Realities of Chief Elected Officials in Japanese Local Governments:  

Policy Innovators or Profiteers?

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Abstract: In Japan, the scale of public expenditure by local governments is larger than that by central government and a lot of progressive policies such as public information disclosure system were first introduced by local governments through CEO’s strong initiative. At the same time, some CEOs were severely criticized by their misconduct of administration and corruption. In Japan where directly elected CEO system is applied to every local government and decentralization is on the process, the importance of political leadership of CEO is stressed. In this paper the realities of CEOs in Japan, that is, their profiles, backgrounds, political behaviors and misconduct are described. Through this demonstrative approach, the pros and cons of CEO system in Japan is discussed.

Key Words: Chief Elected Official, Governor, Mayor, Presidential System, Corruption
1 Introduction

Although local politicians have been considered as second-class ones by not a few Japanese and local politics haven’t been paid much attention to even by the academic community, local governments in Japan have been playing a crucial role as public service providers and policy innovators.

It is generally believed that most of innovative policies are initiated not by local governments but by the central government, but it is fair to say that the realities of making public policies a bit differ from this. Local governments have a wide range of functions and nearly two-thirds of governmental expenditure is covered by locality\(^1\). As long as the laws don’t prohibit, local governments can implement the activities which they think necessary. It is not rare that some local governments undertake progressive policies earlier than the central government. Besides, most of local governments have been eager to adapt innovative policies which had been applied by the pioneers.

In 1982, Kanayama town in Yamagata prefecture has first introduced the public information disclosure system in Japan. Many prefectures and municipalities have followed Kanayama, enacting bylaws, and the Public Information Disclosure Law\(^2\) was enforced at central level nineteen years later.

It is not unusual that innovative policies which local governments or the central government in foreign countries first introduced was applied to Japanese local government prior to the central government. In case of Kanayama, the then town mayor, Kishi\(^3\) decided to introduce the public information disclosure system referring to American cases. In case of the ombudsman system, Kawasaki city, which was criticized because of the misconduct by a vice mayor who bought unlisted stocks in 1988 much cheaper than the market value, first introduced this referring to Swedish system.

In Japan, presidential system has been introduced since 1947 and the roles of
governors and mayors have become much more important than before World War Second. This is partly due to the development of decentralization. As the authority of each local government has been expanded, its responsibilities have also grown. In the era of decentralization, besides local residents’ active engagement, the quality of leadership at local level has become key issue. If an entrepreneurial governor or mayor emerges, he would tackle with local issues boldly and the most suitable solution might be found by his initiative. On the contrary, if he seeks for his profit privately, the local government would lose its confidence in local residents.

This paper demonstrates the realities of chief elected officials in local governments, especially governors and city mayors through comprehensive research. Backgrounds and what kind of person is elected is mentioned. In case of governors, comparison of governors’ profile between Japan and the U.S. is attempted. Through this investigation, a lot of characteristics of local CEOs in Japan are made clear. It would be irrational to regard their posts as dull and second-class. After the realities of political ladder and the corruption are described, the merit and demerit of presidential system in Japanese local government is finally discussed.

2 Governor -King or Queen of Prefecture?

2.1 Governor’s Qualification and Authority

Governors are directly elected to serve four-year terms. They are not permitted to simultaneously serve as members of the Diet or local councilors, or to be regular officials. They cannot act as contractors to the local authority. The eligibility to run for governor’s election is Japanese national whose age is 30 years and more and who does not receive the suspension of the eligibility for elections due to being judged incompetent or sentenced to specific punishments. There is no limitation for the number of term like
most of state governors in the U.S. are limited.

2.2 Governors’ Profiles

In 1947, governors’ election was first implemented and as of January 1\textsuperscript{st} 2004, in total there were 266 governors\textsuperscript{5} who were elected including the present governors. A lot of unique and interesting characteristics are found through this research.

2.2.1 Occupational backgrounds of governors

Many governors pursued more than one career before seeking elective office. In Japan, not a few bureaucrats seek to become politicians. Especially, the officials of Ministry of Home Affairs which succeeded main task of former Ministry of Interior have tendency to regard the posts of governors more preferable to the Diet members. Some of governors who have the background of the central government officials also have the experience of vice governors or senior officials of the prefectures\textsuperscript{6}.

With the promotion of decentralization, the post of governor and mayor has been considered as much more attractive one than before. Some Diet members seek to become governors. It is not rare that the Diet members who experienced the post of minister pursue the governor’s post.

Table 1 shows the composition of occupational backgrounds of governors in which duplication of backgrounds is included. In this classification, the governor who does not have any occupational background of political post, administrative post\textsuperscript{7}, university and lawyer is categorized into others. More than half of governors had the background of the central government official. Among 140 governors, 81 were former officials of Ministry of Home Affairs\textsuperscript{8}, 17 were Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery, 8 were Ministry of Industry, Trade and Industry, 5 were Ministry of Construction
and 4 were Ministry of Welfare respectively.

Nearly 40 percent of governors are shared by ex-prefectural government officials. Among 105, 66 governors had also the background of the central government officials and among 66, 48 had the experience of vice governor. Among 39 governors who were originally prefectural government officials, 24 had the experience of vice governor. In total, 72 governors had experienced the post of vice governor before the post of governor.

From the top political field, some Diet members seek to become the governor. Compared to the seat of backbench, the post of governor as the political leader of prefecture seems to be regarded as much more attractive. Nearly one-sixth of governors, that is, 45 had the background of the member of the Lower House and nearly one-tenth, that is, 27 had the background of the Upper House. Among them, 9 governors had the experience of the cabinet minister. For example, Mr. Tsuchiya was inaugurated as governor of Saitama after experiencing the post of the Speaker of the House of Councillors. He regarded the post of governor as much more aggressive than the formal role of the Speaker as one of the head of three separated powers of governance.\(^8\)

37 governors had experienced the member of prefectural assembly and more than half (57%) had also the background of law makers. Mayor’s experience is shared by 30 governors.\(^9\)

Most of governors who had the background of the academics received strong support from the left wing parties. This trend was seen especially in the 1960s and 1970s. Among 14 governors, 8 also had the political or administrative career. Among 11 governors with the background of lawyer, 10 also had either the former or the latter. Only 19 governors (7%) had neither political career nor administrative one.

Table 2 indicates the composition of occupational backgrounds of governors
excluding duplication. First priority is laid on the Diet member and second on mayor, third on member of prefectural assembly, fourth on the central government officials and fifth on prefectural government official. Nearly half is shared by the central government officials, one-quarter by the Diet members, and one-tenth by prefectural government officials respectively.

2.2.2 Party

In 1947, the first election of governor was held and 46\textsuperscript{13} new leaders were elected. 11 governors received political supports from conservative parties (the then Liberal Party and the then Democratic Party), 4 received political support from JSP (Japan Socialist Party) and 1 received that from a small party. 30 governors did not belong to any political party. Later, partisanship had become more evident among governors and in 1966, 25 governors belonged to LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) and one belonged to JSP. More than half of governors were members of political parties.

In the 1970s, progressive governors were elected in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka and other prefectures and they were strongly supported by JSP and JCP (Japan Communist Party). In this era, political conflict was severe especially inside the prefecture where a governor was supported by progressive parties and prefectural assembly was ruled by conservative parties. It was sometimes difficult for governor’s side to receive assembly’s approval of vice governor’s appointment or annual budget plan. After 1979 when general local election was held, governors who received political supports from both conservative parties and progressive parties emerged in many prefectures. This type was called “Yoyatou-Ainori” governor (a governor supported by both ruling parties and opposite parties). From the 1990s, new type of governors who received no support from political parties emerged and they are called “Mu-Touha” governors (non partisan governors).
2.2.3 Family

In Japan, “Sesyuu” issue is always debatable. This is true of not only company owner but also politicians. From Miyazawa to Koizumi, 7 out of 8 prime ministers had the background of political family\textsuperscript{14}. As of April 2005, 45\% of the members of the House of Representatives came from political family. More than one-fourth, that is, 123 members succeeded their constituencies from their fathers or relatives.

One of the problems which lie to “Sesyuu” is the fixation of the social class. Even if young talented person had strong ambition to become politician, he or she would have much less possibility to become the candidate of main political parties, especially, LDP than the person who have the background of political family.

In governor’s election, the influence of political family seems to be weaker than the Diet members’ election. Among 266 governors, 49\textsuperscript{15} had the background of political family. 4 governors had the relative who became the prime minister and 30 had the relative who was the member of the Diet.

2.2.4 Gender

Among 266 governors, the number of female is only 4 (1.5\%). The first female governor in Japan is Ms. Ota Fusae in Osaka, who was elected in 2000. She was ex-senior official of Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and had experienced vice governor of Okayama before gubernatorial election.

2.2.5 The Age When Governors Were First Elected

The youngest governor ever elected is the late Tanaka of Hokkaido. He was elected in 1947 at the age of thirty five. This record has not been broken for more than 58
years. Only three governors were first elected under their forties. The oldest governor ever elected is the late Muto in Gifu who was former member of the House of Representatives. He was first elected to the governor in 1947 at the age of seventy six and retired in 1958 at the age of eighty eight. The average age of governors when they were first elected is 55.

2.2.6 The Average Length of Governors’ Administration

The average length of governors’ administration is ten years. Some failed to be reelected. Others continued to sit the post for more than three terms. The late Nakanishi, former governor of Ishikawa, had sat the post for thirty one years. The second longest was the late Maeda who was former governor of Nara and had sat the post for twenty nine years. Both of them won the governor’s election eight times consecutively and resigned on the way of eighth term. One politician won the governor’s election seven times consecutively, ten, six times, and nineteen, five times respectively. On the contrary, 46 governors had stayed their post only for four years or less.

2.3 Comparison of the Characteristics of Governor between Japan and the U.S.

2.3.1 From Governor to President

As the name shows, the United State of America is composed of 50 states and there are 50 governors in the U.S.. From George Washington to George W. Bush, 42 presidents have been governed more than 200 years and 18 had the background of former governors and three presidents had run for governor and failed before presidential election. The incumbent president, George W. Bush is famous for his political success as the Texas governor with the reform of education system. His younger brother has held the post of the governor of Florida since 1999.
From 1968 to 2004, ten presidential elections were held and every time, at least one candidate of either the Democrat or the Republican was former governor or governor’s candidate. In 1968 and 1972, Richard M. Nixon, who was defeated by governor’s election of California in 1962, won the presidential election. In 1976, former Georgia governor, Jimmy Carter became the president, however, at the next election, he was defeated by Ronald Reagan who was the former governor of California and in 1984 he was reelected. In 1988, former governor of Massachusetts Michael S. Dukakis was defeated by the father of the present president. In 1992 and 1996, Bill Clinton, former governor of Arkansas won the presidential election and in 2004, George W. Bush was reelected. It might be fair to say that having the good performance as a governor is regarded as a big advantage to being selected as the party candidate of the president in the U.S.

In Japan, the term of governor is fixed to four years and the number of term is not limited, however, in the U.S., 36 states among 50 have term limitation and two states regulate two-year term, in Virginia governor’s term in succession is prohibited. The qualifications for office differ from state to state and 34 states regulate minimum age as 30 years, on the other hand, three states have no formal provision for age.

The U.S. is the federal country and Japan is unitary country. The state and prefecture differ a lot from institutional viewpoint, however, from practical viewpoint, a lot of similarities can be found. More than half of prefectures has sister government agreement with American state. The contents of public services provided by the state and prefecture are more or less similar excluding the judiciary. In this section, comprehensive comparison of governors’ profile between Japan and the U.S. is illustrated.
2.3.2 Comparison of Governors’ Profile between Japan and the U.S.

Fair and accurate comparison is desirable but difficult to be achieved. The website of National Governors’ Association in the U.S. gives us a lot of comprehensive information about governors’ profile but there exists inaccuracy and lack of information. To compensate for this deficit, a lot of materials should be referred. The state governors who were first elected in 1947\textsuperscript{18} and afterward were analyzed\textsuperscript{19}. In total, 521 governors’ profiles were investigated\textsuperscript{20}.

2.3.2.1 Occupational Backgrounds of Governors

2.3.2.1.1 Law Occupation

Among 521 governors\textsuperscript{21}, 287 (55\%) have LL.M, LL.B or equivalent degree. This tendency has strong relationship with the occupational backgrounds of governors in the U.S. 21 incumbent governors have some law degree. In Japan, 32 have LL.B. This is partly due to the fact that more than half of governors are occupied by the central government officials and in Kasumigaseki, the graduates from the faculty of law are said to be unfairly much more highly evaluated than others in the promotion of senior post.

2.3.2.1.2 Occupational Backgrounds of Governors

One of the significant characteristics of occupational backgrounds of governors in the U.S. is the existence of the judiciary. In the U.S, the way of selection of person in charge of the judiciary differs from state to state. In many cases, judges or prosecutors are directly elected by local residents or politically appointed by the government. A lot of reforms in Japan were carried out through American initiatives and in the field of local government, basically American systems were imitated. However, in the field of the jurisdiction, such imitation was not so dominant as other fields. It is possible to categorize
the occupational backgrounds into the judiciary and non judiciary and the latter is subcategorized into federal, state and local government.

Many governors had experienced elected officials such as councilor, commissioner of educational board and auditor at local level, but such backgrounds have not been always described to the materials. In this research, except for mayor’s career, the post of local government’s elected officer was omitted. Table 4 shows the occupational backgrounds of governors in the U.S. Total number reaches to 805. Some governors had three or four occupational backgrounds. One third of governors had the background of state representative. One of the reasons why the career of state representative shares the largest might be explained by the fact that except for five states, term of state representative is regulated to two years and the number of the seat of state representative exceed 100 in more than half of states.

The second largest share is occupied by the judiciary. More than one quarter had the experience of this field such as state court judge, federal prosecutor and district attorney. Among 141, 41 had the experience of the state attorney general. The third largest is state senator (24%). Some of them had the experience of state representative. One-fifth of governors experienced the post of lieutenant governor. One-tenth was elected federal legislature before becoming governor, however, career of the U.S. senator remains 2%. Mayor’s career shares also 10%, some from small towns, others from big cities such as Baltimore and Phoenix.

Each state has a lot of administrative officials. Among 45 secretaries, 28 were secretaries of state and 10 were treasurers. Besides 11 categories of public office, 70 governors had other backgrounds such as lawyer, professor and enterpriser. Much more governors in the U.S. experienced judiciary branch than those in Japan (Table 5). Governors in Japan have much more tendency to be exercised in the executive branch
than the U.S.. State legislature is much more important in the U.S. than federal one, in Japan, vice versa. The ratio of mayor background is almost same.

2.3.2.2 Party

Among 521 governors, 277 were attached to the Democrat and 232 were the Republican and 12 were independent or other parties. Among the incumbent governors, 28 governors belong to the Republican. The dominance by the Republican has lasted since 1995.

In Japan, political parties have been playing important roles to support governor’s candidates. The recommendation by political parties such as LDP and DP helps them receive more votes and the candidate might try to get the recommendation from both sides to gather wider support. In this case, it is clever choice not to belong to any political parties. From candidates’ viewpoint, receiving recommendation is one thing; belonging political party is another thing. This tendency has become prominent since the 1980s. As a result, nowadays, there is no governor who possesses the membership of political party in Japan.

2.3.2.3 Family

Through my investigation, at least 44 governors had one politician or more who were their relatives in the U.S.. Twenty-two governors had the relatives who were also governors. One of the most famous political families in the U.S. is the Rockefellers. From this family, three governors were elected. Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller had been governor of New York before appointed to the Vice President in the U.S. due to the resignation of Nixon. He was the brother of Arkansas governor, Winthrop Rockefeller and nephew to
West Virginia governor, John Davison Rockefeller IV.

As Bush family illustrates, the emergence of political family or “Sesyyu” has become popular among American politics like Japan.

2.3.2.4 Gender

Among 521 governors, 21 (4%) were female. From 18th century, 23 female governors have been elected. Except for two, 21 were first elected in 1947 and afterward. 14 were first elected after 1990 and there are seven female incumbent governors (14%). In Japan, among 266, four (1.5%) governors are female and they are all incumbent (8.5%). The gender proportion of both countries is not so diversified as imagined.

2.3.2.5 The Age When Governors were First Elected

The youngest governor was Bill Clinton in Arkansas who was elected in 1979 at the age of thirty two. This record is three years younger than that in Japan. The oldest governor was Ms. Walker who was inaugurated at the age of 73, three years younger than that in Japan. The average age of governors of the U.S. when they were first elected is forty nine, six years younger than Japan. As Table 3 shows, 61 governors were first elected under their forties. In the U.S., 58% is under their fifties and 9% is sixty and more and in Japan, 30% and 27% respectively. The age difference might show how governor’s post is politically regarded. In the U.S., not a few governors try to achieve federal post such as president and senator. In Japan, governor’s post is more highly regarded than law maker by not a few people.

The age gap becomes narrower when the scope is limited to the incumbent. The average age of incumbent governors in the U.S. and in Japan when they were first elected is 52 years and 1 month and 53 years and 9 months respectively.
2.3.2.6 The Average Length of Governors’ Administration

The average length of governors’ administration in the U.S. is five years and two months, which is almost half of Japan. This tendency is also demonstrated by another fact. In this research, the target is governors who held their post during 1947 and 2004 and the number of unit is 47 in Japan and 50 in the U.S.. As these data show, the period is same and the number of the present governors is almost same. However, the number of total governors in Japan is 266 and this is nearly half of the U.S. governors, that is, 521.

Considering the age when the governors were first elected, the average retirement age of governor in Japan reaches to \(65^{25}\) and USA to \(54^{26}\).

2.3.2.7 Next Step\(^{27}\)

After the governor’s term, some might challenge the presidential preliminary election and others might seek for the seat of US legislature. As table 6 indicates, nearly 10\% of governors get the post of US senator. Their role is to represent the interest of the state and the scope of constituency of senator is same as governor. If some governor had political ambition to be active in the federal government, the post of US senator would seem to be more attractive and realistic than other posts. More than 100 of governors had challenged the senator’s seat but less than half succeeded luckily. The hurdle might be higher than expected. The number of senator is limited to only 100 and this figure is less than half of the number of the seat of House of Councillors in Japan. In every state only two seats are allotted and every three years, one of them is contested.

The second largest is the judiciary, and 31 former governors got the post such as the judge of Federal Court and State Supreme Court. Most of them had worked in the field of judiciary before inauguration of governor and this illustrates the advantage of legal
profession. However, we should not neglect the fact that these posts are not politically neutral and political appointment is common. The incumbent president or governor has the tendency to appoint the people who belong to the same political party.

The third largest is the post of ambassador. From Japanese viewpoint, this seems to be unusual because the recruitment and promotion of diplomat is implemented by merit basis and political appointment of ambassador seldom happened. It might be difficult to understand this inclination properly but several interpretations might be also possible. One of the interpretations is the existence of English as official language. There exist many countries which apply English as official language. Some of former governors were dispatched to Canada, Iceland and India where English is used as official language as ambassadors. They did not need any special ability for extra languages. The second is that the most essential quality for ambassador is not language ability but leadership. They already proved their strong leadership during the incumbent and for ambassadors, the skill of tough and strategic negotiation which is essential for successful governors is also necessitated. This recruitment system gives not a little suggestion to the reinforcement of diplomacy in Japan.

Besides ambassadors, a lot of former governors entered the federal executives. 21 became cabinet members as secretary, among them, 4 inaugurated the secretary of interior. The others inaugurated the posts which fields were familiar with state administration such as education, transportation and environmental protection. Some governors were appointed to senior posts of federal administration such as vice secretary, head of agency and commissioner. They were not necessarily appointed after retirement of governors’ post. Some governors were appointed to senior officials in the middle of their tenure. From this inaccurate research, at least, one third of governors in the U.S. took another public office. Some returned to the world of jurisdiction, others climbed up
to the federal post. Considering the occupational backgrounds of governors, not a few of
talented person changed their positions among the executive, judiciary and jurisdiction,
that is, three separated branches.

In Japan, the most successful next step for governors as political career is the
seat of the House of Councillors. This inclination was also found through the research of
American governors. Fifty-one governors (15%) were elected as the upper house
members and nineteen governors (7%) were lower house members. Compared to the U.S.,
political ambition of governor in Japan seems to be stronger than the U.S., but among 70
governors with the background of national lawmaker, 58 retired before 1980. In those
days, the post of governor was regarded as on the way to the Parliament to some extent. However, among 42 governors who retired between 1994 and 2003, only two succeeded
to get the post of national lawmaker.

3 Mayors - Policy Innovators or Profit Squeezers?

3.1 City Mayor’s Qualification

Municipalities provide principle day-to-day services to local residents and the
post of mayor is regarded as “local president” by most of residents. In this chapter, city
mayor is focused on.

Mayors are not permitted to simultaneously serve as members of the Diet or
local councilors, or to be regular officials. They cannot act as contractors to the local
government. The eligibility to run for governor’s election is Japanese national whose age
is 25 years and more and who does not receive the suspension of the eligibility for
elections due to being judged incompetent or sentenced to specific punishments. There is
no limitation for the number of term. Basic qualification and authority is almost same as
governor.
3.2 City Mayors’ Profiles

Recently, the number of municipalities has been drastically reducing. This is due to the central government’s strong initiative. Among municipalities, the status of city has been regarded as higher by most residents than town and village. More authority is delegated to city than to town and village. In accordance with the promotion of decentralization and municipal merger, the roles and responsibilities of a city have been widening more and more.

3.2.1 The Viewpoint of the Analyses

In the research of governor’s profiles, every elected governor was objected. The number was less than 300 in total. However, the number of city now exceeds 700 and it is very complicated to investigate the profile of every mayor elected accurately. Especially, the information of the profiles of mayors who were elected before 1970 was not always perfect. Considering these conditions, this paper focuses on the change of mayors’ profiles in the long-term at ten-year intervals. Data of profiles are gathered in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001. Among more than 2600 profiles, some are typical others are unique.

Some mayors have long experience in administration. Others have long experience in local politics. In fact, around 30 categories are classified but referring to the precedent researches, they are integrated to four groups.

The first is so-called ex-civil servant group. The mayors who are categorized into this group had the experience of either local or central government officials, or both. The second is so-called ex-assembly member group. The mayors who belong to this group had the experience of either local assembly members or the Diet members, or both. The third is so-called ex-civil servant and assembly member group. The mayors of this group
had the experience of both civil servants and assembly members. The fourth is so-call the
private sector group. The mayors who belong to this group had the experience of neither
civil servants nor assembly members\textsuperscript{30}.

If the duplication of backgrounds is not omitted, ex-civil servant group is
subdivided into ex-city government official group, ex-prefectural government official
group and ex-central government official group. Ex-assembly member group is also
subdivided into ex-city assembly member group, ex-prefectural assembly member group
and ex-Diet member group. Adding to the private sector group, mayors’ profiles are
subdivided into seven groups.

3.2.2 Occupational Backgrounds of City Mayors

3.2.2.1 Seven Types of Mayors

First, the change of the number of seven types of mayors’ backgrounds is shown
in Table 7.

These seven groups have duplications and in sum, it reaches to around 125%.
Simply calculating, one out of four has dual occupational backgrounds. In fact, each time
about ten mayors belong to three groups such as Diet member, prefectural assembly
member and city assembly member. In 1971 mayors who had the background of city
government shared a little less than 30%, in 1981 exceeded 40%. It might be fair to say
that 1980s was the era of glory for the staff of city government. After world war second,
not a few talented person were employed at city governments and through their long
career as civil servant, some of they proved to be suitable person to govern cities.
However, the number of mayors in this group has dropped since 1990s and in 2001
returned to the same ratio as 1971.

Mayors who had the background of prefectural official has constantly decreased
their share. In 1971 it occupied 17% but was reduced to 12% in 2001. The number of mayors who had the background of central government official has been steadily increasing. Among ex-assembly member groups, the share by the ex-city assembly member group always keeps around 30% and more. As for the ex-prefectural assembly member group, its share declined from 1971 to 1981 but has increased since 1981 and reached to more than 20% in 2001. The share of ex-Diet member group had been reduced since 1971 and decreased less than 1% in 1991 but exceeded 2% in 2001. The private sector group shares between 10% and 20%.

3.2.2.2 Four Types of Mayors

Second, omitting the duplication, the change of the number and ratio of four types of mayors’ backgrounds is shown in Table 8.

In 1971, the share of the mayors who had the background of official remained one-third but reached to 44% in 1981. As of 2001, it dropped to less than 40%. This is due to the fact though the number of mayors who had the background of ex-central government official has been increasing, both the number of mayors who had the background of ex-prefectural government official and that with the background of ex-city government official has inclined to be decreased.

As for the mayors who had the background of ex-member, we can find the opposite trend. In 1971, it shared 39% and was the largest among four groups. In 1982 it reduced to 32% and handed over the poll position to the ex-official but returned to the top in 2001. The share of mayors who had the experience of both civil servant and assembly member was 8%, 10%, 7% and 5% in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively.

As of 2001, the ratio of the ex-member, the ex-official, the private and both backgrounds of ex-official and ex-member was 40%, 39%, 17% and 5% respectively.
3.2.3 Party

In 1960s and 1970s, mayoral election which is characterized as the confrontation between ruling parties and opposite parties was common but since 1980s, both mayors who receive support from both sides and those who do not receive any political support have been increasing. At the Diet level, most of Members belong to some political party but at local level, this is not usual.

Especially, the number of mayors who belong to political party has been decreasing constantly. In 1985, 29\textsuperscript{31} mayors belonged to some political party and among them, 27 were the member of LDP (Zaidan 2001). In 1987, it was reduced to 17 and in 1993 it decreased to less than ten. As of 2001, only two mayors\textsuperscript{32} were the member of LDP. This inclination shows clear contrast with mayors in western countries who tend to belong to some political party. In other words, 99.7% of mayors did not belong to any political party.

However, as mentioned earlier, most of mayors receive recommendation or support from political parties. In 1985, 497 mayors were officially connected with political party. 148 (22%) mayors did not receive any support from political party\textsuperscript{33}.

The combination of political parties differs from election to election. It is not unusual that ruling parties and opposite parties at national level support the same candidate. In 1995, LDP and JCP recommended the same candidate at mayoral election in Takamatsu.

It is impossible to neglect the partisanship at mayoral election but it is stressed less than national election. It seems to me that at mayoral election personality of candidates and their policies are much highly regarded by local residents than partisanship.
3.2.4 Family

At national level “Sesyuu” issue sometimes captures political spotlight. In 1958, only 11.4% of LDP lower house members was categorized into this group (Nonaka 1995) but in 1989, 45% was shared by “Sesyuu” (Uchida 1989). Not only LDP but also other political parties have “Sesyuu” members As of April 2005, according to my research, among 477 lower house members 123 had direct “Sesyuu” background and 76 had the background of other political family. In total, 199 members (45%) had the background of political family.

Generally speaking, “Sesyuu” issue is not so familiar in case of mayor and compared with the Diet member, the information of mayor’s family is not so clearly disclosed. As of 2001, there were 22 mayors whose relatives were politicians. Only 3% had the background of political family. Among them, 12 had the relative who experienced mayor and 5 had the Diet member’s relative and 2 had governor’s relative.

According to the research (Muramatsu and Ito 1986), more than 40% of municipal assembly members had the background of political family. If accurate information as for mayor’s relatives such as uncle and cousin is added, the number of mayors who had the background of political family will be increased much more.

3.2.5 Gender

The number of female councilors has been increasing not only at central level but also at local level and the number of female governors reached four but female city mayors remained to three as of 2001. The first female city mayor was Ms. Sawa, mayor of Zushi, who was elected in 1993. After 2001, In Mitaka, Hiratsuka, Shinjuku, Itami, Hiratsuka, Tama, Amagasaki and Tsushima female mayors were elected.
3.2.6 The Age

3.2.6.1 The Average Age

Recently, the aged or long served mayors have been severely criticized. In this subsection, the average age of incumbent mayors in 1991 and 2001 is analyzed.

As of 1991, the average age of mayors was 62 years and 11 months. The oldest was Katsushika mayor of 81 years and 3 months and the youngest was kamagaya mayor of 38 years and 10 months. The age difference reached to 42 years and 5 months. The composition of generation is shown in Table 9.

As of 1991, more than half was sixties and below fifty was 7 %. Ten years later, the average age of incumbent mayors raised to 63 years and 3 month, 4 months older than 1991. The oldest was Tagawa mayor of 86 years and 4 months and the youngest was Zushi mayor of 34 years and 5 months. The age difference reached to 51 years and 10 months, nearly ten years wider than 1991. As of 2001, 70 years and more shares more than one-fifth and there were four mayors whose age was 80 years and more.

The variance, which indicates the extent of width of dispersion of data, was 59.76 in 1991 and 63.15 in 2001. As these date show, relatively young mayors have been reducing and vice versa, relatively old mayors have been increasing.

3.2.6.2 The Age When Mayors were First Elected

The average age when mayors were first elected was 56 years in 1991 and 56 years and one month in 2001. The difference is only one month.

4 Political Ladders

4.1 Where Local Politicians Go Ahead
Local politicians have been regarded as main human resources for national lawmakers\textsuperscript{39}. According to the research (Uchida 1989), 32 % of LDP members had the background of local politician, 22 % had that of bureaucrat and 16 % had that of secretary of the Parliament Member. Among local politicians, prefectural assembly members shared the largest.

It is especially stressed that lower house members whose background were governors had been more than 20 during 50s and 60s. The number sometimes exceeded 30 including the upper house. In those days, not a few governors sought for national lawmakers’ post after one term or two. The number of lower house members who had the background of mayor has been around 10 to 20. Some had experienced the minister but from this category, no prime minister has been turned out\textsuperscript{40}.

4.2 The Impact of Introduction of Single Constituency

The system of single constituency has been introduced to the election of lower house members since 1996. In Japan, the population scale of each single constituency ranged from around 300,000 to 500,000 and this was correspondent with that of the core city.

Before the introduction, some expected that the mayors who were regarded as “local presidents” would be much more advantageous than other candidates because they were popular among local residents through mayoral election.

In this research, whether this assumption was true or not is investigated. The results of election in 1990, 1993, 1996 and 2000 are selected. First two were conducted by the system of multiple constituency and the latter two were by newly single constituency. Table 10 shows the change of the number of candidates by background. Among categories of local politicians, mayor, prefectural assembly member and city assembly
member are selected. The number of all three categories in 1996 is more than that in 1993. Prefectural assembly members are regarded as one of the most dominant candidates for national lawmakers. Table 11 shows the number of the elected by category.

Before the introduction of single constituency, the ratio of elected candidates who had the background of city mayor was higher than that of other categories. In 1990, 14 out of 20 candidates who had the background of city mayor won the election and in 1993, 13 out of 17. The ratio of the elected was 70 % and 77 % respectively.

Among newcomer, 2 out of 6 and 3 out of 6 won the election in 1990 and 1993 respectively. These ratios of success are higher than the total average. This trend has changed since the introduction of single constituency. The number of candidates who had the background of mayor was 19 in 1993 and increased to 26 in 1996. That of prefectural assembly member changed from 208 to 232 and that of city assembly member drastically increased from 68 to 130.

The main reason why the number of candidates with city assembly member’s background increased is the strategy of JCP which recommended not a few people who had the background of city assembly member in order to fulfill all of three hundred constituencies with its candidate.

As for the ratio of the elected, about three out of four who had the background of city mayor won the election in 1993 but only the half survived in 1996. The ratio of elected candidate who had the background of prefectural assembly member failed from 62.5 % to 55.6 % and that of city assembly member from 54.4 % to 33.1 %.

When the scope is limited to the newcomer, only 4 out of 14 were elected in 1996. In case of single constituency, only 2 out of 12 were elected. As far as the result of election in 1996 was concerned, the assumption that the profile of city mayors would be much more advantageous than other candidates by the introduction of single constituency
was not proved to be right.

In 2000, the number of candidates by every category of local politician reduced. In case of city mayor, it reduced from 26 to 19 and when the scope is limited to newcomer, from 14 to 7. This sharp reduction of candidates with city mayor’s background is mainly due to the terrible defeat in 1996. Considering the number of candidates of newcomer with city mayor’s background in 1990 and 1993, however, the figure in 2000 seems to be regarded as the usual one.

As for the number of elected, 8 out of 19, 111 out of 209 and 40 out of 119 were elected in case of the background of city mayor, prefectural assembly member and city assembly member respectively. The ratio of the elected with prefectural assembly member’s background was declined a bit and that with city assembly member’s background almost remained same level as in 1996.

On the other hand, the ratio of the elected with city mayor’s background continues to be reduced. The every ratio of the newly elected as for the category of local politician was below 20% in 2000. In general, the candidates who had the background of local politician were relatively weak in the election of 2000. From these data, it is fair to say that the merit of candidates who had the background of city mayor as “local president” was overestimated in case of the election of single constituency. At the same time, however, political parties’ recommendation should be also taken into consideration. In 1996, 8 out of 26 candidates who had the background of city mayor were nominated or received recommendation from ruling parties and 6 out of 8 were elected. 15 received the support from opposite parties but only 7 were elected. In 2000, 6 out of 11 candidates from ruling parties were elected, but only 2 out of 6 candidates from opposite parties were elected.

Concerning the candidates who had the background of city mayor and also
received the support from ruling parties, the merit as “local presidents” seems to be still alive.

It was proved that the introduction of single constituency was not always advantageous to the candidates who had the background of city mayor.

5 Corruptions

5.1 Outline

It seems to be almost impossible for local politics to escape from corruptions. If you read several local newspapers carefully, you will not fail to find the article about corruption by local politicians. It is difficult to deal with every kind of scandal conducted by them. In this chapter, the focus is on the corruption of city mayor from 1984 to 2002.

February in 2002 was the worst month for city mayors. Three incumbent and one ex-mayor were arrested at a time. In the era of decentralization, self decision making and self responsibility is the key word. If such corruptions do not stop, central government might deprive local government of some of its authority and change its mind from decentralization to centralization.

We can find several patterns as for the crimes by city mayors. It is said that the most crimes committed by politicians including city mayors are those concerning the election campaign. Those include crime of bribery, the violation of election activity, voting, media activity, violation by civil servant and so on. Among them, taking bribes by politicians frequently receive severe criticism.

5.2 Trend of Crime Committed by City Mayor

The corruptions are not the recent issues, however, it is difficult to grasp the accurate information about the scandal in the past. In this research, the scandal between
September in 1984 and August in 2002 is targeted\textsuperscript{44}. During 18 years, 44 incumbent city mayors and 9 former city mayors, in total, 53 were arrested. Simply calculating, on average, every year about 3 mayors were arrested. The change of the arrested is shown in Chart 4. From 1985 to 1988, the number was from 2 to 4 and from 1989 to 1992, the number was only 1.

From 1994 to 1998 the number was five or more except in 1997. Again, the number remained two or less but in 2002 the number marked the highest.

It might be rash of me to connect the number of arrested with the economic situation but in depression, the number increased and in prosperity, vis versa.

Most of mayors arrested were due to taking bribes as the reward for providing the benefit in case of construction tendering. From 1989 to 1992, in the midst of bubble economy and public works shrunk, the number of the arrested was only one every year. After the collapse of bubble economy, to stimulate economy, a lot of public works were launched by the initiative of central government and local governments played important roles as service provider. Not a few public works were conducted by them and construction companies were eager to win bids. Was this only by chance?

Among 53 mayors’ suspicions, 41 were taking bribes, that is, four-fifth was arrested due to bribery. Among 41 briberies, 8 received money as reward for the recruitment of official and others were concerning the benefit of project, tendering, approval of development and so on. The amount of bribe ranges from several hundred thousand yen to more than hundred million yen. In many cases, bribes were received not only by city mayor but also by senior officials and city assembly members.

Besides, 8 were arrested by violating election law, 2 were by giving bribe and 2 were by more or less personal crime such as fraud and misappropriation.

The scandal such as corruption seems to be the product of the long regime but as
the data show, it is not correct. Among the arrested in office, 12 were on the first term, 13 on the second, 12 on the third, 4 on the fourth, 2 on the fifth and 1 on the eighth. On average, on 2.5th term, they were arrested. This is almost same as that of all incumbent mayors as of 2001, 2.3th term.

Among 53, 10(18.9%) had the background of both prefectural assembly member and city assembly member and 29(55%) had the background of local assembly member. These figures are higher than the average and city mayors who had the background of local assembly member are more likely involved in the corruption.

6 Evaluation of Presidential System of Local Government in Japan

Through my paper, the realities of CEOs are described. Local politics is anything but dull. A lot of unique characters are found in the profiles of local politicians. In this chapter, as a conclusion, how presidential system of local government in Japan should be evaluated and some proposals are discussed.

6.1 Evaluation of Leadership

In accordance with decentralization, the post of top of local government has been regarded more attractive than before especially from the viewpoint of national civil servant and national lawmaker.

In 2003, among 19 governor’s elections, 11 winners were from national civil service, 6 from the Diet. Most of the elected strongly insisted the necessity for the reform of administration. Most important element of promotion for reform is, above all, the leadership over the local government. Some leaders indicate the clear vision for the policies to which local government should apply.

In general, the top-down style seems to be much more desirable than the
bottom-up one but too excessive top-down leadership sometimes causes distrust by employees.

With the emergence of the reformist governors, the cases which governor’s right hands are appointed to the senior posts have been increased. The spoils system in not the exception in Japan any more.

Governor Ishihara in Tokyo is sometimes regarded as one of the candidates of the future prime ministers in Japan. He appointed Hamauzu as vice governor in 2000. Hamauzu had been the private secretary of Ishihara for nearly 30 years before appointed. In 1999, Ishihara submitted the plan for the approval of appointment but denied by the assembly and in the next trial, succeeded.

In Miyagi, the then governor Asano submitted the plan for the approval of appointment of Tajima, who was known as his right hand, as vice governor twice but failed receiving severe opposition by not a few prefectural assembly members.

In Kanagawa, after 10 days from election victory, Matsuzawa, former lower house member, selected two right hands to senior officials. This recruitment introduced strong resistance by Kanagawa prefectural assembly and it rejected the proposal of vice governor approval.

In case of city, the spoils system has not also become unusual. In Yokohama, mayor Nakata, who is famous for his reformist attitude, appointed Ms. Maeda as vice mayor in 2003. She has been colleague of Nakata since they joined Matsushita-Seikei-Juku, which is famous for training for future politicians.

In Fukuoka, mayor Yamazaki appointed Yamamo, who was mayor’s junior in their high school and university days, as vice mayor and in Imari, mayor Tsukabe appointed Maeda, who was mayor’s classmate in their high school days, as vice mayor.

Most of governors and mayors who recruit senior officials from outside local
government have the background of national lawmaker, national civil servant or private sector. They don’t have enough close staff inside. The recruitment from outside has two aspects, that is, merit and demerit. This kind of recruitment sometimes gives good stimulus for officials who are familiar with fellow feeling inside local government. On the other hand, this might cause demoralization of staff.

6.2 Several Proposals

6.2.1 The Limitation of the Number of Term

The limitation of the number of term has been discussed since 1950s. The purpose of limitation is to avoid the misuse of governor and mayor who has huge administrative and political authority. Multi elected leaders seem to be more vulnerable to corruption but as the data of mayors show, long regime doesn’t always cause corruption.

As the fact the incumbent failed to be elected four consecutive times in Kawasaki and Yokohama indicates, the long served incumbent governor and mayor has more difficulty in being reelected than before.

some are for the limitation of term, others are against. If running for third term is prohibited as American President, about 40 % of incumbent mayors have to retire at once. In my opinion, if term limit is necessitated, the prohibition of running for fourth term seems to be rational from the viewpoint of reality.

6.2.2 Involvement of Public Works

Among 53 cases in which mayors were arrested, 33 were in connection with public works or approval of some authority. From this fact, professor Igarashi of Hosei University insists, that governor and mayor should be excluded from the procedure of public work tendering.

42
The reform of tendering procedure seems to be a prominent solution for avoiding corruption. For example, if perfectly open competing tendering is obliged to local government’s one which scale exceeds certain amount and the company which offered the lowest price wins, corruption by governor and mayor will be reduced drastically because construction companies which want to win tendering don’t have to contact with the top of local government any more.

However, this is not perfect. Besides, the side work of governor and mayor in relation with local government work should be more severely restricted. The present framework of this restriction is limited to the said person. The spouse, children, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and at least within relations in second degree should be added to the list of the limitation.

6.2.3 Election and Recall

The violation of election act is also serious. This issue should be considered with not only governor and mayor but also national and local lawmaker. Once someone receives guilty as for the violation of election act, he or she can’t stand for the same election in which he or she receives guilty at least for five years. However, in case of different election, he or she can stand for.

For example, former Wakayama city mayor, Tabita, who received guilty for governor election, won mayoral race the next year. From the voters’ viewpoint, the fact that the person who committed crime of the violation of election act can stand for another election is odd. Such person should be restricted to stand for any election.

The bribery happens for the sake of not only candidates but also voters. Compared the penalty of candidate with that of voter, the gap is not huge but the reality is different. Most of voters who receive guilty have to pay around 100,000 yen as fine.
Voters who receive money from candidate should compensate much more. The upper level of fine should be raised and the suspension of citizenship should be lengthened more.

The position of governor and mayor is regarded as local president and it is natural that the condition of recall be strictly limited. On the other hand, the implication of recall is limited to small city, town and village. In case of large cities, the turnout remains 30 to 40% in general and it is almost impossible to collect one third of signatures of all voters, which is the lower limit for the condition of recall.

Large cities have much more authority than ordinal cities. To avoid the misuse of it, the condition of recall should be loosen in case of them\(^43\).

**6.2.4 Check and Balance**

In the presidential system, real power tends to be much more inclined to the executive organ. To avoid such imbalance, the present system guarantees check and balance mechanism, If a governor or mayor cannot reach a compromise with the assembly on an issue sharply dividing them, the assembly can declare a vote of no confidence. To do so, a two-thirds quorum is needed and at least three-quarters of those present must support the motion. Once this is agreed, as a countermeasure, the governor or mayor is entitled to dissolve the assembly and call for a local election to resolve the matter. If there is no dissolution order within ten days of the vote of no confidence, the governor or mayor must resign. However if the assembly passes a further vote of no confidence at its first meeting subsequent to an election, dissolution is no longer possible and the governor or mayor must step down after being notified of the vote. On the other hand, governors and mayors have the right to veto any decision made by the assembly and demand that it be
reconsidered.

In reality, most of real checks are conducted under the surface and disapproval or amendment of budget plan is generally regarded as the second severest issue for governor and mayor. Most of assemblies tend to make most use of the discussion of budget as the best card. The number of the action of no confidence remains less than 10 per year among more than 3,000 local governments. These happen when governor or mayor is severely criticized by the doubt of corruption or abuse of authority and loses confidence of the assembly.

I think that making check and balance mechanism more effectively is not so specific remedy because even if institutional condition of check and balance is changed it will not give any effect on the real activity of check by assembly.

6.3 Conclusion

The 28th Chiho-Seido-Chousakai reported the introduction of regional government which will abolish the present prefecture and reorganize into around ten units including delegation of most of authority conducted by the local branches of central government to Prime Minister Koizumi. The realization of regional government is unclear but in the near future, some reformist governor or mayor might be elected to the head of regional government. Moreover, like American state governor and German state prime minister, from the top of regional government, some might reach the top of central government, that is, the post of Prime Minister.

From the viewpoint of political ladders, the position of the head of local government will be taken into consideration much more importantly by politicians. A second and third Hosokawas will be trained through local politics.

In my research, a lot of characteristics of governors and mayors were disclosed
and local politics proved not to be dull at all. Compared to national politics, however, it is true that local politics do not always receive the spotlight but it is also true that sound local politics depends on the will of local residents. Most important is the aggressive concern of them toward local issues. To grasp their concern, the role and responsibility of local politicians, above all, governors and mayors has been much more significant than before.

I hope they will make a good fight for the sound improvement of local autonomy.
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*Biographical note*

Mr. Tamura is Associate Professor, Faculty of Law at Niigata University. After graduation from the University of Tokyo, he joined the Ministry of Home Affairs (currently the Ministry of General Affairs). He experienced several positions of both central and local government before assuming his current position in 2001. He received a doctorial degree from International Christian University in 2005.
Table 1: The Composition of Occupational Backgrounds of Governors\(^{44}\) (gross)

| Occupational Backgrounds                        | Number | \%
|-------------------------------------------------|--------|-----
| The member of the House of Representatives       | 45     | 16.9|
| The member of the House of Councillors           | 27     | 10.2|
| The Central Government Official                  | 140    | 52.6|
| Prefectural Government Official                  | 105    | 39.5|
| Prefectural Assembly Member                      | 37     | 13.9|
| Mayor                                            | 30     | 11.3|
| University                                       | 14     | 5.3 |
| Lawyer                                           | 11     | 4.1 |
| Others                                           | 12     | 4.5 |

Table 2: The Composition of Occupational Backgrounds of Governors (net)

| Occupational Backgrounds                        | Number | \%
|-------------------------------------------------|--------|-----
| The Diet Member                                 | 70     | 26.3|
| Mayor                                            | 16     | 6.0 |
| Prefectural Assembly Member                      | 11     | 4.1 |
| The Central Government Official                  | 122    | 45.9|
| Prefectural Government Official                  | 28     | 10.5|
| Others                                           | 19     | 7.2 |

Table 3: The Age when Governors were first Elected (Total)

| Age     | Number Japan | Number USA |\%
|---------|--------------|------------|-----
| 30-34   | 0            | 0          | 10  | 1.9 |
| 35-39   | 3            | 1.1        | 51  | 9.8 |
| 40-44   | 25           | 9.4        | 101 | 19.4|
| 45-49   | 51           | 19.2       | 140 | 26.9|
| 50-54   | 55           | 20.7       | 99  | 19.0|
| 55-59   | 60           | 22.6       | 71  | 13.6|
| 60-64   | 44           | 16.5       | 32  | 6.1 |
| 65-69   | 23           | 8.6        | 13  | 2.5 |
| 70-     | 5            | 1.9        | 4   | 0.8 |
Table 4: Occupational Backgrounds of Governors in USA

<table>
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<tr>
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Table 5: Comparison of Occupational Background between Japan and USA (Total)

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Table 6: Next Step for Governors (USA)

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Table 7: Mayors’ Former Career (7 groups: number, %)

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Table 8: Mayors’ Former Career (4 groups: number, %)

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Table 9: The average age of incumbent mayors

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<td>80s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 10: The Change of the Number of Candidates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural Assembly Member</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Assembly Member</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11: The Change of the Number of the Elected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural Assembly Member</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Assembly Member</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12: The Change of the Ratio of the Elected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
<td>76.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural Assembly Member</td>
<td>63.8%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>53.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Assembly Member</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>33.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politician</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53.7%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: The Change of the Ratio of Newly Elected

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectural Assembly Member</td>
<td>46.4%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Assembly Member</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Politician</td>
<td>43.7%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of arrested
In 1998, total local government expenditure shared 63%.

The Public Information Disclosure Law was promulgated in 1999 and enforced in 2001.

He has been the member of the House of Councillors since 1998.

Governors’ profiles are investigated by a lot of materials such as newspapers and autobiographies. Especially, on the profiles of governors who inaugurated before the 1980s, see Rekidai.

In gross there were 268 governors.

Some governors who had the background of the central government officials also experienced the official of a prefecture or prefectures which differ from the one where he or she was elected as a governor. In this classification, only the experience of official of the prefecture where he or she was elected was included into the category of prefectural government official.

In this classification, the official of public corporation such as Bank of Japan and Japan Railway is also categorized into others.

This includes officials of former Ministry of Interior.

105 – 66 = 39.

He resigned the post of governor in the half way of the third term in 2003, however, because of her daughter’s financial scandal.

14 had the background of city mayors and 16 had the town or village mayors.

12(Others) + (14-8) + (11-10) = 19.

Until the return of Okinawa in 1972, there were 46 prefectures.

It is difficult to fix the definition of the political family and very hard to gather accurate information about family background. In this paper, the scope of political family is not limited to the direct descendant.

In my research (Tamura 2003), 49 cases were found but it seems to be imperfect due to the limitation of information as for political family.

This includes former territorial governor.

The state has some authority of the judiciary, but prefecture doesn’t.

The scope is from the beginning of January 1947 to the end of January 2004.

In case of vacancy of governor due to the death or being elected to the Senate, most of state constitution regulate that lieutenant governor should succeed governor’s post not through direct election. This case was included except for less than one month term.

The data for this section are largely obtained from the following books; Sobel 1978,1985, 1989, 1994 and The Council of State Government 2002.

The ratio of lawyers in USA is much higher than in Japan.

For example, Lurleen Burns Wallace, wife of Alabama governor George Corley Wallace, niece of Alabama Governor James Elisha Folsom Sr. and cousin of Alabama Governor James Elisha Folsom Jr. was also Alabama governor. More than 27 years, Alabama administration had been occupied by these four persons.

Two female governors whose term was less than one month were excluded. The first female U.S. governors were elected in November 1924.

She was lieutenant governor of Utah when her predecessor was appointed to the top of U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and had served as governor of Utah for two months.

55 (the average age when Japanese governors were first elected) +10 (The average length of governors’ term in Japan) =65

49 years and two months (the average age when state governors were first elected) +5 years and two months (The average length of governors’ term in USA)  54

It is expected that the information of the profile after retirement from public office is more inaccurate than that before public office.
President Bush established Homeland Security Office after 9/11 attack by terrorists. Mr. Tom Ridge, the then governor of Pennsylvania was appointed as the first head of the office. The lieutenant governor succeeded his post.

The benchmark of this research is set on June 15, 2001. As of 1971, the number of cities was 604, but 3 cities which mayor’s backgrounds was unknown and 12 cities where the then mayor had been already inaugurated in 1947 when directly elected mayor system was introduced, in total, 15 cities were excluded and 589 cities were objected (604 - 3 - 12 = 589). 672 cities including 23 special districts in Tokyo where directly elected mayor system had been revived were objected as of 1981. 679 cities were included as of 1991 and 691 cities were objected excluding two cities where the status of city was forced but mayor’s election had not been operated as of 2001.

In this classification, public office such as commissioner of education which is usually treated as part time post is not included to the category of civil servant.

In 1985, there were 674 mayors including 23 special wards in Tokyo. They were mayors of Kurobe in Toyama and Iyomishima in Ehime.

Not all of them were purely non-partisan. Some candidates who had been the members of some political party ran for mayor as non-partisan because the incumbent had already received recommendation from some party and as a consequence, they could not receive party’s support.

Three seats were vacancy.

In this section, direct “Sesyyuu” means that member’s parent or grandparent was also the member of lower house from same constituency.

Other political family includes member who have the relative of upper house member or local politician.

In case of Aikawa, mayor of Saitama and former mayor of Urawa, his father and grandfather were also mayors of Urawa.

In case of Hayashi, mayor of Sukumo in Kochi, his father was the member of the House of Representatives and his brother was the member of the House of Councillors.

The others are bureaucrats and national lawmakers’ secretary.

Among the categories of local politicians, governor, prefectural assembly member and city assembly member produced one or two prime ministers.

In this section, Internet research site, “asahi.com Perfect” conducted by Asahi Newspaper is used. As the keywords for research, “mayor” and “arrest” are applied. Besides research by internet, Nichigai (1999) is used.

Asahi Shinbun 2002/2/16, 31p.

In Poland, the condition of dissolution of local assembly is one tenth of signatures of all voters.

In sum, there are 421 profiles. Simply calculating, more than half of governors have double occupational backgrounds.

Attorney general of the state is included to the judiciary.

Denominator is based on the number excluding the number of the incumbent governors (521 - 50 = 471).

Besides mayor, prefectural assembly member and city assembly member, governor, town and village mayor and town and village assembly member are included to the category of local politician.

Every candidate is included to the total.

The ratio of the elected in 1996 is lower than that in 1993 because of the rapid increase of candidates. Major parties tried to select one candidate to every constituency. As a consequence, the number of candidates reached 1503 in 1996.