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Franziska Schultz

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of Political Shocks
to Sino-Japanese
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Contents

Introduction	1
1 Theoretical Background	7
1.1 Political Shocks	8
1.1.1 Political Shocks in General	8
1.1.2 Political Shocks to Sino-Japanese Relations	9
1.2 Conditions for Spillovers of Political Shocks	15
1.2.1 Conditions for Spillovers: Decreasing Importance of Japan as Chinese Trading Partner	15
1.2.2 Conditions for Spillovers: Changes in the Bilateral Trade Structure	17
1.2.3 Conditions for Spillovers: New Thinking and the Estab- lishment of Xi Jinping’s Government	18
1.3 Summary	20
2 State of Research	23
2.1 The Impact of Conflicting Political Relations on Trade	24
2.2 The Impact of Sino-Japanese Conflicting Political Relations on Bi- lateral Trade and Japanese FDI to China	28
2.3 Constraining Factors for Spillovers of Political Shocks	33
2.3.1 Reimports	33
2.3.2 Transnationality	34
2.3.3 Membership in International Economic Institutions	34
2.3.4 Government Influence	35
2.3.5 CSR	37
2.4 Summary	38
3 Examples for Spillovers of Political Shocks	41
3.1 The Textbook Shock 2005	42

3.1.1	The Japanese Government's Permission of a Tsukuru-kai History Textbook in 2005	42
3.1.2	Spillovers from the Textbook Permission in 2005	43
3.2	The Boat Collision Shock 2010	44
3.2.1	The Boat Collision Incident near the Senkaku Islands in 2010	44
3.2.2	Spillovers from the Boat Collision Incident in 2010	45
3.3	The Shock from the Senkaku Purchase 2012	46
3.3.1	The Japanese Government Purchases the Senkaku Islands in 2012	46
3.3.2	Spillovers from the Islands' Purchase in 2012	47
3.4	Abe's Visit to Yasukuni Shrine in 2013: Indirect Effects	50
3.5	Summary	54
4	Analyzing the Correlation between Sino-Japanese Monthly Trade and Conflict Values (2006-2014) with Vector Autoregression (VAR)	57
4.1	Method	58
4.2	Data	59
4.3	Results of Analysis	63
4.4	Interpretation of Results	68
4.5	Summary	71
5	Spillovers of Political Shocks to Sino-Japanese Relations in Annual Reports of the Japan-China Economic Association (1981-2015)	73
5.1	The Japan-China Economic Association (JCEA)	74
5.2	Method	75
5.3	Data	76
5.4	Results of Analysis	78
5.5	Interpretation of Results	81
5.5.1	Spillovers of Political Shocks onto Economic Relations	81
5.5.2	Conflicting Relations: Other Diplomatic Issues and Historical Memory Issues in the JCEA Reports	94
5.6	Summary	101
6	Conclusion	107
	References	115
	Appendix	131
A	Direct and Indirect Effects of Political Shocks to Sino-Japanese Relations 2005-2014	131

B	System of Categories and Keywords Found	132
C	List of Analyzed Reports by the Japan-China Economic Association (1981-2015) and Number of Keywords Found	150
D	List of Institutions	155

English Abstract

Sino-Japanese relations are marked by three diplomatic issues, the textbook discussion, the Yasukuni debate, and the territorial dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands, that cause recurring political shocks, i. e. sudden political (or politicized) domestic events that temporarily cause relations to deteriorate.

Although these shocks lead to mass demonstrations and receive attention by governments and media in both countries, both countries have maintained strong economic relations, which is why bilateral relations are often characterized as “politically cold, economically hot” assuming shocks do not influence economic relations.

However, this dissertation analyzes three shocks in 2005, 2010 and 2012 that have spilled over onto economic relations in terms of boycotts, property damage and a decreasing number of Chinese tourists to Japan.

The concept of political shocks is discussed in context of Sino-Japanese relations, revealing that the term has to be extended to interstate events related to territorial disputes and events stemming from a different understanding of history. Shocks to Japan-China relations are found to be a rare case of state-level shocks that do not fundamentally alter state relationships.

The Sino-Japanese political and economic framework enabled spillovers of three shocks between 2005 and 2012. However, it has either constrained or prevented spillovers from other shocks. This dissertation analyzes the political and economic framework between Japan and China to explore the question when shocks to bilateral relations can be expected to cause spillovers.

The analysis shows that bilateral economic interdependence shifting to China's advantage from the 1980s to the mid-2000s because of a declining importance of Japan as Chinese trading partner have caused spillovers between 2005 and 2012. Apart from the economic framework, political conditions have enabled spillovers between the end of the "New Thinking" in China in 2005 and the establishment of

Xi Jinping's government at the end of 2012.

Complementing the theoretical perspective, this thesis analyzes the correlation of Sino-Japanese monthly trade data with according political conflict values created by the author from articles from the Nikkei Shinbun between 2005 and 2014 using a vector autoregression (VAR) model.

The results show the conflict values are one among the factors explaining the development of Japanese imports from China and its exports to the People's Republic, although with a negative bias because of the articles selected to create the conflict values and without sufficiently including indirect effects of political shocks.

As Japanese economic actors doing business with China will be affected most in case of spillovers, the question whether spillovers or conflicting political relations play a role for them is answered by a qualitative content analysis of annual reports from 1981 to 2015 by the Japan-China Economic Association as representative actor. The study concludes that whereas spillovers play a role in reports whenever they occur, JCEA monitors conflicting relations even without economic effects.

In conclusion, while a severe decline of trade and FDI because of these shocks cannot be expected in the near future and direct spillovers, except for individual consumer boycotts, are severely constrained by the present political and economic framework, indirect spillovers can be expected to occur time and again. Whereas it could not be ruled out completely in case of repeated indirect effects of shocks to lead to a loss of Japanese companies' willingness to do business with China, few of them have withdrawn from the country yet as it offers great business chances despite recurring political shocks and potential economic damage.

Japanese Abstract

現代の日本と中国の関係において、外交問題（教科書問題、靖国神社参拝問題、尖閣諸島問題）は存在し続け、数年ごとに『政治ショック』という形で発露する。本論文で『政治ショック』は、日中関係の突発的に発生する内政に関する政治事件そのものと、この事件が「政治化された」ために二次的に発生する内政上の事件を指すものとして用いられる。政治ショックが発生すると、当該事件は双方の政権から重要視され、マス・メディアによって取り上げられ、民衆デモも起こる。さらに日中関係は一時的に著しく悪化する。しかし、緊密な経済関係はこの緊張の中でも維持されるので、日中関係はよく『政冷経熱』と言われている。政治ショックが経済的影響（スピルオーバー、溢れ出ること）を与えた例が、2005年から2012年までの期間にも存在した。2005年、2010年、2012年の政治ショックによる、中国での日本製品不買運動、器物損壊による被害、日本への中国人観光客数減少などの、日中経済関係へのスピルオーバーが見られた。本論文は日中外交問題による政治ショックが経済関係にスピルオーバーを与える条件と、事態の封じ込め要因について2005年、2010年、2012年のデータによって分析することをテーマとしている。日中関係の文脈における政治ショックを検討することによって、同概念には「領土問題による事件」と「歴史認識の論点による事件」の二つが新たに加えられるべきであることが明らかになった。さらに日中関係の政治ショックは、度重なる発生にもかかわらず政治的な競争関係は従来通り継続するという点で特異である。政治ショックが日中間経済関係にスピルオーバーを与えるかについて、以下の三つの経済的・政治的枠組の変化が重要であると考えられる。第一に、貿易構造が1980年代から2005年にかけて変化した。第二に、中国の貿易相手国としての日本の重要性が低下し、経済的相互依存関係が中国にとってより利益となるような変更が求められた。第三に、2005年の対日新思考の終了後、2012年末に習近平政府が成立した。日本経済新聞から作成した日中政治関係データと、日本財務省が収集した貿易データをVARモデルを用いて回帰分析することによって、日中政治関係データが2005年から2014年までの貿易の発展を部分的に解明できるという成果がもたらされる。さらに、中国との経済交流に際する日本側経済的アクターの観点を参照し、アクターの代表として日中経済協会発行の年次報告『日中経済交流』を定性的に内容分析する。分析結果により、同年次報告において、スピルオーバーについてはほぼ発生した年のみ報告

しているが、日中外交問題に関しては、経済的スピルオーバーが生じなかった年であっても、多くの年次報告で注目し続けている事実が明らかとなる。政治ショックによって貿易、対中直接投資が大幅に減少することはなく、以上のスピルオーバーが、個人的なボイコット以外は、現行の経済的・政治的枠組によって限定されている。それにもかかわらず、日本の中国における取引交渉、プロジェクトの延期あるいはキャンセルのようなスピルオーバーは、今後とも数年ごとに現れると予想できる。将来、頻繁なショックとスピルオーバーの可能性の影響により、日系企業と中国との経済的交流体制が大幅に減少する可能性を完全に排除することはできないが、現在は政治ショックの存在にもかかわらず、大きなビジネスチャンスを獲得しうる中国から撤退している日系企業は、まだ多くはないのである。