

Chapter 11. "Political Cleavages and the Representation of Social Inequalities in Japan, 1953-2017"

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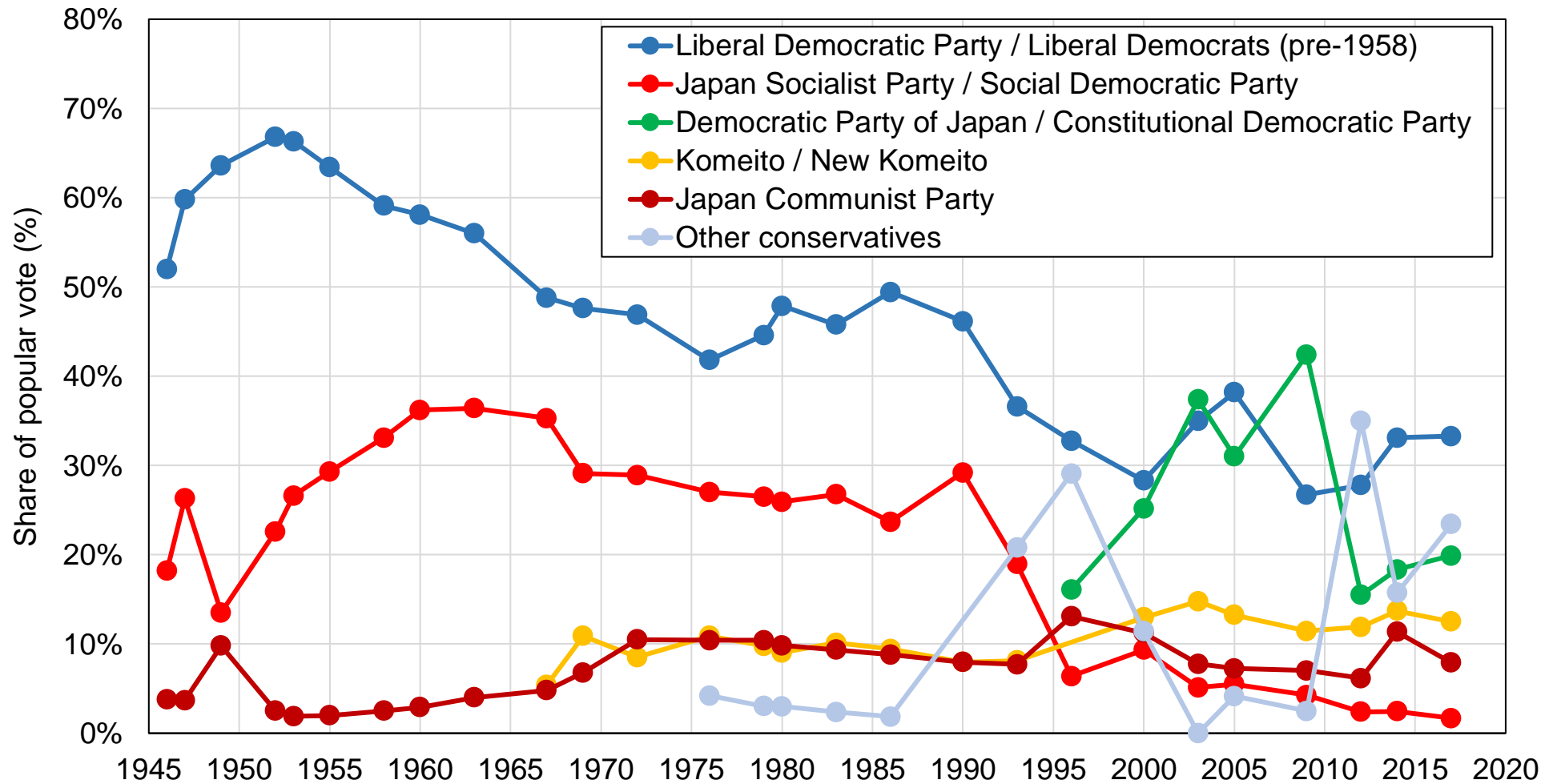
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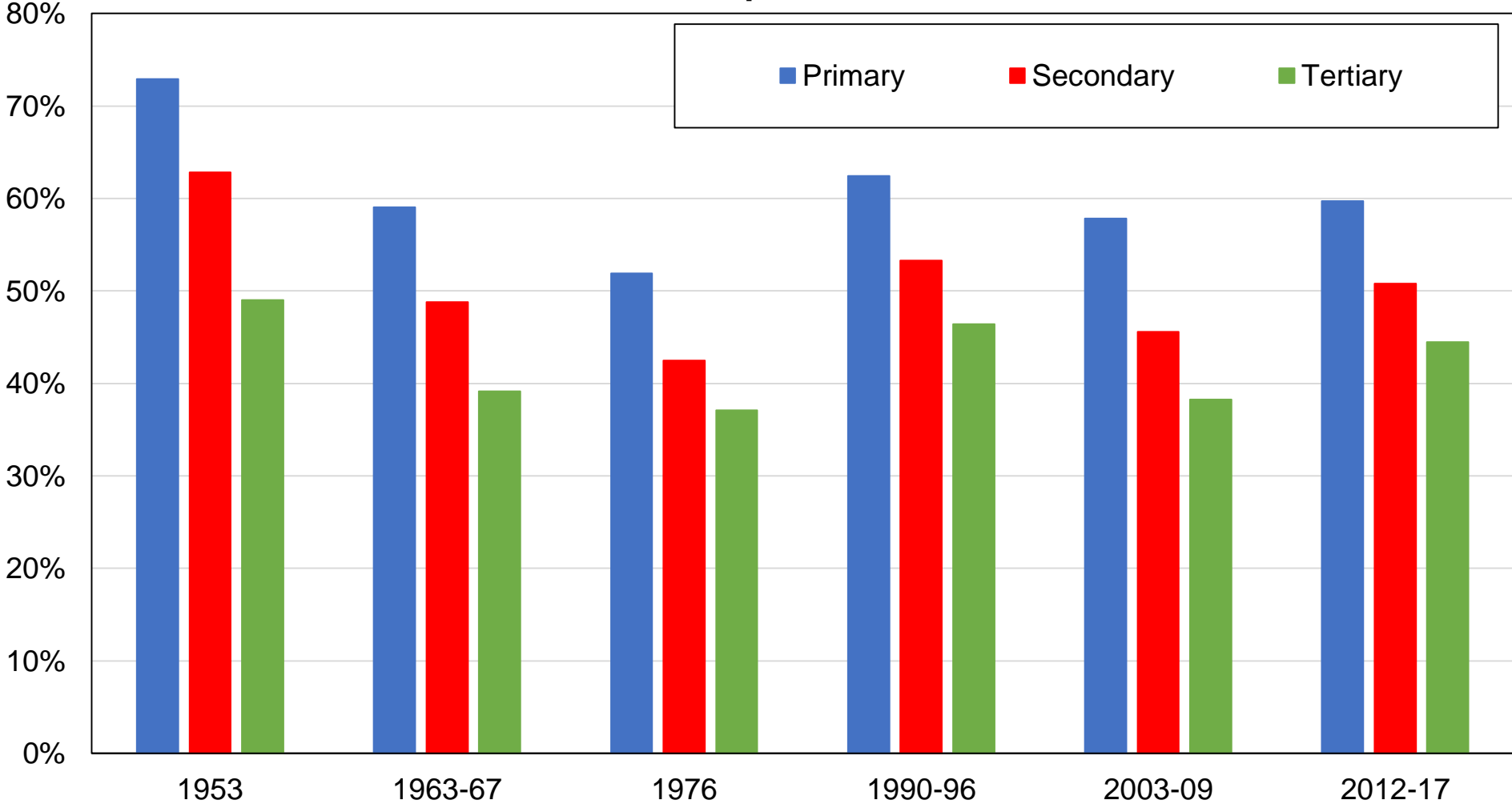
Figure 11.1 - Election results in Japan, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Japanese political parties in general elections between 1946 and 2017.

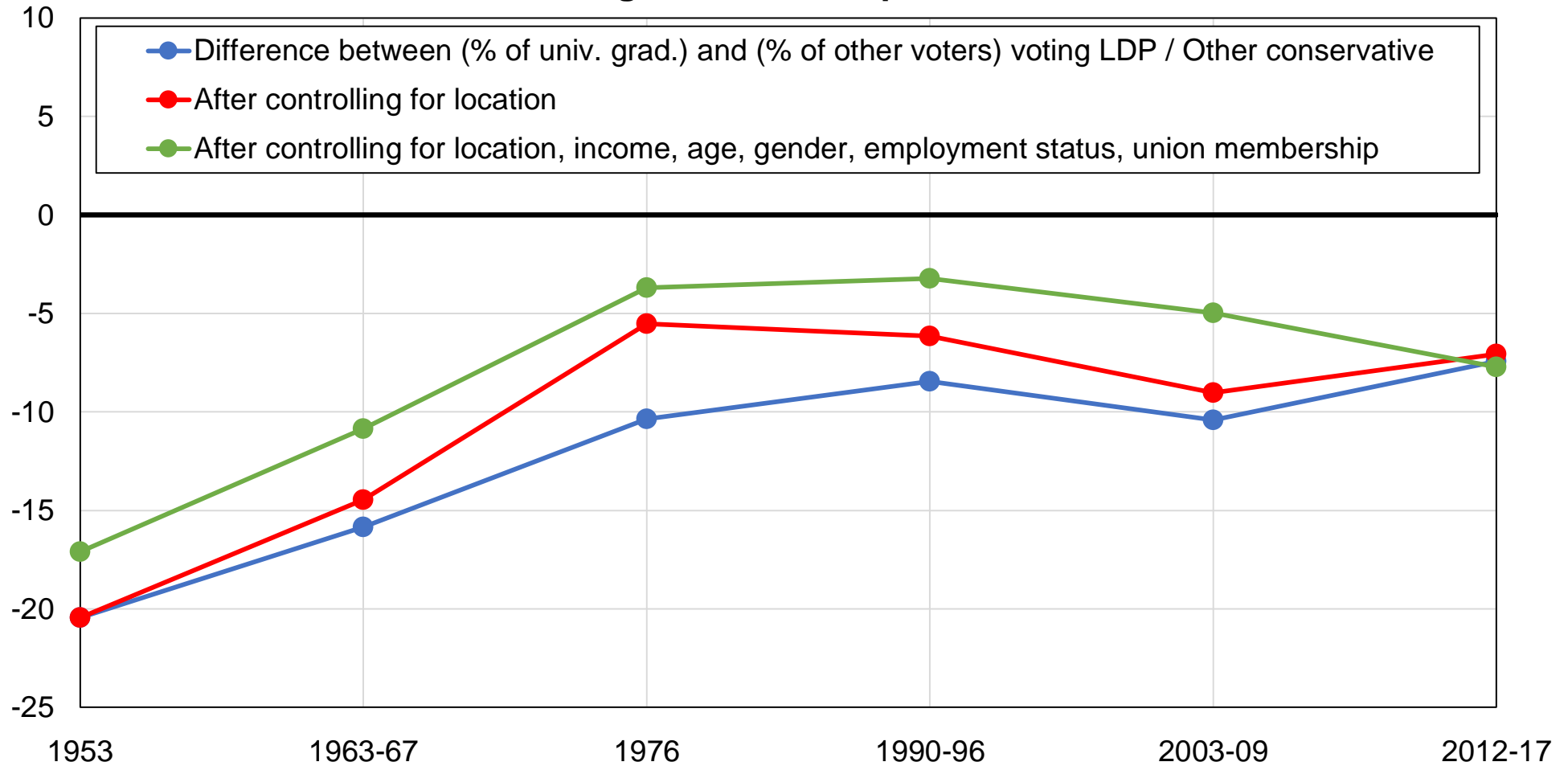
Figure 11.2 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by education level in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by education level.

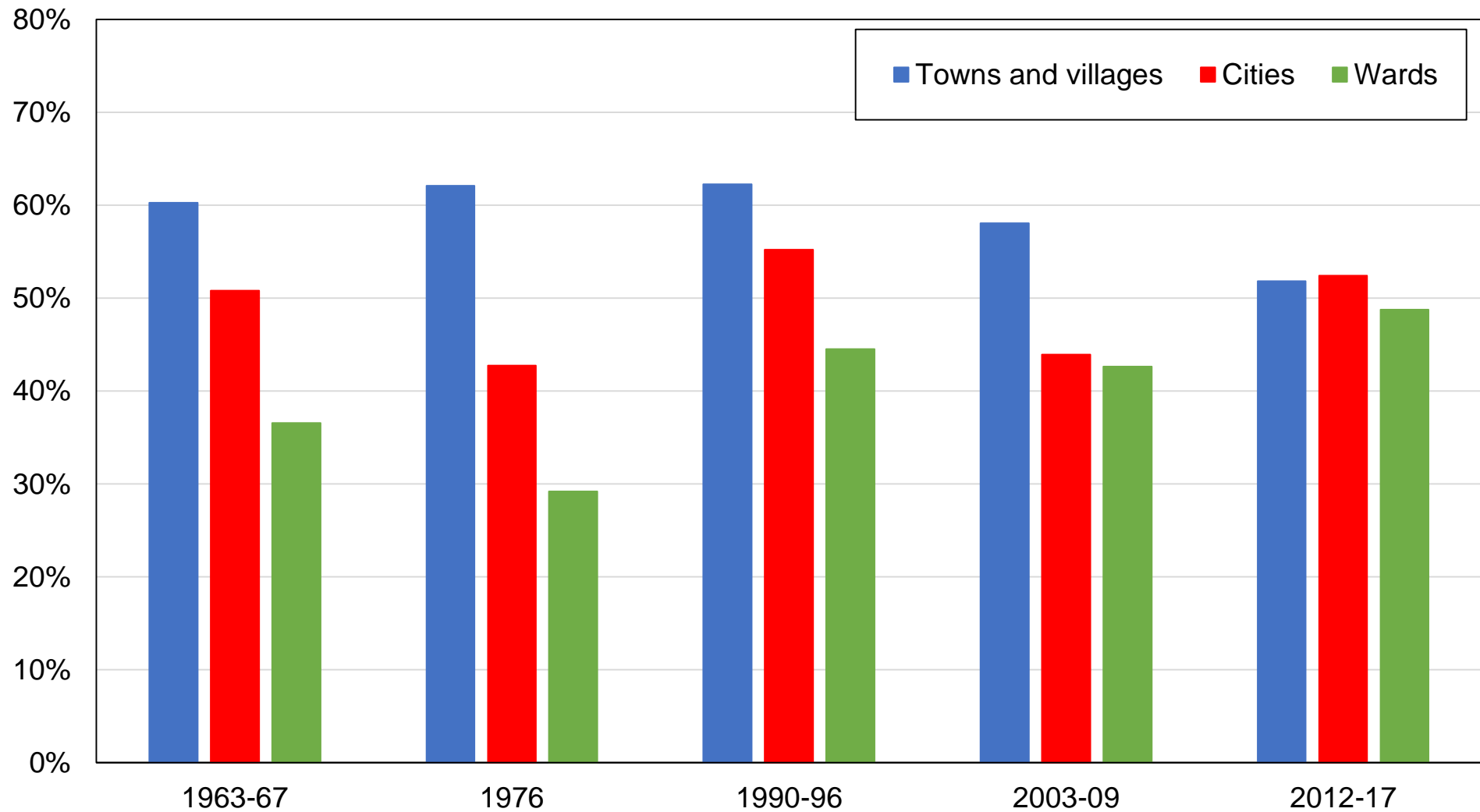
Figure 11.3 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among university graduates in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative, before and after controlling for other variables.

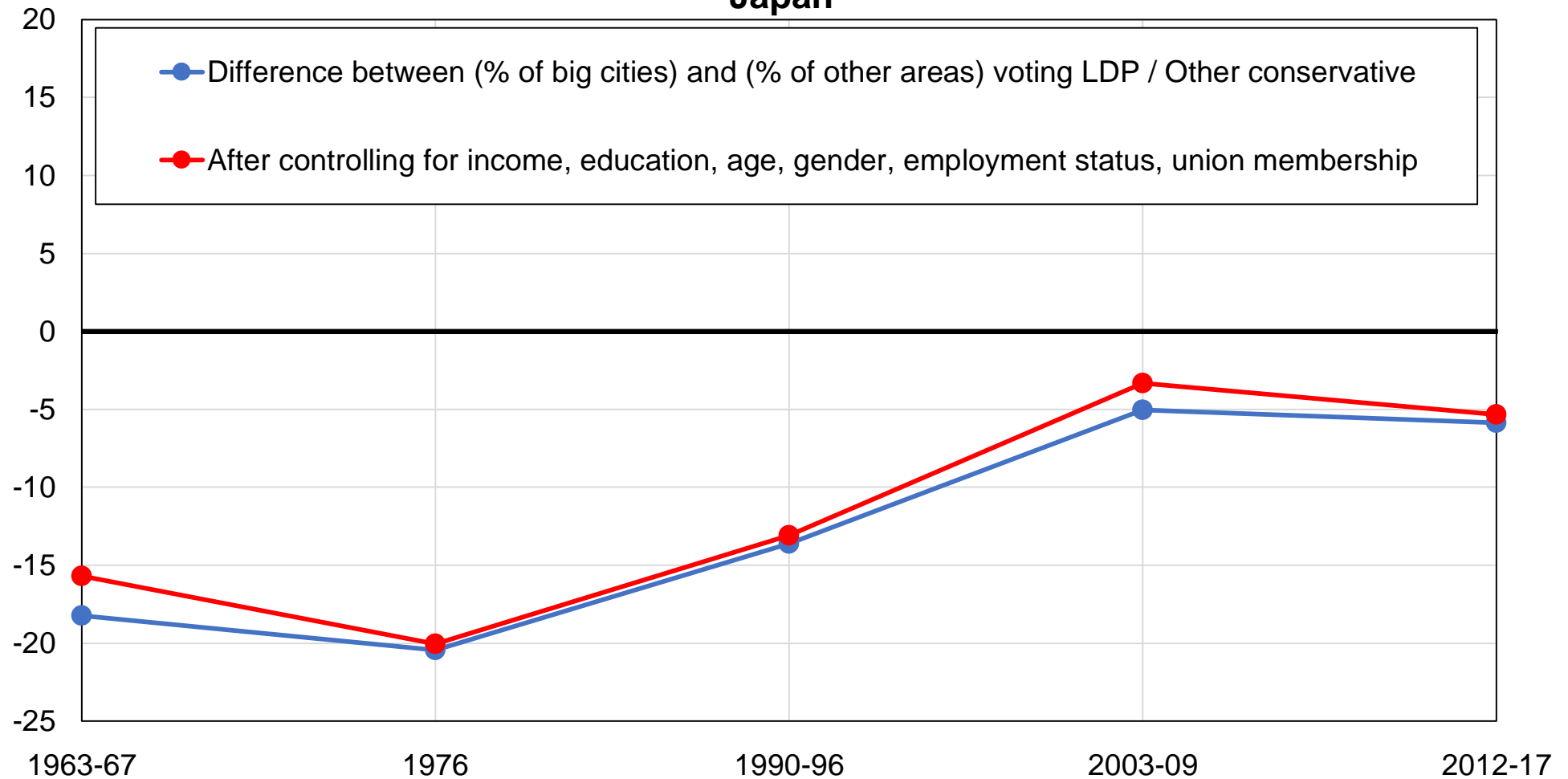
Figure 11.4 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by location in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by location.

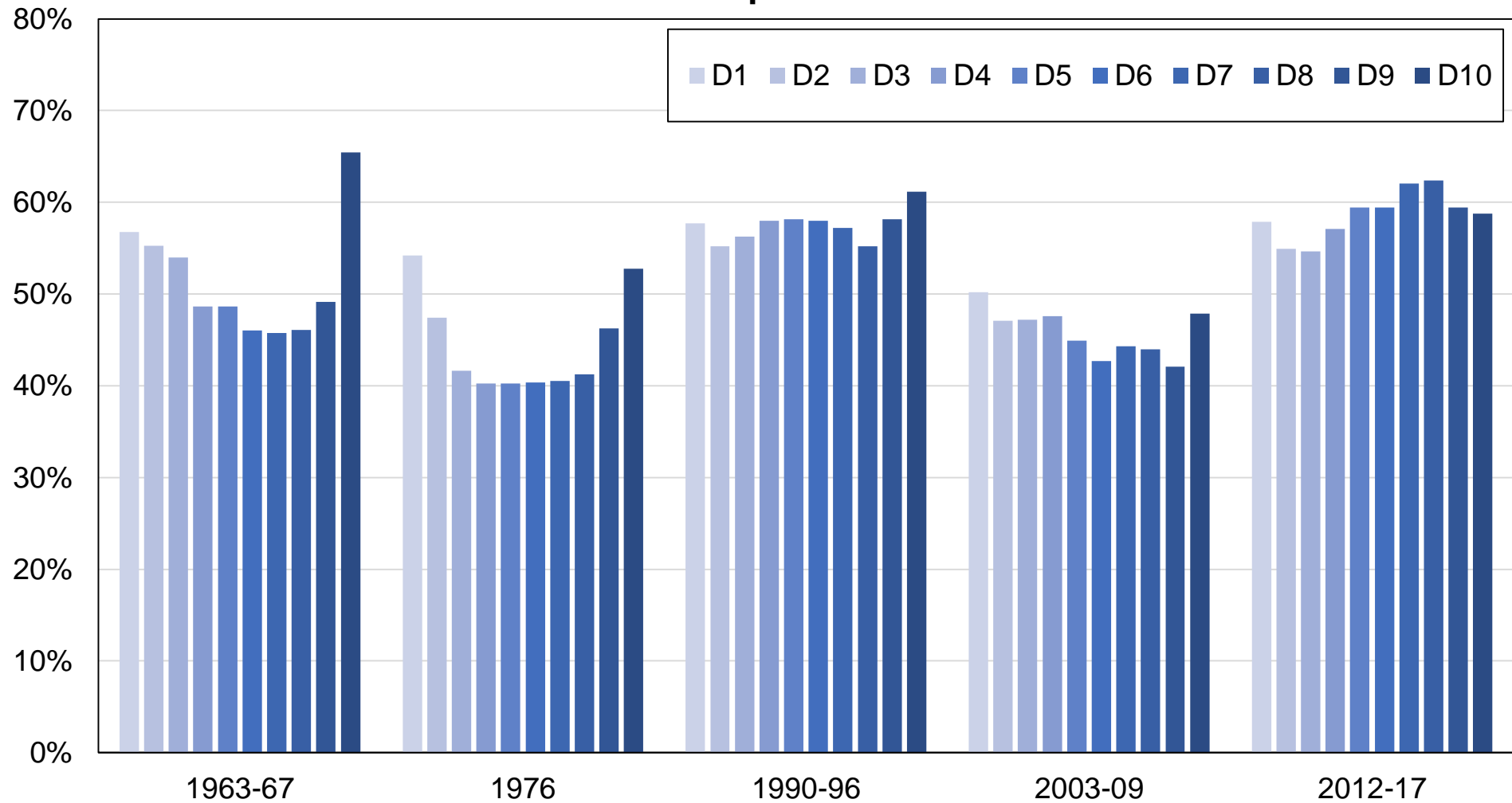
Figure 11.5 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among big cities in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of big cities and the share of medium-sized cities and rural areas voting for LDP / Other conservative parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

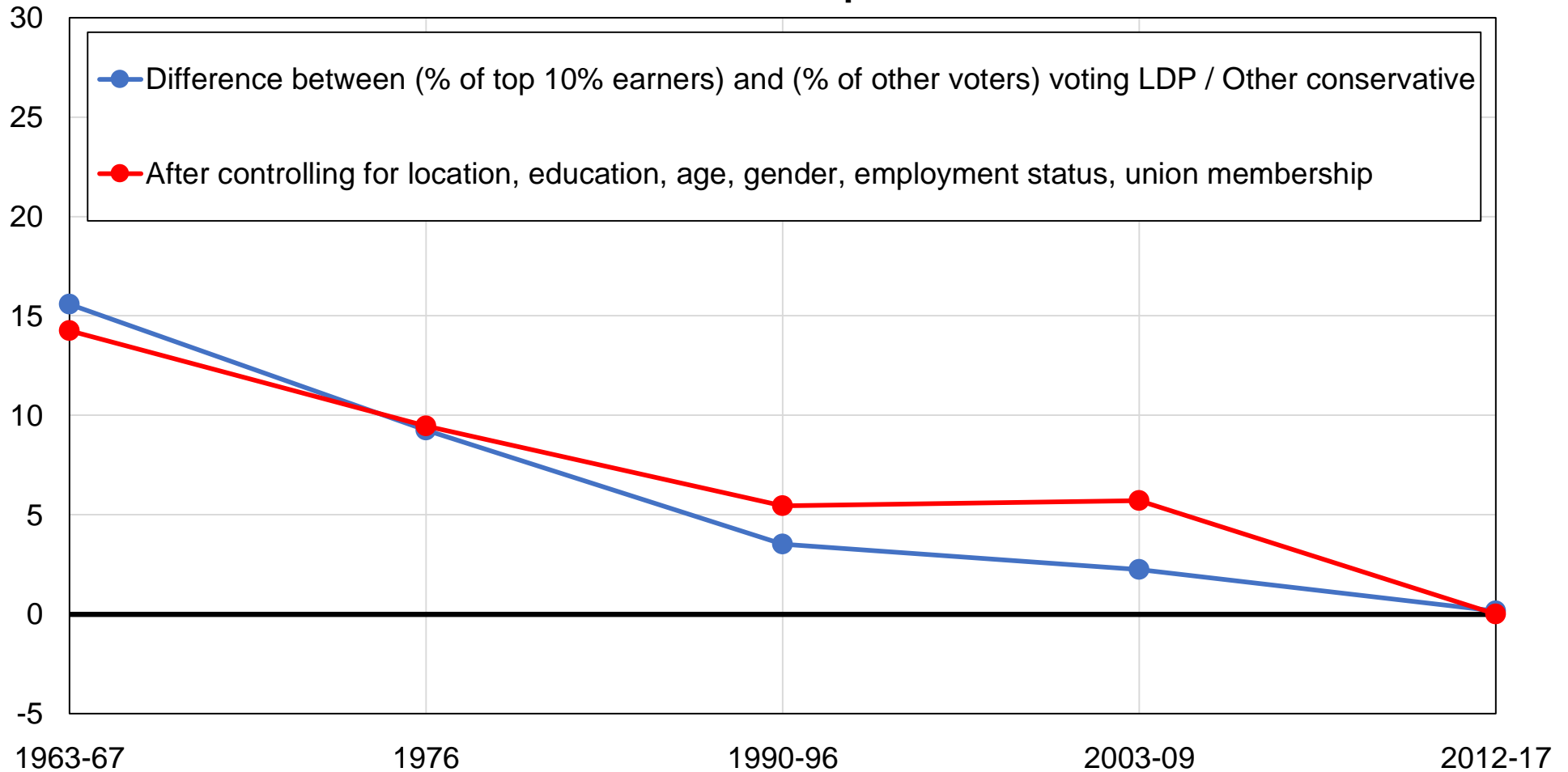
Figure 11.6 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by income decile in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by income decile.

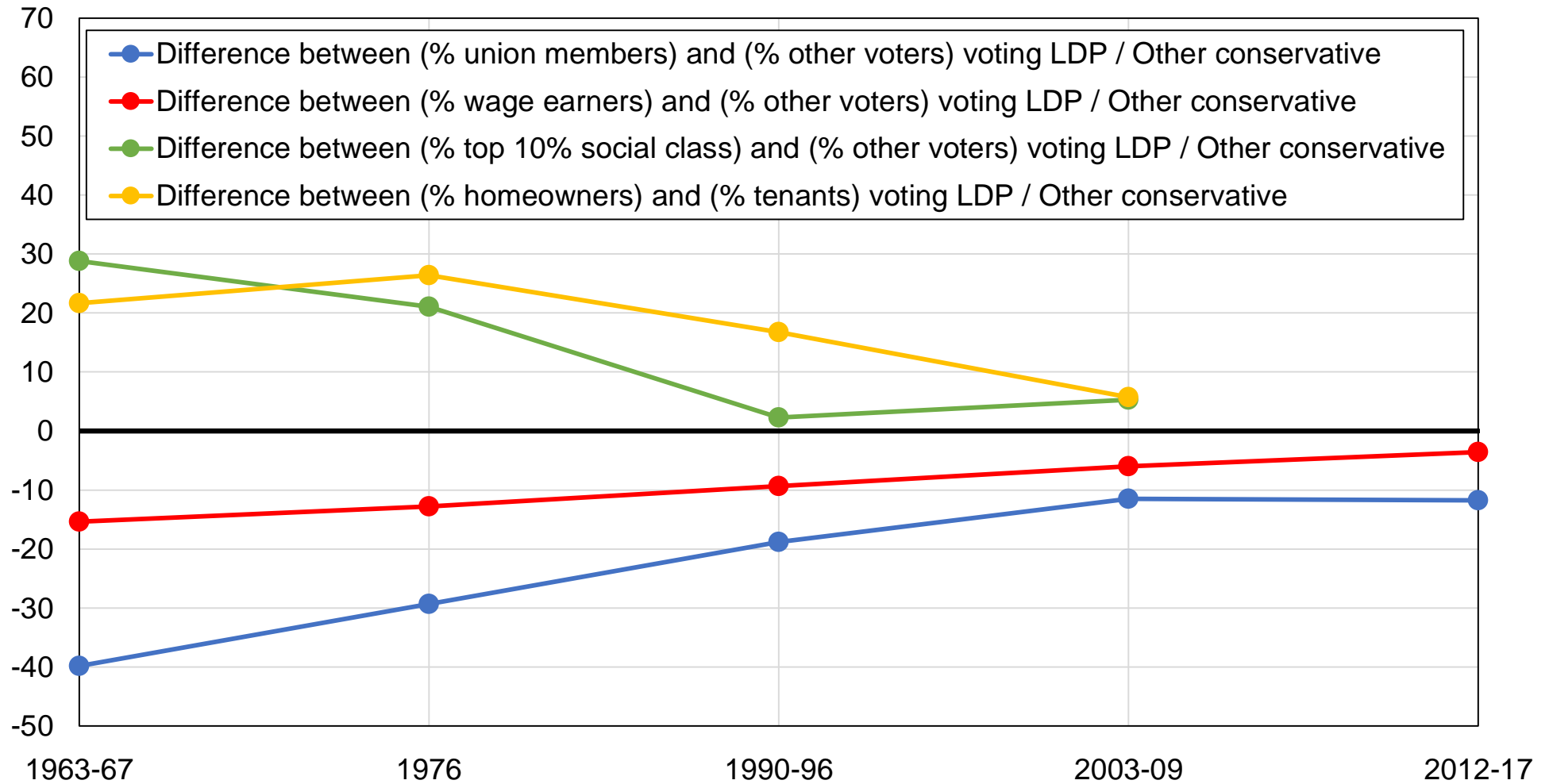
Figure 11.7 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among top-income voters in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative, before and after controlling for other variables.

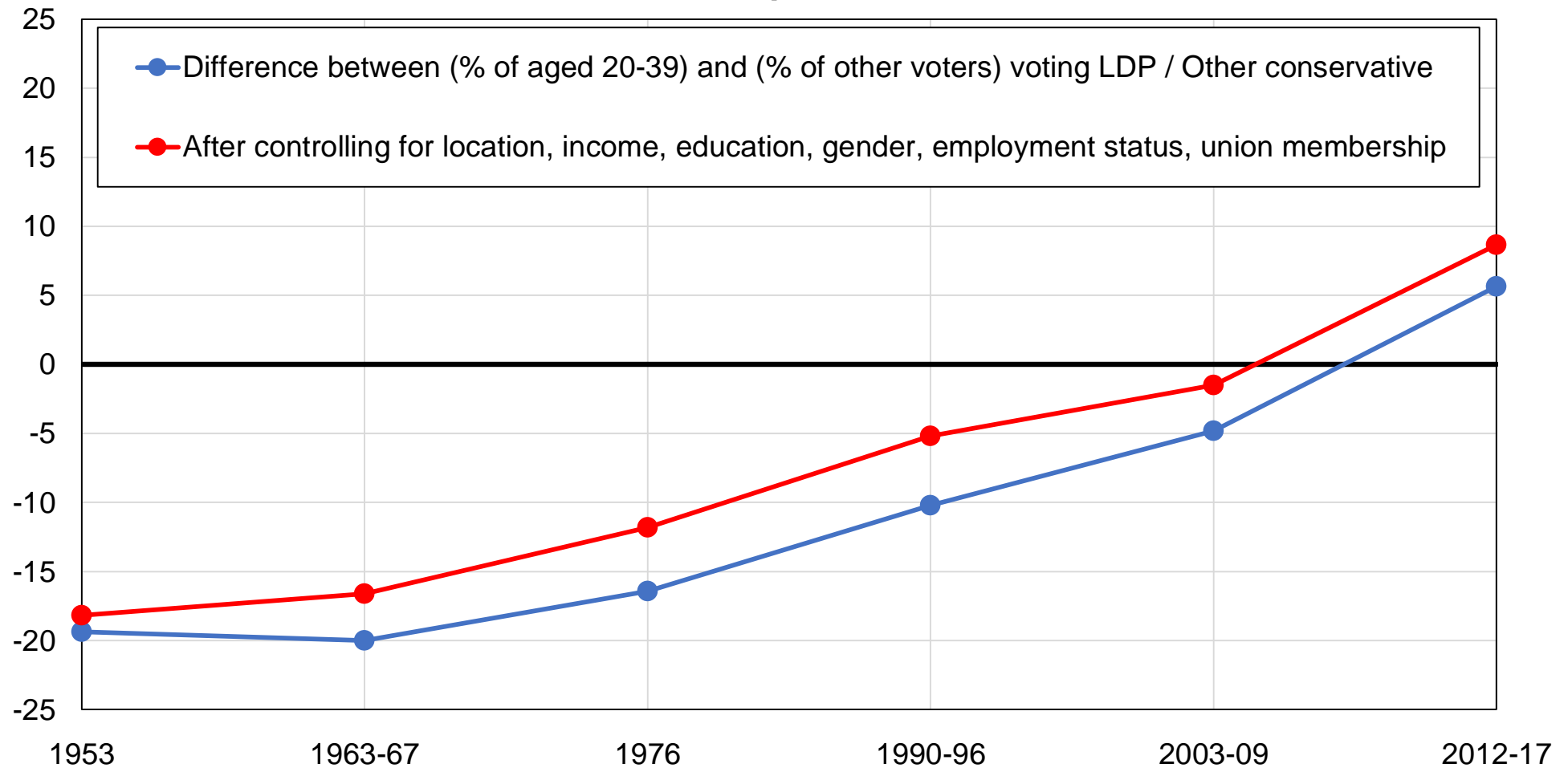
Figure 11.8 - The depoliticization of economic inequality in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the relative bias of homeowners, union members, employees, and upper class voters towards the LDP / Other conservative and its evolution over time.

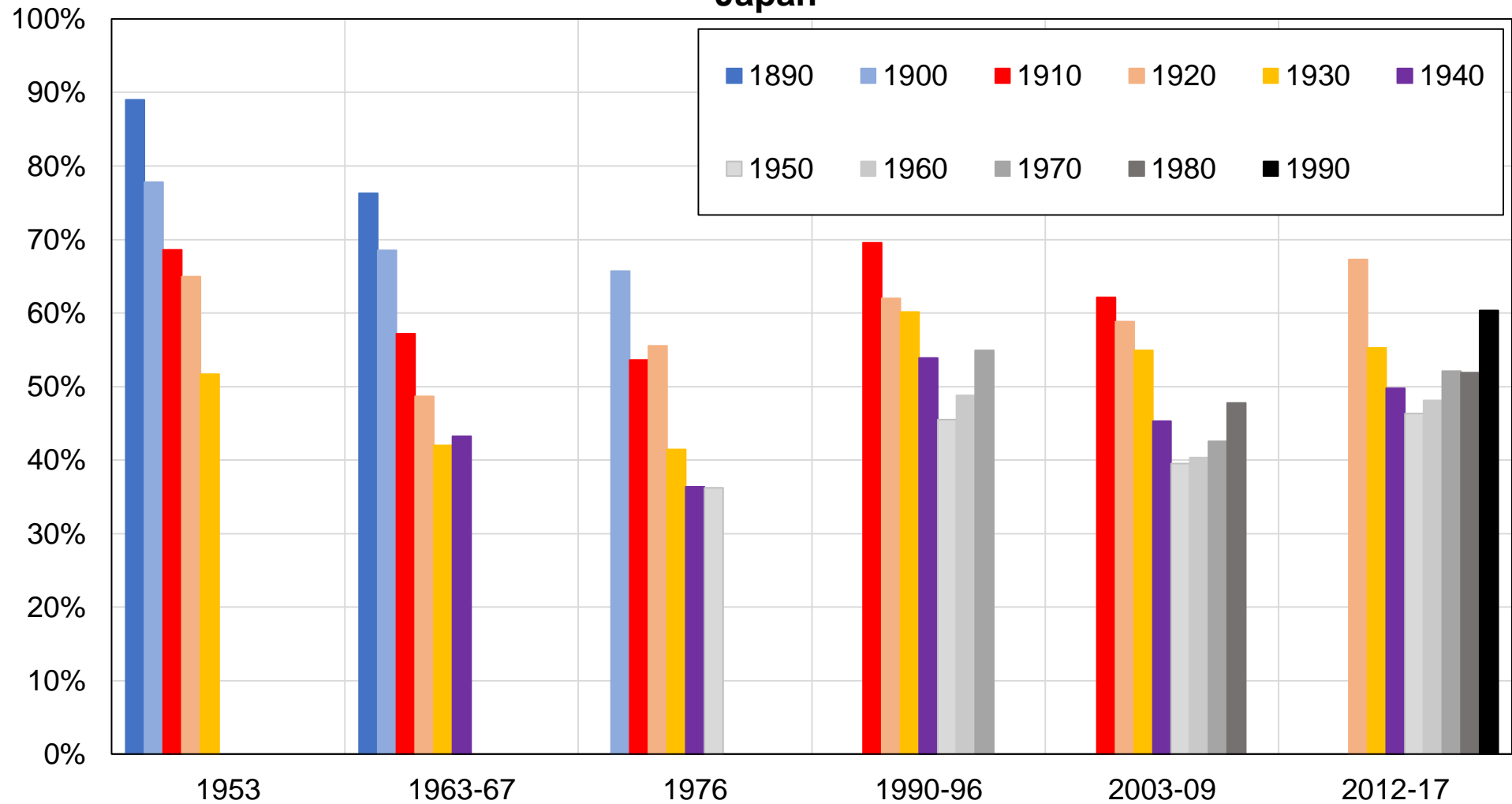
Figure 11.9 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among young voters in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged 20-39 and the share of voters older than 40 voting for LDP / Other conservative, before and after controlling for other variables.

Figure 11.10 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by decade of birth in Japan



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by decade of birth.

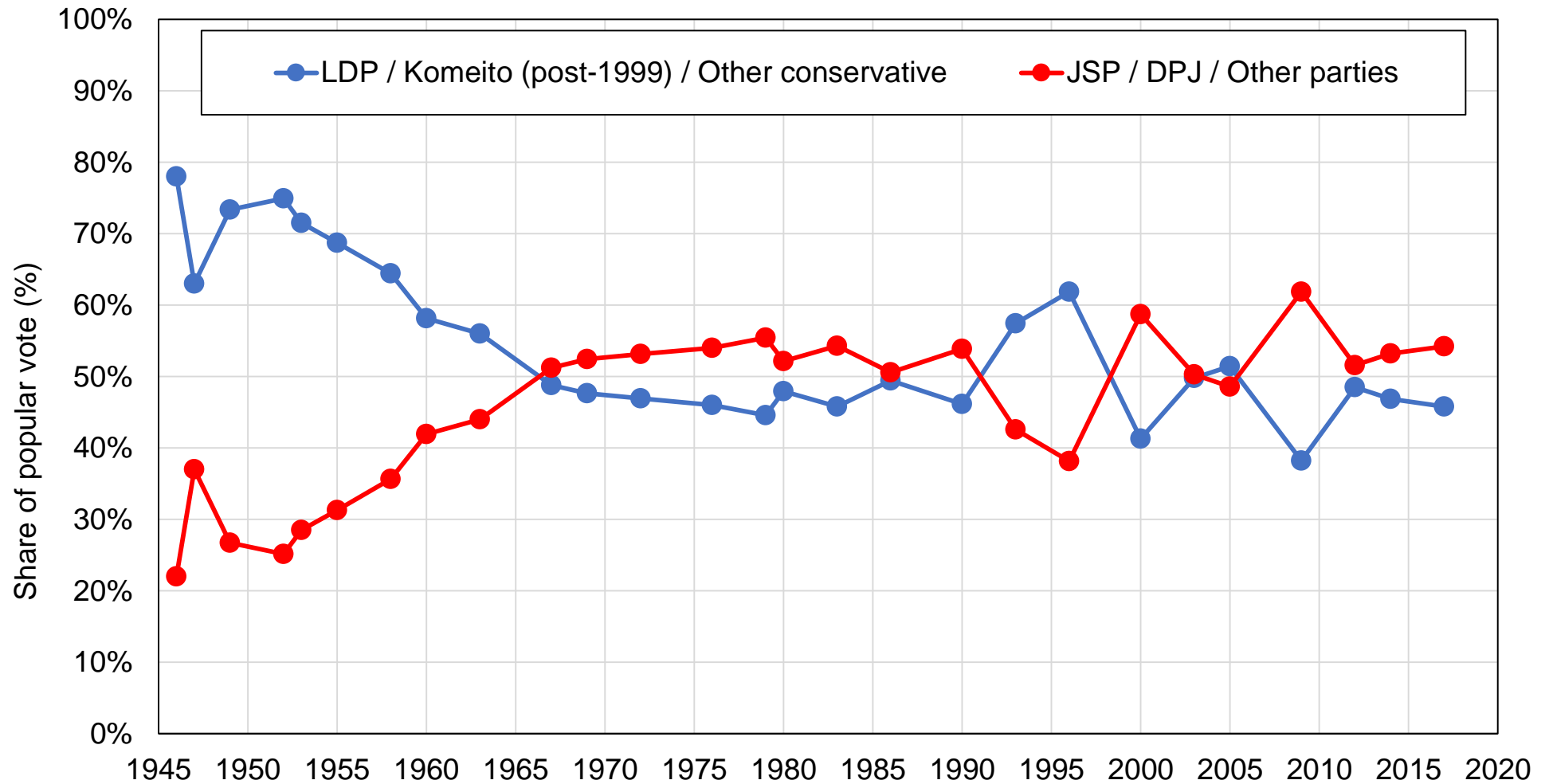
Table 11.1 - Structure of the Japanese population, 1953-2017

	1953	1963-67	1976	1990-96	2003-09	2012-17
Education: Primary	69%	63%	45%	25%	17%	14%
Education: Secondary	29%	27%	41%	57%	63%	61%
Education: Tertiary	2%	9%	14%	18%	20%	25%
Location: Towns and villages		34%	27%	23%	18%	10%
Location: Cities		48%	54%	55%	60%	57%
Location: Wards		18%	19%	21%	22%	33%
Age: 20-39	56%	48%	44%	30%	23%	21%
Age: 40-59	33%	37%	42%	47%	38%	35%
Age: 60+	11%	15%	14%	24%	39%	44%

Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

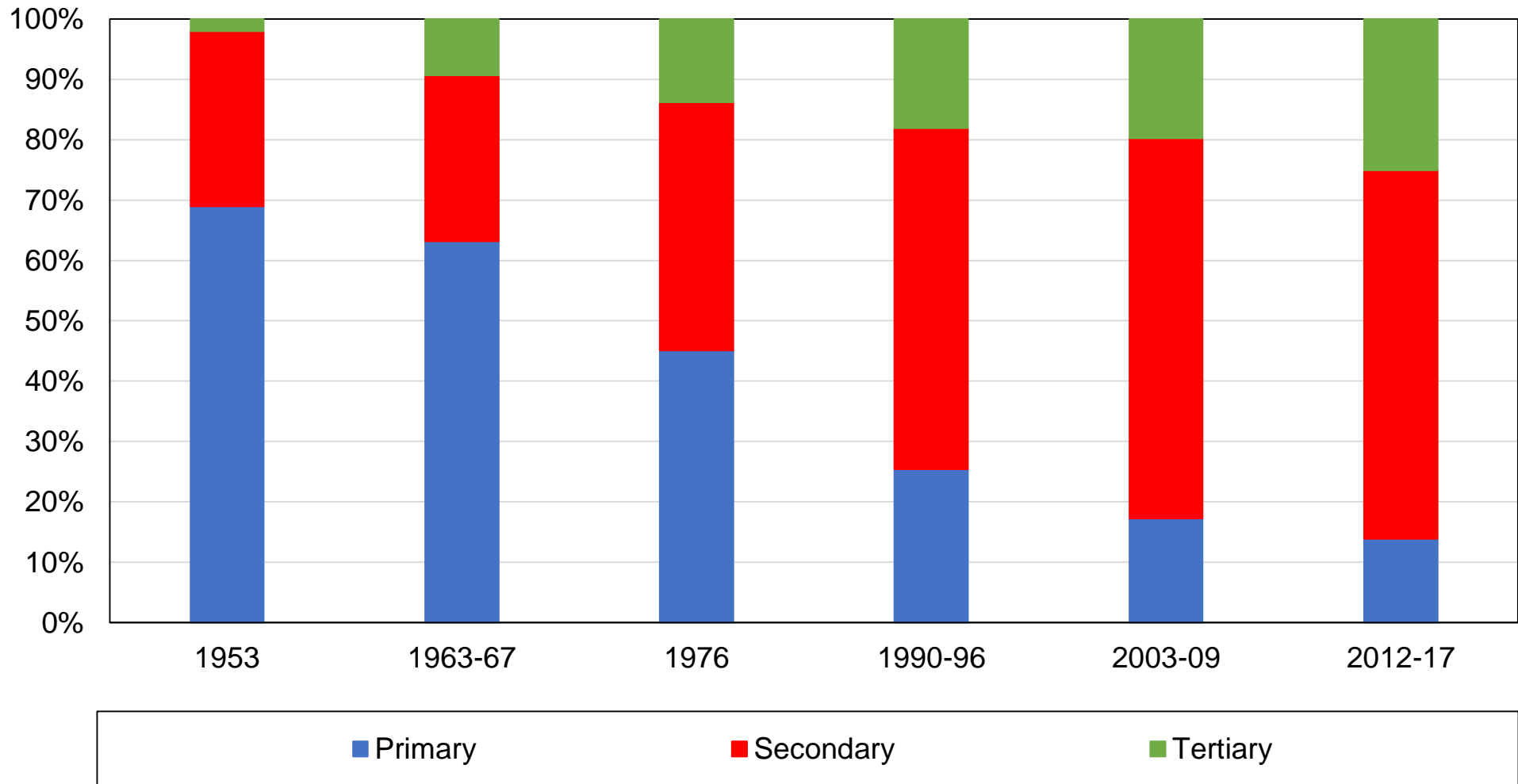
Figure A1 - Election results in Japan by groups, 1946-2017



Source: author's computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Japanese political parties in general elections between 1946 and 2017.

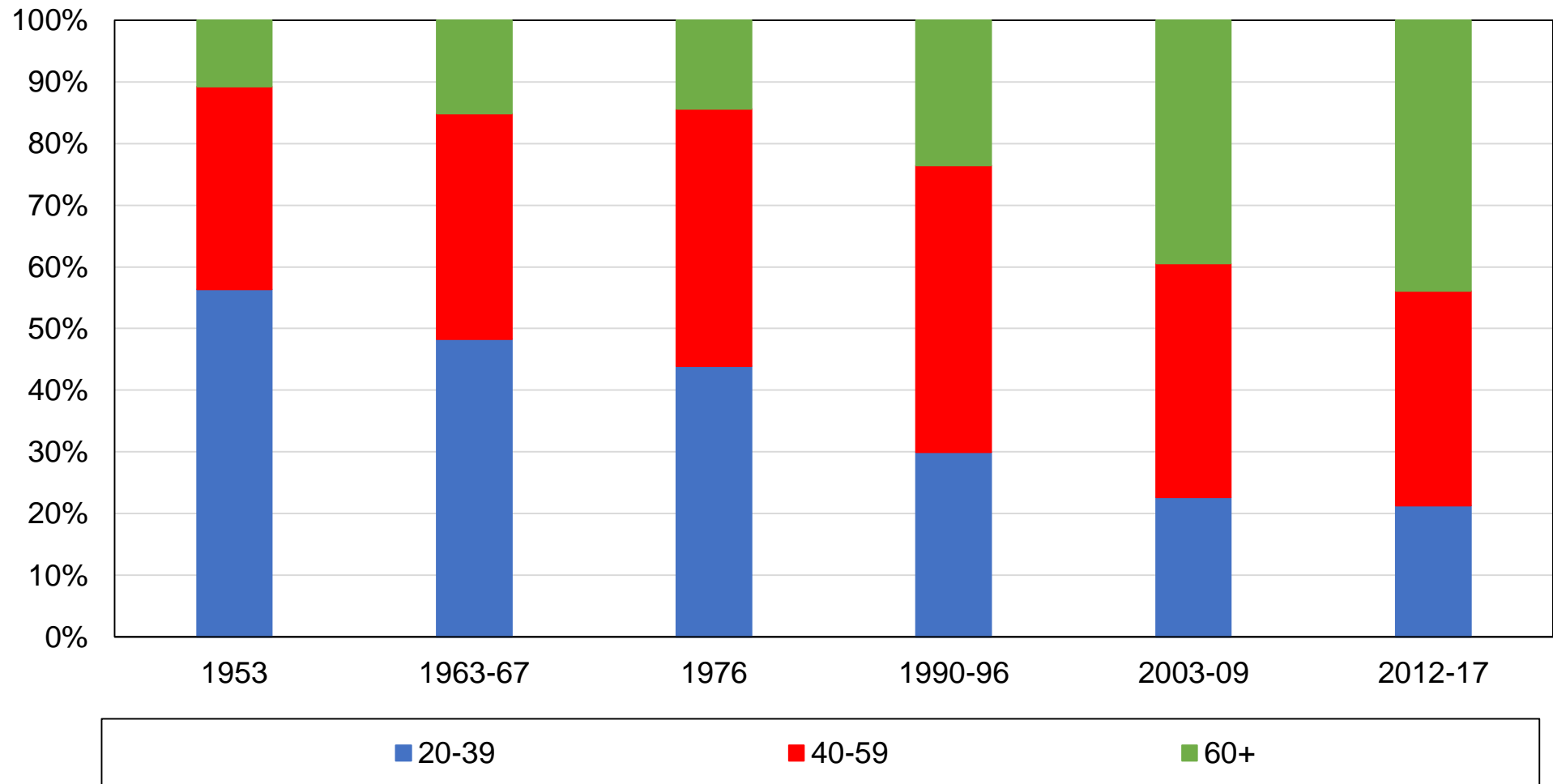
Figure A2 - Structure of the electorate by education level



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels of the Japanese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1950s.

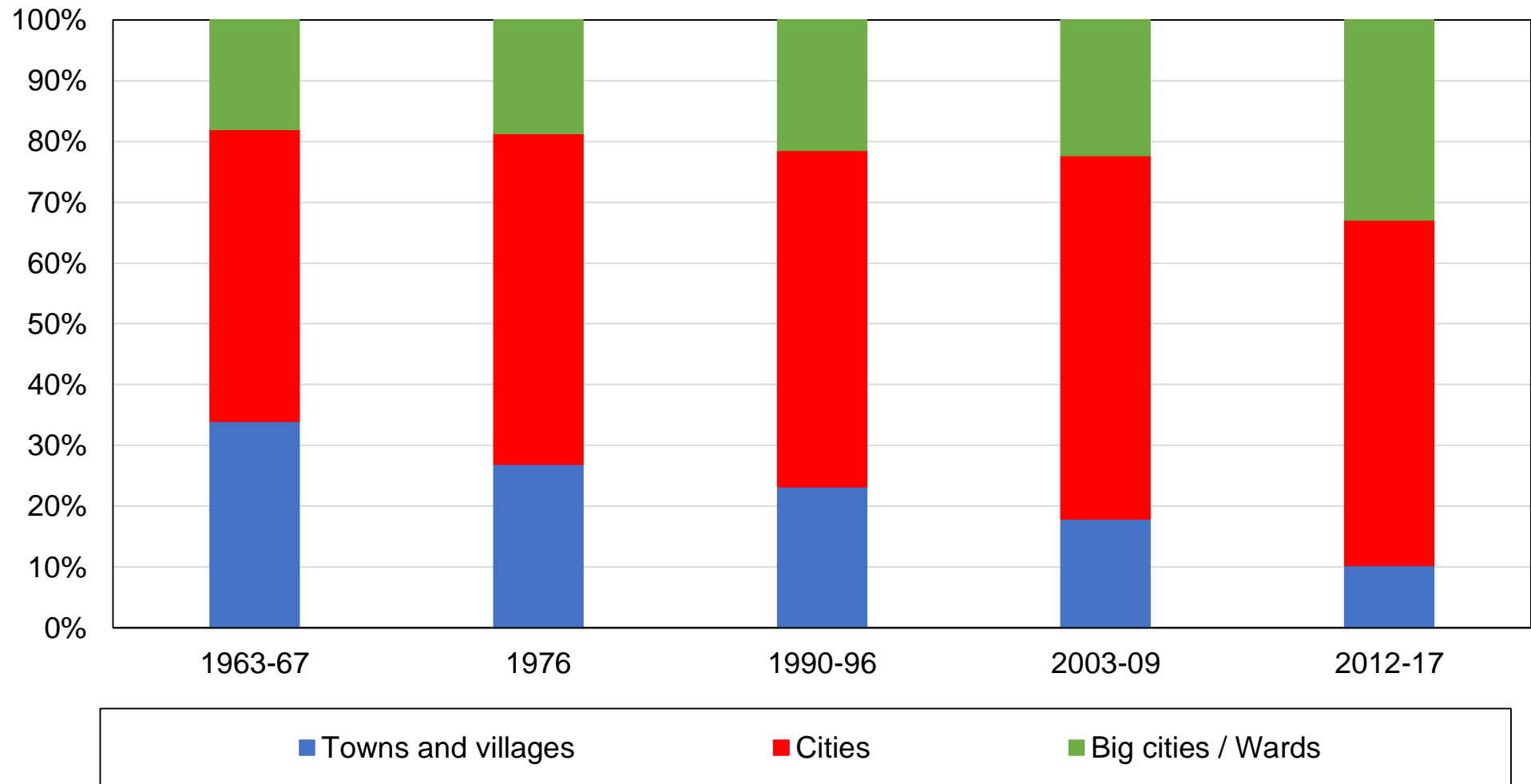
Figure A3 - Structure of the electorate by age group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of age groups in the Japanese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1950s.

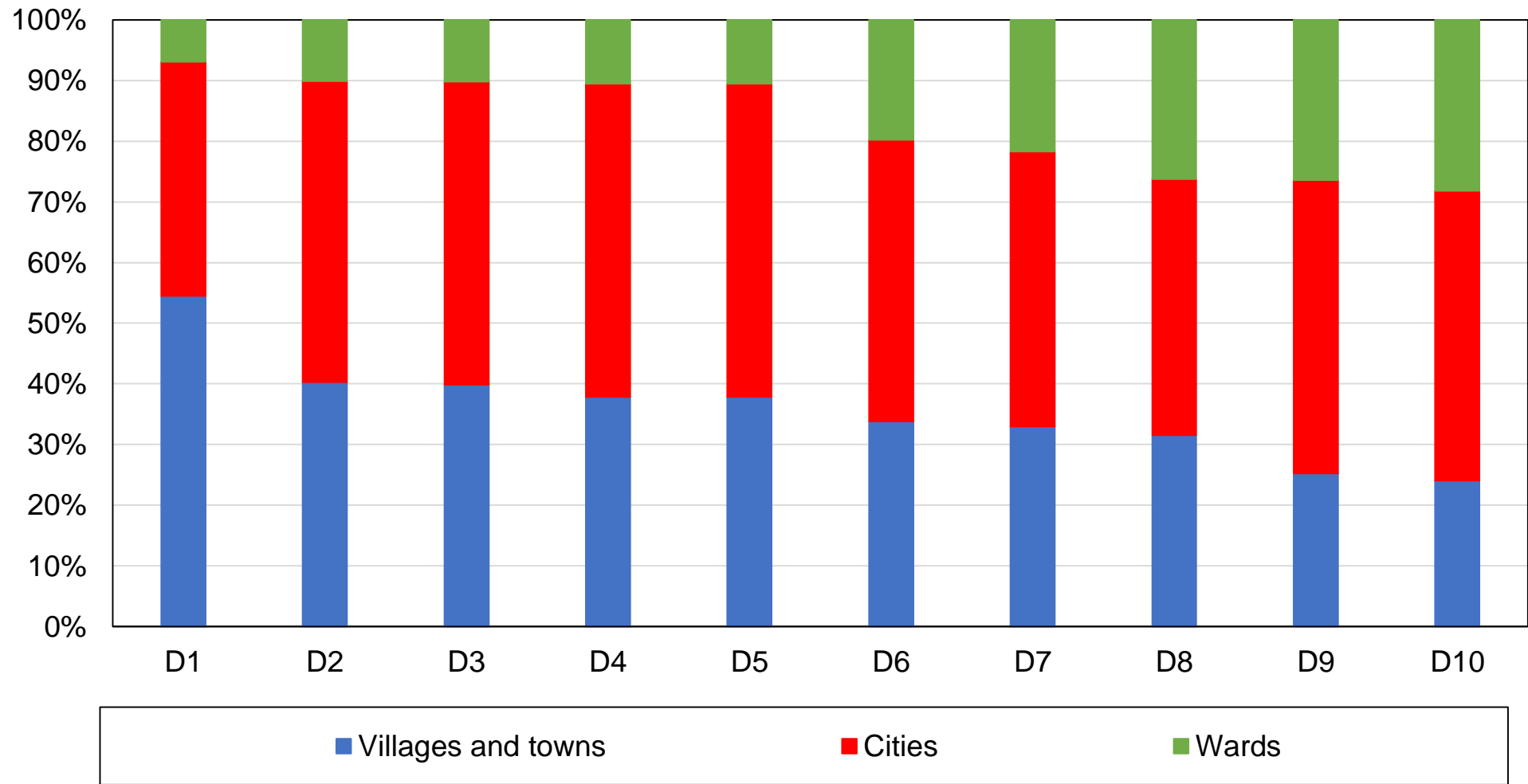
Figure A4 - Structure of the electorate by rural-urban location



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of rural-urban locations of the Japanese adult population and its evolution over time since the 1950s.

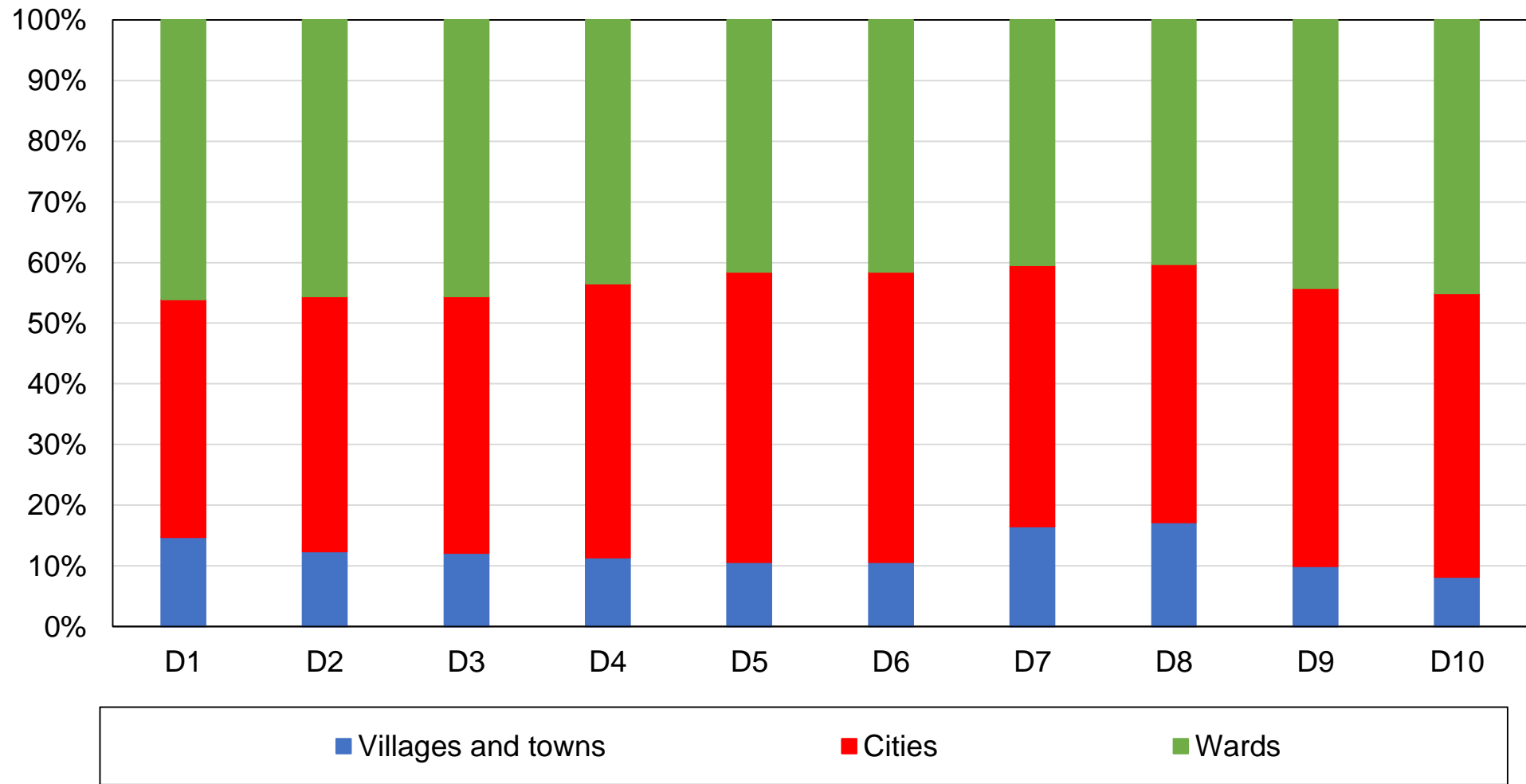
Figure A5 - Rural-urban composition of income groups, 1967



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by rural-urban locations of the Japanese adult population in 1967.

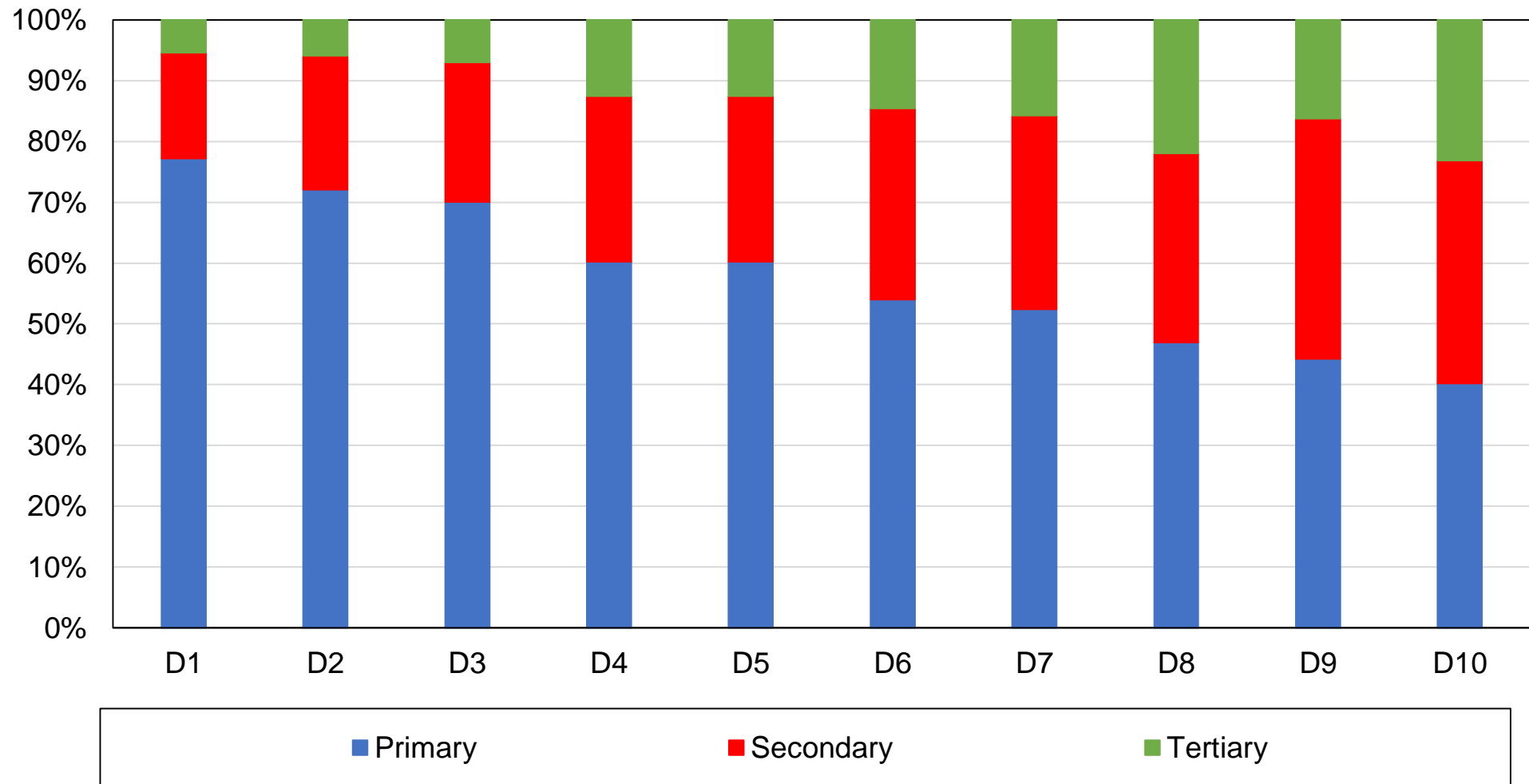
Figure A6 - Rural-urban composition of income groups, 2013



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by rural-urban locations of the Japanese adult population in 2013.

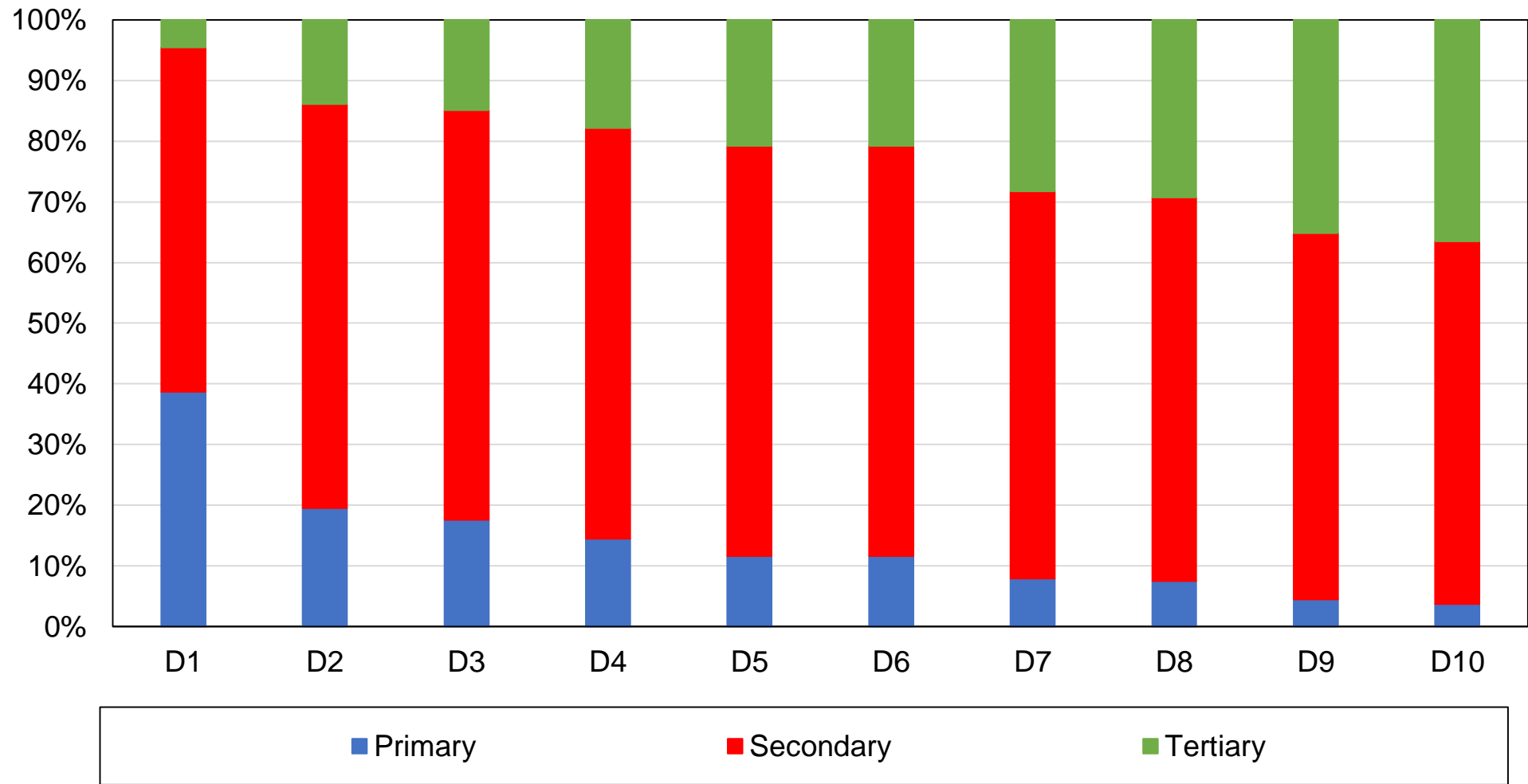
Figure A7 - Educational composition of income groups, 1967



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by education level of the Japanese adult population in 1967.

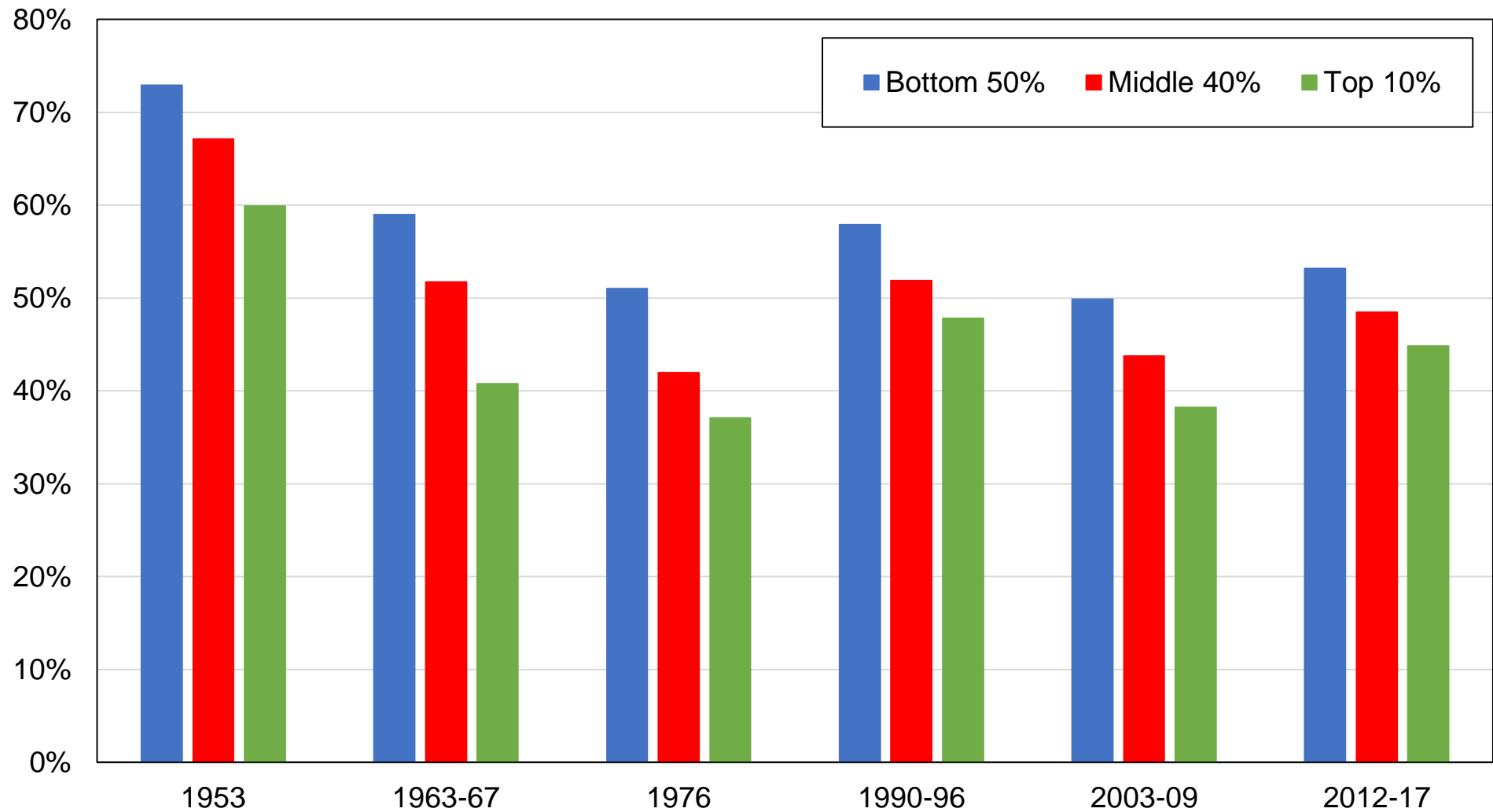
Figure A8 - Educational composition of income groups, 2013



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income groups by education level of the Japanese adult population in 2013.

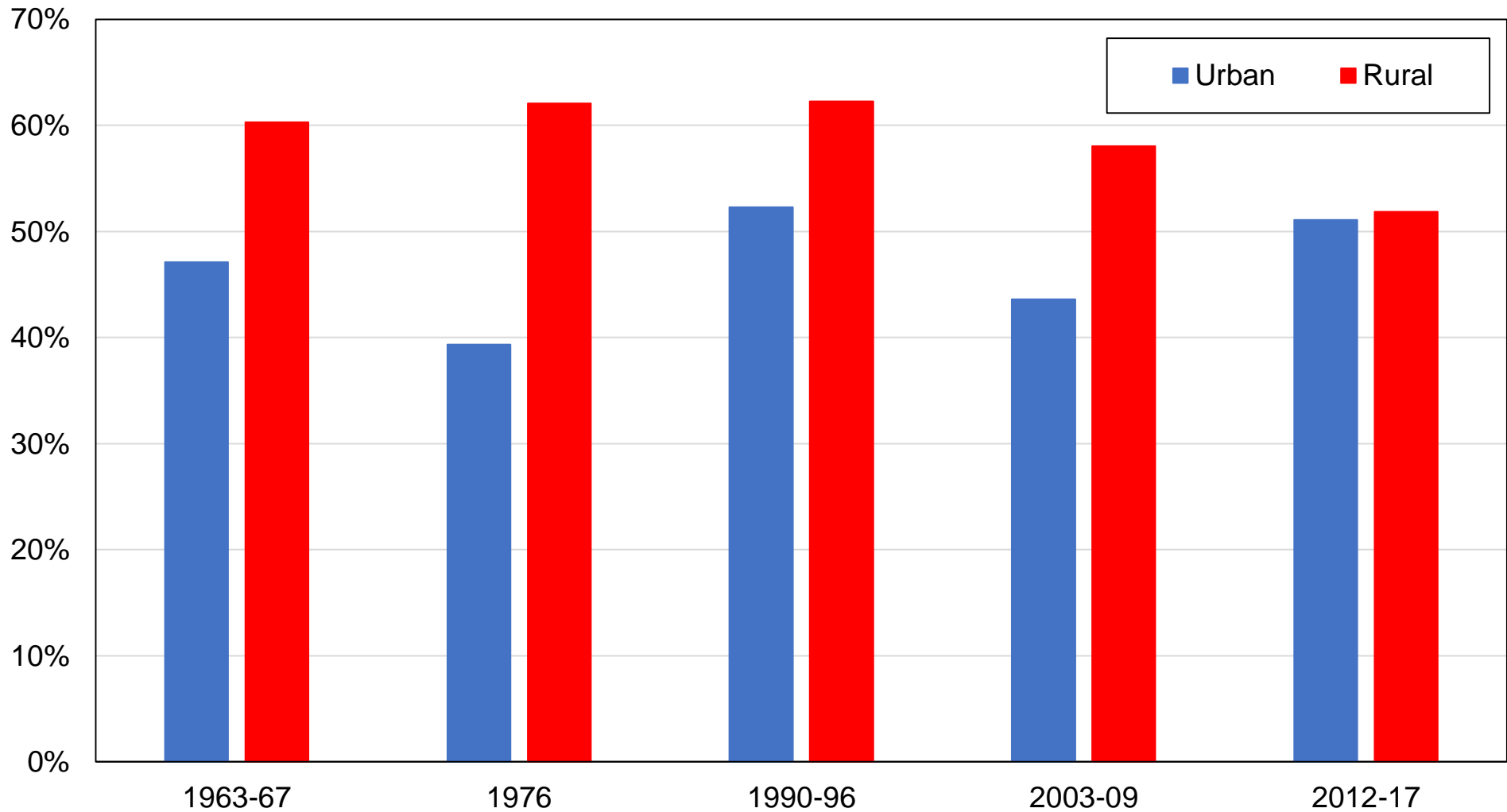
Figure A9 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by education group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by education group.

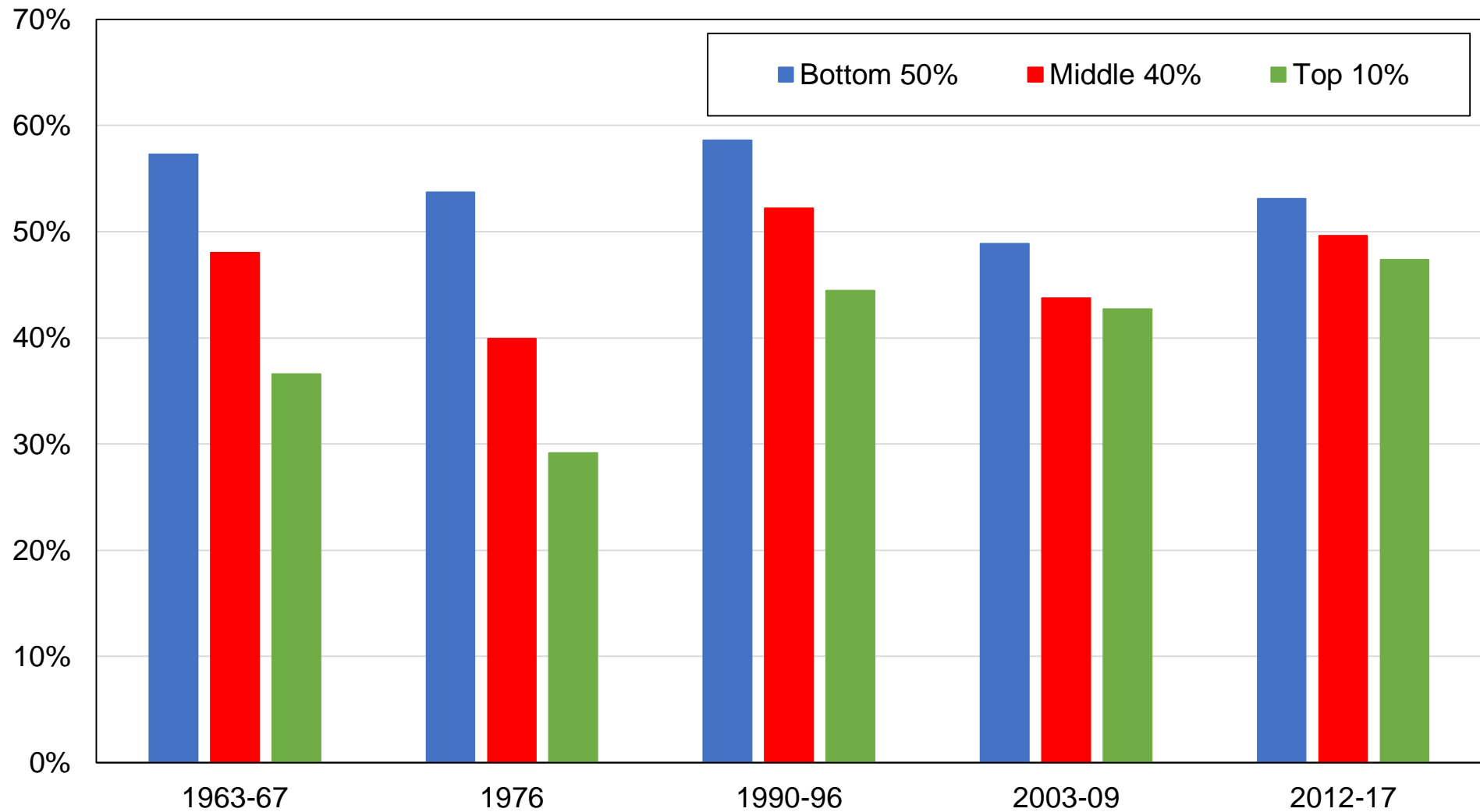
Figure A10 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by rural-urban location



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by location.

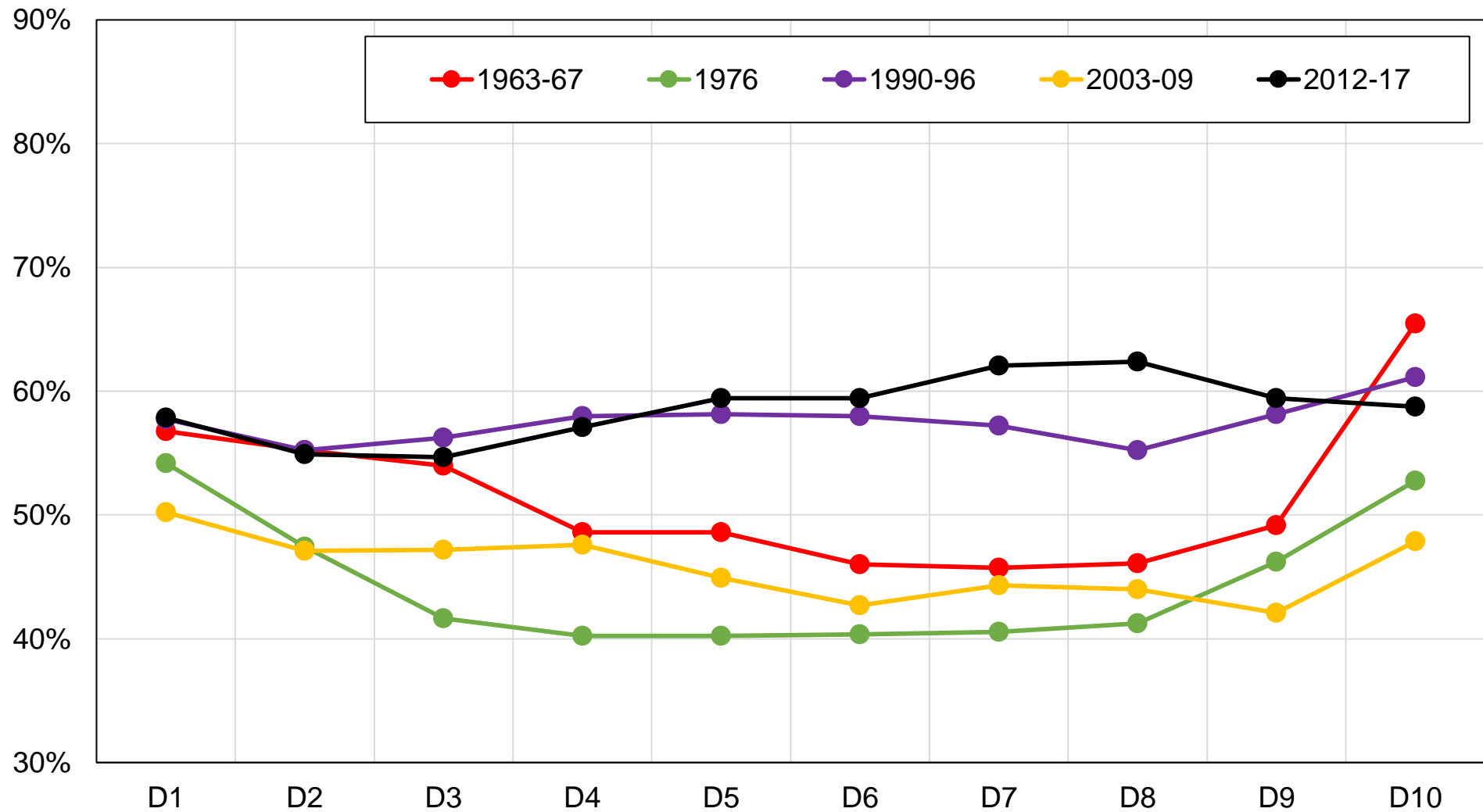
Figure A11 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by rural-urban rank



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by location.

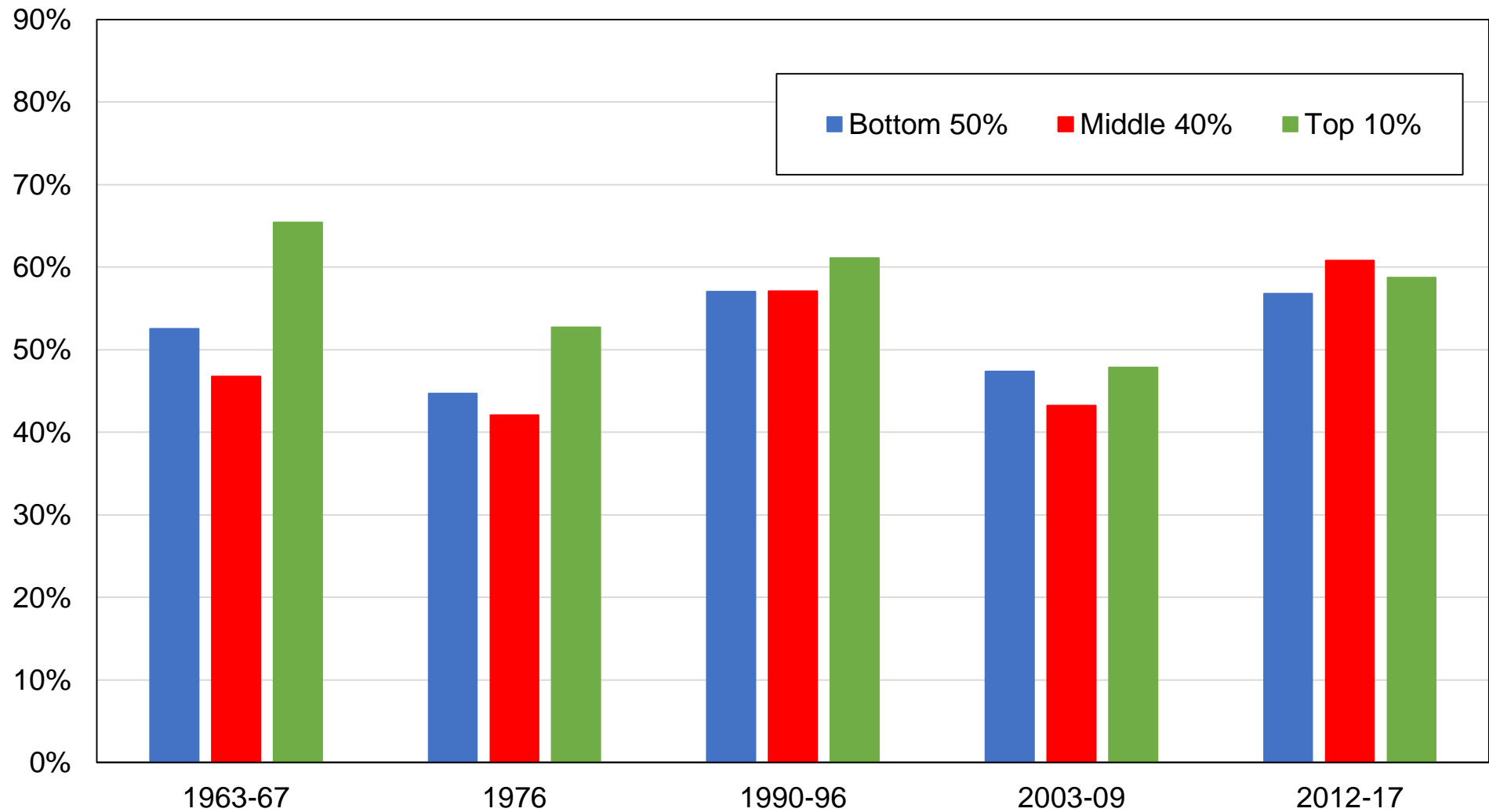
Figure A12 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by income decile



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by income decile.

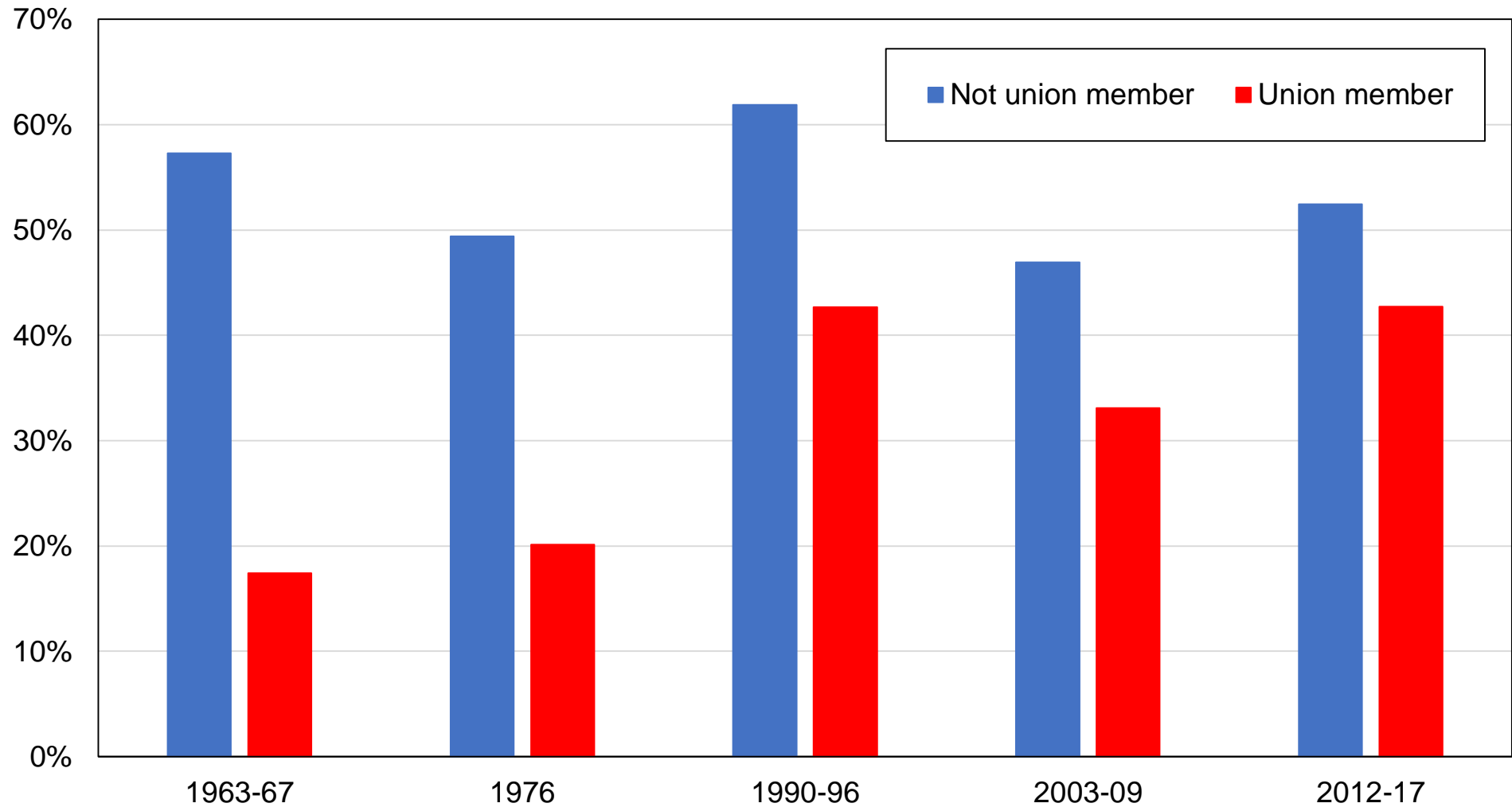
Figure A13 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by income group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by income group.

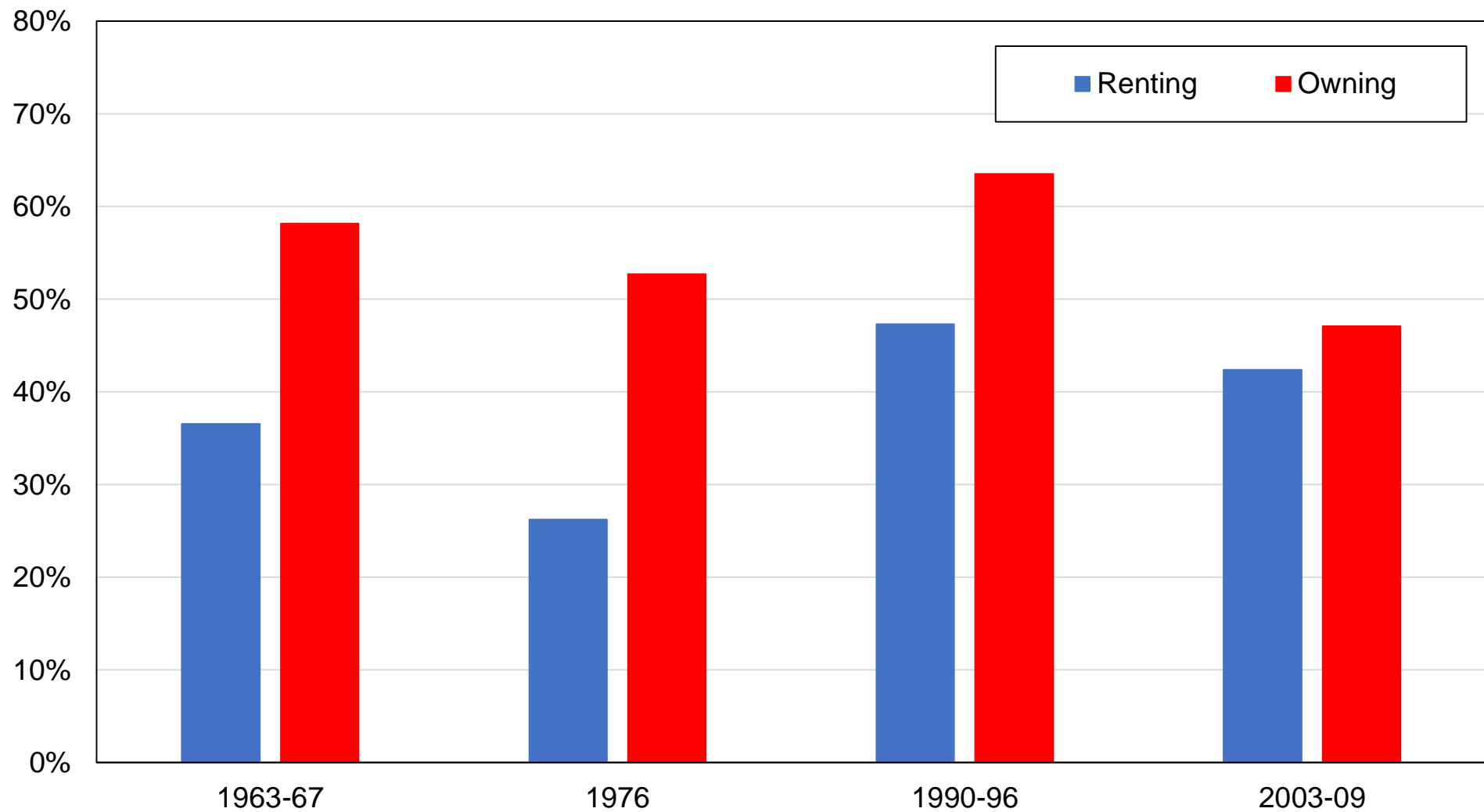
Figure A14 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by union membership



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by union membership.

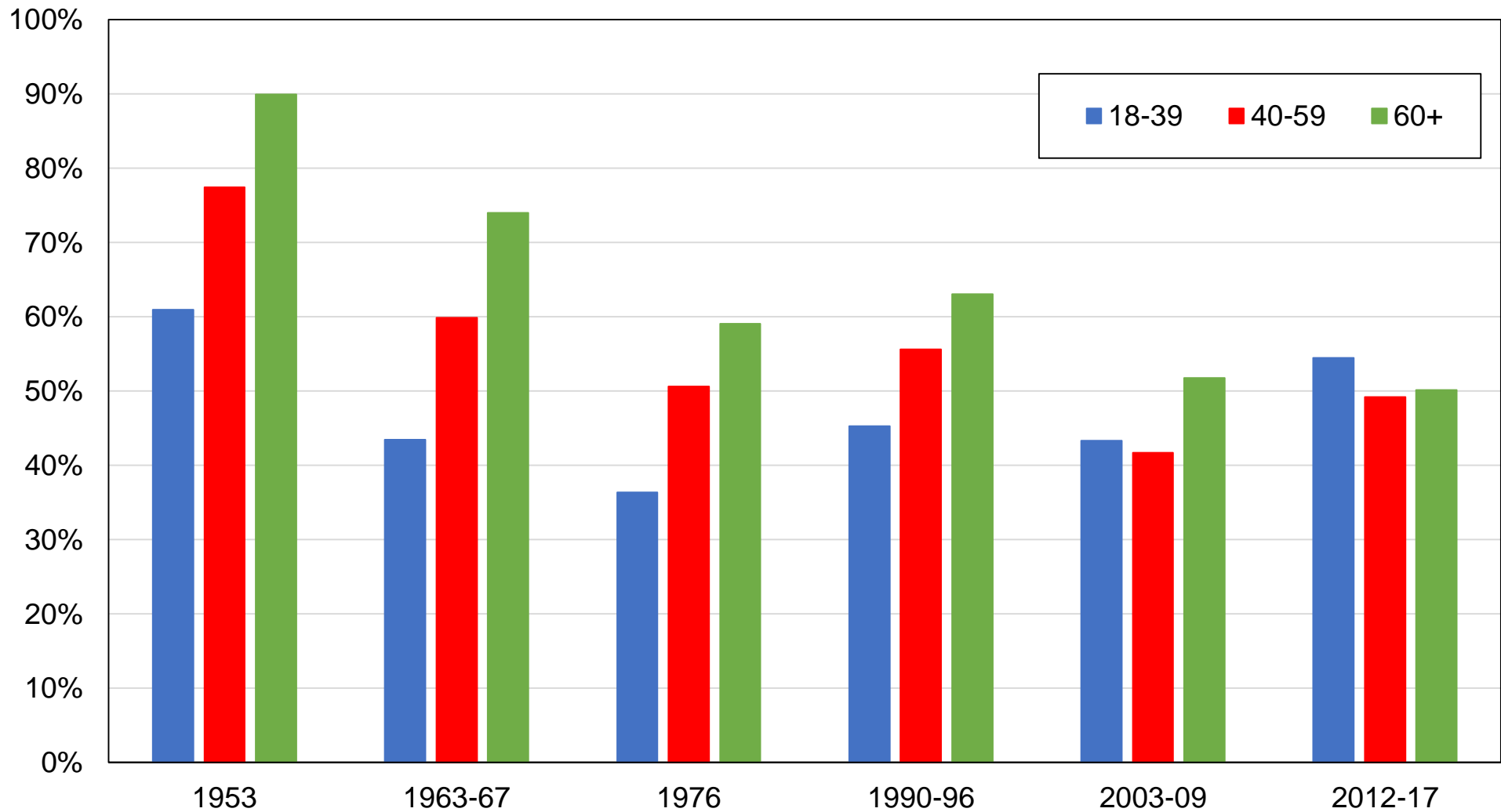
Figure A15 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by home status



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by home ownership.

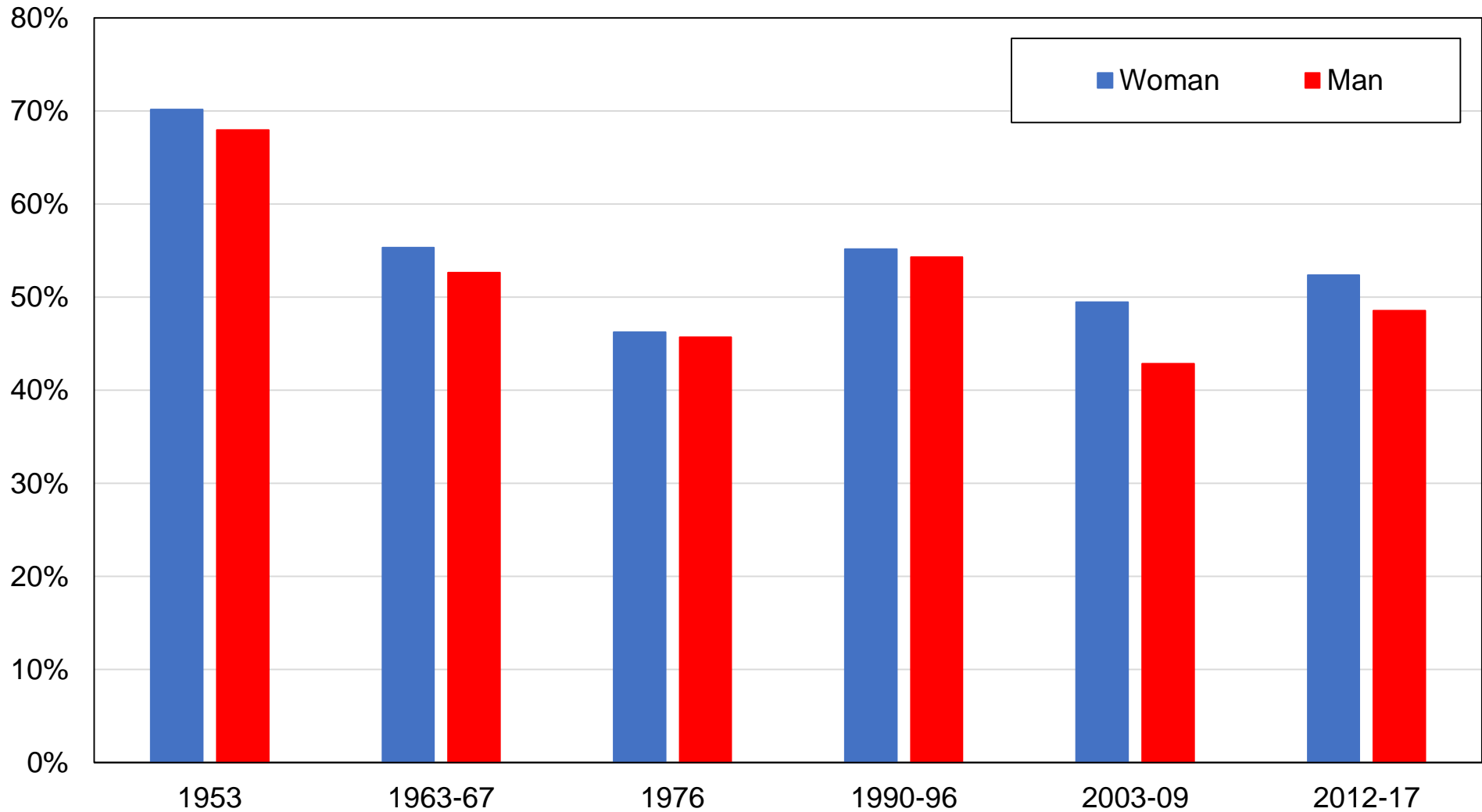
Figure A16 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by age group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by age group.

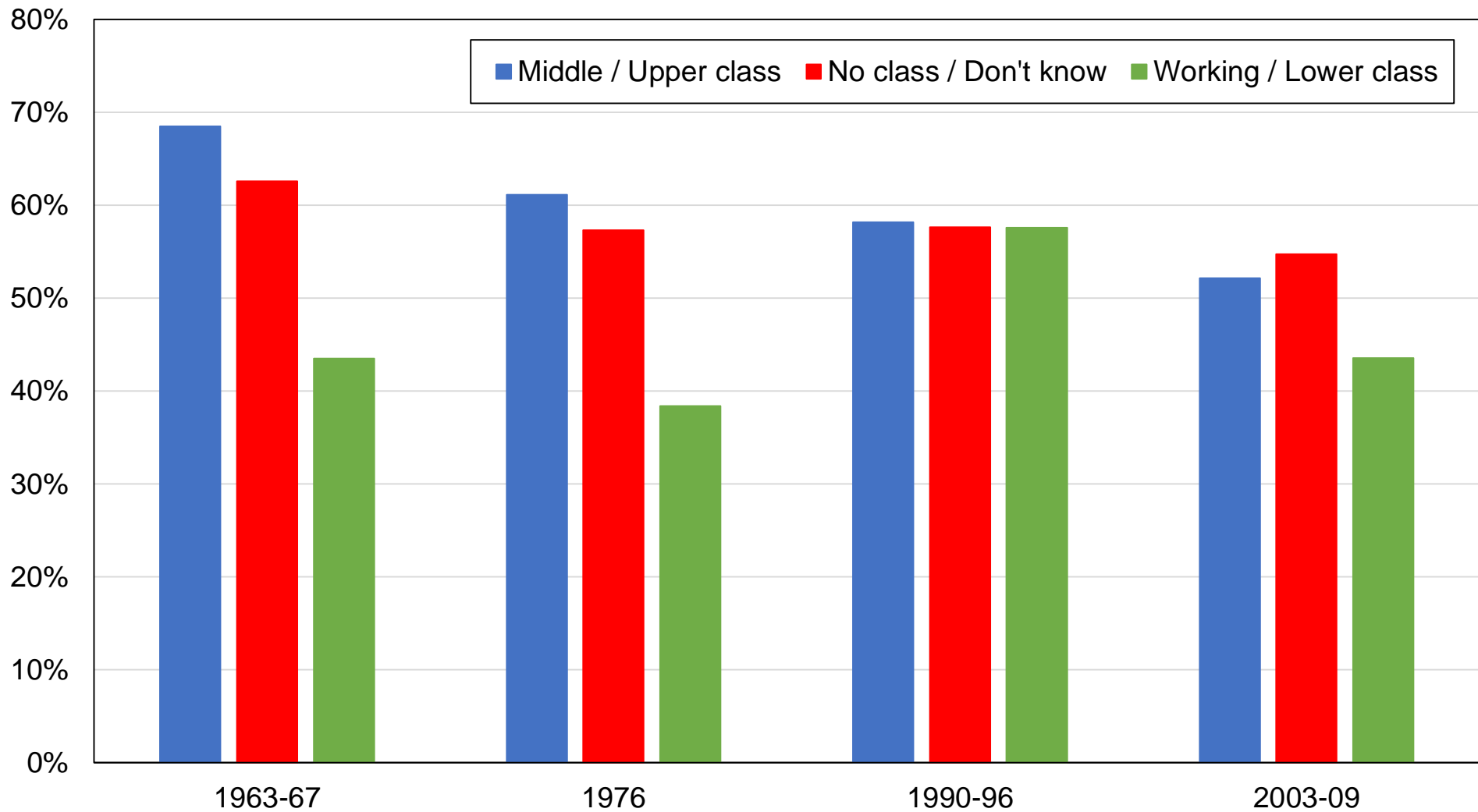
Figure A17 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by gender



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by gender.

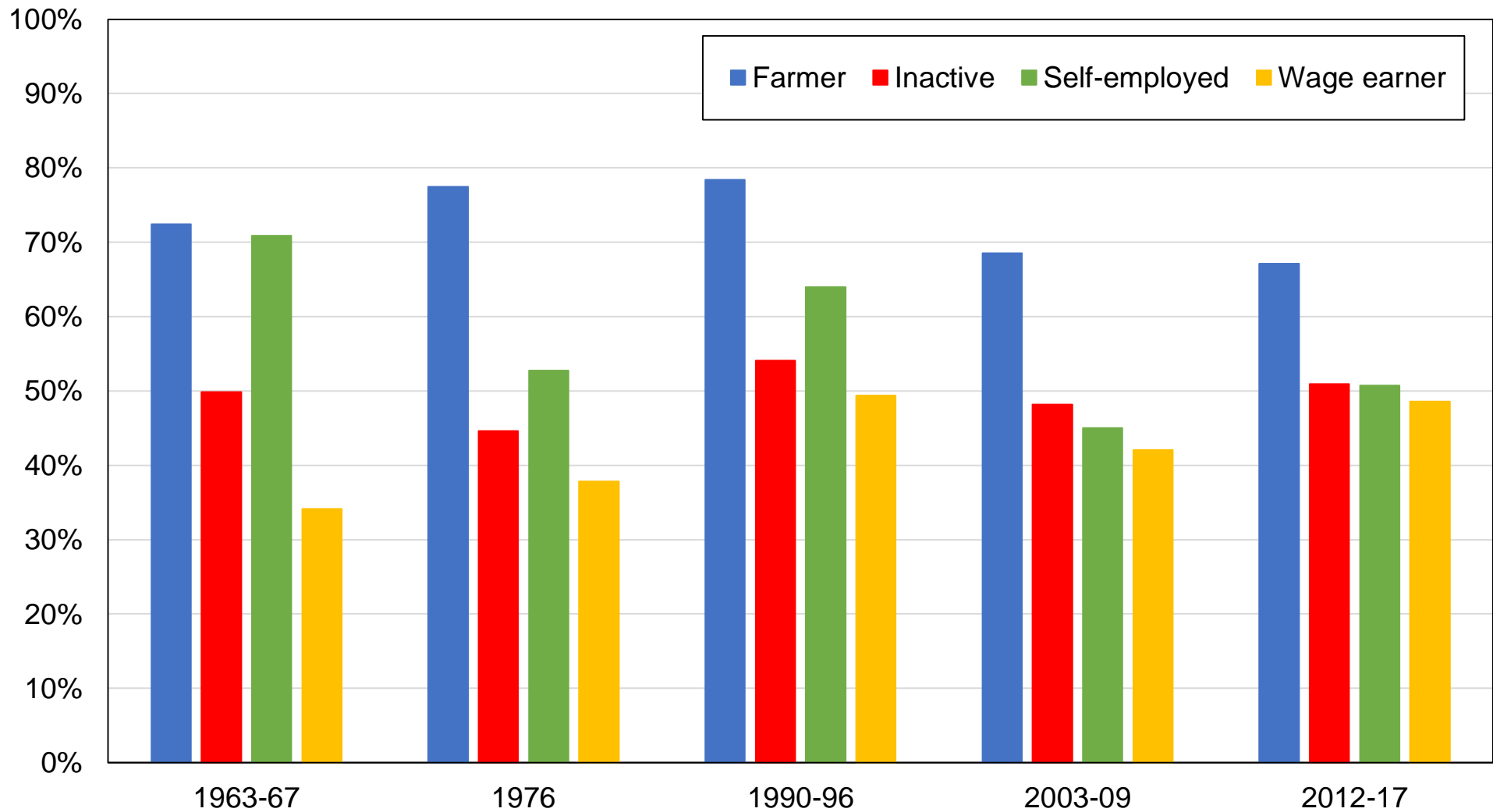
Figure A18 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by perceived class



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by perceived social class.

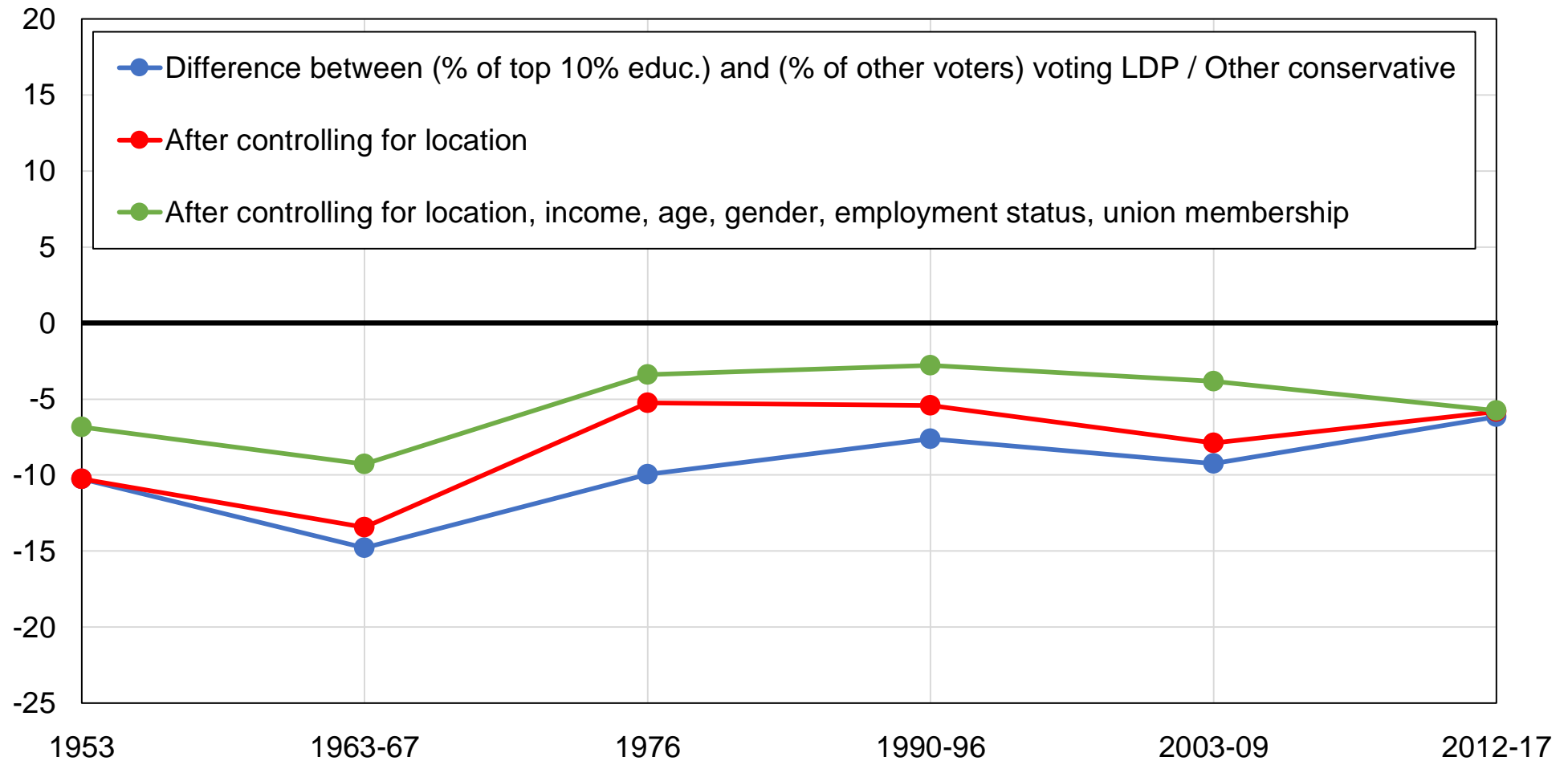
Figure A19 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by occupation



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by LDP / Other conservative by occupation.

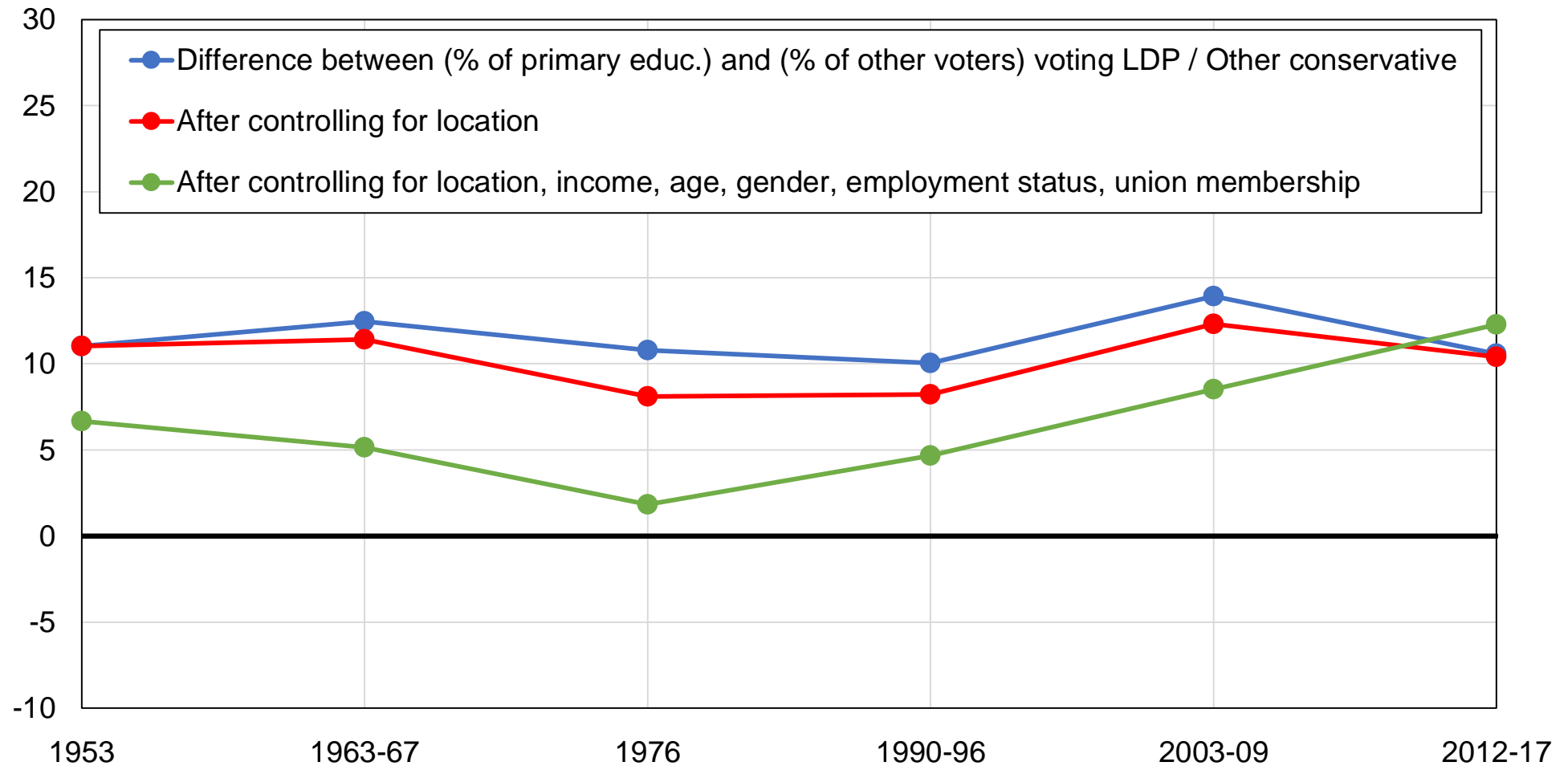
Figure A20 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among highest-educated voters



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative, before and after controlling for other variables.

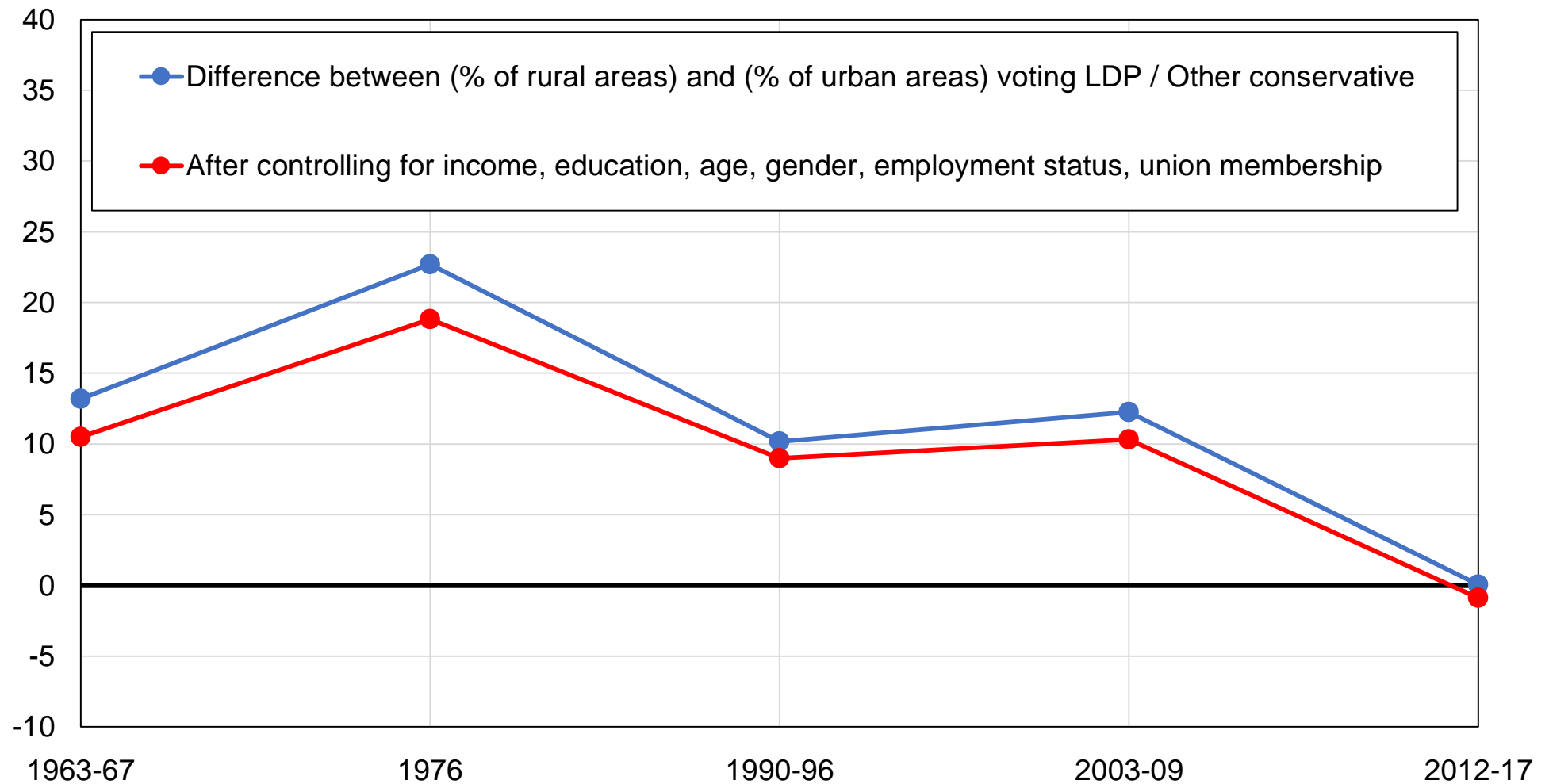
Figure A21 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among primary-educated voters



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of primary educated voters and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative, before and after controlling for other variables.

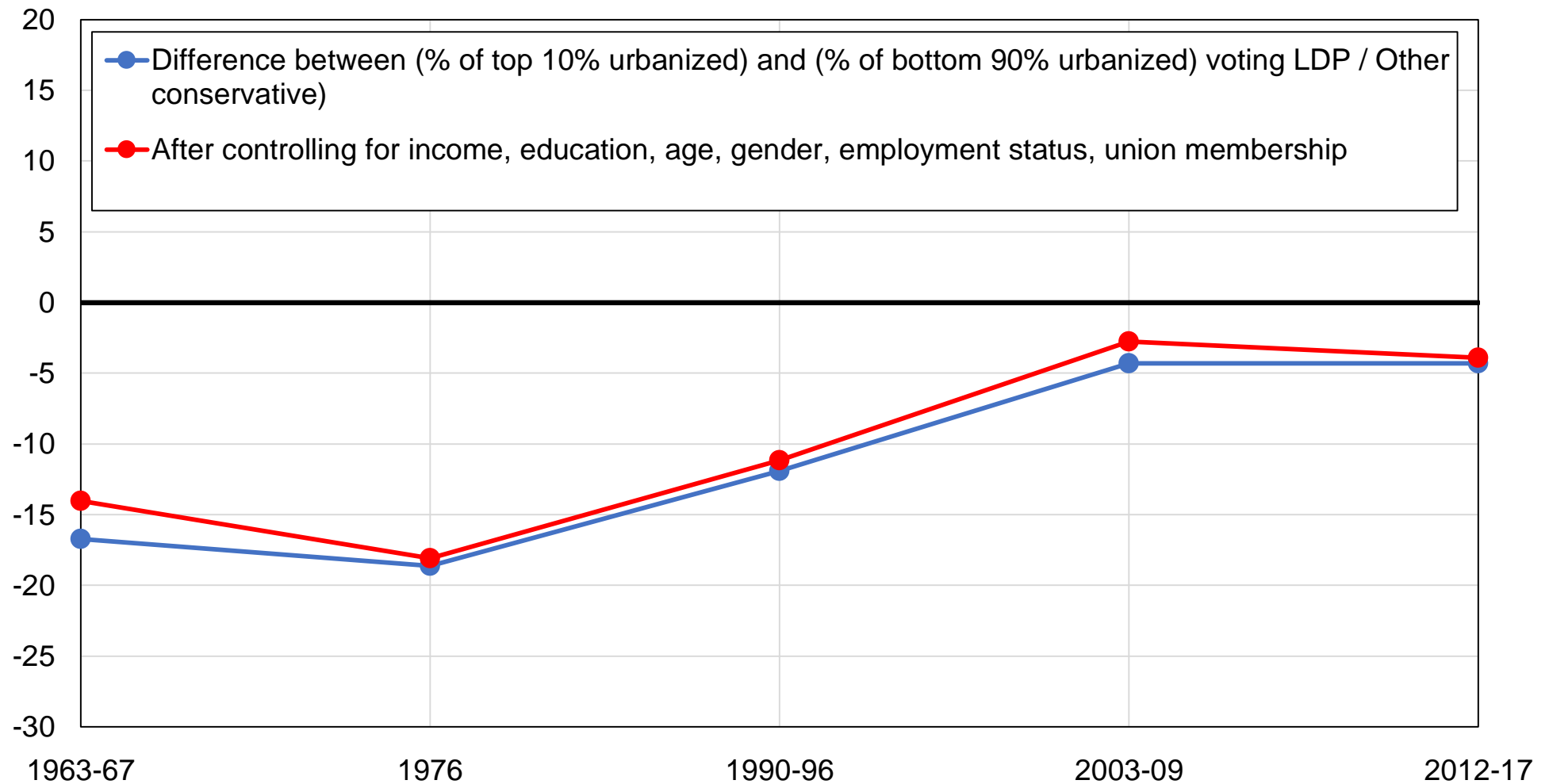
Figure A22 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among rural areas



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of rural areas and the share of urban areas voting for LDP / Other conservative parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

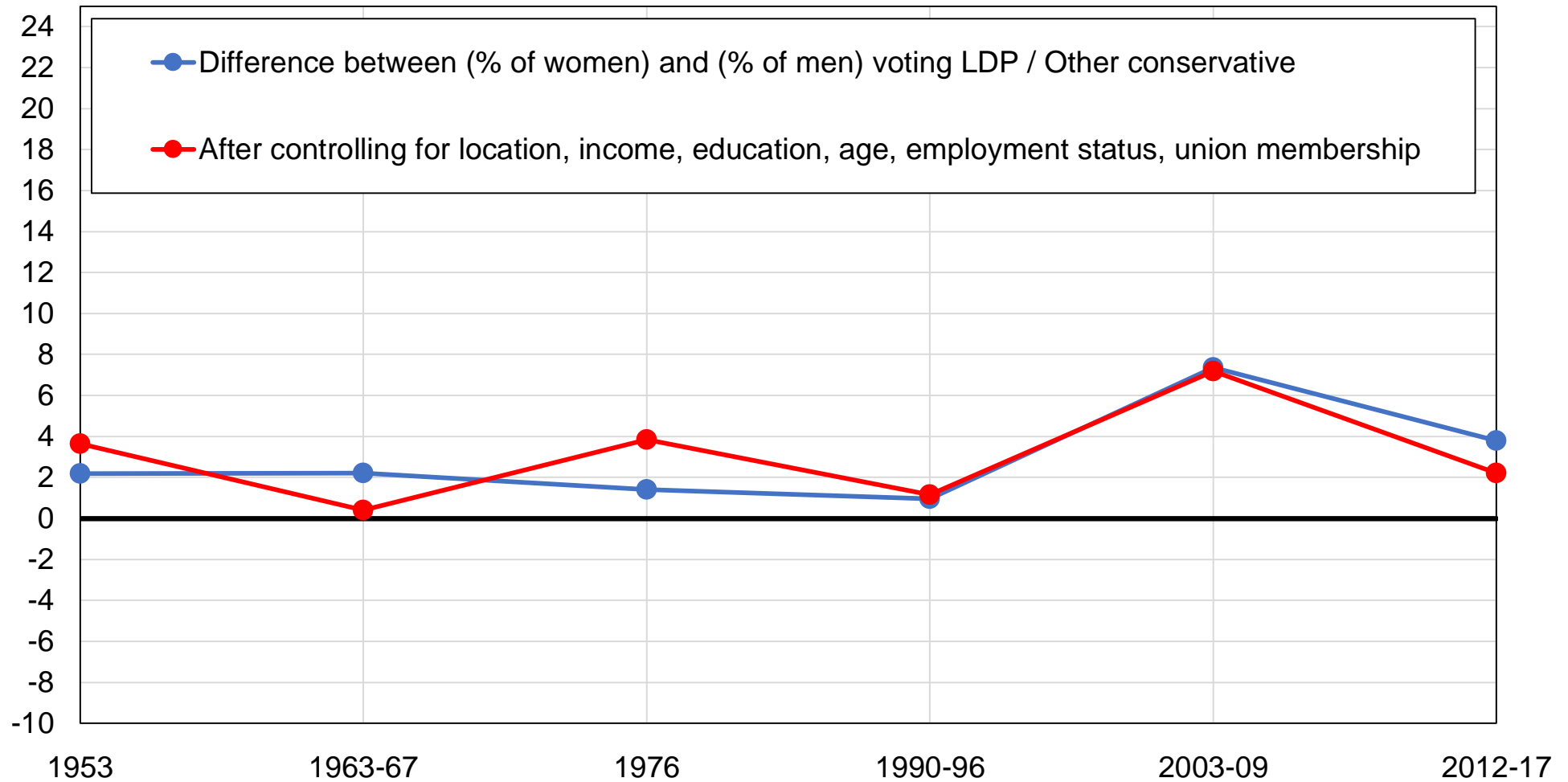
Figure A23 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among top 10% cities



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% urbanized areas and the share of bottom 90% urbanized areas voting for LDP / Other conservative parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

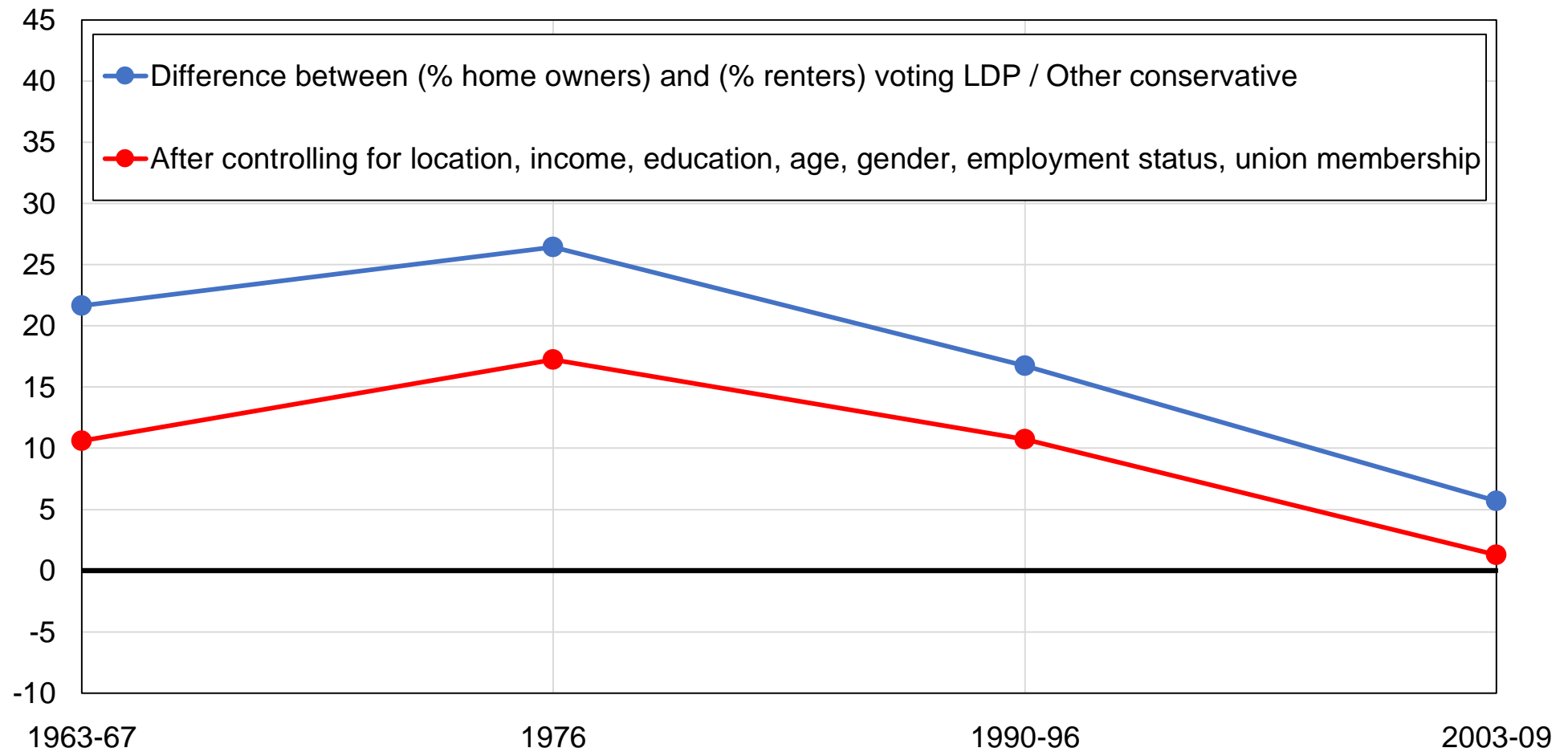
Figure A24 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among women



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for LDP / Other conservative, before and after controlling for other variables.

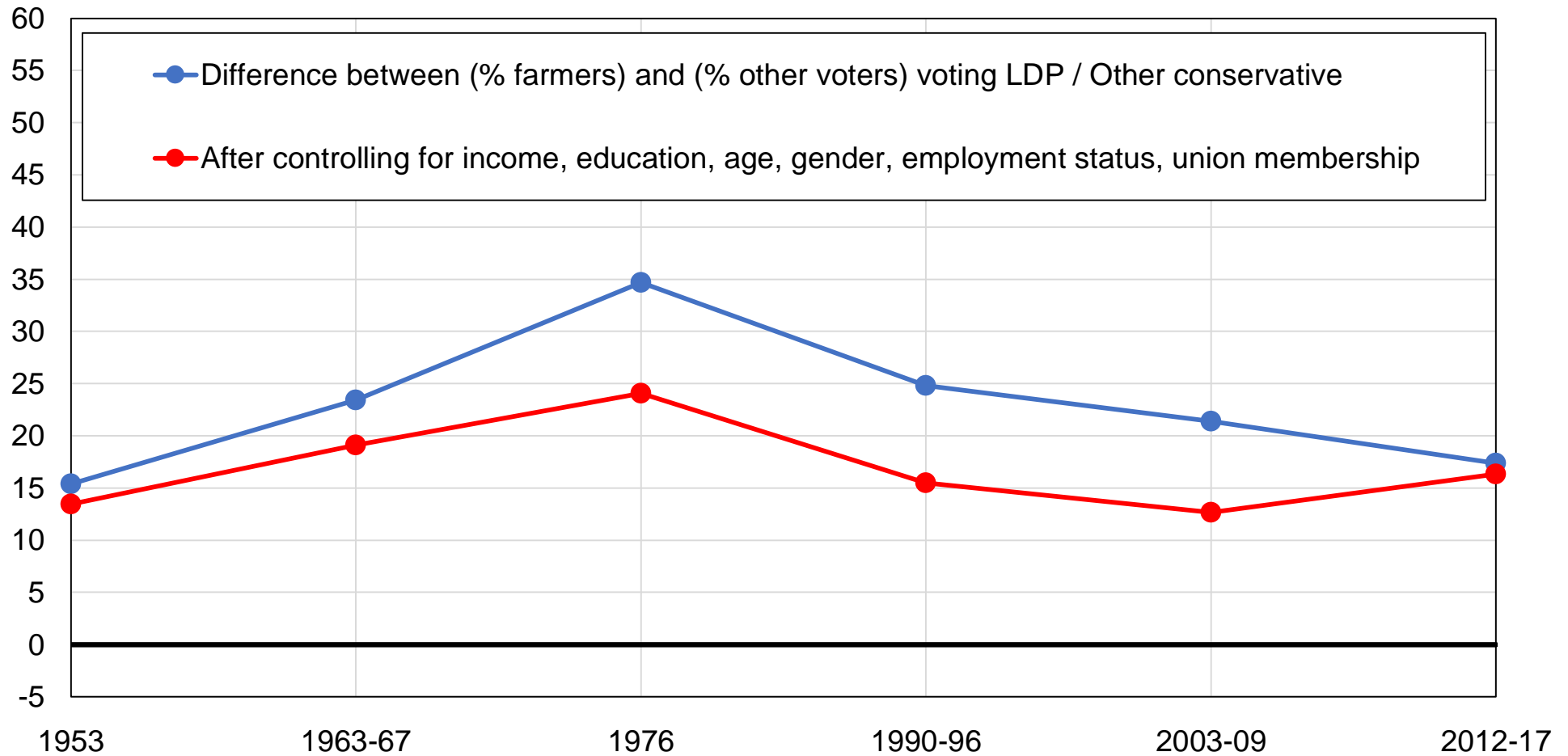
Figure A25 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among homeowners



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of homeowners and the share of tenants voting for LDP / Other conservative parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

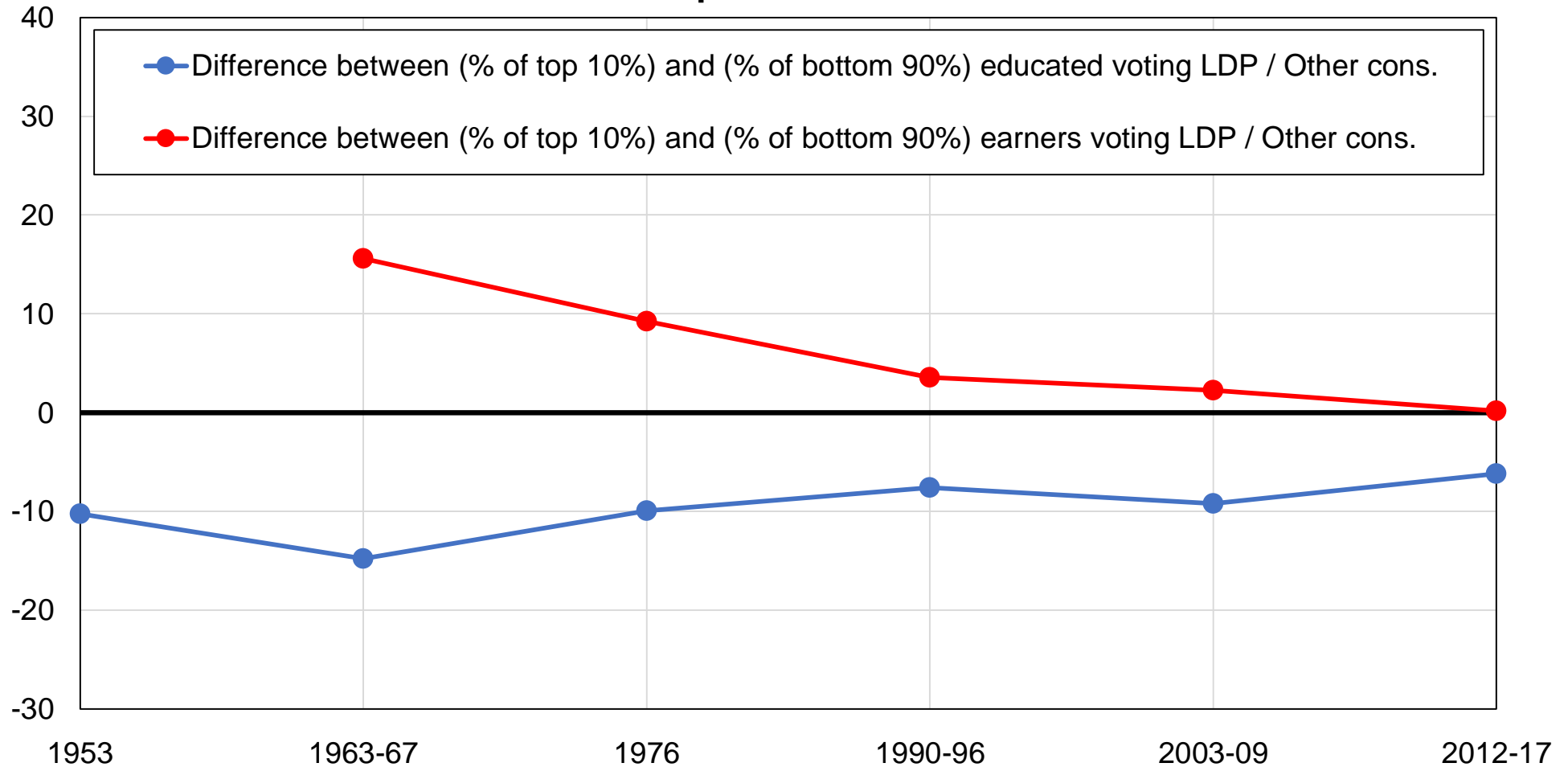
Figure A26 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among farmers



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of farmers and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative parties, before and after controlling for other variables.

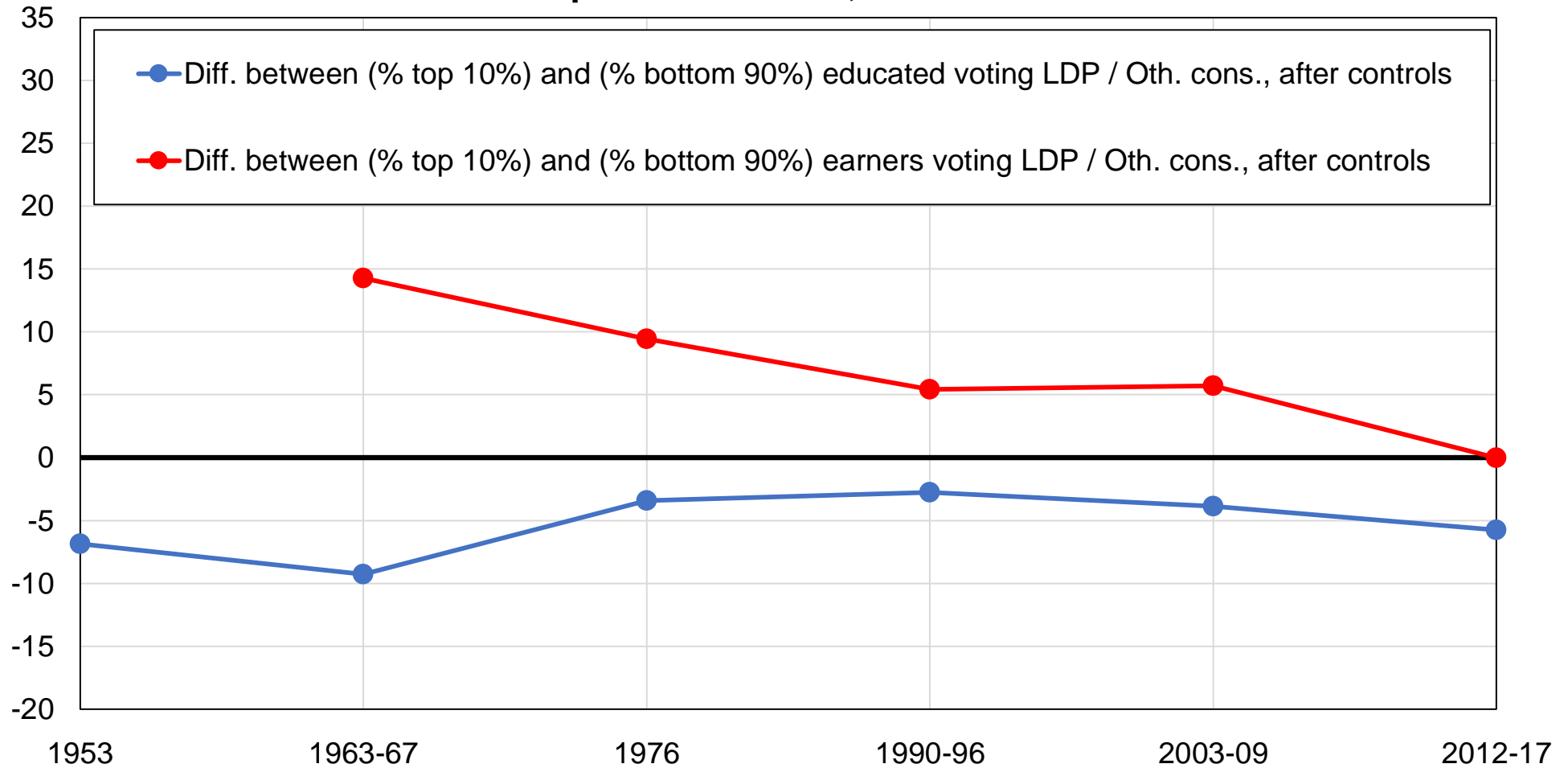
Figure A27 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among highest-educated and top-income voters



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative, and the same for top 10% income voters.

Figure A28 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative among highest-educated and top-income voters, after controls



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters voting for LDP / Other conservative, and the same for top 10% income voters, after controls.

Table A1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1953	First Survey on the National Character of the Japanese	SSJDA	2254
1963	Post-electoral survey (Kabashima collection)	SSJDA	2505
1967	Japanese National Election Study (JNES)	ICPSR	1973
1976	Japanese National Election Study (JABISS)	ICPSR	2028
1990	Post-electoral survey (Kabashima collection)	SSJDA	1462
1993	Japanese Election Study II, vague 1	SSJDA	3985
1996	Japanese Election Study II, vague 2	SSJDA	1327
2003	Japanese Election Study III, vague 5	SSJDA	2268
2005	Japanese Election Study III, vague 8	SSJDA	1498
2009	Japanese Election Study IV, vague 3	SSJDA	1684
2012	Post-electoral survey (Kabashima collection)	SSJDA	1234
2013	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)	CSES	1937
2014	Post-electoral survey (Kabashima collection)	SSJDA	2029
2017	Post-electoral survey (Kabashima collection)	SSJDA	2151

Source: author's elaboration.

Note: the table shows the surveys used in the chapter, the source from which these surveys can be obtained, and the sample size of each survey. ICPSR: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. SSJDA: Social Science Japanese Data Archive. CSES: Comparative Study of Electoral Systems. All surveys cover lower house elections, except the 2013 survey which was conducted after the upper house election of 2013.

Table A2 - Complete descriptive statistics by decade

	1953	1963-67	1976	1990-96	2003-09	2012-17
Education: Primary	69%	63%	45%	25%	17%	14%
Education: Secondary	29%	27%	41%	57%	63%	61%
Education: Tertiary	2%	9%	14%	18%	20%	25%
Age: 20-39	56%	48%	44%	30%	23%	21%
Age: 40-59	33%	37%	42%	47%	38%	35%
Age: 60+	11%	15%	14%	24%	39%	44%
Location: Towns and villages		34%	27%	23%	18%	10%
Location: Cities		48%	54%	55%	60%	57%
Location: Wards		18%	19%	21%	22%	33%
Gender: Men	47%	47%	44%	48%	48%	48%
Union membership		12%	10%	13%	5%	7%
House ownership		71%	71%	72%	81%	

Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by decade for selected available variables.

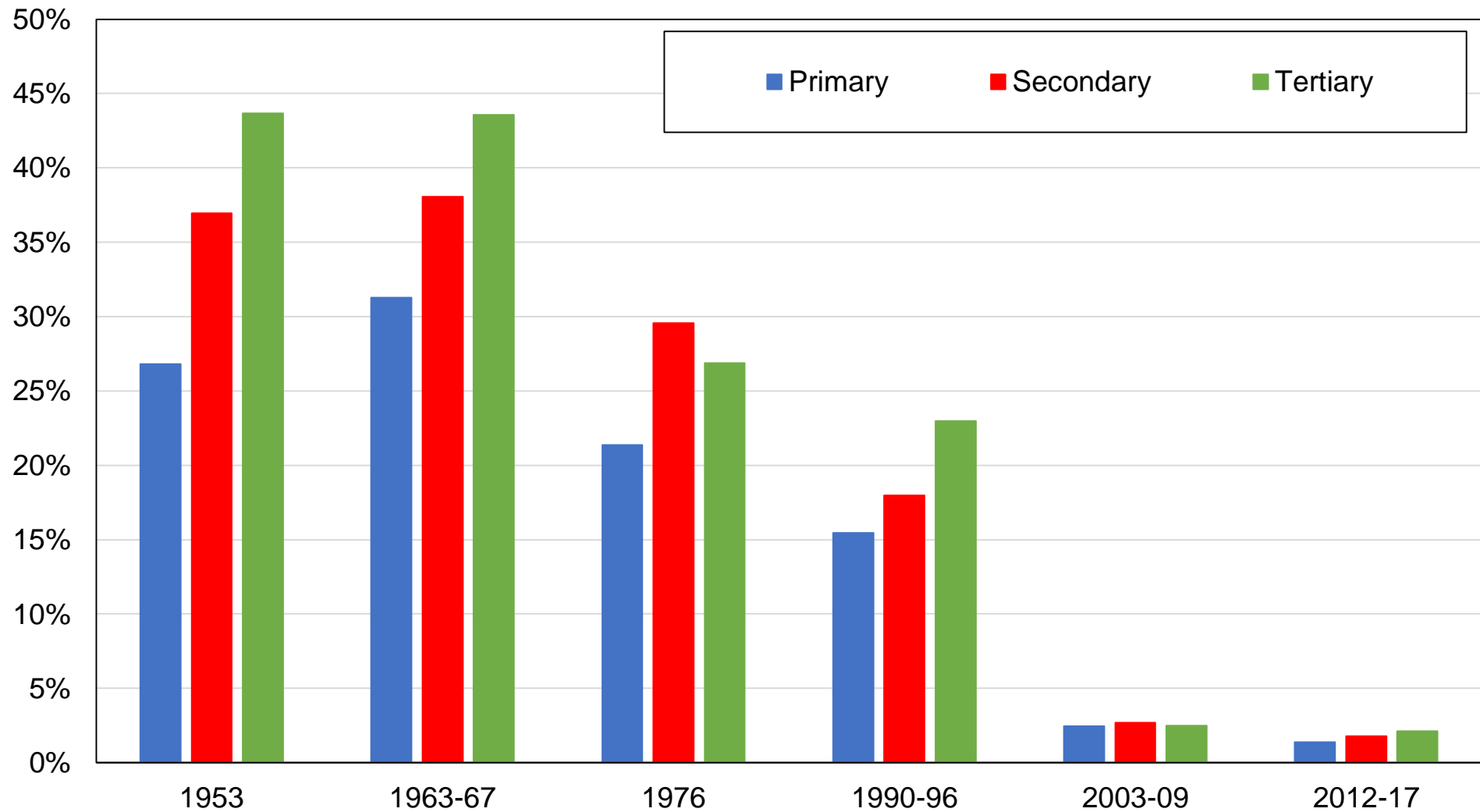
Table A3 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by detailed occupational categories

	Share voting LDP / Komeito / Other right	Population share
1963		
Farmer	74%	20%
Services	72%	13%
Self-employed	62%	2%
Inactive	57%	37%
Management	44%	1%
Manual Labor	35%	14%
Professional Technical Workers, Clerical	33%	13%
1976		
Farmer	80%	9%
Salesperson	59%	9%
Unskilled Worker	56%	8%
Inactive	52%	43%
White Collar	49%	7%
Skilled Worker	39%	13%
Other Worker	39%	4%
Office Worker	35%	7%
2014		
Farmer	59%	3%
Transportation And Communication	52%	3%
Inactive	49%	38%
Manufacturing Industry Work	47%	12%
Retail, Shop, Clerk	47%	16%
Other employee	46%	3%
White Collar	42%	14%
Security Work	42%	1%
Administrative Work	41%	10%
2017		
Farmer	72%	2%
Manufacturing Industry Work	49%	11%
Retail, Shop, Clerk	49%	13%
Administrative Work	49%	9%
Other employee	47%	5%
Security Work	46%	1%
Transportation And Communication	45%	3%
Inactive	45%	40%
White Collar	37%	15%

Table A4 - Vote for LDP / Other conservative by type of employment

	Share voting LDP / Other conservative	Population share
2014		
Farmer	59%	3%
Inactive	49%	40%
Self-employed	47%	16%
Wage earner (manager)	46%	7%
Wage earner (full time)	46%	24%
Wage earner (part time)	37%	10%
2017		
Farmer	72%	2%
Self-employed	49%	13%
Wage earner (manager)	46%	7%
Inactive	45%	46%
Wage earner (full time)	44%	23%
Wage earner (part time)	43%	10%

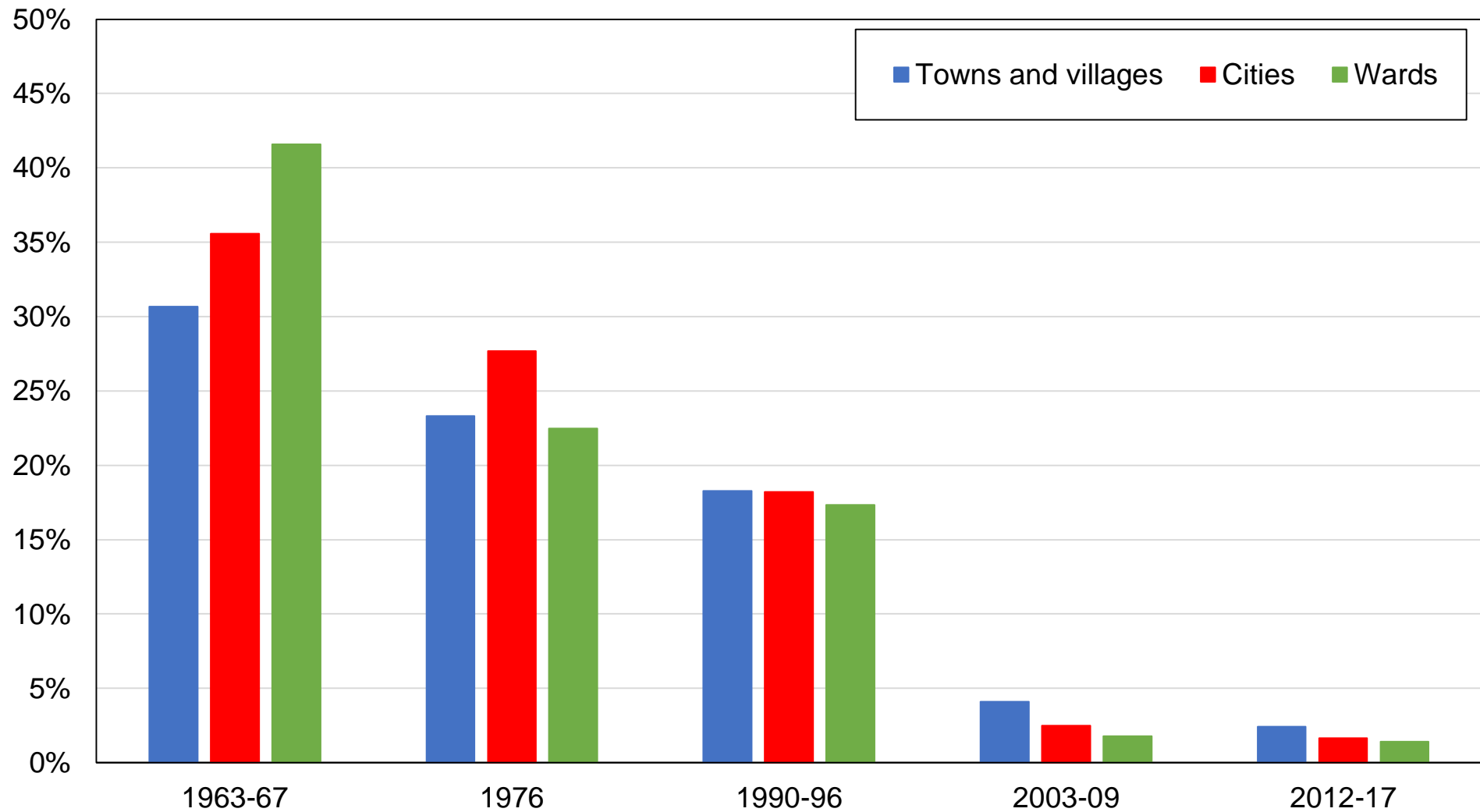
Figure B1 - Vote for JSP / DSP by education level



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JSP / DSP by education level.

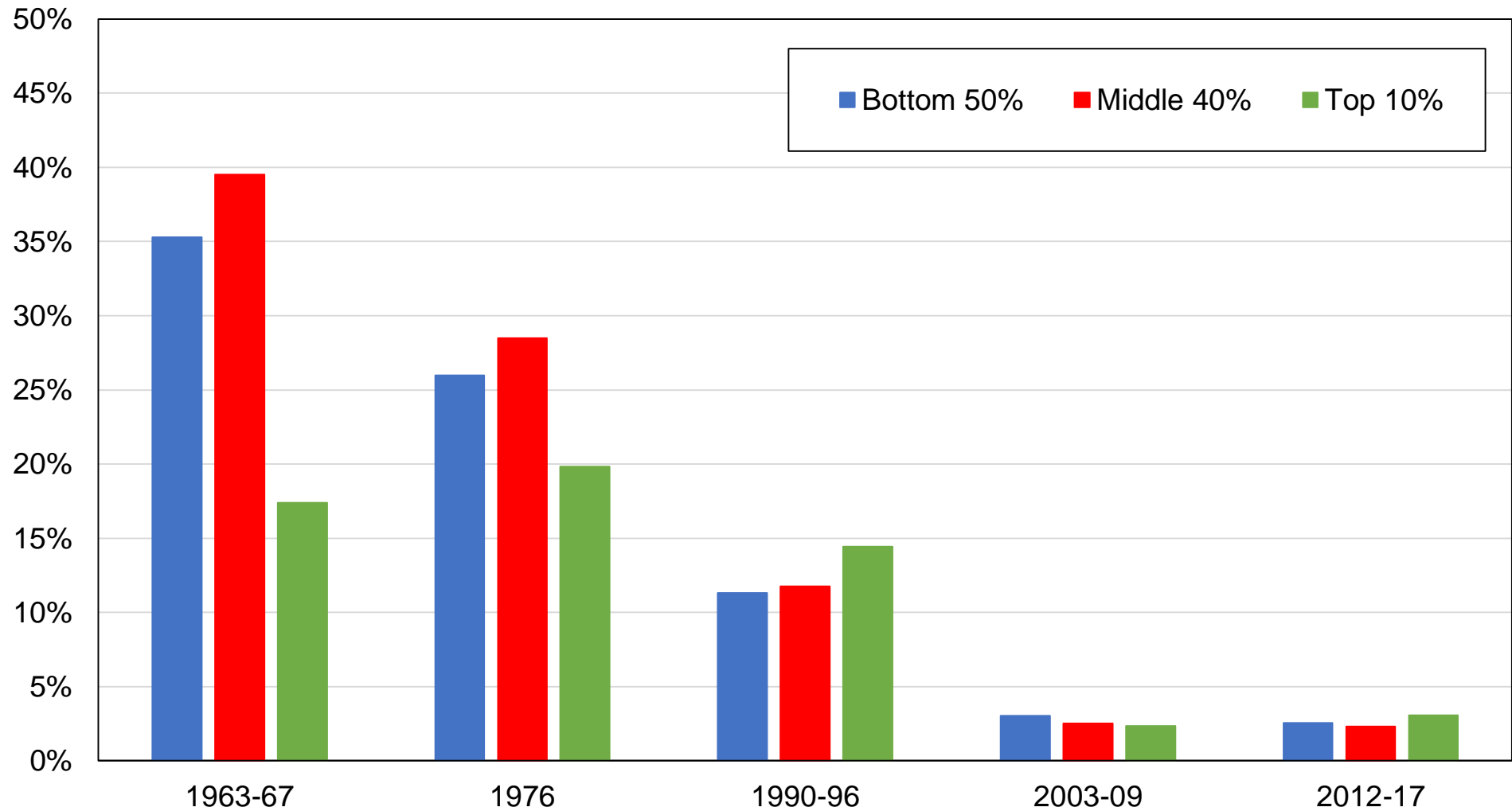
Figure B2 - Vote for JSP / DSP by location



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by JSP / DSP by location.

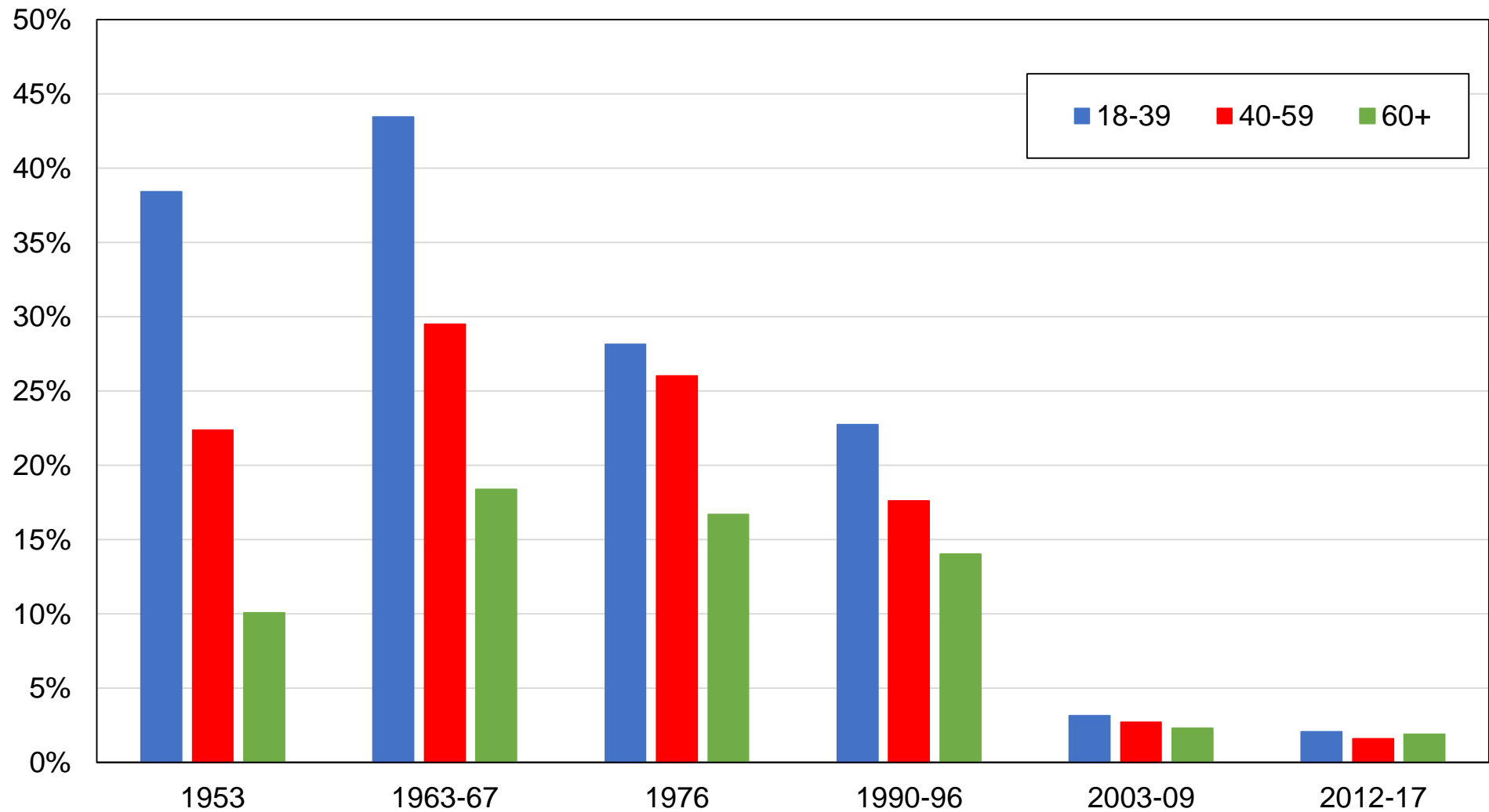
Figure B3 - Vote for JSP / DSP by income group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JSP / DSP by income group.

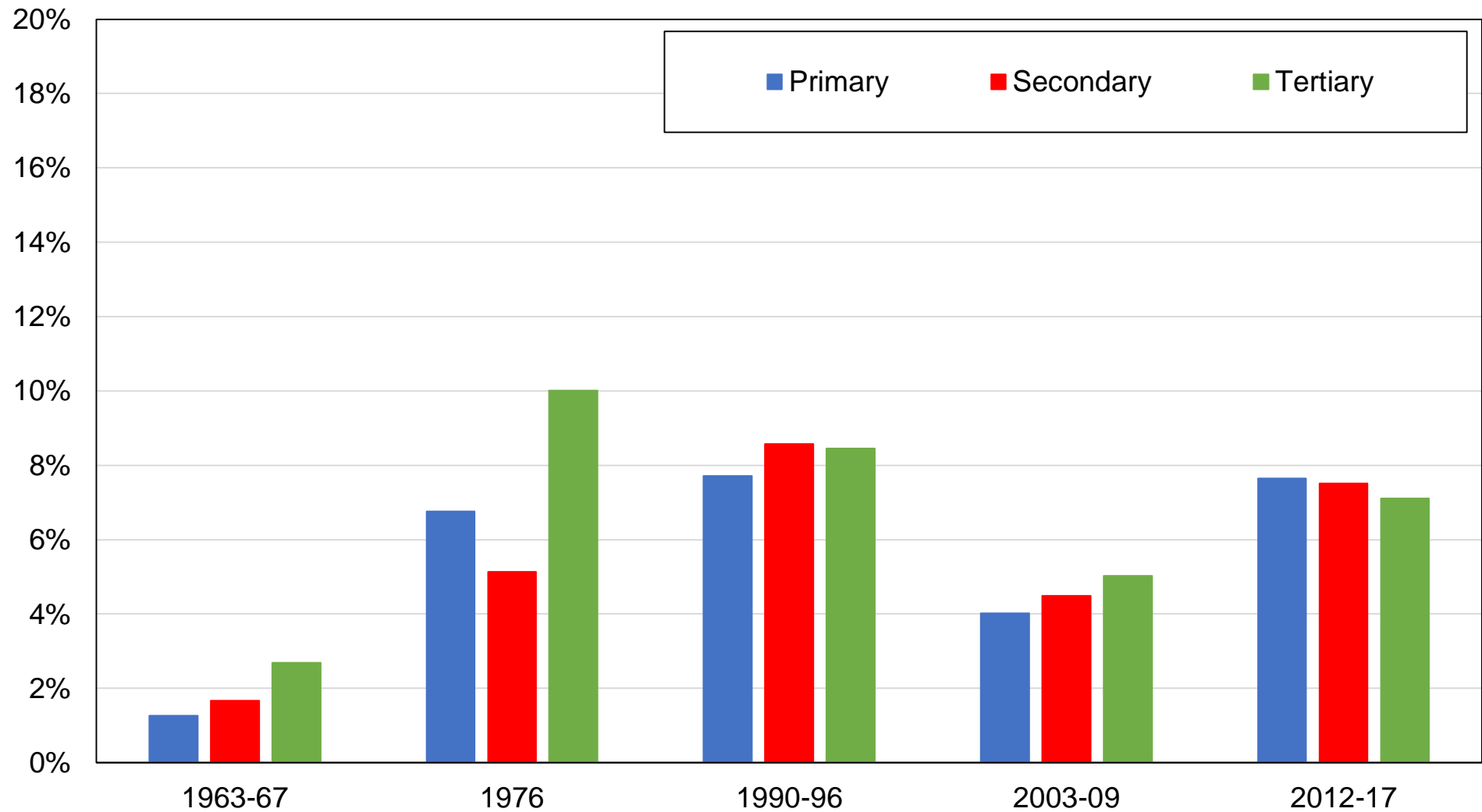
Figure B4 - Vote for JSP / DSP by age group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JSP / DSP by age group.

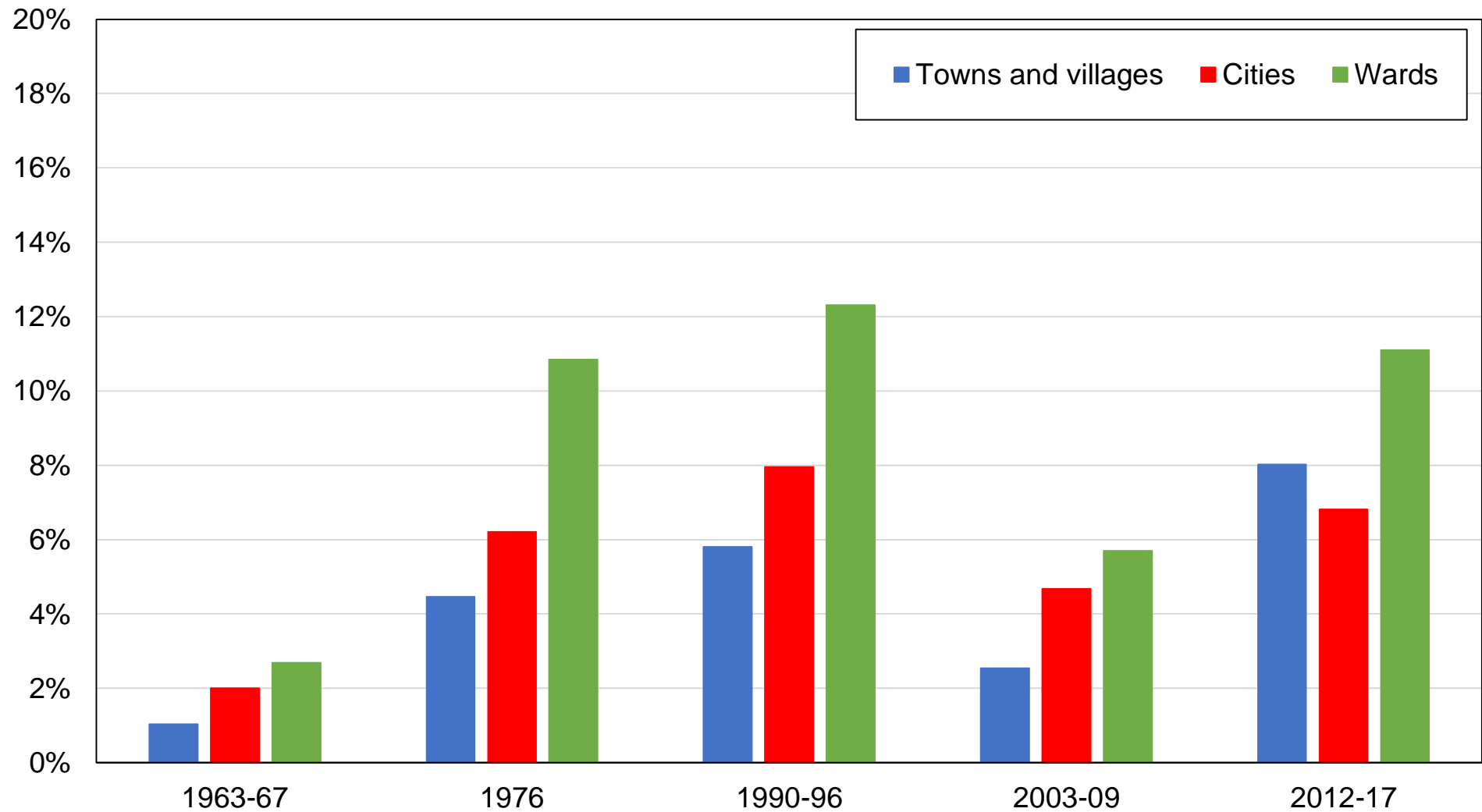
Figure C1 - Vote for JCP by education level



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

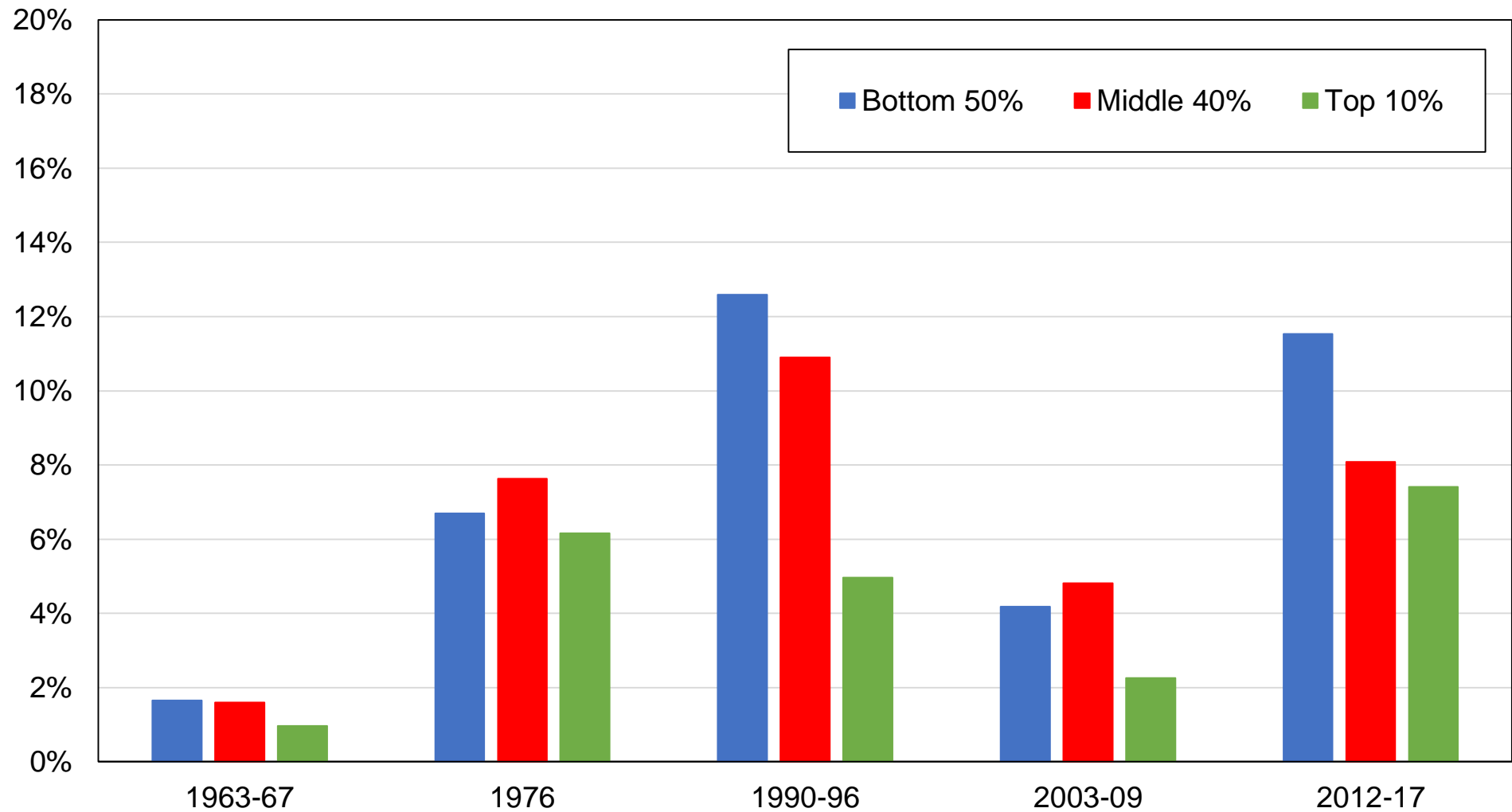
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JCP by education level.

Figure C2 - Vote for JCP by location



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JCP by location.

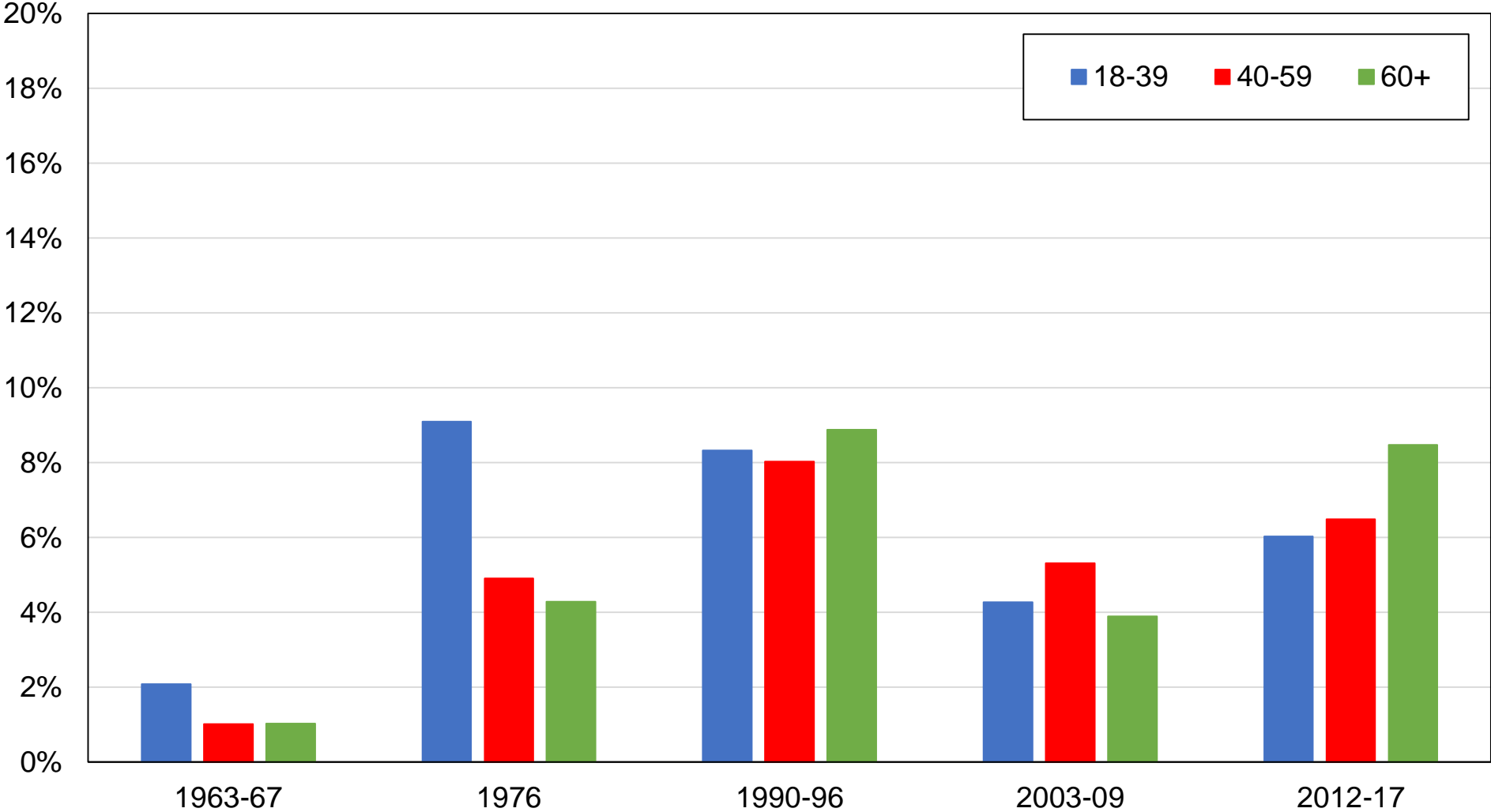
Figure C3 - Vote for JCP by income group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

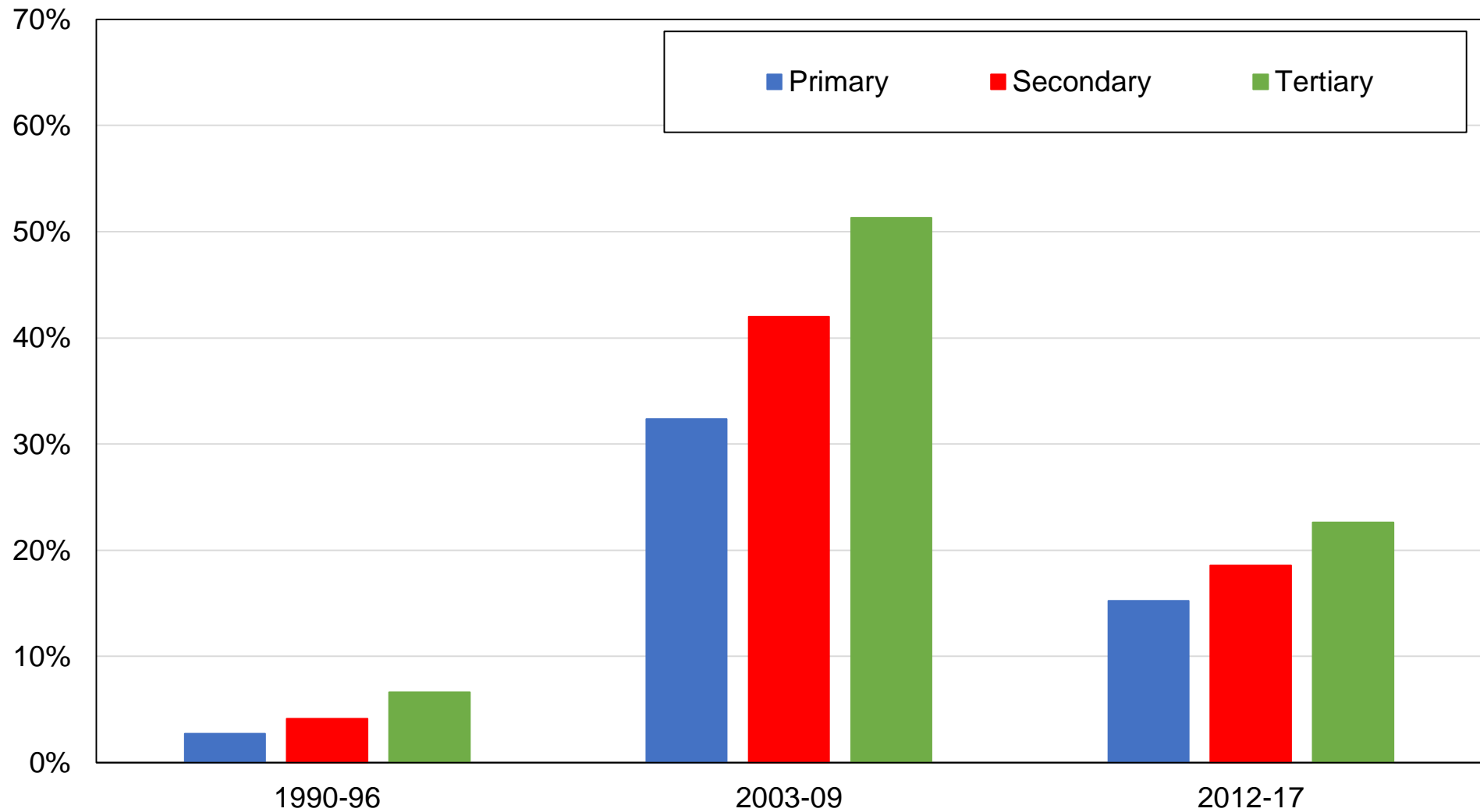
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JCP by income group.

Figure C4 - Vote for JCP by age group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the JCP by age group.

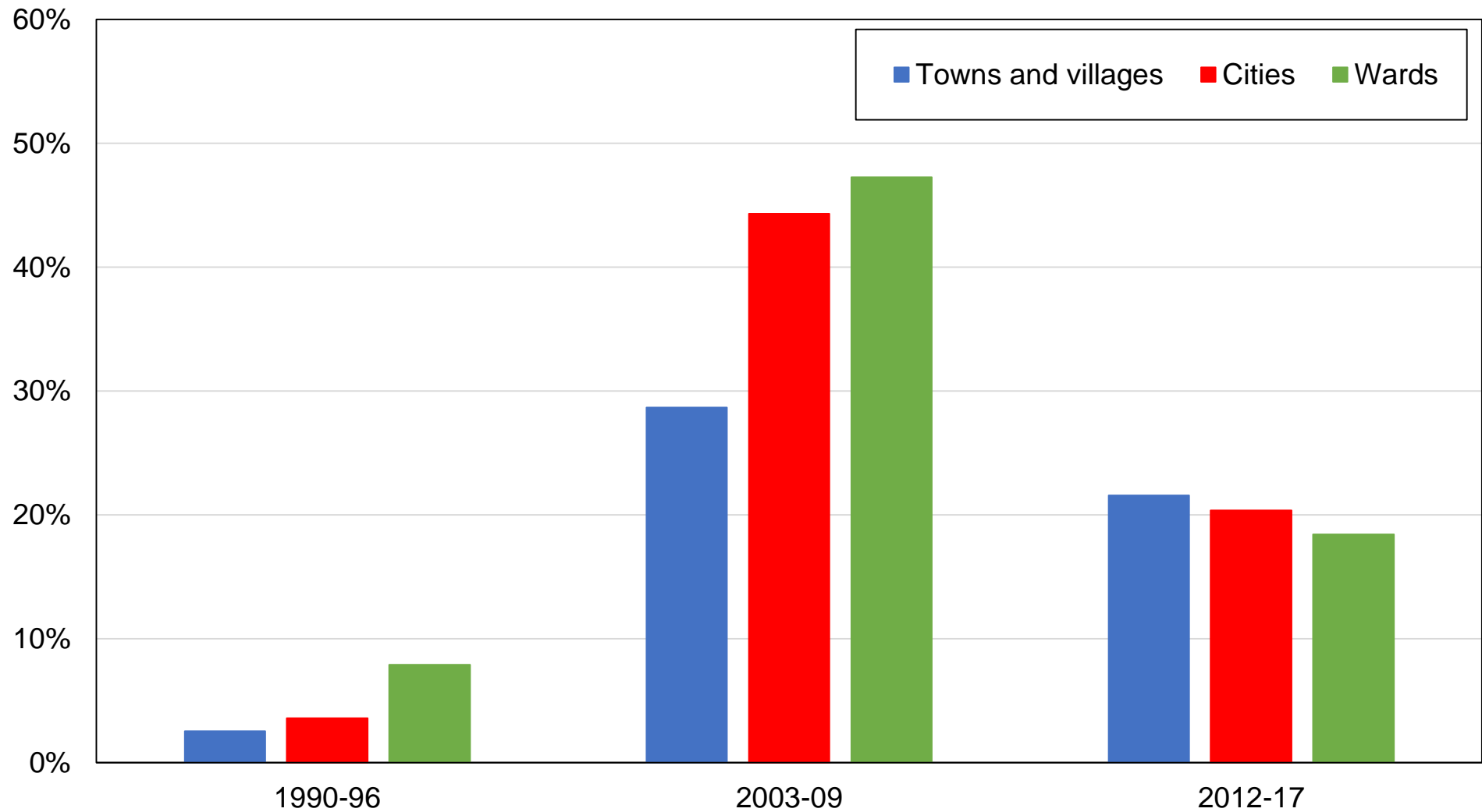
Figure D1 - Vote for DPJ / CDP by education level



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the DPJ / CDP by education level.

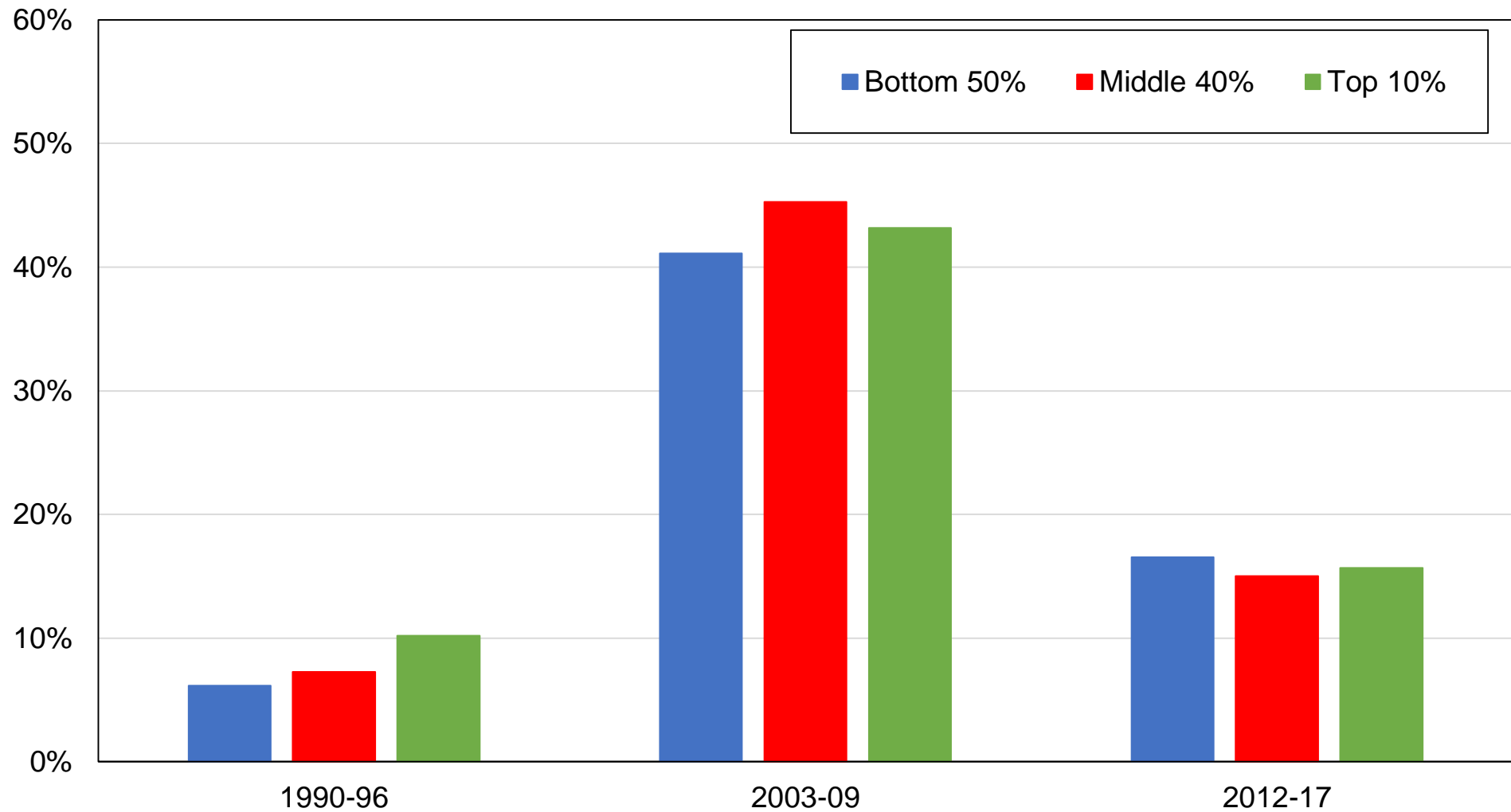
Figure D2 - Vote for DPJ / CDP by location



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by DPJ / CDP by location.

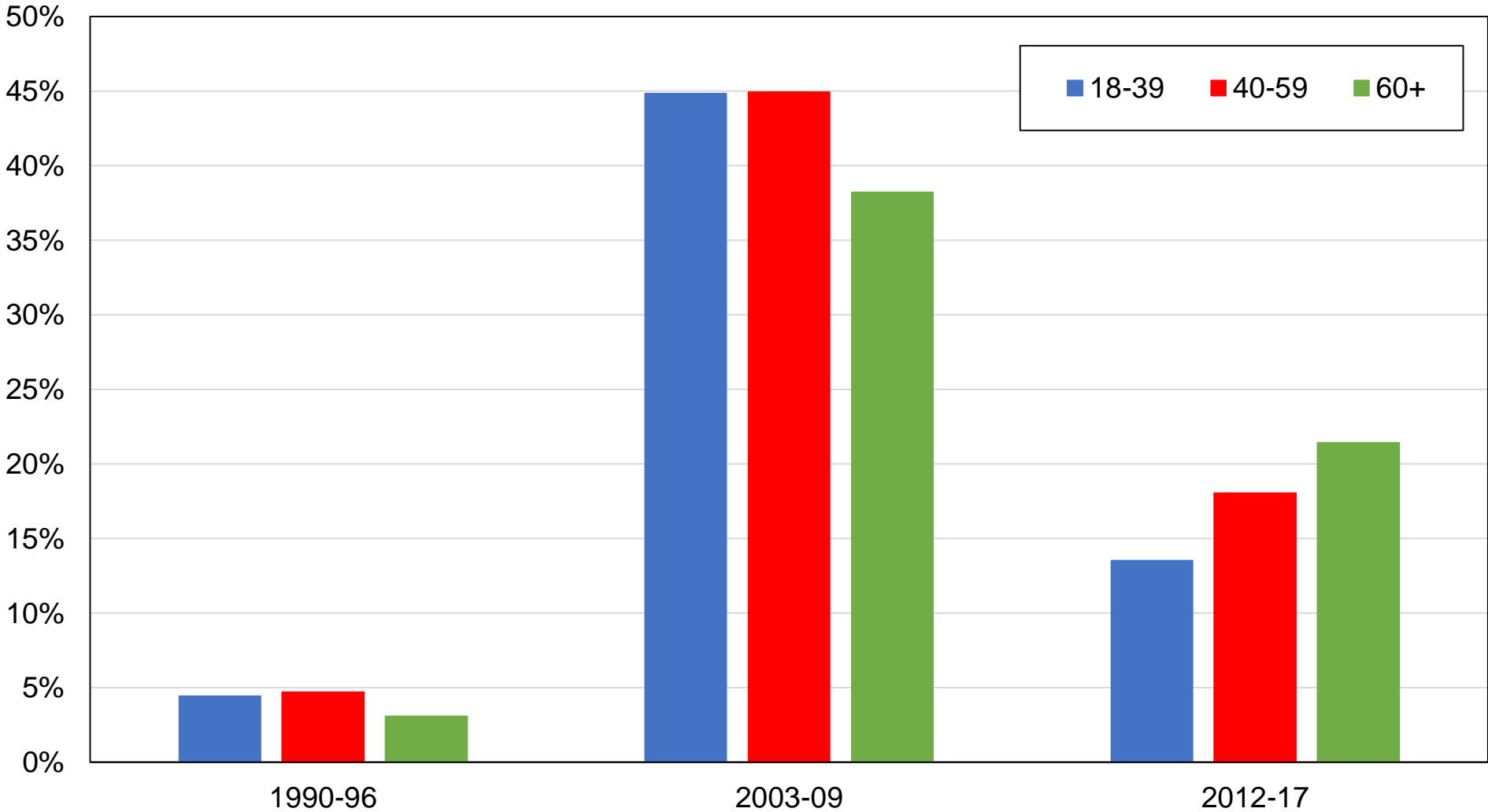
Figure D3 - Vote for DPJ / CDP by income group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

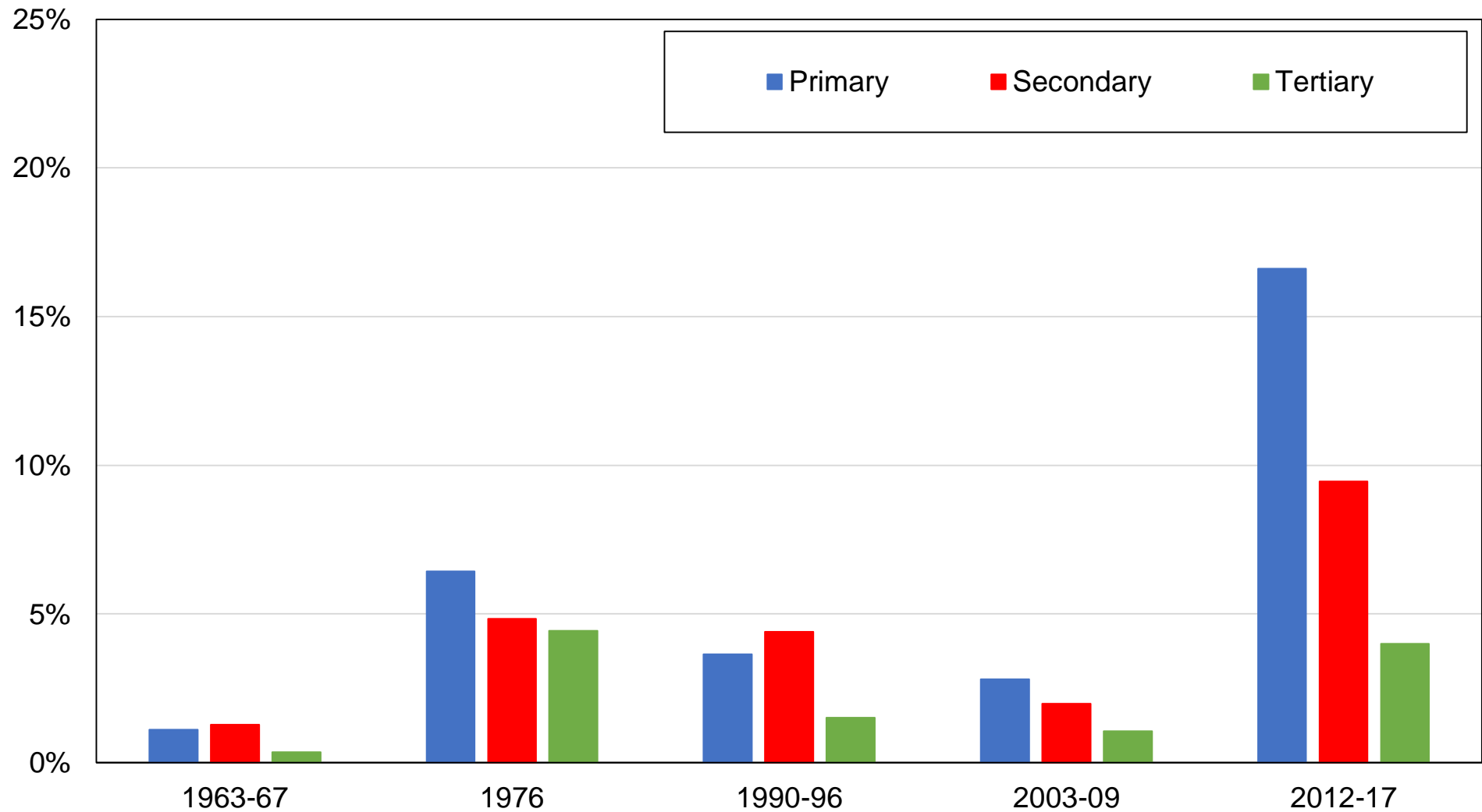
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the DPJ / CDP by income group.

Figure D4 - Vote for DPJ / CDP by age group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the DPJ / CDP by age group.

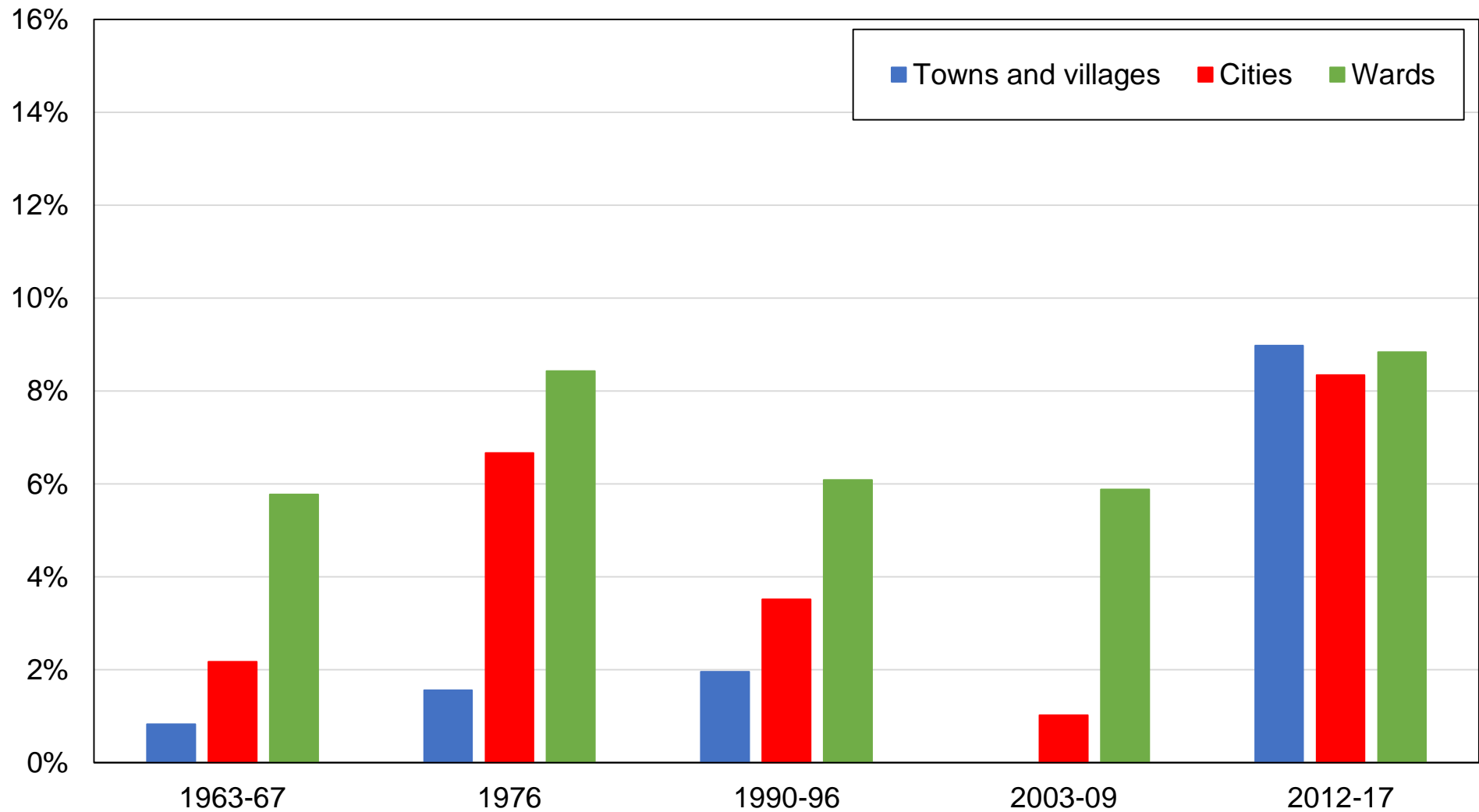
Figure E1 - Vote for Komeito by education level



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Komeito by education level.

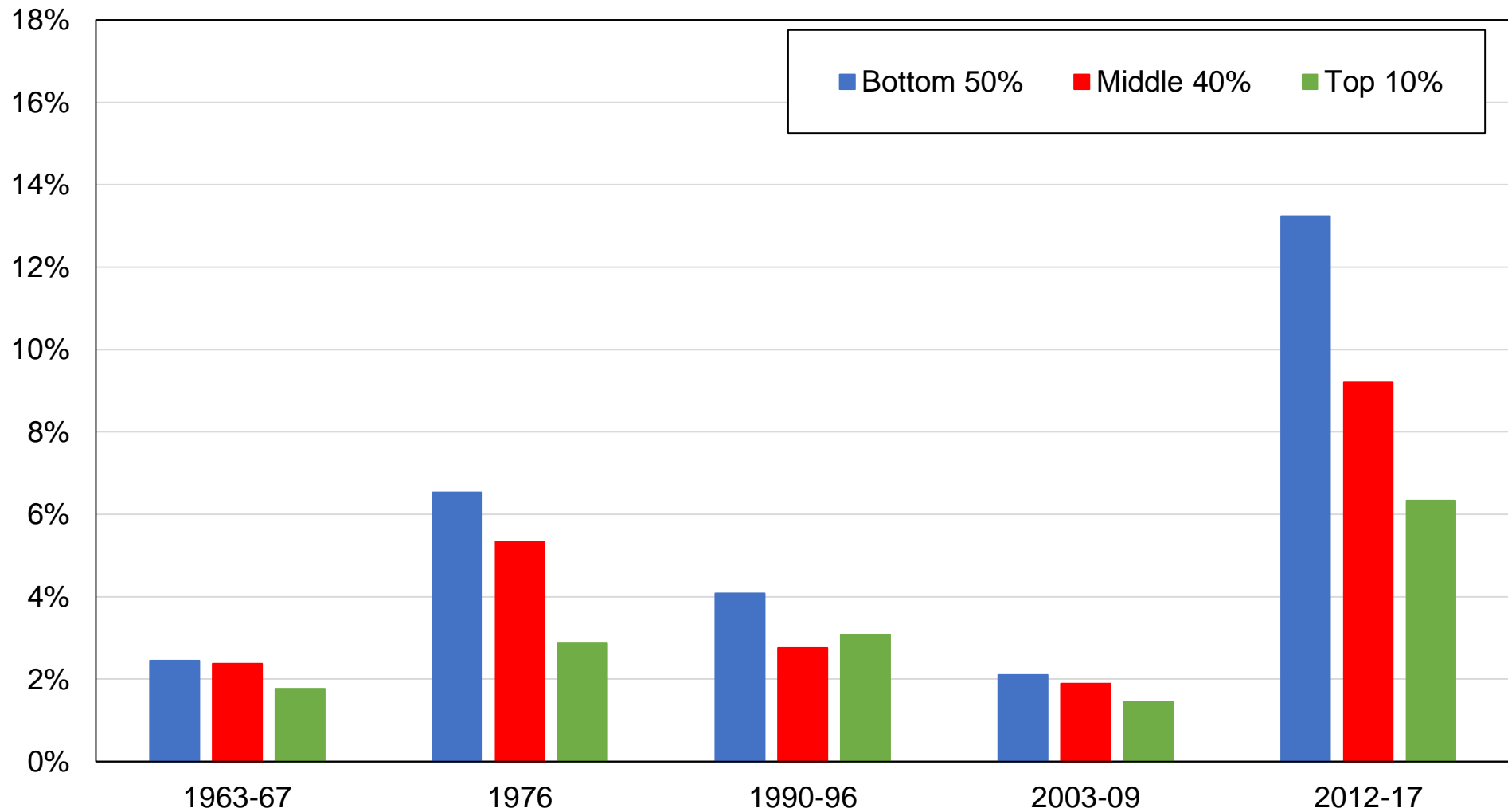
Figure E2 - Vote for Komeito by location



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Komeito by location.

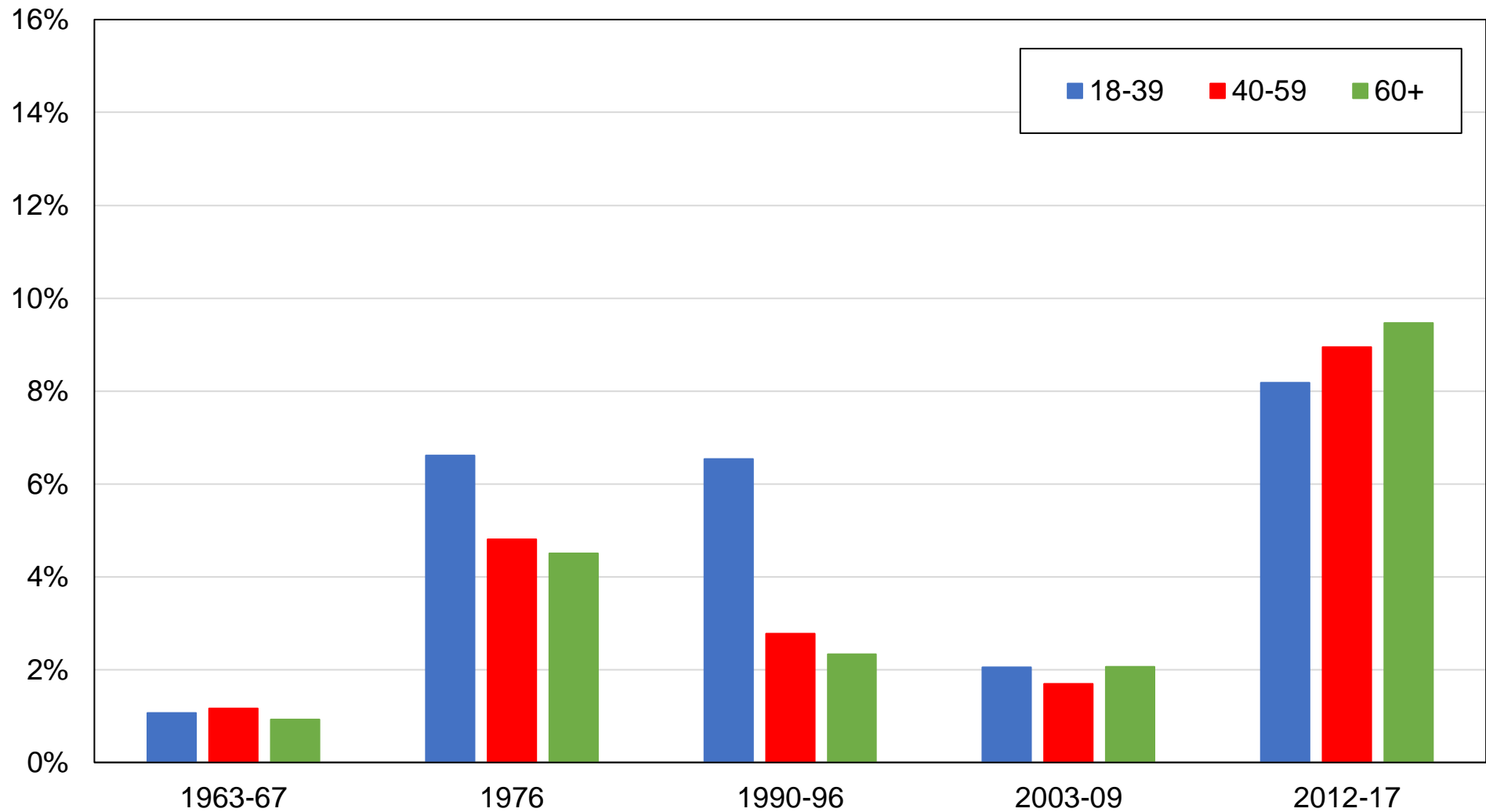
Figure E3 - Vote for Komeito by income group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Komeito by income group.

Figure E4 - Vote for Komeito by age group



Source: author's computations using Japanese political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Komeito by age group.