

# Local Politicians in Japan (1)

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## 1 Introduction

Although local politicians have been considered as second-class ones by not a few Japanese and local politics haven't been paid

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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 misunderstanding. Local governments have a wide range of functions and nearly two-thirds of governmental expenditure is covered by locality<sup>2</sup>. 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<sup>3</sup> was enforced at central level nineteen years later than the introduction by Kanayama. By 2001, most of local governments had already introduced this system. With regard to the environmental problems, most of innovative policies were first carried out not by the central government but by progressive local governments. In the 1960s and 1970s, local governments' successive antipollution measures led to the enactment of the Basic Law for Environmental Pollution Control in 1967<sup>4</sup>. This was true of other innovative policies such as the government policy evaluation system and the environmental impact assessment system.

It is not unusual that innovative policies which local governments or the central governments in foreign countries first

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2 In 1998, total local government expenditure shared 63%.

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

4 Shigeru Tamura. *Shicho no Rirekisho* (Mayors' Profiles in Japan). Tokyo: Gyousei, 2003, p.163.

introduced was applied to Japanese local government prior to the central government. In case of Kanayama, the then town mayor, Kishi<sup>5</sup> decided to introduce the public information disclosure system for the first time in Japan 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 II. This is partly due to the development of decentralization. As the authority of each local government has been extended, 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 or she would tackle with local issues boldly and the most suitable solution might be found by his/her initiative. On the contrary, if he or she seeks for his/her profit privately, the local government would lose its confidence in local residents.

This paper demonstrates the realities of local politicians, especially governors and mayors through comprehensive research. Backgrounds of local politicians are focused on and what kind of person is elected is mentioned. In case of governors, comparison of governors' profile between Japan and USA is attempted. Besides governors and mayors, the realities of right hand of the local political leaders and assembly person are also illustrated. Through thorough investigation, a lot of characteristics of local politicians in Japan are made clear. It would be irrational to regard their posts as dull and second-class. After the realities of political ladders and the corruption are described, the merit and demerit of presidential system in Japanese local government is finally discussed.

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

## 2 Local Government System in Japan<sup>6</sup>

After the Meiji Restoration, in its bid to catch up with the economic advances of Western countries, Japan introduced a centralized administrative system, which framework remained after World War II<sup>7</sup>. It was strongly influenced by the Prussian system. At that time the system reflected stronger central governmental control than that of today; the former practice of centrally appointed governors is just one example of how strong the control was. Much of that early system has been passed down to the present, though it has to be said that local government's authority has increased substantially since the early post-war period, despite little structural change. In Japan, local government is two-tiered: prefectures serving wider areas, and municipalities providing main local services.

Prefectures and municipalities vary widely in terms of population and area. Japan's 47 prefectures range in population from Tokyo Metropolis with more than 12 million, to Tottori Prefecture with just 600,000; and in size, from the Hokkai-do with an area exceeding 80,000 sq km, to Kagawa Prefecture with a little under 2,000 sq km. The municipalities exhibit even greater variety. They range from Yokohama city, with a population in excess of 3 million, to Aogashima Village in Tokyo, with a population of about 200. As for area, Takayama City in Gifu Prefecture covers about 2,200 sq km, compared to Akaoka Town in Kochi Prefecture, at about 1.64 sq km.

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6 This chapter is based on the following papers, Shigeru Tamura, "Realities of Japanese Local Governments' International Activities.", presented at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Inha-LeHavre Joint Conference on International Political Economy on "Neo-Functional vs. Neo-Institutional Policies of Regional Cooperation: East Asian and European Experiences." Incheon, South Korea, 18-19 April, 2005 and Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, *Local Government in Japan 2004*. Tokyo: CLAIR, 2004.

7 Tamura, 2003, p.162.

The number of prefectures has remained unchanged since the system was adopted during the Meiji Period (1868-1912). Prefectural areas are based on the local administrative units instituted under ancient statutes during the 8th century, as well as the relationships that existed between the Shogunate government and each area's local clan during the Edo Period, which began in 1603. As a result, the areas are well established in the minds of the Japanese people. However, there are those today who hold the view that the sizes of the prefectures should be reviewed to match changes in the economic reality brought about by Japan's post-World War II economic growth, and the reform of prefectures, that is, the merger of prefectures is under discussion by the council of local government system (28<sup>th</sup> Chiho Seido Chousa Kai). In the near future, the present 47 prefectures might be likely to be merged into 7 to 9 regional governments<sup>8</sup>.

The number of municipalities has steadily decreased since the end of World War II, mainly to improve their local economy by widening their fiscal base. Many towns and villages merged between 1953 and 1961 following the central government's introduction of legislation promoting municipal mergers in accordance with the Law of Promotion of Merger of Towns and Villages, and the number of municipalities fell to one-third of the previous high of some 10,000. This led to the improvements in their administrative and financial capabilities, and helped to promote the growth of local autonomy and the urbanization that followed, as Japan entered her boom years. From then on, mergers took place according to the realities and requirements of municipalities. Recently, through the initiative of the central government, municipal mergers have been strongly promoted again. There are presently less than 2,400 municipalities (as of April 2005). In 2006, the number of municipalities is estimated to be reduced to less than 2000.

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8 28<sup>th</sup> Chiho Seido Chousa Kai is scheduled to submit final report by March 2006. Shigeru Tamura, *Doushuu sei Renpou sei - Koremade no Giron Korekara no Tenbou* (Regional Government and State Government in Federalism- the Discussion so far and Prospect). Tokyo: Gyousei, 2004.

Most familiar day-to-day public services are the responsibility of local government. These include: family and resident registration; building and management of daycare centers, kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, libraries, public halls and similar facilities; construction, maintenance and management of refuse and sewage disposal facilities, water supply and sewage works; development and improvement of roads and parks; and police and fire fighting services. Local government plays a significant role in the growth of society as a whole, as well as in the stability and improvement of people's daily lives. In contrast to the sectional administration of the central government's ministries and agencies, local government provides comprehensive services in its administrative region. Its local development and cultural policies are good examples of this.

An ordinary local government consists of an executive branch and a legislature. The legislature (the elected council) determines budgets, enacts local legislation and makes decisions on its policies. It includes the prefectural or municipal assembly. The executive branch implements the policies decided by the legislature. It includes governors, mayors and their executive committees.

Local government in Japan is based on the presidential system, where governors, mayors, and councilors are directly elected, and functions on the principle of a separation of powers and internal checks and balances to ensure democratic local administration. To prevent the over-concentration of power in one place, the executive branch also includes a number of administrative committees independent of the governor or mayor, for example, boards of education, or public safety, and election committees. These committees are wholly responsible for the management of their respective functions.

### 3 Governors -Kings or Queens of Prefectures?

#### 3.1 Governor's Qualification and Authority

Before world war II, governors were appointed by the central

government mainly from the central government senior officials. In those days, the Ministry of Interior (Naimu-sho) had strong influence on local administration and supervised the conduct of each prefecture from every aspect. Local Autonomy Law, the principle law for local government system, was enacted on May 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1947 when the new Constitution was enacted. New system received a lot of influence from American system.

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 American state governors are limited.

They are responsible for ensuring the overall consistency of the local authority's services and functions, and are authorized to represent the authority externally. Governors thus exercise general control over other executive organs such as administrative committees. Important powers given to local chief executives include rights to enact regulations, to draft budgets, to introduce bills, and to appoint members of administrative committees such as the board of education and public safety committee, as well as vice governors, a chief accountant and other officials of their respective local authorities.

In addition to these powers, governors are responsible for the execution of all affairs of the local authority excluding those of the elected council and the administrative committees.

### 3. 2 Governors' Profiles<sup>9</sup>

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9 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 Chiji Hensankai, ed., *Nihon no Rekidai Chiji Dai 1 kan - Dai 3 kan* (The Successive Governors in

In 1947, governors' election was first implemented and as of January 1st 2004, in total there are 266 governors<sup>10</sup> who were elected including the present governors. A lot of unique and interesting characteristics are found through my research. In this section, total figures of both all governors and the present governors are mentioned.

### 3.2.1 All governors

#### 3.2.1.1 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 as 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<sup>11</sup>.

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 Diet members who experienced the post of minister pursue the governor's post.

Table 3. 1 shows the composition of occupational backgrounds of governors into which duplication of backgrounds is included. In this classification, the governor who does not have any occupational background of political post, administrative post<sup>12</sup>, university and

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Japan Vol.1-3). Tokyo: Rekidai Chiji Hensankai, 1980-1982.

10 This number is net basis. In gross there are 268 governors.

11 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.

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



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<sup>13</sup>, 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.

Table 3. 1 The Composition of Occupational Backgrounds of governors<sup>14</sup>  
(total : 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

Nearly 40 percent of governors is 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<sup>15</sup> 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 governor. Compared to the seat of backbench, the post of governor as the political leader of prefecture seems to be regarded

13 This includes officials of former Ministry of Interior.

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

15  $105 - 66 = 39$ .

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. It seems to me that he regarded the post of governor as local political leader as much more aggressive than the formal role of the Speaker as one of the head of three separated powers of governance. He resigned the post of governor in the half way of the third term in 2003, however, because of her daughter's financial scandal.

It is unofficially said that not a few members of prefectural assembly have the desire to be elected as the Diet members or governors. 37 governors had experienced the member of prefectural assembly, among them, more than half (57%) had also the background of law makers. Mayor's experience is shared by 30 governors, 14 had the background of city mayors and 16 had the town or village mayors.

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. 8 out of 14 governors who had the background of the academics also had the political or administrative career and 10 out of 11 governors who had the background of lawyer also had it. Only 19 governors (7%) had neither political career nor administrative one including the present governor Tanaka in Nagano<sup>16</sup>.

Next table 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 respectively. Roughly

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16 After graduation from Hitotsubashi University, Nagano governor, Tanaka Yasuo first joined an oil company but resigned soon. He is a writer and famous for his anti-authoritative attitude.

speaking, nearly half is shared by the central government officials, one-quarter by the Diet members, and one-tenth by prefectural government officials respectively.

Table 3.2 The Composition of Occupational Backgrounds of Governors (total: 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

### 3.2.1.2 Party

It is said that one of the characteristics of local politics in Japan is the weak influence by political parties. Not a few local assembly members do not belong to any political party and this tendency is particularly common among municipalities.

In 1947, the first election of governor was held and 46<sup>17</sup> 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 it from some small party. Remaining 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

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

difficult for governor's side to receive assembly's approval of vice governor's appointment or annual budget plan. After 1979, 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, governors who received no support from political parties emerged and they are called "Mu-touha" governors (non partisan governors).

### 3.2.1.3 Family

In Japan, "Sesyuu" issue is always debatable. This is true of not only company owner but also politics. From Miyazawa to Koizumi, 7 out of 8 prime ministers had the background of political family<sup>18</sup>. 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 the area of governor's election, the influence of political family seems to be weaker than the Diet members' election. Among 266 governors, 49 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. In case of Yamanashi, the late Amano Ken and his father, the late Amano Hisashi were former governor of Yamanashi.

### 3.2.1.4 Gender

Among 266 governors, the number of female is only 4 (1.5%).

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18 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.

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.

### 3.2.1.5 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 of 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.

Table 3.3 The Age when Governors were first Elected (Total)

Age	Number	%
35-39	3	1.1
40-44	25	9.4
45-49	51	19.2
50-54	55	20.7
55-59	60	22.6
60-64	44	16.5
65-69	23	8.6
70-	5	1.9

### 3.2.1.6 The average length of governors' administration

The term of governor in Japan is fixed to four years. The average length of governors' administration is ten years. Some failed to be reelected. Others continued to sit the post of governor 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 politicians, six times, and nineteen politicians, five times respectively. On the contrary, 46 governors had stayed their post only for four years or less.

### 3.2.2 The incumbent governors

#### 3.2.2.1 Occupational backgrounds of governors

More than half of governors had the background of the central government official. Among 24 governors, 14 came from Ministry of Home Affairs, 4 from MITI, 3 from Ministry of Construction, 1 from Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery, 1 from Ministry of Education and 1 from Ministry of Welfare respectively.

Eighteen governors (38%) are shared by ex-prefectural government officials, ten (21%) by law makers, six (13%) by mayors and three (6%) by prefectural government officials respectively. Compared to total figure, the ratio of legislature of both the central and local government is lower.

However, one significant characteristic is the existence of five governors who experienced neither administrative career nor political one before becoming prefectural leaders. Mr. Sumita, Shimane governor, was former senior official of JNR, Mr. Hashimoto, Kochi governor was former director of NHK, Mr. Hirayama, Niigata governor, was former head of Niigata branch of Bank of Japan, Mr. Inamori, Okinawa governor, is the owner of a large oil selling company and Mr. Tanaka, Nagano governor, is an author.

Table 3.4 The Composition of Occupational Backgrounds of Governors (the incumbent: gross)

Occupational Backgrounds	Number	%
The Member of the House of Representatives	6	12.8
The Member of the House of Councillors	4	8.5
The Central Government Official	24	51.1
Prefectural Government Official	18	38.3
Prefectural Assembly Member	3	6.4
Mayor	6	12.8

University	0	0.0
Lawyer	1	2.1
Others	5	10.6

Next table indicates the composition of occupational backgrounds of governors excluding duplication like table 3. 2. This table shows that half of the incumbent governors is shared by ex-central civil servants, 19% by law makers, 11% by ex-local civil servants and 11% by others respectively. Nearly 9% is shared by mayors.

Table 3. 5 The Composition of Occupational Backgrounds of Governors (the incumbent : net)

Occupational Backgrounds	Number	%
The Diet member	9	19.1
Mayor	4	8.5
Prefectural Assembly Member	0	0
The Central Government Official	24	51.1
Prefectural Government Official	5	10.6
Others	5	10.6

### 3. 2. 2. 2 Gender

Among 47 governors, the number of female is 4 and 2 female governors, Ms. Ota in Osaka and Ms. Takahashi in Hokkaido had the background of the central government officials (both from MITI), Ms. Doumoto in Chiba had the background of the member of the House of Councillors and Ms. Shiotani in Kumamoto had the background of vice governor.

### 3. 2. 2. 3 The age when governors were first elected

The average age of governors when they were elected is 53.8. This is a bit younger than the average of total. 19 governors were first elected in their forties.

Table 3.6 The Age when Governors were first Elected (The incumbent)

Age	Number	%
40-44	6	12.8
45-49	13	27.7
50-54	9	19.1
55-59	8	17.0
60-64	6	12.8
65-69	4	8.5
70-	1	2.1

#### 3.2.2.4 The average length of governors' administration

The average length of the incumbent governors' administration is 6 years and 4 months. Mr. Matsukata, governor of Miyazaki, won the governor's election six times consecutively, Mr. Sumida, governor of Shimane, won five times, five won fourth times, nine won three times, twelve won twice and nineteen won once respectively.

#### 3.2.3 From "Kasumigaseki" to governor

Compared to western countries, the steady tendency among the central government officials to run for the governor election in Japan might be unique phenomenon. However, in South Korea, we can find the same trend as Japan.

The number of governors who had the background of administrative career has been maintained at least half of total and this trend is called "bureaucratization of governors' profile"<sup>19</sup>.

According to the survey by the National Governors' Association, in 1947, 28 governors among 46 came from the central government officials, in 1951, at the second election, 27, in 1955, at the third election, 25 respectively. In 1959, at the fourth governor election, it was the first time when the ratio of governors who had

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19 Masaaki Kataoka, *Chijishoku o meguru kanryou to seijika* (Competitive relationship between bureaucrat and politician who are seeking to the post of governor). Tokyo: Mokutakusya, 1994, p.18.



the background of central civil servant became lower than half and the number was reduced to 22.

In the 1970s, more than 5 progressive governors were always seated but around half of governors were occupied by the ex-central civil servants. In 1983 and 1987, the number fell to 21 and became less than half again. From 1990, the number of governors who had the background of bureaucrat has been increasing again and as of October 2004, reached to 26.

It seems to be considered by not a few voters and local assembly members that the experience of the central government official, especially, senior official, has the merit because governor's role is not limited to the political one, and from administrative view point, the governor who has the background of the central government official can tackle with central-local relationship smoothly and is expected to acquire more central subsidies than others.

Through this investigation, we can subdivide the type of governors who had the background of bureaucrat into three patterns from the viewpoint of final post as bureaucrat. Besides the pattern of governors who had the backgrounds of both bureaucrat and politician is added.

- ① Pattern 1 : the governor whose final post was vice administrative minister or head of bureau (the "designated" post)
- ② Pattern 2 : the governor who had the experience of working as vice governor or department head in the prefecture
- ③ Pattern 3 : the governor whose final post was the director or the equivalent level
- ④ Pattern 4 : the governor who had the backgrounds of both bureaucrat and politician

In case of the pattern 1, he or she usually stands for the governor election at their mid fifties or sixties. The typical case is Mr. Suzuki syun-ichi, who had governed Tokyo for 16 years. After graduation from University of Tokyo, he entered the then Ministry of Interiors. He experienced the post of vice administrative Minister of Home Affairs, vice administrative Minister of Cabinet Bureau and vice governor of Tokyo and was elected to the governor of Tokyo in 1979 at the age of 68. From 1970, the number of the governors

who had the experience of vice administrative minister reached eight including Mr. Suzuki. Adding to the designated post, the number reached to thirty.

There are 38 governors who are categorized into the pattern 2. 31 governors experienced vice governors as their final post of administrative officers in the prefecture. Before world war II, not only governors but also senior officials of each prefecture were dispatched by the central government, especially by the then Ministry of Interiors. After world war II, the appointed governor system was abolished, however, the central government officials transfer system survived. This mechanism is voluntary basis, that is, some local government which considers the necessity for the dispatch of the central government official asks the personnel of some ministry to send suitable official.

There are 9 governors who belong to the pattern 3. Most of them ran for governors in their forties and four had no experience of working as the said prefectural official. 15 governors are categorized to the pattern 4 and except for two governors, they were first elected before the 1970s.

Recently, the advantage of ex-central civil servant seems to have been decreased to some extent. In 1995, former vice administrative ministers lost governor's election both in Tokyo and in Osaka. In 2000, the incumbent governor who had the background of vice administrative minister and tried to win five times successively in Tochigi lost his post. In 2003, both former vice administrative minister of Home affairs and former head of the Cabinet bureau failed to win the governor's post in Saitama.

These results might illustrate the voters' unfavorable attitude against the senior post of bureaucrat. On the contrary, relatively young candidates who had the background of civil servant have much higher possibility to win the governor's election. Among 18 governors who were first elected from 1994 to 2004<sup>20</sup> and had the

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20 The scope is from the beginning of April 1994 to the end of March 2004.

background of the central government official, nine were their forties.

Same phenomenon can be found in the Parliament. Recently, not a few ex-civil servants whose age is under fifty have run for the Parliament. Some are thirties and others are twenties. The title of having been the senior civil servant has become weaker from the view point of the possibility of being elected.

### 3. 3 Comparison of the characteristics of governors between Japan and USA

#### 3. 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 USA. From George Washington to George W. Bush, 42 presidents have been governed this country more than 200 years and more than 40%, that is, 18 had the background of former governors<sup>21</sup> and three presidents had run for governor and failed before presidential election. The present president, George W. Bush is famous for his political success as the Texas governor and he was anxious to the reform of education system in the state. 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 His rival, Senator Kelly was former lieutenant governor of Massachusetts.

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21 This includes former territorial governor.

It might be fair to say that having the good performance as a governor is a big advantage to being selected as the party candidate of the president in USA.

In Japan, the term of governor is fixed to four years and the number of term is not limited, however, in USA, 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.

USA is the federal country and Japan is unitary country. Each state government in USA has its constitution and prefecture in Japan doesn't have such authority. 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<sup>22</sup>. In this section, comprehensive comparison of governors' profile between Japan and USA is illustrated.

### 3.3.2 Comparison of governors' profile between Japan and USA

Fair and accurate comparison is desirable but difficult to be achieved. The website of National Governors' Association in USA 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<sup>23</sup> and afterward were analyzed<sup>24</sup>. In total, 521 governors' profiles were investigated<sup>25</sup>.

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

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

24 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

### 3.3.2.1 Occupational backgrounds of governors

#### 3.3.2.1.1 Law occupation

It is important for anybody who has the political ambition to hold the law degree in USA<sup>26</sup>. Among 521 governors, 287 (55%) have LL.M, LL.B or equivalent degree. This tendency has strong relationship with the occupational backgrounds of governors in USA 21 among 50 incumbent governors have some law degree. In Japan, among 47 incumbent governors, 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 and much more highly evaluated than others in the promotion of senior post.

#### 3.3.2.2.2 Occupational backgrounds of governors

One of the significant characteristics of occupational backgrounds of governors in USA is the existence of the judiciary. In USA, 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. After world war II, a lot of reforms in Japan were

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was included except for less than one month term.

25 The data for this section are largely obtained from the following books and website; Sobel, Robert and Raimo, John, eds., *Biographical directory of the governors of the United States, 1789-1978*. Westport, Conn: Meckler Books, 1978, Raimo, John, *Biographical directory of the governors of the United States, 1978-1983*" Westport, Conn: Meckler Publisher, 1985, Raimo, John, *Biographical directory of the governors of the United States, 1984-1988*" Westport, Conn: Meckler Publisher, 1989, Raimo, John, *Biographical directory of the governors of the United States, 1989-1994*" Westport, Conn: Meckler Publisher, 1994, The Council of State Government, *The Book of the States; 2002 edition Volume 34*, Lexington, Kentucky; The Council of State Government, 2002, <http://www.nga.org/nga/1,1169,,00.html> and [http://www.nga.gr.jp/tijifile/f\\_file.html](http://www.nga.gr.jp/tijifile/f_file.html).

26 The ratio of lawyers in USA is much higher than in Japan and since 2004, more than 70 universities in Japan have introduced same system as USA.

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.

- 1 The judiciary (judge/prosecutor : federal/state/county/municipality)
- 2 Federal government (senator/representative/secretary/ambassador /senior official)
- 3 State government (state senator/state representative/lieutenant governor/secretary/senior official)
- 4 Local government (mayor/councilor/senior official)

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 3. 7 shows the occupational backgrounds of governors in USA. In this table, 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 USA 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, 70 governors had other backgrounds such as lawyer, professor and enterpriser.

Table 3.7 Occupational Backgrounds of Governors in USA (Total)

Occupational Backgrounds	Number	%
State Representative	186	35.7
State Senator	125	24.0
Lieutenant Governor	106	20.3
State Secretary	45	8.6
Judiciary <sup>27</sup>	141	27.1
US Senator	53	10.2
US Representative	12	2.3
US Minister	4	0.8
Ambassador	3	0.6
Federal Official	9	1.7
Mayor	51	9.8
Others	70	13.4

Table 3.8 Occupational Backgrounds of Governors in USA (The incumbent)

Occupational Backgrounds	Number	%
State Representative	15	30
State Senator	11	22
Lieutenant Governor	7	14
State Secretary	5	10
Judiciary	9	18
US Senator	9	18
US Representative	2	4
US Minister	1	2
Ambassador	1	2

27 Attorney general of the state is included to the judiciary.

Federal Official	0	0
Mayor	9	18

Table 3. 8 shows the presofent governors' occupational backgrounds. According to this figure, backgrounds of mayor and USA representative share a bit larger than total and backgrounds of judiciary, lieutenant governor and state representative share a bit smaller than total.

As these tables illustrate, much more governors in USA experienced judiciary branch than Japan. Governors in Japan have much more tendency to be exercised in the executive branch than USA. State legislature is much more important in USA than federal one, in Japan, vice versa. The ratio of mayor background is almost same.

Table 3. 9 Comparison of Occupational Background between Japan and USA (Total)

Occupational Backgrounds	Japan	%	USA	%
Central/ Federal Legislature	72	27.1	65	12.5
Prefectural/ State Legislature	37	13.9	311	59.7
Central/ Federal Executive	140	52.6	16	3.1
Prefectural/ State Executive	105	39.5	86	16.5
Judiciary	2	0.8	100	19.2
Mayor	30	11.3	51	9.8
Others	35	13.2	70	13.4

### 3. 3. 2. 2 Party

In USA, not only federal government but also state governments are ruled by party politics. 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.

### 3.3.2.3 Family

It is difficult to gather exact information about the profile of relatives of politicians. Through my investigation, at least 44 governors had one politician or more who were their relatives. 22 governors had the relatives who were also governors. 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.

One of the most famous political families in USA 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 USA 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.

Besides these examples, as Bush family illustrates, the emergence of political family or "Sesyuu" has been popular among American politics like Japan.

### 3.3.2.4 Gender

Among 521 governors, 21 (4%) were female. From 18th century, 23<sup>28</sup> female governors have been elected. Except for two, 21 were first elected in 1947 and afterward, 14 were first elected after

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

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.

### 3.3.2.5 The age when governors were first elected

The youngest governor is 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 is Ms. Walker<sup>29</sup> who was inaugurated at the age of 73, three years younger than that in Japan. The average age of governors when they were first elected is forty nine, six years younger than Japan. As Table 3.10 shows, 61 governors were first elected under their forties. In USA, 58% is under their fifties and 9% is sixty and more. In Japan, 30% and 27% respectively. The age difference might show how governor's post is politically regarded. In USA, 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 USA and in Japan when they were first elected is 52 years and 1 month and 53 years and 9 months respectively. The gap decreases from six years to less than two.

Table 3.10 The Age when Governors were first Elected (USA: Total)

Age	Number	%
30-34	10	1.9
35-39	51	9.8
40-44	101	19.4
45-49	140	26.9

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29 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.

50-54	99	19.0
55-59	71	13.6
60-64	32	6.1
65-69	13	2.5
70-	4	0.8

### 3.3.2.6 The average length of governors' administration

The average length of governors' administration in USA 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 USA. 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 USA governors, that is, 521. From these data, it is natural that the average length of governors' administration in Japan is double of USA.

There were five governors who had served for 16 years. This record is also half of Japan. Among five, only one governor continued his term successively. Four governors suspended their political career once or twice due to the term limitation. The number of governors who held the post ten year and more was 38 and nearly one fourth of governors, that is, 124 held eight years and more.

Considering the age when the governors were first elected, the average retirement age of governor in Japan reaches to 65<sup>30</sup> and USA to 54<sup>31</sup>.

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30.  $55$  (the average age when Japanese governors were first elected)  $+10$   
(The average length of governors' term in Japan)  $=65$

31.  $49$  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)  $\approx 54$

### 3.3.2.7 The composition of governors by age

Table 3.11 and 3.12 show the composition of governors by age. The average age of the incumbent governors is 60 years in Japan and 54 years and four months in USA. The peak of the composition in Japan is located to 55-59 and 50-54 in USA.

Table 3.11 The Composition of Governors by Age (Japan: incumbent)

Age	Number	%
40-44	1	2.1
45-49	6	12.8
50-54	6	12.8
55-59	12	25.5
60-64	10	21.3
65-69	5	10.6
70-	7	14.9

Table 3.12 The Composition of Governors by Age (USA: incumbent)

Age	Number	%
40-44	4	8
45-49	11	22
50-54	13	26
55-59	12	24
60-64	6	12
65-69	2	4
70-	2	4

### 3.3.2.7 Next step<sup>32</sup>

After governor's term, some might challenge the presidential preliminary election and others might seek for the seat of US legislature. As table 3.13 indicates, nearly 10% of governors get the post of US senator. Their role is to represent the interest of the

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<sup>32</sup> It is expected that the information of the profile after retirement from public office is more inaccurate than that before public office.

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 House of Councillors in Japan. In every state only two seats are allotted and every three years, the half 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 judge. 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. The incumbent president or governor usually appoints the person who belong to the same political party as the judge.

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 does not frequently happen. 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 ability. They already proved their strong leadership during the incumbent governors 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. 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. From this inaccurate research, at least, one third of governors in USA 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.

Table 3.13 Next Step for Governors (USA)

Next Post	Number	% <sup>33</sup>
US Senator	49	10.4
US Representative	6	1.3
US Minister	21	4.5
Federal Senior Official	23	4.9
Judiciary	31	6.6
Ambassador	23	4.9
President	4	0.8
Vice President	2	0.4
Mayor	5	1.1

In Japan, the most successful next step for governors as political career seems to be the seat of the House of Councillors.

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

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 USA, it seems to me that political ambition of governor in Japan is stronger than USA, but among 51, 46 governors retired before 1980 and among 19, 14 retired before 1980. Before 1980, 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 lawmaker.

### 3. 4 Governors' profiles

Through comprehensive research, characteristics of governors' profiles in general were found and the similarity and the difference between Japanese governors and American governors were also demonstrated. Although my research provides not a little information about the characteristics of governors' profiles, it is useful to deliver the profiles of some of governors in detail. Typical and unique profiles are both deliberately selected to avoid misunderstanding of total figure. From Japan, 12 governors<sup>34</sup> are selected and 10 are selected from America.

#### 3. 4. 1 Japan<sup>35</sup>

##### ① Ishihara Shintaro

Among 47 incumbent governors in Japan, the most famous and influential person is undoubtedly Ishihara Shintaro in Tokyo. He

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34 Among twelve, four are incumbent, eight are former governors. Five are ex-central government officials, five are ex-lawmakers, three are ex-prefectural government officials and two are ex-prefectural assembly members.

35 Most of profiles treated herein are derived from Rekidai Chiji Hensankai, 1980-1982 and Nichigai Associates, ed., *Gendai Seijika Jinmeijiten* (Biographical Dictionary of Modern Japanese Politician). Tokyo: Nichigai Associates, 1999.

was born in 1932 and graduated from Hitotsubashi University in 1956. He received the Akutagawa Prize for his fresh novel, "Sun's Season" at school. At the age of 35, he ran for the House of Councillors in non partisan at the nationwide constituency and stood first on the list of successful candidates. After election, he joined LDP and in 1971 he switched from the Upper House to the Lower House. In 1975 he unsuccessfully challenged the then Tokyo governor, Minobe, who received strong support from left wing parties. Ishihara successfully sought the seat of the Lower House again and inaugurated the Minister of Environment in 1976 and the Minister of Transportation in 1987. In 1989, he ran for the president of LDP but was defeated by the Prime Minister Takeshita. In 1995, he resigned the member of the House of the Representatives and announced that he would retire from politics.

However, in 1999, he stood for the gubernatorial election in Tokyo without any recommendation from political party and defeated Akashi who was former vice secretary-general of UN and received the recommendation from LDP and Komei Party and other candidates. He announced a lot of innovative policies such as the regulation of turning into city center by diesel cars, special local tax for mega banks and the transfer of Yokota Base of US Air Force outside Tokyo. Some were achieved but others not yet. His energetic and active behavior received good reputation and was reelected with landslide victory. On the other hand, his political attitude seems to be nationalistic and his behavior sometimes causes debatable issues.

## ② Hashimoto Daijiro

Kochi governor, Hashimoto Daijiro, is one of the most prominent non-partisan governors. He was born on January 12, 1947 in Tokyo and after graduation from Keio University in 1972, he entered NHK and became a reporter in charge of the Imperial Household Agency and made his name as the report of the medical condition of the late Emperor. In 1988, he was promoted to the newscaster of "news TODAY" but left the post because he was criticized his political conduct of canvassing his brother in 1990. In 1991 he ran for gubernatorial election in Kochi where he had no



connection with and defeated the former vice governor who received recommendation from both ruling party and opposite parties. He announced the necessity of reform of administration and proposed a lot of reform plans. One of the debatable proposals was the abolishment of recruitment condition which requires applicants to have Japanese nationality. It has been naturally regarded that every civil servant has to be Japanese and the central government has demanded every local government to obey this principle. Governor Hashimoto opposed against the central government's guidance and several local governments followed. Kochi assembly sometimes strongly opposes against his proposals and Hashimoto administration made several misconducts including money scandal directed by his senior staff. In 2004 the assembly recommended his resignation<sup>36</sup> and he resigned. At the reelection held in October 2004 he defeated former Kochi mayor and won five times consecutively.

③ Katayama Yoshihiro

Tottori prefecture has the smallest population in Japan but the governor, Katayama Yoshihiro is famous for his strong leadership and innovative policies. He was born on July 26, 1951 in Okayama and graduated from the Law Faculty of University of Tokyo in 1974 and joined the Ministry of Home Affairs. In 1979, he was seconded to Tottori prefecture as director of municipal affairs and also experienced finance director. After returning to the ministry, he was appointed as administrative secretary of the minister. In 1991 he was again seconded to Tottori as director-general of general affairs. In 1994, he returned to Tokyo and became the director of local tax in the ministry. In 1999 he ran for the governor and won the post. He abolished "Nemawashi" toward assembly members which is common among most of Japanese organizations and the assembly debate has become much more activated than before. He also tackled with disaster reconstruction hit by great earthquake in 2000 and proposed special financial scheme to support people whose houses were destroyed. It was unusual in Japan that in case of disaster, private

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36 This recommendation was not legally bound but Hashimoto followed.

properties which received severe damage were directly compensated by public fund through subsidies. Even in Hanshin Awaji Great Earthquake, the amount of subsidy which was provided to the individual was small and the condition was limited. Katayama severely criticized the central government's hesitation toward providing public fund as reconstruction of private housings and finally established special fund for reconstruction of private housings with cooperation to municipalities. In 2003, he was reelected without voting.

④ Furukawa Yasushi

Recently the average age of governors first elected declined to 40s. Furukawa is typical governor who belongs to the Pattern 3, and whose final post as central government official was director level. He was born on July 15 in 1958 in Karatsu city of Saga prefecture and graduated from the Law Faculty of University of Tokyo in 1982 and joined the Ministry of Home Affairs. Dispatch to local government is common among officials in this ministry. He was first dispatched to Okinawa prefecture and next to Nagano prefecture.

In 1993 he was nominated to the member of PKO in Cambodia to support and monitor election activities. More than ten local government officials were also dispatched as specialist for monitoring. Furukawa became the chief of the dispatched and contributed to the success of the first democratic election in Cambodia. He experienced finance director in Okayama and returned to Tokyo as administrative secretary of the minister. He also became the planning director of the ministry. In 1999 he was seconded to Nagasaki prefecture as director general of commerce and promoted to director general of general affairs. The then Saga governor announced his retirement in 2003 and Furukawa resigned his post and stood for election. Six candidates ran for governor. Among them Furukawa and former president of Saga assembly fought a close contest and finally Furukawa won. He is also famous for policy innovator.

⑤ Yamazaki Iwao

The late Yamazaki, former Aomori prefecture governor had experienced a lot of political posts. He was born in 1901 and after graduation from Chuo University in 1925, he returned to hometown and was employed as a high school teacher. In 1932 he was appointed to the vice town mayor of Oominato and selected to the town mayor the next year. He ran for Aomori prefectural assembly member in 1935 but stood first on the list of unsuccessful candidates. He started law practices and was selected to the town mayor again.

In 1938 he succeeded to become Aomori assembly member. In 1942 he ran for the House of Representatives but failed. In 1946 he was first elected to the House of the Representatives and reelected four terms in succession. He was inaugurated to the parliamentary vice-minister of Labor. In 1956 he ran for the Upper House but failed. In the same year, the then governor ran for the Lower House and Yamazaki challenged governor's post and gained the victory. He served two terms as Aomori governor. He experienced three levels of government, that is, municipality, prefecture and the nation and was very enthusiastic about public office. His son, Yamazaki Tatsuo, also became the member of House of Representatives and was inaugurated to the Minister of Environment and ran for governor's election like his father but was unsuccessful in 1991. Iwao's grandson, Chikara is now the member of the House of the Councillors. In Aomori, we can find several political families like the Yamazakis.

⑥ Hosokawa Morihiro

Hosokawa was the only prime minister who experienced the post of governor. He was born on January 14, 1938 in Tokyo as the eighteenth successor of daimyo in Kumamoto. After graduation from Jouchi University, He became the journalist of Asahi Newspaper. In 1971 he was elected as the member of Councillors from LDP and served two terms. In 1983 he was elected as governor of Kumamoto and for eight years he had been eager to advertising of Kumanoto products and image. He didn't stand three times and in 1992 he established the Japan New Party and was again elected the Upper House. Next year he was elected to the House of Representatives and his party received 35 seats in general election. In August 1993

LDP became out of office first time in 38 years and Hosokawa was inaugurated to the prime minister of coalition cabinet. He was active in political reform and succeeded in passing the political reform laws including the introduction of single-seat electoral constituency system. In April 1994 he resigned the post of prime minister due to his slush fund.

⑦ Ninagawa Torazou

Ninagawa was one of the most prominent governors who were supported by left wing parties. He was born in 1897 and graduated from the Faculty of Economy in Kyoto University in 1923. In 1927 he became associate professor of the faculty whose major was statistics and from 1928 he had gone to Germany for study for three years. He was promoted to the post of professor in 1939 and served as the director of the faculty. In 1948 the Prime Minister Ashida nominated him as the first director-general of Small and Medium Enterprise Agency. In 1950 he resigned and ran for Kyoto governor as recognized JSP candidate. He also received recommendation from JCP and was elected. For seven consecutive terms he had seated the post of Kyoto governor and he was active in opposing the policies of the central government.

⑧ Hirai Joichi

Hirai Joichi, former governor in Kagawa, is categorized into typical governor whose background was prefectural government official. He was born on December 15 in 1922 in Takamatsu city in Kagawa and entered the Law Faculty of University of Tokyo but his family faced the economically challenged and finally he left school and joined the prefectural office of Kagawa. He experienced a lot of posts such as director-general of planning department, treasurer and vice governor and in 1986 he received recommendation from both sides, that is, conservative parties and progressive parties and was elected as the governor of Kagawa. He contributed to promotion of a lot of projects such as New Takamatsu Airport, Seto Ohashi bridge and Shikoku National Highway. His political attitude was characterized as consensus building and he preferred to bottom up

style in policy making. His only maladministration was said to be the countermeasures against industrial waste disposal in Teshima island.

⑨ Kajiwara Taku

Kajiwara Taku, former governor in Gifu, was born on November 14, 1933, graduated from the Law Faculty of Kyoto University in 1956 and joined the Ministry of Construction. In 1977, he was seconded to Gifu prefecture as the head of planning department<sup>37</sup>. After returning to the ministry, he experienced the senior posts such as director of accounting division and the secretary-general of the road bureau. In 1985 he was seconded to Gifu prefecture again and inaugurated to the vice governor. His predecessor, Uematsu announced his retirement in 1988 and Kajiwara was nominated as his successor. Next year Kajiwara ran for the governor and received a sweeping majority of votes. He was innovative governor and proposed and implemented not a few progressive policies in the field of IT. He was appointed to the president of National Governors' Association after resignation of the then Saitama governor Tsuchiya and directed the severe battle between the central and local government as for the reform of fiscal framework. He retired in 2004 not seeking for five consecutive terms.

⑩ Kitagawa Masayasu

Kitagawa Masayasu was born on November 11 in 1944 in Suzuka city of Mie and graduated from the Faculty of Commerce of Waseda University. His father was former president of Mie assembly and his father-in-law was ex civil servant and former member of the House of Representatives. Kitagawa was elected to the member of Mie assembly in 1975 and in 1983 he ran for the Lower House from LDP and won the seat. During his terms he was active in political reform and experienced vice chief secretary of LDP<sup>38</sup>.

In 1995 he ran for governor and defeated former vice

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37 In total he was seconded to local government four times.

38 In 1993 he left LDP and joined the then Shinshin Party.

governor by a narrow margin. He was one of the most famous reformist governors in Japan and introduced a lot of innovative policies such as administrative evaluation system, decentralized budget making system and RDF generation system. He strengthened the viewpoint of residents and was active in reform of bureaucratic system in Mie prefecture. In 2000 he asked the central government to cancel the plan of atomic generation plant in Mie and in 2002 he invited the latest factory of the Sharp company to Kameyama in Mie by providing huge amount of subsidies. In the same year he announced that he would never seek third term and in 2003 he retired at the age of 58. After retirement he joined Waseda University as a professor and now he is strong promoter of local manifest.

⑪ Takemura Masayoshi

Takemura Masayoshi had a lot of administrative and political experiences. He was born on August 26 in 1934 in Yokaichi city in Shiga and graduated from the Faculty of Education and Economy of Tokyo University. He joined the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1962 and was seconded to Aichi and Saitama. He ran for mayor of his home town in 1971 and was elected. In 1974 he was elected to the governor of Shiga at the age of 40. He emphasized the importance of conversation with local residents and introduced a lot of progressive policies such as prohibition from compound detergent along the coast of Biwako lake. In 1986, after three consecutive terms, he was elected to the member of the House of the Representatives from LDP. In 1993 he left LDP and organized Shinto Sakigake and became the president of the party. In August 1993, at Hosokawa cabinet, he was inaugurated to the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet. In 1994 he played a very important role to coordinate the Murayama coalition cabinet and seated the post of the Ministry of Finance.

⑫ Watanabe Fumio

Watanabe Fumio had risen to the highest rank as civil servant before governor. He was born on January 8, 1929, graduated

from the Law Faculty of University of Tokyo in 1953 and went to work in the Ministry of agriculture, Forestry and Fishery. In 1983, he rose to the head of the Agency of Fishery and tackled with several tough fishery negotiations such as the Japan-South Korea fishery negotiation. The next year he was inaugurated to the top rank, the Vice Administrative Minister. In December 1984, he ran for the governor of Tochigi, receiving the recommendation from main parties and was elected. He tried to serve the governor five consecutive terms but was lost by 875 margins.

### 3.4.2 USA

- ① Three state powers; from judiciary, jurisdiction to the executive branch

Some governors first experienced judicial post after graduation from university in their twenties and ran for state legislature. Not a few governors had experienced the other branches, namely, judiciary and jurisdiction.

Michael Newbold Castle was born and raised in Wilmington, Delaware where he graduated from Tower Hill High School. He received a bachelor's degree from Hamilton College in 1961 and earned a law degree from Georgetown University in 1964. He served as Delaware's deputy attorney general from 1965 to 1966. Castle was elected to the Delaware House of Representatives in 1966 and served until 1969; from 1969 to 1977 he was a state senator, serving as minority leader in 1976-1977. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1980. In 1984 Castle was elected Governor of Delaware and he was reelected in 1988. He was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1992 and served on the financial services and education and workforce committees.

- ② From judiciary to executive

In Japan, only a few governors took the judge or prosecutor before inauguration of governor, but this is common among American governors.

Bert Thomas Combs was born in 1911 and raised in Manchester, Kentucky. He graduated from Clay County High School

at the age of fifteen and entered the University of Kentucky School of Law in 1934 and awarded the LL.B. degree in 1937. He established law practices and from 1942 to 1946, he served in the US Army, and as chief of the investigation section of the War Crimes Department in the Philippine Islands, he assisted in the prosecution of Japanese war criminals. From 1951 to 1955 he served on the Kentucky Court of Appeals. In 1955, Combs was defeated in the Democratic gubernatorial primary. Four years later, however, he captured his party's nomination and won a landslide victory over Republican nominee. Constitutionally prohibited from seeking another term, Combs was succeeded by Democrat Edward Breathitt. After his term as governor, Combs reentered the practice of law. From 1967 to 1970 he served as judge on the US Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit. He resigned in order to seek his party's gubernatorial nomination but failed. Again he returned to law practices.

③ From governor to Senate

Upper house is most realistic target for governors who have the political ambition to go forward.

Thomas R. Carper was born in Beckley, West Virginia, and grew up in Danville, Virginia. He attended Ohio State University, graduating in 1968 with a bachelor's degree in economics. He completed five years of service as a naval flight officer, serving in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War. A member of the Naval Reserve for nearly twenty years, he retired with the rank of captain in 1991. In 1973, following his active military service, he moved to Delaware to earn a master's degree in business administration at the University of Delaware. He worked in Delaware's economic development office from 1975 to 1976 and then was elected state treasurer at age twenty-nine. He was reelected in 1978 and 1980. He was elected in 1982 to the US House of Representatives, serving five consecutive terms. Since his election as Governor in 1992, he has focused on job creation, overhauling the state's education and welfare systems, strengthening families and reducing teenage pregnancy, and improving the state's credit rating while lowering taxes and preventing crime. Governor Carper served as chairman of



the National Governors' Association from 1998 to 1999. In 2000, he was elected to the Senate.

④ From mayor to governor

William Donald Shafer was born in West Baltimore, Maryland, and graduated from Baltimore City College in 1939. He received his bachelor of law degree in 1942 and his master of law degree in 1951 from the University of Baltimore. He served in the US Army during World War II as a hospital administrator in Europe 1942-1945. He retired with the rank of colonel, US Army Reserve, and resumed his law career. His leadership role in citizen associations helped him win a seat in 1955 on the Baltimore City Council, serving three terms. He then ran a successful campaign for council president. After four years he was elected mayor of Baltimore and served four consecutive terms until he was elected governor in 1986. He was reelected to a second term in 1990. In 1998, after retirement of governor, he was elected comptroller of Maryland.

⑤ From governor to ambassador

Madeleine M. Kunin was born in Zurich, Switzerland. She graduated from the University of Massachusetts in 1956 and received a master's degree from Columbia University in 1957. She earned another master's degree from University of Vermont, and worked as a journalist, author, and college professor. She was first elected to the Vermont House of Representatives in 1972, and was selected Democratic Whip in her second term. In her third term, she chaired the Appropriations Committee. She was elected lieutenant governor in 1978 and won reelection in 1980. She was elected the first woman governor of Vermont in 1984. During her tenure, she focused on education and the environment and chaired the New England Governors' Association. From 1996 to 1999, she was US Ambassador to Switzerland.

⑥ From governor to secretary

Tom Ridge was born on August 26, 1945, in Munhall, Pennsylvania. Raised in a working-class family, he won a scholarship

to Harvard, graduating with honors in 1967. While attending Dickinson School of Law, he was drafted into the US Army. He served as an infantry staff sergeant in Vietnam, where he won the Bronze Star for Valor. He returned to law school, graduating in 1972, and served as an assistant district attorney in Erie before his election to the US House of Representatives in 1982. The first enlisted Vietnam veteran elected to the House, he served six terms before his election as Governor in 1994. Governor Ridge was reelected in a four-way race on November 3, 1998, with 57 percent of the vote - the highest percentage for a Republican governor in Pennsylvania in more than half a century. On October 5, 2001, he was appointed by President George W. Bush to head the nation's Office of Homeland Security.

⑦ From governor to president

George W. Bush was born in New Haven, Connecticut, moved to Texas with his parents as a toddler, and grew up in Midland and Houston. He was an F-102 fighter pilot in the Texas Air National Guard from 1968 to 1973. He received a bachelor's degree from Yale University in 1968 and earned a master's degree in business administration from Harvard University in 1975. He began his career in the oil and gas business in Midland in 1975 but lost the election of US House of Representatives in 1978. Bush worked in the energy industry into the mid 1980s. He moved to Washington to serve as a senior advisor for his father's presidential campaign in 1988. He assembled the group of partners that purchased the Texas Rangers baseball franchise in 1989 and later built the Rangers' new home, the Ballpark at Arlington. He served as managing general partner of the Texas Rangers until he was elected governor on November 8, 1994. In a historic reelection victory, he became the first Texas Governor to be elected to consecutive four-year terms, winning 68.6 percent of the vote. During three Texas legislative sessions, Governor Bush worked in a spirit of bipartisan cooperation with the lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, and members of the Texas legislature to enact historic reforms to improve public schools, cut taxes, put welfare recipients to work, curb frivolous lawsuits,

encourage new business and job growth, and strengthen criminal justice laws. Bush won the Presidential election in 2000 and was reelected in 2004.

⑧ Returning to the governor's post

Among American governors, 20 were reelected once discontinuously and three were twice discontinuously. Some gave up running for governor due to the constitutional limitation, others lost their seats and after several years, they ran for governor and won again.

Cecil H. Underwood was born in Josephs Mills, West Virginia in 1922. He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Salem College, a Master of Arts degree from West Virginia University, and he has been awarded thirteen honorary doctoral degrees from American colleges and universities. He served six terms in the West Virginia House of Delegates, from 1945 to 1957, the last four terms as minority leader. He was first elected Governor in 1956, as the youngest person ever to hold the state's highest office at the age of 34, and in 1964 and 1976, defeated by the Democrat candidates but reelected in 1996 forty years later as the most senior Governor in the history of the state.

⑨ Three powers and three governments

Edwin W. Edwards was born on a sharecropper's farm in Avoyelles Parish, near Marksville, Louisiana. He attended Louisiana State University for one year then enlisted in the US Navy in 1945 where he was trained as an aviation cadet in the closing months of World War II. He returned to LSU and received a law degree in 1949 and began law practice in Crowley, Louisiana. His public life started when he was elected to the Crowley City Council in 1954; he spent the next three decades in public office. In the 1950s, he also served as an ad hoc city court judge in Crowley. He served in the state senate 1964-1965 and in the US House of Representatives 1965-1972. He was elected governor in 1971 and served two terms from 1972-1980. In 1983 he was elected to a third term and in 1991 he was elected to a fourth term. During his tenure, he was the only

political leader in the United States to have served in all three branches of government (executive, legislative, and judicial) and at all three levels of government (local, state, and national).

⑩ Political family

James Elisha Folsom Sr., also known as "Big Jim," was born in Coffee County, Alabama, on October 9, 1908. He attended the University of Alabama, Howard College, and George Washington University, however he never obtained a college degree. Folsom entered politics in 1933, when he ran unsuccessfully as a delegate to the state prohibition convention, and was defeated again when he ran for Congress in 1936 and 1938. He also was unsuccessful in his first bid for governor in 1942. He worked for the Emergency and Aid Insurance Company from 1937 to 1946, and served briefly in World War II, returning to care for his terminally ill wife. On November 5, 1946, Folsom became Alabama's 45th governor, and on January 20, 1947, was sworn into office. He was reelected to a second term on November 2, 1954. Folsom left the governor's office for the last time on January 19, 1959, and returned to his insurance business in Cullman. In 1962, Folsom ran unsuccessfully in his third bid for governor and retired from political life.

His nephew's husband, George Corley Wallace was born in Clio, Alabama, on August 25, 1919. He graduated from Barbour County High School in 1937, and earned a law degree in 1942 from the University of Alabama. Wallace served in the US Army Air Force from 1942 to 1945, and was an assistant attorney general from 1946 to 1947. He was elected to the Alabama House of Representatives in 1947, serving until 1953, and served on the bench of the third judicial district from 1953 to 1958. On November 6, 1962, Wallace was elected governor of Alabama, and was sworn into office on January 14, 1963. Wallace attempted to amend the Alabama Constitution, which prohibited him from succeeding himself in office. However, he did not succeed, and left office on January 16, 1967.

His wife Lurleen ran and was elected governor in November 1966. Wallace served as her special assistant, earning a dollar a year, and making most of the important executive decisions. After the

death of his wife, Wallace ran unsuccessfully, in 1968, as an American Independent Party candidate for president. On November 3, 1970, Wallace was elected to a second term as governor, and in 1972, was running for the Democratic presidential nomination when an assassination attempt left him paralyzed. An amendment to the Alabama Constitution was ratified in 1968, allowing governors to succeed themselves, and in 1974, Wallace was overwhelmingly reelected to a third term as governor. Following the end of this term, Wallace took a four-year hiatus from politics. He ran again for governor in 1982, and won the governorship with an unprecedented amount of black voter support. Wallace retired from politics in 1987.

The fourth governor was James Elisha Folsom Jr. who was born in Montgomery, Alabama on May 14, 1949. He received a bachelor's degree in political science and history from Jacksonville State University in 1974. He was elected to the Public Service Commission in 1979 and reelected in 1983. He ran unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate in 1980. He was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1986 and reelected in 1990. On April 22, 1993, he was sworn in as governor of Alabama following Governor Guy Hunt's removal from office due to an conviction for state ethics law violations. Governor Folsom lost his bid for election to the governor's position in November 1994 to Fob James. His father was James Elisha Folsom Sr. (1947-1951, 1955-1959) and he is the cousin of Lurleen Wallace (1967-1968).

(To be continued)