

The "softnomization" of Japan A new concept to analyse economic development

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Introduction

Since the Meiji restauration (1868), Japan has been trying to enhance her own path of modernization by monitoring experiences made in Western so-called developed countries closely. The underlying assumption has been that certain patterns of development can be detected which may serve to formulate superior, more effective or less costly development strategies for a latecomer.

Although Japan nowadays belongs to the group of the world's most advanced countries in many respects (and increasingly sees herself as such), the Japanese administration still utilizes an approach of identifying likely patterns of forthcoming developments and using the expectations derived for decision making on policy.

Such endeavours may be interesting for Western countries to study. Firstly, similar problems are likely to face Western countries as well - or are actually troubling them already. Secondly, although we do not claim that the Japanese government's approach to formulate images or likely paths for the future must be considered one of the reasons for Japan's "economic miracle", one can at least claim that this approach has harmoniously accompanied a remarkably successful modernization. This does not mean that Western states should necessarily adopt similar views on the future or that Japanese analyses should be taken at face value, but it does call for an increased awareness of what is contemplated and argued in presumably well-informed study circles close to the Japanese government.

In the following paper, one major recent project sponsored by Japan's Ministry of Finance will be introduced and critically evaluated. It discusses likely future patterns of development in Japan under the catch-word "softnomization", arguing that Japan - and other advanced countries - are entering an age characterized by the growing importance of "software" in a wide range of different manifestations. Several hundred representatives of government agencies, companies, interest organizations, universities and the media took part in several working groups. A first major report was published in 1983, followed by 37 more detailed reports on selected subjects in 1984/85. In October 1984, a "softnomics Center" was set up in Tokyo to study the issues further and to facilitate research and exchange of opinion on these issues.

The basic concept and its application to Japan

The basic character of "softnomization" is economic: In a recent "White Paper" (1985) of the Softnomics Center "Softnomization" is defined as the "tendency for software such as information and services to outweigh in market value hardware such as goods and energy".(1)

In today's "affluent society" (J.K.Galbraith), as we find it in advanced countries, man's basic needs are more or less satisfied. Emphasis shifts to immaterial goods and a wish for individualization and differentiation from the others, which calls for a changed economic and social structure to be satisfied. The most important phenomenon of the change is the increasing share of the third sector, which offers "new types" of services to meet the needs of the consumer.(2) This is the basic point of departure, from which the softnomics-project deduces likely changes in the economic (and social) sphere.

It is not the only development, though, which leads to changes in terms of a softnomization of the economy. The above mentioned White Paper distinguishes seven major trends contributing to this move (3):

1. The diversification of value notions, especially of consumers in the "mature" (D.Gabor) or "affluent" (J.K.Galbraith) society, accordingly outweighing economies of capital-intensive large-scale production and moving its weight towards small-scale companies, which can flexibly keep abreast with diversifying consumer preferences.
2. Rapidly increasing information-intensiveness of the economy in association with factory and office automation.
3. Development of high-technology, with the character of human labour shifting from physical toil to intellectual effort.
4. Rapid internationalization of the economy and increasing importance of multinational corporations, affecting the socio-economy in many ways.
5. Increase in higher education, facilitating moves towards information-intensification, high-technology and softnomization.
6. Rising share of aged people in the nation, leading to an increased demand for certain services.
7. Growing participation of women, particularly of middle-aged housewives, in the socio-economy, providing labour in the service sector and leading to an increased demand for housework and cooking services.

Interestingly, these trends are quite diverse. It is quite hard to unify them conceptually into one "string". On the one hand, there is a trend towards high-tech, which is frequently embodied in labour saving technical progress. On the other, the rising share of services within the economy is put forward. Many services are characterized by a very high labour intensity; one could almost call this branch of the economy a

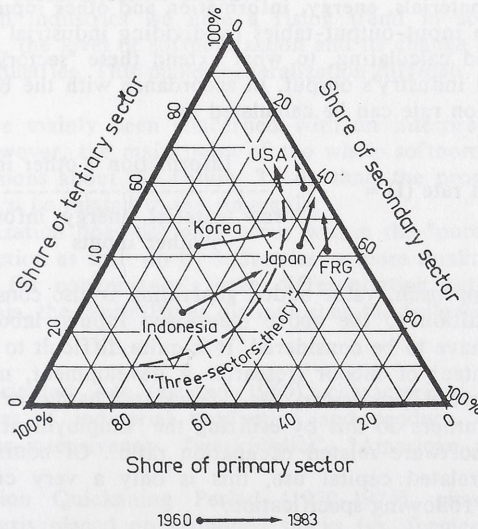
"low-tech-sector". In terms of the definition used by the White Paper, one should take note that the "software" associated with the growing importance of information in all three sectors of the economy is quite different from the "soft" character of services in the third sector.

This makes it hard to trace the conjectured progress of softnomization in the economy. Two difficulties are closely related: 1. To gather meaningful statistics on the basis of existing economic data bases. 2. To derive a meaningful concept for a "softnomization rate" of the economy, preferably constructed as a cardinal variable ranging from 0% to 100%.

As a first approximation, the softnomics studies pointed out the growth of the third sector of the economy, not only absolutely, but also relatively to the first (agriculture, mining) and second (manufacturing) sector. This can be traced by either relying on labour force or national income data.

Figure 1 summarizes the recent (1960 to 1983) experience of several countries, including Japan, with respect to the share of the third sector (primarily services) among gross domestic product (GDP).

Fig. 1: Sectoral distribution of gross domestic product in selected countries, 1960-1983.



Source: World Development Report 1983 and 1985, World Bank

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Extrapolating from this graph, there seems to emerge a development pattern for countries progressing from an agricultural nation (lower left corner of the triangle) via the stage of an industrialized country (having a share of second sector / GDP of some 40-60%) to a service economy (approaching the top of the triangle). This rather simplistic summary is quite well in tune with more substantial quantitative analyses, although there remain some doubts whether the observed regularities can be viewed as a historical quasi-law.(4)

Reconsidering the basic features of softnomization, though, it is obvious that softnomization does not only emerge in and with regard to the third sector, but in the other sectors as well. One would need to measure the share of information and services within all economic activities. Conventional statistics of national accounts are not well suited to supply these data. This was a burden on the early stages of the softnomics studies; several methods were discussed to reform the system of national accounts statistics.(5)

In the 1985 White Paper, an effort is made to develop the formula for a softnomization rate more clearly, relying on conventional statistics. (This approach is actually based on earlier work of the study group on softnomics.) There are two approaches employed.(6) As a first approximation, it is argued that the input for all industrial activities can be split up into raw materials, energy, information and other inputs. Data can be gathered from input-output-tables by dividing industrial branches along these lines and calculating, to what extent these "sectors" contribute as inputs to each industry's output. In accordance with the basic definition, a softnomization rate can be calculated as:

$$\text{softnomization rate (I) = } \frac{\text{Information + other inputs}}{\text{raw material, energy, information} + \text{other inputs}}$$

In a second approach, value added generation is also considered as well. Hence, in addition to the above mentioned inputs, labour and capital consumption have to be considered. It is quite difficult to distinguish the "software" content of labour (research & development, marketing, etc.) and capital (word processors, etc.) from its "hardware" content. The White Paper authors do this by utilizing the "Employment Status Survey" to define a "software-related occupation ratio". Of course, particularly for software-related capital use, this is only a very crude proxy. It allows for the following specification:

$$\text{softnomization rate (II) = } \frac{\text{Information and other inputs} + \text{software portion of labour and capital use}}{\text{Value of production}}$$

From a-priori reasoning, one expects rate (II) to be a closer proxy for the "true" but unknown softnomization rate.

Let us interpret some of the results for Japan presented in Table 1, concentrating on softnomization rate (II).

- a) The lowest rates in 1980 are to be found in agriculture (including forestry and fisheries) and petroleum coal products. This fits well with the general conjecture, based on comparative advantage arguments, that both industries are quite unsuitable in their present form and magnitude for the future Japanese economy.
- b) The highest rates are registered in the third sector, which is to be expected as well: raw material and energy input is particularly low in these industries, and software-related occupation ratios are generally high (in public services, for instance, 93.8%). This result is consistent with the softnomics thesis and with earlier three-sector-theories (C.Clark, Fourastie et al.) arguing that the third sector will grow in absolute and relative terms.
- c) The argument is also supported when checking changes between 1970 and 1980. Softnomization is experiencing its highest percentage point gains in the third sector, even though in 1970 it starts from a rather high level of softnomization already.
- d) In almost all industries we note a rising trend in softnomization. Nevertheless, the level of softnomization and its change differs widely among industries. This makes generalization difficult.

So far, we have mainly been concerned with an interpretation of the recent past. However, the main point of the whole softnomics project is to draw conclusions about the future. To do that, the progress of softnomization has to be related to the time axis.

As softnomization does not only occur within the "purely economic" production function as split up by industries, a more qualitative concept seems helpful, for convenience's sake differentiating between various stages. Doing this, the White Paper distinguishes the following phases for Japan:

- a) Hardware-oriented Age (around 1960), characterized by heaviness and largeness of industrial production and product, economies of scale, labour-intensiveness, "workaholics", "American way of life", etc.
- b) Softnomization Quickening Period (1970-1974), characterized by more emphasis placed on economic stocks (vs. formerly on flows), appearance of car-free malls, women's liberation meetings, significantly rising number of universities, etc.
- c) Software-oriented Age (around 1985), characterized by complex centralization/decentralization-processes, "lightness and compactness" of industrial product(ion), age of not only large- but also medium-

scale companies, returns from diversification, emphasis on accounting and marketing, short product lifecycles, working housewives, (voluntary) non-school education, "beauty-admirers", "grouping for a new way of life", etc.

- d) Hey Day of Softnomics (around 2000), characterized by decentralization, information and knowledge industries playing a leading role, age of non-incorporated enterprises, "economies of rarity", networks (tie-ups between different types of business), sharing of household affairs by husband and wife, "new Japanese way of life", etc.(8)

Obviously, softnomization in other countries will not occur at the same time. As the level and pace of development differs between countries, softnomization should not only be related to a historical time axis, but to

Table 1: Changes in Japan's Softnomization Rates (I) and (II)

Industry	Softnomization Rate (I)			Softnomization Rate (II)		
	1970 %	1980 %	1970/1980 Change (% point)	1970 %	1980 %	1970/1980 Change (% point)
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	17.5	18.7	1.2	6.6	8.9	2.3
Mining	37.6	40.3	2.7	32.0	32.2	0.2
Foods	10.7	17.9	7.2	11.8	16.9	5.1
Textiles	14.3	18.6	4.3	13.3	18.8	5.5
Pulp, paper, lumber	19.7	21.8	2.1	17.6	21.4	3.8
Chemicals	23.4	19.5	-3.9	19.3	21.7	2.4
Petroleum and coal products	17.1	7.8	-9.3	12.1	7.8	-4.3
Ceramics, clay and stone	27.6	27.2	-0.4	23.2	26.1	2.9
Primary metal products	10.9	11.6	0.7	11.7	12.6	0.9
Metal products	21.0	22.1	1.1	17.7	19.7	2.0
General machinery	22.6	26.1	3.5	21.4	25.3	3.9
Electrical machinery	50.7	50.9	0.2	37.9	39.4	1.5
Transport equipment	18.0	19.6	1.6	15.7	19.2	3.5
Precision machinery	44.5	53.5	9.0	37.6	40.1	2.5
Other manufacturing industries	28.0	30.8	2.8	22.6	25.9	3.3
Construction	27.7	29.6	1.9	22.3	23.8	1.5
Electricity, gas and water	36.1	27.7	-8.4	36.2	32.9	-4.1
Wholesale and retail trade	69.5	76.2	6.7	52.3	61.6	9.3
Financing and insurance	89.4	91.6	2.2	53.2	66.8	13.6
Real estate	96.1	93.8	-2.3	38.3	41.2	2.9
Transportation & communication	56.8	61.1	4.3	65.6	71.3	5.7
Services	54.8	57.1	2.3	46.7	52.4	5.7
Education, research and health care	48.4	45.6	-2.8	66.8	73.1	6.3
Public service	69.8	56.3	-13.5	72.1	77.9	5.8

Source: White Paper on Softnomization 1985, Softnomics Center, p.2-31

Note: Softnomization rates (I) and (II) are explained in the text.

the progress of some "intermediate variable" traceable in other countries as well. Which variable should be used? Softnomization rates are difficult to calculate, because they are based on input-output-tables which are not available or hardly comparable for different countries. Kumon et al. argue in their volume studying North-south issues that the age of softnomization is entered at a GNP-per-capita of approximately 10,000 US\$ (in prices of 1981).(9) Little analytical support is given to this conjecture.(10)

In the White Paper, which is more concerned with other advanced countries, a different variable is emphasized. The hey day of (hardware-oriented) industrialization is seen at the historical "point of industrial labor equilibration", i.e. that point in time when employment in the first, second, and third sector is about the same. Britain reached this point in 1810, the USA about 1910, Japan at around 1960. This defines a convenient starting point to trace the progress of softnomization. A somewhat lagged point can be defined as that period, in which the share a country holds in supplying the world market with pig iron and crude steel reaches its maximum. This point was reached at about 1840 in Britain, 1920 in the USA, mid 1970s for Japan.(11)

This rather crude reasoning is employed to draw rather far-reaching conjectures. For instance, it is argued that West Germany's relative share of employment in tertiary industries is lagging behind other comparable countries: "considering that the 50 percent mark of employment was reached in the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark in the 1960s (whereas in West Germany in 1980), it can be said that West Germany lagged nearly 20 years behind its neighbouring countries in effecting an industrial structural change".(12)

Before we discuss the socio-economic problems involved in this and similar arguments in the following chapter, we will have a look at the historical development of the softnomics approach in order to understand why such a bold and unconventional reasoning gained so much resonance. This sidelook shall save us from criticizing the approach in an inappropriate way.

The history of the softnomics approach

Softnomics was introduced to the Japanese public as "the new way of economic management corresponding to the coming of a softnomized society" (13), in 1983. It was outlined in a study commissioned by Japan's Ministry of Finance entitled "Proposing softnomics" (Sofutonomikkusu no teisho). In the same year, the monography "Softnomics - a new current of the economy" (Sofutonomikkusu - keizai no atarashii choryu) was published, based on this outline. It was authored by a "study group on economic structural changes and corresponding policies" (14), which was established in 1982 by the Japanese Ministry of Finance.

R.Tachi, serving as editor of the above mentioned monography, was not only a member of this study group, but also of a research team studying the relations between culture and the economy under the auspices of the late prime minister M.Ohira.(15) Perhaps the most important proponent of the softnomics concept is Y.Nagatomi, formerly a leading bureaucrat within the Ministry of Finance. According to his postscript to the 1983 monograph, the basic idea for softnomics originates from the Ohira research groups.(16) Some observers see him as the driving force of the softnomics research program, against reservations from some other quarters within the Ministry of Finance.

Selected aspects of the softnomics concept were further developed in follow-up studies. The results were published in the 37 volumes of a "Softnomics Series" (sofutonomikkusu-shirizu), published in 1984-85. The series edited by the Finance Minister's Office consists of six parts, dealing with an "analysis of structural chance" (10 volumes), "technology and the economy" (5 volumes), "structural change and management of the economy" (10 volumes), "structural change and public finance" (5 volumes), "structural change and financial markets" (3 volumes), and "structural change and the world economy" (4 volumes).

In October 1984, the "Softnomics Center" (Sofutoka-Keizai-Senta) was established in Tokyo as a non-profit organization under Japanese law. Leading corporations are the principal members of the Center, presidents and chairmen of such companies serving as directors. The main "working units" of the Softnomics Center consist of a secretariat, which is responsible for drafting white papers, and study groups, organized and lead by the secretariat "as needed". The main functions of the Center are described as

- " 1 Research studies of softnomization of the economy.
 - a Publication of white papers on "softnomization", and of working papers, etc.
 - b Cooperation, exchange, and joint research with scientific research organizations at home and abroad.
 - c Collection of research materials.
- 2 Planning and development of new businesses through joint research with different industries.
- 3 Various services for the members of the Softnomics Center and others.
 - a Arrangement of seminars, conferences, symposiums of 'softnomics'.
 - b Dispatch of study groups of 'softnomics' abroad."(17)

So far, the most important accomplishment has been the publication of the "White Paper of Softnomization" in October 1985, which to some extent clarifies conceptual problems of the approach. Further white papers are planned. It remains to be seen, whether the second main

function quoted above, promotion of new business ventures, leads to tangible results; in a way, this would reveal the usability of the concept.

Looking at this "outside" history of the softnomics concept, it is still difficult to understand its rapid growth in recent years. After all, not even a clear definition of softnomization has emerged yet. As E. Yoshio-ka, President of the Softnomics Center, points out in the foreword of the White Paper, "it was not defined even in the voluminous report from the 'Softnomics Follow-up Team' which, since 1983, has been conducting research".(18) Why, then, has the approach received so much support from the Ministry of Finance and the business community?

Around 1980, the most pressing problem of the Ministry of Finance was the mounting budget deficit. The ratio of deficit financing to the total volume of the budget reached its peak in 1979, declining somewhat since then. Still, even in 1985 it was higher than in the USA, West Germany or France.(19) Under these circumstances, the Ministry looked for arguments against large amounts of fiscal spending. Pointing out the dynamic growth potential of the softnomized sector of the economy, it could be argued that government policy was quite superfluous to keep the economy moving: the historical stage of softnomization took care of this within the private sector; all that was needed was to ascertain enough flexibility within the private economy to meet rapidly diversifying and developing needs of consumers and enterprises.(20) Perhaps more than in the Japanese language softnomics literature, this attitude becomes clear in an English language summary of major features of softnomics prepared by the Ministry:

It is "in search of new ways of economic management in view of the limitations and problems of traditional Keynesian policy", which particularly show up in the "huge bondfinanced budget deficits". The new policy is characterized by "serverely restraining public expenditure" and "vitalizing private economic activity through deregulation". This "new economic management /is able/ to cope with evolving Softnomized economy".(21)

In this respect, it is also instructive to compare the Ministry of Finance's softnomics project with the "Japan in the Year 2000" project of the Economic Planning Agency, its results having been published in 1982. In this project, which deals with structural changes of the whole Japanese socio-economy until the end of the century, three changes in particular are elaborated upon: economic and political internationalization, rising share of the aged in the population, and the "maturing" of the economy, characterized by lower economic growth rates.(22) Although this report also acknowledges the growing importance of the third sector and a softnomization of economic activities, the analytical consequences drawn are not very far-reaching. Softnomics is not employed as a key concept to structuralize the different (and parallel) trends noticed. Moreover, no

clear relationship is drawn between softnomization and a growing importance of private economic activities. Actually, the report elaborates considerably on the future tasks of the government within the internationalized, aging and maturing economy; the state will be burdened by the rising tendency for transfer payments because of the rapidly aging population.(23) This corresponds well with the traditional role of the Economic Planning Agency as a planning institution of the government. Although its major powers to control prices were lost during the 1950s, it still regards itself as looking after the "development of a welfare-oriented economic society".(24) We conclude that the basic functions and interests of the respective agencies reflect considerably in their analyses of the future development of the Japanese socio-economy. This implies that the Ministry of Finance had a powerful interest to promote ideas like the softnomics concept, being able to serve as a carrier and catalyzer of its major policy positions.

Considerations from a socio-economic viewpoint - a critical conclusion

We have presented arguments to reason that the softnomics approach was meant as a carrier of underlying policy positions of its mentors. To achieve this "carrier function", the approach had to be devised as bold, imaginative and general. There was some cost involved, however. The concept had to become overly simple and general in its coverage. For instance, the conclusion that West Germany is late in effecting sectoral change is drawn on very flimsy evidence, just because it fits the concept nicely. Other Japanese scholars actually contemplate, whether the loss of manufacturing industries in Japan (de-industrialization) might lead to a "hollowing-out" (kudoka) of the economy with very negative effects on the whole nation.(25)

Let us discuss the dangers of over-generalization more thoroughly by analyzing some of its important manifestations. The aged population problem came into question in the recent "White Paper". In the "Softnomics"-monography of 1983 it was not treated at all. But even in the new report, it is pointed not out as a problem of public welfare but as of increasing service "business" for aged people.(26) In this way, the relation between the aged population and welfare still remains unclear. In this "White Paper", the authors argue the problem from another aspect. They are optimistic that aged people can contribute well to "promoting the progress of softnomization" because of the latter's "vast accumulations of information, that is, experience and knowledge".(27)

This last point is to be discussed. In another part of the "White Paper" its authors emphasize: "people after middle age find it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of the feelings of youth who find more interest in reversed value notions".(28) Today even people after middle age cannot react well to the new value notions, which are one of the

most important features of softnomization. It must therefore be even more difficult for the much older people. Nevertheless a fruitful contribution by these old people with their information, which comes presumably from the "old" "Hardware-oriented Age", is asserted simultaneously by the same authors. Though as a whole information according to the new value notions is emphasized, in the part about the aged people only its quantitative "vast accumulations" is noticed without any consideration of the quality. This is a trick, which lets us see the aged population's problems very optimistically. The consequence of this argument is an ambiguous definition of information in the softnomics age.

We can find this kind of contradiction more in the softnomics concept as a whole. For example in the early monography "Softnomics" in 1983 its "study group" headed by Tachi accentuates on the one hand diversifying value notions and needs of the consumer and accepts this reality as one of the basic point of softnomics. But on the other hand, in the same book, the traditional Japanese group-oriented community, which we can find often in Japanese firms, is not only praised but also looked upon as a community which is more suited to softnomization than western society consisting of individualistic persons. The reason for this assertion is that each Japanese man is not egoistic or obstinate with regard to the principle of this community, but has a flexible personality, which can well suit the diversifying value notions and social needs.(29) In association with this social philosophy, the authors of the "study group" display their own historical philosophy further. Like in Marxian historical philosophy, the human race would, in the higher stage of softnomics, overcome (according to the "study group") not only the production method of the "hardware-oriented" industrial age, but also western individualistic social relations. A harmony between each person and the community appears together with high-technology in this higher stage of softnomics. Because Japan has a highly developed technology and a harmonious community, it is possible for the "study group" to say that Japan can reach this higher stage of softnomics more quickly than other western countries.(30) This very optimistic and ethnocentric view of socio-economy and history is reflected even in the recent more theoretical "White Paper", although its acuteness is here "softened".(31)

To our mind, even if softnomics should acquire flexible reactions of the people as those in Japan, softnomization would seem to destroy any traditional group-oriented community principles. The reason is that one of softnomics' main points is the diversification of value notions and needs of people; this clearly causes rather an individualization of people than a grouping of them.

In this way it is a major weakness of the softnomics concept that it often lacks logically and scientifically indispensable reasonings because of too much generalizing and displaying a "catch-all" attitude.

The Softnomics Center seems to have become aware of the conceptual problems involved in the analysis.(32) In the concluding remarks of

the 1985 White Paper it is argued that softnomics "is a phenomenon which has not completely revealed itself. Since it has just appeared, we have not tried to define it within narrow limits but have referred to it in a broad sense".(33) If one does regard softnomics as a new trend which is just unfolding, it would indeed be unwise to restrict oneself to very narrowly defined procedures of reasoning. However, under such circumstances we should avoid drawing hasty conclusions on the real world. We should view softnomics studies as an approach to generate meaningful questions and hypotheses, which can then be made subject to other approaches, whose foundations seem more reliable.

Notes

- (1) A White Paper on Softnomization - An Advance in Economic Softnomization -, prepared by the Softnomics Center, Tokyo, October 1985, pp.1-2. (cite3d as White Paper, 1985).
- (2) See Tachi, R. (ed.): Softnomics - a new current of the economy (Sofutonomikkusu - keizai no atarashii choryu), Tokyo, 1983, pp.1-3; White Paper, 1985, pp.2-1 - 2-21.
- (3) White Paper, 1985, pp.1-3 - 1-12.
- (4) See Chenery, H.B.: Transitional Growth and World Industrialisation, in: B.Ohlin, P.-O. Hesselborn, P.M. Wijkman (eds.): The International Allocation of Economic Activity. London and Basingstoke, 1977, pp.457-490, comments and summary of discussion: pp.491-506.
- (5) See Tachi, 1983, pp.165-173.
- (6) For the following, see White Paper, 1985, pp.2-21 - 2-33.
- (7) Softnomics, brochure prepared by the Softnomics Center, Tokyo, 1984, quoted as "Softnomics Center".
- (8) See White Paper, 1985, pp.1-13 - 1-14.
- (9) See Kumon, S. et al.: North-North and North-South problems under the circumstances of softnomics (Keizai no sofuto-ka ni tomonau senshinkoku-kan nanboku-kan no shomondai). Softnomics-Series, no.37, Tokyo 1984, pp.54-60.
- (10) See more on the treatment of international economic relations in the softnomics project in Harada, T./ Pascha, W.: Das "Softnomics-Konzept" des japanischen Finanzministeriums: Grundlagen und Anwendung auf die internationalen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen Japans. Institut für Entwicklungspolitik Discussion Paper No.11, University of Freiburg/W.Germany, August 1986.
- (11) See White Paper, 1985, pp.2-1 - 2-12.
- (12) White Paper, 1985, p.2-5.
- (13) Takeuchi, H.: Softnomization of Economy and Ultimate Destination of Civilized Society, in: The Oriental Economist, December 1983, pp.18-23; see p.18.

- (14) See Takeuchi, 1983, p.18.
- (15) See Tachi, 1983, pp.214-217.
- (16) See Tachi, 1983, pp.214-215.
- (17) Softnomics Center, 1984.
- (18) White Paper, 1985, p.i.
- (19) See Japan Economic Almanac, 1985, p.11; Mizuno, M.: Probleme einer Neuordnung der Staatsfinanzen in Japan unter Berücksichtigung der Entwicklung der Sozialausgaben, in: Th.Dams, K.Jojima (eds.): Aktuelle Probleme der Sozialpolitik - in Japan und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin, 1982, pp.101-136.
- (20) See Tachi, 1983, pp.5-6.
- (21) Softnomics Proposed. Report of the Study Group on the Structural Transformation of the Economy and Policy Implications, mimeo., Tokyo, 7 June 1983, pp.14-15.
- (22) See Japan in the Year 2000 - on its Internationalization, Aging and Maturing (2000nen no Nihon - kokusaika, koreika, seijukuka ni sonaete), ed. by the Economic Planning Agency, "2000nen no Nihon"-series no.1, Tokyo 1982, quoted as "2000nen no Nihon", pp.149-152; and Japan in the Year 2000 - Preparing Japan for an Age of Internationalization, the Aging Society and Maturity, prepared by the Long-Term Outlook Committee of the Economic Council, Economic Planning Agency. Tokyo, 1983.
- (23) See "2000nen no Nihon", 1982, pp.62-76,107-117.
- (24) Japanese Economy and Economic Planning Agency, ed. by the Economic Planning Agency. Tokyo, 1979.
- (25) See, for instance, The Japan Times, 22 January 1987, 1987 Economic Supplement.
- (26) See White Paper, 1985, p.1-9.
- (27) White Paper, 1985, p.1-10.
- (28) White Paper, 1985, p.3-7.
- (29) See Tachi, 1983, p.51.
- (30) See Tachi, 1983, pp.26-79.
- (31) See White Paper, 1985, pp.1-13 - 1-14.
- (32) For a treatment of some methodological issues involved, see Harada/Pascha, 1986.
- (33) White Paper, 1985, p.3-18.