan will begin with a decade-by-decade qualitative analysis of the information present within the party manifestos, followed by a greater discussion of the patterns seen within each country. This chapter will conclude with a comparison of the information seen in both cases.

### Germany

#### 1980s

Data on German political parties in the 1980s consists of party manifestos for three national party groups: the Free Democratic Party, the coalition between the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union, and the Social Democratic Party. Reflective of the beginning of the German interest in positive environmentalism is the birth of the Green party, though this party was not to enter into the Bundestag until 1983. Until 1990, sovereignty was still separated

into East and West Germany. Thus, any discussion of environmentalism for this 1980 decade will be of the parties existing in Western Germany.

The three manifestos from this year show a great number of agenda items regarding securing an energy supply, yet there is no direct connection drawn to this energy supply being sustainable in any way. For the Free Democratic party, their 1980 manifesto dictates the importance of connecting a social market economy with progressive environmental policies in order to express free social policy. For the FDP, passing environmental protection policies is, in essence, passing economic policies with social obligations. This manifesto claims that “the awareness of the close connection between economic development, energy supply and environmental protection has grown positively in our population,” and that the FDP was the first party to adopt a coherent environmental program back in 1971 (FDP Manifesto, 1980). Thus, at the turn of the decade the FDP sees environmentalism as a positive economic idea which can lead to job growth and progression in the scientific community, as well as a civic duty for all its citizenry. It is clear that environmentalism is an issue dimension along which the FDP wishes to distinguish itself, and their position is in favor of environmental policy that aligns with progressive economics.

In contrast, the 1980 Christian Democratic/Social Union manifesto only mentions the environment in the very last section of its manifesto. The CDU/CSU, under its section titled “We make our contribution to the peace and freedom in the federal republic of Germany,” has a concluding section which discusses how they “protect the environment and keep it as a home worth living in.” (CDU/CSU Manifesto, 1980) While the CDU/CSU does include environmentalism on its agenda, it does so to a significantly lesser extent than the more centrist FDP. Additionally, the title of the section implies that rather than a civic duty or positive

economic program, the Union feels the importance of environmentalism is to preserve the natural world for continued human consumption. This contrasts the platform of the FDP, expanding the environmental issue dimension in this election cycle. The final manifesto of the decade, that of the Social Democratic party, has no section or mention of the importance of environmentalism.

Thus in the 1980s party manifestos indicate that environmentalism is an issue dimension strongly tied to political ideology, in that the more centrist party has large sections delineating their emphasis on economics and progressive environmental protections, while the more center-right party notes its interest in preserving the environment for human consumption, and the center-left party has no mention of the topic at all. While the environment certainly does get a mention, it does not appear to be a major theme in the political realm of 1980 Germany.

### **1990s**

The 1990s served as a major turning point in German society; the Berlin wall had been brought down and economic repair was an important principle. The 1983 entrance of the Green party into the Bundestag came at a central turning point in the history of Germany, and a dedication to environmentalism in the midst of so much change stands out as perhaps paradoxical.

At the time of German reunification, the former East Germany's Socialist Unity Party (SED) became the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). The PDS hoped to enter into the Bundestag in the 1990 election (and did end up winning a few seats). Thus the PDS, with the Greens, comprise the left wing of the Bundestag, followed by those that pre-existed in the prior decade: Free Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, and Christian Democratic/Social Union.

The Table of Contents of The Greens' manifesto reveals the dedication to environmentalism within other topics of discussion. The very first section of the document, titled Ecology, contains nine sub-sections all discussing different facets of the Alliance's platform on ecological issues. The manifesto does, however, contain different sections such as Peace, Work and Social Affairs, Women's Politics, Democracy and Law, and Internationalism. Many of these sections do, however, contain sub-sections with an emphasis on environmentalism such as "democratic and ecologically oriented urban planning" and "for an ecological, solidarity-based work economy." (The Greens Manifesto, 1990) The Green Alliance, which by title alone is clearly dedicated to environmentalism, does also mention within its manifesto other topics; thus the question becomes: what separates it from the other parties besides just the basic principle of environmentalism as its formation? Additionally, it is important to note if the entrance of The Greens into the Bundestag has forced the other parties to include a more robust discussion of environmentalism within their manifestos.

The Party of Democratic Socialism includes various sections on environmentalism within its 1990 manifesto. Like the FDP in 1980, the PDS's first ecological section ties environmentalism to 'democratization of the economy'. In its section titled 'for a fundamental ecological change', the PDS notes a looming climate disaster which requires that decisive action in areas such as CO<sub>2</sub> emissions and CFC production is made immediately. The PDS also mentions topics such as reduction of noise emissions and restriction of packaging for conservation purposes. The PDS writes a list of demands which it hopes to institute into policy, and closes by noting a canceling of certain debts to allow companies to focus on an environmentally progressive restructuring of their business models. This debt cancellation not

only links environmentalism to the economy but incentivises big industrial business to buy into the idea as well.

The 1990 manifesto of the Free Democratic Party includes three sections on environmental protection: protection and law; protection, energy & traffic; and environmental protection in general. This method of delineating three focus areas of ecological policy draws attention to the permeation of the environmental conversation into multiple facets of political discussion. In the section on environmental protection and law, the FDP calls for criminal law to “contribute to the effective protection of the environmental assets of soil, water, air and nature.” (Federal Democratic Party Manifesto, 1990) In contrast to calls for positive environmental actions, this call for negative consequences for any who violate environmental protections lets the FDP stand out from the prior 2 parties along this issue dimension. The rest of the discussion of environmentalism is, in essence, in line with the 1980 FDP platform: environmentalism as a positive economic prospect and a civic duty.

Strongly contrasting the decade prior in which no mention of the environment existed, the 1990 Social Democratic party manifesto contains a section on the ‘ecological restructuring of industrial society’. Within this section exist three pillars: (1) ecological energy taxation, return of the eco taxes, energy concept for the new federal states, and the phasing out of nuclear energy (2) environmental taxes and (3) environmental law, agricultural policy, and new transport policy. The SPD calls for the economy and ecology to become more closely linked, taxes on excess energy consumption, and an exit from the use of nuclear energy. These three areas combine aspects of platforms existence within the 1980 election and currently in other parties in this 1990 election. The SPD is therefore not differentiating itself by stating new and innovative ideas on environmental policy, but rather taking and combining various elements from others.

Finally, the Christian Democratic/Social Union reflects the prior trend in increasing its call for a focus on the environment. In a unique framing, the CDU/CSU calls for a “liveable environment and healthy nutrition - for us and our children.” (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union Manifesto, 1990) The Union links environmental protection with the need to preserve God’s creation, finding a way to converge this issue dimension with their pre-existing party identity. The CDU/CSU also calls for consumer protection in the form of clean drinking water and inexpensive energy, alongside safe agricultural practices. However, one stance they take to differentiate themselves along this issue dimension is the idea that “Environmental protection is a task of preservation and design, but not a task of prevention. Environmental precautions take precedence over aftercare and repairs.” (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union Manifesto, 1990) The CDU/CSU has learned it may not be sufficient to just include discussion of environmental policy; the ideas stated must align with the party’s general ideology.

The emergence of the Green Alliance in 1983 forced the previously apathetic or modest right-wing parties to include discussions on environmental protection, including ways of marrying party identity and the ‘leftist’ concept of protecting the environment. The inclusion of two new left-wing parties also forces the previously most environmentally focused FDP to differentiate itself from all the rest with its call for a criminal response to environmental damage, something unique to this party manifesto.

## **2000s**

By the early 2000s, commitments to the environment extended across Germany's party system. However, many parties shift into framing these concerns differently. The Green Alliance advocates for moving away from not only oil and coal, but also nuclear power. Instead they wish

to implement sun and wind power movements. Additionally, their call for modernization requests consumer protections and merges with what has historically, across party manifestos of the previous two decades, been the separate section for agriculture. While their first section is still heavily focused on ecology, the Green Alliance has moved on to include seven other hefty sections without any mention of environmentalism.

In stark contrast to the previous decade, the SPD included no major section titles nor dedicated any bit of its preamble to environmentalism. In a similar move to the Greens, the Social Democratic party's manifesto contains a smaller section on "research, innovation, and sustainability." (Social Democratic Party Manifesto, 2002) This section combines topics such as sustainable energy and a healthy environment with the modernization of agriculture and strengthening market technologies. With the break into a new century, the SPD is once again changing tactics with regards to environmentalism. Whilst it previously had no mention of the topic in 1980, and combined ideas from other parties in 1990, the SPD is attempting to differentiate itself by modernizing the subject.

The FDP's preamble, which gives a summary of its platform on several issues, does contain a section entirely dedicated to environmentalism. The FDP claims that it, perhaps rather than the SPD, is the party of ecological modernization and that it wants "more efficiency and effectiveness through market-based instruments - environmental protection with the people and not against them." (Social Democratic Party Manifesto, 2002). Though the FDP claims to be the party of modernization, the idea of linking the environment to the economy, while perhaps done in new and innovative ways, is not a new stance to take. Finally, the CDU/CSU mentions securing environmentally-safe energy while maintaining its availability at affordable prices. This

again copies from manifestos in the previous decade, but drops the CDU/CSU's previous stance of tying environmentalism into the party's center-right ideology.

Across the party manifestos of the 2000s, parties have smaller sections on environmentalism if at all. The focus does continually seem to be on energy, yet instead of environmentalism being present within several categories it instead has been combined with areas such as agriculture and transportation into a sub-category within many of the manifestos. Even the Green Alliance only dedicates one of its eight major sections to ecological policy. Parties are focused on other issues, and while there are some new ways to expand the issue dimension, many party platforms are restatements of ideas from the previous decades.

## **2020s**

The 2021 election in Germany is the first since the AfD gained seats in the Bundestag in 2017. This extremist right-wing party, alongside the 16 year reign of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag, has changed the dynamics of the German party system. The Left, the PDS's new name from 2007 onward, reverts to containing conversations of environmentalism within multiple sections. These topics include climate justice instead of displacement, socio-ecological systematic change, energy transitions, the protection of biological diversity, and climate justice on a global scale spread throughout a 140+ page manifesto. Specifically, the Left seems to be emphasizing a link between climate change and social injustice, and the need to understand the ways in which to combat one in a way that is just to the other. This is a new approach to environmentalism not heavily seen in previous decades, and not only expands the environmental issue dimension but blends it with discussions of globalization and social justice.

The Green Alliance also transitions back into a greater conversation on environmentalism, with ecological policy coming up not only within an independent section but

also in others such as economics and international work and solidarity. The party still opens with its section on environmentalism, once again including within this discussion topics of mobility and agriculture. The Greens appear to have reverted back to an environmental focus, but do not lose their ability to discuss other topics such as the economy and the changing international field.

The Social Democratic Party does not dedicate an entire section to environmentalism but similarly consistently mentions it throughout other areas. Environmentalism first comes up in the SPD's discussion of the future of Germany, appearing as the first subsection calling for a climate-neutral state. In the following section calling for a society of respect, the SPD closes out with a request to respect nature. Finally, in its fourth section on a "sovereign Europe in the world," (Social Democratic Party Manifesto, 2021) socio-economic management appears as the second subsection. The SPD is, once again, tying environmentalism to concepts of social justice and the need for a global effort to combat climate change. They are also continually adding to the environmental conversation within other areas of focus, as did the Greens in their manifesto.

Within its closing topical area focused on the "greatest challenges of our time," the FDP's first bullet point calls for climate and environmental protections brought about through innovation. Though only one bullet-pointed subsection, the FDP does make environmentalism its first mention in what it believes to be the greatest challenge of the general timeframe. In the CDU/CSU's section on Germany's need to play a greater role in peace, freedom, and human rights movements globally, the party identifies as part of its platform a desire for promoting sustainable development. The final point of the section also calls for "international climate protection for the preservation of creation." (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union Manifesto, 1990) Despite these two mentions, the CDU/CSU also includes an entire section on sustainable growth and climate-neutral industrialism.

In 2013 a new party called the Alternative for Germany, or AfD, elected its party leadership and announced its presence to the public. As discussed in Chapter 3, the AfD is a right-wing populist party, known for its radical right ideology. Despite not winning seats in the Bundestag initially, the party gained some support in the 2014 European parliament election and grew to be the largest opposition party in the 2017 election cycle analyzed in this section. Within its many (17) distinct sections, the second to last focuses on a combination of “climate, energy, technology and digitization.” Platform ideas range from saying no to the Green New Deal, to digitizing public administration, to the importance of landscape to regional identities. Though named specifically in the title, the AfD seems to be making an effort to take a position on as many issue dimensions as possible. The combination of climate change with technology and digitalization denotes less of a distinct care for the topic than for other areas such as Islam and family policy.

### **Discussion**

From the 1980s to the 2020s, German political parties’ interest in environmental policy as an issue dimension waxes and wanes. Party manifestos range from full sections of discussion on environmental issues to no mention whatsoever, changing not only throughout time as a whole but also within parties from year to year.

While West and East Germany remained separate entities, both had joined the United Nations in 1973, allowing for greater exposure to global issues and ideas. The SPD was the party elected to power that year, holding a similar number of seats to the CDU/CSU coalition, and each respectively holding around 4 times the number of Bundestag seats than the FDP. Yet, the FDP is in this election arguably the party that devotes the most significant portion of its manifesto to the discussion of environmental policy. The FDP’s platform, in summation, is that

environmentalism is economic policy with a social obligation. In contrast, the CDU/CSU contains less discussion about the environment, and links any ecological policy to a need to preserve finite things specifically for human consumption. Finally, the incumbent party holding the position of Chancellor but with fewer seats won than the CDU/CSU, the SPD contains no mention of anything environmental within its manifesto.

In the time period between the 1980 and 1990 election, the Chancellorship switched over to the CDU, and The Greens gained Bundestag seats in 1983. The CDU/CSU remained the party with the most seats won. Immediately prior to the 1990 election, Germans from both the East and West tore down the dividing Berlin wall, and West and East Germany merged to form a Federal Republic. For this 1990 election, there is a new party: the PDS.<sup>7273</sup>

The Greens, coming off a successful growth from 27 to 42 seats in the previous two elections, dedicate a significant amount of their manifesto to discussions of environmentalism. Not only this, but the discussion of the importance of progressive ecological politics exists within other topic areas of its manifesto. The new PDS also chooses to include discussion of environmentalism in its manifesto, linking it to the German economy.

The FDP's stand on environmentalism does not shift much, and neither does its seat count. Despite the inclusion of three ecology focus regions, environmentalism is still an economic policy area linked to civic duty. The CDU/CSU, now in power, changed their platform from the 80s. Instead of preserving the environment for human consumption, environmentalism is framed as a moral claim within their 1990 manifesto. Additionally, the Union calls for preservation, but claims repair work to be futile. Finally, with arguably the biggest contrast to the

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<sup>72</sup> "30 German years: 1980 – 2010."

<sup>73</sup> BBC News, "Germany profile - Timeline."

prior decade, the SPD does include a section on environmentalism within its manifesto. It links ecology to the industrial society of the time.

This dramatic change from the previous decade can be the result of a number of causes. First, the SPD was the only party without a section on environmentalism. Though it was in power through the Chancellor in 1980, it lost this position in 1983 when The Greens first won their seat in the Bundestag. The Greens would have drawn attention to the lack of environmental discussion by the SPD. In addition, the SPD/FDP coalition which was in power in 1980 split because of differing ideas on economic policy (something the FDP explicitly links to environmentalism), causing an eventual vote of no confidence which lost the SPD the Chancellorship. This spotlight on the FDP and SPD's economic ideologies, alongside the entrance of a party with a platform specifically dedicated to environmental policy, could have forced the SPD to consider their stance on the matter, leading to them including an entire section on ecological policy specifically linked to industrial society in 1990.

In the time period between the 1990 and 2002 election the SPD formed a coalition with The Greens. In June of 2001, the German government decided to phase out nuclear energy over the next 20 years. Thus, the 2002 election featured a decline in the amount of manifesto space dedicated to issues of environmental policy.<sup>74</sup> The Greens, though still opening with their section on ecology, no longer contain points of environmentalism without its other topical areas. Their success prior to the 1990 election juxtaposes a drop from 42 seats to only 8. However, in the following two Bundestag elections (1994 and 1998), they returned immediately to high-40 seats. The PDS, in a stark backwards contrast, features no section or subsections on environmental policy. Their share of seats in the house had grown steadily over the last decade, from 17 to 36 in the election prior to 2002.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

The SPD, FDP, and CDU/CSU all contain at least some mention of environmental policy in their respective manifestos in 2002. However, the topical areas in which environmentalism is linked to changes from the previous decade. Instead of industrialism, the SPD links environmentalism with research and innovation, switching from economics to technology. The FDP continues its steady link to the economy, but instead of the previous 'economic policy and civic duty', notes its ideology as that of 'modernization and market based'. The CDU/CSU maintained their Chancellorsville through the prior election, but lost it in the 1998 election to the SPD, who also for the first time since 1980 upended the CDU/CSU's seat majority. The CDU/CSU's take on the environmental policy issue dimension is minor and linked to the economy: making energy sustainable and affordable.

The passing of progressive ecological legislation, spoken about in further detail in upcoming chapters, could have played a large role in the lessening of discussion surrounding environmental policy. Parties could no longer differentiate themselves by advocating heavily for policies included in the 2001 law. The change in platform, the lessening of focus on environmental issues and a broadening of discussions on other topics, could be in response to The Green's loss of seats in the 1990 election, and the practice continued after as it saw success. The CDU/CSU's decision to only speak about environmentalism with regards to keeping energy affordable could be following this trend in an attempt to win back the largest number of seats and the Chancellorship from the SPD. In addition, the issue of the Euro could have overshadowed any discussion of environmentalism, also leading to the issue dimension getting less space within the platforms.

In the 19 year period between 2002 and the 2021 election, Germany saw continual economic issues.<sup>7576</sup> The CDU/CSU retook its majority and the Chancellorship in the 2005 election following anti-government protests and the stepping down of SPD Chancellor Schroeder, and maintained it continually until 2021. The 2005 election saw the first female Chancellor and a massive coalition between the CDU/CSU and the SPD. However, 2008 saw the beginning of a German recession, ending in 2009 with a 0.3% growth but followed by an economic shrinking of 5% by 2010. Critically, 2010 saw a reversal of the 2001 decision to phase out nuclear energy and instead the introduction of a plan to expand the life of nuclear reactors. However, 2011 showed the inconsistency of the Merkel chancellorship with a declaration that following Fukushima (discussed in later chapters), all nuclear power plants were to be phased out by 2022. The far-right party the AfD entered the fold in the 2017 elections, gaining the third-most seats behind the CDU/CSU and SPD, above the FDP, LINKE, and The Greens. The CDU/CSU had attempted to form a coalition with the FDP and The Greens, but when this failed instead reformed its coalition with the SPD. The economy turned around, the COVID-19 pandemic began, and the AfD was placed under surveillance by the German Federal Office for the Protection of the Government.<sup>77</sup>

After rebranding from PDS to The Left, the 2021 manifesto for Die Linke includes not only extensive discussion of environmentalism throughout multiple sections but an accompanied emphasis on climate justice as well. The SPD echoes these sentiments, also returning to containing environmental discussions throughout the manifesto and with a new focus on social justice. With its new international focus, The Greens continue the trend of returning to 1990s-era levels of environmentalism ideologies. The CDU/CSU contained discussion of sustainable

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> "30 German years: 1980 – 2010."

<sup>77</sup> Deutsche Welle, "Germany places far-right AfD under surveillance — reports – DW – 03/03/2021."

development, switching to the tactic of linking environmentalism to industrialism that the SPD did in the 1990s. The FDP, interestingly, only had one subsection regarding environmental policy. However this mention was put in a priority section of the manifesto. Finally, the AfD's controversial manifesto discussed environmentalism and its link to the world of tech.

Going into this round of Bundestag elections, major parties like the CDU/CSU, SPD, and The Greens had generally seen consistent numbers of seats won throughout the prior 2 decades. The PDS, however, had a substantial change. After the 2002 election in which they had no mention of environmentalism, the PDS dropped to only winning 2 seats. After rebranding to Die Linke and, at some point, re-including discussion not only of climate change and environmentalism but specifically linking it to social justice, the Left rose back to an average of around 70 seats. The inconsistency in 2010 and 2011 with regards to the phasing out of nuclear energy likely put the discussion of environmental issues back on the map, and allowed parties to distinguish themselves along this issue dimension by stating not only a dedication to progressive environmentalism but also linking it to issues important to their constituency base such as social justice or the economy.

Taken together, from the 1980s through the 2020s German politics seems to have continually, to at least some extent, kept environmental policy on the radar. Though perhaps not the only change made that contributed to success, parties throughout the decades which did not include the issue dimension in their manifesto or did so to a considerably lesser extent than other parties would see a loss in seats won, followed by an increase in seats won once this was corrected. The FDP saw this change between the 80s and 90s, the CDU and SPD saw changes in the general themes with which they spoke about environmentalism between the 90s and 2000s, and the PDS saw a stark drop when it did not include environmentalism followed by a large

increase when it did. Thus, the arena surrounding environmentalism as an issue dimension within the Bundestag as a whole would, according to this data, seem to force parties back into discussing their position on how to better the environment in order to not fall behind in electoral seats.

## Japan

### 1980s

In 1980s Japan, much conversation was being had about energy. These conversations were trying to find alternative sources of energy because of a perceived lack of sustainability in depending on oil. The 1980s Japanese party manifestos are unique in that each party appears to cover the same or mostly the same top and state their platform on these topics in order. Therefore, there is no real room for an extra section on environmentalism; there must be a way of fitting the environmental conversation in the pre-existing categories. With areas such as education and inflation, the most accessible place for any organic environmental conversation to happen would be within this energy section.

In 1980, the Japanese Communist Party made no reference to environmentalism or ecology, and actually spoke about relying heavily on coal for energy as an alternative to oil. This dependence on coal could be because oil is either more expensive or becoming inaccessible, but likely not for any desire to protect the environment. Similarly, the Socialist Party mentions the usage of coal and a desire to depend on coal instead of oil, but contrastingly notes looking towards conserving energy and attempting to test out renewable sources of energy such as light, wind power, heat, and nuclear energy.

Moving in what feels like a linear direction, the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party of 1980 also made notes on conserving energy but set a hard limit on the maximum amount of coal

they would like to use, as well as a limit on the amount of reduction they wish to see in the upcoming years. The Democratic Socialist Party still maintained the desire to be reliant on coal, but do claim to be intent on conserving its usage and have a specific numerical goal of where they would like energy consumption to be in the upcoming years.

In contrast, the New Liberal Club party and their 1980 manifesto gives the sense of figuring out how to directly deal with the energy problem later. The New Liberal Club discusses a heavy reliance on nuclear energy, but notes a desire to decide on medium and long-term energy goals and plans by relying on the structures put in place by the prime minister. The New Liberal Club differentiates itself the least, or perhaps the strongest in the opposite direction of the spectrum, in terms of the environmentalism issue dimension by not giving any set plan or goal. Instead they choose to note that their stance on the issue will be in agreement with structures the prime minister has and will put in place.

The most overt desire to discuss environmentalism in the 1980s lies in the Clean Government party, which directly states a desire for “environmental conservation” in their manifesto. This party aims to not only conserve energy usage as a whole, but also desires to actively research energy types that will be better for the environment. The Clean Government party most clearly differentiates itself along the issue dimension of environmental policy in the 1980s. Although other parties may mention finding different sources of energy, this is the only party which mentions trying to find energy sources that are more sustainable and more environmentally friendly.

Finally the Liberal Democratic Party or LDP of 1980 falls very middle of the road and echoes the Japanese Democratic Socialist Party in their neutral response to the energy question. The LDP mentions conserving energy, lowering a dependence on oil, and an attempt to move

forward towards coal usage, but does not necessarily make any overt statements on finding environmentally progressive energy sources. The LDP takes the ‘middle ground’ along this issue dimension and discusses finding alternatives without overtly stating any specific reasons for doing so.

## **2000s**

In the time between 1980 and Japan’s 2003 election, the energy surrounding the environmental issue dimension shifted. The Communist Party does not explicitly mention any environmental goals. Rather, the care for environmentalism can be viewed subtly within other sections. For example, the manifesto’s mention of the party’s platform on agriculture and the “harmonious coexistence of humans and the environment.” (Communist Party Manifesto, 2003) In contrast to the year prior, the Communist party advocates for finding a safer alternative to nuclear energy. The rest of the section denotes ways to subsidize the agricultural industry, but does not in fact mention any desire to protect or improve the state of the environment.

In contrast, the 2003 Social Democratic party’s manifesto states its platform as a combination of 8 promises, the very first of which is “the Environment”. The party emphasizes that it advocates for “not only to restore the beauty of nature and clean up the living environment, but also to create a society in which humans and nature can coexist.” (Social Democratic Party Manifesto) In order to do so, they propose policies along the lines of: energy, chemical regulation, promotion of recycling, a strategic environmental assessment, wildlife protection laws, inclusion of the public in policy-making decisions, and a basic water law. While the theme of energy conservation and clean sources of energy has continued from the 80s, the 2000s has brought multiple additional levels of environmental protection among which parties may distinguish themselves. Additionally, the environmental policies proposed are the very first

direct promises made by the Social Democratic party in their manifesto, highlighting its relative importance to their party platform and identity.

Though not first on the list, the New Clean Government party also includes environmental awareness as one of their six priority items. Last on its list of priority items that the party defines in its platform, the New Clean Government party wishes to create a “zero-waste society” and emphasize urban development coexisting with nature. They wish to fill the city with greenery, and promote an increase in projects such as rooftop gardens to introduce more plants into the city. Though the party’s manifesto does not emphasize any desire to implement any protections of nature, such as taxes or laws that prohibit environmentally-unfriendly practices, they do wish to increase the amount of greenery within Japan. This includes the New Clean Government party in the environmental conversation, but differentiates them along this issue dimension from the prior party platforms.

Within the year 2003, there are two party manifestos which do not include any mention of the environment whatsoever. The first of these is the Liberal League, who have a single page manifesto denoting an emphasis on issues such as medical accessibility and taxes. The other of the two is the Liberal Democratic Party, or LDP. This party, which is the main party in power, does not include any mention of either the environment or any laws or practices that keep the environment in mind within its manifesto.

The Democratic Party of Japan has two mentions of environmental practices they wish to implement in their Manifesto. The first is contained within their section titled “Decentralization Revolution,” which notes a desire to pass on a region full of greenery to the next generation. This section highlights policy ideas such as the re-generation of forest area, a continued search for best energy practices, and the promotion of low pollution vehicles. The next section which

includes an environmental focus is the section on World Peace and the UN. Of the seven promises within this section, number six is the promise to enact basic laws for global environmental conservation and the development of environmental diplomacy. Not only does the Democratic Party of Japan note in its manifesto a desire for safe environmental practices within its borders, but differentiates itself along this issue dimension by emphasizing the global need for environmental progressiveness.

### **2010s**

In 2009, section 6 of Japan's Communist Party manifesto is dedicated to fulfilling an international responsibility by stopping global warming and protecting the global environment. Within this section, the Communist party outlines 3 ways in which it hopes to do so: (1) stopping to 'cheat' and setting a base year from 1990 to 2005 with the desire to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to 30% by 2020 (2) implement what it deems 'proven measures' against environmental destruction such as public reduction agreements for the biggest source of harmful emissions, industrial works and (3) significantly expanding the usage of renewable energy. In contrast to the 2000s, the Communist party not only mentions some direct environmental policies it would like to implement but dedicates a whole topical area within its manifesto to the discussion.

Within the manifesto overview of the Social Democratic party, environmentalism does have a space, but it remains a small subtopic of platform discussion. Section 4 of the manifesto calls for the realization of four constitutional ideals, the last of which is Article 25 the "right to life and right to the environment" (Communist Party Manifesto, 2009). Hidden subtly within the 'job reconstruction' section of the manifesto is a note to create new jobs and invest in life and "green." The SPD, in contrast to the prior Communist party, does not appear to take a strong stance on the environmental issue dimension; at least, it does not dedicate a significant portion of

its discussion of platform to the cause. Continuing with the downward trend, Your Party has no overt mention whatsoever of environmentalism or any subsection of the issue dimension within its party manifesto for this time frame.

The New Clean Government party, however, does address the topic of environmentalism within its section discussing international pacifism. The party's third priority with regards to international politics is, according to the manifesto, creating countermeasures against global warming. Ironically, within the expansion of certain ideas of this category such as clean politics, there is no further expansion on what specific countermeasures the party wishes to take against global warming within the manifesto outline.

The LDP, maintaining its status as party in charge, contains a section dedicated to global warming in its 2009 manifesto. Section 11 of the manifesto mentions policy ideas such as creating a low carbon-emission society, conservation of nature and biodiversity, and sustainable resource circulation. The LDP also states a desire for international climate change cooperation, setting a goal from global carb emission levels. Concluding the platform discussion is a note on recycling and a push for a reduction in food waste.

Outlined in the 2009 party manifesto for the Democratic Party of Japan is a paradoxical combination of what appears to be anti-environment policy platforms mixed with pro-climate protection ideas. Early in the manifesto is a call to “abolish the provisional tax rates of the gasoline tax, light oil delivery tax, automobile weight tax, and automobile acquisition tax, and implement tax reductions of 2.5 trillion yen.” (Democratic Party of Japan Manifesto, 2009) The abolishment of these taxes appears to prioritize lesser expenses on businesses and industrial areas of the economy while possibly increasing the amount of waste and carbon emissions being put into the environment. Furthering this idea, the party states a commitment to lowering business

taxes as a whole. However, within the same paragraph, the Democratic Party of Japan juxtaposes this platform with a commitment to “global warming countermeasures and nurtur[ing] new industries.” Later in the manifesto there are stated commitments to environmental practices such as subsidizing the cost of solar panels, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, the support of technological innovation and research with relation to bettering environmental practices, and global warming countermeasures hand-in-hand with the UN. In essence, the Democratic Party of Japan appears to attempt to reconcile a genuine desire for both support of industrial businesses and progression in environmental protection practices.

Finally, within the few pages of the People’s New Party 2009 manifesto, there are two mentions of a desire to positively impact the environment. First is a statement on how beautiful the land of Japan is, paired with a desire to “implement policies that will protect the environment.” (People’s New Party Manifesto, 2009) This pairing ties the idea of beautification to positive environmental practices, rather than doing good for those negatively impacted by environmental disaster or simply as an absolute good that should be done. Secondly, in a section dealing with international political ideals, the People’s New Party notes that “in order to halve greenhouse gas emissions on a global scale by 2050, we will set numerical targets for China, India, and Japan, which account for 30% of the world's emissions.” This statement appears to include Japan in the fight to lower greenhouse emissions while placing China and India as primary targets for the issue. The statement does not, however, include the United States in this desire - perhaps because it is not an Asian state, perhaps for other political reasons.

Taken together, environmental policy as an issue dimension yields varied results throughout the major parties of the 2010s. While some have no mention of environmental policy at all, others continue the trend of dedicating whole sections to the idea and/or sprinkling

environmentally-connected platforms to other issue dimensions. A common thread does, however, seem to be the need for an international approach to stopping greenhouse gas emissions and climate change.

## **2020s**

A focus of the Communist Party, with regards to environmentalism, is the impact that nuclear power can have on the environment. The Communist Party focused its discussion specifically on its intention to shift to renewable energy sources after the Fukushima Power Plant accident. The Social Democratic Party of Japan contained an entire topic area dedicated to saying “goodbye to nuclear power, zero nuclear power due to energy shift.” (Social Democratic Party of Japan, 2017) Similarly to the Communist party, the Social Democratic party focused its considerably longer discussion on Fukushima. Their platform included not only switching to renewable energy sources, but safely deconstructing and removing the remains of Fukushima, as well as providing support to individuals (specifically expectant mothers and children) affected by the radiation. Japan’s Constitutional Democratic party also followed the Fukushima trend in point 2 of their manifesto; however, they also included environmentalism in point 3: “Promotion of global warming countermeasures based on the Paris Agreement.” This discussion of ecological policy outside of nuclear energy and Fukushima sets the Constitutional Democratic party apart from the preceding parties. Finally, in its very short and concise manifesto the Party of Hope dedicates its fourth of nine pledges to “zero nuclear power.” The party states that they “will realize an eco- society with thorough energy conservation. The energy problem is an economic problem, and it is also a problem that is directly related to the life of each person.” (Constitutional Democratic Party, 2017) As such, they do only briefly mention the connection to environmentally safe practices that would come from lessening nuclear energy, instead mostly focusing on what their actual goal is and how it relates to economics.

Perhaps controversially, at least interestingly considering the Fukushima accident, the Japan Restoration, New Clean Government, and Liberal Democratic parties contained no discussion of environmentalism anywhere within their manifestos. While the LDP does contain a section on reconstruction following the earthquake, there is no mention of any specific policies or even themes that relate to environmentalism within their manifesto.

### **Discussion**

An analysis of the Japanese party and electoral systems must not only compare manifesto data but also keep in mind the relative size and power of each party. For example, in 1980, the LDP held 284 seats, 23 times the size of the 12-seat-holding Liberal League. Thus the following discussion will not only include comparisons over time but comparisons within the relative strength of parties. For the purposes of this discussion, ‘major parties’ will be any party with over 100 seats going into the election year. ‘Mid-weight parties’ will be any party with more than 20 seats, and all others will be ‘minor parties’.

In the 1980s the conversation surrounding environmentalism, according to the manifestos, was energy and specifically coal. The major parties of this time period, the LDP and the Socialist party, both support leaving behind the usage of oil in favor of coal. Additionally, both had some mention of either finding renewable sources of energy or conserving energy. The mid-weight parties, the Communist, Democratic Socialist, and Clean Government (Komeito) parties all additionally contained some mention of a platform regarding energy. Both the Communist and Democratic Socialist parties aligned with the major parties in their support of the use of coal over oil, and the Clean Government party spoke of energy and environmental conservation. Finally, the minor party of the decade, the Liberal Club, stood out in the conversation. Their manifesto mentions an interest in nuclear energy, but also emphasizes

support of whatever the elected Prime Minister would be interested in. Thus, within the 1980 election, the conversation among the major and mid-weight parties centered very heavily on the conversion of oil to coal, with most at least noting a desire to be more environmentally conscious alongside these assertions.

The LDP, despite being a powerhouse party for the 1980, 2000, and following elections, saw itself in a political scandal going into the 1990s. Despite holding on to a majority of total seats, the LDP lost its upper-house majority in 1989 following the Recruit Stock Scandal.<sup>78</sup> The Recruit Scandal exposed leaders of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, who were accused of accepting stock and cash bribes from the Recruit Co., a personnel recruiting and publishing conglomerate. The 1990s until the 2000s was a period of economic stagnation in Japan, later nicknamed "the lost decade." The burst of the 'bubble economy' resulted in the opening of the Japanese economy to foreigners.<sup>79</sup>

The 2000s, thus, sees significantly less homogeneity among the major parties with regards to environmental policy. While the Democratic Party discusses passing on greenery to the next generation and emphasizes global environmental conservation, the LDP has no discussion of any topics even tangentially related to environmentalism. The mid-weight parties, however, do devote more attention to ecology. The Communist Party writes of the coexistence of humans and the environment, as well as safe alternatives to nuclear energy. The Social Democratic Party dedicates the first of their major promises entirely to the environment, and the New Clean Government Party dedicates their sixth and last priority item to creating a zero-waste society. The minor party of this decade, the Liberal League, follows the lead of the LDP and contains no mention of the environment. In contrast to the 1980s, the 2000s saw

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<sup>78</sup> BBC News, "Japan Profile - Timeline."

<sup>79</sup> "IFES Election Guide | Country Profile: Japan."

environmentalism being a major talking point of the mid-weight parties. The major parties of the time appear split along the issue dimension, and the minor party chose to differentiate by containing no discussion of the environment at all. The LDP focuses a great majority of its manifesto on economic discussions in light of the situation in Japan. In order to compete for seats, the mid-weight parties saw the opportunity to differentiate along the environmental issue dimension. Additionally, the themes of discussion among the mid-weight parties became more varied as time passed, going from solely discussions of energy to ideas like zero-waste.

In February of 2009, a few months before the election, Economics Minister Kaoru Yosano said Japan was facing their worst economic crisis since World War II, with figures showing an economic shrinkage of 3.3% in one quarter.<sup>80</sup> Thus the continual economic issue was functioning in the background of the 2009 election.

Leading up to the 2009 election, in contrast to the 2000 election, the number of mid-weight and minor parties shifted drastically, with only one mid-weight party existing while 4 minor parties emerged. The two major parties of this decade, still the LDP and the Democratic Party, both discussed environmental policy. Bringing themselves back into the sphere of conversation, the LDP discusses global warming and other environmentally-related issues. The Democratic Party shifts gears by noting their support of industrialism, but paradoxically also states a desire for more environmental protections. The major shifts were that the Democratic Party appeared, on the basis of manifestos alone, more interested in economic and industrial conversation than prior, while the LDP focused their entire 11th section on global warming. The sole mid-weight party, the New Clean Government party, placed global warming as their third priority within their international politics topic area. Consistently a mid-weight party since the 1980s, the New Clean Government party stayed true to its consistent mention of environmental

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<sup>80</sup> BBC News, "Japan Profile - Timeline."

policy. Within the four minor parties, Your Party is the only without any mention of environmentalism. The Communist Party emphasized an international responsibility to fight global warming, the Social Democratic Party desires to invest in life and 'green', and the People's New Party discusses not only environmental protections but includes a specific emphasis on international greenhouse gas emissions.

The LDP appeared to get punished, however, for their change and decision to include environmentalism on their manifesto. In contrast to the 2000 election where there was no mention and the LDP remained in power with the most Diet seats, after the 2009 manifesto with mention of environmental policy the LDP was overtaken by the Democratic Party of Japan and their focus on industrialism. The LDP claimed almost  $\frac{1}{3}$  as many seats as the Democratic Party. This ended the almost 50 year hold the LDP had on the Diet. Also crucially important to the discussion of environmental policy is the 2011 Fukushima disaster. After an earthquake caused a radiation leak, extensive areas were left uninhabitable and food supplies were tainted. The LDP came back into power in 2012, with Shinzo Abe beginning his era of serving as Prime Minister.

The party manifestos for the 2017 election, in light of this background, displays a return to the homogeneity of the 1980s. The LDP, now the only qualifying major party, dedicates no space to the discussion of environmentalism. The mid-weight Clean Government Party also does not discuss ecology, nor the minor Japan Restoration party. The other two mid-weight and minor parties each discuss environmentalism. The mid-weight Constitutional Democratic and minor Communist and Social Democratic parties outline their responses to the Fukushima disaster, and note their platforms on the future of nuclear energy. The Constitutional Democratic Party also discusses the Paris Climate agreement, the only party to do so. Finally, strongly differentiating

themselves along the issue dimension, the mid-weight Party of Hope discusses energy conservation as an economic problem.

Over the progression of these 40-odd years, the environmental issue dimension in Japan follows very clear patterns. The 1980s required discussions of oil and coal, the 2000s saw some parties drop the ideas while the rest included entire sections devoted to the discussions. The LDP, which didn't include environmentalism in their 2000s manifesto, performed well with regards to seat counts. However, in the 2010 election where they did dedicate an entire section to global warming, they lost their majority hold on the Diet. Other parties tried to differentiate themselves in 2010, discussing various facets of environmentalism. Finally, in 2020, if any discussion of the environment existed it mostly in regards to Fukushima.

## Comparison

The general layouts of the manifestos were significantly different between Germany and Japan. Germany tended to have significantly longer manifestos, with many sections and subsections. The majority of the Germany manifestos were primarily if not only text-based, and felt like essays or shorter books. In contrast, Japan had shorter manifestos, typically no more than 15 pages. The Japanese manifestos contained a plethora of images, infographics, and tables where ideas were succinctly and eye-catchingly presented.

Both country cases studies saw events of no discussion of environmentalism, some discussion, and entire sections dedicated to the statement of ecological policy ideas. Additionally, both focused heavily on energy in the 1980s while slowly shifting towards an emphasis on international efforts to curb global warming. In the 2 decade difference between the 1980s and the 2000s, the discussion in both countries shifted from only energy to including a wide range of subtopics such as greenhouse emissions, research and innovation, energy

conservation and affordability, and prioritizing the third world in global efforts. However, between the 2000 and the 2020s, while Germany saw a continual increase in the level of detail in the environmental policy discussion, Japan saw essentially no environmentalist ideas except for the usage of nuclear energy post-Fukushima. 2020s Japan also saw multiple parties disregard any ecological discussion at all.

When combining the analysis of party manifestos with the data collected on seats won, a juxtaposition appears. Whenever a major party (such as the SPD or CDU) in Germany did not include not only any discussion but a thorough section on their environmental policy platform, the number of seats they won in the subsequent elections decreased. However, in Japan, the opposite was true. During any decade where the LDP included robust discussion of environmental policy the number of seats they would subsequently win would decrease. While this loss or gain in seats could be linked to several other factors, the idea that German parties were not punished for including lengthy environmental policy sections while Japanese parties were not punished for omitting them is a tangible difference between the two systems.

It is important to put the existence or absence of environmental discussions within party manifestos in the context of Japan and Germany's party systems. Germany's system where two main parties hold the majority of seats at any given time forces those two main parties to compete, while the rest of the parties compete within themselves. In essence, while the CDU/CSU and SPD's manifestos can be in direct conversation, the same can be said for the Greens, PDS, FDU and AfD. This creates space within the environmental policy issue dimensions where parties in coalition can echo the platforms of each other, where the dimension is broadened as parties take different stances to stand out, or where the dimension is compacted as every party includes their stance on one particular issue within the dimension.

In Japan, though there are multiple parties, the dominance of the LDP can cause the parties within this system to adopt the environmental issue dimension in a different way. While the LDP adjusts its platforms to maintain its monopoly on Diet power, smaller parties must either echo the LDP's politics that have demonstrated their ability to capture support or starkly contrast the LDP in order to stand out and catch the attention of any voters not in favor. With regards to environmental policy, this can result in two scenarios. If not enough small parties or if no singular party that is able to substantially rival the LDP discusses to a significant extent environmental policy, it is up to the LDP if such issues make it on to the agenda or not. Conversely, if there is enough talk from the rest of the system, the LDP can be forced to address environmental politics and take either a singular stance that appeals most to voters or touch on multiple topics of conversation so as not to lose voters with genuine care for the environment.

While there are multiple possible scenarios in each system that can affect discussion of environmental policy, the party dynamics that exist dictate what must be taken into account if trying to push through progressive ecological legislation. In Germany, the Greens are able to keep the idea of environmental policy continually on the mind of voters, and other parties are thus forced to adapt. In Japan, the LDP's dominance creates a situation where in order to discuss environmental politics the LDP themselves must put it on the agenda based on their own desire to discuss the topic or to combat sufficient incentives to do so based on the other parties in the system.

Finally, important to mention is the idea of coalition building. In Germany, parties in power are frequently in coalitions with other parties in order to be able to secure sufficient support for legislation. In Japan, however, the hegemonic power of the LDP means that this is not the case. This idea of coalition building changes the lens within which the manifestos of

certain parties within certain years must be read. For example, the Greens were in a coalition with the SPD from 1998 through 2005. This coincides with a period of time where the Greens have 47+ seats in the Bundestag, and being in a coalition with the majority (and Chancellor's) party could lessen barriers to pushing environmental policy. However, also important to mention is that this coalition existed during a time where the Greens' party manifesto featured less attention to environmental policy than previously. Thus, while being in a coalition allows the Greens more power and access to pushing through legislation, it also may force them to adapt platforms for higher congruence with its coalition.

Conversely, though small political parties in Japan sometimes form "party groups" or electoral alliances, their seat share is never significantly large. The LDP is always still the dominant party in the Japanese party system. Thus, non-LDP parties in Japan don't have much influence over agenda-setting, even when in coalition together, since the LDP dominates the government. This is in contrast with government coalitions in Germany (a cluster of parties who comprise the government), where a party's inclusion in the governing coalition has implications for their ability to add issues (such as environmental protections) to the agenda. Additionally, there is no 'Green' party with which to form a coalition in Japan.

## **Chapter 5**

# **Existence and Evolution of Environmental Policy**

### **Germany**

The principal areas of German environmental policy are: emissions control, waste control, water control, soil conservation, nature and landscape conservation, and assessments of environmental impacts. Paralleling Japan, Germany was able to successfully pair environmental protections with economic growth. Progress in the 1990s was particularly impressive, specifically with regards to air, water pollution, conservation of resources, and waste management. German environmental policy is generally guided by three principles: having polluters pay, taking precautions, and emphasizing cooperation.<sup>81</sup>

In 1994 the German Basic Law was amended to include a constitutional basis for the protection of environmental management and sustainable development.<sup>82</sup> After the Kyoto Protocol, Germany started the Government's Climate Protection Programme in 2005, the Integrated Energy and Climate Programme in 2007, Climate Protection Plan in 2016 and Climate Protection Programme in 2019. All saw ambitious goals set for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions.

### **East Germany**

Beginning in 1980, the German Democratic Republic founded an apolitical society intent on controlling growing environmental movements. More societies were founded throughout the

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<sup>81</sup> Elspaß, "Environmental law and practice in Germany: overview | Practical Law." 1.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 2.

early 80s for the purpose of discussing, from various viewpoints, the state of environmental politics. Clashes occurred, however, as protests against environmental contamination caused by local chemical plants were condemned by the church and permits removed. In the late 80s, efforts were made within the GDR to keep negative findings regarding the state's environmental actions secret. Western German environmentalists were globally publishing negative reports of the East's environmental practices. Following this, an agreement was signed between the East and West in 1987 outlining an environmental action plan through 1989. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the declassification of environmental data in 1989 revealed the truth of the environmental shortcomings in the East. The East and West unification treaty included the goal of "attaining the same level of environmental conditions in both parts of Germany by the year 2000."<sup>83</sup>

### **Chernobyl**

The 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster, though occurring in the Soviet Union, had a significant impact on West German environmental discussions and policy. Prior to this disaster, the dangers of nuclear energy use was not a salient issue dimension, and the majority of discussion was had by the Green party.<sup>84</sup> However, the importance of the nuclear energy issue was brought to light when inadequately trained personnel and a flawed reactor design resulted in a radiation leak destroying the Chernobyl 4 reactor in what is now Ukraine.<sup>85</sup> When German citizens were made aware of the dangers of nuclear energy after this disaster, the Green party was able to capitalize on its anti-nuclear platform as well as its focus on environmental concerns.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> "Timeline of GDR Environmentalism."

<sup>84</sup> Koenig, "The Political Fallout of Chernobyl", 35-36

<sup>85</sup> <https://world-nuclear.org/information-library/safety-and-security/safety-of-plants/chernobyl-accident.aspx>

<sup>86</sup> Koenig, "The Political Fallout of Chernobyl", 35-36

It was in the election following the Chernobyl incident when the Greens were able to almost double the amount of electoral seats they held in the Bundestag, likely as a result of the now-salient environmental issue dimension. This increase in Bundestag seats in addition to the attention paid to nuclear and environmental issues following the incident could have led to an increase in the amount of environmental policy passed during the 1987-1990 time period, or at the least laid the proper foundation for an increase in future attention paid to Green party initiatives.

### **Major Policies**

Figure 5.1 demonstrates the areas of focus within German environmental policy. With the entrance of The Greens into the Bundestag in 1983, combined with the information released after the reunification of Germany, the influx of environmentally-focused policies is unsurprising. However, it is important to combine this information with the amount of seats won by the Greens in the 1990 election. In the election year prior, 1987, the Greens accumulated 42 seats. In the election year of 1994, the Greens had amassed 49 seats. However, after the 1990 election, the Greens were only allotted 8 seats in the Bundestag. From 1990 until 1994 only the Environmental Impact Assessment and Federal Immission Contract acts were passed, with the rest of the legislation from the table coming post-1994 when the Greens won more seats.

One possible explanation for this correlation between the 1990s election, the Greens losing seats, and the subsequent 1994 election and increase in environmental policy could be the reunification of Germany. During the reunification years and process, environmental policy would have not been a main focus of political discussion, and the Green's focus on environmental policy rather than national reunification may have been punished by voters.

However, once sufficient time was allotted for that process to occur, focus was shifted back on to the environment.

Another possible explanation would be the publication of information about the environmental practices of East Germany. Some time would have been needed for any documents to be found and circulated, leading to a decrease in environmental focus in 1990 but an increase in 1994 once the imbalance between environmental preservation between East and West was revealed.

Connecting this information back to the party manifestos analyzed in Chapter 4, a question emerges. Chapter 4 saw an increase in the discussion of environmental policy within party platforms for the 1990 election, a fact that feels paradoxical considering the 1990 election outcome and subsequent passing of environmental policy. A possible explanation for this paradox is the party system within Germany itself. Taagepera's triangle in Chapter 2 noted an effective party number of 3 within the German electoral system.<sup>87</sup> The CDU/CSU and FDP had been in a coalition government since 1983, thus being able to be considered "one" party.<sup>88</sup> This left the number of parties in Germany at 3.

However, when the PDS entered the Bundestag by winning seats in 1990, they would have put the number of potentially effective parties at 4. The PDS was able to win 17 seats in the 1990 election. Thus, the Greens winning only 8 seats can be representative of them lessening their effectiveness within the German Bundestag as the system shifted toward equilibrium. Additionally, during the 1990 election the Greens were in the process of merging with their East Germany counterparts, into the Alliance '90. By the 1994 election, the Greens had settled and were able to become an effective party once again.

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<sup>87</sup> Laakso and Taagepera, "Effective' Number of Parties."

<sup>88</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/a-history-of-germanys-coalition-governments/g-41818483>

This shift to accommodate for an increase in parties is seen once again in the 2005 election data. The Greens and the SPD had formed a coalition in 1998, which lasted until 2005. During the elections that happened within that period of time, the three ‘minor’ Bundestag parties in Germany were each able to win a fairly even number of Bundestag seats.

Law	Purpose	Year Introduced
Chemicals Act	Identifying, averting, and preventing the occurrence and subsequent harmful effects of dangerous substances and preparations.	1994
Closed Substance Cycle Waste Management Act	Promoting closed substance cycle waste management in order to conserve natural resources and to ensure environmentally compatible disposal of waste.	1994
Environmental Information Act	Ensuring free access to and distributions of environmental information possessed by authorities, as well as laying down the fundamental prerequisites according to which this information is to be made available.	2004
Environmental Impact Assessment Act	Ensuring that for the projects set out in the Appendix to Article 3 in order to guarantee effective preventative environmental protection on the basis of uniform principles.	1990
Federal Immission Control Act	Protecting against the harmful effects of air pollution and noise, but also protection against damage to soil and water.	1990
Federal Nature Conservation Act	The conservation, preservation and development of nature and landscapes, both in populated and unpopulated areas.	1998
Federal Soil Protection Act	To protect or restore the functions of the soil on a permanent sustainable basis.	1998
Federal Water Act	Securing and managing waters as part of the ecobalance and as a habitat for animals, as well as the prevention of pollution of water.	1996
Offshore Wind Energy Act	Expanding the use of offshore wind energy, particularly in the interest of protecting the climate and the environment.	2016
Oil Stockholding Act	Securing the supply of energy, stocks of oil and petroleum products by the Erdölbevorratungsverband.	2012
2014 Renewable Energy Sources Act	Enabling the energy supply to develop in a sustainable manner by increasing the share of electricity generated from renewable sources.	2014
2017 Renewable Energy Sources Act	Increasing the amount of energy being produced from renewable sources.	2017
Waste Water Charges Act	Enacting a charge to be paid for discharging waste water into a clean water source.	1994

However, this SPD-Greens coalition broke in 2005. During the 2005 election, the number of seats won by the PDS dropped significantly as the potential number of effective parties suddenly increased.

## Conclusion

When combining the party manifestos, number of seats won in the Bundestag, and the policies passed since 1990, it appears as though the Green party was able to have a significant impact on German attention to environmentalism when able to be an effective party. The post-1998 boom in environmentalism in Germany aligns with the party manifestos noted in Chapter 4. The 2000s saw a decrease in the attention paid to environmentalism within party platforms. Policies regarding the preservation of soil, water, emissions, and protection against pollutants were all passed prior to the 2002 election. Thus, as previously stated in Chapter 4, the ability for parties to differentiate across the environmental issue dimension was decreased. It appears as though a combination of ability to differentiate within an issue dimension, and the ability for any particular party to be effective within a system, has led to the implementation of ecological policy in Germany.

## Japan

Important to note within the context of Japan is the correlation between environmental protections and positive economic outcomes. The introduction of certain environmental policy measures in the 1970s and 1980 saw not only the bettering of environmental quality but also rapid economic growth as energy and water were used more efficiently.

The Japanese Ministry of the Environment's website contains a page listing current environmental regulations and laws. This site includes subsections on air pollution, water pollution, soil contamination, noise, vibration, offensive odors, and ground subsidence. Since its change from the Environmental Agency to the Ministry of the Environment, the MOE has been

responsible for water and air pollution control, waste management, nature conservation, the global environment, and regulation of nuclear energy.<sup>89</sup>

### **Air Pollution**

After major air pollution problems, the first official Air Pollution Control Law was passed in 1968. However, despite improvement in the 1970s, the 1980 saw increases in air pollution due to the increased usage of automobiles. Japan reactionarily introduced several policy measures to reduce pollution during the 1980s, including a 1988 law protecting the ozone layer. 1990s Japan paid particular attention to issues related to climate change, amending the Basic Environmental Law in 1993. Adjustments were made to the law to compensate for the increase in gases and soot being released. Then, in 2001, the law concerning measures for the total reduction of nitrogen oxides and particulate matter from automobiles was edited, adding special restrictions in metropolitan areas. New regulations regarding VOCs were included beginning in 2006. Additional air-related laws include offensive odor controls, laws concerning damage caused by aircraft noise, and pollution prevention systems in specific factories. Political parties in Japan did not appear to have a major emphasis on air pollution in the aforementioned party manifestos, though some discussion did exist within mid-size and smaller parties. Thus, these policies align with the idea of non-major parties forcing progressive environmental policy to be on the agenda.<sup>90</sup>

### **Water Pollution**

Japan officially legislated a law concerning the conservation of lake water quality in 1984. In addition to two other laws passed before the 1980s, multiple provisions dictate the ways in which the central and local governments collaborate to protect water quality. 1994 saw

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<sup>89</sup> Midori, "Articles「Japan's Environmental Policy」."

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

specific measures concerning water quality conservation passed. In 1997 the River Law was amended to include conservation and improvement of the environment to the tasks required of the river administration. However, in 2004, the MOE agreed with a Lake Water Study Committee that the quality of water in lakes still required improvement, and in 2005 additional measures were added to previous legislation to this end. Additional water-related laws include the Hot Springs Law, and laws regarding the prevention of marine pollution, reparations and compensations for damages done by oil pollution, and regulations on the use of groundwater in buildings. Once again, political parties in Japan did not appear to have a major emphasis on air pollution in the aforementioned party manifestos, though some discussion did exist within mid-size and smaller parties. Thus, these policies align with the idea of non-major parties forcing progressive environmental policy to be on the agenda.<sup>91</sup>

### **Climate Change**

The UN's framework on climate change was officially agreed upon in 1992. Japan hosted a conference on climate change in 1997, during which the Kyoto Protocol was reached. After its passing the Japanese 1998 Act on Promotion of Global Warming Countermeasures, which prescribes specific responsibilities to all levels of society, was enacted. Policies regarding the recovery and destruction of fluorocarbons, the protection of the ozone layer, the procurement of eco-friendly goods, and enhanced motivation to conserve the environment while promoting environmental education.

With regards to energy specifically, Japan was able to curb oil usage to protect the environment while seeing economic growth during the 1970s through the 1980s. Specifically an act requiring rational uses of energy was passed in 1979 to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Though energy usage did proportionally increase in the 1990s, positive progress was made again in the 2000s.

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Political parties paid an increasing amount of interest to climate change, particularly as time went on. Thus, international efforts to better the environment seems to be a focus of most if not all parties within modern Japan.<sup>92</sup>

## **Conclusion**

The general lack of in-depth discussion of environmental and ecological parties in Japan coupled with the obviously progressive policies and laws being passed lends value to the idea of smaller parties being able to collectively force agendas within the Diet. While the LDP generally paid little attention to the environment, mostly discussing it with regards to bettering the economy, ideas such as paying attention to the global effect on climate change, ensuring safe energy practices, and re-introducing greenery into Japan came from midsize and smaller parties. Thus, in light of the lack of a specifically-dedicated environmental party, Japan's progressive ecological policy appears to be borne out of the collective work of smaller and mid-size parties that may not individually be able to have any major impact on Japanese politics.

## **Fukushima**

Though the 2011 Fukushima nuclear disaster took place specifically in Ōkuma, Japan, it created a shared nuclear-debate crisis for both German and Japan political parties. After a major earthquake, a 15-meter tsunami disabled the power supply and cooling of three Fukushima Daiichi reactors, causing a nuclear accident beginning on March 11, 2011<sup>93</sup>. Though Chernobyl had flagged the dangers of nuclear energy to Germany 25 years earlier, the Fukushima disaster was followed by immediate government response. Specifically, seven German nuclear reactors were shut down for a few months immediately following Fukushima, and the Bundestag later

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<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> "Fukushima Daiichi Accident." World Nuclear Association, 2023.

decided that the entirety of the nuclear programme was to be phased out by 2022. The conditions for such a swift German response were made possible by the Chernobyl disaster, as well as the ongoing phase-out debate that had been occurring between political parties.<sup>94</sup> Thus, though nuclear debate existed within the dimensions of the environmental policy issue, the catalyst of Fukushima allowed anti-nuclear parties (such as the Greens, who received a significant increase in political support<sup>95</sup>) to push through progressive environmental policy. The importance of the Green party's existence and significant share of Bundestag seats in Germany is likely correlated to the passing of the 2014 and 2017 Renewable Energy Acts.

In Japan, support for nuclear power had actually been increasing in the period of time prior to the reactor meltdown.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the Fukushima disaster would have cast doubt on any party platforms previously in support of nuclear energy. This aligns with the party manifestos from the 2017 Japanese election. Any discussion observed in party manifestos were linked to the post-Fukushima nuclear debate. However, additionally of interest is the idea that the dominant LDP included no environmental policy discussion. While the LDP did discuss the earthquake, there was no significant discussion of denuclearization. This may be, in part, due to the passing off of the nuclear disaster response from political parties to government ministries.<sup>97</sup> Surveys have indicated an increasingly apathetic Japanese citizenry with regards to discussion of nuclear and generally environmental policy.<sup>98</sup> This aligns with previous data noting that the absence of a Green party in Japan is likely due to a lack of interest or support for such a party from the citizenry.

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<sup>94</sup> Bernardi, "The effects of the Fukushima disaster", 45-50

<sup>95</sup> Goebel, "How natural disasters can affect environmental concerns," 1174-1180.

<sup>96</sup> Pidgeon et al. 2008: 72

<sup>97</sup> Polleri, "Post-political uncertainties," 585

<sup>98</sup> Nakamura, "Political and environmental attitude toward participatory energy and environmental governance," 190



## Chapter 6

### Conclusion and Discussion

Analysis of the party manifestos and some policies implemented from 1990s until 2021 in Germany and Japan reveal the importance of party numbers and relative party sizes with regards to passing progressive policy. In Germany, where party dynamics were more easily able to shift, leading parties were punished in terms of number of seats won for not including environmental policy on their manifesto agendas. Additionally, progressive environmental policy began implementation in Germany after the reunification of East and West, the revelation of environmental practices in the East, and the entering of the Green Party into the Bundestag incentivized the passing of environmental policy. Conversely, in Japan, much of the conversation surrounding environmental policy was held in smaller parties, while the LDP focused mainly (and was rewarded for focusing on) economic issues. There exists no major environmental party in Japan, meaning that the work was left to pre-existing or new parties without an environmental focus. However, this difference was still able to lead to progressive environmental policy.

Additionally, though coalition building exists in both Germany and Japan, it is only in the analysis of German environmental politics that this becomes relevant. In Japan, the LDP will be the dominant power regardless of any coalitions; additionally, there is no Green party with which to form a coalition. In Germany, however, governing coalitions can affect party dynamics by either allowing parties a more powerful platform for their policy ideas, or by forcing parties to neutralize or radicalize their ideology in order to make the coalition work. The manifesto of the Green party while it was in a coalition with the SPD demonstrated less attention to environmental policy than previously, hinting at the need for it to neutralize its ideology.

However, just being in a governing coalition would have brought an increased attention to the very foundation of the Green party, environmentalism, even if not explicitly discussed.

This leads to the conclusion that it is not solely the rules and institutions that exist within an electoral system that dictates which issue dimensions get time and which do not. Rather, it is the way the party dynamics as a result of size and number of parties allows for new parties to enter, this incentivizing bigger parties to talk about the more ‘pressing’ issues, that is important to seeing how newer concepts such as environmentalism can make it on to the agenda. Parties are, naturally, a result of the system within which they are located. Certain systems will better support the creation and continued success of certain types and numbers of parties. However, regardless, it is the ways in which these parties all interact with each other that is the story behind political agendas.

This conclusion would be better tested by applying it to other ‘newer’ areas of intense policy focus - LGBTQ+ rights, technology and privacy, and globalization to name a few. This would reveal if such a pattern is environmentally-specific, or true of all newer issue dimensions. Additionally, this conclusion would be served by observing the party dynamics and attempts to bring forth ecological discussions in countries which are not deemed to be environmentally progressive but are still similar and democratic in nature - such as India and Brazil.

With regards to the political systems of Brazil and India, both are federal democracies with ethnically diverse populations which had been previously colonized. Both countries have multiparty systems, and they are geographically large with economies that are similar in nominal terms. Finally, both Brazil and India are large emerging markets in the G20 group that have each experienced high growth rates in recent years, and similar levels of hazard<sup>99</sup>. Generally, both

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<sup>99</sup> Yadav, Vineeta, and Bumba Mukherjee. *Democracy, electoral systems, and judicial empowerment in developing countries*. University of Michigan Press, 2014.

countries' electoral rules have generated weak political parties with low levels of intra party unity. (206) Therefore, these countries are comparable for discerning the correlation between emerging economies and environmental policy, and weak party systems and policy creation. Future analysis of Brazil and India could examine why two countries that have extraordinary potential to influence global environmental progress, with regards to population size and key natural biomes, have been otherwise unsatisfactory in their addressing of environmental issues.

One alternative explanation to the correlations demonstrated in the party manifestos is a reverse causality. Instead of German politics paying attention to environmental issues because of the existence of the Green party, it is rather that the Green party is born out of a desire to implement progressive environmental policy. In Japan, it may not be the impermissibility of the hegemonic system that precludes the existence of a green party but rather the ability for the system to pass environmental policy that denies the need for said party.

A second alternative explanation is culture. Simply put, regardless of the political system and institutions within certain countries, it may be the culture of its citizens that is most important to analyzing what legislation gets passed. The German Green party, while certainly a result of the political system within which it resides, can also certainly be a reflection of a German cultural focus on environmental issues. Regardless of the party system, if a culture does not prioritize certain issue dimensions, parties will not be paying attention to them either.

Summing up, environmental policy does not exist solely within the cries for change from people and social movements or groups. What must be taken into account is not only how loudly a certain issue is spoken about, but rather the strategic way to enter new issue dimensions into political systems such to not only force the conversation but to force attention from parties which are able to make substantial policy differences. Only then will the fight against climate change

and global warming be able to genuinely be fought in countries regardless of the electoral system.

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