

Measurement of Comparative Social Attitudes: From a Perspective of Japan and Osaka

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1. Uniqueness of Social Attitude in Japan

In the field of comparative social and political attitudes both similar and unique aspects are found among countries, and to display this many models have been invented.

In general Japanese and German people have been both regarded as diligent and oriented to order and rules, but there are also differences.

- In the 1930s, dictatorship arose in several countries, gaining wide support of the nation with propaganda and violence. But resistance to and escape from dictatorship spread in Germany and Italy, not in Japan. (And later in Spain, Chile, South Korea, Taiwan etc., and not in North Korea.)

- In the Second World War, Japanese soldiers and commanders obeyed to even the orders of suicide attack (Tokkou) and orders to fight until the last man without surrender (Gyokusai), and sometimes requested Japanese civilians to follow in Saipan and Okinawa. Such orders were too authoritative and objectively irrational, although subjectively heroic or useful to postpone the final surrender of the empire. (This delay induced two socialist countries in East Asia)¹⁾.

- In the postwar period, Germany established a pluralistic, well-balanced party system from conservatives to social democrats, even under the pressure of anti-communism doc-

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1) Here I recommend the following Japanese films, which can be watched in DVDs. “Kumo Nagaruru Hateni”, “Otokotati no Yamato”, “Gun-batu” and “Himeyuri no Tou”. To the contrary, German general Rommel is said to have reinterpreted Hitler’s order to fight ‘until the last man’ to ‘until the last bullet’, in order to indirectly permit surrender, in the German film “Rommel”. Such independent and rational attitude is seen also in the Italian war film “El Alamein - La linea del fuoco”.

trine to counter to especially the authoritative East Germany. Therefore the German Constitution has been revised many times, but all with the agreement of major parties (Deutscher Bundestag 2009).

In Japan one party dominance system by the conservative LDP continued from 1955 to 1993. This was under the circumstance of the Cold War and hostile neighboring socialist countries, but not against the communist 'People's Republic of East Japan'. Japan finally realized the first government change in 1993, and again in 2009 by the Democratic Party (Murakami 2009). The latter government brought new policies as well as failures, but was blamed in the Fukushima nuclear accident, although the melt down itself was the result of the former policy under the long LDP reign. Then the LDP under Prime Minister Abe again established a stronger majority, which reached together with the cooperating Komei and Ishin Parties even the two thirds of both Diet Chambers after the Upper House election in 2016, facilitated through the single-member district system (Murakami 2017). In total Japanese politics is leaning to the right (Tsukada ed. 2017).

- Today irrational ultra-nationalism and populism exist in both countries. In Germany, Nazis symbols are prohibited. In Japan many books by essayists, magazines and internet comments despise China and Korea, justify Japan's war in the 1930s. They at the same time despise and deny totally the liberal parties, scholars and newspapers, by attaching the label of 'the anti-Japan'.

- Longer working hours and overwork death (Karoshi) of employees is not rare even in today's 'affluent' Japan.

On the other hand, Japanese society and politics shows some remarkable developments, similar to other democracies.

- Protests against nuclear power stations have been spreading in both countries. However, the official policy to abolish all stations has been declared so far in Germany, and not in Japan where people have been suffering from the devastating Fukushima accident in 2011. The electric power supply is almost sufficient, therefore the proponents of nuclear energy are electric power companies, some local people who have 'vested interest' and politicians interested in nuclear plant export and maybe in nuclear weapon technology. And these relatively small supporters can gain enough political influence in Japan (see Komori 2016).

- Nevertheless local democracy has reached the level in which municipalities and prefectures can reject nuclear plants if they can confirm their will, although rejection of US military facilities is more difficult, under the military expansion of China and North Korea.

- Germany is famous for its detailed city planning and landscape conservation. Japanese cities were rapidly built up in the course of economic miracle under weak planning system, but now Japan can be a little proud of managing the world's largest metropolitan region and of having improved its planning and conservation system after the 1980s (Murakami 2003).

- Japanese (and German) precise and delicate service such as railway, restaurants, shops,

various products, urban cleanness and safety are often praised. And probably this kind of attractive side of Japan originates not only from the moderate, rational friendliness but also from the well-known model of formality, collectivism and authority (e.g. JETRO 1999–2000; Japan Visitor 2017), in sum, relatively dependent feature of Japanese culture.

Here I very shortly review the concepts to interpret these Japanese unique characteristics.

Famous novelist and English literature scholar Natsume (1914) criticized the unreasonable interventions to individual freedom by other groups (not by other individuals) in Japan. He praised in comparison the British who are both free and aware of one's obligations and avoid violence.

Political Scientist Maruyama (1946) wrote just after the defeat of the Second World War on the 'ultra-nationalism' of Japan. The nation and state is superior, and private life and internal values are not expressed. Therefore even the war crime defendants do not recognize their own responsibility, because they acted just under the name of the state.

Recently even the government feels anxious about the passive Japanese electorate, namely the declining voting rate around 50%, still lower in younger generations. Two major models exist to explain this lower turn out. The lack of response of the political system to people's (sometimes irrational?) expectation, and the lack of knowledge, thinking and discussion among people. Not only to the second model, but also to the first model of lower participation, political education is required (Murakami 2016B).

1-2. Osaka: Right-wing Populism and 'Casino Expo' 2025

(1) Populism to abolish Osaka City government without explanation

In Japan, at first sight, populism seems not so widespread as in some West European countries or in the presidential election in 2016 of the USA. But this owes less to the sound sense of Japanese electorate than to the non-existence of the acute immigrant problem and religious fundamentalism so far, partly because Japan is an island country and across the sea East Asia countries are economically developing and offer rather import and tourists for Japan. The potential for populism is much serious in Japan, when we observe the violent nationalism and the discrimination against Korean or Chinese people in modern history and partially at present. If some serious stress similar to Europe occurs, probably Japan would easily welcome authoritative and irrational politics.

Here I pick up the case in which, in spite of the lack of deep social anxiety, a strong right-wing populism party with simple dream and propaganda has been ruling Osaka and shaking Japanese politics in the 2010s (Arima 2017).

This Ishin Party²⁾ and its founder and leader, Osaka governor, later Osaka mayor,

2) The meaning of 'Ishin' is total renovation and 'Meiji Ishin' in the latter 19th century which realized Japan's economic and military modernization under political centralization. But 'Showa Ishin' was the slogan of the 2·26 military coup d'etat in 1936 which killed politicians and completed the way to ↗

Hashimoto, criticize the inefficiency and ‘vested interest’ of the public officials and public sector (not that of big business). He launched ‘Osaka Metropolis Plan’ which abolishes Osaka City and integrates it into Osaka Prefecture, and with this ‘dream’ won successfully mayoral and council elections. Such a plan would normally receive little support from the citizen, because the disappearance of the strong big city government weakens policy ability and self-government of Osaka. But Mayor Hashimoto’s appeal was extraordinary and tactical, which included:

- to avoid to explain that the city government shall be abolished,
- to declare simply that in this way Osaka adopts the local government system of Tokyo (the Tokyo City was abolished in the total mobilization process under the Second World War) and can catch up with that world city,
- to threaten media people and politicians who are opposed to this plan and Ishin with repeated crude language via telephone, E-mail and twitter, together with his followers.

As the next step, in the 2012 Lower House election, this Ishin Party gained 20% votes and, oddly, contributed to the great victory of the LDP led by Abe. Because this right-wing party can attract voters not from the conservative LDP, but rather from the non-LDP medium voters who otherwise would vote for the Democratic Party, the second largest liberal party. Actually in Japan and Osaka the unemployment rate is not very high, but hard and long labour for full-time workers and low wage for part-time workers can be manipulated to dissatisfaction, not against the rich but against the public officials whose condition is ‘normal’.

This Ishin’s populism is more wide and aggressive than that of Prime Minister Koizumi in the 2000s, who appealed with the simple dream of privatization of postal service ‘for Japan’s revival’, but attacked only the oppositions in his own party, the LDP.

(2) Response of media and people

Also remarkable was the response of media and people. The simple and authoritative, often aggressive, appeal of drastic changes has been often applauded as strong leadership. The Ishin Party is correctly classified as "right wing" in foreign media (The Economist 2014; Süddeutsche Zeitung 2014) and by some political scientists (Schreurs 2014; Nakano 2015: 152, 211; Nakakita 2012: last chapter; Murakami 2014: chap.7). Nevertheless, not a few Japanese media and political scientists called this party "the third pole", a new and fresh alternative to the LDP and the Democratic Party, and so supported its rise. At last the leader Hashimoto excluded violently moderate members in 2015, and in the 2016 Upper House election the Ishin Party became classified into the Constitution revisionist, conservative side along with the LDP. Its share of vote fell down to 9%, but can still capture the vote from the Democratic Party which competes with the LDP. Especially in

↘ militarism. The ‘Ishin regime’ in South Korea in 1972 was also authoritative.

Osaka, Ishin continues to be the largest party and maintains the positions of governor and mayors of Osaka and other cities.

Another point is the (objectively) lower level of the ‘dissatisfaction’ as the background. The issue is the relative ‘decline’ of Osaka, the former ‘economic capital’ of Japan³⁾. The absolute level of economy and living is not downward, but the Ishin has successfully touched the historical dream of Osaka to rival Tokyo. Anyway with such issue of regional competition, the right-wing populists in Europe would not get much support.

The third point is that as to the ‘Osaka Metropolis Plan’, the referendum ballot paper asked about ‘the establishment of special districts in Osaka City’ and did not explain that the city government shall be abolished. And yet not much criticism was expressed against this ‘fraud’ ballot. The media often delivers official statements. However, on the level of social movements and internet rather free discussion took place with much counter-opinions from the intellectuals and intelligent citizen. Among the resisting citizen, Mayor Hashimoto was sometimes depicted as a dictator (e.g. Anonymous 2015).

From such situation we can assume that many Japanese and especially Osaka people have irrational and dependent social attitude which makes them vulnerable to populism. It is interesting to mention the emotional and ‘Owarai’ (fun-oriented) culture of Osaka, but here is no space.

Anyway, after complicated political process and discussion, this ‘Osaka Metropolis Plan’ to abolish Osaka City was rejected in the referendum in 2015 with a slight margin (Murakami 2016A).

(3) Osaka Expo 2025 and Casino Construction Plan

Now the Ishin has to launch another dream to revitalize Osaka. Some Ishin’s major

3) Osaka is the second largest urban area in Japan. It is the centre of Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto metropolitan region holding 16 million population and as the city itself is ranked as around the 20th, almost equal to Barcelona, Brussels and San Francisco (Institute for Urban Strategies/ the Mori Memorial Foundation 2016; Fujii / Murakami / Mori eds. 2015: chap. 16).

In Edo Era, Tokyo (Edo), Kyoto and Osaka were called ‘the three capitals’ of Japan, but after Meiji Tokyo grew to be the primary city, in the course of the active central government’s intervention in economy, big corporations’ concentration and recent worldwide globalization. Therefore the feeling of economic decline is strong in Osaka, while Kyoto is still proud of its traditional and modern culture. But Osaka has been making much efforts to develop high-class infrastructure, city amenity and culture, so we had better interpret that the trend of automatic concentration in the capital region is strong like in many other middle-sized countries.

Except GDP per capita or the number of big companies, Osaka city can be proud of its attractiveness compared with Tokyo, in terms of compactness, some high-tech industries, huge castle park, riverside landscape like London and green parks, cool highland nearby, museums, universities, shopping, food and culture (in combination with Kyoto and Kobe in Kansai region). The city is now more evaluated by foreign tourists (Serizawa 2015), hopefully also more by foreign corporations, because the access from Osaka to many areas in Japan and in East Asia is shorter than from Tokyo, and the cost of living and office is lower (cf. Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Kansai Bureau 2017).

politicians are eager to construct Japan's first casino resort in Osaka. A great casino facility shall attract visitors from the prospering East Asia region. Some business leaders hope to vitalize Osaka with world exposition after the Tokyo Olympic Games in 2020.

Combining these two aims, Osaka Prefecture and City are planning the 2025 World Exposition. The organizers including national government now propose technology-related 'future society' as the main theme. The success of an exposition will attract visitors, improve Osaka's popularity, especially as an attractive world city with some leading industries, and induce much construction work.

For the world's problems technological inventions are one of the major solutions, while government and society also must make efforts for transformation.

On the other hand, there is strong criticism to this Osaka Expo plan.

- It is strange that this expo is planned not in the city area such as the open ground north of Osaka Station (like Milano Expo and Tokyo Olympic Games), but on a remote reclaimed island. It requires an otherwise unnecessary subway line, when much investment is necessary rather for protection against the huge tsunami⁴⁾ which is to occur in the Pacific Ocean, south of Shikoku.

- Therefore this Osaka Expo can be regarded as an instrument to construct casino on the site later. Ishin politicians favor casino, which has been prohibited in Japan. Opinion survey shows strong disagreement, partially because there already exist abundant, diversified small gamble facilities in Japan.

- The main theme of this exposition is vague. Actual Ishin politics in Osaka is colored with efficiency and oppression. The party leader Hashimoto attacked at first Itami Airport, then Osaka City and its labour union, the artists of Bunraku puppet show or professors who are criticizing him. Mayor Hashimoto introduced an ordinance to prohibit all political activities of public officials, which is almost unconstitutional (Asahishinbun Osaka Shaikaibu 2015; Fujii/ Murakami/ Mori eds. 2015). His comments in 2013 that Japan's wartime 'Ianfu' (military prostitutes by mobilization) system was necessary caused international criticism and disgust. Such politics is far from providing an international expo with meaningful themes.

2. What Criteria are Useful for International Comparison?

Here I try to extract criteria for measurement, inspired by the Japanese uniqueness compared mostly with Western culture above, mainly from the general idea on democracy and civil society. Such criteria are expected to be worldwide applicable, and suitable to understand Japan in international comparison.

4) Probably to avert huge tsunami, the new Osaka City Art Museum will have an impressive shape.

(1) Categorizing values and attitude

From psychological studies of ‘personality’ as well as ‘values’, we could learn what difference is important in comparing people. One of the famous theories of values recognizes ten universal values: power, achievement, hedonism (pleasure), stimulation, self-direction (freedom), benevolence, universalism (both a sort of love and care), tradition, conformity and security (Kazdin ed. 2000).

The theory of post-materialism emphasizes the great change around 1970s from the materialist values (economic growth, physical security etc.) to the post-materialist values (quality of life, environmental protection, self-expression etc.). Anyway in the 2016 Upper House election in Japan, the LDP under PM Abe won with totally ‘materialistic’ appeals of economic recovery, even when this Government is pushing authoritative policies including the total revision of the liberal Constitution.

In political science, political culture and attitude is an important topic. It includes national pride, identity, political trust, support and cooperation, participation (cognition of its influence and meaning) and alienation. In the classical study “Civic Culture”, for example people’s awareness to and participation in politics and government were combined to form the typology (Newton/ van Deth 2016: chap.9).

(2) Independence, rationality, public mind for democracy and civil society

Here I dare to take rather a deductive approach. That is to say to find out important variables, psychological attributes of a person, from ‘democracy theory’ and from ‘civil society model’.

Theory and concept of democracy has grown complex after the simple concept of majority rule, the rule of a nation or labor class, facilitated dictatorship in the 20th century. Nowadays at least three other factors or ideas are regarded as necessary: freedom and pluralism, deliberation and direct participation of people (cf. Hague/ Harrop 2010: chap.5).

In this framework, populism can be interpreted as a degenerating form of democracy, which seeks for support by means of aggression and simplification. Populism thus seeks for the majority rule at the cost of pluralism and deliberation (Murakami 2014: chap.7). The serious problem is that not only some genius politicians, but also many voters and media favor this type of politics.

Next, civil society is defined usually as society abundant of civic groups which are separated from state and market, but also as the collective body of citizen which is contrary to the ‘mass’. According to the classic dichotomy of citizen and mass society, the two major criteria are ‘independent or dependent’ and ‘rational or irrational’ (Fulcher/ Scott 2003: 361–363), and additionally ‘public mind or pure private interest’ is important (Murakami 2015)⁵⁾.

5) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in ↗

These three criteria seem suitable to interpret the phenomena or episodes in Japan and Germany, and correspondent with the models for Japan, which were mentioned in the beginning of this article.

(3) World Values Survey

One of the empirical international comparisons, the ‘World Values Survey’ report (Chart 1), offers a two-dimensional graph of each country’s value characteristics. My viewpoint, rationality and independence explained above, is near to these two axes coincidentally. According to this WVS result, Japan is the most rational country in the world, more rational than Germany, Britain etc.. And Japanese people are self-expressive, not so much as Western Europeans but more than Koreans, Taiwanese and Chinese.

But is it really so? We easily imagine some reverse episodes as in 1. and 1-2.. Weak democratization from below in Japan against despotism, compared with successes in Europe, USA, South Korea and Taiwan in history. And ‘Karoshi’, one party dominance or the astonishing referendum to abolish Osaka City government without explaining it exist still in the 21st century. Japanese political participation, both in election and in demonstration, petition etc., is weaker at least than in Europe and North America (Chart 3; Klesner 2014: chap. 8, 9). On the other hand Japanese food, traditional art, gardens and modern industrial products are balanced, of good quality and functioning well. But we have the worst deficit in public finance. When confronted with public (group, social and political) problems, many Japanese people show irrational and dependent (conforming) attitude.

This classification of the World Value Survey is very informative and suggestive, but maybe should be understood with two remarks and cautions. First the two axes here are not ‘rational-irrational’ and ‘self-expressive (independent)-dependent’, which I focus on in this article. The axes used in the WVS are ‘secular-rational vs. traditional’ and ‘self-expressive vs. survival’ and so they may contain other elements and nuance.

The second remark is that both ‘secular-rational vs. traditional’ index and ‘survival vs. self-expressive’ index of one nation or one person may vary in different situations. We had better treat and observe social attitude, separating its situations or modes between

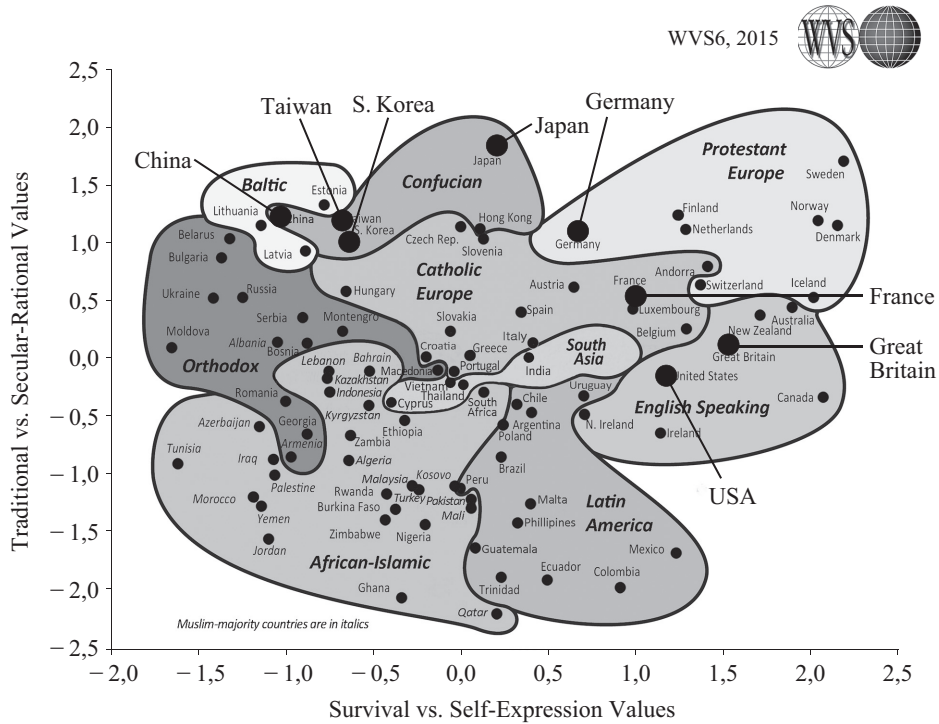
↘ 1948 declared in the Article 1:

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”

This article can be interpreted as an official declaration of modern ideals, succeeding French “Declaration des Droits de l’Homme et du Citoyen” in 1789, such as independence of individuals (free, equal, dignity, right), rationality (reason) and public concern (conscience, brotherhood). Also the Japanese Constitution in 1946 basically accepted and declared these types of value ideas.

In 2016, the suffrage of Japanese elections was expanded to 18 and 19 years old, and political education at high school stage is being discussed and practiced. One example is the leaflets from Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications and Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Soumusho/ Monbukagakusyo 2016). What is recommended there are: knowledge, thinking from plural angles, opinion-formation, discussion and participation.

Chart 1: Country comparison according to World Values Survey



Source: <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSContents.jsp>

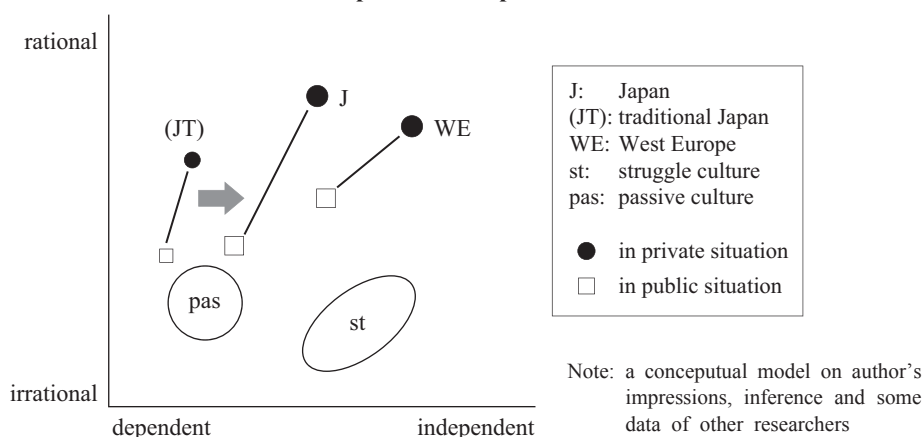
Note: I wish to ask the researchers of a kind understanding to my making a smaller copy of the original graphic because of the space shortage, and adding marks for explanation.

public and private modes, or political, group and private life. It is just as one folk are talented in the woods, and another are active on the sea.

(4) The Gap of attitude between private and public modes

I try to visualize my model in Chart 2.. It is designed so that independence and rationality are indicated separately for private and public mode or situation. The upper right area may be ‘civil society’. The upper left area may be called ‘meditative culture’, that is to say intelligence without action, but this will not spread so much.

The two linked marks for contemporary Japan, which indicate the wide distance between the private mode and public mode, are based on the episodes I have mentioned and on the survey data shown later in Chart 3 and 4. Similar two marks for Western Europe are based on my direct and indirect observations on politics and society in Germany, Switzerland and England. Related empirical data is not prepared in this article, but can be obtained from various studies. As to the independent-dependent axis, data on political participation and lifestyle are useful, also data under the theme ‘individualism or collectivism’ (Gilovich/ Keltner/ Chen/ Nisbett 2013: 33–34). For the measurement of

Chart 2: Social attitude in private and public modes in different cultures

rationality, various outcomes such as university ranking, scientific inventions and industrial products (these two are often different), urban policies, art or movie films can be evaluated and compared.

In this graph, also two other types of culture are suggested. The 'struggle culture' is a world where everyone battles each other, forming sometimes alliances and brotherhood, and often resorts to irrational, violent methods. The 'passive culture' is a world where humble people are less independent and rational. These two types of culture seem to be economically less productive, and politically difficult to democratize in general.

On the other hand, we could assume that too independent attitude is likely to cause conflict and lack of cooperation. Independent and individualistic tendency of European people has invented both revolutions and rational rules for social coexistence (e.g. rule of law, division of power, democracy), of course along with science and devastating conflicts. Excessive rationality is unrealistic and not so harmful in itself. Anyway, rational and formalistic Japanese attitude is often interpreted not as the result of independence, but as the result of dependence or conformity (Enomoto 2017).

(5) Relationship between private and public attitude

Further we can ponder about two questions. First, what factors cause the high and low level of independence and rationality? Perhaps personal aptitude and training in human relations are both influencing, but this question is not treated here.

The second is the mutual relationship between private and public attitude. Logically there are three possible relationships.

- The consciousness in private life and that in public life strengthen each other.
- The consciousness in private life and that in public life are not directly linked, because independence and rationality in public sphere requires larger energy under possible oppression, and at the same time it requires care for others rather than private interest-

seeking. Moreover dependence or conformity reduces the rational thinking in public sphere, but stimulates rationality in private sphere, because here people and companies (or scholars?) are competing in the details under the same target and value-orientation.

- Between the two there is a reverse relationship. When someone puts energy for independence and rationality in one mode, the energy for another mode will be absorbed (cf. Naikakuho Daijinkanbou Seihukouhoushitsu 2015).

Observing Japan and Europe, I get each of these three impressions. However, at least for some people, their private independent or rational attitude in everyday life will be practiced also in public life (Appendix: Chart 5). The positive effect of the active, reasonable and mutually aiding life style on governance and politics is argued in social science, from the classic ‘social contract’ theory to the recent ‘social capital’ model.

3. Empirical Research Results in Japan

(1) Survey researches on Japanese social attitudes

The framework of Chart 2 may enable an interesting analysis, if proper survey is prepared. We can compare cultures in terms of the level of rationality and independence in public and private modes. And also in one person, how these variables in different two situations are related?

But here I just have collected several data from major survey researches in Japan.
<Sources>

1. Cabinet Office, Government Public Relations, opinion poll on social consciousness (Naikakuho Seihu Kohositsu 2015)
2. The NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, periodical researches on the consciousness of the Japanese (NHK 2014)
3. Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living, the biennial data on the Japanese people (Hakuhodo Seikatu Sogo Kenkyujo 2016)
4. Consumer Affairs Agency, basic research on the consciousness of consumers (Shohishacho 2016)
5. The Association for Promoting Fair Elections, opinion polls after the election of the House of the Representatives (Akarui Senkyo Suishin Kyokai).

Also the chronological overview (Toukyoudaigaku/ Dentuusouken 2010) of the result for Japan in the World Values Survey is very useful.

(2) Gap and distance between public and private attitude

Here I try to test my hypothesis in Chart 2, especially the distance between public and private modes, in (at least) Japanese social attitude with some survey results.

**Chart 3 Japanese social attitude (independence - dependence)
in public and private modes**

■ public mode

Source: 1	year	1991	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015
(1) Do you think it is necessary in the future to enhance more the mind to 'love the state' among the Japanese?							
Yes		77.0	74.7	74.6	80.8	78.5	75.8
No		11.8	12.6	12.1	10.4	10.4	12.5

Note: Figures are percentage throughout all tables here, unless otherwise indicated.

Source: 2	year	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013
<association and struggle orientation (in local community) >							
(2) If environmental problems threatening residents arise in this area, what would you do ?							
Start citizen movement together and make efforts to solve problems.							
		24.8	26.5	29.1	25.5	21.8	15.9
<association and struggle orientation (in workplace)>							
(3) If you are working in a new company, and among the workers strong dissatisfaction arises as to the conditions such as salary or working hours, what would you do ?							
Organize labour union together and make efforts to improve the conditions.							
		22.0	21.9	20.5	18.2	17.8	16.5
(4) Have you done following actions for politics in this year? (plural choices possible)							
participation in demonstrations		1.8	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.6
signature for petitions		32.0	21.2	24.5	21.6	18.5	16.4
acting as a party member		2.9	2.5	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.9

Source: 5	year	2003	2005	2009	2012	2014
(5) What did you consider when you voted in the Lower House election? (plural answers possible)						
The power balance between political parties						
for electoral district		13.2	9.7	10.0	8.4	9.5
for proportional representation		18.2	14.5	13.1	10.0	—

Note: — no data available

■ private mode

Source: 2	year	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013
(6) As to the balance of work and free time (leisure), which do you think is the best ?							
priority to work		31.2	25.8	25.6	25.5	26.1	25.0
balance between the two		32.4	35.3	35.1	37.5	34.9	35.9
priority to free time		34.0	36.1	37.1	34.2	35.5	36.7
(7) In general, how do you think about the separation of family names in marriage ?							
separation is allowed + good		27.5	34.1	40.7	43.1	39.6	41.4

Source: 3	year	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014
(8) I have a hobby to enjoy all year round.		60.2	54.1	52.6	53.8	52.3

Chart 4 Japanese social attitude (rational - irrational) in public and private modes

■ public mode

Source: 2	year	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013
<knowledge about human right>							
(1) Which of the following is designated as the right of the nation by the Constitution?							
right of minimum living standard		76.3	75.2	75.5	75.5	77.1	77.9
right to unite for labour union		27.1	25.5	23.0	20.4	21.9	21.7
freedom of expression		43.4	39.0	37.2	36.2	34.8	36.4

■ private mode

Source: 2	year	1988	1993	1998	2003	2008	2013
<attitude concerning savings and consumption>							
(2) If you now get special income almost as much as your monthly salary, what is the best way to treat that money ?							
consume with planning		42.4	42.8	44.3	46.2	43.9	46.3
reserve as savings for future		42.0	42.3	41.1	40.4	43.2	41.5
consume without planning		12.8	12.3	12.2	10.5	9.9	9.7

■ public and private mode

Source: 3	year	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014
(3) I often read books for knowledge and culture		29.3	26.3	25.2	24.1	21.2
(4) I wish to understand always my health conditions		58.1	50.8	47.2	46.7	43.3
(5) I read newspaper weekdays				85.6	76.0	62.7
(6) I use internet and mails on mobile and smartphones weekdays				57.3	69.3	80.5

Source: 4	year				2013	2015
(7) What do you consider when you choose goods and service? (always + often)						
price					91.9	92.9
function					89.0	89.8
security					81.0	83.5
environmental effect					35.9	37.0

Chart 3 collects some results which concern the axis 'independent or dependent'. Question (1) shows the affirmative opinion to nationalism 'indoctrination', a sort of dependent attitude. Also questions from (2) to (4) show passive attitude to the threatening problems in community and workplace, and low political participation except signature for petitions. Moreover all such tendency is deepening.

But in private matters, freedom and tolerance seem to be growing. According to question (6), the answer 'priority to work' is decreasing for the benefit of some individual freedom. Question (7) shows a growing tolerance to the separation of family names in marriage, which is sometimes criticized for damaging the Japanese tradition from the conservative side.

Chart 4 collects some results which concern the axis 'rational or irrational', here asked mostly as the acquisition and use of proper knowledge. The result of question (1) can be serious for constitutional democracy. Those who know the right to unite for labour union and the freedom of expression are minority and decreasing, although the right of minimum living standard is well known.

But when questioned about private lifestyle in (2), many will treat a special big income in a clever manner, and this rational attitude is increasing. Questions (4) and (7) indicate that Japanese people care much about price, function and security of goods and services, and their own health. This itself makes rational and wise lifestyle and society, but their care for the environment is relatively lower.

In questions (3), (5) and (6), with other researches, internet is replacing traditional books and newspapers. Newspapers are, in general, informing about public and social affairs in some intelligent way. Additionally, among books, entertaining novels and practical books are read far more than books on law and politics (Yomiuri 2016).

Rationality and intelligence in political participation is a difficult ideal, apart from the plural definition of rationality and the function of emotion in politics. It is a hard task for media and political science etc. to promote, under controversial and even demagogic information flows, the understanding of institutions, parties and policies. For example, in the 2016 Upper House election, Prime Minister Abe did not speak on his strong intention of Constitution revision, the most important issue, just until the victory. Many voters did not understand the meaning that parties promoting constitutional change attain the two-thirds of seats. As a result, while the majority of electorate does not agree with the conservative total constitutional revision, the election result proved quite different (Japan Times 2016; Murakami 2017).

Appendix: 'Resource Supplement Model' for Democracy

So far social attitudes have been observed as the average in each country. But in Japan and in Germany there are diverse types of social attitude and they constitute the

Chart 5 Model A: ‘resource supplement model’ for participation and democracy

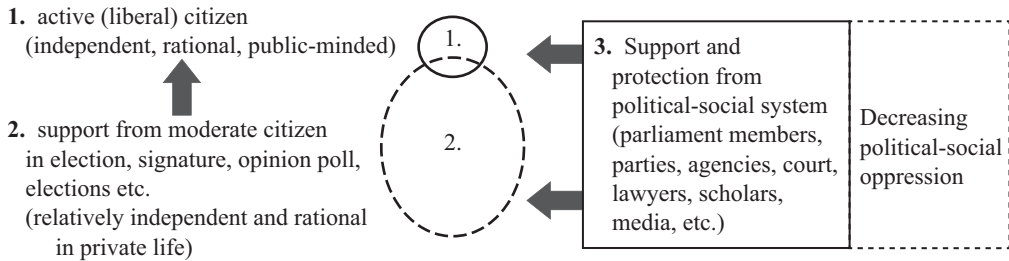
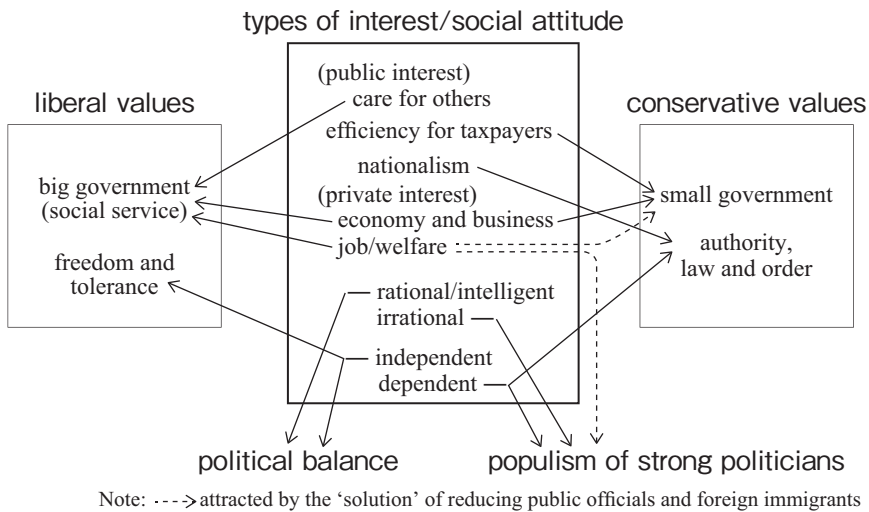


Chart 6 Model B: social attitudes and conservative/ liberal political orientation



structure which may foster or weaken democracy.

The model A (Chart 5) tries to describe the participation and influence of liberal citizen and its groups in democracy. The following explanation I wish to call ‘resource supplement model’, in comparison with the famous ‘resource mobilization theory’.

My question is: why does the Japanese liberal citizen, who is small in quantity around 10~20% of the whole population (Chart 3) and can’t easily gain the majority in elections, still have some influence in politics and society? Of course their efforts to mobilize resources are great and crucial, but other possible explanation is that their actions, appeals, demonstrations and suits in the courts, can be supported by both common people (silent majority) and institutional protectors in present Japan. This silent majority does not participate in politics actively, but they are experiencing not a little independent and rational private (and business) life and therefore are tolerant and sometimes cooperate moderately, for example with signatures, in 2012 and 2015 with participation in demonstrations, to the active citizen movements. Besides institutional organs such as courts, lawyers, national

and local parliaments and media will support liberal citizen, especially when they are threatened by the government or right-wing aggressive groups, as far as the human rights are institutionalized and officially respected (Murakami 2015). Of course these two supportive factors can be wiped away, if the government oppresses ordinary people, or demolishes the human rights through media control or constitutional revisions. This is what actually happened in the 1930s under the militarism, even after the moderate democratization in the 1920s, and what the Ishin Party has realized to some extent in Osaka.

The model B (Chart 6) assumes that each type of social attitude, including those explained before, fosters (or hinders) the support to liberal or conservative positions. In the middle column, social attitudes or preference types such as public interest, private interest, rationality-irrationality and independence-dependence of each electorate are arranged. On the right side are shown the basic conservative values, small government and authority, and additionally the right-wing populism. On the left side there are the basic values of the liberals, big government, freedom and tolerance (Murakami 2014: chap. 5). Then the correspondences between each social attitude and each political positions can be inferred, as indicated with many arrows.

This model should be tested on survey data, but my speculation is that the preference to the conservative party and politicians is natural and normal, because private interest including competition, taxpayers' wish or nationalism (anxiety to alien people) and dependence on the strong leader are nearer to the human instinct. On the other hand, the support towards the liberal side is 'artificial' and cultural, namely requires some special social attitudes such as care for and trust in other people, (rational and) independent thinking and actions⁶.

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6) These liberal attitudes are to some extent weak in Japan (also Murakami 2017). Maybe they do not grow automatically from human nature. Specific types of national characteristics, education (Murakami 2016B) or human relationship in family, community, workplace and religion are favorable for the liberal attitude and values. Additionally the exit polls and opinion polls at the time of Brexit referendum and US presidential election in 2016 show clearly the reverse relationship between the support to populism and the education level of voters (e.g. The Telegraph 2016; CBS NEWS 2016).

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