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국제학석사학위논문

Ishihara's Strategic Choice for Forming
and Dividing the Japan Restoration Party

이시하라의 전략적 선택에 따른 일본유신회의
형성과 분당

2017년 7월

서울대학교 국제대학원

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Master's Thesis

Ishihara's Strategic Choice for Forming
and Dividing the Japan Restoration Party

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis explain the split of the Japan Restoration Party (JRP). While the JRP split in itself is an interesting case to study as it was Japan's first influential right-wing party, the case also presents a limitation of Yamamoto's electoral cycle model. According to Yamamoto's model, legislators switch parties during Diet sessions to change the policy outcomes. In order to aim for clear policy effect, defectors will join an existing party that can form a majority in the Diet and therefore, a new party is unlikely to be formed during Diet sessions. Nevertheless, Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party during a Diet session. Rational choice institutionalism lies at the heart of Yamamoto's model. Although institutions promote certain political actions in the real political world, rational political actors not only respond to institutional incentives, but also have to strategically cope with constraints imposed by other political actors. This thesis applies the concept of situated rationality to illustrate how Ishihara came to his decision during the Diet session. Thus, interactions between Ishihara and Hashimoto, a co-leader of the JRP, leading up to the split of the JRP will be examined. This thesis posits that Ishihara rationally pursued his goal. In addition,

this thesis also analyses the JRP members' choice to stay or defect from the party after the split was decided. This thesis contributes to studies on party switching.

Keywords: Japan Restoration Party (JRP), Ishihara, Hashimoto, Diet Session, Situated Rationality

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Abbreviations

Japan Restoration Party	JRP
Japan Restoration Association	JRA
Sunrise Party	SP
Your Party	YP
Unity Party	UP
Tax Cut Party	TCP
Trans-Pacific Participation	TPP
Liberal Democratic Party	LDP
Democratic Party of Japan	DPJ

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to explain the split of the Japan Restoration Party (JRP). The emergence of the JRP was a crucial event in Japanese politics. Not only had the JRP challenged the two party system in Japan, but also it was Japan's first right-wing party that secured many Diet seats. Shintaro Ishihara, a prominent nationalist politician, was a co-leader of the JRP and Takeo Hiranuma, who is also well-known for his nationalistic and conservative stances, was the chief of parliamentary caucus. Moreover, most JRP members took a hard-line stance on security issues, supporting the right to collective self-defense and the revision of the Constitution (Mainichi Shimbun 2012; The Asahi Shimbun–Taniguchi Survey 2012). According to Cheol-Hee Park (2014), while Japanese progressive political parties have waned, conservative parties have been more resilient, and the advent of the JRP proves this phenomenon. As a result, a conservative shift in Japanese politics can be found in the intra-party competition domain. Given the political importance of the JRP's emergence in Japanese politics, the split of the JRP in itself is an interesting case to study. In addition, the timing of the JRP split and Ishihara's decision to form a new party during a Diet session raises an interesting research puzzle. According to the electoral cycle model developed by Kentaro Yamamoto (2010), legislators switch parties during Diet sessions to

influence policy outcomes. In order to aim for clear policy effect, they will join an existing party that can form a majority in the Diet; hence, the model assumes that a new party is unlikely to be formed during Diet sessions. Nevertheless, Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party during the 186th Ordinary Diet session. Furthermore, prior to the 2012 general election, Ishihara was eager to unite third force parties including the JRP, Your Party (YP), Tax Cut Party (TCP) and Sunrise Party (SP) while undermining their differences on policy issues. However, in 2014, Ishihara was reluctant to unite these parties. He even opposed Tōru Hashimoto's attempt, a co-leader of the JRP, to merge the JRP with the Unity Party (UP), which was formed by defectors of the YP. This Hashimoto's attempt was a first step to lead the political realignment of opposition parties. Ishihara opposed the merger with the UP based on the policy differences between the two parties. Despite Hashimoto's efforts to persuade Ishihara, Ishihara proposed Hashimoto to split the JRP on May 28th, 2014. This thesis analyses why Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party during the Diet session. Moreover, after the split was decided, roughly a third of JRP legislators defected from the party and joined Ishihara's new party. This thesis also analyses what influenced JRP members' choice to stay or defect from the party.

Yamamoto's model has its roots in rational choice institutionalism. Rational Choice Institutionalism focuses on institutional incentives assuming that rational political actors will respond those incentives. This thesis does not deny the importance of institutions in terms of influencing political actors to behave in a certain way, and appreciates Yamamoto's work for trying to find different mixes of incentives generated from the different stages of the parliamentary cycle.¹ However, since Yamamoto's model cannot guide us to analyse Ishihara's behaviour, we need to look elsewhere. This thesis employs the concept of situated rationality as an analytical framework (Katznelson 1999; Park 1998), and assumes that rational political actors not only respond to institutional incentives, but also strategically cope with constraints imposed by other political actors. Hence, to analyse why Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party during the Diet session, the interactions between Ishihara and Hashimoto will be examined. One of the key purposes of this thesis is to empirically test theoretical assumptions about politicians' behaviour. This thesis is a contribution to the literature on party switching.

¹ Yamamoto modified Mershon and Shvetsova's parliamentary cycle model (2008) to apply it to party switching cases in Japan.

The second chapter provides literature review of previous research on political parties, party systems and party-switching. The third chapter outlines the research design for this thesis. The fourth chapter explores interactions between Ishihara and Hashimoto and illustrates how Ishihara's strategic choices were bound by Hashimoto's actions. Moreover, based on the empirical analysis of the JRP's split, a critical review of Yamamoto's model will be provided. The fifth chapter divides the JRP into different groups so as to demonstrate which factors in which context influenced JRP legislators' choice to stay or defect from the party. The sixth chapter is the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1. Political Parties

To study why legislators switch parties and form new parties, the first task is to clarify how to understand parties. In contrast to a normative perspective of understanding political parties (Ranney 1975), contemporary studies tend to understand political parties as an instrument for politicians to pursue their goals. According to Anthony Downs (1957, 25), a party is “a team seeking to control the government apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election.” This perspective indicates that electoral victory is the most important goal of politicians. In Downs’ words, “parties formulate policies to win elections rather than winning elections to promulgate policies.” Joseph A. Schlesinger (1991) also posits that “the hallmark of a party is its ability to channel the competing career ambitions of its potential and actual office holders, forming them into an effective electoral machine.” Thus, these rational choice theorists view parties as an instrument for politicians to win elections. While John Aldrich (2011) also draws his view from a rational choice theory, but his view differs from Downs and Schlesinger in seeing office seeking as only one of several goals held by ambitious politicians. According to him, “winning office per se is not the end of

politics but the beginning” (Aldrich 2011, p.15). In his view, politicians’ goals are more numerous and winning elections is often a means to other ends for politicians (Aldrich 2011, p.19). Aldrich defines the major political party as (2011, p.5):

...the major political party is the creature of the politicians, the partisan activist, and the ambitious office seeker and office holder. They have created and maintained, used or abused, reformed or ignored the political party when doing so has furthered their goals and ambitions. The political party is thus an “endogenous institution – an institution shaped by these political actors. Whatever its strength or weakness, whatever its form and role, it is the ambitious politicians’ creation.

From this perspective, ambitious politicians who created the political party are the most critical political actors in the party. Ambitious politicians do not have partisan goals per se but have more personal and fundamental goals, and the party is the instrument for achieving them.

2.2. Party System

The party system basically refers to a number of parties. The multiparty system refers to a system where more than two parties compete each other to control the government and the two party system refers to a system where two dominant

parties compete each other. Rational choice institutionalists focus on the electoral rule to predict and explain why some countries have a multiparty system and some countries have a two party system. According to Duverger's Law (1954), the first-past-the-post (FPTP) systems tend toward two viable parties. Ethan Scheiner (2013) posits that there will be more parties in the initial election under FPTP rules due to the lack of information about which parties are most competitive. However, as a result of learning and strategic behaviour over time, the system come to focus two candidates per district. From 1995 to 1993, the Japanese party system was characterized as stable one-party dominance. During this period, the LDP was able to maintain its dominant position in the government and opposition parties were fragmented. Nevertheless, in 1994, Japan reformed its electoral system and introduced the mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) electoral system in the House of Representatives (HR). Japan's current MMM system is comprised of 300 single-member districts (SMD) and 180 proportional representation (PR) districts. Although this makes the overwhelming share of seats to be allocated through the SMD tier, the PR portion should create some opportunities for a multiparty system to emerge in Japan. PR rules allow even parties that receive a small share of the vote to win seats. Scheiner (2013), however, posits that another feature of Japan's political system makes it likely that the district two-party competition proliferate across the country, thus leading

to the two major national parties. In some countries, federalism promotes regionally based parties and this in turn makes it possible for different parties to win FPTP seats around the country. Such example can be found in Canada. Meanwhile, Japan has a political system where government power is centralized (Chhiber and Kollman 1998, 2004). Hence, Scheiner (2013) and Reed (2005) argues that the SMD tier creates significant incentives for a two-party system to emerge in Japan. Indeed, after the electoral reform Japan's party system has changed drastically. As the opposition consolidated around the DPJ in 2000, the concentration of SMD competition on the LDP and DPJ increased considerably over time. The DPJ defeated the LDP in 2009, and by then the LDP and DPJ took first and second place in 254 out of 300 SMDs. Scheiner (2013) further argues that once a two-party system is established the party system will be in a state of equilibrium that is difficult to alter. According to him, voters and elites have little incentive to support a third party within most districts. This is because drawing support away from one of the two main alternatives within the district would be likely to lead to a spoiler effect. Moreover, "even if the third party candidate is able to win enough votes to take the district seat, that single seat is unlikely to help a third party gain control over the national government" (Scheiner 2013). So voters will try to avoid their district to be left with a representative who is unlikely to be a major player in national policymaking. These studies indicates electoral

difficulties third force parties including the JRP would have faced to survive. Although the JRP significantly challenged the DPJ's position in the 2012 election, most of its votes came from the Kinki region. Nevertheless, while this thesis does not deny enormous electoral challenges the JRP faced under Japan's current electoral system, the electoral incentives alone cannot determine the fate of the JRP.

Steven R. Reed (2013) finds that the option of depending upon the PR tier is not available to all third parties. According to Reed, only those parties with a solid organizational base in civil society and local government have been able to win seats in the PR tier under the new electoral system. For example, the Socialists are based in the union movement. Reed also posits that a third party with a geographically concentrated vote can win a few SMD seats and win a seat against major party competition. For instance, regionally based parties can be found in Canada. Indeed, despite unfavourable political system in Japan (centralized government power), the JRP had a strong regional base in Osaka Prefecture. The JRP as a regionally based party performed well in the 2012 general election. It won 14 SMD seats and 40 PR seats. Again, this thesis does not deny that Japan's current electoral system generated more difficulties for third parties including the

JRP to survive but the electoral system cannot be the independent variable that caused the JRP split. In particular, as the JRP had a strong base in the Kinki region, it was not facing an immediate demise. According to Park (2011), the political outcome can be very different depending on what strategy political actors take. Hence, in order to understand the JRP split, it is essential to study the actual political actors who made strategic choices.

2.3. Party Switching

Previous research on party switching highlights office, policy, and (re)election as motives for switching parties (Desposato 2006; Kato 1998; Reed and Scheiner 2003). While studies on party switching tend to focus individual cases including the LDP split in 1993 (Cox and Rosenbluth 1995; Kato 1998; Reed and Scheiner 2003), there were attempts to build models so as to explain patterns of party switching more systematically and generally. Accordingly, Carol Mershon and Olga Shvetsova (2008) developed the parliamentary cycle model. They were the first to tie the party-switching phenomenon to the stages in the parliamentary cycle. According to Mershon and Shevetsova (2008), the parliamentary cycle is “composed of legislative stages and the electoral stage toward the end of a given term.” They argue that “the different stages of the parliamentary cycle hold out

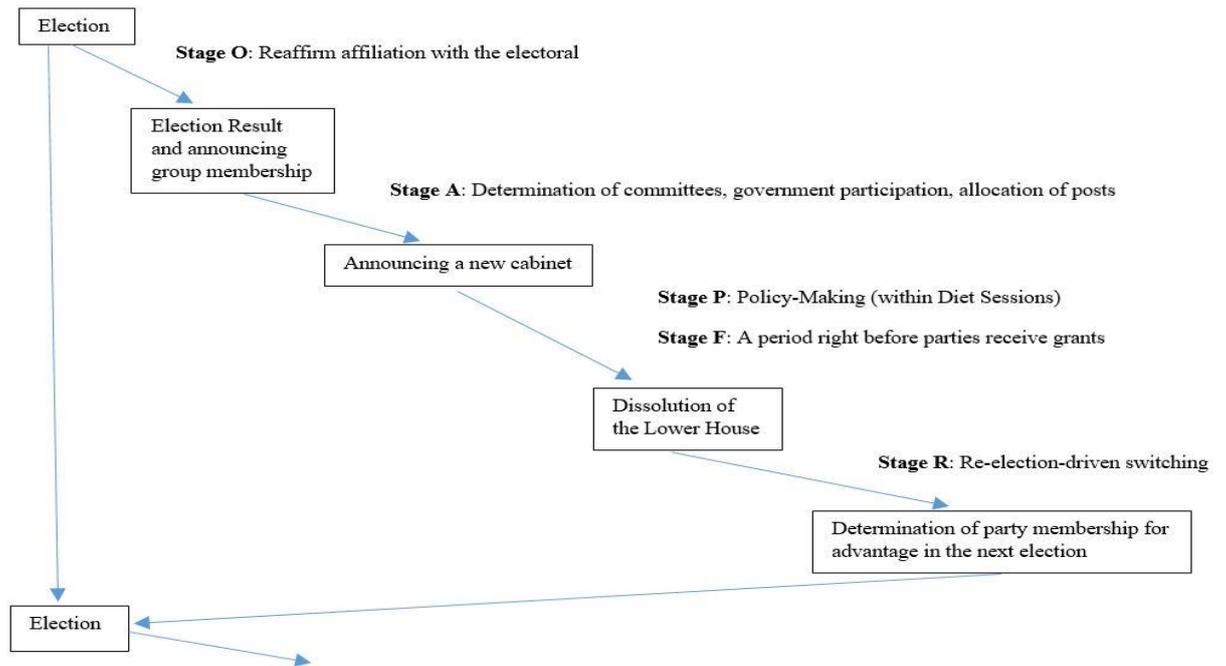
different mixes incentives to legislators, make some incentives more prominent at some times than others, and thus highlight different motivations for legislators.” In their view, legislators change their party affiliations as “they pursue the goals of the moment – goals specific to the stage in the parliamentary cycle.” They assume that legislators switch parties to achieve their goals such as office, policy, and (re)election. While all of these motives may be relevant to some degree, Mershon and Shvetsova (2008) posits that their relative salience differs across specific periods of time. Thus, by focusing on which payoffs are most prominent, immediate, and available, they “differentiate types of switching according to the location of switching behaviour within the parliamentary cycle.” Yamamoto (2010) modified this parliamentary cycle model developed by Mershon and Shevetsova (2008), and applies it to the cases of party-switching in Japan.

2.4. Yamamoto’s Electoral Cycle Model

Figure 1 depicts Yamamoto’s electoral cycle model. Yamamoto calls his model the electoral cycle model rather than the parliamentary cycle. He identifies the stages within the electoral cycle.

Figure 2.1

Yamamoto's Electoral Cycle Model: Party Switching Behaviour during the Electoral Cycle



Stage O	From the general election to the taking up of Diet seats
Stage A	From the end of Stage O until the new government takes office
Stage P	Diet session periods
Stage F	December
Stage R	From the day the Diet is dissolved to the general election
Stage Q	All periods other than Stage O, A, P, F, R

Yamamoto assumes that party-switching in Stage O involves the results of an election. Stage A and P trigger strong incentives for office-driven switches, and Stage F and Q trigger strong incentives for policy-driven switches. Mershon and Shevetsova (2008) posit that switching in Stage P should occur so as to affect policy and secure agenda control²; hence, policy-driven switching should predominate in Stage P. In contrast, Yamamoto posits that office-driven switching should predominate in Stage P. According to Yamamoto, in order to aim for clear policy effect by switching parties, legislators are likely to join a party that accounts for a majority or a party that can account for a majority if they join. Since office (higher positions in the government) serves as an instrument to affect policy (Laver and Shepsle, 1996), Yamamoto sees such move as office-driven while it is motivated by policy incentives in the first place. He further argues that a new party is unlikely to be formed during Stage P. Yamamoto assumes that legislators switch party affiliations during Diet sessions to directly influence or change policy outcomes; hence, it will be less costly for them to join a party that already exists, which has or can have a majority of seats if they join, rather than forming a new party. According to Yamamoto, new parties are likely to be formed during Stage A, F, and R, and each stage provides different

² Mershon and Shevetsova did not specifically define this stage as Diet sessions, but ambiguously defined it to the phases of greatest legislative activity in the important policy domains such as finance, security, foreign policy and constitutional questions.

incentives. For instance, a new party emerging during Stage R will be devoted exclusively to winning an election. This thesis finds Yamamoto's model, in particular his assumption about Stage P, flawed. Ishihara, in fact, split the JRP and formed a new party during the Diet session. Furthermore, generalizing party switching occurring during Diet sessions to be related to policy, just because the timing is Diet session, will inevitably increase cases of generalization error. In order to explain Ishihara's decision to split the JRP and form a new party during a Diet session, a different analytical framework is needed. The next chapter introduces an analytical framework for this thesis.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1. Puzzle

Prior the 2012 general election, Ishihara was eager to form a third force by merging the Japan Restoration Party (JRP), the Sunrise Party (SP), the Your Party (YP) and Tax Cut Party (TCP). At that time, he undermined key policy differences between these parties. Nevertheless, in 2014, when Hashimoto tried to merge the JRP with the Unity Party (UP), which was formed by the YP defectors, Ishihara opposed based on the policy differences between the two parties. As the merger between the JRP and UP proceeded, Ishihara proposed Hashimoto to split the party during the 186th Ordinary Diet session (24.01.2014. – 22.06.2014). After the split of the JRP was decided, JRP legislators had to decide whether to stay in the JRP or join Ishihara's new party by June 6th, 2014. Hence, Ishihara's new party was virtually formed during the Diet session. According to Yamamoto's model (2010), however, a new party is less likely to be formed during Diet sessions. This raises an interesting research question. Why would a rational political actor act against the institutional incentives? This thesis has two puzzles. The first puzzle addresses Ishihara's strategic choice and the second puzzle addresses the JRP members' choices.

Puzzle:

1. Despite a lack of incentives to form a new party during Diet sessions, why Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party during the 186th Diet session?
2. After the split was decided, who stayed and who defected from the JRP?

3.2. Methodology

To analyse the split of the JRP it is important to understand the background of the JRP's formation as well as significant events leading up the split. To obtain in-depth knowledge, a qualitative research methodology is employed. This thesis analysed new articles in a sequential time period from April 2010 to June 2014.

3.3. Theoretical Framework

Several assumptions about political actors' behaviour constitute the framework of this thesis' analysis. First, politicians rationally pursue their goals. The concept of rationality in this thesis does not mean economic rationality, which is utility maximization of individual rational actors. The concept of situated rationality (Katznelson 1997; Park 1998) is employed in this thesis. While situated

rationality incorporates important features of both rational choice and bounded rationality (Simon 1957), what makes it different to those two concepts is that it focuses on relationships as the key units of analysis (Katznelson 1997). According to Park (2011), in a given political situation, a political actor makes a rational choice in the context of interacting with their political competitors. Thus, constraints on behavior are also imposed by the actions of other political actors. Second, this thesis assumes that institutions promote certain political actions, but they do not determine political outcomes. Park (1998) posits that “what brings about variations in political outcome is not so much the institutional parameters as the political actions within it.” Thus, a different political outcome is possible depending on what strategy political actors take (Park, 2011).

CHAPTER 4. ISHIHARA'S STRATEGIC CHOICE OF JOINING AND DIVIDING THE JAPAN RESTORATION PARTY

This chapter analyses Ishihara's strategic choice of joining and dividing the JRP. In particular, it aims to explain why Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party during the 186th Ordinary Diet session (24 January 2014 – 22 June 2014). In addition, a critical review of Yamamoto's model based on the empirical findings of this thesis will be provided.

4.1 Background of JRP's Formation

Before addressing the motives behind Ishihara joining the JRP, it is important to understand the context in which Ishihara decided to join the JRP. The JRP grew from a local party, the Osaka Restoration Association (ORA), which was founded by then Osaka Governor Toru Hashimoto on April 19th, 2010 (The Asahi Shimbun). Hashimoto formed the ORA with a bold proposal to turn Osaka Prefecture into a metropolitan government. He proposed to create "special wards" in Osaka Prefecture with greater authority and financial clout as Tokyo's 23 wards, which required a radical restructuring of local governments in Osaka Prefecture. This proposal becomes Hashimoto's key policy goal. Hashimoto's

popularity and his bold proposal helped him to attract support from the local electorate as well as media attention. Before Hashimoto became Osaka governor, he was a lawyer and a popular TV personality. Taking advantage of Hashimoto's popularity, 30 local politicians joined the ORA as founding members (The Asahi Shimbun 20 April 2010). After its foundation, the ORA won many local elections and these election results showed that Osaka voters were unwilling to support the established parties including the LDP and DPJ.³ Instead, they showed a strong support for the Hashimoto-led party. In particular, after winning landslides in the Osaka gubernatorial and mayoral elections on November 27th, 2011, the ORA rose as a key party in the national political arena. Hashimoto indicated that the ORA would field candidates in national elections if cooperation to carry out his agenda could not be gained in the Diet (The Asahi Shimbun 28 November 2011). The Osaka metropolitan government plan required a revision in the local government law. Accordingly, the formation of the JRP hinged on Hashimoto's administrative reform plan. Meanwhile, among newly formed third force parties, Hashimoto's party showed the greatest electoral success. Against this background, Ishihara became especially interested in cooperating Hashimoto for the 2012 general election.

³ Many candidates of the ORA won in the Osaka prefectural and municipal elections as well as the Sakai municipal election in 2011.

4.2 Phase 1: January 2012 – December 2012

Phase 1 aims to show the motives behind Ishihara joining the JRP. Politicians tend to employ parties as a means to pursue their goals, and their choice of a particular party highlights what they seek to achieve through that party. Hence, it is important to examine Ishihara's behaviour before he joined the JRP in order to understand his goal. In late 2011, there were speculations regarding then Tokyo Governor Ishihara forming a new national party with members of the Sunrise Party (SP) (The Asahi Shimbun 27 January 2012). The SP was formed by LDP defectors, and the head of the SP, Takeo Hiranuma, was Ishihara's old political ally. At that time, then ruling party DPJ had become increasingly unpopular and ambitious politicians were expecting the general election to be held in the near future (The Asahi Shimbun 13 December 2011). From January 2012, Ishihara's plan to form a new party became more visible. On January 25th, Ishihara met Hiranuma and Shizuka Kamei, a leader of the People's New Party (PNP), and they agreed to set up a new party. On January 27th, Ishihara said at a news conference, "There is a need to reshuffle the political structure in the Diet. I won't spare my assistance" (The Asahi Shimbun, 28 January 2012). Ishihara particularly signalled his interest in cooperating with Hashimoto and other newly

formed parties including the Tax Cut Party (TCP) and Your Party (YP).⁴ He said, “I empathize strongly with Hashimoto’s ideas, I hope Tokyo, Osaka and Aichi will tie up to destroy the centralized system” (The Asahi Shimbun 28 January 2012). After expressing his intention to enter national politics, Ishihara repeatedly showed his interest in joining forces with Hashimoto.

On June 23rd, Ishihara attended a session for inexperienced political candidates at a training school established by Hashimoto. After the session, Ishihara praised Hashimoto for his tactical approach and said that Tokyo and Osaka need to work together (The Asahi Shimbun 25 June 2012). In the meantime, Hashimoto was taking a more cautious stance toward cooperating with Ishihara in the election due to their differences on key policy issues. Ishihara supported the restart of nuclear power plants and a consumption tax hike, and opposed Japan participating the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). Hashimoto’s position on these issues, however, was opposite to Ishihara’s. On October 25th, Ishihara announced that he will resign as Tokyo governor and it was seen a step towards forming a new party (The Asahi Shimbun 25 October 2012). According to him, he lost

⁴ While third force parties including the ORA, Tax Cut Party (TCP), Your Party (YP) were seeking form an alliance with each other before the 2012 general election, at this point in time, it was still unclear how the cooperation will turn out in the end.

interest in local politics as many of his initiatives were blocked by officials. He said, “We must change a rigid system in which central government bureaucrats control Japan. Unless we put up a fight against the bureaucrats, Japan will be choked to death after sinking, as it were, into an ant lion’s pit” (The Asahi Shimbun, 26 October 2012a). Hours after his resignation announcement, he met with members of the SP. There he proposed forming a coalition that would embrace the JRP and YP, but it appears that the SP members were not so supportive of his idea. One member from the SP said that his party’s policies are different from those supported by Hashimoto and another member said that he does not want to work with a head of the YP, Yoshimi Watanabe (The Asahi Shimbun 27 October 2012).⁵ As the meeting with SP members did not turn out the way Ishihara wanted, at the news conference next day he complained that Diet members in *Nagatacho* “have very narrow viewpoints and vision” (The Asahi Shimbun 27 October 2012). Ishihara clearly undermined the key policy differences between third force parties. While the SP stressed traditional values and national security, the JRP and YP put more weight on the administrative reform and decentralization. In other words, while the SP and Ishihara could be characterized as nationalist, the JRP and YP as well as Hashimoto himself were

⁵ A Sunrise Party source indicated a negative view about cooperation with the JRP and YP taking place in the 2012 Lower House election (The Asahi Shimbun, 27 October 2012).

reformist. Nevertheless, Ishihara stressed the importance of bringing together parties that could be considered a third political force. He said, “The major objective is to destroy the domination of Japan by sclerotic bureaucracy. While nuclear energy and the consumption tax may be important issues, in some sense they are minor topics. I told (Sunrise Party members) to think from a much wider perspective” (The Asahi Shimbun 27 October 2012). Such statements by Ishihara shows that he sought to use bureaucracy domination as the central issue to unite the third force parties.

While Hashimoto and Watanabe were still cautious about forming an alliance with Ishihara, Ishihara was eager to cooperate with them.⁶ Although Hashimoto and Ishihara met a number of times for apparent discussions on an alliance, the gap between them could not be narrowed readily. Hashimoto said, “Our identity likes in agreement on policies and philosophy. I have repeatedly told (Ishihara) that we cannot compromise on that aspect” (The Asahi Shimbun 26 October 2012b). Moreover, it appears that Ishihara had been making phone calls to senior JRP officials to urge them to work together. After Hashimoto talked to Ishihara

⁶ At the news conference, Ishihara also expressed that he wanted to meet with Watanabe soon to discuss possible cooperation. Nevertheless, Watanabe was critical of working with Ishihara, pointing out that they had different policy positions and political beliefs.

by phone on November 13th, he stressed that agreements on policy issues will be most important (The Asahi Shimbun 14 November 2012). Nonetheless, the fact that Hashimoto continued to negotiate with Ishihara despite the apparent policy and ideological cleavages between them, it shows that Hashimoto also regarded Ishihara as an important partner. Since Hashimoto only had a strong base in Osaka Prefecture, he also needed to cooperate with another political party that had a strong influence outside the Kinki region. As Ishihara had been Tokyo governor for many times and had been a prominent politician for a long period, he would have been an attractive partner to Hashimoto as well. Although members of the JRP also expressed concerns about merging with the SP due to their differences on policy (The Asahi Shimbun 25 June 2012), Hashimoto still proceeded the merger with the SP. In contrast, Hashimoto refused to cooperate with the YP and TCP due to policy and party management issues.

On November 16th, Ishihara and Hashimoto met to hammer out the basic agreement. During the meeting, Ishihara underscored the need for forming a coalition based on broad common interests before the election. On the other hand, Hashimoto insisted the need to reach an agreement on policy issues and asked Ishihara to compromise on issues including nuclear power generation and Japan's

participation in the TPP (The Asahi Shimbun 16 November 2012). In return, Hashimoto suggested Ishihara to be the head of the JRP after the merger is complete. In the end, Hashimoto and Ishihara officially announced their merger next day without properly addressing policy differences (The Asahi Shimbun 17 November 2012). As then Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda dissolved the Lower House on November 16th, the same day Ishihara and Hashimoto held the meeting, they had to hurry the merger between the JRP and SP so they could start preparing for the election together. As a result, both sides had to make a compromise on policy issues (The Asahi Shimbun 19 November 2012). After the merger was agreed, Ishihara, however, expressed his dissatisfaction with the JRP's platform soon after it was released (The Asahi Shimbun 29 November 2012). Ishihara was particularly dissatisfied with the JRP's platform on nuclear energy as it promised that nuclear power plants will fade out by the 2030s. Ishihara indicated that he will review the platform at the Japan National Press Club (The Asahi Shimbun, 1 December 2012). It is clear that rather than policy, the election drove Ishihara and Hashimoto to merge the JRP and SP. During the interview with the Asahi Shimbun on November 26th, Ishihara said that he expects the JRP to become an influential casting voter. He also said that his party would be prepared to ally with the DPJ or LDP to form a majority after the election in order to settle key issues (The Asahi Shimbun, 27 November 2012). This clearly shows Ishihara's

strategic choice for joining the JRP.⁷ Ishihara was aiming to form a winning coalition after the election and he expected to achieve that aim through the JRP. If the JRP could win enough seats and gain a casting voter role in the Diet, it will in turn significantly increase the JRP's power in the winning coalition.

4.3 Phase 2: December 2012 – July 2013

Phase 2 can be characterized as growing internal disputes within the JRP. Nonetheless, the JRP did not experience its members including Ishihara defecting from the party at this phase. Soon after the general election, the intra-party struggle to control the party and gain key party posts began among the JRP members (The Asahi Shimbun 19 December 2012; 22 December 2012a; 11 January 2013). This intra-party competition between those close to Hashimoto (Hashimoto's group) and those close to Ishihara (Ishihara's group) was particularly intense.⁸ Although Hashimoto was going to yield the party's chief

⁷ Under the Japan's current electoral system, it is difficult for small parties to compete with the two major parties, namely the LDP and DPJ. While the DPJ lost much of its public support, the LDP had not been able to attract votes lost by the DPJ. In such context, Hashimoto, who has growing clout even in the national political arena, would have been an attractive partner for Ishihara.

⁸ For convenience, this thesis refers to those close to Hashimoto within the JRP as Hashimoto's group and those close to Ishihara as Ishihara's group. Hashimoto's group was mostly consisted of the original members of the Osaka Restoration Association (ORA) and former members of the DPJ as well as first term Lower House members elected in the Kinki region. Ishihara's group was mainly consisted of former members of the Sunrise Party (SP).

role to Ishihara prior to the 2012 general election, after the election, Hashimoto decided to be the co-leader of the JRP (The Asahi Shimbun 19 December 2012). The background behind such change in Hashimoto's plan was the growing tension between Hashimoto and Ishihara's groups so as to control the party (The Asahi Shimbun 22 December 2012a). As a result, the key party posts were mostly occupied by the original members of the ORA and the former members of the SP and DPJ (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Key party posts occupied by JRP Members

Japan Restoration Party Executive Posts	Name	Former Party Membership
Co-leader (共同代表)	Ishihara Shintaro	SP
Co-leader (共同代表)	Hashimoto Tooru	ORA
Acting Leader (代表代行)	Takeo Hiranuma	SP
Vice President (副代表)	Imai Yutaka	ORA
Secretary-General (幹事長)	Ichiro Matsui	ORA
Acting Secretary-General (幹事長代行)	Matsuno Yoriyuki	DPJ
Vice Secretary-General (副幹事長)	Sonoda Hiroyuki	SP
Chairman of the General Council (総務会長)	Azuma Tooru	ORA
Chairman of the Policy Research Council (政策調査会長)	Asada Hitoshi	ORA

Japan Restoration Party Diet Caucus (国会議員団) Posts	Name	Former Party Membership
Chief of JRP Diet Members (国会議員団代表)	Takeo Hiranuma	SP
Secretary-General (国会議員団幹事長)	Matsuno Yorihisa	DPJ
Chairman of the General Council (国会議員団総務会長)	Fujii Takao	SP
Chairman of Election Campaign Strategy (国会議員選挙対策委員長)	Fujii Takao	SP
Chairman of the Policy Research Council (国会議員団政調会長)	Katayama Toranosuke	SP
Chairman for the JRP Members of the House of Councillors (参議院議員団会長)	Katayama Toranosuke	SP
Chairman of Diet Affairs Committee (国会対策委員長)	Ozawa Sakihito	DPJ

Source: The Asahi Shimbun (22 December 2012; 30 March 2013)

As former members from other parties including the Your Party (YP), the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Spirit of Japan Party (SJP) within the JRP were excluded from the key party posts, their discontents, particularly from the former SJP members, surfaced (The Asahi Shimbun 11 January 2013). In addition, there was a tension between Hashimoto and the JRP parliamentary caucus. Hashimoto expressed his strong dissatisfaction with the parliamentary caucus as they paid little respect to Hashimoto's opinions on Diet affairs (The Asahi Shimbun 26

March 2013). Furthermore, discord surfaced frequently due to policy differences and ideological cleavages within the JRP (The Asahi Shimbun 22 December 2012b; 17 January 2013). Even after the merger, Ishihara continued to express his disapproval of Hashimoto's signature policy, the Osaka metropolitan government plan, on many occasions (The Asahi Shimbun 17 January 2013; 1 September 2013). In addition, just two months before the Upper House election, the conflict between Ishihara and Hashimoto over their historical perception came to the fore. Ishihara publicly criticized Hashimoto's statement that came after Hashimoto's controversial remark on the comfort women issue. On May 13th, 2013, Hashimoto said that the comfort women were necessary for Japanese troops before and during World War II (The Asahi Shimbun 16 May 2013). In order to quell the criticism, Hashimoto tried to clarify his stance on the issue by saying, "Japan must accept (what it did during the war) as aggression as a result of its defeat. Japan must reflect on it and apologize" (The Asahi Shimbun 18 May 2013). However, Hashimoto's statement upset Ishihara as for a long time, Ishihara had been defending Japan's actions in World War II. Ishihara criticized Hashimoto saying, "It was not aggression. It's nothing but masochism to define the war as aggression. It's ignorance of history" (The Asahi Shimbun 18 May 2013). Ishihara and Hashimoto held a meeting on May 19th, but they still could not narrow their views on Japan's history. Hashimoto continued to insist that

Japan's action in Asian countries during the war was aggression (The Asahi Shimbun 22 May 2013). Despite all these internal disputes within the JRP, they avoided splitting the party during Phase 2.

After the 2012 general election, major parties shifted their focus to the 2013 Upper House election. Although the LDP alone gained a stable majority in the Lower House by winning 294 seats and the LDP-Kōmeitō coalition secured the two thirds of the Lower House, the coalition did not have a majority in the Upper House (The Asahi Shimbun 17 December 2012). For the Abe administration and the LDP, the upcoming Upper House election was crucial to consolidate their power in the Diet and for opposition parties including the JRP, it was crucial to increase their negotiating power vis-à-vis the Abe administration as well as the LDP. Given the electoral disadvantages for small parties under the Japan's electoral system, the 2012 general election result was impressive for the JRP. The JRP expanded its seats from 11 to 54 in the Lower House and became the third largest national party. Although the DPJ became the second largest party, it experienced a huge defeat, losing its seats from 230 to 57. The DPJ won only three more seats than the JRP in the Lower House. Nevertheless, JRP members, in particular Hashimoto and Ishihara, could not be satisfied with the election

result as it certainly did not reach its goal of gaining a casting voter position in the Diet (The Asahi Shimbun 28 December 2012). The fact that the LDP alone gained a stable majority and the LDP-Kōmeitō coalition secured the two thirds of the Lower House made opposition parties so weak. As it illustrates in the previous section, Phase 1, what united the JRP, especially the Hashimoto's group and the Ishihara's group, was not policy but their goal of gaining a casting voter role in the Diet. Hence, soon after the general election, their focus also shifted to the Upper House election. The coming Upper House election was another opportunity for them to increase their influence in the Diet. If the LDP-Komeito coalition fails to secure a majority in the Upper House and the JRP could win enough seats to be able to replace New Kōmeitō as a potential coalition partner for the LDP, then it could significantly increase its bargaining power in the LDP government. In particular, as Abe was seeking to revise the Constitution and pass the right to collective self-defense bill in the Diet, the JRP could be a more appealing coalition partner for the LDP. Thus, despite the deep ideological cleavage between Ishihara and Hashimoto, as the Upper House election loomed, Ishihara tried to reduce discord within the party by claiming that it was not necessary for the party to have a unified view on Japan's history. He told Hashimoto, "You do not have an experience of war. So I do not expect you to speak based on the same historical recognition as mine" (The Asahi Shimbun 22

May 2013). Furthermore, Ishihara defended Hashimoto's controversial proposal for U.S. troops to use legal sex-related services in Japan. He said, "I can understand why Hashimoto made the remark out of his resentment (toward sex crimes committed by U.S. servicemen)," and instead called the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty as stupid treaties (The Asahi Shimbun 22 May 2013). After making a compromise, Ishihara and Hashimoto agreed to strengthen the solidarity of the party for the Upper House election (The Asahi Shimbun 22 June 2013; 24 June 2013). At this point in time, their aim was to prevent the LDP-Komeito from gaining a majority in the Upper House (The Asahi Shimbun 30 March 2013). Though Hashimoto stressed the need to prevent the LDP-Kōmeitō coalition from gaining a majority, he said that after the Upper House election, pro-Constitutional revision forces should cooperate. While the discord within the party was growing and its public support rate was declining, the Upper House election was a glue, preventing the JRP from dividing.⁹

⁹ Another challenge the JRP faced was declining public support. After the 2012 general election, the JRP's support rate continuously dropped. In January 2013, 16 percent said they would vote for the JRP in the proportional representation portion for the Upper House election; however, after Hashimoto's controversial remark on the comfort women issue, it dropped to 7 percent (The Asahi Shimbun 20 May 2013a). On the other hand, the public support rate for the Cabinet of Prime Minister Abe was 65 percent, and Abe was getting much support for his economic policy, "Abenomics" (The Asahi Shimbun 20 May 2013b).

4.4 Phase 3: July 2013 – May 2014

Phase 1 shows that as both Ishihara and Hashimoto regarded each other as important partners in entering national politics they agreed to merge the JRP and SP. After the merger, their primary goal was to increase the JRP's seats in the Lower House. Phase 2 shows that Ishihara and Hashimoto agreed to strengthen solidarity before the Upper House election and at this point in time, their primary aim was to increase the JRP's seats in the Upper House. While they pursued different policies, before the two national elections they shared the same goal, increasing JRP's seats in the Diet. Phase 3 shows that after the Upper House election, Hashimoto and Ishihara began pursuing different goals. While both sought employ the JRP in pursuing their goals, to which direction they wanted to lead the JRP as part of their strategy differed. While Hashimoto claimed the JRP should lead the realignment of opposition parties, Ishihara sought to lead the JRP closer to the LDP. Phase 3 highlights strategic interactions between Ishihara and Hashimoto leading up to the split of the party.

The Upper House election result was disappointing for the JRP. Although the JRP increased its seats from three to nine in the Upper House, compared to the 2012 general election the result was poor and it confirmed the JRP's declining

public support rate. The DPJ also experienced an electoral defeat as its seats decreased from 86 to 59. In contrast, the LDP won 115 seats, which means it only needed seven more seats to gain a majority in the Upper House alone. As New Kōmeitō secured 20 seats in the Upper House, the LDP-Kōmeitō coalition could control the Upper House. Importantly, such election result was interpreted differently by Ishihara and Hashimoto. Weak and divided opposition parties enabled the LDP to achieve a great success in both Lower and Upper House elections. As the opposition parties fail to cooperate in the elections, it further weakened their electoral strength under the Japan's electoral system (Scheiner 2013).¹⁰ It appears that against such background, Hashimoto strongly realized the need to unite divided opposition parties into one party to be able to compete with the LDP in the next election. After the election, Hashimoto claimed that it was necessary to create a new force to challenge the LDP (The Asahi Shimbun 24 July 2013b). Rather than seeking to form a winning coalition with the LDP, his focus shifted towards uniting opposition parties. On the other hand, Ishihara became no longer interested in uniting third force parties after the two national

¹⁰ According to Scheiner (2013), the LDP won more seats than a consolidated non-LDP force would have permitted. He finds evidence that votes for third-force party candidates came largely at the expense of votes for DPJ SMD candidates, rather than those from the LDP. According to him, a coordinated non-LDP force including the JRP would have prevented the LDP from winning a majority, and would have reduced the total number of seats won by the LDP-Kōmeitō coalition in 2012.

elections. As the LDP alone gained a stable majority in the Lower House in 2012, to join a winning coalition it became necessary to form a coalition with the LDP. After the 2013 Upper House election, the LDP only needed seven more seats to gain a majority in the Upper House. Since the JRP gained nine seats in the Upper House, it could be a potential coalition partner for the LDP. Hence, to form a coalition with the LDP, Ishihara also needed the JRP.

Soon after the Upper House election, Hashimoto stressed that he will lead the realignment of opposition parties (The Asahi Shimbun 24 July 2013a). Yoriyisa Matsuno, a former DPJ member, was one of key members within the JRP pushing ahead with the plan to realign opposition parties. On the evening of July 21st, the day the Upper House election was held, Matsuno met DPJ Secretary-General Goushi Hosono and Your Party (YP) Secretary-General Kenji Eda (The Asahi Shimbun 19 August 2013). They discussed to create a study group in order to find common policy grounds as a first step towards the political realignment. From then on, they met repeatedly (The Asahi Shimbun, 10 October 2013; 25 October 2013; 29 November 2013). Other JRP members including Nobuyuki Baba, Ishizeki Takashi and Ozawa Sakihito also played a critical role in proceeding with their political realignment plan (The Asahi Shimbun 6 August

2013; 3 September 2013; 29 November 2013).¹¹ The JRP was particularly eager to merge with the YP first. The YP shared common policy goals with the JRP. Their plan was to attract defectors from the DPJ after they merge with the YP. The merger between the JRP and YP would make it the largest opposition party, and make the DPJ the second largest. However, while Eda supported the merger with the JRP, Watanabe, a leader of the YP, opposed it. As a result, on December 8th, Eda defected from the YP with other members and created the Unity Party (UP) (The Asahi Shimbun 9 December 2013). From that point on, Hashimoto and Eda hurried the merger between the two parties, namely the JRP and UP.

Hashimoto clearly expressed the need to form an alliance with the UP (The Asahi Shimbun 21 December 2013). On December 23rd, Matsuno announced during the JRP's executive meeting that they will start discussing with the UP and other opposition parties to coordinate policy (The Asahi Shimbun 24 December 2013). As Hashimoto's group hurried the merger with the UP, Ishihara's group stressed the constitutional revision. On January 6th, 2014, JRP Diet members held a

¹¹ On October 15th, a study group on social security reform was created and it was co-headed by Baba and Democratic Party Yunoki Michiyoshi (The Asahi Shimbun 16 October 2013). Members of this group were from the JRP, the DPJ and the YP. They shared policy interests mainly surrounding regulatory reform, redistribution and regional sovereignty.

meeting and in that meeting, Matsuno called for the political realignment of opposition parties. He said that they need to move forward so as to become a force capable of taking power next election. Meanwhile, during the meeting, Hiranuma instead stressed the constitutional revision while indicating that he aims to form an alliance with the Abe administration (The Asahi Shimbun 7 January 2014). Soon after Hashimoto and Eda announced to begin policy consultations between the two parties, Ishihara also began raising negative views about the merger with the UP. Ishihara pointed out that the UP supports the current Constitution (The Asahi Shimbun 10 January 2014). Ishihara even criticized the move to realign opposition parties and denied the need. He stated that if the LDP is doing well, he supports it. Such change in Ishihara's position compared to his position before the 2012 general election is striking. Prior to the 2012 general election, he insisted that a third force party was needed to challenge the LDP-Komeito coalition but now he was supporting the LDP.¹² Meanwhile, Ishihara criticized New Komeito for hindering the Abe administration from pursuing critical policies including the right to collective self-defense (Yomiuri Shimbun 20 May 2014).

¹² During the Interview with the Asahi Shimbun on November 26th, 2012, Ishihara said, "The (2012 Lower House) election will be an absolutely critical battle, dividing the nation in two. If we let the main opposition Liberal Democratic Party and its coalition partner New Komeito seize a majority in the vote, it will amount to repeating the same thing (of going back to the former power structure led by the LDP). We must create a powerful second political force."

Despite Ishihara's disapproval, one member from Hashimoto's group told a reporter that the UP should join the JRP before the 186th Diet session ends, namely before June 22nd (The Asahi Shimbun 12 January 2014).¹³ The first policy consultation between the JRP and the UP was held on January 15th, 2014 (The Asahi Shimbun 16 January 2014). However, in less than 10 days later since the first policy consultation was with the UP was held, Ishihara indicated that he might leave the JRP. On January 23rd, 2014, during the interview with Kyodo News, Ishihara expressed that dividing the JRP was possible due to policy differences and the political realignment of opposition parties. Furthermore, he indicated that forming a coalition with the LDP was possible by replacing New Kōmeitō (47News 23 January 2014). Next day, when the JRP decided to oppose the pacts that allow the export of Japanese nuclear technology to Turkey and the United Arab Emirates, Ishihara said that he could leave the JRP if it does not change its decision. Nevertheless, policy coordination with the UP proceeded and in the meantime, it appears that Hashimoto was trying to persuade Ishihara to change his mind about the merger with the UP (The Asahi Shimbun 26 January

¹³ Two days after Ishihara explicitly expressed his opposition to the merger with the UP, Ozawa Sakihito told the reporter that the two parties should merge before the Diet session ends.

2014; 5 April 2014).¹⁴ Eda was keep pressuring Hashimoto to break up with Ishihara's group, pointing out their differences on policy line. Nonetheless, Hashimoto resisted and denied the possibility of the split of the JRP (The Asahi Shimbun 11 December 2013). Meanwhile, Ishihara also continued to clearly show his opposition to the merger. Not only was he talking, but also by strengthening ties with Watanabe, the leader of the YP who also opposed the merger between the YP and JRP, Ishihara was actively trying to thwart Hashimoto's plan to lead the realignment opposition parties (The Asahi Shimbun 22 February 2014).¹⁵ On April 5th, the JRP officially decided to merge with the UP in the executive meeting, and announced that they aim to merge before the Diet session ends (The Asahi Shimbun 5 April 2014). Ishihara held a first meeting with Eda on April 11th and it seemed like Ishihara was trying to make a compromise on the merger issue; however, after the meeting he expressed that the merger should be postponed so that it will not take place during the Diet session (The Asahi Shimbun 12 April 2014). This shows that Ishihara wanted to

¹⁴ Policy discussions between the JRP and the UP were held at the working-level from January 24th and it continued to March 2014 (The Asahi Shimbun 25 January 2014; 20 February 2014; 27 March 2014).

¹⁵ As Watanabe opposed the merger with the JRP, Eda and other members defected from the YP so as to join the JRP. Previously Watanabe was highly critical of Ishihara, but as both opposed Hashimoto and Eda leading the realignment of opposition parties, they decided to strengthen their ties to prevent their move. On March 26th, the JRP and Up broadly agreed on 60 policy issues; however, on the same day, Ishihara denied the merger with the UP again, referring the UP as a supporter of the current Japanese Constitution (The Asahi Shimbun 27 March 2014).

avoid the merger between the JRP and UP taking place during the Diet session. Nonetheless, the JRP and UP unified their upper house caucus (negotiation bodies) on April 25th (The Asahi Shimbun 26 April 2014). In response, Ishihara urged to add a plank promising the new Constitution in the policy agreement between the JRP and UP (The Asahi Shimbun 27 April 2014).¹⁶ Such Ishihara's request, however, was difficult for Hashimoto and Eda to accept. As their plan was to attract members from other opposition parties to join their party after the merger, they were preparing for policies that those members particularly from the DPJ and YP could also agree with (The Asahi Shimbun 3 May 2014). Although Hashimoto was seeking to accept Ishihara's request in order to prevent Ishihara defecting from the party, Eda refused to add the new constitution plank in the policy agreement (The Asahi Shimbun 24 May 2014). On May 28th, Ishihara and Hashimoto held a meeting and there Ishihara proposed to split the JRP (The Asahi Shimbun 29 May 2014). At a news conference announcing the split of the JRP in June, Ishihara said that the LDP should form a coalition with Ishihara's new party (The Asahi Shimbun 13 June 2014).

¹⁶ Ishihara regarded the current Constitution was imposed upon Japan by the United States.

Phase 3 shows that Hashimoto's attempt to merge with the UP triggered Ishihara to split the JRP. Since Ishihara joined the JRP in 2012, his aim was to join a winning coalition through the JRP. At that time, Ishihara was expecting the JRP to gain a casting voter role. However, after the two national elections it became apparent that in order to join a winning coalition in the near future, forming a coalition with the LDP was necessary. While Ishihara was seeking to strengthen ties with the LDP, Hashimoto aimed to unite opposition parties to compete with the LDP. Despite Ishihara's opposition, Hashimoto and Eda hurried the merger and Hashimoto pressured Ishihara to follow his lead. It was not Ishihara's intention to split the JRP during the Diet session but as the merger with the UP became impending, Ishihara decided to split the JRP.

4.5 Ishihara's Strategic Choice and Situated Rationality

This thesis posits that Ishihara rationally pursued his goal. As he revealed during the interview with the Asahi Shimbun in 2012, Ishihara's primary goal was to form a winning coalition after the general election. Because he expected the JRP to play a critical role in forming a winning coalition, Ishihara decided to join the JRP. Prior to the 2012 general election, the DPJ's defeat was expected but it was not clear to what extent the LDP would gain from the DPJ's poor performance.

In fact, in 2012, Ishihara was eager to unite all third force parties including the JRP, YP, TCP and SP in order to successfully challenge both the LDP and DPJ in the election so as to gain a casting voter role in the Diet afterwards. At that time, Ishihara almost ignored policy differences between these parties. However, when it became difficult to unite all third force parties, Ishihara chose the JRP as his coalition partner as it had a higher chance to gain more seats in the Lower House. This thesis does not argue that Ishihara did not seek policy goals. Perhaps, once he is in the position capable of carrying out policies he would have prioritized his policy goals. But Ishihara first needs hold a higher position to influence policy (Laver and Shepsle 1996). This explains even though Ishihara and Hashimoto were in conflict with each other on many occasions after the merger due to different policy stances and ideological cleavages, Ishihara did not defect from the JRP. Only when Hashimoto tried to merge with the UP, Ishihara decided to leave the party.

After the two national elections, the JRP did not achieve a casting voter role in the Diet. However, since the LDP lacked seven seats to form a majority in the Upper House and the JRP secured nine seats in 2013, the JRP could be a coalition partner for the LDP. For a long time, Abe had been seeking to revise the

Constitution and allow Japan to exercise the right to collective self-defense. On the other hand, the LDP's coalition partner, New Kōmeitō, remained critical of Abe's national security agenda. Hence, the JRP could be a more attractive coalition partner for the Abe administration as it also took similar stances on security issues. Against this background, Ishihara sought to strengthen ties with the LDP. Ishihara explicitly expressed his amicable stance on the Abe administration while taking a hostile stance toward New Kōmeitō. At the news conference announcing the split of the JRP, when Ishihara was asked about the cooperation with the Abe administration he said, "I rate the Abe administration very highly" (The Asahi Shimbun 13 June 2014). He also said that New Kōmeitō was preventing the Abe administration from allowing Japan to exercise the right to collective self-defense and revising the Constitution. So he said, "If that's the case, break up with New Kōmeitō, and work with us" (The Asahi Shimbun 13 June 2014). As forming a coalition with the LDP was the only way to join the winning coalition in the near future, Ishihara adjusted his strategy to such political situation.¹⁷

¹⁷ While the Abe administration received relatively high public support at the time, uniting opposition parties and taking power appeared to take a long time.

To form a coalition with the LDP, Ishihara needed the JRP. Nevertheless, Hashimoto took a different strategy. As opposition parties including the JRP failed to cooperate in the two national elections, the LDP was able to win more seats by taking advantage of divided opposition parties (Scheiner 2013). After the two disappointing national election results, Hashimoto decided to unite opposition parties and challenge the LDP. Eda also made his stance clear that he will compete with the LDP (The Asahi Shimbun 6 April 2014). Rather than forming a winning coalition with the LDP, Hashimoto sought to lead the realignment of opposition parties. Without Hashimoto's support, it is difficult for Ishihara to lead the JRP closer to the LDP. As Hashimoto, a co-leader of the JRP, tried to lead the JRP toward the opposite direction of Ishihara's goal, the strategic choice for Ishihara was to split the party and try to persuade more JRP members to join his new party. As Hashimoto and Eda began policy consultations prior to the merger between the two parties in January 2014, Ishihara also started voicing opposition. After one member from Hashimoto's group indicated to complete the merger between the two parties before the 186th Diet session ends, Ishihara hinted dividing the JRP. In addition, a few weeks before breaking up with the JRP, Ishihara also met members of the YP. According to an official from the YP, Ishihara tried to find allies in the YP. He told the YP members that he will defect from the JRP soon (The Asahi Shimbun 13 June 2014). It appears that since the

YP had 13 upper house members, Ishihara was seeking find allies from the YP. On May 30th, 2014, the day the split of the JRP was officially decided, members from Ishihara's group and three upper house members from the YP formed a study group on Japan-made-constitution (The Asahi Shimbun 13 June 2014). After the split of the JRP was decided, Ishihara also met JRP members to persuade them to join Ishihara's new party (The Asahi Shimbun 6 June 2014). For Ishihara's new party to become an important coalition partner to the LDP, the more Diet members, especially upper house legislators, it had the better it was. Lastly, although Ishihara claimed that the merger between the JRP and UP should not take place during the 186th Diet session, Hashimoto and Eda still hurried the merger. The JRP and UP unified their upper house caucuses (negotiating bodies) on April 25th, 2014. As the merger between the two parties was impending, Ishihara decided to split the JRP and form a new party during the Diet session. However, it was not that Ishihara aimed to split the JRP during the Diet session. Regardless of the Diet session, constraints on Ishihara's choices were imposed by Hashimoto's actions.

4.7 Critical Review of Yamamoto's Model

Yamamoto (2010) posits that a new party is unlikely to be formed during Diet sessions. He assumes that legislators switch parties during Diet session to influence policy outcomes. If their aim is clear policy effect, they will join a party that accounts for a majority or a party that can form a majority if they join. Since office (higher positions in the government) serves as an instrument to affect policy (Laver and Shepsle 1996), Yamamoto sees such switching as office-driven while it is motivated by policy goals in the first place. Hence, Yamamoto argues that it is less costly for legislators to join an existing party than forming a new party during Diet sessions. Nevertheless, Ishihara decided to leave the JRP and form a new party during the Diet session. Although Ishihara's new party, the Party for Future Generations (PFG), was officially founded in August 2014, it was virtually formed during the 186th Diet session as JRP members who wanted to join Ishihara's new party had to make their decision until June 6th, 2014. Those members who decided to join Ishihara's new party by June 6th later joined the PFG as founding members. This thesis finds no correlation between Diet session and Ishihara's decision to split the JRP. It was not Diet session that affected the timing of Ishihara's decision. It was Hashimoto and Eda hurrying the merger triggered Ishihara to split the JRP during the Diet session. Hashimoto and other JRP members repeatedly expressed that the merger should be complete before

the 186th Diet session ends so they could proceed with their plan, the realignment of opposition parties, and prepare for the next unified local election (The Asahi Shimbun 12 January 2014; 5 April 2014). Even though Ishihara met Eda and said that the merger should not take place during the Diet session, about two weeks later the JRP and UP unified their upper house caucuses (negotiations bodies) (The Asahi Shimbun, 12 April 2014; 26 April 2014). It was not Ishihara's intention to split the JRP and form a new party during the Diet session but his choices were bounded by actions of other political actors, in this case Hashimoto. While Yamamoto's model focuses on institutional incentives generated from the parliamentary cycle and assumes that rational political actors will respond to those incentives, the model does not consider the fact that in a real political world legislators' choices are significantly constrained by actions of other political actors. If Hashimoto did not hurry the merger with the UP, Ishihara probably would not have split the JRP and formed a new party during the Diet session. According to Park (1998), "what matters is not only instrumental rationality that produces a consistent ordering among alternatives according to utility maximization but also substantive rationality of what comprises a rational action in concrete social relations." In addition, Ishihara did not simply seek to join the LDP, he wanted to form a coalition with the LDP. If he had joined the LDP, it would have been difficult for Ishihara to secure an influential position in the LDP.

As the LDP alone already had a stable majority in the Lower House and the LDP-Kōmeitō had secured the two thirds of the Lower House, increasing a few more seats in the Lower House was not so important for the LDP. But since it lacked seven seats to form a majority in the Upper House, New Kōmeitō was a valuable coalition partner. Ishihara's new party only had three seats in the Upper House. To guarantee him a more influential position in the winning coalition, creating a new party and then seeking to form a coalition with the LDP was a rational choice for Ishihara. Indeed, when Ishihara was planning to form a new party, he sought to find allies from the YP as it had 13 seats in the Upper House. Lastly, this thesis posits that explaining party switching behaviour during Diet sessions in Yamamoto's model is particularly problematic. Assuming party switching behaviour during Diet sessions to be office seeking behaviour may significantly limit the model in explaining new parties forming during Diet sessions. Depending on how intra-party competition develops, this thesis assumes that there will be more cases of new parties forming during Diet sessions.

CHAPTER 5. JAPAN RESTORATION PARTY MEMBERS' CHOICES

This chapter analyses factors that influenced JRP members to stay or defect from the party after the split was decided. When the JRP was founded a few months before the 2012 general election, it attracted legislators from various parties. As a result, it consisted of former members of the Osaka Restoration Association (ORA), the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Your Party (YP), the Spirit of Japan Party (SJP) and the Sunrise Party (SP). In addition, many new first term politicians were elected under its label. Thus, the JRP was comprised of various groups and interests. Nonetheless, the JRP can be largely divided into two forces along the ideological line. The first force is reformist and the second force is right-wing nationalist. Most JRP members except former members of the SP joined the party after they expressed their support for Hashimoto's key policy proposals including political and administrative reform, decentralization and abolition of nuclear power plants by 2030s (The Asahi Shimbun 10 September 2012).¹⁸ Among these members, however, it is possible that some were actually motivated by electoral incentives to join the JRP, especially those who had their electoral base in Osaka Prefecture,

¹⁸ Hashimoto held an open debate in Osaka in September 2012 to ensure members who were interested in joining his party support his key policy proposals.

rather than Hashimoto's reformist policy proposals. Hence, by using the Asahi Shimbun - Taniguchi survey (2012), those JRP members who responded the political and administrative reform as well as decentralization as the most important issues regardless of the 2012 general election will be put into one group. This thesis assumes that members from this group were less likely to defect from the JRP. Meanwhile, the SP was the last group to join the JRP in 2012 as it was unwilling to support Hashimoto's key policies. Although they joined the JRP just before the 2012 general election, it was clear that rather than policy the election drove them to join the JRP. The SP was founded by LDP defectors, and many of them including Ishihara, Hiranuma and Nariaki Nakayama were well-known for their nationalistic stances. Hence, the former SP members forms another group within the JRP. This thesis assumes that members from the SP group were more likely to defect from the JRP. Lastly, this thesis assumes that many members joined the JRP due to electoral incentives. Although the public support for the JRP in the Kinki region declined after 2012, compare to JRP members from other regions, those who had their electoral base in the Kinki region would have felt more electorally secure to stay in the JRP. Hence, members from this Kinki group will be less likely to defect from the JRP. The following sections examines each group and analyses factors that affected JRP members' choices.

5.1 Political and Administrative Reform and Decentralization Support Group

When the JRP was founded in September 2012, the time before Ishihara and the SP joined, it was able to attract Diet members from other parties by focusing on reforming the country's governing structure of centralized authority (The Asahi Shimbun 10 September 2012). It proposed a direct election of the prime minister by the public, further empowering the Lower House by possibly abolishing the Upper House, and converting the consumption tax into a local tax. Regarding fiscal and political reforms, it called for cutting the size of the government such as halving the number of the Lower House members. According the Asahi Shimbun – Taniguchi survey (2012) that was conducted before the general election, 20 JRP members chose political and administrative reform and decentralization as the most important issues regardless of the election.¹⁹ In addition, on specific questions regarding the direct election of the prime minister by the public, cutting the government size and turning consumption tax into a local tax they also showed their support. After the 2013 Upper House election, Hashimoto, Matsuno and others sought to push ahead with its political realignment plan by focusing on administrative reform and decentralization. Indeed, the Japan Innovation Party that was formed after the merger between the

¹⁹ Originally, there were 21 members but one quit the JRP before the Upper House election.

JRP and UP stressed these reformist policy issues. On the other hand, Ishihara's new party, PFG, stressed writing a new Constitution and reinforcing military power. Hence, those 20 JRP members were more likely to stay in the JRP after its split. Nevertheless, while a majority of them stayed in the JRP, five of them defected from the JRP. One announced to be an independent and four of them joined Ishihara's new party. This indicates that other factors than just policy influenced those members' choice.

5.1.1 Electoral Incentive

It is difficult know every motive behind their decision; however, among the group that supported administrative reform and decentralization, members who were elected through proportional representation (PR) outside the Kinki region and electorally weak were more likely to defect (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Political and Administrative Reform and Decentralization Support Group

Name	Stay=0/ Defect=1	Term	Former Party membership	SMD	Electoral Strength
Matsuno Yori-hisa	0	5	DPJ	Kumamoto	70%
Ishizeki Takashi	0	3	DPJ	Gunma	59%
Adachi Yasushi	0	1	YP	Osaka	SMD winner
Ito Nobuhisa	0	1	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Iwanaga Hiroki	0	1	JRP	Shiga	84%
Uenishi Sayuri	0	1	JRP	Osaka	89%

Urano Yasuto	0	1	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Oguma Shinji	0	1	YP	Fukushima	70%
Sakamoto Yunosuke	0	1	JRP	Saitama	66%
Shigetoku Kazuhiko	0	1	JRP	Aichi	75%
Shinbara Hideto	0	1	JRP	Hyogo	82%
Takahashi Miho	0	1	JRP	Hokkaido	56%
Baba Nobuyuki	0	1	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Maruyama Hodaka	0	1	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Murakami Masatoshi	0	1	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Yamada Hiroshi	1	2	SJP	Tokyo	64%
Ueno Hiroshi	1	1	YP	Gunma	49%
Sugita Mio	1	1	YP	Hyogo	79%
Nishida Yuzuru	1	1	JRP	Chiba	57%
Nishioka Arata	1	1	JRP	Ehime	63%

In the meantime, it is difficult to consider that Ishihara's new party presented electoral incentives for these electorally weak members from the JRP. As it has shown in the previous chapter, most JRP SMD winners and PR votes came from the Kinki region, which indicates that Ishihara's popularity did not help JRP members from other regions to get elected. At the time of the JRP split, it was highly uncertain that whether Ishihara's new party would be able to draw cooperation from the LDP in the next election. The fact that both Hashimoto and Ishihara's new parties did not provide appealing electoral incentives, other factors could have influenced these members.

5.1.2 Party Posts

As it can be seen in Table 2, former members of the ORA and the DPJ were less likely to defect. The main force that supported the merger with the UP were former members of the ORA and DPJ. On the other hand, the main force that stressed the ties with the LDP were former members of the Sunrise Party. Former members of the YP, the LDP and the SJP can be seen as a third group neither strongly supported the merger nor stressed forming an alliance with the LDP. No member from this third group played a key role in pushing ahead with the plan to merge with the UP. This third group members were not only excluded from playing a key role in the merger process with the UP, they were also excluded from the JRP leadership roles (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Key party posts occupied by JRP Members

Japan Restoration Party Executive Posts	Name	Former Party Membership
Co-leader (共同代表)	Ishihara Shintaro	SP
Co-leader (共同代表)	Hashimoto Tooru	ORA
Acting Leader (代表代行)	Takeo Hiranuma	SP
Vice President (副代表)	Imai Yutaka	ORA
Secretary-General (幹事長)	Ichiro Matsui	ORA
Acting Secretary-General (幹事長代行)	Matsuno Yoriyusa	DPJ
Vice Secretary-General (副幹事長)	Sonoda Hiroyuki	SP
Chairman of the General Council (総務会長)	Azuma Tooru	ORA

Chairman of the Policy Research Council (政策調査会長)	Asada Hitoshi	ORA
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Japan Restoration Party Diet Caucus (国会議員団) Posts	Name	Former Party Membership
Chief of JRP Diet Members (国会議員団代表)	Takeo Hiranuma	SP
Secretary-General (国会議員団幹事長)	Matsuno Yori-hisa	DPJ
Chairman of the General Council (国会議員団総務会長)	Fujii Takao	SP
Chairman of Election Campaign Strategy (国会議員選挙対策委員長)	Fujii Takao	SP
Chairman of the Policy Research Council (国会議員団政調会長)	Katayama Toranosuke	SP
Chairman for the JRP Members of the House of Councillors (参議院議員団会長)	Katayama Toranosuke	SP
Chairman of Diet Affairs Committee (国会対策委員長)	Ozawa Sakihito	DPJ

Source: The Asahi Shimbun (22 December 2012; 30 March 2013)

In particular, discontents about the distribution of party posts came from the SJP members (The Asahi Shimbun 11 January 2013). Two members from the SJP joined the JRP in October 2012. Hiroshi Nakada was a Yokohama mayor, and served as a secretary-general of the Spirit of Japan Party. Hiroshi Yamada was a mayor of Tokyo's Sugunami Ward, and headed the Spirit of Japan Party. They

were also not new in the Diet, Nakada was in his fourth term as a Lower House member, and Yamada was in his second term. Despite their previous political career, it appears that those JRP members close to Hashimoto from the Kinki region were especially resistant to SJP members' efforts to gain party posts (The Asahi Shimbun 11 January 2013). They were excluded from the key party posts until the JRP split. After the split was decided, Ishihara sought to persuade JRP members to join his new party. Ishihara met Daisuke Sakamoto and Hiroshi Nakada on June 3rd, and in that meeting they requested Ishihara to change the leadership system in the new party so that the key party posts will not be occupied by the former SP members (The Asahi Shimbun 5 June 2014). They made this request as a condition to join Ishihara's new party. Ishihara gave them a positive response, and Sakamoto expected Ishihara to become a top advisor of the new party rather than a leader. Indeed, both Yamada and Nakada gained the executive posts in the Ishihara's new party. Nakada pointed out the party management problem as the reason defecting from the JRP (The Asahi Shimbun 6 June 2014). Hence, from the group that supported administrative reform and decentralization, electorally weak JRP members who had electoral base outside the Kinki region were more likely to defect from the party, and among them other factors such as party post may have affected their final decision.

5.2 Sunrise Group

Most former members of the DPJ, LDP, YP and SJP joined the JRP after they expressed their support for Hashimoto's key policy proposals (The Asahi Shimbun 10 September 2012). Unlike them, the merger between the JRP and SP got delayed as Ishihara was unwilling to support Hashimoto's key policy proposals such as the abolition of nuclear power plants by 2030s. The SP members also had expressed their opposition to the merger between the two parties due to policy differences (The Asahi Shimbun 27 October 2012). The Sunrise Party was founded by LDP defectors in April 2010. When they defected from the LDP, they made it clear that they were not anti-LDP but their goal was to prevent the DPJ gaining a majority in the coming Upper House election (The Asahi Shimbun 5 April 2010). Then Sadakazu Tanigaki was the president of the LDP, and they were critical of the LDP leadership at the time. The SP members insisted that since the LDP had not been able to attract the electorate who do not support the DPJ, they sought to provide an alternative. They took an anti-DPJ stance and made it clear that they were pro-LDP. Sonoda Hiroyuki said, "The current LDP is unable to attract the resistance to the DPJ. I hope such people will have expectations for the new party. We want to work together with the LDP to bring down the DPJ government" (The Asahi Shimbun 5 April 2010). In 2010, when the DPJ approached the SP in an attempt to form a coalition with it, SP

members were cautious. Kyoko Nakayama insisted that “there is no way forming a coalition with the DPJ. We declared to bring down the DPJ when establishing the party” (The Asahi Shimbun 25 December 2010). The SP members were not only pro-LDP, they were more conservative and nationalistic than many LDP members. In particular, Ishihara, Hiranuma, Nishimura Shingo and Nakayama Nariaki were well known for their right-wing nationalistic stance. While most JRP members took a hard-line stance on security issues, the key policy that divided Hashimoto and Ishihara was nuclear energy. While Hashimoto called for breaking with nuclear power by 2030s, Ishihara supported to maintain nuclear power plants. Ishihara regarded maintaining nuclear energy is crucial for Japan to build its national strength. All former SP members except one did not support the Hashimoto’s energy policy (The Asahi Shimbun– Taniguchi 2012). Given such difference between the former SP members and the rest of the JRP members, the former SP members would be more likely to defect from the JRP. Nonetheless, when the JRP split, three former SP members decided to stay in the JRP (see Table 5.3).

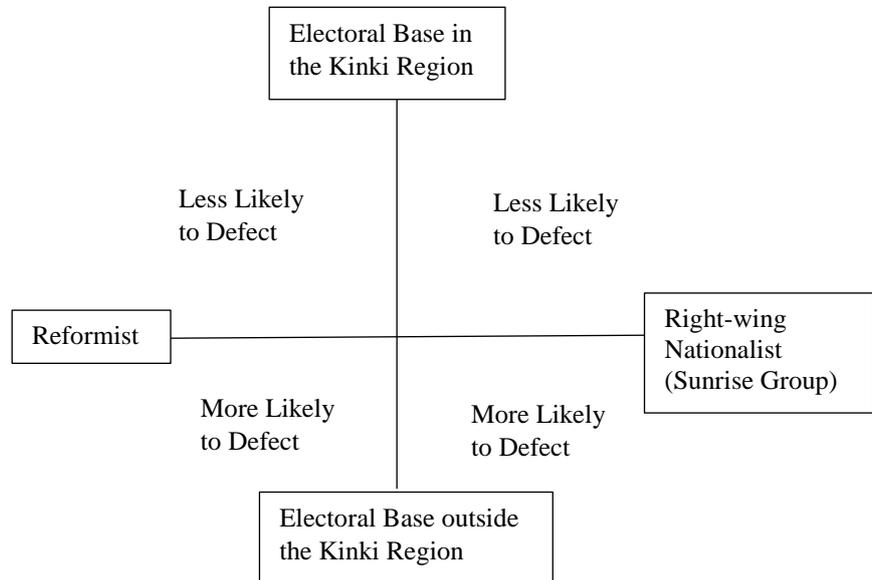
Table 5.3. Sunrise Group

Name	Stay=0 / Defect=1	Term	SMD	Electoral Strength
Hiranuma Takeo	1	11	Okayama	SMD winner
Ishihara Shintaro	1	9	Tokyo	PR
Sonoda Hiroyuki	1	9	Kumamoto	SMD winner

Nakayama Nariaki	1	7	Miyazaki	47%
Fujii Takao	1	5	PR	PR
Imamura Hirofumi	1	1	PR	PR
Nakamaru Hiromu	1	1	Hiroshima	42%
Matsuda Manabu	1	1	PR	PR
Miyake Hiroshi	1	1	PR (Kinki)	PR
Miki Kee	0	1	Hyogo (Kinki)	49%
Kawano Masami	0	1	Fukuoka	49%
Muraoka Toshihide	0	1	Akita	77%

Among the Sunrise group, all three who decided to stay in the JRP are first term Lower House members. It appears that electoral incentives affected their decision. In particular, after the split was decided, even though Kee Miki said that she will join Ishihara's new party, later she changed her decision and told the party that she will remain in the JRP (The Asahi Shimbun 26 June 2014). As her electoral base was in Hyogo and the JRP had a strong base in the Kinki region, taking account of re-election the JRP would have appeared more appealing to Kee. It appears that electoral incentives influenced her final decision.²⁰

²⁰ Although behind-the-curtain talks are unknown both Kawano Masami and Muraoka Toshihide were on the top of the PR list in the 2014 general election while they got the 2nd place in the 2012 election.



5.3 Kinki Group

The JRP had a strong base in the Kinki region. At the 2012 election, the JRP received most PR votes in the Kinki region, making the LDP to finish in the second place. Hence, the JRP members who had electoral base in the Kinki region would be less likely to defect from the party. Indeed most of them decided to stay in the JRP. Nonetheless, three members defected from the JRP (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Kinki Group

Name	Stay=0 / Defect=1	Former Party Membership	SMD	Electoral Strength
Tanihata Takashi	0	LDP	Osaka	SMD winner
Matsunami Kenta	0	LDP	Osaka	SMD winner
Sakaguchi Naoto	0	DPJ	Wakayama	49%
Shimizu Koichiro	0	YP	PR	PR
Adachi Yasushi	0	YP	Osaka	SMD winner
Inoue Hidetaka	0	(LDP)	Osaka	SMD winner
Ito Nobuhisa	0	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Iwanaga Hiroki	0	JRP	Shiga	84%
Uenishi Sayuri	0	JRP	Osaka	89%
Urano Yasuto	0	(LDP)	Osaka	SMD winner
Endo Takashi	0	(LDP)	Osaka	SMD winner
Kinoshita Tomohiko	0	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Shinbara Hideto	0	(LDP)	Hyogo	82%
Baba Nobuyuki	0	(LDP)	Osaka	SMD winner
Maruyama Hodaka	0	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Murakami Masatoshi	0	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Sugita Mio	1	YP	Hyogo	79%
Nishino Koichi	1	JRP	Osaka	SMD winner
Miki Kee	0	SP	Hyogo	49%
Miyake Hiroshi	1	SP	PR	PR
Hayashibara Yuka	1	JRP	Osaka	86%

Due to lack of information, it is difficult to know every motive behind all JRP members' choice. Nonetheless, despite apparent electoral incentives, it appears that Hiroshi Miyake decided to defect from the JRP based on policy preferences. While electoral incentives are expected to strongly influence politicians' behaviour, studies on politicians have found that as politicians pursue their policy

preferences, sometimes they act without fear of electoral repercussions (Fenno 1973; Lott 1987). According to the 2012 Mainichi survey, Miyake opposed the key policies supported by Hashimoto. Miyake opposed the abolition of the Upper House, the ‘nuclear zero’ by 2030s and the participation of the TPP. Meanwhile, he took a hard-line stance on security issues. For instance, he supported Japan possessing nuclear weapons. Hence, his policy preferences may have influenced his decision to defect from the party.²¹

²¹ However, after he lost in the 2014 Lower House election, he re-joined the JRP.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

This thesis finds that Ishihara and Hashimoto, the two leaders of the JRP, played a critical role in causing the split of the JRP. Despite increasing policy and ideological conflicts between them, sharing the same goals before the two national elections, namely increasing Diet seats, gave them strong incentives to avoid the split of the JRP. Nevertheless, after the 2013 Upper House election, their goals began to diverge. After the two disappointing national elections, Hashimoto realized the need to unite opposition parties to be able to compete with the LDP. Meanwhile, Ishihara became no longer interested in uniting third force parties, but instead his aim shifted towards forming a coalition with the LDP. Although Ishihara opposed the merger with the Unity Party (UP) led by Eda based on their differences on policy issues, this thesis argues that the more important reason was Hashimoto and Eda seeking to challenge the LDP rather than seeking to form a coalition with it. Ishihara joined the JRP in 2012 because he expected the JRP to play a critical role in forming a winning coalition after the general election. Although the JRP was unable to achieve a casting voter role in the Diet, it could still be a potential coalition partner for the LDP. While the LDP only needed seven more seats in the Upper House to form a majority, the JRP had secured nine seats. Since the LDP's coalition partner, New Kōmeiō, was

critical of the Abe administration's security agenda, the JRP could be a more attractive coalition partner for the LDP. Nevertheless, without Hashimoto's support, it was difficult for Ishihara to strengthen the ties between the JRP and the LDP. In the meantime, the merger between the JRP and UP was proceeding rapidly. As Hashimoto, a co-leader of the JRP, was effectively leading the JRP towards the opposite direction from Ishihara's goal, the strategic choice for Ishihara was to split the JRP and try to persuade more JRP members to join his new party. A few months prior to the split of the JRP, Ishihara began actively opposing the merger with the UP and trying to find allies from the Your Party (YP) as they had 13 upper house members. In fact, after the split was decided, Ishihara was able to attract more JRP members to his new party than Hashimoto expected. This thesis posits that Ishihara split the JRP and formed a new party so as to work towards forming a coalition with the LDP. At the news conference announcing the split of the JRP, Ishihara said that the LDP should form a coalition with his new party.

This thesis also argues that Ishihara rationally pursued his goal. Prior to the 2012 general election, Ishihara sought to unite third force parties so as to secure a casting voter role in the Diet after the election. However, after the two national

elections, when it became apparent that forming a coalition with the LDP was necessary in order to join a winning coalition in the near future, Ishihara opposed Hashimoto's plan to realign opposition parties but instead, he stressed cooperation with the LDP. Nonetheless, it was not Ishihara's intention to split the JRP and form a new party during the Diet session. This thesis finds no correlation between the Diet session and the timing of Ishihara's decision to split the JRP. Although Ishihara opposed the merger between the JRP and UP taking place during the 186th Diet session, Hashimoto and Eda still hurried the merger. The JRP and UP unified their upper house caucuses (negotiation bodies) on April 25th, 2014. As the merger between the two parties was impending, Ishihara decided to split the JRP. In addition, based on his strategic choice, Ishihara formed a new party instead of joining the LDP. If Ishihara had simply joined the LDP without forming a coalition with it, it would have been difficult for him gain any influential position in the government as well as in the LDP. The LDP alone already secured a stable majority in the Lower House and New Kōmeitō had 20 seats in the Upper House. In contrast, only three upper house members from the JRP joined Ishihara's new party. It appears that after he formed a new party, Ishihara was seeking to replace New Kōmeitō as a LDP's new coalition partner. In contrast to Yamamoto's model, this thesis posits that depending on how

intraparty competition develops, there could be more cases of new parties forming during Diet sessions.

Lastly, this thesis finds that the reformist group, those who supported the administrative reform and decentralization, and the Kinki group, those who had their electoral base in the Kinki region were less likely to defect from the JRP. On the other hand, the right-wing nationalist group, namely the former Sunrise Party (SP) members, were more likely to defect from the JRP. While it is difficult to know every motive behind JRP members' choices, it appears that factors including policy, re-election and party post influenced exceptional cases in each of those groups.

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국문초록

이 논문은 일본유신회의 분당에 대한 연구이다. 일본유신회는 우익 정당으로서는 일본에서 처음으로 상당한 영향력을 가졌던 정당이다. 이러한 일본유신회의 분당은 그 자체로 흥미로운 사건이지만, 논문 주제로서도 흥미로운 연구 질문을 자아낸다. 야마모토 켄타로의 정당이동 모델에 따르면 국회 회기 중에는 새로운 정당이 생기지 않을 것이라고 가정한다. 국회 회기 중에 일어나는 정당이동은 정책에 영향을 미치기 위한 이동이기 때문에, 다수파를 형성할 수 있는 기존 정당으로 이동할 것이라고 가정한다. 하지만, 이시하라는 국회 회기 중에 일본유신회를 분당 시키고 새로운 정당을 만들었다. 야마모토의 모델은 합리적 선택 제도주의 이론에 기반을 둔 모델이다. 제도가 특정 정치적 행동을 촉진시키지만 현실 정치 세계에서 합리적인 정치적 행위자들은 제도의 인센티브에만 반응하는 것이 아니라, 정치적 경쟁자자와 상호작용하는 맥락에서 합리적인 선택을 하게 된다. 이 논문은 상황 구속적 합리성 개념을 분석틀로 사용하여 이시하라가 왜 국회 회기 중에 유신회당을 분당시키고 새로운 당을 만들었는지 설명한다. 따라서, 이시하라가 일본유신회당의 공동 대표였던 하시모토와 상호작용하면서 분당까지 이르게 된 과정을 검토한다. 이 논문은 이시하라가 합리적으로 자신의 목표를 추구했다고 주장한다. 다음으로는 일본유신회의 분당이 결정된 후에 유신회 소속 국회의원들의 선택을 분석한다. 이 논문은 정당이동 연구에 기여한다.

키워드: 일본유신회, 이시하라, 하시모토, 국회회기, 상황 구속적 합리성

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