

# Japanese Management

## A Comparative Study of the Japanese Management Theories of Four Scholars: Masumi Tsuda, Hiroshi Hazama, Ryushi Iwata, and Kuniyoshi Urabe

by Keisuke Maruyama

A great many scholars in Japan have carried out research into Japanese management practices. The four considered in this study have had many works published, and hence can, I believe, be said to constitute a representative crosssection of the theory on this subject. I have attempted to arrange and consider the ideas of these four scholars in order to throw light upon research on Japanese management practices. Firstly I give an outline of their respective theories, and then compare them.

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- I Tsuda's Theory of Japanese Management

#### I — 1 Cooperative Communal Entities

The unifying concept of Masumi Tsuda's theory is that of the

(company as a) 'cooperative communal entity', which he says.<sup>1</sup>, 'form the basis for people's family and social life, provides an environment in which they can develop, make friends, get married, raise children, and then pass away, an environment in which they experience the joys and the sadness of this life.' Alternatively it might be described as a community within which our various needs are fulfilled. Tsuda puts forward two reasons for the existence of these cooperative communal entities, the absence of the conditions necessary for the formation of such entities within Japanese communities, and the nature of Japanese companies.

#### **1 - 1 - (1) The absence of the conditions necessary for the formation of cooperative communal entities within Japanese communities**

In most societies a company is a place within a cooperative communal entity where we earn a living, and outside the company people form relationships with others and attempt to fulfil their various needs. Tsuda asserts that the conditions for formation of cooperative communal entities are absent in Japanese local communities.<sup>2</sup>

#### **1 - 1 - (2) The nature of Japanese companies**

Tsuda says that in Japan, where the the conditions for the formation of cooperative communal entities are not present in local communities, the company assumes this role instead. When a person joins a company in Japan he devotes a great deal of his time to that company, and his various needs are fulfilled through the human relationships he forms within the workplace, the company.

#### **1 - 2 The Structure of Cooperative Communal Entities**

Tsuda says that the structure of (company) cooperative communal entities is made up of 2 'dual' principles, 4 basic principles, 6 organisational principles, and 13 control principles. The relationship

between these various principles is shown diagrammatically in Diagram 1 - 1 (in Chart 1). He says<sup>3</sup> 'the cooperative communal entity is made up of 4 basic principles (described below) which have at their core 2 dual principles, achievement of results (-rationality and efficiency) and 'empathy with the ideal personality' ['empathy with whole personality'] (-satisfaction and agreement), and which cover every faces of Japanese management. He also says<sup>4</sup> 'these 4 basic principles extend to every corner of Japanese management, working to control and organise', and explains how the 4 basic principles relate to the 6 organisational and 13 control principles. Next I will give an outline of the 4 basic principles, the 6 organisational principles, and the 13 control principles.

#### 1 - 2 - (1) The 4 basic principles

The 4 basic principles can be summarised as follows:

No.1 A Japanese management enterprise is a place in which 'the whole personality of the employees is moved'.

No.2 The authority of the management enterprise sustains a company's 'cooperative communal entity' character, and generates prosperity.

No.3 The highest authority in a management enterprise permeates the whole of the company through the 'dual' principles of pursuit of results and 'the expression of the ideal personality'.

No.4 The duality embodied within the basic principles means that groups crystallies easily within a management enterprise, and there is room for the existence of internal factions.

#### 1 - 2 - (2) The 6 organisational principles and the 13 control principles

We can say that the 4 basic principles and the 2 dual principles which form their nucleus concern all people in supervisory and managerial positions. Managers and supervisors skilfully use the

two aspects, rationality/efficiency and satisfaction/agreement, to resolve problems.

Here is a greatly simplified description of the 6 organisational principles<sup>5</sup>:

- No. 1 Instilment of the dual principles in all levels of personnel.
- No. 2 Utilisation of status classification systems (Shikaku Seido).
- No. 3 Conversion of divisions into cooperative communal entities.
- No. 4 Departments/sections constitute small cooperative community entities.
- No. 5 Elimination of sectionalism through meetings and the directorial duties of heads of divisions.
- No. 6 Directors' meetings act as internal control groups.

Next, a greatly simplified description of the 13 control principles<sup>6</sup>:

- No. 1 Setting of objectives for the company as a whole by corporated executive officer.
- No. 2 Setting of divisional objectives through the introduction of participation in planning.
- No. 3 Satisfaction and agreement with objectives set within divisions.
- No. 4 Allocation of annual budget and checking of income and expenditure processes by the finance division.
- No. 5 Negotiative groundwork, conferences, and use of the *Ringi* system for exceptional occurrences.
- No. 6 Achieve smooth running of organisations by means of interdivisional /interdepartmental adjustments, the *Ringi* system.
- No. 7 Demand ability to work as a team and establish good group relations within the basic units of organisations - sections, teams.
- No. 8 Frequent changes to written regulations governing work within divisions, sections.
- No. 9 Regular rotation of personnel.
- No. 10 Planning, implementations, and evaluation of training.
- No. 11 Excercise dual principles when making decisions on wages and salaries.
- No. 12

Creation of a satisfactory welfare system. No.13 Rewarding all employees in a variety of ways.

## II Hazama's Theory of Japanese Management

Hiroshi Hazama's theory of Japanese management is renowned for its doctrine of the company as a family, yet he actually asserts that this was the pre-war doctrine and has been replaced since the war by the doctrine of company welfare. Here we will look at the role of the doctrine of the company as a family and then the background to the formation of the company welfare doctrine.

### II-2 The doctrine of the company as a family and its role

Hazama writes<sup>7</sup> that, '(companies) generally came to be known as company families, for example, the JNR (Japanese National Railways) family, the *Nihon Kokan* family, *Kanebo's* giant family, while the staff at a mine were referred to as the XXXX mine family.' This, he said<sup>8</sup>, was 'an attempt to relate companies, which are functional groups, to family groups, and to explain the relationships between capitalists/managers and workers in terms of their similarity with the relationships between parents and children.' He used this analogy because<sup>9</sup> 'the family exhibits the national characteristics of the Japanese'. In other words, the doctrine of the company as a family can be compared to the family system, which exhibits the national characteristics of the Japanese people.

What then is the relationship between the doctrine of the company family and the rationale of the family? Hazama first identifies the differences between the family and the family system, and then analyses the correlation between the rationale of the

family and company human resource management under the doctrine of the company as a family.

Hazama explains the features of the family system in terms of relationships within the family (Diagram 1 - 2 ). In the family system the head of the family has an enormous amount of authority; the other members of the family are absolutely bound to obey him. The family constitutes an economic unit, and the rationale works to maintain the family fortune. If the head of the family is not capable, even close relations will lose their inheritance.

The righthand section of Diagram 1 - 2 shows how the rationale of the family is reflected in company human resource management. In other words we can postulate a structure in which, on the foundation formed by the social status system, the lifetime employment, wages based on seniority (ie. age), and company welfare systems were established, and the psychological basis for these systems was the company as a family ideology embodied in the relations between management and the workforce.

Hazama asserts<sup>10</sup> that the role of the doctrine of the company as a family has resulted in 'employees having a strong sense of belonging (to the company), which motivates them to work hard'. Diagram 1 - 3 summarises what this has meant in terms of the psychological effect on the employees (workforce) and on the nation.

II - 2 The background to the formation of the company welfare doctrine.

In his book '*Nihonteki Keiei*' (Japanese Management) (pub. Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha 1971), Hazama describes this doctrine as follows<sup>11</sup>:

'These days consideration for the welfare of employees, out of a sense of social responsibility, is much more common among managers than the paternalism of the past. I will refer to this new brand of management-workforce cooperation/unity, of which the pivot is the improvement of the welfare of the employees, as the doctrine of company welfare.'

To summarise, the company welfare doctrine aims to improve the results of the company and the welfare of its employees by means of cooperation/unity between management and the workforce. How then did it develop from the doctrine of the company as a family? Hazama notes<sup>12</sup> three points.

① Changes in the concept of the family system - the rejection of the prewar concept of the family *as a result* of democratisation, alongside the continued existence of the traditional group mentality *in spite of* democratisation, meant that new concepts were sought to amend management practices. ② New management concepts were sought as a result of the recovery of the economy and the recovery of the managers themselves. ③ The implementation of various company welfare measures as a result of the legalisation of unions and management's response to their demands.

### III Iwata's Theory of Japanese Management

Ryushi Iwata's standpoint is that there have been consistent 'formative principles of Japanese management' throughout both the prewar and post-war periods, and that there is a strong correlation between these formative principles and the socially-produced psychological traits of the Japanese people. He writes that these psychological traits stem from Japanese people's social perceptions,

and that it is the effect of the formative principles of Japanese management and the environment which has resulted in the formation of company organisations which incorporate systems such as lifetime employment and seniority-based wages. His ideas are shown in Diagram 1 - 4 . Here I will summarise what he means by social perceptions, the psychological traits of the Japanese people, and the formative principles of Japanese management.

### III- 1 Social Perceptions

Iwata says that Japanese people exhibit group-oriented behaviour, and that the unit for this group behaviour is the hamlet or village, not the family.<sup>13</sup> In order to throw light upon their group-oriented perceptions, which have such deep roots in Japan, he has produced a model to compare Japan with the West in terms of how individuals relate to society. This is shown in Diagram 1 - 5 .

He asserts that<sup>14</sup> 'we can produce a model of (Western) society in which people, with a strong sense of individuality and self-determination, relate to each other, 'which demonstrates that in the West<sup>15</sup>, 'individuals relate to each other through the medium of specific functions or roles, based on a concept of strict contracts, and in this way attain a certain position in society'.

This contrasts sharply with the situation in Japan. He says that<sup>16</sup>, 'In Japanese society, individuals form relations with each other and attain a certain position in society, not in terms of functions assigned to them, but rather through belonging to a special group. 'He asserts<sup>17</sup> that the above differences in the social structure in Japan and the West bring about the following differences in the traits of the people living in the two respective cultures:

- ① Autonomy is a dominant behavioural trait in Western society; in Japanese society heteronomy is prevalent.
- ② Relationship between



the individual and the group: Western people see it as having limitations, and optional participation as a precondition; in Japanese society all members of a group tend to become submerged in it, and they distinguish between *tatemae* - what they feel they ought to say - and *honne* - what they really feel, and between *omote* - the outward appearance of things - and *ura* - what is behind the outward appearance. ③ The need to belong to a group: in the West this is role-oriented; in Japan it tends to be group-oriented. ④ Perceptions of obligations: in the West clear limitations are placed upon the obligations of the various members of the group; in Japan there tend to be no such limitation.

### III-2 Japanese People's Psychological Traits

Iwata identifies 4 Japanese psychological traits<sup>18</sup>: ① Their perceptions of insiders and outsiders (the group that an individual belongs to being perceived as insiders). ② Their inclination to stay within 'special groups'. ③ The way they perceive status (they tend to be interested in status within their group). ④ Their perceptions of responsibility and authority (there is not a clearly-established awareness of personal responsibility, the extent of an individual's responsibility is not clear).

### III-3 The Formative Principles of Management

Iwata puts forward 7 formative principles of management, based on the above social perceptions and psychological traits:

Principle 1 The attempt to sustain human relationships indefinitely.

Principle 2 The maintenance of harmonious relationships. This could be said to be a type of behaviour designed to sustain the group, through selfrestraint, give and take, and discussion.

Principle 3 Respect for established levels of social status. In Japan a person's qualifications and standing are taken seriously; if a

person has higher qualifications and standing than you, this must be reflected in the way you address him.

Principle 4 The maintenance of satisfaction stemming from a feeling of belonging, and emotional stability, through the formation of groups. To the Japanese, companies constitute 'special groups', and the activities of the group include helping out other members of the group, cooperation, maintaining harmony within the group, giving individuals the status and cognizance of being a member of the group.

The other three principles are: No. 5 Avoidance of sudden changes. No. 6 The compatibility of maintaining stability while avoiding stagnation. No. 7 The absence of limitation on obligations of organisations to each other. The company organisation is formed as result of the effect of the company environment, and is based on these 7 formative principles.

#### IV Urabe's Theory of Japanese Management

Kuniyoshi Urabe has researched Japanese management from the following viewpoints: ① He has chosen functional culture theory and evolutionary culture theory as his approach. ② He asserts that the formation of Japanese management practices has been affected not only by cultural factors, but also by systems-related and historical factors, and that ③ Japanese management has evolved because of changes in circumstances. Here I will summaries Urabe's theory of Japanese management based on these three veiwpoints.

#### IV-1 Functional culture theory and evolutionary culture theory

Urabe said that<sup>19</sup> '(1) historical culture theory, (2) functional culture theory, (3) ideological culture theory, and (4) evolutionary culture theory are methods of comparing management cultures. 'He describes them as follows:

Historical culture theory<sup>20</sup>: 'A method of attempting to identify the cultural characteristics of the management systems in a particular country by studying the relationship between the history of the management systems of that country and the cultural background in that country.'

Functional culture theory<sup>21</sup>: 'Treating management systems as one of the sub-systems within the overall culture of a particular country, and attempting to identify the cultural characteristics of that country's political, moral, religious, educational, and family systems.'

Ideological culture theory<sup>22</sup>: 'Presuming the ideology, values, and attitudes peculiar to the culture of a particular country to be the nuclear factors which unify the overall cultural system of that country, and attempting to throw light upon the characteristics of the management culture in that country by identifying these factors.'

Evolutionary culture theory: Having established the standpoint that<sup>23</sup>, 'Management' systems are the product of historical, cumulative development', he says<sup>24</sup> 'Modern management systems are the product of the cumulative development of the management systems of the past, and the management systems of the future will be no more than the product of the evolutionary development of present-day management systems.'

To explain Japanese management he attempts to use evolutionary

culture theory as he explains here<sup>25</sup>: 'Looking at Japanese management, which is characterised by the lifetime employment system, from the point of view of evolutionary culture theory, we assert that it is the product of the historical and cumulative development of management systems of the past.' However the following statement by Urabe makes me believe that he is surely also looking at it from the point of view of functional culture theory<sup>26</sup>, 'In order to adapt to changes in circumstances there are adaptive systems which attempt to maintain a dynamic balance between management systems and their changing environment, through the processes of structuring, destructuring, and restructuring. 'In other words we can say that the political, moral, religious, educational, and family systems of a particular country can be seen to form the political, cultural, and social environment for the companies within that country.

#### IV-2 Cultural/social factors and technological/economic factors

Urabe states that when we consider Japanese management we must take into account technological and economic factors as well as cultural and social factors.<sup>27</sup> In discussing the establishing of lifetime employment systems, a characteristic feature of Japanese management, and the setting up of factory committees, he points out that the following technological and economic factors played a part: ① The shortage of technically-skilled workers during the process of industrialisation in Japan, and the measures taken to make sure that such workers stayed in the company ② The measures taken to deal with the frequent industrial disputes. However he adds that the unique traditional values of Japanese society influenced the selection of those measures.

#### IV-3 Evolution as a result of changes in circumstances

Urabe explains how Japanese management evolved as a result of adapting to changing circumstances. He says<sup>28</sup>, 'Furthermore, I believe that a weakness common to the theories of these people (here he is referring to Hazama, Tsuda, Iwata, and Mannari) is that they focus excessively on unchanging traditional factors, and overlook the fact that Japanese management is not unchanging, but is an adaptive system which adapts to changes in circumstances and conditions.'

#### IV-4 The management philosophy of respect for human beings and its effect on management systems

Urabe suggests that the philosophy of Japanese management stems from the doctrine of respect for human beings of Moku Onda, whose skills rebuilt the finances of the fiefdom of Matsushiro in the feudal period. There are two aspects to this doctrine. The first, which is similar to McGregor's Theory Y of human nature, is respect for factors involving human beings themselves, their autonomy, personal responsibility, and self-respect. This aspect motivates them to personal efforts; it could also be described as performing work through cooperative horizontal and vertical relationships. This first aspect could also be said to be unchanging. The second aspect is improvements to the organisational environment of human beings. It can be broken down into living environment and the working environment. Urabe says that the lifetime employment system is representative<sup>29</sup> of this aspect in Japanese management. He asserts that lifetime employment became established during the late Meiji period (1868-1912), the Taisho period (1912-26), and the early Showa period (1962-). He gives 2 reasons for it becoming established<sup>30</sup>: ① The necessity of preventing high turnover

of labour. ② Drastic improvements to employment conditions as a result of massive industrial disputes. He gives the following 6 reasons for subsequent changes to lifetime employment systems: ① Post-war democratisation. ② Elimination of the demerits of wages based on seniority. ③ The change from a period of high to low economic growth. ④ Education to higher levels. ⑤ Respect for individuality, autonomy while maintaining the harmony of the group. ⑥ The increased fulfilment of the need for self-actualisation.

He says<sup>31</sup> that the following changes have been made to lifetime employment systems: ① Equalisation of status. ② Introducing of ability-related salaries and promotions (changes to seniority-based wages systems, promotion systems). ③ Introduction of small group activities.

## V A Comparison of the Japanese Management Theories of Four Scholars

Above I have summarised the Japanese management theories of 4 scholars, and in Chart 1 I have shown how I believe they compare in terms of their approach, their view of the origins of Japanese management practices, and their views of its management ideology. Next I will discuss these three aspects.

① Urabe said that there were 4 possible 'cultural' approaches to Japanese management research. Alternatively, approaches could be classified as social, historical, or systems-related. I believe we could regard Tsuda's and Hazama's approach as a historical/social one, Iwata's as purely social, and Urabe's as historical/systems-related.

A historical approach is one which attempts to identify the characteristics of Japanese management from a historical viewpoint.

A social approach is one which attempts to do this by studying communal life, identifying psychological traits. A systems-related approach is one which attempts to do it by identifying the characteristics of Japanese capitalism and of the late-developing industrial countries. I believe that the characteristics of management in each country are the result not only of social and historical factors, but also of systems-related ones.

② Tsuda points to cooperative communal entities as the core of the management ideology (of Japanese management), Hazama to the doctrine of the company as a family, Iwata to the group, and Urabe to the doctrine of respect for human beings. Tsuda focuses on the relationship between people and the company, Hazama on the ideology accepted by employees, Iwata on Japanese people's behavioural patterns, and Urabe on what makes life worth living for employees. From these four representative views I believe we can say that the general concept of Japanese management is 'an ideology which concerns people'.

③ Tsuda sees the origins of Japanese management as<sup>32</sup> 'bureaucratic systems, government enterprises, and the family businesses of the merchant families in the feudal period', Hazama as<sup>33</sup>, 'the family (management systems of merchant families)', Iwata as<sup>34</sup>, 'farming villages', and Urabe as<sup>35</sup> 'the political philosophy of Moku Onda'. I think that the difference lies in whether, like Tsuda, Hazama, and Urabe, they see Japanese management practices as originating from the systems/discipline of the dominant classes, or like Iwata, in the customs/behaviour of the masses.

# Chart 1 A Comparison of the Japanese Management

Items Compared	TSUDA	HAZAMA						
Diagrams of Theoretical Concept	<p><u>Diagram 1-1</u></p>	<p><u>Diagram 1-2</u></p> <p>Similarity of the rationale of the family and company management under the doctrine of the company as a family:</p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; font-size: small;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px;">L I F E T I M E E M P L O Y M E N T</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">S E N I O R I T Y B A S E D W A G E S</td> <td style="padding: 5px;">C O M P A N Y W E L F A R E</td> </tr> </table> <div style="margin: 0 10px;"> <p>↑ Social status system</p> <p>↑ Doctrine of company as a family in industrial relations</p> </div> </div> <p>(Systems-related base)      (Psychological base)</p> <p>Features of family systems:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) The family is a system and the basic principle is its continuity. The relations between the family are for life, or down to the descendants.</li> <li>(2) The vertical (father-son) Line has priority over the horizontal (husband - wife) one.</li> <li>(3) The family fortune is the economic base of the family.</li> <li>(4) The family group has priority over the standpoints of individuals within it. Family head has great power, family members must obey. If he is incapable, even close relations lose in heritage.</li> </ol>		L I F E T I M E E M P L O Y M E N T	S E N I O R I T Y B A S E D W A G E S	C O M P A N Y W E L F A R E		
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		<p><u>Diagram 1-3</u>      <u>Role of Doctrine of The Company as a family</u></p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; font-size: small;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 33%;">Effects on Workforce</th> <th style="width: 33%;">Effects on Management</th> <th style="width: 33%;">Effects on Nation</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fulfils need for stability in life.</li> <li>2. Gives feeling of superiority.</li> <li>3. Satisfies economic needs.</li> <li>4. Fulfils emotional needs.</li> </ol> </td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>Employees have strong sense of belonging.</p> <p>Motivates people to work hard.</p> <p>Prevents turnover of staff, weakens resistance to managers.</p> </td> <td style="vertical-align: top;"> <p>Cornerstone for development of Japanese capitalism.</p> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Effects on Workforce	Effects on Management	Effects on Nation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Fulfils need for stability in life.</li> <li>2. Gives feeling of superiority.</li> <li>3. Satisfies economic needs.</li> <li>4. Fulfils emotional needs.</li> </ol>	<p>Employees have strong sense of belonging.</p> <p>Motivates people to work hard.</p> <p>Prevents turnover of staff, weakens resistance to managers.</p>
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Approach	Historical, Social	Historical, Social						
View of Origins	Bureaucratic Systems and Government enterprises, Family businesses of merchant families	The Family (Management systems of merchant families)						
Management Ideology (Unifying concepts)	Cooperative communal entity	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Pre-war</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Company as a family</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Post-war</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Company welfare</p>					



# Theories of Tusda, Hazama, Iwata, and Urabe

IWATA	URABE
<p><u>Diagram 1-4</u> <u>Formative Principles of Japanese Management</u></p>	<p><u>Diagram 1-7</u> <u>Doctrine of Respect for Human Beings</u></p>
<p><u>Diagram 1-5</u> <u>Japanese society and Western society</u></p> <p><u>Japanese Society</u></p> <p>Individuals → “Special Groups” → Society                            ↑                            (Belong)</p> <p><u>Western Society</u></p> <p>Individuals → (Function) → Society                            ↑                            Contract</p>	<p><u>Diagram 1-6</u></p> <p>BASIC VIEWPOINT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Approach using functional culture theory and evolutionary culture theory.</li> <li>Effect of cultural and systems-related aspects.</li> <li>Evolution in response to changing circumstances.</li> </ul>
Social	Historical, Systems-related (technological, economic)
Farming villages	Moku Onda's Management practices
Group-orientation	Respect for human beings

## Sources of Reference

1. Masumi Tsuda, '*Nihonteki Keiei no Ronri*', pub. Chuokeizaisha 1977, this is the author's summary of what is written on p.198.
2. Ibid. p. 203
3. Ibid. p. 254
4. Ibid. p. 255
5. Ibid. pp. 255-258
6. Ibid. pp. 259-266
7. Hiroshi Hazama, '*Nihon Romu Kanrishi Kenkyu*', pub. Diamondsha 1964, and also by Ochanomizu Shobo 1978, p. 18.
8. Ibid. p. 18
9. Ibid. p. 18
10. Ibid. p. 39
11. Hiroshi Hazama, '*Nihonteki Keiei*', pub. Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha 1971, p. 98.
12. With regard to points ①, ②, and ③ in Section II-2, the reader is referred to the following works:
  - ① Hiroshi Hazama's paper, '*Nihon no Kigyo to Shakai*', in '*Nihon Keieishi Koza*' Vol. 6, compiled by Matazi Miyamoto and Keiichiro Nakagawa, edited by Hiroshi Hazama, pub. Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha 1977.  
Hiroshi Hazama, '*Nihonteki Keiei*'.
  - ② Hiroshi Hazama, '*Nihon no Shiyoshadantai to Roshi Kankei*', pub. Nihon Rodo Kyokai 1981.
  - ③ Hiroshi Hazama '*Nihonteki Keiei no Keifu*', pub. Nihon Noritsu Kyokai 1963, and also by Bunshindo 1989.
13. Ryushi Iwata, '*Nihonteki Keiei no Hensei Genri*', pub. Bunshindo 1977, pp. 30-31. Iwata's argument is based upon the following sources:

Kameichi Hosokawa, '*Rinposeidoshi*', pub. Hakuyosha 1937.

Hiroyuki Araki, '*Nihonjin no Kodo Yoshiki*', pub. Kodansha 1973, pp. 37-40.

14. Ibid. p. 42

15. Ibid. p. 43

16. Ibid. p. 45

17. Ibid. pp. 38-58

18. Ibid. p. 59

19. Kuniyoshi Urabe, '*Keieigaku Soron*', pub. Hakuto Shobo 1973, p. 379.

20. Ibid. p. 379

21. Ibid. p. 379

22. Ibid. p. 380

23. Ibid. p. 380

24. Ibid. p. 380

25. Ibid. p. 380

26. Ibid. p. 381

27. The reader is referred to the following works:

Kuniyoshi Urabe, '*Nihonteki Keiei o Kangaeru*', pub. Chuo Keizaisha 1978, *Maegaki* (Introduction).

Kuniyoshi Urabe and Kihei Omura, '*Nihonteki Roshikankei no Tankyu*', pub. Chuo Keizaisha 1983, *Maegaki* (Introduction).

28. '*Nihonteki Keiei o Kangaeru*', *Maegaki* (Introduction).

29. As well as lifetime employment systems, Urabe identifies JIT (Just In Time) systems, and TQC (Total Quality Control) systems, as being characteristic Japanese management systems. He says that JIT and TQC systems are also the product of adapting to circumstances. See Urabe, '*Nihonteki Keiei wa Shinka suru*', pub. Chuo Keizaisha 1984, pp. 164-229.

On lifetime employment systems he writes: 'As I said when describing the historical development of lifetime employment systems, they are interrelated with seniority wages systems, social status systems and discipline, welfare policies, factory committees, and the company union, all of which together form Japan's unique management system.' in '*Keiei Sanka to Nihonteki Roshi Kankei*', pub. Hakuto Shobo 1977, p. 137.

30. '*Nihonteki Roshikankei no Tankyu*', pub. Chuo Keizaisha 1983, pp. 28-33.
31. '*Nihonteki Keiei wa Shinka suru*', pp. 42-73.
32. Masumi Tsuda, '*Nenkoteki Roshi Kankei*', pub. Minerva Shobo 1967, pp. 42-51.
33. Hiroshi Hazama, '*Nihon Romu Kanrishi Kenkyu*', 1984, pp. 25-39.
34. Ryushi Iwata, '*Nihonteki Keiei no Hensei Genri*', pp. 30-31.
35. Kuniyoshi Urabe, '*Hokai suru Nihonteki Keiei - Kono Kiki o Norikiru [Mokuryu Keieihō]*', pub. Kobunsha 1971, *Maegaki* (Introduction).  
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