

ARTICLE

Japanese Local Election amid Party Realignment : the 1995 Kagawa Prefectural Election

Shinsuke Konoe

The April 1995 local election¹ was held amongst a changing political environment in which a Diet election was approaching in July, a change of government had happened in 1993, a governmental change to a Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Japan Socialist Party (JSP), Sakigake's coalition government was organized in 1994 June, the New Frontier Party (NFP = Newborn, Clean Government Party (CGP), Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), and Japan New Party (JNP)) was organized in December in 1994, and JSP's attempt to establish a new party failed in May in 1995 when a leader quit the party. The media has drawn attention to the increase of independent voters, specifically those who have lost their party identification during the last two years. A survey conducted by Asahi Shinbun in March showed that independents were 57 % among whom new-independents were 51%. Independents of all the candidates were 29% most first from 1955, reflecting this independent trend among electorate.

The election result in the Tokyo and Osaka gubernatorial races was that TV talent candidates² won against prestigious and bipartisan supported candidates (bureaucrats) in Tokyo and Osaka gubernato-

rial races. In Prefectural elections, independent winners went up 178 seats from 409 to 587; LDP lost 226 seats down, from 1501 to 1275; JSP lost 56, from 333 to 277; and NFP won 140. We could characterize this election as the rise of independents, poor performance by party candidates, the sudden decline of the JSP, and a slower increase by second biggest party (NFP).

The most critical factor that led to party decline is the rise of the 'New Independents'. Their characteristics are that they are highly politically motivated, most in middle or higher aged group, have deserted from the JSP, and have a high distrust in politics, according to the 'Asahi Shinbun.'

This current state of Japanese party identification is one phase in the process of party, especially JSP, disintegration. It is a midpoint, in which the electorate is in an ambiguous nebula³, between the starting point of the destruction of the 1955 system and the destination of a new party system.

The author cooperated with a Shikoku Shimbun (Shikoku Press) pre-election survey hypothesizing that we would find the same 'new-independent phenomena' even in Kagawa Prefecture which does not always follow national trends and where a gubernatorial election was not being held at the same time. The survey contained information on both change of party identification and voting behavior⁴.

THE DATA

Table 1 Result of Kagawa Prefectural Election, 1995 April 9

| | Candidates | | | Winners | | | | Turnout % | | |
|-------|------------|-----------|----------------------|---------|-----------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|
| | Total | Incumbent | Former Challenger | Total | Incumbent | Former Challenger | 1991 Turnout | 1991 Turnout | 1991 Winners | |
| LDP | 33 | 27 | 6 | 31 | 26 | 0 | 5 | 60.99 | 58.13 | 28 |
| NFP | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3.34 | — | — |
| JSP | 7 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 11.37 | 12.38 | 6 |
| JCP | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3.19 | 2.92 | 2 |
| CGP | 3 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 6.55 | 4.31 | 3 |
| Ind. | 10 | 0 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 14.56 | 22.27 | 6 |
| Total | 59 | 36 | 1 | 22 | 45 | 35 | 0 | 10 | | 45 |

Table 2 Districts' Election Result (DK, NAs are subtracted)

| District | Party | | | | | | | Sample of 'Surely Vote' | |
|--------------------|-------|------|------|-----|------|-------------|--------|-------------------------------|------|
| | LDP | NFP | JSP | JCP | CGP | Independent | N | | |
| Takamatu | 54.6 | 5.0 | 10.0 | 5.4 | 12.9 | 12.1 | 125713 | | |
| Candidate | 8 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 50.7 | 42.1 | |
| Sample | 74.5 | | 9.2 | 5.0 | 6.4 | 5.0 | 141 | | |
| Marugame | 77.8 | — | 22.2 | — | — | — | 31411 | | |
| Candidate | 3 | | 1 | | | | 54.2 | 44.0 | |
| Sample | 90.2 | | 9.8 | | — | | 51 | | |
| Okawa | 54.0 | — | 14.7 | 2.5 | 14.0 | 11.0 | 55881 | | |
| Candidate | 3 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 74.4 | 58.7 | |
| Sample | 48.1 | | 11.7 | 7.8 | 13.0 | 19.5 | 15 | | |
| Ayauta | 49.2 | 16.9 | 20.2 | | | 21.7 | 21465 | | |
| Candidate | 2 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | 63.6 | 52.0 | |
| Sample | 51.9 | 7.4 | 24.1 | | | 16.7 | 54 | | |
| Total (prefecture) | 61.0 | 3.3 | 11.4 | 3.2 | 6.6 | 14.6 | 366466 | 57.4 | 48.4 |
| Total (sample) | 66.9 | 1.2 | 12.4 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 9.6 | 323 | | |

The author and Shikoku Shimbun conducted a postal survey from February 20 to March 5. We selected five districts (Takamatu, Marugame, Okawa, Ayauta, and Nakatado's second district), on the bases of area balance. Kagawa prefecture is thought to have three areas which people identify with, then we included one or two districts from each area of it. Those districts constituted four competitive ones and unopposed one. We sampled 1860 respondents from electoral register, using stratifying methods, among whom 812 (43.7%) answered our questionnaire. The number returned from each district is 337 (Takamatu), 148 (Marugame), 167 (Okawa), 44 (Nakatado 2), and 116 (Ayauta).

The candidates and results are presented in Table 1 and Table 2. Table 1 shows that the election has been of low competition because there were many unopposed districts, while it has been competitive in terms of the rate (59 candidates for 45 seats), which reflected a national mood for party realignments. The Liberal Democratic Party gained 3 seats from former 28, and the New Frontier Party 1 from 0. The Japan Socialist Party lost 1, the Japan Communist Party 1, and independents 1. Kagawa's results suggest LDP's recovery, JSP's decline, the new party's difficult start, and a low mood for nationally accepted independents' ascendancy.

Table 2 shows the results of voting rate for each party, collated with survey results. The actual voting rate almost coincides with the survey in the last row (Total) except for the independents. The break down to districts makes coincidence worse because of decreasing sample size. The turnout rate in sample is about 10 percent lower than in actuality. But, it is within the tolerance because the higher district shows the higher turnout and the lower the lower.

To analyze party realignment in terms of dynamism, the new variables were constructed.

The first is related to the change of party identification (CPI). After accounting for coincidence between the former identification and the recent one, four dynamic categories were identified; i. e., the old party identifiers (OP) who have not changed their identification, the old independents (OI) who were so in the past and still remain, the new party identifiers (NP) who have gotten a new party, and the new independents (NI) who have lost one. We call it a variable of CPI.

The second variable is the career of the candidate whom the respondents intended to vote for. It has two values. One (76%) is incumbent (Inc) and the other (24%) independent or challenger (Cha & Ind). We call it a variable of incumbent versus challenger (Inc/Cha).

The third variable, whether the respondent intended to vote for government or opposition, was the old, new, and prefectural government versus opposition parties; LDP (OG = Old Government party) versus anti-LDP and independents (OO = Old Opposition parties), LDP and JSP (RG = Recent Government parties) versus NFP and others (RO = Recent Opposition parties), and all parties (PG = Prefectural Government parties) versus JCP and independents (PO = Prefectural Opposition party).

FINDINGS

Interests, Vote, and Selection Standards

Table 3 Regression Analyses for Vote*

| | Interests in Election | Candidate Intended | Vote Intended | | Interests in Election | Candidate Intended | Vote Intended |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Residential Years | 0.10 *e | 0.12 | — | Interests in Election*b | 0.39 | 0.50 | |
| (NP) | — | — | — | (NP) | 0.32 | 0.50 | |
| (NI) | 0.20 | — | — | (NI) | 0.24 | 0.52 | |
| (OP) | 0.11 | 0.14 | — | (OP) | 0.45 | 0.48 | |
| (OI) | — | — | — | (OI) | 0.31 | 0.49 | |
| Occupation*a | 0.06 | 0.06 | — | Intended Candidate*c | | 0.17 | |
| (NP) | — | 0.27 | — | (NP) | | 0.21 | |
| (NI) | — | — | — | (NI) | | — | |
| (OP) | — | — | — | (OP) | | 0.19 | |
| (OI) | — | — | — | (OI) | | 0.16 | |
| Age | 0.29 | 0.07 | 0.07 | Obligation to Vote*d | | 0.30 | |
| (NP) | 0.34 | — | — | (NP) | | 0.25 | |
| (NI) | 0.28 | — | — | (NI) | | 0.38 | |
| (OP) | 0.30 | — | — | (OP) | | 0.30 | |
| (OI) | 0.29 | — | — | (OI) | | 0.39 | |
| (Continued to the Right) | | | | R-SQUARED | 0.12 | 0.22 | 0.50 |
| | | | | (NP) | 0.12 | 0.22 | 0.40 |
| | | | | (NI) | 0.13 | 0.11 | 0.45 |
| | | | | (OP) | 0.12 | 0.28 | 0.51 |
| | | | | (OI) | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.47 |

* : Discontent, Sex, and Party Identification which were not significant were omitted.
 *a : Occupation was summarized to two values consisting of the self-managed (1 = Agriculture, Commercial and Industry, Self-employed, and Managers) and the non-self managed (-1 = Clerical, Workers, No-occupation, and House wife).
 *b : Interests in Election is continuous variable constituted of Not at all (-2), Rarely (-1), DK (0), Some (1), and Most (2).
 *c : Values for Intended Candidate are Yes (1) and No(-1).
 *d : Obligation to Vote has tow values (i. e., Referred = 1 and Not Referred = -1) among intended voters.
 *e : Values in the table are standardized regression coefficient and probability under 0.05.

Table 4 Turnout by Suvey District

| Districts | Surely Vote | Maybe Vote | Actual Turnout |
|------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Takamatu | 42% | 43 | 51 |
| Ayauta | 52 | 35 | 64 |
| Okawa | 59 | 34 | 74 |
| Nakatado 2 | 57 | 34 | Unopposed |
| Marugame | 51 | 45 | 54 |
| N | 393 | 316 | |

Table 5 Correlation between Change of Party Identification and Participation (Pearson's r)

| | Interests in Election*a | Vote*b | Candidate*c |
|------|----------------------------|--------|-------------|
| NP*d | .09 | .02 | .09 |
| OP | -.05 | -.04 | .08* |
| NI | -.17 | -.15 | -.25** |
| OI | -.32** | -.28** | -.25** |

*a : 5 points scale of Interests.
 *b : 5 points scale of Not Vote to Vote.
 *c : 2 points scale of Yes or No.
 *d : 2 points scale with Referred = 1.

First, the survey asked questions on voting participation and selection standards. On interest in elections, total of 24% responded 'Rarely' and 'Not at all,' and 64% 'interested' including 'Some'. On the intention to vote, the total of 'Surely' and 'Maybe' was 87%. First among the reasons for vote, was 64%, 'Obligation,' and the second, 36%, was 'Important election'. The first criterion for selection of a prefectural representative was 'Personality and achievements,' 64%, then 'Policy,' 31%, 'Recommendation,' 28%, 'Channel', '12% followed. On the question on 'Role of prefectural representative,' the order of percentage was 53%, 'For the district,' 39%, 'For the prefecture,' and 3% 'For the occupational interests'. The actual turnout was 57.40% in Kagawa considerably under survey 'Sure' and 'Maybe' turnout. (Table 4) It is reflected non-voters among 'Maybe' voters, because the correlation between vote intention and interests that expect most vote probability in election was high 0.62.

Table 6 Standards of Selection by Party Identification

| Standard | Party Identification | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|------|------|------|------|----------|------|------|
| | LDP | JSP | NFP | CGP | JCP | Sakigake | Ind. | Oths |
| Personality | 72.6% | 62.0 | 52.4 | 65.2 | 57.1 | 84.6 | 63.3 | 55.6 |
| Policy | 23.7 | 42.0 | 40.5 | 26.1 | 35.7 | 23.1 | 33.3 | 25.9 |
| Recommendation | 35.3 | 34.0 | 28.6 | 39.1 | 50.0 | 23.1 | 22.2 | 22.2 |
| Channel | 12.9 | 14.0 | 9.5 | 8.7 | .0 | 7.7 | 11.1 | 14.8 |
| Age | 2.5 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 4.3 | 7.1 | 15.4 | 5.8 | 3.7 |
| Family | 5.0 | 12.0 | 3.6 | 13.0 | 14.3 | 15.4 | 10.8 | 3.7 |
| DK | 2.1 | .0 | 2.4 | 4.3 | 7.1 | .0 | 4.4 | 14.8 |
| Others | .4 | .0 | 3.6 | .0 | .0 | .0 | 1.4 | 7.4 |
| Total (N) | 241 | 50 | 84 | 23 | 14 | 13 | 360 | 27 |

Table 7 Standard for Candidate Selection by Change of Party Identification (only for Personality, Policy, and Recommendation)

| | Personality | Policy | Recommendation | N |
|-------|-------------|--------|----------------|-----|
| NP | 58.8 | 40.0 | 27.1 | 85 |
| NI | 68.1 | 36.2 | 25.2 | 163 |
| OI | 59.2 | 31.5 | 20.7 | 184 |
| OP | 69.6 | 25.8 | 37.6 | 306 |
| COP* | 65.8 | 42.1 | 21.1 | 38 |
| Total | 65.5 | 31.7 | 29.0 | 776 |

*: Change between Old Parties.

A stepwise regression analysis was conducted on factors that were thought to influence the voting participation. The results are shown in

Table 3. Age is the most important contribution among socio-economic status to interests in election. In the second equation, interest in election contributes most to the intention to vote, the notion of voting obligation is the second most important. Therefore, turnout in this election was supported by interests and obligation.

What impact on participation do CPI have? Summary correlation of it with Interest in Election, Vote Intention, and Intended Candidate is shown in Table 5. *The degree of participation decreases according to the order of NP, OP, NI, and OI. The high degree of NI's interests that is suggested by the mass media is not the case when we compare with the party identifiers, although it is enough to be higher than Old independents.*

A Candidate's Personality and Achievement were the most important among Standards for Selection the most, 65%, Policy the next at 31%, and Recommendation the third at 28%. This is related to party identification, crosstabulated in Table 6. According to frequencies of this item, the responses are concentrated in either Personality or Policy. It is supposed that party identifier would select on the basis of the Policy standard and a non-identifier on Personality, if we locate this item in the meaning of either personal Personality or impersonal Policy. And, differences will be found between parties with multi-candidates and single candidate, and with cadre party and organization centered one.

According to Table 6, non-identifiers responded mostly to Personality, 63%, and 33% to Policy. Although they are less than LDP's 72% and 24% respectively, non-identifiers show their personality oriented attitudes. LDP identifiers are the most, CGP the second, and JSP the third, among party identifiers, because LDP identifiers are

Table 8 Role Expectation of Prefectural Representative and Party Identification

| | District | Whole Pref. | Occupation | DK | Others | N |
|----------------------|----------|-------------|------------|------|--------|-----|
| Party Identification | | | | | | |
| LDP | 57.7 | 37.3 | 2.1 | 2.9 | | 241 |
| JSP | 44.0 | 54.0 | 2.0 | | | 50 |
| NFP | 56.0 | 35.7 | 2.4 | 3.6 | 2.4 | 84 |
| CGP | 52.2 | 39.1 | | 4.3 | 4.3 | 23 |
| JCP | 35.7 | 57.1 | 7.1 | | | 14 |
| Sakigake | 38.5 | 46.2 | 7.7 | | 7.7 | 13 |
| Ind. | 51.4 | 38.3 | 2.8 | 6.1 | 1.4 | 360 |
| Oths | 51.9 | 33.3 | 3.7 | 11.1 | | 27 |

Table 9 Role Expectation and Selection Standard

| | Personality | Policy | Recommend | Channel | Age | Family | DK | Others | N |
|------------|-------------|--------|-----------|---------|-----|--------|------|--------|-----|
| District | 64.6% | 24.7 | 28.7 | 13.5 | 3.5 | 10.3 | 3.3 | .9 | 429 |
| Whole | 68.5 | 42.0 | 29.3 | 9.5 | 5.4 | 4.1 | 1.6 | 1.3 | 317 |
| Occupation | 52.4 | 19.0 | 38.1 | 14.3 | 9.5 | 23.8 | 4.8 | 4.8 | 21 |
| DK | 47.2 | 19.4 | 19.4 | 5.6 | 2.8 | 13.9 | 25.0 | | 36 |
| Total | 527 | 253 | 231 | 93 | 35 | 68 | 29 | 11 | 812 |

Table 10 Role Expectation and Change of Party Identification

| | District | Whole Pref. | Occupation | DK | Others | N |
|-------|----------|-------------|------------|-----|--------|-----|
| NP | 52.9 | 37.6 | 3.5 | 2.4 | 3.5 | 85 |
| NI | 46.6 | 47.2 | 1.8 | 4.3 | | 163 |
| OI | 56.0 | 31.0 | 3.3 | 7.6 | 2.2 | 184 |
| OP | 54.6 | 39.5 | 2.3 | 3.3 | .3 | 306 |
| COP | 52.6 | 47.4 | | | | 38 |
| Total | 53.0 | 39.3 | 2.4 | 4.3 | 1.0 | 776 |

Table 11 Reason to vote by SES and Party Identification

| | Obligation | Important | Invited | DK | Other | Total (N) |
|--------------------------------|------------|-----------|---------|-----|-------|-----------|
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Male | 49.8% | 40.2 | 5.3 | 2.8 | 1.9 | 321 |
| Female | 57.7 | 33.2 | 7.2 | .5 | 1.3 | 388 |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 20- | 60.3 | 28.6 | 4.8 | 3.2 | 3.2 | 63 |
| 30- | 59.1 | 28.0 | 6.5 | 4.3 | 2.2 | 93 |
| 40- | 57.7 | 31.4 | 9.5 | 1.5 | | 137 |
| 50- | 49.7 | 39.8 | 7.0 | 1.2 | 2.3 | 171 |
| 60- | 49.1 | 42.1 | 6.3 | .6 | 1.9 | 159 |
| 70- | 57.0 | 41.9 | 1.2 | | | 86 |
| Occupation | | | | | | |
| Agricultural | 40.0 | 49.1 | 9.1 | | 1.8 | 55 |
| Commerce | 41.9 | 48.8 | 5.8 | 2.3 | 1.2 | 86 |
| Self-employed | 73.1 | 19.2 | 3.8 | 3.8 | | 26 |
| Managerial | 55.3 | 31.9 | 8.5 | 4.3 | | 47 |
| Clerical | 54.8 | 31.6 | 7.7 | 1.9 | 3.9 | 155 |
| Worker | 51.6 | 41.9 | 6.5 | | | 31 |
| Others | 57.5 | 37.2 | 3.5 | 1.8 | | 113 |
| House Wife | 58.7 | 33.2 | 6.1 | .5 | 1.5 | 196 |
| Party Identification | | | | | | |
| LDP | 55.2 | 7.8 | 5.2 | .9 | .9 | 230 |
| JSP | 53.3 | 46.7 | | | | 45 |
| NFP | 41.1 | 45.2 | 11.0 | 1.4 | 1.4 | 73 |
| CGP | 42.9 | 52.4 | 4.8 | | | 21 |
| JCP | 35.7 | 64.3 | | | | 14 |
| Sakigake | 66.7 | 25.0 | 8.3 | | | 12 |
| Independent | 57.0 | 30.0 | 7.8 | 2.7 | 2.4 | 293 |
| Others | 66.7 | 28.6 | | | 4.8 | 21 |
| Change of Party Identification | | | | | | |
| NP | 42.3 | 4.9 | 10.3 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 78 |
| NI | 59.3 | 32.4 | 6.2 | .7 | 1.4 | 145 |
| OI | 56.0 | 27.0 | 8.5 | 5.0 | 3.5 | 141 |
| OP | 54.2 | 40.5 | 3.9 | .7 | .7 | 284 |
| COP | 56.8 | 40.5 | 2.7 | | | 37 |
| Total | 54.5 | 36.5 | 6.0 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 685 |

candidate centered, and a multi-candidates' organization. JSP identifiers are personality oriented, because they had one candidate for each district except for Takamatu's 2. But, why are organization centered CGP identifiers personality oriented? Another clue should be considered. If electors are faced with multi-candidates, they select one on his or her personality. Even if they face with only one candidate, they think them in terms of personality. Party centered politics expected in the recent Japanese electoral reform⁶ would fail unless we introduce a total PR system. American Candidate centered politics have been occurred in single member districts system.

The answer to the question on the Role of Representative shows strong preference for district-oriented (53%). It was crosstabulated with party identification in Table 8. According to it, JSP, JCP, and Sakigake identifiers have a 'Whole Prefecture idea' while LDP, NFP, CGP identifiers, and Independents have 'District representative' idea. Table 9 shows the relationship between representative idea and selection standards. Although there is not so much difference between them on Personality, there is a strong difference on Policy. That is, the respondents who chose the Whole Prefecture category think policy not on area policy, but on prefectural wide policy.

In Table 10, there is an interesting contrast between New Independent and Change between Old Parties⁷. The New Independents show a lower percentage 47% on District and higher 47% on Whole Prefecture, while the Change between Old Parties (COP) group shows the same 47% on Whole Prefecture category. This is because two volatile groups who lost or changed their favorite party candidates naturally seek a prefecturalwide representative instead of a district one.

On the Reason to Vote question, the 'Voting is Obligation' answer

was the most frequent 54%, 'Important Election' 36%, and 'Invited' small percentage. Reason to Vote was crosstabulated in Table 12 by socio-economic status and party identification. Most female, younger respondents, and the self-employed group support Obligation. NFP, CGP, and JCP identifiers gave it less often. The reason of difference among age groups can be explained in terms of generation. The younger group feel obliged to vote because they have been brought up in the post-war democratic education system, while the oldest, over 70, have a tradition of the pre-war voting idea in which people must participate to support the sovereign Emperor. The agricultural sector and self-managed industrialists think the election important because of their occupational interest, instead of Obligation. The Supporters of the new party that would face its first test in this election, and the partisans of parties with strong organizations (CGP, JCP) replied not 'Obligation' but 'Important'.

In relation to CPI, New Independents have a stronger sense of Obligation than Old Independents. The former felt more forced obligation to vote than the conventional independent voter.

Discontent and Opinions on Prefectural Government

Origins of Discontent

The question on 'Discontent with prefectural government' has four categories from the Most Discontented to the Least Discontented. The (most and a little) Discontented group was 60%, Contented 20%, and DK 20%. Then we gave 10 items as 'Reasons for discontent' (Multiple Answer). The total response was 1,198, two and half times the number of respondents. The distribution of reasons was 'shortage of water' (23%), 'traffic road' (23%), 'welfare and health care' (22%),

'tax' (18%), 'conservation of environment' (13%), 'education and culture' (12%), 'industry' (10%), 'work and wage' (10%), 'land and commodity price' (9%), and 'prevention of disaster' (7%). The reasons are not in order, except that 'shortage of water' was most serious in the summer of 1994. The 'price' problem is in the lowest two while it is top in various Japanese polls. A factor analysis was conducted to make an order out of these Reasons, as shown in Table 12.

Table 12 Reason for Discontent (Factor Analyses)

| Naming | Reason for Discontent | Factor I | Factor II | Factor III | Factor IV |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| Improvement for Residential Life | Welfare & Health Care | .71 | .01 | .17 | -.06 |
| | Education & Culture | .69 | .03 | -.11 | .20 |
| | Environment Conservation | .44 | .43 | -.09 | -.16 |
| | Traffic | .38 | .03 | .21 | .25 |
| Calamity | Prevention of Disaster | .04 | .79 | -.08 | -.06 |
| | Shortage of Water | -.01 | .74 | .15 | -.20 |
| Economic Life Development | Land and Commodity Price | -.09 | .03 | .80 | -.03 |
| | Tax | .23 | -.01 | .70 | .09 |
| | Industry | .16 | .04 | -.18 | .75 |
| | Job & Income | -.01 | .01 | .22 | .69 |
| % of explanation | | 18.1 | 31.5 | 43.2 | 53.4 |

Table 13 Origin for Discontent

| Independent Variable | Dependent (Discontent) Variable |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Agree All-Governmental Parties | -.14* |
| Improvement for Residential Life | -.48 |
| Economic Life | -.14 |
| Calamity | -.38 |
| Development | -.25 |
| R-SQUARED | .54 |

*: Standardised b. All the values are under probability 0.000.

Table 14 Discontent by Age

| | Mean | N |
|---------|------|-----|
| Sample | -.48 | 812 |
| 20-29 | -.43 | 92 |
| 30-39 | -.55 | 114 |
| 40-49 | -.50 | 155 |
| 50-59 | -.52 | 188 |
| 60-69 | -.48 | 170 |
| Over 70 | -.31 | 93 |

Table 15 Discontent by Change of Party Id.

| | Mean | N |
|--------|------|-----|
| Sample | -.48 | 733 |
| NP | -.40 | 85 |
| NI | -.64 | 163 |
| OP | -.45 | 306 |
| OI | -.57 | 184 |

Four factors appeared. The temporal name was given to them; Life Improvement, Calamity, Economic Life, and Industrial Development. The factor scores of these four variables and opinion on the all

government party system⁸ were regressed on Discontent (dependent variable), as shown in Table 13.

It shows that Life improvement and Calamity are the top two most important factors explaining Discontent, although the rests are significant ($p < 0.000$). The story on the all parties' problem would have been different if a gubernatorial election had been held at the same time.

Table 14 and 15 show the relationships between age and CPI in terms of means. The younger and older age group show lower discontent while the middle aged group, from 30s to 50s, shows high discontent. *In relation to CPI, Old Independents show fairly high discontent, and New Independents the highest, 0.16 over the entire sample population.*

Discontent, Attitudes and Voting Behavior

Generally, the relationship between discontents and vote or notvoting participation has not been clear in Japanese elections⁹. It was weak because the discontented conservative identifiers have not voted instead of voting for the opposition and the discontented progressive party identifiers have voted, willing to express revolt. But, the relationship between discontent and party vote has been high, because the discontented voters have supported opposition parties and the contented the government. Is this true in this sample, too?

Correlation between discontent and voting participation by party identification and CPI is summarized in Table 16. Variables on voting are Intention to vote, Interest in Election, and Intended Candidate. The first column shows non significant relationship. In the left columns, *only JSP identifiers show a relatively positive relationship, that is*

opposite to the past opposition parties' identifiers. Now, they lose interest in election and do not vote even if they feel discontented.

How do the discontented influence the party vote and incumbent/challenger variable? Table 17 shows correlations between Discontent and Party Vote in the total sample, and Table 18 by Party Identification and CPI. The correlations for LDP, JSP, and Independents on Party Vote show weak but positive ones. Conversely, they exhibit a negative correlation on Inc versus Cha & Ind variable while OP have a stronger one. NP and NI show positive correlations towards Cha & Ind vote. NP certainly vote for NFP candidates who were all challengers. *The well-known New Independents' preference towards independents could be found even in Kagawa.*

Table 16 Correlation of Discontent with Voting Participation by Party Identification and Change of Party Id.

| | Sam- ple | LDP | JSP | NFP | Ind. | NP | NI | OP | OI |
|----------------------|-------------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|-----|------|
| Intention to vote | .05 | .10 | .16 | -.04 | -.00 | -.06 | -.02 | .07 | .03 |
| Interest in Election | .07 | .06 | .17 | -.00 | .02 | .02 | .01 | .05 | .04 |
| Intended Candidate | .01 | .09 | .11 | -.13 | -.05 | -.16 | .03 | .02 | -.15 |
| N | 768 | 230 | 48 | 77 | 340 | 77 | 154 | 466 | 173 |

Table 17 Correlation of Discontent (*a) with Party Vote (*b) Variable (Pearson's r)

| | |
|---------------------|-------|
| Inc. vs. Cha & Ind. | -.04 |
| OG vs. OO | .19** |
| RG vs. RO | .14 |
| PG vs. PO | .13 |
| N | 274 |

(Table 17 Note; Significance; ** = $p < .001$ *a; Two values are Discontent = -1 and Content = 1. *b; OG, OO, RG, RO, and PO is Old Government Party, Old Opposition Parties, Recent Government Parties, Recent Opposition Parties, Prefectural Government Parties, and Prefectural Opposition Parties, each.)

Table 18 Discontent and Vote (by Party Id. and CPI; correlation)

| | LDP | JSP | NFP | Ind. | NP | NI | OP | OI |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| Inc. vs. Cha & Ind. | -.06 (135) | -.18 (20) | .14 (36) | -.02 (101) | .13 (35) | .14 (54) | -.06 (202) | -.21 (42) |
| OG vs. OO | .18 (133) | .24 (20) | -.13 (35) | .01 (98) | -.00 (34) | .03 (53) | .23** (198) | .03 (40) |
| RG vs. RO | .15 (133) | .15 (20) | -.10 (35) | .14 (98) | -.02 (34) | .22 (53) | .21* (198) | .11 (40) |
| PG vs. PO | .17 (133) | .17 (20) | .00 (35) | .19 (98) | .09 (34) | .22 (53) | .18* (198) | .11 (40) |

一五九

Party Identification and Voting Party

Origins of Party Identification

The distribution of party identifiers is LDP 30%, JSP 6%, NFP 10%, CGP 3%, JCP 2%, Sakigake 2%, Independents 44%, and Others 3%. Table 19 is a crosstabulation of identification by socio-economic status.

There is no difference in sex.

LDP identifiers reflect a basic tendency of the correlation of age with conservatism. JSP identifiers are within 3 to 5% in all age groups except more than 50s and 60s that are the cohort which experienced 1955 system¹⁰. NFP identifiers concentrate on the middle aged 40s to 60s. Independents go down from upper 20s' less than 70% to 60s and 70s' 30%.

LDP identifiers are mainly in agricultural, self-managed commercial, self-employed, and managerial occupations. JSP identifiers are under 20% in almost all occupations. NFP identifiers are mainly in the same agricultural and managerial occupations as the LDP. The dominant occupation of Independents is clerical.

We asked respondents 'Did you change your opinion on party recently?' in order to know whether they had changed their party identification. Those who answered yes were asked about the 'Party that they supported until then,' and the 'Reason why they changed.' 'Changed' respondents were 37% (N = 298) among whom 1955 system partisans were most; past LDP were 52% and past JSP 31%. In Reasons for change (multiple answer), 'Discontent with party' was the most common 18%, followed by 'The party changed,' 9%. Change from LDP to NFP should be noted, because it reflected the behavior of

Table 19 Party Identification by SES

| | LDP | JSP | NFP | CGP | JCP | Saki | Ind. | Oths | N |
|--------------------|------|------|------|-----|-----|------|------|------|-----|
| Sex | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 29.8 | 6.2 | 12.7 | 1.6 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 43.1 | 2.7 | 369 |
| Female | 29.6 | 6.1 | 8.4 | 3.8 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 45.4 | 3.8 | 443 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | |
| 20- | 13.0 | 3.3 | 6.5 | 2.2 | 4.3 | 1.1 | 67.4 | 2.2 | 92 |
| 30- | 14.0 | 3.5 | 7.9 | 6.1 | | 1.8 | 64.0 | 2.6 | 114 |
| 40- | 26.5 | 5.8 | 10.3 | 3.2 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 49.7 | 1.9 | 155 |
| 50- | 31.4 | 6.9 | 13.8 | 2.7 | 2.7 | 1.6 | 36.7 | 4.3 | 188 |
| 60- | 42.9 | 9.4 | 10.6 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 28.8 | 3.5 | 170 |
| Over 70 | 43.0 | 5.4 | 9.7 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 32.3 | 5.4 | 93 |
| Occupation | | | | | | | | | |
| Agricultural | 48.3 | 3.3 | 15.0 | | | | 26.7 | 6.7 | 60 |
| Commercial | 33.7 | 8.4 | 14.7 | 4.2 | 3.2 | 1.1 | 31.6 | 3.2 | 95 |
| Self-employd | 34.4 | 3.1 | 9.4 | 3.1 | 3.1 | | 43.8 | 3.1 | 32 |
| Mangagerial | 37.3 | 3.9 | 17.6 | 3.9 | | 3.9 | 33.3 | | 51 |
| Clerical | 15.1 | 5.9 | 12.4 | .5 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 58.6 | 3.2 | 186 |
| Worker | 32.4 | 10.8 | 8.1 | | 2.7 | | 45.9 | | 37 |
| Oths&Jobless | 37.1 | 6.2 | 5.4 | 6.2 | 1.6 | .8 | 47.3 | 5.4 | 129 |
| House Wife | 33.8 | 6.3 | 7.2 | 3.2 | 1.4 | 2.3 | 43.2 | 2.7 | 222 |
| Years of Residence | | | | | | | | | |
| Under 3 Ys | 15.9 | 6.8 | 18.2 | 6.8 | | | 52.3 | | 44 |
| Under 10 Ys | 9.9 | 2.8 | 14.1 | 5.6 | 1.4 | 2.8 | 62.0 | 1.4 | 71 |
| Over 10 Ys | 30.4 | 6.3 | 10.2 | 4.0 | 1.7 | 2.3 | 41.2 | 4.0 | 352 |
| From Birth | 34.8 | 6.7 | 8.7 | .6 | 2.0 | .9 | 42.9 | 3.5 | 345 |
| Total | 29.7 | 6.2 | 10.3 | 2.8 | 1.7 | 1.6 | 44.3 | 3.3 | 812 |

Table 20 Past and Recent Party Identification

| | LDP | JSP | NFP | CGP | JCP | Saki | Ind. | Oths | N |
|-------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|-------|------|-----|
| LDP | 1.9* | 3.9 | 35.7 | | .6 | 3.9 | 51.3 | 2.6 | 154 |
| JSP | 13.0 | | 8.7 | | 5.4 | 3.3 | 67.4 | 2.2 | 92 |
| NFP | 20.0 | | 60.0 | 10.0 | | | 10.0 | | 10 |
| DSP | | | | | | | 66.7 | 33.3 | 3 |
| JNP | 15.4 | | 38.5 | | | | 46.2 | | 13 |
| Saki | | | | | | 50.0 | 50.0 | | 2 |
| Ind. | 18.2 | 9.1 | 9.1 | 18.2 | | | 36.4* | 9.1 | 11 |
| Oths | | 15.4 | 7.7 | | | | 61.5 | 15.4 | 13 |
| Total | 7.0 | 3.0 | 25.5 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 3.4 | 54.7 | 3.4 | 298 |

*: A few LDPs answered because they changed concept of party.

influential politicians¹¹ who switched over from the LDP to the NFP camp. Special attention should be paid to the fact that 51% of past LDP and 67% of past JSP identifiers have changed to Independent. (Table 20)

A profile of CPI is as follows.

Table 21 shows the socio-economic status of NP, NI, and OP groups. NP are mainly male, in their 50s, agricultural, commercial or managerial occupations, and short term residents. NI are mainly in their 30s to 40s, self-employed and clerical occupation, and 3 to 10 years' residents. OP are mainly older, in agricultural and commercial occupations, and longer term residents.

Table 22 shows a crosstabulation of 'Reason for change of opinion on party' by CPI. Difference between NP and NI is in their 'Discontent

Table 21 CPI by SES

| | NP | NI | OP | N |
|--------------------|------|------|------|-----|
| Sex | | | | |
| Male | 13.9 | 18.9 | 41.9 | 339 |
| Female | 9.9 | 21.8 | 43.4 | 394 |
| Age | | | | |
| 20- | 7.2 | 19.3 | 22.9 | 83 |
| 30- | 9.7 | 25.2 | 24.3 | 103 |
| 40- | 11.0 | 26.7 | 40.4 | 146 |
| 50- | 15.5 | 20.8 | 47.6 | 168 |
| 60- | 11.9 | 15.9 | 57.0 | 151 |
| 70- | 12.2 | 12.2 | 53.7 | 82 |
| Occupation | | | | |
| Agr. | 17.0 | 13.2 | 52.8 | 53 |
| Comm. | 15.9 | 15.9 | 52.3 | 88 |
| Self-e. | 7.7 | 23.1 | 42.3 | 26 |
| Mang. | 16.7 | 16.7 | 50.0 | 48 |
| Cler. | 14.0 | 26.2 | 27.3 | 172 |
| Worker | 5.7 | 14.3 | 45.7 | 35 |
| Oth/No | 7.0 | 19.3 | 44.7 | 114 |
| H-Wf | 9.6 | 21.8 | 45.7 | 197 |
| Years of Residence | | | | |
| -3 Ys | 19.5 | 19.5 | 29.3 | 41 |
| -10 Ys | 16.4 | 28.4 | 19.4 | 67 |
| 10- Ys | 12.2 | 21.6 | 44.8 | 319 |
| Born | 9.2 | 17.6 | 47.4 | 306 |
| Total | 11.7 | 20.5 | 42.7 | 733 |

Table 22 Reason for Change by CPI (MA)

| | Discontent with Party | Other Party Better | Change of Thought | Change of Life | Party Changed | DK | N |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|-----|-----|
| NP | 42.4 | 21.2 | 18.8 | 1.2 | 30.6 | 4.7 | 85 |
| NI | 52.1 | 14.1 | 25.8 | 1.2 | 23.3 | 2.5 | 163 |

Table 23 Influence of Party Realignment by Party Identification

| | Very Much | A Little | Little | Not At All | DK | Others | N |
|-------|-----------|----------|--------|------------|------|--------|-----|
| LDP | 19.5 | 36.1 | 33.6 | 2.5 | 7.9 | .4 | 241 |
| JSP | 30.0 | 42.0 | 18.0 | | 10.0 | | 50 |
| NFP | 20.2 | 48.8 | 26.2 | 2.4 | 2.4 | | 84 |
| CGP | 30.4 | 43.5 | 13.0 | | 8.7 | 4.3 | 23 |
| JCP | 7.1 | 57.1 | 28.6 | 7.1 | | | 14 |
| Saki | 30.8 | 38.5 | 23.1 | | 7.7 | | 13 |
| Ind. | 17.5 | 33.6 | 34.2 | 2.5 | 11.9 | .3 | 360 |
| Oths | 14.8 | 29.6 | 25.9 | | 29.6 | | 27 |
| Total | 19.5 | 37.1 | 31.0 | 2.2 | 9.9 | .4 | 812 |

Table 24 Influence of Realignment by CPI

| | Yes | DK | No | N |
|-------|------|------|------|-----|
| NP | 68.2 | 2.4 | 29.4 | 85 |
| NI | 59.5 | 3.7 | 36.8 | 163 |
| OI | 43.5 | 19.0 | 37.5 | 184 |
| OP | 59.5 | 9.2 | 31.4 | 306 |
| Total | 56.5 | 9.6 | 33.9 | 738 |

with party,' 'The other party is better' and 'The party changed' answer. *NI* simply lost their identification while *NP* chose *NP* within the frame of party choice. It might originate from the switch of influential politicians.

This election was held during a period of party realignment. What do these party identifiers or non-identifiers think about the influence of realignment? Table 23 shows the influence by party identification. Under 51 % of LDP and Independent felt any influence while around 60% to 70% of other categories felt it (in total of 'Most influence' and 'A little influence'). Table 24 shows this by CPI. *In*

contrast to the fact that NP felt most 68% of influence, NI and OP were in the middle.

Intended Candidate and Party to Vote

In the question of 'Have you already decided which candidate to vote for?,' the 'Decided' group (total of 'decided' and 'almost decided') was 50%. Recoded candidates to party line, intended LDP voter was 30%, JSP 6%, and Independent 4%. Recoded to Incumbent/Challenger, Incumbent was 80%.

Crosstabulation of Party Intended to vote by party identification which best explains voting is shown in Table 25. The well-known organization-centered parties, the CGP and JCP, gained more than 90% of their supporters, and LDP follows at 85%. The worst is NFP's 9% partly because of scarce candidates. NFP had one candidate in Takamatu whom no NFP identifier was going to vote for, and a candidate in Ayauta whom only three of ten identifiers were going to support. *Therefore tragic for NFP camp, candidates from its elites were almost separate from its identifiers who intended to vote for its foe.*

It is difficult to predict voting only by recent party identification in this realigning period. Table 26 added CPI to Table 25 (change between old parties identifiers was extracted from recent identifiers).

Among OP, LDP increased 3 points from 85 to 88 %, NFP 13 points from 67 to 80%, and JSP none. OI increased LDP vote from 69 to 88%, 19 points up.

In NP, NP vote improved a little (LDP vote was 63% and NFP 10%), but, NP's former LDP increased Independent vote while decreasing LDP vote. In NI, LDP vote decreased 9 points, JSP vote increased 6 points, and the Independent vote went up 4 points. There is a clear

contrast between former LDP and JSP in NI group. Former JSP in NI decreased LDP vote to 41% (30 points down), increased JSP vote from 18 to 36%, and Independent vote to 23%. Former LDP in NI increased LDP vote to 79%, decreased JSP vote to 14%, and Independent vote to only 7%.

The key to predicting New Frontier Party support is in the vote of NP including former LDP. But, the certainty of prediction is not so certain, because the NP vote itself was small.

There is no one in OI and NI who was to vote NP. It is worth noting that there is totally different voting behavior between former LDP and JSP identifiers in NI. Both groups keep former voting attitudes to vote for the formerly identified party, while LDP support is strong in it and JSP is weak. Former JSP identifying NI exhibit strong Independent voting.

How the electorate voted according to the Government and Opposition cleavage was clear before 1993 and but now is vague.

Table 27 shows three government versus opposition sets. Kagawa prefectural government is supported by all parties except the JCP while the national government is different. Which cleavage will predict the vote best? The old one (left table) predicts vote less ($\gamma = 0.79$), the recent (middle) predicts vote fairly well ($\gamma = 0.83$), and the prefectural the best ($\gamma = 0.97$).

Lastly, were Independents inclined to vote for Independent candidates, who were criticized as the concealed party candidate, or Challengers who were party candidate? Table 28 shows a crosstabulation of Inc/Cha vote by CPI. It shows that *NP and NI exhibit strong Challenger and Independent vote (NP's 37% and NI's 41% in contrast to OP's 14% and OI's 24%)*.

Table 25 Intended Vote by Party Identification

| | LDP | JSP | NFP | CGP | JCP | Ind. | N |
|-------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|
| P | 85.0 | 1.5 | | 2.3 | .8 | 10.5 | 133 |
| a | JSP | 35.0 | 65.0 | | | | 20 |
| r | NFP | 65.7 | 5.7 | 8.6 | | 20.0 | 35 |
| t | CGP | 6.7 | | 93.3 | | | 15 |
| y | JCP | | | 9.1 | 90.9 | | 11 |
| | Saki | 57.1 | 42.9 | | | | 7 |
| I | Ind. | 69.4 | 18.4 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 9.2 |
| d | Oths | | 50.0 | | 25.0 | 25.0 | 4 |
| Total | 66.9 | 12.4 | 1.2 | 5.9 | 4.0 | 9.6 | 323 |

Table 26 Intended Vote by Party Identification and CPI

| | OP | LDP | JSP | NFP | CGP | JCP | Ind. | N |
|-------------|----|--------|--------|--------|------|-------|--------|------|
| LDP | | 88.0 | .9 | | 1.7 | .9 | 8.5 | 117 |
| JSP | | 35.7 | 64.3 | | | | | 14 |
| NFP | | 80.0 | | | | | 20.0 | 5 |
| (NP) | | (63.3) | (6.7) | (10.0) | | | (20.0) | (30) |
| (NP of LDP) | | (60.9) | (8.7) | (8.7) | | | (21.7) | (23) |
| Sakigake | | 50.0 | 50.0 | | | | | 2 |
| (NP) | | (75.0) | (25.0) | | | | | (4) |
| CGP | | 7.7 | | | 92.3 | | | 13 |
| JCP | | | | | 16.7 | 83.3 | | 6 |
| Ind. | | 87.5 | 7.5 | | | | 5.0 | 40 |
| (NI) | | (60.4) | (24.5) | | | (1.9) | (13.2) | (53) |
| (NI of JSP) | | (40.9) | (36.4) | | | | (22.7) | (22) |
| (NI of LDP) | | (78.6) | (14.3) | | | | (7.1) | (28) |
| Others | | | 100.0 | | | | | 1 |
| Total | | 72.2 | 7.6 | | 9.5 | 3.8 | 7.0 | 158 |

Table 28 Incumbent and Challenger Vote by CPI

| | Incumbent /Former Rep. | Challenger | N |
|-------|------------------------|------------|-----|
| NP | 68.6% | 36.9 | 35 |
| NI | 59.3 | 40.7 | 54 |
| OP | 85.6 | 14.4 | 160 |
| OI | 76.2 | 23.8 | 42 |
| Total | 77.3 | 22.7 | 291 |

Table 27 Intended Vote*a by Party Identification*b (arranged by governmental and opposition parties)

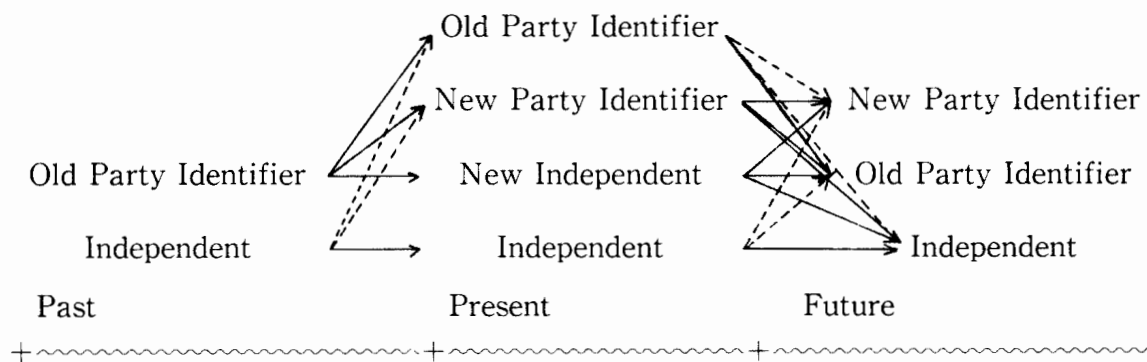
| OG vs. OO LDP/Anti-LDP | | | | RG vs. RO LDP + JSP + Sakigake/ NFP + JCP | | | | PG vs. PO All Governmental/JCP | | | |
|---------------------------|----------|------|-----|---|----------|------|-----|-----------------------------------|----------|------|-----|
| P-I | Intended | Vote | N | P-I | Intended | Vote | N | P-I | Intended | Vote | N |
| | OO*c | LDP | | | RO*d | RG*e | | | PO*f | PG*g | |
| OO | 60.2 | 39.8 | 88 | RO | 57.4 | 42.6 | 61 | PO | 90.9 | 9.1 | 11 |
| LDP | 15.0 | 85.0 | 133 | RG | 11.3 | 88.8 | 160 | PG | 10.5 | 89.5 | 210 |
| Total | 33.0 | 67.0 | 221 | Total | 24.0 | 76.0 | 221 | Total | 14.5 | 85.5 | 221 |
| Gamma = .79 | | | | Gamma = .83 | | | | Gamma = .97 | | | |

(Note; a: Independent candidates were included in each opposition rank. b: Independent was missing value. c: JSP, NFP, CGP, JCP, and Ind. d: NFP, CGP, JCP, and Ind. e: LDP, JSP, and Sakigake (there was no Sakigake Identifier in the sample). f: JCP, and Ind. g: LDP, JSP, Sakigake, NFP, and CGP.)

一五三

DISCUSSION

The next figure would explain the April change of Party Identification situation in the course of party realignment.



Considering the Present location, findings in this study are as follows.

First, there is a decreasing continuum in degree of participation as [OP and NP] —> [NI] —> [OI] at the Present point in time. Although a NI's sense of participation is still high in comparison with OI, this will continue to decline. NI's vote motive comes from Obligation, at the moment.

NI will continue to have an idea of a Whole Prefecture representative, detaching themselves from their residential area unless some other political force catches them. This will have a negative effect on Japanese political organizations that have long based their organization on an area personal network, although 'the representative' is ideal in democratic theory.

Second, after experiencing the great Hanshin earthquake, many citizens complain in prefectural politics that prefectural life is not safe or mentally rich, lowering once popular economic development. There was a strong relationship between discontent and CPI. It is worth noting that NI are the most discontented. On the other hand, there is a group that could not follow recent change.

Third, how do we draw the present conditions of party identification? NP changed their identification not only because of discontentment with a party, but also of being attracted by other party. NI did

一
五
二

not choose any party, preferring to be independent.

Not all the NP and OP voted for their party. The reason that many NFP and JSP identifiers did not vote for their party is not only because it happened to be in a local election, but also because their party's prospects are now weak.

Independents showed a very low turnout to NFP. How were NI? Do they keep their former attitudes? That is the case only in the former LDP's NI. The fewer former JSP's NI vote for their former party.

It is improbable that the former JSP's NI will come back to the JSP. New Frontier Party will not be able to tie their new identifiers, because they can not extend their original constituent to the outside. NFP identifiers must decide whether they will come back to the former identified party or go into the ranks of the Independents. LDP identifiers will be stable, among Old Partisans. Old Independents will continue to be Independents because of their socio-economic characteristics.¹²

Note

- (1) Japanese local elections (Governors, Mayors, Prefectural Representatives, City Councilors, and Town and Village representatives) are held in April by four years' interval. They were integrated to make election administration easier, but about one third of them are held in different dates because of resignation or dissolve.
- (2) Nokku Yokoyama (real name is Isamu Yamada) won Governorship of Osaka, and Yukio Aoshima of Tokyo.
- (3) Ichiro Miyake used this word when he referred to JNP that was in nebula in terms of stability and strength of identification. His academic interests were to characterize three new parties' (JNP, Newborn, and Sakigake) identifiers. Ichiro Miyake, 'Shintou shutugen to Shijisha Shudan no Hensei (Rise of New Parties and Alignments of their Identifiers)', in his *Nihon no Seiji to Senkyo (Japanese Politics and Elections)*, 1995. We will shed light New Independents in

contrast to NP, OP, and OI.

- (4) The author received data in condition that it be written in article that Shikoku Shimbun conducted the survey. I must appreciate editor Junji Yamashita and his colleagues.
- (5) A pipe to the national, prefectural government, and business world.
- (6) Japanese election reform for the House of Representative introduced a single member plurality system (300 seats), mixed with PR system (200).
- (7) Change between Old Parties group has been omitted except for this paragraph, because this floating group will be confusing if we analyze pure Old Parties group.
- (8) Almost all parties in recent local government are supporters for governors except JCP. They support them for interests allocation. The all parties supported governors have been often reelected many times.
- (9) The correlation between discontents in politics and voting was weak in 'Akarui Senkyo Suishin Kyokai (Association for Clean Election)' data. The author, 'Decline of Japan Socialists Party and Party Realignment: from Ideology to Discontent,' in "Kagawa Law Review," Volume 14, Number 1, 1994 April.
- (10) The Japanese 1955 system, that was characterized as one (LDP) and half (JSP) party system, lasted until 1993.
- (11) They are Sigeaki Tukahara (House of Representative) and Takusi Hirai (Diet member).
- (12) I thank Professor Ian J. Neary (Essex University) who reviewed English translation of this article.