

Local Politicians in Japan (2)

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4 Mayors -Policy Innovators or Profit Squeezers?

4.1 City Mayor's Qualification

Although there exists some difference of structure and authority among city, town and village, as the basis of local autonomy, they 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, first, city mayor is illustrated.

The mechanism of city government was established in 1889 by enactment of Shi-sei Choson-sei (Law of City, Town and Village). The term of mayor was six-year and he was paid officer. The city assembly recommended three candidates for the mayor to the Minister of Interior and the most suitable person among them was recommended by him and finally approved by the Emperor. This indirect selection system was referred to German and French one. New Law of City, Town and Village was enacted in 1911 and term was shortened to four-year.

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 mayor'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.

4.2 City Mayors' Careers

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 authorities are delegated to city than to town and village. In accordance with the promotion of decentralization and municipal merger, the roles and responsibilities of city have become widen more and more.

4.2.1 The viewpoint of the analyses

In the research of governor's careers, every elected governor was objected. The number was less than 300 in total. However, the number of city now exceeds 700 and it seems to me that it is very complicated to investigate the career of every elected mayor accurately. Especially, the information of the careers 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 careers are gathered in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001². Among more than 2600 mayors, some are typical others are unique.

Some mayors have long experience in administration and others 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 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 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 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 the private sector group. The mayors who belong to this group had the experience of neither civil servants nor assembly members³.

2 The bench mark 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 were 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 by 2001.

3 In this classification, public office such as commissioner of education

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' occupational backgrounds are subdivided into seven groups.

Besides these classifications, typical backgrounds such as teacher, doctor, lawyer, mass media, JC (Junior Commerce Chamber) and secretary of the Diet member are grasped as exactly as possible.

4.2.2 Occupational backgrounds of city mayors

4.2.2.1 Seven types of mayors - competition between ex-city civil servant and ex-city assembly member

First, the change of the number and ratio of seven types of mayors' backgrounds is shown in Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1. Ex-city government official group, ex-prefectural government official group, ex-central government official group, ex-city assembly member group, ex-prefectural assembly member group, ex-Diet member group and the private sector group are classified.

which is usually treated as part time post is not included to the category of civil servant.

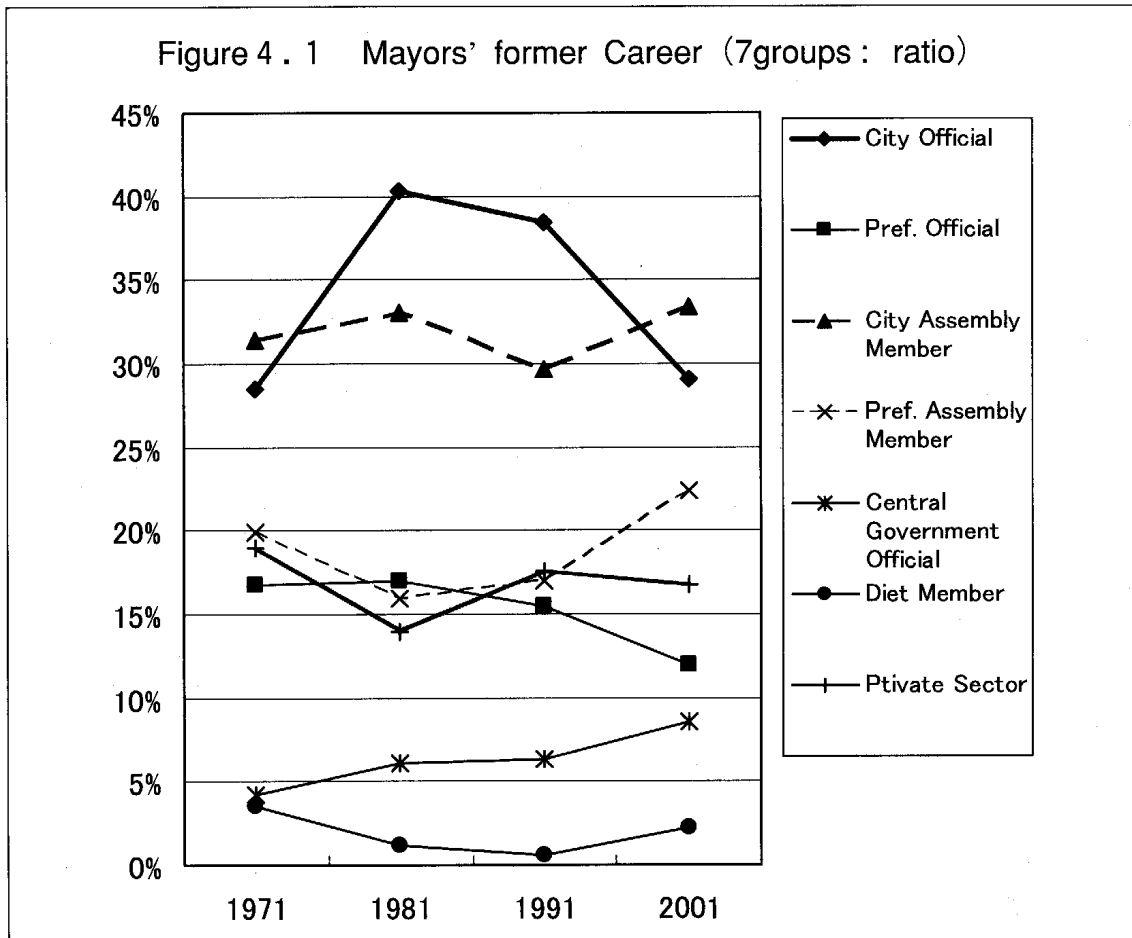


Table 4.1 Mayors' former career (7groups : number)

Occupational Backgrounds	1971	1981	1991	2001
City Government Official	168	271	261	201
Prefectural Government Official	99	114	105	83
City Assembly Member	185	222	201	231
Prefectural Assembly Member	117	107	115	155
Central Government Official	25	41	43	59
Diet Member	21	8	4	15
Private Sector	112	94	119	116

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.

As Figure 4.1 indicates, in 1971 mayors who had the background of city government official shared a little less than 30%, in 1981 the ratio exceeded 40%. It might be fair to say that 1980s was the era of glory for the staff of city government. After world war II, not a few talented person were employed at city governments and through their long career as local civil servant, some of them 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 is always kept around 30% and more. As for the ex-prefectural assembly member group, its share declined from 1971 to 1981 but has increased since then 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%.

In short, the number one was the ex-city assembly member group and ex-city government official group, ex-prefectural assembly member group, the private sector group and ex-prefectural government official group followed in order in 1971. In 1981 every turn among these five groups changed; ex-city government official group reached the top and ex-city assembly member group, ex-prefectural government official group, ex-prefectural assembly member group and the private sector group followed in order. In 1991, top two was unchanged but the private sector group leaped to the third and ex-prefectural assembly member group and ex-prefectural government official group followed. In 2001, the order returned to the same as 1971. The sixth was ex-central government official group and the seventh was ex-Diet member group every four period.

4.2.2.2 Four types of mayors -the battle between ex-officials and ex-members

Second, omitting the duplication, the change of the number and ratio of four types of mayors' backgrounds is shown in Figure 4.2 and Table 4.2. The ex-civil servant group, the ex-assembly member group, the ex-civil servant and assembly member group and the private sector group are classified.

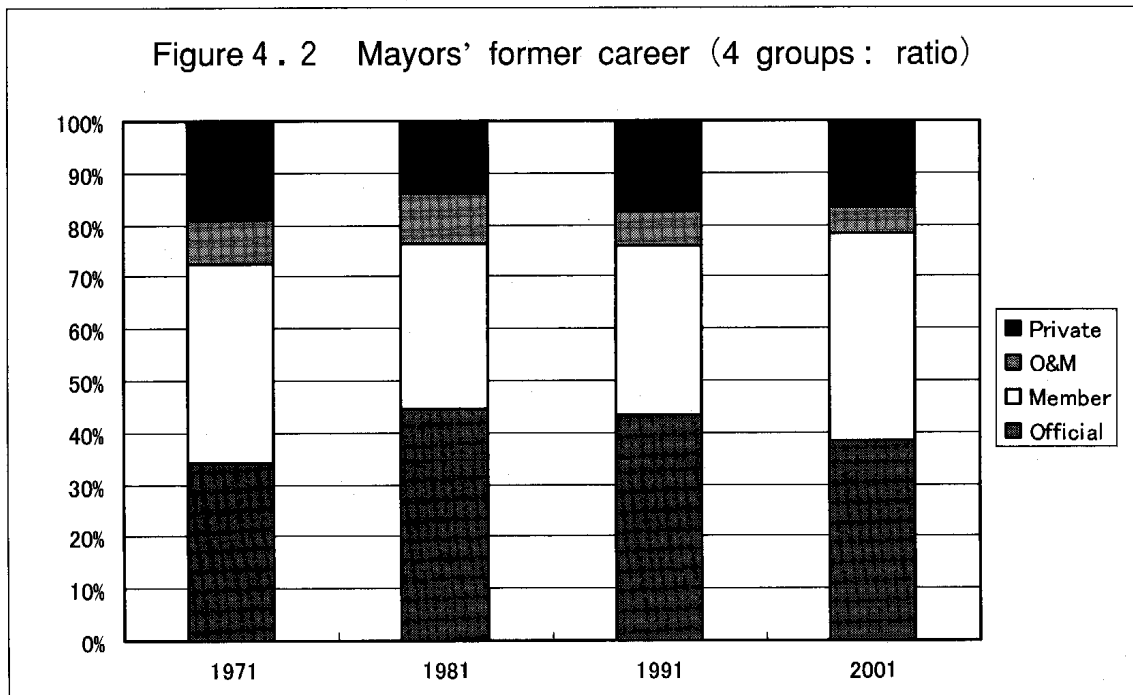


Table 4.2 Mayors' former career (4 groups : number)

Occupational Backgrounds	1971	1981	1991	2001
Official	200	299	295	266
Member	227	213	221	275
Official & Member	50	66	44	34
Private Sector	112	94	119	116

In 1971, the share of the mayors who had the background of official remained one-third and 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 the number of mayors who had 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.

4.2.2.3 Characteristics of mayors who had the backgrounds of official

In this subsection, the characteristics of mayors who had the background of official are analyzed. Both in 1981 and in 1991, the largest share was occupied by this group. Nearly 300 mayors in both periods had experienced governmental officials.

Among the backgrounds of official, 7 subgroups can be found; ex-city government official, ex-prefectural government official, ex-central government official, ex-prefectural government official and ex-city government official, ex-central government official and ex-prefectural government official, ex-central government official and ex-city government official and ex-central government official, ex-prefectural government official and ex-city government official.

Table 4.3 Mayors' former career (7groups : of official : ratio)

Occupational Backgrounds	1971	1981	1991	2001
City Government Official	17.5%	26.3%	26.1%	21.4%
Prefectural Government Official	8.1%	7.0%	5.6%	5.4%
Central Government Official	1.7%	2.4%	2.7%	5.9%
Prefectural Government Official and City Government Official	4.6%	5.8%	5.7%	3.5%

Central Government Official and Prefectural Government Official	1.0%	1.6%	1.5%	0.6%
Central Government Official and City Government Official	0.8%	1.2%	1.3%	1.3%
Central Government Official, Prefectural Government Official and City Government Official	0.2%	0.1%	0.6%	0.4%

Table 4.4 Mayors' former career (7 groups of official : number)

Occupational Backgrounds	1971	1981	1991	2001
City Government Official	103	177	177	148
Prefectural Government Official	48	47	38	37
Central Government Official	10	16	18	41
Prefectural Government Official and City Government Official	27	39	39	24
Central Government Official and Prefectural Government Official	6	11	10	4
Central Government Official and City Government Official	5	8	9	9
Central Government Official, Prefectural Government Official and City Government Official	1	1	4	3

4.2.2.4 The background of city government official

Among them, the group of ex-city government official shares the most⁴. In 1981 and 1991, around one-fourth was occupied with "genuine city oriented" mayors. In 1971, only one-sixth, that is, 103 mayors had this background, but the number increased by over 70. This rapid increase can be explained by two reasons. Firstly, this is common with governors' profile in those days. 1980s and early 1990s can be called the era of "Yoyatou-ainori". Not a few governors and

4 In most cases, ex-city government officials ran for mayor from the same city where they had worked but there exist some exceptions. As of 2001, mayors in three cities had worked in different local government where they were inaugurated.

mayors were elected thanks to the support from both sides of political arena. Government officials's background had the advantage of being more or less acceptable as a candidate because in most cases he or she did not have strong link with any political party. Secondly, directly elected mayor system of 23 special wards in Tokyo revived in 1974 and most of mayors of special wards were occupied by ex-ward government officials⁵. In 2001, however, the number of mayors who are categorized into this group reduced to 148.

Two patterns can be found as for the background of city government official. First is a group of so-called elite officials. After entering city hall, they had experienced a lot of practical posts and was promoted to chief, deputy director, director and some were inaugurated as the senior posts such as deputy mayor, treasurer and superintendent of schools. They know their way about administration and at election, they appeal their selling point as rich experience of city government. Most of mayors who had the background of city government official are included to this pattern. Second is a group of so-called non-elite officials. Most of them had been engaged in the activities of labor unions before election and their support was indispensable. They were more or less politically progressive and recently the number has been reducing.

4.2.2.5 The background of prefectural government official

The number of mayors who had the background of prefectural government official has been constantly decreasing; 48 (8.2%) in 1971, 37 (5.4%) in 2001. Most of mayors in this group had experienced senior posts such as director, director-general and branch head in the prefecture. Some were in charge of the top management of prefecture as the post of vice governor or treasure. This group includes mayor who had the background of teachers and head of school⁶.

5 In 1981 and 1991, 20 out of 23 mayors had the background of special ward officials.

6 Management of public elementary schools and secondary schools is the

4.2.2.6 The background of central government official

The number of mayors who had the background of central government official has been steadily increasing. This tendency can be explained from several aspects. Three factors are described below.

① The reduction of incentive for "Nagata-cho"⁷

So-called career bureaucrats were regarded as a mass of prominent talent for national lawmakers especially from the ruling parties. Some of them were inaugurated as the minister and in 1950s and 1960s nearly 18 years were occupied by ex-bureaucrat prime ministers⁸. However, in 1990s, bureaucrats' frequent maladministrations and injustices were severely criticized by mass media and their reliability was badly hurt. As a result, they are not regarded as the most successful candidates any more.

Besides, the number of Sesyuu members has been constantly increasing. Most of them were first elected in their twenties or thirties. They have the chance to experience various political posts both in party and in cabinet in their thirties and forties. They have much higher possibility of being inaugurated as minister than members who had experienced the senior post of the central government because they usually run for election in their fifties.

Taking these severe realities, into consideration, it is fair to say that bureaucrat's incentive for Nagata-cho has been lessened than before.

② The promotion of decentralization

The promotion of decentralization has been regarded as one of the most important political issues since Hosokawa coalition cabinet⁹.

responsibility of municipality but personnel of school teachers is, in principle, the responsibility of prefecture. In this research, the status of public school teachers is categorized into prefectural government official.

7 The Diet Building and its members' offices are located in Nagata-cho in Chiyoda ward of Tokyo. Nagata-cho is the symbol of national politics.

8 Among 6 prime ministers, 4 had the backgrounds of the central government officials; Yoshida, Kishi, Ikeda and Sato.

9 Hosokawa coalition cabinet was the first non-LDP government since 1955. Mr. Hosokawa, former governor of Kumamoto, was the most enthusiastic prime minister for the promotion of decentralization.

In 2000, the package law for decentralization was enacted and the promotion of decentralization is now underway. The principle of decentralization is drastic shift of authorities from the central government to local governments and the key word is self decision making and self responsibility.

Before the era of decentralization, most of the roles of local governments were the players as the central government's agency. However, now local governments have to decide and implement their policies by their own initiatives. The scope of local government activities has been widened and the power and responsibility of the top of local government has also increased. Compared with prefecture, the role of municipality has been increased more because most of day-to-day services are provided not by prefecture but by municipality. Besides, the system of grading city, that is, core city and semi-core city was established following designated city. Some authorities of prefecture are delegated to these cities and the scope of delegation is in principle according to population. With the promotion of municipal merger, the average scale of city has grown. Regarding these phenomenon, the post of city mayor seems to have been much more attractive than before the era of decentralization by not a few bureaucrats.

③ The convenience of constituency

From the view point of men of political influence in constituency, the candidate who had background of bureaucrat sometimes seems to be advantageous.

In case of a city assembly where conservative faction is divided into several groups or existence of severe conflict among prefectural assembly members who are elected from same constituency, a lot of conservative candidates are likely to run for mayor. In these cases, it might be likely to cut each other's throats. To avoid such worst scenario, men of political influence have tendency to find proper candidate irrelevant to such conflict from the central government officials who come from or have strong tie with the city.

Table 4.5 illustrates the change of the number of the mayors who had the background of the central government by original

ministry and agency¹⁰. In total, the number of this group was 25 in 1971, 41 in 1981, 43 in 1991 and 59 in 2001.

Table 4. 5 The change of mayors who had the background of the central government by ministry and agency¹¹ (unit : number)

Ministry and Agency	1971	1981	1991	2001
Ministry of Construction	1	2	7	14
Ministry of Home affairs	5	10	12	11
Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	3	7	6	7
Ministry of Education ¹²	1	2	1	6
Ministry of Finance	0	3	5	4
Ministry of International Trade and Industry	4	4	0	3
Defense Agency	2	3	3	3
Ministry of Welfare	0	3	3	3
Others	9	7	6	8
Total	25	41	43	59

In 1971, Ministry of Home Affairs shared the most (5person), and MITI and Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery followed. In 1981, the ranking of the second and the third interchanged. In 1991, twelve mayors had the background of former officials of Ministry of Home Affairs, seven had that of the Ministry of Construction, six from Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery, five from Ministry of Finance. In 2001, Ministry of Construction reached the top.

4. 2. 2. 7 The background of both prefectural government official and city government official

10 This figure includes mayors who had also the background of national or local lawmaker.

11 The mayors who first entered local government and seconded to the central government and had worked some ministry for more than ten years and who had worked some ministry only for a few years are also included into this group.

12 This includes professor of national university.

The number of mayors who had the background of both prefectural government official and city government official was 27 (4.6%) in 1971, 39 (5.8%) in 1981, 39 (5.7%) in 1991 and 24 (3.5%) in 2001. This change corresponds to that of mayors who had the background of city government official. This group can be subdivided into three subgroups.

First is the subgroup which members had experienced senior posts such as director, director-general and branch head in prefecture before seconded to the senior post of city such as vice mayor, treasurer and superintendent of school. Most of them ran for mayor after retirement of the incumbent and among three subgroups this shares the largest.

Second is the subgroup which members had experienced school teachers before being inaugurated as officials of city education committee such as superintendent and director.

Third is the subgroup which members first entered city government before entering prefectural government.

The reason why the number of this group has been reducing is not quite clear but seems to be almost same as that of the reduction of the number of ex-city government official group.

4.2.2.8 The background of city assembly member

In this subsection, not seven groups in case of official, but five groups are applied¹³.

Table 4.6 Mayors' former career (5groups : of lawmaker : ratio)

Occupational Background	1971	1981	1991	2001
City Assembly Member	19.5%	19.0%	18.0%	18.8%
Prefectural Assembly Member	9.5%	4.5%	7.2%	8.2%

13 The category of the Diet member and prefectural assembly member, that of the Diet member and city assembly member and that of the Diet member, prefectural assembly member and city assembly member, are integrated into one group because of the small number. In this section, this group is called the Diet member and local assembly member.

Diet Member	2.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.7%
Prefectural Assembly Member and City Assembly Member	6.8%	7.4%	6.8%	10.7%
Diet Member and Local Assembly Member	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	1.3%

Table 4.7 Mayors' former career (5groups : of lawmaker : number)

Occupational Background	1971	1981	1991	2001
City Assembly Member	115	128	122	130
Prefectural Assembly Member	56	30	49	57
Diet Member	13	3	2	5
Prefectural Assembly Member and City Assembly Member	40	50	46	74
Diet Member and Local Assembly Member	1	2	2	9

Among five groups, the mayors who had the background of city assembly member shared the largest. Around 19%, that is, nearly one-fifth has been always shared by this group. Not a few city assembly members seek to the post of mayor and it is not rare that two or three city assembly members run for the same election of a city mayor.

Most of them had experienced the president or vice president of city assembly but some were inaugurated as mayor in their thirties without experiencing such posts¹⁴.

4.2.2.9 The background of prefectural assembly member

Compared with the increase and decrease of number of mayors who had the background of city assembly member, that of the mayors who had the background of prefectural assembly shows more drastically.

In 1971, this group shared 56 (9.5%) and was reduced to nearly half (30 (4.5%)). In 1991, the number increased by 19 and

14 In 1998, Mr. Nagashima, who had been a rookie of Zushi city assembly member was elected to mayor of Zushi city.

reached to 57 in 2001. Most of them had experienced the president or vice president of prefectural assembly.

4.2.2.10 The background of the Diet member¹⁵

In 1971, this group had 13 but decreased to 3 in 1981 and 2 in 1991. However it increased to 5 in 2001.

4.2.2.11 The background of both prefectural assembly member and city assembly member

In 1971, the mayors who had the background of both prefectural assembly member and city assembly member was 39 (6.6 %) and 50 (7.4%) in 1981 and exceeded the number of mayors previously being only prefectural assembly member. In 1991, it decreased to 46 (6.8%) and again increased to 74 (10.7%) in 2001. Generally speaking, politically ambitious person first seeks to the seat of city assembly and next to the seat of prefectural assembly. In addition, some run for mayor by making the most of their experience in both assemblies.

4.2.2.12 The background of the Diet Member and local assembly member

Not a few local politicians have strong wills to seek after the seat of national lawmaker. Besides, some of them return to local politics by winning mayoral race. In 1971, there was only one¹⁶, two in 1981 and 1991. In 2001 the number increased to nine in 2001. All of them were elected to mayor after being defeated in national election or retirement. Among nine mayors in 2001, five come from the city which population is less than 100,000. Mayors in this group come from relatively small cities.

4.2.2.13 The backgrounds of both official and member

The number of mayors who had the backgrounds of both

15 The mayors who belong to this group experienced neither governmental official nor local assembly member.

16 He was the then mayor of Hitachi city.

official and member remains small but fifteen patterns can be found. Among them three prominent patterns are analyzed.

① The background of city assembly member and city government official

This pattern was the most among them. In 1971 mayors who had the background of both city assembly member and city government official were 25 (4.2%) and 36 (5.4%) in 1981. However, it decreased to 18 (2.7%) in 1991 and 10 (1.4%) in 2001.

This pattern can be subdivided into two semi patterns. One is the group of mayors who had been inaugurated as vice mayor or treasurer from the member of city assembly. This pattern was seen commonly in those days because suitable officials could not be found from inside city hall or it was necessitated to recruit vice mayor or treasurer from city assembly to avoid the conflict between mayor's side and assembly's side. In 1971, 22 out of 25, in 1981, 29 out of 36 belonged to this semi pattern. However, 10 in 1991, and only 3¹⁷ in 2001 were categorized into this group. The reason for the rapid decrease might be explained by the development of human resource within city government.

The other is the group of mayors who were first employed to city government and were elected to city assembly members later. Some of them were active in labor union movement and others had experienced vice mayor.

② The background of prefectural assembly member and prefectural government official

This pattern was the second largest and the number was 10 in 1971, 11 in 1981, 4 in 1991 and 7 in 2001. All of them were first employed to prefectural government and most of them had the background of school teacher.

③ The background of prefectural assembly member and city government official

This pattern is illustrated with next table.

17 Three were mayor in Yuzawa city in Akita prefecture, Kasukabe city in Saitama prefecture and Sodegaura city in Chiba prefecture.

Table 4.8 The pattern of mayors who had the background of prefectural assembly member and city government official

Job career	1971	1981	1991	2001
City Government Official→Prefectural Assembly Member→Mayor	3	5	4	4
Prefectural Assembly Member→City Government Official→Mayor	1	1	2	1

4.2.3 Party

In 1960s and 1970s, mayoral election which is characterized as the confrontation between ruling parties and opposite parties was common but since 1980s, 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 universal.

Especially, the number of mayors who belong to some political party has been decreasing constantly. In 1985, 29¹⁸ mayors belonged to some political party and among them, 27 were the member of LDP¹⁹. In 1987, it was reduced to 17 and in 1993 it decreased to less than ten. As of 2001, only two mayors²⁰ 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 in Japan did not belong to any political party.

However, as mentioned earlier, most of mayors receive recommendation or support from political parties. On the other hand, in 1985, 497 mayors were officially connected with political party. 148 (22%) mayors did not any receive any support from political party²¹.

18 In 1985, there were 674 mayors including 23 special wards in Tokyo.

19 Zaidanhoujin Chiho-jichi Sougou Kenkyuusyo. *Zenkoku Syucyou Meibo 2000* (The List of Governor and Mayor in 2000). Tokyo, 2001, p.8.

20 They were mayors of Kurobe in Toyama and Iyomishima in Ehime.

21 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 any party's support.

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 at local level. 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.

4.2.4 Family

At national level "Sesyuu" issue sometimes captures political spotlight. In 1958, only 11.4% of LDP lower house members was categorized into this group²² but in 1989, 45% was shared by "Sesyuu"²³. Not only LDP but also other political parties have "Sesyuu" members. As of April 2005, according to my research, among 477²⁴ lower house members 123 had direct "Sesyuu" background²⁵ and 76 had the background of other political family²⁶. 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

22 Nonaka Naoto. *Jimintou Seikenka-no Seiji Eriito -Shin-seidoron niyuru Nichi-Futsu Hikaku-* (Political Elite under LDP Administration -Comparison between Japan and France on neo-institutionalism-) Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1995, p.113.

23 Uchida Kenzou. *Gendai Nihon no Hosyu Seiji* (Conservative Politics in Modern Japan) Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989, p.162.

24 Three seats were vacancy.

25 In this section, direct "Sesyuu" means that member's parent or grandparent was also the member of the lower house from the same constituency.

26 Other political family includes a member who has the relative of the upper house member or local politician.

background of political family. Among them, 12 had the relative who experienced mayor²⁷ and 5 had the Diet member's relative²⁸ and 2 had governor's relative.

According to the research by Muramatsu and Ito, more than 40% of municipal assembly members had the background of political family²⁹. 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.

4.2.5 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 and Tsushima, female mayors were elected.

4.2.6 The age

4.2.6.1 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 differential reached to 42 years and 5 months. The composition of generation is shown in Table 4.9.

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

28 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.

29 Muramatsu Michio and Ito Mitsutoshi. *Chiho Giin no Kenkyuu* (Research on Local Assembly Member) Tokyo: Nihonkeizai shinbunsha, 1986, p.51.

Table 4.9 The average age of incumbent mayors

	1991	%	2001	%
30s	5	0.7	2	0.3
40s	43	6.3	37	5.4
50s	165	24.3	191	27.6
60s	351	51.7	313	45.3
70s	113	16.6	144	20.8
80s	2	0.3	4	0.6

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 months, 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 differential reached to 51 years and 10 months, nearly ten years wider than 1991. As of 2001, 70 years and more shared 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 data show, relatively young mayors have been reducing and relatively old mayors have been reducing on the contrary.

4.2.6.2 The average age by the number to be elected

Table 4.10 shows the average age by the number to be elected. The average age of mayors who were on first term in 1991 was 59 years and 6 months and 59 years in 2001. However, on other terms, the average ages in 1991 were always younger by 4 months to 3 years and 5 months than in 2001.

Table 4.10 The average age by the number to be elected.

Number	1991	2001
1	59 years and 6 months	59 years
2	62 years and 2 months	62 years and 6 months
3	65 years and 8 months	66 years and 11 months
4	66 years and 5 months	68 years and 1 month

5	68 years and 7 months	68 years and 10 months
6	71 years and 6 months	72 years and 4 months
7	73 years and 4 months	76 years and 9 months
8	—	72 years and 10 months

It is interesting in that the average age of mayors who were on eighth terms was younger than that on seventh terms and was almost same as that on sixth terms.

4.2.6.3 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. The youngest age of incumbent mayor first elected was 30 years in 1991 and 27 years and 11 months³⁰ in 2001. On the contrary, the oldest was 75 years and 4 months in 1991 and 71 years and 10 months in 2001.

4.2.6.4 The age when mayors were first elected by background

Is there any age difference by the background? In this subsection, the average age when mayors were first elected is compared by background.

The average age when mayors who had the background of private sector were first elected was the youngest among six categories³¹ both in 1991 and in 2001. The second youngest was the group of mayors who had the background of city assembly members in 1991 and central government officials in 2001.

30 This is the youngest mayor ever elected. Koutaro Shishida was elected to mayor of Musashimurayama in May 1994 at the age of 27 years and 11 months.

31 Duplication among categories is included.

Table 4.11 the average age when mayors were first elected by background (1991)

Background	The average age	The youngest	The oldest	Variance
The Central Government Official	54 years and 9 months	36 years and 7 months	69 years and 3 months	43.49
Prefectural Government Official	58 years and 1 month	41 years and 2 months	72 years and 11 months	34.89
City Government Official	58 years and 2 months	36 years	74 years and 10 months	34.88
Prefectural Assembly Member	56 years and 2 months	39 years and 1 month	74 years and 10 months	47.31
City Assembly Member	54 years and 5 months	34 years and 4 months	74 years and 10 months	63.52
Private Sector	54 years	30 years	75 years and 4 months	69.02

Table 4.12 the average age when mayors were first elected by background (2001)

Background	The average age	The youngest	The oldest	Variance
The Central Government Official	54 years	27 years and 11 months	69 years and 6 months	60.23
Prefectural Government Official	58 years and 10 months	41 years and 9 months	68 years and 6 months	27.94
City Government Official	59 years and 2 months	41 years	71 years and 10 months	26.23
Prefectural Assembly Member	56 years and 8 months	39 years and 1 month	71 years and 10 months	56.29
City Assembly Member	55 years and 2 months	31 years and 10 months	70 years and 8 months	54.74
Private Sector	53 years and 3 months	30 years	68 years and 2 months	57.62

For example, among 18 mayors who were first elected below forty years, 8 had the background of private sector. Among governmental officials, the average age of mayors first elected who had the background of the central government officials in 1991 was 9 months older than in 2001 and the youngest in 2001 was nearly

nine years younger than in 1991. Besides, variance in 2001 is a bit larger than in 1991. Through these data, more young central government officials tend to challenge the post of mayor than before.

On the other hand, the average age of mayors first elected who had the background of city government officials in 2001 was a bit higher than in 1991 and this was true of prefectural government official's background. The variances of these two categories are much smaller than others and most of mayors who belong to them tend to be first elected their late fifties of early sixties.

The average age of mayors who had assembly member's background tends to be younger than that of official's background. In case of city, that of city assembly member's background is about four-year younger than official's background.

As these data illustrate, the average age of mayors who had city government official's background is the highest and prefectural government official, prefectural assembly member, city government official, the central government official and private sector follow.

4.2.7 Academic background

Academic background of mayors is analyzed in 1991 and 2001. As of 1991, the number of university graduates³² reached to 359 (53%) and 465 (67%) in 2001. Six universities which produced more than twenty mayors were picked up. Waseda shared largest both in 1991 and in 2001. In 1991, Tokyo, Nihon, Chuo, Keio and Meiji followed. The alumni of these six universities were nearly one-quarter of total and reached to 30% in 2001. The emergence of Chuo alumni should be noted. It almost doubled from 23 in 1991 to 40 in 2001 and jumped up to the second. Most of Chuo alumni entered governmental sector first and were promoted to senior post before running for mayor. On the contrary, not a few alumni of Waseda and Keio had the background of private sector or lawmaker.

32 This includes the mayors who dropped out of university and who went to graduate school.

Table 4.13 The number of mayors by academic background
(Unit : Number、%)

University ³³	1991		2001	
Waseda	44	6.5%	51	7.4%
Tokyo	29	4.3%	38	5.5%
Nihon	24	3.5%	25	3.6%
Chuo	23	3.4%	40	5.8%
Keio	23	3.4%	29	4.2%
Meiji	22	3.2%	28	4.1%
Total	165	24.3%	211	30.5%

4.2.8 Other background

4.2.8.1 Teacher³⁴

As of 1971, 42 mayors had the background of teacher and 40 in 1981. However, the number was reduced to 20 in 1991. This reduction was consistent with the decline of progressive parties. Most of ex-teacher's mayors were enthusiastic in activities of school teachers' labor unions such as "Nikkyoso" and they received strong support from them. In 2001 the number increased to 25 due to the leap of professor's background.

4.2.8.2 Doctor

The number of mayors who had the background of doctor was 16, 12, 18 and 21 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. Among 21 in 2001, 15 mayors were elected from cities which population is less than 100,000. Most of them come from cities which are relatively small or located near metropolis.

4.2.8.3 Lawyer and journalist

33 The mayor who went to a graduate school was categorized into the university to which the graduate school belonged.

34 In this category, from elementary school to university, full-time teacher and professor are objected but part-time lecturer is omitted.

The number of mayors who had the qualification of lawyer³⁵ was 7, 6, 9 and 7 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. In 2001, 3 came from Saitama, 1 from Chiba and most of them were elected from bedroom cities.

The number of mayors who had the background of journalist was 6, 8, 10 and 13 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. Journalist's background seems to be relatively advantageous in urban cities.

4.2.8.4 Secretary

One of the important human resources for the Diet members is the secretary³⁶. In 1991, at least 13 mayors had the background of secretary of Parliamentary member. In 2001, the number increased to 23. 8 among 13 in 1991 and 16 among 23 in 2001 first served as Parliamentary member's secretary and then experienced local lawmaker before winning mayoral election.

4.2.8.5 JC

JC is the abbreviation of Junior Commerce and organized mainly from local businessperson under 40 years. In Japan there are more than 700 local organizations and nearly 50 thousand members. As the fact that the number of the Diet members who once belonged to local JC exceeds 120 shows, not a few members are interested in politics. In 1991, 7 mayors had belonged to local JC before election and in 2001, the number drastically increased to 23. These data include only the experience of president or vice president of local JC and it is estimated that the real number of mayors who once joined local JC is much larger. The average age of mayors first elected who were categorized into this group in 2001 was 50 years and 8 months and more than five years younger than that of total.

35 The person who passed law examination but has not receive judicial training yet is excluded.

36 Local assembly member's secretary is excluded.

4.3 The Result of election

In this subsection, the realities of result of mayoral election is investigated.

4.3.1 The average number of times elected

The average number of times elected is compared in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001.

The average number of times was 2.18, 2.32, 2.34 and 2.27 in 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 respectively. These numbers are almost same as that of governor in 2001. Table 4.14 and 4.15 show the development of the number of mayors by the number of times elected. The ratio of once always exceeded 30%, the ratio of twice was around 30% and the ratio of three times ranged from 15% to 20%.

The ratio of four times and more³⁷ was the highest of 21.4% in 1991 and the lowest of 15.1% in 2001. The number of five times and more was 42 in 1991 but reduced to 18 in 2001. However, the number of seven times and more in 1991 was only 3 and tripled to 9 in 2001. Among 9 mayors, 6 were from Osaka, 1 from Saitama and 1 from Tokyo. The long served mayors seem to be more popular among urban areas.

Table 4.14 The development of number of mayors by number of times elected (Number)

Number of times elected	1971	1981	1991	2001
1	225	204	237	230
2	177	225	193	220
3	103	136	104	137
4	69	65	87	67
5	27	25	42	18

37 In Japan, the long served mayors sometimes receive severe criticism. In this subsection, mayors who served four times and more are regarded as long served.

6	2	12	13	10
7	1	3	3	6
8	0	2	0	3
Total	604	672	679	691

Table 4.15 The development of number of mayors by number of times elected (Ratio)

Number of times elected	1971	1981	1991	2001
1	37.3%	30.4%	34.9%	33.3%
2	29.3%	33.5%	28.4%	31.8%
3	17.1%	20.2%	15.3%	19.8%
4	11.4%	9.7%	12.8%	9.7%
5	4.5%	3.7%	6.2%	2.6%
6	0.3%	1.8%	1.9%	1.4%
7	0.2%	0.4%	0.4%	0.9%
8	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.4%

4.3.2 The possibility of long served mayors being reelected

As mentioned earlier, long served mayors sometimes face severe criticism for serving too long. For example, "outline of local election in 2000" points out that voters are relatively generous in incumbent mayors who seek for second or third term but unfavorable for those who seek for five times or more³⁸.

Table 4.16 indicates how many incumbent mayors were reelected or not by their number of term during 1997 and 2001³⁹.

Table 4.16 The result of election of incumbent mayors by their number of term (Unit: Number, %)

Number of term	Win	Lose	Ratio of being elected
2	224	33	87.2%
3	148	26	85.1%

38 Zaidan, p.8.

39 717 mayoral elections are objected.

4	71	12	85.5%
5	20	7	74.1%
6	10	5	66.7%
7	7	1	87.5%
8	3	1	75.0%
Total	483	85	85.0%

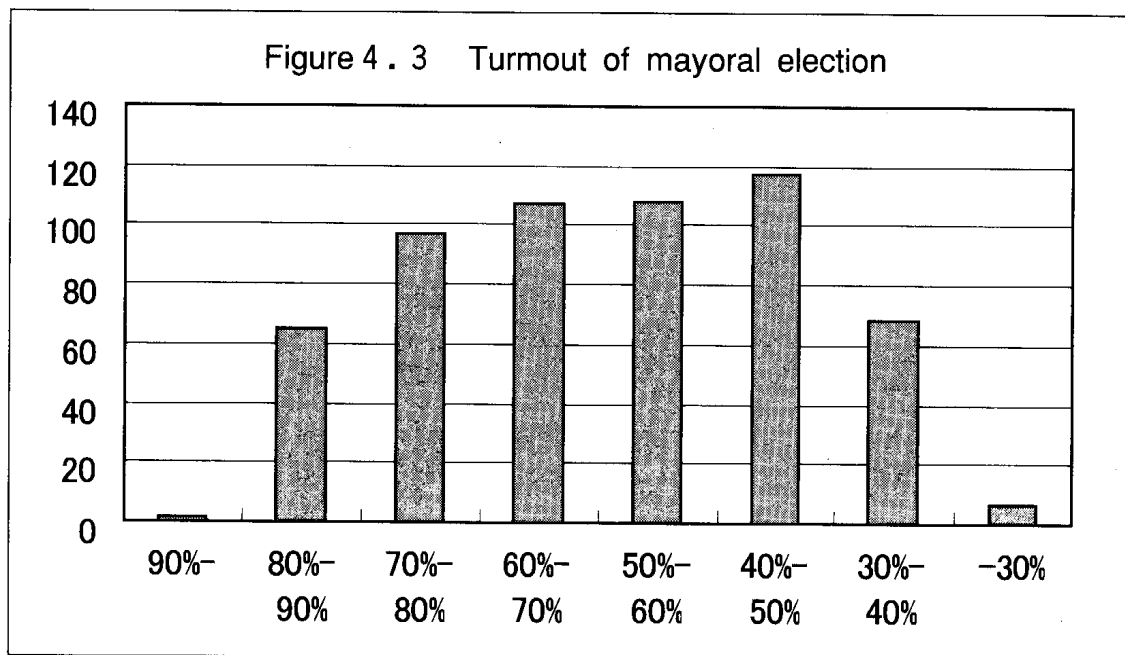
As this table shows, the ratio of being elected from the second times to four times was from 85% to 87% but the ratio of mayors who sought for consecutive five times and six times decreased to 74% and 67% respectively. 7 out of 8 mayors were reelected consecutive 7 times and this ratio was the highest and 3 out of 4 mayors for 8 times were also reelected. It is not fair to affirm that voters are negative about long served mayors only by these indications.

In my view point, mayors who were elected consecutive six or seven times and sought for reelection had so strong support as to conquer the criticism for being long served.

The possibility of reelection from 1997 to 2001 was 85% and a bit lower than that from 1985 to 1988 (88%)⁴⁰.

4.3.3 Turnout of election

40 Asahi shinbun1985/12/28, 1986/12/27, 1987/12/26, 1988/12/28.



The highest turnout of mayoral election was 90.5% in Suzu city in Ishikawa⁴¹. The lowest was 25.2% in Nakano ward. Including Nakano, turnout of 7 cities was below 30%. Figure 4.3 indicates the distribution of turnout. The number of election which percentage of turnout is forties, fifties, sixties and seventies is almost same. The simple average of turnout reaches to 59%. This is a bit higher than the latest turnout of upper house election but lower than that of lower house election. The weighted average, which population of each city is considered, decreases to 48.5% because turnout of mayoral election in populous cities tends to be lower than the simple average. Every city which turnout is below 30% has population more than 100,000. Only 9 out of 68 cities which turnout of mayoral election is thirties have population less than 100,000.

Correlation coefficient between turnout of mayoral election and population of city is calculated at -0.396. Negative and weak relationship between turnout and population can be found through this research.

41 717 mayoral elections from 1997 to 2001 are investigated and among them, 146 are without voting.

4.3.4 The ratio of being lost

The result of mayoral election differs from city to city. In one election, a candidate won by a majority of dozens of votes. In other election, the incumbent mayor won an overwhelming victory. In some elections straight fight were fought. In other elections more than four candidates competed with each other. In this subsection, the ratio of being lost, which indicates the ratio of unsuccessful candidate's votes by winner's votes, is applied⁴².

The highest ratio of being lost was 99.93% in election of Nishinomiya city in November 2000. Winner's votes were 40,768 and the votes of first unsuccessful candidate were 40,740. The difference was only 28. If 15 residents who voted for the winner had changed their voting behavior, the result would have been reversed.

The second narrowest majority was election of Ebino in March 1998. The ratio was 99.83% and the difference between winner (5,845votes) and first unsuccessful candidate (5,835votes) was only 10.

Table 4.17 The distribution of ration of being lost

The ratio of being lost	Number	Ratio
90% and more	77	13.5%
80% ~less than 90%	66	11.6%
70% ~less than 80%	91	15.9%
60% ~less than 70%	77	13.5%
50% ~less than 60%	59	10.3%
40% ~less than 50%	60	10.5%
30% ~less than 40%	67	11.7%
20% ~less than 30%	52	9.1%
10% ~less than 20%	20	3.5%
Less than 10%	2	0.4%

The ratio of being lost in 6 cities exceeded 99%. and 8 cities were 98% something. That of more than half was 60% and more.

42 If the number of votes by winner is 10,000 and that by loser is 9,800, the ratio of being lost is 98%.

On the other hands, that of more than one-third was less than 50%. The lowest ratio was only 4.85% of mayoral election in Gojo. Winner's votes exceeded twenty times of loser's votes.

Generally speaking, high ratio of being lost is the proof of severe battle among candidates. Then, is there any relationship between the ratio of being lost and turnout? If severe battle among candidates introduces high turnout, the correlation coefficient will reach to near 1.

The correlation coefficient between the ratio of being lost and turnout is 0.424. Positive and weak relationship is made clear. This indicates that low turnout does not always introduce low ratio of being lost. For example, the turnout of Nishinomiya mayoral election, which ratio of being lost was highest was 34.34%, the 33rd lowest among 571 elections. The simple average of turnout of mayoral election which ratio of being lost is below 20% is a bit higher than weighted average of turnout of every mayoral election.

However, the top 20 of the ratio of being lost exceed 60% of turnout except for 3 cities and their simple average is 69.3%. In general, mayoral elections which ratios of being lost are relatively high have tendency to be high turnout.

In 41 elections, the ratio of being lost by second unsuccessful candidate exceeded 50%. Especially, in 5 elections, it exceeded 80%⁴³. As these data illustrate, three-way fight is not uncommon with mayoral election.

The simple average of the ratio being lost reached to more than 60%.

4.3.5 The relative ratio of vote⁴⁴ and the absolute ratio of vote⁴⁵

43 In mayoral election in Ebino, the ratio exceeded 95%.

44 In this subsection, the relative ratio of vote indicates that the ratio of winner's votes by total valid votes.

45 In this subsection, the absolute ratio of vote indicates that the ratio of winner's votes by the number of electorates. This can be calculated by the formula below; the relative ratio of vote \times turnout = the absolute ratio of vote. The absolute ratio of vote is the index which shows the

If only two candidates run for mayor, the relative ratio of vote and the ratio of being lost are deeply connected. If the ratio of being lost is low, the relative ratio of vote is high and total of both exceeds a bit more than 100%⁴⁶. On the other hands, if the ratio of being lost is the higher, the lower the relative ratio of vote is and it nears to 50%⁴⁷. However, these principles are not applicable to the case of three candidates or more.

The highest relative ratio of vote was 95.38% in mayoral election of Gojo in Nara and second highest was 92.74% of Enzan in Yamanashi. The relative ratio of vote of more than 70% ranges from 50% to 80%. 111 mayors received support from less than half. The lowest was 29.07% of Minowa⁴⁸ in Osaka and the second lowest was 29.22% of Nerima⁴⁹ in Tokyo. In these cases more than 70% of electorates cast their votes to opposite candidates.

Table 4.18 The distribution of the relative ratio of vote

The relative ratio of vote	Number	Ratio
90% and more	2	0.4%
80% ~less than 90%	34	6.0%
70% ~less than 80%	95	16.6%
60% ~less than 70%	117	20.5%
50% ~less than 60%	212	37.1%
40% ~less than 50%	67	11.7%
30% ~less than 40%	42	7.4%
20% ~less than 30%	2	0.4%

extent of support by electorates absolutely.

46 For example, in case of mayoral election in Gojo, which ratio of the lost was the lowest, it was 4.85% and the relative ratio of vote was 95.38% and in total 100.23%.

47 In case of mayoral election in Tonami, the ratio of being lost was 99.6% and the relative ratio of vote was 50.1%.

48 4 candidates were contested.

49 6 candidates were contested.

As the fact that correlation coefficient between turnout and the relative ratio of vote is -0.269 shows, they have negative and weak relationship. In case of low turnout, the relative ratio of vote tends to be relatively high. Especially, if other candidates are regarded weak, strong candidate will receive much more votes than others and the relative ratio of vote will reach to high level but turnout will remain low because not a few electorates do not demonstrate deep concern about the result of election.

If the absolute ratio of vote is high, it represents high support by residents and high turnout is essential condition to achieve this position. On the other hands, only one opposite candidate whose name is not so popular and whose purpose of running is only to avoid incumbent mayor's win without voting, turnout is likely to be relatively low.

The highest absolute ratio of vote was 67.1% in Ryoutsu of Niigata. The turnout was 87.76% and the ratio of being lost remained 30.79%, therefore, the relative ratio of vote was 76.46%. Only three cities including Ryoutsu recorded the percentage of the absolute ratio of vote as sixties. 34 cities recorded that as fifties. In total, only 6.5% of cities exceeded 50% of the absolute ratio of vote, that is, more than 90% of city mayors could not receive majority support by electorates. 45 mayors received less than 20% of absolute ratio of vote. They could not grasp only one-fifth of residents' vote.

Simply calculating, the average of the absolute ratio of vote remains only 34.5%. In other words, one-third of electorates' support is sufficient for mayoral candidate.

The lowest of absolute ratio of vote was 12.33% in Nishinomiya, in which the ratio of being lost was the highest, that is, winner of Nishinomiya mayoral election only received less than one-eighth electorates' support⁵⁰.

50 This was due to the low turnout and the fact 5 candidates competed with each other severely. This percentage is lower than the average absolute ratio of vote in general election of 1993 (12.9%), which was the last election by the middle-sized constituency. Kabashima Hideyoshi, *Chiho Seiji ga Abunai* (A crisis in local politics). Tokyo: Sandokei, 1995, p.100.

Among 45 cities in which the absolute ratio of vote is 20% or less, 37 had the population of more than 100,000 and 5 were designated cities. Most of them suffered from low percentages of turnout, that is, from thirties to forties, and average number of candidates was four. As a consequence, the absolute ratio of vote by winner remains low.

In general, the absolute ratios of vote in designated cities tend to be lower than those in other categories such as core cities⁵¹. The average of that in designated cities and in cities which population is 500,000 and more is 22.38% and 23.46% respectively. This is proved by the fact correlation coefficient between the absolute ratio of vote and population is -0.364.

4.4 Mayors' Profiles

Mayors' profiles are also interesting. Five mayors are selected from as of 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001. Some are unique and others are typical.

4.4.1 Five mayors as of 1971

- ① Karahashi Azuma - former mayor of Kitakata city in Fukushima -; three different backgrounds of teacher, prefectural assembly member and the Diet member

Karahashi was born in 1911 and graduated from Fukushima Shihan school in 1935. He experienced various educational posts such as local elementary school teacher and the head of junior high school and was enthusiastic in labor union activities of Nikkyoso after world war II. In 1951 he was elected to the assembly member of Fukushima prefecture and had seated four consecutive times before being inaugurated to the member of House of Representatives in 1967. In 1970 he ran for mayor of Kitakata and succeeded. He tried to win five consecutive times but failed⁵².

51 Among designated cities, the absolute ratio of vote in Sapporo was the highest. But it was 32.91% and the 311th highest (the 261st lowest).

52 Rekidai Chiji Hensankai ed., *Nihon no Rekidai Shicho Dai Ikkan*

- ② Yamada Toshio -former mayor of Ebetsu in Hokkaido-; from city assembly member to city executive posts

Yamada was born in 1909 and graduated from Meiji University in 1938. He had worked in some company related to Toshiba by 1947 and managed Yamada pharmacy company. In 1955 he was elected to the assembly member of Ebetsu city. Only after two years from his election, he was appointed to the treasurer by the then Ebetsu mayor, Kotajima. He highly evaluated Yamada's ability and next year he was inaugurated to vice mayor. For 14 years, Yamada had experienced city executive posts before elected to mayor. Yamada seated the mayor's post three consecutive times⁵³.

- ③ Ishibashi Kazuya -former mayor of Tougane in Chiba-; rich experience both in politics and in administration

Ishibashi experienced various posts of both politics and administration. He was born in 1922 and graduated from Nihon Noushi school in 1942. He was elected to the assembly member of the then Kouhei village and appointed to the vice mayor in 1949 and elected to the mayor in 1952. Kouhei village was merged to Tougane city and he first seated the post of general director and was again appointed to the vice mayor in 1964. He was elected to mayor of Tougane in 1968 and on his second term, he ran for the seat of House of Representatives and succeeded in 1976. He was elected eight consecutive times and experienced the Minister of Education⁵⁴.

- ④ Enokibara Kazuo -former mayor of Suita in Osaka-; From labor union activity to mayor

Enokibara made a figure through labor union activity. He was born in 1926 and after graduation from Setunan technical college in 1948, entered Suita city government. He was enthusiastic in labor

(Biography of Mayors in Japan Vol.1). Tokyo: Rekidai Chiji Hensankai, 1983, p.482.

53 Ibid., p.131.

54 Rekidai Chiji Hensankai ed., *Nihon no Rekidai Shicho Dai Nikan* (Biography of Mayors in Japan Vol.2). Tokyo: Rekidai Chiji Hensankai, 1984, p.892.

union activity and had held senior posts in city employees' labor union such as secretary-general and president before being elected to mayor of Suita receiving recommendation from JSP and JCP in 1971. In 1975 he was reelected only by recommendation from JCP and in 1983 he received recommendation from both ruling parties and opposite parties. He retired in 1991 after serving five times⁵⁵.

⑤ Shimano Takeshi -former mayor of Sendai in Miyagi-; from lawyer to mayor

Shimano was born in 1904 and entered Tokyo University in 1926. He passed the law examination in 1930 and practiced as a lawyer. He had experienced several posts such as vice president of Tokyo lawyers' association and member of committee for labor dispute negotiation in Tokyo before running for mayor of Sendai in 1955. He competed with incumbent mayor who sought for fourth term severely and the election race was neck-and-neck but Shimano was lost. He sued for the invalidity of election and the Supreme Court finally admitted his appeal in 1957. He ran for mayor again in 1958 and was elected. He served seven times in succession and during his tenure, he was inaugurated to the president of National Mayors' Association⁵⁶.

4.4.2 Five mayors as of 1981

① Kanzaki Jiichiro - former mayor of Masuda in Shimane-; from the nation to city via prefecture

Most of people seems to consider that every mayor who had the background of the central government official was also ex-career civil servant. In realities, not a few non career civil servants were elected to mayors.

Kanzaki was born in 1924 and after graduation from Nihon University he then went to work for the then Ministry of Interior and in 1959 he was seconded to Shiga prefecture and experienced

55 Ibid., p.794. Nichigai Associates ed., *Gendai Seijika Jinmei Jiten* (Biographical Dictionary of Modern Politicians), Tokyo: Kinokuniya Syoten, 1999, p.78.

56 Rekidai, 1983, p.331.

the director of pension and municipalities. He returned to the Ministry of Home Affairs and seated the post of director of public enterprise. In 1972 he was seconded to Shimane prefecture and experienced various senior posts such as the director-general of public enterprise and director-general of planning. He was elected to Masuda mayor four consecutive times from 1976 to 1992⁵⁷.

② Nishiyama Takashi -former mayor of Toyota in Aichi-; technician background

Not a few technicians of local governments have been working in the field of civil engineering, architecture, agriculture and so on. Nishiyama is a typical example of mayors who had the background of technicians. He was born in 1924 and graduated from the department of civil engineering of Nagoya Industrial University in 1942 and was employed to Nagoya city government. He experienced senior posts for which technical specialty was desirable such as director-general of urban planning and civil engineering. In 1975 he was appointed to the post of vice mayor and the next year he was elected to Nagoya mayor and three consecutive times elected⁵⁸.

③ Tsuchiya Masatada -former mayor of Musashino in Tokyo-; dual backgrounds of city government

Tsuchiya was famous for idea mayor. He was enthusiastic in administrative reform such as drastic reduction of retirement allowance for local government employees and promoted so-called community bus. Not a few cities followed his innovative policies. He was born in 1941 and after graduation from Waseda University he was employed to Musashino city government in 1966. In 1975 he was elected to the city assembly member and reelected in 1979. At the age of 41 he ran for mayor criticizing about financial management of city and won. He was elected six consecutive times and in 2005 he ran for the member of House of Representatives⁵⁹.

57 Rekidai Chiji Hensankai ed., *Nihon no Rekidai Shicho Dai Sankan* (Biography of Mayors in Japan Vol.3). Tokyo: Rekidai Chiji Hensankai, 1985, p.268.

58 Rekidai, 1984, p.503.

59 Rekidai, 1983, P.957.

- ④ Akiyama Koujiro -former mayor of Hachinohe in Aomori-; from assembly to mayor

Akiyama was born in 1910 and graduated from Chuo University in 1936. He engaged in the industry of fishery and was inaugurated to the post of president of Hachinohe fishery cooperative and the board member of Aomori fishery promotion association. He was active in the development of fishery in Aomori. From 1952 he was elected to Hachinohe city assembly member twice and from 1959 to 1969 he seated the post of Aomori prefectural assembly member. He ran for mayor in 1969 and was elected five consecutive times⁶⁰.

- ⑤ Ogino Yukikazu -former mayor of Kurobe in Toyama-; private sector's background

Ogino was born in 1938 and after graduation from Keio University in 1962 he succeeded the family business and seated the executive of Ogino Oil company at the age of 25. In 1975 he was inaugurated to the executive of Ginban Sake Brewing and Kintaro Onsen company in 1977. He was elected to Kurobe mayor in 1980 and won six consecutive times⁶¹.

4.4.3 Five mayors as of 1991

- ① Noda satoshi -former mayor of Isahaya in Nagasaki-; from prefecture to city

Noda was born in 1927 and after graduation from Takamatsu technical college of economy joined the Nagasaki prefectural government. In 1974 he seated the director of personnel and director-general of economy in 1979. He was elected to mayor three straight times from 1984 to 1996.

- ② Nozoe Yutaka -former mayor of Karatsu in Saga-; a straight city man

Nozoe was born in 1928 and went to the Navy school but quit due to the defeat of World War II. He entered Karatsu city

60 Ibid., p.203.

61 Rekidai, 1984, p.162.

government in 1945 and in 1956 he was promoted to the director of commerce and sightseeing at the age of 28. He experienced important posts such as finance director and director-general of general affairs. He was appointed to vice mayor in 1980 and elected to mayor in 1983. He retired in 1995 after serving three full terms⁶².

- ③ Imakyuure Hisashi -former mayor of Makurazaki in Kagoshima-; from journalist to mayor

Imakyuure was born in 1932 and after graduation from Kagoshima University in 1956 he entered Sankei News Paper. He experienced senior posts such as director-general of press and was elected to mayor in 1990. He was reelected without voting but edged out only by 51 votes at third election. He tried fourth term but failed in 2002⁶³.

- ④ Sanai Masaharu -former mayor of Yamaguchi in Yamaguchi-; from prefectural government official to mayor via city assembly member

Sanai had the unique background. He was born in 1926 and after graduation from the Navy school in 1945 he entered Yamaguchi prefectural government. His final post as governmental official was the director-general of planning. There are only a few who once experienced the senior post of a prefecture and sought for a city assembly member. Sanai was elected to Yamaguchi city assembly member and in 1990 he ran for mayor and won⁶⁴.

- ⑤ Takahide Hidenobu -former mayor of Yokohama-; from vice administrative minister to mayor

Takahide was born in 1929 and after graduation from the department of civil engineering in Hokkaido University he entered the Ministry of Construction. He first worked in local branch office then promoted to the director-general of Chubu regional office and director-general of water resource in the National Land Agency. He was inaugurated to the highest post, that is, the vice administrative

62 Rekidai, 1985, p.534.

63 Nichigai, p.57.

64 Ibid., p.215.

Minister of Construction in 1984. He won three consecutive times from 1990 to 2002 but failed to keep the fourth term by Nakata, former member of House of Representatives⁶⁵.

4.4.4 Five mayors as of 2001

- ① Endo Noboru -mayor of Tendo in Yamagata-; professional politician

Endo was born in 1929 and from 1959 he was elected to Tendo city assembly member four consecutive times. In 1975 he stood for Yamagata prefectural assembly member and won. He again seated the post four consecutive times. In 1990 he ran for the member of House of Representatives from JSP and elected twice. During his tenure, he was inaugurated to the vice minister of International Trade and Industry. In 1997 he defeated the incumbent mayor who sought fourth term and was reelected in 2001 without voting⁶⁶.

- ② Matsui Asahi -former mayor of Chiba-; from professional administrator to mayor

Matsui was born in 1927 and graduated from Chuo University. He joined the Home Agency, which was the predecessor of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and was seconded to Chiba prefecture as the director in 1967. In 1969, he was seconded to Chiba city and experienced finance director and vice mayor. In 1977 he ran for mayor and won six consecutive times⁶⁷.

- ③ Kitamura Harue -former mayor of Ashiya in Hyogo-; first female mayor

Kitamura is the first female city mayor in Japan. She was born in 1927 and after graduation from Ritsumei University, she became lawyer in 1959. From 1979 to 1990 she was the member of education committee in Ashiya and inaugurated to the president of the committee. She ran for mayor and defeated the incumbent. She

65 Ibid., p.260.

66 Ibid., p.60.

67 Rekidai, 1983, p.836.

seated for three times⁶⁸.

- ④ Nagashima Kazuyosi -mayor of Zushi in Kanagawa-; the youngest mayor

Nagashima was born in 1967 and after graduation from graduate school of Tokyo University he entered Fuji Television. In 1996 he ran for the Diet but lost. He was elected to the city assembly member the next year and in 1998 he won mayoral election in Zushi defeating four candidates. He is famous for his unique political style but sometimes faces difficulties due to the conflict with the city assembly⁶⁹.

- ⑤ Kumasaka Yoshihiro -mayor of Miyako in Iwate-; from doctor to mayor

Kumasaka was born in 1952 and graduated from medical school of Hirosaki University in 1978. He practiced his hospital after engaging in Miyako prefectural hospital. In 1993 he was defeated at mayoral election but successful in 1997⁷⁰.

(To be continued)

68 Nichigai, p.151.

69 Ibid., p.151.

70 Ibid., p.161.