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CHANGES IN THE SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT TO
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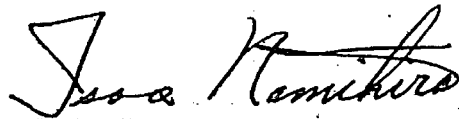
Isao Namihira

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the School of Education of
New York University

1973

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Isao Namihira

Sponsoring Committee: Professor Lloyd Barenblatt, Chairman;
Professor Joseph B. Giacquinta; Professor James D. Seymour

An Abstract of
CHANGES IN THE SOURCES OF RECRUITMENT TO
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Lloyd Barenblatt

Abstract

The purpose of this investigation was to explore changes in social and educational characteristics of the political and business elites in pre-World War II and post-World War II Japan. The study focused on the two major elite groups, cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders.

The major objectives of the analysis were:

1. To determine the extent to which sources of elite recruitment changed: (a) whether the social origins of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders differed in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods; (b) whether the educational backgrounds of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders differed in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods.

2. To compare changes in the composition of the two elite groups: cabinet ministers with Zaibatsu leaders.

3. To assess whether the uncovered changes support Parsons' theories of social structure and Keller's theory of functional elites.

The basic assumption was that social structure determines the formation and recruitment of elites. Thus, as social structure changes, there is an accompanying change in the characteristics of elites. Social structure was characterized according to Parsons' (1951) pattern variables. On the basis of Dore's (1967) study of Japanese society,

pre-World War II Japan, as opposed to post-World War II Japan, was described as more particularistic-ascription oriented. Further, distinction was made in the value orientations of different types of elites. That is, political elites were characterized by such value orientations as particularism and achievement, whereas business elites were characterized by universalism and achievement.

With this theoretical background, eight hypotheses were formulated. These hypotheses predicted (1) the direction of changes in the characteristics of the two elite groups from the particularistic-ascription to the universalistic-achievement pattern and (2) differences in the degree of the changes between the two elite groups.

The subjects used in this study were cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods. The former included all cabinet ministers except for vice-ministers. The latter included top executives of Zaibatsu companies--Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. (The last--Yasuda was not included in the post-World War II period.)

Biographical materials were used for data sources.. The data were analyzed for each of the eight hypotheses. The analysis of these hypotheses was conducted by using t tests of the significance of the difference between uncorrelated proportions, t tests of the significance of the difference between the tetrachoric correlations, and Chi

Square tests. In addition to testing hypotheses, changes in the characteristics of the two elite groups were investigated at shorter intervals within each of the two broad periods used in the basic analysis.

Since all eight hypotheses were statistically significant in the expected direction, it was concluded that social and educational characteristics of political and business elites in Japan changed between the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods. In comparing cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders, it was found that the former were more particularistic-ascription oriented. However, the differences in the characteristics between the two elite groups decreased in the post-World War II period. The specific, trend analysis at shorter intervals in the two periods showed relatively gradual changes in the characteristics of the two elite groups in the expected direction. Thus, the results confirmed the theoretical perspective of this investigation.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

General Statement of Problem

The purpose of this investigation was to explore changes in social and educational characteristics of the political and business elites in pre-war and post-war Japan, cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders, respectively. In modern history, Japan has experienced a major change due to the defeat in World War II and ensuing reorganization of the government and other social institutions. Further, Japan has achieved rapid economic development especially after World War II. According to the structural-functional theory, changes in social structure, such as evidenced in Japanese society between the pre-war and post-war periods, lead to changes in the characteristics of elites recruited during these periods. Can such changes in the characteristics of the political and business elites in Japan be demonstrated? Moreover, if changes in the political and business elites can be uncovered, is the degree of change the same? These were the two major problems investigated in this study.

Objectives

The major objectives of the analysis were:

1. To determine the extent to which sources of elite recruitment changed: (a) whether the social origins of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders differed in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods; (b) whether the educational backgrounds of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders differed in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods.
2. To compare changes in the composition of the two elite groups: cabinet ministers with Zaibatsu leaders.
3. To assess whether the uncovered changes support Parsons' theories of social structure and Keller's theory of functional elites.

Hypotheses

The basic assumption of this study is that social structure determines the formation and recruitment of elites; as social structure changes, there is an accompanying change in the characteristics of elites. Thus, if the structure of Japanese society changed between the pre-war and post-war periods, there would be an accompanying change in the characteristics of elites. On the assumption that the structure of Japanese society changed between the two periods, the hypotheses to be tested were

as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The proportion of cabinet ministers from the "favored" prefectures will be found to be greater in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between prefecture of origin (favored compared to unfavored) and time period (pre-war compared to post-war) will be greater in the case of cabinet ministers than in the case of Zaibatsu leaders.

Hypothesis 3: A greater proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

Hypothesis 4: A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

Hypothesis 5: A greater proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

Hypothesis 6: A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

Hypothesis 7: A positive relationship will be found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period and the Higher Education Background Level of cabinet ministers.

Hypothesis 8: A positive relationship will be found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period

and the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders.

Definition of Terms

1. Elite: The term elite refers to any functional group which holds high status (for whatever reason) in a society (Bottomore, 1966, p. 14). Since cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders hold not only high status but also political power in Japanese society, they can be classified as elite groups (Yanaga, 1968, p. 15).

2. Pre-war and post-war period: In general, the pre-war period refers to the period before August 15, 1945, and the post-war period, the period after August 15, 1945. For Zaibatsu leaders, however, those two periods are distinguished by the dissolution of the Zaibatsu combines which was carried out from 1946 to 1948. That is, in the latter case, the "pre-war" period refers to the period before the dissolution of the Zaibatsu combines, and the post-war period, the period after the dissolution.

3. Prominent fathers and fathers-in-law: This refers to the social status of the fathers and fathers-in-law of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders. "Prominent" status is determined by at least one of the following criteria:
(1) listing of fathers and fathers-in law in Jinji Koshinroku (Who's Who) or one of the other biographical dictionaries

which were listed in the research method; (2) mention of their occupations in the foregoing biographical materials in connection with the cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu^{*} leaders; (3) attendance by those elites or their wives at Gakushūin (the school for kōzoku--the imperial family and its relatives, and for kazoku--former feudal lords, court nobles, and other distinguished individuals).¹

4. Zaibatsu: This is customarily applied to the Japanese corporate combines and to the persons or families controlling them (Bisson, 1954, p. 1). "Combine" refers to a "complex of corporations displaying unified business strategy" under an ownership (Hadley, 1970, p. 20).

5. "Favored" Prefectures: A prefecture is the largest local administrative section or territory. "Favored" refers to particularistic affiliations in the recruitment of political and business elites. "Favored" prefectures refer to the prefectures based upon the following fief backgrounds during the Tokugawa Shogunate: Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hizen. Those prefectures are Kagoshima, Yamaguchi, Kōchi, and Saga.²

6. Higher Education Background Level: Three levels of higher education background are specified as

¹Adoptive fathers were counted as fathers-in-law if both, as in most cases, coincided with each other. Otherwise, they were counted as fathers.

²Those prefectures were defined as "favored" on the basis of hanbatsu (fief cliques).

(1) prestigious university, (2) non-prestigious university, and (3) non-university. On the basis of Passin's ranking of the pre-war period universities in Japan (1965b, p. 107), level (1) refers to the "Imperial" universities; level (2) refers to the remaining universities.³

Significance of the Study

It has been argued that education played an important role in the modernization of Japan (Jansen & Stone, 1967). After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, education was emphasized and was open to all people from every social stratum. Even the upper class, such as the samurai, in the early part of the Meiji era could not maintain their ruling positions without higher education in that period (Silberman, 1964, 1966, 1970). This study would help shed light on whether changes in education are associated with changes in the composition of elites in modern Japan.

Aside from education, which may be called an internal factor affecting the recruitment of elites, there was an external factor which was assumed to change the existing elites in Japan. This was the defeat in World War II,

³All subjects in this study were educated in the pre-war period. Thus, universities refer to those in the pre-war period. There were forty-eight universities in that period, of which seven were "Imperial" universities.

and the subsequent purge of leaders in business, in politics, and in the civil services. The dissolution of the Zaibatsu was another outcome of the defeat in the war. Although these events were planned to bring about a new leadership in Japan (Edwards, 1946, p. 227; Montgomery, 1957, p. 5), some indicate that the outcome was incomplete (Hadley, 1948; Montgomery, 1957). Their views are based upon the limited number of people who were once expelled from elite positions but later regained elite status by assuming different positions. This study would clarify the changes in the characteristics of elites in an historical perspective.

An historical study of elites would also clarify aspects of social changes in post-World War II Japan. Some studies raise questions about social changes in Japan after the war. For instance, discussing Japan's class structure in the pre-war and post-war periods, Fukutake (1962) states that ". . . the class structure has not been transformed overall (p. 40)."

Through a case study of Japan's "New middle class," Vogel (1965) derives two basic values--loyalty and competence. And in connection with Tokugawa Japan, the pre-industrial society prior to the Meiji Restoration, in which Bellah (1970) finds particularism and achievement as basic values, Vogel maintains that there has been considerable

continuity in the value system of Japanese society (p. 146).

Abegglen and Mannari (1960) point to the status inheritance and leadership continuity in Japan since the Meiji Restoration. By that they mean that a large proportion of the topmost leaders of present Japan is still of noble or samurai origins.

The above studies imply that, insofar as elite status is concerned, Japan has not changed substantially since the end of World War II. However, this study would indicate some aspects of change in Japanese society after the war.

This study utilized a combination of both historical and behavioral methods. The combination of these two methods, hopefully, contribute to a better understanding of this problem area: the recruitment of elites in both developing and industrialized societies. The modernization of Japan started with residues in class structure and value systems from Tokugawa Japan. Japanese society in the modernization period will be comparable to developing societies today. On the other hand, as Japan becomes an increasingly industrialized nation, it may be following the pattern of changes in western societies. Thus, a study of elites in Japan will contribute to an understanding of the formation and recruitment of elites in industrialized societies.

CHAPTER II

Theoretical Background

According to Dobriner (1969, p. 107), Levy, Jr. (1952, p. 57), Merton (1968, p. 104), Parsons (1951, p. 36), Smelser and Lipset (1966, pp. 3-4), social structure may be defined as patterns of social relationships. Parsons (1951) developed a set of five "pattern variables" to distinguish aspects of social relationships and social structure: universalism - particularism, achievement - ascription, affectivity - neutrality, diffuseness - specificity, and self-orientation - collectivity-orientation. Since this study will investigate characteristics of elites, Parsons' pattern variables--universalism vs. particularism and achievement vs. ascription--are important for this purpose.

Briefly, universalism vs. particularism and achievement vs. ascription concern modes of categorizing social objects (e.g., elites). In terms of elite recruitment, for instance, universalism provides generalized rules by which elites are rerecruited; in contrast, particularism is based upon a specific relationship, such as friendship, in which personal affiliations are given precedence over

generalized rules. Achievement refers to individual performances, and ascription refers to given statuses, such as age, sex, and socio-economic background.

On the basis of the two dimensions (universalism vs. particularism and achievement vs. ascription), Parsons formulated four different value orientations: universalistic-achievement, particularistic-achievement, universalistic-ascription, and particularistic-ascription (1951). He advanced the idea of the usefulness of this typology in classifying societies.

Elites

Mosca (1939, p. 53) and Pareto (1935, p. 1423) define elites according to values. For them, people in the elites reflect the "best" values in a given society. Lasswell (1936, p. 3) also holds the same view. He states:

The leadership of a society is a criterion of the values by which that society lives. The manner in which the "leadership" is chosen; the breadth of the social base from which it is recruited; and the way in which it exercises the decision-making power; the extent and nature of its accountability--these and other attributes are indicators of the degree of shared power, shared respect, shared well-being, and shared safety in a given society at a given time. By learning the nature of the elite, we learn much about the nature of the society. Changes in the elite structure are . . . indexes of revolution (Lasswell, Lerner, & Rothwell, 1952, p. 1).

Unlike Mosca and Pareto, Lasswell classifies values in relation to social organizations such as the church and the business corporation (1961, p. 266) and defines elites in terms of these values. He states that "There are as many elites as there are values (1952, p. 6)." Regarding the relationship between values and culture, or between types of elites and culture, he indicates that cultural pattern "accentuates" types of elites. That is, what types of elites are emphasized depends upon the cultural pattern of a society (1948, pp. 32-34).

Mannheim is one of the important theorists of elites. He maintains that in an industrial society there are various types of elites; they are recruited from various parts of the population since achievement is emphasized more in the recruitment process than other selection criteria such as "blood and property" (1940, pp. 82-89). Further, he indicates by the concept of "over-assimilation" that various types of elites outside the ruling class would create a "cultural crisis" and change the structure of the ruling class (1950, pp. 105-107).

On the basis of functional sub-systems developed by Parsons, Keller (1963) classifies four different functional elites: goal attainment elites who attain social goals (the political elite); adaptive elites who develop the means to achieve social goals (the business and military elite);

integrative elites who articulate moral standards (e.g., priests); pattern maintenance elites who reflect the general morale (e.g., artists). According to Keller, "in an industrial society, elites increase in number; they have no superior groups among them because they are specialists in each sub-system of society; they stress competence; they are recruited differently in each sub-system of society because their roles in each sub-system are different (1963, p. 32, 261).

A Structural-Functional Approach
to the Recruitment of Elites

Keller offers a structural-functional approach to the study of elites. This approach is based upon the assumption that society is composed of parts and that the parts, interrelating with each other, are integrated into a system (Timasheff, 1967, pp. 216-217).

According to Parsons, the social system is composed of four functional sub-systems: adaptation, goal attainment, integration, and pattern maintenance (Parsons, Bales, & Shils, 1953, pp. 80-90, 183-202; Parsons, 1954, p. 413). Further, the four functional sub-systems are characterized by four different value orientations which are based upon his proposition that "A social system is always characterized by an institutionalized value system (Parsons, & Smelser, 1956, p. 16)." That is, adaptation sub-system

(economy) is characterized by some value orientation such as the universalistic-achievement pattern; the goal attainment sub-system (polity), by the particularistic-achievement pattern; the integration sub-system (e.g., religion), by the particularistic-ascription pattern; the pattern maintenance sub-system (e.g., art, sports), by the universalistic-ascription pattern (1953, pp. 180-181).

Parsons suggests that each society may emphasize one of the four sub-systems and that the society may be characterized by the value orientation of the sub-system which the society emphasizes (1954, p. 415). Thus, he characterizes the United States by the universalistic-achievement orientation since the United States' priority is its economy. On the basis of that theory, Bellah (1970) characterizes Tokugawa Japan, the pre-industrial society prior to the Meiji Restoration, as particularistic-achievement since politics appeared to him to be the major national priority in Tokugawa Japan.

Parsons' theory specifically provides two propositions regarding the recruitment of elites: (1) each sub-system of a society will differ in the recruitment of elites because the value orientation in each sub-system differs; (2) if a society shifts its primary emphasis from one sub-system (e.g., politics) to another (e.g., economy), the basis of recruitment of elites in that society will change

accordingly.⁴

The following questions are implicit in Parsons' propositions when they are put in the context of recent Japanese social history: (1) Do the political elite and business elite differ in their pre-war recruitment? (2) Do the political elite and business elite differ in their post-war recruitment? Did the recruitment of elites in Japan change between the pre-war and post-war periods? The answers to these questions will be positive if Parsons' theory is correct. Regarding the first two questions, however, it should be noted that the theory indicates that both economy and polity as sub-systems emphasize achievement as a value orientation of the sub-system.

Thus, if there would be a difference in the recruitment pattern between the political elite and business elite, the difference would be determined by the particularistic value orientation such as based upon informal relations-- cliques. According to Parsons' theory, that value orientation would be applied more to the political elite and less to the business elite. That theory seems applicable to the political elite in the early part of the Meiji era, who

⁴The second proposition has been explored by the following hypothesis; the more industrialized the society becomes, the more it emphasizes such value orientations as universalism and achievement, rather than particularism and ascription (Dore, 1967; Marsh, 1963; McClelland, 1961; Lipset, 1963; Smelser & Lipset, 1966).

showed a strong group solidarity based upon fief origins. However, the extent to which the particularistic affiliations among the political elite in Japan continue to exist is not clear.

Recruitment of Elites in Japan

Since the recruitment pattern of elites has been discussed in relation to societal value orientations, some discussion of the basic values in Japanese society may be helpful. Bellah (1970) characterizes Tokugawa Japan as particularistic and achievement oriented. For instance, "hierarchical relationship" (Azumi, 1969; Benedict, 1967), "loyalty" (Vogel, 1965), "vertical relationships and group loyalty" (Ishino, 1953; Bennett & Ishino, 1963; Passin, 1968), "vertical principle" (Nakane, 1970), and "familism" (Azumi, 1969; Passin, 1968) are all employed to point out particularism in Japanese society.

It has been indicated that particularism leads to a formation of batsu (cliques). Azumi (1969) defines batsu as "an informal, exclusive group which is without any specific goal but is concerned with the general welfare of its members (p. 59)." The batsu is based upon affiliations according to birthplace, alumni, marital ties, political party, and so on. Hanbatsu (fief cliques), gakubatsu (school cliques), keibatsu (cliques based upon marital ties),

habatsu (factions), and zaibatsu (financial cliques) are typical examples of batsu. One of the functions of batsu is to provide the channels of recruitment for various positions. Since hanbatsu, keibatsu, and gakubatsu concern particularism in the recruitment of elites in Japan, further discussion of those three batsu will be helpful.

Hanbatsu is a compound word of han (fief) and batsu (cliques). A han was a self-governing dominion under the Tokugawa regime. There were seventy-two han in the nineteenth century up to the Meiji Restoration, at which time Japan began to emerge as a modern nation.⁵ The Restoration was, in a domestic aspect, a result of the power struggle between the Tokugawa Shogunate and several han. Among the latter, Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, and Hisen, were most powerful.

Seizing the opportunity provided by the Restoration, the most powerful han became the axis of the new government. After the cabinet system was established in 1885, four prefectures--Kagoshima, Yamaguchi, Kōchi, and Saga--which were established based upon the four powerful han solidified their political power in the new government. For example, nine of the ten cabinet ministers of the first cabinet in

⁵In 1871 han was abolished, and prefectures established. Now there are forty-seven prefectures which are based upon the former han.

1885 (the first Ito cabinet) came from Kagoshima, Yamaguchi, and Kōchi. Thus, hanbatsu paved the way for the political power and for the recruitment not only of the political elite but of the military elite (e.g., gunbatsu--military cliques).

Keibatsu is a compound word of kei (female or male-relations) and batsu. Thus, marital ties form the keibatsu. As Suzuki (1965) points out (p. 12), it is in the elite positions that the keibatsu has influence. Thus, the prominent father-in-law may have much impact upon the son-in-law's elite positions.

Gakubatsu is a compound word of gaku (school) and batsu. A gakubatsu is formed by the affiliations between senpai and kōhai (seniors and juniors) who graduated from the same schools (especially universities). A gakubatsu is not a formal organization like an alumni association. Nevertheless, graduates from the same school develop "consciousness of kind" among themselves, which is believed to affect both employment and promotion in government, companies, and universities. Among gakubatsu, todaibatsu (school cliques based upon Tokyo Imperial University--now Tokyo University) and teidaibatsu (school cliques based upon imperial universities in the pre-war period) are typical examples (Shinbori, 1969).

Japan's achievement orientation (Bellah, 1970; Bennett and Ishino, 1963; Passin, 1968; Smith, 1960; Vogel, 1965)

is reflected in the emphasis upon education, as evidenced by the severe competition in the entrance examinations for admission to the prestigious universities (Anderson, 1959; Dore, 1964; Inoki, 1964; Orihara, 1967; Passin, 1965a, 1965b; Shimizu, 1963; Vogel, 1962). Education is, in fact, considered the most important criterion in evaluating status and thus in moving to the upper echelon.

Most studies cited above deal with particularism and achievement as the continuous value system of Japanese society. Dore and his associates (1967), however, focus on the aspects of social change in modern Japan. Dore's major concern is: "What are the consequences for other parts of the social structure of the changes in economic organization which take place as society becomes more productive (p. 3)?"

On the basis of Parsons' pattern variables, Dore formulated the following set of six hypotheses concerning the type of change in interpersonal relations which would occur in Japan as it becomes an increasingly industrial and urban nation (pp. 4-5):

1. The criteria determining status in social organizations tend to change, showing less emphasis on birth and seniority and more on merit.
2. Relations of authority become more circumscribed, more specific to the particular narrow functions of the

organization, and less "relations of the whole man."

3. In consequence, the "volume" of authority exercised by superiors vis-a-vis inferiors tends to diminish; there is less social distance between statuses; there are fewer formal marks of deference required in speech, gesture, etc.

4. A greater range of the individual's behavior is the result of choice between conscious alternatives rather than the following of tradition.

5. A greater range of an individual's choices is determined by reference to his own well-being or that of certain other specific individuals and less by reference to the well-being of some group to which he belongs.

6. A greater range of an individual's behavior is based on rational secular premises and with reference to situations and events beyond his personal experience.

The above hypotheses are not tested in a definitive way so that they remain matters of interpretation. Nevertheless, they are suggestive of the value orientations of post-World War II Japan in comparison with Tokugawa or pre-World War II Japan.

Of the six hypotheses, the first indicates a gradual shift in Japan's value orientations from the particularistic-ascription pattern to the universalistic-achievement pattern. Relatively speaking, pre-World War II Japan would be more particularistic-ascription oriented and less

universalistic-achievement oriented than post-World War II Japan.

If a change occurred in value orientations, how did the change affect the recruitment of elites in Japan? In connection with the first hypothesis, Dore (1967) indicates changes in the recruitment pattern of elites in the modernization period after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. According to him, during the initial stage of modernization a high proportion of governmental, professional, and even business elites were recruited from that six per cent of the population which was of samurai ancestry. However, it should be noted that there was considerable mobility within the samurai class (e.g., upward mobility of the lower samurai); the proportion of ex-samurai in elite positions declined steadily; the advantages attached to samurai ancestry as such also declined (p. 114). That is, even at the early stage of industrialization, ascription alone (e.g., the samurai origin) ceased to be a criterion for the recruitment of elites.

Tsurumi (1970) compares the recruitment pattern in the old Zaibatsu (or the pre-war Zaibatsu) with that in the new Zaibatsu (or the post-war Zaibatsu). According to her the old Zaibatsu was predominantly particularistic in its recruitment of managers (p. 196); in contrast, "In the postwar Zaibatsu managerial positions are allocated

according to achievement rather than ascription. Hence it is predominantly functionally specific in the style of execution of tasks (p. 196)."

By biographical studies, Silberman (1964, 1966, 1970) indicates that for the political leaders and government bureaucrats in the Meiji era, both social origins, such as the samurai class and fief backgrounds, and education were important for their recruitment. On the other hand, Kubota (1969) investigated higher civil servants in post-war Japan by biographical materials. He indicates that education was far more important than social origins for the recruitment of the bureaucrats in his study. These studies are suggestive of differences in the social characteristics of elites in Japan between the pre-war and post-war periods.

Aonuma (1965) and Mannari (1965) also indicate the increasing importance of higher education in the recruitment of business elites in present Japan. The emphasis upon education and individual achievement might well result in the recruitment of elites from various social strata. Miller (1960) indicates that among industrial and developing countries, Japan and Puerto Rico are high in upward and downward mobility of elites; in contrast, West Germany, India, Belgium, and France are low in elite mobility. Miller concludes that Japan and Puerto Rico come "closest to the notion of 'the circulation of elites,' since there is high

exit and access to elites, probably indicating rapid economic change (p. 51)."

On the other hand, Abegglen and Mannari (1960) point to the status inheritance and leadership continuity in Japan since the Meiji Restoration. They say, ". . . two out of five persons in topmost positions in Japan in 1959 were of noble or samurai origins (p. 126)."

The difference between Miller and Abegglen et al. is clear: the former suggests the "circulation of elites," and the latter suggests the "status inheritance" among modern elites in Japan. The one point of agreement seems to be the importance of education in the recruitment of elites in Japan.

Summary

1. Social structure is herein defined as patterns of social relationships. Parsons' pattern variables (universalism, particularism, achievement, and ascription) are used to describe basic aspects of social structure. Using the two dimensions (1) universalism vs. particularism and (2) achievement vs. ascription, societies are typed according to the following value orientations: universalistic-achievement, particularistic-achievement, universalistic-ascription, and particularistic-ascription.

2. Elites reflect the value orientations of a society because value orientations determine the formation and

recruitment of elites. Different societies have different value orientations; these differences are reflected in the characteristics of these elites. If value orientations of a society change, the characteristics of elites in that society will change accordingly.

3. Mannheim and Keller infer that industrial societies increasingly emphasize such value orientations as universalism and achievement, rather than particularism and ascription. The changes in value orientations are reflected in the recruitment of elites in industrial societies.

4. According to Parsons, the sub-systems of a society, such as the economy and polity, differ in value orientations. That is, the economy is characterized by some value orientation such as the universalistic-achievement pattern; the polity, by the particularistic-achievement pattern. Each sub-system differs in the recruitment pattern of elites.

5. Changes in value orientations of Japanese society are suggested: pre-World War II Japan would be more particularistic-ascription oriented and less universalistic-achievement oriented than post-World War II Japan. The changes in value orientations are reflected in the recruitment pattern of elites in Japan.

CHAPTER III

The Research Method

This study which employs both an historical and behavioral science perspective has been referred to as prosopography by Stone (1971). He defines prosopography as:

. . . the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives. The method employed is to establish a universe to be studied, and then to ask a set of uniform questions--about birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of wealth, occupation, religion, experience of office, and so on. The various types of information about the individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined, and are examined for significant variables. They are tested both for internal correlations and for correlations with other forms of behavior of action (p. 46).

According to Stone, this approach is used as a tool to investigate two of the most basic problems in history: (1) the roots of political action; such as the deeper interests underlying the rhetoric of politics and the social and economic affiliations of political groups; (2) social structure and social mobility (p. 46). This method of investigation is suitable for studying leaders

of a society because, according to Stone, "At all times and in all places, the lower one goes in the social system the poorer becomes the documentation (p. 57)."

In spite of its advantages, Stone points out the following limitations: (1) deficiencies in data; (2) errors in the classification of data (e.g., incongruence between status and wealth); (3) errors in the interpretation of the data; (4) limitation of historical understanding (pp. 57-65). Of the four limitations, the first concerns data themselves, and the last three concern the treatment of the data. Regarding the first, the problem is whether sufficient data for the subjects are available from the biographical sources (pp. 57-59). Indeed, data were limited for the elites with lower social background. That is, when their fathers' or fathers-in-law's social statuses were low, neither the fathers' nor the fathers-in-law's occupations were available. However, the data were fairly documented for the fathers or fathers-in-law who attained national eminence. Thus, the above limitation may not be applied to the elites with upper social background.

Further, Stone suggests that ". . . the method works best when it is applied to easily defined and fairly small groups over a limited period not much more than a hundred years, when the data is drawn from a very wide range of sources which complement and enrich each other, and when the study is directed to solving a specific problem (p. 69)."

In terms of the sample, time period, source materials, and research problems, this study will fit the criteria suggested by Stone.

Finally, it was the intention of this study to go beyond prosopography by applying some aspects of behavioral science methodology in order to reduce the possible bias in selection of cases and to increase the adequacy of measurement and specificity of variables. In the past, multiple career-line analysis or prosopography has been criticized because of bias in selection of cases and lack of measurement and specificity of variables.

The Subjects

1. Cabinet Ministers

In order to determine the population of cabinet ministers, the following materials were used: Asahi Nenkan (Asahi Yearbook, 1963, 1971), Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who (3rd ed., 1964-1965), and The Statesman's Year-Book (1910).

There were 275 ministers in the pre-war period, and 279 in the post-war period. (Vice-ministers were excluded.) The pre-war period covered all cabinet ministers between the first Ito cabinet (1885) and the Suzuki cabinet (1945); the post-war period covered all cabinet ministers between the Higashikuni cabinet (1945) and the second Sato cabinet (1967 to 1970). See Appendices A and C. If the same

minister appeared in both periods, he was counted in the population for each period.⁶ The total population for the two periods was investigated.

2. Zaibatsu Leaders

In this study Zaibatsu leaders after 1922 were included since Zaibatsu enterprises grew on a large scale after World War I (Lockwood, 1954, p. 59; Fukutake, 1962, pp. 33-34). No chronological list of Zaibatsu leaders was available. Therefore several different sources were used to determine the Zaibatsu leaders for different periods. The sources were the following: Hadley's book, Antitrust in Japan (1970), Kabushiki Nenkan (Stock Yearbook, 1922, 1929), Kaisha Nenkan (Company Yearbook, 1966), and Mitsui--Mitsubishi--Sumitomo: Present Status of the Former Zaibatsu Enterprises (Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute, 1955).

Data on leaders at approximately ten year intervals were secured. It should be noted that source materials for specific ten year intervals⁶ were not available. However, source materials on Zaibatsu leaders in the pre-war period were available for the years 1922, 1929, 1937, and 1945; for the post-war period, Zaibatsu leaders for the years

⁶There were nineteen ministers who appeared in both periods. A comparison between the two periods was made by two analyses: in one analysis they were included as appeared; in the other they were excluded.

1955 and 1966 were used. The reason these two points in time were selected was to enable the researcher to compare the Zaibatsu leaders shortly after the dissolution of the Zaibatsu with those after the economic recovery and further development of Japan, which took place in the 1960's (Mannari, 1965, p. 7; The Oriental Economist, 1967, pp. 742-745).

(a) Zaibatsu Leaders in the Pre-war Period

The Zaibatsu leaders of 1922 and 1929 were determined as follows: the Zaibatsu companies of the Big Four (The Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda Combines) in 1922 and 1929 were identified through Nihon Kindaishi Jiten (The Dictionary of Modern History in Japan, 1959). Then, through Kabushiki Nenkan (Stock Yearbook, 1922, 1929), the top executives of the Zaibatsu companies, such as chairmen, presidents, vice-presidents, senior directors, and junior directors, were identified. The total number of leaders for the year 1922 and 1929 numbered 75, and all were investigated.

The Zaibatsu leaders of 1937 and 1945 were determined by "Personnel Interlocks among the Principal Companies of the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda Combines, 1945 and 1937" which was designated by HCLC (Holding Companies Liquidation Commission) shortly after the war and were cited in Hadley's book, Antitrust in Japan

(1970). Of those leaders designated by HCLC, such chief executives as chairmen, presidents, vice-presidents, managing directors, and standing directors were investigated. The total number of the top executives for the years 1937 and 1945 numbered 109.⁷

Nine Zaibatsu leaders for the years 1922 and 1929 also appeared as the top executives in 1937 and 1945. Therefore, they were excluded from the 1937 and 1945 sample. Thus, the pre-war Zaibatsu leaders who were investigated numbered 175.

(b) Zaibatsu Leaders in the Post-War Period

The Zaibatsu leaders of 1955 were determined as follows: Mitsui--Mitsubishi--Sumitomo: Present Status of the Former Zaibatsu Enterprises (Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute, 1955) was used to identify the top echelon executives of the Zaibatsu companies in 1955, such as presidents, vice-presidents, senior directors, and junior directors. The Zaibatsu leaders of 1955 numbered 305, of which fifty per cent were randomly selected and investigated.⁸

⁷Romanized personal names in Hadley's list were identified with Chinese character, but using his transliteration two names--Awata Yotaro and Joki Masanao--could not be found.

⁸The sampling procedure was as follows: the names of Zaibatsu leaders were listed alphabetically and were assigned numbers. Then, the table of random numbers (Dixon & Massey, 3rd ed., 1969) was used to select the sample.

The Zaibatsu leaders of 1966 were determined as follows: initially, Zaibatsu groups--e.g., the Kinyō Kai (Friday Club) of the Mitsubishi group, the Nimokukai (Second Thursday Club) and the Getsuyō Kai (Monday Club) of the Mitsui group, and the Hakusui Kai (White Water Club) of the Sumitomo group--and member companies of these Zaibatsu groups were identified from The Oriental Economist (1967, pp. 737-742). Then the Kaisha Nenkan (Company Yearbook, 1966) was used to identify the top executives such as chairmen, presidents, vice-presidents, senior directors, and junior directors of the member companies under the Zaibatsu groups. The Zaibatsu leaders of 1966 numbered 503, of which fifty per cent were randomly selected and investigated.⁹ See Appendices B and D.

Eighteen Zaibatsu leaders of 1955 also appeared as top executives of 1966; thus, they were excluded from the sample of 1966. The total number of post-war Zaibatsu leaders who were investigated numbered 386.

The following table shows the sample size used in the comparative analysis of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders in the pre-war and post-war periods.

⁹ See footnote 8.

TABLE 1.

Number of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders in the Pre-war and Post-war Periods Selected for Study

Elite Group	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Cabinet Ministers	275	279
Zaibatsu Leaders	175	386

Data Sources

In order to obtain the data for the sample used in this study, several biographical sources were employed. They were the following: Daijinmei Jiten (The Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary, vols. 10, 1955), Dainihon Jinmei Jisho (The Biographical Dictionary of Great Japan, vols. 5, 1937), Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who (3rd ed., 1965), Gendai Jinji Chōsaroku (Who's Who, 1926), Jinji Kōshinroku (Who's Who),¹⁰ Shinsen Daijinmei Jiten (The New Biographical Dictionary, vols. 9, 1938),

¹⁰For this study, the following editions were used: 1915, 1921, 1934, 1937, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1948, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1959, 1966, 1968, 1969.

and Taishū Jinjiroku (Who's Who).¹¹

Of the above sources, Jinji Kōshinroku has been published since 1903 and the most important source material for the study of elites in Japan. Thus, Aonuma (1965), Asō (1969), Kubota (1969), and Silberman (1970) used it as a main source material for the investigation of elites in Japan. In this study, it was also used as a main source and supplemented by other source materials when the old editions were not available.

Data Collection Procedures

Data processing cards were prepared for the subjects in the sample of this study, and the biographical data on the subjects were codified. On the basis of social origins, career patterns, and educational backgrounds, the data collected included the class origin (e.g., kazoku, shizoku, and heimin), if any, the year of birth, birthplace, description of adoption, father's and father-in-law's names and occupations, wife's education, pre-elite occupation, changes of occupations and positions, the school and university attended, academic field of study at the university, and educational background in foreign countries. For specimen examples of how each person was classified, see

¹¹The following editions were used: 1934, 1942, 1953, 1956, 1962, 1964, 1965, 1966, and 1968.

Appendices E and F.

Data Analysis

On the basis of the assumption that social structure determines the characteristics of elites, social origins and educational backgrounds of the two elite groups were treated as dependent variables whereas the pre-World War II and post-World War II social structures of Japanese society were treated as independent variables. Social origins were investigated in order to determine whether there was a decrease in the effects of ascription and particularism on the recruitment of elites in the post-war period. The aspects of social origin included birthplace, father's and father-in-law's social statuses. Educational backgrounds were investigated in order to determine whether there was an increase in the effects of achievement and universalism on the recruitment of elites in the post-war period. Three levels of background were specified: (1) prestigious university, (2) non-prestigious university, and (3) non-university.

Of eight hypotheses, which were formulated on the basis of the foregoing variables, Hypotheses 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6 were examined by t tests of the significance of the difference between uncorrelated proportions (see Edwards, 1972, pp. 43-44; Hoel, 1962, pp. 148-151).

Since a proportion may be regarded as a mean (McNemar, 1969, p. 107), testing the significance of the difference between two proportions may be equivalent to testing the significance of the difference between two means. Thus, as in the case of the t test for the significance of the difference between two means, a t test was applied to determine the significance of the difference between two proportions.

Hypothesis 2 was examined by (1) calculating the tetrachoric correlation coefficients (Edwards, pp. 131-132) between prefecture of origin (favored compared to unfavored) and time period (pre-war compared to post-war) for cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders; (2) determining the significance of the difference between the two correlation coefficients, which was done by (1) transforming the correlations into z scores and (2) applying a t test to the significance of the difference between the two z scores (Snedecor, 1956, p. 178). For Hypothesis 2, the tetrachoric correlation was preferred to other correlations, i.e., the product moment correlation, since variables in this study were essentially continuous (Edwards, 1967, p. 131; McNemar, p. 221) and, yet, the variables yield only dichotomized information (McNemar, 1969, p. 221, 223).

Hypotheses 7 and 8 were examined by Chi Square tests. In terms of 3 x 2 contingency tables, the two hypotheses

were tested to determine whether the findings were in the predicted order.

The level of significance used for rejection for each null hypothesis was $p \leq .05$.

CHAPTER IV

Results

Hypothesis 1

The proportion of cabinet ministers from the "favored" prefectures will be found to be greater in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

The above hypothesis predicted a change from particularism to universalism in the recruitment of cabinet ministers; that is, "favored" prefectural origins of cabinet ministers would be less in the post-war period. The analysis was conducted in the following way: a comparison was made between the prefectural origins of cabinet ministers in the two periods; where there was an overlapping of names, the subjects (N = 19) were deleted and a second analysis was performed.¹²

Table 2 shows the distribution of cabinet ministers from the "favored" and "unfavored" prefectures in the two

¹²In addition to these two analyses, cabinet ministers were broken down into two additional categories--prime ministers and other cabinet ministers--in order to investigate differences between higher and lower positions. But the prime ministers in the post-war period were too small in number (N = 10) to compare with other cabinet ministers (N = 269) in the same period.

periods.

TABLE 2

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers from
Favored and Unfavored Prefectures--
by Time Period

Prefecture of Origin	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Favored	29.09	10.04
Unfavored	70.91	89.96
Total	100.00	100.00
N	275	279

$t = 5.8133$ $df = 552$ $p < .0005$

The difference between the proportions of cabinet ministers from the "favored" prefectures in the two periods was analyzed by a t test; a t value of 5.8133 was obtained. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was confirmed beyond the .0005 level of significance.

As mentioned earlier (p. 27), of the total cabinet ministers, nineteen cabinet ministers appeared in both periods. A second analysis was conducted in which those ministers were deleted from the total number of subjects in the two periods. As Table 3 shows, Hypothesis 1 was still confirmed.

TABLE 3

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers from
Favored and Unfavored Prefectures
Serving During Either Period (Not
Both)--by Time Period

Prefecture of Origin	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Favored	30.47	10.00
Unfavored	69.53	90.00
Total	100.00	100.00
N	256	260

$t = 5.9749$ $df = 514$ $p < .0005$

Hypothesis 2

The relationship between prefecture of origin (favored compared to unfavored) and time period (pre-war compared to post-war) will be greater in the case of cabinet ministers than in the case of Zaibatsu leaders.

Hypothesis 2 compared cabinet ministers with Zaibatsu leaders as to level of particularism suggested by prefectural origins. According to the theoretical perspective of this study, particularism would appear to be greater in the pre-war period than in the post-war period; cabinet ministers would have a higher level of particularism than Zaibatsu leaders.

The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) the relationship (tetrachoric correlations) between prefecture of origin and time period was measured; (2) the correlations for cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders were compared; (3) the same analysis was repeated after deleting the nineteen cabinet ministers whose names appeared in both periods; (4) steps (1) and (2) were repeated for cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders after the year 1922.¹³

Tables 4, 5, and 6 show the results.

TABLE 4

Relationship between Prefecture of
Origin and Time Period,
Cabinet Ministers

Prefecture of Origin	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Favored	80	28
Unfavored	195	251
N	275	279
r = .47 df = 552 p < .005		

¹³The purpose of the last analysis was to test the hypothesis by matching the pre-war period for cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders. (In this study, cabinet ministers in the pre-war period were those after 1885 and Zaibatsu leaders were those after 1922.) The analysis seemed necessary because hanbatsu may have declined before 1922.

TABLE 5

Relationship between Prefecture of
Origin and Time Period, Zaibatsu
Leaders

Prefecture of Origin	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Favored	14	22
Unfavored	161	364
N	175	386

$r = .14$ $df = 559$ $p < .005$

TABLE 6

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu
Leaders By Correlations between Prefecture
of Origin and Time Period

Elite Group	N	r	z_r	$\frac{1}{N - 3}$
Cabinet Ministers	554	.47	.51	.0018
Zaibatsu Leaders	561	.14	.14	.0018
Difference = .37				Sum = .0036

$$S_{z_1 - z_2} = \sqrt{.0036} = .06 \quad t = \frac{.37}{.06} = 6.17 \quad df = 00 \quad p < .0005$$

The tetrachoric correlation was .47 for cabinet ministers and .14 for Zaibatsu leaders. The correlations were transformed into z scores and a t test was computed to determine the significance of the difference between the two z scores. A t value of 6.17 was obtained and Hypothesis 2 was confirmed beyond the .0005 level of significance.

Hypothesis 2 was further tested by deleting the nineteen cabinet ministers who appeared in both periods. Tables 7 and 8 show the results obtained.

TABLE 7

Relationship between Prefecture of Origin
and Time Period for Cabinet Ministers
Serving During Either Period (not Both)

Prefecture of Origin	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Favored	78	26
Unfavored	178	234
N	256	260

r = .50

df = 514

p < .005

TABLE 8

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers Serving During
Either Period (not Both) and Zaibatsu
Leaders by Correlations between Pre-
fecture of Origin and Time Period

Elite Group	N	r	Z _r	$\frac{1}{N - 3}$
Cabinet Ministers	516	.50	.55	.0019
Zaibatsu Leaders	561	.14	.14	.0018
Difference = .41		Sum = .0037		

$$S_{Z_1 - Z_2} = \sqrt{.0037} = .06 \quad t = \frac{.41}{.06} = 6.83 \quad df = 00 \quad p < .0005$$

The difference between the two correlations was significant beyond the .0005 level; thus, the deletion of the nineteen cabinet ministers in both periods did not affect the obtained results.

An analysis of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders after the year 1922 was also made to determine the significance of the difference between the two correlations for each elite group for both periods. Tables 9 and 10 show the results.

TABLE 9

Relationship between Prefecture of Origin
and Time Period for Cabinet Ministers

Prefecture of Origin	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Favored	34	28
Unfavored	150	251
N	184	279

$r = .27$ $df = 461$ $p < .005$

TABLE 10

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers* and Zaibatsu
Leaders by Correlations between Prefecture
of Origin and Time Period

Elite Group	N	r	Z _r	$\frac{1}{N - 3}$
Cabinet Ministers	463	.27	.28	.0022
Zaibatsu Leaders	561	.14	.14	.0018
Difference		= .14	Sum =	.0040

$$S_{Z_1 - Z_2} = \sqrt{.0040} = .06 \quad t = \frac{.14}{.06} = 2.33 \quad df = 00 \quad p < .01$$

*They were the subjects after 1922. The year matched the pre-war period for both elite groups.

The difference between the two correlations was significant at the .01 level and Hypothesis 2 was again confirmed.

To summarize: (1) The relationship between prefecture of origin and time period was greater for cabinet ministers than for Zaibatsu leaders; thus, Hypothesis 2 was confirmed. (2) The deletion of the nineteen cabinet ministers in both periods did not affect the results obtained. (3) Hypothesis 2 was further tested by matching the pre-war period--both cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders after the year 1922; the difference between the relationships was significant at the .01 level.

Hypothesis 3

A greater proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

Father's prominence was investigated as an ascription factor of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders. The definition of "prominent" as defined in this study refers to the upper social background of the father. That is, of the three criteria to define prominent fathers (p. 4), listing in Jinji Kōshinroku or in other biographical

sources is an indication of elite status of the father;¹⁴ mention of father's occupation in connection with his son's or son-in-law's biographical description suggests father's national eminence in occupational status as a cabinet minister, Diet member, governor, higher civil servant, member of former peerage, big business executive, general, admiral, writer, or scholar;¹⁵ attendance of son or daughter at Gakushūin suggests father's upper class background, such as kōzoku and kazoku.

It was predicted that, between the two periods, there would be a change in the composition of cabinet ministers insofar as social background was concerned. The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) a comparison was made for both periods of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers; (2) the same analysis was made after deletion of the nineteen cabinet ministers who served in both periods.

Table 11 shows the result of a t test of the significance of the difference between the two periods in the proportions of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers.

¹⁴For example, Asō (1969, p. 191) defines as elites of Japan those who were listed in Jinji Kōshinroku (Who's Who).

¹⁵This is based upon Kubota's (1969, p. 42) definition of "prominent" fathers or fathers-in-law of higher civil servants in his study.

TABLE 11

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers Having
Prominent and Non-Prominent Fathers--
by Time Period

Fathers	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	32.73	12.19
Non-Prominent	67.27	87.81
Total	100.00	100.00
N	275	279

t = 5.9685 df = 552 p < .0005

The difference between the proportions of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers in the two periods was statistically significant; cabinet ministers in the pre-war period had a greater proportion of prominent fathers. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was confirmed beyond the .0005 level of significance.

Further analysis revealed that, after deletion of the nineteen cabinet ministers who served in both periods, the results remained statistically significant. See Table 12.

TABLE 12

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers Serving
During Either Period (Not Both) Having
Prominent and Non-Prominent Fathers
--by Time Period

Fathers	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	32.03	10.00
Non-prominent	67.97	90.00
Total	100.00	100.00
N	256	260

$t = 6.3686$

$df = 514$. $p < .0005$

Hypothesis 4

A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

It was predicted that in the post-war period there would be a significant decrease in the proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers. The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) a comparison was made between the Zaibatsu leaders in both periods who had prominent fathers; (2) another comparison was made of

the topmost Zaibatsu leaders, such as chairmen and presidents, in both periods; then, a comparison was made between proportions of topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers; (3) finally, a comparison was made between the proportions of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders who had prominent fathers.

Table 13 shows that during the post-war period there was a significant decrease in the proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers.

TABLE 13

Comparison of Zaibatsu Leaders Having
Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers
--by Time Period

Fathers	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	21.14	8.29
Non-prominent	78.86	91.71
Total	100.00	100.00
N	175	386

$$t = 3.7899 \quad df = 559 \quad p < .0005$$

As in the case of cabinet ministers, the difference between the proportions of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers in the two periods was statistically

significant beyond the .0005 level; the proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers was greater in the pre-war period than in the post-war period. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was confirmed.

In the post-war period, a significant decrease was found in the number of topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers. A t test was applied to determine the significance of the difference between groups, and a t value of 3.4718 was obtained; thus, Hypothesis 4 was also confirmed beyond the .0005 level of significance. See Table 14.

TABLE 14

Comparison of Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
Having Prominent and Non-prominent
Fathers--by Time Period

Fathers	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	33.75	10.94
Non-prominent	66.25	89.06
Total	100.00	100.00
N	80	64
t = 3.4718	df = 142	p < .0005

A further analysis was conducted to determine the differences between topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders. (The latter included vice-presidents, senior directors, and junior directors.) Tables 15 and 16 show the results of the t tests of the significance of the differences between the proportions of Zaibatsu elite groups.

TABLE 15

Comparison of Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
and Non-topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
Having Prominent and Non-prominent
Fathers--Pre-war Period

Fathers	Topmost Leaders	Non-Topmost Leaders
Prominent	33.75	10.53
Non-prominent	66.25	89.47
Total	100.00	100.00
N	80	95

$t = 3.7593$ $df = 173$ $p < .0005$

TABLE 16

Comparison of Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
and Non-topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
Having Prominent and Non-Prominent
Fathers--Post-war Period

Fathers	Topmost Leaders	Non-topmost Leaders
Prominent	10.94	7.76
Non-prominent	89.06	92.24
Total	100.00	100.00
N	64	322
t = .7608 df = 384		n.s.

In the pre-war period, the difference between proportions of topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers was significant beyond the .0005 level; in contrast, in the post-war period, the difference was not significant.¹⁶

¹⁶Since it was not the primary purpose to investigate the difference between levels of elite positions, the topmost Zaibatsu leaders in the post-war period were not selected for that investigation; they were the subjects who were selected for the primary purpose--a comparative investigation of Zaibatsu leaders in the pre-war and post-war periods. In the pre-war period, however, all topmost Zaibatsu leaders were included.

Finally, for both periods, a comparison was made between cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders. A hypothesis relevant to this finding was not explicitly made at the outset of the study. However, before the data were examined, it was considered that their comparison was implicit in the theoretical background of the study (p.14). Thus, the hypothesis that the proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers would be greater than the counterpart of Zaibatsu leaders was tested using directional criterion. Therefore, one-tailed test of t was applied. Tables 17 and 18 show the results.

TABLE 17

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders Having Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers - Pre-war Period

Fathers	Cabinet Ministers	Zaibatsu Leaders
Prominent	32.73	21.14
Non-prominent	67.27	78.86
Total	100.00	100.00
N	275	175

$t = 2.7661$ $df = 448$ $p < .005$

TABLE 18

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders Having Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers--Post-war Period

Fathers	Cabinet Ministers	Zaibatsu Leaders
Prominent	12.19	8.29
Non-prominent	87.81	91.71
Total	100.00	100.00
N	279	386

$t = 1.6183$

$df = 663$

n.s.

In the pre-war period, the difference between the proportions of prominent fathers for both cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders was statistically significant beyond the .005 level; cabinet ministers had a greater proportion of prominent fathers than did Zaibatsu leaders. In the post-war period, however, the difference between the two elite groups was not significant.

To summarize: (1) A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers was found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period. (2) A greater proportion of topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers was found in the pre-war period than in the post-war

period. (3) The difference between the proportions of prominent fathers for topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders was statistically significant in the pre-war period, but was not significant in the post-war period. (4) The difference between the proportions of prominent fathers for cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders was statistically significant in the pre-war period, but was not significant in the post-war period.

Hypothesis 5

A greater proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

"Prominent" as defined in this study refers to the upper social background of fathers-in-law. In connection with keibatsu (cliques based upon marital ties), prominent fathers-in-law may be considered an ascription factor of elites.

It was predicted that in the post-war period the proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law would decrease. The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) a comparison was made for both periods of the number of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law; (2) a second analysis was made after deletion of the

nineteen cabinet ministers who served in both periods.

Table 19 shows the results of a t test of the significance of the difference between the proportions of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law in both periods.

TABLE 19

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers Having Prominent
and Non-prominent Fathers-in-law--
by Time Period

Fathers-in-law	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	37.09	20.79
Non-prominent	62.91	79.21
Total	100.00	100.00
N	275	279
$t = 4.2973$	$df = 552$	$p < .0005$

The difference between the proportions of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law for the two periods was statistically significant beyond the .0005 level; the proportion of cabinet ministers having

prominent fathers-in-law was greater in the pre-war period than in the post-war period. Thus, Hypothesis 5 was confirmed.

Hypothesis 5 was again tested after deletion of the nineteen cabinet ministers who served during both periods. Table 20 shows the results.

TABLE 20

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers Serving During
Either Period (not Both) Having Prominent
and Non-prominent Fathers-in-law--
by Time Period

Fathers- in-law	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	36.72	19.23
Non-prominent	63.28	80.77
Total	100.00	100.00
N	256	260
$t = 4.5083$	$df = 514$	$p < .0005$

The difference, in both periods, between the proportions of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law was statistically significant beyond the .0005 level. Thus, Hypothesis 5 was again confirmed.

Hypothesis 6

A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

It was predicted that there would be a significant decrease in the post-war period of the proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law. The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) a comparison was made between the proportions of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law in the two periods; (2) a comparison was made between the proportions of topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law in the two periods; (3) a comparison was made between the proportions of topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law in the two periods; (4) a comparison was made between the proportions of Zaibatsu leaders and cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law in the two periods.

Table 21 shows the results of a t test of the significance of the difference between the proportions of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law in the two periods.

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TABLE 21

Comparison of Zaibatsu Leaders Having
Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers-
in-law--by Time Period

Fathers- in-law	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	29.71	15.75
Non-prominent	70.29	84.25
Total	100.00	100.00
N	175	386
$t = 3.5607$	$df = 559$	$p < .0005$

The difference between the proportions in the two periods was statistically significant beyond the .0005 level. Thus, Hypothesis 6 was confirmed.

There was a significant decrease in the proportion of topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law in the post-war period. The difference between the proportions for the both periods was tested and a t value of 3.2225 was obtained; thus, Hypothesis 6 was also confirmed beyond the .005 level of significance. See Table 22.

TABLE 22

Comparison of Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders Having
 Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers-in-law
 --by Time Period

Fathers- in-law	Pre-war Period	Post-war Period
Prominent	42.50	18.75
Non-prominent	57.50	81.25
Total	100.00	100.00
N	80	64
$t = 3.2225$ $df = 142$ $p < .005$		

In addition, for both periods, the difference between the proportions of topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law was investigated. Tables 23 and 24 show the results of the t tests of the significance of the difference between proportions.

TABLE 23

Comparison of Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
and Non-topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
Having Prominent and Non-
prominent Fathers-in-law--
Pre-war Period

Fathers- in-law	Topmost Leaders	Non-topmost Leaders
Prominent	42.50	18.95
Non-prominent	57.50	81.05
Total	100.00	100.00
N	80	95

$t = 3.4480$ $df = 173$ $p < .0005$

TABLE 24

Comparison of Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
and Non-topmost Zaibatsu Leaders
Having Prominent and Non-
prominent Fathers-in-law--
Post-war Period

Fathers- in-law	Topmost Leaders	Non-topmost Leaders
Prominent	18.75	15.22
Non-prominent	81.25	84.78
Total	100.00	100.00
N	64	322

$t = .6003$ $df = 384$ n.s.

In the pre-war period, the difference between the proportions of topmost Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law was statistically significant, but in the post-war period the difference was not significant.

Finally, the difference in the proportions of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law was investigated. A hypothesis relevant to this finding was not explicitly made at the outset of the study. However, their comparison was implicit in the theoretical background of the study (p.14). That is, theoretically cabinet ministers would have a higher level of particularism than Zaibatsu leaders. Particularism in terms of fathers-in-law would be evidenced in keibatsu (cliques based upon marital ties). If keibatsu is more influential in the case of cabinet ministers than in the case of Zaibatsu leaders, the former would have more prominent fathers-in-law than the latter. Thus, the following hypothesis was derived and tested: the proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law will be greater than the counterpart of Zaibatsu leaders. Since the above hypothesis was tested using a directional criterion, one-tailed test of t was applied. See Tables 25 and 26.

TABLE 25

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders Having Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers-in-law --Pre-war Period

Fathers-in-law	Cabinet Ministers	Zaibatsu Leaders
Prominent	37.09	29.71
Non-prominent	62.91	70.29
Total	100.00	100.00
N	275	175
$t = 1.6779$	$df = 448$	$p < .05$

TABLE 26

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders Having Prominent and Non-prominent Fathers-in-law --Post-war Period

Fathers-in-law	Cabinet Ministers	Zaibatsu Leaders
Prominent	20.79	15.75
Non-prominent	79.21	84.25
Total	100.00	100.00
N	279	386
$t = 1.6471$	$df = 663$	$p < .05$

On the basis of one-tailed tests, t values for both periods were statistically significant.

To summarize: (1) A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law was found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period; thus, Hypothesis 6 was confirmed. (2) A greater proportion of top-most Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law was found in the pre-war period. (3) In the pre-war period, the difference between the proportions of top-most Zaibatsu leaders and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law was statistically significant, but in the post-war period the difference was not significant. (4) The differences between the proportions of both cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law were statistically significant in the two periods.

Hypothesis 7

A positive relationship will be found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period and the Higher Education Background Level of cabinet ministers.

Hypothesis 7 was concerned with the increase in achievement as a factor in elite status. As individual competence became a basic requirement for elite positions, the nature of a person's higher education background would

affect the acquisition of an elite position. On the basis of this assumption, it was predicted that there would be a greater emphasis upon achievement in the post-war period than in the pre-war period; thus, there would be a greater proportion of cabinet ministers with university background in the post-war period than in the pre-war period.

According to Passin's ranking of Japanese universities in the pre-war period (1965b), institutions of higher education were broken down into two categories: (1) the prestigious university and (2) the non-prestigious university. It was predicted that, in the post-war period, there would be a greater proportion of cabinet ministers with prestigious university background.

The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) a comparison of cabinet ministers was made for both periods between Higher Education Background Level; (2) the same analysis was conducted after deleting the nineteen cabinet ministers who served during both periods; (3) a comparison was made for both periods between cabinet ministers as to the nature, prestigious or non-prestigious, of their university background.

Table 27 shows the comparison of cabinet ministers for both periods as to Higher Education Background Level.

TABLE 27

Relationship between Time Period and
Higher Education Background Level
for Cabinet Ministers

Higher Education Background Level	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Prestigious University	37.10	53.07
Non-prestigious University	16.00	24.37
Non-university	46.90	22.56
Total	100.00	100.00
N	275	279

$$\chi^2 = 36.2673 \quad df = 2 \quad p < .001$$

For both time periods, a Chi Square test was applied to the distribution of the Higher Education Background Level of cabinet ministers, and a value of 36.2673 was obtained. Thus, Hypothesis 7 was confirmed beyond the .001 level of significance.

The same analysis was made after deleting the nineteen ministers who served during both periods. The hypothesis was still confirmed beyond the .001 level of significance. See Table 28.

TABLE 28

Relationship between Time Period and Higher Education Background Level for Cabinet Ministers Serving During Either Period (not Both)

Higher Education Background Level	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Prestigious University	34.77	51.92
Non-prestigious University	16.41	25.38
Non-university	48.82	22.70
Total	100.00	100.00
N	256	260
$\chi^2 = 38.8629$ $df = 2$ $p < .001$		

The high statistical significance obtained in the analysis might be due to the decreased number of cabinet ministers with non-university background. Thus, the relationship between time period and nature of university background (prestigious compared to non-prestigious) was analyzed. Table 29 shows the results.

TABLE 29

Relationship between Time Period
and University Background for
Cabinet Ministers

University Background	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Prestigious University	69.86	68.52
Non-prestigious University	30.14	31.48
Total	100.00	100.00
N	146	216
$\chi^2 = .0242$ df = 1 n.s.		

The number of cabinet ministers with prestigious university background was almost identical between the two periods. A Chi Square test was applied to the difference between the proportions of cabinet ministers with prestigious university background for the two periods and a value of .0242 was obtained. Thus, the difference was not significant.

Hypothesis 8

A positive relationship will be found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period and the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders.

As in the case of cabinet ministers, a positive relationship was predicted between time period and the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders. The analysis was conducted as follows: (1) a comparison of Higher Education Background Level was made between the number of Zaibatsu leaders in the two periods; (2) a comparison of the Higher Education Background Level of topmost Zaibatsu leaders was made for both periods; (3) a comparison was made between the number of Zaibatsu leaders in the two periods by prestigious and non-prestigious university backgrounds; (4) a comparison was made of the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders and cabinet ministers.

Table 30 shows the relationship between time period and the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders.

TABLE 30
Relationship between Time Period and
Higher Education Background Level
for Zaibatsu Leaders

Higher Education Background Level	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Prestigious University	34.86	52.59
Non-prestigious University	5.14	20.98
Non-university	60.00	26.43
Total	100.00	100.00
N	175	386
$\chi^2 = 63.6689$	df = 2	p < .001

A Chi Square test was applied to the distribution of the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders for both periods, and a value of 63.6689 was obtained. Thus, Hypothesis 8 was confirmed beyond the .001 level of significance.

The hypothesis was also confirmed in the case of topmost Zaibatsu leaders. See Table 31.

TABLE 31

Relationship between Time Period and
Higher Education Background Level
for Topmost Zaibatsu Leaders

Higher Education Background Level	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Prestigious University	40.00	56.25
Non-prestigious University	6.25	23.44
Non-university	53.75	20.31
Total	100.00	100.00
N	80	64

$\chi^2 = 26.9387$ $df = 2$ $p < .001$

The most conspicuous change between the time periods was at the non-university level insofar as the Higher Education Background Levels are concerned; the high statistical significance of the Chi Square test may be

due to this change. Thus, the relationship between time period and the university background of Zaibatsu leaders was investigated. Table 32 shows the results.

TABLE 32

Relationship between Time Period
and University Background for
Zaibatsu Leaders

University Background	Time Period	
	Pre-war	Post-war
Prestigious University	87.14	71.48
Non-prestigious University	12.86	28.52
Total	100.00	100.00
N	70	284
$\chi^2 = 6.0890$ $df = 1$ $p < .02$		

Unexpectedly, the proportion of Zaibatsu leaders from the prestigious universities decreased in the post-war period. A Chi Square of 6.0890 showed that the decrease was statistically significant at the .02 level.

Finally, cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders showed a slight difference in the degree of relationship between time period and the Higher Education Background Level. The coefficient of contingency (C) was .26 for

the former, and .32 for the latter. In order to ascertain whether the difference between these relationships was significant, product moment correlations were obtained rather than contingency coefficients so that the significance of the difference between correlations could be inspected.¹⁷ The results are shown in Table 33 below.

TABLE 33

Comparison of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders by Correlations between Time Period and Higher Education Background Level

Elite Group	N	r	z_r	$\frac{1}{N - 3}$
Cabinet Ministers	554	.23	.23	.0018
Zaibatsu Leaders	561	.27	.28	.0018
Difference = .05 Sum = .0036				

$$S_{z_1 - z_2} = \sqrt{.0036} = .06 \quad t = \frac{.05}{.06} = .8333 \quad df=00 \quad n.s.$$

¹⁷In order to obtain the correlation between time period and the Higher Education Background Level, scores were assigned to each variable as follows: pre-war period = 1, post-period = 2; non-university background = 1, non-prestigious university background = 2, prestigious university background = 3.

The product moment correlations were .23 for cabinet ministers and .27 for Zaibatsu leaders. The correlations were transformed into z scores and a t test was computed to determine the significance of the difference between the two z scores. A t value of .8333 shows no significant difference between the two z scores.

To summarize: (1) A positive relationship was found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period and the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders; thus, Hypothesis 8 was confirmed beyond the .001 level of significance. (2) Hypothesis 8 was also tested for the topmost position of Zaibatsu leaders and was confirmed beyond the .001 level of significance. (3) Unexpectedly, the number of Zaibatsu leaders with prestigious university background decreased significantly between the two periods.

Discussion

1. Changes in Social and Educational Characteristics of Cabinet Ministers

The result of the test of Hypothesis 1 shows that for the two periods there was a significant difference in prefectural backgrounds of cabinet ministers. Since the "favored" prefectures were considered to be a breeding ground of hanbatsu (fief clicques), this finding indicates

that particularism based upon prefectural origins declined in the post-war period. Tables 4 and 9 indicate that prefectural backgrounds of cabinet ministers started to change in the pre-war period, which may mean that hanbatsu started to decline in the pre-war period.

Decreases in the number of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers and fathers-in-law may be indicative of the effects of ascription on elite positions, which also decreased. Moreover, decreases in the number of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law may indicate that the effects of particularism based upon keibatsu (cliques based upon marital ties) declined for the ministers in the post-war period. It should be noted, however, that the findings are limited to the ministers with upper social background; the changes are not clear for the ministers with middle or lower social backgrounds.

Increases in the number of cabinet ministers with university background indicate a greater emphasis on achievement as a factor in elite status. Thus, the post-war cabinet ministers appear to be more achievement oriented than the pre-war ministers. However, the finding also shows that for the two periods there was no significant change in the ministers with prestigious university background. Therefore, it appears that, insofar as elite recruitment is concerned, stratification of universities has not changed between the two periods.

2. Changes in Social and Educational Characteristics of Zaibatsu Leaders

The results indicate that there were changes in the social and educational characteristics of Zaibatsu leaders. As in the case of cabinet ministers, the findings indicate that the general trend of changes occurred from the particularistic-ascription to the universalistic-achievement pattern. For Zaibatsu leaders, the above direction was confirmed by three comparisons: (1) pre-war and post-war Zaibatsu leaders, (2) pre-war and post-war topmost Zaibatsu leaders, and (3) topmost and non-topmost Zaibatsu leaders.

Although there was a decrease in the number of Zaibatsu leaders with prominent parental background, there was an increase in the number of the leaders with university background. This suggests that there was a greater emphasis on achievement for leaders in the post-war period than for those in the pre-war period. Unexpectedly, however, there was a decrease in the number of Zaibatsu leaders with prestigious university background. The implications of this result are not clear. Further analysis may reveal whether this result contradicts the expected direction in this investigation.

3. Relative Changes in Social and Educational Characteristics of Cabinet Ministers as Compared to Those of Zaibatsu Leaders

On the basis of theories about functional sub-systems of the society and functional elites, differences between

the characteristics of political and business elites were predicted. The findings seem to support the theoretical perspective. That is, when compared to Zaibatsu leaders, cabinet ministers were found to be more particularistic-ascription oriented. Further, it was found that both elite groups, as expected, did not differ in achievement as evidenced in the Higher Education Background Levels.

On the other hand, further investigation raises some questions regarding the theories. It was found that the differences in the characteristics of both elite groups were smaller in the post-war period. Thus, it would appear that as the emphasis shifts to a universalistic-achievement orientation, the differences in the characteristics of elites tend to decrease. Nevertheless, the findings are limited to particular characteristics of elites; possibly other aspects (e.g., attitudes) of political and business elites might show variations in value orientations.

CHAPTER V

Additional Findings

In the previous chapter, the results of the basic data analysis were presented and discussed. The broad changes in social and educational backgrounds of the cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders recruited during the pre-World War II as compared to those recruited during the post-World War II period were in the expected direction. As the general trend, therefore, the results confirm the theoretical perspective of this investigation. Nevertheless, it was reasoned that further insights might be revealed by studying changes in the social and educational backgrounds of these two elite groups at shorter intervals within each of the two broad periods used in the basic analysis. Specifically, one might expect to find very rapid changes during the post-World War II period in the sources of recruitment of political and business elites due to American democratization of the Japanese social structure. The results of this more specific, trend analysis are presented in this chapter.

1. Prefectural Backgrounds of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders: Trends during Pre-World War II and Post-World War II Japan

The data for cabinet ministers by every fifth cabinet in the two periods show a gradual decrease in the number of ministers from the "favored" prefectures, with the great change occurring between the second Kato cabinet (1925-1926) and the Inukai cabinet (1931-1932). During the war period (1937-1945), there was a slight increase, but the numbers continued to diminish.

The great change in the number of cabinet ministers between the Kato and Inukai cabinets may indicate that hanbatsu (or particularism based upon the prefectural origins) had already begun to decline before the end of the war. For this reason, the researcher investigated cabinet ministers between the Kato and Inukai cabinets.

TABLE 34

Changes in the Number of Cabinet Ministers
from Favored Prefectures Between the Kato
and Inukai Cabinets

Cabinet	Prime Minister	Year	Percentage	N
26	Wakatsuki (1st)	1926-1927	28.57	14
27	Tanaka	1927-1929	14.28	14
28	Hamaguchi	1929-1931	18.75	16
29	Wakatsuki (2nd)	1931-1931	15.38	13

As demonstrated in Table 34, there was a sharp drop with the Tanaka cabinet. This might be related to the first general election in which there was universal manhood suffrage (1928). The Universal (Manhood) Suffrage Law was passed in 1925 as a result of the Taisho democracy movement which was characterized by resistance to hanbatsu (Ishida, 1968, p. 305). Thus, hanbatsu actually started to decline before World War II.

The decline of hanbatsu was also evident in the case of cabinet ministers with military careers. In the pre-war period, the number of military ministers from the "favored" prefectures was 40.63 per cent; up to the first Wakatsuki cabinet (1926) the number was 72.00 per cent, and after the Tanaka cabinet (1927) it decreased to 20.51 per cent.

From the above figures, the strong hanbatsu effect upon military ministers is evident in the first half of the pre-war period. Of the four "favored" prefectures, Yamaguchi and Kagoshima were most influential. Gunbatsu (military cliques) stemmed from these two prefectures. In the army, Ōyama Masujiro and Yamagata Aritomo from Yamaguchi (formerly Chōshū) were the founders of chōshūbatsu (military cliques based upon Chōshū leaders). Saigō Takamori from Kagoshima (formerly Satsuma) was the founder of satsumabatsu (military cliques based upon Satsuma leaders). In the navy, Saigō Tsugumichi was the founder of satsumabatsu (Tokinoya, 1959, Appendix).

Although military ministers from the "favored" prefectures decreased after the Tanaka cabinet, the gunbatsu was expanded by coopting the members from other prefectures. Tojō Hideki, general and prime minister in the war period, belonged to the chōshūbatsu in the army but came from Tokyo; Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku belonged to the satsumabatsu but came from Niigata prefecture. Of course, the gunbatsu was destroyed entirely as a result of the defeat in the war.

Although no relationship was expected between prefecture of origin and time period for Zaibatsu leaders, a statistically significant relationship (.14), albeit weak, was found at the .005 level (Table 5). One explanation might be that the following Zaibatsu leaders from the "favored" prefectures had compensating influence: Iwasaki Yataro, founder of the Mitsubishi Concern, Aikawa Yoshisuke, founder of the Nissan Concern, and Kuhara Fusanosuke, founder of the Kuhara Industry.

2. Parental Background of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders: Trends during Pre-World War II and Post-World War II Japan

Changes in the parental background of the two elite groups were investigated at different points in time during the two periods with two issues in mind: (1) whether the changes occurred in the predicted direction (e.g., from the particularistic-ascription to the universalistic-achievement orientations) throughout the two periods, and

(2) whether the great changes occurred after World War II.

The data for every fifth cabinet in the two periods show a gradual decrease in the number of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers throughout the two periods, with the great change occurring between the Shidehara cabinet (1945-1946) and the third Yoshida cabinet (1949-1952). For instance, the percentages were 23.80 for the former, and 7.96 for the latter. Since the Shidehara cabinet was formed in the transitional period after the war, its composition may have reflected the pre-war characteristics of cabinet ministers. Thus, a great decrease after the Shidehara cabinet may be accompanied by a result of the war.

However, the comparison between prominent fathers and prominent fathers-in-law shows that changes did not follow accordingly. The number of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law had increased up to the second Kato cabinet (1925-1926), and then started to decrease. In this instance, there was no clear indication of the effects of World War II.

Zaibatsu leaders were also investigated at six points in time: 1922, 1929, 1937, 1945, 1955, and 1966. As in the case of cabinet ministers, there was a gradual decrease in status background, the greatest change occurring in the leaders of 1955. For the leaders of 1945 the percentages of prominent fathers and prominent fathers-in-

law were 7.81 and 34.25, respectively, whereas for the leaders of 1955 the numbers decreased to 3.92 and 15.69, respectively.

Further, changes in the upper class background of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders were investigated. The upper class refers to kozoku (the imperial family and its relatives), kazoku (feudal lords, court nobles, and other distinguished individuals), and shizoku (former samurai). Of the three, the shizoku had the greatest number in elite positions. The data indicate a decline in the recruitment of elites from the upper class even in the pre-war period. For instance, the percentages of cabinet ministers from the upper class were 100.00 for the first Ito cabinet (1885) and then started to decrease to 35.71 for the Inukai cabinet (1931-1932). The exceptions were found for the ministers of the third Katsura cabinet (1912-1913) and the first Konoe cabinet (1937-1939). The percentages were 100.00 for the former, and 66.67 for the latter.

Decreases were also found for Zaibatsu leaders from the upper class. The percentages were 52.50, 43.40, 52.54, and 30.14, respectively, for Zaibatsu leaders of 1922, 1929, 1937, and 1945. As in the case of cabinet ministers, the exception was found for the leaders of 1937--those in the war period. Since biographical sources

in the post-war period do not describe class distinctions as mentioned above, the class origins of the two elite groups in the post-war period are not clear.

3. Educational Background of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders: Trends during Pre-World War II and Post-World War II Japan

Biographical sources in Japan describe in detail the educational background of listed persons: the last school or university attended, academic field of study, year of graduation, study in foreign countries, and examination passed (especially the higher civil service examination). Further, biographical data include schools or universities attended by their wives, children, and brothers. The detailed description is due to the strong emphasis upon academic background in Japanese society. Indeed, today education seems to be the most important single factor in evaluating a person's status.

Opportunity for education, in the most parts of the world, tends to be affected by one's social status. In Japan, however, the educational system was centralized from the outset by the government, and the government founded universities where able students even from the lowest social backgrounds could study with minimal expense.

The School Ordinance of 1872 eliminated the status discrimination present in the feudal system; it also

provided for equal opportunity in education (Monbushō, 1962, p. 35). This is evident in the composition of the student body at Tokyo University, which was founded in 1877 by the government; the name was changed to Tokyo Imperial University in 1886. It was the only university up to 1897 and today, it is still the most prestigious university in Japan.

The distribution of the status compositions of the student body at Tokyo University between 1878 and 1885 (Monbushō, 1962, p. 35) shows a gradual decrease in the number of students from court nobles and the samurai, and an increase in commoners. For instance, the percentages of the students from court nobles, the samurai, and commoners were .6, 73.9, and 25.5, respectively, in 1878; .0, 51.8, and 48.2, in 1881; .2, 50.2, and 49.6, in 1884.

If higher education allowed for crossing of status lines after the Restoration, the increasing emphasis upon education for elite positions may well become an established trend. From the data on cabinet ministers for every fifth cabinet in the two periods, three points bear mention: (1) the steady increase in university backgrounds of cabinet ministers, (2) no indication of the effects of World War II, and (3) the predominance of prestigious universities.

Cabinet ministers seem to come from predominantly prestigious universities (especially Tokyo Imperial

University). The career pattern seems to be (1) graduation from a prestigious university, (2) passing the higher civil service examination, and (3) appointment as a government bureaucrat. This suggests that the position of a higher civil servant provides a means of becoming a political elite.

The straight career pattern from the prestigious universities to elite positions seems to preclude the possibility of students from non-prestigious universities from reaching elite positions. This is especially true for students who have graduated from foreign universities.

The changes in educational background of Zaibatsu leaders were also investigated for six points in time. From the data, four matters are worth noting: (1) a steady increase in Zaibatsu leaders with university backgrounds, (2) no indication of effects from World War II, (3) the predominance of prestigious universities, and (4) a growing number of leaders, after 1955, from non-prestigious universities.

The fourth points needs further discussion. Of forty-one non-prestigious universities, Tokyo University of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi University) and Keiō University have produced an exceptionally large number of Zaibatsu leaders.¹⁸ As far as the recruitment of

¹⁸The predecessor of Tokyo University of Commerce, Tokyo Higher School of Commerce, was founded in 1885 by

business elites is concerned, they could be classified as "prestigious." In fact, in terms of the number of the graduates among Zaibatsu leaders, Tokyo University of Commerce (and its predecessor) ranked second, in the pre-war and post-war periods, to Tokyo Imperial University. Keio University (and its predecessor) ranked third in the pre-war period and fourth in the post-war period. If these two universities were counted as "prestigious," the number of Zaibatsu leaders who graduated from non-prestigious universities would drop to 2.61 per cent in 1955, and to 4.38 per cent in 1966. Elite positions in the post-war period were still closed to the graduates from non-prestigious universities.

A few graduates from foreign universities were found among Zaibatsu leaders. The percentages were: 10.00 in 1922, 7.55 in 1929, 1.70 in 1937, 1.37 in 1945, 1.31 in 1955, and .00 in 1966.

There were several explanations for the limited opportunities for those who did not attend prestigious universities: (1) the educational system in the pre-war period was designed to educate elites; (2) the vertical structure of Japanese society (Nakane, 1970) dictated the recruitment pattern, which was also vertical; (3) the

the government to train business leaders. The predecessor of Keio University, founded in 1858 by Fukuzawa Yukichi, was Keio Gijuku which was well known for training of business leaders. Both became universities with the School Ordinance of 1923.

gakubatsu (school cliques) "sponsored" elite recruitment.

The last two points illustrate particularism. Most discussions on gukubatsu (Bennet, Passin & Mcknight, 1958; Nagai, 1957; Shinbori, 1965, 1969) suggest as its indicator the disproportional number of elites from a certain university (e.g., Tokyo Imperial University) as compared with the number of the graduates from that university. But the proportion alone may not indicate the effects of gakubatsu; the disproportional number of elites from a certain university may reflect their competence (Asō, 1969, p. 87). Indeed, the universities which are notorious for gakubatsu tend to be the "prestigious" ones.

When cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders are compared, the number of both elite groups with university backgrounds are steadily increasing; changes in numbers have not been affected by the results of World War II; the main sources of educational backgrounds (school and university) have not changed in the pre-war and post-war periods; however, there is a slight difference in the sources of educational background for the two elite groups: Tokyo Imperial University is the main source for both elite groups, but Kyoto Imperial University is the second source for cabinet ministers and Tokyo University of Commerce is the second source for Zaibatsu leaders.

Another comparison of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders shows that the latter have a greater proportion of elites with prestigious university background. That is, in the pre-war period there was a significant difference between proportions of both elite groups with prestigious university background; in the post-war period, however, the difference was not significant. Again, as in the cases of prefectural and parental backgrounds, the difference in the educational characteristics of the two elite groups decreased in the post-war period.

A decrease in their differences also confirmed the findings in the previous chapter: for both elite groups there was a positive relationship between time period and the Higher Education Background Level; further, it was found that there was no significant difference in the relationships between the two groups. The research suggests that while upper social background had declined as a criterion of elite status, higher education background had increased; indeed, it seemed to be the most important determinant of the characteristics of both elite groups in the post-war period.

Increases in higher education background of these elites indicate sociologically important aspects of higher education. As higher education is demanded for elite positions, it becomes a means of social stratification. Thus, university graduates have more opportunities to

reach elite positions than high school graduates. With growing numbers of universities and students, however, stratification of higher education itself becomes an important factor (e.g., Tokyo Imperial Universities compared to other imperial universities; imperial universities compared to non-imperial universities; national universities compared to private universities). This is evidenced in university backgrounds of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders. The findings show that though the number of elites with higher education background increased, the university backgrounds themselves were limited and have not changed between the two periods. Since access to prestigious universities is based upon educational achievement or meritocratic competition, stratification of education and recruitment of elites on the basis of different university background can serve as a vehicle for increasing possibility for upward mobility.

4. Pre-elite Occupational Statuses of Cabinet Ministers and Zaibatsu Leaders: Trends during Pre-World War II and Post-World War II Japan

Cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders were compared elsewhere in terms of their social origins and educational backgrounds. At this point, the comparisons will be limited to their pre-elite occupations, the occupations prior to the elite status.

There were no major changes in the career patterns of Zaibatsu leaders between the pre-war and post-war periods. Graduating from universities and business schools, they were employed at the companies and eventually were recruited to elite positions. Except for three military officers who were among the Zaibatsu leaders of 1945, no persons from other professions were recruited as Zaibatsu leaders.

The great change in the composition of elites between the two periods was found for cabinet ministers. In the pre-war period, they were recruited from the House of Peers, the House of Representatives, higher civil servants, and military officers. In the post-war period, they were recruited largely from the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors.

In the pre-war period, the political parties were so weak that cabinet ministers were recruited from power groups who were favored by the Emperor. For instance, the House of Peers, one of the main sources for the recruitment of cabinet ministers, was composed of kozoku, kazoku, the high tax payers, and the Imperial nominees.

In the post-war period, cabinet ministers were recruited from the members of both Houses, who were elected by the people. Today the power balance among factions in the majority party seems to be the main factor in recruitment (Thayer, 1969, p. 195).

Further, personnel interchange between the government and the Zaibatsu companies was conspicuous in the pre-war period. Kato Takaaki, prime minister in 1924 and 1925, and Shidehara Kijuro, minister of Foreign Affairs in 1924 and prime minister in 1945, were sons-in-law of the Mitsubishi House; Takahashi Korekiyo, prime minister in 1924, Yuki Toyotaro, Finance minister in 1937, Ogura Masatsune, Finance minister in 1941, Fujiyama Ginjiro and Ikeda Nariakira, ministers of Commerce and Industry in 1938 and 1940, respectively, were either advisors, or topmost leaders of the Yasuda, Sumitomo, or Mitsui Zaibatsu. Mills' definition of the power elite (1956, p. 18) perhaps best describes the elites in the pre-war period.

As a result of the war, the above power structure was destroyed. This is evident in the composition of cabinet ministers; today, cabinet ministers are professional politicians. The political career, as measured by the number of terms in the Diet, appears to be a major criterion for their recruitment (Thayer, 1969, p. 191).

Finally, between the two periods there was a drastic change in the composition of cabinet ministers with military backgrounds. After Japan's surrender, the first retaliatory measure of the Allied Forces was to destroy Japanese militarism; this included the military forces and military leaders. The new Constitution of Japan

(1947) renounced war as a means to settle international conflicts and abolished the army, navy, and air force. Further, the new Constitution prohibited the nomination of military officers to serve as cabinet ministers. Thus, except for two military ministers--Yonai Mitsumasa and Shimomura Sadamu--in the Higashikuni and Shidehara cabinets, which were formed in the transitional period after the war, there were no cabinet ministers with military backgrounds in the post-war period. Therefore, the two periods cannot be compared; instead, the discussion will focus on changes in the characteristics of the military ministers in the pre-war period.

For several of the following reasons, military ministers or leaders warrant discussion: (1) since the Meiji Restoration was a result of a power struggle within the samurai class, a large number of the new leaders were military men; (2) with a national slogan such as fukoku kyohei (a rich nation and strong army) Japan's modernization was accompanied by militarism; (3) the army and navy was a source for national elites in the early part of the modernization period (Hackett, 1968, p. 71), and the military forces provided a channel of upward mobility for the lower classes (Cole, 1956, pp. 30-43; Ike, 1968, p. 201); (4) as Ike points out, the major wars fought in Japan were instrumental in its modernization (1968, p. 189); (5) of the twenty-nine prime ministers in the pre-war

period, fifteen (51.72 per cent) were military officers.

It is evident that military leaders played an important role in Japanese politics. Of the sixty-six military ministers in the pre-war period, six served as Chief of General Staff in the army, from a total of eighteen Chiefs of General Staff; eight served as Chief of Headquarters in the navy, from a total of nineteen in the pre-war period. Thus, though limited in number, the military ministers in the pre-war period were an influential group.

The following discussion will be limited to the sixty-six military ministers. According to the data for every fifth cabinet, military ministers dominated the cabinets in the early part of the Meiji era and in the pre-war Shōwa--the pre-war period, which suggests their degree of influence on governmental decision-making. The military ministers in the two periods mentioned above differed in the following characteristics: the former, those from the early Meiji era, (1) predominantly came from the "favored" prefectures, (2) they had a large number of prominent fathers and fathers-in-law, and (3) they came from the samurai class.

In the pre-war period, 40.63 per cent of those military ministers came from the "favored" prefectures, and 75.76 per cent came from the samurai class; 17.19 per cent had prominent fathers and 35.94 per cent had

prominent fathers-in-law. Although most of the military ministers came from the samurai class, they appeared to have had low parental background.

Tsurumi (1970) suggests that in the army the universalistic criterion was paramount in recruitment and promotion (p. 90). Her argument seems to be correct if parental background alone is considered, and gunbatsu (military cliques) is ignored. Cole (1956, p. 34) and Ike (1968, p. 201) also contend that a large number of military officers were recruited from the farm population.

There is some speculation about the relationship between military plots, violence (especially in the 1930's), and class origin of military officers, i.e., young officers (Cole, 1956, p. 36, 38). One may argue that military officers striving for upward mobility directed their ambition, which was evidenced by their discontent, at the established order. If the "merit ideology" among the lower samurai in the Tokugawa period was the major, but latent, cause of the Restoration (Smith, 1967, p. 90), the same logic may be applied to the military officers with lower social background. Further, one may argue that the military officers' traditional value orientation--personal loyalty and primary group solidarity--was related to the army uprising (Cole, 1956, p. 36; Ike, 1968, pp. 189-202).

Cole (1956, p. 36) raises some questions regarding the foregoing view. He states that the "Young Officers" in the military uprising of the 1930's were sons of high military and naval officers, or came from the urban middle stratum.

Whatever the explanations, there is general agreement that the military forces provided a channel of upward mobility. Even in the pre-war period, the more industrialized Japan became, the more universalistic-achievement oriented the military forces became; in consequence, hanbatsu (fief cliques) became less influential, and military elites were recruited increasingly on the basis of the universalistic-achievement orientation.

Summary

In this chapter, changes in social and educational characteristics of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders were investigated at shorter intervals within each of the two broad periods used in the basic analysis. It was intended to investigate whether there were rapid changes in the characteristics of the two elite groups due to a result of World War II.

It was found that throughout the two periods the changes in the characteristics of both elite groups were relatively gradual in the expected direction. More

specifically, the findings were as follows: (1) the number of cabinet ministers from the "favored" prefectures started to decline before World War II, (2) the number of prominent fathers and fathers-in-law in both elite groups decreased gradually, with great changes occurring shortly after World War II, (3) though the data were limited to the pre-World War II period, the number of people in both elite groups who were from the upper class--noble and samurai--started to decline before World War II, (4) though there was a declining number of elites with an upper social background, there was an increase in the number of elites with university background.

Thus, the results confirmed the direction of the changes which was found in the previous chapter. However, it was not clear to what extent American democratization of Japanese society affected the changes in the characteristics of the two elite groups. There was a great change in the pre-elite occupational statuses of cabinet ministers due to a result of World War II, but the forces from outside may not have been effective to change the characteristics of elites (Montgomery, 1957). Rather, the change in social structure seems much steady and effective to determine elite structure.

CHAPTER VI

Summary, Conclusions, and Future Research

Summary

The purpose of this investigation was to explore changes in social and educational characteristics of the political and business elites in pre-war and post-war Japan. The study focused on the two major elite groups, cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders.

The major objectives of the analysis were:

1. To determine the extent to which sources of elite recruitment changed: (a) whether the social origins of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders differed in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods; (b) whether the educational backgrounds of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders differed in the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods.

2. To compare changes in the composition of the two elite groups: cabinet ministers with Zaibatsu leaders.

3. To assess whether the uncovered changes support Parsons' theories of social structure and Keller's theory

of functional elites.

The basic assumption was that social structure determines the formation and recruitment of elites. Thus, as social structure changes, there is an accompanying change in the characteristics of elites.

Social structure was characterized according to Parsons' (1951) pattern variables. On the basis of Dore's (1967) study of Japanese society, pre-World War II Japan, as opposed to post-World War II Japan, was described as more particularistic-ascription oriented and less universalistic-achievement oriented.

Elites, as defined in this study, are those leaders of a society who reflect the basic values of that society. Further, distinction was made in the value orientations of different types of elites as suggested by Parsons' (1953, 1954) and Keller's (1963) theories; political elites were characterized by such value orientations as particularism and achievement, whereas business elites were characterized by universalism and achievement value orientations.

With this theoretical background, the following hypotheses were derived:

1. The proportion of cabinet ministers from the "favored" prefectures will be found to be greater in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

2. The relationship between prefecture of origin (favored compared to unfavored) and time period (pre-war compared to post-war) will be greater in the case of cabinet ministers than in the case of Zaibatsu leaders.

3. A greater proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

4. A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

5. A greater proportion of cabinet ministers having prominent fathers-in-law will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

6. A greater proportion of Zaibatsu leaders having prominent fathers-in-law will be found in the pre-war period than in the post-war period.

7. A positive relationship will be found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period and the Higher Education Background Level of cabinet ministers.

8. A positive relationship will be found between the change from the pre-war to the post-war period and the Higher Education Background Level of Zaibatsu leaders.

The hypotheses in this study were derived from the assumption that the structure of Japanese society changed

in the pre-war and post-war periods, with the pre-World War II social structure characterized as more particularistic-ascription oriented and less universalistic-achievement oriented than the post-World War II social structure. Obviously, the above statement is a simplification because, realistically speaking, any society may not be described exactly by Parsons' pattern variables. Nevertheless, for purposes of directional emphasis, such description is valuable.

Given the restricted range of Parsons' pattern variables, the findings seem to show that between the two periods, the structure of Japanese society has changed. Naturally, this generalization bears further examinations. Possibly, particularism as evidenced in the prefectural origins may have ceased to exist, but it may still persist in gakubatsu (school cliques). Particularism as evidenced in various types of batsu is gradually declining because of the more recent emphasis upon universalism and achievement.

Achievement is not a new value enforced by the Japanese in the post-war period. As Bellah (1970) and Smith (1967) point out, achievement was a basic value even in Tokugawa Japan. However, achievement in the Tokugawa period was restricted in each status hierarchy. The Tokugawa feudalism was based upon four social hierarchies: shi (samurai), no (peasants), ko (artisans),

and shō (merchants), ranking legally and socially in that order. Achievement did not allow for mobility from one status line to another.

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1966), a distinguished leader in the modernization period of Japan, wrote in his autobiography about the hereditary rigidity in Tokugawa Japan. Recalling that his father had wanted him to be a priest, he comments:

Years later, when I came to understand better, I realized that this wish of my father's was a result of the feudal system of that time with the rigid law of inheritance: sons of high officials following their fathers in office, sons of foot-soldiers always becoming foot-soldiers, and those of the families in between having the same lot for centuries without change. For my father, there had been no hope or rising in society whatever effort he might make. But when he looked around, he saw that for me there was one possible road to advancement--the priesthood (p. 6).

Under such circumstances, achievement became a strong ideology in the Meiji Restoration of 1868. According to Smith (1967, p. 90), "merit ideology" was the chief impetus of the Restoration. The leaders' ideology was to indoctrinate children with such phrase as taishi (ambition) and risshin shusse (a rise in the world). Nevertheless, the merit ideology, in Smith's term, was obscured by the newly established status hierarchy.

After the Restoration, the feudal class system was replaced by a new class system: kōzoku (the imperial family

and its relatives), kazoku (feudal lords, court nobles, and other distinguished individuals), shizoku (former samurai), and heimin (commoners). The new class system was not as rigid as the feudal class system. In fact, in 1872 the government eliminated the legal distinction between shizoku and heimin. It should be noted, however, that those terms themselves officially remained until the end of World War II (Kubota, 1969, p. 54). Thus, through the pre-war period, achievement was circumscribed by the residues of the established status hierarchy from the Tokugawa period.

In the post-war period, the defeat in the war provided an opportunity to reform the status system: kōzoku power was limited; the number of allied landlords declined as a result of land reform; Zaibatsu families were less influential as a result of the dissolution of Zaibatsu; and above all, equality became an accepted ideology. Undoubtedly, the opportunities for achievement increased in the post-war period.

The subjects used in the study were cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders in the pre-war and post-war periods just reviewed. The former included all cabinet ministers except for vice-ministers. The pre-war period cabinet ministers were those who served between the first Ito cabinet (1885) and the Suzuki cabinet (1945); the post-war

period cabinet ministers were those who served between the Higashikuni cabinet (1945) and the second Sato cabinet (1967-1970). There were 275 cabinet ministers in the pre-war period, and 279 in the post-war period. They were all investigated.

The Zaibatsu leaders were top executives, such as chairmen, presidents, vice-presidents, senior directors, and junior directors of Zaibatsu companies--the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, and Yasuda. (The last--Yasuda was not included in the Zaibatsu companies in the post-war period because it was not reorganized as were the others.) The pre-war period Zaibatsu leaders were those of 1922, 1929, 1937, and 1945. They were the leaders before the dissolution of Zaibatsu and numbered 175. They were all investigated. The post-war period Zaibatsu leaders were those of 1955 and 1966. They numbered 306 and 508, respectively, of which fifty per cent, using a stratified random sample, were investigated.

Biographical materials were used for data sources. The data collected included class origins, if any, year of birth, birthplace, description of adoption, father's and father-in-law's names and occupation, wife's education, pre-elite occupation, changes in occupation and position, university attended, academic field of study at the university, and educational background in foreign countries.

The data were analyzed for each of the eight hypotheses. A t test of the significance of the difference between proportions was applied to hypotheses 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6; the tetrachoric correlations and a t test of the significance of the difference between the correlations were used to analyze hypothesis 2; a Chi Square test was used to analyze hypotheses 7 and 8.

In addition to testing the hypotheses, changes in social and educational characteristics of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders were investigated at shorter intervals within each of the two broad periods used in the basic analysis. It was reasoned that there might be very rapid changes during the post-war period in the sources of recruitment of the two elite groups due to American democratization of Japanese society.

Conclusions

Since all eight hypotheses were statistically significant in the expected direction, it may be concluded that the social and educational characteristics of elites in Japan have changed between the pre-World War II and post-World War II periods. That is, the pre-war period elites were more particularistic-ascription oriented and less universalistic-achievement oriented than the post-war period elites.

In comparing cabinet ministers with Zaibatsu leaders, it was found that the former were more particularistic-ascription oriented. However, differences in prefectural origin and parental background between the two elite groups decreased in the post-World War II period. It seems that as the emphasis shifts to a universalistic-achievement orientation, differences in the characteristics of elites decrease.

Thus, with regard to variations in the value orientations of functional elites, the structural-functional theory may not be germane to an industrial society. However, this theory appears to be useful for a comparative analysis of elite recruitment in different societies (e.g., developing vs. industrial societies) and at different points in time in a given society (e.g., pre-war vs. post-war Japanese society).

On the basis of trend analysis at shorter intervals within each of the two broad periods used in the basic analysis, this investigation revealed throughout the two periods relatively gradual changes in the characteristics of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders in the expected direction. Rapid changes were found in parental background of both elite groups shortly after World War II, but the degree to which American democratization of Japanese society affected the changes is not clear. It seems that the

change in social structure of Japanese society had major effects on the characteristics of the two elite groups in the post-war period.

In short, the changes in the characteristics of elites suggest a change in the structure of Japanese society between the pre-war and post-war periods. However, given the circumscribed scope of this study, the limited data sources, and the number of subjects studied, further research is necessary if generalizations are to be made about social change in post-World War II Japanese society.

Future Research in Related Areas

The findings of this study suggest research problems relative to the structural-functional approach in the study of elites. Although the results supported the theoretical perspective of this investigation, the sample was a limited one. Thus, the theory should be further tested by studying other goal attainment elites (e.g., members of the House of Representatives) and adaptive elites (e.g., military elites).

Additionally, other functional elites--integrative elites (e.g., priests) and pattern maintenance elites (e.g., artists) should be investigated. According to Parsons (1953, 1954) and Keller (1963), integrative

elites are characterized by such value orientations as particularism and ascription, and pattern maintenance elites by universalism and ascription. If the differences in the characteristics of these two elite groups can be demonstrated, the results will further confirm the structural-functional approach to the study of elites.

The findings in this study also suggest that differences in the characteristics of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders decreased in the post-war period. However, variations in the value orientations of the two elite groups should be examined attitudinally to determine whether, as suggested by Parsons (1953, 1954) and Keller (1963), political elites are characterized by diffuseness and affectivity, and business elites by specificity and neutrality. Certainly, this is an area that needs further study.

One of the important research problems related to this study is the investigation of the effects of post-war school reform on the formation and recruitment of future elites in Japan. The findings in this study show that university backgrounds of cabinet ministers and Zaibatsu leaders were limited and have not changed between the pre-war and post-war periods. This may be the result of the pre-war school system in which the subjects in this study were educated. Pre-war Japan adopted the multiple

track system which provided five tracks beyond the elementary school. Post-war Japan adopted a single track system as advised by the U.S. Education Mission (Anderson, 1959, pp. 46-47). As Anderson indicates, the single track system was recommended in order to provide equal educational opportunity. If there were effects of the post-war school system on the formation and recruitment of elites, these effects would be evidenced in social and educational characteristics of Japanese elites who were so educated.

Finally, methodological problems in the study of elites are worth noting. Biographical materials, although useful and, indeed, indispensable for studying subjects both dead and alive, do supply limited data. If data could be collected directly through interviews or questionnaires, albeit that the sample would be limited to a living sample whose cooperation might be difficult to obtain, the data might be more revealing.

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APPENDIX A

The Cabinets of the Japanese Government
in the Pre-war and Post-war Periods*

1. Cabinets in the Pre-war Period

Ito Cabinet (1885)	Kiyoura Cabinet (1924)
Kuroda Cabinet (1888)	Kato Cabinet (1924)
Yamagata Cabinet (1889)	2nd Kato Cabinet (1925)
Matsukata Cabinet (1891)	Wakatsuki Cabinet (1926)
2nd Ito Cabinet (1892)	Tanaka Cabinet (1927)
2nd Matsukata Cabinet (1896)	Hamaguchi Cabinet (1929)
3rd Ito Cabinet (1898)	2nd Wakatsuki Cabinet (1931)
Okuma Cabinet (1898)	Inukai Cabinet (1931)
2nd Yamagata Cabinet (1898)	Saito Cabinet (1932)
4th Ito Cabinet (1900)	Okada Cabinet (1934)
Katsura Cabinet (1901)	Hirota Cabinet (1936)
Saionji Cabinet (1906)	Hayashi Cabinet (1937)
2nd Katsura Cabinet (1908)	Konoe Cabinet (1937)
2nd Saionji Cabinet (1911)	Hiranuma Cabinet (1939)
3rd Katsura Cabinet (1912)	Abe Cabinet (1939)
Yamamoto Cabinet (1913)	Yonai Cabinet (1940)
2nd Okuma Cabinet (1914)	2nd Konoe Cabinet (1941)
Terauchi Cabinet (1916)	3rd Konoe Cabinet (1941)
Hara Cabinet (1918)	Tojo Cabinet (1941)
Takahashi Cabinet (1921)	Koiso Cabinet (1944)
Kato Cabinet (1922)	Suzuki Cabinet (1945)
2nd Yamamoto Cabinet (1923)	

2. Cabinets in the Post-war Period

Higashikuni Cabinet (1945)	3rd Hatoyama Cabinet (1955)
Shidehara Cabinet (1945)	Ishibashi Cabinet (1956)
Yoshida Cabinet (1946)	Kishi Cabinet (1956)
Katayama Cabinet (1947)	2nd Kishi Cabinet (1958)
Ashida Cabinet (1948)	Ikeda Cabinet (1960)
2nd Yoshida Cabinet (1948)	2nd Ikeda Cabinet (1960)
3rd Yoshida Cabinet (1949)	3rd Ikeda Cabinet (1963)
4th Yoshida Cabinet (1952)	Sato Cabinet (1964)
5th Yoshida Cabinet (1953)	2nd Sato Cabinet (1967 to 1970)
Hatoyama Cabinet (1954)	
2nd Hatoyama Cabinet (1955)	

*Sources: Asahi Shinbunsha, Asahi Nenkan (Asahi Yearbook). Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1963, 1971. The Rengō Press, Japan Biographical Encyclopedia and Who's Who, 3rd ed. Tokyo: The Rengō Press, 1965.

APPENDIX B

Zaibatsu Companies in the Pre-war
and Post-war Periods*

A. Pre-war Period

1. Zaibatsu companies in 1922 and 1929

a. Mitsubishi combines

Japan Mail Line
Mitsubishi Bank
Mitsubishi Mining
Tokyo Steel

c. Sumitomo combines

Hinode Life Insurance
Nihon Dyes Mfg.
Sumitomo Bank

b. Mitsui combines

Hokkaido Colliery &
Steamship
Mitsui Bank
Mitsui Trust
Oji Paper
Toyo Menka

d. Yasuda combines

Nihon Paper Ware Mfg.
Teikoku Hemp-dressing
Tokyo Building
Toyo Steamship
Yasuda Bank

2. Zaibatsu companies in 1937 and 1945

a. Mitsubishi combines

Holding Company
Japan Aluminium
Japan Steel Construction
Japan Optical
Meiji Life Insurance
Mitsubishi Bank
Mitsubishi Chemical
M. Chemical Machinery
Mitsubishi Electric
Mitsubishi Heavy Ind.

Mitsubishi Mining
Mitsubishi Oil
Mitsubishi Paper
Mitsubishi Real Estate
Mitsubishi Steamship
Mitsubishi Steel
Mitsubishi Trading
Mitsubishi Trust
Mitsubishi Warehouse
Tokyo Marine & Fire
Insurance.

*Sources: Masaru Tokinoya, ed., Nihon Kindaishi Jiten (The Dictionary of Modern History in Japan). Tokyo: Tokyo Keizai Shinbunsha, 1959. Eleanor M. Hadley, Antitrust in Japan. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970. Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute, Mitsui--Mitsubishi--Sumitomo: Present Status of the Former Zaibatsu Enterprises. Tokyo: Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute, 1955. The Oriental Economist, 1967, vol. 35.

b. Mitsui combines

Hokkaido Colliery & S.S.	Mitsui Trading
Holding Company	Mitsui Trust
Japan Flour Milling	Mitsui Warehouse
Japan Steel Works	Mitsui Wood Fabricating
Mitsui Agr. & Forestry	Mitsui Wood Shipbuilding
Mitsui Chemical	Sanki Engineering
Mitsui Fat & Chemical	Showa Aircraft
Mitsui Life Insurance	Taisho Marine & Fire Insurance
Mitsui Mining	Teikoku Bank
Mitsui Precision Mach.	Toyo Menka
Mitsui Real Estate	Toyo Rayon
Mitsui Shipping	
Mitsui Shipbuilding	

c. Sumitomo combines

Coop. Electric Power	Sumitomo Chemical
Holding Company	S. Communications
Japan Engineering	Sumitomo Electric Ind.
Nippon Chemical Ind.	Sumitomo Life Insurance
Osaka S. Marine	Sumitomo Machinery
Seika Mining	Sumitomo Metal Ind.
Sumitomo Aluminum	Sumitomo Trust
Sumitomo Bank	Sumitomo Warehouse

d. Yasuda combines

Holding Company	Yasuda Enterprise
Teikoku Seni	Yasuda Life Insurance
Tokyo Construction	Yasuda Marine
Toyo Steamship	Yasuda Trust
Yasuda Bank	Yasuda Warehouse

B. Post-war Period

I. Zaibatsu companies in 1955

a. Mitsubishi group

Asahi Glass	Mitsubishi Paper
Mitsubishi Bank	Mitsubishi Rayon
Mitsubishi Chemical Ind.	Mitsubishi Shipbuilding
M. Electric Mfg.	Mitsubishi Shipping
Mitsubishi Estate	Mitsubishi Shoji
Mitsubishi Heavy-Ind.	Mitsubishi Steel
Mitsubishi Metal	Mitsubishi Steel Mfg.
Mitsubishi Mining	Mitsubishi Trust
M. Nippon Heavy-Ind.	Mitsubishi Warehouse
Mitsubishi Oil	Tokio Marine & Fire Insurance

b. Mitsui group

Daiichi Bussan	Mitsui Steamship
Daiichi Trading	Mitsui Shipbuilding
Electro-chemical Ind.	Mitsui Trust
General Bussan	Mitsui Warehouse
Hokkaido Colliery & S.S.	Nippon Machinery
Mitsui Bank	Ocean Trading
Mitsui Bussan	Sanki Engineering
Mitsui Chemical Ind.	Showa Aircraft Ind.
Mitsui Mining	Taisho Marine & Fire Insurance
Mitsui Mining Smelting	Toyo Koatsu Ind.
Mitsui Precision Mach.	Toyo Menka
Mitsui Precision Mach.	Toyo Rayon
Mitsui Real Estate	

c. Sumitomo group

Nippon Electric	Sumitomo Electric Ind.
Nippon Sheet Glass	Sumitomo Machinery
Sumitomo Bank	S. Marine & Fire Insurance
Sumitomo Chemical	Sumitomo Metal Ind.
Sumitomo Coal Mining	Sumitomo Metal Mining
S. Mutual Life Insurance	Sumitomo Trust
Sumitomo Shoji	Sumitomo Warehouse

2. Zaibatsu companies in 1966

a. Mitsubishi group--Kinyō Kai (Friday Club)

Asahi Glass	Mitsubishi Mining
Kirin Brewery	Mitsubishi Oil
Meiji Mutual Life Ins.	Mitsubishi Paper Mills
Mitsubishi Bank	Mitsubishi Petrochemical
Mitsubishi Cement	Mitsubishi Rayon
Mitsubishi Chemical Ind.	Mitsubishi Shoji
Mitsubishi Chemical Mach.	Mitsubishi Steel Mfg.
Mitsubishi Edogawa Mining	Mitsubishi Trust
Mitsubishi Electric	Mitsubishi Warehouse
Mitsubishi Estate	Nippon Yusen
Mitsubishi Heavy-Ind.	Tokio Marine & Fire Ins.
Mitsubishi Metal Mining	

b. Mitsui group

(1) Nimoku Kau (2nd Thursday Club)

Hokkaido Colliery & S.S.	Mitsui Real Estate
Japan Steel Works	Mitsui Shipbuilding
Mitsui Bank	Mitsui Trust
Mitsui & Co.	Mitsui Warehouse
Mitsui Chemical Ind.	Sanki Engineering
Mitsui Mining	Taisho Marine & Fire Ins.
Mitsui Mining & Smelting	Toyo Koatsu
Mitsui Mutual Life Ins.	Toyo Rayon
Mitsui Petrochemical	

(2) Getsuyō Kai (Monday Club)

General Sekiyu	Mitsui O.S.K. Lines
Mitsui Construction	Mitsui Seiki
Nippon Flour Mills	Showa Aircraft Ind.
Mitsui-Miike Mach.	Toshoku
Mitsui Norin	Toyo Menka

c. Sumitomo group--Hakusui Kai (White Water Club)

Nippon Electric	Sumitomo Marine & Fire Ins.
Nippon Sheet Glass	Sumitomo Metal Ind.
Sumitomo Bank	Sumitomo Metal Mining
Sumitomo Cement	Sumitomo Life Ins.
Sumitomo Chemical	Sumitomo Real Estate
Sumitomo Coal Mining	Sumitomo Shoji
Sumitomo Electric Ind.	Sumitomo Trust
Sumitomo Machinery	Sumitomo Warehouse

APPENDIX C

Cabinet Ministers in the Pre-war and Post-war
Periods*

1. Pre-war Period

Abe Genki**	Daito Gitetsu
Abe Nobuyuki	Den Kenjiro**
Abo Kiyokatsu	Egi Kazuyuki
Adachi Kenzo	Egi Tasuku
Aikawa Katsuroku	Enomoto Takeaki
Akita Kiyoshi	Fujihara Ginjiro
Anami Korechika	Fujii Sanenobu
Ando Kisaburo	Fujimura Yoshiro
Aoki Kazuo	Fujisawa Ikunosuke
Aoki Shuzo	Godo Takuo
Arai Kentaro	Goto Fumio
Araki Sadao	Goto Keita
Arima Yoriyasu	Goto Shinpei
Arita Hachiro	Goto Shojiro
Baba Eiichi	Hachisuka Mochiaki

*Sources: Asahi Shinbunsha, Asahi Nenkan (Asahi Yearbook). Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1963, 1971. The Rengo Press, Japan Biographical Encyclopedia & Who's Who, 3rd ed. Tokyo: The Rengo Press, 1965. T.S. Keltie, ed., The Statesman's Year-Book. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910+.

**Throughout this study, Japanese names are written in the Japanese style, the last name first.

Hamaguchi Osachi	Hoshino Naoki
Hamao Arata	Hotta Masayasu
Hara Shujiro	Ichiki Otohiko
Hara Takashi	Ichiki Kitokuro
Hara Yoshimichi	Ijuin Hikokichi
Haseba Sumitaka	Ikeda Nariakira
Hashida Kunihiko	Ino hiroya
Hata Shunroku	Inoue Junnosuke
Hata Toyosuke	Inoue Kaoru
Hatano Takanao	Inoue Tadashiro
Hatoyama Ichiro	Inukai Tsuyoshi
Hatta Yoshiaki	Ishiguro Tadaatsu
Hayami Seiji	Ishii Kikujiro
Hayashi Kaoru	Ishimoto Shinroku
Hayashi Raisaburo	Ishiwata Sotaro
Hayashi Senjuro	Itagaki Seishiro
Hayashi Yuzo	Itagaki Taisuke
Hijikata Hisamoto	Ito Hirobumi
Hiranuma Kiichiro	Ito Miyoji
Hirao Hachisaburo	Iwamura Michiyo
Hirata Tosuke	Iwamura Michitoshi
Hirose Hisatada	Kabayama Sukenori
Hirose Toyosaku	Kamata Eikichi
Hirota Koki	Kaneko Kentaro
Hoshi Toru	Kanemitsu Tsuneo

Kataoka Naoharu	Koizumi Chikahiko
Kato Takaaki	Koizumi Matajiro
Kato Tomosaburo	Komatsu Kenjiro
Katsu Masanori	Komatsubara Eitaro
Katsura Taro	Komura Jutaro
Katsuta Kazue	Kono Kironaka
Kawada Isao	Kono Togama
Kawamura Takeji	Konoe Fumimaro
Kawarada Kakichi	Koyama Matsukichi
Kawasaki Takukichi	Kubota Yuzuru
Kaya Okinori	Kuhara Fusanosuke
Kazami Akira	Kuroda Kiyotaka
Kido Koichi	Kusunose Yukihiro
Kigoshi Yasutsuna	Machida Chuji
Kikuchi Dairoku	Maeda Toshisada
Kimura Naotatsu	Maeda Yonezo
Kishi Nobusuke	Makino Nobuaki
Kiyoura Keigo	Matsuda Genji
Kobashi Kazuta	Matsuda Masahisa
Kobayashi Ichizo	Matsui Keishiro
Kobayashi Seizo	Matsukata Masayoshi
Kobiyama Naoto	Matsumoto Joji
Kodama Gentaro	Matsumoto Itaru
Kodama Hideo	Matsuno Tsuruhei
Koiso Kuniaki	Matsuoka Yasutake

Matsuoka Yosuke	Nishi Tokujiro
Matsuura Shinjiro	Noda Utaro
Matsuzaka Hiromasa	Nomura Kichisaburo
Minami Hiroshi	Nomura Naokuni
Minami Jiro	Nomura Yasushi
Minoura Katsundo	Oasa Dadao
Mitsuchi Chuzo	Odachi Shigeo
Miyagi Chogoro	Ogawa Gotaro
Mizuno Rentaro	Ogawa Heikichi
Mochizuki Keisuke	Ogura Masatsune
Mori Arinori	Ohara Naoshi
Motoda Hajime	Oikawa Koshiro
Motono Ichiro	Oishi Masami
Murakami Kakuichi	Oka Ichinosuke
Murata Shozo	Okabe Nagamoto
Mutsu Munemitsu	Okabe Nagatage
Nagai Ryutaro	Okada Keisuke
Nagano Osami	Okada Ryohei
Nagata Hidejiro	Okada Tadahiko
Nakahashi Tokugoro	Okano Keijiro
Nakajima Chikuhei	Okazaki Kunisuke
Nakajima Kumakichi	Oki Enkichi
Nakakoji Ren	Oki Takato
Nakamura Kotaro	Okuda Yoshindo
Ninomiya Harushige	Okuma Shigenobu
Nire Kagenori	Ooka Ikuzo

Oshima Kenichi

Osumi Mineo

Ota Kozo

Otani Sonyu

Oura Kanetake

Oyama Iwao

Ozaki Yukio

Saigo Tsugumichi

Saionji Kinmochi

Saito Minoru

Sakai Tadamasa

Sakatani Yoshio

Sakonji Masazo

Sakurai Heigoro

Sakurauchi Yukio

Sanjo Saneyoshi

Sano Tsunetami

Sato Naotake

Sengoku Mitsugu

Senke Takatomi

Shibata Kamon

Shidehara Kijuro

Shigemitsu Mamoru

Shimada Shigetaro

Shimada Toshio

Shimomura Hiroshi

Shinagawa Yasujiro

Shiono Suehiko

Shirakawa Yoshinori

Shirane Sen-ichi

Soejima Tanemi

Sone Arasuke

Suematsu Kencho

Suetsugu Nobumasa

Sugiyama Gen

Suzuki Kantaro

Suzuki Kisaburo

Suzuki Teiichi

Takahashi Korekiyo

Takarabe Hyo

Takashima Tomonosuke

Takata Sanae

Taketomi Tokitoshi

Tanabe Harumichi

Tanake Fujimaro

Tanaka Giichi

Tanaka Ryuzo

Tani Masayuki

Tani Takeki

Tanomogi Keikichi

Tawara Magoichi

Terajima Ken

Terauchi Hisaichi	Yamagata Isaburo
Terauchi Masatake	Yamamoto Gonnohyoe
Togo Shigenori	Yamamoto Tatsuo
Tojo Hideki	Yamamoto Teijiro
Tokonami Takejiro	Yamanashi Hanzo
Toyoma Shoichi	Yamanouchi Kazutsugu
Toyoda Teijiro	Yamazaki Tatsunosuke
Tsushima Juichi	Yanagawa Heisuke
Uchida Nobuya	Yashiro Rokuro
Uchida Yasuya	Yasui Eiji
Uehara Yusaku	Yasui Toji
Ugaki Kazunari	Yokota Sennosuke
Ushio Keinosuke	Yonai Mitsumasa
Utsumi Tadakatsu	Yoshida Shigeru
Wakatsuki Reijiro	Yoshida Zengo
Watanabe Chifuyu	Yoshikawa Akimasa
Watanabe Kunitake	Yoshino Shinji
Yamada Akiyoshi	Yoshizawa Kenkichi
Yamada Nobumichi	Yuki Toyotaro
Yamagata Aritomo	Yuzawa Michio

2. Post-war Period

Abe Yoshishige	Akazawa Masamichi
Aichi Kiishi	Amano Teiyu
Akagi Munenori	Ando Masazumi
Akama Bunzo	Aoki Masashi

Aoki Takayoshi	Hashimoto Tomisaburo
Arafune Seijuro	Hatano Kanae
Araki Masuo	Hatoyama Ichiro
Arita Kiichi	Hayakawa Takashi
Ashida Hitoshi	Hayashi Heima
Ayabe Kentaro	Hayashi Joji
Baba Motoharu	Hayashiya Kamejiro
Bo Hideo	Higai Senzo
Chiba Saburo	Higashikuni Haruhiko
Endo Saburo	Hirai Taro
Esaki Masumi	Hirano Rikizo
Fujieda Sensuke	Hiratsuka Tsunejiro
Fujiyama Aiichiro	Hirokawa Kozen
Fukuda Hajime	Hitotsumatsu Sadayoshi
Fukuda Takeo	Honda Ichiro
Fukuda Tokuyasu	Hori Shigeru
Fukunaga Kenji	Horiki Kenzo
Funada Kyoji	Horikiri Zenjiro
Funada Naka	Hoshijima Niro
Furuhata Tokuya	Ichimada Hisato
Furui Yoshimi	Ide Ichitaro
Hanamura Shiro	Ikeda Hayato
Hara Kensaburo	Ikeda Masanosuke
Harada Ken	Imamatsu Jiro
Hasegawa Shiro	Inagaki Heitaro
Hashimoto Ryogo	Ino Hiroya

Ino Shigejiro	Kennoki Toshihiro
Inoue Tomoharu	Kimura Kozaemon
Inukai Takeru	Kimura Takeo
Ishibashi Tanzan	Kimura Tokutaro
Ishida Hirohide	Kimura Toshio
Ishiguro Takeshige	Kishi Nobusuke
Ishihara Kanichiro	Kitamura Tokutaro
Ishii Mitsujiro	Kiuchi Shiro
Iwamoto Nobuyuki	Kiyose Ichiro
Iwata Chuzo	Kobayashi Eizo
Izumiyama Sanroku	Kobayashi Ichizo
Kajima Morinosuke	Kobayashi Takeji
Kanamori Tokujiro	Kobiyama Naoto
Kanbayashiyama Eikichi	Kodaira Hisao
Kanda Hiroshi	Kodaki Akira
Kanno Wataro	Kogane Yoshiteru
Karasawa Toshiki	Kogure Budayu
Katayama Tetsu	Koike Shinzo
Kato Kanju	Koizumi Junya
Kato Ryogoro	Kojima Tetsuzo
Kawai Yoshinari	Kondo Tsuruyo
Kawamoto Toshio	Kono Ichiro
Kawamura Matsusuke	Kori Yuichi
Kawasaki Hideji	Kosaka Zentaro
Kawashima Shojiro	Koyama Osanori
Kaya Okinori	Kudo Tetsuo

Kuraishi Tadao	Mizutani Chozaburo
Kurogane Yasumi	Mori Kiyoshi
Kurokawa Takeo	Mori Kotaro
Kurusu Takeo	Morito Tatsuo
Kusaba Ryuen	Mukai Tadaharu
Maeda Tamon	Murakami Giichi
Maeo Shigesaburo	Murakami Isamu
Makino Ryoza	Nabeshima Naotsugu
Masuda Kaneshichi	Nadao Hirokichi
Masuhara Keikichi	Nagae Kazuo
Masutani Shuji	Nagano Mamoru
Matsuda Takechiyo	Nagayama Tadanori
Matsudaira Isao	Nakagaki Kunio
Matsumoto Joji	Nakajima Chikuhei
Matsumura Kenzo	Nakamura Sainnojo
Matsunaga To	Nakamura Torata
Matsuno Raizo	Nakamura Umekichi
Matsuura Shutaro	Nakasone Yasuhiro
Miki Takeo	Nakayama Masa
Minami Yoshio	Nakayama Toshihiko
Mitsuchi Chuzo	Nanjo Tokyo
Miura Kazuo	Narahashi Wataru
Miyazawa Kiichi	Nemoto Ryutaro
Miyazawa Taneo	Nikaido Susumu
Miyoshi Hideyuki	Nishida Takao
Mizuta Mikio	Nishikawa Jingoro

Nishimura Eiichi

Nishimura Naomi

Nishio Suehiro

Noda Takeo

Noda Uichi

Nomizo Masaru

Oasa Tadao

Obata Toshishiro

Odachi Shigeo

Ogasawara Sankuro

Ogata Taketora

Ogawa Heiji

Ohara Naoshi

Ohashi Takeo

Ohira Masayoshi

Okada Seiichi

Okano Kiyohide

Okazaki Katsuo

Okubo Tomejiro

Omura Seiichi

Ono Banboku

Onogi Hidejiro

Ota Masataka

Oya Shinzo

Ozawa Saeki

Saigo Kichinosuke

Saito Noboru

Saito Takao

Sakada Eiichi

Sakata Michita

Sakomizu Hisatsune

Sakurauchi Yoshio

Sasamori Junzo

Sato Eisaku

Sato Gisen

Sedoyama Mitsuo

Seko Koichi

Sengoku Kotaro

Shibusawa Keizo

Shidehara Kijuro

Shiga Kenjiro

Shigemasa Seishi

Shigemitsu Mamoru

Shigemune Yuzo

Shiina Etsusaburo

Shimojo Yasumaro

Shimomura Sadamu

Shinoda Kosaku

Shinya Torasaburo

Shiomi Shunji

Shoriki Matsutaro	Tanaka Shigeho
Soejima Senpachi	Tanaka Takeo
Sonoda Sunao	Terao Yutaka
Sudo Hideo	Teshima Sakae
Sugihara Arata	Tokonami Tokuji
Sunada Shigemasa	Tokuyasu Jitsuzo
Suzuki Masabumi	Tomabechi Gizo
Suzuki Yoshio	Tomiyoshi Eiji
Suzuki Zenko	Totsuka Kuichiro
Tago Kazutami	Tsubokawa Shinzo
Takahashi Hitoshi	Tsugita Daisaburo
Takahashi Mamoru	Tsukada Junichiro
Takahashi Ryutaro	Tsukahara Toshio
Takahashi Seiichiro	Tsurumi Yusuke
Takahashi Shintaro	Tsushima Juichi
Takasaki Tatsunosuke	Uchida Nobuya
Takase Sotaro	Uda Koichi
Takechi Yuki	Ueda Shunkichi
Takeda Giichi	Uehara Etsujiro
Takeyama Yutaro	Uehara Shokichi
Tamura Bunkichi	Ueki Koshiro
Tanaka Isaji	Uetake Haruhiko
Tanaka Kakuei	Usui Soichi
Tanaka Kotaro	Wada Hiro-o
Tanaka Man-itsu	Watanabe Yoshio

Yamagata Katsumi

Yamaguchi Kikuichiro

Yamamura Shinjiro

Yamate Mitsuo

Yamazaki Iwao

Yamazaki Takeshi

Yano Shotaro

Yasui Ken

Yokoo Shigemi

Yonai Mitsumasa

Yonekubo Mitsusuke

Yoshida Shigeru

Yoshino Shinji

Yoshitake Eichf

Zen Keinosuke

APPENDIX D

Zaibatsu Leaders in the Pre-war and
Post-war Periods*

1. Pre-war Period

a. Zaibatsu Leaders in 1922 and 1929

Aaachi Tadashi	Ikeda Nariakira
Akaba Katsumi	Imai Rikisaburo
Asano Ryozo	Inabata Jiro
Asano Soichiro	Inabata Katsutarō
Dan Takuma	Inoue Kenichi
Fujiwara Ginjiro	Isomura Toyotaro
Fujise Seiichiro	Ito Yonejiro
Fukushima Yukinobu	Iwasaki Koyata
Funada Kazuo	Kaga Kakujiro
Hatoyama Ichiro	Kameshima Hirokichi
Hayashiya Tomojiro	Kano Tomosaburo
Hyosu Hisashi	Kato Takeo
Ikeda Kamesaburo	Kawaji Torazo

*Sources: Fumisaburo Ozawa, ed., Kabushiki Nenkan (Stock Yearbook). Osaka: Nomura Shoten, 1922. Eiichi Hamana, ed., Kabushiki Nenkan (Stock Yearbook). Osaka: Osakaya Shoten, 1929. Eleanor M. Hadley, Antitrust in Japan. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970. Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute, Mitsui--Mitsubishi--Sumitomo: Present Status of the Former Zaibatsu Enterprises. Tokyo: Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute, 1955. Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, Kaisha Nenkan (Company Yearbook). Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1966.

Kawasaki Sagao	Sugahara Daitaro
Kawate Suteji	Sumitomo Kichizaemon
Kikumoto Naojiro	Takada Naokitsu
Kodama Ichizo	Takahashi Isamu
Kokufu Seiichi	Takagi Kiichiro
Kushida Manzo	Takano Shozo
Maruyama Tsugio	Takashima Kikujiro
Mashima Teihiko	Takasu Tetsuichiro
Mitani Kazuji	Takeda Ryotaro
Mitsui Gen-emon	Takeuchi Shoichi
Miyamoto Shigejiro	Ueda Takashi
Nagatomi Yukichi	Yabuta Iwamatsu
Nakauchi Hisataro	Yamada Ichijiro
Nakauchi Matsuji	Yamazaki Kazuho
Nakatani Hirokichi	Yasuda Zenjiro
Nomi Aitaro	Yasuda Zensuke
Ogasawara Kikujiro	Yasuda Zenyu
Ohira Kensaku	Yatsushiro Norihiko
Otani Noboru	Yoneyama Ymekichi
Otsubo Toru	Yoshida Shin-ichi
Saiga Ryosaburo	Yugawa Kankichi
Saito Jun	Yuki Toyotaro
Seshita Kiyoshi	
Shigematsu Yoji	
Shironi Takeshi	
Sonobe Sen	

b. Zaibatsu Leaders in 1937 and 1945

Annen Seiichi	Isomura Toyotaro
Arakawa Eiji	Iwasaki Hikoyata
Araki Hiroshi	Iwasaki Koyata
Funada Kazuo	Kagami Kamakichi
Furuta Shunnosuke	Kajii Takeshi
Fukuyama Zenjiro	Kameyama Shunzo
Goto Naota	Kaneko Kenjiro
Hamada Yuzo	Kasuga Hiroshi
Hanawa Yutaro	Kato Takeo
Hara Kozo	Kawade Suteji
Hatano Yoshio	Kawai Genpachi
Hattori Ichiro	Kawarabayashi Junjiro
Hayakawa Shigezo	Kawashima Saburo
Hazama Shiro	Kitagawa Keiji
Hirai Sumi	Kitazawa Keijiro
Horiuchi Yasukichi	Koike Masaaki
Iino Koji	Koizumi Hidekichi
Ikeda Kamesaburo	Komura Sentaro
Imai Tominosuke	Kushida Manzo
Imamura Yukio	Mandai Junshiro
Inoue Jihei	Matsui Kazumune
Ishida Reisuke	Matsui Takanaga
Ishige Takejiro	Matsumoto Kisashi

Mihashi Shinzo	Saito Junzo
Mikuni Shojiro	Sasaki Shiro
Mimura Kiichi	Sasaki Shuichi
Mitsui Takaharu	Seshita Kiyoshi
Mitsui Takateru	Shiba Koshiro
Miyazaki Kiyoshi	Shimada Katsunosuke
Miyazaki Komakichi	Shimada Morio
Miyoshi Shigemichi	Shohara Kazusaku
Mori Hirozo	Sumii Tatsuo
Motoyoshi Shintaro	Sumitomo Kichizaemon
Mukai Tada Haru	Suzuki Harunosuke
Nagahara Nobuo	Suzuki Sakae
Nakajima Aisaku	Suzuki Shiro
Nakane Masayoshi	Tajima Shigeji
Nanjo Kaneo	Takagi Kenkichi
Naruse Yugo	Takei Daisuke
Niwata Shozo	Tanaka Kanzo
Ogata Jiro	Tashiro Toshio
Ogura Masatsune	Tateno Takenosuke
Ohira Kensaku	Tokura Sotaro
Okabashi Hayashi	Tozawa Yoshiki
Okubo Shigeo	Tsuzuki Takeshi
Oshima Kenzo	Ueno Fukusaburo
Ota Shizuo	Watanabe Shoji
Oya Atsushi	Yabe Chuji

Yamamoto Nobuo

Yamamuro Sobun

Yamanaka Seisaburo

Yamashita Motomi

Yamazaki Takeji

Yanai Yuzo

Yatsushiro Norihiko

Yasuda Hajime

Yasuda Zengoro

Yasuda Zenshiro

Yazaki Soji

Yoshida Sadakichi

Yoshinari Muneco

2. Post-war Period

a. Zaibatsu Leaders in 1955

Adachi Tetsuo

Akiyama Nobuyoshi

Amakasu Jiro

Atagi Tadashi

Baba Isamu

Chigara Sosaburo

Dogane Soichi

Doi Masaharu

Edo Hideo

Enomoro Yoshifumi

Fujino Chijiro

Fukuwatari Ryu

Fukuya Tamaki

Furuhata Eiya

Hamakawa Tomojuro

Hani Michiyuki

Harada Yoshishige

Hatakeda Toshio

Hayashi Kenzai

Hijikata Shikanosuke

Himuro Shoji

Hiraiwa Jun-ichi

Hiraki Kenichiro

Hirano Yoshio

Hiraoka Masaya

Hiratsuka Masatoshi

Hirayama Kenzaburo

Hirota Hisakazu

Hotta Shozo

Hyuga Hosai

Ichii Yasuzo

Ikeda Kenzo

Imai Hajime

Inden Denji

Inoue Hokichi

Inoue Ichitaro

Ishida Yuji

Ishiguro Toshio

Ishii Ryusuke

Ishimatsu Masakane

Ishizuka Kumezo

Isono Masao

Ito Hiroshi

Iwabuchi Shinji

Iwanaga Iwao

Iwasaki Kihachiro

Iwata Iwao

Kanagami Shunji

Kasai Mitsuyoshi

Kataoka Tazushiro

Kawahara Fukuzo

Kawakami Kenjiro

Kikutake Yoshitake

Kimura Hideyoshi

Kimura Otokichi

Kimura Yasuo

Kitagawa Kazue

Koezuka Yoshio

Koiwai Masaomi

Komatsu Masatsuchi

Kubo Suekichi

Kubota Ikunosuke

Kurata Motoharu

Kurayama Tadanori

Kusaka Kiyoshi

Maeda Tetsuzo

Maesaki Yoshio

Masai Shozo

Miki Shozo

Mino Junjiro

Mitarai Osamu

Miura Masao

Miyata Sadao

Mizunuma Tsunematsu

Mori Goro

Morimoto Kanichi

Muraki Takeo

Nagasawa Shojo

Nakamura Fumio

Nakayama Sunao

Nishijima Azuma	Sato Hisashi
Nishimura Hanjiro	Sato Kiichiro
Nita Hiroshi	Sato Shikao
Noda Masasuke	Sato Muneharu
Nogushi Yasukata	Sato Toshio
Nojiri Zenjiro	Seki Ryoichi
Nomura Sueichi	Seta Ineo
Nomura Yosoichi	Shibata Shukichi
Nozaki Kanae	Shigematsu Nobuhiko
Oda Yoshio	Shimada Katsunosuke
Ogasawara Mitsuo	Shimamoto Nobuoki
Ogawa Hidehiko	Shimizu Takaji
Ogawa Masaru	Shimomura Tameji
Ogawa Shigeru	Shimura Isamu
Ohba Tadao	Shiraishi Minoru
Oi Kamekichi	So Katsumi
Okada Tomohiko	Sodeyama Kikuo
Okamura Kiyoshi	Sudo Kentaro
Ono Hiroshi	Sugiyama Taro
Osajima Takeichi	Suzuki Atsushi
Otsubo Shunjiro	Taga Sukeshige
Oya Kazuo	Tajima Kozo
Sakai Gentaro	Takaba Ichitaro
Samejima Tatsuo	Takada Kinjiro
Sato Hisaki	Takagaki Katsujiro

Takagi Mikio	Tatsumi Eikichi
Takasu Kuro	Terao Ichiro
Takasu Norio	Tsuda Hisashi
Takasugi Shin-ichi	Tsunoda Yoshio
Takeda Masayasu	Uehara Shiro
Takeuchi Shun-ichi	Watanabe Takejiro
Tanaka Kanzo	Yamada Kumao
Tanaka Shigematsu	Yamamoto Hiroshi
Tanaka Sotoji	Yamane Harue
Tanaka Sueo	Yano Masao
Taniguchi Yoshio	Yoneyama Yoshio

b. Zaibatsu Leaders in 1966

Adachi Ichiro	Asakawa Sadaji
Aikyo Mitsuo	Asano Teiji
Akagi Sakae	Awamura Makoto
Akita Eikichi	Bada Isamu
Akiya Iori	Daito Keizo
Amano Shin	Doi Shosaburo
Ando Michio	Emura Hideo
Ando Taro	Fujii Shinzo
Anzai Ryoichi	Fujimoto Saburo
Arai Masaaki	Fujino Chujiro
Ariyoshi Yoshiya	Fujioka Shingo
Asai Koji	Fujise Kiyoshi

Fujiyoshi Tsuguhide	Ide Isao
Fukushima Hachiro	Iijima Masasuke
Fukuyama Kazumasa	Iizumi Bunzo
Furuhata Norijiro	Inai Yoshihiro
Gunji Akira	Inoue Hachiroemon
Hagiwara Kichitaro	Inoue Ken-ichi
Hamada Toichi	Inui Noboru
Hamakawa Tomojuro	Isaji Katsutoshi
Hara Koichi	Ishida Takeshi
Harima Toshio	Ishimatsu Masatetsu
Hasegawa Ryutaro	Isobe Masashi
Hasegawa Tokuji	Isoda Ichiro
Hatakeda Toshio	Isogai Makoto
Hayata Hideo	Ito Michiyo
Himuro Shoji	Iwama Akira
Hiraki Ken-ichiro	Iwao Kenjiro
Hirayama Tetsuo	Iwao Tanenori
Hironaka Kano	Iwasaki Nobuhiko
Hirose Fujio	Iwashita Seiichi
Hirose Ryutaro	Kafuku Ryutaro
Hisasue Sueo	Kaga Toyozo
Hoshino Kohei	Kagetsu Keitaro
Hosokawa Hiroshi	Kanaya Shoji
Hosokawa Munekazu	Kanazawa Shuzo
Hotta Shozo	Kani Takao

Kato Giichi	Kano Yasushi
Kato Goichi	Koyama Goro
Kato Goro	Koyama Masashichi
Kawada Tameya	Kubo Renzo
Kawamoto Eiichi	Kubota Denjiro
Kawamura Toshio	Kunichika Sadao
Kawashima Kiyotsugu	Kurata Motoharu
Kikuchi Shojiro	Kurata Okito
Kimura Takeo	Kuroiwa Keizo
Kita Kikukazu	Kurokawa Hisashi
Kitagawa Kazue	Kusaka Kiyoshi
Kitagawa Noboru	Kusano Orihei
Kitahara Ichizo	Maeda Tetsuzo
Koba Sadahisa	Makabe Kisaburo
Kobayashi Koji	Maki Kazuo
Kobayashi Koreta	Makino Koji
Kobayashi Sasaburo	Makino Matasaburo
Kobayashi Tsukasa	Maru Takashi
Kodama Shinjiro	Matsubaya Seiichi
Kodama Takayasu	Matsuda Sadayoshi
Koga Kinji	Matsumoto Saburo
Koide Akihiko	Matsushita Itsuo
Koizumi Susumu	Matsuura Kanesaburo
Komatsu Hideo	Mikawa Sadao
Kondo Tsuneco	Mitani Yoshio

Mitsufuji Arisuke

Miwa Masami

Miyake Isamu

Miyake Seiichi

Miyazaka Mikizo

Miyazaka Kiichi

Mizoguchi Shuji

Mizukami Tatsuji

Mizuno Toshishige

Mori Fumio

Mori Motoyoshi

Morimoto Kan-ichi

Mukai Sjunji

Mukasa Rokuro

Muraki Jun-ichi

Muraoka Shigetoshi

Murasw Itsuzo

Nagata Toshikazu

Naka Shun-ichi

Nakada Otokazu

Nakajima Masaki

Nakajima Noboru

Nasuhara Shizuya

Niikawa Etsuzo

Nishimoto Ryuzo

Nishimura Hanjiro

Nishimura Toshio

Nitta Kunio

Oshi Shun-ichi

Ogawa Yoshio

Okada Toshio

Okuhira Sen-ichi

Okumura Yoshiyasu

Omoto Shinpei

Onda Yutaka

Oshima Masao

Saburi Takeshi

Saito Jiro

Saito Shin-ichi

Sakaya Tadashi

Sako Kenkichi

Sato Shoji

Sato Takeo

Sato Yoshio

Sawada Akihaya

Seki Yoshimi

Seki Yoshinaga

Senoo Saburo

Seshimo Eiji

Shiga Nobuhide

Shiina Tokishiro
Shimizu Kisaburo
Shimozaka Seijiro
Shinoshima Hideo
Shinto Koji
Shiraishi Minoru
Shiyokawa Shigeru
Shono Senkichi
Suematsu Motoi
Suga Eikichi
Sugano Hiroshi
Sugitani Takeo
Suzuki Kyunosuke
Suzuki Shin-ichi
Tabe Bun-ichiro
Tada Koshun
Tago Susumu
Tajitsu Wataru
Takabayashi Toshimi
Takado Sanroku
Takagi Kinji
Takagi Mikio
Takahashi Yoshitaka
Takayanagi Sozo
Takeuchi Jieki

Takimoto Seihiro
Tanai Tadao
Tanaka Sueo
Tanaka Kenzo
Tanaka Kinji
Tanaka Shigematsu
Taniguchi Kenpachi
Tawara Sachi
Terao Ichiro
Tomoishi Susumu
Tsubokawa Goro
Tsuda Hisashi
Tsuji Kiyoji
Tsuji Yoshimasa
Tsutsumi Teizo
Udagawa Eikichi
Uejima Akira
Uemura Shiro
Ueno Takeo
Ushiba Michio
Usui Takeo
Wada Hiroshi
Wada Rokuro
Wakasugi Sueyuki
Wakita Yoshiro

Washinosu Sakae

Watanabe Itsuro

Watanabe Susumu

Watanabe Tsutomu

Yamada Shiro

Yamagishi Nisaburo

Yamaguchi Fusao

Yamagushi Suekichi

Yamamoto Hiromu

Yamamoto Hiroshi

Yamamoto Ken-ichi

Yamamoto Teiji

Yamanaka Hiroshi

Yamanaka Masao

Yamane Harue

Yamashita Tameyoshi

Yamauchi Masanori

Yanagi Takeshi

Yazu Makoto

Yazuka Shigeharu

Yoneyama Yoshio

Yoshida Sadao

Yoshida Takao

Yoshikawa Shinkichi

Yoshikawa Soichiro

Yoshimura Takeshi

Yuasa Tomosaburo

APPENDIX E

A Biographical Description and Data
 Classification of one of
 the Cabinet Ministers
 (An Example)

Biographical Description of Hatoyama Ichirō*

Hatoyama Ichirō: decorated with the First Order of Merit; member of the House of Representatives (for Tokyo); lawyer; descendant of a samurai, Tokyo.

Mother: Haru; born in March, 1868, from Nagano prefecture; descendant of a samurai; Taga Takashi's sister; principal of Kyoritsu Women's Academy.

Wife: Kaoru; born in November, 1878; from Fukuoka prefecture; Terada Sakae's eldest daughter; graduated from Gakushūin.

Son: Takeichiro; born in November, 1918; student at Tokyo Metropolitan High School.

Daughter: Setsuko; born in January, 1916; student at Tokyo Music Academy (Department of Instrumental Music).

Daughter: Keiko; born in December, 1921; student at Women's High School attached to Japan Women's University.

Late Hatoyama Kazuo's (LL.D., Speaker of the House of Representatives) eldest son; Hatoyama Hideo's (LL.D.) brother; born in January, 1883; succeeded as a head of the family in 1881; graduated from Law School, Tokyo Imperial University; lawyer; elected for the eighth term to the House of Representatives since 1915; Executive Committee member of Rikken Seiyūkai party; Speaker of City Council of Tokyo; Ad Hoc Committee member for Investigation of the Metropolitan System; Director of

*Translated from Jinji Kōshinroku (1937, vol. 2, pp. 85-86 for Hatoyama).

Cabinet Secretariat of the Tanaka cabinet in 1927; Special Committee member in the Central Committee for the Urban Community Planning; Central Committee member for the Investigation of Legal System; Preparatory Committee member for the Government Constructions; Committee member of the Investigation of Administration for Railroad Systems; Committee member for the Cultural Exchange Program between Japan and China; Committee member for the Investigation of Population and Food; Committee member for the Investigation of Natural Resources; Committee member for the Investigation of Educational Policy; Committee member for Rice Problems; deputy Director of the Imperial Ceremony; Minister of Education.

Hobby: reading; other family members--fifth daughter: Nobuko, born in November, 1924; eldest daughter: Yukiko, born in November, 1909, graduated from Women's High School attached to Japan Women's University, married to Furusawa Junichi (Furusawa Harukichi's son) from Saga prefecture; second daughter: Reiko, born in August, 1919, graduated from Japan Women's University, married to Hatoyama Michio (Hatoyama Hideo's eldest son).

Income tax: Y 3085; address: 7-10 Otowa-cho, Koishikawaku, Tokyo; telephone: Ushigome-324. See also the column for Hatoyama Hideo.

Classification of Hatoyama Ichiro as a Subject in This Investigation

- a. Period: pre-war period
- b. Birthplace: unfavored prefecture
- c. Father: prominent father
- d. Father-in-law: prominent father-in-law
- e. Higher Education Background Level: prestigious university

APPENDIX F

A Biographical Description and Data
 Classification of one of
 the Zaibatsu Leaders
 (An Example)

Biographical Description of Sugano Hiroshi*

Sugano Hiroshi: senior executive of Sumitomo Chemical Industry, Inc.; head of the Department of Light Metal Enterprises; director of Kyōwa Carbon, Inc.; Shibuya-ku, Tokyo.

Wife: Chizuko; born on April 6, 1916; Kodama Hideo's (ex-president of Dainippon Air Line) daughter; graduated from Gakushuin.

Eldest son: Akira, born on September 24, 1937; graduated from the School of Engineering, Keiō University; employed at Nippon Denki, Inc.

Eldest son's wife: Shizue; born on August 28, 1940; Kawamoto Isamu's eldest daughter; graduated from Seijō University.

Second son: Tadashi; born on December 3, 1940; graduated from Tokyo University; graduate student at Tokyo University.

Third son: Susumu; born on September 16, 1945; graduated from Wakō University.

Eldest daughter: Masako; born on August 10, 1939; graduated from the Department of Psychology, Tokyo Women's University; married to Abe Akihiro (graduated from Tokyo University; Ph.D. from Brooklyn College, N.Y.; employed at Showa Denki, Inc.).

Born on November 9, 1909; late General Sugano Shoichi's fourth son; graduated from the School of Engineering,

*Translated from Jinji Kōshinroku (1969, vol. 1, p. 304 for Kanno).

Tokyo Imperial University, in 1933; employed at Sumitomo Honsha, Inc.; acting head of the Department of Engineering and Manufacture, Sumitomo Chemical Industry; deputy head of Kikumoto Manufacturing Factory in August, 1959; director of Sumitomo Chemical Industry in February, 1961; head of Nagoya Manufacturing Factory in July, 1961; head of Kikumoto Manufacturing Factory and the Department of Light Metal Enterprises in January, 1963; junior director of Sumitomo Chemical Industry and head of Kikumoto Manufacturing Factory in February, 1965; senior director of Sumitomo Chemical Industry, 1967.

Brothers: Ryō, born in May, 1900, graduated from Army Academy; Makoto, born on October 10, 1902, graduated from Law School, Tokyo Imperial University, president of Toyō Quay, Inc.; Masaru, born in January, 1905, graduated from the School of Engineering, Tokyo Imperial University, director of Kobe Steel Manufacturing Factory, head of the Central Research Center; Rokurō, born in April, 1915, graduated from Army Academy, employed at the Self-defence Forces of Army; Shichirō, born in September, 1919, graduated from Law School, Tokyo Imperial University, director and head of Editing Bureau of Fuji Television, Inc.

Address: 15-27, No. 35, 3 Chōme, Kugayama, Suginami-ku, Tokyo 169; telephone: 333-8832; office: 5-15 Kitahama, Higashi-ku, Osaka City 541; telephone: 203-1231.

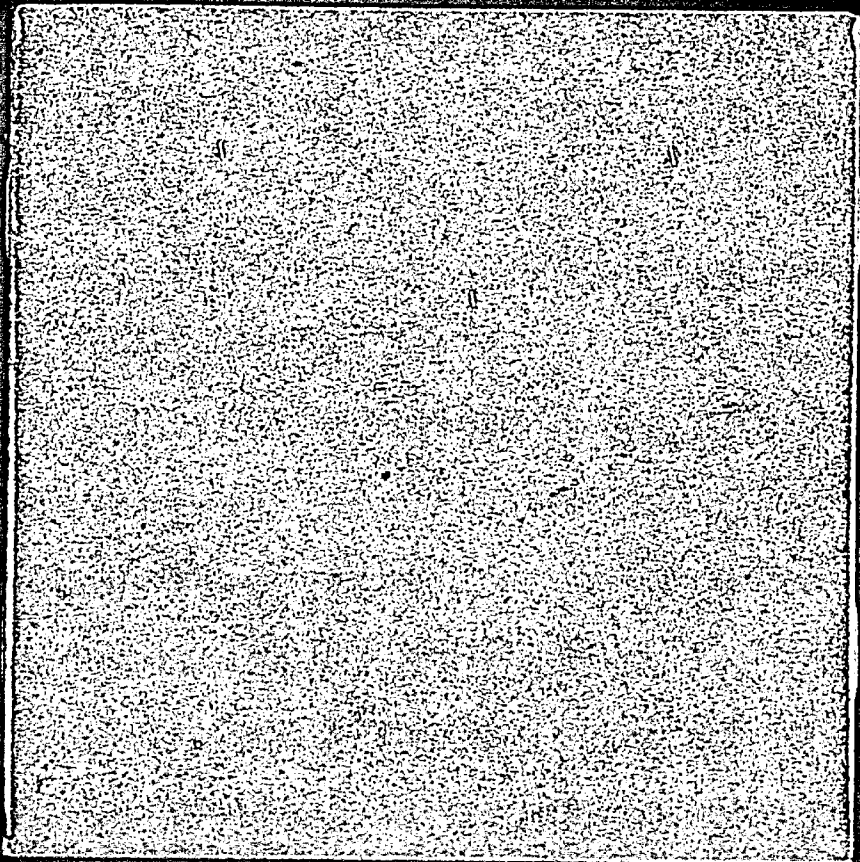
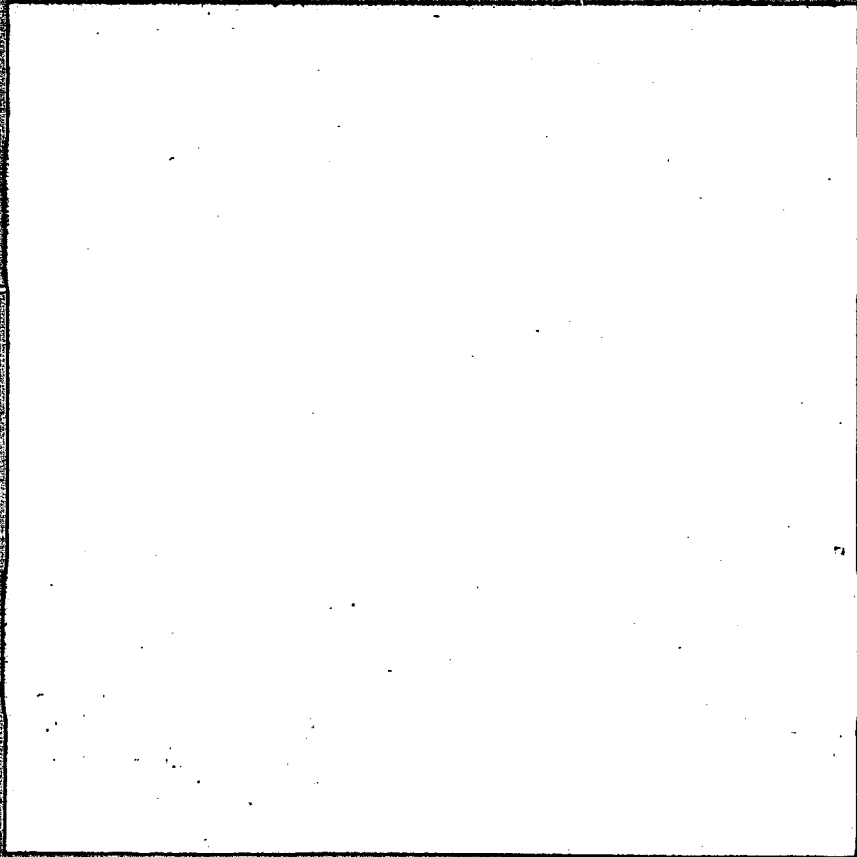
Classification of Sugano Hiroshi as a Subject in This Investigation

- a. Period: post-war period
 - b. Birthplace: unfavored prefecture
 - c. Father: prominent father
 - d. Father-in-law; prominent father-in-law
3. Higher Education Background Level: prestigious university

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