

Who votes for Mr. Ishihara?

–Two analytical considerations on the populism in Tokyo

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Abstract

This report is intended to describe theoretically the social images on the Governor of Tokyo, *Shintaro Ishihara* and to reconstruct analytically the collective feeling of him by the old-generations' voters. Mr. *Ishihara* got three million votes in the Tokyo Gubernatorial Election 2003. That was a very big victory. In 1999 he had already polled 1.66 million votes. The voting rate had decreased by 11% over the 4 years. However, he obtained in 2003 double the number of voters as many as that in 1999. How should we interpret such an outcome? His big victory seemed to be a phenomenon of the right-wing populism. Today we cannot use any old ideological dichotomies like 'conservatism' vs. 'reformism', or 'liberalism' vs. 'socialism' etc. How should we understand the big volume of three million voters?

This report will not directly judge on the Governor *Ishihara's* own political tendencies, particularly his emotional and demagogic speeches and actions. If anything, I would like to explain this specific phenomenon in Tokyo with my empirical research data. A basic interest in this report is focused on a kind of the collective memory in the old-generations of the pro-*Ishihara's* voters. Not a few parts of such the older generations seem me to have been really being captivated by a social constructed image of *Shintaro Ishihara* for a very long time. However, I would like to, at the same time, describe some discordant aspects inside the pro-*Ishihara* supporters.

1. Data

For this report I have used the following data, which I have been surveying since 1998.

- 1) *The Survey after the Tokyo Gubernatorial Election 1999*: This asks respondents to indicate their polling behaviors, political preferences and consciousness etc. They are asked by the 6 pages' questionnaire with the two pages' free describing sheets in the October 1999. Population: 6400 voters in the 8 districts in Tokyo; Respondents' rate: 29.38%. Percentage of Age Groups: 20-29: 12.0%, 30-39: 16.0%, 40-49: 18.0%, 50-59: 22.0%, 60-69: 17.0%, 70-79: 9.7%, over 80: 3.1%. (= Data 1)
- 2) *The Survey after the Tokyo Gubernatorial Election 2003*: The respondents are asked by the very similar questionnaire set as the former research 1999 in the October 2004. Population: 6300 persons in the 7 districts in Tokyo; Respondents' rate: 19.62%. Percentage of Age Groups: 20-29: 1.9%, 30-39: 5.7%, 40-49: 12.1%, 50-59: 20.4%, 60-69: 31.4%, 70-79: 21.5%, over 80: 7.0%. (= Data 2)
- 3) *The Survey on the Images of Governor Shintaro Ishihara*: This asks respondents to indicate their images on the *Shintaro Ishihara* as Governor, Politician, Author, and the elder brother of *Yujiro Ishihara*, who was one of the most famous film stars after the World War II in Japan. Population: 4800 persons in the 4 districts in Tokyo; Respondents' rate: 22.17%. ; Percentage of Age Groups: 20-29: 1.1%, 30-39: 4.5%, 40-49: 10.6%, 50-59: 23.3%, 60-69: 28.5%, 70-79: 23.3%, over 80: 8.6%. (= Data 3)

2. Analytical background

From the following Figure 1, we can know that “the older the voters become, the more inclined they are to go to the polls”. Lots of young persons in their twenties were not inclined to go to vote in the last three governors’ elections.

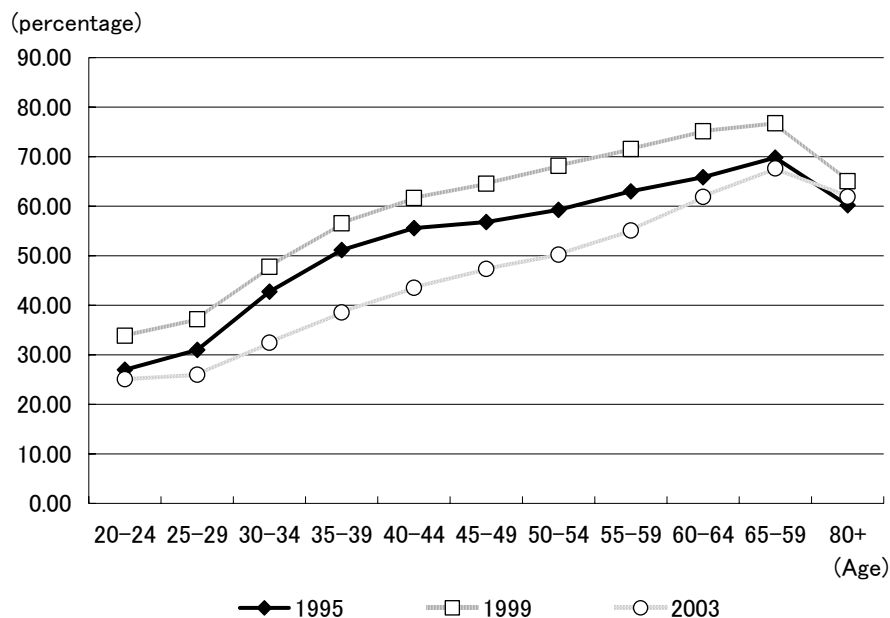


Figure 1: Voting Rates by Age Groups in the Gubernatorial Elections

In spite of the rapidly progressing aging society in Japan, Tokyo has a very big population of younger generations still now (following Table 1). So, *firstly*, I have to emphasize that the voting behaviors by the older persons have been influencing upon the total results of Governor’s election.

Table 1: Number of Voters by Age Groups

Age Groups	1995			1999			2003		
	Voting Rate	Population	Voters	Voting Rate	Population	Voters	Voting Rate	Population	Voters
20-24	26.98	1,169,793	315,610	33.86	964,448	326,562	25.08	845,035	219,625
24-29	30.99	1,056,719	327,477	37.20	1,130,840	420,672	25.99	1,077,276	349,361
30-34	42.78	895,053	382,904	47.76	979,848	467,975	32.43	1,108,809	427,557
35-39	51.17	740,683	379,007	56.56	794,170	449,183	38.56	936,363	407,692
40-44	55.59	784,977	436,369	61.66	705,373	434,933	43.54	767,711	363,281
45-49	<u>56.83</u>	<u>979,147</u>	<u>556,449</u>	64.54	866,702	559,369	47.32	704,435	353,838
50-54	59.28	870,796	516,208	<u>68.15</u>	<u>885,080</u>	<u>603,182</u>	50.23	919,483	506,727
55-59	63.00	777,126	489,589	71.55	835,091	597,508	<u>55.11</u>	<u>830,364</u>	<u>514,078</u>
60-64	<u>65.86</u>	<u>699,205</u>	<u>460,496</u>	75.13	726,686	545,959	61.91	762,648	515,931
65-69	69.81	550,743	384,474	<u>76.75</u>	<u>611,719</u>	<u>469,494</u>	67.65	687,443	425,802
Over 70	60.20	979,952	589,931	65.07	1,146,019	745,715	<u>61.94</u>	<u>1,369,149</u>	<u>615,296</u>
Total	50.67	9,504,194	4,838,515	57.87	9,645,976	5,620,553	44.94	10,008,716	4,699,188

* Source: “The Population by 5 year Age Group” and “Election of Metropolitan Governor” in: *The Tokyo Statistical Book 2004*.

* The underlined mean the figures of the baby-boomer’ generation. The boxed mean those of the same generation as the Ishihara brothers.

The older persons in their sixties and seventies played a very important roll in the last two elections. Each generation has usually each own experience as collective memory. The older generations in Tokyo also must have their collective memories. So, *secondly*, I would like to hold up the following hypothesis. Namely, these generations have been very strongly being impressed by the images of the *Ishihara* brothers. Particularly from Figure 2, their collective memories may be thought to be structuralized by the *Yujiro Ishihara's* films.

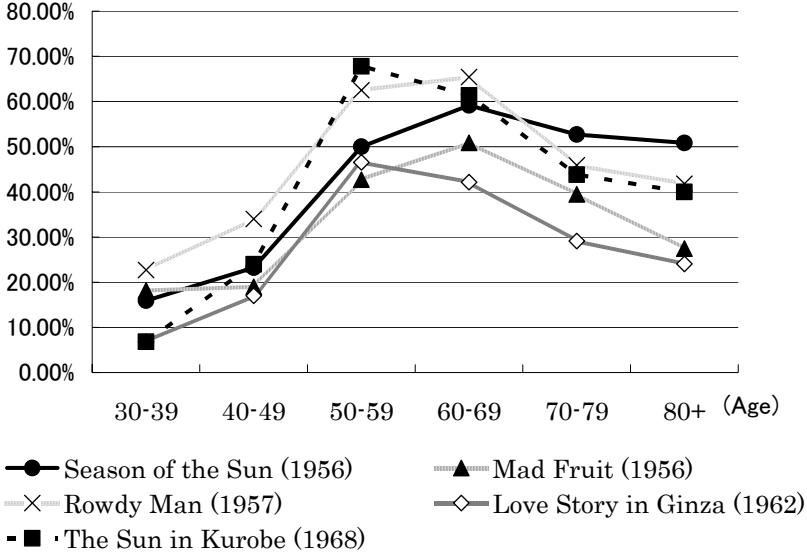


Figure 2: Yujiro Ishihara's Films by Age Groups

Lastly, I would like to mention that the political society in Japan has been already transformed into a kind of feeling society. Figure 3a and 3b (by Data 3) show us the image preference relations on the politicians in today's Japan.

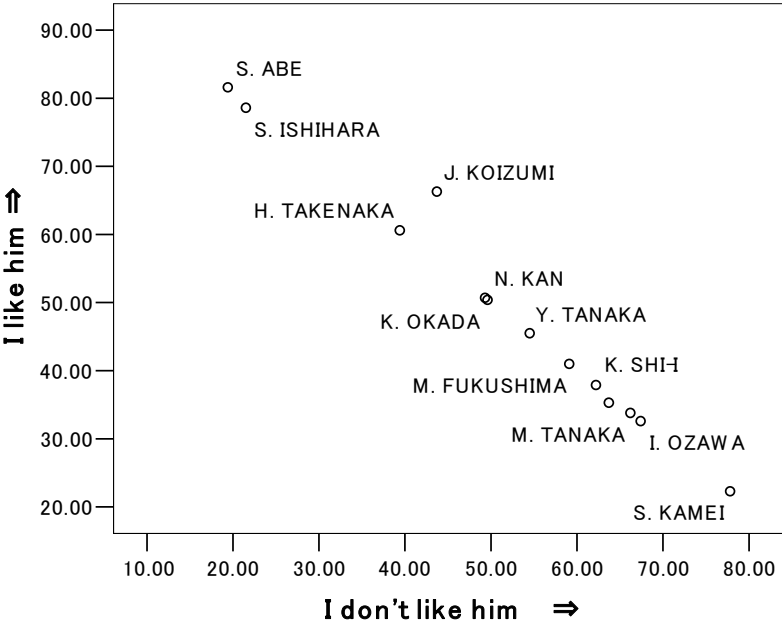


Figure 3a: Images on the politicians in Japan today

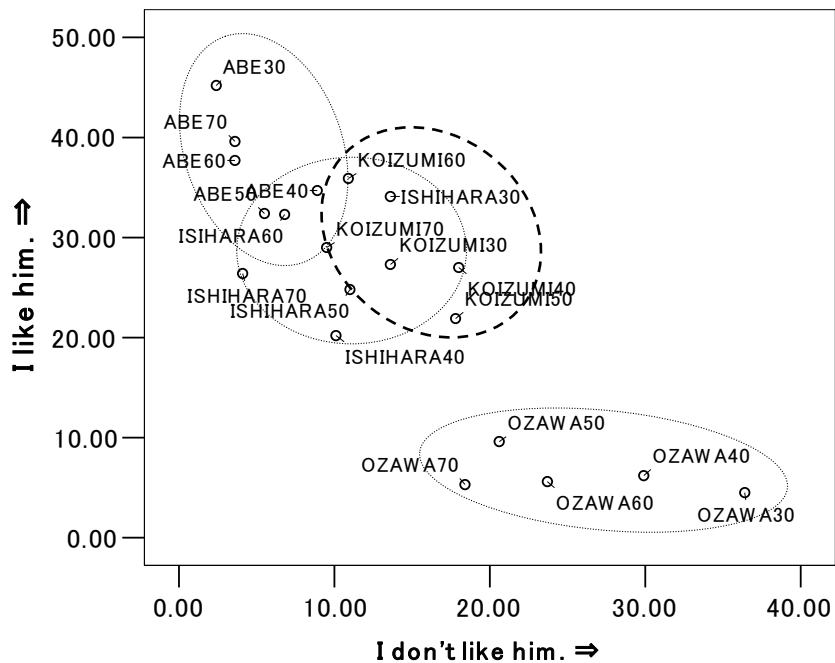


Figure 3b: Images on the politicians by Age Groups

3. Two methods and their analytical results

Presupposing the above mentioned three backgrounds, I would like to analyze the data (= Data3) with the following two methods. The *first* is the factor analysis on the four-point-scale of images of the *Shintaro Ishihara*. I have performed this analysis on only the pro-*Ishihara* voters in the data, which means analyzing only the voters who voted for Mr. *Ishihara* in 2003. The *second* is the cross tabulation analysis to the newspaper's articles on the foreigners' problems in Japan. This has been performed on the same pro-*Ishihara* voters. From these two analyses I would like to break down a tendency by the massive volume of the three million voters into some pieces.

1) Logical vs. Imaginary

Table 2 shows us one of the results of factor analysis on the four-point-scale of the *Shintaro Ishihara*'s images to all respondents in the Data 3. The images are represented as the strength of the following items described by variables 1) to 12). The performed factor analysis here is by the principal factor method, varimax rotation; On the basis of each factor loading and communality any item is not deleted.

Table 2: Images of 'Shintaro Ishihara' by all respondents

Variables (Questionnaire items)	Factor 1	Factor 2	Communality
11) He can take the leadership.	0.788	-0.129	0.637
2) He can act up to his principle.	0.759	-0.109	0.588
8) He is logical.	0.747	-0.245	0.618
9) He has a clear grasp of the trend.	0.739	-0.288	0.630
5) He governs coming up to our expectations.	0.709	-0.324	0.608
1) He is a nice guy.	0.649	-0.238	0.478
6) His novels and writings are very interesting.	0.388	-0.210	0.194
4) He is dictatorial.	-0.185	0.866	0.784
2) He is selfish.	-0.205	0.786	0.659
7) He is right-wing in his opinions.	-0.187	0.650	0.457
12) He is a performer.	-0.234	0.575	0.385
10) He is anachronistic.	-0.512	0.510	0.522
Variance explained	3.805	2.757	6.562
Proportion of Variance explained	31.705	22.977	54.682
Cumulative Proportion of Variance explained	31.705	54.682	---

*In the order of the significance of factor patterns.

This result may be very reasonable and too simple. Of course, we can call very easily these two factors, the first one '*favorable*' and the second one '*unfavorable*' to *Ishihara*. The used data are correlated very positively with the axis of pro- and contra-*Ishihara* voters in 1999 and 2003. Therefore, if we perform the same method of factor analysis to the same items only in so far as the respondents that voted for *Ishihara* in 2003, we can get the other results. The Table 2 shows us one of them (the principal factor method, varimax rotation; On the basis of each factor loading and communality any items are not deleted).

Table 3: Image of 'Shintaro Ishihara' by the *Ishihara* supporters in 2003

Variables (Questionnaire items)	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Communality
4) He is dictatorial.	0.850	-0.005	-0.094	0.731
3) He is selfish.	0.694	-0.079	-0.161	0.514
12) He is a performer.	0.487	-0.080	-0.146	0.265
7) He is right-wing in his opinions.	0.415	-0.135	0.015	0.191
9) He has a clear grasp of the trend.	-0.090	0.834	0.168	0.732
8) He is logical.	-0.130	0.488	0.341	0.371
10) He is anachronistic.	0.196	-0.306	-0.128	0.149
5) He governs coming up to our expectations.	-0.142	0.174	0.461	0.263
2) He can act up to his principle.	-0.011	0.212	0.450	0.248
11) He can take the leadership.	0.036	0.358	0.448	0.330
1) He is a nice guy.	-0.056	0.100	0.432	0.200
6) His novels and writings are very interesting.	-0.135	0.002	0.343	0.136
Variance explained	1.720	1.272	1.139	4.130
Proportion of Variance explained	14.334	14.334	9.488	38.156
Cumulative Proportion of Variance explained	14.334	24.932	34.420	---

*In the order of the significance of factor patterns.

Comparing with the Table 2, this result shows us that the '*favorable*' factor seems to be broken into two other factors. In this case I call the first '*negative*' factor, which is presumed to come from the first factor of the Table 1, the second factor '*logical*' and the third factor '*impressive*', which are seemed to be broken from the '*favorable*' factor in the Table 1. In spite of the restricted pro-*Ishihara* respondents we can see the three discordant factors of their images to the *Ishihara*.

As the Table 4 shows us, the factor ‘logical’ seems to be correlated with the factor ‘negative’. Of course, the factor ‘impressive’ is reversely correlated with the factor ‘logical’.

Table4 : Correlation between three Factors

	Negative	Logical	Impressive
Negative	1	.394(**)	-.100(*)
Logical	.394(**)	1	-.234(**)
Impressive	-.100(*)	-.234(**)	1

**. $p < 0.01$

*. $p < 0.05$

2) Theme “Foreigners”

We can very easily observe a xenophobic tendency in the *Ishihara*’s political discourses. However, even such a tentative emotional interpretation seems to have some different aspects. We asked the same pro-*Ishihara* respondents how they would think about the following newspapers’ articles.

a) *Ishihara* vows to 'boot out' illegally residing foreigners (*Mainichi Shimbun*, Japan, July 29, 2003)

Tokyo Gov. Shintaro *Ishihara* has promised to "boot out" foreigners illegally residing in Japan, following a visit to Tokyo's lively Ikebukuro district. The governor visited the busy streets between JR Ikebukuro Station's west and north exits, which house numerous restaurants, bars and adult businesses, on Monday evening. He was accompanied by Vice-governor Yutaka Takehana, who formerly served at the National Police Agency, and other officials.

After the visit, *Ishihara* said illegally residing foreigners were a problem in Tokyo. "In the information magazines for Chinese people, there are advertisements aimed at those who are overstaying," he said. "Foreigners who have illegally entered Japan will be booted out (of Tokyo)."

b) Court annuls deportation of Iranian Family (*The Asahi Shinbun –International Herald Tribune*, Sep. 20-21, 2003)

In a rare humanitarian gesture, a Tokyo court on Friday overturned a deportation order against an Iranian family who had been living illegally in Japan for more than a decade. Judge Masayuki Fujiyama of the Tokyo District Court ruled that the family of Amine Khalil should be considered for a special residence permit.

“The family built up their livelihood base as law-abiding citizens over a 10-year period,” Fujiyama said in his ruling. “Considering how disadvantaged they would be if they returned to Iran, the deportation order constitutes a departure from –and an abuse of- the discretion (of the Tokyo Regional Immigration Bureau).”

Courts have overturned deportation orders against foreigners married to Japanese, but Amine’s case represents the first cancellation of a deportation order because of a family’s “livelihood base in Japan.” The 40-year-old Iranian arrived in Japan on business in May 1990. He remained in Japan even after his visa expired in August 1990. The following year, Amine’s 36-year-old wife and daughter arrive in Japan. The daughter is now 15. A second daughter was born seven years ago.

c) **A New Firm Immigration Policy** (“Homeland Japan” from *Sankei Shinbun*, August 4, 2003).

It is about time we should consider on a genuine and full-scale immigration policy. As we are well aware, the Japanese people’s roots everywhere in our small islands had originated in China, Korea, Mongolia, and farther extending from the East Asia to Melanesia in Oceania. The race of Japanese is not made up of any single blood. In reality the Japanese is much more multi-ethnic than the American. The original ethnic groups in our home country Japan are only the decreased people of Ainu in Hokkaido, and those in Okinawa who are in the same situation.

As the cerebrum physiology shows us multi-ethnic mixed blood can produce lots of excellent talented persons through the specific enzymatic mechanism. It is the excellent characteristics of ‘Japanese’ that the history proves us. If we will lay out the grand plan for the long-term future of our nation, not only in regard to the economic demand of the today’s cheap labor but also on the decrease of population, the correction of the unbalanced proportion of generations, and if we will solve a great deal of alien problems of the illegal immigration and unlawful staying, which is getting ruin the public security of our society, we should dispel the illusion of the strange racial consciousness, which is not historically accepted. Now, we should carry out a firm immigration policy for the prosperity of our home country Japan.

The pro-*Ishihara* respondents answered to these three articles with the four-point-scale. The first article may be interpreted as cruel or violent from the anti-*Ishihara* side. I suppose that from the pro-*Ishihara* side they should grasp very imaginarily as dramatic, namely a typical performance of ‘action film star’. I would like to call this first variable ‘*aggressive*’. The second one may be interpreted as ‘*humanistic*’ from both sides of the pro- and contra-*Ishihara*. Therefore, I would like to call this second variable ‘*tolerant*’. Lastly, the third one may be reacted as ‘very strange’, because lots of people don’t know so much this theory by *Ishihara*. So, I would like to call this variable ‘*new theory*’.

Table 5: Frequency of three Variables

	aggressive		tolerant		new theory	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I’m completely agreed with this opinion.	331	53.3	155	25.9	81	15.1
I’m, if anything, agreed with this opinion.	256	41.2	305	50.9	205	38.3
I’m, if anything, opposed to this opinion.	27	4.3	96	16.0	192	35.9
I’m strongly opposed with this opinion.	7	1.1	43	7.2	57	10.7
Total	621	100.0	599	100.0	535	100.0

The third article of “*new theory*” is very characteristic. Although all of the respondents went to vote for *Ishihara* in 2003, namely, although all of them were monolithically enchanted with the images of *Ishihara*, their opinion has just broken down into two main parts. The former part is agreed with *Ishihara*’s idea. However, the latter part is opposed to his new immigrant theory. If we compare these opinions with the other items in the questionnaire, we can get the following Table 6.

Table 6: Characteristics of three variables

Variables (from the questionnaire)	aggressive	tolerant	new theory
1) He is a nice guy.	.133(**)	-0.022	.139(**)
2) He can act up to his principle.	.198(**)	-0.025	0.084
3) He is selfish.	-0.064	.088(*)	-.092(*)
4) He is dictatorial.	-0.038	.127(**)	-0.063
5) He governs coming up to our expectations.	.242(**)	-0.078	0.066
6) His novels and writings are very interesting.	0.030	0.011	.140(**)
7) He is right-wing in his opinions.	-0.033	0.058	-0.029
8) He is logical.	.211(**)	-0.053	.111(*)
9) He has a clear grasp of the trend.	.164(**)	-0.083	.090(*)
10) He is anachronistic.	-.132(**)	.129(**)	-0.079
11) He can take the leadership.	0.068	-0.008	.094(*)
12) He is a performer.	-0.072	.134(**)	-.115(*)
A. I think highly of him as Governor.	.224(**)	-0.075	.119(**)
B. I think highly of him as politician.	.178(**)	-0.048	.108(*)
C. I think highly of him as author.	-.096(*)	0.074	0.054
D. I think highly of his character.	0.081	-0.087(*)	.121(**)
A. Holding the memorial service for ancestors is responsible to us to our remotest descendants.	0.051	-0.053	-0.006
B. Giving the high praise to the fallen soldiers in the past wars is indispensable.	.116(**)	-0.066	0.047
C. Paying the tribute to the memory of the fallen soldiers in the past wars is indispensable.	0.080	-.102(*)	0.016
D. We are indebted to the fallen soldiers in the past wars for what we are today.	.124(**)	-.083(*)	0.017
Ordering to stand before the national flag and singing the national anthem in the schools under the direct control of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government.	.093(*)	-.127(**)	-0.012
Age (under 50 years old / over 50 years old)	-0.042	-0.026	-0.037
I have seen the film 'Seasons of the Sun'.	-0.008	0.038	-0.054

** . $p < 0.01$

* . $p < 0.05$

The variable 'aggressive' is correlated with the positive impressions on *Ishihara*. The variable 'tolerant' is correlated with the negative impressions on him. The third variable 'new theory' is correlated with the emotional elements about him.

4. Tentative Conclusion

In December 2006 Mr. *Ishihara* announced in the Tokyo Metropolitan Congress his candidacy for the gubernatorial election 2007. Before that, in the summer of 2006 the Japan Olympic Committee passed a resolution that Tokyo should stand as a candidate for the host city for the Olympic Game in 2016. Mr. *Ishihara* is promoting this project very eagerly. The important issue on the next gubernatorial election may be the pros or cons on this project. However, more important point at issue is how the above mentioned discordant factors and variables on *Ishihara* will be able to be expressed out in the voters, particularly in the pro-*Ishihara* voters. How can Mr. *Ishihara* really transform the collective memory by the old generations into a new one through a socio-cultural and political projecting as the Olympic Game?