

# An Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Politics (2) Elections

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Time is passing quickly. Everything is changing rapidly during these days of fluidity. When I was finishing the first part of this article, "Political Parties" last October, five factions were operating in the LDP. However two months later, by December, the largest faction (the Takeshita faction) split into two factions, namely, the Obuchi faction and the Hata faction. It is well known that the major leader of the latter is Ichirō Ozawa. Many political experts are focussed on this faction as the catalyst for party realignment. At the present time (as of January 1993), the LDP has six factions and one small group.

Furthermore, the Japan New Party, which was established before the Upper House general election in 1992, is now a focus of attention for the media and voting public. The leader of this party is the former LDP politician, Morihiro Hosokawa. This party seems to be rather conservative in nature. It has the potentiality to produce the core of a new party system composing two conservative parties. However things depend on the outcome of the coming general election for the Lower House.

Concerning the electoral system, we cannot say that there is no possibility for drastic change in the foreseeable future.

I will refer to it in the third part of this article.

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### *1 Outline*

#### *(1) The Electoral System*

##### *Election for the House of Representatives*

The most important election in Japan is the Lower House election. The Diet, constituting both Houses, is in principle the highest state organ. According to the Constitution the House of Representatives has more power than the House of Councillors. The elections for the Lower House are thus the most influential. The most ambitious politicians seek to become members of this House, while the people are far more interested in Lower than Upper House elections.

Almost all general elections for the Lower House have been held following the dissolution of the House, only in very exceptional cases are general elections held after the completion of a full term. Parliament is usually dissolved when the cabinet feels that the timing is most suitable to the promotion of its own interest. It is also very rare for this House to be dissolved as

the consequence of a vote of no confidence. At this point the Japanese system is no different to the British system. The governments of both countries can call general elections at their own discretion. This system allows governments to avoid holding elections when circumstances are unfavorable to their reelection.

Persons at least twenty-five years of age are eligible to stand for election to this House. Persons who are twenty years of age or over possess the right to vote. Viewed from the legal perspective, universal suffrage exists in Japan. Constituencies for this House are medium sized multi-member constituencies. They are characteristic of the Japanese political scene.

#### *Elections for the House of Councillors*

Once every three years, in either June or July, there is an election for the Upper House. With regard to the regularity of the election, the same system operates in the US. The LDP cannot avoid an election for this House even if in the midst of a shameful political scandal. This is one reason why the LDP suffered a crushing defeat in the 1989 general election.

Candidates in this election must be at least thirty years of age. The right to vote is gained at twenty years of age. The voting rate in the election for the Upper House is lower than that for the Lower House.

There are two ballots in the Upper House elections. The first ballot is cast to select candidates for individual constituencies. The second ballot is cast for a party, this part of election is based on the system of proportional representation. This looks similar to the German electoral system. In essence, however, the Japanese system is different from the German system.

Electoral reform has been a trendy theme for discussion in

recent years, although it has yet to be implemented. However some politicians could benefit greatly from reform. The possibility of a new electoral system being introduced for both Houses is not necessarily a low one.

(2) *Electioneering*

*Parties, Interest Groups*

It goes without saying that the heroes and heroines of elections are individual candidates. In substance, however, it is not individuals but groups or organizations which are the main actors in Japanese elections.

Almost all candidates in national elections are authorized by a party. Some candidates are recommended or supported by two or more parties. There are also independent candidates. However, many of these people are only nominally non-partisan. They failed to find a place on a party ticket.

It appears that Japanese national elections provide for competition among the parties. But Japanese parties, except for the JCP, are not organized. In a sense they exist simply as labels. They lack funds and campaigners for electioneering.

Many interest groups participate in elections openly and vigorously. They recommend individual candidates and provide campaign funds as a group. Furthermore they mobilize their members as canvassers. They are more powerful actors than parties in the national elections.

It is not true, however, that the politicians are totally dependent on their parties and the interest groups supporting them. Authorization by a party and the assistance of interest groups is not sufficient for election, especially in the case of LDP candidates.

Almost every candidate has his or her own support organiza-

tion. Strictly speaking, in the case of the JCP this organization works not for the candidate but in principle for the party. For Liberal Democrats, the main-force of their campaign is provided by their support organizations. Conservative politicians devote all their energies to building and maintaining this machine. The support organization is important also for the Diet members and would-be Diet members of the opposition parties.

Japanese elections are very expensive. One cause of the waste is the existence of the support organizations. They are political and social groups. Expenses are covered by "donations" offered to the politicians.

In large cities in particular there are a number of so called volatile electors. Neither the parties, interest groups nor support organizations have any effective strategy for winning their favour. They seem to vote or abstain depending on the amount of coverage by the mass media. Such voters will likely increase in the future. It can be expected that issues discussed in the mass media will affect elections more and more.

### *(3) Characteristics of Japanese Elections*

#### *Support Organizations*

It is often said that while the Japanese economy is advanced, politics are pre-modern. The importance of support organizations seems to be evidence of the backward features of Japanese politics.

While a party aims at maintaining or achieving political power, support organizations focus on the Diet member. Their business is to get a seat for the candidate, who is in their employ so to speak. For this purpose a support organization makes an all out effort to win the voters over to its side. In return the

leaders of the support organization get various kinds of financial profit and mental satisfaction through the activities of its Diet members.

You may be suspicious of the support organization. It is an enigmatic body that makes politics somewhat shady.

### *Human Relationships*

The original base of support organizations was often primarily blood ties. Relatives, neighbours and persons from candidates' towns would form themselves into a support group.

The support organization was thus not policy based, so to speak, but was founded upon human relationships. Over time, however, the "jobs-relationship" has become more influential. The motive for joining support organizations are now greatly influenced by practical interests. The driving force is neither common policy nor ideology.

Elections in Japan appear to provide for competition among modern parties. But it may be more correct to say that they provide for competition among many human relationship groups.

## *2 the Election System*

### *(1) House of Representatives*

#### *Electors and Voting*

Anyone over twenty years of age has the right to vote, not only in the general elections for the House of Representatives but in all kinds of public elections.

Voting always takes place on a Sunday. The electors go to a polling station. The total number of polls around Japan was 52,392 in the 1990 general election. Many of them were located in elementary school gymnasiums.

The voters write the name of one candidate in their constituency on the ballot paper. An Australian ballot or a ballot on which names of candidates are printed is only rarely used in Japan.

*Medium Sized Multi-Member Constituencies*

The number of constituencies for the Lower House is 129 as of Jan. 1993. Individual prefectures have from one to eleven constituencies. Small prefectures have only one, while Tōkyō has eleven.

The total number of seats is 511. Every constituency has from two to five seats, except for two constituencies with six seats. This constituency system for the Japanese Lower House is generally called the medium sized multi-member (or seat) constituency system.

Under this system one party often fields two or more candidates in one constituency. The LDP authorizes two or more candidates in many of the constituencies. The SDPJ also does so sometimes.

The LDP is not an organized party but a coalition of factions. In actuality each faction has its own candidate in a constituency. As the result the most fierce fights take place among LDP and unauthorized conservative candidates. This is one reason why the Japanese elections are so expensive, especially for the conservatives. The SDPJ manages to avert such critical internal fights. However the SDPJ seems as much as possible to avoid multi-candidacy situations for fear of a struggle among its factions. The party which has the shadow cabinet runs only 160 or less candidates in each general election. The SDPJ renounces the race before the start.

*Disparity of the Value of Voting*

The rural districts are overrepresented while the urban

districts are underrepresented. When the districts were set up just after the Second World War, the disparity between the value of votes in different districts was small. But urbanization caused by rapid economic growth has caused a greater disparity year by year.

The government has done little to overcome this inequality. The over-representation of the rural areas is advantageous to the LDP. On the other hand, under-representation in urban areas is a disadvantage to the opposition parties, especially to Kōmeitō and the JCP.

The Supreme Court passed the judgement that disparity between votes of more than one to three was unconstitutional. However a disparity of around one to three has continued even after this judgement. In this context, the value of one vote indicates the population per one seat in each district.

This distortion is one institutional reason for the LDP's long term dominance. It also has caused to some extent the dominance of the SDPJ among the opposition parties. The SDPJ is also a rather rural based party.

(2) *House of Councillors*

*Prefectural Constituencies*

Each prefecture serves as one constituency for the election of the Upper House Election. Each constituency has two to eight seats. In practice, however, there are only one to four seats in each election, because half the members of this House are scheduled for election every three years. Tōkyō and Hokkaidō each have four seats.

The disparity between votes is wider in the Upper than the Lower House. The rural or depopulated prefectures that have



only one or two seats provided for the LDP's dominance in the Upper House general elections until the 1989 election.

Single-member constituencies can fluctuate markedly, depending on the issue. An increase in so-called issue voting may make future elections for the Upper House more interesting.

By-elections are sometimes carried out. In this House by-elections are held when a district has one vacancy. They are often barometers of public opinion. But the Lower House seldom has by-elections. Only when a district has two or more vacancies.

### *Proportional Representation*

In former days the Upper House had a nationwide constituency where fifty members were elected in one election. The voters cast a ballot in favor of a single candidate among about one hundred. In 1983 this nationwide constituency system was abolished in favour of the current proportional representation system. The constituency based on it has one hundred seats, half of which are scheduled for election every three years.

The voters cast their ballot for a party. The fifty seats are allotted according to the votes acquired by the respective parties. The candidates on the lists announced officially by the parties are given their seats in order. The d'Hont system is used.

Under this PR system, the LDP has won less than forty percent of the total number of seats. In the light of this record, the LDP could not win a majority if the system was established for the Lower House.

### (3) *The History of the Electoral System*

#### *Before the War*

About one hundred years have passed since the start of a

modern electoral system in Japan. Since the Meiji Restoration, namely the beginning of the modernization of Japan, less than one and a half centuries have passed. It may safely be said that Japan is a developing nation in comparison with those countries which have a long tradition for democracy.

In the pre-War days, only men over twenty-five years of age had the right to vote or stand for election. Moreover, there was for many years discrimination based upon the amount of taxes they paid. In addition to the Lower House there was the House of Peers. At the local level, the Home Affairs Minister selected governors from Ministry officers.

*After the War*

Electoral reform was one of the most important aspects of the occupation forces' drastic reorganization of society. The new electoral system institutionalized political democratization. Broadly speaking, the United States revolutionized this insular country.

Under the renewed laws and Constitution, all men and women over the fixed ages were provided with the right to vote and stand for election from the latter half of the 1940's. The Diet was remodeled into the highest organ of the state and representative of the whole nation. In local politics also, the residents were given the right to elect the governor directly.

Not yet half a century has passed since the Japanese people were granted universal suffrage or democracy. This short history indicates that Japan is a politically backward nation, just like Asian and South American countries.

In the second half of this century the political forces have been competing for power under the rules set by the United States. There has been no significant change to the electoral

system, except for the introduction of proportional representation for the Upper House. If the Japanese political community succeeds in establishing a new electoral system, it may mark an end to the political legacy of the occupation forces. However it is questionable whether this would be a good or bad thing.

### *3 Electioneering*

#### *(1) During the Official Term for the Election Campaign*

In the case of Lower House elections the legal term is fifteen days from the public announcement of the election to the day before the voting. In the case of Upper House elections there are eighteen days.

Each of the parties, interest groups and support organizations mobilizes many canvassers. The number and morale of these people is often decisive for the candidate's electoral fortune.

Delivering a great quantity of bills, shouting candidates' names repeatedly using a loud speaker from cars, countless speeches at meetings day and night, door-to-door canvassing and so on are all familiar during elections. The election is a kind of festival. It wastes a formidable amount of resources and human effort and results in both annoyance to the public and the contamination of the environment.

#### *(2) Daily Canvassing*

Despite legal restrictions, politicians and canvassers are active every day and night in every year. It is no exaggeration to say that the daily lives of politicians are devoted to victory in the next election. They start their new canvassing from the day following the last election. Even during the Diet session they make two round trips to their individual constituencies

a week on average. Their activities are mainly social, for example, attendance at weddings, funerals or other meetings.

Politicians and their secretaries are available at no charge for a wide variety of functions. They make ceremonies more prestigious, find their voters' jobs, mediate with public offices for their clients, handle troubles caused by traffic accidents and so on. They are not statesmen. Are they politicians? What can we call them?

(3) *Daigishi-Keiretsu*

Many large Japanese companies are involved in the rather infamous Keiretsu. Conservative politicians also have a Keiretsu. The head of the Keiretsu are individual members of the House of Representatives. Under them are several prefectural assembly members in their districts. Under these assembly members or directly under the Diet members in some cases, are several scores of city or ward assembly members. The relations among them are something like relations between a parent company and its subcontractors. The boss takes care of the men like a patron. The clients support the boss in his campaign process.

The LDP has no special organization for each constituency of the Lower House. Though each has usually two or more candidates, the LDP itself does not support its candidates. The individual Daigishi-Keiretsu support their boss and compete with his or her rivals. However Upper House members of the LDP do not have their own Keiretsu in their prefecture. So they have less prestige than members of the Lower House in the conservative camp.

Neither do the opposition parties have special branches for each electoral district. The local branches of Japanese parties

only correspond to administrative units. The SDPJ, which runs two candidates in some districts, has no such Daigishi-Keiretsu. It is peculiar to the Liberal Democrats.

*Support Organization, Human Relationships*

Except for the JCP the parties are not active in the constituencies during the long term between elections. Meanwhile the interest groups are also active only in their own internal affairs.

The most active entity is the support organization. Yet its activity is not political. It takes care of the members and the other residents. For example a crucial component of this care-taking includes getting them jobs. It often sponsors recreational events and sightseeing tours with dining and drinking. The support organization organizes voters according to various human ties such as bloodties, neighborhood, friend or business relationships.

In recent years more calculating relationships based on business have become important. For instance, many construction companies and their Keiretsu have formed themselves into the pillars of the individual support organizations for the Liberal Democrats. The companies finance daily activities and canvassing and make their employees work as canvassers.

In return the companies are given public works projects with behind the scenes help of powerful Diet members. It is well known that the public tender system in Japan is wholly nominal.

*Election and Money*

Electoral expenses appear to be under strict legal control. But the laws regulating elections and political funding have countless loopholes. These laws were made by the politicians themselves

who gather enormous money and then divide it among their supporters.

It is often said that one election costs several hundred million yen (or several million dollars) for the Liberal Democrats. This is many times more than the electoral expense allowed legally. Even in the case of many opposition candidates, elections seem to cost around a hundred million yen. But these expenses cover not only the legal campaign but also all the time from one election to the next. The latter period is about two and half years on average.

Many LDP Diet members have a large number of private secretaries and clerical employees. They thus require a formidable amount of money to cover personnel expenses. The high price of Japanese commodities is notorious. Diet members also finance the activities of their support organizations, as well as the local assembly members under their Daigishi-Keiretsu. Money is essential.

It is well known how vast are the entertainment expenses of individual Japanese companies. The companies entertain and provide financial support to politicians, especially the Liberal Democrats. This is a consequence of the LDP always being the government party. The companies, however, often do the same thing for opposition party politicians although to a lesser degree. Plutocratic contamination has spread over the whole political world, except for the JCP. Yet it is doubtful whether the JCP in government would be free from corruption.

Structural corruption is one of the characteristic features of Japanese politics. The politicians seem to have an especially keen nose for money. We can always see the shadow of political

involvement whenever huge illegal transactions with the government or enormous sums of shady money linked with illegal dealings or tax evasion are disclosed.

The politicians, LDP politicians in particular, have long insisted that the electoral system, and especially the multi-seat constituency system, has caused mammonism. The LDP proposes a single-seat system in order to facilitate inexpensive elections.

It may safely be said that such a system would provide the LDP with a majority of seats for less expense. Yet it is dubious whether LDP politicians will stop seeking money. It seems that money simply pours into the pockets of the powerful in such an affluent and extravagant society.

#### *4 Voting Behavior*

##### *(1) Who Votes for Which Party*

From the demographic point of view, the percentage of older persons who vote for the conservatives is higher than that for the younger age group. Likewise, the LDP voters tend to be long term rather than short term residents.

But it is not true that younger voters or short term residents vote in favor of the opposition parties. The majority of them do not go to the polls. It appears that the electors who did not vote conservative in their youth or who are short term residents turn towards the LDP.

As for the index of age it is natural that older people are more conservative. The Japanese seniority system may be an additional cause of this phenomenon. It is recognized that the aging effect exists alongside the generation effect.

Analyzed from the regional point of view, many electors in

rural areas vote for the conservatives. This can be explained partly by the fact that such areas include many electors who are old and long term residents. But it also be a consequence, at least in part, of the fact that such areas depend heavily on public works and subsidies. The central government, namely the LDP government, has decisive power in allocating such public goods to individual regions. The residents of such areas seek assistance from the central government. Poor regions support the LDP government. But all this may simply mean is that they seek the patronage of the central government and do not necessarily support the LDP. Support according to occupation has been described in chapter one.

(2) *Do Voters Choose a Party or a Candidate?*

Many multi-member constituencies have two or more LDP candidates. Some have two SDPJ candidates. It is not clear whether the voters choose a party or an individual candidate. According to the opinion polls many respondents claim that they consider the personality of each candidate to be more important than the party.

The human relationships between the candidate and relatives, friends and supporters is a very important factor influencing Japanese voting behaviour. For example, almost all candidates belong to their constituencies. The central headquarters of individual parties would never support a candidate who has no connection with the district.

The ideology or policy of each party does not seem to be significant in elections. This is especially so in the case of the Lower House elections. The Upper House consists of individual districts, usually with one candidate for each party and a system



of proportional representation.

(3) *Who Goes to the Polls?*

*Demographic Analysis*

The voting rate for the Lower House general election is about seventy percent on average. The rate for the Upper House is lower, while that for Prefectural Assembly elections is higher except in metropolitan areas.

What type of electors usually go to the polls? What type usually do not go? Some tendencies are known. The voting rate of young people is low, while that of older electors is high. The correlation between years of residence and voting rates is also known. The voting rate of electors who have lived for many years in their municipalities is high, while that for short term residents is low. The voting rate of electors in villages, towns or small cities is high. The rate in large cities is low. Using the occupational index, the voting rate of workers in technologically primitive industries, such as agriculture or fishery, is high. The rate among the self-employed is also high. That of the so called white collar workers, especially in large cities, is low. Students are the least likely to vote.

*Voting Patterns and Conservative Dominance*

In general, LDP supporters go to the polls more often than supporters of other parties. For instance, the support rate for the LDP among the older electors is higher than that among the young. Long term residents are also more supportive of the LDP than short term residents. Workers in more traditional industries and the self-employed are more supportive than are so called white collar workers, especially in the large cities. Support in the villages, towns or small cities is higher than that in the

large cities.

Generally speaking, most young people and large city residents are not supporters of the LDP. The majority of those who do not support the LDP, however, do not support any party. Many of them often abstain from voting. Electors who do not vote for the LDP do not necessarily vote for the opposition parties.

In recent years, the volatility of electors, including voting or abstention, is on the increase.

### *5 Recent Elections*

In the latter half of the 1970s, many commentators often said that the end of LDP government was at hand. It was often said that the 1980s would be an age of coalition government under the leadership of the opposition parties.

But in actuality the 'double' election in 1980 provided drastic change in the political and social spheres and led to revival of conservative dominance.

#### *(1) The 1980 'double' General Election*

##### *Why was the House of Representatives Dissolved?*

In May 1980, a vote of no confidence in the Government was passed. It was proposed by the SDPJ. It won a majority due to the abstention of anti-main stream Conservative members, such as the Fukuda faction. In those days the struggle between the main stream and those anti the main stream was very severe.

Then Prime Minister Ōhira dissolved the Lower House. Coincidentally, the Upper House general election was scheduled for June. As a result the election day both Houses was set on the same day. This was the first so called 'double' election. It appeared to be a coincidence, although the main stream might have cal-

culated the result. It may have allowed the no confidence vote to pass in order to force a 'double' election. It is conceivable that the LDP power holders believed that a 'double' election would be advantageous. The 'double' elections of both 1980 and 1986 brought landslide victories for the LDP.

*The Story of This 'Double' Election*

It appeared that the opposition parties had the edge over the LDP in the opening stages. The opposition parties promoted a vision of coalition government. On the other hand the LDP was engrossed in internal conflict.

In the middle phase, the electoral coalition of the opposition parties malfunctioned due to an inability to cooperate. In the meantime, the LDP recovered its balance with help to some extent, from the financial world.

In the last phase, the then Prime Minister died from a heart ailment. The LDP started a battle to 'avenge his death', with the news media mourning the passing of the late great statesman Ōhira.

*The Results*

The LDP won a complete majority in both Houses. Though many people predicted the defeat of the LDP before the start of the campaign, the 'double' elections had produced a stable majority for the conservative camp, at least for the mean time.

The 1960s and 1970s were an age of long term decline for the LDP.

*(2) The 1986 'Double' Election*

*Why was the Lower House dissolved?*

Then Prime Minister Nakasone convened the extraordinary Diet session in June 1986. Yet he dissolved it directly after it

was opened.

The LDP predicted another landslide. This was the sole reason for the decision. Nakasone himself also hoped for a brilliant victory in order to lengthen the term of his Presidency.

In Japan the right to dissolved the House is exercised in this way. In actuality, it issued not to seek the opinion of public but to serve the governing party and its President.

#### *The Story of this 'Double' Election*

This election was without a central issue. The Media focussed attention on the actions of Nakasone and the other so called new leaders. The generational change and factional struggles in the LDP revitalized the conservative camp. The sole interest of many electors was in discovering who should be the successor to Nakasone.

In recent elections the agenda of the mass media seems to have been a great influence on the voting behavior of ordinary people.

The three so called "new" leaders were all over sixty years old. The leaders of the political community in Japan are usually very old. Almost all are over sixty. Indeed it is common for leaders to be over seventy. It is symbolic of the aging society in general. The seniority system produces an aged leadership.

#### *The Results*

Over three hundred LDP candidates were successful in the Lower House election. The LDP won an overwhelming majority in both Houses. This outcome impressed upon the public the so called revival of conservative dominance. Nakasone gained an extra year in the presidency. On the other hand, the opposition parties were both shocked and disappointed. The powerlessness

of the opposition after the 'double' elections seemed to lead to the privatization of the then Japan National Railway by the LDP government.

This privatization meant that the militant JNR trade unions were dismantled. These unions had been the most powerful and most important pillar of the Japanese working class movement after the War.

(3) *The 1989 General Election for the House of Councillors.*

*The Situation Before the Election*

In December 1988, the Consumption Tax Bill was passed by the LDP. It looked to many people as though the SDPJ had resisted vehemently but that Kōmeitō and the DSP had done so only superficially. Such a phenomenon, namely superficial resistance by the opposition parties, can often be seen in Japanese politics.

From that time onwards, the Recruit bribery scandal began to become more clearly exposed. A large newly rising company called Recruit had allegedly bribed several politicians and bureaucrats with large amounts of money.

In April 1989 the new Consumption Tax Law took effect. This consumption tax was the first full-scale indirect tax to be implemented in Japan. Many people were very much angered by its implementation. The indignation of the people against dirty politicians and the new tax drove the LDP government into a corner. Finally Prime Minister Takeshita resigned. However his successor, Uno was also driven into a corner, by the disclosure of his involvement in a sex scandal.

*The Story of This Election*

The general election took place in July among a great deal of

excitement generated by expectations of a heavy loss for the LDP. The central figure of this election was the then Chairwoman of the SDPJ, Takako Doi. She was perceived as a pure stateperson who devoted herself to the people and to the punishment of the greedy LDP power holders.

The mass media focussed on public anger at bribery and the new tax, and the activities of Doi and the women candidates following her. Under such an agenda there was no possibility that the LDP could escape from a shameful defeat.

#### *The Result*

The SDPJ won a landslide victory. The LDP suffered a disastrous loss. In the Upper House, the LDP lost its majority. It was the first time that the LDP had failed to maintain its majority in the two Houses since 1955. The opposition parties now had the upper hand in one of the Houses. The 1989 general election for the Upper House was an epochmaking election.

This election seemed to show the increasing volatility of the electors. It also indicated the influence of the mass media and the importance of issues.

#### *(4) The 1990 General Election*

##### *Why was the House of Representatives dissolved?*

The reason seems to be as follows. The winter of 1990 was the most suitable time for the LDP to fight a general election. It took half a year for public indignation over the consumption tax and political corruption to dissipate. On the other hand, Eastern European Communism disintegrated rapidly during the winter of 1990. The LDP regained its confidence and had considerable public support. Though the support rate for the SDPJ was high, the LDP did not have time to wait for the SDPJ's

popularity to fall. The term of the Lower House members was scheduled to expire in a few months.

*The Story of This Election*

This election had no special issue. The Recruit bribery scandal and the consumption tax belonged to the past. The media is always looking for something new. It never focuses on subjects which do not capture the public interest. The public, meanwhile, is not interested in subjects which the media does not take up. This may sound like a tautology, but it appears to be.

*The Result*

The outcome for the LDP was quite good. The LDP won a stable majority in the Lower House. The SDPJ also did quite well. The SDPJ easily won first place among the opposition parties. It is questionable whether the SDPJ truly aims at political power. Even in this election when the SDPJ was running before a favorable wind, it did not nominate candidates in a majority of seats. The party appears to be content with a majority over the other opposition parties. The other opposition parties, Kōmeitō, the JCP and the DSP lost seats. In a sense they were defeated not by the LDP but by the SDPJ.

I have a feeling that this election is indicative of the conservative orientation of the voting public in the 1990's. Without any special agenda, the LDP seems to be able to maintain its majority. However we must consider the difference in voting behavior for the two Houses. The Lower House elections are different from the Upper House elections, to speak generally. The LDP is more powerful in the Lower House elections. Moreover, the LDP is more powerful in local elections than in national elections.

6 *Comparative Analysis with Britain and the U.S.A.*

(1) *Comparison with British Elections*

*The Electoral System for the House of Commons*

Anyone over twenty-one years of age is eligible to stand for election. Needless to say there is no discrimination by sex or according to the amount of tax paid. Nevertheless almost all candidates are men. Female candidates are few. In comparison with Japan, however the ratio of women to men is higher.

With regard to age, candidates in their twenties are few. However, compared with Japan, the average age of British candidates is younger by about ten years. Anyone over eighteen years age is eligible to vote. In national elections, the voting rate is slightly higher than that of Japan.

The constituencies are all single-member constituencies. The number of districts or seats is 651 at least as of the 1992 general election. Britain is representative of the single-seat district system. Traditionally, however, and in history, British constituencies usually had two seats. For many years, the second largest opposition party, the Social Liberal Democratic Party has called for the introduction of the proportional representation system. This party was formerly known as the Liberal Party.

*Comparison*

The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the constituencies. The Japanese districts are multi-member constituencies while the British constituencies are single-member based.

It is often said that the single-seat district has provided the two-party system and has promoted regular changes of power for the British people. Had it been introduced in Japan, however



there is little doubt that such a system would have given an even more overwhelming majority to the LDP.

With regard to the dissolution of the Lower House, both countries follow the same convention. The Prime Ministers, strictly speaking the cabinets in Japan, possess the right to dissolve parliament at their discretion. General elections following a vote of no confidence or the expiration of a term are exceptional in both countries.

*British Election Campaigns for the House of Commons*

Cavassing in Britain serves as a representative of the clean election. House-to-house canvassing is the main component of electioneering. The British election campaign is therefore inexpensive. But the elections before the mid 19th century were very expensive. They were something like a business activity and festival rolled into one. The candidates or their agents bought votes from the electors in cash. They often chartered clubs and bought the residents a drink. It was after the 1880's that British elections changed for the better.

*Comparison*

The costs make a striking difference between the electioneering of these two countries. The legal election expenses for the British House of Commons are much cheaper than those of Japan. Of course Japanese candidates need more votes to be elected. But even taking this into account, British elections are clearly inexpensive.

The most important difference, however, is that the British keep to this legal restriction while the Japanese ignore it completely. No Japanese believes that the restriction is observed.

The main forces of the election campaign in Britain are the

parties. It is said that the most important thing for the electors is not the candidate but the party to which he or she belongs. On the other hand, in the case of Japanese elections, the most important forces are the support organizations of the individual candidates. The personality or political power of the individual candidates is an important yardstick, especially for conservative voters.

The popularity of the top leaders of each party is said to influence greatly the success of the party in Britain. This would appear to indicate that the British voters choose not the individual candidate in their constituency but the government. But in Japan the popularity of the party leaders is not so decisive. One reason is that many electors choose one of several candidates belonging to the same party in their districts. The other reason is that the Japanese have been familiar with LDP government for so long that they do not seem to have any sense that they can choose the government.

(2) *Comparison with Elections in the U.S.A.*

*The Presidential and other Electoral Systems*

It hardly needs to be said that the presidential election is the most important election in the US. This election is held every fourth year regardless of the resignation or death of an incumbent president. Strictly speaking popular voting in November does not elect the President directly, but elects the Presidential Electoral College. As a matter of form the College elects the President. However members must cast their ballots keeping the pledges made at the time of their candidacy. As a matter of fact this system results in almost the same outcome as a direct election.

## An Introduction to Contemporary Japanese Politics (2) Elections

The distinctive feature of the presidential election, or elections in the US in general, is the primary election. The primary is the election in which one candidate is chosen from among those who want to run on the ticket of the same party. The voters are the supporters or the self-professed supporters of each party.

General elections for both Houses are carried out every two years. One in every two elections is held on the same day as the presidential election. The other is called the "midterm election". There is no means by which the US Congress can be dissolved.

### *Comparison*

The Japanese Prime Minister is elected in the Diet. In actuality the LDP Diet members have always elected the Prime Minister. The top leader of Japan is not the politician who has the highest popularity among the people, but the most powerful of the Diet members or the LDP Diet members. Prime Ministers focus most of their attention not on the voting public but on their colleagues in the Diet.

Japan does not have a primary system in its elections. The selection of candidates is exercised mainly by the leaders of the individual parties. Local leaders of each electoral district also have some say in it. But no party has a system allowing for the participation of ordinary supporters. In this sense the Japanese system is similar to the traditional American "caucus".

The government party in Japan can determine the time of general elections for the Lower House. The President in the US can not do this. Perhaps the American system is fairer. Which system produces the better outcome for the people is of course another matter. As a point of interest, in France, the President possesses the right to set the time for elections. He has the

right to dissolve the Lower House and can advance the date for the presidential election by offering his resignation.

*A Comparison Between US and Japanese Election Campaigns*

Electioneering usually starts with the beginning of the primary election in the US. In the case of the presidential election it lasts about ten months. American canvassing is long but public.

The process is also long in Japan. But the greater part of it is preelection campaigning. Most activities are dubious in their legality. So they are often hidden from the public. They often also include entertaining electors with meals and drinks and so on.

It seems that American electioneering is more urban in character. The Japanese system is still rather rural. Urban campaigning uses the media more aggressively. It also depends on advertising agencies. In Japan, especially outside of large cities, traditional rural type canvassing is more important. For instance, small scale meetings with candidates and powerful supporters, if possible with entertainment, are effective. Face to face human relationships appear to be the base of this form of canvassing.

As mentioned earlier, the main pillar of the Japanese election campaign is the support organization. Its basis lies in various kinds of human relationships. Compared with the US, Japanese society is far more static and populated.

*7 Theoretical Analysis*

*(1) Typology of Constituencies*

*Single-member constituency systems*

Universal suffrage in many countries gives the right to vote and to stand for election to all adults. The most important difference

in electoral systems seems to lie in the constituencies. The type of constituency which operates in an electoral system affects the outcome of elections and party politics.

A constituency which elects only one representative is called a single-member or single-seat constituency. Britain and the United States are representative of countries which have this system. It is said to usually result in a two-party system just like in Britain and the United States. But there does not seem to be such a close correlation. The Voting system and party alignment are also significant factors.

In Japan the LDP monopolized many single-seat districts for the Upper House until the 1989 general election. There is a high probability that the LDP would obtain an overwhelming majority if the Lower House had a uniform single-seat district system.

In France, where Lower House elections have been carried out under the single-member constituency system, a multi-party system has functioned. The reason for this is that France has a double ballot or a run-off election system.

#### *Medium Sized Multi-Member Constituency Systems*

Japanese electoral districts for the Lower House have had two to five seats, with some exceptions. Such districts are called medium sized multi-member constituencies in Japan. In a broad sense, they are included in the category of multi-member constituencies.

The existence of the five major parties or factions of the LDP is difficult to comprehend without this electoral district system. This system is not a product of the post war electoral reform which was carried out under the occupation forces and the new

Constitution. It also had operated in pre-War days.

*(Large Sized) Multi-Member Constituency System*

This refers to electoral districts which hold six or more seats. To differentiate this system from medium sized systems, "large sized" is often added to its name. This constituency system leads to a polarized multi-party system as a rule. The national constituencies for the Upper House of Japan, which had fifty seats, brought success to many candidates who belonged to the opposition, minor parties or to no party.

If Japan had such a large sized district system for the Lower House, rather than there being one dominant party, a series of unstable coalition governments would generally be the rule.

*(2) Proportional Representation*

*A System in which Electors can Choose only among Parties*

Under this form of political system, the electors do not select an individual member of Parliament but only a party among several or many parties. If individual Diet members observe the decisions of parties completely, their political views or personalities as individuals are almost meaningless. It becomes more rational for electors not to choose a candidate but a party.

The proportional representation system is generally based on the following kind of thinking. People cast their ballots for a party. Each party acquires seats according to the number of ballots which they receive. The Japanese proportional representation system for the Upper House is organized in this way. Electors can not choose candidates. Candidates are allocated a position on lists that are announced by each party in advance. Generally speaking, the party leaders who have the power to make up these lists become very influential under such a system.

In recent years, the LDP under the leadership of President Kaifu discussed the possibility of introducing a proportional representation system into the Lower House elections. However the Party's true intentions were not to realize this objective but to introduce a single-seat constituency system. The LDP, i.e. the government intended to have the majority of seats elected on the basis of individual single-seats with the minority elected under the proportional representation system. It goes without saying that the opposition parties opposed this, however, some Liberal Democrats also resisted the leadership.

*A System in which Electors can also choose Candidates*

Diet members may act independently as representatives of the whole nation. The people may also hope that they act not simply as a ballot machine for the party, but as independent politicians.

The voters can select both a party and a candidate, if they vote for a person on a list. Their votes are then counted as a vote for the party. However, there does not yet seem to be strong support for this system in Japan.

*Method of Seat Allocation*

Under the system current in 1992, Japan uses the so called d'Hont system to allocate seats in accord with the number of votes acquired by each party. The opposition parties called for the use of the so called Saint-Laguë system amendment when proportional representation was introduced in 1982. But the LDP rejected it. The d'Hont system is more advantageous to large parties than the Saint-Laguë system.

There are many other methods for organizing seat allotment. For instance, the Hare system, the Droop system, and so on. They are named after their designers. It is scarcely conceivable,

however, that any significant difference would be produced by the method of seat allocation.

As a point of interest, the German election system for the Lower House is fundamentally based on a system of proportional representation. But the people can choose a candidate by casting a first ballot in their-single seat districts. The number of seats allocated to the individual parties is determined only by the outcome of the proportional representation based on the second ballot.

In Japan the opposition parties like the German system while the LDP disapproves of it.

### (3) *Method of Voting*

#### *Open Ballot or Secret Ballot*

These days secret ballots are regarded as a matter of common sense. Of course Japanese elections are conducted by secret ballot. It can safely be said that these ballots really are secret.

It is well known that British elections were carried out by open ballot until the 1880's. This open ballot system was a major cause of corruption in the election process. Buying votes was the most effective means of ensuring success. The introduction of secret ballots is said to promote the development of party organizations.

As a point of interest, the former Soviet Union had the characteristic "secret" ballot system. It had a single-member constituency system for parliamentary elections. In practice, each district always had only one candidate due to heavy pressure from the dictatorial government. But the people had to go to the polls. The people would cast the ballot papers which had the name of the sole candidate printed on them. Of course they could disapprove of the candidate given to them by the party.



But if they dared do so, they had to go to the polling booth and cross the name out. Electoral officers could easily recognize who voted in this way. The former Soviet system was therefore an open ballot system in substance.

*Checking (or Writing) One Name or Multi-Name*

In the case of a single-seat constituency system it is inconceivable that voters could be allowed to cast ballots for two or more candidates. Such a vote would be invalid. But multi-seat constituencies can have ballot systems which give voters the right to cast ballots for two or more candidates, less than or equal to the number of seats.

Currently in Japan, constituencies for the Lower House have two or more seats. Voters cast their ballots for one candidate each. In the general election following the end of the War, however, voters in many districts were given two ballots. They could choose two candidates.

So far the so-called preferential voting system has not been introduced into Japan. This voting system operates in Australia. Voters mark the order of their preference on the ballot paper. It can be seen as a device to fit the single-member constituency system and a multi-party system together. There are two major parties and an other considerably large party, as well as a number of minor parties.

Speaking hypothetically, even under the current multi-member constituency system, the opposition in Japan could obtain a majority in the Lower House. If a single-member constituency system with such a preferential system were to be adopted, LDP dominance would be uncertain.

8 *FURTHER READINGS*

(1) *Literature related directly on Japanese Elections*

*Gerald L. Curtis*, *Election Campaigning Japanese Style* (Columbia University Press, 1971).

“The story of how men are elected to public office in systems of representative government is one of the most exciting and important of contemporary politics” (p.ix in Preface). The author examines in microscopic detail the campaign of candidate ‘Bunsei Satō’ for the Japanese Lower House over a period of nearly one year. He lived in the candidate’s home, participated in campaign strategy meetings, and talked with local politicians, newspaper reporters, and voters. Satō ran in 1967 on the ticket of the LDP and won his first election.

The author indicates the distinctive feature of campaigning Japanese style: “One is the multimember district single entry ballot electoral system.……In a district in which several members of the same party are running for election, it forces each to rely on personal campaign organizations, makes the campaign a largely intraparty struggle, and either renders the party impotent or splits it asunder.” (p. 253) The author points out that Satō’s basic strategy was to acquire the votes of as many LDP supporters as possible at the expense of the other LDP candidates.

The second distinction is the small role played by the mass media in election campaigning. The primary reason for this is the almost total prohibition of its use by law.

The third feature is politician’s slow adaptation to changes in the environment. Japanese politicians like to employ tried and proven techniques.

This work is the first full-scale analysis of Japanese electing

based on empirical research. It is interesting that this study was produced by non Japanese researcher from abroad.

*Michael K. Blaker (ed.)*, Japan at the Polls: The House of Councillors Election of 1974 (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1976).

This work is composed of the following three chapters: (1) The House of Councillors: Promise and Achievement, by *Herbert Passin*, (2) The 1974 Election Campaign: The Political Process, by *Gerald L. Curtis*, and (3) The Outcome of the 1974 Election: Patterns and Perspective, by *Michael K. Blaker*.

Blaker's argument in Chap. 3 is highly suggestive. He indicates the following of the days after the 1974 Upper House general election. Japanese voters are dissatisfied and disillusioned with politics. However their voting rate is high (in comparison with that of the US). In Japan, there are many floating votes, and such votes or electorates without political party affiliation or preference will increase in the future. Therefore the key issue in the present election is which party will capture "the lion's share of the floating vote" (p. 86). The significance of this issue will increase hereafter. Japanese politics will become more fragmented and fluid than at present.

The voting rate of the 1992 Upper House general election decreased to about fifty percent. This may indicate that Japanese elections will follow the US pattern.

*Scott Flanagan C. and Bradley M. Richardson*, Japanese Electoral Behavior: Social Cleavages, Social Networks and Partisanship (Sage, 1977).

It is well known that social cleavages or class voting patterns are significant in the analysis of British elections especially in

the 1950s and 1960s. These are also relatively effective in the analysis of elections in the US.

Flanagan and Richardson argue that the social cleavage model possesses low explanatory power in the Japanese electoral context. Two kinds of social networks, large formal organizations and small informal groups, operate influentially in occupational and residential environments (cf. pp. 71-78).

Classes or incomes are not so effective indexes in the analysis of Japanese voting behavior. Demographic (age, residence, and occupation) or organizational (formal and informal) variables are considered to be important. However in recent years, particularly in the 1989 House of Councillors election, the importance of issue voting has increased.

*Herbert Passin* (ed.), *A Season of Voting : The Japanese Elections of 1976 and 1977* (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1979).

This work includes seven articles on the 1976 Lower House general elections and the 1977 Upper House general election by *Passin, Gerald L. Curtis* and others.

Passin makes the following argument in chap. 7 'The Significance of the Elections.' "On the basis of their campaign statements alone, it would have been difficult clearly to distinguish the candidates' parties, except that the opposition candidates self-righteously attacked the LDP for its economic performance" (p. 178). "Except for the opposition's ability to score a point on Lockheed (bribery scandal)... no party clearly tackled the issue confronting the country with anything like a distinctive program" (p. 178). "Throughout the period of LDP single-party control, the opposition parties have been able to take extreme positions that

entailed no responsibilities” (p. 186).

The electoral campaign statements of opposition parties are not constructive but are adverse criticism against the LDP. They seem to have no intention of assuming their responsibility to govern the country. On the other hand, the LDP counterattacks to advertise the incompetence of the oppositions. Japanese election campaigns are primarily negative. Electors' disillusionment towards politics is increasing.

*John Creighton Campbell* (ed.), *Parties, Candidates, and Voters in Japan: six quantitative studies* (Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1981).

Six articles form this work. One of these, 'Political Participation and Policy Preference in Japan' by Soo Young Auh, is based on the survey data of R. E. Ward and A. Kubota. Soo argues as follows.

Japanese citizens are politically passive. Active political work is performed by only a small segment of the Japanese citizenry, in spite of relatively high electoral participation (cf. *Bradley M. Richardson*, *The Political culture of Japan* (University of California Press, 1974)). However, well-educated citizens are relatively active.

The recent rise of criticism against Japanese politics in the early 1990s may be related to an increase in the numbers well-educated citizens.

Meanwhile, this article indicates that many citizens, especially active citizens, want the government to spend more on welfare, irregardless of their party preference. This tendency seems to be continuing.

*Jōji Watanuki, Ichirō Miyake, Takashi Inoguchi, and Ikuo Kabashima,*

Electoral Behavior in the 1983 Japanese Elections (Institute of International Relations, Sophia University, 1986).

Six articles by the four authors listed above are contained in this work, which analyse primarily the Upper and Lower House elections of 1983.

Ichirō Miyake argues in his article 'Instability of Party Identification in Japan' that: "Although party identification in Japan is more stable than other political attitudes, voters do change their partisanship frequently" (p. 26). Party identification is stable on the aggregate level, as Miyake indicates consistently, however, he also indicates in this article that party identification on the individual level is less stable. He concludes on the basis of a three-wave nationwide panel survey that: "If... party identification is considered under three categories, 'Same in three waves', 'changing at least once', and 'nonidentification at least once', then, it is clear that party identification in Japan is generally more unstable than in Canada, the US, and England, and that Japanese nonidentifiers are largely responsible for that instability" (p. 46).

*Scott C. Flanagan, Shinsaku Kōhei, Ichirō Miyake, Bradley M. Richardson, and Jōji Watanuki, The Japanese Voter (Yale University Press, 1991).*

This work consists of the following four parts. PartI Introduction, PartII Long-term influences on Voting Behavior, PartIII Short-term Influences on Voting Behavior, and PartIV Conclusions. PartIV includes a supplementary chapter eleven 'The Changing Japanese Voter and the 1989 and 1990 Elections'.

It is not easy for non-specialists without mathematical training to understand the highly statistical analysis in this work. However,

it is beyond question that this study is the most comprehensive and empirical survey of Japanese voters available in English today.

The comment on the flap is accurate: "This landmark work surveys the major factors that influence voting behavior in Japan. It is the first comprehensive study of the Japanese voter to be written for English-speaking audiences."

Warren E. Miller pays the following tribute to this work: "They (the authors of this book) eliminate a language barrier that has long deprived most occidental scholars of more than journalistic accounts of Japanese electoral behavior. Even more crucial to the internationalization of our scholarship, they successfully bring Japanese political research into the intellectual mainstream in a comprehensive treatment commensurate with the established tradition of the national election studies of the Atlantic community.....It is doubly important that this happens at a time when the growing complexity of Japanese party politics commands increasing attention throughout the world."

*D. Butler and A. Ranney, Electioneering: A comparative Study of Continuity and Change (Oxford University Press, 1992).*

This comparative study demonstrates how electioneering has been transformed over this half century. The book includes studies of ten countries and a general discussion. It explores how far election campaigning has been Americanized. Studies are conducted in the U.S.A., Britain, Japan (See chap. 11 by G. Curtis), and countries in Latin America.

(2) *Literature on the Japanese Political Background.*

*Chie Nakane, Japanese Society, (University of California Press, 1970).*

The author provides a structural analysis of Japanese society

and groups: "The ranking order which produces delicate differentiations between members of a group develops firm personal links between superior and subordinate. Such relationships form the core of the system of a group organization. A group structure based on a vertical line of this strength is demonstrably different from one based on a horizontal line." (p. 40.)

She argues clearly that the core of Japanese human relationships is composed of a diad relationship between superior and subordinate. In the political landscape, the LDP's factions and Daigishi-Keiretsu are typical examples.

The LDP's factions are essentially constructed around a vertical relationship between a boss and his followers. Similarly, there is also a vertical relationship between parliamentary members as bosses and local assembly members as followers. A horizontal line among equal members in Japanese groups and society is weak. However, it seems that this vertical structure has been changing in recent years.

She further argues that this vertical structural principle does not necessarily signify that Japanese society or groups exert an authoritative style of decision making. The author remarks that "What the Japanese mean by 'democracy' is a system that should take the side of, or give consideration to, the weaker or lower; in practice, any decision should be made on the basis of a consensus which includes those located lower in the hierarchy." (p. 144.) Unanimous decision making or obscure consensus of the whole membership based on a group consciousness can often be observed in many political groups. The style of decision making hinders strong leadership in the Japanese political world.

*Theodore McNelly*, *Politics and Government in Japan* (2nd edition)



(University of Maryland, 1984).

This work presents a brief analysis of the whole Japanese political landscape. The Table of Contents includes: 1. The Political Developments of Japan. 2. The Occupation and Democratic Reforms. 3. Interest Groups. 4. Political Parties. 5. The Legislature and the Courts. 6. The Executive. 7. Local Governments. 8. Japan in World Politics. 9. Democracy in Japan: Assessment.

The author argues that although Japanese are aware of the problems of race relations in the United States and elsewhere and often criticize racial discrimination, they are unaware of their own racial issue. The over 600,000 Koreans present Japanese society with serious problems. The unequal treatment traditionally suffered by Koreans in Japan stems historically from the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, and the forced immigration of Koreans into Japan as laborers during World War II (cf. pp. 48-49.).

We should be conscious of our own discrimination based upon race before we accuse other countries of racial discrimination.

As for Japanese democracy, the author comes to the conclusion that "Japan is a democracy, and, in 1984, thirty-eight years after the adoption of the democratic Constitution, the prospects for the future of democracy in Japan appear good (cf. pp. 255-256 in chap. 9. Democracy in Japan: An Assessment.).

This work was first published in 1959. The second edition covers the period up to 1983.

*Kent E. Calder*, *Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-1986* (Princeton University Press, 1988),

Calder argues that Japanese politicians have suffered from 'the

perceptions of pervasive weakness' or 'self-perceived vulnerability' since the defeat of World War II. One aspect of this consciousness of crisis is generated from 'within' or from electoral competition in the individual medium sized multi-member constituency system and its intraparty factional struggle. The other aspect is generated from 'without' or from the relatively powerful leftist political camp. In order to compensate for this self-perceived vulnerability, the LDP has built up a vast amount of interest distributive policies. This includes enormous public undertakings, subsidies to farmers and small and medium sized companies, social welfare policies and so on.

Meanwhile, Japanese business circles have also suffered from perceptions of pervasive weakness. Therefore business leaders have sought political stability. They have tolerated interest distributive policies and the LDP's long term dominance despite many scandals.

His argument that self-perceived vulnerability has brought economic success and conservative dominance is highly suggestive.

The Contents are as follows. 1. The Specter of Crisis. 2. A Chronology of Crisis. 3. The Technocratic Possibility. 4. From Crisis to Compensation. 5. Agricultural Policy. 6. Regional Policy. 7. Small Business Policy. 8. Welfare Policy. 9. Land Use Policy. 10. The Residual: Defence. 11. Explaining Patterns in Japanese Public Policy.

*Kenneth B. Pyle, The Japanese Question: Power and Purpose in a New Era (The AEI Press, 1992).*

This work analyses Japan's formulation of its national purpose during the post-World War II period. As the author argues, Japan's rapid increase in relative economic power has provoked

a strong reaction in other countries. It has been a rather negative reaction because of Japan's history of imperial expansionism. (cf p. 3 in Introduction.) Under the strong influence of the United States Japanese leaders formulated an economic-first policy and depended on the U.S. security guarantee. In the 1980s, however, Japan's national purpose has changed. In the new era following the conclusion of the cold war, it has attached a great deal of consideration to other countries, especially those in the Pacific basin.

The author analyses the contents of this change in Japan's national purpose, particularly after the Ōhira government. He cautions us about the future of the relationship between Japan and the U.S.. He argues that an international division of labors which sees the U.S. providing security for Asia, while Japan provides aid, even if channeled through international organizations, will promote dissatisfaction in Americans who will be left with the unpleasant and controversial role of policeman. However, he also indicates that Americans are ambivalent about requesting Japan to do a great deal more in the security area out of a residual distrust of Japanese national character and memories of the militarist period. (cf. Chap. 8. Power and Purpose in a New Era.)

The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Science lists the following sources as readings concerning psephology.

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*Heath, A., Jowell, R, and Curtice, J.,* How Britain Votes (Pergamon, 1985). *Lazarsfeld, P., Berelson, B. and Gaudet, H.,* The people's Choice (Duell, Sloan & Pierce, 1944). *McCallum, P. B.,* The British General Election of 1945 (Oxford University Press, 1947). *Rokkan, S.,* Citizens, Elections, Parties: approaches to the study of comparative development (Universitetsforlaget, 1970). *Särilvik, B. and Crewe, I.,* Decade of Dealignment (Cambridge University Press, 1983).