

Japanese Interest Group in Transition: A Historical and Cross-national Comparative Analysis

Yutaka TSUJINAKA
University of Tsukuba

Content :

- Introduction : Figure 1-A to 1-H
- 1 Systemic Analysis of the Directories and Almanacs among Several Countries : Table 1-A, 1-B, Figure 2-A, 2-B, Figure 3-A, 3-B, Figure 4
 - 2 A Long-Term Analysis of the Membership Sector in the US and Japan : Figure 5, 6, 7, 8
 - 3 Non-Profit Associations vs. Organizations of Religions in the Post-war US and Japan : Figure 9, 10, 11, 12
 - 4 A Three Time-Period Comparison of Interest Group Arrangement

This is a modified version of a paper presented at the panel : Contemporary Japanese Politics, chaired by Ellis Krauss, American Political Association 89th Annual Meeting, Washington D. C., Sep. 2-5, 1993. I appreciate the comments by Ellis Krauss, Dennis McNamara, Robert Angel, T. J. Pempel, Shin'ichi Kitaoka and Ken'ichi Ohno. I also thank Ministry of Education and Culture (Grant-in-aid, 1992-94, no.04620030), Fulbright Commission (Grant, 1989-91), American Council of Learned Societies (Grant, 1990-91) and University of Tsukuba (Special Project on New international System) for their generous support to this kind of empirical survey.

based on the Establishment Census between the US and Japan : Table
2-A, 2-B

5 Detailed Analysis of Sub-Categories in the Non-Profit Associations in
the U.S. and Japan : Japan : Figure 13, 14, 15, 16, 17

U.S.A. : Figure 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24

Conclusion : Implications for the Japanese Political Model

Introduction

Since the late 1960's, many political scientists have recurrently pointed out the upcoming transformation of Japanese politics. It has been observed in the facts that socio-ecological elements such as urbanization, industrialization and mass media development were drastically changing the existing political circumstances, especially, the relative size of various social groups and economic strata at that time (Richardson & Flanagan 1984 : 74-88). In the 1970's, Japanese politics had to face a series of serious crises (Calder 1988) that were occurring internationally and domestically. As one of the results, "Hokakuhakuchu" politics (the competitive politics between the government and opposition under the slight margin of the diet majority seats) in the late 1970's, seemed to change Japanese policy making process, at least within the Diet (Iwai 1988, Ito 1988). In the 1980's, Nakasone neo-liberal reformist policies broke the post-war pattern of Japanese politics (Otake, 1987, Shindo, 1986, Tsujinaka 1987) by mobilizing and incorporating centralist social groups such as big business labor unions and the centralist parties under the Rincho-type advisory councils. The increasing voltage of trade friction

problems and international security contribution problems created a new area in the political process in Japan called “gaiatsu” politics (external pressure politics) through the 1980’s.

Nevertheless, many Euro-American political scientists, especially, “revisionistic” political scientists and critiques such as Johnson (1988), Fallows (1989), Choat (1990), Prestowitz (1988), and Wolferen (1990), emphasized the persistent characteristics of Japanese politics. Yet, it is apparent after observing recent changes in Japanese politics that things are finally culminating in a stage of drastic transformation. If so, how on the earth can we perceive to understand this phenomenon as a “real change”? How can we differentiate this year (1993) from the many so called “critical” election years like 1969, 1976, 1980, 1986, 1989 and 1990 since the establishment of the 1955 regime? I believe that in addition to superficial political arguments and critiques we need more cool-headed comparative-structural analysis on socio-political systems and state-society relations of Japan in order to grasp this country more realistically.

Since the emergence of the pluralist school in the late 1970’s, the study of the political model of Japan has been an area of a great deal of interesting, productive and often confusing work (Allinson, 1989). From the extensive literature available, at least four distinctive models can be discerned. These can be summarized as: 1) the vertical or bureaucracy dominant model (the elitist model and the statist model), 2) the class or Marxist model, 3) the horizontal or pluralist model and 4) the corporatist model (Muramatsu, Ito, Tsujinaka 1992, Knoke, et al, forthcoming). However, the fact is that scholars are inclined to choose the most convenient aspect of reality

arbitrarily to explain their assumptions. Most of the works theorizing the Japanese models have focused narrowly on Japan (as an exception: Pempel ed. 1990) and their empirical methods were mainly case studies where only a few exceptional studies were being accompanied by comprehensive survey research, however, being subject to only this country (for instance: Muramatsu, Ito, Tsujinaka 1986).

In order to understand Japanese politics properly, I would like to claim three key points. First, in addition to the actual political process like party coalitional processes, factional struggles and voting behavior, “underlining socio-political elements”, or the so called “social basis of politics”¹, should be analyzed. Interest groups, non-profit associations, social institutions and social movements as interest intermediaries are becoming shared focus of the newly emerging neo-institutionalism approach, network approach, rational-formal approach and cultural approach (See: Katzenstein & Tsujinaka 1993, Knoke et al, 1992, Petracca, 1992: 363-371, Kumon & Rosovsky, 1992).

Second, Japanese politics should be located in a “two dimensional comparative perspective”. Japan has been analyzed in either the Western political framework or in that of its East Asian counterpart.

1 This field of the political research has long tradition in the U.S. since the Process of Government by Arthur F. Bentley in 1908 and following many group theorists and interest group analysts. However their technologies and methods have become conventional without innovation since the 1950's. One important reason was their lack of comparative perspectives which were originally held by analyst in the 1950's (see Ehrmann ed. 1967).

Therein, Japan always has been an exceptional case in both types of theoretical frameworks (Tsujinaka, 1986, Shimodaira, forthcoming). So the comparative framework itself should be multidimensional to locate Japanese politics in a wider spectrum.

Many interest group scholars complained about a “lack of reliable sources” (for a recent instance, Petracca 1992 : 11). However, the third point I would like to make here is as follows : the truth is that there is a lack of reliable studies, not of sources. Many American scholars seem to suffer not only from ethnocentric bias, devoting themselves to the sole analysis of domestic interest groups, but also from a lack of innovative spirit in developing comparative data (see : Walker 1991, Petracca 1992, Knoke 1990, Scholozman & Tiernay 1986). Meanwhile, European corporatists have been advancing towards a comparative analysis and deepening qualitative analysis of interest intermediaries, even though the subjects are limited within the range of European borders (Shimodaira, forthcoming and Tsujinaka 1986). As counter-methods, [The following three ways are presented] 1) systemic use of everyday sources of information like directories and almanacs, 2) finding congruent data in the official statistics, 3) conducting systemic comparable surveys among several countries. As for the third point, the policy network project team, which including myself, conducted such surveys in the late 1980's (Knoke, Pappi, Broadbent and Tsujinaka, 1992, and Knoke, Pappi, Broadbent and Tsujinaka, forthcoming). In this paper I would like to challenge methods 1) and 2).

To justify the utility of the two dimensional comparison mentioned above and the adequacy of the selection of comparable

Fig. 1-A Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
Taiwan 1950-1991

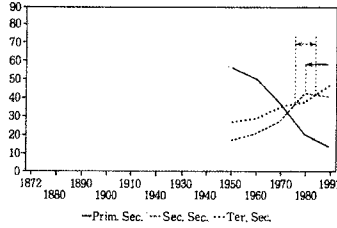


Fig. 1-B Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
Korea 1950-1990

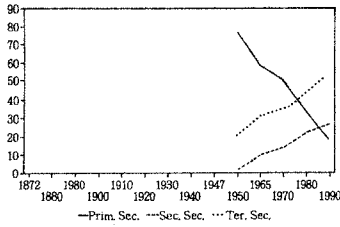


Fig. 1-C Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
Japan 1872-1990

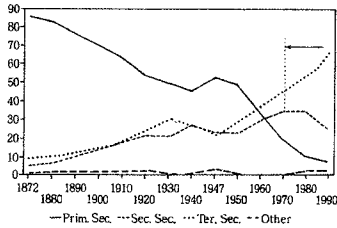


Fig. 1-D Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
U.S.A. 1870-1990

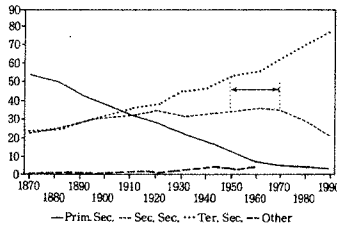


Fig. 1-E Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
Italy 1871-1990

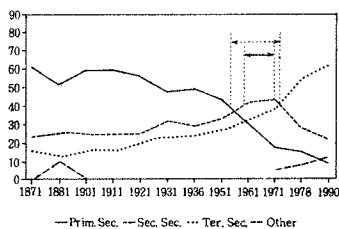


Fig. 1-F Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
France 1866-1989

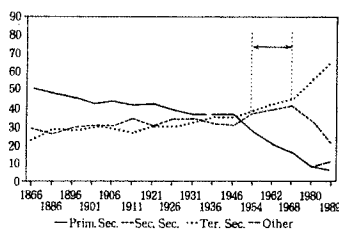


Fig. 1-G Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
Germany 1882-1989

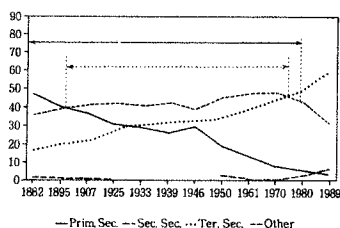
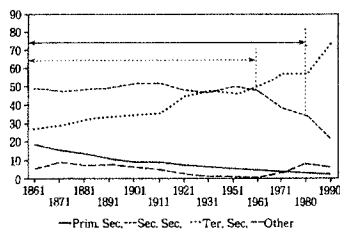


Fig. 1-H Labor Force by 3 Major Sectors
U.K. 1861-1990



countries in this paper, let's take a look at figure 1: Labor Force Composition of 3 basic sectors.

I selected these eight countries by several criteria for comparison with Japan. That is, Korea and Taiwan were selected as the most advanced Asian countries following after Japan in regard to industrialization level (and accompanying social indexes) and the other six countries were from the most advanced Western countries. The former two countries are supposed to share the East Asian Confucian culture of Japan. The latter countries were the "exporter" countries for Japan on a variety of modern institutions. The present composition of the three basic sectors, particularly predominance of the tertiary sector accompanying with the advanced secondary sector, is more or less similar among the eight countries. The labor force composition has been used as an index which is to recognize a social transformation corresponding to the scale of industrialization (Masumi 1990 and 1993, Tominaga 1988).

There are several clues to help grasp the meanings of the graph. The shapes of the graphs are classified into 3 types: scissor type (very sharp in Taiwan and Korea, and quite moderate in Japan and US), non-scissor type (UK, Germany) and intermediate type (France, Italy). The scissor-like shape means that the speed of social transformation in this century has been very rapid, while the non-scissor shape indicates gradual social change in the period. The second clue is the relative weight of the secondary sector. Some countries (U.K. : 1841-1950's, Germany : 1907-1970's) experienced a period of predominance of the secondary sector. This fact when it was combined with the first fact of gradualism in the industrial development, suggests

that the labor unions and the social democratic parties were under favorable circumstances. On the contrary, those countries, which had no predominance period of the secondary sector with rapid social transformation by industrialization, had relatively unfavorable circumstances for the labor unions and social democratic parties (Masumi 1993, Tominaga 1988). I illustrate the predominance period (broken line) and the period when the secondary sector occupied more than one third of the total labor force (solid line). The third clue is when the intersection of the lines occurs. In this period, each country underwent events caused by social movements and government reactions, which critically affected state-society relations².

With this approach, I was able to classify those 8 countries into 4 groups : 1) Korea and Taiwan, 2) Japan and US, 3) France and Italy, 4) Germany and UK. Tentatively, I would like to compare Japan primarily with the US, and then extend the comparison to the countries in the neighboring groups as much as possible.

In effect, this paper aims to propose the ways in which Japanese interest groups can be analyzed in the comparative perspective by taking the three simple, but important methodological steps mentioned above. It also goes on to prove how the Japanese interest group system has been in transition since the late 1970's and finally I

2 Following symbolic events are typical examples : in Japan the Ampo Struggle (confrontation and demonstrations over the revision of the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaties) and Mitsui Miike Mininig Strike 1959-60 ; in the US the Progressive Movements in the 1910's ; in Korea Kusan Incident in 1980 ; in Taiwan the decision by Chiang Ching-Kuo to start liberalization in 1972. This point should be elaborated more by further investigation.

can present some implications for Japanese political models, especially in order to understand how the field of Japanese interest groups is pluralistic in comparison to that of the United States.

1. Systemic Analysis of Directories and Almanacs among Several Countries

Increasing numbers of directories and almanacs are available which include the number, distribution, and activities of interest groups³. These publications are useful for finding socially and politically meaningful groups and associations. On the other hand, because of their being private publications, the criteria of selection and the definition of classification are inevitably ambiguous, especially it shows in comparison with official statistics. However, when it comes to a crossnational statistical analysis, the problem is that it's extra

3 How to define an interest group and how to conceptualize the interest group politics have been a big and serious problem since the beginning of the interest group studies (Salisbury 1975 : 176-177, Petracca, 1992 : 4-7). They relate to the problem of how to operationalize "interest group", because there are no groups naming and referring to themselves as interest groups. Theoretically all groupings can be an interest group including business companies and ad-hoc mobs. However I prefer to focus mainly on groups which have been organized as associations (Tsujiyama, 1988). These associations, whether or not they are directly engaging in activities relative to governmental decisions, can be considered as interest groups. Therefore my assumption is that we could figure their approximate number by investigating the directories and statistics on associations (membership organizations, non-profit associations and etc.).

difficult to use them in the same fundamentals. Nevertheless, within the country they can be used for time-sequential analysis in detail, and internationally we can get a rough sketch of the distribution of a variety of interest groups. Let's take a look at "table 1-A: Comprehensive Directory Comparison" and "table 1-B: Almanac Comparison", in order to understand the situation of the interest groups.

First of all, I did find certain comparable directories among all of these countries which include quite a few associations. Considering the difference in population among them, Canada has unproportionally more associations but other countries have more or less comparable number of associations. Yet, I should add the explanation of the situation that in Korea as well as in Taiwan, it was not easy to

Table 1-A Comprehensive Directory Comparison

TYPE	U.S.A. 1986	Canada 1986	U.K. 1986	Japan A 1990	Taiwan 1988	Korea A 1980s
Total	20076	8321	7645	7784	3140	2542
Agriculture	4.4	5.5	9.0	3.1	2.6	
Business, commerce	19.2	19.1	36.8	33.1	17.3	48.6
Legal, gov't, military	3.4	3.7	4.4	4.4	6.1	
Science, engineering	6.5	8.8	7.4	15.6	14.3	18.0
Educational, culture	14.6	15.4	9.8	12.5		6.9
Social welfare	7.8	8.5	2.1	4.7		2.3
Health, medical	9.9	10.5	10.7	2.5	2.3	
Public affairs	10.7	3.7	3.2	5.2	14.3	15.8
Foreign, ethnic	2.6	4.1	0.5	1.6	17.6	
Religious	4.9	2.5	1.9	0.5	1.0	8.4
Veteran, patriotic	1.6	0.2	0.0	0.0		
Hobby, avocational	6.8	0.9	2.6	0.4		
Athletic, sports	3.9	9.0	5.3	2.1	3.5	
Labor unions	1.1	2.2	0.1	6.6	11.9	
Chambers of Commerce	0.8	6.0	3.7	7.4		
Greek letter societies	1.7	0.1	2.3	0.0	7.5	

Table 1-B Almanac Comparison

TYPE	Japan B 1988	Korea B 1988	Korea C 1992
Total	1636	1489	1306
Agriculture	---	---	1.7
Business, commerce	11.0	21.8	20.4
Legal, gov't, military	7.7	5.6	3.1
Science, engineering	26.3	32.3	26.5
Educational, culture	16.3	22.9	17.0
Social welfare	---	---	7.0
Health, medical	---	---	2.9
Public affairs	23.9	9.9	3.2
Foreign, ethnic	---	---	4.1
Religious	2.7	1.7	3.4
Veteran, patriotic	---	---	
Hobby, avocational	2.9	1.0	1.0
Athletic sports	4.1	0.7	3.9
Labor unions	---	---	1.6
Chambers of Commerce	---	---	4.1
Greek letter societies	---	---	

- * UK 1986 : *Directory of British Association*, CBD Research Ltd.
- * U.S.A. 1986 : *Encyclopedia of Associations*, Gale Research Company
- * Canada 1986 : *Directory of Associations in Canada* (7th. ed. 1986-87) :
Micro Media Limited.
- * Japan 1990 : *Zenkoku Kakusho Dantaimaikan*, Shiba Inc.
- * Taiwan 1988 : *Directory of Civil Associations in the Republic of
China*
- * Korea 1980's : Government Publications in Figure 4.
- * Japan B : *Asahi Nenkan 1989*, Asahi Shimbun Sha
- * Korea B : *Donga Nyeongang 1988*, Donga Ilbosa
- * Korea C : *Yeonhap Nyeongang 1992*, Yeonhap Tonsin

gather reliable information as in other countries. Still, there seem to be comprehensive and informative directories of associations.

Second, as for distribution overall, business and commerce groups are largest in number. Education/culture and Science/Engineering related groups come to the next. Each country has a different classification system so that public affairs, social welfare, and legal and government groups can not be appropriately compared in an international perspective.

Third, the data suggest that the US and Canada show a similar pattern in distribution (as well as the classification system). Also, Korea and Japan are alike. This implies that there were some institutional transplant or imitation processes between them (Tsu-jinaka 1992).

I should stop this kind of preliminary comparison here because of relatively less reliability of data. As I described in the other papers (1989, 1992), in Korea and Taiwan, there are still institutional and legal constraints against the use of the autonom regarding the voluntarily formation and activity of associations. It is especially true when the associations activities are concerned with to political process, even after the liberalization in the 1980's. In addition, in both countries, it seems that the balance between "traditional" groupings and "functional" groupings is inclined to the traditional side in their daily life. These two facts caused some difficulties in obtaining reliable information on functional associations. However, we could anticipate that the formality and visibility of functional associations will be strengthened in near future there, which will be enable us to compare them to Japan.

Let me briefly touch upon the historical patterns of interest group formation which I have previously analyzed in detail (Tsujinaka 1988). Figure 2-A, B illustrates the interest group formation and periodical patterns in the pre-war Japan. Figure 3-A, B illustrates the interest group formation in the US in the long term and in the post-war era, respectively. Figure 4 illustrates the interest group formation in Korea.

These patterns of interest group formation and other variables, such as GNP growth rate, immigration, the number of petitions to the law-making body, labor and peasant strikes, and changes in legal frameworks can be correlated. in order to explain the factors of interest group formation (Tsujinaka 1988 and 1984).

Fig. 2-A Interest Group Formation in Prewar Japan

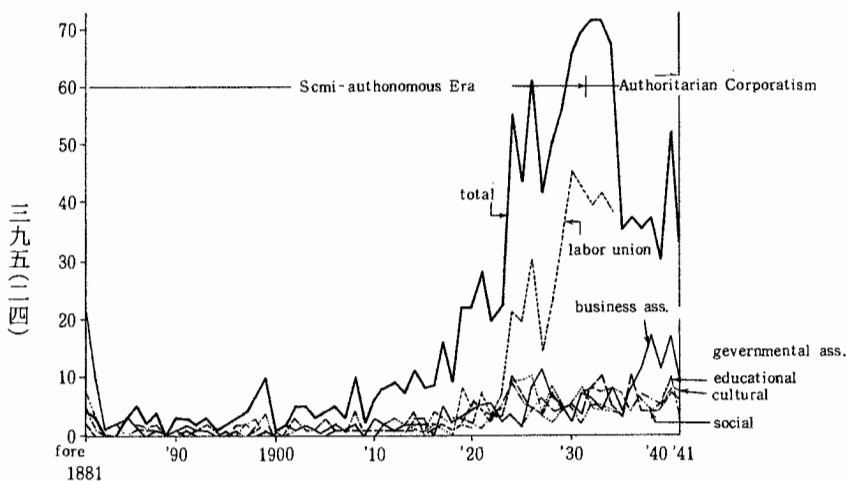
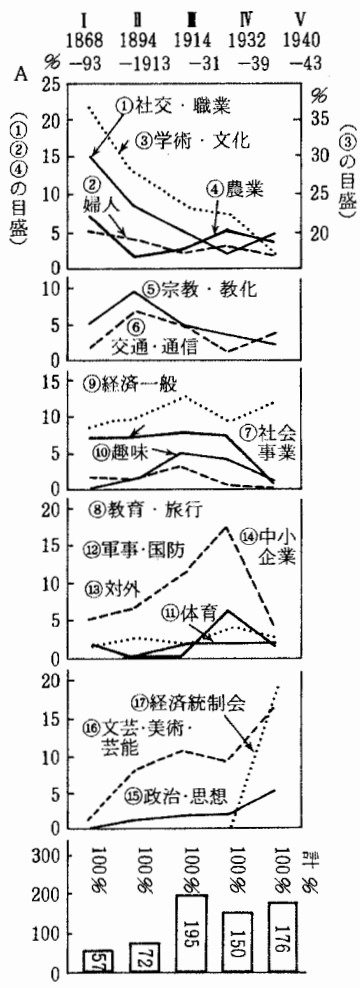


Fig. 2-B Patterns of Association Formation by Category in the Prewar in Japan



- ① Social, professional
- ② Women's
- ③ Academic, cultural
- ④ Agricultural
- ⑤ Religious
- ⑥ Transport, Communication
- ⑦ Social Problem
- ⑧ Educational
- ⑨ Business, economic
- ⑩ Hobby
- ⑪ Athletic, sports
- ⑫ Military
- ⑬ Foreign, international
- ⑭ Small business
- ⑮ Political, ideological
- ⑯ Literature, Art
- ⑰ Economic control

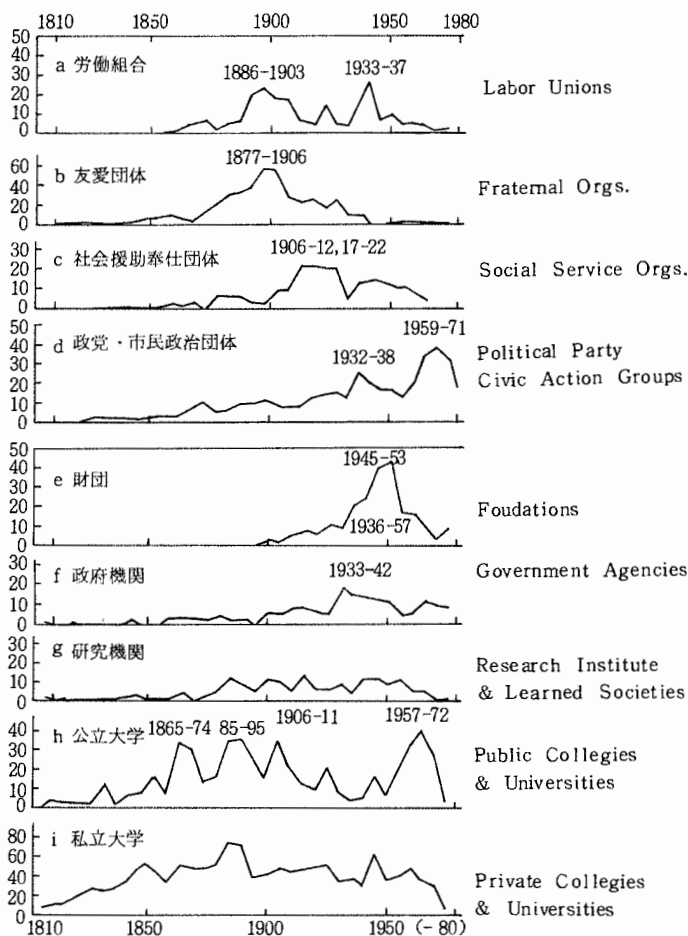
(資料) A : 「同盟時事年鑑」
昭和19年10月調査

Source : Fig. 2-A : Tsujinaka 1988, p. 60 and Tsujinaka 1989.

Fig. 2-B : Tsujinaka 1988, p. 61.

Data of 2-A and 2-B was originally from *Domeijiji Nenkan 1944*, Domeijiji Tsushin-sha.

Fig. 3-A Formation of National Interest Group and Social Institution in the U.S.A.

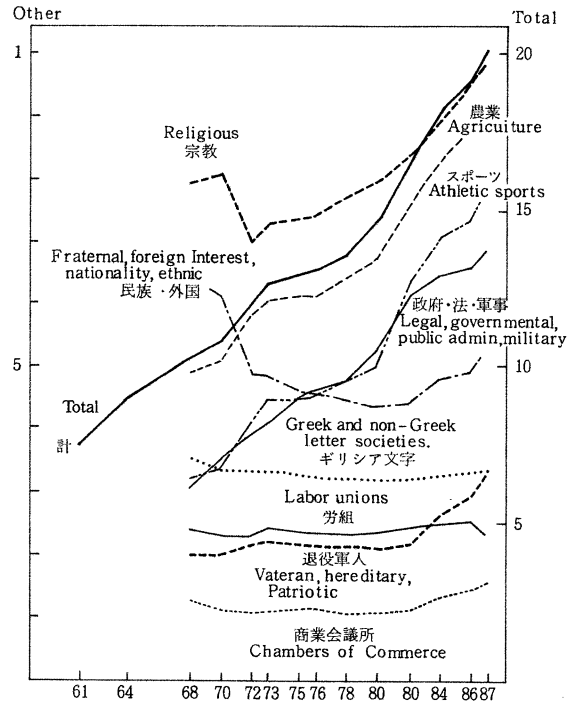
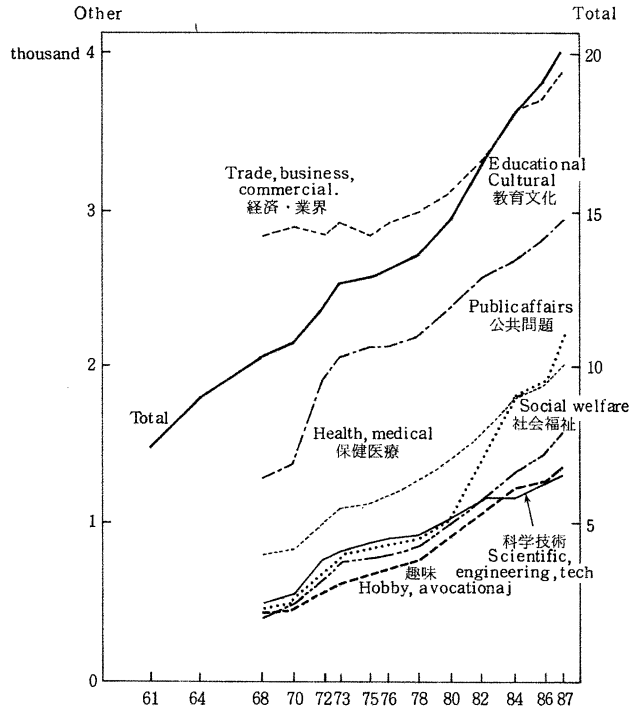


Source: *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions.*

Source: Fig. 3-A: Tsujinaka 1988, p. 54 Original data from *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions.*

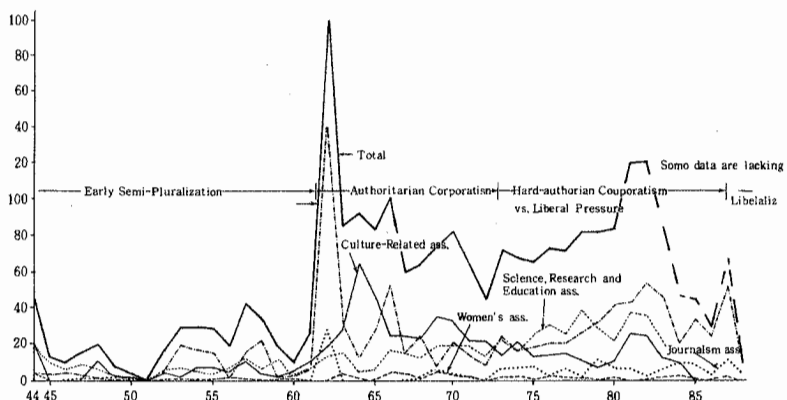
Fig. 3-B: Tsujinaka 1988, pp. 95-96. Original data from *Encyclopedia of Associations.*

Fig. 3-B Interest Group Formation in the Postwar in the U.S.A.



Source: *Encyclopedia of Associations*, each year.

Fig. 4 Interst Group Formation in Korea



Source: Fig. 4: Health and Social Association Directry (Department of Health and Social Affairs 1984). Affiliated Investment Organization and Association Directry (Department of Commerce and Industry, 1990). Business Association Establishment Report (Association Division, 1988). Registered Public Corporation and Social Association Directry). Department of Culture and Public Relations, 1984, Korean University YearBook, 1984, Womens Associations Directry (Department of Social Affairs, 1987)

2. A Long-Term Analysis of the Membership Sector in the US and Japan

To conduct a cross-national comparison, we are obliged to collect consistent and reliable data. It is relatively easy to find them in the national population census and its equivalents at hand in some countries. In the census there is an employment category under the

title of “membership organization”. This includes non-profit associations (business, labor, professional, civil, political, academic, cultural and others), associations of religions and social welfare and social insurance associations⁴. In a narrow sense, all of these associations can not be exactly called interest groups (see note 3). However, they all reflect the overall trend of the relative weight of associations and social organizations in the society.

Let’s look at figures 5 and 6. Figure 5 shows the real number of employees in membership organizations in the US and Japan. Figure 6 shows the proportion (ratio) of them out of the total number of

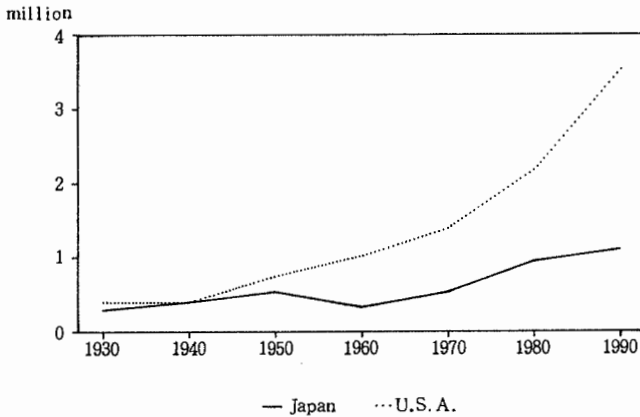
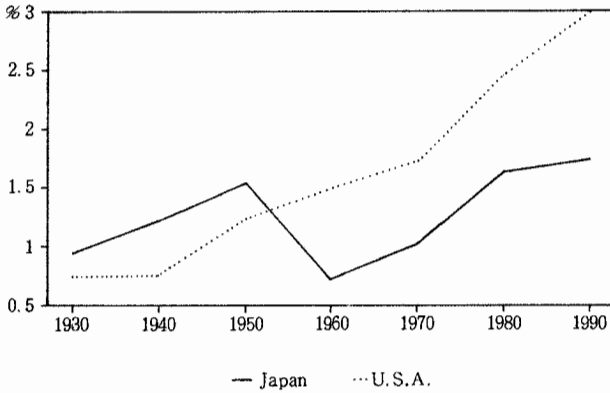


Fig. 5 Long Term Trend of Employee in Membership Sector in US & JPN : 1930-1990

4 The present Japanese Census has more diverse categories, but in pre-war era the census was a more inclusive and vague in defining categories named “academic, charitable, political, social and other associations” in 1920. It newly differentiated “industrial association” from it in 1930.

Fig. 6 Long Term Trend of Ratio of Employee in Membership Sector in US & JPN : 1930-90



employees in each country. Figure 6 made both countries standardized to be comparable.

According to figure 6, 1) Japan has experienced a period where the ratio of membership organizations declined, while that of the US has steadily increased. 2) In the pre-war period, the Japanese ratio was higher than that of the US, while in the post-war period, the US ratio was higher than that of Japan. 3) In the 1960's and 1970's, both countries show a similar pattern of growth, but in the 1980's the degree of increase in the ratio of the US is bigger.

These findings imply various things. Japan's declining period reflects discontinuity of the regime or at least realignment of the interest group system. State corporatism in the pre-war Japan (Pempel & Tsunekawa 1979, Tsujinaka 1988) created a denser organizational base than that of the US at that time. As it will be shown later, the difference in the 1980's between both countries can be

explained by the resurgence of organizations of religions in the US.

According to figures 7 and 8, which illustrates the long-term trend of the Japanese non-profit association sector in the broad sense, I can divide the term into 4 periods: 1) 1920-1947, 2) 1947-1950, 3) 1950-1980, 4) 1980-the present. Although the Japanese interest group system started to change in August 1945, it took a few years to abolish the pre-war system and to rearrange the new one (Tsujinaka 1988: 62-65, Muramatsu, Ito, Tsujinaka 1986). Therefore, around 1947, I was able to observe the reminiscence of the pre-war non-profit association system. The drastic decline between 1947 and 1950 indicates the rearrangement process. Between 1950 and 1980, this sector recorded steady development. Since 1980, this sector entered the period of its maturity. The absolute number of employees is increasing, but the relative weight of the sector remains at the same level.

Although it depends on how the pre-war category and the post-war category are statistically linked⁵, Japanese membership organization at the very least doubled and at most quadrupled the number of their employees. The ratio of employees became 1.5 to 2 times larger compared with the highest percentage of membership under the system before World War II.

5 Regarding the definition problem how to link the pre-and the post-war category, further investigation is necessary.

Fig. 7 Long Term Trend of Employee in Membership Sector in Japan : 1920-90

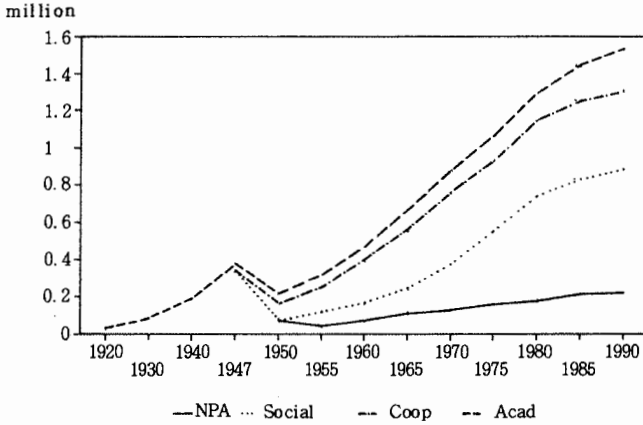
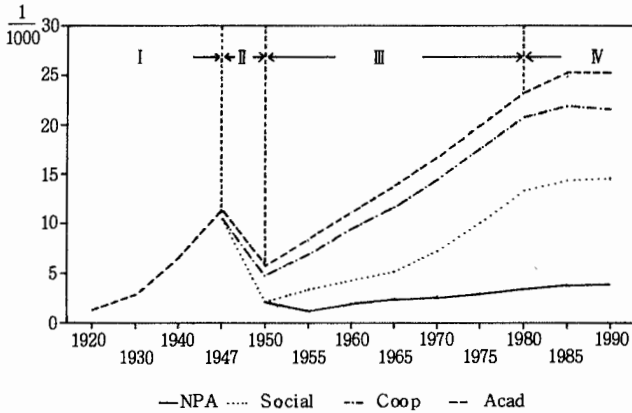


Fig. 8 Ratio of Employee in Membership Sector in Japan : 1920-90



Source : Statistics Bureau in Management and Coordination Agency in Japan, *Population Census*.

Source : US Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1975*. US Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of Commerce* (Annual).

3. Non-Profit Associations vs. Organizations of Religions in the Post-war US and Japan

Other than the census used above, there are a variety of enterprise censuses available in most countries. In Japan, the Establishment Census⁶ reported the number of “economic, political and cultural associations” and the number of employees in the associations in addition to business enterprises and their employees. In the US, the County Business Patterns (annual) and other business census include statistics about non-profit associations. Even though these two countries’ statistics differ in their sub-categories, for instance, religious and charitable organizations are classified under different items in Japan, I can compare these two countries as a whole with careful deliberation (for example I exclude associations of religions from the non-profit association category for comparison to that of Japan).

Figure 9 and figure 10 illustrate the trend of non-profit associations and organizations of religions in both countries. Figure 11 and 12 show the standardized ratio of these two types of organizations out of total enterprise in both countries. These figures show the following characteristics: 1) In Japan, the non-profit association sector recorded steady growth in number as well as relative ratio. However in the US, the non-profit association sector faced a turning point in the 1970’s. After that point the growth rate declined. This was also accompanied with the steady decline of the relative weight

6 The Establishment Census was conducted by the Statistical Bureau every three years between 1947 and 1981 and it was conducted every 5 years after 1981.

Fig. 9 NPA and the Organization of Religions in USA (Number of Enterprises): 1959-90

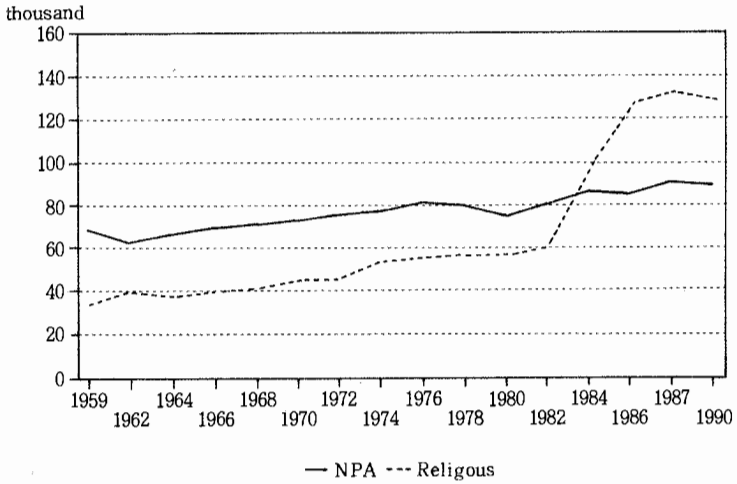


Fig. 10 NPA and the Organizations of Religions in Japan (Number of Enterprises): 1951-91

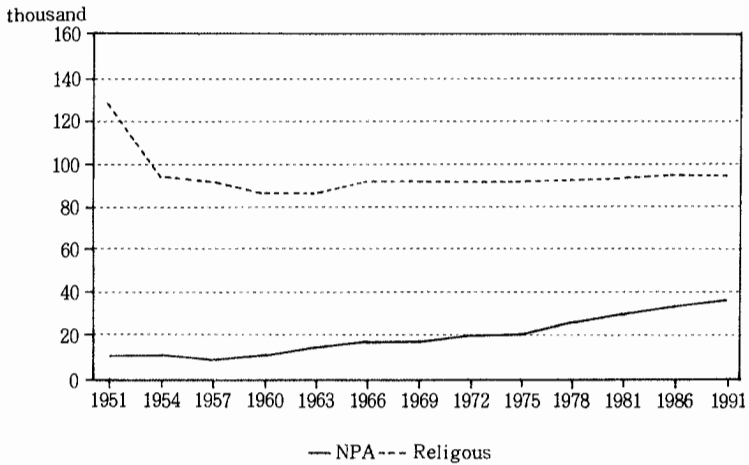


Fig. 11 NPA vs Religion Ratio in the Total Number of Enterprises in USA : 1959-90

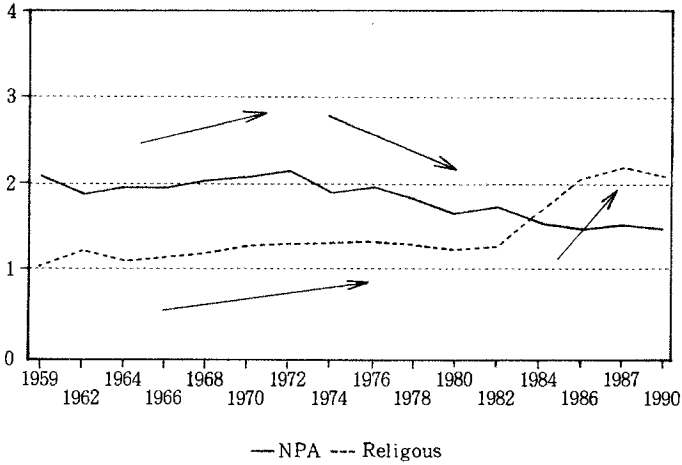
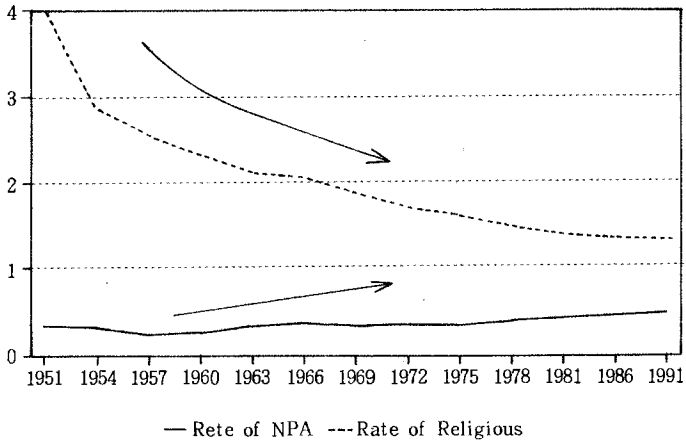


Fig. 12 NPA vs Religion Ratio in the Total Number of Enterprises in JPN : 1951-91



Source of Fig. 9~11: Statistics Bureau in Management and Coordination Agency in Japan, *Establishment Census*.
 US Dept. of Commerce, *County Business Patterns (Annual)*.

(ratio) of the sector. 2) In Japan, organizations of religions recorded stagnancy in the absolute number and a steady decline in relative weight. In the US, organizations of religions recorded consistent growth in the absolute number and gradual growth in relative weight until 1982, then suddenly became upsurge after that. In the 1980's US, the organization of religions doubled in number and relative weight. 3) As a result of the first and second characteristics, the US and Japan took opposite courses, especially in the period of the 1970's and the 1980's. Between 1960 and 1991, the Japanese non-profit association sector more than tripled in number (3.49 times), while the organizations of religions remained stagnant (1.04 times). On the other hand, between 1959 and 1990, the non-profit association sector in the United States increased only slightly in number (1.32 times), while those of religions in the U. S. increased astonishingly (3.79 times). In a sense, Japan recorded the "secularization" of membership sector, while the US indicated an entry into the "era of post-secularization" or more specifically, the orientation of organizations of religions overrode that of secular non-profit associations. 4) The non-profit association sector in Japan is half in size compared to that of the US. However, if standardized by their populations, they are almost at the same level. However, as for the ratio out of the total number of enterprises, Japan is less than half of that of the US.

These facts imply that in Japan there is a continuous tendency toward secularization of the membership sector, while in the US, from the mid-1970's to the mid-1980's, changes in the membership sector occurred which may be called post-secularization with accent on religious orientation.

4. A Three Time-Period Comparison of Interest Group Arrangement based on the Establishment Census between the US and Japan

Next, let's look at the Establishment Census and County Business Patterns in detail, focusing on three time periods: the years 1960-62, 1975-76 and 1991-90. Table 2-A and 2-B include the number of non-profit associations and employees by sectors, percentages and index numbers per 100,000 persons.

Regarding the number of associations per 100,000 persons, Japan was one third of that of the US in the 1960's, but steadily caught up with the level of the US after that. In 1975, the level was half of that of the US and in 1991 it came close to a level which was more than 80% of the US. As for the numeral level of employees, it started out as one fourth of that of the US in 1960, then in 1975 it reached one third. In 1991 it was a little over half of that of the US.

This means that, while the US recorded gradual growth of associations and their employees in number, the speed of growth of their Japanese counterparts was even higher which will be illustrated in the following sector in detail. Japan tripled in the index per 100,000 persons in the number of associations as well as in the number of employees. The U.S. recorded stagnancy in the index of the number of associations (1.03 times) and a slight increase in the index of the number of employees (1.53). In the US, the index of the number of associations hit its peak (47.5) in 1975, thereafter it kept going down (1990 : 35.5).

In addition, there is a decisive difference in the distribution of

Table 2-A Establishment of NPA: U.S.A. & Japan (1950s, mid70s, 90s)

	1991 Japan			1990 U.S.A.		
	Number	%	per 100 thos.	Number	%	per 100 thos.
Total	36140	100	29.2	88725	100	35.5
Business	13798	38.2	11.1	12677	13.4	5.1
Labor	5116	14.2	4.1	19246	23.4	7.7
Political	828	2.3	0.7	1653	1.4	0.7
Civil				39999	44.8	16.0
Professional				5480	6.0	2.2
Academic	878	2.4	0.7			
NEC	15520	42.9	12.5	9670	10.7	3.9
	1975			1976		
Total	20614	100	18.4	80642	100	37.5
Business	10027	48.6	9.0	12077	15.6	10.3
Labor	2268	11.0	2.0	22265	27.6	0.6
Political	532	2.6	0.5	1371	1.7	15.7
Civil				33854	42.0	1.7
Professional				3746	4.6	
Academic	455	2.2	0.4			
NEC	7332	35.6	6.5	6991	8.6	3.2
	1960			1962		
Total	10357	100	11.1	62553	100	34.6
Business	4698	45.4	5.0	11141	17.8	6.2
Labor	1572	15.1	1.7	18976	30.3	10.5
Political	169	1.6	0.2	815	1.3	4.5
Civil				25236	40.3	14.0
Professional				1558	2.5	8.6
Academic	147	1.4	0.2			
NEC	3771	36.4	4.0	4816	7.7	2.7

Japan: *Establishment Census* (Statistics Bureau in Management Coordination Agency in Japan)

U.S.A.: *County Business Patterns* (U.S. Bureau of Census)

Table 2-B Employees of NPA : U.S.A. & Japan

Total	1991 Japan			1990 U.S.A.			
	209973	100	169.5	792157	100	317.6	
Business	88868	42.3	71.7	98504	12.4	39.5	
Labor	25436	12.1	20.5	176220	22.2	70.7	
Political	3904	1.6	3.2	8369	1.1	3.4	
Civil				365816	46.2	146.7	
Professional				55579	7.0	22.3	
Academic	8741	4.2	7.1				
NEC	83024	39.5	67.0	87666	11.1	35.2	
		1975			1976		
Total	112686	100	100.7	617675	100	283.3	
Business	62404	55.4	55.7	70343	11.4	32.3	
Labor	11977	10.6	10.7	164129	26.0	75.3	
Political	3284	2.9	2.9	6286	1.0	2.9	
Civil				270039	43.7	123.9	
Professional				36712	5.9	16.8	
Academic	4090	3.6	3.7				
NEC	30931	27.4	27.6	70116	11.4	32.2	
		1960			1962		
Total	48553	100	52	386365	100	207.1	
Business	25128	51.8	26.9	55063	14.3	29.5	
Labor	8608	17.7	9.2	106162	27.5	56.9	
Political	667	1.4	0.7	3428	0.9	1.8	
Civil				169366	43.8	90.8	
Professional				12674	3.3	6.8	
Academic	1803	3.7	1.9				
NEC	12348	25.4	13.2	39672	10.3	21.3	

Japan : *Establishment Census* (Statistics Bureau in Management Coordination Agency in Japan)

U.S.A. : *County Business Patterns* (U.S. Bureau of Census)

associations in both countries. In Japan, the number of business associations overwhelm the associations in the other categories except the number in the “not-elsewhere-classified” (N.E.C.) category. In the US, the majority (more than 40%) is occupied by civil and social associations. These tendencies are also seen in the statistics of employees. Recently in the US, this civil association supremacy has strengthened, while in Japan, business supremacy has weakened. A recent phenomenon in Japan has been that associations in the “not-elsewhere-classified” category are visibly expanding (Tsujinaka 1988 : 78-85).

Focusing on the business category in both countries, a notable difference is also observed. The absolute number of business associations in the US became smaller than that of Japan in the 1990's. The gap can be explained by a reason from each side: In the US, anti-monopoly laws are strict in forming any kind of business association (Jigyousya Dantai Mondai Kondankai 1993), while in the Japan symbiotic relationship between bureaucracy and business encourages the formation of associations (Tsujinaka 1988 : 76-78, Sasagawa Heiwa Zaidan 1992).

In order to understand the characteristic of Japanese associations in the 1980's and the 1990's, the meaning of the “not-elsewhere-classified” should be made clear. Other available sources show that the numbers of foundations (*zaidan*) and public associations (*shadan*) were established, therefore, it may well be presumed that the “not-elsewhere-classified” category in this case contains a lot of these foundations and public associations (Tsujinaka 1988 : 79-85 Sasagawa Heiwa Zaisan 1992).

I would like to characterize it as follows: factors related to the flourishing of these organizations.

Sequential administrative reforms since 1981 under the *Rincho* (the Provisional Council for Public Administrative Reform, 1981-83) type of advisory council lavishly push privatization and deregulation policies primarily to lessen the budgetary burden. On the other hand, since the mid-1970's, the social demand has been increasing to extend the administrative management and the cooperation of social actors with the administration. The demands were caused by several accumulating social transformations such as the internationalization of Japanese society, the globalization of the Japanese economy, the request for restructuring Japanese industries, the actual and expected burden of an aging society, the women's participation in a variety of social sectors, etc.,

The third factor is related to the affluence of Japanese society, which can be comparable to the US in the 1940's through the 1960's when a lot of foundations were established there.

The fourth factor is political. The Government and the LDP intended to consolidate (or exactly, reconsolidate) the social base of their support at the expense of their effort to incorporate citizen's needs through these organizations (Tsujinaka 1987).

All four factors together encouraged the formation of a variety of foundations and public associations aiming at various social purposes and needs in the 1980's and 1990's.

5. Detailed Analysis of Sub-Categories in the Non-Profit Associations in the U.S. and Japan

As a final analysis, I'd like to elaborate the interest group arrangement of the U.S. and Japan by dividing the period and then touching upon the circumstances of the sub-categories of non-profit association sector in this period.

First of all, the general trend should be reconfirmed. As I have mentioned, Japanese interest groups as a whole recorded rapid growth in this period while the American counterpart grew only slightly. From the end of the adjustment period in 1957⁷, the number of associations in Japan quadrupled and the number of employees in the associations quintupled by 1991. As for the U.S., between 1962-1990, the number of associations increased 2.3 times and the number of employees increased 1.4 times.

The post-war period in which the data was available in both countries can be roughly divided into two parts. In Japan, this division exists before and after 1972 and in America, before and after 1976. In both countries, the former half recorded a higher growth rate in general. In the U.S., the ratio of associations out of the total number of enterprises was much higher in the former half of the period, while in Japan it is still increasing up to the present. The U.

7 The adjustment period in the Establishment Census is different from that of the National Population Census. This is because of difference in investigation intervals. The former was conducted in every three years (1947-81) and every 5 years (1981-the present) while the latter was every 10 years.

S. ratio of the number of associations reached its peak at 2.0 in 1959. The next peak came at 1.9 in 1972 and the next lowest point came at 1.3 in 1986. Regarding the ratio of employees of the associations, the peak was recorded at 0.88 in 1972 and 1976 and the lowest point was recorded at 0.77 between 1984 and 1987.

According to the growth rate of the associations and the relative ratio mentioned above, both countries can be divided into four periods (Tsujiinaka-1988 : 68-70, 73-85). In Japan, the characteristics of the four periods are as follows : the first period between 1951 and 1957 showed a decrease in regard to the number of associations and a drastic decline in the number of employees in the associations. Previous studies suggest to us that this period can be called the age of adjustment and reintegration (Ishida, 1961). The second period between 1957 and 1966 recorded a very high growth in the number of associations as well as in the number of employees in the associations. The ratio of the number of associations out of the total number of enterprises in Japan doubled in this period. Both bureaucrats and business leaders encouraged the establishment of a kind of intermediary organization, and as a result, a variety of business associations were created, which provided one of the fundamental factors to drive forward the Japan's high economic growth. The third period between 1966 and 1975 was characterized by stagnancy. A saturation of the associations (especially for the purpose of industrialization) occurred, but the number of employees maintained steady growth. The fourth period starting from 1975 until the present is again an age of growth. A variety of associations other than business groups seemed to flourish in this period. As suggested before, the category of

Fig. 13 Number of NPA in Japan 1951-91

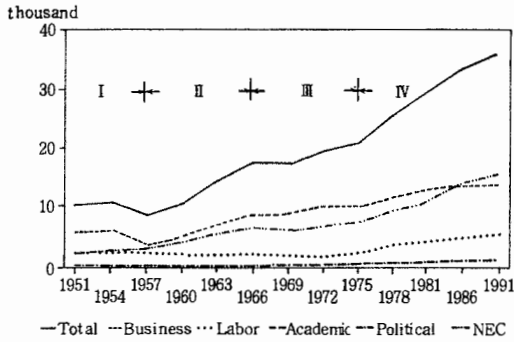


Fig. 14 Number of Employees in NPA in Japan 1951-91

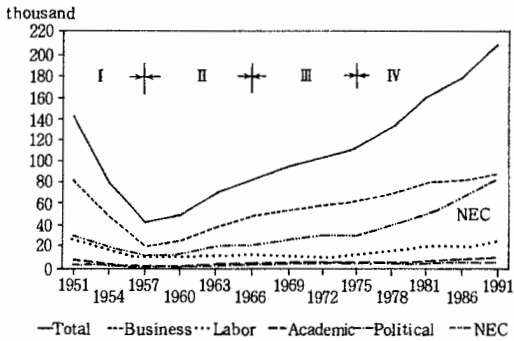


Fig. 15 Annual Rate of Change in NPA in Japan 1951-91

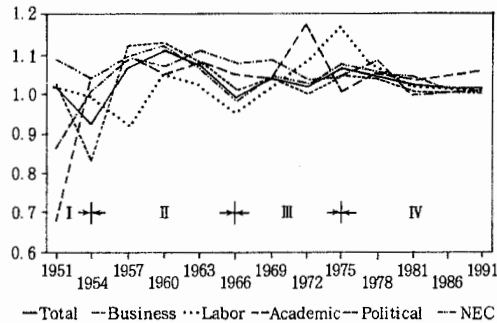


Fig. 16 Annual Rate of Change of Employees in NPA in Japan 1951-91

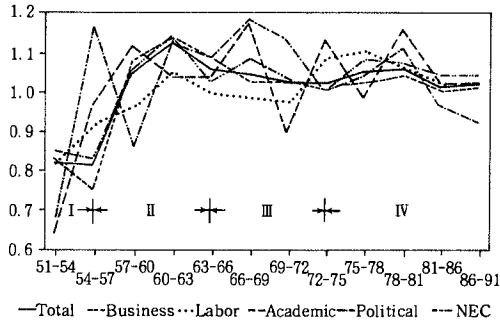
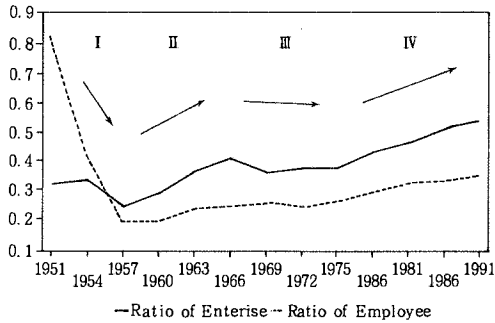


Fig. 17 Ratio of NPA in respective numbers of Enterprises and Employees in Japan 1951-91



“not-elsewhere-classified (N.E.C.)” became important in this period.

In the U.S., the first period was up until 1962. The data is not available before 1959 about the sub-categories and it seems that there was a change in definition before and after 1959⁸. The figures for this period were characterized by a decline in the number of associations

and the number of employees in the associations. The second period was between 1962 and 1976. The number of associations gradually grew and the number of employees steadily increased nearly two times. The third period between 1976 and 1986 was characterized by stagnancy and as suggested before, the ratios out of the total number of enterprises and employees decreased significantly. The fourth period, starting around 1986, seemed to be a period of growth again. The number of associations started to recover from 1986 and the number of employees as well as the ratios out of the total number of enterprises and employees suddenly jumped in 1990⁹.

Analyzing the trends of subcategories in detail, it is found that there is a certain difference between the U.S. and Japan regarding the meanings of growth in the period. The Japanese growth in the number of associations in the former half of the period came mainly from the business and the “N.E.C.” categories. Between 1957 and 1972, the business category recorded 3.0 times growth, and the “N.E.C.” categories recorded 2.4 times growth while the labor category decreased 0.89 times and the other categories slightly increased. The latter part of the period was characterized by the growth of the non-business categories such as the “N.E.C.” (2.3 times), labor (2.9

8 The County Business Patterns in the U.S. began in 1947, but categories other than the broad category of membership organizations were not available until 1959. In addition, it seems that there was a change of coverage under the membership organizations between 1956 and 1959.

9 There is some time lag among a change of the number of associations and a change of the number of employees in the associations and the relative ratio of them.

Fig. 18 Number of NPA in USA 1959-90

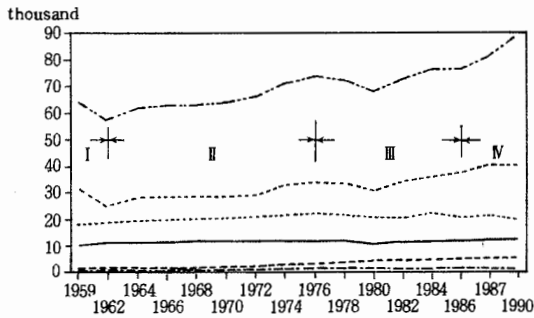


Fig. 19 Number of Employees in NPA in USA 1959-90

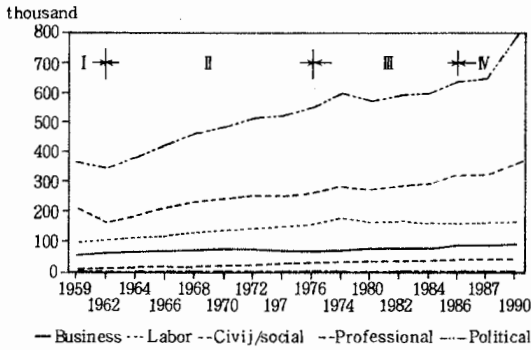


Fig. 20 Annual Rate of Change of NPA (industrial) in US 1959-90

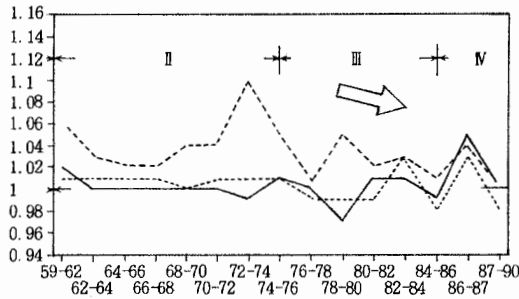


Fig. 21 Annual Rate of Change of NPA (# ideological) in US 1959-90

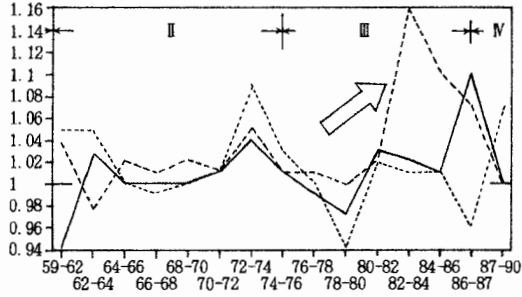


Fig. 22 Change of employee (industrial) in NPA in US 1959-90

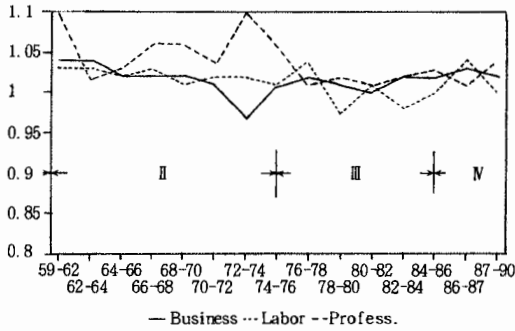


Fig. 23 Change of employee (ideological) in NPA in US 1959-90

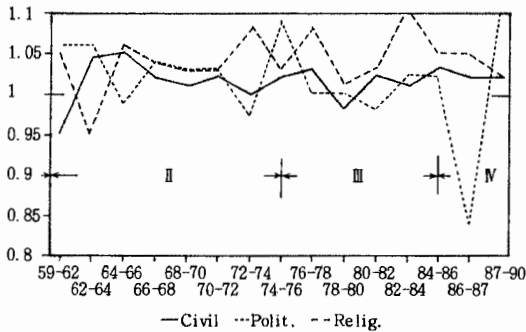
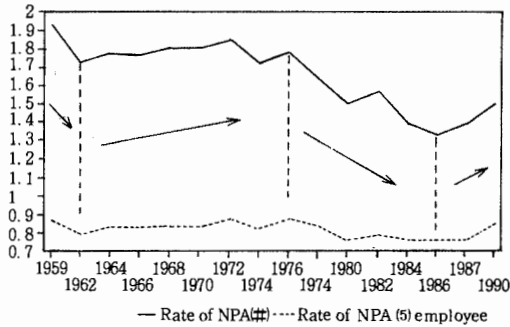


Fig. 24 Ratio of NPA in respective total numbers of Enterprises and Employees in USA 1959-90



Source : US Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, 1975. US Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of Commerce* (Annual).

times), and academic and cultural (3.2 times) categories. The business category recorded only 1.4 times growth. From these facts, we can conclude that “non-business pluralization” has been occurring in Japan since 1975.

In the U.S., it seemed that the same type of non-business tendencies were on-going, but it should be noted that there was a tendency of the flourishing of non-industrial associations or ideological associations. In the former part of the period, the industrial associations including business, labor and professional associations recorded a higher growth rate compared to those in the latter half of the period. The business category grew 1.09 times in the former half and 1.04 times in the latter half. Labor grew 1.13 times in the former half and 0.89 times in the latter half. Professional associations grew

2.49 times in the former half and 1.41 times in the latter half. The latter half of the period was characterized by the increase of civil and social associations as well as religious associations. Civil and social groups grew 1.21 times and religious associations 1.28 times in number. Employees in civil and social groups increased 1.24 times and religious associations increased 1.97 times in number. It is obvious that the shift toward ideological associations from the industrial associations occurred in the 1980's in the U.S..

To summarize this section, under the rapid growth of Japanese associations, there is a tendency of non-business pluralization and under the stagnancy of American associations there is a tendency of non-industrial ideological orientation.

Conclusion : Implications for the Japanese Political Model

In the former half of the paper, 8 countries were selected for the comparison with Japan based on the patterns of labor force composition by three major sectors. Then I tried to compare several countries by using directories and almanacs systematically. Further research and investigation is necessary in regard to this part. However, we did find out that in Japan there are variety of associations comparable to those of other advanced countries. In addition, in Korea as well as in Taiwan, it seems that same type of flourishing of associations occurred in two or three recent decades. It is certainly true that there are many institutional constraints in both countries which limit the formation and activities of interest groups. Therefore, we cannot casually compare Japan to those countries without

certain reservations. From the other side of the coin, once these countries lift their barriers against social associations and social groups are permitted to link with political actors, they can be compared with Japan at least at some stage of socio-political development of Japan.

In the latter half of the paper, I concentrated on the comparison between the U.S. and Japan based on more reliable official statistics. I did extract several impressive findings.

The first important finding is that the Japanese pre-war state corporatist system created a denser organizational base than that of the United States at the same period of time.

The second is that in the post-war era, Japan continuously experienced the secularization of the membership sector while the U.S. switched its course from secularization toward post-secularization with religious orientation since the 1970's.

This observation was supported by the analysis of the sub-categories of non-profit-associations. In Japan, a tendency of non-business pluralization has been occurring under the rapid growth of associations since the 1970's. On the other hand, in the U.S., there is a tendency of non-industrial orientation and an upsurge of ideological associations through the 1980's.

As a result, in Japan the number of interest group is expanding with non-business pluralization while in the U.S. number of interest group remains stagnant with an increasing emphasis on ideology.

The third finding is the degree of development of interest groups and the degree of plurality in Japan compared to that of the U.S.. The degree of association density in number per population is now

roughly the same as that of the U.S.. However, the degree of employment density in the sector is a little higher than half of that of the U.S.. When standardized by the ratio out of the total number of enterprises and employees, the index ratio shows an even lower figure. This means that in Japan, the interest group sector has a relatively lower weight compared to that of business enterprises (this should not be confused with business associations).

The fourth finding is that the business supremacy in Japan was reconfirmed in the composition of non-profit associations. In Japan, business associations occupy 40% majority in the total number of associations as well as in the number of employees. This has sharp contrast to the U.S. situation where the supremacy of civil and social associations is on-going.

Therefore, as one conclusion, Japan is increasing its plurality scaled by the size of interest groups and by the variety of associations. However, it has not reached the level of the U.S. because of the supremacy of business associations.

Then, what about the transitional aspect of Japanese interest groups and what about the actors in transforming Japanese society and politics?

Finally I did find out that the not-elsewhere-classified category in the non-profit associations has been expanding rapidly since the 1970's despite lower growth in non-profit association sector. A variety of public associations, foundations and civil activity centers are included in this category where a complicated and complex combination of the bureaucracy, businesses and citizens were embodied. Although it is not easy to differentiate the initiatives and interests among them,

it is this gray zone of the N.E.C. that will decide, even if partially¹⁰, the nature of the Japanese interest groups, whether it is a kind of pluralism or a kind of social corporatism, in the coming new century.

Bibliography

Allinson, Gary. 1989. "Politics in Contemporary Japan: Pluralist Scholarship in the Conservative Era-A Review Article," in *the Journal of Asian Studies*, 48, No. 2.

Allinson, Gary and Sone, Yasunori. 1993. *Political Dynamics in Contemporary Japan*, Cornell University Press.

American Society of Association Executives, N.D., *Association Fact Book*, American Society of Association Executives.

American Society of Association Executives. 1992. *Policies and Procedures in Association Management*, American Society of Association Executives.

Calder, Kent E. 1988. *Crisis and Compensation: Public Policy and Political Stability in Japan, 1949-86*, Princeton University Press.

Choat, P.. 1990. *Agents of Influence*, Alfred Knopf, Inc.

Civil Association Activity Center in the Republic of China, 1988, *Directory of Civil Associations* (in Chinese)

10 If one more important socio-political actor is to be noted, I would like to add the newly integrated labor national center, Rengo and its group (Tsujiyama, 1988, 1992, 1993). Without research to these new trends in the socio-political actors we can not reach a realistic understanding of the new "coalitional" government and its new pattern of political process.

Ehrmann, Henry W.. 1967. *Interest Groups on Four Continents*, University of Pittsburgh Press.

Fallows, J.. 1989. *Containing Japan : More Like Us*, Boston Houghton Mifflin Company.

Ishida, Takeshi. 1961. *Gendai Soshiki Ron* (Contemporary Analysis of Japanese Organizations), Iwanami Shoten.

Ito, Mitsutoshi. 1988. "Kokkai no Mekanizumu to Kinou" (Mechanism and Function of Diet), *Nenpo Saijigaku* Iwanami Shoten.

Iwai, Tomoaki. 1988. *Rippou Katei*, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Jigyousha Dantai Mondai Kenkyukai. 1993. *Jigyousha Danntai no Katsudou to Dokusen Kinshiho no Shomondai* (Activity of Business Association and The Problems of Anti-Monopoly Laws), Jigyousha Danatai Mondai Kenkyukai.

Johnson, C.. 1988. "Studies of Japanese Political Economy : A Crisis in Theory," *The Japan Foundation Newsletter*, Vol. 16, No. 3.

Katzenstein, Peter and Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1992. "'Bullying', 'Buying' and 'Binding': U.S.-Japanese Transnational Relations and Domestic Structure," the Workshop on Transnational Relations, Cornell University, Nov. 1992.

Kumon, Shumpei and Rosovsky, Henry. 1992. *The Political Economy of Japan*. Stanford University Press.

Knoke, David. 1990. *Organizing for Collective Actions : The Political Economies of Associations*. Aldine de Gruyter, New York.

Knoke, David. Pappi, Franz U.. Broadbent, Jeffrey. Kaufman, Naomi J.. Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1992. "Issue Publics in the U.S., German, and Japanese National Labor-Policy Domains," *Research in Politics and Society*, Vol. 4 : 255-294.

Knoke, David. Pappi, Franz U.. Broadbent, Jeffrey. Tsujinaka, Yutaka. Forthcoming. *Comparing Policy Networks : Labor Politics in the United States, Germany, and Japan*.

Masumi, Junnosuke. 1993. *Higashi Asia to Nippon* (East Asia and Japan), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Masumi, Junnosuke. 1990. *Seioh to Nippon* (West Europe and Japan), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Muramatsu, Michio. Ito, Mitsutoshi. Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1986. *Sengo Nihon no Atsuryoku Dantai* (Pressure Groups in the post-war Japan), Tohyoh Keizai Shinpohsya.

Muramatsu, Michio. Ito, Mitsutoshi. Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1992. *Nihon no Seiji* (Japanese Politics), Yuhikaku.

National Bureau of Statistics Economic Planning Board Republic of Korea. 1988. *Korea Statistical Yearbook*, National Bureau of Statistics Economic Planning Board Republic of Korea.

Otake, Hideo. 1987. "Nakasone Seiji no Ideorogi to sono Kokunaiseijiteki Haikai" (Ideology of Nakasone Administration and its Background of Domestic Politics), *Leviathan* Vol. 1 : 73-91.

Pempel, T. J. and Tsunekawa, K. 1979 "Corporatism without Labor," Schmitter, P.C. and G. Lehmbruch (eds.) *Trends toward Corporatist Intermediation*, Sage.

Pempel, T.J. ed. 1990. *Uncommon Democracies : One Party Dominant Regimes*, Cornell University Press.

Petracca, Mark P.. 1992. *The Politics of Interests : Interest Groups Transformed*, Westview Press.

Prestowitz, Clyde V. Jr.. 1988. *Trading Places : How We Allowed Japan to Take the Lead*, Basic Books, Inc.

Richardson, Bradley M. and Flanagan, Scott C.. 1984. *Politics Japan*, Little, Brown & Company (Canada) Limited.

Sasakawa Heiwa Zaidan (The Sasakawa Peace Foundation). 1992. *Nihon no Koekihojin* (Public Non-Profit Corporations in Japan).

Schlozman, Kay Lehman and Tierney, John T.. 1986. *Organized Interests and American Democracy*, Harper & Row, Publishers, New York.

Shimodaira, Yoshihiro. forthcoming. "Kohporateizumu no Keiryouteki Kokusaihikaku-Kohporateizumu to Keizai Pafohmansu," (Statistical Analysis on Comparative Corporatism : Neo-corporatism and Economic Performance). Takeshi Inagami ed. *Comparative Corporatism Analysis*.

Shindo, Muneyuki. 1986. *Gyohseikaikaku to Gendaiseiji* (The Public Administrative Reform and Contemporary Japanese Politics), Iwanami Shoten.

Stanley, Harold W. and Niemi, Richard G.. 1992. *Vital Statistics on American Politics*, Third Edition, A Division of Congressional Quarterly Inc. Washington, D.C..

Tominaga, Kenichi. 1988. *Nihonsanngyo no Tenki* (Turning Point of Japanese Industrial Society), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1984. "Nihonniokeru Riekidantai no Keisei to Soshikijokyo" (Interest Group Formation and Organizational Situation in Japan), *Kitakyushu Daigaku Hoseironnshu*, Vol. 12, No. 1.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1986. "Gendai Nihon Seiji no Koporatizumu-ka" (Corporatization of Contemporary Japanese Politics), Uchida Mitsuru ed. *Seiji Katei*, Sanrei Shobo.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1987. "Roudoukai no Saihen to 86 nen Taisei

no Imi” (Realignment of Labor Sector and the Meaning of Nakasone 1986 Regime), *Leviathan* Vol. 1 : 47-72.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1988. *Riekishudan* (Interest Groups in Japan), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1989. “Interest Group Formation : A Comparison of Japan (1900-1985) and Korea (1945-1985),” Seminar on Changes of Political-Economic System and Foreign Policies in the East Asian Countries at Harvard University.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1992. “A Comparison between Japanese and Korean Labor Politics : Japan in the mid-1960s and Korea Today,” A Paper presented at the Third Conference on Structural Changes in East Asia and International Relations at the Program of U.S.-Japan Relations Harvard University, April 7-8th, 1992.

Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 1993. “Rengo and Its Osmotic Networks,” Gary Allinson and Yasunori Sone eds. *Political Dynamics in Contemporary Japan*, Cornell University Press, pp. 200-213.

U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of The Census. 1975. *Historical Statistics of the United States*, U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of The Census.

Walker, Jack L. Jr.. 1991. *Mobilizing Interest Groups in America : Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements*, The University of Michigan Press.

Wolferen, Karel van. 1990. *The Enigma of Japanese Power*, Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, INC. New York.

Yamazaki, Hiroaki. 1988. *Trade Associations in Business History*, University of Tokyo Press.

