

CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF JAPANESE WORKERS

By MASUMI TSUDA*

I. *Object and Method*

Class consciousness of workers may be recognized through a number of ways as Arthur Marwick, for an example, deals with the image and reality of class by a comparative approach.¹ This paper picks up one of the approach, collecting evidences from opinion surveys on consciousness of workers, through which tries to offer a picture of consciousness on working of Japanese workers.

II. *Middlization of Consciousness*

Though not particularly confining within the workers, Prime Minister's Office of the Japanese government has annually conducted a survey on class consciousness of Japanese people in general since the end of 1950's, and it may be a good beginning for us to observe the outcome of this survey. By its survey, the Japanese people statiscally sampled are asked to which class they think to belong. The classes divided there are nine: upper-upper, upper-middle, upper-lower, middle-upper, middle-middle, middle-lower, lower-upper, lower-middle, and lower-lower. The term of the classification is rather economic because the people are asked their "living level." Figure I shows the outcome by three-year interval in which three classes of the upper and the lower are squeezed to one respectively for easier observation.

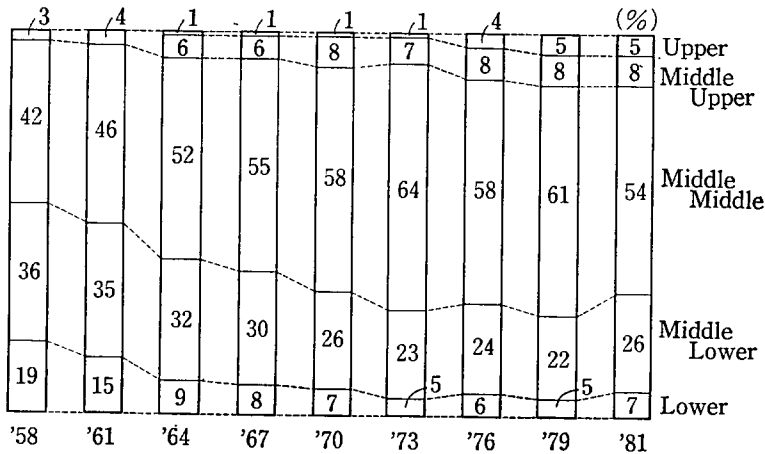
It is recognized in Figure 1 that consciousness of belonging to the middle class has remarkably grown as time passes and this middlization of people's consciousness is observed in a number of the following ways. Firstly, the consciousness belonging to the middle-middle class has outstandingly grown especially between 1958 and 1973, secondly, during the same period, the consciousness of belonging to the lower and the middle-lower classes of the people has remarkably decreased, and thirdly, though gradually increased, the consciousness belonging to the middle-upper and the upper classes has caught bare minority of the people.

Middlization of consciousness of the working class has been especially emphasized

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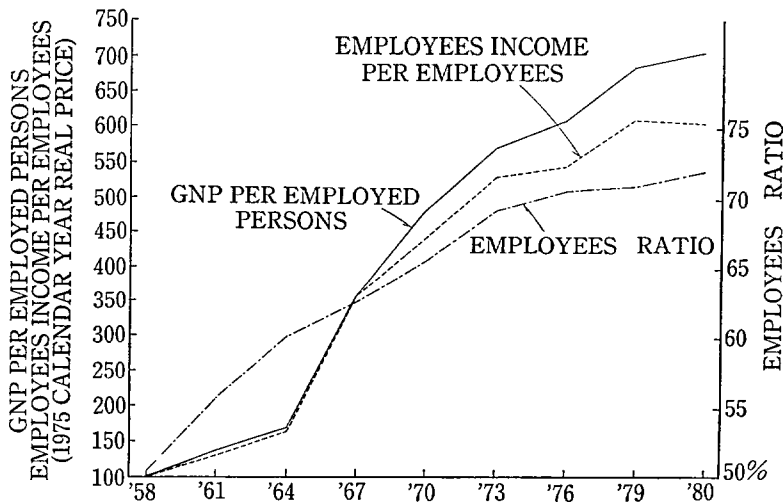
¹ He follows his study in the following way: historical context, academic images, official images, unofficial and private images, and media images. Arthur Marwick, *Class. Images and Reality in Britain, France and the U.S.A. since 1930*, William Collins and Sons, 1980.

Figure 1. CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS OF JAPANESE PEOPLE



Source: Prime Ministers' Office, *Survey on Peoples' Life*.

Figure 2. GROWTH OF GNP, EMPLOYEES INCOME AND EMPLOYEES RATIO



Note: EMPLOYEES RATIO = Number of employees / employed persons $\times 100$
 EMPLOYEES INCOME = National incomes of employees in national income accounting

by the Luton research conducted by J.H. Goldthorpe and others.² They show that the British blue-collar workers in Luton combined class consciousness tightly with economic

² J.H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, F. Bechhofer, and J. Platt, *The Affluent Worker: Industrial Attitudes and Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, 1968; do, *The Affluent Worker: Political Attitudes and Behavior*, Cambridge University Press, 1968; do, *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*, Cambridge University Press, 1969.

affluence of living.³ Economic upheaval may help to explain the middlization of the consciousness of the Japanese people too as Figure 2 is produced to see the economic environment for Figure 1. Firstly, Figure 2 tells that the growth national product per employed persons has grown more than seven times during the survey years of Figure 1, and secondly, the employee incomes per employees have increased by six times. It had been unprecedented for the national economy and economic living conditions of the people to experience such a rapid growth for shorter years and it goes undoubted that these environments had contributed to produce the increase of middlized consciousness of the Japanese people. It is further noted in Figure 2 that the employee ratio in employed persons gained from 50 to 72 percent between 1958 and 1980. While this ratio especially increased between 1958 and 1973, the employees have reached the major category of the Japanese employed persons in these years. It implies that the rapid increase of the middlization of consciousness of the Japanese people has gone along with the rapid increase of the workers in the people.

III. *Consciousness by Generative Approach*

R.W. Connell argues the theory of class analysis in a society by two types of approach: categorical and generative.⁴ While the categorical approach, he defines, is aimed at finding a way of stratifying people by a kind of map-maker's grid whose cells are termed as classes, the generative approach finds a way through which fundamental class structures are seen to generate a historical reality of society. Supporting the latter approach he premises that private property or ownership defines a labour market, in which employer-employee relationships are formed. The system of property means that the employer keeps control of the product of the work. The class structure develops by the extension of the labour market to engulf other forms of economic and social organizations in the society. Though his premises seem too simple to apply to a complex of the current industrialized society, the generative approach may have been basic when scholars and trade unionists deal with the class consciousness of workers. Some of the evidences of consciousness of the Japanese workers by the generative approach will be thus shown in the following.

1. To Management

In 1975, Irving I. Kramer, a staff of the U.S. Ministry of Labor conducted an attitude survey of Japanese workers with the assistance of Japanese government officials and scholars.⁵ In one of his seventy questions he asked to the Japanese workers to respond to the opinion, "the management of this company is interested in the welfare of its employees," by choosing one of the four selecting legs, strongly or mildly and agree or disagree. Observing the responses in Table I we can say that 59 percent of them agree the opinion, in which production workers, by 56 percent, office employees, by 65 percent, male workers, by 59 percent, and female workers, by 57 percent. It implies that more than half of the Japanese workers

³ J.H. Goldthorpe et al., *The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure*. p. 148.

⁴ R.W. Connell, *Ruling Class Ruling Culture, Studies of Conflict, Power and Hegemony in Australian Life*, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 4-6.

⁵ Irving Kramer, *Motivation: A Study of Japanese Industrial Workers*, U.S. Department of Labor, 1975. This survey covers 3805 workers in 26 companies.

TABLE 1. THE MANAGEMENT OF THIS COMPANY IS INTERESTED
IN THE WELFARE OF ITS EMPLOYEES.

(%)

Attitude	Total	Trades		Sex	
		Production	Office	Male	Female
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Strongly disagree	9	11	7	10	9
Mildly disagree	30	31	27	29	32
Mildly agree	49	47	53	48	51
Strongly agree	10	9	12	11	6
N.A. -	2	2	1	2	2

Source: I.I. Kramer, *Motivation: A Study of Japanese Industrial Workers*, U.S. Department of Labour, 1975. Table 3-a.

TABLE 2. HOW HELPFUL DO YOU THINK UNION IS TO ITS
EMPLOYEES?

(%)

Attitude	Total	Trades		Sex	
		Production	Office	Male	Female
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Very helpful	18	20	16	19	17
Fairly helpful	42	40	47	41	45
Sometimes helpful	28	27	28	27	30
Mostly not helpful	4	4	4	4	4
Not helpful at all	2	2	2	2	1
N.A.	6	7	3	7	3

Source: The same as Table 1.

show more or less trust feeling with the management in their treating employees.

Another phase of attitude of Japanese workers may be interesting when the Institute of Asian Social Problems conducted a comparative survey of German and Japanese workers in 1981.⁶ In one of fourteen questions they were asked if profit increase of the company brings also income increase of the workers. The responses of the workers in two countries show difference sharply that the Japanese workers chose "yes" by 93.5 percent and "no" only by 6.2 percent, while the West German workers picked up "no" by 73.5 percent and "yes" only by 24.3 percent. This evidence may help to endorse the trust feeling of Japanese workers with the management shown in Table 1.

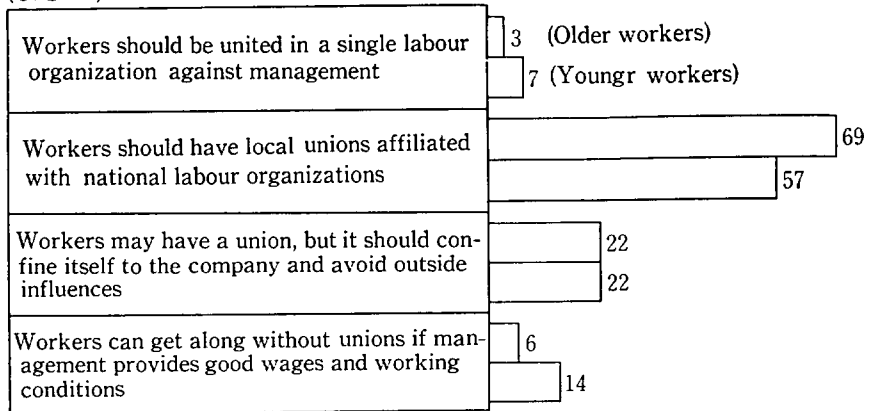
2. To Trade Unionism

While it is regarded by workers that trade union is the front line of the struggle of the working class, commitment to trade unionism may show a representative example of

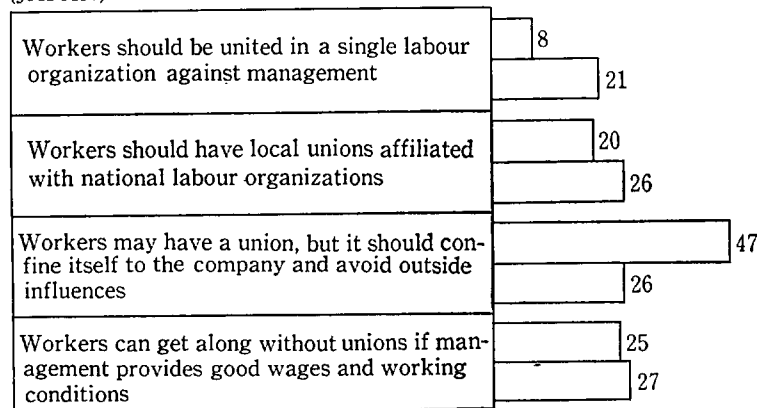
⁶ Institute of Asian Social Problems, *Attitude Survey of Workers to Technological Innovation—in related to the introduction of microelectronics equipments—*, 1982 (in Japanese). This survey covers 1810 Japanese workers in two plants of one company and 412 German workers in one plant of one company, in the car-manufacturing and the electric equipments manufacturing company respectively.

FIGURE 3. I BELIEVE THAT:

(U. S. A.)



(JAPAN)



Source: Shin-ichi Takezawa and Arthur M. Whitehill, *Work Ways. Japan and America*, The Japan Institute of Labour, 1981, p. 202.

the class consciousness of workers. By the question, "How helpful do you think your union is to its employees?" Kramer thus goes into this area in his survey asking the Japanese workers to choose one of the selection legs as their answer, whose results are shown in Table 2. It seems clear when the two responses of "very helpful" and "fairly helpful" are combined that more than 60 percent of the Japanese workers regardless of trades and sexes are full confident with their trade union activities.

Does it mean that the Japanese workers regard trade unionism as a solid front fighting against the management? The survey of Shin-ichi Takezawa and Arthur M. Whitehill reveals an interesting answer to the question.⁷ While the foregoing survey of the Institute of Social Problems follows the same method, the survey of the two professors conducted

⁷ Shin-ichi Takezawa and Arthur M. Whitehill, *Work Ways. Japan and America*, The Japan Institute of Labour, 1981.

in 1960 was the first comparative survey on workers in Japan applying the same words of questions to different countries. Here, their second survey conducted in 1976 will be picked up. Unfortunately, however, as the age structure of the responded workers does not correspond to the actuals of either countries, the comparison by the total sum of the answers is almost meaningless. While in the following figures only the outcomes of the 1976 survey appear, the two kinds of percent rates are shown: the upper bold bar shows the responding proportion of the young workers at the ages of younger than 25 years, and the lower bold bar shows of the old workers at the ages of 25 years and over.

In one of their twenty questions, Takazawa and Whitehill choose the issue of role of trade unions. The workers are asked, by the introductory phrase of "I believe that," to take one of the four selection legs shown in Figure 3, where the results are shown separately by the U.S. and Japanese workers. While around sixty percent of the U.S. workers chose the answer, "workers should have local unions affiliated with national labour organizations," it is natural for them to do so because this answer conforms to the main structure of labour unions in the U.S. Different from the U.S. workers, the answers of the Japanese workers are not concentrated even though a little much of them chose the answer, "workers may have a union, but it should confine itself to the company and avoid outside influences."

This choice also reflects the prevailing organization structure of Japanese trade unions, where all the regular employees in offices and plants are organized by one company-wide union and those company-wide unions in an industry organize a national industrial federation. The rights of workers secured by the Constitution and the Trade Union Law are originally vested not in an industrial federation but in a company-wide trade union.

Though the answers of the Japanese workers to the question of the Takezawa-Whitehill survey are not concentrated in a single selection leg, it should be noted in Table 2 of the Kramer survey that sixty percent of the workers see current activities of their company-wide trade unions "very helpful" or "fairly helpful." It may suggest that the majority of the Japanese workers keeps up trust feeling with their own unions. However, it should be also noted that in Figure 3 of the Takezawa-Whitehill survey more than one-fourth of the Japanese workers say "workers can get along without unions if management provides good wages and working conditions." While the activities of the Japanese trade unions secured by laws have experienced more than thirty years after the World War II, the fact that more than one-fourth of the Japanese workers fail to show confidence with trade unionism may imply that situations of the Japanese trade unionism are still not stable.

The foregoing observations on the attitudes of Japanese workers to management and to trade unions suggest that the generative approach may fail to clarify the class consciousness of the Japanese workers since the perception of social disband between the company or management and the workers or employees of Japanese workers is unclear. We will try to take another approach for clarifying them.

IV. *Attitude to Working in Company*

The generative approach to the class analysis in a capitalistic society, as R.W. Connell argues, suggests that the class consciousness of workers will clearly exhibit their more or less remote feeling toward the core of capitalistic society, the company where they are work-

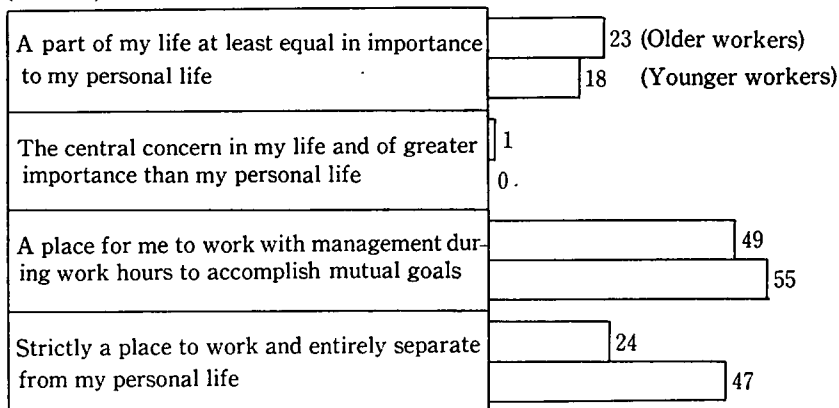
ing. It may imply that a survey on attitude to working in their company can be another approach to show consciousness of workers. How do Japanese workers think their working within their company? We will go further into this subject.

1. Meaning of Working in Company to Life

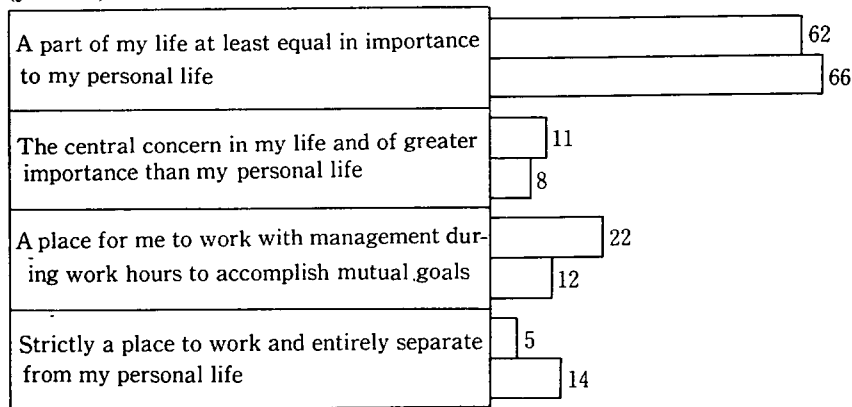
The Takezawa-Whitehill survey provides a good number of evidences on what meaning the Japanese workers find in working in their companies compared with the U.S. workers. First of all, the direct answers to the issue are shown in Figure 4 where four selection legs are supplied with workers to respond to "I think of my company as." It is clear that for around half of the U.S. workers the company where they are working is "a place for me to work with management during work hours to accomplish mutual goals." While the answer shows that they are willing to cooperate with management for completing management's goal within working hours, it shows that other hours should be kept for their own life. This attitude is more explicitly expressed by younger workers because fourty-seven

FIGURE 4. I THINK OF MY COMPANY AS:

(U. S. A.)



(JAPAN)



percent of them chose another answer, "strictly a place to work and entirely separate from my personal life." For Japanese workers the selections are entirely different, where almost two-third of workers regardless of ages chose the answer, "I think of my company as a part of my life at least equal in importance to my personal life," and further, around ten percent of them picked up the answer, "the central concern in my life and of greater importance than my personal life." This suggests that the Japanese workers feel the working life in their company far closer to their own life than the U.S. workers.

A side evidence is found in the 1981 comparative survey of German and Japanese workers conducted by the Institute of Asian Social Problems when the workers are asked if there are any serious problems in their current national economy. Seventy percent of German and seventy-seven percent of Japanese workers recognized that there were serious problems in the national economy. When those workers are asked who is responsible for the problem by choosing the single one form of management, trade union, the government, or workers, 53.6 percent of the German workers picked up the management followed by the government, 34.4 percent. The Japanese workers chose the responsibility of the government by 88.6 percent and by their choice the responsibility of the management was very small by only 7.3 percent.

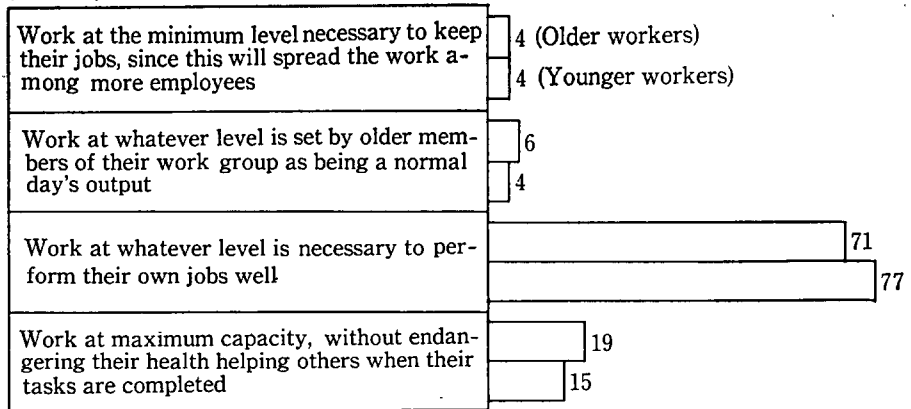
2. Working Attitude Within Company

While the Japanese workers feel working life in company at least equal to or more valuable than their private life. What attitude do they show in their actual work? The Takezawa-Whitehill survey finds the answer in an elaborate way. As shown in Figure 5, after they place the heading, "I think it is most desirable for my co-workers to," they ask workers to choose one of four selection legs. This implies that workers are asked to choose their own most desirable attitude to working though the question concerns indirectly their workmates. From four selection legs the overwhelming majority of the U.S. workers chose the answer, "work at whatever level is necessary to perform their own jobs well," and the ratio to other answers is not significant. The answers of the Japanese workers are, however, shared by two, one of which is the same as the answer of the majority of the U.S. workers. Another answer is read as "work at maximum capacity, without endangering their health helping others when their tasks are completed." Fifty-two percent of older workers and forty-seven percent of younger workers chose this answer in the Japanese group. Without any doubt, segmentation of work has developed through high industrialization and it has been a growing tendency that individual workers are assigned to their own task and are only responsible for completing their task. This tendency is also growing in the Japanese workplaces and there have grown many work which cannot be shared by plural workers. However, there are still strong feeling of workers to work with neighbour workmates or in a work group. The Japanese management, taking account of this feeling, has tried to organize the company as a whole as a cooperative work group of all the employees regardless of workplaces. It implies that the company is not only an economic body but also a social organization of the management and employees. The fact that around the half of the Japanese workers in the Takezawa-Whitehill survey chose especially helping each other when their own tasks were completed as the most desirable working attitude may not be interpreted without considering the feature of working structure of the Japanese business organization.

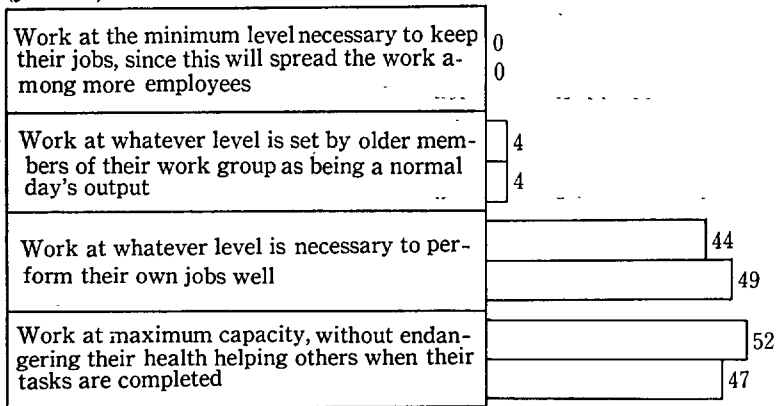
A similar evidence will be found when the 1981 comparative survey of German and

FIGURE 5. I THINK IT IS MOST DESIRABLE FOR MY
CO-WORKERS TO:

(U. S. A.)



(JAPAN)



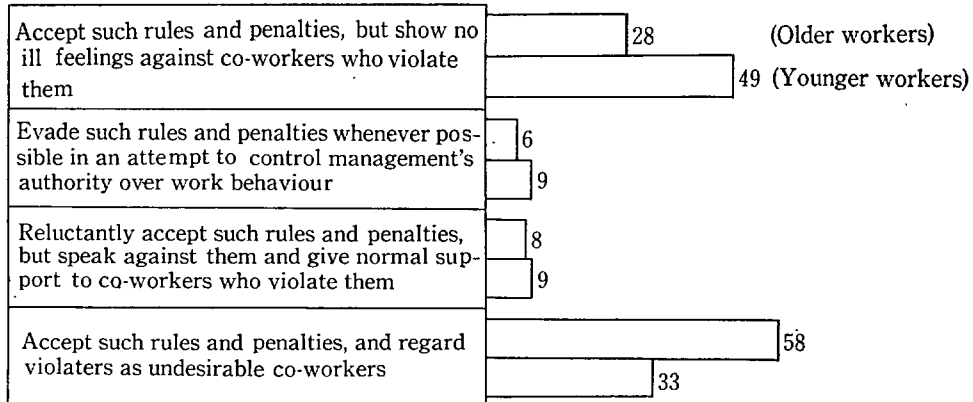
Japanese workers conducted by the Institute of Asian Social Problems when the workers are asked to respond to the opinion, "I work at the maximum when I feel involved in a work team." While 36.9 percent of the German workers said "yes" and 35.4 percent of them said "no," the overwhelming majority of the Japanese workers (65.0 percent) answered "yes" and only 5.0 percent of them showed negative.

3. Attitude toward Company Rules and Penalties

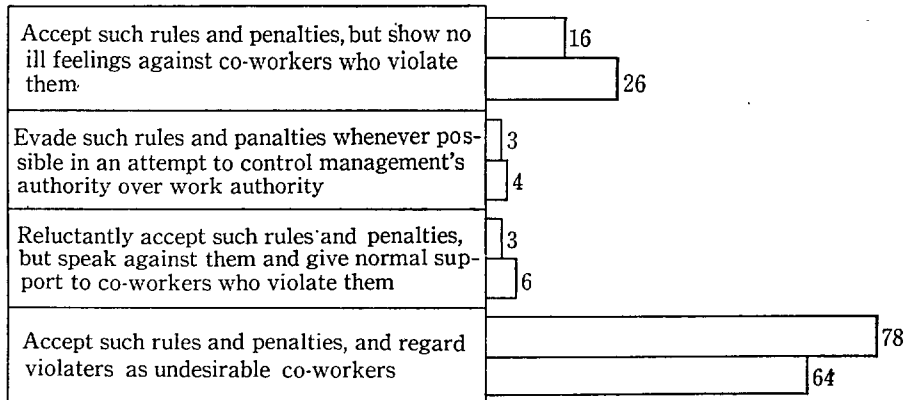
Consciousness of workers may be expressed in an attitude toward working rules established by company and especially in an attitude toward workers who violate them. The Takezawa-Whitehill survey again provides a good example to the issue shown in Figure 6. Headed by the phrase, "Regarding rules and disciplinary penalties established by management: I would," workers are asked to choose one of four selection legs described in Figure 6 as their own answer. It is interesting to see the answers of the U.S. workers that nearly

FIGURE 6. REGARDING RULES AND DISCIPLINARY PENALTIES
ESTABLISHED BY MANAGEMENT: I WOULD:

(U. S. A.)



(JAPAN)



half of the younger workers chose the answer, "accept such rules and penalties but show no ill feelings against co-workers violate them," while the majority of older workers (58 percent) chose the answer, "accept such rules and penalties, and regard violaters as undesirable co-workers." This attitude of nearly the half of the U.S. younger workers may imply the progress of alienated feeling of the younger workers with the working because if they have become more confident with class consciousness of workers against management they could have chosen either of the two answers left.

The Japanese workers showed their attitude quite differently. The overwhelming majority of them (78 percent of the older and 64 percent of the younger workers) chose the answer, "accept such rules and penalties, and regard violaters as undesirable co-workers," which is the severest view to the violaters. It may be erroneous to conclude by this observation, however, that the Japanese workers are used to work under authoritative management or are used to work as slave. In the Japanese company, the workers have taken observation of company rules for granted because detailed working rules are established

together by management and workers or their trade unions, and therefore a violator is regarded as the violator of their own social organization.

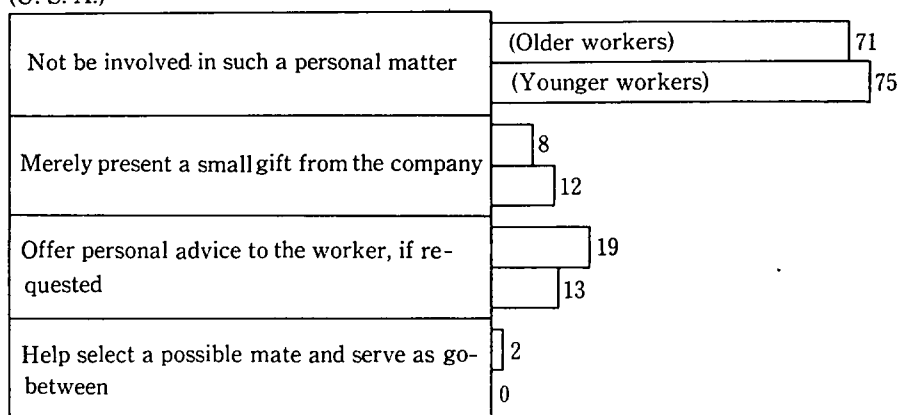
4. The Management Involved in Worker's Private Life

There may be another difference of working life of the Japanese workers compared with the German workers when the 1981 comparative survey of the Institute of Asian Social Problems picked up the issue. In one question of this survey, workers are asked to respond to the opinion, "My boss informs me the newest issues of what happens in the company." 61.2 percent of the German workers said "no" and only 9.0 percent of them said "yes" to the opinion. Of the Japanese workers, 54.1 percent of them said "yes" while 11.6 percent of them expressed negative. It implies that closer contact of the Japanese management with their workers are secured while the information gap between the management and the workers in German companies is significant.

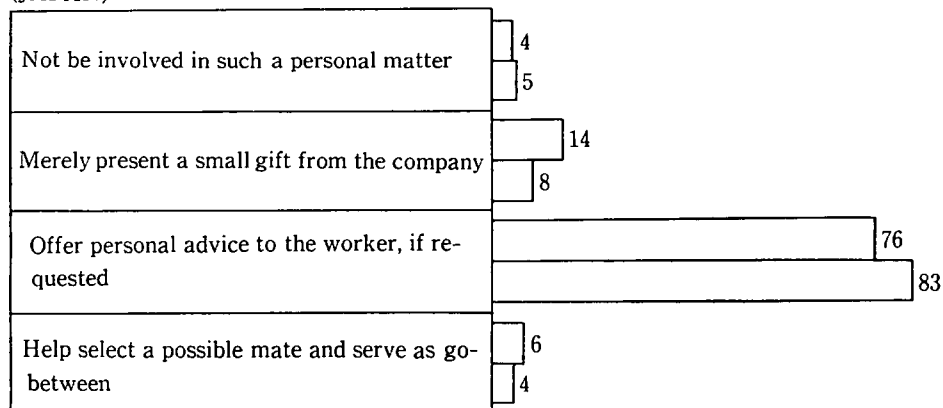
This closer contact between management and worker has developed in Japanese company

FIGURE 7. WHEN A WORKER WISHES TO MARRY,
I THINK HIS (HER) SUPERIOR SHOULD:

(U. S. A.)



(JAPAN)



not only within working hours but also through worker's private life. We will examine the most extreme example in the Takezawa-Whitehill survey. In one of their questions, headed by the phrase, "When a workers wishes to marry, I think his or her superior should," workers are asked to choose one of four selection legs whose results are shown in Figure 7. While it may be natural that the overwhelming majority of the U.S. workers regardless of ages (71 percent of older and 75 percent of younger workers) chose the answer, "not be involved in such a personal matter," the Japanese workers chose this answer only by several percent (4 percent of older and 5 percent of younger workers). Almost all of the Japanese workers (76 percent of older and 83 percent of younger workers) chose the answer, "the superior should offer personal advice to the worker, if requested," and this means that the Japanese workers willingly accept that the management of the company are involved in their own private life.

V. Conclusion

The foregoing evidences may suggest that the attitudes of the Japanese workers toward company cannot be explained by the generative approach of the theory of class analysis which premises more or less hostile attitude of workers against management. The key issue seems centre around the attitudes toward company of the Japanese workers who mix their private life with their working life. For concluding this paper we have to clarify how the Japanese company has built up social significance in the society. We will invite anyone to look inside a Japanese private company and then he will easily find a number of features listed below.

1. No Private Ownership of Large Companies

After the Zaibatsus, the family concerns, which controled major industries before and during the World War II, were forced to disband by the U.S. Occupation Government immediately after the end of the War, the anti-monopoly law was enacted by which establishment of any type of stock-holding company was strictly prohibited. The stocks of the Zaibatsu families were confiscated by the Occupation Forces and were sold to the market. While no private owners have emerged in the past Zaibatsu companies since then, no significant ownership of financial organizations have emerged because more than five percent of ownership of big companies by one of the financial organizations has been prohibited by the anti-monopoly law. A further restriction is provided by law when a company applies to list stocks on the Stock Exchange, private ownership of a candidate company is strictly limited. Therefore, for an example, in Matsushita Electric Manufacturing Company Matsushita Kohnosuke, the de-facto owner, keeps only 3 percent of the total stock.⁸

2. Less Self-owned Capital

Scarcity of self-owned capital was the keenest problem of the big Japanese companies immediately after the end of the World War II and has been further the key problem during the successive period of high economic growth. It is still observed that the proportion of the self-owned capital of almost all of the big Japanese companies shows less than twenty percent of the total capital. As for the operation fund, almost all of the big Japanese

⁸ Nihon Keizai Shinbun, *Nikkei Quarterly Report on Companies Listed on Stock Exchanges*, Autumn Report, Tokyo, 1983.

companies rely on borrowing from external financial institutions. It implies that the discretionary power of the management of controlling the capital and the operation fund has been quite limited in the Japanese companies.⁹

3. Top Management as Ex-employees

While some proportion of the top management of the big Japanese companies are imported from the government officials and the representatives of the financial institutions, more than eighty percent of them are ex-employees promoted from within who dominate the board of directors.¹⁰ The president of the company has usually been ex-employee and he keeps his office for a long period unless unusual failures emerge.¹¹

4. Squeezed Difference of Remunerations

While a survey of the Japanese Federation of Employers' Federations (the JFEF) reveals that the annual net income of the presidents of the big Japanese companies is only 7.5 times as the net income of the fresh employees of university undergraduates,¹² the annual Basic Survey on Wages of the Ministry of Labour and the annual Survey on Wages and Salaries of Private Companies conducted by the Prime Minister's Office show that the average annual gross income of the managers is only two times as the gross income of the production workers in big Japanese companies.¹³ The Basic Survey on Wages conducted by the Ministry of Labour expresses that the average annual gross income of the white-collar employees is only twenty percent more than the income of the blue-collar workers in big Japanese companies.¹⁴

These outcomes show the evidence of squeezed remuneration differentials in the top management, managers, white-collar employees, and blue-collar workers in a Japanese company.

5. Profit Against Cost of the Going Concern

Since the Japanese economy has been based on the capitalistic market economy, it has gone without any doubt that the key issue of the Japanese company centres around how to obtain high profit by business activities. The distribution of the net profit is, interesting, however, where the big shares go to the fund reserved inside and a far little of them are sent to the dividend of the stock owners. Since the biggest owners are a group of financial institutions, they are satisfied when the companies pay as dividend bigger than the prevailing interest of loaning. For the Japanese companies the profit has been regarded as the cost of continuing business for a long term in the market and not regarded as the remuneration.

⁹ Average net worth ratio of companies listed on stock exchanges has been less than twenty percent since 1965 and for operation fund, the average ratio of external fund has been higher than seventy-two percent since 1952. Yamaichi Security Company, *Fund Procurement of Japanese Firms*, Tokyo, 1977.

¹⁰ *Shukan Diamond* (Weekly Diamond Magazine), Tokyo, March 20, 1982.

¹¹ See Masumi Tsuda, *Nihon-teki Keiei no Daiza* (The Pedestal of Japanese-style Management), Chuo Keizai-sha, Tokyo, 1980.

¹² Japan Federation of Employers' Federations (Nikkeiren), *Rohdoh-Mondai Kenkyu Inkai Hohkokusho* (Report of Labour Problems Study Committee), Tokyo, 1982.

¹³ Evidences will be found in EC, *Structure of Earnings in Industry*, Brussel, 1972.

¹⁴ For an example, differentials of average monthly earnings between male blue-collar workers and white-collar employees in manufacturing industries in 1980 are 122.9 (blue-collar workers=100) in total, 118.2 in companies employing more than 1,000, 120.7 in companies employing between 100 and 999, and 123.1 in companies employing between 10 and 99 employees. Ministry of Labour, *Basic Survey on Wage Structure*, Tokyo, 1981.

neration of the stock holders.¹⁵

6. Organization as the Chain of Working Groups

The inside organization of the Japanese company is formed by a chain or work groups which is very similar with the System 4 recommended by Rensis Likert in the 1960's.¹⁶ Though the formal organization chart of the big Japanese company is the same as the big companies of other countries, what is actually practiced inside the formal chart is the group activities running through up to down and down to up, and running vertically and horizontally.

The basic unit of work in a Japanese company is not an individual employee but a group of works conducted by a group of employees. The head of the group plays double roles, in one side he plays a representative role of the group to the outside groups, and in another side he also works as a member of the head groups, so that the chain of the work groups develops throughout the organization. The administration of the organization goes through the method of management by goals where the goals set up by the top management are broken down to the subordinate groups and an individual employee shares the goal of his own group.

When an individual employee enters a work group, an instructor is appointed by the group head to take care of his working and the head carefully concerns how to develop his ability to work by rotating his assigned work. Helping other workers are made possible by this work rotation. It should be noted, however, that an individual employee does not stay in one group up to retirement. Systematically by three or four year terms, or unsystematically by random year terms, the employees are transferred to other work groups for needs of further training or for needs of running better business. This transfer contributes to strengthen the chain of work groups within the organization. The exchange of employees in various work groups also contributes for workers to make many friends within the organization and based on the network of the friends the organization of the company for the workers comes to mean not only economic but rather social.¹⁷

Through the foregoing observations we will see that the company in Japan is almost unlikely a strictly economic institution where the interests of the management and the workers are divided but is a social organization where the management and the workers share the view. It is social because the workers regard their working life within the company as the extension of their private life. It is social because the top management as ex-employees and the current employees together form a network of work groups for keeping up the going concern. It is social that squeezed differentials of the remuneration has contributed middlization of consciousness of the people in the society. Does it not imply that industrialization based on market economy has produced almost a classless society in Japan?

¹⁵ Average annual dividend ratio to market price of stocks of the companies listed on stock exchanges has been only between 1.0 and 1.8 percent in recent years.

¹⁶ Rensis Likert, *The Human Organization*, McGraw-Hill, 1967.

¹⁷ See Masumi Tsuda, *Gendai Keiei to Kyohdoh Seikatsutai* (Corporation as Communal Association), Dohbunkan, Tokyo, 1981. For a reader in English, see Masumi Tsuda, "Lessons to be Learned from Japanese-style Management," *Dentsu Japan Marketing and Advertising*, Dentsu Incorporated, Tokyo, July, 1981, and do, "For Understanding of Japanese-style Management," *Dentsu Japan Marketing and Advertising*, Tokyo, March, 1982.