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ADMINISTRATIVE IMPLICATIONS OF RAPID POPULATION GROWTH:  
THE JAPANESE CASE

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## FOREWORD

This is the reprint of a preliminary paper on " Administrative Implications of Rapid Population Growth: the Japanese Case ", prepared jointly by Minoru TACHI, Ph. D., Institute of Population Problems and by Yoshinori IDE, Ph. D., Associate Professor, the Institute of Social Sciences, the University of Tokyo, and presented to the Second Workshop of the Eastern Regional Organization for Public Administration (EROPA) which is held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, on October 8 - 11, 1970.

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Rapid Population Growth: the  
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## I. Introduction

As is widely known, "rapid population growth" does not exist in Japan at present. Rather, Japan's birth rate has rapidly declined. It is a fact that for a while, a so-called "baby-boom" existed, but this was mostly due to peculiar factors such as demobilization just after the war's end and was an exceptional social phenomenon of a very short period. The general tendency in post-war Japan has been the considerably low population growth.

However, what should not be overlooked here is the fact that even before the war, Japan's population showed only a relatively low growth rate and was far from "rapid growth." That is, as will be discussed later, even when the highest population growth rate was recorded, the annual rate was 1.6%. Also, the birth rate was beginning to show signs of a declining tendency from a fairly early period, though this tendency did not come to be dominant. Of course in Japan, where the population size from the start was relatively large, even with a modest increase of the population growth rate, the actual number of the population increase became quite large. Consequently, it can be said that there was the possibility of a certain "population pressure" being produced. Indeed, when there was failure in the increase of food (especially rice) production and an increase in the unemployed population, often words such as "over-population" and "population problem" were used by people. However, the target of the counterpolicy of cases like these was usually at other than population, for example food(rice) or job. The population problem was to be solved by a "food policy" and a "job policy," not by population control. If there ever was a "population policy" authorized by the government, it was instead, "more children, more population." The traditional goal orientation of the population policy in Japan was the opposite from control of rapid population growth.

Taking these historical facts into consideration, although this paper carries the title, "Administrative Implications of Rapid Population Growth: the Japanese Case" in keeping with the common theme, it is clear that the Japanese situation is quite different from other fellow countries in Asia which are facing the problem of rapid population growth. Concomitantly, in Japan, "administrative implications" of the problem cannot help but have different implications. Basically, direct control of population growth is outside the sphere of the strategic goals of the major policies of the government. Major administrative efforts in terms of population can be said to be directed toward adjustment of the problems caused by the declining birth rate, migration of the population and the changing composition of the population. In that sense, the focus of the government on the population is shifting from the national population as a whole to "functional segments or phases of population"---such as school population and labor force population. To that extent, administrative efforts in terms of population are being diversified, and consequently, the integration of administrative efforts is even more complex but is becoming an even more important task.

As was discussed above, in order to satisfactorily understand the Japanese population growth situation which showed and even now shows a unique pattern, it is necessary to go back to the past and review the historical process of population growth. Thus, below, let us sketch the outline of the historical process of population growth and on top of that, examine the present situation.

#### Historical Background and Recent Trend of Population Growth in Japan

The Restoration Government which was established in 1868 introduced the western industrial revolution and established as basic policy the modernization of Japan. In 1872 the government, in accordance with such plans, conducted a national count of the population. According to the results, the

population of Japan, with adjustments, was approximately 36 million but because the area did not exceed 370 thousand km<sup>2</sup>, the population density was as high as 91 persons per 1 km<sup>2</sup>. Approximately 80% of the gainfully occupied population were engaged in the primary sector of industry, and those in the secondary sector did not exceed 4%, a typical agricultural country. However, the area of arable land was only 1/7th of the total area and in this arable land the population density was strikingly high.

Besides promoting industrialization there were no plans to support this large population and to raise the levels of living. Natural resources were poor, capital accumulation did not exist, and with no modern technology, it was not easy to prepare for "economic take-off" with this large and also densely inhabited population. However, one favorable condition was that for the economic growth rate, the demographic growth rate was extremely low. That is to say, from the inauguration of the industrialization policies until the 1880's, when economic take-off can be seen, according to the best estimates by economists, the annual average economic growth rate was approximately 4.0% but during this time period, the annual average population growth rate was a low one of approximately 0.6%. After take-off began, the population growth rate gradually rose but the annual rate did not go above 1.6%. However, because the population was large as well as dense, population pressure became increasingly high. The course of take-off was tentatively completed by about 1920 and despite the hostile attitude of the government toward family limitation, signs of a declining birth rate already appeared from the beginning of the 20th century.

In the initial stages of the economic take-off, the population held fast to the traditional farming village and there was comparatively little rural-urban migration. Rather, modern industries which developed in the cities had

to exert great effort to draw out the labor force population from the farming villages. However, as the take-off process gradually advanced with rapidity, the increased working age population gathered in the industries of the cities and the urbanization of the population rapidly began to advance. A major reason for the increased strengthening of the government's public health policies was the increase of tuberculosis patients and deaths as the take-off process advanced. The mortality rate in general showed a declining trend but the speed of the decline of the general death rate was comparatively slow.

In the 1930's, Japan's national economy was influenced by the "world crisis" and unemployed persons appeared in the large cities. Many of the unemployed returned to the farming village or entered the traditional medium and small enterprises of the cities and became under-employed. The birth rate which showed a declining trend at the beginning of the 20th century, was influenced by such economic depressions but until after the war, the declining trend of the birth rate was slow.

The 3 year period from 1947 to 1949 was the post-war "baby-boom" and the crude birth rate went from the pre-war level of 30 for a population of 1,000 to 33 - 34. However, from 1950 until 1957 the births declined with sudden speed which probably had never been experienced until then anywhere and in 1957 the crude birth rate was approximately 17. From 1958 until 1964 the birth rate levelled out to between 17 and 18. Between 1965 and 1967 the birth rate shows an abnormal fluctuation. The reason is that 1966 was the year of Hinoeuma-----Year of the Horse, the third sign of the Zodiac-----and because of superstition, births decreased markedly. This shows how artificially well-controlled Japan's fertility is.

After the war, mortality rapidly improved, the crude death rate declined



from the pre-war level of 17 for a population of 1,000 to approximately 7 recently. After the war the death rate improvement was rapid but because the birth rate's manner of decline was much more striking, the natural increase rate went from a pre-war level of 13 for a population of 1,000 to approximately 10 after 1956, excluding disturbances arising from Hinoeuma superstitions. Because Japan's population is near to a "closed population," the annual average population increase rate according to the quinquennial population census data, has remained, from 1955 until recently, approximately 1%. During this same period, the economic growth rate has been between an annual 10% to 20% and per capita national income has rapidly risen.

## II. Health

Since the 1868 Restoration, the government has established a modern quarantine system, has endeavored to prevent the spread of communicable diseases, has made efforts to raise the health standards of the people and to improve mortality. The government greatly endeavored to prevent the gradual spread throughout the country of tuberculosis which accompanied urbanization in the economic take-off. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ministry of Home Affairs, which had jurisdiction over national health problems at that time, established the Health Research Council with men of learning and experience to act as an advisory committee to the Minister. The Ministry obtained detailed recommendations concerning public health programs for rural and urban districts and endeavored to materialize them. The emphasis of the health programs was on the improvement of infant and child mortality and on the prevention of the spread of tuberculosis. At the beginning of the 20th century the establishment of health centers throughout the country was authorized by law. At present the health centers throughout the country, combining the urban types, the farming, mountain village and various types,

amount to 832.

Prior to the war, despite various efforts, the improvement speed of the death rate was moderate and as seen in the first life table constructed by the government according to modern technique which relies on data covering the years 1891 to 1898 when the economic take-off began, male expectation of life at birth was only 42.8 years and the female equivalent did not exceed 44.3 years. In the pre-war period 1935-1936 life expectation at birth reached 46.9 years for males and 49.6 years for females.

The rapid improvement of mortality occurred after the war and the pre-war level of the crude death rate was 17 per 1,000 population but recently it is approximately 6.8. For 1969, according to the abridged life table, the expectation of life at birth for males had extended to 69.2 years and for females had stretched to 74.7 years. The remarkable improvement of mortality, seen from causes of death, is due to the sudden decrease of death from infectious diseases including tuberculosis and communicable diseases. The tuberculosis death rate dropped from a pre-war level of 220 per 100,000 population to 18 in 1967. By age, the improvement of the infant and child mortality rate is remarkable and the number of living at age 15 on the life table had gone from a pre-war level of 79.1% for males and 80.1% for females to 97.4% for males and 98.1% for females in 1969. The 15 to 29 years of age mortality rate rapidly declined through the remarkable improvement of the tuberculosis death rate.

In this way, one of the most important future problems of health, judged from mortality, is the reduction of mortality from accidents, particularly automobile accidents, the improvement of heart disease, cancer and apoplexy, even more reduction of the tuberculosis death rate and the improvement of the mortality of the aged population above 60 years old. The Ministry of

Health and Welfare which has jurisdiction over public health, is emphasizing these points and is endeavoring to expand and strengthen its administration.

In the context of public health, a word should be mentioned about the problem of environmental disruption which has recently suddenly become a big issue. In Japan, besides being crowded compared to the population, the habitable land area is very limited in space. Here the majority of the population and industry are concentrated and because a high economic growth rate continues, disruption of the ecological system rapidly advances. Consequently, the various concerned government ministries and offices are cooperating and making various efforts for the conservation and improvement of the environment.

This problem, however, is a new kind of problem which the health administration has not experienced until now. Therefore, the government's efforts have not yet produced satisfactory results. Control and prevention of environmental disruption are, seen from the administrative viewpoint, very complicated. To take as an example the control of water pollution, administrative jurisdictions are scattered among the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry for irrigation water, the Economic Planning Agency for service water, the Ministry of Health and Welfare for general sewage, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry for industrial drain, and the Ministry of Transportation for sea water. When taking into consideration the fact that each ministry's keen sense of compartmentalism is a large obstacle in the way of coordinated administrative efforts to tackle the problem, it can be said that a new type of organizational arrangement, which will make possible coordination and integration among the various ministries, is necessary. For this, in July 1970, a new organization was established with the Prime Minister as the head and the Director of the Prime Minister's Executive Office as the executive director. The success of this new administrative device will depend upon its future efforts.

It is needless to say that prefectural and local governments are endeavoring to protect their inhabitants' health from the worsening environment. In view of the importance of their administrative endeavors for public health at the grass-roots or in the field of health administration, decentralization of administrative power from the national government to prefectural and local government is thought to be growing stronger.

### III. Family Planning

At the end of the 19th century, the "birth control movement" was formed by volunteers and the movement gradually became active, but at that time, when the traditional social system still strongly survived, the social influence was not very great. The government took a hostile attitude toward such movements. However, in the 1930's, it can be presumed that among the white collar workers of the industrialized and urbanized regions it was quite wide-spread.

Family planning was formulated as national policy after World War II. In the period immediately after the war, levels of living measured by per capita real national income had declined to approximately half the pre-war level, and was one of the strongest motivations for many couples to carry out family limitation. As already pointed out, from 1947 to 1949 was the "baby-boom" and it can be surmised that at that time there were many housewives 30 years old and above with several children who had already carried out black market induced abortions. Thus in 1948 the Japanese Diet drafted the "Eugenic Protection Law" which aimed at protecting maternal health as well as preventing bad hereditary diseases. It passed the Diet and became effective that year. This law recognized sterilization for eugenic reasons, provided the basic provisions that the government should carry out the dissemination of knowledge about family planning and also "under prescribed

conditions" recognized induced abortion despite the ban under criminal law. That is to say, induced abortion became recognized for eugenic reasons, leprosy, economic and health reasons as well as moral reasons. In practice this law tended to be abused. The number of cases of induced abortion reported according to the Eugenic Protection Law increased from 489,000 in 1950 to 1,170,000 in 1955 but, with this as the peak, then changed to a declining trend.

This can be seen as due to the spread of family planning. After the war, the government altered its hostile attitude toward family planning, endeavored to spread family planning, formulated as national policy the spread of family planning and exerted efforts to execute this policy mainly through the health centers throughout the country. Many voluntary organizations more and more strengthened and expanded this activity and cooperated. In this way family planning rapidly spread nationally, reaching even the farming villages.

The Population Problems Research Council of the Mainichi Newspapers has conducted regular public opinion surveys on family planning every two years from 1950 and according to this survey, since 1965, for contraception, the ratio of currently practicing couples against eligible couples is approximately 52% and the ratio of ever practiced is approximately 70%. Also, since the 1963 survey, the currently practicing ratio in six big cities is the same as in the rural region. Reasons given to the question why family planning is being practiced, before 1960, housewives answering "economic troubles" were most numerous, but since then, those answering "better education for the children" number the most. After this were those answering "to protect maternal health" and the percentage answering "economic troubles" was very small. During this period the motivation for practicing family planning changed from negative reasons to avoid economic troubles to positive and

constructive reasons, and the spread of family planning came to have its original meaning.

According to the estimates of the Institute of Population Problems of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, in 1955, 70% of fertility limitation were through induced abortions, and the other 30% were through contraception. However, in 1965, 30% of fertility limitation were through induced abortions and 70% were through contraception, reversing the percentages.

The above illustrated two or three facts show that family planning in its original meaning gradually became wide-spread. For that reason, as stated above, the number of cases of induced abortions as reported according to the Eugenic Protection Law with 1955 as the peak, has decreased. But recently, for approximately 1,800,000 births there are approximately 750,000 induced abortions, and the government and voluntary organizations are again even more endeavoring to spread true family planning.

As a result of the rapid birth decline after the war, the net reproduction rate from 1956 until the present, with the exception of the 1966 superstition of Hinoeuma, has been less than 1 for more than 10 years. The Population Problems Inquiry Council which is the advisory committee of the Minister of Health and Welfare, in 1966 reviewed trends in demographic reproduction in Japan and advised the following to the Minister of Health and Welfare. Japan's population is large with over 100 million, is a population with high density and cannot welcome a high population increase rate. The aim of Japan's population policy must be to raise the quality of the population rather than the quantity. However, restoring the fertility to the net reproduction rate of 1 is desirable. The target of Japan's population policy has thus become a reproduction rate of 1.

The population policy of post-war Japan is generally highly evaluated.

This "success," however, does not necessarily suggest the government's direct initiative and leadership for control of the birth rate. For example, the Eugenic Protection Law which was enacted in 1948, in the midst of the baby-boom period, opened legally a door for the government to carry out family planning programs. But actually the government first undertook administration of the programs only after 1952, when the birth rate had already begun to decline. Besides the above mentioned dropping of living standards immediately after the war, the high literacy of the populace, the cooperation of the mass media and the energetic activities of voluntary organizations all contributed to this declining birth rate even before the government took action. At the time that the government began to share in the family planning movement, the principal purpose of the governmental administration had to be directed toward protection of maternal health others rather than control of the birth rate.

The "success" of the population policy may be not unrelated to the fact that rather, the birth rate has been free from the government's control. Since the fact was already seen in the pre-war period, it may be regarded as a traditional pattern in Japan. In view of this, there arises a question as to the possibility of achieving, through the government's direct initiative and leadership, the net reproduction rate of 1, which is an authorized target of Japan's population policy. A practical course of action that the government can take seems to be producing favorable conditions which are likely to indirectly affect the birth rate. The Population Problems Inquiry Council, which had investigated into the reason for the extremely low fertility, recognized this problem by concluding that stress should be placed on the need to promote economic development and on a balanced social development by raising the income standard, reducing the cost of raising children and improving housing and the life environment. Suggested here is the strong need to integrate various governmental policies relating to the birth rate.

#### IV. Education

In 1872, the same year that the first national count of population was conducted, the government established a public education system which aimed at "universal education." Education, which had considerably spread among the people through various educational organs already established through natural development in the Tokugawa period, took on a formal modern shape, received an accelerated impetus and produced a rapidly increasing school population. In 1880 the school population was 2,375,000 or 6.5% of the total population and in 1900 had increased to 4,830,000 or 11.0% of the total population. This trend continued thereafter and in 1940 was 14,252,000 or 21.9% and in 1960 it was recorded at 22,478,000 or 25%.

Historically, this process can be divided into three stages of development. The first stage, which covers the period from the adoption of the modern educational system to around 1905, in order to meet the demands of "State wealth and military strength" and national integration, focused on the development of a uniform and universal system of compulsory education. A national network of primary schools was completed, and in about 1905 school attendance went beyond the 90% mark. The second stage, which developed secondary education upon this foundation, came after 1905. The school population of secondary schools showed a marked increase after 1905 and what was 121,000 in 1900 was 786,000 in 1910 and was 3,673,000 in 1940. Then after World War II, through the adoption of the so-called 6-3 system which included junior secondary education as a part of compulsory education, the advancement rate to senior secondary schools rose remarkably and in 1960 the secondary school population reached 9,158,000. The third stage, supported by this accumulated population of secondary education, is the stage in which considerable increase of the higher school population takes place and from about



1955 Japan shifted to this stage. The higher school population which was 400,000 in 1950 reached 712,000 in 1960.

The above developmental process has the following characteristics.

(1) The shift from the earlier stage to the later stage occurred smoothly without a large gap. (2) Also, the whole development from the first stage until the third stage occurred in a comparatively short time, and a large school population which was a quarter of the general population was produced. (3) At the level of secondary as well as higher education, the door was open for commoners, without distinction of social classes, and a great number of leaders as well as sub-leaders were educated through a deliberately designed set of educational institutions: universities, colleges and professional and technical schools. (4) Together with the increase in secondary and higher education, the administrative weight of prefectural governments and private educational institutions increased, and the policy-making situation in educational administration became complex. However, the Ministry of Education continued to exercise its strong power over educational programs. (5) This process of development corresponded to the development of the economy and industries and served to promote them. However, when the Japanese economy suffered from a depression, the large number of college graduates produced by increased educational opportunities became large numbers of unemployed intellectuals and threatened the stability of the educational system.

In 1965 the number of persons enrolled in various educational facilities from kindergarten through the university was approximately 25 million. Also the number of persons directly engaged in research and education in various educational facilities was approximately 940,000. The total of both exceeds 1/4th of the general population. If one adds the population that indirectly supports research and education, for example the staff of educational admin-

istrative organs, this ratio is even larger. Corresponding to this, educational facilities of various kinds have reached a massive number (22,676 primary schools, 11,581 junior secondary schools, 4,087 senior secondary schools and 686 universities and colleges, as of 1965) and form an enormous school network. In addition there exist various sorts of extension programs operated by public as well as private institutions. Also one should take note of the nation-wide network of mass communications media, the high literacy rate near to 100% and the singularity of the native standard language. These, together with being the outcome of education, are also the promoters of the socialization of education. Thus, Japan may well be called a country of "high education-density."

The Japanese school population, which accounts for 1/4th of the general population, is even now in the process of a dynamic movement. It is expected that the past trend which showed an increase in the school population will also continue in the future. However, it is not dependent upon the increase of births. This is witnessed in the fact that rather, there was a gradual decrease or a stable trend in the number of primary school pupils and junior secondary school students, after the period of the late 1950's to the early 1960's when the baby-boom was reflected. (For example, the number of primary school students, with 1958 as the peak, reached 13,492,087 but decreased to 9,775,532 in 1965 and it is forecast that in 1975 will probably be 9,564,000.) It is obvious that the increase of the school population was brought about through the increase of the rate of advancement to higher schools. (The rate of advancement to senior secondary schools, although less than 50% in 1950, rose to approximately 70% in 1965 and it is forecast that it will reach approximately 85% in 1975. Of course, the advancement rate (approximately 26% in 1965) to colleges and universities shows a rising trend.

In addition to the above, we must take note of the following point. If we submit the dynamics of the school population to a more detailed (micro-) analysis, there are cases where rapid growth of the compulsory education population is occurring in the urban regions because of the population migration to the cities. Also because of the change of the age-composition of the population, the popular demand for extended education is increasing.

This kind of quantitative change of the school population, for one thing, can be associated as the effect of the legal adoption of the 6-3 system. However, in broader perspective, this change is closely tied to the enormous economic, social and cultural changes---high economic growth, urbanization, technical innovation, productivity orientation, achievement emphasis, etc.,---occurring in postwar Japanese society. Changes in social environment factors such as these increased the voice of "more chances for education," and strengthened the desire of parents to give higher education to their children. (According to various opinion polls, those who hope to have their son graduate from college exceed 60%) These changes also produced an increasing demand for extension education. Parallel with the increase of this school population, the qualitative change of educational policy is becoming an urgent task.

This present situation inevitably creates administrative problems. They unquestionably, include problems of staffing of qualified teachers and providing of fully equipped educational facilities, both of which bring forth the serious problem of the educational budget. The pressure for more teachers, more facilities and a larger budget is especially strong in urban areas with the concentrating migration of population. Also, it should be noted here that the similar pressure can be seen even in compulsory education where the number of pupils and students does not increase, because leveling up of educational standards to meet the demands of the society and economy require minimizing

the burden on teachers, that is to say, reducing the number of pupils and students per teacher and classroom. Under present circumstances of labor shortage, the problem of staffing of teachers is extremely serious.

At the bottom of these administrative problems lie the more important strategic problems related to the re-examination of the educational policy and program. If the basic goal of the educational policy in the initial stage immediately after the war was in the construction of a new system of education centering around the 6-3 compulsory education, the succeeding stage was in the expansion of secondary education as well as the development of scientific and technical education. In the third stage, which is drawing near, while taking over existing basic goals it is necessary to develop a new and flexible educational system which will correspond to the drastic changes in the society and economy. Some of the basic policy goals in the New Plan for Economic and Social Development approved by the Cabinet in 1970 are as follows:

- (1) scientific and technical education which meets technical innovation.
- (2) an educational program which matches the progress of "computerization" and the "information-oriented" society.
- (3) an educational and cultural program which meets internationalization.
- (4) re-examining of higher education for developing of "life education."
- (5) recruitment and training of teaching staff.
- (6) providing of various facilities for social education, recreation and cultural activities under the condition of increasing "leisure time."

In this way, Japan's educational administration is now trying to begin a review and reorganization of the existing policy structure, school system and administrative program. However, several difficult conditions exist in this "grand scale feed-back process" which is attempting to establish a new "long-range plan for general education" and to evaluate past policy achievement.

One is the problem of the planning agency. The Central Council for Education, which is involved in making important decisions as an advisory committee to the Minister of Education, is apt to be limited in competence to satisfactorily exercise function of planning. Also, because the Ministry of Education, which is a substantial planning body, is unsatisfactory in liaison and coordination for research, statistics and planning among the sections, difficulties are felt in the integration of planning efforts. Another condition is the tension between centralization and decentralization tendencies in educational organization as a whole. The decentralization tendency in educational administration, weak though it was, appearing already before the war in the form of the relatively rising weight of prefectural governments as well as private educational institutions, for a while after the war, was strengthened as symbolized in the adoption of the school board system but later, under conservative leadership, this decentralization tendency was replaced again by the centralization tendency. Nonetheless, today's educational administration is not under the complete dominance of the centralization tendency. Moreover, together with the increase in the importance of higher education, voices for decentralization are gradually growing louder. A third condition is the conflict of opinion which has long existed after the war, between the union of the teachers engaged in the educational profession in the field and the Ministry of Education which has jurisdiction over educational administration. Finally, related to the above is the most difficult problem of how to find or cultivate national consensus about educational policy.

#### V. Manpower and Employment

Because Japan has developed by grafting western industrialization upon traditional economic and social institutions, it can be assumed that before the war, many traditional small scale farmers and medium and small scale

industries survived and much underemployment or "disguised unemployment" existed. It was in the 1930's that this underemployment and complete unemployment increased and became a major social problem. On the one hand the increase rate of the working age population of those from 15 years old to 64 years old rose. That is to say, between 1920 and 1925 the annual average increase rate was 1.3% but between 1925 and 1930 it rose to 1.7% and between 1930 and 1940 it was 1.4%. On the other hand, because of the world economic crisis, Japan's economy could not increase employment very much. The government conducted public works as part of unemployment relief, conducted special projects for the unemployment relief of the intellectuals, made efforts to encourage and promote the farming villages, and attempted to solve underemployment and complete unemployment, but it was not easy to obtain satisfactory results.

After the war, economic reconstruction ended and from 1960, with the beginning of high economic growth, the labor force demand rapidly increased. However, the increase rate of the labor force supply showed a declining trend because of the rapid change of the age distribution of population due to the advancement of the "demographic revolution" after the war and because of the increase in the ratio of those advancing to a higher-grade school due to the increase in the per capita national income. These factors contributed to the solution of the problem of unemployment, underemployment and the so-called "dual structure of the Japanese economy."

In the 1960's, as mentioned above, the annual rate of economic growth maintained a high level of between 10% and 20% and many economists foresee the continuance of a high future economic growth rate. In May 1970 a New Plan for Economic and Social Development was drawn up and covers the six fiscal years from the 1970 fiscal year until the 1975 fiscal year. During this time period,

the annual average economic growth rate will be, in real terms, 10.6% taking 1970 prices.

Because of the rapidly declining birth rate after 1950, from 1955 until 1970, the child population under 15 years of age showed a rapidly declining trend. If the child population decreases, despite the rise of the survival rate through the improvement of the mortality of the working age population of those from 15 years old to 64 years old, that increase rate is brought down. The annual average increase rate of the working age population between 1950 and 1955 was 2.0%, between 1955 and 1960 it was 1.9%, between 1960 and 1965 it reached a peak of 2.2%, but between 1965 and 1970 it declined to 1.4%. According to future population projections of the Institute of Population Problems of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, between 1970 and 1975 it will decline to 0.9%, between 1975 and 1985 it will be approximately 0.8% and will then rapidly decline.

The decline of the increase rate of the working age population, after some time-lag, draws down the increase rate of the labor force population. Also, since 1950, because the advancement rate to senior secondary schools of those completing compulsory education and the advancement rate from senior secondary schools to colleges and universities rapidly rose, the labor force participation rate of those from 15 years old to approximately 24 years old gradually declined. This has markedly retarded the increase of the labor force population of the younger age. The annual average increase rate from 1955 until 1965 of the labor force population 15 years and over was 1.9%. According to the estimates prepared by the Institute of Population Problems for the future labor force population, the annual average increase rate of the labor force population was maintained at 1.9% between 1965 and 1970 but between 1970 and 1975 it will drop to 0.7%, between 1975 and 1980 it will become 0.4% and between 1980 and 1985 it will become 0.3%.

Because the high economic growth of the 1960's acceleratingly expanded the labor force demand, underemployment decreased and the ratio of complete unemployment to the total labor force population was less than 1%, about the level of "frictional unemployment." As was shown above, despite the still high increase rate of the labor force population and working age population, industry, especially medium and small scale industries, increasingly and strongly complained of "shortage of the labor force."

Because of the trend of the increase rate of the labor force population illustrated above, the shortage of the labor force in its true meaning will begin after 1970. How the Japanese national economy and industries adjust to this shortage of the labor force will be one of the most important problems of the future.

Japanese labor productivity compared with that of the highly advanced countries is still low. The distribution of the labor force population among the various sectors of industry is still imbalanced and inadequate. It can be presumed that in some sectors of industry there is still underemployment. Traditional medium and small scale industries still survive. Thus with this shortage of the labor force, it is necessary to solve the "dual economic structure" in Japan and to create incentives to change the industrial structure to a highly advanced one. The New Plan for Economic and Social Development also, in this sense, emphasizes the necessity to positively cope with the shortage of the labor force.

In order to achieve this goal various plans have been prepared. The principal ones are as follows. First of all, it goes without saying that it is necessary that enterprises promote investments in labor saving. Secondly, mobility among sectors of industry by the Japanese labor force population is extremely low. Consequently, vocational education and vocational retraining



are necessary. Also, it is necessary to modernize employment and wage practices, reforming traditional "permanent employment" and the closely connected seniority ranking type of wage system. Thirdly, because the younger age of the labor force population is decreasing and the age distribution of the labor force population is aging, fuller utilization of the middle and aged labor force population is inevitable. Finally, with sufficient care for the protection of maternity, the rational use of the women labor force will be helpful.

## VI. Conclusion

As was discussed above, general estimation of the postwar Japanese population policy was high and it was remarked even among foreign observers that in Japan the population problem was solved. Certainly, Japan achieved a notable performance in the birth rate and mortality rate, the intrinsic factors of population control and improvement. Behind this achievement were the following factors: high literacy ratio of the population 15 years old and above, dissemination by mass media of information and knowledge, cooperative activities of private family planning associations and other community organizations including farmers' cooperative associations with a strong organizational network in rural areas, and collection of data and accumulation of research by governmental and non-governmental organizations. The government's administrative efforts as seen in the operation of health centers throughout the country, training of field workers for family planning, etc., was not small but these efforts, only through their link with the effects of these supporting factors, for the first time, were able to gain a "victory" for the population policy.

Today, however, Japan cannot enjoy and be satisfied with this "victory." The reason is that Japan was liberated from population pressure in the classic meaning of natural population increase but is now suffering from increasing "population pressure" in new forms. The rapid as well as large scale progress

of urbanization is accelerating migration as a disturbing population factor and is raising the "population pressure" in the urban and metropolitan areas as well as megalopolis, while it is creating in many rural areas an extremely declining population, the "population vacuum" phenomenon. Both of these are a big challenge for the national, prefectural and local governments. Also, the population's rapidly changing composition, which reflects the change of population growth and migration, also brings forth a big challenge for each level of government.

The national government cooperates with the prefectural and local governments in order to meet these challenges and while re-evaluating the performance of existing policies, is looking for a new course of action. Some examples of these challenges are in public health which is confronted by the problem of environmental disruption, in education which is encountering the pressure of the increasing school population and growing demands for a new educational system to correspond to the social and economic change and in manpower and employment which is faced with the shortage of the labor force population due to rapid change in the age distribution of the population.

What can be seen when analyzing these governmental efforts to formulate new policy is that the structure of the policy feedback process in each administrative field shows a tendency to become more complicated and that there is a growing necessity for coordination and integration among the processes.

The need for an integrated process of policy formulation and implementation among the different sectors of governmental administration is not a new task. However, despite (or because of) the relatively stable population growth, it can be said that in present day Japan, where the dynamics of the population movement are being strengthened through rapid migration and the changing composition of the population, this task, compared to the past, has growth even

larger and more significant. As mentioned in the New Plan for Economic and Social Development, the Japanese population policy's basic targets are to sustain the net reproduction rate at the adequate level of 1, to raise the quality of the population and to promote the rationalized distribution of manpower within the limits of that population size. In order to materialize this, it certainly goes without saying that various efforts of integration, from family planning to economic and social development planning, are required.

This task must be shared by not only the national government but also by the prefectural and local governments as well. When considering the gradually growing diversification of value systems in the Japanese "post-industrial society," the tension between bureaucracy and citizen participation will become stronger and in the future the necessity to establish a decentralized system of governmental administration will grow even stronger. With this, the difficulty and necessity of integration will certainly increase. However, for Japan to possess a population policy that deserves its name, this task cannot be avoided. Today, when the population movement is becoming more dynamic and complicated, the governmental administration that accepts this challenge must welcome a new phase of integration. There is found the crux of administrative implications of the population problem in today's Japan.

