

The Pop-Charts in Tokyo

-Populism or Democracy?

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Abstract

Since the 1990s the political situations in Japan has been changing very complicatedly. Using the empirical research data, which I have been engaged in the voting trend research of the Gubernatorial Election in Tokyo, I intend to show you some characteristic aspects of the voters' political behaviors, particularly their image preferences.

The questionnaires, which I have been designed, are chiefly constituted by lots of questions of the four pointed image scale. If we observe the main politicians' positions on the image scattering maps since 1999, we can know some typical cases of big jump and big fall like the pop music charts. However, some of them have been almost always standing on the same or similar positions.

Since 1999 the Governor of Tokyo Mr. Ishihara has been pointed on the similar spot, which has been supporting very positively by the older generations. However, two important events in the last half of 2009, namely the regime change from the LDP to the DPJ and a failure of the invitation plan of the Olympic Games 2016 to Tokyo, have been influencing upon his preferable spot. A strong nationalistic tendency, which shows us as symptom typically in him, seems us to be being steadily isolated and exposed

I would like to conclude how this phenomenon of isolation and exposure has been related to the older generations, which have been supporting him for a long time.

1. Problem

In the General Election of August 2009 the Democratic Party (DPJ) has become the governmental ruling party. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was soundly beaten. This result was very natural, because the LDP government had been very easily changed the prime minister three times only for three years since 2006 without any general election. The nation was disappointed and almost angry. So, they certainly expected the DPJ.

Table 1. Prime Ministers of Japan since 2000

Name	Term of Office	Date of Birth
Yoshiro Mori	2000–2001	14 July 1937 (age 73)
Junichiro Koizumi	2001–2006	8 January 1942 (age 68)
Shinzo Abe	2006–2007	21 September 1954 (age 55)
Yasuo Fukuda	2007–2008	16 July 1936 (age 74)
Taro Aso	2008–2009	20 September 1940 (age 69)
Yukio Hatoyama	2009–2010	11 February 1947 (age 63)

According to Max Weber, “Die Politik bedeutet ein starkes langsames Bohren von

harten Brettern mit Leidenschaft und Augenmass zugleich.” However, the Japanese politics today is very strongly dependent on the changeable popular image of each politician like that of the Billboard Hot 100 Chart of popular music.

Certainly the Japanese nation expected the new DPJ cabinet in September 2009.

Table 2. Expectation for the Hatoyama Cabinet

Q8	In this September the <i>Hatoyama</i> Cabinet has been formed. Do you think about this cabinet?		
		Single answer	N
1	I expect it very much	108	13.0
2	I expect it	325	39.1
3	I can say neither	172	20.7
4	I do not expect it	114	13.7
5	I do not expect it at all	106	12.7
6	D.K.	7	0.8
	Total	832	100.0

DATA 4: Q8

In spite of this highly expectation Mr. *Hatoyama* could not but withdraw in May 2010. His term in office was only 266 days. It was the sixth shortest cabinet after the Second War II. In June *Naoto Kan* won the leadership of the DPJ and formed his cabinet. However, in July 2010, directly after this cabinet formation, the DPJ was defeated severely in the election of the Upper House. The DPJ is the ruling party still now but could not take the majority in the Upper House.

If we compare this very changeable political situation in Japan with that in Germany, we know very well that the terms of office by the German Federal Republic Chancellors have been very long and stable: *Merkel*, already five years; *Schröder*, seven years; *Kohl*, sixteen years; *Schmidt* eight years; *Brandt* five years; *Kiesinger* three years; *Erhard*, three years; *Adenauer* four years.

I suppose that this very big difference comes from the difference of political philosophical ideas and ideologies which supported their parties. It is hardly possible for us to find out any philosophical and theoretical cultivation on political ideas and ideologies in Japan after the end of cold war. I think that some political ideologies in Germany, e.g. the Christian Democracy, the Christian Socialism, the Social Democracy, the Liberal Democracy had been very profoundly discussed and cultivated since the last decay of the 19th Century. And the foundations of the Greens and the Lefts show us that such a historical tendency has been continuing still now. Our Japanese politics might not have such a profound historical experience.

During these ten years the elections in Japan has been often called the ‘manifest election’, which means, that each party must before every election present and promise each own manifest to the public. Certainly, such the manifests are composed of plain sentences. In general, however, it will be often not so easy to distinguish, not only literally but also ideologically, the differences between the propositional sentences of manifestos of the DPJ and those of the LDP. Because I assume that they cannot have any firm roots in their philosophical ideas and ideologies.

2. Images of politicians –Ups and downs

The voters are always expecting for something changeable. But, before understanding some concrete results clearly, lots of issues which they are expecting and facing will change to rapidly the other level. The sentential expression of each political party itself is only to be manifested. Most of them are not supported by the stable ideas. Politicians tend to have their interests only for changeable imaginations and feelings of voters. In fact, the expectation for the *Hatoyama* Cabinet was very high at its beginning. However, he could not have ability to coordinate his cabinet and the Party against the public.

If we observe the ten years long transition of the politicians' images with the data since the late 1990s, we can find out a very characteristic point. The marked spots of *Junichiro Koizumi* (Prime Minister: Jun.30 2002 –Sep.26 2006) and *Shintaro Ishihara* (Governor of Tokyo: Apr. 23 1999 -) are typical. They have been always getting relatively strong and positive images, and at the same time relatively negative ones. I assume that these paradoxical pair has been supporting their spots which cannot be just ignored.

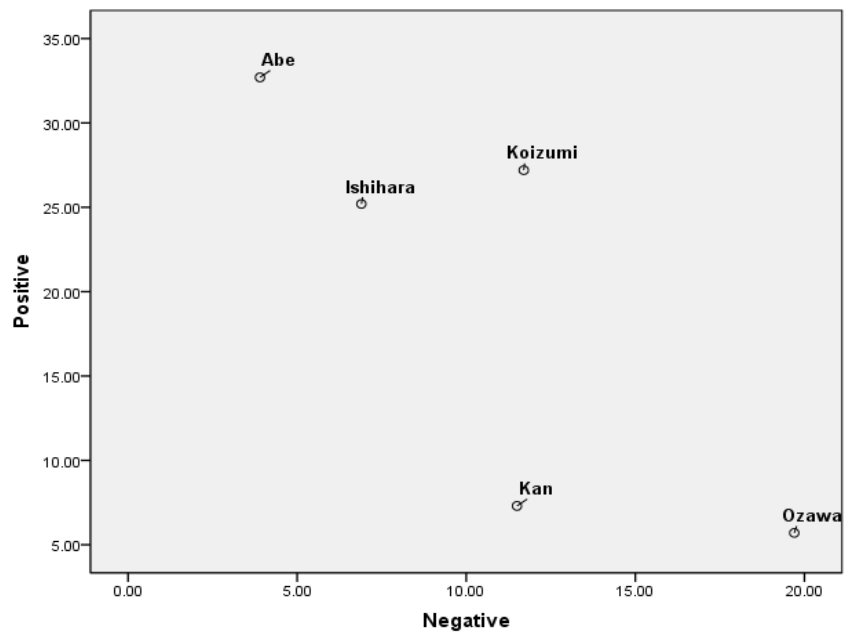


Figure 1a . Images of Politicians (2005) DATA 5.

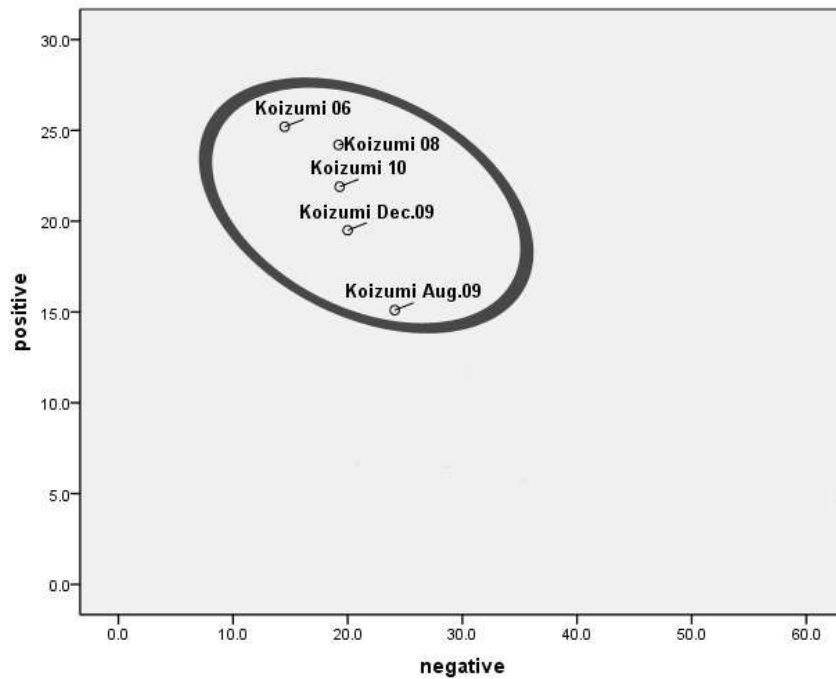


Figure 1a . Images of Politicians (*Koizumi*) DATA 1-5.

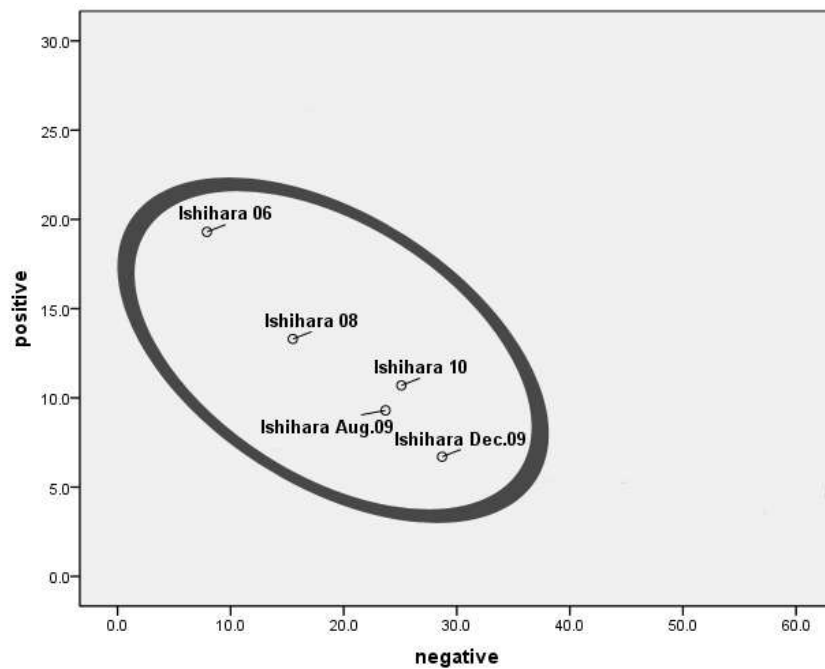


Figure 1b . Images of Politicians (*Ishihara*) DATA 1-5.

However, other politicians, namely *Abe* (Prime Minister: Sep.26 2006 –Sep.26 2007) *Fukuda* (Prime Minister: Sep.26 2007 –Sep.16 2009) and *Aso* (Prime Minister: Sep.24

2008 –Sep.16 2009), had fallen down from the good image spot to the bad one very rapidly.

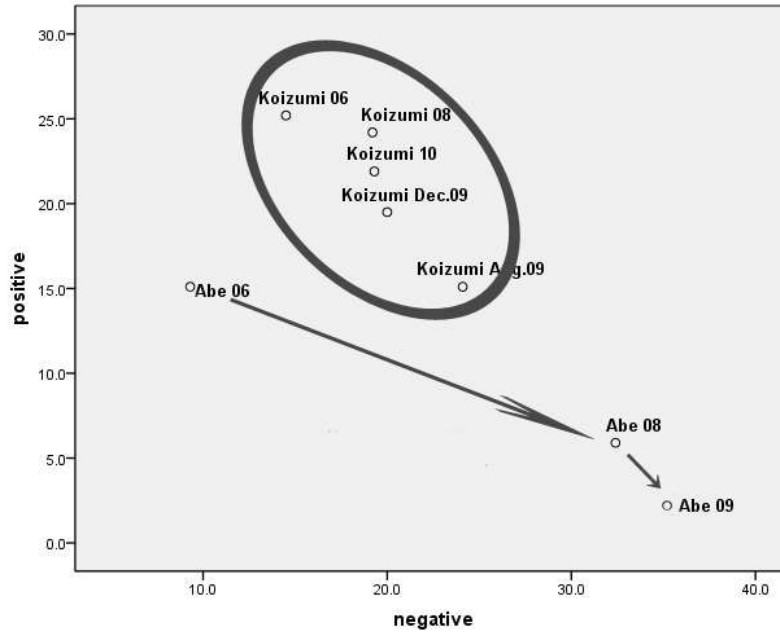


Figure 1c . Images of Politicians (Abe) DATA 1-5.

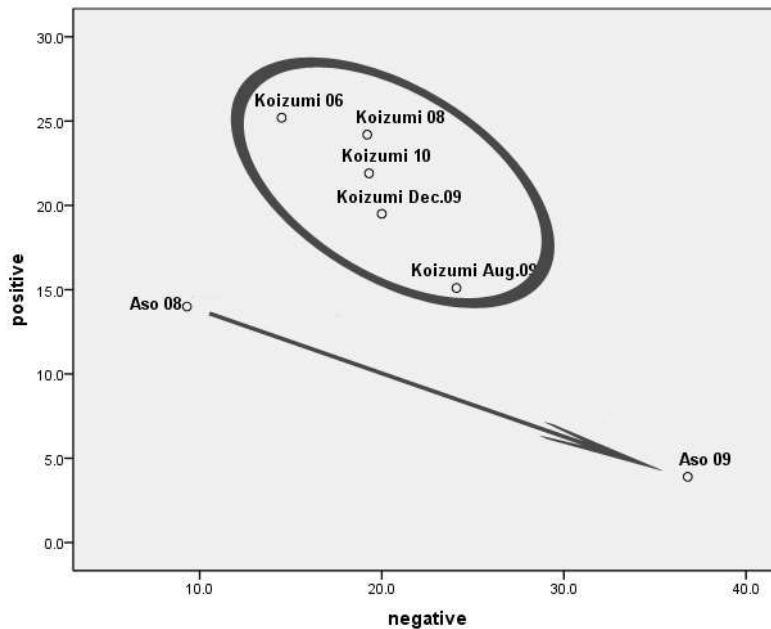


Figure 1d . Images of Politicians (Aso) DATA 1-5.

Hatoyama stayed at an inconspicuous spot originally. He leaped up the relatively

good spot suddenly after the General Election. However, he also has fallen down to the very miserable spot in a very similar pattern.

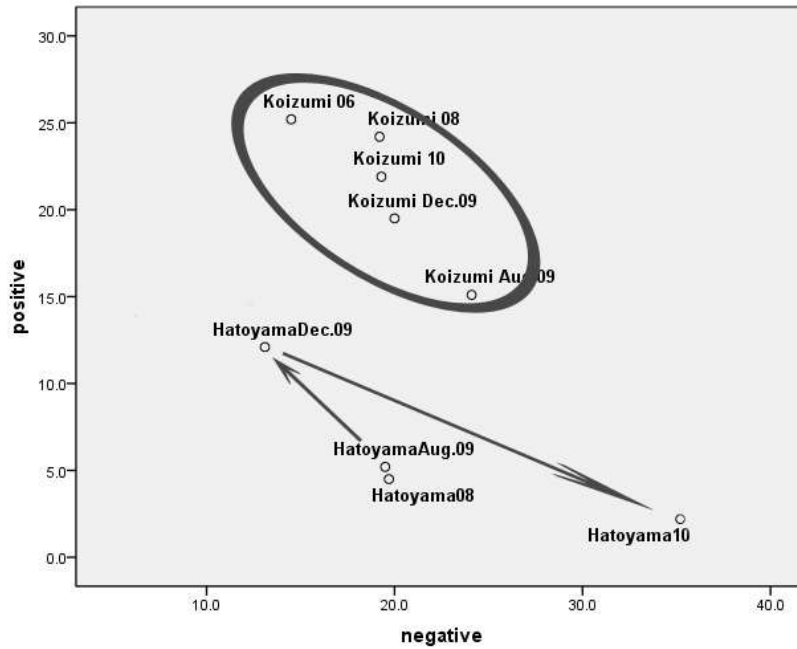


Figure 1e . Images of Politicians (*Hatoyama*) DATA 1-5.

By the way, the popularity is not always absolute. For example, *Ozawa*, the former Secretary-General of the DPJ has been always staying in lower and bad image spots.

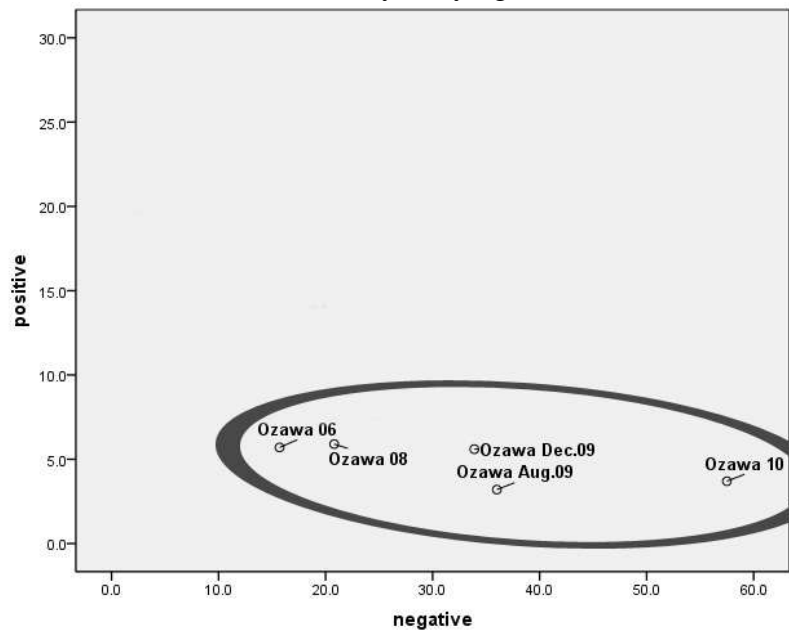


Figure 1f . Images of Politicians (*Ozawa*) DATA 1-5.

I assume that a rapid transfer from a high position to a low position shows us a characteristic situation of politics in Japan today.

The *Koizumi's* Nationalism was symbolized as his official visiting the *Yasukuni Shrine*, and he had kept his own position of Anti-China and Anti-Korea. His 'Neo-Liberalism' was represented only by the privatization of the Post and Postal Savings. This combination of the nationalism and the neo-liberalism symbolized his peculiar stand in the beginning of the 21st Century in Japan. His peculiar neo-liberal tendency might let a large of the nation expect for the change. *Ishihara's* Nationalism was similar to *Koizumi's*. But in his case the nationalism is coupled with the conservatism.

More fundamentally they have commonly their own strong personalities. Perhaps, it may be assumed as their common characteristics that they would not say "Excuse me", "I apologize" Of course, some voters understand their stubborn position very positively, at the same time others very negative to their characters. I suppose that the existent basis of politicians may be put on the clearly and plain contrast between positivistic support and negativistic critics.

By the way, I have to mention a remarkable phenomenon in the last election of the Upper House in the Tokyo District. Namely, one of the DPJ candidates *Renho* got 1.71 Million got votes. This number and rate of votes which *Renho* got were very large and high.

Figure 2a. Outcome of the Tokyo Metropolitan Electoral District

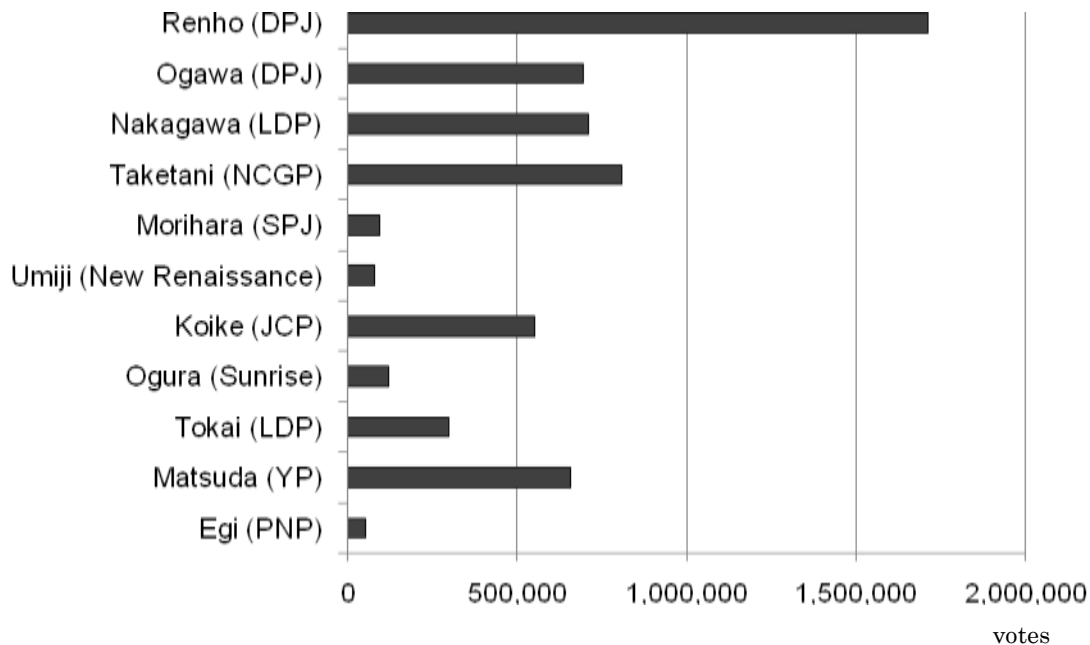
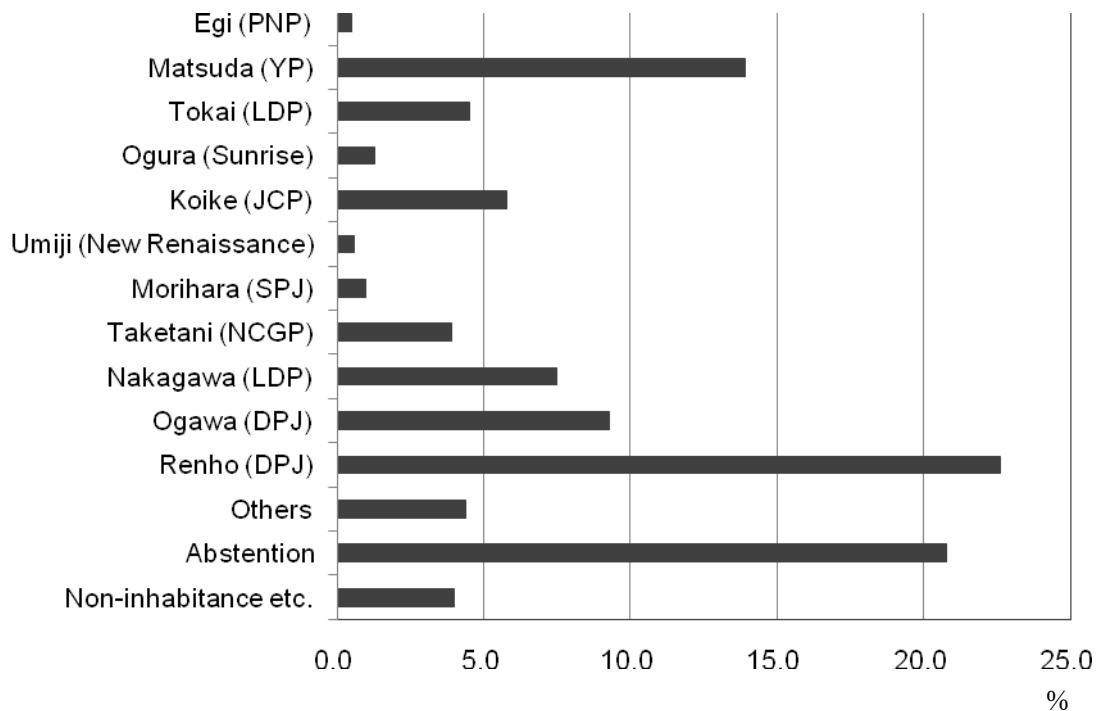


Figure 2b. For whom did you vote in the Upper House Election last month? DATA 5

Incidentally, *Ishihara* got 2.81 Million votes in 2007. According to our Data 5 he got 34.8%.

3. Symbolic Image of ‘*Renho*’

She is a Taiwanese Japanese. After her debut as a Clarion Girl 1988 which was a campaign girl chosen to represent the car audio products of the Clarion Co. in television etc., *Renho* appeared on several television and radio programs as a commentator. In 1993, she became a newscaster on two broadcast companies (TBS and TV Asahi).

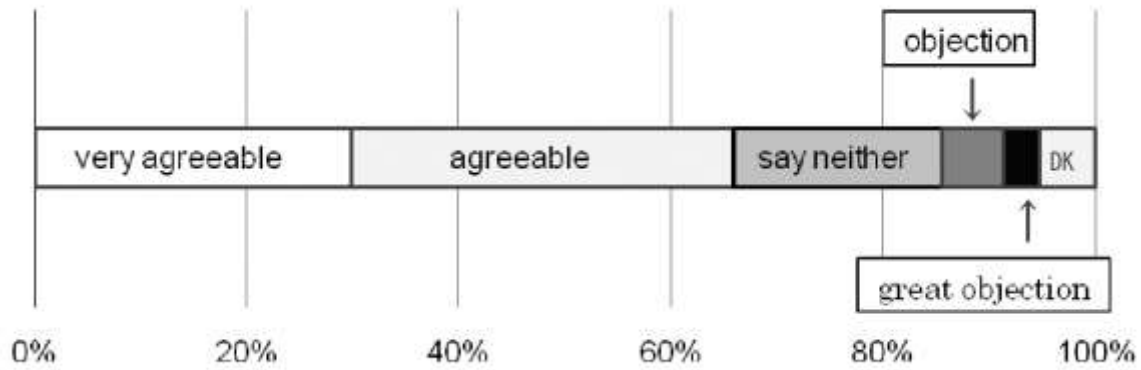
In every Election of the Diet in Japan we can see very easily lots of ‘peruliar celebrities’ who stand as candidates. It is known very well that *Ishihara* also was one of them in 1968. However, he got 3 Million votes in that Upper House Election. Our interest is how we can analyze a popularity of *Renho*.

In June 2010, Prime Minister *Kan* appointed her as Minister for Administrative Reforms. It is related to the most important reason why the ‘celebrity’ *Renho* got 1.71 Million votes. I assume that the reason is her activity and performance on the round of public wrangling with bureaucrats over the funding of semi-governmental bodies. The round of screening, or ‘shiwake,’ by the Government Revitalization Unit, which the *Hatoyama* Cabinet institutionalized firstly on the national level, aims to bring the transparency about spending the budget to the way taxpayers.

Above all, the TV paid attention to her presence and criticism on the public wrangling. Some dramatic scene of her, with her eloquent, aggressive, intelligent, beautiful etc.

image had been very often seen on TV and You-tube.

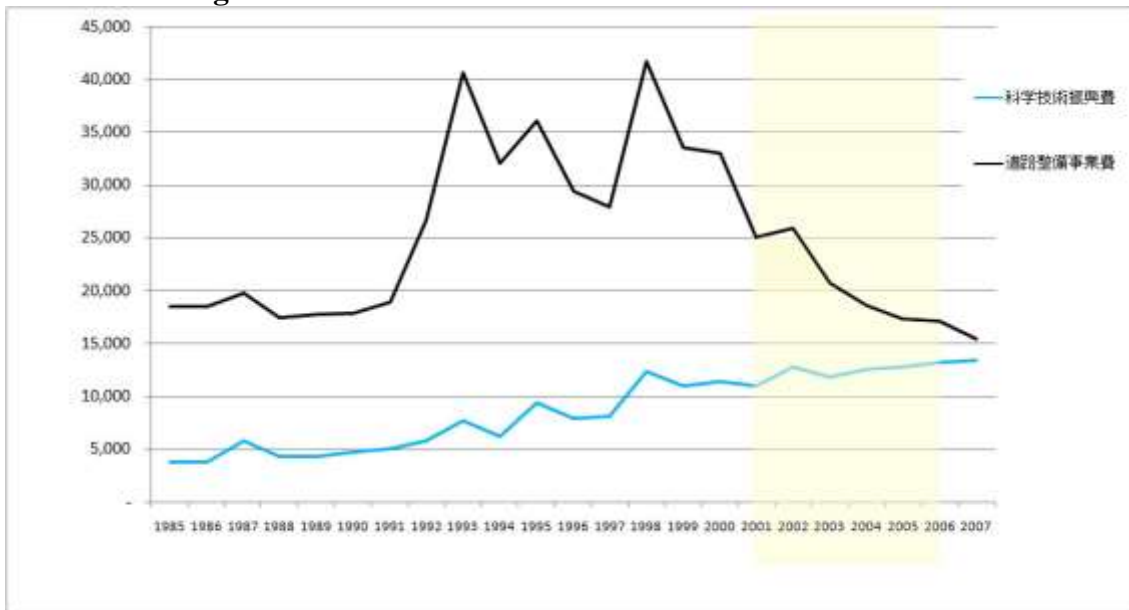
Figure 3. Expectation for the Public Round of Screening



The political economic system in Japan after the World War II has been planned, organized and coordinated by the able bureaucrats who pass the high class examination for the state service. After their retirement, most of them have been taking office as leading staffs in the semi-governmental bodies, which they had ever organized and coordinated as official servants. The *Japan Highway Public Corporation*, the *Housing and Urban Development Corporation*, the *Development Bank of Japan*, the *Japan Science Foundation* and so on, these are typical semi-governmental bodies which they have been engaging for a long time. This governmentally organized sector had been planned and projected for such the tremendous big public investment to the high economic growth. Financially this sector has been supported by the postal savings and insurance, which most of the nation has been saving. Upon this financial base the bureaucratic-political-industrial complex has existed.

Since the great depression after the bubble economy in 1989-90 this very long-term bureaucratic-political-industrial complex had to be reformed. Already since the late 1990s this reform was the most important political issue. The *Koizumi* cabinet privatized the postal office very severely, because the financial structure had to be reformed. This cabinet, which had been very often evaluated and criticized as 'Neo-liberal, was very ardent to privatize the postal office business (mail, saving, insurance) and reduce the highway and bridge construction business budget. However, it had not any interest to reduce and coordinate other area. For instance, the budget for promotion for natural science and technology, on the other hand, had been increasing very rush.

Figure4. Road Construction Expense and Technology Promotion Costs in the Budget



After the changeover in political power in 2009, *Renho* was very severely wrangling with the ex-bureaucrats over the funding of semi-governmental bodies on the public round for the government budget trimming. If I may say my own opinion on this screening show, it seems to be a kind of discursive democracy. However, this may be also a kind of populism, or a political popular show.

It was the next scene that *Renho* was paid attention from the Public.

“A Scene of Video Movie ‘Niban, ja Dame?!’”

The RIKEN, which was first organized in 1917 as a private research foundation, but reorganized in 2003 as an independent administrative institution under the Ministry of Education, has been performing the project of development of the next-generation supercomputer. In the public screening a budget for this project was decided to be reduced. The project was aimed to develop the No.1 speed supercomputer in the world. *Renho* asked in the public round, “Is the second place in the world necessary?”

I remember of the famous book *Japan as No.1* by *Ezra Vogel*. I don’t know who was, or what the No.1 in the world was. This No. 1 ideology seems me to be a fantasy existing still now in Japan.

It may be impressive whether the Japanese state mission team can really take the first place under the world wide scientific concurrence. *Renho* herself might suppose the Japan as No.2. I wonder whether the scientific technology should be performed for a particular nation. We have to pay attention to the globalization of scientific technology and the borderless collaboration of scientists and engineers in the 21th century.

Very interestingly, *Ishihara* criticized vehemently the *Renho*'s remark in the public screening show.

Looking from the viewpoint of the history of civilization process of engineering, technology is absolutely necessary, and this is an important thing. Though I do not know, who said, "Why is not the second place good for the development of super computer," I must say that there is not any second place. There is only the first place. ... The advanced technology does not have the second place. ... If the budget will be reduced merely for the sake of screening, I think that this country does not last. (Press Conference on Nov. 27 2009)

Before the Upper House Election, some LDP members left their own party by the reason for the dissatisfaction about the reform by the LDP leader *Tanigaki*. As the result, three groups of them formed three small parties. *Ishihara* is a joint proposer of the Sun Rise Party which is one of these three parties. The Sun Rise Party means literally in Japanese 'Rise up, Japan!.' This party could take only one seat in the Upper House. However, the conservatism of this party and its simple ideological expression 'Rise up, Japan!' seems me to lead to the fantasy of 'No.1 Japan.'

The TV picture of *Renho* influenced upon not a few politicians very much. The LDP made a campaign imaginarily symbolized by the 'No.1 Japan' for the Upper House Election.



The LDP leader *Tanigaki*

However, I assume, even if they raise a traditional nationalistic conservatism as their own idea or ideology, such an old fashioned campaign will not lead to get a big poll.

4. Idea of the Olympic Game Invitation

In October 2009 the International Olympic Committee decided that the Olympic Games 2016 would be held in Rio de Janeiro. The invitation activity, which *Ishihara* had been chiefly promoting since the end of his second term of office, failed.

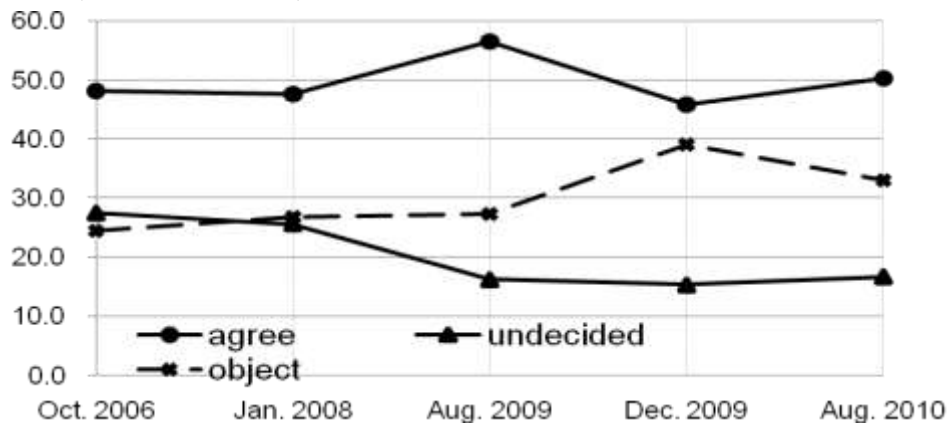
In the summer of 2006 *Ishihara* orientated the invitation of Olympic Games 2016 to Tokyo as basic policy, and he stand as a candidate of the third term of office of Governor. In March 2007 he won a great victory for election. He got 2.81 Million votes. The opposite candidate could only 1.69 Million votes.

However, the rate of agreement for this invitation was not so high. The Tokyo

Metropolitan Government announced often that about 70 percent of the citizen in Tokyo agreed with this invitation. Very interestingly, this question on ‘pro’ or ‘contra’ the invitation, which the Tokyo Metropolitan Government used, was formed as a four-points-scale (‘agreeable’ – ‘if anything, agreeable’ – ‘if anything, objection’ – objection’).

I had been performing the similar question five times since 2006. ‘Similar’ means that I used three or five point scale. I would know the rate of ‘undecided.’

Figure 5. ‘Pro’ or ‘Contra’ the Invitation project of the Olympic Games to Tokyo (since 2006-2010)



	Oct. 2006	Jan. 2008	Aug. 2009	Dec. 2009	Aug. 2010
I agree	48.1	47.6	56.5	45.8	50.3
undecided	27.4	25.6	16.2	15.3	16.7
I object	24.5	26.8	27.3	39.0	33.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
	N=420	N=624	N=1444	N=832	N=1444

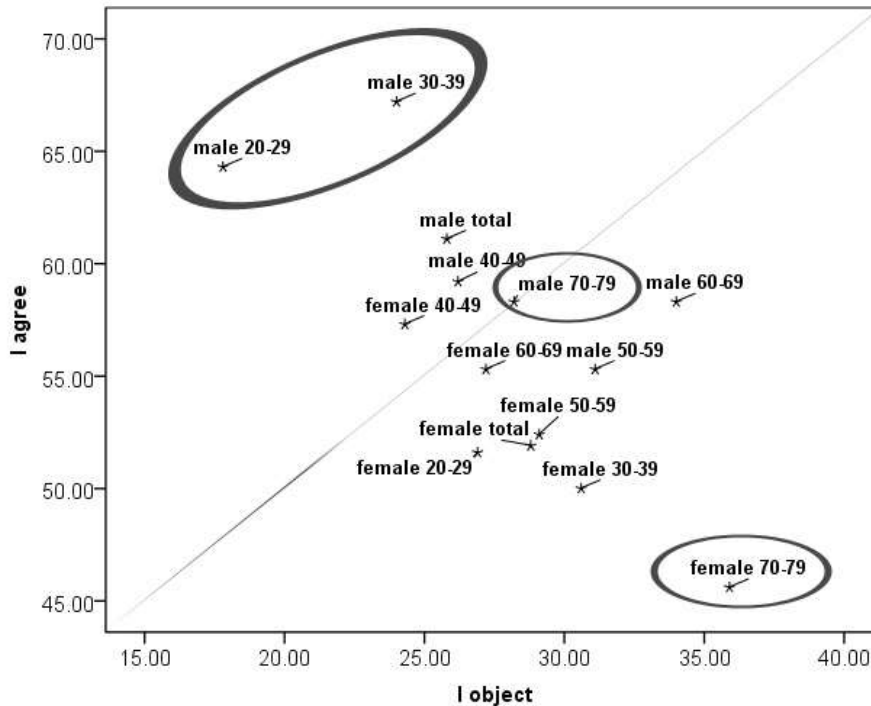
*After Dec. 2009 the expressions of this question are changed: I am disappointed, I cannot say either, and I am satisfied.

According to our data, the rate of citizens who agreed with this invitation was around 50 percent.

In the coming March 2011 the gubernatorial election will be held. *Ishihara* doesn't express the candidacy, but on the other hand he said already officially that Tokyo would try to apply for the Olympic Games 2020.

If we break down the opinion on the invitation of the Olympic Game 2016 to Tokyo by gender and age group, we can know that young men expect for this invitation.

Figure6. ‘Pro’ or ‘Contra’ the Invitation project of the Olympic Games to Tokyo (broken by gender and age group)



These young men age group may evaluate the invitation of the Olympic Games to Tokyo very highly. Will they go to the polls in next March? Their voting rate has been always around 20 to 30 percent.

The main age groups which have been supported *Ishihara* in three gubernatorial elections since 1999 are today’s male 70-79 and female 70-79. Around 70 percent of this age group goes willingly to the polls. They are the same generation as *Ishihara*. As they were in their youth, lots of them might have sympathy with his novels and his brother’s films¹. However, they seem to be indifferent to the invitation of the Olympic Games.

Table3. Rate of Voters for Ishihara and Age Groups

	Age Group						Total
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	
Ishihara	19.4%	31.7%	41.3%	43.2%	50.5%	49.5%	36.8%
	N=371	N=249	N=206	N=206	N=206	N=206	N=1444

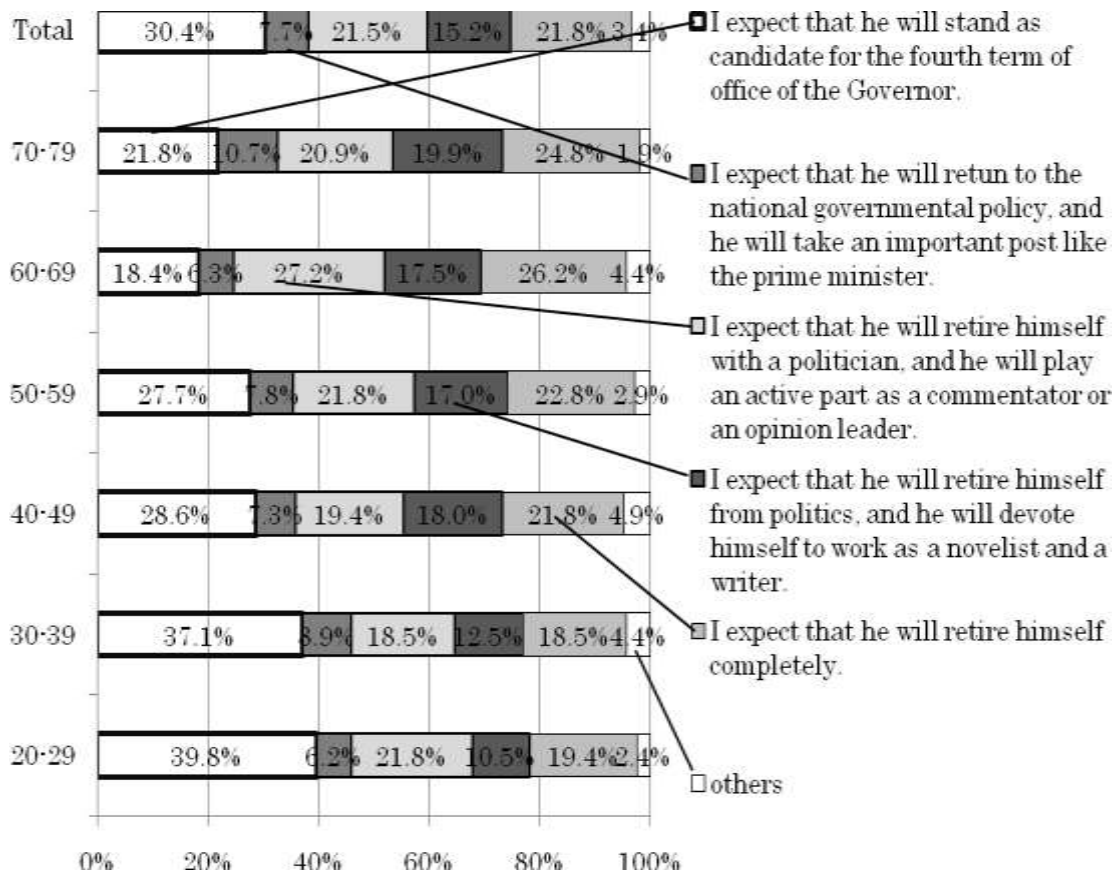
Data 4

In April 2011 the Tokyo Gubernatorial Election is planned. The next Figure 7 is an outcome of some expectations for *Ishihara*. Interestingly the older generation, which

¹ Mototaka MORI, “Who votes for Mr. Ishihara? –Two analytical consideration on the populism in Tokyo”, in: Shigekazu Kusune, *Socio-Cultural Transformation in the 21st Century?*, Kanazawa/Japan 2007.

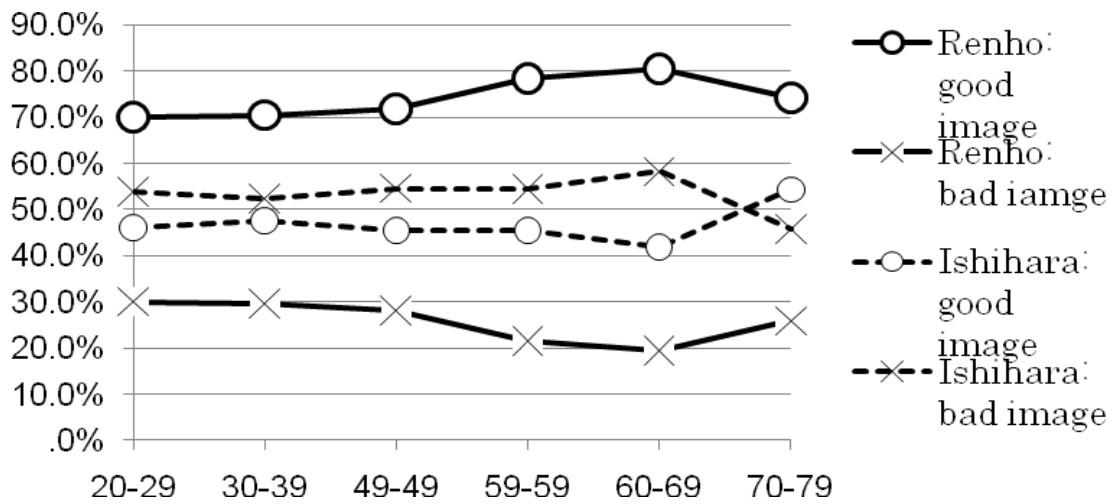
was that of the ardent supporters, will not so strongly expect for his fourth term of office. A quarter of over 60years age persons expect that he will retire himself completely. On the other hand, the younger generation expects that he will continue to perform his fourth term of office. Did the promotion of the Invitation of the Olympic Games effect on the supporting structure of *Ishihara*?

Figure 7. The Tokyo Gubernatorial Election is planned in April 2011. What do you expect for Mr. Ishihara?"



Comparing the image of *Ishihara* with that of *Renho*, the curve of bad image on *Ishihara* is similar to that of good image on *Renho*. Every age group has good impression on *Renho*, because she has not taken any mistakes so far on the political drama. As for *Ishihara*, a bad impression exceeds a good impression by all age groups except the 70-79 group.

Figure 8. Image on Ishihara and Renho



The over 70 age group's persons seem to have relatively a good impression on Ishihara still now.

5. Changeable Images

The next following tables show us a transition of the preference elements of which the personal character of *Mr. Ishihara* is consisted. Originally (before October 2006) we could find two principal components from the following 12 elements. Of course, one of them is negative to him, and another is positive

However, after January 2008 we can find the third component. And this component is not easy to define its character. Since 1999 he has been being in office as the Governor. But these 12 years have changed various aspects of the environment around him. I suppose that he cannot keep the original paradoxical pair (positive – negative) any more. His image itself will be gradually dissolved.

Nov. 2005

	1	2
He has a leadership.	.827	-.101
He has an executive ability.	.812	-.073
He is reasonable.	.786	-.227
He understands the tendency of the time.	.772	-.278
He does politics to meet the expectation of the citizens.	.747	-.313
He is good looking.	.716	-.212
His writing and originals of movies are interesting.	.462	-.198
He is despotic.	-.194	.862
He is egocentric.	-.199	.826
He is right wing-like.	-.149	.764
He has many unnecessary performances.	-.203	.693
He is anachronism.	-.526	.553

Oct. 2006

	1	2
He is reasonable.	.822	-.201
He has a leadership.	.803	.045
He has an executive ability.	.796	-.053
He does politics to meet the expectation of the citizens.	.780	-.191
He understands the tendency of the time.	.778	-.195
He is good looking.	.731	-.155
His writing and originals of movies are interesting.	.640	.017
He is despotic.	-.079	.844
He is egocentric.	-.136	.841
He is right wing-like.	-.092	.763
He has many unnecessary performances.	.025	.704
He is anachronism.	-.412	.537

Jan. 2008

	1	2	3
He has an executive ability.	.834	.229	-.082
He is good looking.	.809	.020	-.019
He has a leadership.	.767	.314	-.063
He is reasonable.	.717	-.094	.368
He does politics to meet the expectation of the citizens.	.700	-.113	.267
He understands the tendency of the time.	.681	-.075	.406
He is egocentric.	-.011	.901	.071
He is despotic.	-.016	.875	.123
He has many unnecessary performances.	.141	.660	.234
He is right wing-like.	.142	.280	.734
He is anachronism.	-.044	.370	.730
His writing and originals of movies are interesting.	.439	-.097	.467

Aug. 2009

	1	2	3
He has an executive ability.	.838	.104	-.131
He has a leadership.	.805	.123	-.087
He is good looking.	.766	-.040	.074
He is reasonable.	.670	.003	.429
He understands the tendency of the time.	.657	-.012	.440
He does politics to meet the expectation of the citizens.	.641	-.048	.324
He is despotic.	.004	.884	-.027
He is egocentric.	.014	.884	-.076
He has many unnecessary performances.	.137	.662	.193
He is anachronism.	-.153	.538	.542
He is right wing-like.	.014	.504	.544
His writing and originals of movies are interesting.	.222	-.020	.722

Dec. 2009

	1	2	3
He has an executive ability.	.869	.026	.066
He has a leadership.	.771	.050	.170
He is good looking.	.743	-.062	.259
He is egocentric.	.098	.877	-.137
He is despotic.	.012	.868	-.023
He has many unnecessary performances.	.006	.649	.135
He is anachronism.	-.291	.532	.495
He understands the tendency of the time.	.397	-.049	.698
His writing and originals of movies are interesting.	.133	.023	.668
He is reasonable.	.458	-.003	.652
<i>He is right wing-like.</i>	-.125	.457	.585
He does politics to meet the expectation of the citizens.	.445	-.036	.579

Aug. 2010

	1	2	3
He has a leadership.	.835	.124	-.150
He has an executive ability.	.806	.163	-.159
He is reasonable.	.760	.016	.198
He understands the tendency of the time.	.723	.016	.252
He does politics to mee the expectation of the citizens.	.708	.021	.273
He is good looking.	.671	-.093	.217
He is egocentric.	.004	.837	.003
He is despotic.	.058	.820	.040
He has many unnecessary performances.	.125	.717	-.023
He is anachronism.	-.145	.617	.446
His writing and originals of movies are interesting.	.316	.000	.740
<u>He is right wing-like.</u>	.106	.523	.536

Reference

DATA 1:

Theme: “Image Research on the Governor of Tokyo”

Method: Internet Survey

Population: Net Research Company Macro Mill’s monitors, who live in Tokyo.

Sampling: Categories; Age Group(20-29, 30-39, …,60-69), Gender. Samples: 400.

Performing Term: Oct. 26-29, 2006.

DATA 2:

Theme: “Image on the Invitation of the Olympic Game 2016 and the Governor of Tokyo 1”

Method: Internet Survey

Population: Net Research Company Macro Mill’s monitors, who live in Tokyo.

Sampling: Categories; Age Group(20-29, 30-39, …,60-69), Gender. Samples: 600.

Investigation Date: Jan. 8- 9, 2008.

DATA 3:

Theme: “Image on the Invitation of the Olympic Game 2016 and the Governor of Tokyo 2”

Method: Internet Survey

Population: Net Research Company Macro Mill's monitors, who live in Tokyo.

Sampling: Categories; Age Group(20-29, 30-39, ...,60-69), Gender. Samples: 1400.

Investigation Date: Aug. 20-24, 2009.

DATA 4:

Theme: "Image on the Invitation of the Olympic Game 2016 and the Governor of Tokyo 3"

Method: Internet Survey

Population: Net Research Company Macro Mill's monitors, who live in Tokyo.

Sampling: Categories; Age Group(20-29, 30-39, ...,60-69), Gender. Samples: 800.

Investigation Date: Dec. 1-2, 2009.

DATA 5:

Theme: "Image on the Invitation of the Olympic Game 2016, the Governor of Tokyo and the Japanese Political Situation Today"

Method: Internet Survey

Population: Net Research Company Macro Mill's monitors, who live in Tokyo.

Sampling: Categories; Age Group (20-29, 30-39, ..., 70-79), Gender. Samples: 1400.

Investigation Date: Aug. 1- 4, 2010.