The Absence of a Japanese Radical Right: Consistent with Current Theory of the Radical Right?

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Abstract

One set of theories pertaining to radical right success examines the strategy of mainstream right-wing parties. One mechanism that seems to have been ignored is the extent to which mainstream right-wing parties include or exclude "radical right" individuals and supporters within their own ranks. I argue that giving "radical right" elements a place within mainstream parties, allows center-right parties to prevent potential radical right voters from switching support to parties more extreme than itself, by presenting a more credible alternative. This raises the issue of internal party dynamics, and non-unitary parties, which the existing literature ignores, due to the largely unitary nature of Western European parties. The Japanese case demonstrates such a mechanism. Furthermore, the validity of this thesis can be tested more rigorously over time, as the state allows more immigrants to enter Japan, which may strain this outcome.

1 Introduction

In the comparative party politics literature, the rise of the "Radical Right" party has been widely theorized and analyzed with a focus on Western and Eastern Europe. Other works have expanded the scope of study to fit parties in late capitalist countries as diverse as Israel, Canada, Australia, Chile, and New Zealand (Norris, 2005, 7) (Rydgren, 2007, 242). Yet, there has been less work on the Japanese case, though some have tried to apply the populist or radical right theories to phenomena in Japanese politics. Furthermore, most of the contributions that do examine the Japanese radical right either examine groupuscular formations that do not contest elections, or examine particular elections or personalities instead of examining the country-level variables theorized by the literature, or consider how the Japanese case can inform the theory in general.

After establishing relative comparability with the set of Western European countries which serve as the basis of most theories on the radical right, this paper will examine definitional concerns to establish that Japan is actually a null case, and review the literature on the Japanese radical right, and of the radical right in general. Then, it will show how the Japanese case fits in with the literature, and explore possible explanations for the lack of a radical right in Japan using qualitative discussion and statistical analysis of survey data. The paper concludes with prospects for the future of the radical right in Japan and what the Japanese case can tells us about theories of the radical right.

One issue with the literature has been that the demand side theories do not explain much of the variance. In contrast, the literature has come up a number of supply-side theories. I focus on supply-side theories concerning the strategic interaction between radical right and mainstream right-wing parties. The Japanese case shows that while demand side factors seemingly predict the null, several factors exist to make Japan more

likely to have successful radical right parties. I argue that the porousness and diversity within the LDP, the lack of programmatic competition, the difference in the issue structure, and the relative tolerance of the mainstream parties towards individuals that would be considered radical right in Western Europe enables the LDP to capture voting segments that otherwise would have voted for alternative radical right parties. These results may imply that while treating radical parties as "pariahs" while incorporating their policies might work, another strategy may be to purposely incorporate elements in order to coopt them, which is not theorized due to assumption of unitary and coherent parties.

2 Background

2.1 Comparability

Japan is one of the few highly developed post-industrial societies that are ruled by long-standing bourgeois democratic regimes outside of Western Europe, which could make it a good case for evaluating theories developed in the Western European context "out of sample", as the comparison would be closer to a most similar design than when using other cases.

Countries such as the Republic of Korea or the Republic of China are similarly economically developed democracies, but they have only recently democratized, having democratized in 1987 and 1996 respectively. This fact may make them more like the Post-Communist cases in Europe. In contrast, Japan has been democratic since 1947, if one takes the enactment of the post-war occupation constitution as the start of democracy, or 1928, if one takes the beginning of universal manhood suffrage as the beginning of democracy. Indeed, when looking at age of democratic regime and level of economic development, Japan may be a more credible counterfactual to West European

cases than are East European ones, where the process of democratization coupled with the presence of long-standing (rather than recent) minorities within national borders contributed to the rise of the radical right (Bustikova, 2015). That being said, Taiwan has a higher per capita GDP than does Japan, and is similarly post-industrial. Thus the two other high-income oriental democracies might also be informative with regard to theories of the radical right, especially since the ROC and ROK have had more open immigration policies (OECD, 2017*a*), and concurrently higher proportions of both foreign citizens and racial foreigners within their borders, and as the former has indigenous ethnic minorities, similar to Eastern Europe. In comparison to using the US as a case for the radical right, Japan is a parliamentary regime like most Western European countries, rather than presidential. Similarly, while South Korea and Taiwan have mixed member systems, as in Japan, they are also presidential which makes them less comparable to some European cases.

2.2 Existing Literature on the Japanese Radical Right

Lindgren (2015) suggests tying in the populism in Japan with the frameworks used to analyze the European Radical Right. Jou and Endo (2016*a*) analyzes the ideological orientation and demographics for the non-establishment nationalist candidate, ex-airforce general Tamogami Toshio, during the 2014 Tokyo gubernatorial election in which he obtained 12.6 percent of the vote. Tamogami became a famous figure of the Japanese right in 2008 after he was forced to retire for publishing a paper which supported a view of the Greater East Asia War that contradicted the Japanese government's official stance (Jou and Endo, 2016*a*, 111). They find that Tamogami's supporters are overwhelmingly male but balanced on education and income in comparison with the supporters of the establishment conservative candidate and (surprisingly) have very low levels of discontent with the government. The book chapter demonstrates that

the ultra-nationalist supporters are distinguished by high levels of ethno-nationalist values, opposition to the Democratic Party, antagonism to Communist China and the Koreas, authoritarian personality, and positive historical narratives of Japan's role in the Greater East Asia War (Jou and Endo, 2016*a*, 123). Similarly, Higuchi (2016) examines ultra-nationalist civic activists and comes to a similar conclusion: support is based on nativism, historical narrative construction, and is supportive of existing elites. These results stand in stark contrast to the European cases, which a large portion of the literature understands to be "populist" in the sense that they are opposed to the political "elites" and the "establishment"(de Lange, 2007, 416)(Mudde, 2007, 23)(Rydgren, 2007, 246). Such results also do not comport with an understanding of radical right supporters as losers of globalization (Kriesi and Lachat, 2004, 8).

2.3 What is a Radical Right Party?

Answering the question of what constitutes the "Radical Right" is necessary to theorize the absence of the Radical Right in Japan in order to substantiate an actual absence. The concept is notorious for being ill-defined despite widespread agreement on what parties ought to be classified as such. Mudde (2007, 30-31) defines the concept of "populist radical right" as parties that feature xenophobic nationalism, are not elitist, and are populist in the sense of envisioning a world divided between "the people" and political elites. Kitschelt and McGann (1997) defines radical right in terms of the party's position on particularistic nationalism, authoritarian decision modes, and liberal distributive preferences, though after the 1990s many parties said to be of the radical right adopted more leftist economic stances. Other schema include extremity on a simple left-right scale, such as the definition used in Norris (2005), which defines radical right as parties that score higher than 8 on a 10-point Lubbers left-right expert survey scale.

The Japanese case has not been discussed as thoroughly in the literature, and the boundary between mainstream and radical are also less obvious, given the overlap between the LDP's past policies, and the stated preferences of prominent members of the European radical right. For example, Marine Le Pen has openly praised Japan's current "patriotic economic model" and explicitly stated that her ideal immigration and citizenship policy are those of contemporary Japan, which has been constructed and maintained mostly under the LDP (Kunisue, Norito, 2015). To address such uncertainties, I will use Carter (2005)'s definition of "extreme right" in order to differentiate between the mainstream right, and the radical right proper for the purposes of this paper.

Carter (2005, 17) utilizes two criteria. To be extreme right, a party must be at least implicitly extreme, or anti-constitutional, wherein it must at least implicitly reject "fundamental values, procedures and institutions of the democratic constitutional state," and anti-democratic, wherein they must also reject "the principle of fundamental human equality". Additionally, I would like to employ the notion of "populist-antistatist" parties defined in Kitschelt (2007, 1179) as parties that are "more a challenge to clientelistic politics than appealing to the radical right" to describe some Japanese groups and individuals that have been described as extreme right, in light of their focus on administrative reform and neoliberalism, as well as positive attitudes with regard to the use of imported labor.

2.3.1 Are there any Radical Right Parties in Parliament?

Given Carter's definition, the major opposition parties around the middle of the first decade of this century, are not radical right. Excluding the parties of the extreme left (Communists (JCP) and Social Democrats (SDPJ), the two parties left are the New Komeito (NKP) and the Democratic Party (DPJ). Laver and Benoit (2005) examines

Japanese party positions based on expert survey data at 2000 and 2003. In the general left-right dimension, the NKP and DPJ are coded slightly to the left of the LDP, though indistinguishable from it. Multidimensional analysis distinguishes the DPJ from NKP through former's higher degree of market liberalism (Laver and Benoit, 2005, 195). This fits substantively with NKP's role as the de-facto political wing of the religious group "Soka Gakkai", which identifies itself as a Nichirenist lay organization (though disowned by many other Nichirenist groups) that espouses cosmopolitanism as one of its core tenets (Low, 2010, 35).

Therefore, unless we classify the LDP as radical right, there was no successful radical right party in Japan in the early 2000s. However, the LDP poses a serious problem for the concept of radical right as such, for as noted before, their views and policies overlap considerably with those of the European radical right.

Applying Carter (2005, 17)'s definitions to the LDP, we can see that the LDP is on some level extreme, in that it wishes to revise the occupation constitution as a fundamental principle of the party, and they have also been accused of unconstitutional practices. For example, their reinterpretation of the constitution that enables Japan to maintain a self defense force despite the constitutional ban on maintaining a capacity to wage war has been criticized as unconstitutional. Japan has a peculiar constitutional situation wherein the interim constitution written by the occupying authorities was never revised, despite questionable constitutionality of Japan's military capacity since the occupation authorities created the National Police Reserve, the predecessor of the JSDF, in 1950 (McNelly, 1962, 250). This led the LDP to uphold constitutional revision as a fundamental part of the party platform for the last sixty years without actually revising it, while creatively re-interpreting Article 9 to widen the scope of Japanese defense capacity (*Imakoso Jishu Kenpo No Seitei Wo*, 2011).

While the JCP originally opposed the 1947 constitution in favor of its own, they,

along with the SDPJ, both support the consitution and consider the current security policy to be unconstitutional, as do some MPs in the DPJ. The DPJ, NKP, and LDP's official stances are that the current security policy is constitutional, but that the constitution requires revision, though the DPJ and NKP tend to be more cautious on this issue than the LDP. The fifth category is a minority opinion, yet can be seen in multiple parties. Ozawa Ichiro, who was a DPJ leader and founder, and Nishimura Shingo, who was a DPJ backbencher who later joined what became the PFG, Koyama Takao and Nishida Shoji of the LDP , as well as Ishihara Shintaro, who used to be in the LDP, all espouse or at some point claimed to believe that the occupation constitution is illegitimate (Ozawa, N.d.) (Buszynski, 2004, 68) (Nishida, 2014) (Nishimura, 2016). Some parties and individuals also espouse "establishing an autonomous/sovereign constitution (Jishu kenpo ron)" but are not clear on their stance on the constitutionality of current policies and on constitutional legitimacy.

We can also examine the extremity of the main-stream of the LDP using their constitutional amendment proposal. The LDP's 2012 proposal for constitutional amendment was heavily criticized for containing undemocratic procedures and de-emphasizing universalistic conceptions of human rights as inherent(Jones, 2013) (*The LDP's draft constitution*, 2016). For example, the opening statement for the occupation constitution utilizes universalistic language that derives the rights citizenship from a western, universalistic construction of "human rights" as inherent in man. In contrast, the LDP proposal replaces it with language that emphasizes mutual help, harmony, traditions, preservation of the community, and defense of the state as the basis and purpose of the constitution. The proposal also contains the rather Schmittian emergency articles 98 and 99, which would allow the cabinet to indefinitely gain emergency legislative powers by postponing the termination indefinitely by approval of parliamentary majority every 100 days (*Nihonkoku Kenpo Kaisei Souan Genko Kenpo Taisho*, 2012). However, as

the current government has extended the deadline for their genuine draft amendment proposal, it is not entirely clear how seriously thought out or representative of the party as a whole the 2012 draft is (*Abe slows pace of constitutional amendment schedule*, 2017). Thus, while questionable, we can tentatively classify the LDP "extreme" regarding existing democratic institutions, procedures and constitution. It also contains minority elements that are quite clearly extreme under this definition, in that these individuals do not recognize the legitimacy of the occupation constitution at all.

However, today's LDP does seem to accept "fundamental human equality". This was not so clear-cut in the past, for prominent LDP members have made statements that were construed as racist or at least insensitive by critics. For example, in 1986 during an LDP workshop, then-PM Nakasone Yasuhiro cited the homogeneity of the Japanese people as a factor that allowed Japanese people to have a higher and more equitable distribution of educational attainment, in contrast to the United States, where the presence of less well-educated minorities such as "blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans", brought down the mean level of education (Buruma, 1987). Such a statement would most likely fall under culturist, if not classical racism under Carter's schema. However, LDP politicians are more careful about expressing such views now, and the LDP leadership is more open to importation of foreign labor as we shall see. The Abe government has also passed laws to regulate "hate speech" in 2016 (Osaki, 2016). The sensibility that enables such attitudes and speech that might be considered classically or culturally racist elsewhere may also be a result of Japan's relative lack of a move towards state-sponsored multiculturalism or embracing of a universalistic-egalitarian construction of the "human" at the elite level relative to Western Europe, which can also be seen in the proposed constitutional draft. Thus it may be more useful in the future to use a relative notion of racism rather than an absolute one if expanding this concept outside of the west.

The "right-most" position of the LDP on the primary axis of competition has been well-documented during the Cold War on the main constitutional/security/geopolitical cleavage, and has held for most of the time until recently (Otake, 2000) (Jou and Endo, 2016*b*).

There have been small parties "to the right" of the LDP in the form of small "third force" parties that tend to be formed by ex-LDP members, perform poorly in elections, and sometimes re-merge with the LDP after bad showings in the polls. Laver and Benoit (2005) analyzes the party positions and axes of competition for the Japanese party system in 2003 based on expert surveys, and finds that for the two main axes of "social policy" and "deregulation", the LDP is the second-most extreme on both dimensions, second only to the New Conservative Party (NCP), with both parties very close together. The NCP was both small and not electorally successful as it was formed in 2000 by Liberal Party and DPJ defectors (most of whom had been in the LDP before the mid-1990s), and merged with the LDP in after losing a substantial number of seats in the 2003 general election (Schmidt, 2009, 9). In previous and later iterations of the same expert survey as the one used in Laver and Benoit (2005), the LDP was coded as most extreme for the "Social" policy scale in 1996, 2000, 2005, 2012, and 2014, but not 2003 (NCP), 2009 (Sunrise Party), 2010 (People's New Party and Sunrise Party), "National Identity" in 1996, 2000, 2003, 2005, 2009, and 2012, but not 2009 (People's New Party) and 2014 (Japan Restoration party). On the general Left-Right continuum, they were placed as most extreme for 2005 and 2009, but not 1996 (New Frontier Party), 2000 (Conservative Party), 2003 (NCP), 2010 (Sunrise Party), and 2012 (Japan Restoration Party), and 2014 (PFG).

All of the parties that were coded as more extreme than the LDP in the expert surveys were "Third Force" parties, a term used to describe relatively small parties of the right that tried to distinguish themselves from the DPJ and the LDP (Pekkanen

and Reed, 2016, 63). Through the rise and fall of the DPJ between 2009 and 2012, and the subsequent Abe administration, the absence of a substantial radical right party has become less clear over time with the emergence of "Third Force" parties. They usually espoused market liberal economics and were generally not parties of the left or center left. Many of them were run by individuals closely associated with the LDP, or otherwise defected from them, and they tended to form, reform, and split relatively frequently (Pekkanen and Reed, 2016, 63-66).

Prominent examples include Hashimoto Toru's Osaka Restoration Society, which was an independent regional party in Osaka that arose independently of the LDP.[1] It advocated regional administrative reform, increased efficiency of government, and greater role for market principles. Another figure associated with the "Third Force" was Ishihara Shintaro, who was a writer-turned-politician who became an arch-conservative LDP diet member, and later the governor of Tokyo. He was renowned for his nationalistic stances through policies such as the nationalization of the Senkaku islands that China claims to dispute, as well as his fierce rhetoric. After forming the Sunrise Party in parliament, he later joined forces with Hashimoto to form the national-level Japan Restoration Party, winning 54 seats out of 480 in the 2012 general election, becoming the third party of the lower house overnight (Lindgren, 2015, 577)(Reed, 2013, 72-73).

Partly due to divisions between followers of Hashimoto and those of Ishihara, the formation split with Hashimoto taking most of the individuals who came out of the Osaka Restoration Society into the Japan Innovation Party (JIP). Then, Hashimoto's group also split the JIP, forming the Initiatives from Osaka (essentially the original Osaka Restoration Society). While Hashimoto and Ishihara agreed on the need to revise the pacifist occupation constitution, what was left of the Innovation Party were

[1] "Ishin/Restoration" here is a mistranslation, arising from the translation of "Meiji Ishin" as "Meiji Restoration". The literal meaning of the "Ishin" is "renewal" and that was the intended meaning of the term in this case. In later iterations, "restoration" was rendered as "innovation". Thus, the party is not to be mistaken for a royalist party as the translated name might suggest.

anti-revisionists and as such merged with the DPJ. Ishihara's split first crystallized into the Party for Future Generations (PFG) which lost all but 2 of its 19 original seats in the 2014 election (Jou and Endo, 2016*a*, 107).

The literature has identified both Hashimoto and Ishihara as populist, and many have classified the latter as "national populist", and "xenophobic" (Lindgren, 2015, 575). Hashimoto, in contrast, emphasizes neoliberal reforms, rather than xenophobic sentiment. In Osaka, he has reduced public sector wages and subsidies to cultural programs and private schools, campaigned against welfare fraud, and only barely lost a referendum to rationalize local administration by merging the municipal and prefectural governments, as would be expected of a neoliberal populist (Weathers, 2014).

Views on whether he could be considered "radical right" is mixed, as Hashimoto has also done things which are seen as nationalistic in Japan, such as forcing intransigent leftist teachers to raise the national flag and sing the anthem during school ceremonies, and claiming that military-licensed prostitution was a strategic necessity during the last war (Lindgren, 2015, 587). However, he claimed in a 2014 press conference as mayor of Osaka that extensive use of foreign labor was a necessity that required careful institutional planning, rather than something to be avoided (*Hashimoto Toru Osaka Shichou, Gaikokujin Roudousha Ukeire Wa Seimitsu Na Seidosekkei Ga Hitsuyou To Noberu*, 2014). Thus, we can see that his neoliberalism informs his position on the national community rather than vice versa.

His political tactics, reforms, and proposals have been criticized as anti-democratic or fascistic (Weathers, 2014, 83). Regardless of whether he actually is a threat to democracy, he clearly wants drastic changes to Japanese political institutions, including the constitution. As such, he can be seen as being in opposition to certain procedures and institutions of Japanese democracy, but not particularly opposed to notions of "fundamental human equality". We can therefore classify Hashimoto and his Osaka-

based group as "populist-antistatist" rather than "radical" or "extreme" right.

The aforementioned JRP was the most successful among the "third force" parties in the 2012 general election for the lower house, under the joint leadership of Hashimoto and Ishihara. It gained 43 seats in addition of the 11 seats that they already had, with 20.5 percent of the vote (Pekkanen and Reed, 2016, 66). This was a higher percentage of the vote than what the DPJ received, though the DPJ ended up with more seats than the JRP due to malapportionment. Thus, if we classify the JRP as radical right, then Japan would most likely not be a null case for radical right success, but as it is most likely not, the null still stands. Such a union between "radical right" elements and "populist-antistatist" elements rested on the latter appeal rather than the former. Indeed, after the split between Hashimoto and Ishihara, the former's party (after merging with another smaller reformist party to form the Japan Innovation Party) lost only one seat in the 2014 general election with 15.7 percent of the vote, unlike PFG. Later, the Japan Innovation Party also split between Hashimoto's Osaka-oriented members and those more willing to work with the DPJ and the JCP (Pekkanen and Reed, 2016, 66). Those aligned with Hashimoto formed the Nippon Ishin no Kai, with 15 MPs in the lower house in 2016 . This demonstrates that it was the "radical right" elements of the original merger that were unable to stand on their own rather than the "populist-antistatist" elements.

Higuchi (2016, 107) identifies the Party for Future Generations (PFG), as a radical right party, though without explicitly specifying their definition of radical right. Corroborating this categorization, Kato Junko's 2014 expert survey (the Japanese wing of the CHES) on party policy gave PFG the highest score for the "right-wing" position on immigration, national identity, and defense policy, followed by LDP and JRP. For spending v taxes, the JRP is most right-wing, followed by LDP and PFG. For deregulation, the PFG is most right-wing, followed by the LDP, while the JRP is

the most left-wing among all the parties, a counterintuitive orientation and perhaps a typo (Kato, 2016). Thus, the PFG may be a good candidate for a "radical right" party in Japan, as it scores high on nationalistic and anti-immigrant positions that most definitions of the radical right shares. For the purposes of classification, I will take this fact, as well as their opposition to increased immigration as mentioned in their manifesto, as culturist racism for the purposes of Carter (2005)'s definition of extreme right. Ishihara also explicitly denies the legitimacy of the occupation constitution as noted above, as do other members of the PFG, making the party fulfill both the "extreme" and the "right-wing" components of the definition. A caveat on the PFG's status as a radical right is the closeness of the PFG with the LDP. On top of its entirely ex-LDP membership, the PFG openly supported Shinzo Abe on issues of security and national identity. Ishihara claimed that the PFG wished to replace the more pacifist and cosmopolitan (but better organized and therefore more electorally reliable) Komeito in coalition with the LDP, freeing the latter to pursue its preferred policy goals (Reed, 2013, 68). Thus, we again see that the line between radical right and mainstream right is not very clear in the case of the PFG, at least for the issues that they emphasized.

However, even if we classify PFG as a radical right party, its failure at the polls demonstrates that Japan is a null case. Forming in parliament with 19 members in the lower house and 3 members in the lower house, their lower house representation dwindled to 2 seats with 2.7 percent of the vote in the next lower house election in 2014 (Jou and Endo, 2016*a*, 107). This loss is nontrivial as fairly popular figures such as the aforementioned Tamogami ran as candidates for the party, yet they all performed much worse than Tamogami did in the gubernatorial election, except for the two ex-LDP candidates with strong and long-standing personal bases in their home districts (Pekkanen, Reed and Scheiner, 2016, 68). The party also gained no extra seats in the 2016 upper house elections, with one member defecting to the LDP soon after.

In January 2017, the party renamed itself the "Party for Japanese Kokoro" and formed a united legislative grouping with the LDP in the upper house, and its members then re-joined the LDP.

2.3.2 Radical Right Outside of Parliament

Radical right formations formed outside of parliament have also been unable to make entryways into national politics. Recent examples include Nomura Shusuke's Kaze no Kai or "Society of the Wind", and Ishin Seito Shinpu or "Restoration Political Party - New Wind", founded by ex- Society of the Wind election committee member Suzuki Nobuyuki in 1998 (Kunio, 2005) (Shibuichi, 2007). These groups were founded and operated by activists from the Japanese "New Right", which was a phenomenon among the student movement and groupuscular right. Inspired by figures such as Mishima Yukio, they reacted against the explicitly or implicitly pro-Yalta-Potsdam-regime, pro-establishment, and pro-capital stance of established nationalist formations since the late 1960s (Kunio, 2005). Neither group has seen any success in national-level elections.

More recently, groups commonly known as "active conservatives" have been operating since the early 2000s, using on-line mobilization for street activism. One of the more famous and the controversial among them is the Zaitokukai, a civic group that opposes legal and administrative privileges for Zainichi Koreans. They are widely known for staging colorful protests against public subsidies to ethnic Korean schools run by supporters of the DPRK, and measures to enfranchise foreigners, among other things (Higuchi, 2016, 5). Sakurai Makoto, former head of the Zaitokukai, ran for the Tokyo gubernatorial election in 2016 and received 110,000 votes out of 6,620,300, much lower than what Tamogami received in 2014. Sakurai later launched the Japan First Party which has not yet contested seats in national elections (McCurry, 2016).

Table 1 documents possible instances of radical right parties that were registered

Table 1: Possibly RR Kakunin Dantai contesting regular HC Elections

Year	Recognized Organization Label						
	Japanese Citizens Political Union*						
1983	0.09						
		Greater Japan Fidelity Organization*	Japan Education Normalization Encouragement Union				
1986		0.02	0.05				
			Daikosha Political Union*	Japan Youth Organization*	Political Public Corporation Greater Peace Association	Japan Citizens Rights Protection Union*	
1989		0.01	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.02	
			International Political Union				Association of the Wind
1992	0.10	0.02	0.05				0.49
							Youth Liberal Party
1995							0.55
							Ishin Seito Shinpu
1998							0.55
2001							0.11
2004							0.23
2007							0.29
	Happiness Realization Party	Sunrise Party Japan				Spirit of Japan Party	
2010	0.39	2.11 (1)				0.84	
			Japan Restoration Party				
2013	0.36		11.94 (6)				
		Party for Japanese Kokoro	Initiatives From Osaka				
2016	0.65	1.31	9.20 (4)				

as Kakunin Dantai, or "recognized organizations" by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications for the House of Councillors (lower house) elections since 1983. This chart omits organizations that fielded candidates for the House of Representatives, organizations that fielded candidates who ran as independents, and instances where far-right organizations supported mainstream candidates. Organizations with an asterisk denote likely Yakuza front groups, and may not be purely political, but rather political organizations registered to front for criminal activities. As the chart shows, only the Sunrise Party, the Japan Restoration Party, and Initiatives from Osaka win any seats at all, and it is questionable if they are actually radical right parties. None of the other possibly radical right parties obtain even one percent of the vote.

3 Explanations for Radical Right Success

Golder (2016) and Rydgren (2007) summarize the theories that the literature uses to predict radical right electoral performance. The factors that are examined are divided into demand side and supply side. Demand-side factors include relative deprivation/-modernization losers from post-industrialization, dissolution of society through increased individualization, ethnic competition, popular xenophobia, and general political discontent. Supply-side factors include political opportunity structures, realignment processes, convergence of established parties, electoral systems/thresholds, and party organization.

3.1 Demand Conditions

Conditions that increases the demand for the radical right focus on changes in society that occurred during the last decades of the last century, that are theorized to contribute to radical right success. Such factors include economic and cultural grievances, increased anomie, ethnic competition, popular xenophobia, and general discontent. The demand

conditions mostly predict failure of the Japanese radical right, except for discontent and xenophobia, which is uncharacteristically widespread in Japan. Furthermore, demand conditions alone generally do not explain much of the variance in the outcome in Europe.

The literature examining Europe is generally divided on the effect of unemployment and other economic grievances on radical right voting (Golder, 2016). Japan generally has low unemployment, but the low numbers do not account for an increase in structural insecurity and discouraged workers s (Standing, 2016, 71) (Katz, 2014, 134) (Sorrentino, 1984, 24).

As for popular discontent, Norris (2005, 161-163) shows that radical right supporters show higher than average levels of discontent, in countries where radical right parties are excluded from power, but are not more discontented in countries where radical right parties are in government or where conservative parties or governments are broadly sympathetic to the issues dear to radical right supporters.

Japan has had historically low levels of confidence and trust in institutions and parties, though confidence in democracy had become established in the post-war period. Much like in the United States and Western Europe, confidence in institutions and parties declined through the 1970s to the 1990s, especially through the economic downturn, political scandals, and party system reshuffling (Pharr, Putnam and Dalton, 2000, 12). In World Values Survey 6 conducted in 2010 for Japan, the Japanese have an especially large proportion of respondents who answer "none" and "don't know" when asked what party they support, with 24.3 percent answering "don't know" and 26.4 percent answering "none". The total percentage of respondents who did not show support for a party was 27.0 percent for Germany, 7.4 percent for Australia, 14.3 percent for New Zealand, 23.4 percent for Netherlands, and 3.2 percent for South Korea, 45.0 percent for Spain, 22.5 percent for Sweden, and 40.8 percent for the United States. While the options are slightly different between countries, making comparisons

questionable, among Western European and North American countries, only Spain and the United States comes close to the proportion of Japanese respondents who did not show support for a party. Therefore, we have no reason to think that there is a lack of discontent or dealignment among the Japanese public that could be preventing the rise of a radical right. This situation is similar to the one described in Otake (2000) regarding Japan in the late 1990s, wherein bourgeois voters are too satisfied, too unwilling to understand new issues, and too anti-establishment to sustain new parties in the long run.

The relationships between discontent and radical right vote in Japan shows a result similar to what Norris (2005, 161-163) claims about cases in which radical right parties participate not excluded. Jou and Endo (2016*a*, 107) shows that Tamogami supporters in the Tokyo gubernatorial election tended to be more supportive of the existing political system. An analysis of support for Ishihara Shintaro during his tenure as governor of Tokyo also shows that support for "nationalism" is normalized and support for the "Japanese far right" is not based on discontent (Matsutani et al., 2006, 51-52).

3.1.1 Ethnic Competition and Popular Xenophobia

As for ethnic competition, this is usually measured in terms of unemployment (Knigge, 1998) (Jackman and Volpert, 1996), or an interaction between unemployment and level of immigration (Golder, 2003). As the previous section shows, Japan has a low unemployment rate.

Relative lack of foreign residents in Japan predicts radical right failure, whereas the high or comparable levels of popular xenophobia predicts radical right success. However, empirical studies are mixed regarding the effect of the level of immigration. Golder (2016, 485) demonstrates that existing studies show positive, mixed, null, or conditional evidence for a relationship between level of immigration and radical right party support.

That being said, as all European countries have higher levels of immigration than does Japan (OECD, 2017*a*), and successful emphasis on the immigration issue is a necessary condition for radical right success in Western Europe (Ivarsflaten, 2008, 18), there may be a minimum threshold for the level of immigration for any party to mobilize voters effectively on this issue. Thus, these variables perform in Japan as expected theory would predict; very low levels of immigration exist concurrently with lack of radical right success.

As a caveat, the case of Finland shows that the proportion of foreigners in Japan is not so outrageously low so as to make radical right party mobilization completely implausible, simply for the lack of immigrants. The True Finns, which is sometimes described as a radical right party (Arter, 2012, 804), made their breakthrough in 2011 when their foreign citizen population was 3.4% according to OECD data. At the time, the foreign population in Japan was 1.6%; Finland was at this level around the turn of the century (OECD, 2017*a*).

The numbers of foreigners in Japan have risen over time and is expected to rise in the future, especially as Abe's likely successors such as Ishiba Shigeru are more openly in favor of liberalizing foreign labor importation. Therefore, these variables are expected to predict higher chances of radical right success in the future if this trend continues (Sharp, 2017)(Murai, 2016).

Current LDP Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has repeatedly announced that the Japanese government is not considering a policy of accepting immigrants, especially unskilled workers (Abe, 2016)(Masataka, 2017). Furthermore, he emphasizes nationalist issues such as revising the occupation constitution, increasing the material capacity and legal role of the security forces, and taking a firmer stance on historiographical disputes with neighboring countries. Yet, the Abe government has been open to increasing the volume of substantive foreign labor importation without explicitly calling them

immigrants (Kawai, 2016). Furthermore, the number of foreign nationals and those with foreign blood has increased considerably since the turn of the century; net inflows of foreign residents during 2016 were "largest ever" as was the magnitude of net decrease in population, betraying a pattern of slow but steady displacement of Japanese by ethnic foreigners (*Foreigners streaming into Japan at record pace*, 2017)(Masataka, 2017). This equivocation is made possible by the LDP International Human Resource Representatives Union's restrictive definition of "immigrant" which requires that an "immigrant" is someone granted permanent residency at time of entry. Meanwhile, the Government recently relaxed permanent residency requirements for high skilled foreigners and other regulations regarding foreigners in Japan (Masataka, 2017).

In terms of popular xenophobia, Japan is somewhat ahead of most European countries. Ordinary Japanese, like their European counterparts, mostly oppose mass immigration. According to World Values Survey 5, conducted from 2005-2009, 58.4 percent of Japanese are in favor of giving priority to allocating jobs to nationals over foreigners. This rate is much higher than that of most other European countries, with the closest West European runner-up being Finland at 54.7 percent with some others such as Sweden scoring as low as 11.7 percent. The same survey asks for substantive immigration policy preferences, asking respondents to choose between immigration policy positions with different degrees of permissiveness. Japan has the lowest percentage of respondents who said that they would be willing to let *anyone* come.

Higuchi (2015) focuses on activists within the internet conservative subculture, it identifies perceived privileges accorded to Zainichi Koreans in Japan as a source of "xenophobic" ideology. There is also an element of opposition to perceived privileges given out to out-groups, seen most clearly in the rhetoric of the Zaitokukai and activism conducted against non-citizen enfranchisement in local elections. Such a dynamic can be compared to the way in which Bustikova (2014) characterizes Eastern European radical

right mobilizing on the basis of opposition to "ethno-liberal" parties that are seen as privileging out-groups over in-groups. Generally, the existence and the prevalence of such attitudes and groups should be conducive to radical right party emergence.

However, the underlying nature of ethnic tension may be different in Japan than in Europe. Indeed, the most visible nativist movements today tend to be focused on "model minorities" such as established Koreans and Chinese communities that have mostly integrated into Japanese society and the economy by western standards, instead of communities such as Filipinos or Latin Americans who are less integrated, and have lower incomes and educational attainments (Higuchi, 2014, 166). Higuchi (2014) argues that tensions between some Japanese and Chinese/Korean minorities are due to perceived security threats from their home countries. The status of DPRK and ROK citizens depend on outcomes of bilateral relations, and the Korean peak organizations, as well as a portion of the respective ethnic communities were complicit in external operations of ROK and DPRK. Thus, geopolitical, historiographical, territorial, and security concerns directly affect the perception and treatment of Korean citizens in Japan, in contrast to anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe that emphasize the cultural and economic burdens of foreign or minority communities (Higuchi, 2014, 165, 172). These differences make it more difficult to apply theories developed in Europe to Japan.

Radical right supporters show higher than average levels of discontent, in countries where radical right parties are excluded from power, but are not more discontented in countries where radical right parties are in government or where conservative parties or governments are broadly sympathetic to the issues dear to radical right supporters. This agrees with Jou and Endo (2016*a*, 107) that shows Tamogami supporters in the Tokyo gubernatorial election tended to be more supportive of the existing political system. An analysis of support for Ishihara Shintaro during his tenure as governor of Tokyo also shows that support for "nationalism" is normalized and support for the

"Japanese far right" is not based on discontent (Matsutani et al., 2006, 51-52).

3.2 Supply Conditions

Even if there was an underlying demand for radical right parties, political entrepreneurs may find it more or less difficult to translate such a demand into electoral success, depending on factors such as the openness of a political system to newcomers, salient cleavages, party organization, and ideology. In the European setting, these factors are all the more important as "demand side" factors tend to not vary very much through time and between countries, as in anti-immigration sentiment, or inconclusive literature, such as the level of immigration.

Much of the literature on the radical right focuses on the ways in which the underlying demand-side factors for radical right electoral success channels through the existing institutions of representation that make it more or less easy for a small party to gain votes. While the Japanese electoral system, especially with the PR list for lower house elections, is not as closed as purely majoritarian systems as in the UK or the US, there are several hurdles that a radical right party must overcome to pass the electoral threshold.

3.2.1 Cleavage Structures, Realignment/Dealignment

For the European case, works such as Kitschelt and McGann (1997) and Ignazi (1992) have theorized that the erosion in economic class cleavage, and the convergence of the mainstream parties on the economic axis have allowed parties to compete over "New Politics" issues, allowing green and radical right parties to realign the party system and obtain niches therein. As noted above, Japanese cleavage structures have been and still are considerably different from those of Europe, as the main cleavage is still over defense and geopolitics. Japan has also seen a great deal of dealignment and partisan

re-alignment that is substantively different from processes seen in Europe, making it more difficult to apply theories connecting changes in cleavage structures to radical right performance.

The Japanese electorate has experienced dealignment of similar or greater in magnitude than in Western Europe since the 1970s. Since then, a "widespread distrust of politicians and the established parties" has developed among the Japanese electorate owing to a series of scandals (Otake, 2000, 291). For example, as noted in the general discontent section, Japan has a relatively large segment of the population that does not support any party. Otake (2000) argues that this dealignment process led to party system destabilization in the late 1990s, and difficulty in clear policy-based partisan competition.

Kitschelt and McGann (1997) claimed that convergence between the major mainstream parties on economic policy would make parties compete over other dimensions, making it possible to compete over issues that the radical right parties are perceived to have an advantage in competence, such as immigration and, security. In Japan, there is a distinct lack of competition over economic policy and there is a widely recognized convergence of economic policy between the DPJ and the LDP. This generates two predictions. First, simply going by the lack of competition over economic policy, we might expect radical right parties to raise other issues such as immigration which would be conducive to radical right success. However, if the existing national security/constitutional/geopolitical/historiographical axis is still salient, and immigration is already low (making it difficult for small parties to capitalize on this issue), it would frustrate efforts by radical right parties to stake a position that is separate from the LDP.

Traditionally, the main partisan cleavage was over defense under the 1955 regime. The Socialists and the LDP did not compete over economic policy. In 2005, this still appeared to be the case as Laver and Benoit (2005, 198) showed that "none of the

economic dimensions (deregulation, tax v. spending, and to a lesser degree, deficit bonds) loaded with the highly dominant first factor of the policy space" while "local meaning of left and right in Japanese politics seems to have much more to do with social, immigration, environmental, and foreign policy issues". However, the LDP and the DPJ are distinguishable on economic policy in this study. Individuals such as Ozawa Ichiro have attempted to re-engineer political competition over programmatic differences in economic policy, with the LDP competing against a new neo-conservative, reformist, market liberal party, thus replacing the conservative-progressive cleavage with big versus small government cleavage (Otake, 2000, 303-304).

Japan appeared to be converging to bipartisan, programmatic competition between the LDP and the DPJ through the 2000s, but the relative lack of competition over economic policy is still apparent, especially after DPJ's stint in government demonstrated that opposition government would not substantially change economic policy (Scheiner, 2012, 352). The SMD tier produces an electoral logic that combines partisan realignment into district-level bipartisan competition with within-party inconsistency of policy preferences and convergence between the two major parties on this dimension (Scheiner, 2012, 352).

3.2.2 Electoral Thresholds

Radical Right parties, like other "niche" parties, are known to be more successful when thresholds to electoral success are low. Specifically, this means higher degree of proportionality, minimal participation requirements, and also through the presence of "second-order" elections such as European or local elections that allow smaller parties to break through (Ignazi, 2003, 205). FPTP systems have been known to prevent small alternative parties such as radical right and green parties from gaining seats, as in the United States and the United Kingdom (though not in New Zealand). In contrast, PR

has been known to be more conducive to radical right success, as in the Netherlands, Israel, or Belgium. As Kitschelt (2007, 1190) notes, while the Japanese electoral systems is not as closed to the rise of small parties than as the Anglo-American SMD systems, it is also not as open as more proportional forms of PR. The Japanese national and regional electoral are intermediate between Anglo-American FPTP and European-style PR in terms of the difficulties the electoral system poses for small and new parties.

Japan has PR seats for both houses of parliament, as well as SMDs for the lower house and MMDs for the upper house. The PR tier does not have a minimum threshold but allocates seats according to D'Hondt which slightly advantages larger parties. Thus, as Higuchi et al. (2009) points out, the national and regional electoral rules do not entirely explain the absence of "new politics" parties of the green and radical right variety in Japan.

Kitschelt (2007, 1191) identifies parliamentary election through single member districts for the SMD portion of diet seats as an institutional constraint for radical right formation in Japan. The Mixed Member Majoritarian system for the lower house encourages district-level bipartisanship, yet provides opportunities for smaller parties with spread-out votes through the PR list. As Scheiner (2012) argues, the Duvergerian logic of the SMD tier dominates (or at least dominated for the 2003, 2005, and 2009 lower house elections) the lower house election, encouraging district-level bipartisan competition, and discouraging defections from the established parties to "third force" parties and the success of new parties in SMD seats. The PR list somewhat mitigates this logic, allowing small(er) parties like the SDPJ, JCP, and Komeito to retain substantial seats in the lower house while winning relatively few SMD seats.

The regional and upper house elections all use "medium-sized-district" SNTV, in which voters cast a single vote in districts with multi-member seats, and the n most successful candidates gain seats in that district. Such a system results in a

"semiproportional" system that begets more proportional results compared to pure FPTP but less proportional results compared to more representative forms of PR (Grofman and Lijphart, 1986, 154). This logic still applies to elections for the House of Councillors and for prefectural and municipal legislative elections. The threshold of exclusion for the district, that is to say the percent at which a candidate is guaranteed a seat no matter what varies from 25% for 3-member districts, 20% for 4-member districts, and 17% for 5-member districts. The threshold of representation is almost zero, as a candidate can win a seat with very few votes if the other votes are sufficiently divided among a large enough number of candidates (Grofman and Lijphart, 1986, 158). Such numbers should not be impossible given the pluralities accorded to Ishihara or the 11 percent won by Tamogami for Tokyo governor, yet such success has eluded the radical right in national legislative elections.

3.2.3 Participation Requirements

Japan has a relatively high financial requirement for contesting national elections, which makes it very difficult for less-organized parties formed outside of parliament to run at all against better-financed established parties. While these restrictions are onerous, several parties have been able to enter parliament without arising out of existing parties.

One such barrier is the deposit, which is quite high relative to other countries, and Harada and Smith (2014) shows that the loss of the deposit alone can deter "serious candidates" from running again. That being said, Harada and Smith (2014) also shows that loss of deposit has no apparent deterrent effect for "fringe" candidates, though this study only looks at people who have already chosen to run to begin with, rather than the deterrent effect on parties and candidates who have never run for office before.

The deposit is currently six million yen per PR list member for both houses, three million yen per district candidate, and another three hundred million per dual candidates

for the lower house. The vote threshold for reimbursement is also high. For lower house SMD, the threshold is one tenth of the votes, one eighth of the product of the total number of valid votes and the district magnitude for the MMD. For the PR tiers, parties that do not win any votes do not get anything back, and the amount returned is increasing in the number of PR and district candidates won by the party for the lower house PR tier, and increasing in the number of PR list winners for the upper house PR tier (Harada and Smith, 2014, 63).

Smaller parties that have more than five seats in the national legislature are eligible for state subsidies, which can pay for the deposit, but parties formed outside of the legislature have no such access. Furthermore, article 200 of the Public Offices Elections Law requires a party to field a minimum of ten candidates nation-wide in order to obtain a place on the ballot (Feinstein, 2012). A party must also field ten candidates in order to lawfully campaign with posters, handbills, billboards, and sound trucks in the typical fashion (*Koshokusenkyoho (The Public Offices Elections Law)*, 1950).

This is a serious impediment to potential radical right parties-in-the-electorate and could partially explain Japan's lack of Green and Radical Right parties emerging out of the electorate. Indeed, Ishin Seito Shinpu was unable to field candidates in the 2010 House of Councilors election as they had neither sufficient funds nor enough candidates with name-recognition (*Shikin Busoku Mo Ichiin, Uotani Daihyou Ga Setsumei, Shinpu, Saninsen No Rikkoho Miokuri*, 2010). As potential niche parties like the various green parties and the Ishin Seito Shinpu have almost never won enough votes to recover the deposit, this requirement is an onerous and continuous running cost for every election that they choose to run candidates in. The same issue prevented Greens Japan from fielding candidates in 2012, showing that the deposit is a real hindrance for small potential parties without substantial financial support (Feinstein, 2012).

3.2.4 "Winning Formula"

In the European cases, existing theories predicted that successful radical right parties must adopt "winning formulae" of various sorts in order to be successful. Kitschelt and McGann (1997) observed that in the most developed countries in the 1980s, radical right parties that combined both authoritarian cultural values with liberal economic positions, whereas parties like those of the neofascist NF/BNP or MSI that maintained ideological connections with older revolutionary nationalist traditions and did not embrace market liberalism were unsuccessful. Additionally, patronage-based, party system and political Economy, such as in Italy or Austria, would predict successful "populist antistatist" parties (Kitschelt and McGann, 1997, 25). Hainsworth (2008, 69) among others argue that the actual "winning formula" is more contingent on circumstance and less set in stone, but that ideological connections with past extreme right movements lead to failure. Similarly, Rydgren (2005) argues that parties like the FN in France were able to piece together a new winning formula that eschewed biological racism and explicit opposition to democracy and instead called for "Ethno-Pluralism" by borrowing from *Nouvelle Droite* thinkers such as Alain de Benoist.

In Japan, the radical right generally opposes immigration but does not focus on it, and espouse market liberal positions on economy. Yet, their greatest concerns lie on the security axis. Furthermore, they generally tend to explicitly maintain ideological and rhetorical ties with war-time and pre-war state/society/ideology. However, such a position may not be as offensive in Japan as it is in Europe. It is indeed offensive to the "anti-militarist" culture (Berger, 1993) that has developed in Japan through the postwar period, but mainstream politicians are able to express such views without losing power, and extremist pacifism has been on the decline since the 1980s (Hook, 1988).

Elements of the LDP are also routinely accused of trying to revive pre-war militarism

by foreign and/or "progressive" elements such as Asahi Shimbun, and members of the LDP have tried to revive symbols and texts from the pre-war that were suppressed during the occupation, such as visits to Yasukuni Shrine (Takamitsu, 2013) or the use of Imperial Rescript on Education (Osaki, 2017). Indeed, the foundational principle of the LDP was to correct the occupation constitution and make Japan sovereign again.

In the case of Japan, the radical right has had a difficult time finding a "winning formula" that works in the Japanese context, especially in distinguishing itself from the LDP. While studies show that members of the Japanese public are generally opposed to increases in immigration, the issue is not often raised by politicians, especially of the LDP, which might be a sign that they recognize that the issue is controversial and a potential wedge issue.

Similarly, despite then-PFG chairman Hiranuma's strong stance against immigration, which he expounds in his parliamentary testimony(*Third Plenary of the 187th Session of the Diet*, 2014) and an online monologue detailing his views on the issue (Takeo, 2014), the PFG does not seem to emphasize immigration very prominently. Their manifesto for the 2014 election was a four-page document, two of which are devoted to bullet-point enumerations of their policy positions. The list is composed of eight policy areas (constitution, defense, finance, welfare, structural reform, energy, education, and devolution) with six to eleven bullet points under each policy area, and immigration is only mentioned in one bullet point under the constitutional header (*Jisedai No Tou Seisaku Sengen*, 2014).

For the Ishin Seito Shinpu, while many of their programs are distinctive, they appeal to a relatively small niche audience of internet-based ultranationalists that arose in the 2000s, with a very specific focus on security, historiographical, and symbolic conflicts between Japan and "Special Asia", which consist of PRC, ROK, and DPRK, countries perceived to be especially anti-Japanese in this subculture.

Ishin Seito Shinpu emphasizes immigration (along with other issues such as constitution, national identity, political reforms, and national security) in both their election broadcast and their current manifesto for Heisei 28 (2016). Out of 45 pages, six pages are under the section titled "abolishing privileges for foreigners and defending the rights of Japanese", which deals specifically with immigration and foreigners, compared with ten pages for national defense, two pages for constitutional and Imperial Household Regulations revision, and six pages for political reforms, along with others (*Ishin Seito Shinpu No Seisaku*, 2016). The 2014 election poster for Party Leader Suzuki Nobuyuki also prominently displays anti-immigration rhetoric, with a large horizontal heading reading "banned from entering South Korea"[2] and vertical headers reading "opposition to immigration", "cutting diplomatic ties with South Korea", "nuclear armament", and "opposing TPP" (*Kui Tero No Suzuki Shi Ga Rikkoho, Senkyo Poosutaa De Kankoku Wo Bujyoku Kankoku*, 2013).

3.2.5 Party Organization

Much like the rest of the "Third Force", the PFG suffered from a lack of organizational strength and party cohesion. The former led to a lackluster electoral campaign (especially on such a short notice), and only candidates with strong personal organizations in their home districts were able to retain their seats; the party suffered from defections and eventually what was left of it was absorbed into the LDP.

Similar woes plagued the Ishin Seito Shinpu, which is currently going through regional infighting between the Kanto and Kansai branches, and has had a hard time recruiting high-quality candidates and coordinating between members.

The organizational failure of the PFG can be attributed to problems endemic in

[2]In 2012, Ishin Seito Shinpu leader Suzuki Nobuyuki was banned from entering South Korea for tying a stake that upheld Japanese claims regarding Japanese-Korean territorial disputes to a statue symbolizing contentious "comfort women" erected across the Japanese Embassy by Korean activists without permission (Oh, 2012).

Japanese party politics in general and of smaller parties in particular, rather than a pathology of the radical right in Japan. Reed (2013) argues that much of the internal among leaders of the "third force" parties were over strategy, and refusal of each leader to give in to the others or the DPJ because they all though that they were the "way of the future". Another failure can be attributed to the snap nature of the 2014 General Election called by Shinzo Abe, which surprised even the mainstream parties, and greatly undermined the ability of the opposition parties to campaign on such a short notice. As the PFG had only just split from the JRP, they had little brand recognition as a party. Their *raison d'etre* of replacing the Komeito was also rather unrealistic given the Komeito's infamous organizational capital and ability to reliably mobilize voters, compared to the PFG's as-of-yet untested record. Thus, the electorate did not take the PFG's claim of unfettering the LDP (especially Shinzo Abe) to pursue its preferred security policies by setting it free of the Komeito. Furthermore, the PFG's open support for the LDP's stated policies did not raise a new cleavage dimension as European "New Politics" parties did. It also made the PFG indistinguishable from the LDP.

4 Where Does The Japanese Case Lie?

Japan's current lack of radical right party shows a mixed fit with existing theories. This situation is consistent with an understanding of the demand-side as necessary but not sufficient for radical right success, as the temporal rise in the radical right that follow increases in foreign populations in Western Europe also show. For supply side factors, the post-1994 MMM electoral system for the lower house as well as the SNTV system for the upper house and regional assemblies has been argued to be intermediate in restricting small party success. While the SMD tier of the lower house electoral system should discourage radical right success, the PR tier is more conducive to such

parties, and the SNTV systems are a mixed bag for small parties. Extremely high deposits make it difficult for outsiders to run in any of these elections. Existing radical right parties suffer from poor organization, be they splits from larger parties or formed outside of parliament. DPJ and LDP have converged on economic policy, within-party ideological variation remains high, and coherence low as the SMD tier allows party candidates to run disparate campaigns. However, the traditional security/geopolitics axis of competition still remains salient and contested, and radical right parties that tend to focus on this axis are unable to compete with the LDP, as their positions overlap, even by their own admission. For the demand conditions, Japan has low unemployment and low levels of immigration. Furthermore, Japan differs from Europe in how the "silent revolution" has turned out, with different substantive meanings for "post-materialism". The presence of pre-materialist "traditional" values, which makes the "silent counterrevolution" thesis less applicable.

Another factor that prevents Japanese radical right party mobilization is the presence of the LDP, which is internally diverse and is able to incorporate a ostensibly radical right views and individuals, even letting them back in the party after failing under their own parties.

4.1 Theoretical Leverage

Given Japan's fit with the theory, it counter-intuitively provides a useful "typical" case insofar as the evidence in conjunction with the theory correct predicts radical right absence, that is to say, the case has low residuals. Such a case can be used for hypothesis testing (Gerring, 2006, 92). Used in this manner, the Japanese case is unsurprising in that it generally does not contradict demand-side theories and if supply-side factors only matter in the presence of sufficient demand-side factors. Given that Japan has "extreme" values in some of the independent variables, and varies in ways or in combinations that

do not exist in Europe, adding the Japanese case allows us to examine a fuller range of covariates as an extreme case, which can be used for hypothesis generation. Japan can be both an extreme and a typical case, as its typicality is one of causal relationship rather than in values of the independent variables (Gerring, 2006, 93).

As an extreme case, Japanese radical right absence raises several questions not addressed by the existing literature, and thus can be used for hypothesis generation as an extreme case, with regard to the level of immigration/unemployment, and the nature of the main political cleavages. For example,the role of programmatic versus individualistic electoral competition, programmatic diversity within the mainstream parties, as well as the organizational incorporation by mainstream parties of potential radical right elements, rather than the party's policies are not generally considered except for the Spanish PP. Spain also could be used as a most-difficult case, as many of the variables, especially level of immigration and unemployment, predict radical right success, but has not seen any electoral breakthroughs since the PP became a moderate party.

Furthermore, currently changing Japanese immigration policy will allow us to test the robustness of the current supply-side factors that encourage radical right against increases in demand-side factors that could make immigration salient and radical right electoral success a possibility. Shocks like splits in the DPJ might destabilize the current system (Scheiner, 2012, 373) and allow for third parties or splinters to be more successful again. Alternatively, parties with regional bases are able to gain representation in parliament, such as the Osaka Ishin.

As this has established that Japan can be analyzed an extreme case, we can use it to generate hypotheses about both uniquely Japanese causes and factors that may apply outside of Japan. Furthermore, in the event that Japan fails to see a successful radical right party despite favorable changes in demand side conditions, then the channels

explored here would be candidate intervening variables in a "most difficult" research design(Gerring, 2006, 117).

4.2 Is Japan an Influential Case?

To determine the theoretical location of Japan vis-a-vis the European case, at least with regard to structural characteristics, polarization, and position-taking by the mainstream right. I replicate the results of Spies and Franzmann (2011), and add equivalent data from Japan to see where Japan lies theoretically. This paper was chosen because most studies tend to control for or examine the effect of public attitudes from Europe-specific election surveys that do not have convenient parallels in Japan. In contrast, Spies and Franzmann (2011) uses data derived from the Comparative Manifesto Project to estimate party programs, which allows a comparison between Western European cases and Japan. For their basic model, I was unable to replicate their results entirely, but for their first and second models, I was able to get similar estimates and significance for the coefficients of interest, except for the effect of mainstream right-wing positioning. Adding Japanese observations for the 1986, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2003, and 2005 elections, the coefficients and the standard errors are almost identical; the predicted values from this model also come out to zero for all years, which is very close to reality.[3] This outcome shows that Japan is a "typical" case theoretically, with "extreme" values for some of the independent variables, notably level of immigration, but not in left-right conversion or party system polarization.

[3]The dependent variables were computed in the same way as the original paper, and radical right voteshares are entered as zero for every year, since they were negligible for that period. All estimates employ robust standard errors and country fixed effects.

4.3 Additional Explanation: LDP Incorporation of Radical Right Elements

The LDP is simultaneously internally diverse and the most right-wing party in the party system, most of the time. Furthermore, it allows individual members to express "radical right" ideology within the party, which in turn retards radical right success outside of the LDP. This is different from the mechanism portrayed in van Spanje (2018) that explains radical right failures through the "parroting the pariah" strategy, whereby center-right parties pursue radical right policies while isolating the parties themselves, setting up the mainstream parties are more credible alternatives to radical voters. In the Japanese case, the LDP incorporates such elements and provides them with the benefits of power, substantially dis-incentivizing formation of parties to the right of itself. Coupled with high entry barriers for parties in the electorate, what parties do end up in parliament tend to be breakaways from mainstream parties, and furthermore are unable to differentiate themselves from nationalistic elements in the LDP, which can more credibly claim to influence outcomes via intraparty competition. The LDP also does not isolate or stigmatize the far right very much, even allowing party members who have long abandoned the LDP for more radical parties to return to the party. In effect, this is possible partly because of the nature of the electoral system, and the lack of strong inter-party programmatic competition, which enable intra-party diversity.

In terms of outlook, the factions that were mainstream during the 1955 regime (period of LDP hegemony from 1955 to 1993) is associated with greater focus on pragmatic domestic political economy, whereas the current prime minister Shinzo Abe is from a current associated with Kishi Nobusuke, which puts a greater emphasis on an assertion of autonomy in defense policy, greater emphasis on historical narrative-building, constitutional revision, nationalism, and values/signs associated with the

prewar period, such as the Imperial Rescript on Education (Hughes, 2015, 10-15) (Kato, 2016). Such elements are not necessarily radical right, but seem to garner support from genuine radical right elements, and also seem to go beyond the acceptable limits of reviving wartime symbols and defending wartime historical memories for Western European countries.

One cause of internal diversity may be that the party still holds over both politicians and institutions from the period of rampant factional clientelism and low levels of programmatic appeal before the end of the 1955 regime. Conversely, the LDP has also proven to be a partisan vehicle for the sort of anti-clientelistic and reformist "anti-statist populism" that Kitschelt and McGann (1997) identifies in the appeal of the FPÖ under Jörg Haider before the 1990s. LDP ex-PM Koizumi Junichiro, for example, was a relative outsider with few connections to the clientelistic party factions, but won party leadership through a new system of primaries with rank-and-file voting by appealing to popular disdain for the clientelistic practices of LDP government. In office, he campaigned against clientelism and bureaucratic corruption with popular support, *against* the leading factions of the LDP (Lindgren, 2015, 576,578). Scheiner (2012) argues that intra-party coherence is discouraged by the electoral logic of the SMD tier for the lower house which gives candidates greater leeway to fashion their own platforms.

4.3.1 Opinions within the parties

Candidate surveys in Japan are fairly complete, thanks to the limitation on alternative forms of campaigning and the cooperation between Tokyo University and Asahi Shimbun, Japan's premier left-leaning newspaper.[4] This allows us to tabulate support for "radical

[4]LDP=Liberal Democratic Party, DPJ=Democratic Party of Japan, JRP=Japan Restoration Party, NKP=Komeito, PFG=Party for Future Generations, JCP=Japanese Communist Party, SDPJ=Social Democratic Party of Japan, NPR=New Party Reform, HRP=Happiness Realization party, NPtS=No

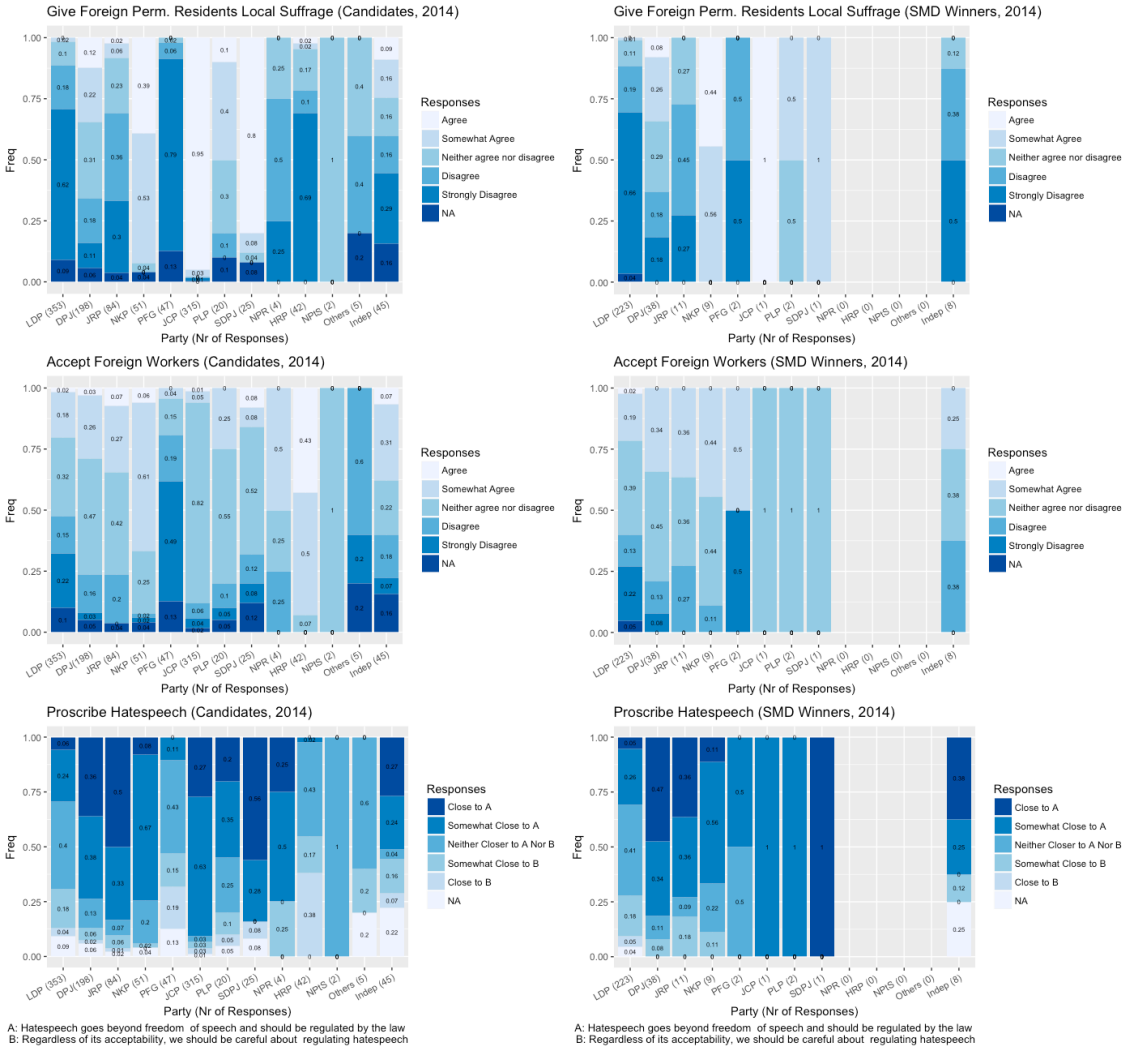

Figure 1: Attitudes of Candidates and SMD Winners

right" stances for legislators across parties, over time. The surveys show that a substantial portion of legislators across mainstream parties seem to oppose increasing immigration, but that this proportion is almost always higher in the LDP. Among LDP candidates, around 20 percent of legislators agree or somewhat agree with accepting foreign workers, whereas around 28 percent of DPJ legislators do. Similarly, for SMD winners, 21 percent of LDP winners wish to accept foreign workers, while 34 percent of DPJ winners do. An majority of LDP candidates and SMD winners also oppose local

Party to Support (political party)

enfranchisement for foreign permanent residents, which is another controversial issue tied to the status of foreigners in Japan. Also tellingly, there are very few SMD winners who completely agreed with accepting foreign workers, which may be an indication that elites are more sanguine about ignoring popular sentiment regarding imported labor, despite similar levels of opposition to increased immigration between Europe and Japan. Similar patterns can be seen in the 2009 and 2012 elections, which can be seen in the appendix below. Interestingly, 62 percent of PFG candidates disagree of somewhat disagree with increased immigration, but for the two winners, one somewhat agrees with accepting foreign workers while one (Hiranuma Takeo) strongly disagrees.

The 2014 survey also asks about preferences for hatespeech censorship, which finds least support in the LDP. This lends further credence to the above argument that the LDP provides a space radical right politicians to have a say, rather than excluding such individuals, as mainstream parties in Europe seem to do.

4.4 Partisan Support and Anti-Immigration Attitudes

This section empirically tests the relationship between anti-immigrant attitudes and vote choice. The analysis shows that higher levels of anti-immigrant attitude is associated with voting for the LDP, as the above discussion would suggest. First, we examine a contingency table of party support and immigration attitude, and then estimate a multinomial logistic model to predict vote choice with anti-immigration attitudes.

Table 3 is a contingency table that shows the proportions among supporters of each party or non-party choice for three binary items on the World Values Survey 6 conducted in 2010 for Japan, that measures attitudes towards immigration. These questions are:

1. V37: mentioned "Would not like to have as neighbors: People of a different race"

2. V39: mentioned "Would not like to have as neighbors: Immigrants/foreign workers"

3. V46: agree to "When jobs are scarce, employers should give priority to people of this country over immigrants"

While these questions may not be perfect proxies for opposition to immigration policy, the contingency table[5] shows that supporters of the LDP or the Sunrise Party show highest proportions answering positively to the "anti-immigrant attitude" questions. The Sunrise Party was a forerunner of the PFG run by Ishihara Shintaro so this result is not surprising.

The first column list the outcome choices that the survey recorded. The total row on the bottom shows the "average" percentages showing the proportions of Yes/No for the entire sample. We can see that LDP supporters are more anti-immigrant than average for all three questions.

The multinomial logistic regression uses the same dataset to predict vote choice with immigration attitude, controlling for socio-economic and ideological factors[6]. As coefficients for multinomial logistic regressions are difficult to interpret on their own, predicted values to see the relationship between anti-immigration attitude and vote choice. Figure 2 shows predicted vote choice as a function of anti-immigrant attitude. The anti-immigrant attitude scale is a four-level 0-3 scale which counts the number of positive responses to the three items measuring anti-immigrant attitude.

The graph shows that while support for most parties are not affected by anti-immigrant attitude, anti-immigrant attitude has a positive effect on support for LDP

[5]LDP=Liberal Democratic Party, DPJ=Democratic Party of Japan, JRP=Japan Restoration Party, JCP=Japanese Communit Party, NKP=Komeito, NPR=New Party Reform,PNP=Peoples New Party, SDPJ=Social Democratic Party of Japan, SPJ=Sunrise Party of Japan, YP=Your Party

[6]The control variables are, dummy variable for sex, age, income on a ten-point scale, left-right self placement, and dummy variable for university education

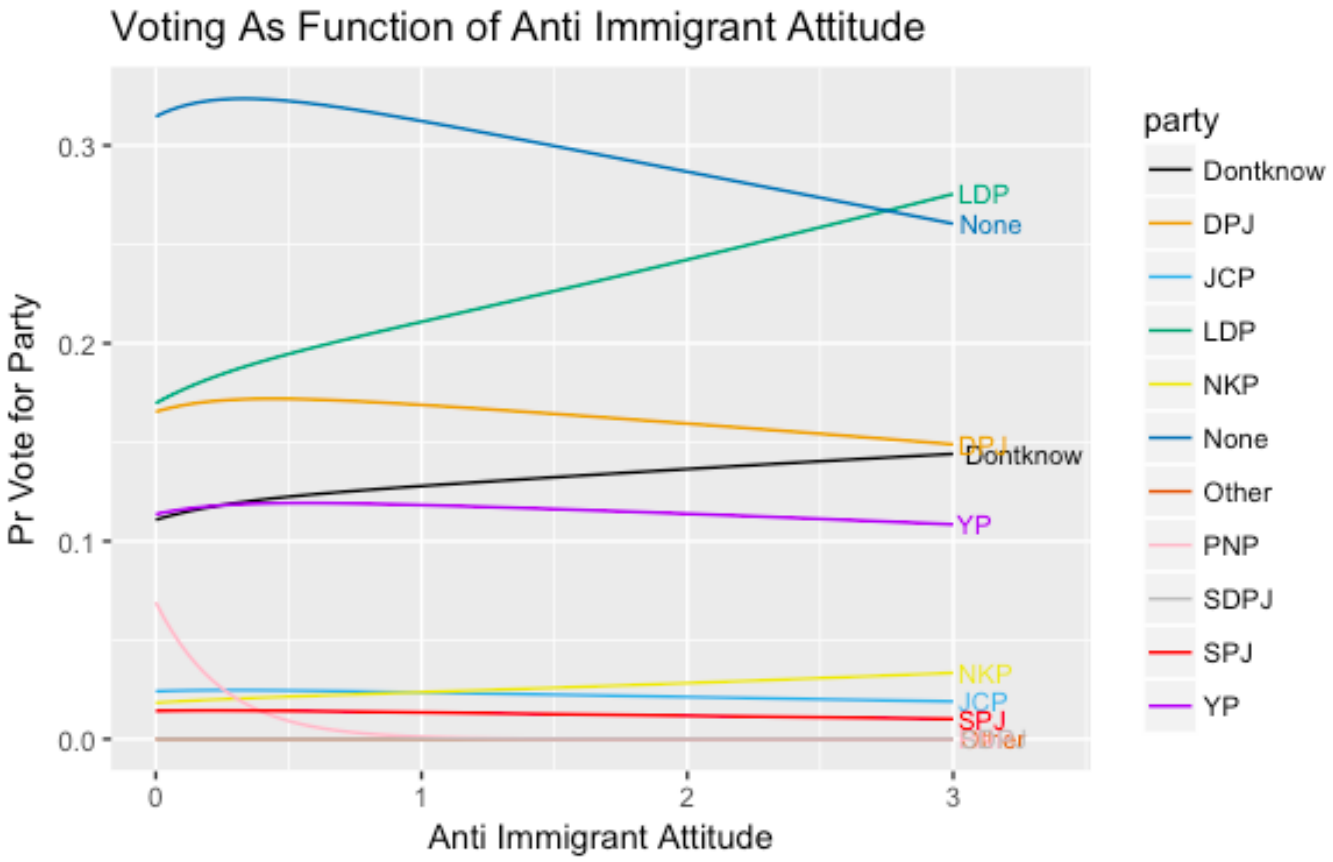

Figure 2: Party Support Predicted By Anti Immigrant Attitude

and "Don't Know", as well as a slightly positive effect for NKP. In contrast, almost no effect is seen for most of the other parties, except DPJ, "None", and Your Party, which are all negatively affected by increase in anti-immigrant attitude.

These results demonstrate, that at least for now, those with more anti-immigrant attitudes are more likely to support the LDP. Such a situation raises the question of what would happen if the current policies liberalizing immigration were maintained. One possibility is that this would act in the same way the "New Politics" dimension affected the old economic left-right dimension in European politics, giving space for Green and Radical Right parties.

The other possibility is that, like in Spain or Ireland, intervening factors prevent the rise of a radical right party. In those cases, non-radical right parties are able to retain the vote for potential radical right supporters. In the case of Spain, both the PP's incorporation of radical right elements and the cross-cutting center-periphery cleavage, which are "already credibly occupied by established parties", and given the regional nativism of the peripheral parties, it is difficult for a new radical right party to gain a foothold, and forces a hypothetical anti-immigrant radical right party to choose between competing nationalisms (Alonso and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2015). In Ireland, O'Malley (2008) argues that potential radical right voters vote for Sinn Fein in Ireland, which displays features of "populist right" parties such as nationalism, populism, and authoritarianism, but is pro-immigrant due to their leftist background and the confounding issue of unifying Northern Ireland.

A similar issue for Japan may be constitution, geopolitics, and security, of which the LDP is still pursuing a "conservative" policy, separately from their immigration policies. Such policies could retain these potential Japanese radical right voters if the issue overpowers the immigration issue, as was the case in Spain or Ireland. This may be difficult to test as we would have to force people to choose between whatever else they like about the LDP against their anti-immigration preferences. Such a choice also depends greatly on what alternatives there are, that is to say the quality of the hypothetical radical right party that would serve as an alternative to the LDP. If even a relatively small proportion of individuals with "radical right" attitudes end up supporting that party however, this could become a serious problem for the LDP, since it would do away with a considerable portion of their support base; 23.6% of LDP supporters in the survey had positive replies for all three questions; conversely, only 18.1% had negative replies for all three.

5 Concluding Remarks: What Can Japan Tell Us About Theories of the Radical Right?

As the discussion demonstrates, the lack of demand-side factors, coupled with LDP incorporation of radical right elements currently enables them to prevent radical right success. Thus, both demand-side and peculiarly Japanese factors has prevented the rise of the radical right thus far, but it is far from clear if these factors are robust to rise in immigration, which would necessarily undermine the former and perhaps undermine the latter as well. As a case study, the Japanese case shows that the theories can be applied in advanced, post-industrialist, long-standing democracies, even with substantially different cleavage structures.

That being said, the case raises two questions. First, given that elements openly friendly to past authoritarian regimes or movements have been almost uniformly excluded (except perhaps Spain) from mainstream parties since the end of the last war, there exist very little variation in Western Europe, thus there is no accounting for exclusion by mainstream parties, as opposed to treating individuals or parties outside of the mainstream party as a pariah. Secondly, these theories do not seem to explain the change in the range of acceptable opinions and behavior in mainstream politics over time. Cooptation of radical elements by mainstream parties through incorporation requires greater tolerance for such views, which today seems unacceptable among political elites in Europe. The work on shifting opinions addresses these issues to some extent, but why radical right parties, many of which hold opinions similar to those espoused by center-right parties several decades ago tends to be overlooked. Japan shows that simply being a late capitalist democracy is not sufficient for political elites to consider potential radical right elements as sufficiently opprobrious so as to deserve that label.

Given the fit with theory, Japan is likely to become more relevant for testing theories,

such as the programmatic strategies of mainstream rightist parties as the number of foreigners in Japan increase. The existing ability of mainstream right-wing to absorb radical right elements may be contingent on low levels of immigration, and therefore satisfaction of anti-immigrant sentiments by status quo. Such a possibility also raises the question of why South Korea and Taiwan do not have radical right parties, especially given their higher level of immigration and active immigration policies. More detailed case studies on the Korean and Taiwanese radical right absence may be even more informative to the theory, but is outside the scope of this paper.

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