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The Post-War Democratization of Japan: Voting Patterns of Osaka Prefecture

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THE POST-WAR DEMOCRATIZATION OF JAPAN:
VOTING PATTERNS OF OSAKA PREFECTURE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements of the Degree of
Master of Arts

by

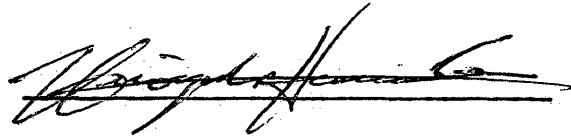
Hiroyuki Hamada

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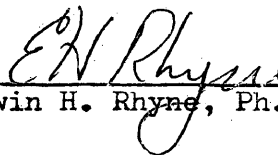
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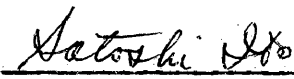
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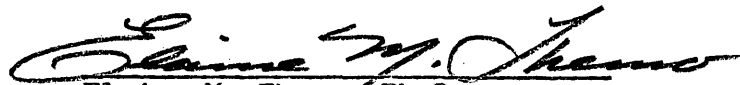
Master of Arts



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601863

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my father, Kazuo Hamada, of
OSAKA, Japan.

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**STUDY ON POSTWAR DEMOCRATIZATION OF JAPAN:
VOTING PATTERNS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF OSAKA PREFECTURE**

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to analyze the impact of Western political democracy on the fabric of Japanese life between the end of World War II and the early 1970's. Specifically it examined the basic nature of postwar changes in the socio-political economy of a single Japanese province, OSAKA Prefecture. Since OSAKA is a typically urban prefecture in its population characteristics, its political preferences, and its occupational patterns, it is probable that the conclusions herein contained apply more or less to Japan at large. The underlying premise is that the complex of developments associated with industrialization of the economy was the dynamic element which preconditioned the style of political development and the consistency of social life.

In 1947 American occupational authorities provided Japan with a Western constitution. It followed the Lockean tradition closely with its emphasis on civil liberty, limited government, free elections, and representative assemblies from the local level to the national level. This prescription for social justice did not entirely fit the needs and capabilities of the Japanese people. The minimum requirement to make a Lockean system work is political participation in a society of self-sufficient individuals. Yet the whole ethos of Japanese politics rested on the traditional reverence for decision-making within the family and the common expectation of authoritarian leadership by political elites. Hence the underlying story of political development since the second World War has been that of the mutual adaptation of the Japanese character and political democracy.

Because the knowledge and values necessary to the operation of democratic government did not exist in the Japanese conscience, the new constitution could function only with the aid of traditional political methods at first. Thus one traditional party directed by elitist leadership and devoted to consensus rule rapidly gained majority control in the government. This was the Liberal Democratic Party, denominated in this study the Indigenous Conservatives. In interpreting the general will, this party demanded and obtained a near total emphasis on rapid economic growth, often to the exclusion of other and more humane values.

As the case of OSAKA Prefecture clearly reveals, the development of an advanced industrial economy brought about the potential capability to move away from authoritarian and elitist politics. The experience of urban living, activity, and everyday exposure to the severe urban problems which resulted from uneven economic development gradually began to politicalize the public. The Liberal Democratic Party neglect of the adverse side effects of rapid growth such as pollution, a bad transportation network, and other unsolved urban issues began to arouse the urban public against leadership by that party.

Although the Liberal Democratic Party has largely dominated the politics of Japan and OSAKA Prefecture since 1947, its outmoded orientation towards authoritarian leadership, along with its failure to achieve balanced socio-economic development, has brought about erosion of its strength at the ballot box. The party still retains a strong base of support in the countryside, among agricultural workers, among conservative-minded individuals, and among small tradesmen in towns. But the readiness of more progressive political groups to attack the whole range of urban problems imaginatively has brought these groups increasing success at the ballot box in urban areas. As the political economy of OSAKA has become modernized, therefore, the political structure has shifted from one party domination of the Assembly to multi-party rule or political pluralism.

INTRODUCTION

After the end of World War II, the United States sought to revolutionize the Japanese constitution from top to bottom. Under the reconstruction government of MacArthur the American government attempted the democratization of Japan according to the American model. This was to include popular participation in government and a parliamentary assembly of representatives at the center. And according to the grand scheme, the spirit of democracy was to be infused into the Japanese conscience down to the grassroots level.

In practicality an oriental potentate in governing Japan, General MacArthur was determined to prevent the reemergence of a "militaristic" government led by a "Facist clique." This was to entail recasting the Japanese political system in the Anglo-American mold of Lockean liberalism. In other words the Japanese would end up with a government of limited powers, a system of representative political parties, and a grasp of the concept of loyal opposition.

The changes which General MacArthur asked the Japanese to make were not entirely possible. This was because the program called for too much change in traditional attitudes over too short a period of time. In the area of social control, for instance, the American changes would have meant an end to both the strong reverence for the family and the old need for nearly feudal controls over individual relationships. Soon everyone would be required to become an independent, participating

political unit. Or looking at the matter from a comparative angle, Japan would have to compress 500 years of English political experience into five years.

To say that it was too much and too fast is only stating the obvious. The intrinsic problem, however, lay at the grassroots. Since there was no real democratic feeling among the people, America would have to educate the common people in democratic values. Thus the experiment would have to be conducted from the top down since there was no democracy in the provinces and localities. It was this element, the necessity for elitist leadership along the road to democracy, which explains why the project did not work entirely according to plan. To use an elite to guide a country away from elitist leadership is not commonly the most direct route to the goal.

In light of these particular circumstances and limitations, therefore, it is not surprising that Japan moved into the liberal period of political development in a way remarkably unlike the experience of the English and the Americans. The following study will take as its core purpose a sociological examination of the impact of Western ideas on the Japanese political culture. By following statistical indicators it will relate and interpret social, political, and economic developments in post-war Japan through quantitative methods. Specifically it will examine the development of the political constitution in its societal background in OSAKA Prefecture and comment on how it is expected to operate in the future.

"Political development" as used in this study is the process of building democratic institutions and practices. It involves the role of the citizenry and new standards of organizational loyalty and commitment.

It is a process of expanding popular participation; that is, diffusing the power to influence public decision-making throughout society.

Secondly the concept may be viewed in its functional relationship with other aspects of change in the society. Theoretically, the political sphere is not treated as an autonomous unit but within the context of Japanese history, the Japanese economy, and the Japanese social order.

It may be assumed that there are relationships between political development and the institutional structure of a society and certain population characteristics. Institutional structure refers to the authoritative structures of social organization, and population characteristics refer to demographic, social, and economic determinants. A key assumption is that the functional relationships between political development and social and economic variables are observable within the context of the community. The concept of community as used in the present research will refer to the sense of political awareness among the citizenry.

The nature of participation plays a significant role in community-building, for it indicates the relative degree of organizational involvement and commitment. Mass participation in the political life of a community should be emphasized because it has been this development more than any other factor which has revolutionized the Japanese sense of group and individual identity. In light of the rise of mass political participation, it is obvious that an analysis of the patterns of electoral choice will go far to describe political behavior from community to community in Japan. Before undertaking this analysis, however, it will be necessary later in this study to clarify a previous

key assumption- the relationship between the institutional structure of a community and its demographic characteristics.

By definition a community is a collection of individuals living in relatively close proximity who have a sense of group awareness and feel a common identity. If the collection of individuals in question is politically integrated and incorporated, the group may constitute a town, county, province, or nation. Japan's postwar experience of creating a constitutional democracy may be regarded as the process of reintegrating political society at all levels after adding the new element of mass political participation. It is appropriate to call this over-all process "mass political socialization." As the case of Japan shows, such a political process may lead to a new form of mass response to political manipulation within the traditional institutional framework.

Changing the electoral system may not necessarily produce a sense of political awareness in a short period of time. It may instead create disfunction in the political system if the participants are unaware of the behavioral imperatives of the new order. When this problem did occur under the new constitution, Japanese political scientists were quick to attack it.

The fundamental issue with which politicians are concerned is the harmonious balancing of popular sentiments with public order. In Japan's case, the newly established constitutional democracy has been maintained without any major governmental catastrophe for the past twenty-five years. If the structural-functional approach is used to study the political process, the Japanese society can be shown to have a stable social system, well-integrated elements, and relatively stable institutional constituents.

Postwar democratization of Japan was carried out in order to terminate prewar legacies of the country value premises, such as "fasism," "militarism," and "feudalism." During this process, political stability was maintained through the development of a new constitutional government. Obviously the nature of such a stable system and the direction its development takes will depend upon the way in which various elements of society are integrated. Since it is impossible for human ingenuity to integrate any society perfectly, social conflict and dissention are inevitable. It hardly needs stating that this is especially true in a society undergoing revolutionary change in its political base, its economic foundation, and its demographic structure. Social strains can result from the failure of institutions to structure social services efficiently. Or it may be a consequence of the failure of the authority structure. Economic strains may arise from role conflicts between capitalist and worker in the course of rapid industrialization. These strains may also be a consequence of the basic incongruity of interests and values between the two groups.

The concepts of political development and of community are the units of analysis in this study, but these concepts must be applied for a clear verification in the realm of real politics. A Self-governed system at the local level is the center of analysis in this project. Within this framework a major focus is to identify recurring patterns of voting preference according to the geographical differences and the related demographic characteristics that can be observed at the prefectural level.

The nature of the new system in operation could not be predicted with assurance because of the magnitude and complexity of the change.

No other nation of such great size had ever before moved from a quasi-feudal mode of life into the liberal stage of development under external stimulus in so short a period of time. How the experiment would work in the final analysis was to depend upon the efficiency with which the Japanese could learn to make local self-government work at the grassroots level. As the forces of urbanization and industrialization gained momentum, such problems as pollution, traffic, and public services were to become acute. The 1947 constitution clearly placed the responsibility upon the citizenry to meet the civic need for public services by democratic action. The revolutionary necessity to reconstruct the socio-political economy, consequently, challenged the popular will to take an active role in the decision-making process for the first time.

Chapter I

MAJOR THEMES OF STUDY

Before the specific statement of the problem in this study is made, it is necessary to clarify the frame of reference by reviewing the general background.

Europeans and Americans have been accustomed to conducting limited, libertarian government under the Lockean dispensation for nearly two centuries. Although this concept was not entirely a new system of thought to Japanese intellectuals and social scientists, the intrinsic web of popular feelings and experiences necessary to underpin such a system were not present in prewar Japan. Since the end of the war, methods of dealing with problems of civil society in Japan have become an important task for the contemporary Japanese political scene.

The traditional social structure of Japanese society in all its complexity persists despite great modern changes. Japan's modernization experience suggests that traditional authoritarian forms of political organization effectively initiated the early development. The Meiji Restoration was very different from the so-called bourgeois revolution. In the early stages of Japan's modernization the primacy of government was accepted when the country was facing a danger of foreign aggression and economic exploitation.

Somewhat traditional "frames" and "attributes" of culture became supporting elements to facilitate the early stages of political modernization.

In terms of Weber's types of authority, social units were dominated by traditional authority in pre-modern Japan, and this authority continued to persist in the course of its development. It was enforced in the socialization process within a family structure. There the ancient ideal of familism in all its ramifications remained the central and ever-present social fact or psychic touchstone for the family group. Functioning as a group was accordingly emphasized, and group cohesiveness took priority in terms of goal orientation. Yet the postwar experience of democratization and the consequent need for a society of self-sufficient individuals did not fit well with the traditional tendency to strong group orientation. It introduced significant transition regarding the forms of political organization as well as political awareness of the individual.

The 1947 constitution abolished, theoretically, many feudalistic, militaristic forms of prewar values, and it guaranteed fundamental human rights and civil liberty. It appears to be a design for a civil society. The most striking fact is that this postwar democratization was carried out by authoritarian leadership among the political elites. As stated previously, the effective authoritarian hierarchial system of government remained strong even after a series of changes in the form of political organization. Another related factor is the strong similarity or continuity between the oligarchic style of rule before the war and the elitist leadership under the new government. In other words, certain pressure groups and cliques continued to play a significant part in leading Japanese politics.

Before the end of World War II, Asian society was characterized as "Asiatic Stagnant Society" and its way of production was defined

as the Asiatic mode of production. Japan has a long history as an agrarian society even though it is not defined as a "Asiatic" society today. It is assumed that the village community and familism were primary factors which hindered the development of civil society. Agriculture and small industries operated mainly on the traditional family management basis and existed side by side with a growing number of large scale industries. In the development of Japanese capitalism, the chronic stagnation of agricultural sectors is reflected by the rural society which has lagged considerably behind urban communities in the development of democracy. It is assumed that the rural society failed to change its traditional outlook.

It is also assumed that the majority of urbanities have come from agrarian communities and still keep social and economic ties with those communities. Accordingly the undemocratic structure of Japanese society stems from the persistent rural character of the people. Prewar socialization in this segment of society was so complete that peasants who were accustomed to control by the patriarchal authority had no thought of resistance, and this became the prototype of the Japanese national lack of individualism.

It is assumed that historically it was impossible to realize a self-government system by popular will without liberation from the traditional framework. As social integration and economic division of labor increased, rationalism became the prevailing force where rationalism may be defined as the process of constant pursuit of an efficient means to attain the greatest effectiveness.

There were many cases in contemporary Japan in which the rural community was ruled by traditional familism and controlled by the

traditional mode of ownership, which was in essence quasi-feudal. Thus there was the potential for interested politicians to mobilize blocks of electoral support in fairly solid oligarchical groups. Since Japanese political culture emphasizes a strong authoritarian nature of leadership control, the populace was subject to being governed instead of governing themselves. The kinds of economic order in terms of duty and obligation which were enforced by the mode of ownership contributed to a large degree to sustain traditional familism. Postwar land reform and emancipation of the peasants were somewhat effective in changing old class relationships between the landlord and the peasants, but they failed to change the traditional mode of social relationships.

Thus our analytic unit focuses upon a political community in which a constant power strife continues to exist among its participant groups. Within this locale, the changing rural sections delayed the course of democratization.

It may be said that the changes initiated by the Occupation Authority itself led to unanticipated consequences which in themselves weakened the feudal structure and laid the foundation for its modification. Statistical evidence indicated that an overall decline of popular support for the traditional conservative party between 1967 and 1971. Despite the majority control of Liberal Democrats in the lower house of the national diet in 1960, the overall voting support has decreased considerably. This tendency has been particularly evident in heavily populated urban areas. The major political strength of traditional conservatism continued to be strong in the rural sections, but its foundation started changing gradually in organizational power. Rising political "factionalism" and multi-party control by the

"progressives" in the contemporary local and national political decision-making process are thus indicators of a new trend.

It is assumed that continuity in the social structure perpetuated the strength of the authoritarian form of government between rural and urban areas. The census data suggest that the urban-rural contrast may no longer be a significant indicator in some areas, as the data strongly demonstrate urban-rural homogeneity regarding population characteristics. It may be hypothesized that in Japan's case, a clear urban-rural differentiation actually in terms of technology, culture, and labor demands seem to confront rural areas with new kinds of problems. Drastic structural change in demography and division of labor in a very short period of time have brought about various effects on economic and social life which in turn may have influenced political consciousness. (These issues will be discussed more specifically in later chapters.)

Conceptually speaking, the process of creating a democracy is itself an indicator of social change. In this study the dependent variable is the voting preference pattern which is measured by the records of election results in the prefecture. The independent variables are the demographic characteristics which are measured by census data. Both variables are observed at different times. The sample and records were taken from OSAKA prefecture.

The following is a summary of the principal issues of this study:

1. What is the major political behavior of Japan's rural society in contrast to an urban society? What pattern of political preference tends to follow within the demographic context?

2. What are the major consequences of interrelated social and political and economic changes through urbanization, industrialization, and especially postwar democratization of the society as a whole?

3. What direction does political development of Japan take when change occurs? And what are the institutional elements and processes which may hinder such political development?

Chapter II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM; THE METHOD OF STUDY

On the substantive level, the problem concerns the process of political modernization in Japan, focusing on one prefecture, that of OSAKA.

It is assumed that the key integrative value in political culture in the prewar Imperial Government of Japan was the ideology of familism. That value system was defined as absolute, non-rational, collective, compulsory, particularistic norm. It controlled and regulated the people in their public and private lives. The organismic concept of the nation, imperial constitutionalism, and militarism were indoctrinated through various social agencies such as the family.

Despite the changes of the legal and ideological aspects of the emperor system, the sanctity of the imperial family and the essence of the old attitude still exists. Theoretically the postwar constitution abolished the emperor system of political ideology, the organismic concept of the state, and militarism.

Such premises like individual freedom, democracy, and the sovereignty of the people, however, are not traditionally deep-rooted values. Thus in the short run the reorientation of the governmental system was to expand the new forms of political organization. Initially the Western parliamentary system of government did not seem to produce political stability and order, but the process was to become functional

at later stages when it provided a means of institutionalizing and expanding the role of political parties.

The rural community, the bottom layers of the society upon which the emperor system rested, seemed eternal. Under the ideological domination of familism, people were merely subjects to be governed and were far from being self-conscious as independent political personalities. And since the traditional ideology was systematically taught and morally enforced, adherence to it was accelerated by an informal sanction system which is an essential element in the personality structure of the Japanese people.

Postwar land reform aimed at administering the coup de grace to the remnants of feudalism in the countryside. Even so, the political attitude of the rural sections has remained in a more or less prewar condition. Some sociologists call this a traditional type of political apathy among the farmers, villagers, and small rural tradesmen. Even though the forms of an electoral system existed in the prewar period, there also existed the traditional or feudal authoritative legitimation which suppressed any spontaneous political organization. In such circumstances, politics was monopolized by a small group of individuals, and often mass participation was forbidden. This perpetuated the general phenomena of political unawareness and unquestioning obedience to those to whom one gives legitimacy. The widespread existence of this traditional type of political apathy was related to the continuance of a semi-feudal land-class relationship in certain villages. (J. Watanuki, 1966: pp.165-183.)

The data from all four counties of the OSAKA Prefecture, a demographically rural sector, show a marked voter preference for the

conservative party, and hence the existence of traditional political attitudes in 1947. This means that the change of the voting system or electoral system did not produce true political participants. In other words, even though the people turned out to the polls in big numbers, the persistence of their traditional political apathy meant that they did not participate as independent and informed electors in a rural sector of Japan. Pressure from the upper class and subservience to authority went together, and this resulted in a widespread traditional apathy among poor sections of urban areas as well.

If the individual's identification with the traditional family or village community is "primary collectivism," then the identification with business corporations, labor unions, and other organizations in industrial societies can be called "secondary collectivism."

(R. Takeda, 1967: p. 10.) If "secondary collectivism" characterizes Japanese urban society, the politics of voting also has its own impact. The political attitude of the Japanese is assumed to have changed extensively with respect to social and economic conditions. Yet in Japanese elections at every level a lingering feudalistic attitude among the electors often inhibits the individualistic expression of voter preference.

The central task of this study, however, is to isolate electoral trends and to relate them to Japanese society in order to interpret the actual impact of Westernization on the larger picture of Japanese politics. The key to the puzzle, as this study will later demonstrate, is the way in which the Japanese learned to make Western politics work by preserving some of the traditional forms. It is therefore appropriate at this point to observe the voting pattern of prefecture

as well as the degree of urbanization through census demographic characteristics. By asking and answering the following key questions about the environmental and political developments in OSAKA-Fu Prefecture, this work will provide a grassroots case study of postwar urbanization and democratization of Japanese society.

Urbanization and Demographic Characteristics: The Independent Variables

What was the major trend of demographic characteristics of Japan's urban population and OSAKA Prefecture?

1. Age and sex structures as indices of the rural-urban differentiation: What are the consequences of the changing levels of rural-urban differentiation for Japanese population changes? We will analyze the rural-urban differentiation with respect to the employed sex structure; age structure; family structure; and through 1920 and 1950 census records.

2. For OSAKA Prefecture as a whole, rural-urban differentiation will be analyzed for all counties, cities, villages, and towns according to the distribution of employed persons by industry, occupation, and employment status from the census record of the period 1960 through 1965.

The measures used in all electoral districts include the following:

- a. percent distribution by age groups;
- b. population by sex;
- c. percent total population increase;
- d. percent distribution of employed persons by four major occupation groups.

Voting Patterns: The Dependent Variable

For the analysis of voting patterns, the groups will be categorized in terms of political ideology and political issues; that

is, a typology comprised of Indigenous and Non-indigenous, and of Conservative and Progressive political orientations. The first two are simply classified according to history and value source associated with the party goal. The analysis will also include the political teachings used. The second dichotomy is classified by the difference in attitude on national and local issues which confront political parties.

Basis of Political Ideology

1. Indigenous
 - a. History and value source derived from traditional, Japanese historical experience such as religion, familism, organismic concept of racial identity, nationalism, authoritarian forms of government, feudalistic elements of the social system.
 - b. Political methods used by authoritarian and oligarchic.
2. Non-indigenous
 - a. Borrowed political ideology such as socialism, Marxism, Communism, and popular democracy.
 - b. Generally multipartite; generally collective grassroots orientation in political teaching.

Basis of Political Issues: National Issues

1. Conservative
 - a. Pro-U.S. policy.
 - b. Continued Conservative parliamentary government, and eternal rotation within the same party.
 - c. Moderate military expansion; self-defense building program; U. S. Security Treaty continued.

d. High rate of economic growth; strong trade offensive in Asia and Africa.

e. Article 9 of the Constitution rewritten (rearmament).

2. Progressive

a. Strong approach to the socialist and communist world.

b. Change internal organization of cabinet system but support parliamentary government.

c. Maintain limited military strength without U. S. nuclear umbrella; U. S. Security Treaty renounced; peace treaty signed with Russia.

d. Moderate rate of economic growth; expanded social welfare, and government role to mobilize industrial oligarchy.

e. Article 9 of Constitution maintained (rearmament).

Local (OSAKA-Fu) Issues

1. Conservative

a. Continued mobilization of Assembly decision-making.

b. High priority on expansion of industrial sites in under-developed areas of the Prefecture. Heavy expenditure on road and transportation complex.

2. Progressive

a. Multi-party pluralism and weakened conservative forces.

b. Planned economic projects concentrating on high expenditure for welfare and housing, civic facilities, education and social security.

These classifications are assumed to be generally applicable for the over-all analysis of political preference. Independent candidates were excluded from analysis because of ambiguity in issue and

ideological identification. The categorization in terms of these two criteria leads to the following "preference groups."

	Indigenous	Non-indigenous
Conservative	Liberal Democrat Party	Social Democratic Party
Progressive	Komeito Party (Clean Government) Reactionary Party	Communist and Socialist Party

First the pattern of preference in the different levels of elections such as city, county, and national and by geographical sectionalism will be observed. It is an attempt to identify any strong consistent pattern of regional political identification by using "preference groups." The following questions are the major concerns:

1. What are the major voting patterns of postwar OSAKA Prefecture for the prefecture's Assembly elections and for the gubernatorial elections from 1947 through 1971?

a. What are the major patterns of political preference for each of the cities, for each of the counties, and for the prefecture as a whole in the prefecture Assembly elections? Differentials will be observed in terms of:

- (1) total percentage of seats gained for each election;
- (2) total percentage of votes cast for four different groups regardless of who won the race.

b. What are the voting preference patterns for gubernatorial elections? Differentials will be noted by areas.

2. What are the relationships between regional preference patterns and demographic characteristics?

a. Observe any consistent correlations between regional preference patterns and demographic characteristics.

b. Observe this tendency at a specific time and to note change over time leading to the identification of any pattern.

3. What is the significant theoretical relationship or link between voting and urbanization for the entire prefecture?

The last part of the analysis breaks down into three parts. First, the independent variables; the over-all picture of Japan's urbanization is assumed to be reflected in OSAKA Prefecture's case. OSAKA's demographic trend is assumed to present over-all population characteristics somewhat comparable to Japan as a whole. Secondly, the dependent variable. By utilizing "preference groups" it is possible to see voting behavior of the prefecture by the levels of elections and at different time intervals. Third, the analysis will ascertain the extent of correspondence between the independent and dependent variables.

The following conditions can be postulated before the analysis begins. The growth of the urban area and the migration of rural people to the city has been much of the story of Japanese demographic development since World War II. The short term impact of these developments was that of stress and conflict as the old agrarian way of life came into increasing contact with the urban world. Yet the long term effect was the genesis of greater political awareness among the people as a whole. As the old rural world became more and more integrated into an increasingly urban way of life, the people had to become involved with modern political issues. The attitude towards local political systems became more critical. The increasing

political awareness caused by mass media and other informational agencies began helping to replace traditional political apathy.

Secondly, an increasing orientation of society towards the employee class and class consciousness developed into an occupational consciousness in a rural-urban area. This consciousness is expected to be seen in voting patterns. For example, the Liberal Democratic Party should appeal to tradesmen and workers who favor socialism.

Thirdly, increasing political factionalism and division of extra-oligarchic groups may be a reactionary stage in the contemporary political system. This tendency has seemed to counteract oligarchic authoritarian forms of political organization rather than being a sure sign of parliamentary democracy.

One of the central theses of this study is this: as a society becomes highly productive and integrated, the economic consequences such as the greater division of labor invariably become the determining factors of various social conflicts in terms of interests and values among spheres of social aggregates.

More rational means of integration have been supported by the Indigenous Conservative leaders whose power and authority have been very persistent in the national political decision-making process. The new political process developed under the assumption that consensus politics derived from all levels of the population is a desirable goal. The mechanism of integration is based upon the functional coordination of all elements of Japanese society. How? Despite the strong nature of authoritarian forms of government, this process was durable and functional for a politically apathetic public.

It is obvious that basic political and economic decisions influence the capacity of all individuals and groups to achieve personal and corporate goals. One of the origins of group conflict, therefore, is to be found in the nature of individual roles which any society assigns to its constituent units. If the structure of rewards and authority matches the needs and aspirations of the people fairly closely, then the potential for conflict will be minimized and vice versa. The complex story of the modernization of the postwar Japanese socio-political economy is not easily told. But it is possible to describe some significant aspects of the relationship between stability and change, consensus and conflict resulting from the greater integration of society, the higher division of labor, and the complex distribution of power and authority.

Method of Study

In order to proceed with the analysis mentioned in the previous chapter, it is necessary to obtain sufficient and pertinent data regarding the subject matter.

First the census data was obtained from the Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Prime Minister. These data reflect the population characteristics of OSAKA Prefecture in 1960 and 1965. Some data used are for Japan in 1920, 1930, and 1950. Areas of analysis are indicated in the previous section. Figures relating to out-migration were obtained from the same office.

I have also utilized some up-to-date newspapers and journals to indicate important statistical records on the demography of the prefecture.

In order to observe over-all population characteristics, I have followed census terms and definitions on the meaning of major occupational groups and industrial group classification (See the Appendix).

Maps, graphs, tables, and charts were constructed according to the necessity of analysis.

Secondly, I obtained the election records of the prefecture from the Election Bureau of OSAKA Prefecture. They are Prefecture Assembly election records and gubernatorial election records. The available statistical records were limited to the years 1951, 1963, 1967, and 1971 only. In all electoral districts, the following procedures were employed to measure variability and continuity in voting patterns:

1. Calculate the percentage of all the number of seats won by each four preference pattern groups. That is, Indigenous Conservative, Indigenous Progressive, Non-indigenous Conservative, or Non-Indigenous Progressive.

$$\frac{\text{Number of seats gained}}{\text{Total number of seats}} \times 100 = \%$$

2. Calculate the percentage vote of all the candidates who won of each four preference pattern groups and Independent.

$$\frac{\text{Total vote received by party winner}}{\text{Total vote cast in the election}} \times 100 = \%$$

3. Calculate the percentage vote of all the candidate's party regardless of who won the race using four preference pattern groups and Independents.

$$\frac{\text{Total vote received by the party}}{\text{Total vote cast in the election}} \times 100 = \%$$

4. To observe variation in strength of each group, different levels of differentials are derived. For example, in 1951, the city of OSAKA's total vote cast in 22 districts was reported as Liberal

Democratic Party, 46%; Socialist Party, 27%; Independent, 14%; Communist, 5%; and miscellaneous, 8%. Since the Liberal Democratic Party was classified as Indigenous Conservative, let us observe the strength of the party.

$$\frac{\text{Total vote for Indigenous Conservative}}{\text{Total vote in city}} \times 100$$

$$\frac{\text{Total vote for Non-indigenous Progressive}}{\text{Total vote in city}} \times 100$$

$$= \text{Differentials percentage} = 46\% - (27\% + 5\%) = 14\%$$

That means Indigenous Conservative carried 14% more total vote support than the second highest category, Non-indigenous Progressive. The differential percentage will be an important measure. The smaller the differentials, the greater the tendency to political pluralism. The greater the differentials, the greater the tendency toward political monism, or the greater the tendency of Indigenous Conservatives to retain power. Another point to consider is that the total vote cast for a political party candidate does not necessarily accord with the number of seats won in the Assembly. This is simply because in some electoral districts it only takes 1000 votes to win whereas it takes at least 10,000 votes to win in other districts. Thus, it is necessary to observe both differentials of total vote cast and seats won for each electoral district by four preference groups.

Four preference pattern groups were discussed in the previous chapter, but Independents were excluded in this analysis. In terms of policy organizational goal, they will receive special attention, particularly in the governor's election.

The limitation of this study is the range of generalization because of types of data used. Psychological effects may be inferred in the

politics of voting but are not quantitatively analyzed in this study. The dimension of political attitudes is assumed to be an intervening variable.

A very important comparative article tracks much of the core substance of this thesis. In its singular emphasis on economic development as the main determinant of political participation, it stands in basic agreement with the interpretation of the present study. The article, written by Nie, Powell, and Prewitt, provides a firm and well-reasoned comparison of the relationship of political, economic, and social development in developed and developing nations. By looking at the examples of India, Mexico, England, Germany and America the author proved beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt that socio-economic political development followed almost exactly the same path in every instance. (Norman H. Nie, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Kenneth Prewitt; edited by J. Finkle, R. W. Gable, 1971; pp. 406-430.)

Badly stated, their conclusions were that industrial development automatically leads to changes in the social structure which increase political participation. Thus, the need for more highly skilled labor, the improved opportunity for mobility, and the increased opportunity for formal education change the class structure. More people move into the middle and upper classes and are thus equipped to become participating political units backed by the more sophisticated complex of attitudes and experiences which inhere in those classes.

The experience of industrialization, furthermore, changes the organizational structure of society. Division of labor is increased while work groups, leisure groups, and civic groups are formed. The population is pulled into the urban metropolis by the gravitational

attraction of industrial opportunity. And people undergo the general experience of joining the diverse types of organizations which are a part of the new system.

Nie, Powell, and Prewitt (1971) proves, surprisingly enough, that the rate of political participation does not vary from the urban to the rural environment. In fact the urban environment depresses the tendency for the individual to participate in local politics. The major variables which do determine the tendency to political participation are social and economic status and organizational involvement. Of these factors, organizational involvement was proved to be far and away the most significant determinant of political participation. This was true because of the irresistible forces organizations create in the individual to become involved with their capability of motivating, mobilizing, and providing information and awareness.

The central point of the article is, however, that the economic development of industrialization is the dynamic element in creating the potential for a political system of involved individuals. The study of the five countries determined in fact that industrialization of the economy has been a necessary prerequisite for the rise of political democracy. The study proved specifically that the level of economic development was the major determinant of the national rate of political participation.

Yet the authors see the possibility of using instrumental action to accelerate the arrival of democratic politics. They point out how the government, for instance, can take action to foster the development of democracy or to improve the operation of a political democracy by altering the structure of group life. Thus some African countries have

used national parties of mobilization to educate the tribesmen in the penumbra between the jungle and the factory to the values of political participation. And another possibility is the early mobilization of democratic political processes through labor unions.

The authors allow for cultural variables which introduce differences of style and method into each national system. Yet it should be emphasized that these relatively slight differences do not change the underlying similarity of development from nation to nation. Although the authors do not treat the case of Japan cultural variables in Japan certainly affected the style and appearance of political development. The most important cultural variables for Japan were those values associated with Japanese traditionalism, specifically the strong personal dependence on support from the family and elitist leadership in government. Hence the movement of Japan into the liberal stage of political development was preconditioned by the persistence of familism and elitism supported by the traditional authoritarianism.

Chapter III

ANALYSIS OF DATA: DEMOGRAPHIC TREND OF OSAKA PREFECTURE AND JAPAN

In its geography OSAKA Prefecture is notable for its high concentration of people and manufacturing. It is the second largest urban center in Japan according to the 1965 census and its population is 6,657,189. That is approximately 6.7% of the nation's population and the area is 18,399.97 km², which is 0.5% of Japan's total area. The population density is 3,618.1 persons per 1 km², making OSAKA the second densest in Japan. The 1965 census reports that 40.2% of the total employed population above age 15 in the prefecture are in manufacturing, 23.5% in retailing, and wholesaling, 12.6% in service, 7.6% in construction, and 6.8% in transportation and communication. Since 1960, employment in agriculture declined by 11.9%, in forestry and hunting by 22.7%, in fishing by 13.8%, and in mining by 16.8%. (Census, 1965: 3-18.)

OSAKA City has been considered historically as one of the leading commercial capitals ever since a feudal lord, Hideyoshi Toyotomi, established a castle-town there in the 16th century. Its vital role as the trade center shows continuing mushroom growth with the rapid pace of urbanization.

Bearing in mind the general background of the prefecture, a detailed examination of the demographic trend of OSAKA and Japan are in order. A central aim of this study is to relate the political process to its social background in a changing system. It is obvious

that the style and shape of the political process is dependent on the underlying values of the social system and that changes in the two are intimately related. For purposes of comparing the two, political developments will serve as the "dependent variable" while the social background will be the "independent variable." To put events in their proper perspective, the background will come first.

With the development of a highly industrialized postwar economy, the political elite placed the highest value on maintaining a rapid rate of economic growth. This policy was at first a necessary expedient to clear away the rubble of war. Yet it remained the political posture of the Japanese government down to the present. The dynamic element in the economic renovation was the basic "dual-sector" policy of starving agriculture in order to concentrate capital in more productive industrial lines. Hence the necessity of the city entrepreneur for an ever expanding labor force contracted the opportunity of rural life. Labor was forced from the land physically even though the individuals left their affections and social ties behind.

This process created a different sex and age composition in the rural area, and at the same time it contributed to the over-all decline of primary industries. (See the definition of primary industries in the Appendix.) In urban areas on the other hand, new technological developments and effective exploitation of the international market greatly accelerated economic growth. Rehabilitation and reconstruction of the prefecture was carried out in an unplanned way, which in turn created great environmental problems. Political commitment was concentrated on the growth and stability of economic well-being at the expense of more balanced development of the social environment.

The role of the government, as in the post-1890 experience of Japan, became an extremely significant catalyst for further economic progress. With the development of modern industries, the agricultural sector had to face competition for labor from urban areas and consequently management of the agricultural enterprise became extremely difficult. New technological devices were recommended to maximize productivity and to meet the urban population increase, and agricultural commodity prices were controlled by government guidelines. In the midst of these industrial and economic changes, the agricultural sector began to form its own voluntary organizations with their distinctive political and economic interests. It was in the 1960's that the organized agricultural workers gained strength in the local political decision-making process for the first time.

Contemporary demographic trends, therefore, reveal increasing rural-urban homogeneity. Two ways in which agricultural areas are undergoing transformation will illustrate this generalization. First, the agricultural community is becoming a member of the urban community in terms of industrial distribution, employment status, occupational distribution, and population density. So-called agricultural cities have a mixture of both urban and rural population characteristics. For instance, the contemporary suburbanization process has accelerated the need for new housing and residential areas where satellite cities do not have enough capacity. So clusters of large housing development areas for urban workers were established in nearby counties where a predominantly agricultural population used to reside. This created a demand for wholesale and retail business and other related services, and they have located in these areas. Second, the agricultural

community is linking up with urban communities in terms of political and governmental procedures. For instance, when two small counties face heavy tax burdens imposed by the prefecture, these counties become annexed to be a city to reduce financial and administrative difficulties. This process was encouraged throughout Japan during the 1960's by the central government.

Without a doubt these above-mentioned factors contributed heavily to the development of rural-urban homogeneity. Greater integration and industrialization demanded a larger labor force from the rural area. And greater integration of urban culture, technology, and media agents created new expectations in the rural sector.

Economic and political factors contributed to the great acceleration of the urbanizing process throughout the country. Let us observe specifically the trend of this process in Japan as a whole.

To present a picture of demographic change in Japan, this study will examine age and sex structures as indices of differentiation between rural and urban areas. An over-all view of Japan as a whole will come before the specific case of OSAKA Prefecture. The goal is to see whether the magnitude of differentiation is increasing or decreasing for the Japanese population.

Within the scope of the above model, differentiation of the employed population appears to be decreasing. Census records show that the sex ratio is higher in urban areas than in the rural areas and that female participation of the labor force is directly related to the size of the urban area. Naturally as the urban influence increases, the pattern is somewhat weakened. In 1930 female participation was traditionally high in the agricultural sector, but by 1950 women were employed in large numbers in light industries.

In the 20th century female urban employment increased in relation to male. The rise in female participation and the employed sex ratio since 1920 had closed the gap between rural and urban female employment patterns by 1950. But there exists a close association between increasing city size and decreasing sex ratio of the employed population. (Reports of the Census, 1920, 36-41; Reports of the Census, 1930, Vol. III: 9-21; Population Census, Vol. III: pt. 6, Table 16.)

Urbanization as a process of population migration can be said to weaken but not destroy traditional Japanese employment patterns. Table III-1, based on 1920, 1930 and 1950 censuses, shows the selectivity in urban employment patterns by age and sex. It is apparent that the proportion of the very young, and the very old of both sexes declines considerably in the labor force up to the 1950's. We must remember that the 1950's postwar economic boom began with the tension of the Korean conflict, and by 1955 Japan's gross national product began to surpass its prewar level.

The 1930 and 1950 population censuses also reveal reduction in rural and urban age differentials. This is primarily due to the rising occupational demands by the urban industrialism. (1930 Census of Japan, Vol. I, pp. 62-65; and 1950 Census, Vol. III, Part I, Table 3-3a)

The 1960's OSAKA Prefecture population census shows that these tendencies are quite evident in OSAKA and the surrounding countries. Despite more heavily masculine population selectivity, the magnitude of difference has shown a decrease. Japan passed the peak of rural-urban differentiation around 1920. From 1920, rural-urban differentiation in age and sex structure began to decline, and there was consistent penetration of urban industrialism into the non-urban areas.

TABLE III - I

Japan: Median Age of Total Employed Population by Industry 1920 - 1950

Industry	Median Age of Employed Population														
	Total	1920		1930		1950		Total	1920		1930		Total	1950	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female
Industry	35.7	37.3	33.9	36.8	38.2	35.2	26.7	38.2	35.5						
Agriculture Forestry: Fishing	30.1	31.0	27.3	31.0	31.1	31.0	32.5	33.0	35.8						
Mining	27.7	29.5	22.7	28.4	29.4	23.4	30.7	32.7	23.7						
Manufacturing	35.0	34.9	35.1	32.9	33.1	32.5	35.4	37.1	32.8						
Commerce	31.0	31.3	24.8	29.4	30.5	19.9	34.1	32.1	22.6						
Transportation - Communication	29.7	31.3	24.2	29.8	30.9	25.0	32.1	34.8	26.4						
Administration - Service	33.3	34.1	32.0	32.8	33.5	31.5	34.2	35.3	32.3						
Total															

Sources: 1920 Vol. III Table 34.35
 Jinko Tokei Soron Sept., 1943
 Table 30. Pop. Census of 1950. Vol. III
 Pt. 2. Table 16

(Prefectural Volumes for 1920, 1930 and 1950 Census, p. 11.) It was consequently reflected in fertility patterns for the two categories. The Japanese social structure remains essentially coherent because the widespread service industry, based on small commercial art handicraft activities, supports the tendency of prewar social relationships which is essentially a feudal family system.

After 1950 Japan's demographic characteristics as a whole became more like the Western urbanization model, but behind the scenes it was a result of such economic policies as followed certain political wills, and consequently it brought about a far more complex rural-urban problem in the modern history of Japan.

At this point it is appropriate to provide a demographic and economic comparison of the primary analytical unit, OSAKA Prefecture, and greater Japan. OSAKA Prefecture, the smallest prefecture in area, contains only 1845 km² or 0.5% of the land in the country. But its population comprises 6,657,189 individuals which is fully 6.7% of the whole people. The Showa 41 Census reveals that the prefecture was responsible for 12.2% of the heavy industry in the nation and 22.1% of its retail industry. (Census 1965, pp. 10-11.)

The postwar economic boom served as a strong stimulant to OSAKA's economic growth. Whereas heavy concentration of all major industries had begun in the Tokyo and Nagoya area, OSAKA moved ahead relatively after the war. Since Showa 31 (1956), both the administrative and industrial sectors expanded considerably thus maintaining OSAKA's place as second largest industrial center in Japan.

One notable characteristic of population movement in the city of OSAKA is this: large populations tend to concentrate in the outside

ring. Suburbanization has accelerated rapidly with the development of the ring formation in the city's physical structure. The 1940 census reports that 1.49 million (31%) live outside the city of OSAKA and 3.3 million (69%) reside in the city, but in 1968, census reports 4.16 million (57%) reside in suburban areas and 3.08 million (43%) live in the city. (Population of OSAKA-Fu, Census of 1965; pp. 7-8.) The primary reason for this tendency was that the nearby satellite cities became bedroom-towns for OSAKA city, along with the relative increase of population in the distribution of industries within such satellite cities. Bedroom-towns are characterized by the newly developed residential area.

Table III-2 demonstrates the rate of population increase from 1920 through 1965. Since 1920, there has been an increase of approximately 4 million in the prefecture. (In 1950, a decrease of 37.7% was primarily due to the refugees and rehabilitation period of economic recovery for the entire prefecture.) The rate of population has stabilized since 1950. Census reports reveal that in the past population increase has been due to the social increase (immigration), while in 1965-70, natural increase exceeds social increase. Additionally, the city of OSAKA has shown decreases in the population and surrounding satellite cities have seen high increases in the population of 94.7% in the period 1960-1965. At the same time the total counties' population dropped from 48.3% increase to 5.3% over the 1920-65 period. This shows a strong indication of population sprawl or ring formation. In the 1965 census, the ratio between the sexes was 100 females to 100.7 males, and the age distribution was favorable to further economic growth. This is, the highest concentration (72.5) was in the most productive age group, 15-64 years of age. (OSAKA Census, 1965: p. 10.)

TABLE III - 2

Population and Number of Shi, Ku, Machi and Mura for Prefecture 1920-1965

Pop. Number of Shi, Ki, Machi, Mura	T.9 1920	T.14 1925	S.5 1930	S.10 1935	S.15 1940	S.20 1945	S.25 1950	S.30 1955	S.35 1960	S.40 1965
Osaka-Fu Population	2587847									
Increase over Pre- ceding Census (-decrease)	18.2	15.7	21.4	11.5	41.6	37.7-	19.7	19.2	20.9	
All Shi (cities)	51.7	73.6	73.7	73.8	78.5	61.7	78.4	87.4	93.7	94.7
All Gun (counties)	48.3	26.4	26.3	26.2	21.5	38.3	21.6	12.6	6.3	5.3

Sources: Kokuzei Chosa, 1965, Pop. Census of Japan
Abridged Report Series 2, part 27, pp. 21-22.

Regarding the labor force analysis, the census indicates the employment status of the population by sex and age in 1960 and 1965. The over-all picture was that there was a 25.4% increase in population over 15 years and a 28.4% increase in the labor force strength. Table III-3 demonstrates that there is not much significant change in the male labor force since 1930, but in females, there was a remarkable growth from 28.7% in 1930 to 42.3% in 1965. The table also indicates that there were considerable increases in the manufacturing industries, steady growth in the retail and wholesale industries, and a steady decrease in the primary industries (See definitions of industries in Table III-5 and Appendix). Over-all steady economic growth based on secondary and tertiary industries points up further demographic selectivity (See Table III-4). In other words, industries demanded more labor to meet their needs from relatively undeveloped agricultural populations. Even from the area where agriculture is highly productive, many worked in the nearby factories during the off-season. Since the rural population, a relatively low income sector, cannot keep up with the flourishing modern economy and rising tax demands in their community, it is almost impossible to meet their basic needs through seasonal agricultural production alone. Japanese capitalism, thus, has first taken the labor force out of the agricultural sector, and then turns around to supply an abundance of high-cost finished goods to that population, and demands more of their labor to increase its productivity. The politico-economic problems arising from this urban-centered control becomes a prefectural issue of large magnitude.

It is a basic assumption of this study that urban industrialism is a process in which the technology and high levels of specialization

TABLE III - 3

Labour Force Status of Population 15 years old and over, and
Industry (major groups) of Employed Persons 15 years old and
and over for Osaka Prefecture 1930-1965 by percent

Labour Force States & Industry	1930	1950	1955	1960	1965
Osaka-Fu Box Sexes	61.1	55.8	60.3	62.7	64.3
Labour Force Employed		53.4	58.4	62.0	63.0
Unemployed		2.4	1.9	0.7	1.2
Not in Labour Force	38.9	44.2	39.7	37.3	35.7
Male Labour Force	90.3	82.9	85.3	86.4	86.1
Employed		79.3	82.4	85.5	84.4
Unemployed		3.6	2.8	1.0	1.7
Not in Labour Force	28.7	30.3	36.3	39.1	42.3
Female Labour Force	28.7	30.3	36.3	39.1	42.3
Employed		28.9	35.3	38.7	41.7
Unemployed		1.4	1.0	0.4	0.6
Not in Labour Force	71.3	69.7	63.7	60.8	57.6
Primary	10.8	11.2	8.0	4.4	3.1
Secondary	36.9	40.9	42.8	48.6	47.8
Tertiary	51.7	47.5	49.2	47.0	49.1

Sources: 1965 Pop. Census of Osaka Prefecture
Kokusai Chosa - Showa 40, p. 27.

TABLE III - 4Percent by Industry for Prefecture 1930-1965

	1930	1950	1955	1960	1965
Primary	10.8	11.2	8.0	4.4	3.1
Secondary	36.9	40.9	42.3	48.6	47.8
Tertiary	51.7	47.5	49.2	47.0	49.1

Sources: 1965 Pop. Census of Japan
Series II, Part 207, Table 10-14.

TABLE III - 5

Ordinary Households and Household Members
and Industry of Household's Head for Prefecture
1960-1965 (Osaka)

Labour Force Status and Industries of Head of Household	S. 35 - S. 40 % Increase of Households (- % decrease)
Ordinary Household	35.6
Household with Employed Head	37.6
Primary	I Agriculture - 14.8
	II Forestry - 13.4
	III Fisheries - 1.7
Secondary	VI Mining 0.4
	V Construction 69.3
	VI Manufacturing 36.7
	VII Wholesale & Retail 38.8
	VIII Finance, Real Estate, Ins. 51.7
Tertiary	IX Transportation & Communication 47.7
	X Electricity & Water Supply 11.7
	XI Services 38.1
	XII Government 11.4
XIII Unclassified	-

Sources: 1965 Pop. Census of Japan
Series 2 Part 207. Table 10-14

TABLE III - 6

Percent Distribution of Industry (3 Major Groups) by Age
and by Sex of 15 Years and Over Employed Persons for
Osaka Prefecture 1960-65

Primary Industries	Percent increase from 1960-65 (-decrease)		
	Both Sex	Male	Female
15 - 19	-38.9	-57.1	-65.8
20 - 24	-51.1	-52.0	-49.0
25 - 29	-43.3	-48.5	-33.0
30 - 34	-22.3	-25.8	-17.0
35 - 39	3.7	3.5	3.9
40 - 44	1.8	-18.2	18.6
45 - 49	- 8.6	-22.2	8.7
50 - 54	- 1.0	-24.2	41.4
55 - 59	- 2.9	-22.6	56.1
60 - 64	4.8	- 5.9	47.8
65 - over	1.1	- 2.6	23.6
Total	-12.1%	-21.5%	7.2%
Secondary Industries			
15 - 19	-10.8	-11.1	-10.4
20 - 24	24.8	24.3	25.7
25 - 29	28.4	28.9	26.3
30 - 34	47.9	47.9	47.9
35 - 39	56.6	56.0	58.5
40 - 44	41.7	35.1	60.8
45 - 49	16.3	5.3	52.4
50 - 54	31.7	19.2	84.7
55 - 59	37.1	26.1	96.8
60 - 64	44.4	35.4	107.7
65 - over	67.4	64.2	89.5
Total	25.4%	25.0%	26.5%
Tertiary Industries			
15 - 19	4.0	0.0	8.2
20 - 24	43.8	40.3	48.4
25 - 29	29.7	30.2	28.6
30 - 34	30.6	29.4	33.6
35 - 39	58.6	59.8	56.3
40 - 44	42.7	32.1	61.9
45 - 49	14.6	- 1.0	46.2
50 - 54	27.5	11.1	65.9
55 - 59	36.7	22.1	75.3
60 - 64	44.9	35.4	71.8
65 - over	58.8	54.4	71.7
Total	33.3%	28.5	42.4%

Sources: 1965 Jinko Tokai of Osaka Prefecture
Table 9, pd. 29. OSAKA Service Bureau 1970.

TABLE III - 7

Occupation of Employed Persons 15 years Old and Over,
For Prefecture Rate of Increase % (decrease -%) by Sex

Total	Male	Female	
27.4	24.5	34.0	Professional and Technical
14.9	7.5	29.3	Managers and Officials
34.4	33.2	72.1	Clerical Related
41.9	27.5	62.8	Sales Works
35.6	26.8	55.9	Farmers and Fishermen
-12.5	-21.9	6.8	Workers in Mining
-31.5	-38.8	171.4	Transport and Communication
48.3	49.4	40.0	Craftsman, Production Worker
22.6	24.3	17.9	Protective Service
25.0	24.8	37.4	Service Worker
29.6	38.5	25.3	Unclassified

Sources: 1965 Pop. Census of Japan
Abridged Report Series 2
Part 27. Table XII, p.p. 31.

which ensure maximum productivity will necessitate large concentrations of population. This approach stresses the interrelationship between the growth of the city and the development of a non-extractive labor force. Thus one of the major indices regarding the degree of urban development is specifically the pattern of labor distribution.

The 1965 Census reports over-all specifics of different industries. OSAKA has 40.2% in manufacturing, 23.5% in retail and wholesale, 11.6% in service industries, 7.6% in construction, and 6.8% in transportation and related industries.

As compared with 1960, the 1965 census reports a 27.5% increase in the total labor force, but with decreases of 11.9% shown for agriculture, 22.7% for forestry and hunting, 13.8% for fishing and cultivation, and 16.8% for mining. (Census, 1965: 8-10.) Consequent major decreases have resulted in the affected occupations of prefectures as expected. Table III-7 shows a decrease of 21.9% in the male agricultural labor force, and a 38.8% decrease in male workers in mining occupations. Expanding industries are manufacturing (21.0%), wholesale and retail (33.0%), service (28.9%), construction (56.2%), transportation and communication (41.5%), finance and insurance (54.5%). (Census, 1965: 8-10.)

The over-all picture shows a high rate of economic growth in the prefecture between 1960 and 1965. Although the 1960-1965 census reports a 12.1% decrease in primary industries, there is a 25.4% increase in secondary industries and a 33.3% increase in tertiary industries. (Census of OSAKA-Fu, 1965: 11-18.)

Table III-7 shows changes in the ratio of males to females in the labor force. The rate of increase in female employment was 10% greater

than that of males. It is noteworthy that in the "D" category defined by the census bureau as "professional and technical, managers and officials, clerical and related," there is a steadily increasing rate. Again, the agricultural sector reports a 6.8% increase in the female labor force, but a 21.9% decrease in the male labor force. At this point the prefecture's agricultural industry largely depends upon the female labor force. In Table III-6 under the category of primary industry, the age groups of 55 years and up and 15-19 years of age account for the highest concentration of labor in this industry. In other words, the highly productive age group of 20-55 was absorbed into the pursuit of urban non-agricultural employment to a large degree and brought about structural changes in the prefecture's agricultural population. Those who maintain the traditional mode of production in the primary sector are largely the very young, the very old, and females.

Table III-5 shows the rate of increase in the number of ordinary households according to their industrial composition for the period 1960-1965. There was a 14.8% decline in households with heads in agricultural pursuits and a 13.4% decline in households involved in forestering and hunting.

Table III-8 points out the percentage distribution of employed persons by industry, by occupation, and by employment status for the prefecture as a whole. This includes all shi (city) and all gun (county) for the period 1960 through 1965. Compared to all shi, all gun are characterized by a strong concentration of primary industries, and by secondary industries. The 1965 census points out the ecological problem of OSAKA as a whole. The ring formation process was so extensive that the surrounding satellite cities accommodated large populations as

well as light and heavy industrial plants. The Densely Inhabited Districts (D.I.D.) as an enumeration category are defined in terms of minimum density and are independent of official boundaries. This chain reaction of industrial population extended to almost 39 cities and towns. Thus the D.I.D. of OSAKA City is the highest in Japan, i.e., the ratio of density of industrial activity in terms of D.I.D. is highest in OSAKA City. All gun show a 49% increase in secondary industrial distribution which shows its impact in satellite cities. Table III-8 indicates that in all gun's the bulk of industrial employment is in light industries such as textiles, small crafts factories, and small machine tool industries. These industries largely utilize a cheap female labor force. These women are usually the young, unmarried, junior high school graduates, of agrarian families, who went into industrial plants under contract for a specified duration. There was a 42.2% increase in the female labor force in tertiary industries between 1960 and 1965. In the tertiary industries, the seventh category of wholesale and retail industries proceeded to show the highest growth rate among all gun. All gun and all shi have their highest concentrations in group "B" (mining workers, workers in transportation and communication, craftsmen, production process workers, and laborers): the figures are 47% in all shi, 49.1% in all gun. Group "D" (professional and technical, managers and officials, clerical and related) comprises 25.2% of all shi, 22.6% in all gun employment according to the 1965 census reports. By employment status the prefecture as a whole moved toward the "employee society" with population percentages of 78.1% (shi) and 75.2% (gun) being found in the "employee" category. (See Table III-8)

TABLE III - 8

Percent distribution of Employed Persons by Industry
(Major Groups), by Occupation (4 Groups) and by Employment
Status for Prefecture 1960-1965.

	1965			1960		
	Prefecture	All Shi Cities	All Gun Counties	Prefecture	All Shi	All Gun
Primary	3.1	2.5	12.1	4.4	3.7	18.3
1	3.0	2.5	11.7			
2	0.0	0.0	0.1			
3	0.1	0.0	0.4			
Secondary	47.8	47.7	49.0	48.6	48.6	48.5
4	0.0	0.0	0.1			
5	7.6	7.6	6.8			
6	40.2	40.1	42.0			
Tertiary	49.1	49.7	38.9	47.0	47.7	33.1
7	23.5	24.0	14.6			
8	3.6	3.6	2.9			
9	6.8	6.3	6.5			
10	0.6	0.6	0.8			
11	12.6	12.7	10.9			
12	2.1	2.1	3.1			
13	0.0	0.0	12.2			
Occupation						
A. Farmer, Lum- ber, Fisherman	3.0	2.5	12.2			
B. Mining Work- er, Labours, Transportation, Production	47.6	47.5	49.1			
C. Salesman, Service	24.3	24.7	16.1			
Employment Status						
Employee	77.9	78.1	75.2			
Employer	13.6	13.5	14.6			
Family Worker	8.5	8.5	10.1			

Sources: Jinko Tokei; Population Statistics and Census
of Japan 1965. Table 20, Part 27, Series 2,
pp. 54-59.

In primary industries, employee status increased by 13.6% and employer and family worker statuses decreased. In secondary industries employee status showed a 24% increase and family status showed an increase of 52.0%. In tertiary industries employee status rose by 54.9% and family status by 56.7%. Among the secondary and tertiary industries, the high increase in the family worker status is due to rising numbers of the small factories, or small craft shops. Later those small and medium-sized factories (between 10 and 50 employees) caused heavy economic strains in the prefecture. Because they cannot compete with larger companies' economy of size, many of them had to obtain government aid to stay in business.

In summary, the growth of Japan's urban population has been the demographic correlative of the increase in the non-agricultural sector. This process has caused a change in the nature of the social problems in OSAKA Prefecture. The spread of a more diversified industrial structure throughout this prefecture underlies the constant shift to expansion of non-agricultural pursuits. The prefecture as a whole then created a so-called agricultural city composed of high concentrations of secondary and tertiary industries in some parts as the census reports previously indicated. Large over-concentrations of industrial settlements in a very limited space in conjunction with severe housing needs have been a source of many critical issues in the OSAKA Prefecture for the last twenty years. Unplanned urban sprawl has resulted in ecological congestion from over-crowding, commerce, industry, and residences. Thus it was a natural course for pollution to occur since there was no specific abatement policy employed by city planners until recently.

How this system of economic integration brought about group conflicts instead of broad consensus is a central political question to

clarified. Japanese society has been considered largely homogeneous in character, i.e., a structure of well-integrated parts, and relatively persistent in its pattern of traditional stability. Thus functional coordination in the social structure actually fostered higher levels of urban integration despite the occurrence of so-called public disruption (pollution). Its ideological basis was a general consensus of rationalization in the social and economic activities in which political decisions were asserted for the purpose of the mass-goal, or associational goal attainment. This consensus-based integration, however, may not be feasible at a point in which society, or an aggregate of groups, demonstrates resistance to its process where it might be subject to process of change. Unresolved conflicts among groups might result in rule by coercion instead of general consensus. Theories of society must face this dialectic of stability and change, integration and conflict, consensus and coercion. Then it becomes apparent as a political question, and issues must be viewed in the context of such dialectic.

In brief the most basic difference between prewar society and post-war society was to be a change in the over-all political behavior of the people. The new urban tempo of life and the harsh imperatives of the rising industrial society were to teach the people that they must cast off the slough of indifference and apathy. The threat of pollution to the environment and the threat of the employer to employee welfare, for instance, showed the people that the old semi-feudal relationships must be buried. This was the basic development. In the face of rapid change in the whole spectrum of traditional values the people were to learn that political participation was a basic requirement if they were to protect their own individual and group interests.

Let us now turn to our prime concern of voting preferences in OSAKA Prefecture, bearing in mind the social and economic background just reviewed.

Chapter IV

VOTING PATTERNS OF PREFECTURE IN ASSEMBLY AND GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

What are the major voting patterns of postwar OSAKA Prefecture for the governor's election and the prefectural assembly election from 1947 to 1971?

This chapter is divided into three major periods of analysis; that is, the Prefectural Assembly elections before the election of 1963, the election of 1967, and the 1971 election. For the gubernatorial election, prior to 1971 elections, and the 1971 elections were analyzed.

Before we detail this analysis, we must bear in mind that the prefecture's urban-industrialism created severe social and economic strains from 1965 to 1970. Against this background, the Western parliamentary system of local government began as it was explicitly defined in the 1947 Constitution. The role of the local polity was to realize decentralization of the power structure, and mass participation in the electoral decision-making process.

Richard Holloran has described certain continuing realities which are idiosyncratic to Japanese politics today. This is what he says:

In looking at Japanese politics, it is essential not to confuse political theory with practical politics. Among the oldest of Japanese traditions is duality in government: the separation of the imperial institution, the source of idealism, and legitimacy, from the actual rulers of the country, who are eminently political and pragmatic...

The Habatsu, or faction, is the operative unit of Japanese politics. (It) has a chief, the modern equivalent of a Daimyo, and followers, who are his 'samurai.' A Habatsu is formed by a politician in the Diet who has the leadership



abilities, political skill, access to money in the business community, and the ambition to become Prime Minister... Ideology enters the equation only insofar as the members of a Habatsu hold generally similar beliefs. More important are the personal relations that develop over the years. (Richard Holloran, 1969: p. 112.)

The belief that the Japanese adopted a bonafide Western parliamentary system from the 1942 Constitution forward is a misconception. In actuality many of the traditional forms remained functional in a different political setting under the new constitution. The new system which was thus a blend of the old and the new will be more fully described later. Holloran, then, characterized the Anglo-American and Japanese political patterns in a fairly accurate manner as follows:

	<u>Anglo-American Countries</u>	<u>Japan</u>
Political Sovereignty	Rests with the people and works from the bottom up.	Rests with the rulers and trickles from the top down.
Citizens	Can be active participants in the process of government.	Politically passive, usually consenting to the rule of the establishment.
Attitude toward Government	Westerner inherently distrusts, or is skeptical of government authority; strives to restrain the exercise of political power.	Japanese basically trusts governmental authority and accepts the application of power.
Political Decisions	Made by the majority for the greatest number, without infringing on the basic rights of the minority or of the individual	Made by consensus or compromise for the greatest good of the national family.
Basic Ideals and Attitudes	Western societies strive for human fulfillment of the individual.	Japanese society strives for subordination of the individual to attain harmony within the group.
	Men are believed to be created equal, even if they are not always treated so.	Men are inherently unequal and each has his station in a hierarchy.

Anglo-American CountriesJapan

The Western democrat ideally is tolerant and accepts diversity in society.

Japanese are intolerant and strive for conformity.

The Westerner believes that as a free man he has certain inalienable rights.

The Japanese believes that as a member of the national family he has certain duties and obligations.

Role of the State The role of the state in Western democracy is to protect and enhance individual rights.

The role of the Japanese state is to preserve a benevolent society.

Rule of Law Western democracies are founded on the rule of law to which all men are equally subject.

Japanese politics is based on the rule of men, who are supposed to govern for the common good but who do so with different standards for superiors and inferiors.

(R. Holloran, 1969: pp. 100-102.)

It these patterns are a fairly accurate description of the contemporary Japanese political process, postwar democratization efforts have failed to change individual political attitudes. These assumptions were based upon the prewar legacy of the hierarchical communal conformity consensus orientation of individual feelings.

However, these assumptions must be re-examined for actual validity, because from 1960 through 1970, Japan's political development has brought about a considerable shift in its traditional outlook. In prewar Japan, Watanuki points out that traditional types of political apathy developed in such circumstances where politics could be monopolized by a small group of powerful individuals and where mass political participation was forbidden. It was characterized by a lack of political awareness and unquestioning obedience to those in power. (J. Watanuki, 1966: p. 165.) This type of apathy is strong in the old agricultural

sector, or older sections of society, and it is the primary source of support for the Indigenous Conservative or Liberal Democratic Party.

Assembly Elections Before 1963

In Graph G-1 and Table IV-1, the percentages for each representing the people in the prefecture assembly from 1947 through 1971 are shown.

In 1947, the conservative Liberal Democratic Party held 59% of the seats in the prefecture's house as compared to 31% for the Socialists and 9% for Independent Party candidates.

After World War II, the people of the prefecture favored rapid economic growth and political stability in the development of the whole prefecture. In 1947 Japan's Prime Minister Katayama, the Socialist Party chairman, failed to rally the nation around these goals and lasted only eight months in office. At the same time, the cabinet was moving towards control by the traditional power elite and capitalists, which represent the business conglomerates and their own political factions. Meanwhile the United States' Asian policy shifted so that Japan became a significant strategic front in the Far Eastern foreign policy and security. Despite the hyper-inflationary trend which influenced the prefecture's economic situation to a great extent, the reconstruction process and recovery of capital gains did not always help the laborer's living conditions. It was at this time that the Yoshida Cabinet passed Political Order 201, which prohibited the mass labor movement. It was July of 1948. (H. Ouchi, 1970: pp. 32-35.) Looking at the 1951 and 1959 elections, especially that of 1959, the direction of Japanese political affairs seemed to be ruled by center right-wing coalition between the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party. In the general election of February, 1955, Diet seat winners were: Democratic

Party, 185 seats; Liberal Party, 112: Left Socialist, 89; Right Socialist, 67: Agricultural Party, 4: Communist, 2; and Independent, 6 seats. (H. Ouchi, 1970: pp. 29030.)

Indigenous Conservatives established majority control in both the lower and upper houses of the Diet in the elections of 1947 and 1951. With the wave of international conflict in Korea and China, Japan's political direction seemed to move toward an anti-communist position.

In 1955, OSAKA Prefecture witnessed a rise in socialist support which paralleled the national political scene. This is reflected in the control of a third of the seats by Socialist Party candidates.

It is significant to note that since 1947, Indigenous Conservative domination was maintained by constant efforts to win control of the local and national political support. This was reflected at the prefectural level by efforts to gain grassroots strength in terms of the prefecture's governorship and assembly control. The central core of local support for the Indigenous Conservatives came from the agricultural and large business sectors while the Non-indigenous Progressives relied heavily on the labor organizations, unions, and the intellectuals.

Again in 1959, there was an unstable situation in the national Diet in which party politics were dividing national interests. Thus the conservative forces converged with one another so that their policies such as law and order, continuation of the Japanese-American Security Pact, limitation of the labor movement, and an amendment to Article 9 of the Constitution on rearmament were retained. In 1955, finally, the Democratic Party and the Liberal Party joined to become the Liberal Democratic Party, and the political balance and control of the Diet

shifted dramatically to the center-right. Political choice was again conceptualized within the framework of larger party interests and was supporting business community. This alliance of two Indigenous Conservatives was powerful enough to dominate all other opposition parties in the national Diet.

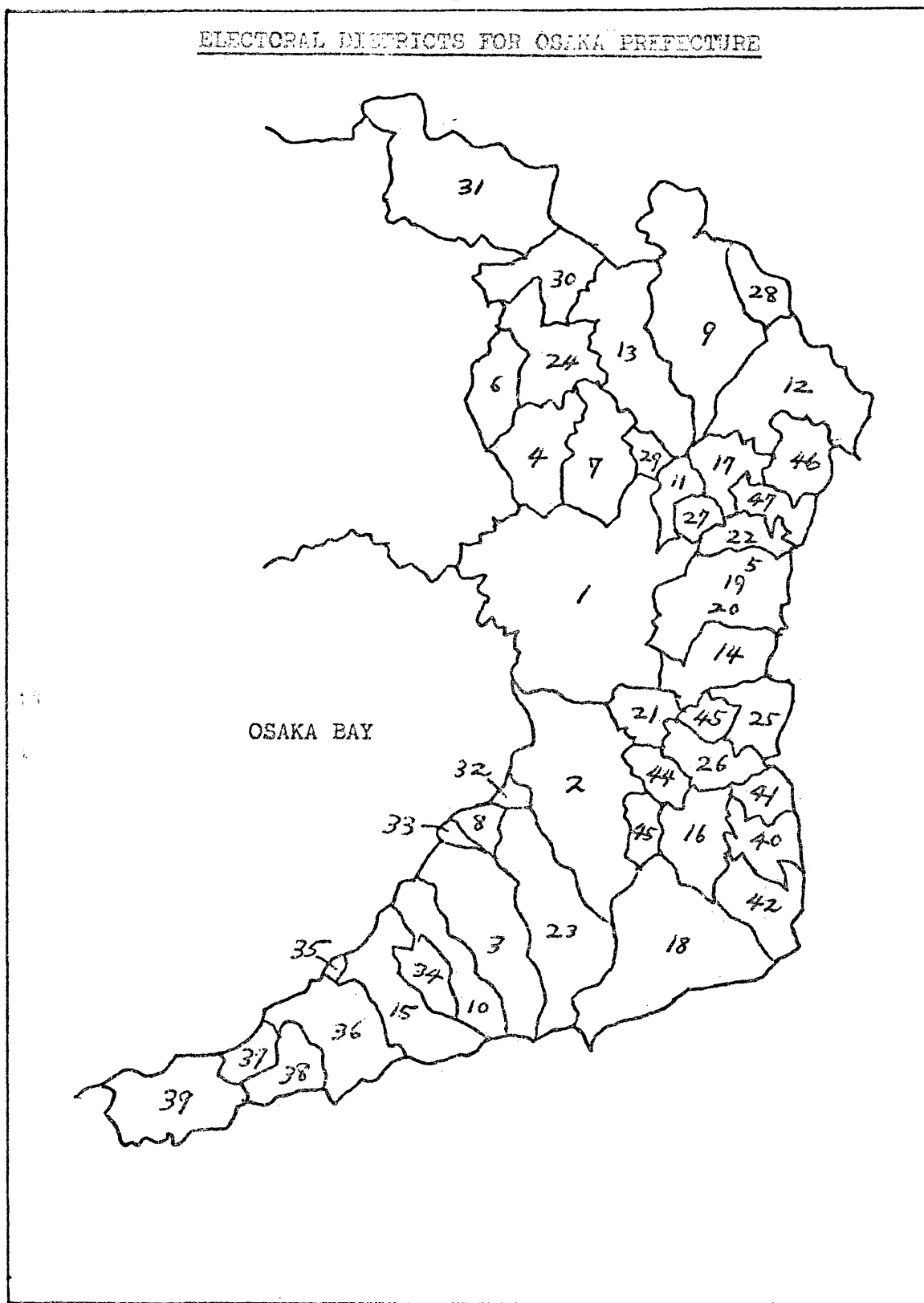
Since 1959, the rapid growth economy was a condition for the continuing stability of the conservative coalition. But in 1964-65, over-production created a situation in which high economic growth and planning for higher income of the dominant interests needed to be re-examined. The conservatives' domination of political interests, therefore, had to face the growing frustration of urban dwellers.

It is evident that less than 50 percent of the vote was cast for Liberal Democratic Party candidates in recent Lower House elections of the Diet. The Liberal Democratic Party has had to reconsider party goals in order to maintain its status as the national political party. In the urban prefectures various opposition parties have set up their candidates to offset the monopoly of Indigenous Conservatives. We will later observe closely the relationship between the changing preference of political parties and the demographic variables.

In the following analysis, let us follow the problem stated in the previous chapter.

First the data will be examined to see the major pattern of political support for any geographic preference in OSAKA Prefecture Assembly elections, and to observe the differentials in term of total percentage of seats gained in each election year, and total percentage votes cast for the four different pattern groups regardless of who won the race. The first analysis for an entire prefecture is apparent in Graph G-1 and Table IV-1.

Map - I



Source: Census, 1965-66, p. 5.

Second, the analysis will follow the results of gubernatorial elections as well.

Third, the data will be re-examined to see the kind of relationship between regional preference patterns and demographic characteristics. Analysis can be made at a specific time and changes over time noted.

Demographic variables can be seen in the Tables IV-2, IV-3, and IV-4. These tables are constructed from 1960-65 census data of OSAKA Prefecture, and they include the following characteristics in terms of the geographic units shi (city), mura (village), and cho (town):

1. Percent distribution by age group.
2. Percent by sex.
3. Percent total population increase 1960-65.
4. Percent distribution of employed persons over 15 years of age by industry.
5. Percent distribution of four major occupational groups of employed persons over 15 years of age.

Results of the prefecture's assembly election in terms of percent total vote cast can be seen in Table IV-5. This table shows the percentage of total vote cast in each electoral district in relation to the four major political groups, excluding independent candidates from 1963 through 1971.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the geographical differentiation of electoral preference, attention is directed to Map M-1 which depicts major classification of shi (city), cho (town), mura (village, and gun (county).

Map M-2 shows the result of the 1951 Assembly election and it indicates the percentage of the seats gained by each of the four pattern

TABLE IV - 2

Population Characteristics in Percentages
for 1960-65 of OSAKA Prefecture

	Age Distribution			Males	Pop. Increase	Employed Persons by Industry		
	0-14	15-64	65 over	Per 100 Females		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Osaka-								
Fu	22.9	72.5	4.6	101.6	20.9	3.1	47.8	49.1
All-Shi	22.9	72.6	4.5	102.1	20.5	2.5	47.7	49.7
All-Gun	23.7	71.0	5.3	94.3	28.7	12.1	49.0	38.9
1	21.9	73.5	4.6	102.6	4.8	0.4	46.7	53.0
2	23.8	71.5	4.6	103.3	25.5	3.9	50.6	45.5
3	25.1	69.6	5.3	89.5	19.5	7.2	49.8	43.0
4	22.9	73.2	3.9	101.3	46.7	1.9	40.4	57.7
5	22.7	72.9	4.4	103.8	27.7	1.2	54.7	44.1
6	23.3	71.7	5.0	101.5	38.2	4.3	37.9	57.8
7	23.7	72.1	4.2	106.2	68.5	1.9	42.1	56.0
8	24.6	71.3	4.2	91.8	26.0	2.6	63.4	34.0
9	24.1	71.7	4.2	106.9	65.4	7.1	46.1	46.8
10	22.6	72.2	5.2	80.1	13.1	6.6	61.3	32.1
11	23.2	72.8	4.0	103.0	35.7	1.0	53.1	45.8
12	25.0	70.7	4.2	105.3	58.8	7.7	42.1	50.2
13	23.2	72.4	4.5	107.7	60.2	8.2	43.6	48.2
14	24.3	71.2	4.6	101.9	38.4	6.0	51.0	43.0
15	25.8	69.0	5.3	87.7	17.1	11.5	56.6	31.9
16	25.0	69.6	5.4	97.7	32.3	15.2	36.6	48.2
17	23.5	72.9	3.6	108.4	126.3	4.0	46.3	49.7
18	24.5	69.0	6.4	95.8	16.6	14.4	41.0	44.6
19	25.0	70.3	4.6	103.4	58.7	3.7	55.2	41.1
20	24.1	72.1	3.8	108.4	66.6	4.0	58.7	37.2
21	25.2	70.3	4.4	97.8	52.5	6.5	45.9	47.6
22	23.8	71.9	4.3	108.8	61.5	4.9	56.0	39.0
23	25.7	69.5	4.7	89.2	19.9	10.0	56.7	32.4
24	22.0	72.0	6.0	101.6	28.0	10.4	34.2	55.3
25	23.8	71.4	4.8	105.9	26.2	8.4	54.1	37.4
26	24.4	69.6	6.1	97.9	36.1	11.9	35.4	52.6
27	24.6	72.9	2.6	107.6	178.2	2.8	52.5	44.7
28	23.7	71.6	4.7	98.7	41.1	6.8	54.6	38.6
29	22.9	73.4	3.7	108.7	78.5	5.8	48.2	45.8
30	26.5	64.6	8.9	93.8	- 2.1	48.1	17.8	34.0
31	25.6	63.5	10.9	92.0	- 5.4	53.1	14.8	32.1
32	23.9	71.5	4.6	98.8	33.9	2.4	46.0	51.5
33	25.5	70.7	3.8	90.4	23.4	3.1	67.9	29.0
34	23.3	71.4	5.3	85.5	12.9	15.3	61.1	23.6
35	20.9	74.6	4.6	64.0	- 3.9	5.9	69.5	24.6
36	20.6	74.6	4.8	71.9	9.9	12.5	63.7	23.8
37	22.1	71.8	6.1	82.9	10.4	9.7	57.5	32.8
38	22.4	72.4	5.2	76.3	18.8	13.1	58.8	28.1
39	23.8	69.4	6.8	95.3	5.0	11.4	39.1	49.5
40	23.4	68.5	8.1	98.9	1.1	40.6	29.0	30.4
41	23.7	69.1	7.2	95.7	1.9	34.6	33.2	32.3
42	24.5	67.5	8.0	100.4	3.0	38.9	36.6	24.5
43	24.4	69.5	6.0	105.5	29.6	16.3	45.6	38.1
44	27.0	67.7	5.3	104.8	44.6	15.0	46.4	38.6
45	25.6	69.8	4.6	97.9	44.2	5.1	43.3	51.6
46	23.8	69.6	6.6	104.0	48.3	16.0	38.7	45.3
47	23.8	71.4	4.7	105.7	79.2	8.1	52.2	39.8

TABLE IV - 3

Percents Distribution of Employed Persons 15 Years Old
and Over by Industry, 1960-1965.

Industry Districts	Primary					Secondary					Tertiary				
	Agri- culture	Fores- try	Fish- ing	Min- ing	Constru- ction	Manu. Metal.	Chem- ical	Textile	Wholesale	Retail	Finance	Transp. Comm.	Elec. Water	Ser- vice	Govern. Agent
OSAKA-FU	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.6	20.1	8.1	23.5	3.6	6.8	0.6	12.6	2.1		
All-Shi	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.6	20.4	7.5	24.0	3.6	6.8	0.6	12.7	2.1		
All-Gun	11.7	0.1	0.4	0.1	6.8	14.4	18.7	14.6	2.9	6.5	0.8	10.9	3.1		
1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	19.2	6.1	28.0	3.2	7.0	0.4	12.8	1.5		
2	3.8	0.0	0.1	0.0	8.2	25.0	8.2	20.2	3.7	5.6	0.8	12.7	2.5		
3	6.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	7.7	12.1	23.4	18.4	2.9	5.8	0.7	12.8	2.4		
4	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.6	20.3	3.0	27.5	5.8	6.9	0.5	14.8	2.2		
5	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.1	27.2	5.4	21.8	3.5	4.6	0.5	11.7	2.0		
6	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	6.3	21.4	2.8	23.7	5.6	7.4	0.7	17.7	2.7		
7	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	8.5	18.6	4.5	20.6	5.7	11.8	0.7	13.9	3.2		
8	2.5	0.0	0.1	0.0	3.6	6.7	46.4	15.9	2.4	3.7	0.7	9.7	1.7		
9	7.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	7.9	21.7	2.8	16.0	5.3	9.5	0.7	12.8	2.5		
10	6.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	5.2	13.1	36.0	13.8	1.8	4.2	0.3	10.3	1.7		
11	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.8	24.4	8.8	19.5	3.2	8.1	0.6	12.0	2.3		
12	7.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	7.0	20.1	6.8	16.4	5.2	6.9	1.1	15.2	5.3		
13	8.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.9	20.9	2.3	17.7	4.9	8.3	1.1	13.7	2.5		
14	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	23.0	5.3	18.0	3.5	5.8	1.0	11.6	3.0		
15	10.3	0.0	1.2	0.0	5.6	15.1	29.4	14.7	1.8	4.0	0.3	9.2	1.9		
16	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.1	13.3	3.8	17.0	2.9	6.2	0.6	17.5	4.1		
17	3.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.7	24.0	4.0	21.3	4.5	7.4	1.0	12.5	3.0		
18	13.7	0.6	0.0	0.1	5.5	23.2	3.6	15.9	3.1	6.6	1.3	13.4	4.3		
19	3.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	6.2	23.8	3.5	19.0	3.6	5.1	0.5	10.7	2.1		
20	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.3	30.8	4.9	15.6	3.9	5.9	0.6	9.1	2.2		
21	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5	17.0	7.9	20.4	4.2	6.6	1.2	12.5	2.7		
22	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.1	10.0	27.4	7.5	15.0	3.1	6.6	0.8	10.4	3.2		
23	10.8	0.1	0.0	0.0	5.4	9.5	33.2	12.7	1.6	4.9	0.5	8.5	4.3		

TABLE IV - 3 (cont'd)

	Agri- culture		Fores- try		Fish- ing	Min- ing	Constru- ction	Manu. Metal.		Textile	Retail Finance		Transp. Commu.	Elec. Water	Ser- vice	Govern. Agent
	Hunt.	try	Hunt.	try				Chemi.	sale		Re.Est.	Insura.				
24	10.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.4	6.4	17.2	3.5	22.2	5.7	5.9	1.4	17.1	3.1		
25	8.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	27.6	5.9	15.5	2.7	5.5	0.6	10.6	2.5		
26	11.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.8	12.6	4.3	21.4	5.2	6.4	0.9	15.1	3.6		
27	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.8	25.6	5.7	19.8	3.4	8.4	0.6	10.3	2.2		
28	6.7	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	6.4	17.5	18.3	12.5	2.9	7.9	0.6	11.4	3.3		
29	5.8	0.0	-	-	0.0	10.2	23.0	4.4	20.1	3.4	8.4	1.0	10.6	2.3		
30	47.5	0.7	-	-	0.5	4.1	7.8	0.5	8.2	1.3	8.3	0.1	11.3	4.8		
31	52.6	0.5	-	-	0.6	5.5	4.3	1.1	6.9	1.7	5.7	0.3	13.8	3.7		
32	2.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	7.1	15.9	14.7	21.4	5.3	6.4	1.0	14.7	2.8		
33	2.8	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	4.6	8.4	46.7	12.7	1.8	4.1	0.3	7.6	2.4		
34	15.3	0.0	-	-	-	6.1	6.1	46.1	8.7	1.6	3.0	0.2	8.6	1.4		
35	5.8	-	0.1	-	-	3.9	5.4	54.9	10.8	1.7	3.2	0.3	6.3	2.4		
36	11.9	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	3.3	49.8	9.4	1.3	3.6	0.2	7.4	1.9		
37	7.0	-	2.7	0.0	0.0	5.6	7.5	35.9	13.9	2.0	6.4	0.5	8.2	1.8		
38	13.1	-	-	-	1.1	4.8	6.5	37.6	9.9	1.7	5.9	0.1	8.3	2.3		
39	8.0	0.1	3.4	0.8	0.8	11.1	13.6	8.1	13.9	2.4	13.6	2.4	13.9	3.8		
40	40.3	0.3	-	0.0	0.0	5.0	8.9	7.7	10.8	2.6	4.6	0.5	8.3	3.6		
41	34.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	4.0	8.5	12.8	11.0	2.5	4.4	0.3	9.9	4.1		
42	36.9	1.9	0.1	-	-	10.7	7.2	8.5	8.7	1.7	4.0	0.5	7.2	2.5		
43	16.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	6.5	25.5	5.7	14.1	3.3	7.3	0.8	9.5	3.2		
44	15.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.5	21.9	5.0	12.5	2.4	6.4	0.9	11.5	4.9		
45	5.0	0.1	-	-	0.0	6.2	16.8	3.5	20.5	5.2	6.8	1.0	14.0	4.2		
46	16.0	0.0	-	-	-	6.6	20.0	3.5	12.3	2.7	8.6	1.8	12.4	7.5		
47	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.8	29.8	5.6	15.0	2.6	7.1	0.8	11.5	2.8		

Source: Census of OSAKA Prefecture, 36.

TABLE IV - 4

Percent Distribution by Four Major Occupational Groups, 1965

	A	B	C	D
OSAKA-Fu	3.0	47.6	24.3	25.1
All Shi	2.5	47.5	24.7	25.2
All-Gun	12.2	49.1	16.1	22.6
1	0.3	48.0	28.5	23.2
2	3.8	49.0	20.8	26.3
3	7.3	52.1	19.5	21.1
4	1.8	37.4	26.3	34.4
5	1.2	52.2	23.0	23.6
6	4.2	32.0	24.7	39.0
7	1.9	39.9	21.4	36.9
8	2.5	59.4	17.5	20.5
9	7.0	43.6	17.7	31.6
10	6.6	60.7	15.6	17.1
11	1.0	53.2	20.6	25.1
12	7.6	37.3	18.1	37.0
13	8.1	40.2	18.9	32.8
14	6.0	48.6	18.6	26.7
15	11.5	56.4	15.5	16.6
16	15.2	40.1	20.0	24.7
17	3.9	43.3	22.7	30.0
18	14.4	42.1	18.0	25.5
19	3.6	49.2	20.0	27.2
20	4.0	47.4	16.9	21.7
21	6.5	47.1	21.3	25.1
22	4.9	54.8	17.2	23.1
23	10.9	57.7	16.8	14.6
24	10.3	28.3	22.6	38.7
25	8.3	50.0	17.8	23.9
26	12.1	34.1	21.5	32.2
27	2.7	52.8	21.6	22.8
28	6.7	47.3	14.8	31.2
29	5.8	47.8	21.2	25.1
30	48.7	26.0	10.1	15.2
31	53.3	21.4	11.1	14.2
32	2.4	43.9	20.3	33.4
33	3.1	65.8	13.8	17.3
34	15.4	60.9	10.0	13.7
35	5.8	67.6	13.1	13.5
36	12.5	62.6	12.0	12.9
37	9.7	58.6	14.8	16.9
38	13.1	59.6	11.9	15.4
39	11.5	50.2	18.1	20.3
40	40.7	31.3	10.8	17.2
41	34.6	35.0	10.9	19.4
42	39.2	38.0	9.2	13.6
43	16.3	45.6	15.2	22.8
44	15.2	48.9	14.4	21.5
45	5.1	41.2	20.4	33.3
46	16.1	42.0	17.4	24.5
47	8.0	50.4	16.0	25.6

Sources: Census of OSAKA Prefecture, 38

*A----- Agriculture, Fishery, or other related occupations

B----- Manufacturing, Transportation related occupations

C----- Sales, Service related occupations

D----- Clerical, managerial, technical, professional related occupations

TABLE IV - 5

Results of Assembly Election, 1963-71

	1963				1967				1971			
	IC	IP	NIC	NIP	IC	IP	NIC	NIP	IC	IP	NIC	NIP
1	38.0	0.7	16.0	26.7	35.0				27.0	11.0	14.0	25.0
2	24.0	28.0	13.0	31.0	27.2				20.0	17.0	14.0	37.0
3	31.7	-	-	17.3	*	*No election			27.8	-	26.2	21.3
4	39.0	-	17.0	22.0	35.2				31.0	16.6	16.2	35.5
5	33.0	-	13.0	38.0	33.2				29.3	15.5	14.0	33.3
6	47.5	-	-	46.4	48.0				28.6	-	-	50.9
7	22.6	-	13.0	30.2	22.7				25.9	-	19.0	44.5
8	77.9	-	-	-	76.0				* No election			
9	-	-	-	61.7	-				34.6	-	-	65.4
10	14.4	-	26.7	-	42.0				59.1	-	40.9	-
11	36.6	-	-	53.2	28.0				26.0	-	-	74.0
12	-	-	43.4	56.6	-				17.0	-	29.6	53.4
13	-	-	-	3.0	36.8				39.5	-	-	60.5
14	54.0	-	17.0	29.0	30.0				33.2	-	-	66.8
15	36.2	-	-	-	46.0				37.5	-	-	62.5
16	55.1	-	-	-	46.8				63.1	-	-	36.9
17	55.0	-	45.0	-	35.1				42.6	-	-	57.6
18	-	56.0	-	39.0	-				All Independent			
19	Joint Election (5)				61.1				Joint Election (5)(19)(20)			
20	*No Election				-	-	43.5		"	"	"	"
21	45.0	-	-	-	*	No Election			-	-	-	30.0
22	29.1	-	65.4	-	-				-	-	48.0	51.0
23	44.7	-	-	-	No Election				35.0	-	-	-
24	40.7	-	47.1	-	-				55.3	-	44.7	-
25	47.0	-	-	26.0	*				76.7	-	-	23.3
26	46.0	-	-	54.0	-				47.4	-	-	52.6
27	Joint Election (46), (47)				-				-	-	-	63.1
28	-	-	-	-	-				34.9	-	-	-
29	-	-	-	-	-				-	-	-	-
30	Joint Election (24)				-				12.7	-	87.3	-
31	"	"	"	"	-				19.0	-	81.0	-
32	23.4	-	-	38.4	One Independent				Joint Election (8)			
33	"	-	-	"	75.0				"	"	"	"
34	27.5	-	-	-	-				36.4	-	-	0.8
35	"	-	-	-	-				34.0	-	-	10.0
36	"	-	-	-	No Election				16.0	-	-	0.9
37	"	-	-	-	*One, IC and Ind.				58.1	-	-	0.7
38	"	-	-	-	-				17.7	-	-	0.6
39	"	-	-	-	-				40.0	-	-	0.8
40	53.0	-	-	-	-				88.6	-	-	77.4
41	"	-	-	-	-				83.7	-	-	16.3
42	"	-	-	-	No Election				89.3	-	-	11.4
43	"	-	-	-	*One IC				61.6	-	-	38.4
44	"	-	-	-	-				71.8	-	-	28.2
45	"	-	-	-	-				74.6	-	-	25.4
46	32.3	-	33.6	29.7	No Election				*			
47	"	-	"	"	One, NIC				*			

Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei (Local Election Statistics) 1971; 1-200.

Electoral Districts for OSAKA Prefecture

<u>Shi</u>	<u>Population</u>
1. OSAKA	3156222
2. Sakai	466412
3. Kishiwada	143710
4. Toyonaka	291936
5. Fuse	271704
6. Ikeda	82478
7. Suita	196779
8. Izumiotsu	53312
9. Takatsuki	130735
10. Kaizuka	69365
11. Moriguchi	138856
12. Hirakata	127520
13. Ibaraki	115136
14. Yao	170248
15. Izumisano	66521
16. Tondabayashi	47985
17. Neyagawa	113576
18. Kawachinagano	40109
19. Hiraoka	79524
20. Kawachi	91853
21. Matsubara	71406
22. Daito	57107
23. Izumi	84771
24. Mino	43851
25. Kashiwara	44972
26. Hibikino	50333
27. Kodama	95209

<u>Gun, Cho, Mura</u>	<u>Population</u>
Mishima-Gun	
28. Shimamoto cho	12939
29. Mishima cho	43479
Toyono-Gun	
30. Higashinose-Mura	3680
31. Nose cho	9906
Senboku-Gun	
32. Takaishi cho	45679
33. Tadaoka cho	15077
Sennan-Gun	
34. Kumatori cho	12211
35. Tajiri cho	7887
36. Sennan cho	35235
37. Nankai cho	14646
38. Higashitotori cho	9273
39. Misaki cho	20083
Minamikawachi-Gun	
40. Kannan cho	8939
41. Taishi cho	6083
42. Chihayaakasaka Mura	5440
43. Sayama cho	12502
44. Mihara cho	17429
45. Misasagi cho	38221
Kitakawachi-Gun	
46. Katano cho	17533
47. Shijonawate cho	19317

*Shi-City, Gun-County, Cho-Town, Mura-Village.

Source: Census, 1965: p. 36.

TABLE IV - 1

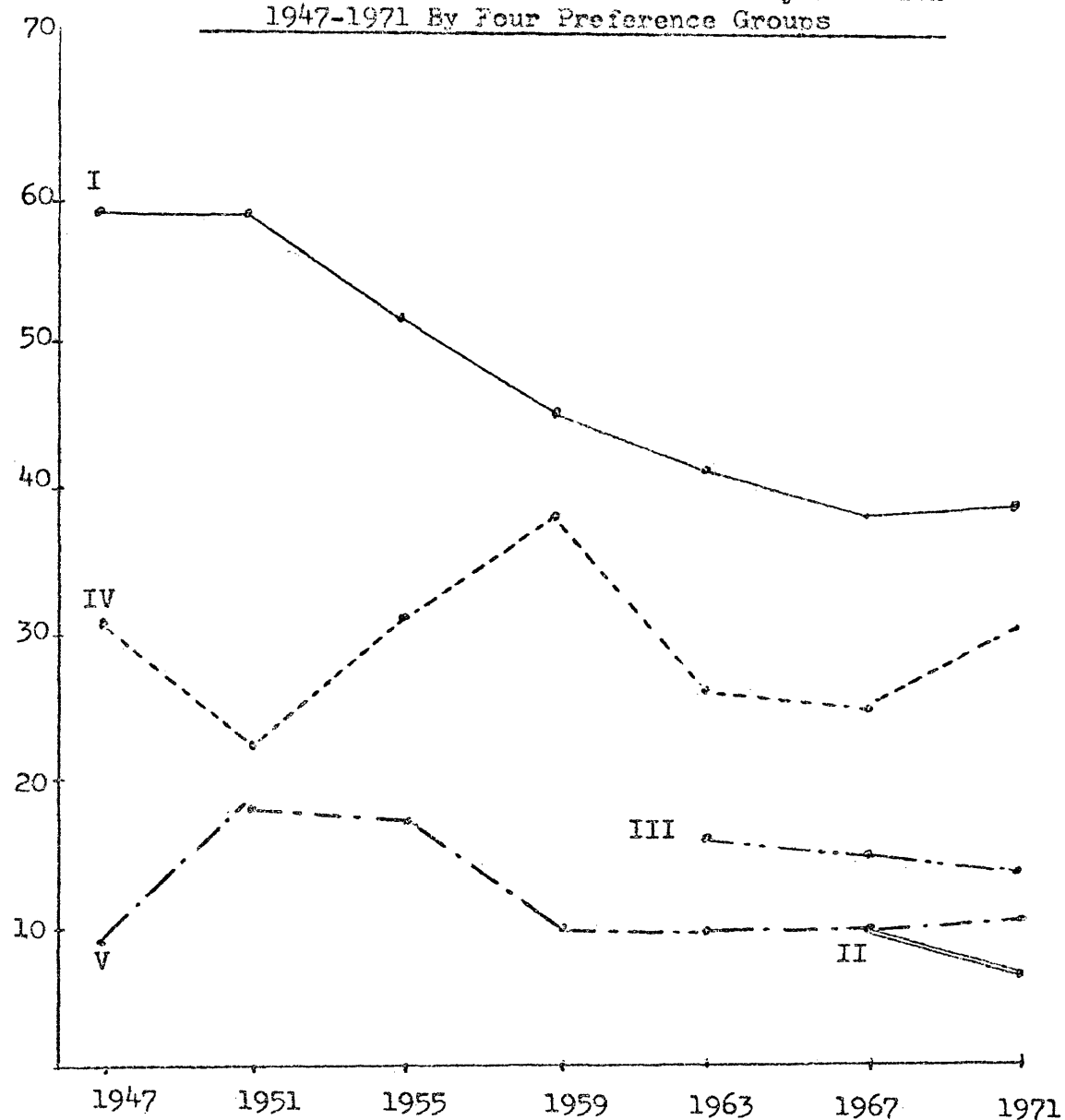
Percent of Political Party Seats Won in Osaka
Prefecture Assembly 1947 to 1971 Election

Party %	Year						
	1947	1951	1955	1959	1963	1967	1971
Liberal Demo	59	59	52	45	41	38	39
Socialist	31	22	27	35	22	22	20
Communist	0	1	4	3	4	3	10
Democratic Socialist	0	0	0	0	15	14	13
Komeito	0	0	0	0	0	10	7
Independent	9	18	17	10	10	10	11
Miscellaneous	1	0	0	7	8	3	0

Source: Data through "General Election Paper"
1971, OSAKA Prefecture Bureau of Election
Osaka: 1-200.

G - I

Results of OSAKA Prefectural Assembly Election
 1947-1971 By Four Preference Groups



- I - Indigenous Conservative
 II - Indigenous Progressive
 III - Non-Indigenous Conservative
 IV - Non-Indigenous Progressive
 V - Independent

Source: From Table IV - 1

groups. As may be seen, the Indigenous Conservatives were strongly represented in 1951. As Graph G-1 indicated, the seats gained in the entire prefecture were 59% of total seats. Map M-2 correspondingly shows the overwhelming majority of Indigenous Conservative in the 1951 Assembly Election. Indigenous Conservatives did not gain 50% of total seats in 12 and (24, 30, 31). (() means a joint election.) A city (12) and one county (24, 30, 31) were controlled by Non-indigenous Progressives.

Let us focus on OSAKA City itself where 75% of the seats were gained by the Indigenous Conservatives in 1951.

Map M-2 indicates percent differentials of 20% by the four pattern groups. As is shown, 20% differentials are landslide victories for the winning pattern group. According to this map, only Hirakata City (12) had a landslide win for the Non-indigenous Progressives. In the city of OSAKA, 22 districts voted 47% for the Indigenous Conservatives, while 27% of the total vote was received by the Non-indigenous Progressives. According to the data calculation, surrounding satellite cities also supported this tendency very strongly. For instance, in Toyonaka (4) 51%, and Ibaraki City (7) 52.1% of the votes were cast for the Indigenous Conservatives.

According to the map, the Indigenous Conservative group was gaining public and private support in the Assembly Election. High differentials over their political opponents had a great effect. As has been stated before, the higher the differential, the higher the tendency to political monism. Thus the statistics indicate that the Indigenous Conservatives established a strong political base throughout the prefecture.

Their broad concentration of voter support in the prefecture was probably due to the general consensus favoring their two major political

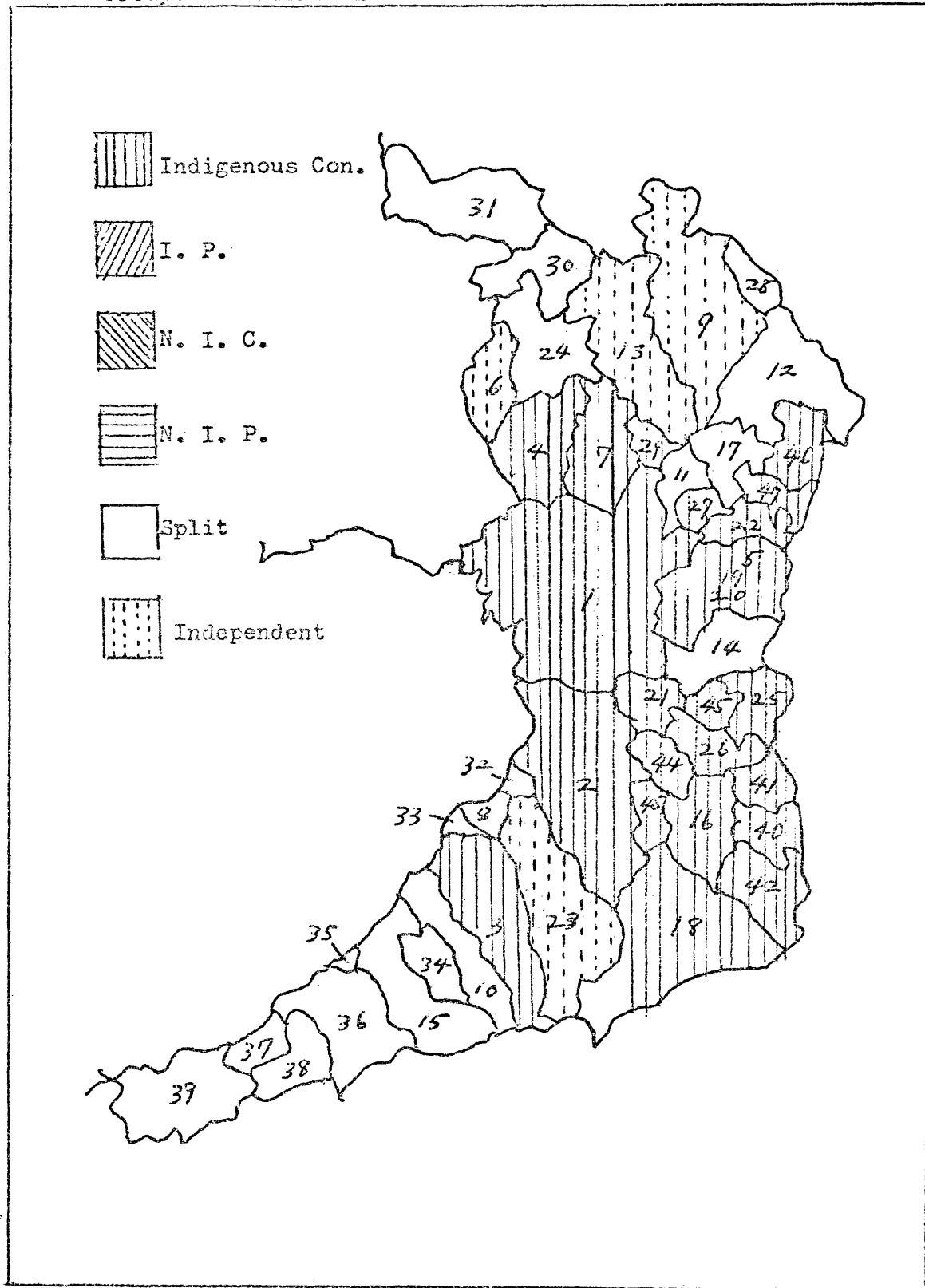
objectives in local affairs. These were to establish industries which could compete well in the international market and to modernize small to medium-sized factories as well as agricultural production. The plan to double the local income and better financial conditions in general was central to the program of the Indigenous Conservative Party.

This type of party goal has become crucial in the business community as well as for Japan as a whole. In 1951, the goal of Japan's ruling party was to reorient every sphere of society towards a corporate mass with one over-riding goal in mind--high economic growth as a means to "catch up with the West" and "surpass the West." This program fit well with the materialist and patriotic drives common to a large percentage of the Japanese people. As an illustration of this fact, it was very common for a family to sacrifice weekends and vacations for the company. They believed their every effort would contribute to the country's success. Again returning to Holloran's assumptions on the Japanese national character, everyone was ready to follow any political party, an organizational structure which could achieve the group goal of fast and efficient economic growth.

Actually very few at this time predicted what kinds of side effects this high growth orientation would bring.

Liberal Democratic Party candidates, which consisted of the large industrial leaders, and previous political-elite groups, had formed a strong trend of leadership by 1951. The prefecture as a whole had an Assembly which consisted largely of Indigenous Conservative Party members, i.e., Liberal Democrats.

Map - 2
1951 Assembly Election by Four Preference
Groups: Percent Differential 20% or More Total Votes



Source: Chiba Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 4-35.

1963 Elections of Prefecture Assembly

Let us observe the election results of 1963 which are indicated by Table IV-5. According to Graph G-1, the Indigenous Conservatives lost the largest number of seats in the prefecture, going from 59% (1951) to 41% (1963). Geographically speaking, the city of OSAKA hereby maintained control of 51% of the seats, by Liberal Democratic Party, and three cities--(2), (23), and (18); and two counties--(46, 47) and (34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39) shifted from predominantly Indigenous Conservative representation to somewhat more balanced representation between two or more parties. Meanwhile the Non-indigenous Progressives gained seats in the Northern area of the satellite cities. Thus the areas (5-19), (20), (28), (9), (29), (17), and (32) became predominantly Socialist.

Comparing Map M-2 (1951) to Table IV-5 (1963 election) it is found that the number of areas in which the Indigenous Conservatives obtained a 20% differential over their competitors decreased between 1951 and 1963. The only areas where the Indigenous Conservatives obtained a landslide vote were 14, 25, (8, 33). (8, 33) was an annexed city in 1963. If we look more closely at the 1963 election statistics, we see, for instance, that the city of OSAKA recorded 38% of the vote for the Liberal Democratic Party and 26.7% for the Socialist and Communist Parties. Obviously the differential of total vote percentage decreased by 10% or more. On the other hand, Non-indigenous Progressives gained 9, 28, 29, and 17, winning landslide victories there as the new majority party.

Table IV-5 shows percentage differentials of 10% or more total vote distribution. Comparing this to the 20% differential map, this case only adds the city of OSAKA, one county (40-45), and city 16 for the Indigenous

Conservatives. The voting behavior of city 32 was reported for the Non-indigenous Progressives. The voting of the Assembly Election of 1963 revealed a fairly strong tendency to move toward pluralism.

The higher the differentials of the preference pattern, the higher the tendency to political monism in most such cases, or the higher the tendency to maintain Indigenous Conservative control.

As the percentage differential dropped to 10% or more from 20% or more, the city of OSAKA and one county were the only areas which remained in the Indigenous Conservative camp. The tendency for a preference pattern to change from political monism to political pluralism began to show in 1963. Non-indigenous Progressives (Democratic Socialists) took a satellite city (22) in a landslide win by a 20% differential for the first time, and this party took 15% of total prefecture's seats to the Assembly. (See G-1 and Table IV-1.)

The data indicate that some strongly Indigenous Conservative areas moved towards greater support for the Non-indigenous Progressives. We note that the Liberal Democrats (Indigenous Conservative) received 40% or more of voter support in 1963, in areas 6, 8, and 33, area 25, area 41-45, area 16, 19, and areas 23, 31, 30. (Local Election Statistics, 1971: pp. 35-78.)

In other words, the total vote cast for Indigenous Conservative candidates declined substantially in the surrounding satellite cities of OSAKA. The same was true for the newly developed areas on the Pacific shorelines where highly industrialized petroleum firms were established.

For the entire prefecture, Liberal Democrats controlled 41% of the Assembly seats in 1963, whereas the Socialists won 22%, the Social Democrats 15%, Independents 10%, Communists 4%, and 8% for the rest.

Thus the 1963 election marked the first substantial threat to the Liberal Democratic stronghold in OSAKA Prefecture politics.

1967 Assembly Election

Before we analyze the results of the two subsequent elections in the prefecture, those of 1967 and 1971, let us observe what kinds of issues were actually debated as political interests.

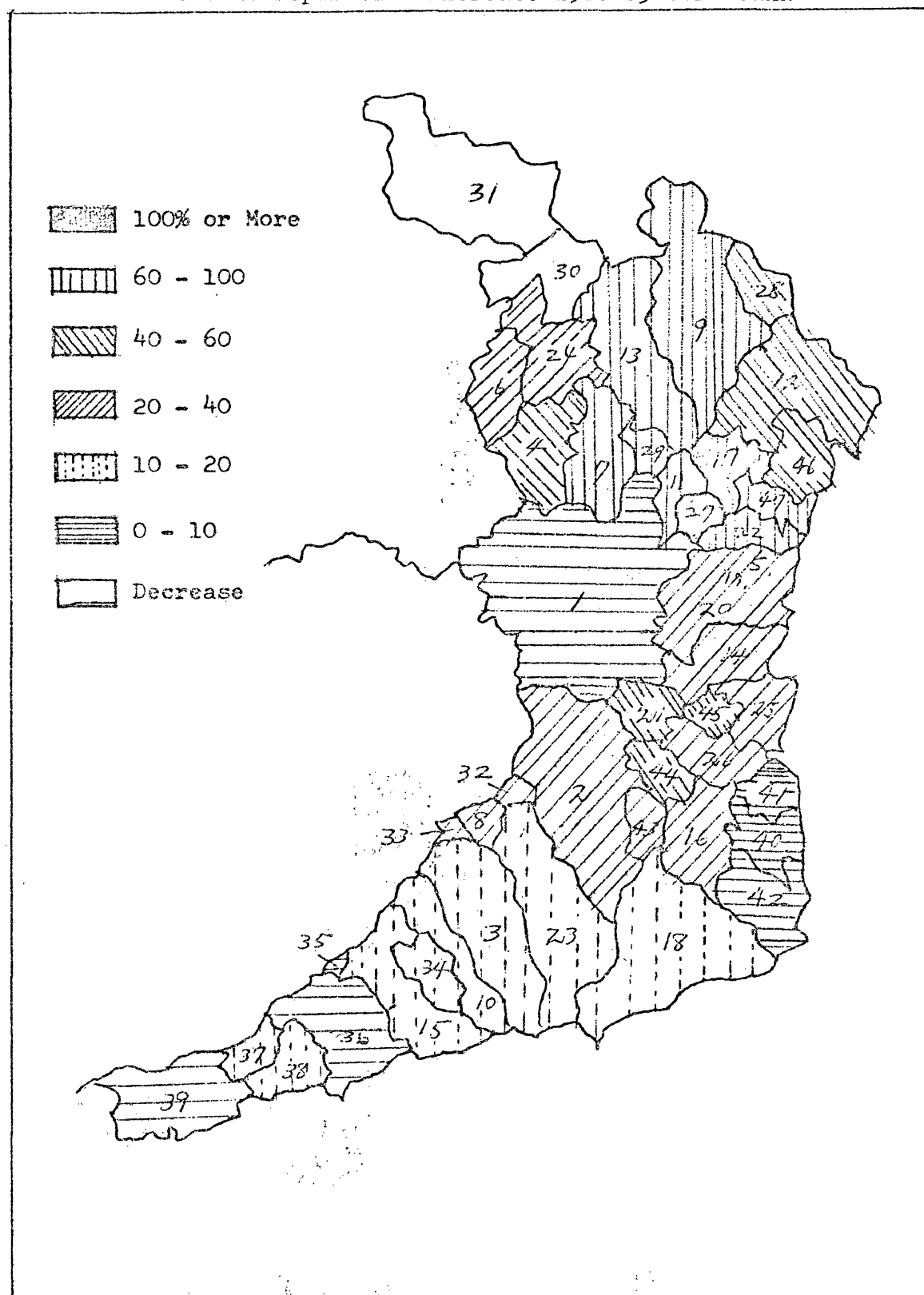
Until then the Liberal Democratic Party had controlled the national cabinet ever since parliamentary system was introduced. The mechanism of decision-making was for them to orient the majority with their interpretation of rule in the national interest. This process of political mobilization by the majority interest group is carried out under the mandate which is said to be largely in the hands of the dominant political groups. The process involved synthesizing plans to dissolve contradictory interests among different pressure groups. In essence, the Indigenous Conservatives sought to enforce such a fair consensus and to select such efficient alternatives that the voters would acquiesce in their continued rule.

The 1951 election only shows the preference for party candidates who won the race. Since the 1951 election voting patterns showed strong support for the Indigenous Conservatives, the 1963 election reflected a change in which many voters moved into the Progressive camp. Let us observe the 1960 through 1965 census to see if there is any correlation between population characteristics and the outcome of the 1967 election.

OSAKA City showed the lowest population increase (-10%) from 1960 to 1965 whereas surrounding satellite cities saw a great population increase: areas (5, 19, 20), 14, 25, 26, 16, 43, 2, 32, 8, and 33 increased by 20-40%; area 4, city 12, 46, 28, 21, 45, 44, by 40-60%;

M - 3

Percent Population Increase 1960-65 for Osaka



Source: Census of Osaka, 1960-65, p. 8.

areas 7, 13, 9, 29, 22, 27, 47 by 60-100%; areas 11, 27, 12 by 100%; while areas 41, 40, 42, 31, 30 decreased. (See Map M-3.)

Those areas which shifted strongly to the Progressives from the Conservatives were 2, 7, 11, 5, 20 (34-39), 14, 32, 29, 28. These cities and one county (34-39) show very high population increase. The strongly conservative areas (40% or more votes cast) 1, 6, 8, 33, 25, (41-45), 16, 19, 23, and (31, 30) show a moderately high population increase except two counties (30-31) and (41-42), which see a 0-10% increase or a decrease.

The population movement was already described in the previous section: ring formation and urban sprawl were taking place since the population was moving out from the highly congested urban center of OSAKA City. Thus there was no doubt that the surrounding satellite cities inevitably accommodated most of the out-migrants. The decreasing population in two counties was the result of a structural change in the demand for labor.

Considering the characteristics of industrial distribution, Table IV-4 shows that areas 31 and 30 have 48% or more of the labor force in primary industries, and 41, 40 and 42 have 35% or above following primary industrial pursuit. The relative importance of primary industry in these areas is apparent when one realizes that the mean of this industry in the whole prefecture is only 3.1%. Again, in these two counties, the traditionally strong Conservative Party was victorious at the polls from 1947 through 1963. In the prefecture as a whole, those areas highly concentrated tertiary industries (commerce, retail, whole-sale) include areas 1, 4, 6, 24, 7, 45; and areas of heavy concentration of manufacturing industry (55-69% composition) are 28, 25, 8, 10, 34, 35, 36, and 37. These areas face OSAKA Bay, and are on the route to the

Pacific Ocean. Other areas where mixtures of secondary and tertiary composition has intensified are in the surrounding areas around OSAKA City. The rate of increase in both levels of industries outnumbers that of the prewar period. Notably, the major characteristics of satellite cities are their industrial distribution. Twenty-three cities in the area are characterized by a distribution of 40% or more of both secondary and tertiary industries. In Table IV-3 and Table IV-4 the occupational distribution correlates with the industrial distribution since the type of industries obviously demand an appropriate type of labor force. Category "D"--professional and technical, managers and officials, clerical and related--are highest in 4, 7, 6, 24, and 12 (35% and above). It indicates that the concentration of 25% or above in higher technical occupations in terms of employed persons 15 years of age and over, is spread widely among the surrounding satellite cities as well as in the urban center of OSAKA. Heavy concentration in 4, 7, 6, 24, and 12 demonstrates the separation of place of work and residence. There is a heavy concentration (50% or above) of "B" occupational group, which includes transportation, mining, communication, in the prefecture (8, 33, 23, 3, 10, 34, 15, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39). It was the result of the prefecture's economic plan to develop the oil and petroleum and other industries along the shore that created a high concentration in the "B" occupational group. Occupational group "A," farming and lumber was predominant in two counties, (30, 31) and (41, 42). There was a 3.0 mean for the prefecture but over 39% for those areas. "C" occupational group (mean 24.3%) follows the pattern of "D" occupational group (mean is 25.1%). The majority of satellite city workers (77.9% mean for the prefecture) are employees of some kind rather than employers as the

indicates, and numerous family business workers (20% of above) exist in the predominantly primary industrial pursuit area. (30, 31) and (40, 42). (Mean = 8.5% for the prefecture.) (Census, 1965: p. 15.)

As these tables indicate, in terms of industrial distribution, occupational group, and employment status, there is a geographical division of labor in various areas. Not all areas are clearly described as dominated by a single industry except the traditional rural sectors. When we observe the election results of two counties, and that of the satellite cities, there is a strong continuity in the shifting of voting behaviors, especially in the northern parts of the prefecture, and in the newly developed areas of the southern parts. Specifically the satellites were moving towards the Non-indigenous Progressive position while the two counties persisted in supporting the Indigenous Conservatives.

We have observed what kinds of issues were important in the local prefecture's Assembly in the previous section. They were largely the issues of financing and management of current social and economic services needed by the urban center. To begin with, due to the high concentration of population in many areas, in-migration increased of automobile traffic exceeded the capacity of the roads. In addition OSAKA Bay facilities were expanded due to trade expansion.

Second, there was severe land sinking along the coast line due to the excessive industrial usage of underground water. Third, the price of land was extremely high in the area of growing population where many private speculators controlled the market without legislative restrictions. Fourth, only 30% of the modern sewage system for the prefecture was completed.

Now let us look at the figures issued by the city economic planning report. Between 1950 and 1961, the city's expenditures on road

construction and repair increased more than 60%, and the city's expenditures on housing and new school construction went from 12.3% to 31.1%, public utilities from 18.9% to 23.4%, and educational facilities from 24% to 25.3%. For the prefecture as a whole, general construction was up 51.2%; housing 16.4%, industrial economy appropriations 3.3%, educational expenditure 4.2%, police and health 11.8%, and aid to cities towns, and villages 5.5%. (K. Miyamoto, 1971; p. 110.)

The prefecture's budget has shown a deficit for two decades. This has necessitated the issue of local bonds to back loans from the central government. Thus the prefecture's financial structure has depended upon aid from the central government. The shortage of support from revenue sharing in meeting the demands of the prefecture's cities, towns, and counties did not meet the prefecture's needs. For example the educational and other civic necessities were slighted. Thus the primary concern for the prefecture was to finance and manage the effective system of the planning for the new social and economic development. The planning had to consist of at least: 1) economic expansion capable of competing on the international market, 2) price control, 3) promotion of faster economic development, and 4) social overhead investment. But actual executive policy seemed to emphasize only the first three, and not the last one. (Asahi News Editorial, 1971: Sept.) In other words, for the purpose of economic cooperation, and for the expansion of conglomerates, it was assumed that the people must be prepared for the social burden if necessary, and must realize the common goal within the context of national interest. It was assumed that the majority of divergent interest groups which resulted from the division of labor were encouraged to promote

cooperation among every class of participants. In practice, however, this consensus among such pressure groups, political parties, labor organizations, and capitalists was not attained; rather, each appeared to set out to benefit its own position. The incongruity between the goal of economic growth and the mounting problems connected with urban growth, without adequate financial means, came to a head in the 1967 prefectural elections. At that time the Liberal Democrats were continuing to control the Assembly decision-making process in terms of assets and priority for the ruling tradition.

Before this study undertakes the formulation of relationships between the voting preference and demographic characteristics, it is necessary to observe two consecutive elections, those of 1967 and 1971.

One of the key assumptions is this: as urban rationality increases in the less populated areas in the pursuit of productivity through greater division of labor, the voter tends to re-examine his preference as regards traditional loyalty. Moving away from traditional apathy, he becomes more capable of rationalistic reactions to political problems. In other words, the voter's political preference pattern will no longer be that of communal conformity. Instead such political choice should be influenced by rational attitudes which more nearly reflect the real and immediate problems of the cities, towns, and villages.

The function of political parties is extremely significant since they structure the avenues to political power and define the context within which choices and issues are presented to the public. It goes without saying that responsible and responsive political parties are necessary to make a Western state democracy work. Watanuki carried out a survey and found there are vague class consciousnesses and images of various

parties. His primary hypothesis was that "there is stereotyped connection between a political party and social class, revealed in slogans, as, "Liberal Democrats--the party for the tradesman.'" His 1960 survey clearly demonstrates a connection between support for the Liberal Democratic Party and consciousness of belonging to the middle class. Votes for the Japan Socialist Party and other progressive parties are obviously often attracted by the reasoning like this: the "worker should vote for the 'progressive' socialist party as working only for the sake of a limited number of organized workers." (J. Watanuki, 1967: p. 168.)

In every survey, Watanuki finds that the white collar class is not well paid, but it is well educated and contains the highest percentage of supporters of the progressive party, often exceeding that of the working class.

In our survey, we tried to construct an index of political awareness, using as indicators the feeling of familiarity towards and alienation from politics, and found that the white-collar class had a higher level of political awareness than either the working class or the middle class. The attitude of the white-collar workers in this country is... (J. Watanuki, 1966: pp. 169-170.)

This generalization is not always applicable to the political behavior of the working class as a whole. Obviously there will be differences between organized and unorganized workers or unionized and ununionized workers. From the data we have, there are not enough characteristics to categorize this small area, and I did not attempt to see how this working class political attitude may have changed through time. The 1967 prefecture representative election, compared to the previous pattern of political plurality, indicated the revival of the conservative forces with the highest record of voter abstention since 1947. Male total vote was 55.2% and female total vote was 56.3%.

The electoral percentage in 1967 were Liberal Democrats 38%, Socialist 22%, Democratic Socialist 14%, Communist 3%, Komeito 10%, and Independent 10%. Again the Liberal Democratic Party led in the total number of seats gained. But compared to the elections of 1947, '51, '55, '59, and '63, it showed constant decline in the percentages gained. Table IV-1 indicates that the 1967 Assembly election moved towards greater pluralism in terms of distribution of seats. The city of OSAKA definitely showed a decline of 10% or more seats controlled by the Indigenous Conservatives. In contrast, the Non-indigenous Conservatives (Democratic Socialists) and the Indigenous Progressives (Komeito) gained more seats than the previous year in the city of OSAKA. Satellite city (21) became the first city to have elected one Communist delegate to represent the city. In 1967 percentage differentials in the total vote were also observed. Table IV-5 showed differentials of 10% or more for each winning party group, but strikingly enough only city (8.33) revealed a win by 10% or more for the Indigenous Conservatives. Compared to 1963, this tendency proves that the electoral race became much keener than before, and lower percentage differentials seem to be indication of the increasing numbers of close electoral district (24, 30, 31), satellite city (14).

Table IV-5 shows 5% or more differential for the winning party, but only for the city of OSAKA, Toyonaka City, and Higoshi OSAKA-city were reported for the Indigenous Conservatives.

There were many close races. Yet there were no elections in some locales where six Liberal Democrats gained the seats. These were (40-45) Minami Kawachi County and (43-39) Sennan County, and number 3, Kashiwada City and number 25, Kashiwara City where candidates without opponents

were automatic winners. In these districts the opposition judged it useless to set up candidates against the Indigenous Conservatives. Winning without an electoral process is still a common political occurrence in some districts. Since 1963, the Democratic Socialists and the Komeito (Clean Government) Party began to gain in the prefecture's Assembly whereas older left-wing Socialists and Liberal Conservatives continued to weaken gradually in the prefecture's political race. The northern section and some satellite cities where severe urban-industrial problems exist continues to be a stronghold for the 'progressive party' candidate. A look at the counties of the prefectures which have predominantly agricultural pursuits as well as a heavy concentration of manual workers reveals a mixed political bag. The Liberal Democrats took the seats of two counties easily since there were no opposition candidates. But in county (30, 31, 24) where two candidates, one a Democratic Socialist and the other a left-wing Independent, attempted to establish progressive territory, the Democratic Socialists ended up gaining 56.9% of the vote to win the race.

In the highly concentrated urban center of OSAKA City the distribution of votes is quiet interesting. Out of 26 seats in the 1967 election, the Liberal Democrats took 10, Socialists 4, Social Democrats 5, Komeito 3, Communists 1, with no Independents. (Local Election Statistics, 1971: pp. 30-125.)

At this time, there arose many problems of annexation. The city wanted to annex surrounding areas in order to broaden the tax base. Most of the surrounding areas wanted to maintain their own autonomy to avoid high taxes and develop their own civic affairs by themselves. The towns and villages annexed to the city, and so-called agricultural city

or rural city, became a prominent physical characteristic of the area. For example, area 30, 24, 31 became Mino City in 1967 instead of Toyono County; and area 44, 43, 45 became Kawachi City instead of parts of Kawachi County; 33 and 32 became cities instead of Semboku County; and 5, 19, 20 became Higashi OSAKA City instead of three separate cities; 28, 29 became Mishima City instead of Mishima County.

These annexations were the result of the extreme financial deficit of towns and villages and were also meant to accelerate the prefecture's economic expansion much faster.

In later 1967, the prefecture's urbanization became so complete that its penetration left only one original county in the far southern parts of the area, at least as far as legislative and executive functions of the structure are concerned. By 1971 Japan's unprecedented economic growth had made her GNP third highest in the world, second in the non-communist world. This decisive economic success seemed to leave the people intoxicated about such miraculous deeds of the nation.

1971 Assembly Elections

Let us observe again the relationship between the financial and management structure of the prefecture as well as the political issues before the 1971 election. As reviewed previously, the prefecture's financial structure largely depended upon the cabinet in the central government. Even though its financial budget and fiscal policy were concentrated heavily on capital investment such as road construction and repair, transportation systems still remained woefully inadequate. Thus economic development for the rest of the social-overhead investment for the county itself became secondary, and was often neglected unless the federal appropriation met such demands. The city and prefecture

taxpayer reports in 1970 indicate that the cost of living index has risen faster than wages and salaries since 1963, and the rate of local taxation has risen even more rapidly. (Economic Graph, 1972: pp. 5-10.)

Even if there has been a relative increase in yearly income, it is explained by an increase in over-time working hours, for both male and female workers, which became very common because of a much faster rate of price increase. Competitive production by business accentuated public disruption (pollution), and this consequently resulted in dangerous living conditions in some locales. The tax increase was inevitable despite the fact that it did not cover enough benefits on social security insurance, unemployment security, educational opportunity, and health. (White Paper on wages, 1972: pp. 200-210.)

Concerning the problem of housing, the white paper on planning and development for housing in the prefecture reports that 379,000 households had a housing problem. Since there is not enough housing available, approximately 200,000 one-room housing units or 15% of the total prefecture. This extreme density in inhabitants and residential areas has caused disorderly sprawling in such a way that the construction of factories and housing were undertaken indiscriminately without any systematic planning. Thus environmental disruption took place to a considerable and unnecessary extent. (White Paper on housing, 1972: pp. 200-201.) As an example, the public disruption in the air pollution became crucial in the area of the Pacific shoreline, OSAKA Bay, where the oil-petroleum industry began to operate extensively in 1960's.

Air and water pollution standards have been even more lax than recent United States federal standards. In the area of transportation, severe urban problems have developed since 880,000 workers move into

the city every day and 570,000 move within the city area. Thus a total of 1.45 million congest the transportation arteries in the rush hours. Among this total, 45% or 700,000 converge into four districts of the city area every day. The density of rush hour congestion is greater than the capacity of the transportation network by 250 to 300%. (Asahi News Editorial, June, 1972: pp. 20-21.)

Table IV-5 presents a new picture of Prefecture Assembly election results for 1971. Compared to 1967, it is evident that Non-indigenous Progressives gained seats in surrounding satellite cities even more than the previous election.

County 40-45, county (30, 31, 24), and county (34-39) were the same in 1967 as in 1963. Table IV-5 shows the voting preference pattern as could be expected in some areas, but there were some significant changes as well. In 1963 county (40-45) did not have any election, but in 1971 the vote cast for the Indigenous Conservatives was more than 70% of the total votes. (Local Election Statistics, 1971: pp. 100-105.)

Table IV-5 reports this county as the only area to support the Indigenous Conservatives so much more heavily than any other opposition. In the Prefecture as a whole, it is obvious that the strong support is seen for the Non-indigenous Progressives, especially in those cities outside OSAKA City except for Toyonaka City.

If a differential percentage of 10% is considered to be a fairly strong electoral win, OSAKA Prefecture's Assembly election can be said to show new strength for the Non-indigenous Progressives in 1971. A large total voter support, however, did not lead to an equally large number of electoral victories. For instance, in the city of OSAKA, the Liberal Democrats took 18 out of 26 seats and received a total voter

support of 27%. In contrast, the Socialists and Communists took 17 out of 32 contests and received 35% of the total supporting vote. Definitely Non-indigenous Progressive received more than a 5% or more, the city of Toyonaka and the city of OSAKA falls into the Non-indigenous Progressive camp.

In terms of the total number of seats in the Prefecture Assembly the Liberal Democrats dropped by 20% since 1951, and the Non-indigenous Progressive remained as strong as before. That is primarily because of a strong rise in support for Communist Party candidates despite a major decline in Socialist Party candidates.

Considering the realization of severe urban problems, let us look at the result of the 1971 Assembly election for the prefecture by observing specific geographic area.

In the city of OSAKA, the Indigenous Conservatives gained 11 seats whereas the Non-indigenous Progressive gained 10 seats, the Non-indigenous Conservatives 6 seats, and the Indigenous Progressives took 5 seats. Compared to the 1967 election, the result could be an indication of no clear majority in OSAKA City.

The same pattern was seemingly stronger in Sakai City (2) where air and water pollution became severe social problems and the vote for the Indigenous Conservative candidates dropped 30% under the figure for 1967.

In the 1971 and 1967 elections, the Indigenous Progressives established strong voter support in the highly urbanized area where secondary and tertiary industries were located. In the city of OSAKA, it won only 7 seats, but only 7 candidates were nominated from the Komeito organization. The percentage of electoral victories per candidate has been highest for this group ever since the Komeito party was established in the urban area.

The Komeito (Indigenous Progressive) party, then, received only 11% of total voter support but elected all 7 of their nominated candidates in OSAKA City. The Indigenous Conservatives have lost 8% or more total vote as compared to 1967, 11% or more total vote compared to 1963, and approximately 20% total vote compared to 1951 in the city of OSAKA. Compared to this constant decline, the Non-indigenous Progressives have gradually gained broad voter support. It gained approximately 5% since 1951. The Non-indigenous Conservatives neither gained nor lost a great city prefecture Assembly election. (Local Election Statistics, 1971: pp. 150-200.)

In the surrounding satellite cities, this voting pattern became much clearer in that Indigenous Conservative has lost considerable total voting support as well as Assembly seats.

However, one strong area of continuity was apparent in one county and one village city since the Liberal Democrats received an overwhelming majority to win the election. The Liberal Democrats took one seat in Kawachi County (40-45) by 50% or more vote against a Communist opponent, and an agricultural city (16) reported a Liberal Democratic victory by a margin of 35% against a Communist opponent. (Local Election Statistics, 1971: pp. 150-200.)

Let us summarize some of the observations we made previously.

In the first place, the total number of seats won by the Indigenous Conservatives have declined from 1951 to 1971 in OSAKA Prefecture as a whole. Total voter support for the Indigenous Conservatives has also decreased from 1951 to 1971 in OSAKA Prefecture.

Second, the total number of seats won by the Non-indigenous Progressive has remained about the same as 1959 despite the heavy

decline of Socialist wins. Its source of strong voter support and considerable stability is an increasing popularity of Communist Party candidates. Total voter support for Non-indigenous Progressive is far greater now than in 1951 in the satellite cities.

Third, the Non-indigenous Conservatives and the Indigenous Progressives became established as minor forces in the Prefecture Assembly elections. The Indigenous Progressives gained strong support in the urbanized area as well as the suburbs of some major cities. But they will not be considered a major source of opposition until their number of seats in the prefecture Assembly has increased more than at present, or surpasses any of the Indigenous Conservatives or Non-indigenous Progressive forces.

Fourth, the larger concentration of secondary and tertiary industries (more than 4%) observed in satellite cities 6, 4, 7, 13, 24, 9, 29, 11, 17, 12, 46, 47, 22, and suburbanization of these areas explains the problems which were discussed in the previous chapter. Also a considerable population increase was observed in those areas. City 11, 27, 17 saw more than 100% population increase in 1970. The Liberal Democratic Party candidates (Indigenous Conservatives) have lost a considerable percentage of total voter support in 1971 in those areas. (Local Election Statistics, 1971: pp. 150-200.)

In addition to the above characteristics, the satellite cities outnumber any other area of the prefecture in terms of large concentrations of certain occupational groups. Cities 12, 7, 4, 6, 24 reported 35% or above of "D" occupational group. (See Table IV-4.) "D" occupational group: professional and managerial workers. 25% or above are seen in the city of OSAKA (1, Sakai City (2), there was no candidate for the Indigenous Conservatives; in Ikeda City (6) support the Indigenous

Conservative Party amounted to 28.6% in 1971, in Toyonaka City (4) 16.2%, and Ibaraki City (7) 25.9%.

If we observe a 5% differential (see Table IV-5 showing the results of the Assembly election of 1971), it becomes apparent that the satellite cities and city of OSAKA are moving strongly towards the Non-indigenous Progressive position in terms of total percentage of voter support, but the map also indicates the areas which are still controlled strongly by Indigenous Conservatives.

Those areas are characterized by a higher percentage distribution of primary industries. For instance, (40, 41, 42) county, and (31, 30) county still strongly show the significance of primary industrial pursuits. And obviously those two counties strongly supported the Conservatives for two decades. As the Appendix shows, most of the people in these areas are either agricultural or small craftsmen in occupation. It must be noted that the mean rate of "A" occupational group in the prefecture is only 3.0%.

Specifically one may observe continuity of political preference in terms of the specific characteristics of demography through time. Table IV-6 depicts a comparative picture of conservative shi and progressive shi which have been more or less stable in their political voting pattern from 1963 through 1971. In the prefecture, six shi are known to be strongly conservative and five shi are known to be strongly progressive. Each shi has maintained its political stability, or stated otherwise, each of the 11 shi in question has retained about the same political coloration between 1963 and 1971. Table IV-6 shows the mean score of sum of each shi from the census data between 1960 and 1965. There are no strong differences in the age composition between the two categories, but in the progressive shi, there are more males than in the conservative shi.

Table IV-7 also describes the comparative demographic characteristics of the conservative gun and the progressive gun which demonstrated consistent stability in their political structures. Table IV-7 thus shows the same statistical trend as the shi in regard to the sexual makeup of the population: the progressive gun outscore the conservative gun in the ratio of males to females. The magnitude of the difference, however, is much larger in the gun than in the shi. There is no striking difference in age composition between the conservative gun and the progressive gun. But there is a slightly greater percentage of 65 and over age group in the conservative gun. This phenomenon is primarily the result of the labor demand mechanism of the urban process in rural areas described in the previous chapter. Thus Tables IV-6 and IV-7 show that conservative shi and gun have a slightly greater percentage of individuals 65 and older in the population. The rate of population increase in progressive shi and gun is far greater than that of conservative shi and gun.

The progressive gun's demographic composition is almost identical to that of progressive shi.

Conservative shi also outscore their progressive counterpart slightly in the total percentage of people pursuing agriculture. This is true to a great extent in secondary industry, especially in the textile industries, whereas the progressive shi indicate a high concentration of tertiary industries.

Conservative gun have far greater concentration of primary industries, especially in the agricultural pursuits, than progressive gun. In contrast to this the progressive shi and gun have strong development of tertiary industries, especially that of wholesale and retail merchandising.

TABLE IV - 6

Conservative Shi and Progressive Shi
with Demographic Characteristics

	Age		Males Per 100F	Industrial Distribution			Tex- tile	Retail Wholesale		Occupational Distribution					
	0-14	15-64		65 ov	Pop. Incr.	Pri- mary		Sec. tiary	Agric.	A	B	C	D		
Conserva- tive Shi Total 6	23.9	71.0	5.0	94.3	24.3	9.0	51.06	34.3	8.9	21.4	16.1	8.9	49.3	18.3	23.2
Progres- sive Shi Total 5	24.0	71.3	4.5	103.8	52.9	5.9	43.7	50.28	5.8	5.4	18.7	5.9	41.6	19.8	32.5
										19.4	13.8				

Sources: Chiho Senkyo Tokei (Local Election Statistics) 1971; 1-200
Census of OSAKA Prefecture 1960-65; 10-58

TABLE IV - 7

Conservative Gun and Progressive Gun
with Demographic Characteristics

	Age		Males Per 100 F	Pop. Incr.	Industrial Distribution			Tex- tile	Retail Whole- sale	Occupational Distribution				
	0-14	15-64			Pri- mary	Sec. tiary	Ter- tiary			A	B	C	D	
Conserva- tive Gun Total 3	23.8	69.5	88.6	15.8	24.5	50.5	33.1	22.0	19.5	10.6	22.9	46.2	13.0	17.8
Progres- sive-Gun Total 1	23.3	72.5	103.7	59.8	6.3	51.2	42.2	6.2	11.3	16.3	6.2	47.5	18.0	28.1

Sources: Cross Tabulation of Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 1-200
Census of OSAKA Prefecture 1960-65; 10-58

The two tables also depict the differentiation of occupational group distribution. In conservative shi "A" and "B" occupational groups are heavily concentrated, but in progressive shi only "D" has a significant number of people.

Conservative gun correspondingly indicate a larger "A" group, and progressive gun show a larger "D" group. Both progressive shi and gun outscore the conservatives on the total percentage of the "D" group of clerical, managerial, technical, professional, and related occupations. On the other hand, both conservative gun and shi have a far higher concentration of agriculture-related occupations. Although the progressive shi and gun have more of the "D" occupational group than the conservative, the progressive are very low in the "A" group.

The three cities tabulated in Table IV-8 which shifted their political preference from conservative to progressive had to face rapid urbanization with its consequent increase of population and industry. The natural problems of the prefecture's urbanization process described earlier in the chapter explain the reasons for this shifting preference.

Table IV-9 points out the demographic characteristics of four shi which shifted from Indigenous Conservative to multiple party representation. Actually these four shi are the most productive and highly populated areas of the prefecture. Since OSAKA City and Sakai City require massive quantities of highly trained workers aged between 15 and 65 years, it is no surprise that 72.7% of the population is in that age group. The population increase of these cities has been relatively slow, only 26.1% between 1960 and 1965, and like other urban areas there are more males than females. Hardly any agricultural pursuits were found in these four shi; however, heavy manufacturing industries and a

TABLE IV - 8

Shift in Political Party Preference from Indigenous Conservative to Non-Indigenous Progressive 1967-71, and the Demographic Characteristics

Males Per 100F	Pop. Incr.	Industrial Distribution			Occupational Distribution			
		P	S	T	A	B	C	D
101.2	67.8	7.9	48.8	43.2	7.8	45.6	19.0	26.4

Sources: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 1-200
Census of OSAKA Prefecture, 1960-65; 10-58

TABLE IV - 9

Fractionation of Political Parties Among Four Shi (1963-71)
by Demographic Characteristics 1960-65

	0-14	15-65	Over	Males Per 100F	Pop. Incr.	Industrial Distribution			Occupational Distribution			
						P	S	T	A	B	C	D
Four Shi	22.8	72.7	4.37	102.75	26.1	1.85	48.1	50.1	1.77	46.6	24.6	26.8

Sources: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 1-200
Census of OSAKA Prefecture, 1960-65; 10-58

heavy concentration of wholesale and retail service industries were evident.

Tables IV-8 and IV-9 illustrate the changing demographic composition of the two types of cities: Table IV-8 relates to rapid suburbanization, while Table IV-9 relates to highly dense urban areas. Table IV-8 also indicates the demographic characteristics of cities which have shifted their political allegiance. It refers to the three cities which have shifted from Indigenous Conservative to Non-indigenous Progressive between 1967 and 1971. (13, 15, 17)

Tables IV-6 and IV-7 clearly demonstrate that the sex ratio is even higher in proportion of males in these seven cities than in the progressive shi and gun. The rate of population increase is also keener than the traditionally progressive shi or progressive gun. There is a relatively low incidence of agricultural pursuits, a higher concentration of secondary and tertiary industries, and a heavy concentration of metal industries.

Table IV-10 shows the relationship between the occupational groups and the total percentage of voter support in each of the four groups from 1963 to 1971. As previously observed in Tables IV-6 and IV-7, conservative gun and shi have a higher concentration of agricultural, manufacturing, and transportation related occupations, but a relatively low percent of professional and clerical and related occupations. In contrast to this, progressive shi and gun have especially higher concentrations in the professional and managerial and related occupations. Table IV-10 can be used as a sort of cross-examination of the above relationship in which certain political support and occupational groups can be doubly correlated.

TABLE IV - 10

Party Preference by Areas Characterized by
Major Occupational Groups, 1963; 1967 and 1971

	1963			1967			1971					
	IC	IP	NIP	IC	IP	NIP	IC	IP	NIP			
Electoral Districts												
A, (25% or more ; 3% Mean for Prefecture)	46.8	0	23.5	0	0	74.0	0	58.6	0	33.6	7.68	
5 Total Elec. Districts												
B, (55% or more ; 47.6% Mean for Prefecture)	46.5	0	0	7.6	55.1	0	0	25.8	38.92	0	3.2	19.67
5 Total Elec. Districts												
C, (25% or more ; 24.3 Mean for Prefecture)	38.5	0.7	16.5	24.3	35.1	18.5	18.5	27.9	29.7	13.8	15.1	35.2
2 Total Elec. Districts												
D, (30% or more ; 25.1 Mean for Prefecture)	27.0	0	14.8	35.4	25.8	0	0	19.0	36.5	0	10.3	48.8
10 Total Elec. Districts												

Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 1-200

Basically Table IV-10 provides a rough correlation of party preference and occupational group. It does this by letting election statistics from electoral districts which have a higher percentage of the occupational group than the mean for the entire prefecture stand for that particular group. Thus five electoral districts which have 25% of the population or more involved in agriculture stand for the occupational group "A." The validity of this method is shown by the fact that the mean proportion of agricultural workers in the prefecture is only 3%. At least five electoral districts have 25% or more of the population working in occupational group "A." Since 3.0% is the prefecture's mean score in agriculture-related occupations, 25% or more in the five districts represents a far greater comparative concentration of that occupational group.

The "B" group has the largest concentration distribution, and a 47.6% mean for the prefecture points out the fact that much of the prefecture's occupational concentration rests upon transportation, manufacturing, and construction-related jobs. They may well be classified as ranging from lower status white-collar jobs to blue-collar jobs. Electoral districts which have a "B" concentration of 55% or more, thus, show greater distribution of this particular group than the norm.

"C" and "D" occupational groups are spread evenly throughout the prefecture, and the mean score is between 24.3% and 25.1%. Twenty-five percent or more of "C" group can be found only in two districts, and 30% or more of "D" group may be observed in ten districts. A "D" concentration of more than 30% largely characterizes the occupational composition of suburban satellite cities.

In 1963, the Indigenous Conservatives were supported strongly by the agricultural group, lower income white-collar workers, and the blue-collar occupational group. But the fact that conservative strength carried over into the other two occupational groups sustained their leading political and governmental status ever since 1951.

"C" and "D" occupational groups tend to show complex voting behavior. Inconsistencies in their political behavior may be observed in the 1963 election. Their total vote has been spread over three political parties. It is evident that there must have been divided political feeling among members of the same occupational group since the total vote was split between Indigenous Conservatives and Non-indigenous Progressives. Their over-all support for the conservatives, however, was greater than that for the progressives. In 1963 the Indigenous Progressives just began to gain some support from the "C" group, but this was the result of "C" occupational groups' involvement with the religion-affiliated political party organization (Komeito).

In 1967 there was no significant change in the conservative vote, but occupational group "B" increased their support for Non-indigenous Progressive instead of their support for Independent candidates. This election also saw a significant increase in "C" group's support for the Indigenous Progressives. But the over-all strength of the Indigenous Conservatives was still far stronger than any other opposition.

In 1971 their voting behavior became more complex than before. The agricultural sector still maintained their strong support for the Indigenous Conservatives, but for the first time they voted for the N.I.P. even though the total amounted to only 7.68% among five electoral districts. Members of group "B" showed increased dissatisfaction with

the Liberal Democratic Party, and decreased their electoral support by 11%. Group "C" also decreased its electoral support for the Liberal Democratic Party and increased its support for N.I.P.

The political support of members of group "D" for the opposition was far greater than that for the Indigenous Conservatives. Total voter support for the conservatives registered lower than the total voter support for the progressives.

From Table IV-10, some tentative conclusions may be drawn. The conservatives continue to thrive as long as over-all support can be sustained from all occupational groups. Occupational group "B" has tended to support the conservatives. Yet the elections of 1963 and 1971 revealed a tendency for this group to move away from the conservatives to Independent candidates. Even though the income status for the members of this group ranges from the lower-middle strata to the middle strata, their tendency to form public opinion and civic involvement can be as significant as "D" group's activity in political campaigns. Their patterns of voting are complex and diversified but very urban. Group "D" may be classified also as "middle strata." Members of this group seem to play a significant part in formation of mass public opinion. They often serve as an official and informed leaders of local organizations. Thus they have become authoritative intermediaries between the citizenry and formal institutions. They are extremely sensitive to the acute problems which arise from the fact that national political processes are at variance with the decision-making process of local government. Their orientation can be highly progressive, yet many of the members of the "D" occupational group continue to support the Indigenous Conservatives.

Table IV-11 shows the result of a public opinion survey in 1950. The Liberal Democratic Party was supported strongly by farmers and small and medium-sized business men. Non-union and union workers also showed strong support for the Liberal Democrats. The Socialists only received strong support from union workers.

Table IV-12 shows the cross-tabulation of occupational distribution and political preference in relation to that of industrial distribution for the prefecture.

In OSAKA Prefecture, four geographical categories may be selected to examine the relation of industrial distribution as to political preference. The designation of each region will depend on economic activity in one industry or more. This is because in the prefecture as a whole, there is no region to be found where only primary, or only primary and secondary, or only tertiary industries are the economic industrial activity of that region. Thus primary and tertiary, secondary, secondary and tertiary, and primary and secondary and tertiary were classified regions of OSAKA Prefecture for purposes of this study.

Where there are primary industries, there is high support for the Indigenous Conservatives. Areas of secondary and tertiary industries show strong plurality in dividing their electoral support among different parties. These areas are characteristically satellite cities as well as areas of rapid suburbanization and urbanization.

Table IV-12 shows how voting patterns vary according to type of industry. It is evident that the strongest support for the Non-indigenous Progressives is to be found in regions in which the secondary and tertiary industries prevail.

TABLE IV - 11

Party Support in Percentage by Occupational Status

Occupational Status	Average	Union Worker	Non-Union Worker	Small and Medium Business	Fishing and Farmers	Other
Liberal Democrat	38.3	37	36	48	38	35
Socialist	16.1	37.0	26.0	14	12	12
Communist	1.5	2	4	2	1	1
Other & Minor	2.0	1	2	0	3	1
No Party Preference	9.1	14	11	11	7	11
Don't Know	33.0	9	21	25	39	40

Source: Asahi News Paper, April, 1950; 2
 Appeared in Toshino Ronri, Hagi, Groro, 1969

TABLE IV - 12

Political Party Preference and the Industrial
Distribution in OSAKA Prefecture

Percent Vote	1963			1967			1971			
	IC	IP	NIP	IC	IP	NIP	IC	IP	NIP	
Industrial Regions										
Primary and Tertiary	40.7	-	47.1	-	-	75.95	-	15.85	-	84.15
Secondary	27.5	-	0.9	*	-	-	33.80	-	-	2.30
							No Election			
Secondary and Tertiary	31.0	19.0	20.5	29.4	15.1	17.4	31.5	14.0	17.1	36.7
Primary and Secondary and Tertiary	53.0			87.2						12.8

*----- Elected without Electoral Votes.

Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei
Census of OSAKA

As noted before, Indigenous Conservatives are supported strongly by farmers and urban tradesmen with organizational strength throughout the prefecture. Among urban tradesmen, however, support for the Indigenous Conservatives has been falling off.

The results of this survey of four satellite cities in 1971 basically agrees with Watanuki's 1960 survey: both show a movement towards a voting pattern in which the well educated but low paid white collar worker is more dominant than the tradesman.

Gubernatorial Elections

Faced with severe urban social and economic strains, the Liberal Democratic Party, the "party for the Tradesman" became the target of social criticism since the party had controlled the prefecture from 1947. Let us review the gubernatorial election history of OSAKA Prefecture in the same fashion. Liberal Democratic candidates enjoyed strong voter support between 1947 and 1959. Akama was re-elected twice and was governor of the prefecture from 1947 to 1959. Sato, Akama's successor and the local Liberal Democratic Party committee chairman, succeeded to the control of OSAKA Prefecture from 1959 to 1967 as a three-term governor (see Table IV-13). The opposition has been very ineffective in counter-acting this strong Liberal Democratic candidate. An election for this office differs from the Lower House representative election because it requires such an extensive campaign of voter organization with all of its consequent expense. The Independent center-right candidate Obata attempted three times but gave only a close race of 49.2% vote against the winner's 50.8%, Sato's close margin in 1963.

Table IV-14 demonstrates, contrary to what was happening in the representative election of 1967, a landslide win for Sato. Sato's total

TABLE IV - 13

Result of the Governor Election for OSAKA Prefecture and
Percent Acquired Vote by Each Candidate

Party Candidate %	Year						
	1947	1951	1955	1959	1963	1967	1971
Liberal Democrat	AKAMA 38*	AKAMA 58.2*	AKAMA 53*	SATO 50.8*	SATO 53.5*	SATO 72.5*	SATO 49
Socialist	KAZUKI 24.5	SUGI- YAMA 41.0					
Independent	HAYASHI 3.1		OBATA 47	OBATA 49.2	OBATA 43.0	SUGA- WARA 10	KURODA 49.8*
Communist	SIDA 3.7	YAMADA 0.8			YAMADA 3.5	MURA- KAMI 9	

*----- Winning Party

Source: General Election for OSAKA Prefecture
Osaka, 1971: 1-210.

TABLE IV - 14

1967 Gubernatorial Election for OSAKA Prefecture

Party Candidate	Percent Vote	Fu Total	OSAKA City	Total Satellite Cities	Total Counties
Sato Liberam Demo.		72.3	71.7	72.42	80.81
Fuji Independent		11.3	17.7	0.1	0.1
Sugawara Independent		5.9	3.0	16.6	11.9
Murakami Communist		4.7	3.4	0.9	0.5

Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971, 1-200.

vote was 72.3%. This breaks down into 71.9% in the city of OSAKA, 72.9% in the satellite cities, and 80.8% in the counties. Three other opponents won less than 12% each of the total prefecture vote. More than 75% support for Sato was registered in the areas, 4, 24, 7, 9, 17, 14, 21, 32, 33, 3, 34, 15 and 35 in 1967 (See Map-4). The nature of an election such as the governorship of a prefecture in Japan does not necessarily reflect the party's image like the local representative elections, which mostly represent their own interests. It often reflects more of a contest of personalities and issues more general than those at the representative level.

Sato's true test came in the 1971 election, which decided whether or not he could obtain the vote against the unknown Independent-left candidate Kuroda.

Table IV-15 demonstrates that it was a very close race compared to the previous one. Although the polls had correctly predicted a Sato win before the election, the margin of victory fell below Liberal Democratic expectations in certain locales. In the city of OSAKA, Sato received 50.4% while Kuroda took 47.9%, thus giving Sato the city by only 2.5%. Kuroda won the satellite cities by 51.3% to Sato's 47.6%. The biggest upset came in the county vote upon which the Liberal Democrats have depended most strongly in the past. Sato there gained 54.6% while Kuroda took a sizeable 44.5%. Sato's opposition did quite well in the total county vote since Sato took more than 80% of the vote last time in 1967.

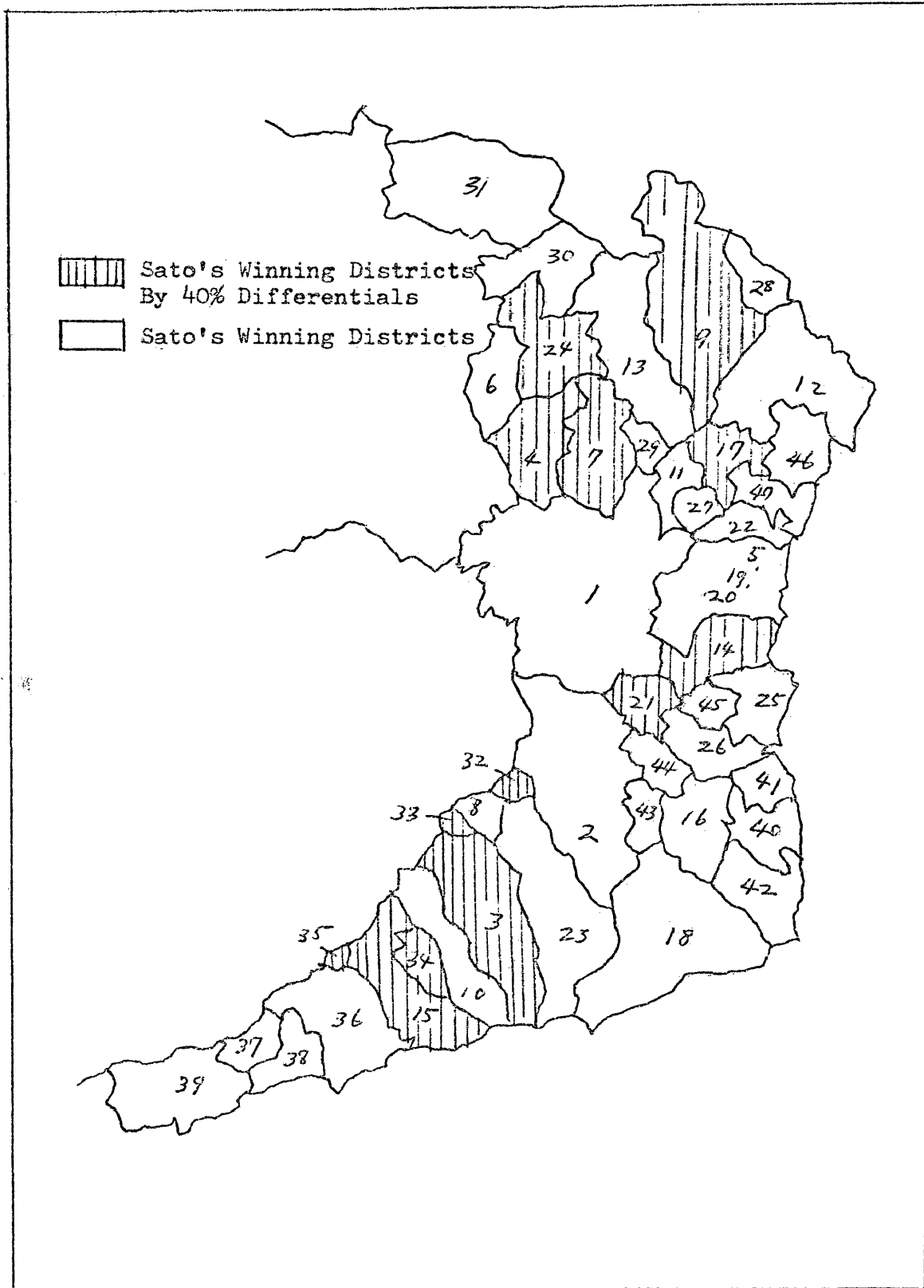
Maps M-4, M-5 and M-6 demonstrate that ex-governor Sato took a considerable beating in number 7 or Ikeda City. There he lost by 12.2%, whereas he had won by more than 75% of the vote in 1967. The same held true in city 9 where Sato lost by 18.1%. He suffered another loss in

TABLE IV - 15
1971 Gubernatorial Election for OSAKA Prefecture

Party Candidate	Percent Vote	Fu Total	OSAKA City	Total Satellite Cities	County Total
Kuroda Ind. Lefe		49.8	47.9	51.3	44.5
Sato Liberal Demo.		48.9	50.4	43.6	54.6
Fuji Independent		1.4	1.7	0.1	0.9

Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 1-200.

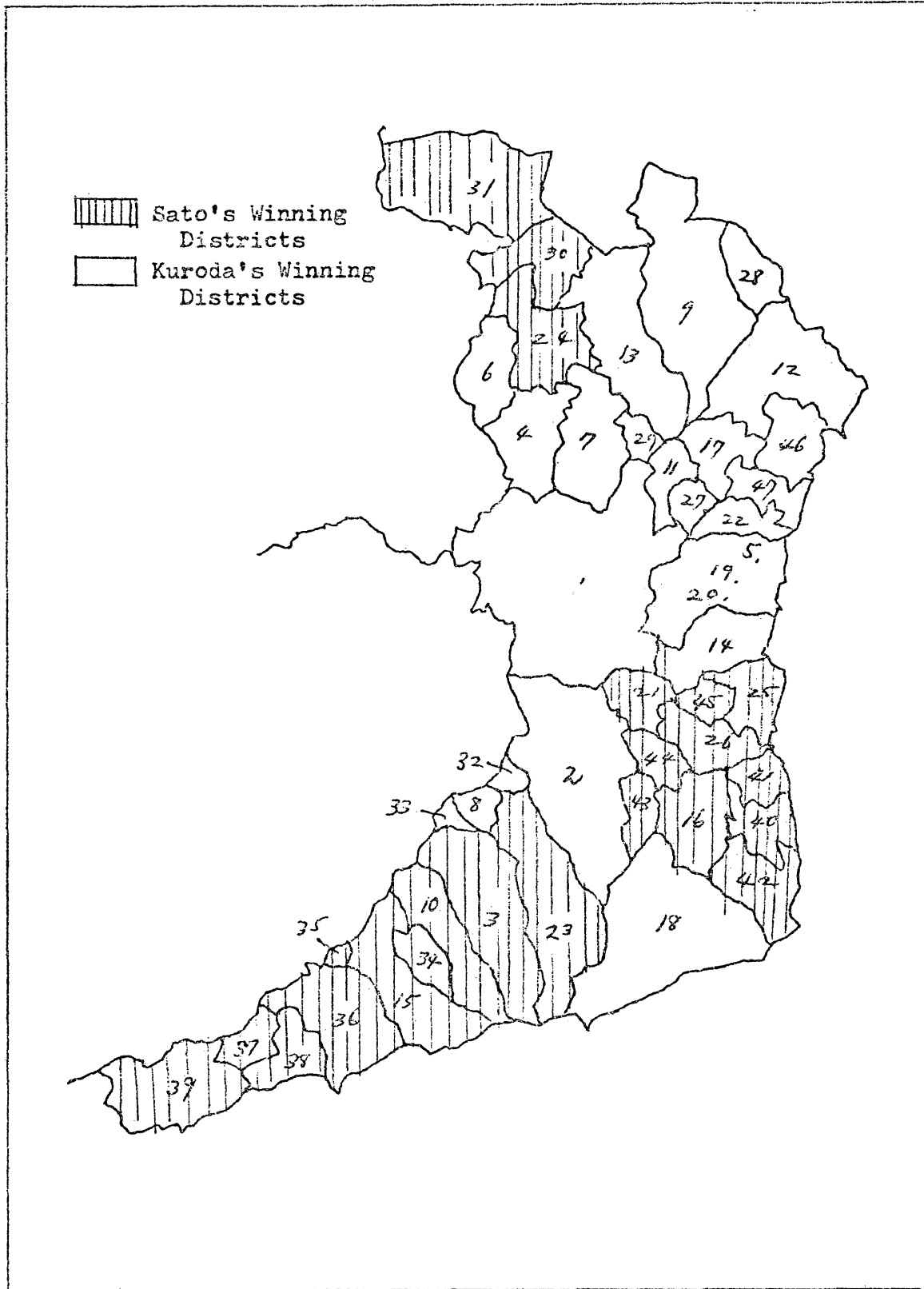
1967 Governor Election for Osaka Prefecture



Sources: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971, 120-210.

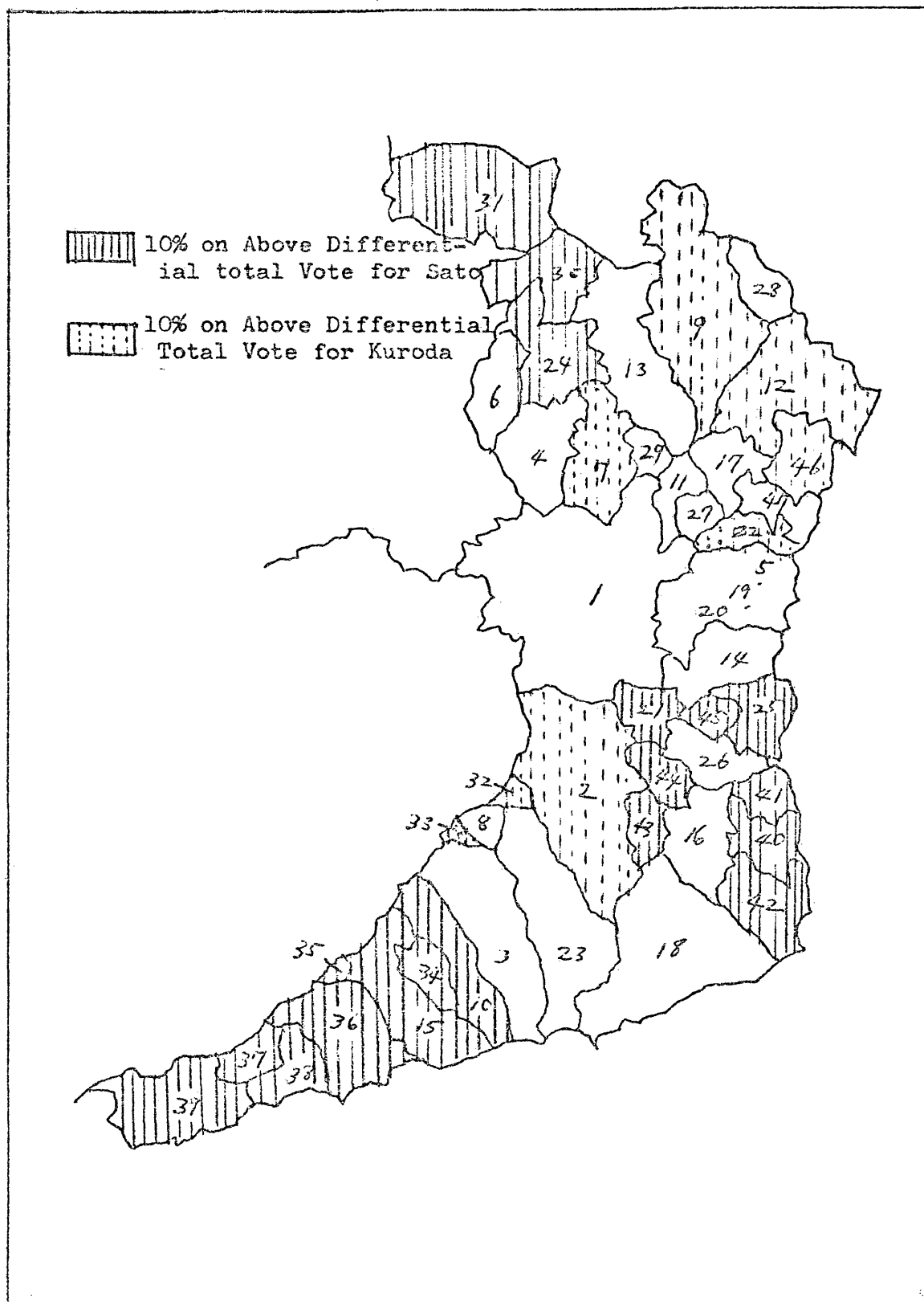
M-5

1971 Gubernatorial Election for Osaka Prefecture



Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 120-200.

M - 6
1971 Gubernatorial Election for Osaka
Prefecture; Total Vote Differentials



Source: Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971; 120-200.

city 32, losing by more than 17.6% against his opposition. The total satellite cities' vote was strongly against his re-election for governor of the prefecture, and considerable numbers of county voters voted against his re-election despite the traditional support of the sector for the Liberal Conservatives.

It seems that 1971 was the transitional year in the postwar political history of Japan. The Tokyo governorship was won by Minobe, the Communist Party candidate, while the Kyoto governorship was won by the reformist candidate. OSAKA Prefecture elected Kuroda, an Independent leftist and an acute critic of the Sato administration and of the Liberal Democratic Party in 1971. The events we have observed are not simply an isolated history of the elections of one prefecture. But they reflect the cause and effect development of urban-industrial strains which brought about a new awareness in the politico-economic community. The relationship between demographic characteristics and the voting pattern in the prefecture is not completely exact since we do not have precise data on the population except on the industrial distribution, occupational classification, and general population characteristics from the census records. From the two types of election analyses, however, we may be able to conceptualize how the voter's cognitive shift from the conformity type of vote or traditional apathy into a rational concrete, issue-oriented voting pattern took place. We can also see how the urbanization process and its consequent social-economic problems reinforced the tendency towards more rational, issue-oriented politics. These developments are apparent in two counties, especially from 1967 to the 1971 election when liberalization of agricultural production may have caused bankruptcy and tax burdens for the small land-holders severe

enough to make them leave the area to work in the city as common laborers. Satellite cities, where there are large numbers of professional and managerial positions, tend to vote for the progressives while issues such as pollution threaten the daily welfare of cities. Not enough people are ready to sacrifice their own interests for politico-industrial organization goal attainment. This phenomenon may be called occupational awareness, or occupational solidarity which was especially strong in Toyonaka City, Ikeda City, Sakai City, and other satellite cities.

As many different political factions began to develop along progressive lines in the 1960's, the Liberal Democratic Party began to change its shape and ideological posture. In other words, the party for the tradesman had to expand its political base among the working class in order to maintain political domination over the people's larger consensus. The strategy was to mobilize the working class within the framework of the national interest and controlling the balance of power among factions to the advantage of Liberal Democrats. The pursuit of these two policies involved some slight of hand by the Liberal Democrats. Deep down they desired to retain elitist principles of leadership. But by appealing to the "national consensus" and pretending to believe in popular democracy, they hoped to retain majority control of the government.

The basic assumption about the political consciousness of the Japanese may no longer be described accurately in the generalization by Holloran. The emergency of urban problems has raised the political consciousness of the citizenry. They are less apathetic than the image depicted by Holloran. The new level of political consciousness, and a higher degree of willingness of individuals to participate in the

political process, made the Liberal Democratic approach to "consensus" politics inoperative. The type of social solidarity they sought neglected environmental and social problems in order to obtain the fastest economic growth rate. Thus the neglect of the adverse societal side effects of growth laid a snare for that party. As the people became more political conscious, they were bound to react against the political party which sponsored such unbalanced development.

The prevalence of social disruption and the indestructability of labor organizations were to make the old style leadership unacceptable. The political bargaining process could not be resolved by one single party interest as such. Prime Minister Ikeda's intention absolutely reflects this view in a 1961 election speech. At that time he voiced the opinion that democratic decision-making should once again take place on the floor of the national Diet. Thus the interaction of different political groups would lead to solutions in problem areas, and resolve the conflicting forces created by Kishi's era.

The end result would hopefully be a cohesive political structure.

The time prior to 1960 may be called the era of two major party systems (Liberal Democrats and Socialists), and the period following 1960 may be called the era of many minority parties and the conservatives. Departing from the local election of OSAKA Prefecture, let us look at the figures of the national house of representatives from 1958 through 1969 considering the total number elected as well as the vote ratio.

As Table IV-16 shows, in the 31st and 32nd sessions of the Diet, the Liberal Democrats did not receive majority support, even though the number of the representatives increased in 1969. This was the period following 1967.

TABLE IV - 16

Percent of Seats Gained by Party in the
Lower House of the National Diet (1958-1967)

Year	Party						
	L. D.	Socialist	Komeito	Democratic	Social Communist	Miscellaneous	Independent
1958							
28th Session	57.8	32.9	-	-	2.6	0.7	6.0
1959							
29th Session	57.8	27.6	-	8.8	2.9	0.4	2.8
1963							
30th Session	54.7	29.0	-	7.4	4.0	0.2	4.8
1967							
31st Session	48.4	27.9	5.4	7.4	4.8	0.2	5.5
1969							
32nd Session	47.6	21.5	10.9	7.7	6.8	0.2	5.3

Source: Shuzo Niida, Japan Under Security Pact,
1969: 126.

The Liberal News reported in 1969 that in Kyushu Island (except Fukuoka Prefecture), Chugoku districts, and Shikoki Island, the nominated candidates were successfully elected. But in Honshu (main island), the Northern Tohoku districts, Tokyo, Konagawa, Chiba, OSAKA, Kyoto, and in the large urban centers of Fukuoka, the Indigenous Conservatives won the election of 1969 by the lowest margin ever. (Journal of Liberal News, June, 1971: p. 28.) It is too early to conclude that the Indigenous Conservative political forces will crumble in the Japanese parliamentary system. Rather they are attempting to change their image into something new and challenging. The Indigenous Conservatives would like to become the party of the conservative-left or conservative center-left in terms of members or constituent interest groups. Rising popular support for the Indigenous Progressives is one indicator of the changing public mood and hence a very real threat to the Liberal Democrats.

To assess these political developments is no easy task. The labor force in the agriculture dropped 3.1% in the prefecture. Agriculture had been the platform supporting the country's development into a modern industrial country. The secondary industries and tertiary industries, enjoying full governmental support, were nourished by land taxes from agriculture. The agrarian households have also been the largest suppliers of the labor force, mainly the low-educated common laborers. Japanese agriculture has played a significant role in the early stages of industrial growth. As in OSAKA Prefecture's case, these agricultural sections will become heavily urbanized and urban-rural differences will disappear. The changing social-psychological outcome is hard to measure. But the citizens could not continue to be indifferent to the political process when the towns and villages were being annexed by the city and

when they were being forced to pay so many of the costs of industrialization.

During the early period of urbanization and industrialization, the traditional, homogeneous voting pattern still was evident and was supported by persisting familism. (Even today traditional attitudes of all types are strong among the Japanese.) Agrarian society had long been the stronghold of the conservative politician, but this pattern was gradually altered as rationalism and democratic principles became more widely practiced and accepted.

To sum it up, under the ideological dominance of familism, people are merely subjects to be governed, and are far from being truly politically conscious and independent. Institutionalization of democratic principles definitely confused the Japanese with the rejection of familism on the one hand and an ambivalent acceptance of democracy on the other. In spite of the fact that Western democracy was a radical political system for Japan, the social process to which group goals were directed mainly depended upon traditional authoritarian leadership. In this social climate, the political elite easily reinstated traditional patriarchal social values in the decision-making process. Since 1955, as Takahashi describes, "in the stage of democratization in which political modernization kept pace with economic modernization, democratic manipulation resulted in a dual attitude, in which a considerable number of the people became politically apathetic, while others were aroused to defend democracy and fight against conformism." (A. Takahashi, 1961: pp. 10-12.) The democratic institutions which developed gave only the guise of citizen participation. The government and ruling party planned on the eternal rotation of political power within the conservative party and on the

continuing strength of their majority. Kishi's 1960 government created not only a parliamentary crisis, but a crisis of democracy itself since the prime minister ignored the public by means of authoritarian control over the cabinet. This resulted in a reduction of democracy to mere "legalism within the Diet" for the bureaucrats.

It must be said that when the power elite attempted to perpetuate a political legitimation in terms of legal authority for the bureaucrats, but not for the common people, the development of a real grassroots democracy became a significant alternative to elitist rule.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

From 1947 through 1957 the Indigenous Conservatives maintained majority control in the prefectural Assembly. After 1963, however, this situation began to change as that party declined in total popular support as well as in total number of seats in the Assembly. The non-indigenous Progressives filled the vacuum by attracting dissatisfied urban dwellers from various occupational groups. This party group has gained substantial support despite the setback in popularity of the Socialist Party. In prefectural politics, four political preference groups continue to struggle for public support, and it seems that the local electoral process has become more pluralistic in terms of popular support.

What can this study possibly suggest from observations of OSAKA Prefecture? It is possible to see how the prefecture has been changed in terms of political decision-making and in relation to the development of rapid urbanization. It is also possible to see certain types of political continuity, such as the persistence of the Indigenous Progressives in urban areas. It is not possible to make a definite generalization regarding the extent to which structural factors directly influenced political changes in the various regions.

Before Tanaka dissolved the last session of the Diet, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party made a pledge to maintain and expand the so-called national goals as its policy. These are to "continually increase

material prosperity and to lead the world in economic growth rate." The monomania of the central government for growth-oriented economics influenced the local administration to a great extent. That influence has been so unbalanced as to create disastrous social strains in the physical structure as well as the urban psychology of the prefecture. In addition to this, industry has begun to realize that land, labor, and resources are all becoming more scarce. The occurrence of all types of environmental disruption, furthermore, are forcing the people to shift their faith from the GNP to more human values.

The economic super-powerism which was such a paramount political goal in the 1960's reached a peak in the early 1970's. This transition away from this goal is apparent in the Seventh General Local Elections held during April, 1971, including OSAKA Prefecture.

There were 46 prefectural gubernatorial elections and 44 prefectural assembly elections. Elections were also held for the mayors of 161 cities (out of a total of 597 in the country) and for the municipal assemblies of 369 cities. Furthermore, a total of 890 towns and villages (about 30% of the total 2600) elected mayors while 1,352 towns and villages (about 55% of the entirety) held elections for representation in town and village assemblies. (Japan Quarterly, "Lessons of the General Local Elections:" Vol. 18, 1971: p. 274.)

The failure of opposition parties to put up candidates resulted in uncontested elections in a number of cities, towns, and villages. The mayors of 366 among the 39% of the towns and villages in which the terms of office of mayors had expired, and the town and village assemblymen of 70 towns and villages were returned to office in uncontested elections. (Japan Quarterly, "Lessons of the General Local Elections." Vol. 18, 1971: p. 274.) Among 18 gubernatorial elections of Japan, particular

interest may be focused on the elections in those five prefectures where the Socialists and the Communists set up a joint struggle against the Conservative candidates. The five prefectures concerned were Hokkaido, Tokyo, Kanagawa, OSAKA, and Fukuoka. In the 13 other elections for governors of prefectures, the progressive candidate participated in the elections largely in a token manner, i.e., the conservatives in those prefectures faced no real opposition and the 13 elections were a repetition of the usual once-every-four year vote of confidence in the incumbent governors.

The incumbent governor of Tokyo, Minobe Ryokichi, supported by the joint struggle front, was reelected by a margin of more than 1,670,000 votes against his Liberal Democratic opponent, Hatano Akira. (Japan Quarterly, p. 275.) If we consider the election results, the reformist victories in Tokyo and OSAKA reflect a revolt of urban dwellers against the Liberal Democratic Party government.

The Indigenous Conservatives, being essentially the party of agrarian village interests and small-to-medium tradesmen business supporters, and lacking effective urban policies, demonstrated serious party liabilities in the midst of industrialization and urbanization of Japan. Moreover, the problem of environmental disruption so long ignored by the conservatives has been shuffled off onto the urban residents.

The question of popular representation and the problem of environmental disruption were both matters for indictment of the Liberal Democratic regime by urban dwellers in the course of the recent general elections. The general local elections actually spotlighted the nature of the confrontation between the Liberal Democratic Party and various urban parties.

This trend is evident in the appearance of the so-called "reformist megapolis" in the Keihin Industrial Zone along the shores of Tokyo Bay. The Non-indigenous Progressives defeated the Liberal Democratic candidate in the mayoral elections in Yokohama City by a large margin of over 380,000 votes to win a third term. Reformist mayors were elected in the three cities of Kawasaki, Yokosuka, and Kamakura. The total population of the Keihin Industrial Zone is roughly 15 million people, and Kawasaki City has the third largest industrial output in the whole of Japan. (Japan Quarterly, p. 276.) It goes without saying that the emergency of reformist leaders in this Zone will bring powerful pressures to bear on the future policies of the central government regarding urban problems.

If we use political party yardsticks in measuring the general trend of the past local elections, we find that the votes won by each party in the prefectural assembly elections in 44 prefectures were as follows: Liberal Democratic Party 46.9%, Socialists 19.4%, the Komeito 3.8%, the Democratic Socialist 5.0%, and the Communist Party 7.5%. (Japan Quarterly, p. 279.) The result of these elections does not show any significant change in OSAKA or at the national level. It is simply a part of the continuing tendency for the Indigenous Conservatives to lose voter support. This primarily because of the Liberal Democratic Party's setbacks in the urban centers.

From an over-all point of view, the Liberal Democratic Party succeeded in increasing the number of seats in those ten prefectures where the farm vote predominates, as for instance Iwate, Gumma, Ishikawa, Shiga, Ehime, and Miyazaki. The seats won by the conservative forces

easily constitute a majority in these prefectures, thus they have made up for the seats lost in the cities. (Japan Quarterly, p. 277.)

The recent rapid increase in "citizen power" as shown by various "citizen movements," demonstrates the increase in the "participatory consciousness" of citizens, their independent interest in autonomous political expression instead of the obedient silence. The essential concept of political community leads to the consciousness of a communality of living among citizenry. This participatory consciousness originates in regional tensions which impinge directly on the lives of citizens. The political victories of Kuroda of OSAKA and Minobe of Tokyo were the manifestation of communal consciousness of the citizens of Tokyo and OSAKA.

Since the end of World War II, the conservatives have almost monopolized political power in Japan except that today their position is severely threatened in the urban areas. This has fostered a feeling of distrust, of frustration, over a condition of party politics where any real likelihood of a change of regime has vanished (a major merit of parliamentary democracy). Thus the chief reason for current high rate of voter turnover and voter abstention is the increasing habitual apathy which people feel as a sense of being subjected to the pressures of a "closed postwar democratic system."

It seems in Japan that there existed a far more powerful party decision-making process prior to the introduction of parliamentary political bargaining. Japanese politics, thus, may be characterized as a system in which the cabinet tends to overrule the parliament in the decision-making process. This is not unusual in parliamentary regimes.

We cannot predict at this time to what extent these social and economic changes will threaten the maintenance of an Indigenous

Conservative majority in Japan as a whole, but OSAKA's 1971 governor's election and the declining number of seats held by the Liberal Democrats in the prefectural Assembly may be a signal of what is to come.

It is said theoretically that the local administration is the political system to which local people apply their initiative to handle local problems. But when we realize the complexity of the local affairs, interrelated authority systems and financial and management systems, we will end up facing the wall of recent political reality. There exists, moreover, many ideas, values, and interests among various classes which reflect different, often contradictory, profiles upon the foundation of such a political system. The 1947 constitution claims that such local administration must meet the requirement for ensuring the minimum level of fundamental rights, peaceful existence, and the right to pursue individual happiness, etc. In other words, theoretically government must be for the people and by the people. K. Takayanagi explains that "Constitution essence is laid down that sovereign power resides with the people. In Article I the emperor's position is declared to be derived from 'the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.' This Rousseauist doctrine of popular sovereignty proclaimed in the new constitution naturally astonished most Japanese people, for it was diametrically opposed to what they believed to be the abiding principle of Japanese national policy." (K. Takayanagi, 1957: pp. 10-12.)

The old choice of fast economic growth may be overruled by the majority. Legitimation of majority rule does not guarantee the effects of such social action which may result in severe social cost. Kornhauser points out four different types of society: (1) communal society in which elites are inaccessible and nonelites are unavailable; (2) totalitarian society in which elites are inaccessible and nonelites are

available; (3) mass society in which elites are accessible but nonelites are available; and (4) pluralist society in which elites are accessible but nonelites are unavailable. (W. Kornhauser, 1959). In the totalitarian society nonelites are subject to total domination by the ruling elite, whereas in the pluralist society the nonelites are free from the control of the elites. Socio-economic developments of the 1960's encouraged the formation of nonelite group power. The fragmentation of intermediate and primary groups fostered the development of competition and interdependence between groups. This made the integration of conflicting values and ideologies possible.

Japanese society before the military defeat of 1945 was a predominantly communal-totalitarian society based upon the principal of the primary group, the family.

This type of social relationships, based upon primary group solidarity, penetrates through the intermediate groups despite the fact that they may likely be independent of the ruling elites of the state. Takayanagi's explanation of the new constitution nevertheless ignores the basic social process, such as this primary collectivism, as a predominantly functional social institution. Since this was not only an acceptable institution but also the national ideology, the new multiple structural principles and value orientations must have been assimilated within this basic framework of primary collectivism. ✓

In the urban center where tense social and economic problems connect with political institutions, this primary collectivism may be rationalized to be secondary in terms of goal priority. If the politics of voting were still largely traditional, the trend of contemporary political party proliferation and struggle would not be expected.

Practicality and theory of political institutions cannot ignore the social processes of the old and the new when such processes may result in group conflict.

The trend of Japanese society as a whole, as well as the trends which we have observed in the local elections of the prefecture, may well suggest certain transitions in Japanese political life. "The defeat in the cities may lead to defeat in the farm village tomorrow." There is no assurance of the accuracy in this prediction. However, the political party that understands the future, and absorbs and crystallizes the consciousness of the citizen in the complex present and future world of social-economic life, may have the prerequisites to survive in the future. From this viewpoint, Japan's postwar democratic system and political organization are at a major point of transition in which they interact with social and political pressures and realities.

Apart from the four preference groups, let us consider the future of party politics in Japan from the observation we made. It raises a fundamental question whether the Liberal Democratic Party can transform itself from a "rural" to an "urban" political party. It is a significant matter since it may predict the future course of the Conservative regime in Japan.

More than 70% of Japan's population will be concentrated in urban areas by the latter half of the 1970's, a reflection of the irreversible trend toward greater industrialism and urbanism. Yet the Liberal Democratic Party continues to rely on the rural population to form its political majority. If the Liberal Democratic Party continues to rely on the outmoded and unequal allocation of Diet seats in order to maintain its present party majority in the Diet, that party will be deliverately flouting the basic tenet of representative government.

Another conservative party, the Democratic Socialist Party (Non-indigenous Conservative) has also been stagnant in recent General Elections in that it showed no change in party strength. It seems that the situation reflects the fact that the political objectives of the Democratic Socialists are of no interest to the majority. The party often has been labeled as "the Second Liberal Democratic Party."

Let us consider the opposition parties (Non-indigenous Progressives). In OSAKA, Tokyo, and other urban centers of Japan, the defeat of Socialist candidates was strikingly systematic. Although the Socialists made substantial gains in the 1960 General Election, it was not enough to threaten the Conservatives. The Socialists, it is assumed, miscalculated in their view that the growth of cities and the growth of Socialism were necessarily linked. The organizational infrastructure also failed to gain greater popular support. One important factor that they did not fully recognize is the postwar change in the mentality of the workers. The survey of the "consciousness of workers," undertaken in 1965 in Tokyo and its environs, revealed a failure of the Socialists in the urban center campaign.

To the question, "What do you think of the idea that, since the workers are forever unhappy, Japan must build a Socialist society?" 54.2% dissented from the implied question. The same survey showed that support for the Socialist Party had dropped to 39.1% from 60% in 1964. (Japan Quarterly, Vol. 17, 1970: pp. 138-145). It may be an indication that the Socialist Party is no longer an effective source of opposition. Recent public opinion survey polls on popular support for political parties have shown an annual increase in the number of people who support no political party at all. This rate of no preference is the second

highest next to supporting the Liberal Democratic Party. (Japan Quarterly, Vol. 17, 1970: pp. 138-145). Thus such people either do not vote at all or switch to other parties. The lack of effective organizational coalitions among the opposition could perpetuate the rule of the conservative regime.

The Communist Party has only a few seats in the Diet, but the progress which was made in the recent General Election was notable. This party holds the third largest number of seats in 1973 in the Diet. In urban areas, as we saw in OSAKA Prefecture, the Communist Party is as influential as the Socialist Party. They concentrated on the local issues and problems that require immediate attention.

Another opposition party is the Komeito which roughly doubled its number of Diet seats in 1969. The growth of this party, the Indigenous Progressive, is closely linked to the growth of the Sokagakkai which is considered the new Buddhist sect in modern Japan. If Komeito is to consolidate its base as a political party and expand its roots among the masses, the party must draw a clear line between religion and politics. Again this opposition party has not progressed much since 1969. The primary reason for its stagnation is that Komeito's ultimate objective to establish a fascistic religious regime is widely feared.

One final observation is that the declining voter turnout can be costly in future party politics in Japan. According to the Local Election Paper for the prefecture, 73.5% of the registered voters went to the polls in 1951 as compared to only 55.2% in 1967. In the 1967 General Elections approximately 200,000 abstentions were reported. (Chiho Senkyo Tokei, 1971, pp. 1-200). These abstentions may represent deliberate acts or utterly disinterested citizens or both. This trend may call attention to

the growing distrust in the political process of parliamentary democracy. It is almost impossible for any political organization to conform to the real will of the people. As a result of rapid social changes, the frustrations of all strata of the population may bring about a new change within the political systems in Japan. The fate of conservatism, if it fails to adapt itself to these demands of a new age, will remain highly questionable.

APPENDIX

Explanation of Terms Used in This Study

Employment status: All employed persons are classified, according to the employment status in the establishment where they were at work during the census week, into the following five categories in the questionnaire for the 1965 census.

Employees - persons who work for wages, salary, etc., as employees of a private employer, store, factory, hospital, or so on, regardless of whether they are regular employees or not.

Self-employed workers or employers - persons who own and operate their business, with or without one or more paid employees.

Company or public corporation directors (employees) - persons who work as a president, director, auditor, governor, of a private company or public corporation are included in this category.

Family workers - persons who work in the business, farm, trade or professional enterprise operated by a member of the household in which they live.

Persons doing home handicrafts (employers) - persons who are doing piece work at their homes without the fixtures or the equipment of a shop or works.

Industry: "Industry" for employed persons refers to the kind of business of the establishment where persons "at work" were working during the census week or persons "with a job" but not "at work" had been usually working.

Industrial classification for the 1965 census consists of 143 minor groups, 41 intermediate groups, and 13 major groups.

1. Agriculture
2. Forestry and hunting
3. Fisheries and agriculture
4. Mining
5. Construction
6. Manufacturing
 - a. Metal, machinery, chemical and related industries
 - b. Textile mills
 - c. Miscellaneous manufacturing
7. Wholesale and retail
8. Finance, insurance and real estate
9. Transportation and communication
10. Electricity and gas utilities and water supply
11. Services
12. Government
13. Unclassified

Occupation: "Occupation" for persons "at work" refers to the kind of work actually done during the census week; and that for persons "with a job but not at work" refers to the kind of work they had been usually doing.

1. Professional and technical workers
2. Managers and officials
3. Clerical and related work
4. Sales Workers
5. Farmers, lumbermen, and fishermen

6. Workers in mining occupations
7. Workers in transport and communications operations
8. Craftsmen, production process workers
9. Protective service workers
10. Service workers
11. Unclassified

Besides this classification, comprehensive occupational classification of 4 groups---A, B, and C, and D--- is used. The Group A is the major group 5; Group B consists of 6, 7, and 8; group C consists of 4, 9, and 10; and Group D consists of 1, 2, and 3.

Source: Population of OSAKA-Fu, 1965: 80-85.

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