

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book. These are also available as one exposure on a standard 35mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600

Order Number 9009708

**Workers' welfare and labor administration in Japan: Towards
the establishment of a concept of workers' welfare**

Akimoto, Tatsuru, D.S.W.

City University of New York, 1989

Copyright ©1989 by Akimoto, Tatsuru. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

4

WORKERS' WELFARE AND LABOR ADMINISTRATION IN JAPAN:
TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONCEPT OF WORKERS' WELFARE
by
TATSURU AKIMOTO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare, The City University of New York.

1989

c 1989

TATSURU AKIMOTO

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare.

4/28/89
Date

Paula Ferguson
Chair of Examining Committee

4/24/89
Date

Frank L. Newman
Executive Officer

Charles Guzzetta

Irwin Epstein

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PREFACE

The need of the study across labor and social welfare fields----.

Why does not social work or social welfare study focus on workers and work as these form the core of society both in quality and quantity?¹⁾ Generally speaking, it has only dealt with the people who have dropped out of the labor market and other related matters. The validity of such studies and practice is even more questionable, particularly today when not only the medical field but also the social work field are increasingly concerned with "prevention."²⁾ Before people drop out of the labor market, should not we pay more attention to them? Work is often the cause as well as the cure of many traditional social work problems. Many workers earn less than welfare benefits for their long working hours. Some become handicapped because of on-the-job injuries. And some are unemployed, leading to the break-down of the family unit.

On the other hand, labor economics and other labor-related studies mainly center on industrial composition, supply and demand of manpower, wage levels, labor relations and other topics at the macro level but seldom pay attention to the welfare of individual workers and their families.

Social reality has also required theoretical studies which transcend the traditional boundaries of social welfare and labor.³⁾ Both American and Japanese labor and management have developed extensive fringe benefits particularly since World War II.⁴⁾ More recently, labor and management have developed an interest in members' personal lives

beyond the workplace.⁵⁾ The Japanese labor movement, which has mainly sought higher wages in the last few decades, finds itself at an impasse and is searching for a new direction in this latter field. New phenomena, which did not exist in the past, have emerged in the last few years. Work not for money, income maintenance of retirees, reciprocal influence of work and family, women's work, and higher unemployment are but a few examples. There has even been discussion of new approaches to the study of old problems which existed in the past. An example is the analysis of matters from the perspective of the production process of labor power,⁶⁾ that is, workers' life, not from the perspective of the consumption process of labor power, that is, labor conditions,----rather to reconsider the position of working hours in the whole 24-hour life, wages in the whole family income, and so on.

The decline of labor administration----.

Some time has passed since the stagnation or decline of the labor administration⁷⁾ was raised both at the national and prefectural levels in Japan. In some prefectures, labor policy offices [rōsei jimusho], which are in charge of labor relations matters such as counselling, conciliation and labor education, were even closed. The transformation of the labor market and the consciousness of the working class, the increasing affluence of workers, the development of new technology and the laxity and bureaucracy of the administration as well as the stagnation of the labor movement itself have been cited as some of the factors that have contributed to this decline. Some breakthroughs are urgently necessary and many have been exploring new fields into which labor administration could move, although this may

seem to be a form of goal displacement. The Governor of Tokyo inquired about the solution to the standing Labor Administration Advisory Council which is composed of 30 representatives of unions, employers and the public.

The purpose and goals of this study----.

This research emerged from the writer's enduring theoretical curiosity⁸⁾ to establish a concept of workers' welfare and the practical need to provide advice and suggestions as requested by the Governor of Tokyo on "The Change of Conditions Surrounding Work and the Future Direction of Labor Administration"⁹⁾ in his capacity as a Special Professional Member of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government¹⁰⁾ Labor Administration Advisory Council.¹¹⁾

To reconcile and combine the theoretical curiosity and the practical need we have made the following assumptions upon which this paper is based:

1. The labor administration is making serious efforts to improve the condition of labor.
2. Their activities, however, are either off target or are matters of no consequence. They are not what workers truly want or need. The labor administration is at an impasse or at a loss as to what to do next.
3. "Workers' welfare" is a useful and effective concept that can provide a solution to those problems.

The term "workers' welfare" is used here in a broader sense and differs in meaning from the consumer cooperatives and other business activities as defined in a 1960 Sohyo, et al. pamphlet¹²⁾ and by

Hiromichi Nishimura.¹³⁾

This study has three goals, which are independent but interrelated each other. One is to review the various concepts of "workers' welfare" which exist in the world today and to induce a general model of the concept from them. Two is to measure to what extent workers' welfare, which the general model defines, has been realized, in other words, what kinds of needs workers have, in contemporary Japan. Three is to present what the workers' welfare administration, which satisfies the general model definition and the workers' needs, is and what its territory and content are in the form of a proposal to Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Chapter One, Chapters Two and Three, and Chapter Four will be devoted these goals respectively. This study is a step to establish a theoretical and practical framework for what has been tentatively named "Workers' Welfare" that can be applied beyond the boundaries of time and place, which is the author's ultimate goal. With the aid of such a framework, we can study the position of existing programs and services within the framework and also what programs and services are lacking and which should be planned and implemented in the future, and can make a comparison, for instance, among countries.

I acknowledge the debt I have to the American higher education system and the people who have supported it. The system and the people provided me, who was interested in a field of work/labor and social welfare crossing traditional disciplinary boundaries and spent many years outside the "academicians'" community, with the opportunity to continue studying while my Japanese counterpart did not. My thanks are due to Paul A. Kurzman, Charles Guzzetta, and Irwin Epstein, the members

of my dissertation committee, Hunter College, the City University of New York, for their comments, advice and patience. Their kindness often exceeded their official obligation. Three other people especially deserve my gratitude for their kindness, assistance and encouragement: Maryann Mahaffey, professor of Wayne State University and councilwoman of the City of Detroit, her husband, Herman Dooha, and George Hoshino, professor of the University of Minnesota. They were musts for the completion of my study. Finally, I owe many thanks to students of Josai University, Saitama, Japan, who conducted and recorded excellent interviews on my behalf.

1) Regarding the involvement of American social work in this field, e.g. see Sheila H. Akabas and Paul A. Kurzman, ed., Work, Workers and Work Organizations: A View from Social Work (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1982).

2) There is now even a new journal in the United States called Prevention in Social Work.

3) For general background reading, see the classic work by H. L. Wilensky and C. N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare published in 1958.

4) Lawrence S. Root, Fringe Benefits: Social Insurance in the Steel Industry (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982).

5) The term of social unionism has also appeared more often in American labor relations textbooks. For example, see Arthur A. Sloane and Fred Witney, Labor Relations (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977), p.48. J.B.S. Hardman, "The Drive for Power."

6) See 10. "Workers' Life" Model in Chapter One.

7) This research will be useful at least in Japan if "the labor administration" is replaced with "the labor movement".

8) e.g. Tatsuru Akimoto, Detroit: Social Unionism in a Natural Development [Detoroito: Sōsharu Yunionizumu no Hitsuzen] (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōron-sha, 1981), "'Occupational Social Work' in the United States

[Amerika ni okeru 'Rōdō Sōsharu Wāku']" Social Welfare [Shakai Fukushi Gaku], No. 20 (1979), and "An Exploration into the Concept of 'Social Work in the World of Work' in the United States," 1976 (Typewritten).

9) The official title of the inquiry is "Rōdō o torimaku jōkyō no henka ni taiōshita kōgō no rōsei-gyōsei-shisaku no hōkō ni tsuite." (November 19, 1987) The "rōsei-gyōsei" is to be translated by the Labor Policy Administration, a sub-field of the labor administration. But it was replaced here by the Labor Administration for simplification of discussion. The Labor Policy Administration is the combination of the industrial relations administration and the workers' welfare administration. See Chapter Four for details.

10) The Tokyo Metropolitan Government is one of 47 prefectural governments which are basically equivalent in function to the state governments in the United States, although it is different from metropolitan governments found in some parts of that country.

11) The council is a tripartite organization consisted of 30 representatives from labor, management and men of learning and experience, and provides advice and suggestions to the government's labor administration with or without an inquiry by the governor.

12) Sōhyō, et al., Labor Movement and Welfare Activities, a pamphlet, Jan. 1960.

13) Hiromichi Nishimura, Workers' Welfare (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1973).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iv
CHAPTER ONE	
EXPLORATION OF THE WORKERS' WELFARE CONCEPT	1
I TEN CONCEPTS OF "WORKERS' WELFARE"	2
1. Fringe Benefits Model	2
2. Titmuss' Occupational Welfare Model	5
3. Japanese Workers' Welfare Model	7
4. Japanese Occupational Welfare Model	9
5. UN Industrial Social Welfare Model	12
6. Protective Legislation Model	15
7. Administrative Residual Model	18
8. Quality of Working Life Model	21
9. American Social Work Model	25
10. "Workers' Life" Model	28
II A GENERAL MODEL----A SUMMARY	31
CHAPTER TWO	
JAPANESE WORKERS TODAY	48
I NEEDS AND THEIR MEASUREMENT	49
1. What Is Need?	49
2. How To Measure Needs	53
II THE WELFARE SITUATION OF PRESENT JAPANESE WORKERS	56
1. Who Are Japanese "Workers"?	56
2. Unemployment	62
3. Lifetime Employment and Workers' Mobility	67
4. Wages and Salaries	71
5. Fringe Benefits	78
6. Working Hours	90
7. Safety & Health	95
8. Consumer Prices and Family Income and Expenditure	102
9. Housing and Commuting	110
10. Retirement	117
III SUMMARY	125
CHAPTER THREE	
EXTRACTION OF WORKERS' NEEDS IN JAPAN TODAY	141
I METHODOLOGY	141
1. Research Method	141
2. Computing Method & Characteristics of Interviewees	147
II YOUNG WORKERS(18-20 YEARS OF AGE; MALE AND FEMALE)	152
1. Characteristics of Interviewees	152
2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems & Difficulties"	159
3. The Content of "Problems & Difficulties" by Item	165

III MALE THIRTIES(31-40 YEARS OF AGE)	217
1. Characteristics of Interviewees	217
2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems & Difficulties"	221
3. The Content of "Problems & Difficulties" by Item	223
IV MIDDLE-AGED & OLDER WORKERS(OVER 40 YEARS OF AGE; MALE)	235
1. Characteristics of Interviewees	235
2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems & Difficulties"	240
3. The Content of "Problems & Difficulties" by Item	242
V FEMALE WORKERS(OVER 30 YEARS OF AGE)	258
1. Characteristics of Interviewees	258
2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems & Difficulties"	263
3. The Content of "Problems & Difficulties" by Item	265
A. Full-time Workers(266) B. Part-time Workers(273)	
VI SUMMARY	279
1. Problems & Difficulties	279
2. Relations Among Items	296

CHAPTER FOUR

LABOR ADMINISTRATION AND WORKERS' WELFARE 309

I TODAY'S LABOR ADMINISTRATION	310
1. Industrial Relations	312
2. Labor Standards	316
3. Workmen's Compensation Insurance	318
4. Employment Security	320
5. Unemployment Relief	326
6. Unemployment Insurance	327
7. Skill Development	328
8. Women Labour	332
9. Older Workers	336
10. Workers' Welfare	337
II LABOR ADMINISTRATION AND WORKERS' WELFARE: A PROPOSAL TO TOKYO METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT	348
1. Workers' Welfare As the Goal of Labor Administration	351
2. Workers' Welfare As an Administrative Field	358
3. Nine Pillars	361
4. Examples of Possible Program Areas and Program Designing	373
5. A Supplemental Proposal	378
III SUMMARY	380

WORKS CITED	390

LIST OF TABLES

I- 1.	Employee Benefit Costs to the Employer as a Percent of Payroll (1978)	3
I- 2.	Ten Concepts of Workers' Welfare	32
I- 3.	A General Model of Workers' Welfare	36
N	Workers' Welfare Combined Index	47
II- 1.	Bradshaw's Classification of Need	52
II- 2.	Needs And Their Measurement	53
II- 3.	Unemployment Rates by Age (1984)	64
II- 4.	Activities of Public Employment Security Offices for Regular Employees by Age (Male) (Oct. 1983)	65
II- 5.	Wage Differences by Size of Enterprise (1984)	76
II- 6.	Workers' Welfare Facilities & Programs (1983)	79
II- 7.	T Department Store Welfare Benefits And Programs	83
II- 8.	Labor Costs Besides Cash Payments by Size of Enterprise (1983)	89
II- 9.	Number of Workers by Weekly Regular Working Hours (1983)	90
II-10.	Distribution of Workers by The Form of Work Week (1983)	91
II-11.	Average Monthly Hours Worked by Regular Employee by Size of Establishment (1983)	92
II-12.	Numbers of Paid Personal Holidays Given by Size of and per Enterprise (as of 1980)	94
II-13.	Paid Personal Holidays Used per Worker (Days Used/Days Given) (Oct. 1982-Sep. 1983)	95
II-14.	Industrial Injury Rates (Establishments with 100 or More Employees)(1983) a. By Industry b. By Size of Establishment	96
II-15.	Accidents Resulting in Fatalities or the Loss of at least Four Days Work (All Industries, 1984) a. Causes of Accidents b. Sources	98
II-16.	Occupational Diseases Resulting in Four or More Days Absence (1984)	100
II-17.	Itemized Expenditure of an Average (worker's households) (1984)	105
II-18.	Characteristics of Income And Expenditure of an Average Worker's Family by Income Group (1984)	107
II-19.	Expenses for Education (1985)	108
II-20.	Type of Rented Housings Occupied by Workers	112
II-21.	Distribution and Median Annual Income of Workers Households by Type of Housing (1983)	116
II-22.	Distribution of Retirement Age Among Japanese Companies by Size of Employees	118
II-23.	Enterprises With Compulsory Retirement Ages by Number of Employees Size (Tokyo)	120
II-24.	Proportions of Corporations with Retirement Allowance (1985)	122
II-25.	Retirement Allowance of Male Retirees With at Least 20 years of Service (1985)	123
II-26.	Average Characteristics of Workers' Households Whose Heads are 60-64 Years of Age	125
N	Employees by Type of Employment(based on "naming" in firms)	132

III- 1.	After-coded Interview Record Items	147
III- 2.	Distribution of Research Subjects By Sex, Age and Status	149
III- 3.	Education of Interviewees (18-20 years old)	152
III- 4.	Family Composition of Interviewees (18-20 years old)	153
III-5(A).	Occupations of Interviewees (Male, 18-20 years old)	154
III-5(B).	Occupations of Interviewees (Female, 18-20 years old)	155
III- 6.	Income of Interviewees (18-20 years old)	158
III- 7.	Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"	161
III- 8.	Education of Interviewees (Male, 31-40 years of age)	217
III- 9.	Family Composition of Interviewees (Male, 31-40 years of age)	218
III-10.	Occupations of Interviewees (Male, 31-40 years of age)	219
III-11.	Income of Interviewees (Male, 31-40 years of age)	220
III-12.	Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties" (Male, 31-40 years of age)	222
III-13.	Education of Interviewees (Male, Over 40 years of age)	235
III-14.	Family Composition of Interviewees (Male, Over 40 years of age)	236
III-15.	Occupations of Interviewees (Male, Over 40 years of age)	237
III-16.	Income of Interviewees (Male, Over 40 years of age)	239
III-17.	Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties" (Male, Over 40 years of age)	241
III-18.	Education of Interviewees (Female, Over 30 years of age)	258
III-19.	Family Composition of Interviewees (Female, Over 30 years of age)	259
III-20.	Occupations of Interviewees (Female, Over 30 years of age)	260
III-21.	Income of Interviewees (Female, Over 30 years of age)	262
III-22.	Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties" (Female, Over 30 years of age)	264
III-23.	The List of "Problems and Difficulties" of Japanese Workers	280
III-24	Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties" by Sex and Age Group	284
N	Consultation And Counselling, Employee Personal Service Room, Tokyo Metropolitan Government (f.y.1984)	307
VI- 1.	Organizations of Labor Administration---National and Tokyo Metropolitan Governments---	311
VI- 2.	Kinds and Contents of Benefits of Workers' Compensation Insurance	319
VI- 3.	Unemployment Insurance Basic Benefits (General Insured)	328
VI- 4.	Purposes of Labor Legislations	352
VI- 5.	Pillars (2)-(7) and Examples of Possible Program Areas	374

(N: No table numbers are given in footnotes.)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

I- 1.	Labor-Power Reproduction Cycle	29
II- 1.	Perception of Needs by Subject & Researcher	54
II- 2.	Population Pyramid (as of Oct.1, 1983)	57
II- 3.	Labor Force Participation Rate by Sex and Age (1984)	58
II- 4.	Working People by Employment Status (Non-agricultural Industries) (1984)	59
II- 5.	Employees in 1984	61
II- 6.	Who Enjoy the Lifetime Employment System? (1982)	71
II- 7.	Distribution of Wages/Salaries by Sex (1984)	72
II- 8.	Wages of Standard Workers by Education and Size (Male; All Industries)(1984)	73
II- 9.	Part-timers' and Outdoor Workers' Wages (1984)	75
II-10.	A Comprehensive Lifetime Welfare Plan (T Department Store)	86
II-11.	Comparison of Prices in Seven of the World's Major Cities (Computed in Yen) (July 1984)	103
II-12.	Distribution of Workers' Families by Income Group (1984)	106
II-13.	The Percentag of Workers Who Own and Rent Their Dwellings (1983)	111
II-14.	Distribution of Dwellings by Floor Space (1983)	113
II-15.	Commuting Time for Worker Who are the Heads of Households (1983)	114
II-16.	Shift of Compulsory Retirement Age	119
II-17.	Old Age Benefits of the Welfare Pension Plan (Non-working retirees, as of March 31, 1986)	121
II-18.	Retirement Allowances by Years of Service, Type of Jobs, School Levels Graduated and Size of Enterprises (Male, 1985)	124
III- 1.	Computed Items and Output Example	148
III- 2.	Characteristics of Male Research Subjects	151
III- 3.	"Problems and Difficulties" by Sex and Age Group	285
III- 4.	Relationship among Items	298
VI- 1.	Summary of All Chapters	349
VI- 2.	Workers' Needs and Labor Administration	359
VI- 3.	Change of Needs and Rigidity of Administration	361
VI- 4.	Design of Administrative Organizations & Programs	372
VI- 5.	A Utilization of the Pillars--A Three Dimension Model--	377

CHAPTER ONE

EXPLORATION OF THE WORKERS' WELFARE CONCEPT

Today there are already more than a dozen workers' welfare or similar concepts in the world. A conceptualization of Workers' Welfare should begin by reviewing these various existing concepts which are similar in content, but which overlap and are different in some respects. Through induction, some colligation and selection, a Workers' Welfare concept may be constructed which is usable beyond the boundaries of time and place as a theoretical and practical framework.

The difficulty of translation between two languages should be referred to briefly in advance. In the following chapters, readers will find some awkward, and even amusing English words and phrases, which are translated literally and directly from Japanese. It is inevitable because most of the Japanese concepts and shades of meaning have no equivalent in English, and vice versa, and to do otherwise would destroy or distort the Japanese meaning. Both the Romaji Japanese words, underlined, and the literal translations, at least grammatically correct, will be presented so American readers will understand.

Readers will also often find the phrase, "and others", throughout the chapters, particularly regarding Japanese laws and rules, which may bother American readers. This is a reflection of the vagueness or indecisiveness of the Japanese way of thinking, behaving and living and its language. For example, Japanese laws tend to have more general expressions and administrators and agencies have much more discretion

than in the United States; "case by case" and "it-all-depends." It is a difference between cultures.

I TEN CONCEPTS OF "WORKERS' WELFARE"

1. Fringe Benefits Model

First is the Fringe Benefits Model. When used in labor fields such as labor economics, industrial relations and labor problem studies, the word "Welfare" often refers to fringe benefits, which are the various benefits and services provided by employers to employees in addition to basic wages. These benefits have rapidly developed since World War II, particularly in North American and European countries. Table I-1 on the next page roughly shows the range of fringe benefits, at least in the United States.¹⁾

These may be called Employee Benefits, rather than Fringe Benefits, because the benefit costs today amount to nearly 37 percent of the total payroll and the term fringe is no longer appropriate. Supplementary Income Payments,²⁾ Economic Security Packages,³⁾ and other expressions have also appeared recently. Items listed under A. are benefits required by law, those under B. pensions and various insurances, those under C. and D. benefits for time not worked, and those under E. miscellaneous. Besides items listed here, Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms of U.S. Department of Labor, for example, lists: gifts, in-house

Table I-1:
Employee Benefit Costs to the Employer
as a Percent of Payroll(1978)

Type Of Benefit	All Companies(%)
A. Legally Required Payments	<u>9.0</u>
FICA Taxes(Social Security)	5.6
Unemployment Compensation	1.7
Workers' Compensation	1.6
Related Railroad Law Benefits	0.1
B. Pensions, Insurance and Related Item Payments	<u>12.2</u>
Pensions	5.6
Life, Health, Death, Medical, Surgical, and Major Medical	5.6
Long Term Disability	0.3
Dental	0.1
Employee Discounts	0.1
Employee Meals	0.2
Separation Allowance, Moving Allowance and Misc.	0.2
C. Paid Rest Period, Lunch Period, Travel Time, etc.	<u>3.6</u>
D. Payment for Time Not Worked	<u>9.7</u>
Vacation	4.9
Holiday	3.2
Sick Leave	1.2
Funeral Leave, National Guard, etc.	0.4
E. Other Items	<u>2.4</u>
Profit Sharing	1.4
Thrift Plans	0.3
Bonuses	0.4
Education Allowance	0.1
Special Wage Payments(e.g.,as Union Steward, etc.)	0.2
Total Employment Benefits as a Percent of Payroll	<u>36.9</u>

Source: Personnel Management: BNA Policy and Practices Series
(Washington,D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1980), 267:177,
p.111.

infirmary, recreational facilities, parking and company automobile for a personal business, among others. As is clear from the right column of the table, however, health & welfare and retirement are the two major benefit categories.

What is included in fringe benefits is of course different depending on the employment, wage and social security systems, and

historical conditions. Although the analysis of differences among countries is not the purpose here, the example of Japan will be cited. There the terms "Corporate Welfare" [Kigyō Fukushi] and "Welfare Facilities & Programs" [Fukuri Kōsei] have been used instead of fringe benefits. Benefits for such things as time not worked and bonuses are excluded, while are included such miscellaneous legally not-required items as hospitals, checkups, cultural and sports clubs and circles, condolence gifts, sports days and employee trips, and uniforms.⁴⁾ Fringe benefits can be in the forms of cash or goods and services. They may be legally required, based on collective agreements between labor and management, or given totally voluntarily by employers.

What is the philosophy behind the provision of fringe benefits? Or what is their expected function? Robert Tilove observes that there has been a conversion from "progressive practices" to "standard practices".⁵⁾ At one time "progressive" employers provided fringe benefits for humanitarian reasons, in the hope that employee's morale and thus productivity would be raised, or for the anti-union motivation. Now while the previous philosophy or function has not been lost, fringe benefits are being discussed as part of labor conditions or labor costs as well as wages. Fringe benefits are sometimes called "collective wages" whereas normal wages are called "individual wages". Today fringe benefits seem to have reached a third stage, that is, the guarantee of life security. They are being discussed increasing with an interest in the stability of the lives of the employees and their families, maintenance and improvement of health and welfare, and their relationship with public social welfare or social security programs.

The concepts of Workers' Welfare and Welfare Facilities, which appear in International Labour Organization(ILO) publications, are sometimes close to fringe benefits here.⁶⁾ These concepts will be discussed later. (pp.11 and 15-16)

2. Titmuss' Occupational Welfare Model

The model of Richard M. Titmuss is similar to the Fringe Benefits Model in content yet different in approach. It places fringe benefits in social policy or social services.

Titmuss utilizes the concept of Occupational Welfare which included, in Britain in the 1950s, the following benefits:

"pensions for employees; survivors benefits; child allowances; death benefits; health and welfare services; severance pay and compensation for loss of office(analogous these days to compensation for loss of property rights); personal expenses for travel, entertainment and dress; meal vouchers; cars and season tickets; residential accommodation; holiday expenses; children's school fees at private schools; sickness benefits; medical expenses; education and training grants"

and

"benefits ranging from 'obvious forms of realizable goods to the most intangible forms of amenity' expressed in a form that is neither money nor convertible into money."⁷⁾

Occupational Welfare is "provided by virtue of employment status, achievement and record, and may take the form of social security provisions in cash or in kind."⁸⁾ In these respects there is no difference from the fringe benefits in section 1.

For Titmuss, however, Occupational Welfare is, along with social and fiscal welfare, one of three major categories of social policy, or one of three systems of social services, whose aims are "to counter and compensate for the growth of dependency in modern society"⁹⁾ and to be redistributive. In other words, Titmuss' Occupational Welfare is a channel of social service delivery or an administrative method. Titmuss writes:

....this division is not based on any fundamental difference in the functions of the three systems....or their declared aims. It arises from an organizational division of method, which, in the main, is related to the division of labour in complex, individuated societies. So far as the ultimate aims of these systems are concerned,....their similarities are more important than their dissimilarities. The definition, for most purpose, of what is a 'social service' should take its stand on aims; not on the administrative methods and institutional devices employed to achieve them.¹⁰⁾

Thus, "such provisions [as above]....may be seen as alternatives to extensions in social welfare."¹¹⁾ "They are in effect....'social services', duplicating and overlapping social and fiscal welfare benefits."¹²⁾

Noteworthy here is the discriminatory, reverse-redistributive effect of Occupational Welfare and the redistributive effects of social policy in a wider frame of reference. He concludes:

....As they (Occupational Welfare provisions) grow and multiply they come into conflict with the aims and unity of social policy; for in effect (whatever their aims may be) their whole tendency....is to divide loyalties,¹³⁾ to nourish privilege, and to narrow the social conscience....

....they (these three systems of social service as separated and distinctive attempts) are simultaneously enlarging and consolidating the area of social inequality. That is the

paradox: the new division of equality which is arising from these separate responses to social change.¹⁴⁾

Hitherto, our techniques of social diagnosis and our conceptual framework have been too narrow. We have compartmentalized social welfare....The analytic model of social policy that has been fashioned on only the phenomena that are clearly visible, direct and immediately measurable is an inadequate one. It fails to tell us about the realities of redistribution which are being generated by the process of technological and social change and by the combined effects of social welfare, fiscal welfare and occupational welfare.¹⁵⁾

The discrimination inherent in Occupational Welfare to which Titmuss refers is applicable even today. A recent revision of National Health Insurance in Japan is a good example. A ten percent(10%) deductible clause was inserted into the law. And as had been predicted, workers in big corporations or unions would recover the most part of their payment through a legally-not-required occupational welfare benefit. This social policy of imposing a "deductible" is nothing but a strengthening of the exploitation of the weaker or less privileged part in the society.¹⁶⁾

3. Japanese Workers' Welfare Model

The term "Workers' Welfare" carries a special meaning in Japan. It means autonomous 'business' activities by workers, the center of which are cooperative societies. Hiromichi Nishimura's Workers' Welfare¹⁷⁾ begins an explanation of this concept with the Rochdale Fare Pioneer Union in the middle of the 19th century, and follow the sections of "Consumers Cooperatives", "Labor Credit Unions", "Workers Mutual Aid

Cooperatives"(fire, life and traffic accident insurances), "Housing Cooperatives", and "Medical Cooperatives".

While this usage of the concept of Workers' Welfare is not old, cooperative societies have existed since before World War II. In the early 1960s, the pamphlet Labor Movement & Welfare Activities prepared in part by the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan(Sōhyō) first gave Workers' Welfare a definition of "the movement of autonomous 'businesses' which workers themselves run and manage with workers' organizations and funds beyond the boundary of corporations."¹⁸⁾ The aim of this work was to promote an understanding of workers' cooperative "businesses" as a whole and to give a direction to them as part of the labor movement. At the outset, the role of the funds of these cooperative societies as the commissariat of labor movement was emphasized, but the real significance of this autonomous 'business' movement is the defense of livelihood of workers from the double exploitation by monopolistic capital.¹⁹⁾ Workers defend themselves against the various barriers encountered in life process or the so-called consumption process with their own mutual help or cooperative solidarity,²⁰⁾ through through good-quality substance goods, honest and conscientious medical services, travel agent services, the reliable supply of carefree land and houses for reasonable price, consumers loans, life, fire and accident insurances,...²¹⁾ This contrasts with labor unions, which are organizations established for collective bargaining and whose primary mission is to counter various difficulties in the production process or to maintain and improve their own wages and other labor conditions.²²⁾

While some writers still adhere to this definition of cooperative societies, others have extended the term to include "workers' autonomous welfare activities carried out for various aspects of life, excluding wages and other labor conditions."²³⁾ According to this broader definition, a variety of welfare benefits and activities by labor unions are added to "workers' cooperative welfare" above. Benefits and services labor unions voluntarily provide for their members as condolence gifts, disaster relief funds, parting gifts, discount sales, sick and wounded benefits, disability benefits and educational recreational activities are examples of these. They are in a sense equivalents to fringe benefits provided by employers for their employees. These benefits are paid from unions' general funds, or mutual aid and other special funds, and are sometimes given by individual company-wide unions and sometimes by their higher echelon, usually industrial federations.

Some welfare activities are provided not only for union members but are also available to the general public. Workers' Music and Play Councils in Japan, which are independent organizations from unions, provide music and plays of quality for workers at reduced prices. Day care centers, life consultation, advice & counseling centers and other facilities run by workers in communities can also be used by non-members.²⁴⁾

4. Japanese Occupational Welfare Model

Japanese Occupational Welfare is a superordinate concept for and the aggregation of the above-described Corporate Welfare(p.4) and Workers' Welfare(pp.7-9) and part of social security. "Part of social security" here means the following programs and benefits for the welfare of workers which are part of the larger national social security system.²⁵⁾

1. Social and labor insurances(e.g. National Health Insurance, National Pension Plans, Employment Insurance and Workers' Compensation)
2. Labor Standards Act related laws and regulations(e.g. Occupational Safety and Health Act, and Firm-attached Dormitories Regulation)
3. Programs administered by public organizations(e.g. Small Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Projects)
4. Facilities built and operated by governments and other public entities(e.g. Homes for Working Youth, Houses for Working Women, National Health Insurance Hospitals, Social Insurance Hospitals, day care centers, Youth Hostels, resort inns, Workers' Welfare Halls and Welfare Centers)
5. Grants-in-aid and contributions by governments and other public entities to Workers' Welfare and Corporate Welfare activities(e.g. Labor Credit Unions, Consumers Cooperative Societies, National Pension Plan Loans, Employment Promotion Projects Corporation Loans, Small Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Projects Loans, Industrial Workers Housing Loans and Worker's Tax-free Assets-making Loans)
6. Others(e.g. Worker's Tax-free Assets-making Deposits)

The goal of Occupational Welfare in Japan is the improvement of the 'life' of workers and the realization of what is considered the minimum but necessary 'happiness' of the employed. Occupational Welfare is a generic term for various programs, facilities and services provided by governments, corporations and labor organizations, or it is classified by the programs and services of the three main sponsors, governments, corporations and labor organizations. Itsurō Kirinoki provides the following definition:

Occupational Welfare is organizational and comprehensive services and help systems by governments (social insurances/ worker protection programs), corporations (corporate welfare) and workers' organizations (workers' welfare) to stabilize workers' living conditions and to secure their wealthier life, which employed workers are difficult or inefficient to obtain only through the improvement of....wages and other labor conditions ²⁶⁾ mainly based on labor contracts with individual corporations.

It has been assumed here that while "the improvement of wages and other labor conditions is a precondition for the enhancement of Occupational Welfare," this is not enough. He continues: "Workers would be 'happy' if diversified occupational welfare programs are additionally developed according to the necessity in 'life'."²⁷⁾ The term "Workers" could include families and retirees, too.

Japanese Occupational Welfare is roughly equivalent, if Japanese Workers' Welfare is included, to Titmuss' social services/policy model minus fiscal welfare, that is, social welfare and occupational welfare. The ILO concept of "Welfare Facilities", which is defined as follows, is at the most conceptual level very close to this model.

as distinct from the other aspects of conditions of work, the various facilities, amenities or services provided or to be provided to workers and their families by the employers, by the State or other public bodies, or by workers' organizations themselves and designed to promote better working and living conditions, including better ²⁸⁾ opportunities for the utilization of the worker's leisure time.

Regarding some of current issues on Occupational Welfare in Japan, see Hiromichi Nishimura, Occupational Welfare Today [Gendai no Rōdō Fukushi] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1980).

5. UN Industrial Social Welfare Model

In the international arena, the United Nations' concept of Industrial Social Welfare was formulated around 1970. The United Nations Interregional Seminar on Industrial Social Welfare in 1971 gave the following functional definition of Industrial Social Welfare, based on a report Industrial Social Welfare (New York: United Nations, 1971) prepared by the UN Secretariat in consultation with the ILO in a broader project, "Social aspects of industrialization", incorporated in the five-year work programme(1969-1973) of the Commission for Social Development:²⁹⁾

Industrial social welfare denotes the range of programmes, operations and activities carried out at any level or by any group, which promotes and preserves the welfare of the workers and their families and protects them from the hazards, insecurities and social costs of the work process and industrialization in general.³⁰⁾

The resemblance to the Japanese Occupational Welfare Model is apparent. The UN Model encompasses not only services provided by employers but also services provided by trade unions and governments. It reads: "In the past, industrial social welfare has tended to become an 'umbrella' term to indicate the general services provided by employers for their workers."³¹⁾ Also "the welfare of workers" has been used as a situation to be realized or a goal to be achieved, that is, as a purposive concept rather than a substantive concept.³²⁾

However, the UN Industrial Social Welfare Model has several major characteristics, which are different from the Japanese Occupational

Welfare Model. First, the UN Industrial Social Welfare model is a model which is conscious of international comparison. This can be considered a corollary of the purposive nature of the "workers' welfare". Who provides what kind programs and services varies greatly from country to country, depending on their culture and history. A certain service given by an employer in one country might be the responsibility of the state elsewhere. An inclusive definition as the one provided by the 1971 UN report makes possible a comparative analysis of both the welfare level and the kinds of programs and services enjoyed by workers in various countries. Chronological comparative analysis within a country, regardless of the difference of the division of work among the social welfare systems is also possible.³³⁾ This model also seems to have been influenced by the Titmuss' model.

Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, this model is substantially a developing country model or a social development model. This can be easily anticipated both from the composition of the United Nations membership and also from the fact that the definition itself was developed as part of a programme for social development. The report of the seminar repeatedly reads: "[T]he dynamic nature of that definition.... enable[s] the discussion of industrial social welfare to take place within the broad developmental framework necessary when considering the major social and economic changes experienced by most developing countries."³⁴⁾ "During period of industrial growth like those which were bringing about major social and economic changes in the majority of developing countries, workers needed the benefits of industrial social welfare, not as increments to their level of living, but as partial compensation for the disservices, social costs and social

insecurities which were the result of the rapidly changing industrial-urban community."³⁵⁾ The relationship with industrialization has been emphasized.

The emphasis on the needs of workers is a third characteristic of this model. Besides commonly-mentioned feeding facilities, stores, co-operatives and concessions, housing, industrial towns and communal services transport, medical care, education and cultural activities and training, it focuses especially on the needs of special population groups, such as young workers, working women, migrant workers, disabled workers and older workers "who were joining the labour force in increasing numbers in many countries."³⁶⁾

Fourthly, the UN Industrial Social Welfare Model has a view beyond immediate work places. The recipients can be not only workers but also workers' families and, on occasion, the population of the local community.³⁷⁾ This breadth of scope is partly due to its conception as a developing country model. This model anticipates such potential problems that are common among developing nations as the "disruption of family and kinship systems in terms of the provision of services and goods by the massive relocation of workers, threat of environmental pollution," "the dysfunctions of technological development" to give suffering to "whole communities," and "traditional occupational disease."³⁸⁾ It also considers "other pressures and strains outside the immediate work setting."³⁹⁾

Lastly, this UN model pays special attention to the preventive role of industrial social welfare and the widening of inequalities ---- inequalities between large and small firms, modern and traditional industry, growing and stagnant sectors, and urban and rural areas.⁴⁰⁾

6. Protective Legislative Model

Although the UN's Industrial Social Welfare concept was developed in consultation with the ILO, the latter has long used with or without any distinctions the terms of Workers' Welfare, Welfare Facilities and Industrial Welfare,⁴¹⁾ rather than Industrial Social Welfare. As early as 1947, a resolution concerning Welfare Facilities for workers was, for example, adopted at the 30th Session of the International Labour Conference.⁴²⁾ Workers' Welfare, in the sense that it is used by the ILO,⁴³⁾ is at the conceptual level roughly identical with Japanese Occupational Welfare and is at operational level often being replaced with the term "Welfare Facilities", which is roughly identical with some part of fringe benefits in its scope and programs.⁴⁴⁾⁴⁵⁾ The 1964 ILO Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers discussed welfare facilities provided by corporations under the term "Industrial Welfare".

However, what is noteworthy here is its predominant emphasis in common with the UN's model on developing countries and the fact that it is functionally complementary to protective labor legislation. An ILO report refers, for example, to the necessity and usefulness of "welfare facilities specially designed to meet the needs of workers moving from villages to towns and taking up wage-paid employment in industry" and to make them "adjust more easily to their new working and living environment." It also reads:

In these countries....properly organized and administered welfare facilities can play an important part in promoting better working conditions and living standards for industrial

workers and constitute a useful and necessary complement to protective labour legislation."⁴⁶⁾

A resolution adopted by the ILO Asian Regional Conference in Ceylon in 1950 concerning the Promotion of Facilities for Workers' Welfare⁴⁷⁾ finds that in developing countries, (i) "public welfare services were not adequately developed," (ii) "there was a wide diversity in the amplitude and the quality of the welfare services and amenities provided for the benefit of workers in the various undertakings," and (iii) "such welfare services and amenities, where provided, were available only to a limited number of wage earners." Accordingly, "it should be the recognised object of public policy....to promote facilities for workers' welfare" and "[t]he basic requirement in respect of workers' welfare facilities....should be prescribed by legislation defining....the minimum standards to be observed.... and....the scope of application, which should include the largest possible number of undertakings....and of workers and should be widened progressively."⁴⁸⁾

In this sense, ILO's model could be called a Protective Legislative Model. The points are (i) the guarantee of the minimum and (ii) the reliance on legislation.⁴⁹⁾ While the emphasis of the Fringe Benefits Model is on the provision of the "above minimum", the emphasis here is on the guarantee of the "minimum"----the guarantee not only for special workers, employees under the larger and more enterprising and progressive employers, but for all workers. In order to ensure this minimum of welfare facilities, governments assume a central role and intervene by means of legislation. In the case of the ILO, the following can be thought of as the routes of intervention:

- (a) Legislation to oblige the employer to provide certain minimum welfare facilities at the workplace; e.g. factories and mines legislation on sanitary and hygiene facilities, rest facilities, first aid, occupational health services, creches and feeding facilities.
- (b) The setting up of special machinery and arrangements for welfare amenities and services on a comprehensive scale collectively for industrial workers in general, or for workers employed in a particular industry; e.g. welfare funds in industrial and mine undertakings.
- (c) Direct provision by governments on their own initiative of certain facilities for the recreation and welfare of workers and their families in the areas where they live; e.g. labor welfare centers set up and⁵⁰⁾ operated by governments in areas of industrial concentration.

This ILO Protective Legislative Model could be turned into a more general Protective Legislative Model. Sometimes the concept of workers' welfare is more or less synonymous with the conditions of work as a whole. Particularly important in this case, is the guarantee of their minimum----minimum standards of hygiene and safety, social insurance schemes, measures for the protection of women and young workers, minimum wages, limitation of hours of work, and paid vacations.⁵¹⁾ The names of legislation could be Factories Act or Labor Standards Act.

In the early days of capitalism, particularly in the process of primitive accumulation of capital, workers had to live very poor lives and endure substandard labor conditions without labor unions. "For capital, the life span of a given labor force or the health and life span of individual workers is of no consequence."⁵²⁾ This situation was hard for the working class, of course, but because it also brought about a decline of productivity, attrition of labor force, and social unrest, it could not be neglected economically and socially even from the capitalists' and state's point of view. The state had to prepare

protective legislation and its ideological expression was humanism or the protection of the weak. In this sense, this model may be closest in terms of the usage of the word "welfare" to that of other social welfare fields such as those which deal with the family, children, the handicapped, and the aged.

Protective legislation is imperative even today not only in developing countries but also in developed countries although the Protective Legislative Model still could be called a developing country model. "Particularly in the countries like Japan where modernization of the economic system was delayed, the primitive labor relations became a factor for the development of capitalism and have been institutionalized long beyond the early stage of capitalism leading to industrial revolution."⁵³⁾

In an interview with Mr. Tai Iguchi, an official of Japanese Ministry of Labour included labor standard administration in workers' welfare administration "in a broad sense",⁵⁴⁾ and in fact in Japan workers' welfare administration falls under the jurisdiction of Labour Standards Bureau of the Ministry while the commonest usage of the term "workers' welfare" in Japanese public administration is different in meaning from this usage as found in the next section.

7. Administrative Residual Model

Included in Japanese labor administration is a field called Workers' Welfare or Occupational Welfare, which is in part based on the Protective Legislative Model. Besides most typical labor standards

programs such as minimum wages and occupational safety & health, the provision of welfare programs for less privileged workers also includes anti-discrimination programs (e.g. Burakumin, older workers and the physically handicapped) and programs filling the fringe benefits gap between big corporations and smaller firms (e.g. Small Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Project, recreational and welfare facilities for workers in medium & small firms).

Workers' Welfare is also, however, based upon an Administrative Residual Model. Asked the definition of Workers' Welfare, Mr. Tarō Muraki, a section chief of Welfare Division, Wage & Welfare Department, Bureau of Labour Standards, Ministry of Labour, replied, "We are not scholars. The administration (government) does not necessarily begin [their policies and programs] with a definition."⁵⁵⁾ The time when the workers' welfare administration was implemented would provide a cue in determining their implicit definition. The Welfare Division of the Wage & Welfare Department, which is the main division in charge of workers' welfare administration was established in the Ministry of Labour in 1972. Another division carrying the name of welfare, the Occupational Welfare Statistics Division of the Statistics & Information Department, was set up in the same ministry the following year. Both were created during the peak of the Japanese High Economic Growth Era.⁵⁶⁾ In those days, the word 'welfare' was frequently repeated across all fields of society and usually meant 'above the minimum' level rather than 'at the minimum' level, and 'one step ahead' or 'towards better life and conditions' rather than 'an absolute level'.

The term "welfare" has long carried this definition and the welfare in workers' welfare or occupational welfare of the Japanese labor

administration seems to be in this sense as suggested by the Workers' Welfare Programs section of an annual publication by the Ministry of Labour:

Workers' life has significantly improved together with the development of economy and the improvement of the general population's life. And worker's wants and interests have grown high-pitched and diversified, seeking for wealthier and more comfortable life. Today the economy and society of our country have faced with such important problems as drastic changes of industrial and employment structures, the difficult international economic circumstance and the rapid trend toward older population, and it is necessary to overcome effectively these problems from the middle- and long-range viewpoint in order to stabilize workers' life and promote their welfare.

After this, the programs for the advancement of wages, hours and other labor conditions, the stabilization of employment and income of the middle aged and others are basically important in order to eliminate workers' anxiety about the future life and to promote workers' welfare certainly both in quality and quantity....

The Ministry of Labour has positively run various programs up to now concerning workers' life problems in and out work places from the standpoint to enrich overall workers' welfare, and has picked up widely and propelled new ⁵⁷⁾ programs in response to the development of economy and society.

Most typical programs which fall into this category are the campaigns for shorter working hours including the five day work week, Worker's Assets-making Project to make long-term life planning possible and stabilize workers' life, and later compulsory retirement ages to cope with the older labor force population.⁵⁸⁾

Either a "Residual Model" or "Temporary Depository Model" would be the best names for this administrative model. Mr. Muraki believes that "Workers' welfare is the administration which remains after subtracting presently well-established administrative fields such as labor relations, employment security, labor insurance, vocational training,

labor standards and occupational safety and health from the whole labor administration."⁵⁹⁾ Any new programs which do not belong to these existing well-established administrative fields would be labeled workers' welfare or occupational welfare administration until they are separated and established as independent administrative fields. This is a residual model, but one with a future perspective.

It may be clear now that workers' welfare administration is concerned with more than the enforcement (with punishment) of basic workplace standards such as the maintenance of minimum wages and maximum working hours. But where the public administration should intervene is not clear. Probably, it should be the point where the government feels, from its own value judgement, that the situation should not be left in the hands of market principles. Mr. Muraki goes on to say that "it is impossible to implement some policies and programs which we simply want. What we can do, and do, is to read the direction in which the society is heading and facilitate the trend at maximum."⁶⁰⁾

8. Quality of Working Life Model

Quality of Working Life is a developed country model.

Such topics as job rotation, job enlargement, job enrichment, quasi-autonomous work groups, job redesigning, new forms of work organizations, humanization of work, and participation in decision making are most frequently discussed by the name of the Quality of Working Life. An ILO report gives a definition of Quality of Working Life as follows:

[T]he quality of working life....refer[s] to the positive "value" level of a given job as it affects the worker.... [I]mprovements in work organization and job content in particular should receive special consideration for enhancing the 'value' level of the individual's working life.....[T]he quality of working life....highlights in particular the "workers' need for meaningful and satisfying work and for participation⁶¹⁾ in decisions that affect their work situation...."

The term of the Quality of Working Life was first used in English-speaking countries, particularly in North American countries. In Japan it has become popular since the late 1970s both in academic and business worlds. Concurrent with the evolution of the Quality of Working Life, parallel concepts with different names developed in several industrial countries. "Humanization of Work" in many countries, "Working Environment and Democratization of the Workplace" (företagsdemokrati in Swedish) in Scandinavia and Hatarakigai in Japan are some of them.⁶²⁾

There are a few common contributors to the emergence of these concepts; the achievement of high living conditions and the increase of alienation were preconditions and the stagnation of an economy was a catalyst. Today, wages, hours and labor conditions have reached rather high levels in developed countries, and people have turned their interest to the improvement of work itself. Work must utilize workers' knowledge and judgement, provide room for decision making and self-education, be challenging enough to cultivate their ability, offer mutual assistance and social recognition in shops, have significance in a larger industrial and social context, and open the way for future promotions. In an affluent society, life is stabilized and the education level heightened, and workers expect not only economic, physical fruit but also social, psychological fruit at work.⁶³⁾ In such a

society the principles of job designing must correspond to the value system of workers, and not to those of the Taylor system.⁶⁴⁾ In this respect, Maslow's 'theory' and 'X-Y theory' by D. McGregor are called to mind.

Economic stagnation lends an impetus to this trend. The quantitative improvement of labor conditions faces a limitation, sometimes 'a trade with inflation'. The pursuit of the qualitative aspects then becomes necessary.⁶⁵⁾

A characteristic in this model is the denial of the dichotomy between labor at a production site and individual social activities as citizens after leaving the work place----labor is toil, a necessary evil, and a sacrifice endured to ensure a livelihood; the real life exists outside work. Work is not only the means to life and the sacrifice to earn one's bread, but also an important part of human activities.⁶⁶⁾ The principles of family and citizen life must be extended to working places, too. The principle of democracy in civil life, for example, must be realized at work places as industrial democracy.⁶⁷⁾ This way of thinking may allow for an examination from 'life', not from 'production', or for a more wholistic examination of the lives of workers which would replace the presently predominant mode of viewing workers as merely a factor in the production process.

The meaning of Quality of Working Life, however, differs from country to country and from writer to writer. The above definition of this concept must be expanded and generalized in order to allow international comparison with both developed and developing countries. The ILO report cited above gives another definition in its broadest and most abstract usage:

[T]he quality of working life simply means the sum total of "values", material and non-material, attained by a worker through his life as a wage or salary earner.....In this broad sense, the quality of working life may encompass all those aspects of work-related life---including, inter alia, wages and hours, work environment, benefits and services, career prospects and human relations, which could⁶⁸⁾ possibly be relevant to worker satisfaction and motivation.

With this broad definition, the Quality of Working Life model overlaps significantly with some of other models previously cited in this paper. Herbert C. Merton states that "quality of working life is a relatively new term for a bundle of old issues that have long been of interest to philosophers, theologians, social scientists, workers and employers. It is a broad term that can embrace every conceivable aspect of work ethic and work conditions....objective measure of working conditions, workers' expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, managerial concerns about efficiency of output, and broader considerations of social cohesion and stability."⁶⁹⁾

What problems then are concretely to be discussed under the rubric of the Quality of Working Life in this broad definition? Another ILO publication suggested an answer: "What becomes a critical problem in a particular country at a given time is determined through the activated needs of workers and the prevailing conditions relevant to their need satisfaction."⁷⁰⁾ In this study of three Japanese industries major topical areas included wages and wage systems, retirement allowance and retirement system, working hours and holidays, employee benefits and services, safety and health, employment of handicapped worker, employee education and training, reorganization of work, humanization of work, small group activities, and worker participation in management, among

others.⁷¹⁾ As a result, the ILO paper of 1984 adopted the following as a core definition, regarding it as a common measure that reflects the essential meaning of the concept:

[The quality of working life may be considered as a set of new labour problems and their countermeasures which have gained recognition as important determinants of worker satisfaction and productivity in many societies during the period of their sustained economic growth.]⁷²⁾ [The underlining is in the original.]

Instead of Quality of Working Life, in France and other French-speaking countries, most usual expression is "improvement of working conditions", and in socialist countries the established term is "workers' protection."⁷³⁾

9. American Social Work Model

The American Social Work Model is unique in that it has been established around a social work concept instead of one of social welfare used by other models. Regardless of which of the three processes of the whole labor force reproduction process (exchange, production, and consumption processes) a problem belongs to, American social work intervenes as far as the intervention is deemed necessary and possible based upon the profession's value⁷⁴⁾ and ability.

In the United States, the term "workers' welfare" is seldom heard and is an unfamiliar field even for the labor administration. However, the involvement of American social work with the working class can be

traced back to the activities in poverty and unemployment at the dawn of the social work profession itself, the cooperation in the promotion of welfare capitalism in the 1920's and Bertha Reynolds' practice with the National Maritime Union during World War II. With these as precursors, a new stream emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, the research and practice of Social Work in the World of Work by Columbia University and Hunter College (Hyman Weiner, Shiela Akabas, Paul Kurzman, etc.). Independent of these were the pioneering efforts of Industrial Social Work by the University of Utah (Otto Jones, etc.) and others mainly in the field of employee counselling and those of the University of Michigan (Louis Ferman) in the field of manpower policies and programs.⁷⁵⁾

The essence of the interest of the American Social Work Model was provided by an interview with Hyman Weiner, the founder of Social Work in the World of Work. In addition to the fact that working people are the overwhelming majority among the total population and the central core of the society literally, Weiner points out that:⁷⁶⁾

Workers are between cracks. On one hand, American social work has the poor image or a kind of Salvation Army image. It is identified too strongly with poverty. On the other hand, especially concerning mental health, the interest was concentrated on middle class. Cannot we shift some of the manpower of social work to the field of working people?

The political voice of social work was weak. As long as social work remains stuck to the poor, the social work would remain poor. A new constituency was needed. Can we not make a coalition with trade unions, or even with business community? Then we would become a strong power.

During the past few decades, the American labor movement has been increasing its interest in the social work field, and conversely the

American social work has been more active in the labor field.⁷⁷⁾ As an extension of the activities of the 1960's, American social work has today developed the concept of "occupational social work." The definition of Occupational Social Work is still in its infancy and is as unclear as well as those of Social Work in the World of Work and Industrial Social Work. Haste in seeking the definition may rather hinder the possibility of future development. It is, however, possible to show the conceptual scope here instead, and the author's previous research found that this social work contained two fields. First is manpower problems, programs and policies and the relation between social welfare and labor market or labor economics. Of these the problems concerning unemployment are typical ones. Second is social work activities and social welfare services within labor unions and corporations. Examples of these are: (1) fringe benefit apparatus based on collective agreements; (2) direct services by labor unions, not given under fringe benefits, especially counselling services and others which are for the problems in life outside workplaces; (3) coaction with communities (community activities); (4) policy and program planning, especially related to social services; (5) organization of union members or employees; (6) political action such as lobbying.⁷⁸⁾

One of the points reached by this model was the 1985 NASW⁷⁹⁾ Conference on Occupational Social Work held in Boston May 29 through June 1. The advertisement calling for papers for the conference enumerates the following categories:⁸⁰⁾

1. The employee: Employee Assistance and Other Direct Service Programs
 - a. Clinical Practice
 - b. Policy and Management

- c. Outreach to Clients and Developing Networks and Alliances
- 2. The Work organization
 - a. Human Resources Development and Policy
 - b. Organizational Development
 - c. Corporate Social Responsibility
- 3. Social Economic and Political Factors Affecting Work Organizations
 - a. Influenceing High Technology/Technological Change/Media
 - b. New Trends and Innovations in Job Design
 - c. Health Care Cost Containment
- 4. Expanding the Collaborative Function
 - a. Networking Inside the Organization
 - b. Networking Outside the Organization
 - c. Consultation
- 5. The Culture of Work
 - a. The History/Philosophy of Work
 - b. Sociology/Psychology of Work
 - c. Justice in the Workplace
 - d. Overlapping Institutions
- 6. Other

At this moment, the interest and practices in Employee Assistance Programs(EAP), many of which have their origin in alcoholic and drug programs, overwhelm those in other fields, but this is a reflection of the developmental stage and the present social worker employment situation, and not of the definition of the concept itself.

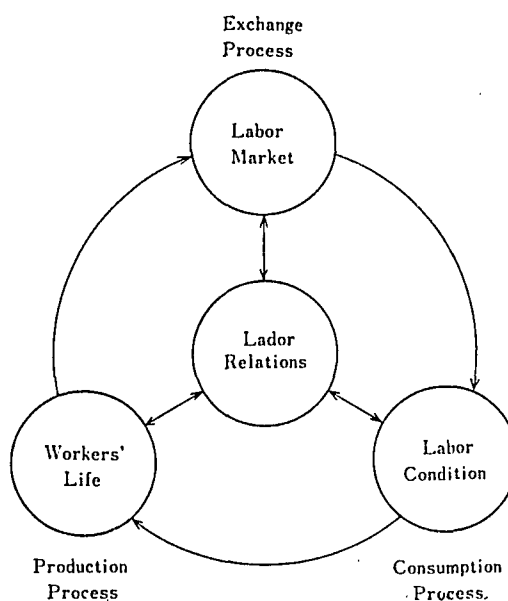
10. "Workers' Life" Model

This last model is one of labor economics. While American labor economics, which was formed in the 1930s by R.A. Lester and others, mainly limits its study to the labor market, wages and labor relations,⁸¹⁾ the main stream of Japanese labor economics insists on the analysis of the whole process of wage labor reproduction W-G-W'-W, that is, not only "labor market", which is the exchange process of a labor force, but also "labor conditions", which is the consumption process

of a labor force and "workers' life" which is the production process of labor force as well as "labor relations".⁸²⁾ The figure at the right shows the fields and approaches of traditional Japanese labor economics.

In labor economics, the term "workers' welfare" is seldom used. Instead, the inquiry into workers' life should share one third(or one-fourth) of the whole labor economics study. In Theory of Labor Economics, Mikio Sumiya asserts:

Figure I-1:
Labor-Power Reproduction Cycle



....[T]he analysis of the whole process of wage labor reproduction cannot be concluded without examination of the reproduction of labor-power....[T]his place of life exists outside direct control by capital and is the strategic point which can be the base for workers' self-regulating activities. Minimum wage, unemployment insurance, health insurance and all other social security schemes themselves cannot be explained, either, without consideration on this life process.⁸³⁾

In spite of the emphasis Sumiya places upon the study of workers' life, this field has lagged behind those two others.

What has been studied until today in Japan can be divided into four main areas. The first, studies on the living costs or housekeeping expenses, which are in the lineage of poverty studies done by Charles Booth, Sidney Webb and S. B. Rowntree in England, was carried out during

a certain period after World War II. Research on living hours or spare time are represented by People's Living Hours Survey[Kokumin Seikatsu Jikan Chōsa] by the Japan Broadcasting Corporation(NHK) as well as by long-lasting discussions on "how to make good use" of spare time. Housing studies deal with such issues as housing famines, demand-supply relations, and public and corporate housing. The final group focuses on social security.⁸⁴⁾ Studies on educational expenses have been recently added.

While studies of workers' life remain at this rather primitive level, further research into this very important field is essential. An examination of a problem from the perspective of the production process of labor force (that is, from the point of view of workers' life) could present totally different meanings and understandings than when seen from the perspective of the exchange process (labor market) or the consumption process (labor conditions).

Traditional studies have dealt with such problems as the length of the work day mainly from the point of labor conditions. For the narrow perspective of whether eight hours is too long, or should be shortened to seven hours or six. Related issues as commuting time, which is now very important particularly in large cities or the working time of women with part time jobs and the effect of these jobs on their family lives would not be a consideration. Labor economics has also devoted much attention to the level of wages and their relationship with the labor supply, but for discussing the social stratum to which a worker belongs, the family income rather than single wage would be more an effective determinant. Working hours should be discussed as part of a twenty-four

hour day, and wages as part of a total family income. This would become possible only from the more comprehensive perspective of worker's life.

II A GENERAL MODEL-----A SUMMARY

In addition to these ten models, there are other concepts related to workers' welfare such as labor welfare, industrial welfare and corporate welfare, which were all referred to above, as well as industrial social work in India and some of the European countries. However, from these ten, a new workers' welfare concept, which is usable as an analytical and practical framework and beyond national boundaries may be constructed, through induction, colligation and selection.

Table 1-2 is the summary of the ten concepts examined in this paper. These models are discussed in terms of several of their most critical elements which form the eight headings. The first column indicates the discipline or field of study which has mainly until now dealt with "workers' welfare" in each model. Roughly speaking, there are two types: (1) models from labor-related disciplines[e.g. Model 1, 8 & 10] and (2) those from social policy/social welfare studies[e.g. Model 2, 4 & 9]. The specification of each model to those disciplines is of course not rigid at all. Fringe benefits, for example, has been more studied recently in social welfare fields.⁸⁵⁾ Furthermore the definition of each discipline is also differs depending on the country so that the social policy of the United States seems to be closer to

Table I-2: Ten Concepts

of Workers' Welfare

Model	Discipline	Process in Labor Power Reproduction	Developed or Developing Countries	Meaning of "Workers' Welfare"	Minimum or Above Minimum	Sponsors	Target Population
1. Fringe Benefits	Labor Economics Industrial Relations (Social Welfare)	Consumption (Work)	(Developed)	Programs	Above Minimum	Employers	Employees in certain enterprises
2. Titmuss' Occupational Welfare	Social Policy/ Social Welfare	Production (Life)		Programs		Employers	Employees in certain enterprises
3. Japanese Workers' Welfare	Social Policy/ Social Welfare	Production		Business Activities		Workers' Organizations	Union Members Workers in general
4. Japanese Occupational Welfare	Social Policy/ Social Welfare	Production Consumption		Programs (Situation)	Above Minimum	Employers, Workers' Organizations & Governments	Employees in certain enterprises, Union members & Workers in general
5. UN Industrial Social Welfare		Consumption Production	Developing	Programs; Situation			Workers & Local Community Population
6. Protective Legislative	Labor Law; Social Policy/ Social Welfare	Consumption Production	Developing	Programs; Conditions of work as a whole	Minimum	Governments	All Workers, especially Workers in less privileged enterprises
7. Administrative Residual		Production		Situation; "A Step Ahead"	Above Minimum	Governments	Workers in general
8. Quality of Work Life	Industrial Relations	Consumption	Developed	Programs; All Aspects of Work-related Life		Employers & Unions	Privileged Employees
9. American Social Work	Social Work	Exchange Consumption Production	(Developed)	Programs		Employers, Unions, Governments & Professionals	Mainly Privileged Workers, but Workers in general
10. Workers' Life	Labor Economics	Production		(Theoretical & Analytical)			Workers' Class

I-2: Ten Concepts

of Workers' Welfare

ing of Workers' re "	Minimum or Above Minimum	Sponsors	Target Population	Some Other Key Words & Phrases
ns	Above Minimum	Employers	Employees in certain enterprises	Benefits & services besides basic wages; Collective wages; Legally required or voluntarily provided; Progressive practice (humanitarian, higher morale & productivity, anti-union) → Standard practice → Security of life [Employee Benefits, Economic Security Packages, Corporate Welfare, Welfare Facilities (& Programs)]
ms		Employers	Employees in certain enterprises	Similar to fringe benefits in content, different in approach; One of three systems of social services; Redistributive; To counter & compensate for the growth of dependency in modern society; Alternatives to extensions in social welfare; Discriminatory, reverse-redistributive effect; Enlarging social inequality;
ss ies		Workers' Organizations	Union Members & Workers in general	Cooperative societies; Business activities by workers; Part of labor movement; Commissariat of labor movement; Defence of workers' consumption life from exploitation by monopolistic capital; "Fringe benefits" by unions;
ms ion)	Above Minimum	Employers, Workers' Organizations & Governments	Emplyes in certain enterprises, Union members & Workers in general	A superconcept of Model 1+3+(6+7); Classified by program providers; Organizational and comprehensive services and help systems by governments, corporations & workers' organizations; Programs according to the necessity on 'life';
ms; on			Workers & Local Community Population	International comparison; Functional definition; Industrialization, social development; Partial compensation for the disservices, social costs & social insecurities; Needs of workers, esp. of special populaiton groups; Pressures and strains outside the immediate work setting; Preventive role; Widening inequality between large & small firms, modern & traditional industries, etc.;
ms; k as a	Minimum	Governments	All Workers, esp. Workers in less privileged enter- prises	ILO; Primitive accumulation of capital; Reliance on legislation; Complement to protective labor legislations; Factories and labor standards acts; Humanism; The most equivalent and closest to "welfare" in other fields in usage of the word; Needs of workers;
on; "A head"	Above Minimum	Governments	Workers in general	Towards better life or conditions; Common to "welfare" in other fields in usage of word; High economic growth era; Residual with future perspective; Administration's value judgement; Labor administration minus already well-established administrative fields; [Temporary Dipository Model];
ms; All s of -related		Employers & Unions	Privileged Employees	Afflunet society; High living condition & educational level → Interest in work itself; Alienation; Stagnation of economy; Workers' need for meaningful & satisfying work & for participation in decisions(x economic physical fruit); Dinial of dichotomy between work and citizen lives; "What becomes a critical problem in a particular country at a given time is determined through the activated needs of workers and the prevailing conditons relevant to their need satisfaction;
ms		Employers, Unions, Governments & Professionals	Mainly Privileged Workers, but Workers in general	Social work activities and social welfare services within unions & companies (EAPs, etc.), manpower policies & programs, etc.; Profession's value judgement and ability; [Industrial Socail Work, Social Work in the World of Work, Occupational Social Work];
retical & tical)			Workers' Class	1/3 or 1/4 of labor economics study in its importance; Living costs/housekeeping expenses, non-working hours, housing, social security, educational expenses, etc.;

social welfare while its counterpart in Japan is more concerned with labor-related studies like labor economics.

Column 2 notes which of the three processes of the labor power reproduction cycle----exchange, consumption or production----is the primary object of the model. Refer to Figure I-1 in Model 10 on p.29. Models are classified into two groups, those models which focus on the consumption process (i.e. work process and production process of products)[e.g. 1 & 8] and models which focus on the production process(i.e. life process and consumption process of products) [e.g. 2, 7 & 10]. There are, however, models which cover both [e.g. 4, 5 & 6] and a model, like American Social Work Model, which does not question either process. In fact, it is difficult to assign most models exclusively to either consumption or production category, as can be seen in Fringe Benefits, which has already gained the meaning of the guarantee of life beyond that of labor conditions.

The third column indicates the extent to which the models may be applied to developing or developed countries. Most models are not conscious of this distinction. The UN Industrial Social Welfare Model and ILO's Protective Legislative Model could be called developing country models and Quality of Work Life Model may be considered a developed country model, although both would insist that they are applicable to both developing and developed countries. The American Social Work Model, a developed country model in that it was designed for the United States, could also be seen as a more general model in the sense that it is a model for social work. The Fringe Benefit Model may also be essentially seen as a developed country model.

Column 4 & 5 specify the meaning of "workers' welfare" for each model. In some models "workers' welfare" means the welfare of workers itself or a situation of welfare[5 & 7] to be realized, while in some other models it means programs which realize the welfare of workers[e.g. 1 & 2]. Workers' welfare in the former sense can be either a kind of purposive concept, or a substantive concept at certain times or in certain societies. In other words, it can be used as a concept showing either "a step ahead", or "an absolute level." In most models, however, workers' welfare seems to connote unconsciously the meanings of both the welfare of workers to be achieved and the welfare programs which realize it. "Workers' welfare" can mean the guarantee of a minimum, setting aside the discussion on its concrete content, and can mean the provision of "above minimum". Protective Legislative Model typifies the former and Administrative Residual Model the latter. These various uses of "welfare" is commonly found in other welfare fields such as those concerned with poverty, the aged and medical services.

"Sponsors" in the sixth column indicate who provides these programs or makes efforts to realize the welfare of workers. "Target Population" in the seventh column, on the other hand, refers to the objects or receivers of those programs and efforts. "Sponsors" can be either employers[e.g. 1 & 2], workers' organizations [e.g. 3] or governments[e.g. 6 & 7]. Unique are Japanese Occupational Welfare Model and American Social Work Model whose sponsors can be any of these three. In the latter, voluntary organizations can also be sponsors and the social work profession plays an important role. "Target Population" is employees in certain enterprises[e.g. 1, 2 & 8], union members[e.g. 3], workers in general[e.g. 7] or their combinations

[e.g. 4 & 9]. "Employees in certain enterprises", can mean either employees in privileged enterprises[e.g. 1, 2 & 8] or in unprivileged enterprises[e.g. 6]. Local community population in the UN Model drives from its nature as a social development model. For example, industrialization causes labor migration from farm areas to cities, and often brings about drastic changes in local communities.

In the last column, "Some Other Key Words & Phrases", additional explanatory information on each model and/or some key words and phrases have been provided which seem to be useful in constructing a new workers' welfare concept which synthesizes various concepts. Among those key words and phrases are "international comparison," "functional definition," "needs of workers," "preventive role," and "enlarging social inequality."

Table I-3 is a general model of workers' welfare which was constructed through the examination of the ten concepts discussed.

The study of workers' welfare should be interdisciplinary. It is not a science or a discipline, but a field of study and practice, whose content and methods should be scientific. The reality, which existed before the discipline was born, is multi-faceted. Cleavages among disciplines are artificial and expedient, and should not limit the study of this broad, far reaching field. The examination of workers' welfare should not have to rely exclusively upon a single discipline. More valuable findings would result if workers' welfare was explored by several major labor-related disciplines such as labor economics, industrial relations and labor law, as well as by social policy/social welfare-related disciplines.⁸⁶⁾ An interdisciplinary approach requires that the fruits of those disciplines be integrated and that the problems

Table I-3: A General Model of Workers' Welfare

Discipline:	Interdisciplinary
Process in Labor Power Reproduction:	All Three
Developed or Develop- ing Countries:	Both Developed & Developing
Meaning of "Workers' Welfare":	Situation & Programs
Minimum or Above Minimum:	Minimum & Above Minimum
Sponsors:	Employers Workers' Organizations Governments & Others
Target population:	All Workers
Some Other Key Words & Phrases:	International comparison; Functional definition Needs of Workers; Preventive role; Enlarging social inequality; Refusal of dichotomy between work & citizen lives; etc.

be attacked jointly. For example, research dealing with a workers' welfare issue such as fringe benefits might be undertaken by scholars in both labor and social welfare disciplines; yet because of the insularity of the academic world and their various audiences, the results of these studies which might have applicability to the work of colleagues in other fields, might not be known outside their own narrow speciality. This is a situation which must be resolved.

The concept of workers' welfare described here puts all three processes of the labor power reproduction cycle within its range. Regardless of the process, all issues and problems, as far as they concern the welfare of workers, are covered. The Workers' Welfare Indices developed by Japanese Ministry of Labour in 1972 are instructive on this point. They include "Employment Environment"(e.g. employment opportunities), "Work Environment" (e.g. occupational safety & health and working hours), "Earnings & Assets" and "Private Life"(e.g. housings and leisure hours).⁸⁷⁾ To put it more accurately, workers' welfare is an approach or analysis from the point of view of workers or workers' life. It denies an approach or analysis simply from the point of view of labor power as a commodity or its reproduction cycle, whether of exchange, consumption or production process. This "workers' life" is not the life process in the sense of the production process of labor power, but the whole process of life of workers. It is a refusal to dichotomize workers and citizens, but instead is a reconfirmation of the simple fact that "workers are workers even outside working life and places," and not "citizens in working places."

One goal is to establish a theoretical and practical framework of workers' welfare which makes international comparison possible. Thus, the general model must be applicable for both developed and developing countries. It must satisfy the interest of Protective Legislative Model and Quality of Work Life Model, covering the guarantee of the minimum level in developing countries and the provision of meaningful and satisfying work and participation in decisions in developed countries. Consequently, workers' welfare cannot be shown with a universal number, level or program. The content varies by country, as well as by time.

The definition must therefore be a functional definition which is applicable over time and place. An orientation towards the needs of a given country, time and situation⁸⁸⁾ is inevitable in order to secure this flexibility.

Workers' welfare is first the study of the welfare of workers---- what the welfare of workers is(i.e. the definition, the present situation, the future direction, etc.)----and, as a matter of the course, the study and practice of the policies and programs which realize it----how issues and problems could be solved. The former is the goal to be achieved by the latter.

As in other welfare fields, because "welfare" in workers' welfare carries the meanings of "minimum" and "above minimum", (and also "a step ahead"), a question to be asked is: How much can be guaranteed beyond the level of "minimum"? The dual structure of "minimum" and "above minimum" present in this welfare concept are in an internal mutual relationship so that the latter prevents workers who have attained an above minimum standard of living from returning to the minimum level. For instance, while corporate pension would prevent the aged from becoming welfare recipients, the more a society advances or becomes affluent, the more the interest in or need for the latter is naturally heightened.

The sponsors or providers of policies and programs which attempt to realize workers' welfare are employers, workers' organizations, governments and other voluntary organizations. Their target population is all workers, both the privileged and unprivileged workers, who probably should be intentionally and separately examined. One of the

predictable negative effects of workers' welfare is "enlarging social inequality."

Our tentative conclusion is as follows:

"Workers' welfare" is a field of research and aggregation of policies and programs which examines and practices what the welfare of workers is and how it can be realized. It is needs-oriented, and those needs are to be in any processes of workers' subsistence or labor power reproduction cycle. The workers' welfare can be defined in its quality and quantity at a certain time and society, but varies with the change of time and place and, in this sense, cannot be shown as an absolute, fixed level. The needs and welfare can be for "minimum" and "above minimum," and never ending. The providers of policies and programs could be employers, workers' organizations, governments and other groups and organizations, and the targets of them all workers, both the privileged and the unprivileged. Various disciplines, particularly labor-related studies and social policy/social welfare-related studies, would be relevant to this topic.

1) As fringe benefit item classifications, those by U.S. Chamber of Commerce and by U.S. Department of Labor(Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms) are also well known. In the international arena, there are International Standard Classification of Labor Costs by ILO(which was adopted by the 16th Board Meeting in 1967), Labor Costs Classification by EC Statistics Bureau, and others.

2) e.g. Lloyd G. Reynolds, Labor Economics and Labor Relations[6th edition] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp.214-218.

3) e.g. Harold W. Davey, et al.,Contemporary Collective Bargaining [Fourth Edition] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982), pp.246-277.

4) The following is the classification by Workers' Welfare Facilities and Programs Survey Report, 1983(Tokyo: Ministry of Labour, 1985):

A. Legally Required Payments

National Health Insurances

National Pension Plans(Social Security)

Labor insurances: Employment Insurances and
Workers' Compensation

Children Allowance

Payment for Employment for the Handicapped, and others

B. Voluntary Payments

- Housing and Related Item Payment(e.g. Family Housings, Dormitory, House Ownership Assistance Programs--Loans, Savings, Interest Subsidy, etc.)
- Health and Medical(e.g.Hospitals, Clinics, Doctor's Rooms, Geriatric Disease Checkups, Family Health Checkups, Counselling Programs, and Physical Trainings and Tests)
- Employee Meals
- Cultural, Sports, Amusement Facilities and Activities (e.g. Library, Clubs, Circles and Classes, Resort Hotels, Gyms, Sports Days, and Employee Trips)
- Private Insurances(e.g. Life Insurance)
- Supplemental Workers' Compensation
- Condolence Gifts
- Subsidies for Worker's Tax-Free Assets-Making Deposits
- Others(Commuting Season Passes, Barber & Beauty Shops, Day Care Centers, Discount Stores, Contributions to Mutual Aid Societies, Stock Ownership, Home Help Programs, Birthday Parties)
- C. Retirement Allowances and Others
 - Retirement Allowances(Severance Pay)
 - Small Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Projects
 - Private Pension
- D. Education and Training
- E. Other Items
 - Recruitment
 - Uniforms
 - Moving Expenses
 - House Organs
 - Commendations, and others

5) Robert Tilove, "Pensions, Health and Welfare Plans," Lloyd Ulman, ed., Challenges to Collective Bargaining(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p.37.

6) e.g. "It is....as meaning such services, facilities and amenities as [adequate canteens, rest and recreation facilities, sanitary and medical facilities, arrangements for travel to and from work and for the accommodation of workers employed at a distance from their homes, and such other services, amenities and facilities as contribute to improve the conditions under which workers are employed] which may be established in, or in the vicinity of, undertakings to enable the persons employed in them to perform their work in healthy, congenial surroundings and provided with amenities conducive to good health and high morale, that 'workers' welfare' is understood in the following pages...."[ILO, Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers Welfare(Report II, Asian Regional Conference in 1950), p.3.]

7) Richard M. Titmuss, 'The Role of Redistribution in social Policy,' Commitment to Welfare [Second Edition] (London; George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1976) p.193. [Lecture delivered to the staff of the Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, USA, in December 1964, and published in Social Security Bulletin, Washington, June 1965.]

8) Ibid., p.192.

9) Richard M. Titmuss, 'The Social Division of Welfare; Some Reflections on the Search for Equity,' Essays on 'The Welfare State' [Second Edition] (London; Unwin University Books, 1963) p.55 [The Sixth Eleanor Rathbone Memorial Lecture, given at the University of Birmingham on December 1, 1955, and published by Liverpool University Press in 1956.]

10) Ibid., p.42.

11) Titmuss, 'The Role Of Redistribution,' p.192.

12) Titmuss, 'The Social Division of Welfare,' p.51.

13) Ibid., p.52.

14) Ibid., p.55.

15) Titmuss, 'The Role Of Redistribution,' p.197.

16) See Contemporary Wage & Benefits [Gendai Chingin Fukushima], November 15, 1984.

17) Hiromichi Nishimura, Workers' Welfare[Rōdōsha Fukushima Ron] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1973).

18) Sōhyō, et al., Labor Movement and Welfare Activities (pamphlet) p.2.

19) Nishimura, Workers' Welfare, pp.94-95.

20) Ibid., pp.4-5.

21) Yutaka Tsunoda, ed., Workers' Welfare[Rōdōsha Fukushima] (Tokyo: Shiseidō, 1974) p.5.

22) Nishimura, Workers' Welfare, p.4.

23) Ibid., p.94. Tsunoda, Workers' Welfare, deals with this cooperative part as the aspect of the social movement in contrast with the aspect of business. Itsuro Kirinoki, Corporate Welfare, Workers' Welfare[Kigyō Fukushima, Rōdōsha Fukushima], (Tokyo: Japan Institute of Labour, 1983) also adopts the broader definition.

24) Ibid., pp.12-16.

25) Itsurō Kirinoki, Corporate Welfare, Workers' Welfare[Kigyō Fukushima, Rōdō Fukushima] (Tokyo: Japan Institute of Labour, 1983) p.10.

26) Ibid., p.1.

27) Ibid., p.1.

28) ILO, Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia (The Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers in 1964) p.1.

29) Two other meetings were previously held on the related subject. One is the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Social Aspects of industrialization, held at Minsk in 1964, and the other is the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, which met at New York in September 1968. See Report of the Interregional Seminar on Social Aspects of Industrialization(New York: United Nations, 1965) and Proceedings of the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare(New York: United States, 1969).

30) Report of the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Industrial Social Welfare(New York: United Nations, 1972) p.4.

31) Industrial Social Welfare(New York: United States, 1971) p.3.

32) For example, the terms "the welfare of workers" and "workers' welfare" in this usage are found on p.6 and p.10 respectively in Industrial Social Welfare.

33) Industrial Social Welfare, pp. 3 & 5 and Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972), p.4.

34) Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972), p.4.

35) Ibid., p.5. Also Industrial Social Welfare states its major purpose as the establishing of guiding principles for policy which would be of use especially for countries still at an early stage in industrialization.(p.2)

36) See the Contents of Industrial Social Welfare and Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972) pp.12-15.

37) e.g. See Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972), p.5. The opening address of the seminar by the Chief of the Social Welfare Services Section of the Social Development Division reads that "Industrial social welfare had as its objective to raise the material and cultural levels of living of the workers, their families and the population of the local community; and to increase the productivity of the working people, as well as to prevent the negative consequences of rapid industrialization and urbanization".(Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972), p.2.) Also see Industrial Social Welfare, p.4.

38) Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972), pp.6-7.

39) cf. M. V. Moorthy, Principles of Labour Welfare (Visakhapatnam(A.P.): Gupta Brothers(Books), 1968) p.13 cited by Industrial Social Welfare, p.5.

40) Report of the Interregional Seminar(1972), pp.6-7.

41) See the item Welfare in ILO Catalogue of Publication in Print 82 and the item Welfare, Industrial in Subject Guide to Publication of the ILO

1919-1964(Geneva 1967). (No equivalent publication to the latter is available since 1967.)

42) Regarding the history, see the Forward of Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia(The Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers in 1964).

43) In addition to the report in 2), the following ILO publications use the term of workers' welfare in their title or body: Conditions of Work and Workers' Welfare in Logging Camps(Tripartite Technical Meeting on the Timber Industry, Geneva 1958), Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers' Welfare(Report II, Asian Regional Conference in 1950), Canada's Concern for Workers' Welfare(April June 1948), etc.

44) See the contents of the reports in 3) as examples. What the Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers' Welfare in 3) describes in its section Historical Survey(pp.5-7) is nearly identical with the history of fringe benefits.

45) ILO uses both workers' welfare and welfare facilities interchangeably or the latter as what constitutes the content of the former. See the publications listed in 3).

46) Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia, p.i.

47) ILO, Official Bulletin, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, 1 April 1950, pp. 11-14.

48) Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia, p.55.

49) There is a theory behind that "Social welfare is not the responsibility of the State alone. Private industries and organizations should also pool their resources in a co-operative manner to provide for social welfare amenities."(Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia, p.56.)

50) Ibid., p.2.

51) As an example, see Conditions of Work and Workers' Welfare in Logging Camps.

52) Ōsaka City University Institute of Economics, Dictionary of Economics(Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing Co., 1965) p.295.

53) Ibid.

54) Chief of First Planning Section, Planning Division, Wage & Welfare Department, Labour Standard Bureau. October 1984.

55) Author's interview on March 26, 1985.

56) Ministry of Labour, Guide to Labour Problems [Rōdō Mondai no Shiqiri], (Tokyo: Ministry of Labour, 1985) p.392. Wage Department of Labour Standards Bureau was expanded to Wage & Welfare Department, and Welfare Mutual Aids Division of Labour Administration Bureau, which was

born in 1959, was moved under this new department. Economic Statistics Division was reorganized into Occupational Welfare Statistics Division, and disorganized in 1984. In 1984, Women's Welfare Division was born in Women's Bureau.

57) Guide to Labour Problems, pp.165-166.

58) Labour Standards Bureau, Ministry of Labour, "Concerning the Conduct : of Labour Standards Administration, 1985." (a circular notice)

59) & 60) See 55).

61) Yves Delamotte and Shinichi Takezawa, Quality of Working Life in International Perspective(Geneva: ILO,1984) p.3.

62) Ibid., p.2.

63) Shigeto Tsuru and Shigeru Sabashi, Quality Life(Tokyo: Kōbundō,1983) p.183.

64) Ibid., p.181.

65) Ibid., p.170.

66) cf. K. Marx's prediction that in a communist society, labor becomes the primary desire in the life of men.

67) Quality Life, p.183.

68) QWL in International Perspective, p.2.

69) Herbert C. Merton: "A look at factors affecting the quality of working life", Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 100, No.10, Oct. 1977, p.64.

70) Shinichi Takezawa ed., Improvements in the Quality of Working Life in Three Japanese Industries(Geneva: ILO, 1983) p.8.

71) Ibid., p.10.

72) QWL in International Perspective, p.3.

73) Delamotte and Takezawa, Quality of Working Life, p.2.

74) One of the central arguments in American occupational social work is the ethical issue of whether or not it is allowable for social workers to work for profit-oriented private corporations.

75) Tatsuru Akimoto, "'Occupational Social Work' in the United States [Amerika ni okeru 'Rōdō Sōsharu Wāku']" Social Welfare [Shakai Fukushi Gaku] No. 20, 1979. pp.111-115. Tatsuru Akimoto, "An Exploration into the Concept of 'Social Work in the World of Work' in the United States," (Unpublished, 1976) p.30.

76) Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," pp.107-108.

76) Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," pp.107-108.

Akimoto, "An Exploration into the Concept," pp.31-32 and 35.

77) See Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," "An Exploration into the Concept," and Tatsuru Akimoto, Detroit: Social Unionism in a Natural Development[Detoroito: Sosharu Yunionizumu no Hitsuzen] (Tokyo: Nihon Hyoron-sha, 1981).

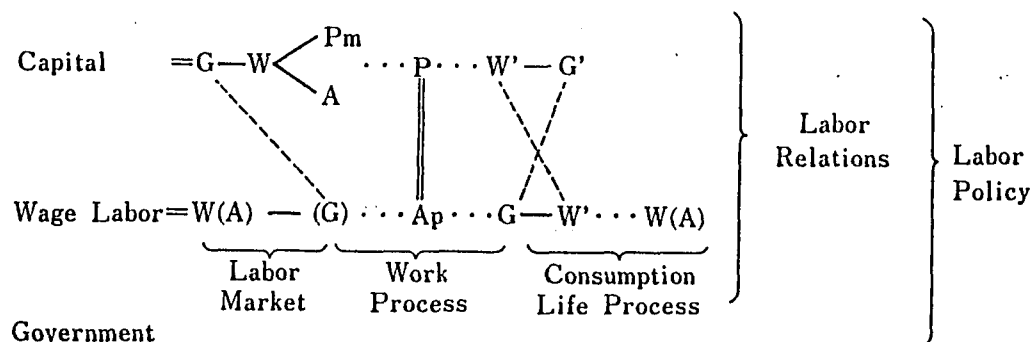
78) Akimoto, "Occupational Social Work," pp.105-107. Akimoto, "An Exploration into the Concept," pp.8-11.

79) cf. NASW News, Vol.29, No.15, 19 May 1984.

80) A handbill.

81) American labor economics may only refer to "the use of labor" as an object of labor economics, without any further concrete analysis of either the consumption patterns of the labor force or their work process (e.g. Lloyd G. Reynolds, Labor Economics and Labor Relations).

82) Mikio Sumiya includes labor policy=social policy by governments as the fifth fields and summarizes the whole scheme of labor economics as follows:



Theory of Labor Economics (Tokyo: Tokyo Univ. Press, 1976)
p. 30.

Some Japanese labor economists follow the American labor economics model (e.g. Akira Ono & Ryoshin Minami, ed., Labor Economics (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1972) and Akira Ono, et al., Labor Economics (Tokyo: Sogo Rodo Kenkyusho, 1981)), and some others discuss fringe benefits under the title of Work Life (e.g. Konoshin Koizumi, Labor Economics (Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1968)).

83) Theory of Labor Economics, p.29.

84) See Labor Problems Literature Study Research Team, Labor Problems in Japan: Literature Study[Bunken Kenkyu: Nihon no Rodo Mondai] (Tokyo: Sogo Rodo Kenkyusho, 1971) pp.163-211, Kazuo Okochi & Mitsutoshi Azuma, ed., Labor Cyclopaedia[Rodo Jiten] (Tokyo: Shorin Shoin Shinsha, 1975) Ch. VI, and others.

85) e.g. Lawrence S. Root, Fringe Benefits (Beverly Hills/London/ New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1982) On the contrary, the relationship of fringe benefits with social policy/social welfare has been increasingly discussed in industrial relations/labor economics textbooks. e.g. Harold W. Davey, et al., Contemporary Collective Bargaining [Forth Edition] (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1982) p.252.

86) The workers' welfare concept should be constructed around a social welfare concept rather than social work concept. The reason is not discussed here in detail, except that (1) social welfare can be a science but social work cannot and (2) social work cannot help having nationality or differing by country. The model which we are seeking is expected to be based on science and extend beyond national boundaries. [cf. Tatsuru Akimoto, "An Exploration Into the Concept of 'Social Work in the World of Work' in the United States," (unpublished, 1976) pp.41-43].

87) See Japanese Ministry of Labour, Labour White Paper(Analysis of Labour Economy) in 1971, 1975, 1984, etc. See the next page.

88) Regarding various meanings of "needs", see Richard Thayer, "Problem Analysis: Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment---Measuring Need in the Social Services."

Workers' Welfare Combined Index

Major Category	Category	Quantitative Scale	Qualitative Scale
Employment Development	Ability Development	% of Students going to High Schools % of Students going to Universities & Junior Colleges % of People going to Vocational Training Schools % of People going to Miscellaneous Schools	Students/Teachers (%) Students/University & Junior College Professors (%) Trainees/Instructors (%) Students/Teachers (%)
	Employment Opportunities	Openings/Applications (%)	Placements/Applications (%)
	Employment Security	% of Employees Separated by Employers Convenience	Temporary & Day Workers/Regular Workers (%)
Work Environment	Occupational Safety & Health	Frequency Rate On-the-job Diseases Rate	Average Days Lost per Injury FataIs/On-the-job Diseases (%)
	Quantity of Work	Working Hours (Scheduled+Non-scheduled)	Non-scheduled Working Hours/ Total Working Hours (%)
	Stability of Labor Relations	Unionization Rate % of Employees Involved in Labor Disputes	Members Covered by Agreements/Employees (%) Days Lost by Disputes per member
	Income & Health Security	Insured Employees/Total Employed (%) of Unemployment Insurance Workers' Compensation Insurance Health Insurance Welfare Pension Insurance	Benefit Levels of Unemployment Insurance Workers' Compensation Insurance Health Insurance Welfare Pension Insurance
Income & Assets	Income	Wage Level (Real)	Wage Differentials (Difference of Lifetime Earnings of Standard Employees by size of Enterprise)
	Assets	Financial Asset Balance (Real) % of People Owning Houses	Financial Assets/Average Monthly Income (%) Space of Privately-owned Houses
Private Life	Housing & Commuting	Commuting Hours Housing Space per capita	Degree of Commuting Traffic Congestion % of Water Supply & Drainage Dissemination
	Health & Safety	Injuries & SicknesSES/Population Injuries by Traffic Accidents/Population	People under 50 years old/Total Deaths (%) FataIs/Injuries by Traffic Accidents
	Leisure	Leisure Hours per capita	Number of Travels per year & per capita % of TV Sets Dissemination Number of Published Books per capita

Source: Japan Ministry of Labor, 1975 *Analysis of Labor Economy* p. 360.

* It may not be a proper title but the original in Japanese uses this expression. It is actually a qualitative scale measured through quantification. cf. Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research (New York: Aldine Publishing, 1967) p.101.

Source: Japan Ministry of Labor, 1975 *Analysis of Labor Economy* p.360.

CHAPTER TWO

JAPANESE WORKERS TODAY

Using the framework developed in Chapter One, from here on we are going to examine workers' welfare in Japanese society today, how much it has been realized and what problems remain?

The first key ingredient of the definition of workers' welfare given in Chapter One was that the concept must be "usable beyond the boundaries of time and place," thus "functionally defined," and thus "needs-oriented." Consequently our examination in this chapter and those following will be directed toward the extraction of workers' needs. In this chapter we will first clarify what "need" is and what research methods should be adopted to grasp it, and secondly we will look over the welfare situation of present Japanese workers with a hope of extracting some of their needs, whether they have perceived them or not, relying primarily upon government statistics and surveys.

Another key ingredient in the definition was that "those needs can be in any processes of the workers' subsistence or labor power reproduction cycle." How can such a broad range of the welfare situations and welfare requirements of whole workers, both privileged workers and unprivileged workers and both blue and white collar, be comprehensively, fairly, and succinctly described within a limited space? A comprehensive description might follow the example of The Analysis of Labour Economy (Annual Labour White Papers) of the national government and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government that were issued until the early 1970s. This would include a review of the three processes of

the labor power reproduction cycle, the labor market such as employment and unemployment situation, labor conditions such as wages and work hours, and workers' living conditions such as consumer prices, and housing.

The presentation in this format would also well serve a hidden mission of this chapter to make American readers familiar with the general Japanese work scene. They have probably only heard of lifetime employment, the seniority/age based wage and promotion system, company-wide labor unions, extensive fringe benefits, quality circles, loyalty to companies, morning meetings, uniforms, cafeterias used by both blue collar workers and managerial staff, company-sponsored baseball teams, and sports days.

This chapter lacks chronological data and analysis. It is a flaw but cannot be helped because of the limited space.

I NEEDS AND THEIR MEASUREMENT

1. What Is Need?

In the field of social work, the concept of "need" has been used for a long time, and particularly in the social administration and social policy fields it has often been used even as a key concept. For example, R.M.Titmuss defines social administration as "the study of a range of social needs and the functioning, in conditions of scarcity, of

human organizations, traditionally called social services or social welfare systems, to meet these needs."¹⁾

First of all, what is "need"? According to a dictionary,²⁾ "need" carries the following meanings: "1: necessary duty: OBLIGATION 2: a lack of something requisite, desirable, or useful 3: a condition requiring supply or relief: EXIGENCY 4: want of the means of subsistence: POVERTY. According to K. Lewin, need is the situation of tension created when people make a move to obtain something necessary when it is not being given, or what is deemed to be the cause of the situation of tension."³⁾

In the field of social welfare, "need" or "social need" is generally defined as "basic wants indispensable for people to live social lives."⁴⁾

But other definitions are also frequently found such as "a problem to be solved or a problematic situation,"⁵⁾ "a required condition to be satisfied for an individual to live a social life that a human being deserves,"⁶⁾ and "the situation requiring social welfare assistance."⁷⁾

According to Shigemi Jinushi, "need" in social welfare is a concept equivalent to effective demand in economics. The former deals with ministering to human wants outside the market mechanism, while the latter through the market mechanism.⁸⁾

"Need" is an ambiguous word with many meanings. It is even questionable whether it could stand scientific discussion or not. However, there are no appropriate alternative words. The terms "social problems" and "problems on life" [seikatsu mondai] are also sometimes used, but their multivocal, ambiguous nature is the same.⁹⁾

To avoid this ambiguity as much as possible, Fumio Miura developed a working definition in his argument on social policy, learning from R. Walton and T.H.Marshall:

Social need is "a certain kind of situation [which] is distant from a certain goal or standard, and [whose] recovery, amelioration, etc. is socially recognised as a necessity."¹⁰⁾

The point is that "need is composed of a situation 'objectively' recognized as a 'fact' and 'value' (=subjective) judgement that the situation must be solved or ameliorated."¹¹⁾

R. Walton writes that the assertion, "an individual or a group X has a need," implies (1) an individual or a group X is in the situation Y, (2) the situation Y contradicts with the value which the society Z supports, and (3) consequently, the situation Y should be changed.¹²⁾ That is, "that an individual or a group has a need is not a simple factual statement, but implies a certain value judgement."¹³⁾ T.H. Marshall also writes that the concept of need in social policy is based on the collective value system.¹⁴⁾ "Namely, a need is not a basic want necessary for human life or an indispensable necessity, but is supported by a social judgement that it is necessary to solve or ameliorate a certain situation. Furthermore this judgement is of a norm in the sense that it is not based on an individual's judgement but on a socially recognized one."¹⁵⁾

Needs are classified in various ways. Individual need and collective need, physiological(primary) need and social (secondary) need; A.H.Maslow's need-in-stage theory; classifications of basic or universal needs of human life by the American Association of Social Workers,¹⁶⁾ L.B.Glanger, and S. Okamura; classifications by characteristics of subjects of needs; cash (economic, or physical) need and non-cash(goods or personal services) need; market need and non-market need; public (governmental) need and private (voluntary) need;

potential (objective) need and actualized (subjective) need; etc.¹⁷⁾ Jonathan Bradshaw classifies needs into four, that is, normative, felt, expressed and comparative,¹⁸⁾ based on the derivation of the criteria adopted for recognizing need. (Table II-1) Richard Thayer distinguishes "diagnostic need", the identified problem, and "prescriptive need", the help which is required to alleviate it, and relate them to the Bradshaw's four-fold classification to discuss the measurement or assessment of need.¹⁹⁾

Table II-1: Bradshaw's Classification of Need

Normative Need	: what the expert or professional perceives to be need in a given situation
Felt Need	: need perceived by the subjects themselves
Expressed Need (or Demand)	: felt need turned into action in the form of a request for service
Comparative Need	: need, deduced by the outside observer, in circumstances where individuals not in receipt of a particular service have similar characteristics to others who do receive it

"Need theory" also has flaws.²⁰⁾ For example, it sees the direct corresponding relationship between needs and services.²¹⁾ First "it is better than nothing." "You should take whatever you can get." Secondly it tends to lack historical perspective and the perspective to put problems in a broader social context or social change.²²⁾ However, discussing pros and cons of "need theory" itself is not our present topic. As far as seeing the corresponding relationship between needs and services or programs and policies, the "need" concept is still effective and works, and this much serves our present need.

2. How To Measure Needs

Another point to be discussed is how to assess the "needs".

Table II-2, which was developed by the author from Jonathan Bradshaw's and Richard Thayer's ideas, is a classification of need by 'if the need has been perceived or not by subjects of need and/or researchers,' who are usually experts and professionals, and the table relates the classification of needs to the need measurement or assessment. Bradshaw's classification (Table II-1) is useful as a start but is confusing because it uses two different criteria which do not belong to the same dimension. These criteria are: One, if need is felt or expressed by subjects or not, and two, what is adopted as "a certain goal or a yardstick."²³ (cf. Miura's working definition of need on p.51)

In the first column of Table II-2, "felt" or "expressed" need is not distinguished. What kind of scale was used to perceive the need is

Table II-2: Needs And Their Measurement

by subjects	by researcher	research method
I. Need Perceived	Need Perceived	opinion research (questionnaire)
II. Need Perceived	Need Not Perceived	opinion research (interview); case review of consultation & counselling programs
III. Need Not Perceived	Need Not Perceived	observation, data analysis, etc.
IV. Need Not Perceived	Need perceived	observation, data analysis, etc. (opinion research)

not questioned, either. As long as the subjects have perceived needs (I & II), an opinion research is logically possible. If researchers have perceived the need (I), a survey using pre-coded questionnaires with choices is possible. If not (II), it is impossible for researchers to prepare choices in advance, and

Figure II-1: Perception of Needs by Subject & Researcher

		subject perception of need	
		low	high
researcher perception of need	high	II	I
	low	III	IV

only skillful, thoughtful interviews can draw out the subjects' perception. The case review of consultation and counselling programs for employees by employers and for citizens and workers by various government and voluntary agencies can also be effective and useful. Today most leading corporations have EAPs(employee assistance programs) and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, for example, has a variety of those programs, some of which are involved with the fields of labor, health & mental health, women, children, welfare, tax, traffic accidents, consumer affairs, legal affairs, loan sharks[sarakin], and real estate. When the subjects have not perceived needs (III & IV), soliciting their perception is nonsense. Other methodologies such as observation, statistical analysis, and literature review must be adopted, although it may be technically possible for researchers, who have perceived needs (IV), to prepare and use pre-coded questionnaires, and for subjects to perceive needs through the educational effect of research and to give answers.

If researchers or experts and professionals have recognized need, conducting research is not necessary. "Need perceived by researchers" (I & IV) in Table II-2 thus means that researchers have recognized "candidates" of need or roughly, not exactly, perceived need. In other words, if researchers have perceived need or not in the table is a matter of degree. (Figure II-1)) Eliciting a confirmation and giving a priority order are to be the aim of this kind of research, and most research actually conducted to date under the name of the need assessment research belongs to this category, especially I in the above table. In that situation they use pre-coded questionnaires enumerating needs that researchers perceived.

This kind of research is relatively easy, although a risk always exists that the researchers' perception as the premise of the effectiveness of the research is wrong and in that case the result have no meaning because people check one of choices given on a questionnaire anyway.²⁴⁾ If we maintain our assumptions which were mentioned at the beginning of this paper, that is, "although the administration is making serious efforts, it does not know workers' true wants or needs and its efforts are off target or no consequence," what we should seek is not the "need" already perceived by researchers or administrators, but the need not yet perceived by them. (II & III) In other words, it is a goal to find out what should be included in choices in future research of the categories I & IV. There were two cases: One, in the case that subjects have themselves perceived needs (II) and two, in the case that they have not (III). Probably the latter case is more important, and the need assessment is more difficult in this category. In order to find out their latent needs, we could not help relying on an observation

method as well as on some analytical work involving various statistics, surveys and literature.²⁵⁾ The rest of this chapter pertains to this category of latent needs and mainly government statistical data is used for the analysis. The next two chapters pertain to the former case, that is, the needs which have been perceived by the subjects themselves but not by researchers because of the laxity or inability of the researchers or because of the underdeveloped research techniques. How were these kinds of needs to be measured? Intimate, open-ended interviews and the case review of consultation & counselling programs were suggested to be effective above. We adopted the interview method. An example of the case distribution of an EAP is shown in Chapter Three. (pp.307-8)

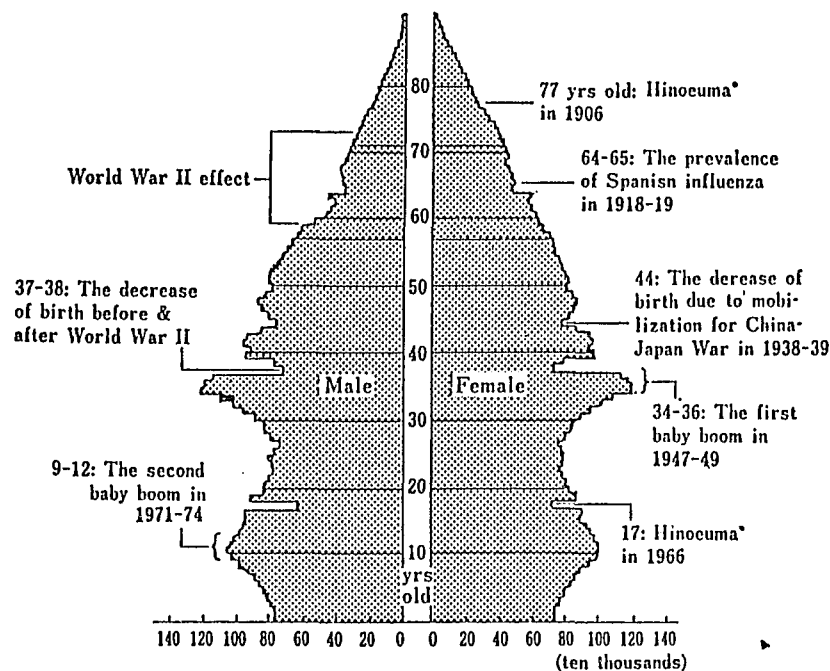
II THE WELFARE SITUATION OF PRESENT JAPANESE WORKERS

1. Who Are Japanese "Workers"?

The population of Japan in 1985²⁶⁾ was approximately 121 million. While this is half that of the United States, it is confined to a chain of mountainous islands whose total land area is one twenty fifth that of the United States, or a space equivalent to the State of California.

The Figure II-2 shows the population distribution by age and sex. The shape is not a typical pyramid. An urgent population issue today

Figure II-2 : Population Pyramid (as of Oct. 1, 1983)



Source: Prime Minister's Office Statistics Bureau, *Predicted Population as of Oct. 1, 1983*.

Note: Girls born in Hinocuma years were thought to be destined to kill their husbands.

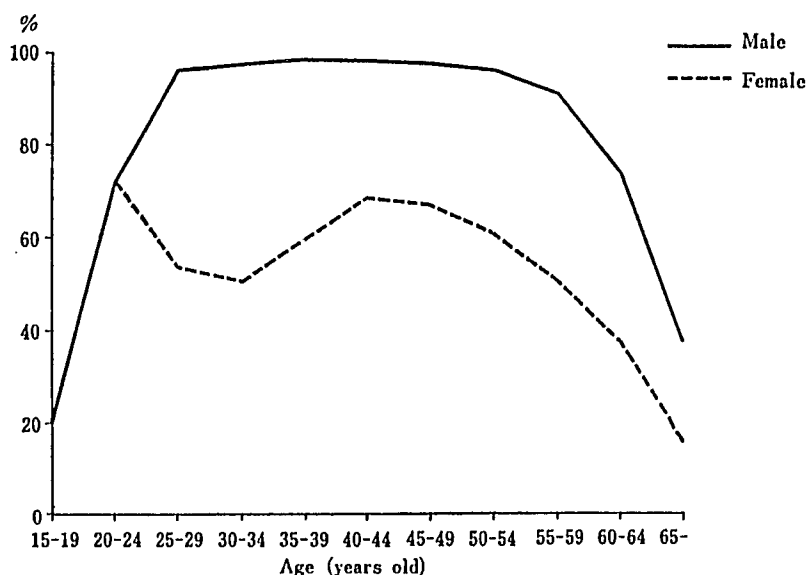
in Japan is the aging of the population. Although the population 65 years old and above in 1985 was only 10.1 percent, its rate of growth is accelerating. In 1965 those 65 and older represented only 7.1 percent of the total population, but in 1996 it is expected to occupy 14 percent. By comparison it took 115 years for France, 85 years for Sweden and 75 years for the United States to increase their population in this age bracket from 7 percent to 14 percent.²⁷⁾ The average birth rate in Japan has dropped to 1.8.²⁸⁾

The repercussions of World War II can be observed in the 59 to 73 year old age brackets for men and ages 37 and 38 for both sexes. The bulge at the 34-36 years of age is that of the first baby boom population, while those from 9-12 years of age represents their children or, "the second baby boom" population. The shape decrease in the 17

years old bracket is due to a superstition, Hinoeuma (see the note in Figure II-2). They were born in 1971.

Those 15 years and older total 93 million, and of this number the labor force population in 1984 was 59 million. The labor force participation rate was 63.4 percent, a little lower than the 64.4 percent of the United States in 1983.²⁹⁾ Figure II-3 indicates the labor force participation rates by sex and age. The majority of non-labor force population in the young generation is students. According to 1980 statistics the proportion of students who entered senior high schools was 94.3 percent, while that of students who go on to universities, junior colleges and other forms of higher education was 37.4 percent.³⁰⁾ The majority of women above school age who do not participate in the work force are housewives. The M-shape of the women's labor force participation rate in the graph is due to the large number of women who leave the labor market for their marriage and childbirth. Although the

Figure II-3: Labor Force Participation Rate by Sex and Age (1984)



Source: Prime Minister's Office Statistics Bureau, *Labour Force Survey*.

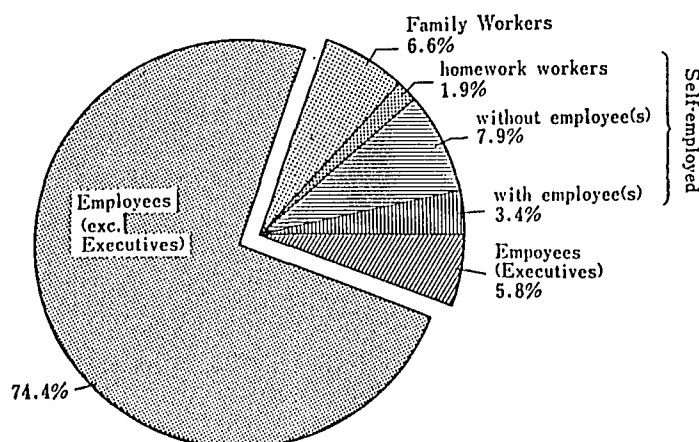
Note: Labor Force Participation Rate = Labor Force / Population × 100

rate of participation in the labor force by women was decreasing until 1975 because of changes in the industrial structure, it has been increasing recently and reached 48.9 percent in 1984.³¹⁾ Wives of farmers are counted as part of labor force in these statistics.

Of the labor force population the proportion of the self-employed was 16 percent, family workers 10 percent and employees 74 percent. (Figure II-4).³²⁾ The corresponding American figures are 9 percent, 1 percent, and 91 percent.³³⁾ The high proportions of the self-employed and family workers is still a characteristic of the Japanese labor force. Generally speaking, the less industrialized the country, the greater the number of self-employed and family workers. The labor force exchange between the self-employed or family workers and employees, and migrations of workers between farm areas and urban areas, are also more important in less industrialized nations.

While this high proportion of the self-employed and family workers has a large impact upon Japanese labor conditions and relations, in this

Figure II-4 : Working People by Employment Status (Non-agricultural Industries) (1984)

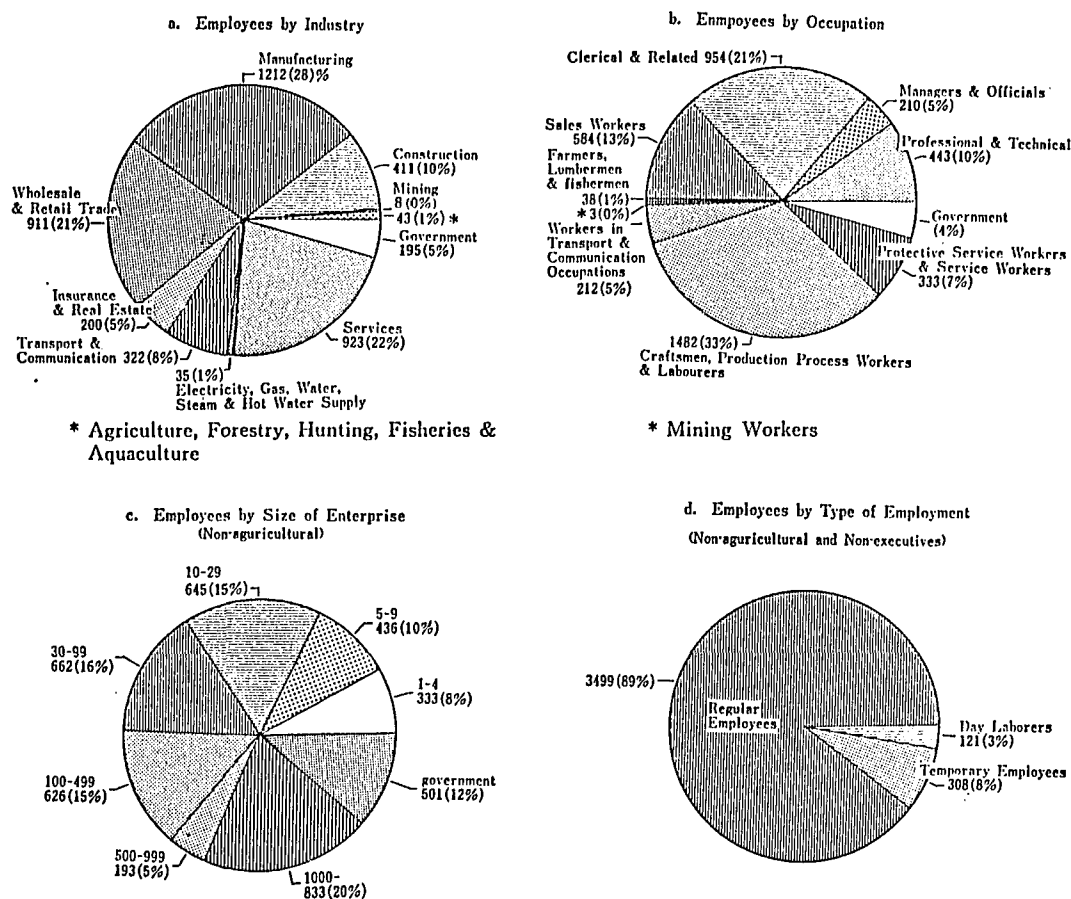


Source : Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency,
Labour Force Survey (1984)

paper the population of workers will be tentatively defined as those employed by others. This definition of workers will also exclude the unemployed. The term workers as used here will include full time and part time workers; regular, temporary, and day workers; and both blue collar and white collar workers such as professional, managerial, technical, clerical, sales and service staff; and exclude executives although many statistical data do not make this latter distinction. It should be kept in mind, however, that not only family workers but also homework workers who are classified as self-employed as well as other types of self-employed workers who do not have any employees are usually regarded as part of the workers' class, but are excluded from the term "workers" as used in this paper. Welfare recipients and others who have left the labor market are similarly excluded. The definition of workers here does not necessarily correspond to that used by Marxist class analysis.

The following four circle graphs show the distribution of workers by industry, occupation, size of enterprise, and type of employment. The three major industries in which Japanese workers are primarily engaged are manufacturing with a little fewer than 30 percent, wholesale and retail trade, and services both with a little more than 20 percent. More than 60 percent of employees work in the tertiary industries. (Graph a) In terms of occupational distribution Graph b shows that only a third are traditional blue collar workers such as craftsmen, production process workers, or labourers. The remaining 67 percent are white collar. The same graph shows that one out of five is a clerical and related worker, while nearly one out of seven is a sales worker. Today professional and technical workers are more numerous than various

Figure II-5: Employees in 1984 (thousands)



Source: Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency, *Labour Force Survey*

service workers. Nearly a third of employees work for enterprises with 1,000 or more employees or the government, while another third work for small firms with fewer than 30 employees (Graph c). One out of ten Japanese employees is a non-regular worker; that is, a temporary worker "who is employed for a specific period, more than a month but not more than a year" or a day worker "who is employed on a daily basis or for a specific period of less than a month." (Graph d) The 4.8 million part-time workers or those who work less than 35 hours a week,³⁴⁾ are included not only in the categories of temporary and day workers but also in the category of regular workers. About half the temporary workers, more than

a third of day workers, and seven percent of regular workers work part time in this sense. The latter two graphs are particularly important in our subsequent inquiry of workers' welfare.

2. Unemployment

The Japanese unemployment rate, which was 2.7 percent in 1984, is very low compared with those of major Western industrialized countries such as the United States 7.4 percent, United Kingdom 12.7 percent, West Germany 9.1 percent, and Canada 11.3 percent.³⁵⁾

Those figures would seem to indicate that unemployment is not much of a problem in Japan, but there are some points that require discussion. First and most frequently cited is the difference in the definition of the term unemployment in the statistics of each country.³⁶⁾ Although basically modeled on that of the United States, the Japanese definition is narrower in several points. For example, in Japan fewer of those laid-off are counted as unemployed, only those who were engaged in job-seeking activities within a week prior to a survey (as compared to four weeks in the U. S.) are counted as the unemployed, and family workers who worked less than 15 hours per week are also classified as the employed, while in the United States they are counted among the non-labor force population.³⁷⁾ The OECD and the U.S. Department of Labor, however, estimated adjusted unemployment rates of about a dozen countries applying a single ILO definition³⁸⁾ and American definition to all countries and found no significant difference from primary data published by each country, except for West Germany's lower rates.³⁹⁾ Eiji

Shiraishi and Minoru Aoyama calculated Japanese unemployment rates would increase only 0.2-0.5 percent point using the American definition.⁴⁰⁾ In discussing these differences, however, sufficient attention should be paid not only to problems at the level of theoretical or literal definition but also at the operational or behavioral level in the process of survey implementation.⁴¹⁾

The second point that needs discussion is the straight fact that although an unemployment rate of 2.7 percent seems rather insignificant, it represents 1.6 million jobless people, of whom more than a third are heads of households with families. Imagine the lives of those unemployed' families. In addition there may actually exist many more unemployed than the statistical 1.6 million. The previously mentioned definition of the unemployed which "refers to those who had no job but were able to work and actually seeking a job during the week before the census date" (1980 Census, Vol. 2, p.XVIII.)⁴²⁾ is itself somewhat flawed. For example, anyone who earned even a penny within that week or sought for a job reading newspaper ads but took no action, to say nothing of "discouraged unemployment",⁴³⁾ are all excluded from the statistical ranks of the unemployed. "To be ready to take up a job immediately" is a requirement for inclusion in the unemployment category.

Third and seldom discussed is if there is any possibility of a future surge in the number or the rate of unemployment in Japan. The rate was 1.1 percent at the end of the 1960s. It is now 2.7 percent. Both West Germany and the United Kingdom, whose rates until 10 years ago were 1-3 percent, now have around 10 percent unemployment. Both

experienced a few to several timeincrease within five or ten years. Why won't Japan have a similar experience in the future?

Fourth is the problem of unemployment among older workers. Table II-3 breaks down unemployment rates by age group.

Table II-3: Unemployment Rates by Age
(1984)

Age	Male	Female
15-24	4.9%	5.0%
25-39	2.1	3.2
40-54	1.7	1.9
above 54 years	4.3	1.8

Source: Management & Coordination Agency,
Labour Force Survey (1984)

The unemployment rate of older male workers age 55 and over is almost as high as that of young workers 15 to 24. A possible explanation for the high rate among younger people is that they are just entering the job market and are still searching for a suitable career. Older males do not have this freedom on flexibility but instead have real difficulty finding jobs.⁴⁴⁾ Although older workers in most countries experience similar difficulties, those in Japan with its system of lifetime employment and seniority/age-based wage systems are particularly hard hit. Under the typical lifetime employment system, corporations seldom hire middle-aged workers. Companies also avoid hiring older workers because of the higher wages they must be paid under the seniority/age-based wage system. Job offers and placement statistics for older workers are even more discouraging. Table II-4 shows the ratios of the number of job offers to applicants and the

number of successful placement to applicants. The numbers, 0.11 and 0.027 respectively, indicate that there is only one job offer for every ten applicants and that fewer than three out of every 100 applicants at Employment Security Offices can find jobs. Most are heads of households, and more than half of the men aged 55-59 who are "not at work and desiring to work" desire to do so to "maintain their own and family's life."⁴⁵⁾

Table II-4: Activities of Public Employment Security
Offices for Regular Employees by Age (Male)
(Oct. 1983)

	Active Openings/ Active Applicants	Placements/ Active Applicants
Total	0.68	0.058
-19	1.75	0.163
20-24	1.42	0.104
25-29	1.49	0.081
30-34	0.97	0.064
35-39	0.97	0.061
40-49	0.71	0.061
50-54	0.41	0.058
above 54 years	0.11	0.027

Source: Bureau of Employment Security, Ministry of
Labour, Report on Employment Services.

A fifth point is the geographic concentration of unemployment in specific areas. While the average unemployment rate for all of Japan was 2.7 percent in 1984, that of Okinawa was 7.7 percent, that of Fukuoka 4.1 percent, and that of Kochi 4.0 percent.⁴⁶⁾ The unemployed of Okinawa are mainly former workers at U.S. military bases, while those of Fukuoka were mainly coal miners. Recently there has been a conspicuous

increase in the number of unemployed from the ship-building industry along the Setonaikai or Inland Sea.

Sixth, "the existence of vast 'underemployment' or 'hidden unemployment'" used to be cited as a characteristic of Japanese labor until the 1960s, although it is seldom discussed today.⁴⁷⁾ The definition of the term underemployment is still unclear. If it is defined as "those people who have not fully utilized their ability", almost all workers today would fall into this category. For example, the employed including the self-employed and their family workers whose earnings were below certain levels were classified as underemployed.⁴⁸⁾ Workers whose work week was very short or long but with low pay were also named included in this category. The people who urgently need an income often cannot afford to be engaged in job seeking activities and stay employed whatever the wages, hours and labor conditions are.⁴⁹⁾ Two present surveys try to measure this kind of underemployment through a subjective approach, asking if the worker "Desires an Additional Job" or not and if the worker "Desires to Change Jobs" or not.⁵⁰⁾ In 1982, 226,000 or 5.3 percent of all Japanese employees desired an additional job and 4.2 million or 9.8 percent of all employees desired to change jobs. Among those who desired additional jobs, 37 percent were actually seeking jobs, and 35 percent of those who desired to change jobs cited the low wage or temporary nature of their present position as the reason for the desired change.⁵¹⁾ Many conceded that they could not make ends meet without working overtime.⁵²⁾ The results of surveys indicate that there are many part-time workers who desire full-time jobs.

Last, and perhaps most significant, are bankruptcies and "voluntary separation" [kibō taishoku]. In 1985, 18,812 firms went bankrupt with

debts of ten million yen and more because of the drastic change of international exchange rates and for other reasons. As a result thousands of workers lost their jobs, while many were retained by firms reformed under the Corporation Reorganization Law. Furthermore, many workers had left their companies shortly before bankruptcy was declared, some on their own initiative, others through "voluntary separation," and still others due to discharge. While the number of such employees is harder to measure, an approximate figure could be obtained by comparing the number of employees of each corporation during a peak or the year immediately before bankruptcy and the number of employees retained at the moment of bankruptcy. Those who could quickly find new jobs would not appear in the unemployment statistics.

3. Lifetime Employment and Workers' Mobility

Under the Japanese system of "lifetime employment" worker layoffs differ from those in the United States in both the frequency and their execution. Japanese corporations tend not to lay off their employees as quickly as American corporations, usually not until they are on the verge of bankruptcy. Once a Japanese corporation resorts to layoffs, it is not a layoff with recall rights but a formal discharge, a total release.⁵³⁾ The layoff is not based on the seniority rule under which workers with senior service are the last to be released but a discharge aimed at older workers whose wages under the seniority-based wage system tend to be higher than younger workers. Layoffs also are aimed at union activists.

"Lifetime employment" does not mean permanent employment. It should be defined as follows:

Lifetime Employment is an employment system or practice by which (1) a corporation hires its new employees regularly every year in April⁵⁴⁾ from among new graduates; (2) those hired start working without intention to quit the corporation until they retire; (3) the corporation for its part will not layoff or discharge them except on extraordinary occasions until they reach the compulsory retirement age.⁵⁵⁾⁵⁶⁾

While Japanese corporations cannot avoid making adjustment in their workforce due to business fluctuations, these modifications are accomplished in a number of ways without relying on layoffs: First, overtime work is reduced. The long overtime work hours required of employees of Japanese corporations (See p. 92) provides the companies with great latitude in this area. The next step is the reduction of non-regular workers such as temporary, seasonal, in-house subcontract firm workers [shagaikō], as well as part-time workers who are mainly housewives. Many Japanese corporations use an enormous number of such workers. For example, at one time more than half of people working at Toyota plants were seasonal workers and other non-regular workers. In 1973, the year of "oil shock", many corporations eliminated part-time workers. Today approximately 17 percent of the total non-executive employees in Japan belong to the category of non-regular workers.⁵⁷⁾ To eliminate such workers a corporation merely has to wait a few weeks or months until their contracts expire. No layoffs or discharges are necessary, and these workers do not appear in layoff statistics. Extensive use of subcontract firms by larger corporations also enables them to shift the strain to workers in smaller firms. The third step is

the reduction of the number of regular workers through "voluntary separation," which is usually accompanied with some incentives and "patting on the shoulders"[katatataki]. Workers know which of them are expected to "volunteer", and what would happen if they refused and remained on the job. Assignments in unfavorable locations or "window-side" desks far from the floor center where the firms important business is conducted are common forms of punishment.⁵⁸⁾ Here too layoffs or discharges are not necessary for corporations to achieve their goals.⁵⁹⁾

According to 1984 statistics, separations "for reasons of employees' own" account for only 5.4 percent of total separated regular employees,⁶⁰⁾ although in this category many layoffs in a real sense are certainly included. What these figures reveal is that the lifetime employment system is one which exists at the expense of non-regular workers including part-timers as well as subcontracting firm workers.

That those who were hired start working without intending to quit the corporation before they retire does not mean that no employees actually leave their workplaces voluntarily. The turnover rate in Japan in fact is not at all low. Even among regular employees the annual separation rate exceeded 14 percent for 1984.⁶¹⁾ Without such a high turnover rate, it would be impossible for corporations to maintain a pyramid-shaped manpower age structures, a labor configuration which may be regarded as the ideal. Among new high school graduates, about 15 percent quit their jobs within a year and 40 percent within three years.⁶²⁾ The average years of service of all women employees is only 6.5 years.⁶³⁾ Even today the majority of women quit their jobs in their early 20s for such personal reasons as marriage, pregnancy.⁶⁴⁾ The average for male workers is also not necessarily long, particularly among employees

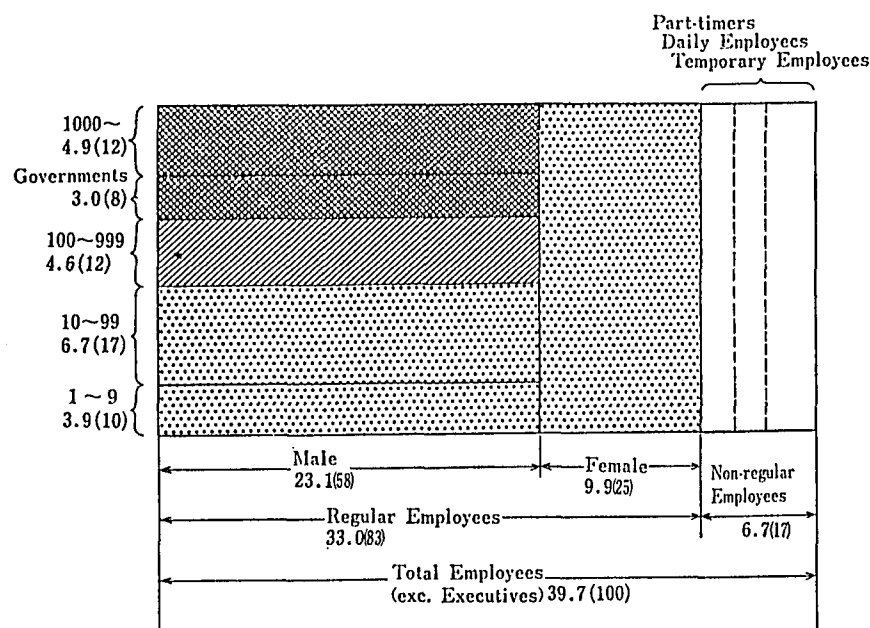
in smaller firms, those with less education, or those engaged in production jobs. The average length of employment of workers in firms of all sizes is 11.6 years, that at firms with 1,000 employees or more is 14.8 years, and that at firms with 10-99 employees is 9.1 years. The average for male college graduates at firms with 1,000 employees or more is 8.9 years for those 30-34 years of age, 18.3 years for the 40-44 age group, and 26.1 years for those 50-54. For junior high graduate workers in firms with 10-99 employees, the average is 5.7 years (30-34 years old), 7.2 years (40-44), and 9.8 years (50-54).⁶⁵⁾

In the 1950s, an American scholar, J.C. Abegglen, found lifetime employment in Japan. He interviewed workers of large corporations and found that all of the corporations present employees began their careers with these same corporations.⁶⁶⁾ While his observations were correct, those he questioned represented but a fraction of the corporations total employees over time. A much larger number had started with this company, but had left Abegglen conducted his interviews. Therefore to the above definition of lifetime employment (p.68), the following sentence should be added:

And (4) it is most typically applicable to male regular workers in big corporations.⁶⁷⁾

Probably, those who are enjoying a real lifetime employment system are but a fifth to a third of all Japanese employees. The following Figure II-6 further illustrates this:

Figure II-6: Who Enjoy the Lifetime Employment System?
(1982)



Source: Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency, *Employment Status Survey*.

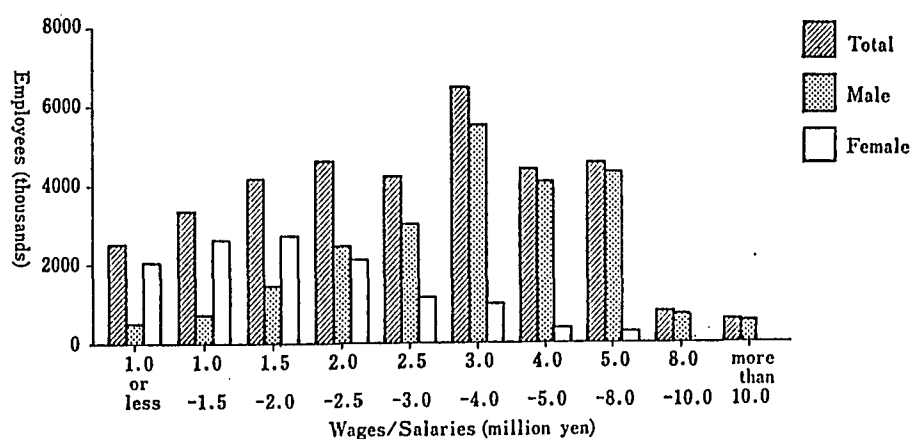
4. Wages and Salaries

The average wage or salary (hereafter referred to as the wage) of all Japanese full-time employees, who worked throughout the year 1984, was 3,400,000 yen or 4,140,000 yen for men and 2,010,000 yen for women.⁶⁸⁾ Although it is not certain how meaningful these figures would be if converted to dollar values, they are roughly equivalent to U.S. \$19,000, \$23,000 and \$11,000, respectively, at the rate of 180 yen to the dollar.⁶⁹⁾

Figure II-7 is the distribution of annual wages by sex. Half of all employees fall into wage classes between ¥1,860,000 [\$10,300] and ¥4,300,000 [\$23,900] with the median being ¥2,870,000 [\$15,900]). Ninety percent earned ¥6,520,000 [\$36,200] or less. The median of men's

wages was ¥3,640,000 [\$20,200], the first quartile ¥2,620,000 [\$14,600] and the third quartile ¥4,940,000 [\$27,400]. The median of women's wages was ¥1,770,000 [\$9,800], the first quartile ¥1,200,000 [\$6,700], and the third quartile ¥2,420,000 [\$13,400].

Figure II-7: Distribution of Wages/Salaries
by Sex (1984)



Source: National Tax Administration, ed., Wages/Salaries in Private Firms.

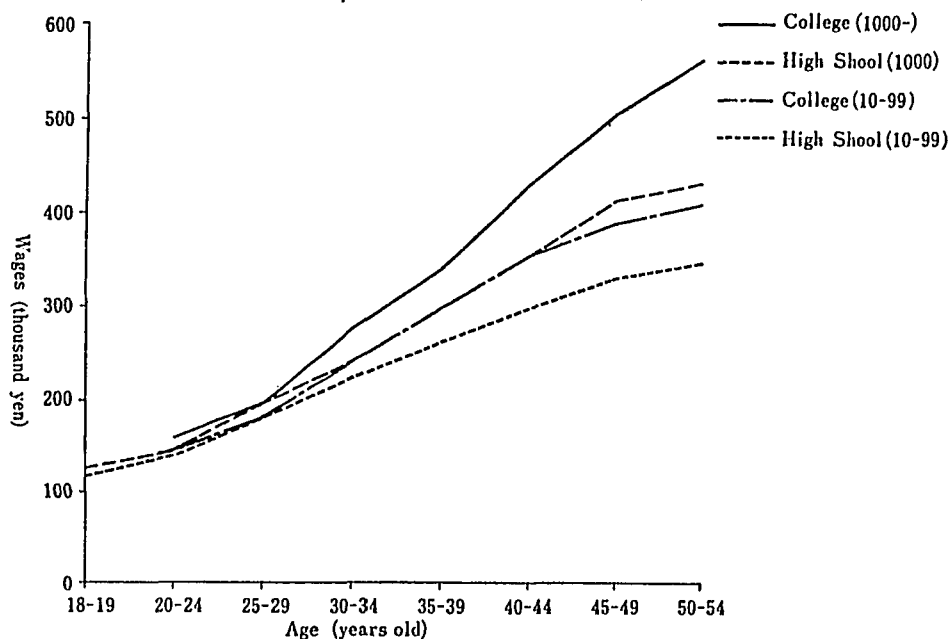
These figures include not only the straight time wage and various allowances, but also a considerable amount of bonus and overtime pay. For example, of the ¥3,400,000 average wage of all full-time employees, ¥710,000 was bonuses with some ¥250,000 estimated to be overtime pay. The former is equivalent to 3.5 month regular pay⁷⁰⁾ and the latter is for 180 hours.⁷¹⁾ Bonuses are usually paid twice a year in June and December, and the size of bonus ranges from nothing to a sum equivalent to 6 month regular pay depending on the company. Contrary to the image of the term bonus, this amount does not vary much in response to the business climate but rather is a sum fixed by each company. The typical

premium rate for overtime work in Japan is 125 percent of the regular pay,⁷²⁾ the minimum level required by Labor Standards Act. Annual overtime for men amounted to 228 hours.⁷³⁾

One of the features of Japanese wage system is the so-called seniority wage system. Under this system there is a large wage differential base on age and length of service in the company. Figure II-8 illustrates the wage increase in response to the age or years of service of "standard workers" who supposedly graduated from schools or universities without repeating the same classes, entered their companies immediately upon graduation, and continued working for these companies without significant leaves of absence or special reprimands.

The average starting salary for male high school graduates was ¥120,000 [\$6,700] per month in 1986, while that for male college

Figure II-8: Wages of Standard Workers by Education and Size
(Male; All Industries) (1984)



Source: Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey of Wage Structure.

graduates was ¥140,000.⁷⁴⁾ These figures are expected to increase by three and a half to four times by the time these workers reach the 50-54 year old age bracket---the ratio was much higher in the late 1950s. Seniority wage is a system in which the wage level rises steadily along with an increase in the age and years of service of the employee, regardless of the skill level of the worker or the content of the assigned job. It is generally assumed that skill levels and job contents as well as the contribution to and positions in the corporations increase as the years pass. While it is also thought that at some point these also level off or start to decline, wages nevertheless continue to increase. As an extreme case, as a model, a worker will realize a steady increase in his wages over the years even if he is engaged in exactly the same job.

The traditional seniority wage system has been modified in recent decades, but the basic structure still remains intact, especially in the public sector.⁷⁵⁾

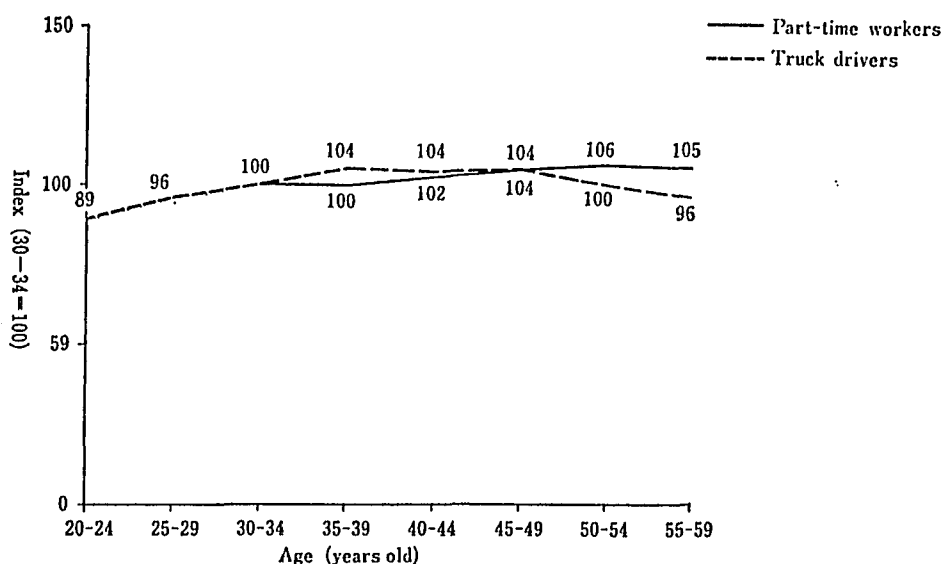
While it is often remarked that one of the benefits of the seniority wage system is that it is a wage system to guarantee the living cost, historically the practice has been closely related to the low level of Japanese wage. Starting salaries are set at a subsistence level for single worker. Wages are then increased as workers age and incur greater living expenses after marriage and the birth of children.

Workers subject to this seniority wage system also generally enjoy the benefits of lifetime employment system. In practice, seniority wage tends to be reserved for white collar males with a higher level of education in large companies. Workers who do not stay with the same organization for a long time not only do not reap the benefits of this

system, but on the contrary are harmed by it, when they attempt to change jobs in mid-career.

Non-regular workers such as temporary, daily and part-time employees are excluded from the system from the start. In 1984, for example, wages of part-time workers who make up the majority of non-regular workers today were around 570 yen [\$3.20] per hour,⁷⁶⁾ and did not increase significantly with age or years of service. This is the case for many types of outdoor workers as well. (Figure II-9)

Figure II-9: Part-timers' and Outdoor Workers' Wages (1984)



Source: Part-time Workers: MOL, Basic Survey of Wage Structure (1984)

Outdoor Workers: MOL, Survey of Outdoor Workers' Wages by Trade (1984)

Wages in Japan also vary considerably depending on the size of the enterprise. Taking the average wage at large corporations as 100, that of middle-sized firms is indexed at 70-80, while that of small firms

comes to only 50 to 65. (Table II-5) These differences are those of per capita wages as personnel costs and not necessarily of the levels of the wages received by each worker. For composition of work force varies significantly depending on the size of firms. Large corporations, for example, tend to have more higher-educated employees and employees with longer tenure of service. Laspeyres formula should be employed here. An examination of workers with similar qualifications and circumstances in firms of different sizes will be very revealing. The wages of 50-54 year old male college graduates engaged in non-production employment in manufacturing industries was ¥9.70 million [\$53,900] (100) for the companies with 1,000 or more employees, ¥7.23 million [\$40,200] (75) for those with 100-999 employees, and ¥5.55 million [\$30,800] (57) for smaller firms with 10-99 employees. Wages of 35-39 years old male, high school graduate production employees in the same industries were ¥4.73 million [\$26,300] (100) for firms with over 1,000 employees, ¥4.09 million [\$22,700] (86) for those with 100-999 workers, and ¥3.56 million

Table II-5: Wage Differences by Size
of Enterprise (1984)

Number of Regular Employees		Size of Capital (Ltd.)	
1000 & over		¥1 billion-	100
		¥100 million-	81
100-999		¥ 50 million-	73
		¥ 10 million-	71
10- 99		-¥10 million	66
		Private Concerns	47

Source: MOL, Basic Survey of Wage Structure(1984).
National Tax Administration, Wages/
Salaries in Private Firms (1984).

[\$19,800] (75) for those with 10-99.⁷⁷⁾

Some part of these difference particularly in the older age groups can be readily explained. Maximum responsibility comes more quickly to workers in smaller organizations than to those in larger firms. There is, however, often a more arbitrary reason for wage differences between parent corporations and subcontract firms; the larger companies will not allow their subordinates higher wages due simply to prestige and power.

The low level of wages in Japan continues to be a major problem. In accordance with provisions established by the Minimum Wage Act, the minimum wages which apply not only to regular workers but also students, part-time workers among others, are decided by three party commissions in each prefecture and by labor-management agreements in various industries.⁷⁸⁾ In 1985, prefectural minimum wages ranged from 395 yen [\$2.20] to 477 yen [\$2.70] per hour and from 3,155 yen [\$17.50] to 3,691 yen [\$20.50] per day. Industrial minimum wages are set at higher levels and range from ¥488-¥550 [\$2.70-3.10] per hour to ¥3,780-¥4,010 [\$21.00-22.30] in case of Tokyo as of April 1, 1986.⁷⁹⁾

In spite of these legal safeguards a large number of firms violate these minimum wages. According to a governmental survey covering workers in firms with 10 or more regular employees, 6 percent of all female part-time workers and 1 percent of all regular workers had their regular wages below the weighted prefectural average minimum wages.⁸⁰⁾ There are probably even more similar cases in smaller firms with fewer than 10 employees. Every year the Labor Standards Bureau of the Ministry of Labour conducts inspections of firms to insure that workers are receiving the minimum wage and finds five to six thousand violations out of 30,000 cases or nearly 20 percent who fail to comply with the

law.⁸¹⁾ The welfare allowance for a standard four member family (father, 35 years old, daily employed; mother, 30 years old, housewife; and two children, ages four and nine) is 187,050 yen [\$1,040] per month in Tokyo and other large cities.⁸²⁾ The head of the household who receives the 1986 Tokyo prefectural minimum wage for working 25 days per month would make only ¥92,275, or half the welfare level.

In some cases payment of wages is delayed or not received at all. Many such complaints and consultations of are handled by government field offices. The Labor Administration Offices of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government received 29,240 consultations in 1984, of which 1,807 cases involved the failure of employers to pay workers their earned wages. Taking only cases involving part-time workers, 183 out of 2,628 consultations involved employers delinquent in their payment of wages.⁸³⁾ Labour Standards Inspection Offices found 2,293 such cases in their regular inspections covering 176,910 firms in the same year. These, too, are believed to be but the tip of the iceberg.

5. Fringe Benefits

Extensive fringe benefits have also been mentioned in many textbooks as another characteristic of the Japanese employment system.

Table II-6 is a list of fringe benefits. Other than paid vacations and holidays which are usually not discussed as fringe benefits in Japan, almost all of the fringe benefits enjoyed by workers in the United States can be found here. In addition there are benefits such as recreational and sports facilities and clubs, field days, employees'

Table II- 6: Workers' Welfare Facilities & Programs (1983)

Facilities & Programs	Expenses (yen) (%)	
A. Legally Required Payments	25,793	49.6
National Health Insurance	9,503	
Welfare Pension Insurance	10,724	
Workers' Compensation Insurance	2,587	
Unemployment Insurance	2,521	
Child Allowance	188	
Coal Miners' Pension	1	
Seamens' Insurance	172	
Handicapped People Employment Penalty 1)	83	
Workers' Compensation Allowance 2)	13	
B. Voluntary Payments	9,350	18.0
Housing (Company Housing, Dormitory, Home Ownership Program (loans, etc.)	3,802	
Medical & Health (Hospitals, Clinics, Checkups, Physical Trainings, etc.)	616	
Meals (Cafeteria, Free Lunch, Lunch Expense Supplement, etc.)	1,353	
Culture, Sports & Recreation (Library, Facilities for Flower Arrangement, Tea Ceremony, Sewing, Cooking, etc., Gyms, Sports Fields, Resort Inns & Hotels, Field Days, Cultural Festivals, Employees' Trips, Play-goings, Subsidies for Various Employee Circles, Scholarships, etc.)	1,085	
Private Insurances (Life Insurance, etc.)	654	
Supplemental Workers' Compensation	244	
Celebrating & Condolence Gifts (Wedding, Babybirth, Disaster, Sickness & Injury, Parting, Death, etc.)	331	
Subsidies for Worker's Assets-Making Deposits	180	
Others (Barber & Beauty Shops, Day Care Centers, Discount Stores, Home Help, Wedding Halls, Consultation & Counselling Service, Commuting Bus Services, Contributions to Mutual Aid Societies, Stock Ownership Program, Health Insurance Supplemental Benefits, Birthday Parties, Clothes for Rent, etc.)	1,087	
C. Retirement Allowance, etc.	12,333	23.7
Lump Sum Allowance,		
Smaller Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Project Pension		
D. Education and Training	1,058	2.0
E. Others (Seasonal Pass, Company Goods, Recruitment, Uniforms, Moving Expenses, Inhouse Newsletters, Commendations, etc.)	3,422	6.6
Total Labor Cost Besides Cash Wages/Salaries	51,956	100.0

Source: *Workers' Welfare Facilities and Programs Survey Report. 1983* (Tokyo: Ministry of Labor, 1985)

- 1) The Handicapped People Employment Promotion Act requires corporations whose percentage of handicapped employees have not met set guidelines to pay penalties.
- 2) Corporations are obliged to pay on-the-job sickness and injury allowances for the first three days of absence.

trips, wedding halls, and uniforms which are not often found in the United States. The average monthly expenditure per person for fringe benefits amounts to ¥52,000 [\$290] or nearly 20% of the average monthly wage of ¥287,000 [\$1,600].

While these benefits are indeed very extensive in both scope and amount, they are, however, not necessarily more extensive than those provided for workers in, for example, the United States where one would find special medical expenses such as vasectomies, tubal ligations, and abortions, which are practically unknown on Japan as part of the package of benefits. In the United States the expenditure for nonwage benefits amounts to as much as 37 percent of payroll.⁸⁴⁾ Even excluding payments for time not worked, the figure is still 24 percent. The labor's relative share in Japan is 35.2 percent compared with 45.5 percent for the United States, 53.3 percent in West Germany, and a rate of 56.3 percent in the Great Britian.⁸⁵⁾

Fringe benefits in Japan as in the United States are first divided into those required and not required by law. The amount of money expended for each group is roughly the same with the expenditure for benefits not legally required increasing recently. The three main benefits are for retirement, health and housing. Forty five percent of total expenditures goes for retirement-related benefits, twenty percent for health-related ones and seven percent for housing. Besides National Health Insurance and Welfare Pension Insurance premiums legally required payments such as Workers' Compensation and Unemployment Insurance premiums make up 11 percent of total expenditures. Only 17 percent remains for all other benefits. Furthermore, some items such as sports and cultural clubs, sports days, and company excursions should perhaps

be thought of simply as management techniques for promoting corporate identity and loyalty, while others including recruitment cost and uniforms as direct personnel and production management costs. Still others such as the fully equipped gymnasiums which are rarely used by ordinary employees but are instead reserved for the companies semi-professional teams would be more accurately viewed as public relations expenditures than fringe benefits, although most fringe benefits function more or less in the same way.

Major differences between the fringe benefits provided by companies in the United States and Japan are as follows: (1) While both countries have social security old age and retirement benefits, corporate pensions in Japan are not as extensive as those in the United States. The traditional form of retirement allowance provided by corporations in Japan is not a monthly pension but a lump sum payment, yet recently more corporations have given their employees either choice between or a pension that is a combination of the two forms. This has been done partly in order to prolong the immediate expenditures.⁸⁶⁾ (p.122) (2) Because health insurance in Japan has been nationalized, the major share of health expenditures is listed as a legally required premium instead of private health insurance that is not legally required. (3) In terms of housing benefits, company houses for general employees which used to be the dominant form are now mainly reserved for transferred employees. This is particularly true in large corporations. The primary benefit today is the low interest housing loan. A loan of twenty million yen at 3.0 percent interest is a typical example.⁸⁷⁾ (4) More interlocking between corporate fringe benefits and public benefits is observed in Japan. For example, large corporations as well as smaller

corporations working in concert are allowed under the Health Insurance Act and Welfare Pension Act to organize their own health insurance unions and welfare pension funds to implement the national insurances in lieu of the government. Companies are also allowed the freedom to provide additional voluntary benefits utilizing the funds raised from their own employees as premiums. One example of this is that most recreational facilities have been administered by these health insurance unions and not by the corporations directly. "Overhaul" medical checkups [niningen dokku] are just one of the benefits under this provision.

In Japan it is not enough to look only at benefits provided by corporations. Particularly in large companies and governments on the various levels, welfare programs and benefits are provided not only by management directly but also through three other channels, mutual aid societies, labor unions, and health insurance unions and welfare pension funds as mentioned above. Mutual aid societies are financed by corporations and the membership fees paid by employees and are run by company management and in some case jointly by management and labor unions. Labor unions in Japan are most typically organized by and limited to the employees of a single company. Table II-7 is the program of welfare benefits offered by T Department Store, one of the leading department stores in Japan. The four channels mentioned above often have overlapping benefits and programs.

A recent trend in Japan is the restructuring of the benefits and programs provided by corporations, labor unions, mutual aid societies and health insurance unions and welfare pension funds into a single, more organized form called Comprehensive Lifetime Welfare Plans. With the aid of statistical studies and past experiences, these plans

Table II- 7: T Department Store Welfare Benefits And Programs

Life Cycle Items	Benefits & Programs	Company Aid	Mutual Health Society	Insurance Union	Labor Union
Saving	General Assets-Making Savings	×			
	Assets-Making Saving Bounty	×			
	Employee Stock Ownership Program	×			
	Internal Ordinary Savings	×			
	Lifetime Living Expenses Guarantee Program		×		
Housing	Housing Assets-Making Savings	×			
	Housing Loan Corporation's Loan				
	Welfare Public Pension Sublet Loan	×			
	Housing Assets-Making Loan	×			
Health & Leisure	Physical Checkups by Age			×	
	Checkups for Employees under Surveillance		×		
	Dental Checkups			×	
	Short-term Clinical Survey			×	
	Computerized 3 Hour Checkups			×	
	Resort Inns & Hotels under direct management	×			
	Entertainments for Employees' Family Members	×			
	Group Contests	×			
	Discount & Complimentary Tickets (TDA etc.)	×	×		×
	Sports Competitions		×	×	
	Subsidy to Travels by Shop/Office		×		
	Internal Sports Contests		×		
	Seiwa Circles(Tea Ceremony, Flower Arrangement, Koto, etc.)		×		
	Athletic Field & Subsidy for its use	×			
	Resort Inns & Hotels under contract			×	
	Scholarship for Employees	×			
	50% Tuition Subsidy for Correspondence Courses	×			
	50% Tuition Subsidy for Cultural Courses under contract	×			
	Various Lectures		×		
	Original Seminars		×		
	Union Center Facility				×
	Cultural & Sports Activities				×
Marriage & Delivery	Wedding Gift		×		
	Baby Gift		×		
	Delivery Expenses			×	
	Childbirth Allowance			×	
	Childcare Allowance			×	
	Honeymoon Leave	×			
	Maternity Leave	×			
	A Childcare Book			×	
	Special Discount Tickets for Company's Merchandise	×			
	Wedding Halls under contract		×		
Schools & Education	Childcare Leave of Absence	×			
	Entering School Gift		×		
	Mutual Aid Society Loan		×		
	Loan for Living Expenses (Workers' Credit Cooperative)				×
	Free Loan	×			

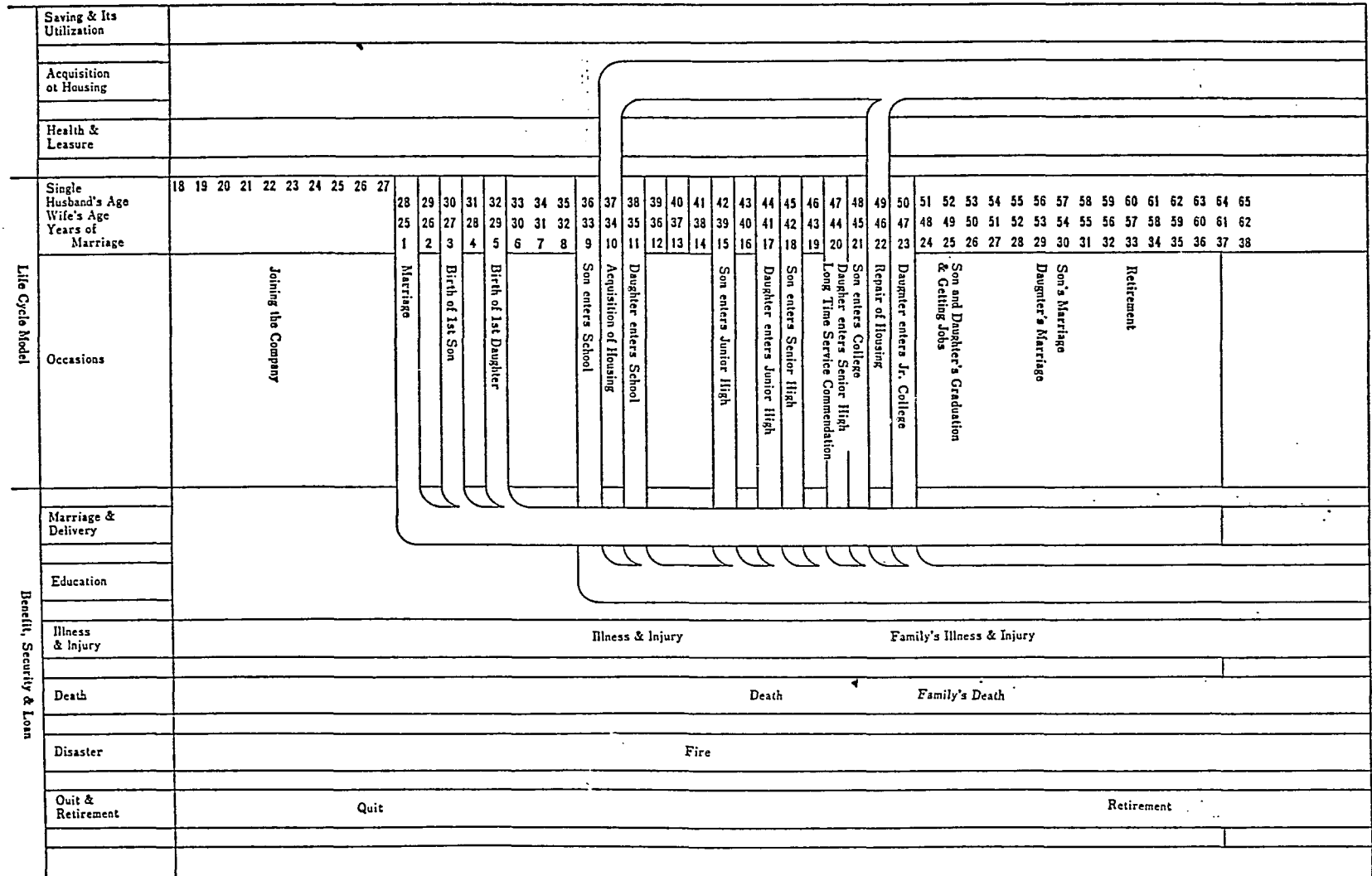
Life Cycle Items	Benefits & Programs	Company	Mutual Aid Society	Health Insurance Union	Labor Union
Sickness & Injuries	Medical Benefits under Health Insurance		×		
	Cash Present in token of sympathy for On-the-job Injuries	×			
	Cash Present in token of sympathy for Long Term Medical Treatment		×	×	
	Sickness & Injuries Allowance			×	
	Medical Benefits (Excess expense for beds, practical nurses, etc.)		×		
	Workers' Compensation	×			
	Medical Benefits for Family Members			×	
	Supplementary Allowance for Family Members' Medical Treatment			×	
	Family Member Major Medical Expense			×	
	Home Help Program		×		
	Cancer Insurance	×			
	Iniury Insurance	×			
Death of Employees & Family Members	Death Retirement Allowance	×			
	Benefits under Survivor's Insurance	×			
	Survivor's Annuity		×		
	Scholarship Pension		×		
	Condolence Gift & Floral Offering	×			×
	Cost of Burial, Supplemental Allowance & Floral Offering			×	
	Survivor's Pension	(Welfare Pension Insurance)			
	Condolence Gift & Floral Offering for Family Member's Death	×			
	Cost of Burial & Supplemental Allowance for Family Member's Death			×	
	Mourning Leave	×			
	Life Insurance (Employees pay premiums.)	×			
Disasters	Cash present in token of sympathy for Disasters		×		
	Emergency Loan	×			
	Mutual Aid Society Loan		×		
	Fire Mutual Aid Insurance			×	
	Nonlife Insurance (Employees pay premiums.)		×		
Retirement	Retirement Allowance/Pension	×			
	Parting Gift		×		
	Commendation of Long Service & Memorials	×			
	Special Vacation & Gratuity in recognition of Long Service	×			
	Complimentary Tickets for shopping at T Group Stores	×			
	Old Age Pension	(Welfare Pension Insurance)			
	Career Partner Program	×			
	Participation in Health Insurance (Voluntary)			×	

Source : T Department Store Welfare Mutual Aid Society, *Welfare Guidebook*

attempt to anticipate and predict the needs of employees at various stages of their lives and then to allocate programs and benefits which are thought suitable to fulfill these needs. Although plans vary with the corporation, the example of T Department Store given in Figure II-10 is thought to be typical.

Under the system of lifetime employment, employees enter companies at the age of 18 for high school graduates, 20 in the case of junior college graduates or 22 if they are university graduates. Later when the employees marry (at 28 years for men and 25 for women according to statistical average), a wedding gift valued at 30,000 yen [\$170] is provided by the Mutual Aid Society in addition to a consecutive six day marriage paid vacation. The Guidebook on T Department Store Plan reads: "Standard wedding costs are approximately 2,700,000 yen [\$15,000]. One should use the Assets-Making [Zaikei] Saving⁸⁸⁾ to help meet those costs." If these funds are still insufficient, the employee is eligible for a Mutual Aid Loan of up to 1,000,000 yen [\$5,600] at 6 percent interest. Special discount tickets for the purchase of company merchandise and Wedding Halls contracted by the Mutual Aid Society are also available. At the time of the birth of the first child(son), which on the average takes places within two years after marriage, the couple receive a baby gift valued at 15,000 yen [\$80] from the Mutual Aid Society, delivery expenses of 150,000 yen [\$830] or half the employee's monthly salary whichever is higher in addition to 20,000 yen [\$110], a childbirth allowance which amounts to 60 percent of the "standardized daily earning" for 84 days, child care allowance of 2,000 yen and a book of parenthood and child rearing from the Health Insurance Union, an eight week unpaid vacation before and after childbirth, and a one year

Figure II-10: A Comprehensive Lifetime Welfare Plan (T Department Store)



childcare leave of absence. Again two years later, when on the average the second child(daughter) is born, the same list of benefits are repeated.

When male employees reach the age of 36, the first born usually entering elementary school and consequently receives a gift of 5,000 yen [\$30] or its equivalent to make the occasion. The next year it is about the time to buy a house whose price should be around ¥25,000,000 [\$140,000]. By this time employees are expected to have saved more than 5,000,000 yen [\$28,000] through Assets-Making Housing Saving, a plan by which a certain amount is deducted from every monthly paychecks and placed in an account that earns higher interest rates than a regular bank savings account. In addition management contributes a certain percentage of the balance as an incentive. ¥5,000,000 [\$28,000] is then borrowed from the Public Housing Loan Corporation with the balance borrowed from the Welfare Pension Insurance Sublease Loan and Assets-Making Housing Loan, whose interest rates are significantly lower than those charged by regular banks.....When the children enter college, other loans are available from the Mutual Aid Society, the company and labor unions. Loans are also available for other occasions and needs.

When employees retire at the age of 60, they receive a retirement allowance which amounts to fifty-three times their basic pay for one month for those⁸⁹⁾ who joined the company by the age of 22 or who have at least 38 years of service with the company. Instead of a single lump sum payment, employees can select a plan by which 60 percent of the retirement allowance is paid at the time of retirement with the remaining 40 percent paid in the form of a corporate pension spread over 10 years. Other forms of financial assistance received by employees at

the time of retirement are severance pay of 100,000 yen [\$560] from the Mutual Aid Society, a reward for long term service in the form of gifts from the company and the labor union, an eight day paid vacation in recognition of services rendered, and a gratuity of 100,000 yen [\$560] paid by the company within six months of retirement. Gift coupons good at T Group stores are presented by the company in the form of ten sets valued at 20,000 yen [\$110] each and each valid for a six month period. Among other benefits is two year health insurance coverage under the T Health Insurance Union.

If employees suffer from fires and other disasters while employed with the company, they receive a maximum of 2,000,000 yen [\$11,000] from the Mutual Aid Society as a token of sympathy. An interest free emergency loan of up to 1,000,000 yen [\$5,600] is also available from the company as well as another loan of up to 1,000,000 yen [\$5,600] from the Mutual Aid Society. Fire insurance from the labor union and damage insurance from the company are also available at advantageous rates. Various benefits and assistance programs are also provided in times of illness, injuries, or death to employees or their family members. Until recently in most corporations the death of an employee away from the workplace was said to have been the only event for which no benefits were available. But now in some leading corporations this coverage is also available leading a union leader of another leading department store to say, "I have mixed feelings. People cannot leave the company any more. As long as they stay with the company, they can at least live and die decently. A union leader at P Electric Company when asked if there were any other benefits the union desired replied, "No, not

really," and added that if there were, "Management would accept whatever demands we make in this area."

The difference between large and small firms is more pronounced in the area fringe benefits than in wages and salaries. Table II-8 indicates the expenditure for fringe benefits by size. The ratio is 100:80:50. It is understandably difficult for small firms to compete on the same level in this area with larger corporations and run large scale pension, retirement allowance, or supplemental health programs, provide huge amounts of money for housing loans, or build and administer facilities which require extensive capital investment such as hospitals, gyms, play grounds, resort inns, and hotels. Only the most typical Japanese fringe benefits such as condolence and congratulation gifts and employees' trips are available at small firms.

Table II-8: Labor Costs Besides Cash Payments
by Size of Enterprise (1983)

	Total Labor Cost	Cash Payment	Labor Cost besides Cash Payment	
Total	338,942	286,986	51,956	
5000 & more			77,918	100
1000-4999			61,160	78
300-999			47,813	61
100-299			40,179	52
30-99				

Source: Ministry of Labour, Workers' Welfare Facilities & Programs Survey [Rōdōsha Fukushi Shisetsu Seido Tō Chōsa], 1983.

6. Working Hours

Long working hours in Japan have been a target of criticism in the international community. The annual average working hours of production workers in manufacturing industries in Japan are 2,152 hours as opposed to 1,898 in the United States, 1,938 in the United Kingdom, 1,613 in West Germany and 1,659 in France.⁹⁰⁾ Japan is the only country with more than 2,000 hours, 500 more than in either West Germany or France.

Long working hours in Japan are the results of three factors, long fixed weekly working hours, a great deal of overtime, and few days off.

The Labour Standard Act and its regulations stipulate a maximum regular pay workweek of 48 hours for general workers and 54 hours for workers in firms with fewer than 10 employees in retail and service industries. The counterparts in the United States and European countries are 40 hours or less. Many Japanese corporations still work their employees the maximum number of hours allowed by law. Table II-9 details distribution of weekly regular working hours in 1983.

Table II-9: Number of Workers by Weekly Regular Working Hours(1983)

	Less than 40 Hours	40 Hours	More Than 40 Less Than 44	44 Hours	More Than 44 Less Than 48	48 Hours
Total	32.9	15.7	21.1	5.0	10.8	14.7
1,000-	52.4	28.5	13.5	1.7	2.4	1.7
100-999	25.2	9.0	28.2	7.7	13.2	16.8
10-99	7.1	1.8	23.9	7.2	23.1	36.9

Source: Ministry of Labour, Wage & Working Hours Systems Survey
[Chingin Rodo-jikan Seido Chosa], 1984.

The average regular work hours per worker in firms with 10 or more employees is 41.4 hours. This is due primarily to the fact that the majority of workers in large corporations has a work week of 40 hours or less. Nevertheless fifteen percent of workers in firms with 10 employees or more work 48 hour weeks with nearly one third of these workers on the job of 44 hours or longer per week. In general the smaller the company, the longer the employees' work week. Nearly forty percent of workers in firms with 10-99 employees work 48 hour weeks. The regular working hours of employees in firms with less than 10 employees are still longer.

A forty eight hour work week means eight hours of work six days a week, and a 44 hour work week cuts the Saturday work load in half. Data issued by the government claims that close to 80 percent of all Japanese workers enjoy a five day work week. These figures, however, also include workers who work a partial 5 day work week or a work schedule with a 5 day work week once, twice, or three times a month or every other week.

Table II-10: Distribution of Workers
by The Form of Work Week(1983)

	6 Day Work Week	5 Day & Half Work Week	Total	5 Day Work Week Complete	3 times Every Other Week	Twice	Once
Total	22.1	0.8	77.1	27.0	7.7	10.9	14.7
1,000-	3.1	0.3	96.7	48.9	9.2	10.8	9.7
100-999	25.2	1.3	73.5	15.6	8.2	13.2	18.3
10-99	54.5	0.9	44.6	3.2	3.9	7.4	11.5

Source: Ministry of Labour, Wage & Working Hour Systems Survey, 1984.

In this survey only 27 percent of workers in firms with 10 or more employees regularly work a 5 day week, and this is primarily the case for workers in large corporations. (Table II-10)

In terms of overall working hours, however, the size of a firm seems to be a less of a factor. The shorter monthly regular working hours in the larger enterprises are compensated for longer overtime working hours, as revealed in Table II-11.

Table II-11: Average Monthly Hours Worked
by Regular Employee by Size
of Establishment (1983)

	Total	Regular Working Hours	Overtime Working Hours
500-	173.5	156.7	16.8
100-499	174.3	160.8	13.5
30- 99	175.8	164.3	11.5
5- 29	182.6	-	-

Source: MOL, Monthly Labour Survey

In corporations with 500 or more employees, the average monthly overtime amounts to 17 hours or 202 hours per year. Regardless of the stipulation of the maximum working hours of 48 hours or 54, Article 36 of the Labour Standards Act in Japan allows the employer to "extend the working hours if he reaches an agreement with the trade union when there is a union which is composed of a majority of the workers at the workplace, or with the person representing a majority of the workers when there is not such a union..." Most firms have such agreements. It is not rare that workers have to work on their off-Saturdays, Sundays and Holidays and cannot take substitute holidays.⁹¹⁾

In Japan there are much fewer days-off both on paper and in practice than in the United States. Japan has twelve national holidays,⁹²⁾ a number is similar to that in the United States, and most firms have 5-6 day holidays around January 1 and may also have 3-4 days off around August 15, the Festival of the Death.⁹³⁾ While there are 6 to 20 annual paid personal holidays on average depending on the length of service, there is, strictly speaking, no concept of vacation in Japan. The Labour Standards Act reads:

Article 39. The employer shall grant an annual holiday with pay of six consecutive working days or that divided into parts to the workers who have been employed continuously for a year and were present over eighty per cent of the whole working days.

2. The employer shall grant an increased annual holiday with pay by one working day per one year of continuous service exceeding the above one year of continuous service in addition to the annual holiday specified in the foregoing paragraph to the workers who have worked continuously for two or more years. However, in case the total number of days of the holiday with pay exceeds 20 days, the employer may not give a holiday with pay so far as the excess is concerned.

Some corporations give more than the minimum number of annual paid personal holidays, particularly to workers with short service tenures, but few give more than 20 days to workers with 15 years of service. (Table II-12)

The reason why it is said that Japanese annual paid personal holidays are different from vacations can be seen by an examination of how they are utilized. According to one survey, half of the annual paid personal holidays are used in times of illness of the employee or of a member of his family and for ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals. Only a quarter of these days are used for cultural

Table II-12: Numbers of Paid Personal Holidays Given
by Size of Enterprise (as of 1980)

	Years of Service				
	Less Than 1	1 Year	5 years	10 Years	20 years
	days	%			
Total	5.6 (43.2)		7.0	11.1	15.8
	[10.0]		[6.0]	[10.0]	[15.0]
1,000-	8.1 (90.6)		10.7	14.3	18.2
100-999	5.8 (58.4)		7.4	11.5	16.3
10- 99	5.3 (35.7)		6.7	10.8	15.6
					19.9

Source: MOL, Wages & Working Hours System Survey

(); The percentage of enterprises which give paid personal holidays to workers with less than one year of service.

[]; Legally required number of paid personal holidays.

activities, leisure and amusement. Despite separate provisions for sick, congratulation and condolence leaves, the common practice is to use up one's annual paid personal holidays prior to using these leaves. Also even in cases when annual paid personal holidays are used for leisure and relaxation, the common practice is to use them, not in the block, but a few days at a time.

The percentage of annual paid personal holidays used is low, only 60 percent. (Table II-13) Some of the reasons workers cited for this low percentage were that they were too busy to take time off,

Table II-13:
Paid Personal Holidays Used
per Worker (Days Used/Days Given)
(Oct. 1982-Sep. 1983)

Total	60%
1,000-	61
100-999	58
10- 99	56

Source: MOL, Wage & Working
Hours System Survey

they feared their absence would be a burden to their co-workers, or the atmosphere at the workplace discouraged them from fully using their time off.⁹⁴⁾

7. Safety & Health

"To secure working people's safety and health is the base of the whole occupational welfare...."⁹⁵⁾ In this respect, matters of employees' occupational safety and health issue are more important to the welfare of workers than wage issues.

The two indices which are most commonly used to show the safety and health situation of workers in various countries are frequency rate (the number of injuries divided by the total number of hours worked multiplied by 1,000,000) and severity rate (the number of working days lost divided by the total number of hours worked multiplied by 1,000). Table II-14 shows those rates in 1983 of firms with 100 or more employees.

These figures reveal that forestry, mining and services industries such as laundries, automobile repair services, machine repair shops, building maintenance services and waste management services are the three most dangerous industries, and that the smaller the size of the firm, the more dangerous. The frequency rate of transport and communication and the severity rate of general construction are also high.

What these figures unfortunately do not convey is how many workers and what proportion of workers actually suffered from industrial

Table II-14: Industrial Injury Rates (Establishments with 100 or More Employees) (1983)

a. By Industry

	Frequency Rate	Severity Rate
All Industries 1)	3.03	0.30
Forestry	18.06	1.48
Mining	14.06	2.53
General construction 2)	2.28	0.88
Trade Construction & Equipment Construction	1.46	0.39
Manufacturing	1.97	0.22
Transport & Communication	5.39	0.41
Electricity, Gas, Water & Steam	1.16	0.11
Services 3)	9.13	0.78

1) Excluding general construction.

2) Sites of construction are covered where workmen's insurance premium is more than 600,000 yen, or contract price is more than 90 million yen.

3) Laundries, automobile repair services, machine repair shops, building maintenance services, and waste management services.

b. By Size of Establishment

	Frequency Rate	Severity Rate
1000-	1.17	0.19
500-999	1.51	0.24
300-499	2.54	0.31
100-299	4.85	0.38

Source: Ministry of Labour, Survey on Industrial Injuries.

injuries. This is vividly illustrated in the Workers' Compensation Insurance statistics. (Japan has the similar legal framework to the United States, that is, Occupational Safety & Health Act plus Workers' Compensation Insurance Act.) 921,000 workers or 2.6 percent of all insured workers in 1984⁹⁶⁾ were injured and received workers'

compensation benefits. This is a figure almost one third greater than the approximately 663,000 who were killed or injured in traffic accidents that year. Furthermore, a significant part of traffic accidents and related injuries involved work related activities. On-the-job traffic accidents make up a large share of industrial accidents.⁹⁷⁾ These are handled by under Automobile Reparation Liability Insurance and not included in the on-the-job accident statistics.

At any rate among the 921,000 involved in accidents in 1984, 2,214 suffered fatal injuries and 270,000 were disabled for at least four days. Two thirds of these more serious injuries occurred in construction and manufacturing industries and more than 90 percent in firms with fewer than 300 employees. More specifically, out of every 1,000 workers 63 in mining industries, more than 43 in forestry industries, and 33 in port and transport industries sustained fatal or disabling injuries that resulted in the loss of at least four work days.⁹⁸⁾

Even Putting the traffic accidents statistics aside, these figures fail to illustrate gravity of the situation. There are some organizations such as non-production public employees, employees in business directly administered by the state, and seamen not covered by workers' compensation insurance. Leading corporations sometimes conceal deaths and injuries to maintain their non-accidents records and win official commendations. Utilization of health insurance instead of workers' compensation insurance for medical consultations and treatment is also a well-known practice.

The figures of those injured are also misleading. They could tell for example 2.6 persons out of 100 are injured within a year, but not the percentage of workers who would come across an occupational accident

in the span of five years, ten years, or their whole career life. The figure used for the denominator in the calculation to get the 2.6 percent is the annual insured workers, who are however not replaced all every year. Suppose every year 10 percent of participants of workers' compensation insurance retire for good and the same number of workers newly join the program. Then, the real total number of workers for the denominators would be only 1.5 times or twice, not 5 or 10 times, for five or ten years as many as that for a year. Consequently, not 2.6 percent but 8.7 percent or 13 percent, that is, one out of 11-12 workers or one out of 7-8 workers might have presumably experienced an on-the-job accident in five or ten years respectively. Furthermore, as mentioned above, industrial accidents concentrate on certain kinds of industries. The possibility for workers in those industries to experience on-the-job accidents would be surprisingly high, if taking a five or ten year span.

Workers' compensation insurance statistics include both injuries and illnesses suffered in connection with work. However, as far as injuries are concerned, Table II-15 lists their most frequent causes although the kinds of accidents vary considerably from industry to

Table II-15: Accidents Resulting in Fatalities or the Loss of
at least Four Days Work (All Industries, 1984)

a. How

1. Being caught in machines with moving parts	20.2%
2. Falls from buildings or other high places	15.5
3. Being hit by flying or falling debris	13.0
4. Falls or slips on flat surfaces	12.3
5. Cuts or scratches inflicted by Machines and Tools	11.3

b. By What

1. Materials (metal, wood, glass, etc.)	20.1%
2. Temporary constructions, buildings and structures (stagings, steps, bridges, etc.)	17.0
3. General power machines (power presses, rolling machines, mixers, etc.)	12.2
4. Power transporters (trucks, forklifts, conveyers, etc.)	8.2
5. Loads	6.6
.	

Source: Ministry of Labour Labour Standard Bureau data

industry.

For fatal accidents, in addition to those listed above, vehicles (cars, trains, airplane, etc.), natural environments (mountains, rivers, abnormal barometric pressure, etc.), and construction machines (bulldozers, power shovels, pile drivers, etc.) and traffic accidents, and landslides and building collapse were among the major causes.⁹⁹⁾

The situation with occupational diseases is more difficult to grasp. Only 15,147 cases involving 4 or more days absence from work were reported to Labour Standard Inspection Offices of the Ministry of Labour in 1984. More than a third of these were in manufacturing industries, twenty percent in the construction industry, and fourteen percent in transportation. Those related to on-the-job injuries account for three fourths of all occupational illnesses, and of these 80 percent were back pains. Two other major diseases were pneumoconiosis and its complications (10%) and illness caused by physical factors such as harmful rays and electrolytic radiation emitted from machines at the workplace, abnormal barometric pressure or temperature, and excessive noise levels (9%).

Table II-16: Occupational Diseases Resulting in
Four or More Days Absence) (1984)

1. Illness caused by on-the-job injuries	11,242	74%
(Back pain	8,802	)
2. Pneumoconiosis and its complications	1,561	10
3. Illness caused by physical factors	1,293	8.5
4. Illness caused by exposure to chemicals	608	4.0
5. Diseases caused by the way of working	372	2.5
6. Others(hypoxia, diseases by pathogen, etc.)	71	0.5

Source: Ministry of Labour, Occupational Diseases Data
and Pneumoconiosis Health Check Results.

The workplace is also full of "hazardous work." Nearly half of firms with 10 or more employees and over 90 percent of those with at least 500 employees are reporting some kinds of hazardous work. In general the larger the company, the greater the incidence of hazardous work. Nearly 20 percent of all workers including non-production workers, temporary and daily workers, and in-plant subcontracting workers are engaged in some form of hazardous work. The most commonly reported forms are work with excessively high levels of dust in the air (31%), work that involves the use of organic solvents (28%), jobs connected with the manufacture or use of harmful "classified chemicals, etc." (12%), and assignments that expose workers to abnormally high noise levels (11%). Relatively few temporary and daily workers are engaged in these jobs. Subcontracted in-plant workers are the group most often used to perform these chores, accounting for 20 % of them with regular employees next handling 18 percent.¹⁰⁰⁾

Statistics also suggest that Japanese workers are also not particularly healthy. An index of this is the percentage of workers who were absent for more than a month. The same survey cited in the

previous paragraph found that 39,000, or 0.62 percent, of regular production workers in manufacturing firms with 30 or more employees were absent for more than a month as of the end of October, 1981. Another Ministry of Labour survey,¹⁰¹⁾ which covers regular workers of firms with at least 10 employees in most industries, found that 1.61 percent were absent for more than a month between November 1981 and October 1982. The fact that long term absentees in this survey were more frequent in smaller firms may be interpreted in several ways. Smaller firms may have poorer working conditions; healthier workers may tend to enter larger firms; or workers in large companies may tend to leave their jobs, either voluntarily or involuntarily, with or without incentives and pressure, in case when they had to be absent from their jobs for long periods of time. The ratio between absence due to on-the-job injuries and illnesses and absence due to off-the-job injuries and illnesses is approximately 1:8 in the 1981 survey and 1:5 in the one conducted the next year.

The most commonly cited reason for absence from work in the 1981 survey was digestive system disorders (22%), followed by injuries and exposures to high levels of toxic substances (18%), muscular and skeletal maladies such as rheumatism (11%), and heart and circulatory diseases (10%). Other health problems suffered by workers in this survey include mental disorder and complications with the nervous system such as autonomic nervous disorder.

Many workers suffer chronic diseases. 23 out of 100 production regular workers in firms with 30 or more employees have diseases that have been diagnosed as chronic by physicians. Among the most common are inveterate dyspepsia (8%), hypertension (6%), neuralgia or rheumatism

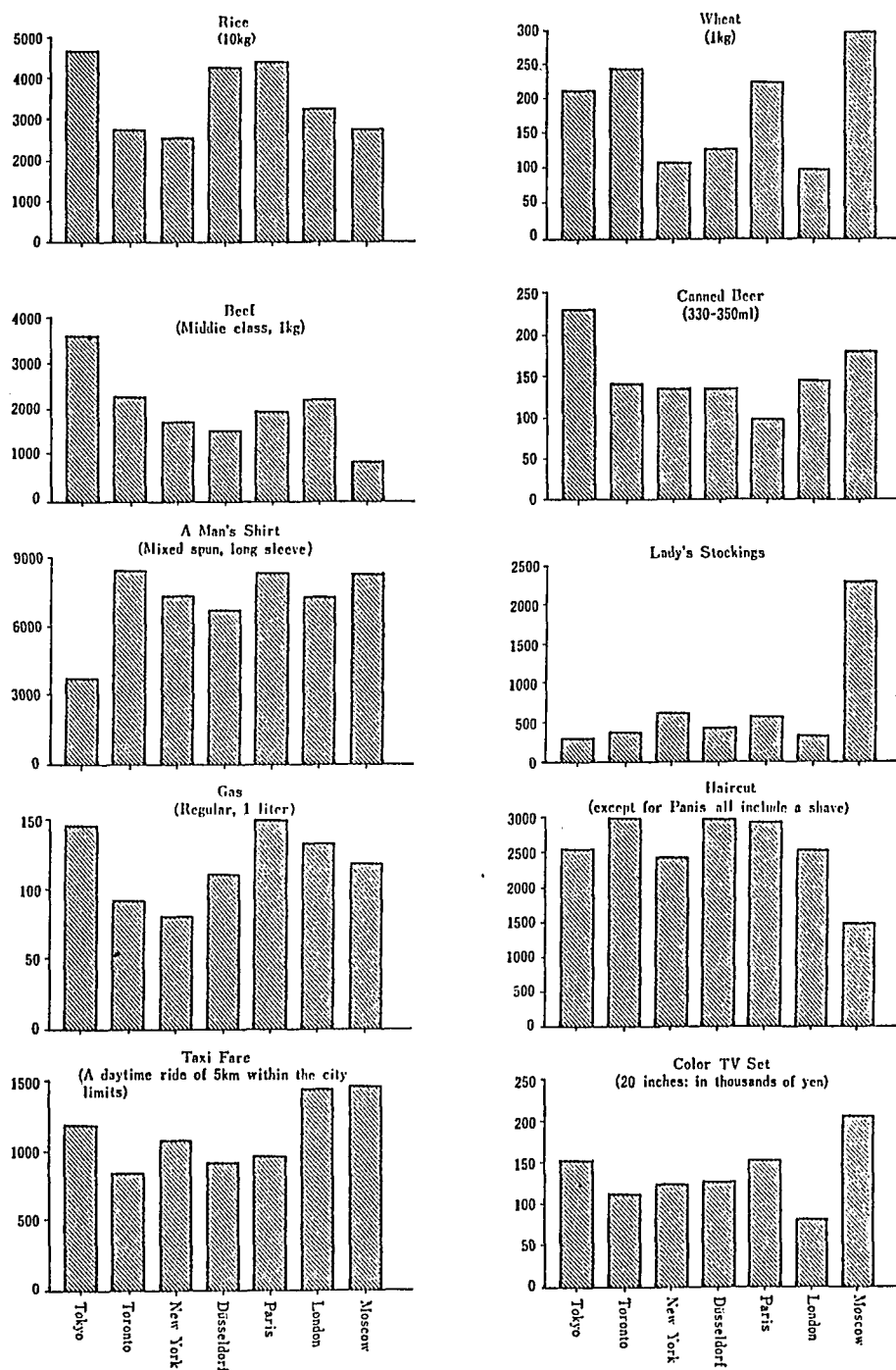
(3%), Hypotension (2%), and liver or kidney ailments (2%). The percentage of those who suffer from chronic illnesses increases with age. 35 of 100 or one of three of 45-54 year old workers and 43 of 100, or nearly half of workers 55 and older report some form of chronic disease.¹⁰²⁾

8. Consumer Prices and Family Income and Expenditure

The rate of increase in consumer prices per year in Japan, which had been 12 percent, 24 percent and 12 percent in the three years 1972-74 respectively, has fallen dramatically in recent years steadying at about two percent.¹⁰³⁾ However, the absolute level of consumer prices in Japan is very high compared with other countries, while a Japanese government report insists that it is not necessarily so.¹⁰⁴⁾ Most surveys and statistical analyses indicate that consumer prices in Tokyo are the highest or among the highest of those of major cities in the world,¹⁰⁵⁾ and are only 10 percent higher than the national average.¹⁰⁶⁾

A comparison of prices of some frequently purchased goods and services in seven of the world's major cities can be found in Figure II-11 on the next page. Rice, wheat, beef, beer and gas prices in Tokyo are double or triple those of New York. While prices in Tokyo are generally said to be high in foods and services but not in manufactured goods, this is not always the case. Furthermore, these are 1984 figures when the dollar was equivalent to 245 yen. If recalculated at an exchange rate of ¥180 to the dollar, Tokyo prices would be even higher.

Figure II-11: Comparison of Prices in Seven of the World's Major Cities
(computed in Yen) (July 1984)



Source: Sumitomo Shoji, *Sumishō News*, No.75 cited in Kokumin Seikatsu Center, [Chart] *International Comparison of Life [Kurashi no Kokusai Hikaku]* (1985)
[Surveyed by resident representatives of the company \$1=¥245.]

How are Japanese workers coping with these high prices? Family income and expenditure statistics are perhaps the best index for measuring the situation of workers' welfare. For the level of the standard of living is determined by the family's income, not individual's.

The average monthly family income of a Japanese worker in 1984 was ¥424,000 [\$2,360],¹⁰⁷⁾ 83 percent of which was the earnings of the head of the household. The contribution of other members of the family has been increasing recently, but is still comparatively minor. Disposable income was ¥359,000 [\$1,990]. The proportion of taxes and social security premiums has been increasing yearly, and is now 15 percent of total income or nearly double that of fifteen years ago. The real increase in disposable income was an annual average of 4-7 percent until the first oil shock in 1973. Since then, the highest annual rise was three percent in 1982, and in some years, 1976, 1980 and 1981, real disposable income has actually declined.

The high ratio of saving of the Japanese people is well known, with 11.5 percent of disposable income going into saving. This high rate of saving is not, however, necessarily a reflection of affluence, but that of insecurity particularly that faced in retirement life.

An itemized breakdown of the ¥283,000 [\$1,570] or total income minus savings, on which the household of an average worker maintains itself is given in Table II-17. Engel's coefficient is 26.1 percent, and the single highest expenditure is for food followed by transportation and communication (9.6%) and reading and recreation (8.7%). An average family expends 6-7 percent for each of clothes and

Table II-17: Itemized Expenditure of an Average
Worker's Households (1984)

	(thousands)	(%)
Total	¥282.7	100.0
Food	73.7	26.1
Housing	13.6	4.8
Fuel, light & water	17.0	6.0
Furniture & household utensils	11.7	4.1
Clothes and footwear	19.2	6.8
Medical care	6.9	2.4
Transportation and communication	27.2	9.6
Education	11.7	4.1
Reading & recreation	24.6	8.7
Other	77.1	27.3

[Regrouped] Expenses for:		
education	19.2	6.8
Reading & recreation	28.8	10.2

Source: Management & Coordination Agency,
Family Income & Expenditure (1984)

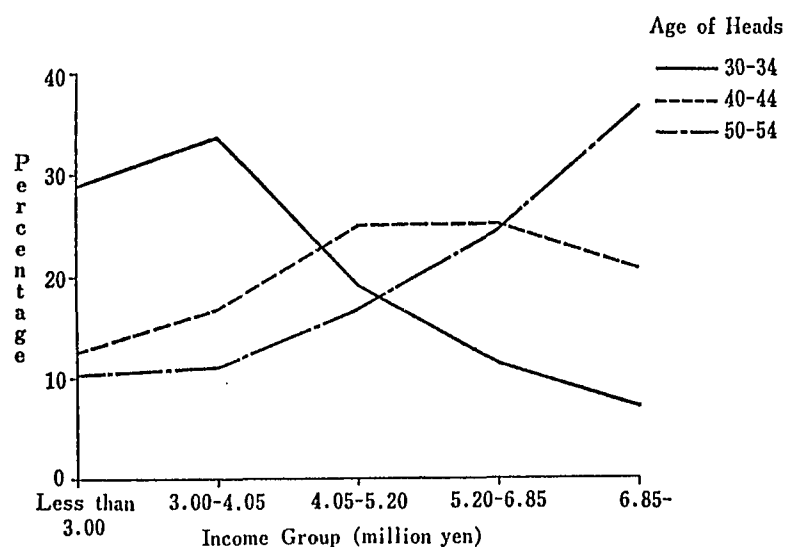
footwear and fuel, light and water charges, 4-5 percent for each of furniture and household utensils and education, and 2.4 percent for medical care.

This analysis, however, has little meaning except for macro economic purposes. Such statistically "average" households are not though to exist in significant numbers. The inclusion of various family types of disparate compositions as eight member families, young working couples, and older one-earner couple is thought to distort the statistics. Furthermore, four member families may have either two pre-school children or two college students. Some families may live in houses inherited from parents, while others rent, or are paying off huge

housing loans. An income which guarantees a satisfactory living standard to some families may be totally inadequate to another families.

A more accurate and revealing analysis of family income and expenditure would include the ages of heads of households as well as the number and ages of all household members. Unfortunately available data do not permit this. A more limited analysis will be attempted here. First, let's see the distribution of workers' families by income group, fixing the age of heads only which may be the most crucial determinant under the Japanese employment practice, and next, the difference of expenditure by income group, taking "standard families" with four members and one earner. In families where the head of the household is between 40-44 years old, for example, there are probably two children with half the wives working and a median income of ¥5,000,000 [\$27,800]. A quarter of the families earn ¥4,050,000 to 5,200,000 [\$22,500-28,900],

Figure II-12: Distribution of Workers' Families
by Income Group (1984)



Source: Management and Coordination Agency, Family Income and Expenditure Survey (1984)

Table II-18: Characteristics of Monthly Expenditure by Income Group
(An "Standard"¹⁾ Worker's Family) (1984)

	1st Quintile Group	3rd Quintile Group	5th Quintile Group
Total living expenditures	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Food	30.1	28.0	24.7
Housing	8.0	4.7	3.8
Fuel, light and water charges	7.0	5.9	5.8
Furniture and household utensils	4.1	3.9	3.8
Clothes and footwear	5.7	6.7	8.2
Medical care	3.5	2.3	2.1
Transportation and communication	10.1	10.7	8.7
Education	3.4	4.5	9.1
Reading and recreation	7.8	9.6	11.3
Other	20.3	23.8	22.5

1) Four member family with one wage earner.

Source: Management and Coordination Agency, Family Income and Expenditure Survey (1984)

and another quarter earn ¥5,200,000 to 6,850,000 [\$28,900-38,100]. One of five families earn more than ¥6,850,000 [\$38,100], while one of eight have an income of less than ¥3,000,000 [\$16,700].

The first quintile group of "standard families" spend higher proportion of their income on food, housing, utilities, household furnishings, and medical care, and less on clothing, education, and recreation. The expenditure for education and recreation of the fifth quintile group families amounts to 4.9 and 2.6 times as much as that of the first quintile group families.

Recent discussion of family income and expenditure has centered around costs of housing, education and insurance. Some argue that stratification of the working class is developing along lines in proportion to expenditure for these items.

Increase in expenditure for education has been higher recently than the rise in consumer prices. School and out-of school-related expenses, including school tuitions, transportation fees, supplemental readers, tuitions for supplemental schools or juku, tutoring, piano lessons and other private classes, and reference books, amount to ¥137,000 [\$760] for an elementary school child, ¥183,000 [\$1,020] for a junior high school child, ¥267,000 [\$1,480] for a public high school student, and ¥551,000 [\$3,060] for a private high school student.¹⁰⁸⁾ The annual cost of sending a son/daughter to a university in Tokyo is ¥775,000 [\$4,300] for a state university and ¥1,170,000 [\$6,500] for a private university even when commuting from their parent's home. The cost increases to ¥1,232,000 [\$6,800] and ¥1,745,000 [\$9,700] respectively if the students do not live at home.¹⁰⁹⁾ In order to enter "better" elementary, junior high, and high schools and thus improve one's chances of getting into a "better" university, many Japanese children attend supplemental schools, competing with each other. More than 80 percent of all junior high school students receive some form of extra education such as

Table II-19: Expenses for Education (1985)

	School Expenses (thousands)	Out-of-school Expenses (thousands)
Kindergarten		
public	¥ 88	¥ 67
private	198	98
Elementary School	49	88
Jr. High School	99	84
Sr. High School		
public	218	49
private	491	60

Source: Ministry of Education, F.Y.1984
Educational Expense Survey

supplemental schools, tutoring, and correspondence education. In other words, just one out of five junior high school students prepare for entering senior high schools with only the instruction they receive at regular junior high schools.¹¹⁰⁾ Another survey indicates that one every of four elementary school pupils and one of two junior high students attend supplemental schools after regular schools hours.¹¹¹⁾ Some are worried that this double education structure endangers the existence of regular schools.¹¹²⁾ In large cities, more than half of the elementary school children in the fifth and sixth grades and 70 percent of 9th grade students attend these schools an average of 2.9 times per week. The average monthly tuition paid for these schools is ¥15,900[\$90] or annually, ¥190,000[\$1,060]. The amount a family invests in their child's primary education is often a major determination in what level of university that children can enter and thus directly affects the child's future income and social standing. The fifth quintile families spend more than triple that of the first quintile families for education.¹¹³⁾ More than 50 percent of the fathers of students in so-called "the most prestigious" state university in Japan are in managerial positions in either governments or private corporations, while only 25 percent of the fathers of students in a "less prestigious" private university hold such positions.¹¹⁴⁾

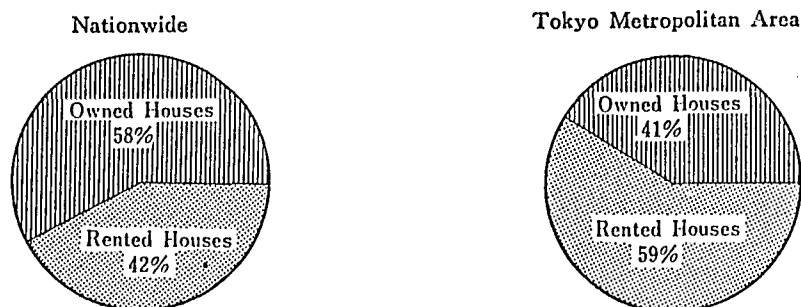
There is also a considerable difference in insurance expenditures among low and high income families. The ratio of insurance expenditures between the 1st quintile group families and the 5th quintile group families is 1:1.2 among total households, and 1:3 among the households whose heads are 40-44 years old. The fragility of lower income families is evident from these figures.

9. Housing and Commuting

The price of housing in Japan, especially in Tokyo, is astronomical. For example, a new five room¹¹⁵⁾ house on a 152 square meter plot of land in a Tokyo suburb one hour away from Tokyo Station by train and bus costs 57.9 million yen [\$322,000]. A five year old four room condominium in a four story building that is a ten minute walk from the nearby train station in the same area costs 29.8 million yen [\$166,000].¹¹⁶⁾ The latter is equivalent to eight times the annual earnings of the average worker.¹¹⁷⁾ The total floor space of these two houses is only 92 and 64 square meters, respectively. Each room measures 7 to 10 square meters and is much smaller than that of most houses in the United States. The monthly rent for a three room, 51 square meter apartment in the same area is ¥130,000 [\$720] with a two-month refundable deposit in addition to non refundable deposit also equivalent to two months' rent.¹¹⁸⁾ Needless to say, housing prices vary considerably depending upon the location, even in the same general area. But at the same time, cases similar to those mentioned here are not at all uncommon in Tokyo.

Nationwide approximately 60 percent of all workers own the dwellings they occupy; the remaining 40 percent rent. The proportions are reversed for those living in Tokyo Prefecture.¹¹⁹⁾ (See Figure II-13) More than 90 percent of owned units are independent houses; the other 10 percent are condominiums, half¹²⁰⁾ of which are in buildings with more than six stories. Condominiums in high-rise buildings have been increasing recently especially in big cities.

Figure II-13: The Percentage of Workers Who Own and Rent Their Dwellings (1983)



Source: Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan.

About 60 percent of all rented dwellings are houses and apartments owned by private individuals, and about 40 percent of these units are independent foundations with the rest being apartments. Those owned by local governments and public corporations¹²¹⁾ account for an additional 20-25 percent with nearly 20 percent owned by the workers' employers. The high proportion of this last category may be seen as a special feature of Japanese housing. (Table II-20)

Among the many housing problems in Japan are poor quality of construction, cramped conditions, long commuting distances from the workplace, high rents or severe hardships suffered in repaying housing loans, and the correlation between income and housing.

The average floor space of all housing units is 86 square meters, or 105 square meters for detached houses and 40 square meters for condominiums and apartments. A third of families live in dwellings smaller than 50 square meters and about half live in dwellings smaller than 70 square meters. In the Tokyo metropolitan area, the average

Table II-20: Type of Rented Housings Occupied by Workers

	Nationwide		Tokyo Met. Area
	A)	B)	B)
Total	100.0%	(100.0%)	(100.0%)
Public housing	17.4	(14.9)	(9.2)
Public corp. housing	8.0	(6.9)	(10.5)
Privately owned	55.5	(59.8)	(63.7)
detached houses	24.1		
Apartment, Facilities ¹⁾			
used exclusively	27.6		
Wooden construction	13.9	(40.3)	(42.5)
Non-wooden const.	13.7	(14.1)	(14.0)
Apartment, Facilities ¹⁾			
used jointly	3.9		
Wooden construction	3.5	(5.0)	(7.0)
Non-wooden const.	0.4	(0.4)	(0.3)
Company housing	18.9	(18.5)	(16.5)

A: Ministry of Construction, Housing Demand Situation Survey [Jūtaku Juyō Jittai Chōsa] (1984) for public employees and regular, temporary and daily employees of private firms.

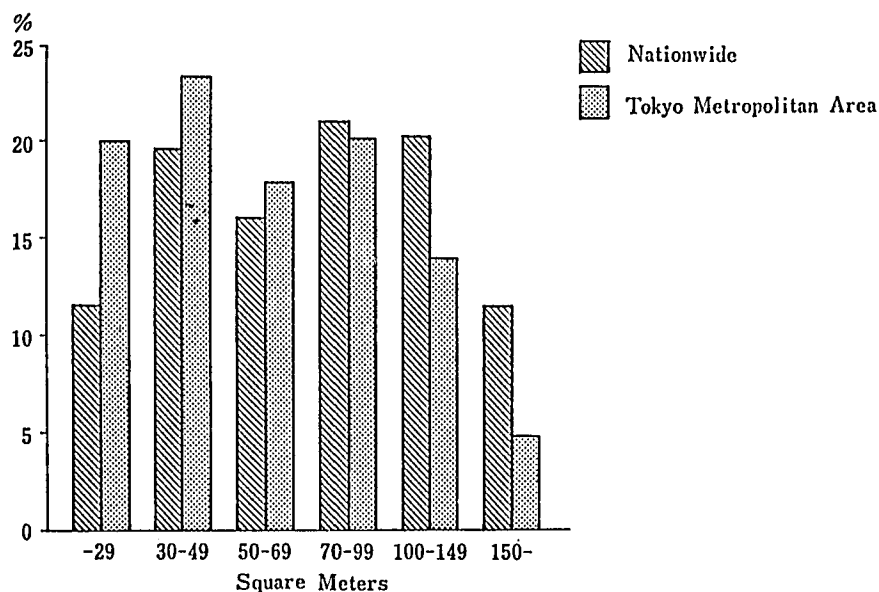
B: Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan. (One family houses and apartments are not distinguished. Most one family houses seem to be included in the "Wooden, facilities used exclusively" category.)

1) Kitchens, bathrooms, etc.

floor space is only 67 square meters with nearly half (43%) of all households living in dwellings smaller than 50 square meters. (Figure II-14) The national government has established a minimum standard for floor space of 44.2 square meters for a family of four.¹²²⁾ In spite of these minimum standards, 4 million households or 11.5 percent of all Japanese households live in units below this level.

The average number of total rooms in a Japanese dwelling is 4.7 for Japan nationwide¹²³⁾ and 3.9 for the Tokyo metropolitan area. The one room per one person standard has not been achieved in 14.4 percent of all households compared with 4.5 percent of households in the United

Figure II-14: Distribution of Dwellings by Floor Space (1983)



Source: Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan.

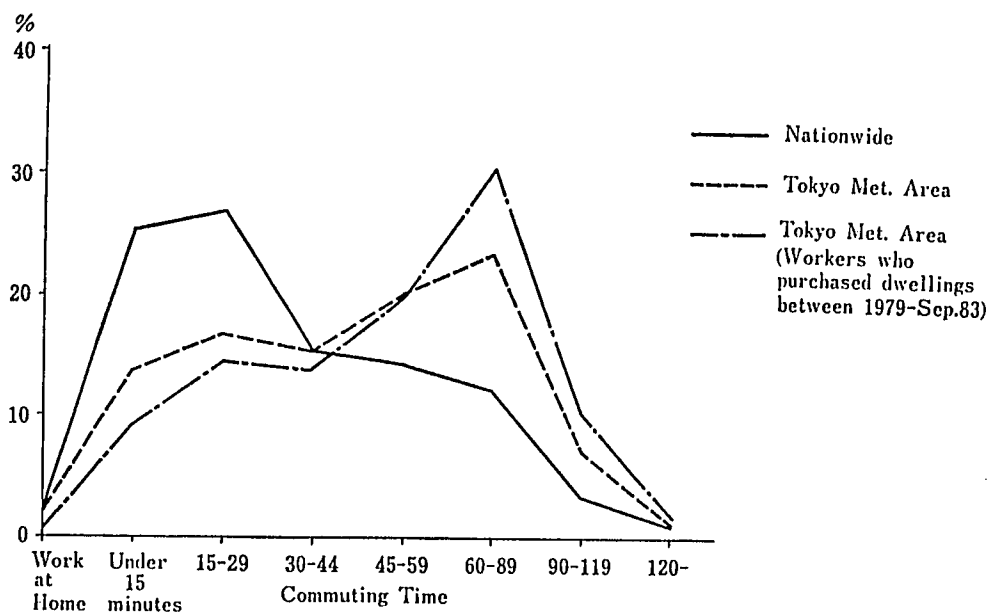
States(1980) and 3.3 percent of those in the United Kingdom(1981) who have not reached this standard.¹²⁴⁾ Many houses sold recently in Tokyo were on plots of land the size of 60-80 square meters, some with no front or back yards at all. The data in this paragraph pertain to all households. Statistics limited to the households of workers might reveal even more intolerable conditions.¹²⁵⁾

Poor quality housing that falls under the minimum standard mentioned above seems to be concentrated in private, wooden apartments and older public and public corporation housing. Only 4.6 percent of housing owned by the residents dwellings belong to this category.¹²⁶⁾ As seen in Table II-20, 4-5 percent of workers who live in rented dwellings share facilities (kitchens, bathrooms, etc.); nearly 20 percent of all

households live in wooden apartments which have an average floor space of 24.5 square meter and 1.9 rooms. An OECD report aptly described Japanese houses as "rabbit hutches". The percentage of dwellings with flush toilets with sewerage is still only 58 percent, while nearly 100 percent of dwellings in Canada, West Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States have such conveniences.¹²⁷⁾ Even foreigners from developing countries who have lived in Japan are often disgusted with the quality of Japanese housing and complain of a lack of privacy.¹²⁸⁾

The average commuting time of 27.6 minutes for all Japanese workers who are the heads of households is not particularly long. The situation, however, changes dramatically in big cities. In the Tokyo metropolitan area, the median time is 46.6 minutes or nearly double of the national average. A third of those in Tokyo have a commute of more

Figures 11-15: Commuting Time for Workers Who are the Heads of Households (1983)



Source: Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan

than one hour, and nearly a tenth commute for more than an hour and half. Among those who purchased their own dwellings between January 1979 and September 1983, the median commuting time is 54.1 minutes.¹²⁹⁾ The average commuting time has already exceeded an hour in the offices of many large corporations in central Tokyo.

Expenditures for housing have become a burden for the households of many workers. According to the 1984 Family Income & Expenditures Survey in the previous section, the average worker's household spent ¥33,000 [\$180] a month for housing.¹³⁰⁾ The average monthly rent was ¥24,000 [\$130] nationwide and ¥31,000 [\$170] in the Tokyo metropolitan area. Nationally nearly 20 percent expend more than ¥40,000 [\$220] with 10 percent paying at least ¥50,000 [\$280] for rent every month. In Tokyo the figures are nearly 30 percent for those with monthly rents of at least ¥40,000 [\$220] and 10 percent with rents of ¥60,000 [\$330] or more. In order to rent a non-wood apartment with private facilities that meets the "adequate standard" of 86 square meters floor space set by the government, one would have to pay somewhere around ¥96,000 [\$530] a month outside Tokyo. In Tokyo this figure becomes ¥136,000 [\$760].¹³¹⁾ Even to rent a wooden apartment with shared facilities with the "minimum standard" floor space of 44.2 square meters, one would have to spend about ¥41,000 [\$230].

Even those who own their homes may have difficulty in repaying housing loans, particularly those who bought their houses after the 1973 oil shock. Since that time there have been no such a drastic consumer price and wage increases. A third of the households of all workers have debts incurred by the purchase of houses and/or land with an average monthly payment of ¥62,000 [\$340].¹³²⁾ The average monthly loan payment

for households who purchased their houses between 1979 and 1984 is ¥88,000 [\$490] with 20 percent paying ¥120,000 [\$670] or more. If a family borrows ¥20,000,000[\$110,000] from a bank today, their monthly repayment even with present low interest rates would be ¥140,000-150,000 [\$780-830].

The correlation between family income and their housings can be clearly seen in Table II-21. The median annual income of households owning their dwellings is ¥4.1 million [\$23,000] while that of households renting their dwellings is ¥2.9 million [\$16,000]. The former is 1.4 times as much as the latter. Next to workers who own their houses, the households with the highest incomes are those who rent

Table II-21: Distribution and Median Annual Income
of Workers Households by Type of Housing
(1983)

	All Households		Households whose Head is 40-44 Years of Age	
	Annual Income	Number of Household Member	Annual Income	Number of Households
	(million)		(million)	(thousands)
Owned houses	¥4.1	(3.9)	¥4.3	(2,285)
Rented dwellings	2.9	(2.7)	3.3	(1,139)
Public housings	2.6	(3.3)	2.7	(204)
Public corp. housings	3.5	(3.1)	3.9	(92)
Privately owned housings				
Facilities ¹⁾ used exclusively				
Wooden	2.6	(2.6)	3.0	(446)
Non-wooden	2.9	(2.2)	3.4	(113)
Facilities ¹⁾ used jointly				
Wooden	1.9	(1.4)	2.1	(40)
Non-wooden	1.8	(1.4)	1.9	(3)
Company housings	3.8	(3.5)	4.5	(243)

1) Kitchens, bathrooms, etc.

Source: Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan.

company housing (¥3.8 million or \$21,000) and those who rent public corporation housing (¥3.5 million or \$19,000). On the other hand, households renting dwellings with shared facilities have the lowest income (¥1.8-1.9 million or \$10,000-\$11,000). This difference in housing is not necessarily a reflection of the wealth of a household, because younger couples with fewer or no children tend to live in apartments with shared facilities, while older, larger families often live in their own homes. (cf. () in Table II-21) A problem, however, is that the limited income of some families do not allow them to move into bigger and better housings even after the head of the households reaches middle age.

10. Retirement

The most dominant retirement age in Japan is sixty years today. Fifty-one percent of all enterprises, which have 30 or more employees and a uniform retirement age, have set this as the age of retirement. Twenty-seven percent of these firms have a 55 year age limit with 17 percent considering the retirement age 56-59 years. While a few enterprises (4.4%) require their employees to retire sometime after reaching the age of 61, few have the 54-year-old or younger retirement age.

Until recently the Japanese traditional retirement age was 55 years. This retirement age literally meant "lifetime employment" in the past because the life expectancy was 42-44 years around World War I when

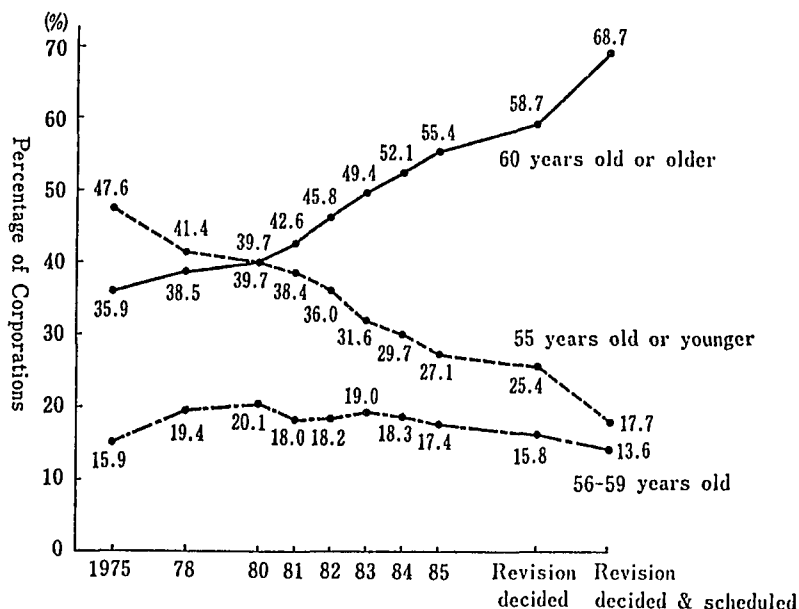
Table II-22: Distribution of Retirement Age
Among Japanese Companies
by Size of Employees

Number of Employees	Total	Enterprises	Enterprises with a uniformed				
		with set Retirement Age	under 54 years	55 years	56-59 years	60 years	over 61 years
Total	100.0	87.3	0.1	27.0	17.4	51.0	4.4
5,000-	100.0	99.6	-	5.3	21.9	72.8	-
1,000-4,999	100.0	99.6	-	19.4	26.6	52.2	1.7
300- 999	100.0	99.1	0.2	27.6	28.1	42.6	1.6
100- 299	100.0	95.9	0.6	31.3	21.2	44.8	2.0
30- 99	100.0	83.4	-	25.9	14.9	53.8	5.5

Source: Ministry of Labour, 1985 Employment Management Survey.

the prototype of Japanese seniority-based industrial relations was formed, and was still 50 years in 1947. It was not until 1950-52 that the life expectancy exceeded 55 years. With the average life span of men and women today at ages 75 and 80 respectively,¹³³⁾ many firms have been extending their retirement ages toward 60 in concert with the government campaign for later retirement. Figure II-16 indicates that only some five years ago the 55 year old or younger retirement age was more prevalent than that of 60 and over. Three conditions here contributed to this change. One is the longer life span which means that fifty-five year old employees can reasonably expect to have a number of healthy, productive years ahead of them. Another is the need to work since there is a five year gap between the traditional retirement age and age 60, the start of Social Security benefits for men. Many people in this late fifties still have growing families to support including children attending universities. Third is financial reason of Social Security funds----the older population of the country

Figure II-16: Shift of Compulsory Retirement Age



Source: Ministry of Labour, 1985 Employment Management Survey.

may let the funds go bankrupt.

The Japanese "retirement" system is unusual in two ways. First it is a compulsory retirement with no laws equivalent to the ADEA in the United States. Compulsory retirement in Japan is not considered age discrimination as it is in the United States. Secondly, retirement in Japan means the termination of one's employment with a specific organization, not withdrawal from the labor market. Thus many Japanese workers particularly those in larger corporations "retire" two or three times in the course of their career. Many workers, for example, after retiring at the compulsory age from the organization they have worked at for years, will enter a related firm such as a supplier, subsidiary, or subcontractor. These firms tend to be smaller in size and have later or no retirement ages (see Table II-22 and II-23).

Retirees in Japan are supported by three principal sources, Social Security, corporate pensions and individual savings including Assets-Making Savings similar to IRA in the United States.

Table II-23:
Enterprises With
Compulsory Retirement Ages
by Number of Employees Size
(Tokyo)

Total	89.2%
100-299	97.8
50- 99	96.5
10- 49	82.6

(10- 29)	(56.2)
(- 9)	(32.6)

Social Security The Japanese

Social Security system is not a uniform plan but is instead composed of several separate plans.

A Welfare Pension Plan for employees working in firms with five or more employees¹³⁴⁾ insured

26 million in 1984. Mutual Aid Societies covered 1.6 million national government and public corporation employees, 3.4 million prefectural and local government employees, and 0.4 million private school professors, teachers and employees. Three other groups of employees totaling 1.6 million were similarly covered by separate plans. Also a National Pension Plan covered 25 million people not protected by other plans.

The Social Security system has been revised recently and is now in the process of integration. While those qualified for the above plans continue to participate in them, everyone today takes part in the National Pension Plan. Under the new system, one must pay Social Security taxes for 25 years or longer to receive full benefits at 65 with complicated interim measures over years. Under the Welfare Pension

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Wage & Retirement Allowance in Smaller Firms (1986).
(): Musashino Chamber of Commerce, Labor Conditions & Occupational Welfare in Musashino District, 1987 [Manufactures, Retails and Restaurants. As of 1986].

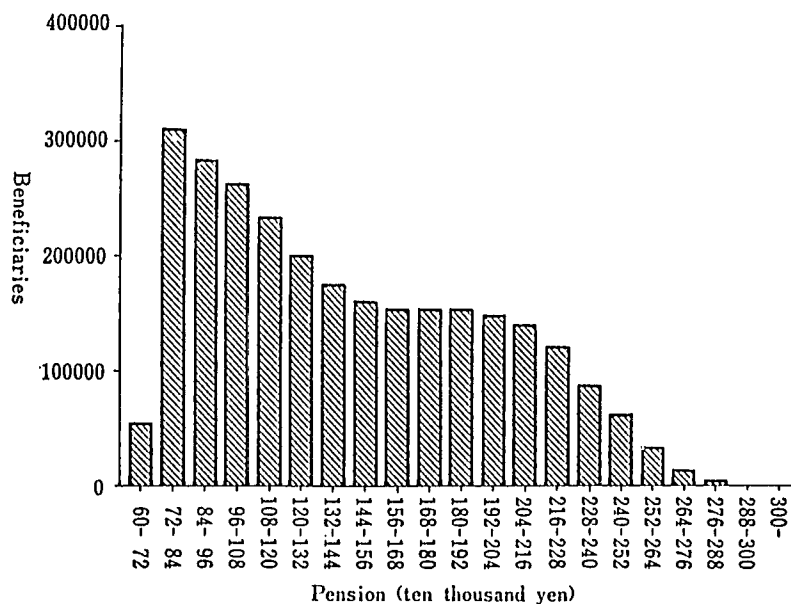
Plan before the revision men were required to pay taxes for 20 years or longer¹³⁵⁾ and first received benefits at age 60. Women who paid similar taxes were eligible for benefits at 55.¹³⁶⁾

The pension paid under the Welfare Pension Plan is the sum of the following:

- (i) ¥600,000 for 40 year payment of the tax at maximum from National Pension Plan
- (ii) Average Standardized Monthly Pay X 7.5/1000 X number of insured months + dependency allowance (¥180,000 for wife and 1st and 2nd children, and ¥60,000 for other children) from Welfare Pension Plan

The distribution of old age benefits under the Welfare Pension Plan for non-working retirees as of March 31, 1986 is given in Figure II-17. It will be lowered in the future because of the above mentioned revision

Figure II-17: Old Age Benefits of the Welfare Pension Plan
(Non-working retirees, as of March 31, 1986)



Source: Social Insurance Agency, ed., Annual Report[Jigyō Nenpō] (Tokyo: Social Insurance Asso., 1986)

of the Social Security system. The median benefit is ¥1.34 million with half the beneficiaries receiving between ¥0.98 million and ¥1.86 million.

Corporate Pensions Most corporations even small ones in Japan have retirement allowances. Until recently, however, the common form of payment was a lump sum allowance, not the corporate pension. Today approximately 50 percent of all corporations with 30 or more employees, and 80 percent of corporations with over 1,000 employees have adopted pensions. This increase in the number of pension plans is a relatively new trend and is partly because of their aging employees and financial burden. The overwhelming majority of corporations have allowed employees to choose either a long-term pension or a one-time allowance

Table II-24: Proportions of Corporations with Retirement Allowance (1985)

Number of Employees	Retirement Allowance		Lump Sum Payment Only	Pension Plans		
				Total	Only	and Lump Sum
Total	[89.0]	100.0	51.9	48.1	14.3	33.8
(cf. 1975	[90.7]	100.0	67.1	32.9	13.2	19.7)
over 1,000	[99.9]	100.0	18.1	81.9	10.1	71.8
300-999	[94.9]	100.0	40.4	59.6	17.0	42.5
30- 99	[86.1]	100.0	58.8	41.2	13.3	27.8
(10- 29)	([78.1])					
(under 9)	([58.1])					

Note: [] is the percentage against all corporations.

Source: Ministry of Labour, General Survey on Wage & Working Hour Systems (1985).

() Musashino Chamber of Commerce, Labor Conditions & Occupational Welfare in Musashino District, 1987 [Manufactures, Retails and Restaurants. As of 1986].

payment plan. Even among long term pensions those that extend the lifetime of the recipient are still rare. Ninety percent of these plans expire within a set period and ninety percent of these are ten year terminable. Even in large corporations with 1,000 or more employees, only 15 percent of the plans are life pensions, while 15 percent of the limited plans are 15 years terminable.

Compared with a pension a lump sum allowance is not necessarily small in sum nor disadvantageous to employees. It often exceeds ¥10 or ¥20 million. Given the choice between a pension and a one-time payment, the majority of employees actually choose the latter.

The average retirement allowance (pensions and lump sum allowances) received by male employees who served for 20 or more years and retired at the compulsory retirement age in 1985 was ¥18.9 million or 39.1 times the monthly regular salary or wage (which he received when retired) for white collar university graduates and ¥9.4 million or 36.4 times for blue collar junior high graduates.¹³⁷⁾ The average for high school

Table II-25: Retirement Allowance of Male Retirees
With at Least 20 years of service (1985)

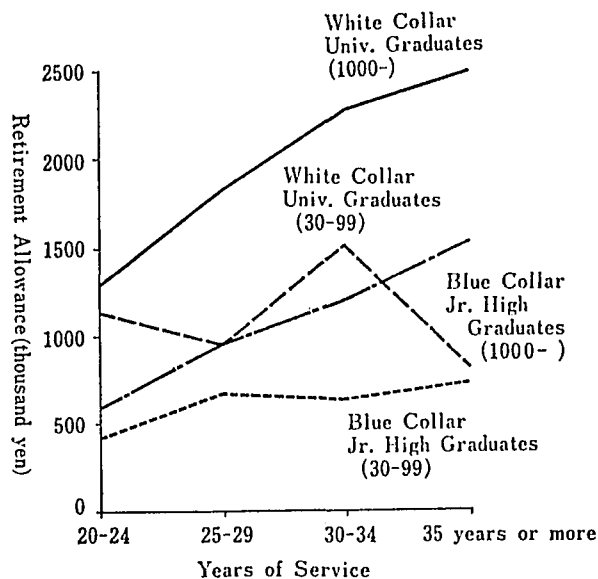
Number of Employees	White Collar		Blue Collar	
	University Graduates	High School Graduates	High School Graduates	Junior High Graduates
Total	18.9	14.0	10.4	9.4
1,000-	21.8	18.1	12.8	12.2
100-999	15.5	10.9	8.4	8.1
30- 99	12.6	6.5	7.4	5.2

Note: Figures are the totals of lump sum allowances and pensions (Total amount of pension to be paid over the years minus interests to be born during the years)

Source: Ministry of Labour, General Survey on Wage & Working Hour Systems (1985).

graduates fell between the two.¹³⁸⁾ In addition to job level and education, the size of the corporation and years of service have a major effect upon the size of the allowance. The average allowance for white collar university graduates in corporations with at least 1,000 employees was ¥21.8 million, while that of those in corporations with 30-99 employees

Figure II-18: Retirement Allowances by Years of Service, Type of Jobs, School Levels Graduated and Size of Enterprises, etc. (Male, 1985)



Source: Ministry of Labour, General Survey on Wage & Working Hour Systems (1985).

was only ¥12.6 million. The average of those in the larger corporations who worked 20-24 years was ¥12.9 million and ¥24.8 million for those who worked over 35 years. For junior high graduates the average allowance in corporations with over 1,000 employees was ¥12.2 million while that in corporations with 10-99 was ¥5.2 million. The average for those in the smaller companies who served 20-24 years was ¥4.2 million, while those who served 35 years or longer received an average of ¥7.2 million. Workers in smaller firms tend to change companies more frequently.

Individual Savings The total amount of savings by individuals for retirement is unknown. The only statistics available, the Family

Saving Survey of the Management & Coordination Agency, indicate that the average savings of families whose heads are 60-64 years old were ¥13,480,000. Average liabilities totaled ¥92,000, ninety percent of which were for the purchase of housing and/or land (see Table II-26). However, it is well known that the average of savings in this kind of statistics usually estranges itself from the median very much.

Table II-26:
Average Characteristics
of Workers' Households
Whose Heads are 60-64
Years of Age

Persons/Household:	2.81
Earners:	1.70
Age of Head:	61.5
House Ownership:	78.7%
Yearly Income:	¥5,813,000
Savings:	¥13,479,000
Liabilities:	¥922,000
Liabilities for purchase of houses and/or land:	¥826,000

Source: Management & Coordination Agency, Family the Saving Survey (1985).

III SUMMARY

The analysis of Japanese workers today in this chapter had a double mission: To acquaint American readers with the work and living conditions and welfare situation of Japanese workers today, and to elucidate some of the basic needs of those workers regardless of their recognition of them.

All Japanese workers do not necessarily work and live under ideal or even reasonably comfortable conditions nor are they as happy as workers reportedly are in other countries. This chapter's bird's-eye view within a limited space could not point out workers' needs in a very

sharp, concrete form which could be directly transformed into practical programs, however it at least showed that Japanese workers, like those in other countries, have many urgent needs and problems which urgently need to be addressed. The following are some areas around which those urgent needs may exist:

i) Japan now has an aging population, a higher number and participation rate of women in the labor force, and more workers in tertiary industries. Workers in these three categories have various difficulties and problems involving employment and labor conditions.

ii) Unemployment is a problem for Japanese workers, too. One million six hundred thousand workers are unemployed according to official statistics, not counting the vast number of hidden unemployed, the discouraged unemployed and the underemployed.

iii) Even among regular employees the Japanese turnover rate is never low, reaching 14 percent in a year. Most of the separated leave their employers through permanent layoff, expected "voluntary retirement"[kibo taishokul and others because of bankruptcy, bad business and the like, not "for the employees' own reasons."

(iv) Only one fifth to one third of all Japanese workers enjoy life-time employment. Non-regular workers such as temporary, daily and part-time workers are outside the system from the beginning and many women workers and small firm male workers, even if being regular full-time workers, in practice do not.

(v) Such labor conditions as wages, bonuses, various fringe benefits, working hours, and occupational safety and health vary enormously with the size of the enterprise. In small firms, minimum standards set by laws and regulations are often violated.

(vi) As far as working hours are concerned, the situation in large corporations is also not good. Workers have much overtime and holiday work and do not and cannot take vacations in reality even under a system of good institutionalized provisions.

(vii) Japanese workplaces are never safe and healthy. Twenty percent of all workers including non-regular workers are engaged in some form of hazardous work. Nearly one million workers are injured and receive Workmen's Compensation Insurance benefits per year. In addition, there are a huge number of on-the-job traffic accidents as well as many concealed cases.

(viii) One or two regular workers out of 100 are absent for more than a month in a year. The ratio between absence due to on-the-job injuries and diseases and absence due to off-the-job injuries and diseases is 1:5 or 1:8. In firms with 30 or more employees 23 out of 100 regular production workers have some kinds of chronic diseases diagnosed as such by physicians.

(ix) Consumer prices in Japan are very high in comparison with other countries. An eighth of families have an annual income of less than three million yen. Compared with high income families, low income

families spend much less for housing, education and insurance, which will also greatly effect the next generation.

(x) The housing situation in Japan, particularly in Tokyo, is very bad---the accomodation is small in size, high in price and far from the workplace. Only forty percent of workers' families in Tokyo have their own houses. Whether they have their own houses or not makes a big difference in their real dispensable income. Workers who purchased houses recently, however, have suffered from high mortgage payments. Many apartments are still poor in facility and construction.

(xi) Because the gaps among the length of average life span, the qualifying age for the national pension benefit and the compulsory retirement ages in corporations, the majority of Japanese workers with difficulty have to find the second and third jobs after their first retirement. The national pension benefit is not necessarily enough to live on, and the difference in corporate retirement allowance between large and small firms is great whereas non-regular workers receive none or very little.

Some writers in the early 1970's such as Tadao Kiyonari contended that the problem of the dual structure of Japanese employment had been solved through the high economic growth of the 1960's and early 1970's, and called those who still adhere to the double structure theory outdated. Workers who fall into the lower tier of this classic dual structure model, however, are largely found in small firms and among non-regular workers. In addition even workers in large, so-called elite

corporations who often insist for example that no additional fringe benefits are necessary any more, may also have to work long hours and suffer from many of the same problems and abuses that workers in smaller corporations must also endure.

In the next chapter, we will proceed to search for the needs of Japanese workers using the results of the writer's own research.

- 1) R.M.Titmuss, Commitment to Welfare (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), p.20.
- 2) Webster's Seventh New College Dictionary (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1972).
- 3) Handbook of Social Welfare Terms (Tokyo: Nihon Bunka Kagaku-sha, 1978), p.30.
- 4) Ibid. pp.30-31.
Social Welfare Dictionary (Tokyo: Seishin Shobo, 1974), pp.278 and 357.
Contemporary Social Welfare Cyclopaedia (Tokyo: Japan Council of Social Welfare, 1982), p.317.
- 5) Handbook of Social Welfare Terms, p.31.
- 6) Social Welfare Dictionary, p.278.
- 7) Contemporary Social Welfare Cyclopaedia, p.317. A proviso, "regarding social policy and social administration," has been added. Some writers emphasise the difference in the meaning of need between the social work field and the social policy field. e.g. Fumio Miura & Masao Mitomo, ed., Course: Social Welfare 3 [Social Policy] (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1982) p.32, and Fumio Miura, Social Welfare Management (Introduction) (Tokyo: Japan Council of Social Welfare, 1979) pp.24-26.
- 8) Shigemi Jinushi, "About Social Needs," Public Health, 1974. Also see Miura & Mitomo, ed., Course: Social Welfare 3, pp.31-32.
- 9) cf. Miura, Social Welfare Management, p.29. It reads:

"They[Social problems and life problems] may suit to express the missions or objects of social welfare as a whole, but may be confused with the individual problems which compose these[social or life] problems. The approach to social problems and life problems which has been studied so far had the emphasis on the pursuit of causes and conditions of problems and the interpretation of social, economic implication of the problems, and it does not fit as a technique of the policy science."

- 10) Ibid. cf. Miura & Mitomo, ed., Course: Social Welfare 3, p.32.
- 11) Miura & Mitomo, ed., Course: Social Welfare 3, p.33.
- 12) "Need, a central concept," Social Service Quarterly, 1969.
- 13) Miura & Mitomo, ed., Course: Social Welfare 3, p.32.
- 14) Social Policy (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1978)
- 15) Miura & Mitomo, ed., Course: Social Welfare 3, p.32.
- 16) AASW, Social Policy for Today (1949).
- 17) Miura, Social Welfare Management, pp.31-34.
- 18) J. Bradshaw, "The Concept of Social Need," New Society, 30/2/72. The citation is from Thayer, "Problem Analysis: Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment," p297.
- 19) Richard Thayer, "Problem Analysis: Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment."
- 20) They are seldom discussed in literature at least in Japan.
- 21) Miura, Social Welfare Management, pp.24-29.
- 22) This flaw may be compensated in part by discussing factors and processes of occurrence, development and change of needs.
cf. T. Hoshino & M. Kodama, ed., Social Welfare Research (Tokyo: Minorva Shobo, 1974), pp.356-359.
- 23) F. Miura classifies each of "normative" and "comparative" more in detail: The former is typified by "theoretical" standards(scales), standards set in relation with policy goals and judgement by experts, and for the latter, cross-comparative method, time series comparative method, statistical comparative method and national minimum. Miura, Social Welfare Management, pp.35-38.
- 24) There is much research of this kind. Many programs and services which are designed and implemented on the basis of "needs" measured by such research actually turn out to be impractical, having few users. (There are of course cases where needs are measured properly but programs fail because of flaws in their design. They are, however, not

discussed here.) Research of this kind can only tell anyway the relative order, but not the absolute level of need.

25) Yoshiya Soeda writes, "Aren't there too many opinion researches under the name of so-called need assessment research. Opinion is important but the life structure which decides the opinion is more important." ["Social Welfare Research" in Fukutake & Matsubara, ed., Social Research Method (Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1970), p.275.] Basically speaking, subjects' perception is not the determinant of a need. "If a situation falls for short of a certain goal or standard or not, and if the recovery, amelioration, etc of the situation is socially recognised as a necessity or not" are determinants. (See Miura's definition on p.51.)

26) Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency, Japanese Population by Town & Village, City & Ward, and Prefecture [Zenkoku todōfuken shiku chōson betsu jinkō] (1985 Census Preliminary Report), December 1985.

27) United Nations, The Aging of Population and its Economic and Social Implications (1956); Nathan Keyfitz and W. Flieger, World Population (1968); United Nations, Demographic Indicators by Countries (1981); The Institute for Population Research, Ministry of Welfare, Predicted Future Population in Japan; etc. cited in Ministry of Welfare, ed., Welfare White Paper [Kōsei Hakusho] (1984) (Tokyo: Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau, 1984), p.157.

28) Total Special Birth Rate in 1983. The Institute for Population Research, Ministry of Welfare, Population Statistics Materials [Jinko tokei shiryo-shu] Total Special Birth Rate is the total of women's birth rates by age in a year and an index showing the level of birth rates eliminating the effect of age structure.

29) Japan: Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency, Labour Force Survey Annual Report, 1984.
U.S.: BLS, Department of Labor, Employment & Earnings, Jan. 1984.

30) Ministry of Education, Education Statistics Handbook [Monbu tokei yoran].

31) 45.7% in 1975. cf. U.S. and Canada: 53% in 1983; UK, West Germany and France: 40-44% in 1982 (Management & Coordination Agency, Labour Force Survey Annual Report, 1985, p.2).

32) Management & Coordination Agency, Labour Force Survey Annual Report, 1984.

33) 1980. OECD, Labor Force Statistics.

34) Management & Coordination Agency, Labour Force Survey (1985). Ministry of Labour has adopted this definition for its administration. Management & Coordination Agency, Statistics Bureau, Employment Structure Survey (1982) and Labour Force Survey Special Survey (Feb. 1985) have collected the following data based on status names used in each firm:

Employees by Type of Employment
(based on "naming" in firms)

	Employment Struc- ture Survey	Labour Force Survey Special Survey
Employees	4,245	4,230
Executives	275	
Regular Employees	3,301	3,326
Part-Timers:		
[Part-Timer]	468	357
[Arubaito]		137
[Shokutaku, etc.]	70	151
Others	133	

Source: Management & Coordination Agency, Employment Structure in Japan [Nihon no Shūgyō Kōzō] (1982), p.81. and Labour Force Survey Special Survey (Feb. 1985), Table 2.

35) ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, Bulletin of Labour Statistics and others.

36) Regarding the technical difference of counting among countries, see Japan Productivity Center, Labor Statistics At Hand [Katsuyō rōdō tōkei] 1985, p.176, and Minoru Aoto, "International Comparison of Unemployment", Monthly Labour Statistics & Research Bulletin, Vol.36 No.11, Nov. 1984, p.6.

The United States and Japan have adopted the labor force survey method and use labor force population as the denominator to calculate unemployment rates while the United Kingdom and West Germany have adopted administrative data such as applicants at employment offices and use employees and the unemployed as their denominator.

37) The major differences in the United States and Japan definitions are: (1) the research period in which the worker sought a job [U.S., 4 weeks; Japan, 1 week], (2) those who are waiting for the result of job-seeking activities prior to the period in (1) [U.S., non-labor force population; Japan, the unemployed], (3) the laid-off [U.S., the unemployed; Japan, working (See the footnote 53) in this chapter.], (4) those who have been tentatively notified of hiring within 30 days [U.S., the unemployed; Japan, non-labor force population], (5) Family workers who worked less than 15 hours per week [U.S., non-labor force population; Japan, working], and (6) those who are preparing to start a business [U.S., non-labor force population; Japan, the unemployed]. Aoto, "International Comparison of Unemployment", p.8.

38) International standards on unemployment statistics that were decided at the 13th International Labour Statistician Conference.

39) OECD, Labour Force Statistics; ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1983); and U.S. Department of Labor, Handbook of Labor Statistics and International Comparisons of Unemployment; cited in Aoto, "International Comparison of Unemployment," p.7.

40) Eiji Shiraishi, "International Comparison of Unemployment Concepts," Monthly Labour Statistics & Research Bulletin, March 1982 and Aoto, "International Comparison of Unemployment". cf. Kōji Taira insists that the Japanese real unemployment rate would be more than double of the officially published rate. (The Nihon Keizai Shinbun, April 27, 1987)

41) Labor force surveys are by householder systems.

42) This English version of the Japanese census report is a little misleading. The original Japanese version replaces the phrase "who had no job" with "who had no job with pay at all" and "actually seeking for a job" with "actively seeking for a job, for example, filing an application with a public employment security office."

The definition by the Labour Force Survey, another major Japanese unemployment statistics is as follows (See Labour Force Survey Annual Report(1984) p.194 and 210.):

"Persons who did not work at all during the survey week, but were currently available for work and were actively seeking job or were waiting for the results of the past job-seeking activity."

The survey paraphrases the "job" ("work") and "seeking a job" in its questionnaire:

"Work" means any work for wage, salary, business profit, etc. Household members who worked without pay in a business or a firm operated by their family are regarded as those "engaged in work."

"Work" also includes piece work at home or temporary work.

"Seeking a job" includes (1) asking someone to give a job, applying for a public employment security office, answering a newspaper ad., etc., (2) preparing to start a business by procuring funds and materials, and (3) waiting for the result of the previous job-seeking activities.

43) The data on "discouraged workers" is not even available in Japan.

44) Except for some who are enjoying unemployment insurance benefits earned after years of work.

45) Ministry of Labour, Employment Survey of Older Workers [Kōrei-sha Shūgyō Jittai Chōsa] (1983); see Ministry of Labour, Labour Statistics & Research Monthly [Rōdō tōkei chōsa geppō] Vol.36, No.11, Nov. 1984, p.27. Equivalent figures for 60-64 and 65- years old are 23% and 19% respectively. Of those employed, 88% of those 55-59 years old, 73% of those 60-64 and 62% of those 65 and older are working to "maintain their own and family's life."

46) Management & Coordination Agency, 1980 Census.

47) It was a major factor for this change that the income of farming families exceeded that of city workers. cf. Masumi Tsuda, "Will a New Two-tier Structure Era Come?" Nihon Rōdō Kyōkai Zasshi, Vol.29, No.1, Jan. 1987.

48) e.g. Masaki Horie, Working Class in Japan [Nihon no Rōdōsha Kaikyū] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962), cited in Shobei Shioda, ed., Labor Problems in Japan [Nihon no Rōdō Mondai] (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1964), p.121.

49) Bureau of Statistics, Management & Coordination Agency, ed., Employment Situation of Population & Industrial Structure [Jinkō no Shugyō-jōtai to Sangyō-Kōsei] (1980 Census Monograph Series No.4), 1983, pp.65-66.

50) Manágement & Coordinating Agency, Employment Structure Survey [Shugyō kōzō kihon chōsa] and Labour Force Survey [Rōdō-ryoku chōsa]. The former uses the terms, "Wishing to Have Additional Job" and "Wishing to Change Jobs."

51) Management & Coordination Agency, Employment Structure Survey, 1982. "35 percent" is an unpublished figure.

52) e.g. More than 45% of those questioned answered that "Surely" or "Often/Sometimes" when asked if they want more earnings even if it means they must work overtime or on off-days, in Gunma Prefecture, Survey on the Consciousness of Middle- & Old- Workers [Chūkōnen rōdōsha ishiki chōsa] (1984) [1,220 regular workers who are 45 years old and older].

53) The "Japanese layoff" was devised in the 1970s. Corporations paid some 60 % of regular pay and let employees stay at home without laying them off.

54) The Japanese school year and fiscal year start in April and end in March.

55) It is not correct to understand this practice solely from the paternalistic management style of Japanese corporations. Labor unions are another important contributor to strengthening this practice. With the closed labor market Japanese unions have almost always waged strenuous, bitter struggles against discharges or permanent layoffs.

56) More exactly, the so-called lifetime employment system should be understood as a system that also contains a seniority-based wage and promotion system and guarantee for retirement life.

57) Temporary workers(3.1 million) + Day workers(1.2 million) + Part-time regular workers(2.4 million)/Non-executive employees in non-agricultural industries(39.3 million) x 100=17.0% Part-time regular workers mean regular workers whose weekly working hours are shorter than 35 hours. [Management & Coordination Agency, Labour Force Survey Annual Report, 1984]; Non-regular workers(Part-timers, etc.) classified as such by employers (6.7 million)/Non-executive employees(39.7 million)=16.8% [Managment & Coordination Agency, Employment Status Survey, 1982].

58) "sidetracked employees, normally for being close to retirement;....They are called 'window-side people' because such people are usually assigned to desks lined up against a wall (which has windows), far from the floor center where the action is." (Japanese-English Dictionary of Current Terms [Saishin Nichibei Hyōgen Jiten] (Tōkyo: Shōgakkan, 1984) p.271.

59) Regarding "Japanese layoffs", see 53) above.

60) Excluding temporary transfer to other corporations. Ministry of Labour, Survey on Employment Trends.

61) Separation Rate=Separations Jan. through Dec./Regular Employees as of Jan.1 Ministry of Labour, Survey on Employment Trend, 1984. This survey covers approximately 60 % of all employees, excluding employees in firms with fewer than 4 employees.

62) Labour Market Center, Ministry of Labour, Employment- Separation Survey of Newly School Graduates [Shinki gakkō sotsugyō shūshoku-sha no shūshoku-rishoku jōkyō chōsa kekka] (March 1975, 77 and 78). Equivalent figures for junior high school graduates are 25% and 50% respectively.

63) Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey on Wage Structure, 1984, which covers regular employees in firms with 10 employees or more.

64) Ministry of Labour, Survey on Employment Trend, 1984.

65) Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey on Wage Structure, 1984.

66) J.C. Abegglen, The Japanese Factory: aspects of its social organization, 1958.

67) Some writers contend that in principle the lifetime employment system also extends to female workers in large corporations and workers in smaller firms, although whether this is actually the case or not is debatable.

68) These figures include executives but exclude employees whose wages were calculated by the hour or day or were paid daily. The average age and the length of employment for all employees were 40.3 years of age and 10.5 years, for men 40.2 years of age and 11.8 years, and for women 39.7 years of age and 8.2 years. National Tax Administration, ed., Wages/Salaries in Private Firms seen from taxation statistics [Zeimu-tōkei kara mita Minkan Kyūyo no Jittai], Sep. 1985. Ministry of Labour's Basic Survey on Wage Structure, which covers regular employees in firms with 10 regular employees or more, has ¥3,480,000 as the average wage and salary of all regular employees. This figure was calculated by multiplying the monthly regular wage and salary including overtime pay of June 1984 by twelve and then adding to it bonuses paid in the year prior to June 1984.

69) The rate as of February 18, 1986. A year ago in February 25, 1985 the conversion rate was ¥263 to \$1. Using this rate, these figures become \$13,000, \$16,000, and \$8,000.

70) Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey on Wage Structure. Bonuses in a year prior to June 1984 (¥748,200) / The monthly regular wage excluding overtime pay in June 1984 (¥206,500) = 3.62

71) Ibid. Calculated by multiplying the fifteen overtime hours worked in June 1984 by twelve months, or 180 hours.

72) Ninety (90) percent of corporations has "25%" premium rate. Only 0.5 percent has "50% or more". Ministry of Labour, General Survey on Wages and Working Hours System [Chingin Rōdōjikan Seido Sōgō Chōsa], 1983.

73) Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey on Wage Structure.

74) Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Survey on Offered Starting Salaries for New Graduates [Shinki Gakkō Sotsugyō-sha Kyūjin Shoninkyū Chōsa] (March 1986).

75) Corporations with wage systems based on solely personal factors such as ages, years of service, and years of education now account for only 4.8 % of all private corporations with 30 or more regular employees at their head offices. Ministry of Labour, General Survey on Wages and Working Hours System (1984).

76) Part-time workers here is defined as "workers whose straight-time working hours per day or whose working days per week are shorter than those of ordinary workers." Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey of Wage Structure (1984), Vol.3.

77) Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey of Wage Structure (1984).

Taking years of service as an index, for instance, those of male employees who have worked 20-24 years for a company are ¥6.43 million [\$35,700] (100) for firms whose capital is one billion yen [\$5,560,000] and more, ¥5.28 [\$29,300](82) for those whose capital is 50-100 million [\$278,000-556,000], and ¥4.81 million [\$26,700](75) for those with capital less than 10 million yen [\$55,600]. (National Tax Administration, ed., Wages/Salaries in Private Firms (1984))

78) An exception is the wage for miners, which is decided at the national level.

79) Lower minimum wages by industry have been set for workers under younger than 18 years old and over 64 years of age.

80) Ministry of Labour, Basic Survey of Wage Structure (1984). 78,440 out of a total of 1,339,420 female part-time workers received hourly wages less than ¥420. 188,090 out of a total of 21,904,480 regular workers received monthly wages less than ¥84,000 (¥3,357x25days).

81) Those subject to the inspection are selected by each Labour Standards Inspection Office from among firms with a high likelihood of violating the law; for example, small companies, firms with many part-time employees, and firms in certain industries. There were 5,711 violations out of 30,223 cases in 1984 and 5,218 violations out of 29,430 cases in 1985. Ministry of Labour, The Result of Inspections Under Labour Standards Act, etc. [Rōdō Kijun-hō tō ni motozuku Kantoku Gyōmu Jisshi Jōkyō].

82) Ministry of Welfare, The 40th Revised Welfare Benefits Standard Table, revised on April 1, 1984.

83) Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, The Summary of Labor Consultations and Conciliations [Rōdō-sōdan oyobi Assen no Gaikyō] (f.y.1985).

84) Harold W. Davey, Mario F. Bognanno and David L. Estenson, Contemporary Collective Bargaining [Fourth Edition] (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982) p.274 and p.247.

85) United Nations, Yearbook of Industrial Statistics.

86) The overwhelming majority of retiring workers have still chosen the block payment retirement allowance.

87) Main city banks.

88) Worker's tax-free assets-making deposit.

89) More exactly, Honnin-kyū X 53.

90) Japan: Ministry of Labour, Monthly Labour Survey [Maigetsu Kinrō Tōkei Chōsa]. The figure pertains to workers in firms with 30 or more employees.

U.S.: BLS, Department of Labor, Handbook of Labor Statistics

E.C.: EC Bureau of Statistics, Labor Costs

Concerning the technical notes, see Japan Productivity Center, Labor Statistics for Practical Use [Katsuyō Rōdō Tōkei] (1985), p.172.

91) For example, The Situation of and Workers' Consciousness in Bording-Out Industry [Gaishoku Sangyō no Jittai to Rōdōsha Ishiki] (1985) by Zensen Dōmei found that more than one third of their members in 12 research subject corporations worked more than 4 off-days without substitute holidays. (p.58)

92) The average non-work national holidays or their substitute holidays are 11.3 days in firms with 10-299 employees, although in many firms workers have to work on these holidays. Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Labor Conditions and Workers' & Managements' Consciousness in Smaller Manufacturing Enterprises in Tokyo, 1983. p.28.

93) Ibid. Also, Ministry of Labour, Summer Holidays System Survey [Kaki Kyūka Seido Jittai Chōsa], 1980.

94) See for example, Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Labor Conditions and Workers' & Managements' Consciousness, p.108, and Zensen Domei, The Situation of and Workers' Consciousness, p.59. These three reasons account for 48% and 63% of all responses, respectively, in these surveys.

95) Central Association for Workers' Accident Prevention, Safety & Health Yearbook [Anzen Eisei Nenkan], 1985, p.135.

96) Because the same worker may experience more than one accident in a year, the real numbers and percentages of workers affected may be a little lower than the figures indicate.

97) The data on total those killed and injured by traffic accidents is not available. But The Fatal & Injured Report of Ministry of Labour Labour Standard Bureau indicates that 24% of all fatal and 44% of all serious accidents, those with three or more killed or injured, are the result of traffic accidents.

98) Central Association for Workers' Accident Prevention, Safety & Health Yearbook.

99) Ministry of Labour Labour Standard Bureau data.

100) Ministry of Labour, Work Environment Survey, 1981.

101) Ministry of Labour, Survey on Workers' Health Conditions, 1982.

102) Ministry of Labour, Work Environment Survey.

103) Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency, Monthly Report of Retail Prices: Consumer Price Index.

104) A Japanese government report disputes this claim. See Kokumin Seikatsu Center, ed., [Charts] International Comparison of Life (1985), p.22.

105) Newspaper clippings.

106) Management & Coordination Agency, Consumer Price Index (1984).

107) Of a household with an average of 3.72 family members, 1.56 working members, and age of the household head of 41.3 years.

108) Ministry of Education, F.Y.1984 Educational Expense Survey. These figures are averages of all children, including those who do not attend those after-school classes.

109) Ministry of Education, Students' Life Survey (1984).

110) Tokai Bank, Survey on Educational Expenses for Children (March 1986).

111) Fair Trade Commission, Supplemental School Industry Survey [Gakushū-juku Sangyō no Jittai Chōsa] (1986). cf. Ministry of Education, Supplemental School Survey [Gakushū-juku Chōsa] (f.y. 1985).

112) For example, see the Asahi Shinbun, April 9, 1986.

113) Statistics Bureau, Management & Coordination Agency, Family Income And Expenditure Survey (1984).

114) According to a survey of the lives of university students conducted by this writer in 1984.

115) Because Japanese rooms are mostly multi-purpose in nature, Japanese houses are usually referred to by the number of rooms, not bedrooms they have.

116) Prices according to inserts in the Asahi Shinbun for June 8, 1986.

117) ¥3.8 million yen was the average annual wage for workers in firms with 30 or more employees in 1985. Ministry of Labour, Monthly Labour Survey [Maigetsu Kinrō Tōkei Chōsa]. ¥2.74 million was the figure for those employed in firms with 5-29 employees.

118) Information gleaned from a listing in a real estate agency in this same area in June 1986.

119) Housing Demand Situation Survey [Jūtaku Juyō Jittai Chōsa] for 1984 by the Ministry of Construction has similar data for households whose heads are public employees as well as regular, temporary and daily employees of private firms. p.48.

120) For buildings restricted to residential use only of all households. Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan. Data for the households of workers is not available.

121) To be eligible for public housing, the income must be below a certain level, and to qualify for public corporation housing be above a certain level.

122) The Fourth Housing Construction 5-Year Plan by the Ministry of Construction. It has also set an "adequate standard" for floor space of 86 square meters. The Ministry is planning to revise this level to 91 square meters for urban area condominiums and apartments and to 123 square meter for houses in suburbs and rural areas for the next century. These standards apply to all households, not just those of workers.

123) Excluding halls, kitchens, and bathrooms. See note 1) above.

124) Bureau of Statistics, Management & Coordination Agency, The Summary of Results: 1983 Housing Survey of Japan Prompt Report. p. 21.

125) All figures in this paragraph are from Bureau of Statistics, Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan and include not only workers' households but also all households.

126) Management & Coordination Agency, The Summary of Results: Prompt Report. p.22.

127) Management & Coordination Agency, The Summary of Results: Prompt Report. p.15.

128) The Asahi Shinbun, March 16, 1986.

129) Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan.

130) This includes both rents, repairs and maintenance and payments of debts for houses and land. (1984)

131) This figure is computed by the following formula: average rent per square meter for the part of "rooms" x 86 [or 44.2] square meters x percentage of "room" space to floor space. For the last term, the median of percentage of the 80-89[or 40-49] floor space bracket, that is, 61%[or 63%] was used. (Dwellings for living exclusively) Management & Coordination Agency, 1983 Housing Survey of Japan.

132) Management & Coordination Agency, Family Income and Expenditure Survey (1984). According to Ministry of Construction, Housing Demand Situation Survey (1984), the percentage of all households repaying loans for purchase of houses and/or land is 46 percent with an average monthly payment of ¥66,000.

133) Ministry of Welfare, 1985 Complete Life Table [Kanzen Seimei-hyō].

134) Agriculture, live-stock-raising, fisheries, forestry and service industries are exempted. Employees working in exempted firms exempted or for professional and religious services may voluntarily participate in the Welfare Pension Plan. Employees in corporate firms with less than five employees will be compulsorily covered by 1989.

135) 15 years after 40 years old for men and after 35 years old for women.

136) Reduced benefits are paid to 60-64 year old working people earning the standardized monthly pay of ¥150,000 or less and to working people 65 or older earning ¥160,000 or more.

137) Including senior elementary school graduates under the old educational system before the end of World of War II.

138) Including junior high school graduates under the old educational system before the end of World of War II.

CHAPTER THREE

EXTRACTION OF WORKERS' NEEDS IN JAPAN TODAY

In the preceding chapter, we explored Japanese workers' needs, whether they had recognized them or not, using mainly government statistical data. Readers learned that Japanese workers were never needs-free workers and seemed to have various needs in the areas of employment, labor conditions and living conditions. In this chapter, we will put some of those into a more concrete and vivid form and also extract some more through our own research----through the workers' own voice. Let's listen to what kinds of problems and difficulties present day Japanese workers have so we can extract their true needs, what they really want or need, without any preconceptions.

We will first discuss the research method we adopted and next the research results.

I METHODOLOGY

1. Research Method

Five hundred working people were interviewed by five hundred students who were from a private university near Tokyo. Eighty percent of the interviewers were from the department of economics and twenty percent were from the departments of science and pharmacy. No instructions regarding possible responses were given to interviewers

beyond the following three items and some basic interview techniques. No uniform interview guides were prepared, either, except a face sheet(p.146) on which was recorded the interviewees' basic background characteristics.

1. Select a very ordinary¹⁾ working man or woman.
2. The objective of the research is to know the troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, aggravating situation, etc.
3. Get open-minded, serious answers.

The interviews were held in the summer of 1984, and some (about 50) supplemental interviews were held in the summer of 1986.

There are at least three questions to be discussed regarding this methodology. They are on the adoption of open-ended interviews, the sampling of research subjects, and the level of need we are going to deal with.

(1) Unconstructed Interviews

In this research, no questionnaires nor uniform interview guides were used. It is similar to the approach taken in the classic Hawthorne Experiment²⁾ interview research which employed no fixed questions and let interviewers and interviewees talk freely on their own.

It was discussed in the proceeding chapter that surveys using questionnaires were generally not appropriate when searching for needs which researchers had not perceived. Remember the assumptions which we made at the very beginning of this paper(See PREFACE.). They were that the labor administration(a researcher) is making serious efforts but

doing what workers (research subjects) do not truly want or need. The logical conclusion of this is that the content of responses must be beyond the researchers' perception and predictions. Why were no instructions given to interviewers? It is to avoid biases, skews, and contamination. The researcher did not want interviewers to have any preoccupations. Hiring innocent students as interviewers partly comes from the same reason. Most students were freshmen or sophomores. They had little knowledge on the research topic.

(2) Sampling Through Interviewers

Sampling of the research subjects were not statistically "scientific" or representative. To be representative, they should have been sampled and stratified by factors like sex, age group, size of enterprise, industry, and occupation. Otherwise needs of all working people in Japan cannot be accurately ascertained. Such a method, however, was not adopted for several reasons, not the least of which was expediency. First, The combination of stratified sampling and random sampling would not have necessarily produced a statistically scientific result, commonly referred to as the problem of non-statistical errors. To what extent could inexperienced interviewers "get the open-minded, serious answers," not superficial, official answers, from assigned research subjects whom they meet for the first time? Moreover, what percentage of interviewers could succeed in meeting assigned research subjects? With a low return rate and poorer quality data, a statistically well designed sampling might give a practically less representative result than the method we adopted. Then was it possible to solve this problem by employing experienced, well-trained

interviewers? The limited resource, both financial and human, however, did not allow us to do so. However, even if we could have employed experienced, well-trained interviewers, a more fundamental question would remain: Does the data obtained by them from their first meetings with the interviewees necessarily assure us of higher quality in the sense of being "open-minded and serious" than those obtained by interviewers who are inexperienced but have rapport with the interviewees?

By our research of this method, we cannot extract needs of all groups of working people in Japan, but can of certain self-screened groups. The requirement to "get open-minded, serious answers" predictably leads interviewers to the people with whom they have already established rapport and thus to the concentration of research subjects on specific sex and age groups, as well as the social classes they belong to----in our research, for example, on (1) male in their late 40s and early 50s, who were the interviewers' fathers in the new and old middle class, (2) male and female around 20 years old, who were the interviewers' former high school classmates now employed and who belonged to a relatively lower class, and (3) male in their late 20s or early 30s, who were seniors or coworkers in the interviewers' side jobs and ranged from the lower class workers to "elite" college graduates. (See for details p.150-1.)

With the knowledge of what part of "all working people in Japan" the collected data are concerned with in terms of sex, age, social strata, and so on, the approach to reach target subjects through a self-selection process and obtain the wanted kind and level of data----sampling interviewers instead of directly sampling interviewees of

subjects----could be valid and meaningful in this type of research. Using this method is not only permissible as an experiment for the first time----to see if this kind of research is effective or not----but also has the strength in an exploratory study of identifying topics and issues unburdened by the question of statistical reliability (pp.159 and 160).

(3) Needs We Discuss

The "need" to be extracted is "diagnostic need" and "felt need" in Thayler's and Bradshaw's classification, and falls into the second category of needs according to our own classification.(See pp.52-59)

In this chapter, "troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, aggravating situations, etc." have been so far and will be replaced approximately for "needs". However, both are of course not the same in their meanings. The general definition of needs was given in the preceding chapter. Our "troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, aggravating situations, etc." have not been tested yet by "value". (It was also the case in Chapter Two.) Or the matter of standards or scales has not been discussed. We could learn what the research subjects have difficulty with or want but we cannot learn "if the situation falls for short of a certain goal or standard, and the recovery, amelioration, etc. of the situation is socially recognised as a necessity."(See p.51) At best our results are "various negative aspects which have been recognized." However, to learn more of the former would provide unlimited hints about the latter, and we could approach to the need infinitely. The former might be considered as seeds of the latter.

FACE SHEET

- Case No. () (Do not fill in.)
1. Sex: 1 Male 2 Female
 2. Age: () yrs. old
 (1 up to 20, 2 21-25, 3 26-30, 4 31-35,
 5 36-40, 6 41-45, 7 46-50, 8 51-55,
 9 56-60, 10 over 60)
 3. Type of employment:
 1 Self-employed, 2 Family employee
 3 Employed 4 Others
 4. Employer, type of work or occupation: ()
 Position: 1 (ordinary) Worker, 2 Chief Clerk
 3 Section chief 4 Department chief
 5 Others
 Size: company as whole at your branch
 regular employees only () ()
 including non-regular workers () ()
 5. Length of employment: () years () months.
 6. Record of past employment: ()
 Give a brief record.
 example: T Manufacturing (2) - Gasoline Station (1:6)
 7. Annual income (gross): () yen
 (State if it is not income, monthly income, daily payment,
 hourly payment, etc. example: 220,000/month.)
 8. Family: (Include only those who are living together. Circle
 those who are working.)
 1 Wife or husband 2 Son () 3 Daughter
 4 Father 5 Mother 6 Elder brother
 7 Elder sister 8 Younger brother 9 Younger sister
 10 Grandfather 11 Grandmother 12 Others
 9. Education:
 1 Junior high school graduate
 1' Junior high school + vocational or technical school
 1" Senior high school dropout
 2 Senior high school graduate
 2' Senior high school + vocational or technical school
 2" Dropout from college or junior college
 3 Junior college graduate
 3' Junior college + vocational or technical school
 4 College graduate
 4' College + vocational or technical school
 10. Relationship to interviewer:
 1 Classmate from elementary, junior or senior high school
 1' Friend, senior classmate etc. from elementary, junior,
 or senior high school
 2 Senior workers, bosses, etc.
 3 Brothers and Sisters
 4 Parents
 5 Relatives
 6 Friends of the parents
 7 Others
 11. Date of interview: (month).(day), (time: -)
 Place of interview: ()
 Method: ()
 12. Interviewer's student number: ()
 Interviewer's name: ()

2. Computing Method and Characteristics of Interviewees

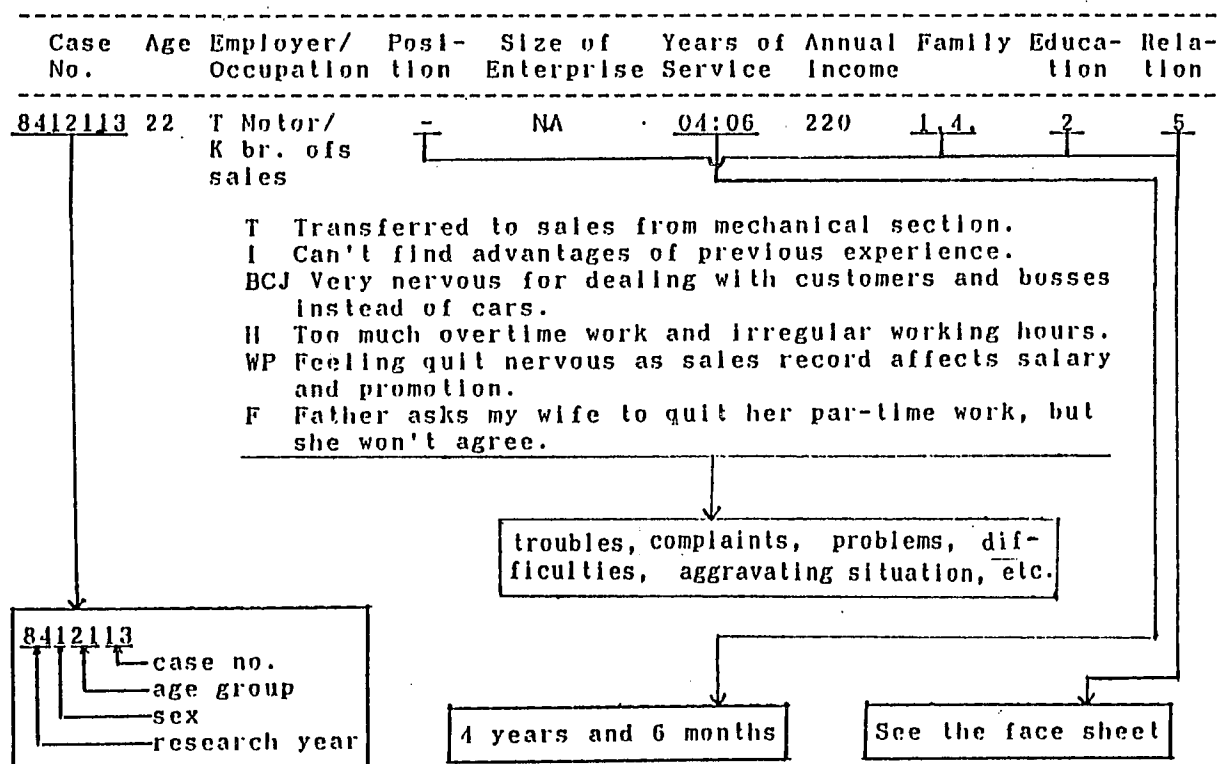
Out of the collected 511 cases, 498 were usable and 13 were not because of missing information on characteristics and other reasons.³⁾

These 498 cases were first classified according to sex, age group and type of employment, whether employed (including non-regular workers such as part-time workers, contract workers [shokutaku] and students) or self-employed (including family workers and people who work at home [naishoku]). Then each phrase and sentence in the 2,000-Japanese-character length interview records was itemized in accordance with the

Table III-1: After-coded Interview Record Items

A	Automobiles
B	Bosses (including human relations)
C	Customers
D	Discrimination, complex
E	Evaluation
F	Family, Family life
G	Geography [Commuting]
H	(Working) Hours
I	Inexperience, Inability
J	Job content
K	Kids [Children]
L	Living [Housing]
M	Management, future of company, bankruptcy
N	<u>Ningen-kankei</u> [Human Relations] (excluding those with bosses), atmosphere at work places
O	(Fringe benefits and) Other labor conditions
P	Promotion, transfer
Q	Questions on life & work
R	Retirement
S	Safety & health, work environment
T	Turnover, independence & self-employment
U	(Labor) Unions, labor relations
V	Voice [Participation]
W	Wage & salary, expenditure and money
X	(Opposite) Sex, marriage and other personal concerns
Y	Yes [Satisfaction]
Z	[Community, Society]

Figure III-1: Computed Items and Output Example



codes given in Table III-1. The after-coded information was partly put into computer along with the data obtained from the face sheets. Figure III-1 is an example of computer output.

They were then tabulated and analyzed by characteristics of workers and kinds of "troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, aggravating situations, etc." (hereafter referred to as "problems and difficulties") whether singly or in combination.

Table III-2 shows distribution of sex and age groups of 498 usable cases.

With regard to age, 498 cases can be classified into five major groups. The first group consists of young workers of both sexes, "under

Table III-2: Distribution of Research Subjects
By Sex, Age and Status

	Male	Female
Total	379(64)[1]	119<15>(12)[2]
-20	83(2)[1]	46 (1)[1]
21-25	73(4)	28 [1]
26-30	35(2)	5< 1>
31-35	24(3)	2< 1>
36-40	17(4)	0
41-45	26(7)	15< 4>(6)
46-50	72(24)	18< 6>(5)
51-55	32(11)	4< 3>
56-	17(7)	1

Note: < > for part-time workers, () for the self-employed and family employees, and [] for students. Numbers in brackets are included in the total figures given.

20 years of age." Most of those who are "under 20 years of age" are classmates of the interviewers from their junior and senior high school days.⁴⁾ Considering that nearly 40 percent of high school graduates go on to college today in Japan, this group belongs to a middle or lower than middle social stratum. The second group is also male and female but in their twenties. They have common characteristics and needs to either the first group above or the third group⁵⁾ which follows below and will be omitted hereafter in our analysis. The third group consists of male workers in their thirties. They are mainly fellow or senior workers or bosses at places where interviewers (students) work. Elder brothers, cousins and other relatives of interviewers are also included.⁶⁾ This group covers a wide range of social strata, including "elite" workers employed by major large enterprises listed in the Tokyo No.1 Stock Exchange Market, and employees of medium and small firms in service and other industries. The fourth group is made up of male workers in their

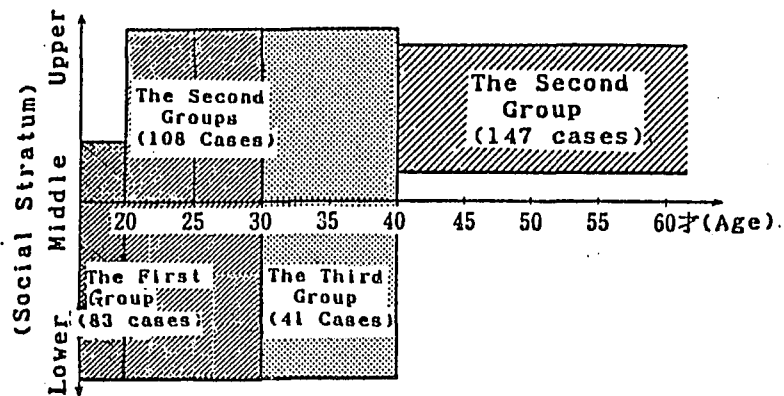
forties and above, which includes the interviewers' fathers. The group includes "uncles" and other relatives as well as friends of the interviewers' fathers.⁷⁾ They belong to the middle social stratum or above in the sense that they can afford to send their children to a private college in the suburbs of Tokyo. Many of them hold positions of middle management in private enterprises and public offices or are self-employed.⁸⁾ However, considering the social position of this university which the interviewers are coming from, it is assumed that those subjects who belong to the real upper or upper middle social stratum are in principle excluded in this research. The fifth group consists of all female workers except those in the first and the second groups. Most of them are in the age groups of "41-45" or "46-50"⁹⁾ and many part-time workers are included.¹⁰⁾

Figure III-2 shows the characteristics of social backgrounds represented by male interviewees.

Our research subjects fairly well represent most categories of Japanese workers today who were previously described in Chapter Two, with the exception of the lower class workers in their forties and above. The younger generations are best represented both in quality and quantity. Each category of workers, however, certainly requires a greater number of cases in order to get more comprehensive information. Women, particularly in their late 20s and above, are vastly underrepresented. In terms of men, white collar workers in large corporations are few. Apart from female part-time workers, the numbers of non-regular workers were low.

In Section II, employees who are between 18 and 20 years old in the first group will have their situations analyzed. The self-employed and

Figure III-2: Characteristics of Male Research Subjects



Note: The figure does not necessarily show that collected cases scatter evenly in each of squares, but show that the range of squares has come into view of this research.

students will be excluded. Sections III, IV and V will be devoted to the analysis of employees from other groups, that is, men from 31 years of age to 40, men over 40, and women over 30, respectively. The age group of 21-30 will be omitted, because the "problems and difficulties" of the unmarried in this age group are largely identical with those of the 18-20 group and the "problems and difficulties" of the married with those of 31-40. The description in Sections III through V will be more condensed than that in Section II, and will have its emphasis on comparison with men and women from 18 years of age and 20. A summary of the whole of the research result will be given towards the end. Readers who hurry the conclusion would skip Sections III-V to the summary from p.279 on, particularly its Table III-23 on p.280 and Sub-section VI 2. on p.296.

II YOUNG WORKERS(18-20 YEARS OF AGE; MALE AND FEMALE)

1. Characteristics of Interviewees

The following data concern 122 cases of workers of 18-20 years of age. Of the 122 cases, 80 are men and 44, women.

Most interviewees (89%) are senior high school graduates. There are 8 junior high school graduates among the men. Also among them, dropouts are rather noticeable----3 from college and from 5 high school. These dropouts constitute ten percent of the male workers. Eleven have finished professional or vocational schools after their high school graduation.

All are unmarried, most of them are living with their parent(s) and other family members. Among them, 8 come from one-parent family due to death or separation by divorce. This is more so with men than with

Table III-3: Education of Interviewees(18-20 year old)

	Male	Female
Total	80	44
Junior high graduates	8 ¹⁾	1
(+Professional, technical and vocational schools)	(1)	(0)
(Senior high dropouts)	(5)	(0)
Senior High graduates	71 ²⁾	42 ³⁾
(+Professional, technical and vocational schools)	(7)	(4)
(College dropouts)	(3)	(0)
Junior College Graduates	0	1
Unknown	1	0

1) One high school dropout.

2) Two dropouts from professional & technical schools and one presumed are included.

3) One attending and one dropout from professional & technical schools are included.

Table III-4: Family Composition of Interviewees
(18-20 years old)

	Male	Female
Total	80	44
Living with Parents, etc.	61 ¹⁾	33
Mother, etc. (No Father ²⁾)	3	1
Father, etc. (No Mother ²⁾)	4	0
Living alone in a dormitory/apartment	8 ³⁾	6 ³⁾
Unknown	4	4

1) A father is not working.

2) Due to death or divorce.

3) Those who answered "living alone" with words. Some "living alone" cases may possibly be included in "living with Parents, etc." cases.

women. Fourteen workers or more than ten percent of the total live alone in apartments or dormitories regardless of whether their parents are still living or not.

Their occupations¹¹⁾ vary greatly with sex. For men, the largest group is production process workers (30 workers; 38%). Two other workers are construction craftsmen, and ten are other types of blue collar workers such as boilermen, truck drivers and office machinery repairmen. These add up to more than fifty percent of all male workers. Enterprises they are employed in range from those listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange Market I (9 or more) to medium size industries and their small subsidiaries. As many as 11 are concentrated in automobile and related industries (parts and accessories). The next largest groups are service workers (13; 30%) and sales workers (12; 27%). The former includes cooks and waitresses (9), guards, railway station workers and others, and the latter, salesmen working in retail stores and mainly outside offices. There are only two clerical and related workers in

Table III-5(A): Occupations¹⁾ of Interviewees (Male, 18-20 years old)

Total	80
Government & public corporation employees	5 [in social security office, hospital, public corporation, policemen(2)]
Private industry employees (All except for Government & public corp. employees)	
Professional and Technical Workers	3 [X-ray technician assistant, programmer(2)]
Clerical & related Workers	2 [in automobile dealer, unknown]
Sales workers	12 [in sports good store, supermarket(2), ladies garment co., dress shop, textile wholesale, pharmaceutical co. salesman(2), office machine sales, electronic products agency, stocks & securities co., gas station attendant/machinist]
Service workers ²⁾	13 [cook(6), waiter(3), guard(2), railway station attendant(2)]
Craftsmen, production process & related workers and laborers	
Construction craftsmen	2 [Steel-frame builder, plasterer]
Workers in manufacturing	30 [in Office machine & equipment, auto & related parts/accessories(11), textile, printing(2), precision machinery(2), electrical machinery, food & kindred products(2), electronic machinery(2), machine parts(2), packing, railway cars, pharmaceutical co., unknown; packer(2), painter, assemblyman(3), inspector(2), repairmen, welder, unknown(20)]
Others ³⁾	10 [building maintenance, cleaning, boilerman, air-conditioning technician, golf practice center odd-jobber, office machine repairman/sales(2), photo developing, truck driver(2)]
Unknown	3 [employed]

1) See the footnote 1) on p. 305.

2) Here are included private firms workers in police and security occupations and station attendants in transport and communication industries.

3) Includes truck drivers in transportation and communication industries.

Table III-5(B): Occupations¹⁾ of Interviewees(Female, 18-20 years old)

Total	44	
Government & public corporation employees	3	[government employee, policewoman, notary's office]
Private industry employees(All except for Government & public corp. employees)		
Professional and Technical Workers	6	[programmer, English teacher, nursery teacher, student caretaker in facility for physically & mentally handicapped children), nurse, nutrition technician]
Clerical & related Workers	21	[in city and local banks·credit asso.(9), electrical machinery, manufacturing, computer firm, software co. transportation, shoe wholesale, hospital, art studio, unknown(4)]
Sales workers	2	[in wholesale store, cotton house]
Service workers	5	[hair dresser assistant(2), cook in a dormitory, bus guide, waitress]
Craftsmen, production process & related workers and laborers		
Construction craftsmen	-	
Workers in manufacturing	2	[sewing, A Manufacturing Co.]
Others	-	
Unknown	5	[in survey co., precision machinery, K Electronics, I Newspapers, unknown]

1) See the footnote 11) on p.305.

private enterprises. Five, including two policemen, are government employees.

In contrast, of the 44 female workers, at least 23 (21 in private companies and 2 in public or quasi-public organizations) are clerical and related workers. In addition, another five whose occupations are not identified also seem to work in similar jobs. Nearly two-thirds of women are engaged in general affairs, accounting and various other clerical work in financial facilities such as banks and credit unions (9), manufacturing industries, wholesale, transportation and computer firms and hospitals. The second largest group contains those who are engaged in typical "women's jobs", that is, professional & technical and service workers such as a nurse, kindergarten teacher, nutrition technician, cook in a dormitory, bus guide, waitress and beautician. The rest includes sales workers (2), a policewoman, a production worker and others, though only few in number. Please refer to Table III-5 for details.

Since the research subjects in this section are mainly made up of the interviewer's classmates from junior and senior high schools, the length of employment is from 3 and a half years to 5 and a half years for the former and from 6 months to two and a half years for the latter, as far as they have stayed on the same jobs. Not a few of them, particularly among men, however, have changed their jobs, and there is a man who has changed his job as many as three or four times after he dropped out of high school. Eleven out of thirteen¹²⁾ who changed jobs are men. The kinds of jobs they held in the past were a painter, a production worker in a small factory, an assembler, a waiter and a waitresses in a hotel and a restaurant, a cook at a lunch box kitchen,

a trucking company worker, a sales worker of a paper manufacturing company, a worker in a cookie & cake shop and the like, which are no different from the kinds of jobs held presently listed in Table III-5.

Income was answered either by year (65) or by month (43), with an exception of 'by day.' In cases answered in annual income, a considerable difference is noted between male and female workers. It may come from a difference in overtime pay and/or bonuses.

Annual income for men varies from a minimum of 940,000 yen (including tax) to a maximum of three million yen (take-home pay). The former is the case of a guard who dropped out of high school, while the latter is the case of a plasterer, also a high school dropout. The mode is the class of "1.75-2.25 million yen" or around two million yen, and about half of the men are concentrated in this class. Eleven, or one out of four, fall into the class of "1.25-1.75 million yen" or around 1.5 million yen. Five are paid around 2 million yen and another five, 3 million yen.

As for women, the minimum is ¥500,000 (take-home pay) and the maximum is 2 million yen. The former is the case of a student caretaker working in a facility for physically and mentally disabled children. The mode for women's earnings is the class of "1.25-1.75 million yen," one class lower than that for men. The remainder are distributed evenly in classes of "1.25 million yen or less" and "1.75-2.25 million yen". No female workers are paid more than 2.25 million yen annually.

In cases answered in monthly income (take-home pay), there are no significant differences between men and women, except that a few men earn "more than ¥160,000." It may be because people are not likely to include overtime and bonus payments when talking about monthly wages.

Table III-6: Income of Interviewees(18-20 years old)

(Answered in) Annual Income (with tax)			(Answered in) Monthly Income (after tax)			(Answered in) Daily Payment		
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
Total million	44	21	Total thousand	27	16	Total	1	0
up to ¥1.25	2	6	¥70, 80, 90	5	3	¥6,000	1	0
1.25 - 1.75	11	9	100, 110, 120	13	7			
1.75 - 2.25	21	6	130, 140, 150	6	5			
2.25 - 2.75	5	0	160 and over	3	1			
2.75 - 3.25	5	0						
Minimum	¥1	¥0.5	Minimum	¥70	¥72			
	(with tax)	(after tax)		(after tax)				
Maximum	¥3	¥2	Maximum	¥190	¥160			
	(after tax)			(after tax)				

- 1) In many cases, it was not clear whether the data included tax or not or whether the data with tax or after tax was given. In the latter, the necessary data was estimated wherever possible. As for monthly income, some seem to include overtime pay and/or bonus and some do not.
- 2) In addition, there are 15 cases of "unknown". (8 males, 7 females; one answers that "he/she received the same level as government employees."

Slightly less than half of them are paid "¥100,000-120,000." Simply multiply this by 12 (months), and you will get the annual income of 1.20-1.44 million yen without counting bonus payments. For your reference, the minimum wage per day in Tokyo at the time of the research in 1986 was 3,691 yen. Multiplied by 25 (days), it can be converted into a monthly earning of 92,275 yen.

2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"

In this research, "quantity" does not necessarily have absolute significance. (cf.pp.143-5) There are two reasons. Firstly, the object of this research is to extract "candidates" for "needs". In this sense, "problems and difficulties" which the greatest number of interviewees raised are not necessarily more important than others. Some "problems and difficulties" which only a few interviewees mentioned, or sometimes for that very reason, may have more important meanings. Secondly, the data written in letters and computed does not always reflect the degree of seriousness. Take the expression that "the wage is too low" for instance. He or she may simply be saying, "I wish I were paid more," or it could be as serious as he or she "can't pay [his or her] way without borrowing some money." When someone says, "I'm doing too much overtime work, he may be really thinking of changing a job being worried about his health, or he may actually be pleased with the extra earnings, contrary to his words. Either case is counted as one when computed.

In this section, a two step analysis will be made in the following. First, we will see the numerical distribution of the cases by "problems

and difficulties" after-coded into 25 items as shown earlier. ("Yes[Satisfaction]" excluded.) The total number amounts to 561 cases because each of the 124 interviewees usually refers to several items of "problems and difficulties." If an interviewee, however, refers to more than one different "problem and difficulty" within an item, it is counted as one.

In the next section, the concrete content of the "problems and difficulties" will be closely examined in detail, item by item.

The top three "problems and difficulties" which young workers (18-20 years old) have are "working hours" (75 cases), "ningen-kankei [human relations] (excluding those with bosses)" (60 cases), and "job content" (59 cases). "Problems and difficulties" on "wage & salary, expenditure and money" (51 cases) and "bosses (including human relations)" (47 cases) follow next.

The section "Working hours" represents problems of long or irregular working hours, no or little rest time, too much overtime work, midnight labor, shift systems and holidays and vacations. "We want time more than money," workers say. "Human relations" includes not only problems of how to get along with senior and fellow workers but also complaints of the workers' composition at work places, or not having young workers or the opposite sex to work together, and complaints of the general atmosphere of work places. "Job content" refers to "problems and difficulties" deriving directly from their work itself rather than other labor conditions. The most typical are those about monotonous work, assembly line work and meaningless work. The results brought by being "too busy", rationalization and others are discussed here for convenience' sake. There are some cases where the "job

Table III-7: Distribution of
Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"

	Male		Female		Total	
Total	80	100.0%	44	100.0%	124	100.0%
A Automobiles	3	3.8	0	0.0	3	2.4
B Bosses (including human relations)	28	35.0	19	43.2	47	37.9
C Customers	13	16.3	9	20.5	22	17.7
D Discrimination, complex	15	18.8	15	34.1	30	24.2
E Evaluation	1	1.3	1	2.3	2	1.6
F Family, Family life	19	23.8	9	20.5	28	22.6
G Geography [Commuting]	4	5.0	7	15.9	11	8.9
H (Working) Hours	53	66.3	22	50.0	75	60.5
I Inexperience, Inability	9	11.3	19	43.2	28	22.6
J Job content	34	42.5	25	56.8	59	47.6
K Kids [Children]	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
L Living [Housing]	4	5.0	4	9.1	8	6.5
M Management, future of company, bankruptcy	4	5.0	0	0.0	4	3.2
N <u>Ningen-kankei</u> [Human Relations] (excluding those with bosses), atmosphere	37	46.3	23	52.3	60	48.4
O (Fringe benefits and) Other labor conditions	5	6.3	7	15.9	12	9.7
P Promotion, transfer	9	11.3	3	6.8	12	9.7
Q Questions on life & work	4	5.0	5	11.4	9	7.3
R Retirement	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
S Safety & health, work environments	21	26.3	8	18.2	29	23.4
T Turnover, independence & self-employment	23	28.8	8	18.2	31	25.0
U (Labor) Unions, labor relations	1	1.3	0	0.0	1	0.8
V Voice [Participation]	6	7.5	0	0.0	6	4.8
W Wage & salary, expenditure	40	50.0	11	25.0	51	41.1
X (Opposite) Sex, marriage and other personal concerns	13	16.3	12	27.3	25	20.2
(Y Yes [Satisfaction]	-	-	-	-	-	-)
Z [Community, Society]	4	5.0	3	6.8	7	5.6

Note: The total numbers 341 cases for male and 210 for female. The same "problem and difficulty" may be counted for more than one item, and different "problems and difficulties" are counted as one case as far as they belong to the same item.

content" is against the labor contract. The issue of "wage" is mainly about its low level, but also includes allowances not properly paid, differentiation by sex and education, and so on. "Bosses" means complaints and criticism workers have against them as well as difficulties workers experience in getting along with them. Together with "problems and difficulties" mentioned in the item "ningen-kankeikankei [human relations]" above, there are so many workers who are worried and troubled with problems of human relations.

It should be noted that there is a considerable difference in the distribution of "troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, the matters that he/she 'blows his/her top,' etc." by sex. For men, the biggest "problems and difficulties" are those of "working hours." Fifty-three cases out of 88, that is two thirds of cases, mention this item. The second is "wage" which 40 cases or half of workers raise, being followed by "problems and difficulties" of "human relations" (37 cases), "job content" (34 cases) and "bosses" (28 cases). The percentage of these ranges from 35 to 43.

One out of every four or five men has some "problems and difficulties" on "turnover, independence & self-support" (23 cases), "safety & health, working environment" (21 cases), or "family, family life" (19 cases). There are strong desires to change jobs or start businesses of their own among workers in this social stratum. Present working environments are far from being safe and healthy. And workers are under great stress. Problems of supporting one's parents or living in a dormitory are treated as "family & family life" problems. However, such serious problems as divorce, domestic violence, refusal to attend school, alcoholism and the elderly confined to bed have not been

extracted in this research except for a few cases. Different research methods must be applied to investigate them.

Others include "discrimination, complex" (15 cases), "customers" (13 cases), "sex, marriage" (13 cases), "promotion, transfer" (9 cases), "inexperience, inability" (9 cases) and other items. Ten to fifteen percent of workers in this category refer to each item. The major source of "discrimination" is school years completed. Workers "can never argue with customers," which brings tremendous stress to workers. What is meant by "sex, marriage" are problems like "I have no boy (or girl) friends," and so forth. "Promotion, transfer" is associated with discrimination by education as mentioned above. What is itemized as "inexperience, inability" are the feelings of anxiety and worry anyone would go through when they first start working, as well as regrets he or she may have for "not having studied more, or mastered something."

Only a few cases of "problems and difficulties" are reported on "voice (participation)" (e.g. "A boss has no ears to listen to us."), "fringe benefits and other labor conditions" (e.g. "There are no cafeterias for employees."), "geography [commuting]" (e.g. long commuting hours), "management, future of company, bankruptcy" (e.g. "Is my company O.K.?"), "living [housing]" (e.g. "My apartment has no bath room."), "questions on life and work" (which are also the problems of alienation as well), "community, society" (e.g. The deducted ten percent national medical insurance should be eliminated.), "automobiles" (e.g. "I'd like to have a car of my own.") or "evaluation" (e.g. "I'm not duly evaluated."). Only one case is reported on the item "labor union, labor relations," and none at all on "kids [children]" and "retirement."

The biggest "problems and difficulties" for women, on the other hand, are those of "job content" (25 cases), followed by "ningen-kankei [human relations]" (23 cases) and "working hours" (22 cases). Each of these three items is the concern of more than half the women in this age group. The fourth biggest items are "bosses" and "inexperience, inability," 19 cases and 43 percent respectively. It is interesting to note that very many (nearly half of) women raise "inexperience, inability" as "problems and difficulties" while only ten percent of men do, and relatively few (one out of four) women raise "wages" while very many men do.

"Discrimination" (15 cases) and "sex, marriage and other personal concerns" (12 cases) are the two other items which are rated high among women in comparison to men. Women have a strong feeling of being discriminated against not only because of education but also sex (one out of every three). Problems of "sex, marriage and other personal concerns" are shared by one out of every four women. "Other personal concerns" here involve such problems as personal appearance, not found among men.

"Customers", "family, family life", "turnover, independence", and "safety & health, working environments" are "problems and difficulties" of one out of every five, and "geography [commuting]" and "fringe benefits and other labor conditions" one out of every six or seven, which is a higher proportion than that among men.

Less than five cases are reported on other items; five on "questions on life and work," four on "living [housing]," three on both "promotion, transfer," and "community, society" and one on "evaluation". There are no cases on "kids [children]" and "retirement", which is also

the case with men, nor "automobiles", "management, future of company, Bankruptcy," "labor union, labor relations," and "voice [participation]," either.

It should be emphasized again that the number itself has the absolute meaning in this research. At the same time, however, it may well be noted for example that there is only one case which refers to "problems and difficulties" on "labor unions", that women's complaints against "discrimination" are so conspicuously high, and that women are far less concerned than men about "wages", "promotion, transfer", "management, future of company, bankruptcy" and "voice [participation]."

3. The Content of "Problems & Difficulties" by Item

(1) Working Hours (53+22)¹³⁾ cf. Commuting

"Working Hours" attracts the largest number of responses. This category includes "Overtime Work/Long Working Hours" (26+16), "Recess" (3+4), "Holidays/Vacations" (23+10), and "Shift/Night Work" (17+0). There are no differences between sexes in the former three items, but in the latter, "Shift/Night Work", all responses are from male workers and none from female.

(i) Overtime Work/Long Working Hours (26+16) + Commuting

Work finishing time varies from day to day due to overtime work. "Too much overtime work," "even on Saturdays," "I always work until past 7:00 p.m.," "until past 8:00 p.m. every day," "until 10:00 p.m.," and "I take the last train home," are comments made by the respondents.

There are no sexual differences on this point. An 18-year-old girl, who works in a large precision machinery corporation says, "We have a lot of overtime work, and I have to take the last train home quite often," "During the spring, we work an average of 40 extra hours a month. It's enough to make me cry." (Female, 19 years old, shoe wholesale dealer, clerical; 8421614) "A monthly average of 50 extra hours." (Male, 20 years old, small printing company; 8611612) "Sometimes I take my work home." Even without overtime work, an intern beautician's working hours are "from 8:30 a.m. to 8:00 p.m." and those of a live-in cook are "from 6:30 a.m. to 1:00 a.m." "Working hours are too long." "Overtime work is sometimes unavoidable to meet clients' demands," but in most cases the business itself is operated expecting overtime work from the beginning. Furthermore, overtime work is forced on a worker "against [his/her] will" and "without any regard to [his/her] plans." "My boss asks me to do some extra unscheduled work. He makes sarcastic remarks if I am going home at the usual closing time. Or, in contrast: "I do want overtime work, but they won't give me any," "If I am doing overtime, the boss throws sarcastic remarks," and the like.

Sometimes another condition makes the situation of long working hours even worse. "Commuting to and from the work place takes too much time." In Tokyo and its vicinity a commuting time of "one hour" or "one hour and ten minutes" is just about average, but for some it takes as much as "two hours to commute one way," which makes it necessary for them to "get up as early as 5:30 in the morning." When the work begins early due to the nature of the job, they have to "leave home at 6:30 a.m." or at "5:00," or even "take the first train in the morning." In addition an early start does not necessarily mean an early return home.

This situation naturally affects workers' social and family lives as well as their health. Since "the closing hour for the day is not fixed," "I cannot even make an appointment with a friend." "I can't find time for pleasure." "There is little time left for myself." "I cannot enjoy my private life." "Coming home after eight o'clock, eating dinner and taking a bath. No time left." "I have to work from early morning till late at night and I cannot study for my promotion exam." "My sleeping hours are too few." And "I spend my Sundays and holidays just to recover from my fatigue." (See the section of W. Wages for overtime allowances.)

The following list is an example of problems and difficulties, which were raised by male workers on "Overtime Work/Long Working Hours." The analysis on other items in the following sections on has been made on the equivalent data, but for want of space they will all be omitted in this paper. The data in the parenthesis following each response is, in order; age, employment, job, education background, other information, if any, and case number. Educational background is not stated for senior high school graduates. CD and JH+TS stand for a college dropout and a junior high school and technical/vocational school graduate, respectively. A number before employment/job is the number of employees of the enterprise and * on a shoulder of a case number indicates that the case has been quoted more than once in the same item.

(1) Working Hours

(i) Overtime Work/Long Working Hours (Male) (26)

"Busy, a great deal of overtime work" (19, cash register repairman; 8411606)

"Have overtime work almost every day" (19, D Packing Co., manual labor; 8611602)

"The usual closing hour is 5:30 p.m., but I usually have to work until past 7:00 p.m. Saturday is the same." (19, N Automobile Dealer, mainly clerical work; 8411613)

"Have overtime work on Saturdays" (20, precision machinery co., production; 8411640)

"Have overtime work until after 10:00 p.m. every day----want time more than money." (18, M Manufacturing Industry, packing; 8411602)
"Overtime work everyday." "Have to take the last train home to finish the work before the deadline." (20, programmer; 8611622)

"I get though my work at midnight, worrying that I might miss the last train." (19, coffee shop; 8411611)

"I leave my home at 6:30 a.m., and I'm through my job around 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. Then I spend some time with my fellow workers, drinking and chatting. It's already past 11:00 p.m. when I finally get home." (20, cleaning co., sanitation worker, CD; 8411625)

"When I take home a big job, sometimes I don't feel like coming to the office next day, because I know it's going to be a very busy day." (20, office machine sales, CD; 8411624)

"Long----from 6:30 a.m. to 1:00 a.m." (20, live-in cook; 8611620)

"My working hours are not fixed as I repair cash registers. I have to repair them even after regular working hours." (19, cash register repairman; 8411606) "Have to work overtime due to customers' demands of quick delivery." (20, parts assembly, subcontractor; 8411658)

"They ask me to work overtime while I don't want to." (20, 300 battery manufacturing, welder; 8611616) "They force me to work overtime without considering my schedules." (19, office machine sales and repair, outside duty; 8611607) "I hate overtime work." (20, office machine sales, CD; 8411624*)

"Start delivering books every morning at five o'clock." (20, trucking co.; 8411647)

"Take the first train to work and the last train back home---can't even attend night school." (19, chief cook of college cafeteria, JH+TS; 8411608)

"I can't finish at a regular closing hour." "Working hours are too long." (20, H Pharmaceutical Co., salesman to doctors; 8411646)

- "There is no certain closing time because of overtime work." (20, photograph processing lab, printing machine operator; 8411654)
 "The finishing time is irregular." (18, medical supplies co., salesman; 8611601) "The closing hour is irregular----can't even make an appointment with my friends." (19, K Home Center; 8411661)

- "Coming home after 8:00 p.m., eating dinner and taking a bath. No time left." (20, office worker; 8411627)

- "In addition to the shift system, we have overtime work before and after regular hours." (19, subcontractor of N Automobile Co.; 8611605)

- "Feel exhausted with frequent early shift and overtime work." (20, social insurance-related work; 8611619)

- "My sleeping hours are too few." (20 SK Railway Co., ticket examiner; 8411638)

- "I work about 50 overtime hours a month, and even with them my take-home-pay is only ¥150,000 or so." (20, small printing co.; 8611612)

- "They don't pay all overtime allowances." (19, office machine sales and repair, outside duty; 8611607*)

- "Temporary employees are better paid and have better working conditions than regular workers. They are not assigned overtime work and enjoy a 5 day work week." (20, trucking firm; 8611609)

(ii) Recess (3+4)

Four workers complain that the recess or lunch time is too short, and one that there are no breaks besides lunch time. Another four say, "I can't take a break" nor "a lunch time," or "often miss lunches," since "my work is irregular," "work distribution among our team members is not equal," or "the boss brings unexpected jobs." A guard who works at night says, "Work sometimes eats up my temporary sleeping time."

Other complaints are about the use of lunch time: "I Have to be in the company with my bosses and seniors even during lunch time. At least I want to use my lunch time freely."

(iii) Holidays/Vacations (23+10)

If workers are employed in such conditions as shown in "(i) Overtime Work/Long Working Hours" above, or as will be shown in "(iv) Shift/Night Work" below, all days-off (including weekly and national holidays, etc. means the same in this section) may be only for the "recovery from your fatigue." Six workers express their longing for "a five day work week."

There are, however, not a few people who claim that off-days are "so few" or "non-existent," not to mention "a five day work week." A worker who works in one of the major railway companies says, "Sundays or national holidays have nothing to do with me, nor have New Year's Eves or New Year's Days." A cook "can't go to a driving school to get a license" since there are no off-days.

Three problems have been pointed out as for off-days, in addition to its scarcity. Work on off-days(5), off-days not falling on Sundays(2) and no fixed off-days(2). Workers "get tired" if asked to work on off-days, and personal "plans would be upset" if asked with a short notice. People cannot "meet friends," nor "have dates with girl friends," if Sundays are not off. Two reasons are given why their "holidays are not fixed": One derives from the very nature of their occupations, for example, plastering, and the other is "because the firms [they] work in [are] subcontractors."

In terms of personal paid holidays and vacation days, "the number of days given are so few"(2) or even non-existent for some because [they are] just employed." So "you cannot be absent even when sick." There is a case where a worker with two and a half years of service has "only

three personal paid holidays a year," which is apparently an infringement of the Labour Standards Act.

Furthermore, the real problem is that they "cannot actually take" even these small number of personal paid holidays. Or even if they are entitled to many vacation days, they "cannot actually take them," either. Such complaints are explicitly mentioned in twelve cases, mainly by male workers. Adding similar complaints of "not being able to take a long vacation," the number reaches 14. Why cannot they take personal paid holidays/vacations? It is because "the manpower is short," "my taking a vacation would impose a burden on fellow workers," or "we know the management doesn't like our taking them, and also we may need them in case of sickness in the future." As far as this point is concerned, it makes no difference whether they are employees in large leading corporations, workers in small firms or service workers.

Four interviewees want "vacations in a block," "long vacations," or "summer vacations."

Besides these cases there are some other cases which are not clear if they are referring to days-off(weekly and national holidays, etc.) or personal paid holidays/vacations, but the conclusion of which is anyway "[we] want more days off."

Combining the situation described in this section with that in the above section (i) Overtime Work/Long Working Hours would lead to the voice that "I have no time for myself," "I want more free time," "I want to have my own time," and so on.(10) There is a unique case of dissatisfaction that "We have too many company-sponsored events like group trips, recreational activities They take up too much of my free time."

(iv) Shift System/Night Shift (17+0)

All comments below in this section were given by males.

"Midnight labor," "night duty," "night shift," and the "shift system" themselves are questioned. There are fifteen cases in this category, or nearly 20 percent of all cases,.

The central issue here is the rotating "shift system"----the rotation of "the day and night shifts," "three shifts," or "day shift, night shift and day off in a five (or six) day cycle." "The shift system" is prevalent not only among manufacturing industries, for example, automobile and related parts, precision machinery and printing industries but also in railways, hotels, building maintenance and guard work.

"Night duty molds you into a night-type person," and "makes difficult to meet ordinary people." "Shift work imposes an inconvenience on your family due to your irregular coming-home time," "deprives you of the opportunity to talk with Father," and "makes it impossible to look after your small sister." A worker loses the trust of his family. "They feel suspicious because I often come home in the early morning." Family life must bear a great strain. More important, however, is the bad influence on workers' health. Interviewees say, "It's hard to adjust to the time lag between night and day shifts," "I am constantly lacking sleep," "It's not easy to get up in the morning," "I'm tired," "Fatigue and stress pile up," and "It disturbs my sensibility."

Some cases are even worse----"I have (rotated) day and night shifts plus early morning work and overtime work," or "I sometimes do night shift right after day shift when it's busy." Workers are unhappy with

"increased night duties because of unreasonable personnel reshuffles." The dissatisfaction with inadequate night shift allowances is also heard.

Irregular working hours are another source of workers' complaints. The problems of irregular closing hours due to overtime work, irregular recesses during working hours and unfixed days-off were discussed above, but here are two more kinds, one is of a policeman and the other is of a waiter. The former complains of the disturbance of the rhythm of his daily life and its affect on his health due to frequent emergency duties. The latter refers to the absence of the concept of certain working hours, and thus to his irregular coming home time. The waiter concludes, "I'm telling you you should never take a waiter's job."

(2) Wage (40+11) + Automobile (3+0)

The overall conclusion is "low wages." Sixteen cases gave direct comments such as "low salary" or "low wages." Seven others said, "Low" or "Cheap" for "this tight and busy work," "my contribution," "sweaty job," "hard labor," and "mental strain." An additional 28 (9 duplicate) refer to "low pay," using various other expressions. In all they total 42, which is one third of all collected cases and nearly 40 percent of male cases.

It may be argued that if asked any workers would complain about "low wages" regardless of the amount they earn. But as we saw earlier (pp.105-106), among subjects of our research the lowest was ¥940,000 per year including taxes and ¥70,000 per month after tax with an exception of a nursery school intern teacher who earned only ¥500,000 per year. The modes were around ¥2,000,000 per year for male and ¥1,500,000 for

female, and around ¥110,000 for workers who supplied monthly wage figures. At least some workers are objectively and absolutely "poorly paid" or "short of money."

Seeing the above mentioned 28 cases which implied "low wages" using "various other expressions," we could measure the degree of seriousness in pay of present day young workers.

They could be grouped into four. The first group is in poverty because of cars. Two main topics of interest among young male people are cars and girls. "It would be the greatest thing if I could buy a new car and drive with a girl friend." The expenses for cars consume a large segment of young people's budgets. A young worker who earns ¥110,000 per month says:

I pay ¥30,000 to parents [with whom I live], ¥15,000 for a monthly installment payment for a car, ¥30,000 for gas, ¥8,000 for monthly premium of driver's insurance and ¥4,000 for parking. Only ¥20,000-30,000 are left. There is barely enough to even buy lunches. (19, K Home Center, 8411661)

More than 50 percent of his monthly income disappears for car-related expenses. Other workers are worried, "Very little free money is left at hand----no way to save," and "I don't know what to do if something emergency happened." Not a small number of young people say, "I'm busy paying an auto loan," (3) or "Most of my salary goes to the installment payment." As a result, they have no choice but to live at "survival level" and there is "no money left to pay [their] parents." "I was thinking of quitting this job, but I have to stick at it for a while because of the [auto] loan."

The second group faces financial difficulty, which has nothing to do with cars. In a sense they are under more "genuine" hardship and live on marginal means. Many fall into this category. "Wages are too low to enjoy leisure." "It's hard to save." "I pay my parents ¥40,000 per month and don't have sufficient money left." He earns ¥1,800,000 after tax. "Little is left after paying parents for living expenses and college tuition." "I want to leave my parents and live alone, but can't. The wage is too low because I only graduated from junior high." "I don't eat till I go home after midnight. No meals are provided by the company and nearby restaurants are too expensive." He is through his work by midnight and takes the last train home. "Although I live in company housing, life is still not easy." "I'm in financial difficulty since I'm supporting parents and a sister." And a 20 year old intern beautician says who graduated from a beautician school after her senior high and now earns ¥1,000,000 per annum working from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., sometimes has to work till 10 p.m. says:

It's not seldom that I skip dinner. I am too exhausted to cook for myself when I come home, and food doesn't taste good if you eat alone. I can't afford eating out everyday with my small pay. (8421629)

The third group is somewhat different in nuance----the excessive expenditure due to the nature of the work and the financial hardship as its consequence. "As I work at different places every day and have to eat out, I pay a lot for food," complains a worker at a building cleaning firm. A pharmaceutical company salesman who makes visits to medical practitioners complains about the large amount of entertainment

expenses. He, in a low rank in his company, cannot charge it on the company expense account.

Doctors ask me to play golf together. It costs some ¥30,000 a time. You may end up paying half of your salary for playing golf. I used to borrow money from my parents when I first started working.(20, ¥2,000,000; 8411646)

The fourth group is uncertain and worried about their lives after marriage, judging from their present wage level. "I wonder if I could support my family with this pay." There are six similar cases. It is interesting to note that these responses were all from male workers. One expresses a concern over the uncertainty of his wage payment, which is daily rather than monthly.

When "wages" and "salaries are low," workers' choice is either to "demand higher wages and bonuses" (3) or "change of [their] jobs." Some say, "I want to quit this job by the end of this year," and some others have actually experienced job changes because of low wages.

In addition to the above mentioned 42 cases which concern low gross wage levels, there are the following four types of dissatisfaction. The first type concerns insufficiency or lack of various allowances; "night shift allowance is too low," "overtime pay is low," "overtime pay is not sufficient," "sometimes no overtime allowance is paid," and "overtime work of less than two hours is not eligible for overtime pay." Violation of the Labour Standard Act ought to be questioned.

The second type concerns such cases as "Students' wages are higher than ours," and therefore "I feel hatred against them," and "While I

started working at 18 and have worked for three years, newly hired 23-year-old boys (college graduates) earn more than me. They can't do anything on work." These could be expressions of somewhat twisted feelings of dissatisfaction against low wages, but could at the same time be expressions of uncomfortable feelings against discrimination by education.

The third type is dissatisfaction and anger by female workers because of sex discrimination over wages. One says, "I get less than my male colleagues while we do the same work." Even worse, a female worker in a small company gets angry, "Only women are expected to serve tea, clean up the dining room and even clean toilets. And yet we are paid less than men." Another complains, "Women's wages don't go up like men's no matter how many years we work for the company."

The fourth type refers to wage cuts as a penalty measure. There are two cases: A case of "a car accident within the plant premises as a result of driving without a license," and "a case of damaging merchandise (furniture) by mishandling." In terms of the former, it is not clear if the worker was driving on duty or not. The worker in the latter case says, "The pay was practically zero for that month." Again the legal legitimacy may be a problem.

(3) Fringe Benefits and Other Labor Conditions (6+8)

An interviewee says, "Working conditions are bad." What it means is not clear. It may be referring to working hours and wages.

Five cases of complaints are reported on meals, company lunches and messrooms, and two others on resting rooms, social rooms, parking lots and other related facilities. Many medium- or small-scale companies

"have no messrooms for employees," which workers want. Even if they do have one, sometimes "It's so small in space and we can't all eat together at a time." Workers "want more seats." Many complain that "food served there is awful" and that "they don't care about menus." In this there are no differences between small firms and large corporations. Others complain: "No meals are provided even when we have to work till late at night." "There are no resting rooms nor social rooms. We have no place to be after eating lunch. We sit on the grass. I don't want to sit around at my work desk during lunch time, too, do I?" And "We can't drive to work because there are no parking lots."

Three workers express strong dissatisfaction with working clothes or uniforms. "The color of our working clothes is bad," says a male worker. "We just don't like them at all," says a female worker.

One worker complains about "no circle activities," while another complains about "too many (company) events and recreational activities....volleyball tournament, grape-picking picnic, summer festival, company trip, and many others." Too many events and activities "take up too much of my free time."

There are four cases on "other labor conditions" which are not related to fringe benefits. All of them are seriously important. Two cases pertain to the difference of contracted work and actually assigned work and may involve a violation of the labor contract. "I was hired mainly for office work, but actually have been assigned to factory work." (Male) This happened in a company listed on the Tokyo Stock Exchange Market No. 1. Likewise, a worker has "to work in the plant since there is little clerical work to be done." She also "had to work

during the training period and even before officially employed.(Female, computer firm)

Other two cases involve serious problems of basic human rights and political freedom. One is a "body check" at a wholesale store, which is given as they "go through the gates." The other is as follows:

They give us stupid speeches at Monday morning meetings. We have to listen to them. Especially when (national and local) elections are close, they speak ill of the Communist Party and talk much in favor of the party they are supporting.(18; 8621605)

This is a complaint from a female employee working in one of the fastest growing companies which has attracted much of the mass media's attention. Here we see an example of how Japanese industries try to hold control over their employees.

(4) Occupational Safety & Health and Working Environment (21+8)
cf. Working Hours, Job Content, Customers,
Ningen-kankei[Human Relations] and Bosses

Dust, no or little sunlight, high humidity, uncomfortable temperature and noise are reported as problems of physical working environments. "The shop is very dusty." "We work in the basement with no sunlight coming in." "The temperature gets over 108 degrees Fahrenheit." "It's hot! Just like working in a sauna." "Air conditioning does not help much." "It's so hot in summer and so cold in winter at (railway station) ticket gates." "The temperature fluctuates." And "Noise in the plant is horrible." Such complaints number ten, and more than one out of every ten male workers have been facing these environmental problems, which naturally have "unfavorable

effects on workers' health"----make them "feel in bad shape," "cause hearing problems," and others.

There is a rather unique complaint that "the workplace has cockroaches, leeches, and rats." It surprisingly comes from a waitress working in the Nihonbashi area, a highly-rated business and commercial area in the central Tokyo.

"Problems of safety and health arise not only from physical working environments but also from the content of engaged work, the posture while working, overtime work or long working hours, shift work, human relations with fellow and senior workers as well as with their bosses, relations with customers and various other factors. The result of these problems could take the form of death, injury, disease, both mental as well as physical fatigue and so on. We will limit our discussion below to the problems of occupational accidents and diseases in a strict sense of the term, leaving problems of stress, fatigue, their accumulation and others for following sections simply to avoid repetition.

Some workers worry themselves about possible occupational accidents and diseases in the future, saying, "I have to carry very heavy stuff and there is also a lot of dangerous work," or "I'm afraid I may get hurt. I work with an industrial sewing machine." Some "symptoms" have already been observed in many of these cases. For instance, "hearing problems," as mentioned earlier, "chapping hands," "cold knees," "eye strain,"⁽⁵⁾ "itchy hands," "broken skin," "my finger joints ache and my back hurts," and "I have a stomach disorder (as a result of irregular and long working hours, sometimes with no lunch hour)." A worker says, "I writhed about on the floor in pain during a night from neutro-gastritis." Besides these eleven cases, which could be categorized

under occupational diseases in a broader sense, there are three cases of injury in the construction and manufacturing industries, and a life-endangering case of a night guard, who came across a thief armed with a metal baseball bat and saved himself by karate. An employee of a trucking firm, who drove all day long and was paid by day, quit his job, fearing that "staying with the job would ruin [his] health. An employee in a pastry shop seriously injured his heel and was incapacitated for two months because he fell off a chair when he tried to take boxes down from a shelf. Peculiar though the next case is, a worker was "hit by a boss" when he "damaged some merchandise (furniture) by mistake," and it took him "two weeks to recover." These all add up to twenty cases in total. At least one out of every six who were interviewed has experienced or is confronted with occupational injuries or diseases of this degree, not including problems of physical and mental fatigue.

Two cases involve some problems of managers' dealing with occupational accidents. Both are legally problematic. One is the case of the employee in a pastry shop mentioned above. He, who is now working as chief cook in a university cafeteria, says, "I had to leave the job because of the injury," but still "miss the previous job." The Labour Standards Act prohibits the dismissal of "an injured worker, or taken ill while on duty during the period of medical treatment and 30 days thereafter." (Article 19) The other is the case of a production worker at a subsidiary company of N Motor Co., a leading automobile corporation. He still feels angry with the way he was treated by the company when he was injured. He recalls:

The accident happened in the second spring after I started working. I was carrying a steel sheet with a fellow worker, and he let go his hold of the sheet all of a sudden. I injured my left hand and it took six stitches to close the wound. I was of course entitled to workers' compensation. But my boss begged me not to apply for workers' comp but instead to treat the injury with the regular health insurance, saying he would pay all medical fees including deductibles under the health insurance. Do you know why? He was afraid his supervisory responsibility as a manager might possibly be questioned. I could not refuse it. (19, high school graduate; 8611605)

(5) Inexperience/Inability (9+19)

Both men and women, but more women than men, refer to "problems and difficulties" falling into this category of Inexperience/Inability.

When people "start working" or "change jobs," they usually have a hard time until they become accustomed to and learn about their new jobs. They are not familiar with the jobs themselves, nor do they know "how to talk to bosses," or "how to serve customers." They don't understand "why they have to pay special respect to senior workers." They naturally make many mistakes, too.

Some workers described how they felt during that period as follows: "All people around me seem to know what to do. They are working briskly. Why am I the only slow one?" "I'm generally able to do my work, but still sometimes have to bother my senior to ask for help." "I often wondered if this job didn't suit me at all."

While the strain before workers can be on their own can reach a considerable level, most of them experience it and manage to go through this process without much damage. Since interviewees in this research are all those who have successfully stayed on in their present jobs,

those who dropped out because of stress at this stage are not included here.

Seven others are worried about their "incapability," regret their past studies (i.e. "I should have studied such and such."), and want to develop their ability (i.e. "I want to study such and such."). They say: "I can't compete with commercial high school graduates." "I'm not good at English," or "abacus." "I wish I had learned about computers." "I would like to improve my English." And "I want to learn every detail work in all sections." A nineteen-year-old caretaker intern in a physically and mentally handicapped agency for children is seriously troubled:

I feel very miserable as I can do nothing but watch children hurt themselves. Children listen well to regular staff----but sometimes ignore me because I'm an intern. I feel vexed with myself for my incapability in those cases.... I think we are no match for their own parents, however hard and wholeheartedly we may try. (8421616)

Similar worries and regrets related to school levels completed are not included here but appear in the section below Discrimination.

(6) Job Content (33+24) c.f. Safety & Health/Work Environments, and Questions on Life and Work

"Problems and difficulties" deriving directly from the job itself rather than from working conditions are included in this section. Their four sub-categories are "problems and difficulties" deriving from (i) the inherent nature of the job, (ii) job responsibility, (iii) the organizational management and (iv) alienated work and busy work. Complaints of the difference between contracted work and actually

assigned work were discussed in the section Fringe Benefits and Other Labor Conditions.

(i) The Inherent Nature of the Job

For example: A welder would feel "too hot to work during the summer time." A plasterer "get[s] muddy all over from [his] head to face, hands, shirts, pants and shoes." Many machinery and auto plant workers "are tired as [they] must keep standing all day long." A female worker in a wholesale store also "must stand for twelve hours after [she] leaves home in the morning." A salesman has to struggle with a traffic jam during work. A female worker in a manufacturing plant must "carry heavy stuff and do dangerous work," which she claims "is not women's work."

Although these problems derive from "jobs themselves," they are more or less physical problems. There are, however, other kinds of problems that have much to do with the mental aspect of workers. For instance: "Computer programing makes your nerves exhausted." A policeman's "work doesn't allow you to be relaxed." "Even part assembling "work requires concentration on your job, otherwise you make mistakes." Working "in the presence of clients, owners of buildings, makes you constantly strained." "Telling lies for business sake is hard and annoying" for a young worker. Hospital workers' difficulties are slightly different in kind. A hospital receptionist says:

It's very hard to face the issue of life or death. I've gotten more and more sensitive about the problem of death Sometimes a patient doesn't know how seriously ill he or she is, but I know it through patient charts or something else. I must pretend as if I don't know anything. This I

find very hard to take, giving me much mental strain. (19; 8421609)

A nurse raises four difficulties:

One, the toilet care for the seriously ill or old patients. To be honest, I wish I could be excused from it. Yes, I know it well that it is my duty but..... Two, bathing of old bedridden patients. I'm very embarrassed, regardless of their sex. But I have to. Three, treatment of those badly injured in traffic accidents, sometimes with so much bleeding. I almost can't help turning my face away. And four, to clean the dead body with alcohol. I couldn't stop shaking when I did for the first time. (21 years old)

(ii) Job Responsibility

Those who are in a position to supervise others have their own problems. Young as he is, a 20-year-old male worker with two years' service must "give instructions to veteran part-time workers," who "are often as old as [his] mother." A young female worker says, too, "Supervision of part-time workers....I only have responsibility but no joy. I would like to quit the job." Those who use part-time workers and students also "must always pay attention to their health."

Each job requires responsibility of its own, regardless of whether it is supervisory or not. Workers in food service industries such as restaurants are expected to pay close attention to sanitation, and those in auto plants to safety. A foreign language school teacher may lose students unless "classes are interesting and attractive." A wholesale store employee, who transacts large sums of money, sometimes as large as hundreds of million yen, "may lead the company into bankruptcy." Given a difficult job, a worker might feel his or her "responsibility is too heavy." "I can't sell well," says a salesman. It is also a big "problem or difficulty" when his or her work does not go well.

All of these "problems and difficulties" which have been mentioned in this section can be a source of stress, and depending on the situation, workers can overstrain their nerves and can become mentally exhausted. (See the section Occupational safety & Health.)

(iii) Organizational Management

The cases of dissatisfaction with the organizational management are classified under "Job Content" although they may deviate a little from the definition that "'problems and difficulties' deriving from jobs themselves" (p.125). Most of these are related to either the conflict among different sections or job classifications or disagreement with management's policies. Examples of the former complaints are "Communication is not good when we are working mostly outside (the office)," "We have to work in between sections," and "The way of treating children is different between nurses and caretakers." Particularly among female workers, there is much discontent with the unequal amount of work assigned to each worker, section or department.

(4) Complaints of the latter, disagreement with management's policies, vary from such general comments as "I just don't like the company policy. They try to squeeze us into the pattern they want," to such a specific comment that "We have a meeting for reviewing every event. We feel as if we were back in high school." The following case in a Buddhist nursery school is a typical example of these objections against management policies.

They(Management) should have a policy to let children play more freely. The present policy is too strict about rules. I don't think it necessary, or good, to train children to line up or teach them to march with the band when they are so

young. Children should be allowed to express themselves more openly and to play more freely. It is more natural for them to learn personal relations and rules through games and plays. Let them even fight sometimes. [20, Senior High+ Occupational School; 8421630]

(iv) Alienated Work and Busy Work

The most important "problems and difficulties" on Job Content may well be those of assembly line work, monotonous jobs and so-called meaningless work. "Too busy" due to understaffing may be another. They may all lead to the problem of alienation. (Refer to "Questions on Life and Work.")

Assembly line work is not popular at all among workers. It "is hard," "creates much strain," "causes nervous strain," "is monotonous," "is dull" and "is boring." "If I can't keep up with the speed, the boss nags at me." "We do exactly the same day after day." A worker "hold[s] a soldering iron all day long." Another "feel[s] as if [he] is part of the machine. It's not work for a human being." "If I get over Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, then there are only two more days to go!" Assembly line work has widely prevailed in the automobile and auto parts and accessory industries, the machine part manufacturing industry, canning and packing factories, and others. (11)

The biggest affliction for female workers in the clothing industry is that they "are only engaged in part of dress making."

Working for unimportant jobs gives workers an empty feeling. "Odd jobs" (a clerical worker), "supplementary work" (a gas station attendant), and "cleaning, collecting balls, weeding, etc." (an employee at a golf practice center)....are not all enjoyable. It is the same as doing work that you "don't have any interest in." Even white collar

workers, who are not working on assembly lines, also "get tired of monotonous work." They are "discontented with what [they are] doing and want to find new jobs." "I don't have any interest in my present job. I'm discouraged." (5)

Women get angry when they are "asked to do what [they consider] are not [their] jobs,"----"serving tea, cleaning up the office, running private errands for bosses, and so on." "I was not hired for serving tea!"

Ten interviewees complain of "being busy." "It's too busy." "I have no breathing space." "Understaffing" is the main cause for such complaints. An office cleaning firm employee consoles himself, saying, "As long as we are working under a consignment contract having a fixed commission, it cannot be helped." Other areas of dissatisfaction are with "the big gap between busy and slack time," "It's very difficult to achieve a norm," "lending the caretaker a helping hand" and "the increase of burden due to a personnel reshuffle."

The following is a typical case of the problem of assembly line work which is exacerbated by the problem of "being busy."

There is no assistance by seniors....They don't have time to think about others. Each person is busy doing his own job The number of cars to be produced for the day is set before we start working, but the [assembly] line won't stop in this company even if the goal is achieved. I keep asking myself "Why doesn't the line stop?" But no one, including myself, appeals to foremen nor other supervisors. In practice, no one would say it. Management knows well people will work hard to reach a goal once it is given. The line is also speeded up when the production is behind schedule. I feel as if I were controlled by someone. So when someone makes an error and the line stops, we all feel relieved and wish the trouble would last longer. The person who stops the line would certainly feel terrible, though. (20, H Motor; an assembler; 8611617)

The problem of office automation is discussed here for convenience' sake. Office automation may bring a reduction of manpower. Some are fired while others are forced to work harder. A female worker insists on "the need for improvement of individuals' skills and abilities since the work has become difficult." She "often studies at home" to keep up with the development of new technology.

(7) Participation (6+0)

"I can't express well what I am thinking of."----it's not clear whether this sort of comment derives from the problem of the said worker's personality or from an organizational factor of the workplace. However, the five other cases categorized in this section are all ones that "input" by workers was rejected by management purposely or unpurposely----the dissatisfaction that their voices are not listened to: "If you say something, they frown on you." In auto plants, raising a voice itself is not allowed from the very beginning.(2) Under these conditions, two workers are anxious, "I don't want to only flatter and become a small docile person."(2)

A worker refers to the difficulty of "assert[ing] himself" not only at his workplace but also in society at large.

All the cases above are with male workers.

(8) Evaluation (1+1)

"I worked very hard and very well....Yet" not only customers but also "the company (boss) doesn't appreciate it." "No one recognizes my work and effort." The want to be recognized is not satisfied.

(9) Human Relations (excluding ones with bosses) (32+23)

c.f. Men & Women/Marriage, and Boss

Human relations at the workplace present workers considerable "problems and difficulties." In terms of seriousness they sometimes overwhelm labor conditions such as working hours and wages. "Problems and difficulties" with human relations are categorized into four: (i) Personal relationships at the workplace (12), (ii) socialization (6), (iii) manpower structure (10) and (iv) other cases (4). The first category includes factionalism, "disgusting colleagues," and "hazing[ijime] by senior employees." This sort of problem is found among male workers but more often among female workers. Some interviewees say, "I'm tired with complicated personal relations," "Girls are in two groups and fighting each other," and "At offices where many women are working, there are several groups competing." Many point out the existence of specific "disgusting" co-workers and seniors. Why are they "disgusting"? Because "he is too easy-going," "he does much overtime work while idling away his day time," "part-time workers are not willing to follow my instructions," "she forces her own work on me," "a senior forces irksome work on me," "in the absence of the boss, a senior passes his work on to me," "she pretends to forget when I take her night duty," "he instructs me to do lots of work while he does nothing himself," "she crabs strongly over any little hesitation or small mistake," "a senior calls me an incompetent when he doesn't give me proper instructions," and "he puts the responsibility on me no matter who makes the mistakes." All of these have something to do with work directly.

Others, however, are related to more personal "likes or dislikes" or desires. For examples: "She speaks ill of others." "She finds fault with me." "She's too proud of herself." "She is impertinent." "She tells the director that I was chatting or is sometimes very ironical." "How in the world could she be such a disagreeable person?" "An old man boasts of his experiences in his life and begins, 'These days young people are such and such.'" Except for the last case all were given by women. Some complicated problems are often glimpsed behind. For example, two girls are rivals over beauty, or one says her "boyfriend was stolen by the other."

"Hazing junior workers by senior workers" seems to be widely spread. "A senior forces an irksome job on me," and "a senior calls me an incompetent while he doesn't give me proper instructions," which were mentioned above, may be taken as examples. Quite a number of female office workers react against this kind of torment in some more direct form of expression. Some women changed their jobs because of being abused by their senior workers.

At many workplaces, the relationship between junior and senior workers closely resembles that in high school sports clubs. "I have to be in the office earlier than seniors to clean it and wipe desks, and start working before they do." "Junior workers are supposed to work more willingly and produce a greater quantity than seniors." "As I'm a newly hired worker, they wear me out." "When they ask me to take night duty for them, I can hardly refuse their request." "I can't complain to seniors....can't express an opinion which is different from theirs....I have to overlook made mistakes by seniors." "I couldn't understand why seniors had to be treated with so much respect, when I started working."

Socialization can sometimes get quite burdensome. The following are some remarks: "I even have to spend my lunch with seniors (or bosses). I want to be on my own during lunch time at least." "Senior and fellow workers force me to go out for drinks." (Male) "I have to go out for social drinks and dinners." (Female) Especially socialization with senior workers seems to be difficult. "If I use too much time for it, there would be little time left to myself. If I use too little time for it, it would create a needless offense." Younger workers, rather than older workers, care about filling social obligation. "I have to attend parties which I don't want to." "We have to wait on others serving them drinks, which I hate doing."

The "manpower structure at the workplace" as the third category means the following "problems and difficulties": "There's nobody else of my age," "No women(or men) work in my office," "Fellow workers of my age are all juvenile delinquents," and "A relative of mine works in my office."

Why is it a problem that "there's nobody else of my age"? First of all, "to older people you have to use honorific words," which "you bother your brain about." "Their thinking and views are different from us," and "You can't find common subjects with them." "Why do we have to be submissive to older people?" The fact that there are no others around your age leads to such "problems and difficulties" as "it's hard to make friends or to find some one to talk to in shops," "I have no people I can open my mind to," and "I feel insecure because I can't talk of my worries to anyone."

Complaints about the scarcity of men or women, particularly young ones, are many. In small firms, it is very probable that "there are no"

or "not many (young) women(or men) in the company." Or if any, it is not rare that "there are no women(or men) in my shop(or office)." No or few girls are found at typical workplaces where junior and senior high school male graduates work, for example, at certain kinds of manufacturing production shops. On the other hand, no or few men are found at many workplaces where female workers work. In Japan, even today, men's work and women's work are still segregated. "Working with no or few girls is boring" for boys and "working with no or few boys is boring" for girls. Moreover, the situation is more serious for girls who "are thinking of marriage seriously." For they have lost a very crucial place to find their future husbands.(See Men & Women/Marriage.)

If a worker works together with a relative, the worker is "strained and tired. He interferes with my privacy both in and out of the office."

"Other cases" as the fourth category include dissatisfaction with the atmosphere of workplaces and troubles with seniors in the dormitory life. Some examples of the former are: "They speak of me behind back if I'm reading books during lunch time....They talk about nothing but men." "No intimate human relations between bosses and subordinates and among co-workers." "Workers are not motivated, not vigorous at all." "No solidarity among employees. They don't even greet each other." "I'm bewildered with the collusive work among kinsmen." In terms of the latter, the same kinds of complaints are repeated as mentioned above regarding "personal relations." Namely: "A senior sends me on errand."(Male) "An old-maid in the next room pokes her nose into my private life, and tells it to my boss blending truth with fiction. Now people have come to see me in a different way." "One of my seniors

keeps her eyes on me all the time. She gets angry when I make a mistake. She even gives advice and interferes when I'm doing my laundry."(Female) On the contrary, there is an affliction that "a close senior has gone out of the dormitory, and I miss him very much."

(10) Bosses/Boss-Subordinate Relations

A considerable number of "problems and difficulties" on bosses are heard from workers, regardless of their sex. The tone of criticism is very harsh. Workers have really "blown their cool."

"I am not able to get along with my boss." "There are disgusting bosses" as well as disgusting fellow and senior workers. "I don't know why but just I can't like him. Unpleasant impression." "My supervisor talks about improper things. How mean he is!"(Female) "My boss grumbles and speaks ill of others." "The boss boasts of his experiences in his life and begins, 'These days young people are such and such.'" "The plant manager is fond of preaching on and on at drinking parties." "While the president (of our company) got his position because of his father and is completely incompetent, he enjoys bossing us around." A boss even makes a young female worker say, "I even question his human nature itself." In addition, some bosses are "sloppy" and "irresponsible" with their work. A young policewoman complains, "He is only thinking about his promotion....and doesn't even know his way around the precinct."

There are many "problems and difficulties" which are also about bosses but more directly related to work. "A nagging boss" is, needless to say, disliked. "Our boss pokes his nose into everything." Especially "when he is in a bad temper," "he gets over-critical," or

"wreaks his anger on subordinates." In one case, the president's wife comes in and even puts in a word on our way of working." "The boss comes in and out of the shop as he pleases, doing nothing but disturbing us." "Instructions are not clear," which is "a cause of our bad relationship." And "My boss is a stickler for old-time ideas and won't listen to us." These are all given by male workers. Female workers give others: "My boss gives me strict orders. I blow my cool." "My boss talks and acts ignoring my personality. I am thinking of quitting (the present job)." "The boss treats girls unequally, depending upon whether they're pretty or not." "My supervisor says, 'I can't do this stupid work!' and passes it onto me." "A boss takes my work only to throw it aside half done. I have to bear the consequences of his failure." And "My boss requests me to serve him tea, clean the office and even do his personal shopping."

As mentioned before, some employees lodge objections against management's or boss' policies. Remember the nursery school teacher's case.(p.186)

Many subordinates are very unhappy because their bosses bring in unscheduled work, outside their responsibility and beyond their capacity. These make workers "unable to take a break and have to work overtime." "Saying, 'I used to do this much,' the boss demands more of us than we can manage." "The boss required me to do the same as my experienced predecessor did. I couldn't make do, and appealed with tears about it. But he ignored and left." "Bosses don't think of workers at all!"

Regarding overtime work, workers' dissatisfaction pours out. "The boss throws sarcastic remarks if I am doing overtime," and another does

the same "if I try to go home at the usual closing time." The latter boss "goes home quickly on time himself, leaving overtime work to us."

It's always unpleasant for workers to "be scolded" by superiors. Workers say: "Bosses blow me up if I fall behind the line speed." "We get it hot from bosses or are tormented unless we make good sales." "If there is a mistake, he always blames me while it's not only my fault." We saw a case in the section Safety & Health/Working Environment that a boss beat up a junior worker and caused a two week injury when he damaged merchandise (furniture) by mistake." "The boss is frightening."

Many bosses won't take responsibility. "They don't apologize for their mistakes," and " shift the responsibility on to subordinates." Even worse, some run about to avoid their responsibility. Remember the N Motor's subsidiary case in which a boss begged an on-the-job-injured worker to be treated with Health Insurance, not with Workers' Compensation Insurance. (p.182)

"Ranking [at an officel] is very severe." Quite often it happens that an older person has to serve and cringe to a younger person." In such a case, "the situation gets complicated and delicate and the inconvenience becomes ours," young female employees. The relationship with bosses, as with customers, is very stressful not only because workers "don't like" or "are uncomfortable with them," but also because "workers cannot criticize nor disobey them and still "must get along well with them" even "flattering" sometimes. "If you don't like to flatter," and "if you assert yourself, they certainly frown on you." "Subordinates are enduring, trying not to complain while being attentive."

At this rather young age, some people already experience "mid-executive's worries." A female worker says, "I'm left on the horns of a dilemma, unable to do full justice to both sides, superiors and subordinates. You have to think before saying."

Last of all, "problems and difficulties" of socialization, manpower structure and others are again found here as in the previous section Human Relations. Socialization with bosses is more difficult than that with senior and fellow workers. An auto part worker confesses, "My boss takes me out for a drink. I don't want it but can't say 'no'." "You have to be attentive to them." The smaller the firm is, the more family relatives there possibly are and the more troubles they bring in. A female worker, who works in a clothing subcontracting factory with 14 employees, says, "As my superiors are relatives of the company president, I'm bewildered with the collusive work among them."

One of "others" is so-called in "office love" in Japanese English, which means an extramarital liaison among employees in an office, most typically between a married male boss and an unmarried female subordinate. "Office love" seems to be widely spread in both small and large companies. In this research the cases in large 'first class' banks, insurance companies and stockbrokers are especially notable.

It happened when we went on an employee trip....Everybody knew that the director had an affair with one of the girls in our section. She was 29 years old, single and fond of a show. The director came into our room.....and began making love with the girl. We couldn't be there and went out of the room.(19, S Electric Co., Senior High+Voc. School; 8621608)

Some workers have changed their jobs because of "office love."

(11) Customers (13+9)

It may not be widely recognized that customers themselves are the source of "problems and difficulties" and the cause of stress for workers who attend them. Customers can turn into someone quite upsetting. Workers say, "Attending to customers exhausts you," and "It gets on my nerves."

Customers vary from young to old, both men and women, and "it's not easy even to keep up the conversation with them." "You have to know and consider the customer's personality when you provide service." Although it can't be helped, bank tellers have to accept customer's complaints when a cashing machine is out of order, and "some customers may even speak ill of our service compared with other banks'." You can't stand them!" There are a lot of customers with whom workers' "really get angry.": "A customer who is fresh," "who is selfish," "who is fussy over orders," "who always complains," and "who instructs this or that while knowing nothing about running a workshop." "A patient who is sexually harassing," "who flirts with pretty nurses," and "who neglects the prescription." "A passenger who steals a ride on a train," and "who is drunk." "A client who asks for repair service before or after store hours," and "who complains if you can't arrive on time."

Important is, however, the point that workers cannot neglect nor complain but "must serve them with cordiality," rather than the simple fact that there are such customers. "Suppose a client doesn't keep his word, you can't gain on him strongly nor can you expect an apology for the possible inconvenience, either." How stressful they are! "A newly hired employee might quit the job." A supermarket shopboy says, "you

can get dog-tired, physically and mentally, after working five days in a row with a constant smile."

Two more points should be mentioned about customers. One of the most vexing or disappointing for working men and women comes when their work is not appreciated or they are not trusted by customers or recipients of service. A cook is "most distressed when [he] hears a complaint about [his] dishes." A policeman grieves that "citizens don't have good feelings toward police and aren't cooperative." The other point is the entertainment of customers. Employees in managerial positions have access to company expenses accounts but young non-managerial employees do not, and often have to pay those expenses out of their own pockets. The case of a salesman working for a pharmaceutical company was mentioned earlier in the section (2) Wage. He said, "Doctors ask me to golf....you end up spending half your salary playing golf."

(12) Promotion And Transfer(9+3) cf. Discrimination

Promotion and transfer here mean ones within a corporation. Male workers are especially interested in them. Most "problems and difficulties" of this generation are related to the education level they finished. "Since I haven't finished high school (or college), I can't expect a promotion." is the most typical comment given. For details see the Discrimination section.

In this section five cases are taken up in which educational background is not openly referred to. A man expresses his concern for his gloomy future, wondering "how many years do I have to wait to become a supervisor?" The other four men talk of their aspirations. A young

policeman "wish[es] to be the chief" of a police station. A cook "hope[s] to be the manager" of a restaurant. A worker "pray[s] for [his] earliest possible promotion." Another policeman "want[s] to become a motor cop." These aspirations could be readily transformed into serious problems and difficulties, depending upon their strength, urgency and possibility, or obstacles for realization.

Many enterprises impose examinations on employees for higher or select positions. These promotion/selection examinations can be a source of "problems and difficulties" for a number of workers, who struggle to pass them. "I must take a qualifying exam in my company, but I leave home early in the morning and get home late in the evening. I don't have time to study." Women's "problems and difficulties" may sometimes show themselves in the opposite direction. A twenty-year-old clerical employee who works in the main office of a saving and loan bank says:

I am working merely as a stopgap for a moment till my marriage. So I'm not interested in promotion at all....Yet the company forces me to attend seminars and take exams. It's the company's policy.... It's hard for me to study outside working hours.(8621615)

Freedom not to seek promotions, or not to take exams, is usually not allowed within corporations, for it would lead to the denial of the core value of corporate society.

Transfers within an organization are not always accompanied by promotion, but it is certainly one of the worker's biggest concerns. A female worker in a large manufacturing company is in difficulty because she "can't apply for a transfer while being anxious to." For her

"working partner insists that [she is] not suited to the present job." She has "tearful eyes and is longing for a transfer so much that [she] is neurotic over it."

(13) Management, Future of Company and Bankruptcy (4+0)

Workers are anxious about the future prospect of their companies, A cook wonders if "the business climate for the restaurant industry is declining." An auto dealer clerical worker is "worried since the company business is not going well." An employee of a public corporation questions himself, "How will the recent privatization effect the corporation and us?" Various problems and worries discussed so far in previous sections may fade away depending upon the situation----the working place itself may disappear or be upset.

One day, totally unexpectedly, one's own company may go bankrupt because a company with which one's company has a deal goes bankrupt. Before the worst comes, a company may raise "voluntary resignation" [kibo taishoku] and one may find oneself applying unwillingly to it.

All "problems and difficulties" in this section are also of male workers.

(14) Turnover/Changing Jobs/Self-employed(23+8)

cf. Questions on Life and Work

In the social group our interviewees belong to, the orientation towards changing jobs and starting one's own business is remarkably strong regardless of sex. Many examples have already been presented in previous sections. Workers "want" or "plan to quit present jobs or companies" because "the pay is low," "labor conditions are poor," "the

content of the job is boring," "there is no chance for promotion," "you can manage to do this kind of job while you are young, but can't do so physically when you get older," (all from male workers) "I feel insecure about my future, seeing co-workers over 30 (years old) with families," and "only responsibility is expected out of me." (a female worker) Some female workers have changed their jobs because of "abuse by senior workers"[ijime] and "office love."

Without mentioning such clear reasons, more workers imply their willingness for changing jobs by saying: "I have no idea how long I'll stick to my present job," "I don't think I can continue my current job for many years," "I don't intend to stay in this work for the rest of my life. Two female interviewers witness that "It's 'I want to quit the job' that my working friends unanimously say," and "Whenever I see my friends who are working, their conversation always ends up with 'I want to quit,' 'I'll quit at such and such time,' and so on." In the case of females, some regard their working as temporary till marriage from the very beginning.

There are some workers who attempt to change their jobs more positively. "I'd like to see what I can achieve." They wish they could take a step forward no matter how small it may be, and if they could get the jobs they want----for example, a clerical worker, a travel agency worker, a hotel employee, a boiler attendant, an engineer, and a car mechanic. Some wish to get certificates for them. Others aspire to become independent and start their own businesses. A intern beautician harbors a grand ambition. She says, "I'd like to open a beauty parlor in the Ginza," one of the most expensive commercial districts. This girl also says, "I'd like to work as a barmaid to learn about men." "To

become independent and start their own businesses" might be only "a pie in the sky" for them, judging from the comparison of the past and present kinds of jobs(cf. pp.102-5) and labor conditions (cf. other items in this chapter) of workers who have actually changed jobs and from the experience of a worker, who concluded, "For a junior high graduate, maybe this kind of job is the only one available whichever field I may try."(p.205)

In any event, some workers have a vague wish to change jobs while others actually have taken some measures to do so----for example, taking exams for occupational schools.

However, once they try to put it in action, various difficulties may arise. If they take those exams, they have to pass them. If they pass them, they have to worry about the financial arrangement for tuition. "If I quit the job to leave my family behind, my mother will have to live all by herself." Although it sounds very Japanese, workers may feel they owe much to the companies they work for, high school teachers who introduced them to the present jobs, or the occupational schools they graduated from.

Workers may seriously think: "How can I manage with the auto loan, the living expenses and...., if I quit the job now." "Will the next job be financially good enough for my living expenses?" "Should I take over my father's business, or not?" while it seems to bystanders to be a rather luxurious affliction. A worker dares to say, "The current job is merely a stopgap job till I succeed to my father's business."

(15) Retirement (0+0)

No cases.

(16) Labor Unions (1+0)

To the group of workers interviewed in this research, labor unions don't have a significant existence. They draw little attention to them. There is only a case: "Since there is no labor union in my company, the burden comes down to lower ranks or the shop level, where I work. We have a strong antipathy but can't push it back." (Male)

(17) Discrimination/Complex (15+15)

Five kinds of discrimination are presented; they are i) level of education achieved, ii) job classification, iii) sex, iv) size of corporation or parent company vs. subsidiary, and v) local background. Education and sex are the two central factors among the above.

(i) By Education

Out of 30 cases, 16 cases refer to education. "I envy college kids. They play around all the time." "I become sick of working so hard while guys in the same generation are having fun." "Because we're junior high graduates" or "senior high graduates," "it's impossible" or "not expected to be promoted." Not only the chance of promotion but also the level of wages is different. "We got into the company at 18 (years old) and have worked for three years to be paid less than 23 year old new chums! They can do nothing!" "Students get paid better than me. It's disgusting." (All comments so far are from males.)

Further, "college graduates look down on us," "while they can't even handle the simplest calculation." (Female) The envy, futility and vexation develop into hatred.

"There is a considerable difference between college graduates and senior high graduates." "High school graduates have obvious disadvantages. Being a college graduate or not makes a real big difference." "Female high school graduates have a limited choice for jobs without special certificates or licenses." This would be the same between senior and junior high graduates. Workers now regret: "I wish I had studied harder and entered college." "I should have at least finished senior high." Some others now, even a few years after graduation, still drag on with their "yearning for a college education." A female worker from a single parent family with three little sisters and brothers sadly laments how badly she wanted to go to college.

How do they solve these afflictions? There seem to be three courses to be followed. i) For the reason of the lack of confidence, impending need to make a living and others, a group of people do not or cannot take any new steps. ii) The second group of people attend evening classes or take correspondence courses. They want to receive a college education so much. iii) Others seek another job or independence(e.g. a truck driver)(See pp.138-9).

Putting together all "problems and difficulties" of a golf practice center employee(male, 20), who has frequently been referred to in previous sections, could provide a summary so far, sub-section (1) through (17).

I can't get any jobs I want because I only graduated from junior high. It's been four years since I dropped out of senior high and I have tried various kinds of jobs including temporary, part-time work. But there were no jobs I wanted to keep.

I do want to find a job that fits me and is worth keeping for the rest of my life, but I have my present life to worry about

and must keep working for what job is available for me right at this moment.

Once I worked on an assembly line in a plant but I don't believe it's a job for human beings. The time assignment for each task is set in seconds. You must work on the calculation that can put on a screw within a certain number of seconds, and thus can make a certain number of T.V. sets per day. I feel as if I were forced to work as a part of a machine. It was unbearable.

Then I entered J-Delivery. My responsibility was to deliver auto parts to small, privately owned repair shops. I had to drive around all day long. Wages were paid by day, and it was hard to take a day off. I thought if I kept this job all my life, I would find myself worn out and couldn't maintain a family life if married.

My present job is cleaning, pulling out weeds from the ground, picking up balls, and ushering customers to seats and so on. It's not easy to serve them comfortably all the time, controlling my own emotion. There are many selfish and saucy customers. I'm most uncomfortable when I take care of them.

I don't think I can continue this job for a long time, either, but for a junior high graduate, maybe this kind of job is the only one available whichever field I may try. I do regret I wasn't patient enough to finish senior high school. (Net income: approximately ¥110,000 per month)

The pressure and frustration deriving from not completing senior high school or college come to workers not only in their work life but also in their family and community lives. "I feel terrible when I can't answer my younger sister and brother's questions on homework." For a college dropout, it's unbearable when people compare him with his "younger brother attending a prestigious senior high school." "The eyes of people around are not warm." "It's embarrassing to say that I'm a junior high or occupational school graduate when asked about the school level completed."

(ii) By Job Classification

The discrimination by job classification and by blue- and white-collar workers largely overlaps due to years of education completed. A

female clerical worker in a computer software firm expresses her vexed feelings against System Engineers(SEs).

I've keenly realized clerical staff are treated lightly,... counted as general servants....I'm very uncomfortable when people request us to make a Xerox or distribute papers and when female SEs ask us to make tea, while they have nothing special to do. I don't express the feeling outwardly, though....It happened when I was making xeroxes. A female SE was waiting behind me for her turn to make copies. Then, another SE, a friend of hers, came up and asked her to go and buy something for lunch with her. It was still work time. The SE behind me was wondering if she should go or not. But the SE who came snatched documents out of the hands of the SE behind me and gave them to me, saying "you can get the clerical staff to copy them." And they went out shopping. I don't know how to describe the anger that welled up inside of me.

Some male workers experience similar discrimination in job classification. "Ties are not allowed for production workers but allowed for engineers."

(iii) By Sex

Complaints and anger expressed by female workers are grave. Discrimination includes various areas from serving tea to contents of work, training, wages and salaries and compulsory retirement on marriage or at a young age, some of which are not necessarily institutional but unwritten practice.

"Only women serve tea." "Women must make tea no matter how busy we may be." "Men also should sometimes make tea.".... Serving tea is not the only matter. "Cleaning offices and desks is a woman's chore." "Only women have to come early in the morning for cleaning." A policewoman who has no desk to herself "still [has] to wipe desks for

others." "Clearing tables at the messroom after lunch" is also a woman's job. A woman working for a bank raises an angry voice, "Men are lazy and untidy even at the workplace. They should be able to put away the dishes they have just eaten from!" In a small company, women "must clean the toilet," too.

"Many women's jobs are odd jobs" including those above. "All important jobs are men's." "They say, 'Because you are women, you can't or shouldn't do this or that.'" "We can't say 'No' even to junky work---of course not." "We only have to say 'Yes', swallowing what we want to say." "They hold us cheap just because we are women." "Training programs are only for men."

Wages for women are lower than those for men while we are doing the same." The problem is not just that one. A manufacturing firm employee says, "It might be tolerable if we receive less while we are doing the same. We receive less while we are doing more----cleaning toilets, clearing tables after lunch, and so on." A clerical employee at a computer firm adds, "Moreover, women's wages don't go up no matter how long we work for the company."

"I sometimes regret I was born female."

"Women can't be regular employees once we get married. The company doesn't say so verbally, but everyone knows they want us to quit," complains a clerical worker in a computer firm. "I am afraid we can't be here in this company after we reach 25 or 26 years old. This never happens to men." This is a testimony by an employee of a major local newspaper company.

The most exemplary of all is the following statement obtained from a worker of an electric corporation:

A male employee and a female employee of the same department went into a hotel, both wearing the company uniform. Their boss happened to see it. The woman was demoted but the man wasn't. You may insist that the job is his life work for the man, but a woman also has to work. I really got angry at this sexual inequality.

Inequality based on sex has another phase. It is not actually between men and women. It is discrimination among women based on men's appreciation of women's physical beauty. "Some male employees mix their personal feelings with business when they face women." "The boss treats women partially," too. "Not being pretty is a disadvantage." "Some patients and doctors pay attention to pretty, beautiful nurses."

(iv) By Others

Difficulties deriving from being subcontracting or small firm employees and from being workers from rural areas were reported by two and one respectively. Workers in subcontracting companies have no choice but to persevere with unreasonable, haughty, one-sided demands of parent companies. For some workers in minor enterprises, the question "Who do you work for?" may be as hard to take as the question "What school did you graduate from?" forwarded to junior high graduates. A worker who works for a small company whose name is similar to a well-known supermarket gets mad.

Whenever I tell people our company name, they almost always take it for the supermarket's. I can't help but yell that I'm not a salesclerk in a supermarket.

For those with rural backgrounds, local dialects or accents can be a source of serious annoyance.

A worker, at any rate, concludes that he "want[is] a more equal and fair society."

(18) Questions on Life & Work(4+5)

It may not be due to the nature of work, but "frankly speaking, work (in general) is not interesting." "Why did I ever choose this job?"

"I feel sad to think I'll end my life with only working for this company," is the honest comment by a male blue-collar worker working for one of the most popular and leading corporations today. A female civil servant says, "I don't have any motivation in my work." "I have no goals and purposes." "I've been absent-minded."

Some workers are more serious than others in seeking meaning in their work and life. An automobile manufacturing worker asks himself, "For what" and "for whom have I been working. In order to ease such an affliction, he writes poems and makes music about it. A salesclerk in a home center wonders about himself "who has been hard pressed and drifted along with [his] work" "when [he] becomes alone after the day's work is done,"----"Is it O.K. for me to live this kind of life?"

(19) Men & Women/Marriage and Other Personal Life (13+12)

cf. Human Relations, Automobile, Wage and Family

Two major interests in life for young male workers are "cars" and "girls," and they want nothing more than to "buy a new car and drive with a girl friend." This was already mentioned in (2) Wages +

Automobiles. For girls also, "boys" are their major interest in life. "The topics during lunch time are always about boys."

If there are no or few "gals" and "guys" in the workplace, work is not so interesting. For young female workers who are seriously thinking of marriage, the absence of young men is the most detrimental. (cf. Human Relations)

Even if there are women in the same workplace, however, some workers "don't like to have a girl friend in the company because rumors get around too quickly if dating," or "especially if rebuffed." While some men and women are disturbed because they do not have "girl friends" or "boy friends", some others who have girl friends or boy friends are disturbed because they have problems in their relationships. For example, "With (such) long working hours (as mentioned above,) I can date only once or twice a week," "My boy friend has other girl friends," and "I wonder if I should keep company with him or not." Girls who "have decided to get married" worry about "living with his parents" and "reconciling work and housekeeping."

Some workers' problems are slightly different in nature. They say, "I don't know how to deal with girls. I can't help thinking about marriage, shortly after meeting a new girlfriend." Regarding the problem of marriage, see the sections of Wage and Family as well.

Other personal life problems besides men & women and marriage include "wanting to have true friends, " and "wanting to go back to my home town." (Females) In contrast to "cars" for boys, "looks" and "fashion" are the most interesting for girls. "I'm a little heavy, and people compare me with my fellow nurses." A nursery teacher who is fat

"got shocked when a kid said [she] looked pregnant." Dress and makeup are also important to girls.

Two cases of problems related to health were brought up: One, the lack of physical exercise and the other, the re-operation of a knee.

(20) Automobile(3+0)

See the section on Wage.

(21) Family & Family Life (19+9)

Our research subjects in this chapter are all unmarried between 18 and 20 years of age. To them, therefore, a family and a home mean ones centering around their parents and including their siblings. Sometimes grandparents are also included.

"Problems and difficulties" in this section are grouped into four categories: i) Ones which are caused because workers are still living with parents' families, ii) ones caused because they live geographically independent of parents' families, iii) ones caused in the transit process from living with parents' families to living independently, and iv) others.

The first category is "problems and difficulties" caused because workers are still living with parents' families. Limited housing space certainly causes many "problems and difficulties", but for this point refer to the next section, Housing.

Some complain that they cannot relax because they must help out with housekeeping----for example, "taking care of a little sister in nursery school," "playing with the brother's children" and "farming labor." "Father used to be a yakuza(Japanese mafia) and is now sitting

around the house. He has been a leg wound." "Father has just taken up a new job, and the family hasn't gotten used to it yet."

As long as workers are living with parents, the interference from them is a big problem. Such a complaint is more serious with girls. "Parents watch what I'm doing too closely," "they are constantly keeping an eye on me," "they are very nervous about phone calls from boys," "the time they set for me to be home by is too early," "they fuss too much if I come home a little late," "I can't stand the many restrictions they put on me," "Father is on leave of absence because of a disease and turns on me for the slightest thing," and so on. A male worker, too, is uncomfortable with parents' interference in his outings.

On the other hand, many workers feel sorry to bother their families because of overtime, shift and early morning work. Refer to the sections dealing with Working Hours and Commuting.

Although workers may be living with their parents, "it is seldom for all family members to meet together" as in the old days. Now that the children have all grown up, it "makes me lonely." "Each member is thinking of different things. There is no chance to travel together as a whole family," which "makes me sad."

The second category is "problems and difficulties" caused because workers live alone. "Living alone" in an apartment or a dormitory is "not interesting because there is no one waiting for me when I return to my room," or it is "lonesome." Daily chores such as cleaning, laundry, and cooking are troublesome. If "there are no bath and washing machine in the apartment," "you have to go to a public bathhouse and a laundry." (cf. the section of Housing) "You have to eat out often."

"If you live in a dormitory, it's not easy to go out." "The night closing time is too early." "Contact with my family is restricted." "You seldom have a chance to see friends from high school days." And if a worker has a bad senior in the same dorm, "he makes me go on errands for him" and if a worker has a good senior, "I miss him badly now that he has left the dorm."

At any rate, "You can seldom go home to see your family," and "I go home only once a month." When young workers are living away from home, "their parents," not the workers, "worry about [them]." "My mother especially wants me to come home."

The third category is "problems and difficulties" caused in the transition from living together to being independent. While parents "want me to come home," "I want to live in Tokyo to own a shop someday." He is in a dilemma. Similar afflictions may take place even when they are living with their parents now. "If I quit my present job and leave home, my mother will be left all by herself." He is forced to choose either job or family. "Marriage" can give them an opportunity to gain independence, but they may hesitate to do so "because I'm an only child...."

The forth category includes "problems and difficulties" of health and support of parents. "I'm worried because my mother is getting weaker." A worker is getting married to live with parents-in-law, and "worried about [her] own parents after they become old and dependent since [she is] the eldest daughter."

"A small house", when living with a family, and "a poorly equipped apartment", when living independently, are the two main problems on housing.

"The house is small" and "I can't have my own room." As "I have to share a room with my sister" or "brothers", "I can't have any privacy." "I don't have time to be alone," and "always feel fettered by someone." "If I'm at home on holidays, my family say I bother them. It's hard." He has five brothers and sisters. "I can't make any noise at home because my younger sister is studying for the entrance exam." "My elder brother and his wife live with us, and I can't relax." These are all different expressions of living in "a small house." A worker's family is moving from a quasi-public corporation apartment (Kodan) to a privately owned high-rise condo probably because of the space, but the new place "will cost a lot of money."

A worker living by himself in an apartment has "to go out to a public bathhouse and a coin laundry" because "the apartment has no bath and washing machine." He, therefore, "want[s] to move into an apartment with a bath."

(23) Commuting(4+7) cf. Working Hours

Besides the complaint that "I'm not able to commute to work from home," there are complaints such as "it's too far and takes lots of time" and he has to use "overcrowded transportation."

As to the point of "taking too long to commute," refer to the section of Working Hours(p.113). Commuting long distance is not only strenuous to workers themselves but also annoying to their families. For example, an 18-year-old female worker says, "I have to get up at

5:30 in the morning and Mom cooks breakfast for me. I feel sorry for her. It's tough on Mom." Some workers complain of "too many changes of trains" instead of commuting long distances. On the contrary, there is a luxurious complaint, too, that "the workplace is too near to my home."

Female workers raise many problems and troubles on "rush hours" and "jammed commuting trains", for example, being "too crowded" and "almost crushed" as well as "mashers."

(24) Children(0+0)

No cases.

(25) Satisfaction

Omitted.

(26) Community/Society (4+3))

There are four and two complaints respectively on "taxes" and "medical expenses". "They are too high." "The 10 percent should be deducted. All should be paid by the National Health Insurance." Other complaints, concerns and anger include one case on "the government's economic policies," one case on public morality such as "drunks on streets and at train stations," and two cases on "youngsters' suiciding following T.V. stars' similar actions," "struggles among politicians," "rescue activities for African refugees," "World War III," and other social and political news.

III MALE THIRTIES (31-40 YEARS OF AGE)

1. Characteristics of Interviewees

Thirty four interviewees fall into this category.

In terms of educational levels they completed, three are junior high school graduates, 19 who graduated from senior high schools, 10 college graduates and two unknown. Included with them are two senior high school dropouts and one college dropout. (Table III-8)

Table III-8: Education of Interviewees
(Male, 31-40 years of age)

Total	34
Junior high graduates	3
(Senior high dropouts)	(2)
Senior High graduates	19 ²
(College dropouts)	(1)
College graduates	10
Unknown	2

Most of interviewees, or, more than 80 percent, are married. In the remainder, there are four unmarried, one divorced, and one with unknown marital status. The married have one or two children in most cases.

The two largest occupation groups are production and other blue collar workers and managers. In production and other blue collar workers, 3 metal workers(a cutter and press workers), an electrician, an auto worker, a printing firm worker, a packing industry worker, a rubber stamp engraver, and a shoe maker are included. The reason for the large

Table III-9: Family Composition of Interviewees
(Male, 31-40 years of age)

	Total	34
Married		28
	no children	3
	a child	13 ¹⁾
	two children	11
	three children	1
Unmarried		4
	living with parents' family	2
	by himself	1
	unknown	1
Divorced		1
Unknown		1

1) One apparently lives with his grandmother.

numbers of managers is two fold. One, many workers reach the lower managerial level in this age group, usually directors of divisions in organizations, on the promotion ladder under a lifetime employment system. Two, recently many small or chain stores including sushi shops, coffee shops, fast food restaurants and convenience stores have very young managers, even in their 20s. They are often the sole regular workers, and all others are part time and/or student workers.

There are many service workers and sales workers, too. Besides the above managers, the following are included: Two building maintenance workers, a gas station repairman, a laundryman, a truck driver and a water analyst for an anti-pollution firm as service workers, and two medicine salesmen, a cosmetics salesman, and a precision machinery company employee as sales workers.

Clerical workers are characteristically few in our research subjects in this age group. Other occupations included are two high school teachers, a computer engineer, a dental technician, a movie

Table III-10: Occupations¹⁾ of Interviewees (Male, 31-40 years of age)

Total	34
Government & public corporation employees	0
Private industry employees (All except for Government & public corp. employees)	
Professional and Technical Workers	4 [high school teacher(2), computer engineer, dental technician]
Managers	8 [private hospital head officer, managers of restaurant (4 including McDonald's and <u>sushi</u> shop), coffee shop and convenience store, department chief of a large supermarket]
Clerical & related Workers	1 [bank clerk]
Sales workers	4 [medicine salesman(2), cosmetics salesman, precision machinery firm salesman]
Service workers	6 [building cleaning workers(2), gas station repairman, laundryman, truck driver(<u>takkyubin</u>), water analyst]
Craftsmen, production process & related workers and laborers	
Construction craftsmen	1 [electrician(section chief)]
Workers in manufacturing	8 [metal worker(3), auto worker, printing worker(section chief), packing, gum stamp engraver, shoemaker]
Others	1 [extra hand]
Unknown	1 [in a construction company]

1) See the footnote 11) on p.305.

extra, and an unknown in a construction firm. Public and quasi-public corporation employees are not found.

The longest term of service is 21 years while the shortest is 6 months. Workers with 10 years of service and over account for 60 percent. At least eleven workers have had the experience of changing jobs and at least one worker has been leased to another company. (table omitted)

In terms of income, 19 interviewees answered in annual earnings, 8 in monthly earnings, and 7 gave no answers. As far as cases given in annual income are concerned, the minimum is ¥2,000,000 and the maximum

Table III-11: Income of Interviewees (Male, 31-40 years of age)

(Answered in) Annual Income (with tax)		(Answered in) Monthly Income (after tax)	
Total	19	Total	7
up to ¥1.75 million	0	¥120,130 thousand	2
1.75 - 2.25	1	130-175	1
2.25 - 2.75	1	175-225	1
2.75 - 3.25	4	225-275	3
3.25 - 3.75	5	275-325	1
3.75 - 4.25	2	325-	0
4.25 - 4.75	1		
4.75 - 5.25	2		
5.25 - 5.75	0		
5.75 - 6.25	1		
6.25 - 6.75	1		
6.75 - 7.25	1		
7.25 -	0		
Minimum	¥2	Minimum	¥120,130
Maximum	¥7	Maximum	¥300

1) In many cases, it was not clear whether the data included tax or not or whether the data with tax or after tax was given. In the latter, necessary data was estimated wherever possible. As for monthly income, some seem to include overtime pay and/or bonus and some do not.

2) In addition, there are 7 cases of "unknown".

is ¥7,000,000. The former is for a high school graduate sheet steel cutter and the latter a college graduate construction firm employee. The mode is the class ¥3,250,000-3,750,000 (5 cases), followed by the class ¥2,750,000-3,250,000 (4 cases). As far as cases given in monthly income are concerned, the minimum is ¥120,000-130,000 and the maximum is ¥300,000. The former for is a laundryman and a movie extra and the latter for a rubber stamp engraver. The mode is ¥250,000. (3 cases)

2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"

Refer to the preceding section (p.159), regarding the significance and limitation of reviewing the distribution of itemized "problems and difficulties" and the meanings of those items.

Thirty-four workers mentioned 146 "problems and difficulties" in all, which makes 4.3 items per worker.

The item which the largest number of workers raise is "Working Hours," followed by "Wages & Salaries/Expenditures." Sixty percent of interviewees mention the former and forty percent the latter. These two items were also among tops as for the younger generation in the previous section (p.160).

About 30 percent of workers complain of or get angry at something on "Bosses," "Job Content" and "Children." "Children" are becoming a focus of interest in this age group. One out of 4 or 5 has a "problem or difficulty" with the "Future of Company," "Human Relations," or "Turnover/Independence," while one out of 6 or 7 has in "Customers," "Family/Family Life," "Girls or Boys/Marriage and Other Personal

Table III-12: Distribution of Itemized
 "Problems and Difficulties"
 (Male, 31-40 years of age)

	Total	34	100.0%
A	Automobiles	0	0.0
B	Bosses (including human relations)	10	29.4
C	Customers	6	17.6
D	Discrimination, complex	2	5.9
E	Evaluation	2	5.9
F	Family, Family life	6	17.6
G	Geography [Commuting]	2	5.9
H	(Working) Hours	20	58.8
I	Inexperience, Incompetence	1	2.9
J	Job content	10	29.4
K	Kids [Children]	10	29.4
L	Living [Housing]	3	8.8
M	Management [Future of company, layoffs, & bankruptcy]	8	23.5
N	<u>Ningen-kankei</u> [Human Relations] (excluding those with bosses), atmosphere	8	23.5
O	(Fringe benefits and) Other labor conditions	3	8.8
P	Promotion, transfer	4	11.8
Q	Questions on life & work	4	11.8
R	Retirement	3	8.8
S	Safety & health, work environment	5	14.7
T	Turnover, independence & self-employment	7	20.6
U	(Labor) Unions, labor relations	1	2.9
V	Voice [Participation]	2	5.9
W	Wages & salaries, expenditure	13	38.2
X	Sex, [Girls or Boys, marriage & other personal concerns]	4	11.8
(Y	Yes [Satisfaction]	-	-)
Z	[Community, Society]	2	5.9

Note: The total numbers 146 cases. The same "problem and difficulty" may be counted for more than one item, and different "problems and difficulties" are counted as one case as far as they belong to the same item.

Concerns," or "Safety & Health/Work Environment." One out of ten has in "Promotion," "Housing," "Fringe Benefits and Other Labor Conditions," and "Retirement," which was not found in the 18-20 year age group.

There are only one or two people who refer to "Discrimination/Complex," "Evaluation," "Commuting," "Questions on Life and Work," "Participation," "Community/Society," and "Labor Unions/Labor Relations." There is no reference to "Automobiles" in this age group.

3. The Content of "Problems and Difficulties"

(1) Working Hours (20) + Commuting (2)

There are complaints of and much dissatisfaction with overtime work and long working hours.(9) A worker who works for a cleaning shop says, "Everyday I have overtime work. It's around eleven when I get home, and I go to bed immediately." A deliveryman who works for a parcel express firm says, "From 7:30 in the morning to 9, or sometimes after 10 in the evening, without any breaks. Sometimes we miss lunch." They work till exhausted and only have time for sleep at home, having no leisure time at all.

There are four cases which refer to holidays and vacations. "I can't have any pleasure with my family because Sundays are not off."(A restaurant manager) In this age group, "problems and difficulties" on working hours are frequently told in relevance to families and children. (See sections, Family and Children.) "I decided to take one day off per week, but often can't. I have to replace part-time workers or students who are absent."(A manager of a convenience store) These workers have exchanged their time for the title of managers.

There are four cases of "problems and difficulties" on shift work and irregular work. A hamburger shop manager says, "I have many night shifts. Day and night have reversed themselves." A coffee shop manager says, "I wish I could avoid the early shift from six o'clock." The numbers of round-the-clock stores in the food and other retail industries have recently increased, and shift work has, too, not only in manufacturing plants. The above manager of a hamburger shop comes back home at 2:30 a.m. and goes to the store at 12 noon, which widely deviates from a typical schedule, and makes "the rhythm of daily life disturbed."

Two workers complain that they have to travel away from home too often on business and two others say that "it takes two and a half hours one way to go to the plant." Jammed trains are troublesome not only for commuting but also for delivery of products.

(2) Wages (13) + Automobiles and Other Material Wants (0)

"My monthly pay is only about ¥120,000. I have a mortgage to pay off. My wife's started working but gets only a little money, too." (a laundryman) Many workers refer to this item with relation to families and children in "Working Hours" above. (See sections, Family and Children.)

Interviewees' wages are never envious. A 35-year-old auto worker's "wage after tax isn't much different from that of a student worker." A building maintenance worker (window cleaning) isn't "paid if injured or absent, because [he] work[s] under a day-rate plan." Wages of the store manager group are in similar a situation. "The manager allowance (of a sushi shop) doesn't make his pay any different from his aid's." "The

bonus (of the supermarket manager) is reduced if the norm set by the company isn't reached, while it isn't increased if it is reached."

(3) Fringe Benefits and Other Labor Conditions (2)

Two interviewees refer to "fringe benefits and other labor conditions." A coffee shop manager insists that "during breaks employees should be able to have drinks at the shop for free." An assistant manager of a sushi shop questions "why can the employer deduct the unemployment insurance premium during the training period while we are not fully paid."

(4) Occupational Safety & Health/Working Environment (6)

Three interviewees complain of or are worried about physical working conditions. "My eyes get very tired since I'm engaged in microscopic work." (A team chief in a printing firm) "The noise from machines is outrageous. The work is also highly dangerous, surrounded by machines." (a press worker) "I'm worried I may be injured. My work is always very close to danger." (a building window cleaner)

Some interviewees feel something wrong with their bodies because of mental fatigue. "I've lost 8 kg of my weight over four or five months due to mental and physical anxieties as a manager." (a restaurant manager)

(5) Inexperience/Incompetence (1)

There is a case which grieves over technology development: "It's not easy to become accustomed to the newly introduced machine." (a rubber stamp engraver)

(6) Job Content (10)

Being too busy or too hard is the first category of "problems and difficulties" under the item of job content. Particularly this is the case with managers' work at convenience stores, hamburger shops and chain restaurants, where most workers besides managers are non-regular workers such as part time or student workers. All burdens fall on these regular workers, or managers. A similar situation is found in manufacturing industries, too. A team chief in a printing plant says:

Mostly the work load is carried by part time and student workers, but they stop working and go home as soon as the regular working hours are over. Then regular workers----there are very few in number----have to work overtime to finish up the work. It's always nine o'clock before we are through.

Work in the parcel express industry, which has recently developed rapidly, is also very hard. Sorting, loading, delivering, and re-delivering of parcels, which are brought back because of absence.... There is no break at all. "Workers force packages onto their fellows in the morning." The more they deliver, the more they earn under their piece rate system, but workers choose less work than more income. This kind of work is hard.

Working in vain is very unpleasant. Workers get angry when they have to do the work over again because of the other party's convenience, for example, the delayed delivery or meeting time(a precision machinery sales section chief) and wrong drafts(a rubber stamp engraver).

"Simple, repetitive and monotonous work"(a laundryman), "working with an incapable partner"(an auto worker), "the quota is

unacheivable"(a supermarket department manager), and others are all sources of workers' dissatisfaction." The supermarket department manager says, "I have a quota of customer's credit cards, but I have no potential customers in mind any more. Such cards are of no use."

(7) Participation (2)

Workers are demoralized or get mad when their proposals are refused by superiors or management. A cosmetic salesman says, "When I propose some new ideas, the boss doesn't adopt them when he is in a bad mood. I'm very discouraged." A computer engineer also says, "When my opinions are not accepted or not understood, I flare up."

(8) Evaluation (2)

"While I'm working hard doing overtime for the company, the boss thinks I'm doing it because I love it or else I would have finished the work within regular working hours. I really get angry."

Here is a unique anxiety about self-evaluation. A head administrator of a voluntary hospital knows that his "present salary has been made possible because of [his] father", and "wonder[s] if the work he's doing isn't commensurate with his income."

(9) Human Relations (8) + Bosses/Ranking (10)

Criticism against and dissatisfaction with bosses smolders even among managerial workers who have worked for many years. "The boss calls me trash if I don't fulfill the sales quota." (a restaurant manager) "My boss is a slave driver and even asks me to do his private errands and business. I really get mad at him." (a laundryman) There

are seven additional cases. One of the worst cases is that "the president and other bosses go around the branch shops at midnight to check our time cards." (a vice-manager of sushi shop)

On the contrary, criticism against staff of other ages below appears in this age group. The following are typical comments: "These days young people are not like in my youth." "Subordinates' working behavior and attitude aren't good. Their morale is low and they easily quit jobs." And "Young new comers are arrogant while they can't do any work."

Colleagues are not necessarily all "good people." Sometimes workers have to work with difficult people. A bank employee "feel[s] digusted with a flatterer in [his] division" and a high school teacher patiently restrains himself, "having people whose opinions are different" from his own."

Problems derived from the manpower composition at work places are also posed. A worker who "work[s] alone in a work shop" "feel[s] lonesome because [he doesn't] have anyone to talk with." He envies people who "drink with colleagues at bars after work." (a rubber stamp engraver) A manager who "use[s] many young women" "bothers his brain very much thinking about them." (a coffee shop)

(10) Customers (6)

As with younger workers, customers represent one of the most important sources of "problems and difficulties" for workers in this age group who deal with customers. The most typical cases occur in service industries.

In addition, business clients are also a cause of affliction for sales workers. "I get angry with clients who nag over small details while we really did deliver the products before the appointed date." (a sales section chief of a precision machinery firm) "It's hard to visit retail stores. They throw their weight about, take mean advantage of our weaker position, and.... We can only humble ourselves." (a sales section chief of a cosmetics firm) Managers of restaurants "must sometimes have social drink with yakuza[gangsters] on business."

(11) Promotion/Transfer (4)

On one hand there are workers who grieve the delay or lack of promotion. A computer engineer is "anxious about his future" because "both promotion and pay increases have become difficult to obtain compared with the high economic growth era" of the 60's and early 70's. Two other factors have strengthened this grief and dissatisfaction: (1) the baby boom generation is included in this age group, and (2) workers have received a higher education. A high school graduate, however, feels sorry over a traditional problem, discrimination by education. "A younger colleague has just been promoted to manager. We are not different in ability, but education makes the difference." (a cosmetic firm sales section chief) A worker, who is the only employee in a shop, is "not encouraged because there are no possibility of promotion" from the very beginning. (a rubber stamp engraver)

On the other hand, there are workers who don't want to be promoted. An assistant manager of a sushi chain shop refrains from becoming the manager "because there's no big difference in pay."

(12) Future of Company/Layoff/Bankruptcy (8)

The longer people's years of service are, the more their responsibility is and the higher the positions are, the stronger their interest in the management and the future of the company is. Many of our subjects, too, first refer to ways of increasing sales, how to increase profit, how to eliminate waste, and so on. The following expresses those interest in the form of "problems and difficulties":

(1) The manpower shortage(2)----"We can't get enough student workers" (a hamburger shop manager), and "Few people respond to ads for recruits and I have to do the work of two or three people" (a restaurant manager). (2) The competition with firms in the same industries(2)----"A store of the same kind has just opened nearby. I am worried about the competition" (a convenience store manager), and "We now have many similar companies, and less work comes in and our business is tapering off" (a building cleaning worker). And (3) others----"How would the company be in the future if we have another oil shock" (A gas station attendant), "Some student workers are not good" (a coffee shop manager), "The company only thinks of increasing sales, saving labor cost" (an assistant manager of a sushi shop), and "How to deal with business has usurped my mind" (a precision machinery sales section chief).

(13) Turnover/Independence (7)

Independence- or self-employment-orientation is strong in this age group, too. "I want to run an auto mechanic shop for myself in the future." (a gas station mechanic) "I would like to start my own restaurant some day." (a restaurant manager) "Getting a qualification, I want to have my own company." (a construction firm employee)

However, some have already given up the dream of independence. "I wonder if I have the ability to be independent. The present pay is not good but life is secure." (A sheet steel cutter) "I cannot help continuing the present job. It's tough for me to start something new from zero in my thirties, and my child is getting into elementary school next year." (a supermarket department manager)

If not independence-seekers, many workers want to change their jobs. "Since it takes two and a half hours one way, I want to find some job near my home." (an auto worker) "I want to change to a better paid job. My present wage is only about ¥120,000 per month." (a laundryman) Both are serious.

(14) Retirement (2)

Although retirement is not a pressing question yet, the situation is serious in cases of blue collar workers and non-regular marginal workers. Two express their anxiety about their retirement life. "It's OK while I'm young, but when I become old, it would be physically impossible to continue this job. The retirement allowance would be not much.....and I'm worried about life after retirement." (a building window cleaner) "We have no compulsory retirement age, but no guarantee of security when I'm old." (a movie extra)

(15) Labor Unions (1)

"The company hasn't shared profit with workers and won't. Workers have been patient, but.... I'm determined to be active in union activities to fight against the company." (a shoemaker) This is the only case which refers to labor unions.

(16) Discrimination/Complex (2)

There are two complaints which relate to discrimination by education. One, a cosmetic firm sales section chief, who is a high school graduate, is "very uncomfortable because a younger fellow worker, who is a college graduate, was promoted to office manager while he is not necessarily more capable than me." Two, an auto worker says, "College graduate white collar people are in an air conditioned office, and high school production workers are in a shop like a steam bath----hot and humid!"

(17) Questions on Life and Work (4)

As younger generations, workers reaching this age still ask similar questions to themselves, "Simple repetition of the same motions....Being tied to working hours....Is it OK for myself to be as I am?" "I feel as if I were a slave. My job only requires a simple physical effort and I am forced to do it everyday for long hours." The former is the comment by a sheet steel cutter and the latter by a parcel express deliveryman. However, they do not necessarily intend to quit their jobs. The latter worker gives the reason: "Because the pay is so so and there are no good jobs are available."

Two interviewees have "a feeling of vague unrest." They say, "I feel that only I am left behind while everyone around is living a full life." (a sheet steel cutter) and "I always feel unsettled and haven't formed a clear view of the situation yet." (a computer engineer)

(18) Men & Women/Marriage/Other Private Concerns (4)

Of all research subjects in this age group, only five workers are unmarried, including one divorced, but their anxiety for marriage is very strong. "Marriage. That's my first priority now." "I go home very tired from my work to find nobody there. I feel very lonely." "Getting married, I want to ease my parents' mind. Soap land and pink saloon money for sex treatment can't be withheld...."

However, their busy everyday work does not even allow them to have the time to be acquainted with women. It may be OK if there are unmarried women in the workplace, but in reality, many workers work in places where "there are few unmarried women." A building cleaner ridicules, "My job is to clean floors in empty rooms. You don't have any chances to see women. This is a kind of occupational illnesses, isn't it?"

(19) Family (6) + Children (10) + Housing (3)

"I can't go home at a regular time, and have little time to even talk with my family." (a gas station attendant) Many grieve the lack of communication with their families.(4) A worker in a two-income family has another difficulty. He confesses, "It gives me pain to have my wife work. I lose my temper when my wife says that I can have some pocket money because of her work." A worker, who is "the first son" and thus "must live with parents in the future," has been worried about the timing of when to start living together.

The above mentioned lack of sharing time with families is particularly important in relation to children. "I have no conversation with my children at all. It's absolutely impossible to play catch, visit the school to see classes at work, and attend the sports day," (A

hamburger shop manager) "There is little time and conversation shared between the children and me, since I go home very late at night." etc.(6)

Four interviewees are anxious about the future of their children, particularly about their education. The most typical is a question like "Can I give them a college education with my present wage?"(An auto worker) A unique example is the anxiety of a deaf-and-dumb worker. The dental technician says, "As I can't hear at all, I am worried about the children's education."

There are three kinds of "problems and difficulties" presented on housing. The first is its space and distance. A press worker says, "It's small and far from the station." The second is the desire to own a house. A gas station attendant says, "As I live in an apartment, I want to have a house as soon as possible." The third is the burden of the repayment of a housing loan. It is particularly hard for a worker, if an unexpected incident happens, as with our laundryman. "After I bought a house, the job pressed me to move to another area. Now I live in a rented house and have to pay both the housing loan and the rent."

(20) Community/Society (2)

One is regarding neighbors and the other a deaf-mute's demand to society. "We have few contacts in our neighborhood because we've just moved to this area and my wife is working out, too." "I wish we could have more information through, for example, deaf-and-dumb sign broadcasting and social education programs by local governments."

IV MIDDLE-AGED & OLDER WORKERS(Over 40 Years of Age; MALE)

1. Characteristics of Interviewees

The total number of subjects in this category is 96.

By school level they completed, seven are junior high graduates, 46 senior high graduates, 34 college graduates and another 34 unknown.¹⁴⁾ Among the senior high graduates included is a college dropout. That is, approximately half(48%) the subjects graduated from senior high schools and more than a third(35%) from universities in this age group, which is higher than the younger age groups in the previous sections and higher than the average Japanese for that age group.

Table III-13: Education of Interviewees
(Male, Over 40 years of age)

Total	96
Junior high graduates	7
(Senior high dropouts)	(0)
Senior High graduates	46
(College dropouts)	(1)
College graduates	34
Unknown	9

Almost interviewees are married. There are no cases which answered "unmarried" positively. Out of 90 having wives, 51 live with two children, who are already not necessarily young in age, 22 with three, 15 with one, and one with four. Twelve interviewees live with one or both parents in addition to those children. A 55-year-old interviewee lives with his married first son, a grandson and also his unmarried

Table III-14: Family Composition of Interviewees
(Male, Over 40 years of age)

	Total	96	
Married		90	
	no children	0	
	one child	15	
	+ mother		3
	two children	52	
	+ father ¹⁾ mother and/or both		6
	+ others ¹⁾		1
	three children	22	
	+ mother		5
	four children	1	
unmarried		0	
Unknown ²⁾		6	

1) The first son's wife and a grandson.

2) One of them lives two.

second son.

Our research subjects in this category skew towards the middle class. At least more than half (52) are either professional & technical workers or managers. Probably more are included in other occupation groups in Table III-15, who did not mention their jobs and ranks in detail. This skewing comes from the fact that the majority of our subjects in this age group are fathers and relatives of interviewers who are studying at an expensive private university near Tokyo.

There are many managers, in the private sector. Thirty-four are division or department directors in various corporations, either small or large, branch office managers, plant managers, store managers and others in various industries such as manufacturing (12), transport/distribution/ service (7), bank, insurance and other finance (5), construction (3), fishery and agricultural cooperatives (2), mining, newspaper, hospital and unknown (1 respectively).

Table III-15: Occupations¹⁾ of Interviewees(Male, Over 40 years of age)

Total	96
Government & public corporation employees	
Professional and Technical Workers	8 [medical doctor, medical doctor & professor, elementary school teacher, elementary school head teacher, junior high school teacher, junior high school principal, senior high school teachers' union district vice-president, and unknown]
Managers	5 [division directors in local forestry office, public health center and city government, head fire officer, and office manager of district tax office]
Clerical & related Workers	1 [local clerical union]
Protective service workers	1 [policeman]
Private industry employees(All except for Government & public corp. employees)	
Professional and Technical Workers	5 [school teacher, senior high school principal, apparel technical instructor, R & D in heavy industry co., and technical expert]
Managers	34 [division directors, department directors, branch office managers and other lower, middle and upper managers in various private corporations, both small and large, in various industries, e.g. mining, construction, manufacturing, bank, transportation, and service(30), managers of convenience stores, ice cream shop, beauty shop, and inn]
Clerical & related Workers	9 [bank(2), auto(2), railway & related(2), trading, medicine, and paper]
Sales workers	7 [construction firm(2), auto, machine, camera, electrical machinery, and insurance]
Service workers/ Workers in transport & communication occupations	5 [real estate management, taxi driver, truck driver, electrical products deliveryman, and seaman]
Craftsmen, production process & related workers and laborers	
Construction craftsmen	1 [construction field supervisor]
Workers in manufacturing	7 [machinery workers(4), packing(2), and press worker]
Others	0
Unknown	13

1) See the footnote 11) on p.305.

Five are various division directors and other administrators in the public sector and some professional & technical workers are also in managerial positions, for example, school principals.

Including those in managerial positions, there are 13 professional and technical workers, both in private and public sectors, who are school teachers, employed medical doctors and private corporation engineers. The third majority fall into the category of clerical workers. They work for banks (2), auto companies (2), a railway company, a trade firm, a medicine manufacturing company, a paper mill, and a supplier of Japan National Railways (JR today) as well as a local government clerical union.

These are followed by craftsmen, production process & related workers and laborers (8; 4 machine workers, 2 packing workers and a press worker, a construction field supervisor), sales workers (7; in construction(2), auto, machine, camera, electric product and insurance firms), and service/transportation workers(5; a real estate management agency employee, taxi and truck drivers(3), and a seaman). Some of managers mentioned above may have closer in salaries to either sales workers or service workers and are better to be classified as such. The typical examples are managers of convenience stores. Remember the description of them in the preceding section.

It may be worth noting that there are five "post-retirement" workers included, one of whom is an ex-bureaucrat who now has a job in the private sector[amakudari], and two of whom are ex-big corporation employees who were leased to related-companies.

Concerning earnings, 67 answered in annual income, 11 in monthly income, and 18 in neither. The highest annual income is ¥15,000,000 and

Table III-16: Income¹⁾ of Interviewees
(Male, Over 40 years of age)

(Answered in) Annual Income (with tax)		(Answered in) Monthly Income (after tax)	
Total	67	Total	11
up to ¥3.75 million	8	up to ¥225 thousand	3
3.75 - 4.75	7 ²⁾	225-275	2
4.75 - 5.75	8	275-325	2
5.75 - 6.75	17	325-375	3
6.75 - 7.75	8	375-425	0
7.75 - 9.75	5	425-	1
9.75 - 11.75	9		
11.75 -	5		
Minimum	¥1.8	Minimum	¥150
Maximum	¥15.0	Maximum	¥500

1) In many cases, it was not clear whether the data include tax or not or if the data with tax or after tax was given. In the latter, necessary data was estimated wherever possible (e.g. using the equation, Income after tax = Income before tax x 82%). As for monthly income, some seem to include overtime pay and/or bonus and some do not.

2) A taxi driver earns an additional ¥4,500,000 from his farming.

3) In addition, there are 18 "unknown" cases.

the minimum ¥1,800,000. The former is of an employed upper management officer of a small machine parts manufacturing company, and the latter is of a 58-year-old auto dealer salesman who was re-employed after his retirement from Japan National Railways. The highest monthly income is ¥500,000 and the minimum is ¥150,000 after tax. The former is of a division director of an electrical machinery manufacturer, and the latter is of a 48-year-old blue collar worker in a precision machinery company who graduated from high school and has worked for the company for 28 years. The annual income mode falls into the class ¥5,750,000-6,750,000 while fourteen interviewees earn ¥9,750,000 or more. Nine out

of the eleven which were given in monthly income, range from ¥210,000 to ¥370,000, spread evenly over all classes.

2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"

Ninety-six interviewees raised 267 "problems and difficulties" in total. Each provided 2.8 on average.

The "problems and difficulties" which most workers in this category have are those on wages/expenditures, job content and bosses/ranking relations. A third of people raise each of these items.

One out of four complains of working hours, and one out of five of human relations and promotion/transfer. There were many complaints on working hours in other age groups, too. Including complaints of human relations with bosses, more than half the interviewees have some "problems and difficulties" regarding human relations in a broad sense.

One out of six, or 16-18 percent of all subjects in this age group, mentions family and retirement respectively as sources of their "problems and difficulties".

A little more than ten percent show interest in the future of company/layoff & bankruptcy, while a little fewer than ten percent have some "problems and difficulties" on children and inexperience/incompetence.

All other items were raised by a few or several workers: Customers, discrimination, commuting, and community/society were raised by 5 or 6, evaluation, housing, and participation by 3 or 4 and fringe benefits and other labor conditions, questions on life & work,

Table III-17: Distribution of Itemized
"Problems and Difficulties"
(Male, Over 40 years of age)

	Total	96	100.0%
A	Automobiles	0	0.0
B	Bosses (including human relations)	30	31.3
C	Customers	5	5.2
D	Discrimination, complex	6	6.3
E	Evaluation	4	4.2
F	Family, Family life	16	16.7
G	Geography [Commuting]	6	6.3
H	(Working) Hours	24	25.0
I	Inexperience, Incompetence	8	8.3
J	Job content	30	31.3
K	Kids [Children]	9	9.4
L	Living [Housing]	3	3.1
M	Management [Future of company, layoff, bankruptcy]	10	10.4
N	<u>Ningen-kankei</u> [Human Relations] (excluding those with bosses), atmosphere	22	22.9
O	(Fringe benefits and) Other labor conditions	2	2.1
P	Promotion, transfer	18	18.8
Q	Questions on life & work	1	1.0
R	Retirement	16	16.7
S	Safety & health, work environment	12	12.5
T	Turnover, independence & self-employment	1	1.0
U	(Labor) Unions, labor relations	2	2.1
V	Voice [Participation]	3	3.1
W	Wages & salaries, expenditures	33	34.4
X	Sex [Girls or boys, marriage and other personal concerns]	1	1.0
(Y	Yes [Satisfaction]	-	-)
Z	[Community, Society]	5	5.2

Note: The total numbers 268 items. The same "problem and difficulty" may be counted for more than one item, and different "problems and difficulties" are counted as one case as far as they belong to the same item.

turnover/independence, girls & boys/marriage and other personal concerns, and labor unions by 1 or 2.

3. The Content of "Problems and Difficulties"

(1) Working Hours (24) + Commuting (6)

A taxi driver and farmer "work[s] from 7:30 a.m. to 3:00 o'clock in the morning, and can't see the faces of his family." Although this is an extreme case, "problems and difficulties" on long working hours apply to eleven cases, many of which are described in relation to their families and children as for those in their thirties. A bank employee says, "Because I have overtime work, I can't have dinner with my family, nor find the time to talk with my children."

"Problems and difficulties" on holidays and other days-off were raised by eleven cases. Particularly retail store employees and subcontracting company employees have very unfavorable working schedules. A retail chain store department manager says, "I often can't take holidays. I work the whole Christmas and new year season, except for New Year's Day." A convenience store manager says, "I don't have any regular shop-holidays nor days off for my own." The numbers of stores which are open for 365 days with long business hours have been increasing in the distribution industry, where many workers can't even take a day off weekly. A division director of a subcontracting construction firm says, "Since we are a subcontracting company, we often have to work on Sundays," depending on the convenience and demand of a parent company. An employee of a civil engineering and building contractor sighs over "no days off a week." Another worker says, "We are so busy that we can't go to doctors even when sick."

Besides the problems of long working hours, overtime work and few holidays and vacations raised are "problems and difficulties" on night

and shift work and on the short recess time. A blue collar worker "worries [his] family when [he is] on night shift," and an employee of a major city bank says that he "cannot often have lunch without haste because [he] only [has] a short lunch time."

Quite a few workers in this age group might have purchased their own houses, which are possibly far from their working places in the case of big cities, like Tokyo. Then their commuting hours become astronomically long. "It takes at least two hours each way." There are three other similar cases. In addition, there are complaints of crowded commuter trains and the long distance between the nearby station and home which has to be walked.

(2) Wages (33) + Automobiles and Other Material Wants (0)

Although a press worker and others say, "I don't have financial difficulties living such a modest life...", a number of workers(19) refer to "problems and difficulties" on wages and salaries even in this above average social strata group. Many comments are subjective ones like "The salary is low considering the position and responsibility" (a division director of general affairs) and "I wish my salary could be high enough to travel in Europe with my family." (a heavy industry company employee) Generally speaking, there are few serious cases on wages in comparison with working hours. Some are, however, absolutely low in level. A 48-year-old blue collar worker who is in a precision machinery manufacturing company says, "I have worked for this company for more than 20 years, but my monthly pay is about the same as my wife's," which is ¥150,000.

People tend to use the expression that "costs are too high," rather than "the wage is too low," when they become older and richer. Eleven interviewees deplore their high expenditure. The expense of children's education seems to be the biggest problem. (8) Considering that many of our research subjects in this age group have sent their sons and daughters to a private university near Tokyo(p.), it can be generalized that the educational expense is a real burden for many workers above 40. Other expenses mentioned are ones on housing loans(2), parent support, and reading and cultural activities.

It may be a characteristic that many workers in this age group have complaints about taxes.(6) "Taxes reduce my net income a lot," is one of the typical complaints.

There are some workers who have become re-employed after their first retirement included in this group. (6) Their salaries may be extremely low. A 55-year old insurance company employee who used to be a self-defense official grieves, "While the work is harder and tougher in the present job than in the previous one, the pay is much lower....Yes, this is after retirement work.... I've resigned myself, but....still...." His salary amount is unknown, but a clerical worker who works for an auto dealer after retirement from Japan National Railways receives only ¥1,800,000. On the other hand, some, while they are also re-employed after retirement, are receiving high salaries, up to ¥12,000,000. One of these cases is an ex-bureaucrat of the Department of Finance who has an executive job in an insurance corporation.

Allowances are complained of----a dependency allowance and an overtime allowance. A 45-year-old worker who has two children in school

grumbles, "The dependency allowance from the company cuts off at 18 years of age. It will fall heavily on to my shoulders." Two workers in managerial positions complain of the exchange of the overtime allowance for the position, while a non-managerial worker is worried about the decrease of overtime work and thus income, because of the depression due to the high yen and thus the slow business. The share of overtime pay is significant in the Japanese wage system, and in a worker's life.

(3) Fringe Benefits and Other Labor Conditions (2)

"There is no messroom for employees," which is the only complaint concerning fringe benefits.

Mobilization by a company outside working hours is a problem. "We are forced to work in voluntary community activities and political activities." This is the management's encroachment on workers' private free time and disturbance of their civil and political rights. The worker belongs to a large leading heavy industry company.

(4) Occupational Safety & Health/Working Environment (12)

"We do microscopic work, get a lot of eye strain, and so become weak-sighted." (a photoengraver) "Standing all day long has caused back pain, the irregular lunch time the stomach and bowel disorder, and air-conditioning cold legs and loins." (a beauty shop manager) "I work till late at night sitting all day long. This physical condition is not good." (a taxi driver and farmer) "You frequently have night work. It's physically tough." (a division manager of an electrical manufacturing company) "The frustration at work damages my stomach." (a division director of a construction firm) "As I work sitting at a desk,

I'm mentally exhausted." (a white collar worker) More of the same is repeated as for younger generations.

In terms of working environments there are two complaints, which are also the same as those mentioned in the preceding sections. "It's extraordinarily hot in summer in the plant," (a press worker) and "Air-conditioning [gives us] cold legs and loins," (the beauty shop manager above)

(5) Inexperience/Incompetence (8)

Many workers in this age group are worried about the rapid change of technology.(7) "I feel insecure of following the technology development." "It's not easy to learn how to use new machines which are continuously introduced." The former is the case of an employee at a heavy industry company and the latter is from a bank employee. Even without any new introduced technology, "It's tough to gain control of a totally new job" for the re-employed after their first retirement, who are in their 50s or 60s.

(6) Job Content (30)

So many jobs and occupations, so many "problems and difficulties". "We have trouble with shoplifting....Yes, too many." (a convenience store manager) "The absenteeism of student workers eats a hole in the production." (a plant manager of an electrical manufacturer) "Even 0.01m/m deviation is not allowed. We have to do it over again." (an employee of a precision machinery manufacturing company) "I know that it's part of the job, but I'm really disgusted when people fight over money." (an insurance company employee in charge of traffic accident

negotiation) "I blow my top because the person who distributes freight among delivery drivers is partial to certain people." (a truck driver) "I want to get instructions in writing, not in word." (a packing firm worker) "An old man over 50 has to sell ice cream to young girls in a shop. I feel ashamed." (an icecream shop manager) "The government inspection is very rigid." (a construction firm employee) "Citizens recently assert their rights, and this bothers us." (a division director of a public health center) And "We have too much to teach." (a teacher) These are only some examples showing the variety of "problems and difficulties" on work content.

The following is raised by more than one interviewee respectively. The reduction of manpower or rationalization(4), the irregular amount of work (3), the conflict between departments (2), the monotonous work (2), and the assumption of responsibility (2). Particularly the influence of rationalization seems to be significant. "Personnel reshuffling makes work hard....We also have to work in fields out of our speciality. It's the result of rationalization." (a telephone company) "They claim the principle of fewer people of superior ability, and requires us to do the job of four or five with two. It's too much." (an electrical manufacturing company) "The introduction of a computer has reduced the number of workers a lot and increased the amount of work so we have become exhausted." (a city bank) Workers do not enjoy the benevolent influence of rationalization. Workers who execute management's policies are also in difficulty:

I have to make a certain number of people quit. It's an order from the head office because of the "high yen depression." I feel I'm doing a bad thing but I have to harden my heart

against pity. [a section chief of general affairs in an auto company]

Concerning the other four points: "The work volume fluctuates a lot. Sometimes we cannot finish orders, and sometimes we don't have enough orders." "Sales people should take orders thinking of the people in production." "I am tired of the increasing lack of variety in my work." "We have to take responsibility for mistakes made by subordinates."

(7) Participation (3)

"The company doesn't allow me to do the job as I want to." "I can't do the work I want to." Workers want to contribute to the decision making. However, the input forced from the top becomes painful. "We are expected to make proposals every month. It's a headache."(an electrical manufacturing company)

(8) Evaluation (4)

Workers wish their work could be fairly evaluated. "They [The company] see only the result, not the process." "We are often not recognized even if we put a lot of effort into the work."

(9) Human Relations (22)

"Problems and difficulties" on human relations probably won't disappear as long as people live in groups.

Most of them are common to younger workers' as were described in the previous section: "There are people who work only in the presence

of bosses----flatterers." "Some colleagues aren't conscious that we are working in a team." "There are people I have difficulty getting along with," "I can't get on well with," or "I can't share opinions with." So "I'm mentally tired with caring about how to treat others." "You are shunned unless you play golf, mahjong, and the like with fellows." And "You have to drink social sake even if you can't drink."

The lack of human relations can be another problem for some workers. A worker in an electrical manufacturing company is worried about "the more distant human relations at work due to the introduction of computers and commuting by car," and a policeman wishes he "could have the atmosphere in the office," in which he "could speak openly." Sometimes the management's personnel or labor policy makes the work place inhuman. "Their control over us intensifies day by day. The humane atmosphere has gone and the work place has become dry, like a desert."

A 43-year-old worker still misses young ladies at work. "I find our office dreary. Only men. Recently no young women have joined us at all."

(10) Bosses/Ranking (30)

Workers in this age group, who are often managers with subordinates, also have dissatisfaction with and criticism against their bosses.(15) The first are these complaints which question their bosses' ability or qualification as managers. (6): "He advises and suggests while he can't do his own job properly." The second are those who relate to their bosses' character and behavior. (2): "I don't even want to see his face. He worries about trifles." To have younger superiors

may be the third source of "problems and difficulties" for older subordinates.(3) It is understandably uncomfortable to be given orders by younger people even at work. "I really get angry when I was badly abused by a boss who is twenty years younger than me." The fourth is the simple fact that "subordinates can't say "no" even to unreasonable instructions." (4) The following is a grievance by a middle level manager who serves a one-man president of a painting firm:

A meeting is not a meeting. It's a place where the president makes one complaint after another unilaterally. The conclusion is always "Do this because I say so." One must put up with all sorts of humiliations as long as one is in the service of another. I often strongly feel sorrow and think one shouldn't be employed by the others attending these meetings. But I am already well over 50.

In contrast, bosses complaints of and criticism against followers and young people also come up in this age group.(13) A chief worker of an electrical manufacturing company, who is 47 years old, is puzzled by the "new human species", gets angry at them and reconciles himself:

In recent years young employees have become self centered. They do what they judge is OK, and can't do satisfactory jobs. They don't respect senior workers nor understand how junior workers should behave. They are seemingly independent, or don't want to care about others nor want to be bothered by others. Now I think it can't be helped. The world has become such a selfish world. The world has changed.

Today's young people do not know how to speak, do not reflect on what they did, do not have any common sense, are self-centered, are not

serious enough, want to quit easily, are not understandable (what are they thinking?)..... Older people's complaints don't end.

Having these superiors and subordinates, or even better ones, the middle management's responsibility is tough.(3) "It's difficult to have them communicate with each other."

(11) Customers (5)

"I often get mad at customers. They say whatever they want to say." (a bank employee) "We have to receive and humble ourselves before people from big corporations. It cannot be helped in order to get jobs." Similar cases to other age groups are found here.

(12) Promotion/Transfer (17)

In contrast, the desire for promotion and the affliction of transfer become serious. Many references to promotion are related to education.(4) "I've had a hard time getting a promotion because I only graduated from a high school . It's unpleasant." "People who joined the company together and were once my subordinates have been promoted faster than me." "We, blue collar workers, can't expect a promotion."

To get a promotion "you have to fawn upon superiors regardless of their education level." (a department director of an advertisement firm) "I want to [be promoted more], but I don't want to [flatter]...."

There are no examples of demotion but there are examples of punitive transfer and its fear. "Unless the sales goal is achieved, you may get a transfer."

It's natural that workers have "a difficult time when [they are] transferred to a new position or area" and "my stress increased since the

work was new and the people were new." These are common to all age groups.

There are, however, two "problems and difficulties" which are rather unique in this age group. One is the transfer resulting in a move without one's family [tanshin funin].(4) Having children in school and/or owning newly-bought houses, many workers move to other areas by themselves leaving their families. Or they give up the chance of promotion, which tends to be accompanied by transfers. "I refused a promotion once because the place of my new appointment was far from home (when I was younger)....Yes, now I'm here alone with my family living in my home town. (He accepted the new offer later.) Maybe I can't go back to a branch office in my home prefecture until my retirement." He is now 49. "To accept the promotion or not, that's the question. If yes, I have to go to the post by myself and leave the family here." Many workers in private corporations don't even have this choice.

The other is employee leasing [shukkō].(2) Managerial bank clerks may be leased out to subsidiaries and related firms at certain ages. A division director is worried, "I know we'll be leased out before retirement, but I'm anxious about what kind of organizations I'll be leased to. If I can't adjust there and have to come back, it would be hard to stay with this bank." An ice cream shop manager, who has been leased from the parent company, feels sad, "The company transfers us to unpopular posts when we've become old and worn after working long and hard for many years. It feels like exile, "

(13) Future of Company/Layoff/Bankruptcy (11)

Workers in this age group, who are the core personnel in each company, have a strong interest in the management and future of their own companies.

Some workers are worried about the security of manpower and orders. (2 respectively) "The numbers of part-time jobs for housewives have increased and it's not easy to secure a certain number of saleswomen." (a cosmetic agency manager) "Because of the recent depression, not many orders have come in." (a construction firm employee)

For other workers, the security of their own employment is a serious concern, that is, bankruptcy and unemployment. (5) "You don't know when the company will go bankrupt." "The bankruptcy of a related firm worries me." Even public employees are anxious about the reduction of national forestry and the move towards privatization."

(14) Turnover/Independence (1)

Although there is a difference in social strata between interviewees in this age group and those in other groups, most workers reaching this age group seem to have given up becoming independent or self-employed. Only one person still hung on to the dream, but also recognized it's not easy, "I want to have my own shop, but there are difficulties with capital, staff and management ability lying ahead." (a beauty shop manager)

(15) Retirement (16)

For some research subjects in this age group, retirement is so close that it cannot escape their consciousness.

Three workers say that the retirement age is too low and should be increased. "Our compulsory retirement age is 56. It's too early, isn't it? Education of children costs too much." "I want the company to raise the retirement age. I want to have a relaxed retirement life."

The retirement allowance and pension are also problems.(4) "We don't have a corporate pension and our retirement allowance is only a trickle." "We'll have a more aged society. I'm worried whether we'll receive the pension(Social Security) whose premiums we have paid."

For most workers some second employment is necessary after the first retirement before they eventually retire from the labor market.(5) Workers near the first retirement age are worried if they "can enter the companies [they] want," and "how the lower earnings will effect [their] families."(both are bank employees) Workers who have already experienced retirement and re-employment relate, "It took a long time to find a second job after retirement" (an auto dealer employee), and "the gap (in labor conditions) is significant between the previous job and the new one after retirement."(an insurance company employee)

Company's measures facilitating voluntary retirement before the retirement age are to be noted. In some kinds of jobs, workers may "not be able to comfortably stay with their firms in [their] mid-forties." In others, "the company doesn't give us any work in the last few years before retirement."

On the contrary, some workers "lose the will to work because of the approaching retirement."

"The union has stifled young people's willingness to open up their opinions and feelings," criticizes a telephone company field supervisor, who used to be active in union activities and now is blamed for his inactivity by the union.

"We talk about the distributor's favoritism and about protesting to the company, but at the last moment workers don't unite." A truck driver grieves the lack of worker's unity.

(17) Discrimination/Complex (6)

There are five cases on discrimination about education and one case on sex discrimination.

"It's not tolerable to see a college graduate who entered later be promoted earlier." "One college graduate and another have outstripped me, a high school graduate. My efforts over the years were of no avail." The former is a chief worker of an electrical manufacturing company and the latter is a division manager of a pharmaceutical company. "My wife had to quit when I got the present position. There was no written rule but a feeling she had to comply. We knew it was not comfortable to stay with." This is the comment by an assistant-manager of a tax office.

(18) Questions on Life and Work (1)

"I had to do whatever necessary since we are in a small company. Do I have any subjectivity?" questions a managerial worker of a painting firm.

(19) Men & Women/Marriage/Other Private Concerns (1)

"I don't have any intersts outside work."

(20) Family (16)

Many "problems and difficulties" on this item are simply a repetition of those mentioned above in other items. First are cases that workers cannot spend time with their families or are worried about them, because of long working hours or night shift work.(4) On the contrary, a complaint is included that a worker cannot use his leisure time for himself because of the time donation to his family. Second are cases that workers have to live separately from their families because of the nature of their jobs or transfer to remote areas.(3) A seaman on an ocean liner is the former example and workers with children at school who move to new remote posts by themselves are the latter example.

Besides these, there are two comments unique in this section. One is regarding double income families: "I don't like my wife working. Household duties are neglected, and harmony among family members is impaired." The other regards the comparison with brothers and relatives(2): "I'm ashamed of myself because all my brothers have succeeded and are in high positions."

(21) Children (9)

Some "problems and difficulties" here are those which replace the word "family" above for "children". For example, a telephone company field supervisor says, "Because of socialization with company people I can't often spend time with my children even on Sundays." There are, however, complaints about their children, too. "I ask my children to go somewhere together, but they don't want to go." "Since the children are

seldom at home, we can't often have a conversation as a family." These may not be so serious or even may be a matter of a course when children reach a certain age.

Workers are worried about children, whatever age they may be ---- children's college entrance exams, marriage partners, housing and future.(4) These may be deemed as "the ways of fond parents." One of them, however, is a little serious: "The first son is physically handicapped. The second son only plays. I'm anxious about their future."

(22) Housing (3)

Reaching 51 years old, still a worker "cannot buy a house."

The two cases are a little different. One is "I want to sell my house because it's inconvenient for commuting. But nobody wants it." The other is "We have to move our house because of street replanning."

(23) Community/Society (5)

An interviewee is dissatisfied, "I now live in a bed-town. There are few contacts in our neighborhood unlike the old days." Another has trouble because he is involved in a community activity. "I always have different opinions to other leaders in the Association for the Bereaved Families of the War Dead."

Some have direct and concrete demands to local governments. "The government should maintain a bicycle parking lot at the train station." Or "The prefectural and city governments should let us use their playing grounds. We can't find any place to play softball."

A worker has "a vague anxiety about an earthquake and a nuclear war."

V FEMALE WORKERS(OVER 30 YEARS OF AGE)

1. Characteristics of Interviewees

The total number of interviewees in this category are 32, 15 of whom are part-time workers.

More than half(17) are senior high school graduates. Among full-time workers a third have received higher education (junior college or college), and among part-time workers all but senior high graduates have received only a minimum compulsory education (up to junior high school). (Table III-18)

Table III-18: Education of Interviewees¹⁾
(Female, Over 30 years of age)

Total	32 [15]
Junior high graduates	4 [3]
(Senior high dropouts)	(1)
Senior high graduates	17 [9]
(+Technical & vocational schools)	(3)
Junior college graduates	2
College graduates	5
Unknown	4 [3]

1) Includes three married cases of 26-30 years of age.

Family composition of interviewees is summarized in Table III-19 below.

All are married or used to be married. A third(11) have two children, another third(11) a child and a fifth(6) three children. It is only two who do not have any. Four interviewees, who don't have husbands at present, have a child or two.

Four out of all 32 live with either or both parents, who are their own or their husband's.

Table III-19: Family Composition of Interviewees
(Female, Over 30 years of age¹⁾)

	Total	32[15]
Married		26[14]
	no children	2 ²⁾
	one child	8 ³⁾ [4]
	two children	10 ⁴⁾ [6]
	three children	6 ⁴⁾ [4]
Divorced, separated and others	4	
	a child	3
	two children	1
Unknown		2[1]

1) Includes three married cases of 26-30 years of age.

2) One lives with a parent.

3) Two live with parents.

4) One lives with parents.

Table III-20 describes occupations. Occupations of female interviewees are classified into three groups: (1) Professional & technical workers, (2) non-professional & technical full-time workers, and (3) part-time workers.

Eight out of 17, or about half the full-time workers, are professional & technical workers. All of them except a nurse are

Table III-20: Occupations¹⁾ of Interviewees(Female, Over 30 years of age²⁾

	Full-time Workers	Part-time Workers
Total	17	15
Government & public corporation employees		
Professional and Technical Workers	5 [nursery school teacher, kindergarten teacher, elementary school teacher, junior high school teacher, and substitute teacher]	0
Clerical & related Workers	0	2 [bicycle and horse race clerks]
Service workers	1 [cook at school lunch cntr]	0
Private industry employees(All except for Government & public corp. employees)		
Professional and Technical Workers	3 [kindergarten teacher, senior high school teacher and nurse]	1 [lettering & poster drawing worker]
Clerical & related Workers	5 [building material sales, accounts, small firm, auto mechanic shop** and university**]	0
Sales workers	2 [station stall and pharmacy]	6 supermarket(3), school cafeteria cashier & clerk, shopgirl, and hamburger shop sales and cooking]
Service workers/ Workers in trans- port & communication occupations	0	0
Craftsmen, production process & related workers and laborers		
Workers in manufacturing	0	6 [food processing(2), precision machine, paper products, electrical machinery & appliances, and toys]
Others	0	0
Unknown	1 [employee]	0

** Non-regular workers[shokutaku].

1) See the footnote 1) on p.305.

2) Includes three married cases of 26-30 years of age.

teachers at various levels----at nursery school, kindergarten, elementary school, and junior & senior high schools. They teach at both public and private schools.

The majority(5) of non-professional & technical full-time workers(9) are clerical. Two of them are non-regular workers [shokutaku]. Those five are working for small private firms and a private university, being engaged in accounting and the like. Besides the clerical workers included here are a cook at a public school lunch center, two saleswomen at a station stall and a pharmacy with 50 employees, and an "unknown".

In Japan today, many female jobs are part-time or other forms of non-regular employee jobs, and our samples represent this situation. Fifteen out of 32, nearly half of the interviewees, are part-time, and an additional three non-regular workers were included with the above full-time workers. An overwhelming majority of part-time workers are engaged in production and sales work. Six are production workers----in food processing, precision machinery, electrical appliances, toys and paper products. Another six are sales workers----cashiers and salesladies at supermarkets, a hamburger shop and others. Some of these sales workers are also engaged in clerical or service work. There are only three non-production and sales workers. Two are public employees in bicycle and horse racing unions organized by local governments and one is a large chain supermarket employee who does lettering and poster drawing, a kind of professional & technical worker.

The years of service of professional & technical workers are long--many have worked for over 20 years, some for nearly 30 years. Exceptions are a substitute teacher for maternity leave (51 years old

Table III-21: Income of Interviewees(Female, Over 30 years of age¹⁾)

(Answered in) Annual Income (with tax)		(Answered in) Monthly Income (after tax)		(Answered in) Daily Income	
Total ²⁾ up to ¥1.25 million	19[8] 6[6]	Total ²⁾ ¥100,120 thousand	6[4] 4[3]	Total up to ¥475	6[6] 1[1]
1.25 - 1.75	1	125-175	1[1]	475-525	0
1.75 - 2.25	2	175-225	0	525-575	1[1]
2.25 - 2.75	6[2]	225-275	1	575-625	1[1]
2.75 - 3.25	2	275-	0	625-675	0
3.75 - 4.25	0			675-725	3[3]
4.25 - 4.75	2			725-	0
4.75 -	0				
Minimum		Minimum		Minimum	
Part-time ¥0.7(after tax)		Part-time ¥100		Part-time ¥430	
Full-time ¥1.6		Full-time ¥120			
Maximum		Maximum		Maximum	
Part-time ¥2.5		Part-time ¥150		Part-time ¥700	
Full-time ¥4.5		Full-time ¥230			

[]: Part-time workers.

1) Includes three married cases of 26-30 years of age.

2) The total of Totals of Annual Income, Monthly Income and Daily Income exceeds 32 interviewees, because some cases gave their income in more than two forms.

Note: In many cases, it was not clear whether the data included tax or not or whether the data with tax or after tax was given. In the latter, the necessary data was estimated wherever possible.

As for monthly and daily income, some seem to include overtime pay, travel allowances and/or bonuses and some do not.

and 8 years of service) and a nurse who worked 6 years at another hospital (32 years old and 1 year of service). The non-professional & technical full-time workers are divided into two in terms of years of service. One group has worked for much fewer years and is not different from the part-time workers below. The other group has worked for 10-20 years and is in their 40s or 50s. A part-time worker's years of service are generally short, that is, five years or shorter. However, a third of part-time workers have worked for an organization as part-time workers for more than 10 years. (The table omitted.)

Table III-21 gives us the low income level of female workers. Taking cases answered in annual income, the minimum is ¥700,000 (after tax) for part-time workers and ¥1,600,000 for full-time workers, and the mode of all is the class ¥2,250,000-2,750,000. All wages but two are ¥3,000,000 or less. The two exceptions are ¥4,400,000 and ¥4,500,000, which are of professional & technical workers'.

It is natural that full-time worker's earnings are higher than part-time worker's. All wages which fall into the lowest class "up to ¥1.25 million" are part-time workers'. This means that all part-time worker's wages are ¥1,200,000/year, ¥120,000/month and ¥600/hour or less with some exceptions. These exceptions are, for example, two part-time workers in Table III-21 who earn ¥2,500,000 and public employees. The maximum wages of part-time workers are ¥2,50,000/year, ¥150,000/month and ¥700/hour.

2. Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"

Most full-time worker's complaints concern Working Hours, followed by Job Content and Human Relations. About 70 percent, 65 percent and 50 percent respectively of all female full-time workers mention these. Three or four people out of 17 express their dissatisfaction and anger with Bosses, Discrimination, Family, Safety & Health, Wages/Expenditures, Children, and Future of Company/Layoff & Bankruptcy. No female full-time workers refer to Automobiles & Others, Evaluation,

Table III-24: Distribution of
Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"
(Female, Over 30 years of age¹⁾)

		Full-time		Part-time	
Total		17	100.0%	15	100.0%
A	Automobiles & Others	0	0.0	2	13.3
B	Bosses (including human relations)	4	23.5	2	13.3
C	Customers	2	11.8	0	0.0
D	Discrimination, complex	4	23.5	2	13.3
E	Evaluation	0	0.0	0	0.0
F	Family, Family life	4	23.5	6	40.0
G	Geography [Commuting]	0	0.0	1	6.7
H	(Working) Hours	12	70.6	5	33.3
I	Inexperience, Incompetence	0	0.0	0	0.0
J	Job content	11	64.7	2	13.3
K	Kids [Children]	3	17.6	0	0.0
L	Living [Housing]	0	0.0	0	0.0
M	Management[Future of company/layoff & bankruptcy]	3	17.6	4	26.7
N	<u>Ningen-kankei</u> [Human Relations] (excluding those with bosses), atmosphere	8	47.1	5	33.3
O	(Fringe benefits and) Other labor conditions	2	11.8	5	33.3
P	Promotion, transfer	1	5.9	1	6.7
Q	Questions on life & work	1	5.9	1	6.7
R	Retirement	1	5.9	1	6.7
S	Safety & health, work environment	4	23.5	5	33.3
T	Turnover, independence & self-employment	0	0.0	0	0.0
U	(Labor) Unions, labor relations	1	5.9	3	20.0
V	Voice [Participation]	1	5.9	0	0.0
W	Wages/expenditures	4	23.5	9	60.0
X	Sex[Girls or boys/marriage and other personal concerns]	0	0.0	0	0.0
(Y	Yes [Satisfaction]	-	-	-	-)
Z	[Community, Society]	1	5.9	1	6.7

1) Includes three married cases in the 26-30-year-old group.

Note: The total numbers 67 cases for full-time workers and 55 for part-time workers. The same "problem and difficulty" may be counted for more than one item, and different "problems and difficulties" are counted as one case as far as they belong to the same item.

Commuting, Inexperience/Incompetence, Housing, Turnover/ Independence, and Girls or Boys/Marriage and Others. The remaining items were referred to by one or two interviewees respectively.

As far as part-time workers are concerned, complaints about Wages/Expenditures are the most common, or made by 60 percent, and those about Family are the second(40 percent). A third of part-time workers say that they have "problems and difficulties" on Working Hours, Human Relations, Fringe Benefits and Others, and Safety & Health. A fourth or fifth mention Future of Company/Layoff & Bankruptcy, and Labor Unions. All others are referred to by one or two interviewees or none.(See Table III-22)

3. The Content of "Problems and Difficulties"

Females' "problems and difficulties" include both 1) those in common with males, which we discussed in the preceding sections of Chapter Three and this chapter, and 2) those unique to females. The latter include both those 1) common with 18-20-year-old females, which we discussed in Chapter Three, and 2) unique to 26-year-old and older females.

Most "problems and difficulties" are shared with male workers in the items of working hours, wages, fringe benefits, occupational safety and health, job content, customers, human relations, bosses and others. On the other hand, many "problems and difficulties" are unique to female workers in the items of discrimination, family, children and others.

"Problems and difficulties" on wages, fringe benefits, job content and others are unique to females if they are linked with sex discrimination.

It is best to discuss "problems and difficulties" in three subgroups, that is, professional and technical workers, other regular workers in private corporations and non-regular workers such as part-time workers and post-retirement workers. Because of the small sample number of women over 30, however, we are going to group them into two instead, that is, full time workers and part time workers.

A. Full-time Workers

(1) Working Hours

The greatest number of "problems and difficulties" regard working hours as in all male groups. "Too much overtime work," "You can't refuse it," and "no overtime pay." Workers "often have to take [their] work home." School teachers, clerical workers in private corporations and others do this.

Live-in workers work from early morning till late at night, and a saleswoman at a station stall of a major private railway company does the same. "I must get up at four and work till nine in the evening," although she works every other day.

Some workers do not get breaks at all, or if they are permitted to take them, they cannot find time to do so. "Breaks are too short. A twenty minute lunch time + coffee time only." "You can't get a regular spell." "I'm bound all day long. I can't leave my desk even at lunch time."

"We can't take holidays nor vacations." "If I take days off, fellow workers get weighed down....So, I hesitate to take days off." "We have fewer and fewer people....I'm afraid I can't be absent even when I'm sick." Already today some workers "can't be absent even when you feel sick." Nurses have night shifts and sunday work.

(2) Wages and Fringe Benefits

As male workers of all age groups do, female workers also complain that their wages and salaries are "low". Objectively speaking, their wages are even lower than those of men as seen in Section III 1.(p.184) "The allowance amount is small." Sometimes penalties are imposed on their wages depending on their work achievement. A worker is enraged, "The lower your rank is, the cheaper your wage is and the longer your working hours are. Your pay after tax is less than those of part-time or student workers."

Women also have complaints of fringe benefits. There are no messrooms and "you have to take lunch with you every day." "There are no welfare facilities at all." "As the company only has us participate in General National Health Insurance[kokumin kenkō hoken],¹⁵⁾ we have no income guarantee when absent. We feel insecure and can't be absent even when we are sick."

(3) Safety & Health

Health conditions for women workers and the companies' measures for them are not necessarily good, either. "You are standing all day long," and "become very tired in legs and loins." In contrast, "as you are sitting all day long, you have stiff shoulders and are underexercised."

A cook at a school lunch cooking center already has "back pain and tendovaginitis." The complaint described above that "you can't be absent even when you feel sick is bad enough," but here is an additional complaint that "you aren't allowed to go home even when you feel sick."

(4) Job Content

"Problems and difficulties" on the content of work here are classified into two. One comes from the nature of the job. For example, Work may be "a physically heavy labor," "24 hour binding," "complex," or "study-demanding" because of "frequent regulation changes" or from new technology introduction. The other is the anxiety of the teacher's group for better performance as professionals. For example: "I can't understand recent pupils' life attitude." "Children are particular about food." "I don't know how to deal with children who don't attend." "You have too many pupils to supervise and some kids drop out." "We have little communication with parents." "The city regards a nursery school only as a baby sitter. While the principal is the superintendent of education in the city government, he refuses to accept and pass on our demands to the city." "I'm against revision of the 6-3 school system by a Special Educational Council,¹⁶⁾ revision of the Constitution, unequal educational opportunities for children and sending children into battlefields." A clerical employee working for a university is interested in "student employment, and temperament."

(5) Human Relations, Bosses and Customers

Human relations at work are "not necessarily smooth." There are "uncooperative colleagues," and "people who always complain." "A few

teachers do, what we are teaching our pupils not to do," which corrupts the school discipline." "I get mad at my colleagues. They are not conscious of their duties, are egoistic but only excuse themselves. This is one cause of the present junior high desolation." "Some workers take days off without concern with we are busy." "Some people make a fool of themselves who are present even when sick." "When asked to do night shift replacement by seniors, I try not to refuse it....since I'm a newcomer."

"Problems and difficulties" of human relations are basically the same as those of male workers, but seem to be more troublesome here with female workers. At the offices and shops where "only women" or "mainly women" work, "People speak against each other," "You always have small troubles," "Fights and quarrels are constant," and "Some factions are opposed to each other." These were described with young female workers in the preceding chapter.

"My boss' nature and mine are different. We can't get along with each other." "The president is so selfish that he forces work on us." "The boss loses his temper depending on his mood." "I really get angry if the boss berates me while I know I made the mistake."

"I have to care about customers"----to care about customers itself is a tough job. Some customers are "too self-centered," or "too unpleasant."

(6) Promotion/Transfer and Future of Company/Layoff/Bankruptcy

"Not only male but also female workers are transferred every other year." "It's not easy to get accustomed to the new area," and "The family has to move together and children have to change their schools."

The anxiety of employment insecurity is widespread. A maternity leave substitute teacher naturally "changes her school every year," and also has to worry about job opportunities for next year." Regular workers also may experience layoffs if the organizations they belong to go into a slump. Seeing her colleagues leave one by one, a private high school teacher expresses her real feelings as follows:

It makes me very sad to see colleagues leave who have worked together for many years. Although I successfully survived the layoffs, the fact is that I did so at the expense of my colleagues. I can't put into words the pain of that time and the hollowness lasting till today.(50 years old; 8424608)

This has something to do with the problem of how to live life as a human being. Public employees are not necessarily on safe ground. The wave of administrative reform and privatization rolls in upon a teacher of a city nursery school. She has been forced to choose one of two: "Giving up the profession of a nursery teacher to keep the position of a civil servant," or "giving up the position of a civil servant to stay in the profession by continuing with the private nursery school to be privatized and receive much lower pay."

(7) Labor Unions and Discrimination

These "problems and difficulties" in sections (1) through (6) are all nearly the same as those written in detail about male workers, except for some human relations complaints.

There are two additional "problems and difficulties" which are common with men and women. They have, however, not appeared in the description so far. One is a case of apparent unfair labor practice, and

the other is a case showing the emptiness of a non-regular worker. A 48-year-old female sales worker at a drug store with 50 employees laments:

If you are a union member, you can never be hired, and if you join a labor union, you must quit the company, because it's inconvenient for managers (to have them).

A 50-year-old substitute teacher, a non-regular worker, confesses her "feeling of something missing," which comes from the fact that she "[has] not passed the regular teacher's license exam. She cannot wipe out the inferiority in her mind.

Sex discrimination is of course unique to female workers. The discrimination is reflected in the items of "job content," and "participation" as well as wages and other labor conditions. Because of being a woman, "You are forced to do something extra," such as "washing towels for the rest room." If women say something, "You are not listened to, and are later backbitten, when they say 'while only a woman,' or 'only a non-regular employee.'" These largely overlap with "problems and difficulties" of young females which were described in the previous chapter.

(8) Family and Children

"Problems and difficulties" of the conflict between work and housekeeping and those of children are only found with females and in this age group. This comes from the fact that the domestic role structure has not changed much yet although Japanese women have recently started working outside the home. A fourth of female interviewees

except for the part-time workers below refer to and are worried about "problems and difficulties" of the compatibility between the job and housework. "Women can't take a rest and relax unlike men after returning home." A nurse who has "night and Sunday shifts" says, "The family can't eat meals together. I prepare meals for the family before going to the hospital." And she gives her family a signal for help, "Lend a hand. Be more cooperative." A high school teacher also says, "I couldn't continue my work without my family's assistance." A 43-year-old kindergarten head teacher and farmer says, "The work comes first and the family suffers," and "It's impossible to reconcile (work) duty and housework completely." "We are badly off," and "Sometimes we have family arguments over trifles and human relations become bad."

Worries about children are many. Female workers, who are going to have children in the near future, poses serious problems. "The company doesn't have the program of nursing leave." "If you have a baby and take leave for a year, you can't return to the previous job and are transferred to the production department. Women can't have a lifetime career." This is also a problem of sex discrimination. Workers who have children are worried about their discipline, health and future: A woman who is working while leaving her child with his grandmother says, "Children perceive the differences between mother's teaching and grandmother's teaching." Another whose first son is overweight worries, "I wonder if he'll develop an adult disease." One says, "We have to cut down our living expenses for the education of our children." Another says, "I'm working for the daughter who goes to college. My husband's income is not sufficient to send her to college."

B. Part-time Workers

Not much is different from full-time workers in many items, but at the same time, there are some "problems and difficulties" which are unique to part-time workers. (1) The threat of layoffs and (2) the discrimination against and the difference from full-time workers are typical of this case.

(1) Working Hours

"The recess is too short." "I can't take days off." "I can seldom be absent, because we work on an assembly line and if a worker takes a holiday, others have to make up for her work." And "You are forced to work on off-days, too. No alternative holidays are given." These are the exact copies of full-time workers' complaints. The last comment by part-time workers, however, bears a different meaning from full-time workers. Most part-time workers have chosen to be part-time because they can't and don't want to work full-time because of housekeeping and childcare. Nevertheless, many part-time workers are forced to work "nearly as long as full-time workers," on off-days, and even overtime although no interviewees of our research referred to the latter. Commuting hours of part-time workers are generally very short, but for some they "are one hour each way." "I'm exhausted when I go home."

Management tries to control part-time workers' attendance utilizing their insecure position in employment(see below), which makes work places wild in combination with human relations with colleagues, or makes human relations rough inciting competition among workers.

They put up a bar graph on the wall and if you are absent, they draw it on it, and discharge workers who take most days off Some people say unpleasant things to you on purpose and speak ill of you.....We work on an assembly line and have to do extra work if someone is absent....While they take days off saying they are just tired, they attack you if you do the same because of a parents' meeting at school and for a child's sickness. I had to take days off when my husband was in hospital. It was counted in the same way. It's different from others, isn't it? The plant manager pays no regard to it. He is inhumane. (46 years old, production worker in sound appliance parts; 8424610)

(2) Wages and Fringe Benefits

Part-time workers are expected to have little dissatisfaction with wages. For wages are the core information in wants-ads, and workers know the exact amount when they sign the contract. Nevertheless, it is on wages that part-time workers raise most "problems and difficulties". Two thirds of interviewees do.

"Compared with commodity prices," or "compared with the amount of work," wages are "cheap." These complaints are the same as full-time workers. Many are, however, "problems and difficulties" about the unfairness and difference compared with regular workers. "The name of part-time workers makes wages cheap," while "we are doing exactly the same work," and "working hours aren't different." "The difference between regular workers and us is enormous. In their early 20s they earn four times as much as us. Our wages are lower than young girls'."

"We don't have any bonuses." If any, they are some "¥50,000" at most. "While I've been working for nearly ten years....Female employees just above 20 get more than ¥200,000."

Other part-time workers get angry comparing their wages not with regular workers, but with student workers. "Compared with young students," "the (hourly) rate is low."

It is not only wages and bonuses that are different from regular workers. "Part-time workers are not insured by the National Employee's Pension," or "by social insurances." "Compared with regular workers the gap of various guarantees are large." Therefore, "I want to become a regular employee," says a part-time worker. She "was only re-hired as a part-time employee after she quit for some reason."

Two additional complaints are heard of wages and fringe benefits and other labor conditions. One is the complaint that "you have to pay for the laundry of working uniforms yourself." The other involves a legal issue. Wages actually paid "are different from the contract which stipulates a wage increase once a year, and ¥100,000 or more for a bonus. Neither problems are unique in nature to part-time workers, but particularly the latter is often heard in reference to part-time workers.

(3) Safety & Health

Part-time workers are not necessarily engaged in physically light jobs. A third of them complain of some kinds of occupational diseases or their prodromes, for instance, eyestrain, chapped hands, and cold and painful legs and loins. A part-time worker working on a conveyor belt says, "It's very tough on shoulders and the waist repeating exactly the same motion." Part-time workers at hamburger shops and supermarkets say, "As I stand all day long," "I feel pain at in legs and waists....I'm worried about my health," or "The air conditioning makes me cold and my hands are getting rough....They tell hard on me. I'm already old."

(4) Human Relations and Bosses

In terms of human relations and bosses, the story is basically the same as regular workers. "I don't take easily to my colleagues." "A few people won't lend a hand when the others are sweeping." "People assert themselves and slander each other." Remember the case cited above of an electrical parts manufacturing company.(p. 274) Co-workers try to frustrate each other. It's not pleasant "to have a younger boss," and "I feel offended when a head office staff member of the same age gives me a warning." "You have to care about senior people because the company is very seniority-oriented." Here, however, the discrimination due to being part-time surfaces again. "I feel like I'm being slighted since I'm only part-time" "by young clerical girls who are regular employees." It's extremely uncomfortable.

There are constant "struggles between the shop manager and part-time and student workers." According to a part-time worker, "the owner's love of money and the manager's effort to take advantage of it" are the causes. "More than 30 people quit" within two years.

(5) Future of Company/Layoff/Bankruptcy

Uncertainty of employment itself may be the biggest problem which is perceived throughout part-time worker's case records. "I always feel uncertainty over whether the two month contract will be renewed or not. I can't complain about anything."(A toy manufacturing company) "Since we don't have a (labor) union,...[i]t can't be helped if we are laid off."(An agricultural cooperative association store worker) "I feel insecure because of no job guarantee." (A cheese plant) "How long can I stay with this job? It's impossible to move to another job."(A super

market employee) "The company will go bankrupt unless we have more customers....It's hard to find a new job."(A saleswoman)

A 53-year-old part-time worker who works for the Tokyo Special Ward Horse Racing Association talks about the recent situation in her office. She has been working there as a part-time worker for more than ten years.

The economy is slow and people's interests are diverse. Young people especially are indifferent to gambling. Old time customers have been leaving. Fewer customers have caused our low wages....Now the (compulsory) retirement age has been lowered. We have no financial guarantee after retirement nor the National Employee's Pension....Now you can find our people all over the country....You know older people who have been tapped on their shoulder [katatataki]³ in the order of age. And you may be transferred to another office regardless of your aptitude. I hope I can work more....because I'm anxious about my life after retirement. (8425102)

(6) Discrimination, Questions on Life & Work, and Labor Unions.

Wages, fringe benefits, employment guarantee and others....(pp.277-279) "In all aspects there is a difference from regular employees. The weakest people are working most." "I'm not sure if (the present job) is the place where I can make the most of my ability....I can't find any worth in the job."

These conditions may lead part-time workers to become interested in a labor union or collective action.(3) Only a few unions consist of or accept part-time workers in their organizations in Japan. The above part-time worker of the Tokyo Special Ward Horse Racing Association says, "The union is weak. It's a woman's office and they don't unite. The union leaders have become old." A cashier of an Agricultural Cooperative Association store feels insecure, "Because of no unions, you

can't expect a wage increase nor be helped whenever laid off." A part-time worker of a leading supermarket complains, "I appealed to other part-time workers to collectively tell our complaints to a boss, but they didn't respond. He doesn't listen to us if only a few raise a voice." It is interesting to note that all of these three workers are working in shops where full-time regular workers have labor unions.

(7) Family and Children

Half the interviewed part-time workers refer to "problems and difficulties" of the conflict between the job and housework and childcare, which is common to full-time workers mentioned in the preceding section. "It's difficult to reconcile the job and housekeeping." "Little time is left for housework." "It's hard to do household duties after returning home exhausted." "My children are all boys. So they don't help me with keeping house." "I wish my family would help me more." "Women can't be absent so easily either, even if a child gets sick." "I feel guilty of not being able to take care of my children as a mother. I wish I could say hello to them when they come home." Thinking of "the conflict between the job and housework," a part-time worker gives up the idea of becoming a regular employee. "It's impossible."

Why then are they working under such unfavorable conditions and disadvantages? "To help family finances," "For leisure activities" and others are always major reasons mentioned in many surveys and researches. Here in our research, however, two other reasons are posed, that is, "As I'm worried about my retirement" and "As my husband's [carpenter] earnings are not stable."

As far as "problems and difficulties" regarding community, only one interviewee refers to "the lack of a sewer system."

VI SUMMARY

Too much has been discussed on "Japanese workers," "Japanese employment systems," and even "Japanese culture," but what would abstract discussions mean if not based on such workers as portrayed here, who are never exceptional but constitute the great majority of today's Japanese workers? At any rate, workers in contemporary Japan live daily with these many "troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, the matters they 'get angry' over, etc."¹⁸⁾

Table III-23 is the list of "problems and difficulties" which were raised in the preceding and present chapters.

These all will be further summarized here in two ways: (1) To combine those descriptions by sex and age group into one, and (2) to examine the mutual relationships of the 25 items. The former will be useful for the future program designing, and the latter for our present purpose to delineate what workers' welfare administration is.

1. Problems and Difficulties

Table III-24 is the distribution of "problems and difficulties" by sex and age group, and Figure III-3 is its graph. Because of the

Table IV-16: The List of "Problems and Diffi

	Young Workers (18-20 Years of Age; Male and Female)	Male Thirties (31-40 Years of Age)	Middle- (Over 40)
H. Working Hours	<u>(Overtime work/Long working hours)</u> Too much overtime/Long working hours Work till late/in early morning No/insufficient overtime pay <u>(Recess)</u> No/little/irregular recess/lunch time <u>(Holidays/Vacations)</u> Only for recovery from fatigue No/Few off-days No fixed off-days(subcontracting firms) Cannot take holidays/vacations. Want vacations in a block/summer vacations <u>(Shift system/Night shift/etc.)</u> Night shift labor/Night duty Irregular working hours <u>(Others)</u> Their influence on personal, family, social life and health	Compulsory/Unscheduled overtime work No fixed closing hour No overtime work given No free use of lunch time Want 5 day work week. Sunday/Holiday work(esp. with a short notice) No/Few personal paid holidays/vacation days Cannot be absent when sick Company-sponsored activities out working hours Shift system, esp. rotating one Absence of the concept of certain working hours	Long working hours/overtime Late night work/early morning work No breaks; Missing lunch Sundays are not off. Cannot take a day off. Shift work/Night work/Early shift Irregular work Too many business trips No leisure time Influence on personal and family life(incl. on children) Work from 7 a. Long working h Short recess t Cannot eat lun Cannot take ho No regular sho Work on Sunday a parent com Cannot go to d Night work/Shi Their influenc
K. Wage & salary /Expenditure + A.	Low wages/salaries Cannot afford to eat out and skip meals Expenses for cars/college Worry about future life(e.g. after marriage, retirement) Support of parents/brothers and sisters No/insufficient allowances(e.g. for night shift) Sexual discrimination in amount and increase	Cannot be independent of parents; Credits/Loans Low wages because of a junior high graduate Business expenditures(e.g. eating out/entertainment) Uncertainty of pay payment(daily workers) Unfairness of wages among workers' groups(e.g. regular workers vs. student workers) Wage cut as penalties	Too little pay No difference from students' pay Day-rate payment---No pay if injured and absent Bonus linked with norms Low wages/Sala Absolutely low workers) More pay High living co Expenses for cl /parents sup High taxes
O. Fringe benefits /Others	No/Poor company meals, messrooms Complaints on uniforms/working clothes Too many company events/recreational activities Work during training period before employment Body checks(wholesale stores)	No/poor resting rooms/social rooms/parking lots No circle activities Difference between contracted work and actual work Attack/Support of certain political parties by management in morning meeting	Want free drinks in shops during breaks. Check-off of unemployment insurance premiums during training period with partial pay No messroom Mobilization by community/po
S. Safety & Health/ Work Environment /Performance	Work environment(e.g. dust, no/little sunlight, humidity, temperature, cockroaches, leeches, rats) Posture while working/Heavy labor/Dangerous work Death/Injury/Disease(mental & physical)/Fatigue Worry about possible occupational accidents/diseases Assault by a boss Quit due to occupational injury	Effect of content of work, overtime/long/irregular working hours, shift work, human relations, customers, etc. Symptom of occupational diseases(e.g. hearing problem, chapping hands, cold knees, eye strain, itchy hands, broken skin, joint ache, back pain, stomach disorder) Medical treatment of occupational injury not by workers' compensation but health insurance	Tiring eyes Noise Dangerous work Mental and physical fatigue/disorder Loss of weight Eye strain/Neck Back pain Stomach and bow Cold legs and l Standing/Sitting Night shift Frustration at Mental & physic Hot temperature
L. Inex- perience	Difficulties/Mistakes at the initial stage of new job(incl. human relations)	Regret about insufficient past study Sorry for incapability Desire to obtain new skills, knowledge, etc.	Difficulty catching up technology development Worry about/Di Difficulty in
J. Job Content	<u>(Inherent nature of the job)</u> Too hot/Getting muddy/Standing all day long To carry heavy stuff/Dangerous work No time for relaxation Work before clients Facing the issue of life or death(nurses) Toilet care/Bathing of serious ill/old patients Cleaning dead bodies <u>(Job responsibility)</u> Supervision of veteran part-time/student/older workers Cannot achieve responsibility well. <u>(Organizational management)</u> Conflicts among sections/job classifications Poor communication Unequal volume of assigned work <u>(Assigned work and busy work)</u> Assembly line work Too busy job/Understaffing Unimportant/odd/non-job jobs Gap between busy and slack time Burdens due to personnel reshuffling No assistance by seniors Fire or harder work Study at home	Traffic jam during work Nerves exhausted(computer work) Works requiring concentration Telling lies for business sake Knowing secrets on work Treatment of the seriously injured Attention to sanitation/safety Heavy responsibility Disagreement with management's policies Different treatment of clients among workers/ job classifications Monotonous/Meaningless/Partial work Alienation Not interesting jobs Quota Helping others Office automation/Reduction of manpower Necessary of training Keeping up with technology development	Working in vain(e.g. Re-doing because of the party's convenience) Simple, repetitive and monotonous work Burdens on regular workers/lower managers because of no or few other regular workers Incapable work partners Unattainable quota Too busy/Too hard Burdens because of fellow workers' absence Precise work; Seeing people's Works with your Work assignment Government's cl Irregular work People who asse Assumption of r Have to take re subordinates Too much to tea Absenteeism of Partial work di Conflicts betwe Monotonous work work Reduction of ma harder work Too much work
V. Partic- ipation	No say allowed/No voice raised No freedom of speech	Management doesn't listen to.	No understanding or refusal of proposals/ideas by management (including those depending on mood) Not-wanted work No say in decis Forced input/Pr
E.	No appreciation by management	No recognition of work and effort by anyone	No recognition of efforts by management Too much salary because of father Want fair evalu The company see

Problems and Difficulties" of Japanese Workers

	Middle-Aged & Older Workers (Over 40 Years of Age; Male)	Female(Over 30 Years of Age)	
		Full-time Workers	Part-time Workers
ork	Work from 7 a.m. to 3 a.m.(a taxi driver) Long working hours/Over time work	Too much overtime work; Take work home Cannot refuse overtime work. No overtime pay [workers, railway workers] Work from early morning to late at night(live-in)	Long working hours
ft	Short recess time; [short lunch time Cannot eat lunch without haste because of a	No/little breaks No/Short lunch time	Little recess
y life(inkl. on	Cannot take holidays/weekly days off. No regular shop-holidays/days-off Work on Sundays depending on the convenience of a parent company Cannot go to doctors even when sick.	Cannot take holidays/vacations Cannot be absent even when sick	Off-day work/No alternative holidays Cannot take days off Management's attendance control utilizing insecure positions
y (children)	Night work/Shift work	Night shift/Sunday work	
y life(inkl. on	Their influence on family life and children		
y injured and absent	Low wages/Salaries compared with the work Absolutely low wages(inkl. after-retirement workers) More pay High living costs/expenditures Expenses for children's education/housing/loans, /parents support/reading & cultural activities High taxes	Low wages/salaries Low allowances Penalties depending on achievement Unfairly low compared with high rank people Wages lower than students'/part-timers'	Low wages compared with commodity prices/work Unfair wage difference compared with regular workers/student workers No/little bonuses
g breaks. ance premiums artial pay	No messroom Mobilization by company for "voluntary" community/political activities	No mess rooms No welfare facilities No income guarantee when absent	No Social Security and other social insurances Reemployed only as a part-timer Expenses for uniform laundry Wage increase/bonuses different from contracts
order	Eye strain/Neck slight Back pain Stomach and bowel disorder Cold legs and loins Standing/Sitting all day long Night shift Frustration at work Mental & physical exhaustion Hot temperature	Standing/Sitting all day long Tired in legs and loins Stiff shoulders Underexercised Back pains and tendovaginitis Cannot be allowed to go home when sick.	Eye strain Chapped hands Cold and painful legs and loins Assembly line work---lough on shoulders/waist Standing all day long---pains on legs and waists Air-conditioning---Cold, rough hands
gy development	Worry about/Difficulty in technology change Difficulty in new jobs(after-retirement workers)		
because us work	Precise work; Shoplifting Seeing people's fight over money Works with young girls as customers Work assignment to lay off workers Government's rigid inspection Irregular work amount/Fluctuating work volume People who assert their rights	Physically heavy labor 24-hour binding work Complex work Study-demanding work	
er / other	Assumption of responsibility Have to take responsibility for mistakes by subordinates Too much to teach(teachers) Absenteeism of student workers		
ers' absence	Partial work distribution Conflicts between departments	(Others) Anxiety for better performance(esp. as professionals) How to teach/discipline/deal with pupils (teachers) Management's lack of understanding of the importance of work Opposition to the Ministry of Labour/government's policies(teachers)	
t n mood)	Not-wanted work assignment No say in decision making Forced input/Proposal quota		
management her	Want fair evaluation; No recognition of efforts The company sees only result, not process.		

	Young Workers (18-20 Years of Age; Male and Female)	Male Thirties (31-40 Years of Age)	NI (40)	
N.Human Relations	Factionalism Hazing by seniors No/Few girls/boys/same generation Relatives at workplaces Uncomfortable/Unpleasant workplace atmosphere (thin human relations, speaking ill of others, low morale, no solidarity, relatives of the president, etc.)	Disgusting colleagues Job segregation Troubles with seniors at dormitories	Disgusting/flattering colleagues Working with colleagues whose opinions are different (Manpower composition) Working alone Managing young woman workers	Difficult Colleagu Colleagu Tired w Socializ Distant l car-con Workplace Inhumane person Intensif No young
B.Bosses/Ranking	Disgusting bosses(who talk improper things, speak ill of others, boast of experience, preach at parties, are incompetent but bossing, are sloppy/irresponsible/unquali- fied, or only think about own promotion.) Unclear instruction/Old-time ideas/Strict orders Unequal treatment Disagreement with bosses' policies No consideration of workers Ironical remarks to doing/not doing overtime Reproach by bosses for not keeping up speed Blaming for mistakes which are not my fault No apology for own mistakes By-blows due to bosses' ranking Flattering/Obedience, otherwise revenge "Mid-executive" worries Family relatives of owners	Bosses who poke their noses into everything, wreak their anger on subordinates, don't listen to others, are over critical(esp. in a bad temper), or request none-job jobs. Nagging bosses Ignorance of personality President's wife's appearance/intervention Bosses who bring unscheduled/too much work and work outside responsibility/beyond capacity No appreciation of workers' overtime work Bosses who go home while workers work overtime Pressure for speed up/high sales Violent bosses Irresponsible bosses/Bosses who take to the woods Cannot criticize/disobey bosses and must get along Socialization with bosses "Office love"/Sexual harassment	Bosses who condemn for unfilled quota Bosses like slave drivers(including personal errands and business) Managers who check time cards at midnight (Subordinates) Young people's (subordinates') behavior, attitude and morale	Incapabl Disagree Younger Cannot s (Subordi Self-cen people Cannot u Difficul commun
C.Customers	Attending customers Customers' complaints No appreciation by customers	Fresh/Uncomfortable/Selfish/Sexually harrassing customers Entertainment/Socialization with customers	Customers who bring "problems and dif- ficulties"(esp. service industries) Business clients who nag small details and take mean advantage Cannot resist them; Social drinks with yakuza	Customer Must hum compan
P.Promotion/ Transfer	Discrimination by education in promotion Aspiration for promotion in future Promotion exams(no time to prepare, compulsion to take them, etc.)	Slow promotion Aspiration for specific jobs/positions Cannot apply for transfer because of colleagues	Delay and lack of promotion(Including in single-employee shops) Anxiety about the future Discrimination by education in promotion Don't want to be promoted(because of no wage difference)	Discrimi Fawning Punitive Stress b Transfer behind Choice b Employee Adjustme Transfers
R.Future of Company/ Unemployment	Decline of business/Poor business Bankruptcy because of partners' bankruptcy	Effect of privatization Compulsory "voluntary" resignation	How to increase sales/profit or eliminate waste Few response to ads for recruits Competition with other firms Anxiety about the future of company Not-good employees Management's consideration only of profits How to deal with business	Security Fearing Influenc
I.Turnover/ Self-employment	Strong orientation towards changing jobs Willing to quit(because of physically hard work, boring work, poor labor conditions, low pay, no promotion opportunity, hazing, etc.) Want to change for better jobs/desirable jobs. Giving up being independent To take over father's business or not	Want to be independent/open shops. Difficulties to change jobs(e.g. exams, finan- tial situation, separation from families, support of old parents, etc.) or feeling owing to present companies, schools/teachers who introduced present jobs)	Want to run own shops/stores/companies Difficulties to become independent Want to change jobs	Anxiety Difficult
R.Retirement			Anxiety about retirement life (esp. blue collar workers and non-regular workers) Cannot physically continue present job when becoming old Little retirement allowance	Low retri No corpor Little re Worry abo Worry abo retirem Gap betwe Effect of Force "vg Managemen retiren Loss of s
U.Labor/ Unions	Burdens come down to lower ranks/shop levels because of no unions	Have a strong antipathy but cannot push it back because of no unions	Little distribution of profits to workers---determination to be a union activist	Unions wh feeling Workers w

	Middle-Aged & Older Workers (Over 40 Years of Age; Male)	Female(Over 30 Years of Age)	Part-time Workers
	Difficult/flattering co-workers Colleagues whose opinions are different from own Colleagues who don't understand working in a team Tired with human relations Socialization(e.g. golf, mahjong, and drink) Distant human relations due to computers and car-commuting Workplace atmosphere which doesn't allow to speak openly Inhumane workplace because of management's personnel/labor policy Intensified management control No young women at workplaces	Uncooperative/Egoistic/Complaining colleagues Unqualified colleagues Co-workers who take days off when busy Consideration to seniors Speak against each other Constant fights and quarrels between factions	Uncooperative/self-centered co-workers Frustrating each other Consideration to seniors
not ing personal midnight	Incapable/unqualified bosses Disagreeable bosses in character and behavior Younger superiors Cannot say "No" to unreasonable instructions.	Disagreeable bosses Selfish president who forces work Short-tempered bosses Bosses who berate workers when they made mistakes	Younger bosses Constant struggle between a shop manager and part-time/student workers Offending head office staff Feeling like slighted because of part-timers
	[Subordinates] Self-centered, incapable, poorly-mannered young people Cannot understand young people Difficulty to have older and younger people communicate(middle managements)		
diff- ties) tails	Customers who say whatever they want Must humble oneself before people from big companies	Customers are self-centered and unpleasant.	
is with yakuza			
iding	Discrimination by education in promotion Favoring upon superiors for promotion Punitive transfer due to achievement of sales goals Stress because of transfers Transfers to remote areas(esp. leaving family behind) Choice between promotion and transfer for no [choice] Employee leasing(shubaku) to subsidiaries/related [firms] Adjustment to a new firms. Transfers to unpopular posts near retirement	Transfers to new areas---influence on families	
of			
any of	Security of manpower and orders Fearing of bankruptcy/unemployment Influence of privatization	Employment insecurity(esp. non-regular workers) Layoffs in a business slump Guilt feeling when colleagues are laid off Administration reform/Privatization---Choice between being civil servants and being professionals(nursery school teachers)	Uncertainty of employment Short contract period Cannot say anything Possibility of bankruptcy Difficulty to find another jobs Fewer customers; Gloomy future of business No financial guarantee after retirement Tapping on one's shoulder(haigisigaki) Possible transfer to unfamiliar positions
panies it	Anxiety to be independent Difficulty in/Giving up becoming self-employed		
esp. regular ent job	Low retirement age---Children's education No corporate pension Little retirement allowance Worry about the future of Social Security Worry about/Difficulty in finding jobs after retirement Gap between before- and after-retirement jobs Effect of low income on family life Force "voluntary" retirement in early ages Management's poor treatment of workers near retirement age Loss of morale near retirement		
to a	Unions which stifle young people's opinions and feelings Workers won't unite at the last moment.	Unfair labor practice(yellow dog contract)	Weak labor unions; Old leaders Women don't unite. No unions---Insecurity of employment

	Young Workers (18-20 Years of Age; Male and Female)	Male Thirties (31-40 Years of Age)		
D. Discrimination/Inferiority	(Discrimination by education) Regret not to have graduated from higher schools Agony against college graduates Jr. high graduates vs. Sr. high graduates/ Sr. high graduates vs. college graduates Financial difficulties (Discrimination by sex) Content of work(e.g. odd jobs, unimportant work, no decision making) Discrimination in wages/training No wage increase Retirement at young ages Partial treatment by men depending on being beautiful/pretty or not (Others) Clerical workers vs. system engineers Discrimination by local background(dialogue/ accent)	Yearn for higher education Contempt by college graduates Discrimination in promotion/wages/jobs Attendance at night schools Pressure/Frustration in family/community lives Serving tea/Cleaning offices and desks/Cleaning messrooms and toilets Must go to office early for cleaning, etc. Lower pay for more work than men Cannot be regular workers once married. Restriction because of women Cannot say "no"/Must say "yes" Discrimination in clothing(e.g. ties) Discrimination by size of corporation(unreasonable /haughty/one-sided demands by parent companies; inferiority)	Discrimination by education in promotion Discrimination between white and blue collar workers in working conditions	Discrim Wife ha
Q. Questions on Life & Work	Work is not interesting. No hope in the future No goals/purposes in life and work Feeling of ineffectualness after work	Regret to have chosen present jobs No motivation to work Questioning the meaning of work/life	Is it OK for myself to be as I am? (simple, repetitive work, tied to working hours) Feeling like a slave Feeling as if "only I am left behind" Feeling unsettled, without a clear view of the situation yet	Do I ha
X. Men & Women/ Marriage/Other Personal Concern	(Men & Women/Marriage) No girls/boys at workplaces No girl/boy friends; No/little time for dating Reconciliation between work and housekeeping (Other personal concerns) Want true friends Troubles with looks/weight/fashion Lack of physical exercise	Humor on girl friends; How to get on with girls Problems with girl/boy friends Living with parents on marriage Want to go back to home towns Interest in makeup/dress Health problems(e.g. the re-operation of a knee)	Strong anxiety for marriage Expenses on sex treatment No time to be acquainted with women Few unmarried women in a workplace	No inter
F. Family/ Children	(Living with parents) Small house/Cannot relaxed. Injury/Sickness/Unemployment of family members Interference/Watch by parents Troubling families because of overtime/shift/ early morning work (Living alone) Boring/Lonesome Must eat out. Restrictions in dormitories(e.g. night closing time) Little chance to see families (Others) Parents' want to live together vs. workers' want to live independent Parents' physically weakening health	Must help housekeeping(e.g. the care of little sisters, family labor) Independence from parents No time to see/share with families No cohesion in family members Daily chores(e.g. cleaning rooms/laundry/cooking) No bath/washing machine in apartments Dad seniors at dormitories(e.g. errands for them) Sorry for parting with good friends at dormitories Parents' worry about workers Consideration for parents vs. aspiration for the future in career Caring parents after marriage	(Family) No time to talk with family Lack of communication Degrade of man's status because of wife's working Living together with parents (Children) No conversation with children No time to play with children and visit schools Financial anxiety about children's college education Anxiety of children's education(a deaf-and-dumb worker)	No time No leisure Living se nature Wife's we impaired Compared (Children Little ti Children Children' housing A physica brother
L. Housing	Small houses/No rooms for own/No privacy/Inter- ference by family Brother's family lives together. Much cost to live in a new house Desire to move to better equipped apartments	Family treats me as a nuisance on holidays. Must keep silence because of my sister's study for the entrance exam. Poorly equipped apartments/No baths and washing machines	Small in space; Far from a station Desire to own a house Burden of housing loan repayment A transfer just after purchasing a house (payment of rent and loan)	Cannot bu Cannot se Moving be
G. Com- muting	Desire to commute from home Too many changes of trains Burden on families	Long commuting hours/Too far to commute Overcrowded transportation/Hashers Too close to the workplace	Long commuting hours Jammed commuter trains	Long comm Crowded c Far from
Z. Community/ Society	High taxes/medical expenses Government's economic policies Youngsters' suicides African refugees	10% deductible of National Health Insurance Public morality(e.g. drunks on street) Struggles among politicians World War III/Social, political news	Neighbors Deaf-and-dumb sign broadcasting and social education program(a deaf-mute worker)	Few contac Disagreem Demands to parking Anxiety at

Note: A. Automobiles/Other material wants; Q. Fringe benefits/Other labor conditions; E. Evaluation; U. Labor unions/Labor relations.

	Middle-Aged & Older Workers (Over 40 Years of Age; Male)	Female(Over 30 Years of Age) Full-time Workers	Part-time Workers
blue tions	Discrimination by education in promotion Wife had to quit when a worker got director.	Discrimination by sex in job content/participation/wages and other labor conditions Extra work(e.g. washing towels for rest rooms) People won't listen to women and backbit if women say something. Discrimination against non-regular workers Feeling of something missing/inferiority(Non-regular workers)	Difference from regular workers in wages/fringe benefits/employment guarantee
of to working (hours) mind" ur view	Do I have any subjectivity?		Is the present job suitable to me? Cannot find any worth in the job.
men ce	No interest outside work		
of wife's working	No time with families/Worry about families No leisure time for oneself because of families Living separately from families because of the nature of work/transfers Wife's work---neglected household duties/ Impaired harmony among family members Compared with brothers/relatives in career (Children) Little time with children Children becoming independent Children's college entrance exam, marriage, housing, future. A physically handicapped son/his and his brother's future	Conflict/Competibility between work*and housekeeping No rest/relax after returning home Cannot eat meals with families Uncooperative families/For more family assistance Effects on families; Stress in families No nursing leaves Transfer to production work from clerical work after one year child leave No lifetime career possible Worry about children's discipline/health/future Financial anxiety about children's college education Effect of education expenses on other living	Conflict between job and housework and childcare Little time/energy for housework Boys don't help with housekeeping. Want more help from family. Giving up becoming a regular worker Guilty feeling of not being able to take care of children as a mother Cannot say hello to children when they come home
lon a house	Cannot buy a house. Cannot sell a house. Moving because of street replanning		
	Long commuting hours Crowded commuter trains Far from a nearby station		Long commuting hours
and social worker)	Few contacts with neighbors Disagreement in community activities Demands to local governments(e.g. bicycle parking lots, softball play grounds) Anxiety about earthquakes/nuclear wars		Lack of a sewer system

research method we adopted, the numbers and percentage figures do not have statistical meaning¹⁹⁾ as we discussed at the beginning of the previous chapter, but will be used as a guide stick to review these "problems and difficulties here".

"Problems and difficulties" raised by interviewees total 1,086, which is approximately 4 per capita. The number is, however, below 3 for male workers above 41 years of age and nearly 5 for female workers between 18 and 20 years of age. This difference should be noted when reading Table III-24 and Figure III-3.

(1) Working Hours (+ Commuting)

The largest dissatisfaction is with working hours. It is largely irrespective of sex and age. Half of all interviewees refer to this item, as do two thirds of male workers in their teens(18-20 years of age, which will hereafter be referred to as teens) through 30s(31-40 years of age, which will hereafter be referred to as 30s) and female full-time workers above their 30s. The dissatisfaction ranges from chronic overtime work, long working hours, irregular or few breaks, holidays and vacations, the shift work widely spread not only in manufacturing industries but also in various service industries, to their influence upon health and family and social lives. Quite a few cases violate the Labour Standard Act. Workers in and around Tokyo have an additional problem of commuting, that is, long commuting hours and crowded trains.

Characteristically noticable among our research subjects are the bad working hours of young managers in the food industry and in convenience stores. They bear a great strain under the recent

Table III-24: Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties"

		18-20 years of age				31-40		41-		
		Male		Female		Male		Male		
Total		80	100.0%	44	100.0%	34	100.0%	95	100.0%	
		[341]		[210]		[146]		[268]		
A	Automobiles	3	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	
B	Bosses (including human relations)	28	35.0	19	43.2	10	29.4	30	32.2	
C	Customers	13	16.3	9	20.5	6	17.6	5	5.4	
D	Discrimination, complex	15	18.8	15	34.1	2	5.9	6	6.5	
E	Evaluation	1	1.3	1	2.3	2	5.9	4	4.3	
F	Family, Family life	19	23.8	9	20.5	6	17.6	16	17.2	
G	Geography [Commuting]	4	5.0	7	15.9	2	5.9	6	6.5	
H	(Working) Hours	53	66.3	22	50.0	20	58.8	24	25.8	
I	Inexperience, Incompetence	9	11.3	19	43.2	1	2.9	8	8.6	
J	Job content	34	42.5	25	56.8	10	29.4	30	32.3	
K	Kids [Children]	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	29.4	9	9.7	
L	Living [Housing]	4	5.0	4	9.1	3	8.8	3	3.3	
M	Management [Future of company, layoff, bankruptcy]	4	5.0	0	0.0	8	23.5	10	10.8	
N	<u>Ningen-kankei</u> [Human Relations] (excluding those with bosses), atmosphere	37	46.3	23	52.3	8	23.5	22	23.7	
O	(Fringe benefits and) Other labor conditions	5	6.3	7	15.9	3	8.8	2	2.2	
P	Promotion, transfer	9	11.3	3	6.8	4	11.8	18	19.4	
Q	Questions on life & work	4	5.0	5	11.4	4	11.8	1	1.1	
R	Retirement	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	8.8	16	17.2	
S	Safety & health, work environment	21	26.3	8	18.2	5	14.7	12	12.9	
T	Turnover, independence & self-employment	23	28.8	8	18.2	7	20.6	1	1.1	
U	(Labor) Unions, labor relations	1	1.3	0	0.0	1	2.9	2	2.1	
V	Voice [Participation]	6	7.5	0	0.0	2	5.9	3	3.3	
W	Wages & salaries, expenditures	40	50.0	11	25.0	13	38.2	33	35.5	
X	Sex [Girls or boys, marriage and other personal concerns]	13	16.3	12	27.3	4	11.8	1	1.1	
(Y	Yes [Satisfaction]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Z	[Community, Society]	4	5.0	3	6.8	2	5.9	5	5.4	
per capita		[4.3]		[4.8]		[4.3]		[2.9]		

* Includes 3 married cases between 26 and 30 years of age (1 part-time and 2 full-time)
 Note: Numbers with [] are the total number of cases referred. The same "problem" for more than one item, and different "problems and difficulties" are counted as one item.

Distribution of Itemized "Problems and Difficulties" by Sex and Age Group

18-20 years of age		31-40		41-		31- Female*		Total	
Male	Female	Male		Male		Full-time	Part-time		
80 100.0%	44 100.0%	34 100.0%		95 100.0%		17 100.0%	15 100.0%	283 100.0%	
[341]	[210]	[146]		[268]		[67]	[55]	[1086]	
3 3.8	0 0.0	0 0.0		0 0.0		0 0.0	2 13.3	5 1.8	
28 35.0	19 43.2	10 29.4		30 32.2		4 23.5	2 13.3	93 32.9	
13 16.3	9 20.5	6 17.6		5 5.4		2 11.8	0 0.0	35 12.4	
15 18.8	15 34.1	2 5.9		6 6.5		4 23.5	2 13.3	44 15.5	
1 1.3	1 2.3	2 5.9		4 4.3		0 0.0	0 0.0	8 2.8	
19 23.8	9 20.5	6 17.6		16 17.2		4 23.5	6 40.0	60 21.2	
4 5.0	7 15.9	2 5.9		6 6.5		0 0.0	1 6.7	20 7.1	
53 66.3	22 50.0	20 58.8		24 25.8		12 70.6	5 33.3	136 48.0	
9 11.3	19 43.2	1 2.9		8 8.6		0 0.0	0 0.0	37 13.1	
34 42.5	25 56.8	10 29.4		30 32.3		11 64.7	2 13.3	112 39.6	
0 0.0	0 0.0	10 29.4		9 9.7		3 17.6	0 0.0	22 7.8	
4 5.0	4 9.1	3 8.8		3 3.3		0 0.0	0 0.0	14 4.9	
any, 4 5.0	0 0.0	8 23.5		10 10.8		3 17.6	4 26.7	29 10.2	
37 46.3	23 52.3	8 23.5		22 23.7		8 47.1	5 33.3	103 36.4	
5 6.3	7 15.9	3 8.8		2 2.2		2 11.8	5 33.3	24 8.5	
9 11.3	3 6.8	4 11.8		18 19.4		1 5.9	1 6.7	36 12.7	
4 5.0	5 11.4	4 11.8		1 1.1		1 5.9	1 6.7	16 5.6	
0 0.0	0 0.0	3 8.8		16 17.2		1 5.9	1 6.7	21 7.4	
21 26.3	8 18.2	5 14.7		12 12.9		4 23.5	5 33.3	55 19.4	
23 28.8	8 18.2	7 20.6		1 1.1		0 0.0	0 0.0	39 13.8	
1 1.3	0 0.0	1 2.9		2 2.1		1 5.9	3 20.0	8 2.8	
6 7.5	0 0.0	2 5.9		3 3.3		1 5.9	0 0.0	12 4.2	
ures 40 50.0	11 25.0	13 38.2		33 35.5		4 23.5	9 60.0	110 38.9	
ge 13 16.3	12 27.3	4 11.8		1 1.1		0 0.0	0 0.0	30 10.6	
s]									
- -	- -	- -		- -		- -	- -	- -	
4 5.0	3 6.8	2 5.9		5 5.4		1 5.9	1 6.7	16 5.7	
[4.3]	[4.8]	[4.3]		[2.9]		[3.9]	[3.7]	[3.8]	

between 26 and 30 years of age (1 part-time and 2 full-time workers).

The total number of cases referred. The same "problem and difficulty", however, may be counted different "problems and difficulties" are counted as one case as far as they belong to the same

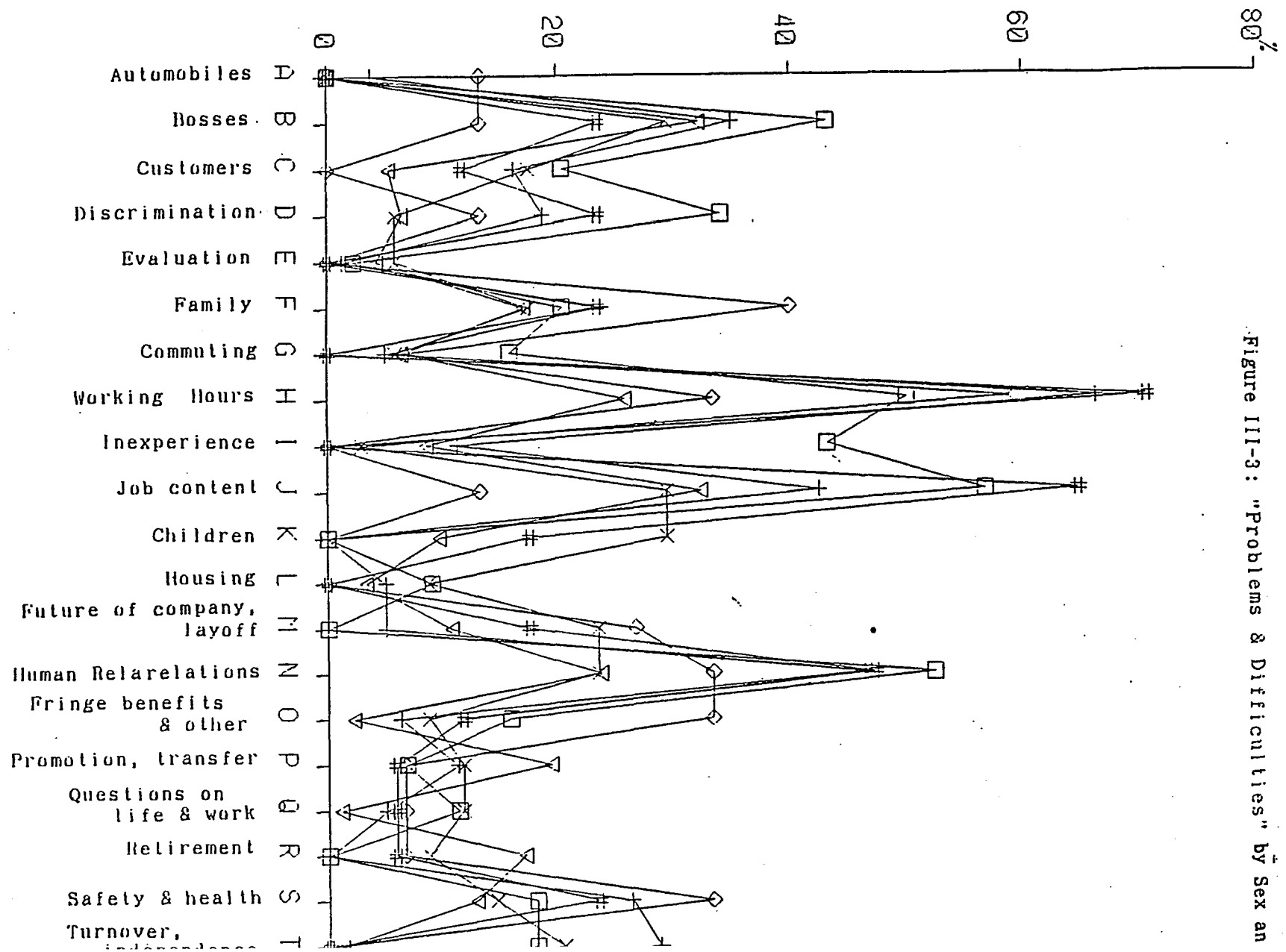
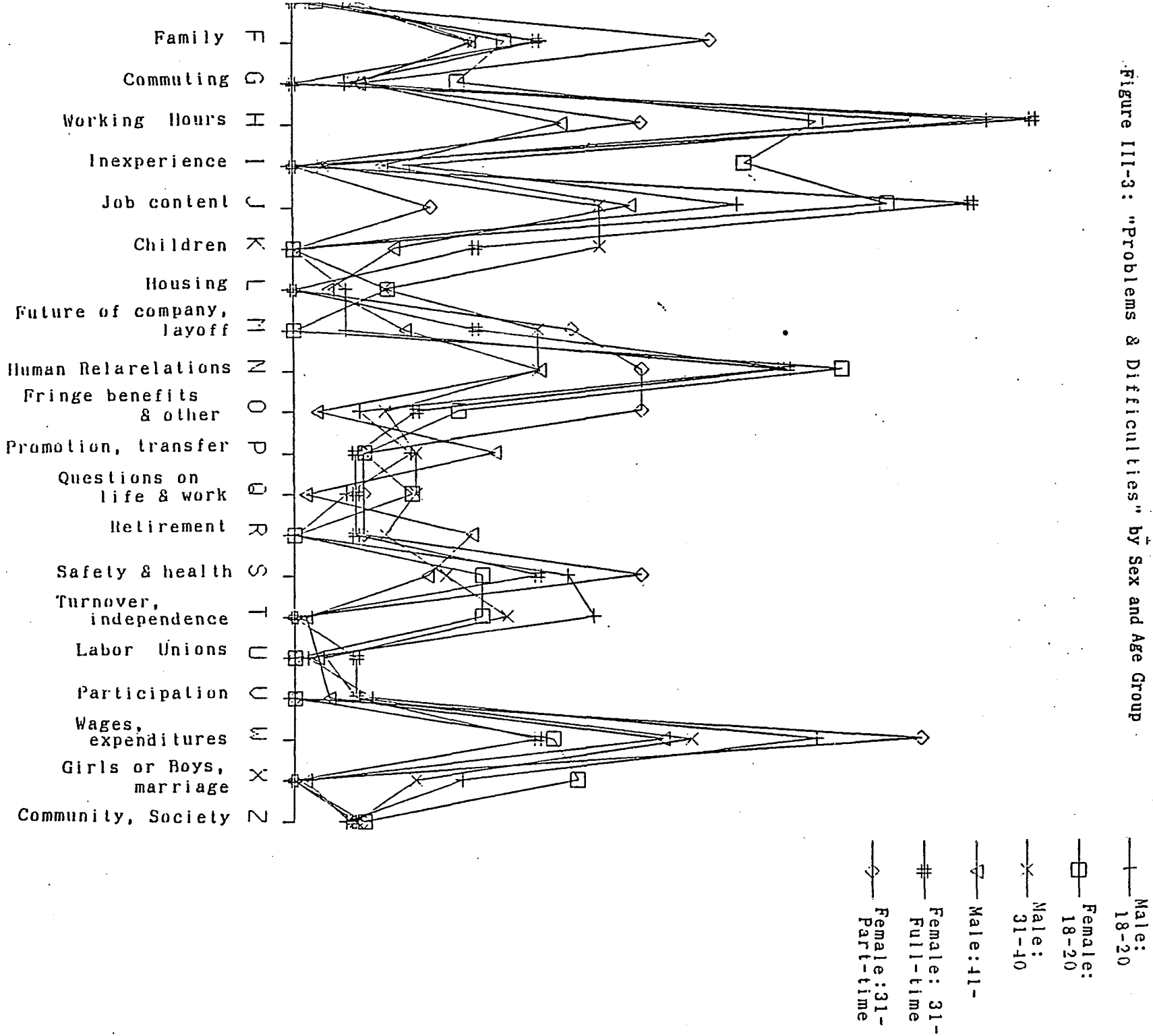


Figure III-3: "Problems & Difficulties" by Sex and Age

Figure III-3: "Problems & Difficulties" by Sex and Age Group



companies' policy to minimize regular workers. The same is observed in large manufacturing plants.

(2) Wages (+ Automobiles) and Job Content

The second largest dissatisfaction is with wages/salaries and job content. Approximately forty percent of all interviewees refer to them respectively.

More men than women complain about wages. Female part-time workers are, however, exceptional. The complaints are about the low level, the discrimination by sex, education and employment status(regular vs. irregular employees), the insecure daily pay, the penalty for not reaching a quota or making a mistake, and little or no pay for overtime and night work. Some workers, especially many older and high income workers, describe their low salaries in terms of high expenses, for example, on business entertainment, housing loans and education.

Some complaints about wages might be less serious than those of working hours. Most workers would say that wages are low regardless of their absolute wage level. There are, however, also many workers whose wages are actually very low, like ¥70,000 per month(20, male), ¥120-130,000(36, male) and ¥150,000(48, male),and even below the minimum wage level.

"Job content" means "problems and difficulties" which directly derive from the work itself, rather than labor conditions, and cannot be classified into other items. Some of them are unavoidable to some degree because of the inherent nature of the work, while some others can be improved by management's efforts.

They are those relating to (1) physical conditions(e.g. welder's feeling too hot), the job content(e.g. simple, repetitive, meaningless work, too much responsibility, and uncomfortable duties), (3) the organizational management (e.g. the poor communication between sections and job classification, the unbalanced job distribution among individuals and departments, the favoritism shown by people in charge, and the disagreement against management policy), and (4) working forms and postures(e.g. assembly-line operation, work under a quota, and standing work). Included are also reduction of manpower, increase of work volume and expansion of responsibility due to rationalization and computerization, and "being too busy" due to chronic understaffing.

There is a legal problem that some workers, both in small and large corporations, are assigned to jobs which are different from those in their contracts.

A little unique are professionals' wants for and worries about better achievement in their work.

(3) Human Relations and Bosses

"Human Relations(excluding those with bosses)" and "Bosses (including human relations with bosses)" are important sources of "problems and difficulties" for workers. A third of all research subjects refer to them respectively, and combining both, even excluding non-human relation matters in the latter, makes this section have the greatest number of comments in the whole 25 surveyed.

"Problems and difficulties" of human relations(excluding those with bosses), which especially many young workers and female workers have, are categorised into five: (1) Personal dislikes or

conflicts(including hazing), (2) fights among women's factions, (3) senior-junior relations like that at school sports clubs, (4) social drinking, eating, playing golf and mah-jongg, etc. (5) manpower composition at workplace(e.g. no girls or boys, no youth, the presence of kin), and (6) the poor atmosphere at shops and offices.

It seems to be almost impossible for bosses to be respected or liked by subordinates. Dissatisfaction with and criticism against bosses have an extremely strong and severe tone. Even workers older than 40 years of age including many in managerial positions are not excepted. Workers hate and criticize bosses for their attitude and personality, and for their inability and irresponsibility on the job.

To be interesting enough, bosses get really angry at their subordinates' attitude, personality and on-the-job irresponsibility .

Ranking relationship is very stressful. Subordinates cannot resist and must follow bosses, even if they are younger than them or however unreasonable they are. Middle management workers are in a fix between bosses and followers.

Cases of extramarital love affairs between bosses and young female subordinates have been reported as a nuisance and a reason for changing jobs in many leading corporations, most typically in banks and other financial firms.

(4) Safety & Health, Discrimination and Family(+Children+Housing)

One out of five or six interviewees respectively has "problems and difficulties" with at least one of these three items, Safety and Health, Discrimination and Family. "Problems and difficulties" on Children and Housing are dealt with here for convenience' sake.

The item "Safety and Health" includes both on- and off-the-job injuries, illnesses and destruction of health. The most typical are so called occupational safety and health issues. Some mention deaths, injuries, diseases and symptoms(e.g. bradyacusia, tendovaginitis, back pain, a gastroenteric disorder and fatigue), and some others mention their causes such as working environment, working patterns, hours and postures. Stress is mentioned both as a result and a cause. Management's poor health care policies, programs and practices are also problems. These are not limited to any specific industries, sizes of companies, occupations, positions, sex or age groups.

Legal issues are involved when after occupational injuries a worker was forced to leave his company and another to be treated not by worker's comp but by the regular health insurance due to management's insistence.

In terms of off-the-job health problems, examples raised are the want of exercise, the re-surgence of a knee problem, the declining strength in old age, diabetes and hospitalization.

Five kinds of discrimination are reported: By education, sex, job classification, company relationship(parent company vs. subsidiary employees), and employment status(regular vs. non-regular employees). The majority regard the former two. In addition the discrimination against foreign workers is reported by a worker in her 20s, who is outside the subjects analysed in this paper. A worker from the countryside has the problem of accents.

Complaints and anger in the item Discrimination, which are very strong, center around promotion, job content, job guarantee, wages and

other labor conditions, and superiors' pride and arrogance bearings. Workers express their empty, vexing, hateful or inferior feelings.

These "problems and difficulties" go beyond the boundary of plants and offices and get into family and social lives. A junior high graduate, for example, confesses his pains at being unable to help his younger brother and sister with their homework, being compared with his brother studying in a famous senior high school, and being asked the school level he completed.

Although "family" means that composed of the parents, and brothers and sisters for younger single workers and that composed of the spouse and children for older married workers, many "problems and difficulties" are shared by both of them. The effect of long working hours and shift work on family life is one of these cases.

Working life influences family life in other ways. Transfer to remote areas forces middle and older workers to live separately from their families, while "the reconciliation of work and housekeeping" is the common problem among working women.

In terms of non-work-related family "problems and difficulties," the care and support of parents and the limited space of housing are common to all age groups. Younger generations are, in addition, worried about domestic help, the baby-sitting of younger brothers and sisters, and the watch and interference by parents, if living with parents, and about loneliness, housekeeping and poor facilities of apartments, if living by themselves. Some workers are in a dilemma between parents' desire to live together and their own desire to be independent. If living in dormitories, they have to be worried about various restrictions of freedom. Middle and older generations are particularly

interested in housing an children: The efforts to obtain houses, the trials to repay housing loans, and never-ending worries about children's discipline, education, entrance exams, marriage and future. These worries are doubled if there are handicapped children.

(5) Customers, Inexperienced, Turnover, Promotion and Men/Women

Roughly one in eight interviewees mentions "problems and difficulties" on customers, inexperience /incompetence, turnover/self-employed, promotion/ transfer, and girls or boys/marriage and other personal concerns.

Nothing makes workers who deal with customers mad and uncomfortable more than customers themselves. However unreasonable they are, workers cannot neglect them nor complain, which is the same as with bosses and people of parent companies. They are a great source of stress.

Customers are also important as evaluators of what workers did. Their compliments encourage workers and criticism distresses them.

The other four items are skewed by sex and age. Many workers, but particular many young female workers, refer to the item of inexperience----the tense and various "problems and difficulties" in the learning process which everybody experiences in the first job. Middle and older workers experience the same when they are transfered to a new position or re-employed by a new employer after their first compulsory retirement. Incompetence means the grief over their lack of such ability as in computers and English. Workers over 30 years of age speak of the anxiety and difficulty of keeping up with technology inovation and the introduction of new machines.

The inclination of junior and senior high young graduates to quit or change jobs and/or become self-employed is extremely strong. A third of teenage male workers and a quarter of teenage female workers mention its desire, intention, reasons, plans, and obstacles to actualize the idea. From the beginning, for many young female workers, working is a stepping stone to marriage. To be self-employed might be the sole way to get out of the present condition, but it is not easy without inheriting shops or plants from parents. Workers in their 30s may retain this dream of changing jobs and/or becoming independent, but those in their 40s seem to have already given up the idea.

On the contrary, those in their 40s(male) show a strong interest in promotion within their organizations. One out of five of them refers to "problems and difficulties" around this topic. Many were concerned with the discrimination by education as discribed above, but others with the bleak outlook or the general aspiration for promotion. Flattering for promotion is disgusting and intolerable for some workers. Many men in their teens and 30s also refer to this item, but very few women do.

However, not only men but also women suffer from the pain of promotion exams, or the compulsion to take them and the study to pass them. The choice not to be promoted is not given in corporate society.

Transfer or personnel shuffling is one of the biggest interests for the employed including young female workers, and at the same time is a cause of many "problems and difficulties." The assignment to a remote area, particulay with promotion involved, to live by themselves leaving their families is an expecially serious "problem or difficulty" for middle and older workers.

Men & Women/marriage and other personal concerns are mainly heard from young workers. Boys are highly interested in girls and vice versa. But the problem is that many workplaces are sexually segregated, where working is dull and unattractive. The situation is perceived as disadvantageous by those looking for marriage partners and even deprives them of the only opportunity to meet girls or boys with such a long working time that do not even have time to date. To find partners is also a great difficulty for unmarried men in their 30s.

The pressure to get married from parents(young females) and such low wages that cannot allow marriage (young males) are other "problems and difficulties" raised on this item.

Other personal concerns include young women's worries about makeup and appearance.

(6) Fringe Benefits & Others, Future of Company and Retirement

"Problems and difficulties" of fringe benefits and other labor conditions, the future of companies/layoffs and bankruptcy, compulsory retirement, children and housing are mentioned by ten or nearly ten percent of interviewed workers. The latter two have already been described.

The biggest dissatisfaction with fringe benefits by smaller corporation employees is with eating, that is, no or poor eating facilities and programs. Complaints about the taste of served foods are common to large corporation employees. Smaller firm workers also demand the provision and improvement of resting rooms, recreation rooms and parking spaces----remember the youth's interest in automobiles. Other than facilities, there are complaints of the design of uniforms, demands

for free or discounted supply of merchandise, denunciation of non-participation in National Welfare Pension Insurance [Kōsei-nenkin] and National Health Insurance [Kenkō-hoken] (not only raised by part-time workers but also full-time workers) and complaints of no or too many company-sponsored circle and recreational activities.

Among other labor conditions, important are the infringement of a worker's political, civil and human rights and the violation of labor contracts by the management. The abuse of the Communist Party and the campaign for the company-supported party at morning meetings and compulsory participation in "volunteer" and political activities on off-days are examples in large leading corporations. Body checks are one example in department stores and the assignment to different jobs and payment of different wages from the contract are ones in middle and small corporations.

Workers are worried about the future of their own companies: The increase of sales and profits, the competition with other companies in the same industry, the influence of privatization, and the possibility of bankruptcy. Especially middle and older male workers often refer to these subjects. Some are worried about their own possible lay-off and unemployment. Particularly for part-time workers the job insecurity is the crucial problem and because of this they can sometimes say nothing to the management. The anxiety of unemployment exists among full-time workers, too, and it sometimes becomes a reality. The experience of being "voluntarily" laid off, and the guilty feeling towards laid-off co-workers have been told together with other experiences.

No workers in their teens mention "problems and difficulties" on compulsory retirement, but already those in their 30s do. The content

of "problems and difficulties" ranges from weak physical strength to the low retirement age (including substantial compulsory retirement at a young age for women and some men in some service industries), the transfer to subsidiaries, suppliers and related companies, the assignment to sidetracked positions[madogiwa-zoku], no or little retirement allowances, the re-employment after the retirement and life after retirement. Among workers in their 40s and older, one out of six refers to one or more of these problems.

(7) Evaluation, Participation, Labor Unions, Questions on Life & Work and Community/Society

Remaining are the items of Evaluation, Participation, Labor Unions, Questions on Life & Work, and Community/Society. Automobiles and Other Material Wants and Housing were discussed above.

Not only evaluation by customers but also that by management is very important for workers. Workers have a desire for and dissatisfaction with fair evaluation by bosses.

Participation basically means participation in decision making. Opinions and proposals are not understood, listened to or adopted by bosses or companies. To be worse, if a worker raises a voice, it might cause management to have a prejudiced view of him. In auto plants and others, raising a voice itself is not allowed from the start.

On the other hand there are complaints of coercion into participation, for example, the compulsory quota of proposals which must be submitted by workers every week or month.

The presence of labor unions is minimal in this social group like our research subjects. "Problems and difficulties" raised are the

dissatisfaction with present labor unions or union activities, the lamentation over having no unions, and the anxiety of no response to the call for unionization. The fact draws our attention that the interest in unions by part-time workers at unionized shops is characteristically high.

There are apparent unfair labor practices such as no hiring of and discharge of union members.

"Problems and difficulties" questioning the way of living and the meaning of work are serious in content. "I don't feel worth working," "For what and for whom am I working?" "It's sad to end up with this kind of job," "I don't have any goals in my life,"....These worries and problems are mainly of young workers. "Is it O.K. to be as I am?"----uneasiness, however, flashes across the mind of workers in their 30s, 40s and 50s.

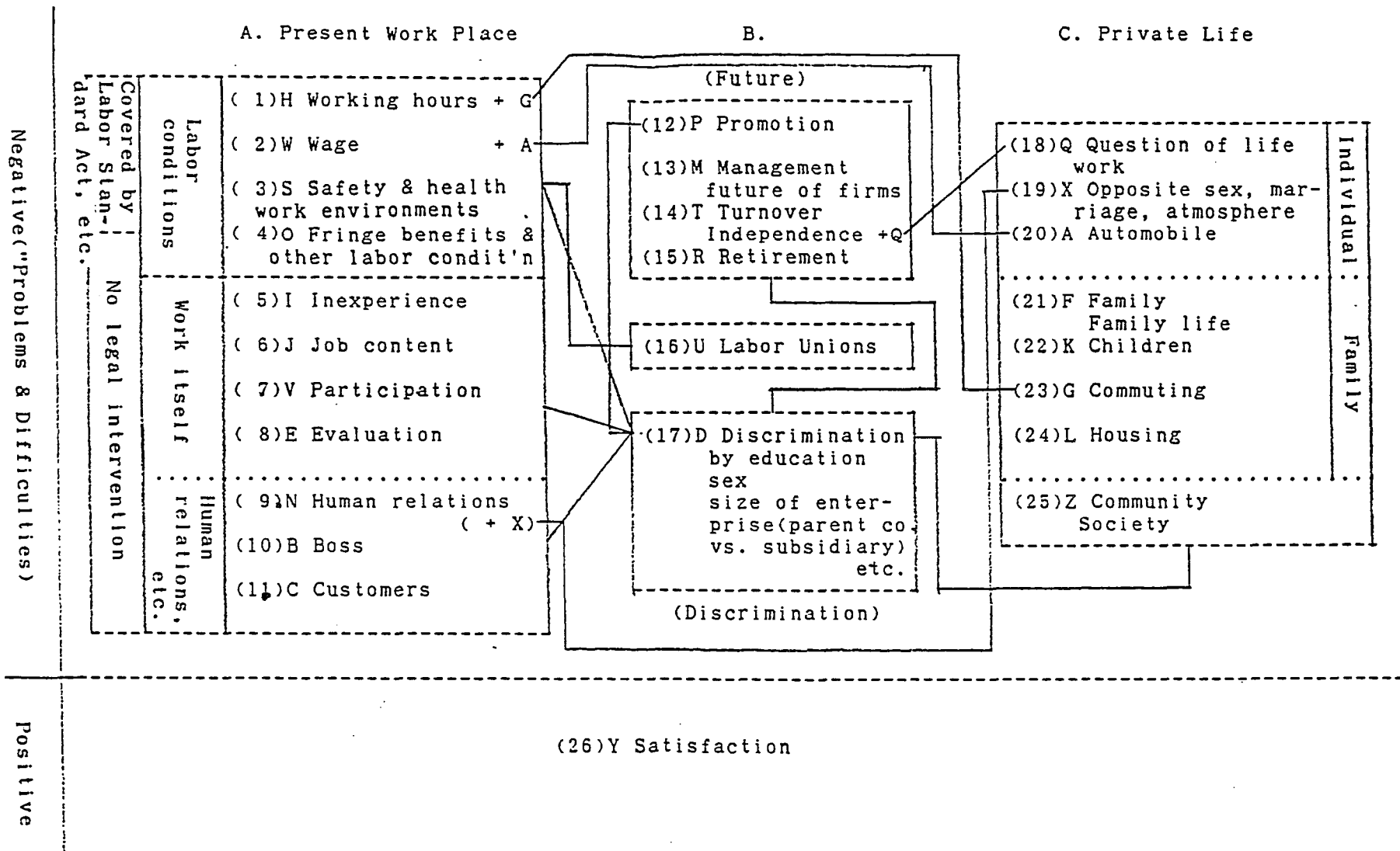
The last are "problems and difficulties" of communities and societies. No socialization with neighbors, the lack of public morality(e.g. drunks at stations and on streets), the demands for social services by local governments(e.g. sewerage, bike-parking lots at stations, and baseball grounds), the dissatisfaction with politics and programs at the national level(e.g. tax and medical expenses) and the grief of African sufferers, the possible World War III and other trends in the world today.

2. Relations Among Items

The total 1,086 "problems and difficulties" were categorized into 25 items and analyzed in Sections III through V. Then what if we further group some of these items together? We would like to know the interrelations among the 25 items.²⁰⁾ Indices used are "on-the-job or off-the job," "the existence of laws and regulations,"²¹⁾ and others.²²⁾

In Figure III-4, column A on the left deals with "problems and difficulties workers have in their present work places." There are two major categories. One includes "problems and difficulties" deriving from labor conditions in a narrow sense such as "working hours", "wages", "safety & health", and "fringe benefits & others". These are the areas where the Labor Standards Act and other legal regulations have covered fairly well. "The Labor Standards Act and other legal regulations" can be at two levels: (1) The Labor Standards Act, Minimum Wages Act, Industrial Safety and Health Act, and other protective laws, which provide the minimum standard; Workermen's Accident Compensation Insurance Act, Employment Insurance Act, National Health Insurance Act, National Welfare Pension Insurance Act and other social insurance laws, which require compulsory participation; and other laws and regulations which prohibit employers from infringing on employees' political, civil and other rights. (2) The nation's and local autonomous bodies' lead beyond the scope of minimum standards toward a direction which is considered desirable from some ideas or from their value judgement based upon a social norm, with or without preferential taxing, subsidies and other forms of incentives. It sometimes takes the form of legislation and sometimes the form of guidance or campaign by administrations. The campaigns for shorter working hours, higher retirement ages, the Smaller Firm Retirement Allowance Program and Smaller Firm Group (for better

Figure III-4: Relationship among Items



labor conditions and fringe benefits) Program based on respective laws are some recent examples.

The other "problems and difficulties workers have in their present work places" include those deriving from areas where the legal intervention hardly takes place or does not fit. There are two subcategories, that is, "problems and difficulties" related to "work itself" and "human relations at work." The former contains the items "Inexperience", "Job content", "Participation" and "Evaluation", while the latter the items "Human relations", "Bosses" and "Customers". To be free from legal intervention means to leave matters up to mutual agreement between labor and management, if there is a union, and to the management's arbitrary measure,²³⁾ if there is not. But it does not mean at all that there will not be any legal intervention, especially one at the second level in the preceding paragraph, in the future. For example some intervention may be seen in the areas of participation, evaluation and bosses from the idea of the industrial democracy, and shift work, in-service training and job content(e.g. assembly line work) from the idea of the protective legislation.

Column C on the far right deals with "problems and difficulties deriving from life other than work." "Personal" ("Questions of life & Work", "Girls or Boys/Marriage" and "Automobile & Others."), "Family" ("Family", "Housing", "Commuting" and "Children"), and "Community/Society" are its three subcategories. The ability to extract "problems and difficulties" outside work was not effective enough in our research, and therefore some different research methods would be better to cover this area.²⁴⁾

Column B in the middle of Figure IV-2 comprises of what belong to neither A nor C. There are three groups. One is "problems and difficulties" not at the present time but in the future, beyond the limits of their present workplaces, or in the transition from A to C. Included are "Promotion/Transfer", "Future of Company", "Turnover", and "Retirement". The other two in column B are "problems and difficulties" which relate to both A and B (and other items in B). They are "Discrimination" and "Labor Unions."

"Discrimination" derives from educational background, sex, physical handicaps, birth, country of origin, job classification, employment status (regular vs. non-regular employee), size of company (larger vs. smaller company), and relation between employers (parent company vs. subsidiary). "Discrimination" is involved in almost all other items. For it can be considered the source of numerous "problems and difficulties".

"Why do I have to endure these long working hours?" "Why is the wage so low?" "Why do I have such a dangerous job?" "Why do I have to be on the assembly line?" "Why am I being looked down upon?" "Why can't I get a promotion?" "Why do I want to quit my present job?" "Why can't I have future dreams?"....Is it because "I am not a senior high but a junior high graduate?" or "not a college but high school graduate?"

The discussion can be pushed another step forward. Then, "Why did I only graduate from junior high school?" or "Why only from senior high school?" Is it because I was born in a family which belongs to a certain social class? It reminds us of the classic Middletown Survey.

However, our research does not aim at finding common causes among various "problems and difficulties".

The location of "labor unions" in Figure IV-2 is arguable. Seeing today's Japanese labor unions, they should not have been placed in the middle of the chart but much closer to the upper left, or "Labor conditions", especially "Wages" in Column A. Theoretically speaking, however, they can be placed where they now stand in the figure, because labor unions can be modeled as being concerned with all "problems and difficulties" regarding the present workplace, future courses for workers, discrimination, and personal life. Where we put "labor unions" in the table is largely a matter of choice.

The items in Column B are partly under the control of legal regulations. The Labour Standards Act, social security legislations and others intervene in the first group, especially "layoffs" and "retirement". The Sexual Equal Opportunity in Employment Act and others intervene in "discrimination" of the second group. As does the Labour Unions Act and others in "labor unions" of the third group.

Some remarks must be added.

Categorization or distinction between each item or group is not simple or clear-cut. For example, "Customers" in Column A categorised under "Human Relations and Others" could have been grouped in "Work Itself." "Promotion/Transfer" and "Retirement" in Column B could have been grouped in "Labor Conditions" in Column A, at least partly. Moreover, these items and groups are not mutually independent. For example, "long commuting hours" can also be a problem of "housing". It also has a serious impact on "working hours." The ardent love of "automobiles" among young workers may lead to their complaints of low

"wages." The problem of "girls or boys/marriage" may owe its origin to the manpower structure at a work place where "there are no girls[or boys]." A "question of life"(e.g."Is this job really worth continuing?") may come from the monotonous and meaningless "job content," and directly influence the problem of "turnover". "Turnover" is also a reflection of all problems that exist in present work places--labor conditions, job content, and human relations. The problem of stress, a "safety & health and work environment" issue, can also be caused by "working hours" and "job content" as well as by "human relations," "bosses" and "customers".

One of the criticisms of this research is that it deals with each of the "problems and difficulties" separately as unrelated matters and does not consider them as those of a whole man [or woman]. The above description on discrimination even seems as if it declares that we do not intentionally pursue this course, while the validity to comprehend "problems and difficulties" as those of a whole man [or woman] was demonstrated in a long case record on page.

Further, from the results of this research, workers in contemporary Japan might seem to be most miserable beings. However, since this research was intended to elucidate only the negative phases such as "troubles, complaints, problems, difficulties, aggravating situations, etc.", it cannot avoid giving such an impression. In order to obtain the balanced total portrait of workers, positive aspects must be questioned simultaneously. Without being asked in this research, too, such various affirmative comments were given as "No work on weekends," "A worth-doing job," "Job content agrees with my interests," "Fellow workers are all nice people," "I have everything necessary----a car, a

private room....I wish my car was a Soarer, though.(laughter) No complaint about family, either. I want my parents to enjoy longevity," "I'm enjoying myself," and "No complaints whatsoever." In addition, even when a "problem or difficulty" seems to an outside observer to be a very "social need" requiring some form of improving measures, it is sometimes compensated for and solved by the presence of greater sources of "joy," "pleasure," and "satisfaction" within the whole man [or woman]. Take for example the case of a worker in a trucking firm (male, senior high graduate) in the preceding chapter.

A fellow worker [who] broke some merchandise by mistake was beaten by a boss and remained injured for two weeks....In my case, the penalty was a pay cut. I had practically no pay for the month....I am scared of the boss.

And working conditions surrounding the worker are by no means favorable to him.

It's hot in summer and cold in winter. I just can't stand it (no air-conditioning)....Exhaust fumes. My mouth and nose are all coated in soot....My throat often hurts and dries up.... Driving a forklift in winter badly chills my back and legs.... A part-time worker blows my cool.... Understaffed.

However, he concludes as follows:

Actually education is not questioned in my job. They say education counts most in our society, but seeing white-collar workers in the street, I feel happy with this job. They are tied down by rules, humble themselves before their bosses and think only of promotion. A job like ours is not considered a good job, but it's really deep and much more free and enjoyable than a white-collar one.

However, the object of this research was to extract workers' needs which should be taken care of by the labor administration. If so, it may not be necessary to seek for a comprehensive understanding of the many needs of a man [or woman] as a whole in this research. Some needs can be sufficiently tackled by "symptomatic treatment" programs, and sometimes these programs suit best. More fundamentally, aren't programs commonly designed corresponding to individual needs?²⁵⁾ It may be even because needs are fragmented that a program can be designed for. Programs targeting the whole man [or woman] are exceptional and the assessment of effectiveness of such programs is quite difficult.

The programs and activities designed by the labor administration in present-day Japan are only directed to part of the "problems and difficulties" related to "labor conditions" given in Column A and to a very limited number of other items in Figure IV-2. Almost all major problems such as overtime work, shift system, stressful conditions, simple and/or assembly line work, and democracy at work places have been neglected. Even where there are legal regulations, they are not being applied in many cases. There are practically no anti-discrimination programs and activities,²⁶⁾ compared with the United States. The importance of "problems and difficulties" outside the workplace has been increasingly emphasized in Japan today, but in spite of this there exist few social service programs and activities directed toward the workers' groups we focused on. Many needs have remained unanswered.

- 1) Actually any working men or women are acceptable. The adjective "ordinary" was inserted to answer the students' questions as to what kinds of workers they should choose as their interviewees. The students tend to think that they must select some special workers.
- 2) F.J. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (1939) and others.
- 3) How many people the interviewers actually approached and how many of them refused to be interviewed are unknown.
- 4) Among men, 78 cases out of 83; among women, 30 cases out of 46.
- 5) Among men between 21 and 25, of the 73 cases, 23 classmates, 27 fellow and senior workers and bosses of interviewers, and 14 elder brothers, cousins and other relatives; 21 college graduates. Among women between 21 and 25, of the 28 cases, 6 classmates, 3 fellow and senior workers and bosses and 7 elder sisters, cousins and other relatives; 12 college or junior college graduates.
- 6) Of the 76 cases, 32 fellow and senior workers and bosses of interviewers, and 16 elder brothers, cousins and other relatives.
- 7) A total of 126 cases out of 147; 87 fathers, 26 uncles and other relatives, and 13 fathers' friends.
- 8) Of the 147 cases, 49 are self-employed.
- 9) 33 cases out of 45.
- 10) 15 cases out of 45.
- 11) The classification is one combining industry and occupation and designed by the author exclusively for this research. Refer to Table III-6. Roughly speaking, "construction craftsmen" and "production process and related workers" are identical to blue collar workers in the secondary industry, and "service workers" and "sales Workers" non-clerical workers in the tertiary industry. Management & Coordination Agency, Japan Standard Industry Classification and Japan Standard Occupation Classification were applied as much as possible.
- 12) The number concerns only cases which gave concrete job histories in face sheets. Unfilled blanks in the sheets mean not only "none" but also mean "unknown".
- 13) Numbers of cases which referred to the item. (Male cases + Female cases)

14) People older than 50 years old studied under the old school system, which is different from today's. Old higher elementary schools, junior high schools, and technical colleges are regarded respectively as being equivalent to present junior high schools, senior high schools, and colleges .

15) It is illegal. The employed are supposed to be part of Employee Health Insurance, whose benefits tend to be better than the General National Health Insurance.

16) The national government appointed a Special Educational Council to review today's educational system after World War II. The 6-3 school system means a 6-year-elementary school and a 3-year-junior high school, which constitute the present Japanese compulsory education.

17) Kata means a shoulder and tataki means tapping. Companies informally urge and press older employees to quit before their retirement age usually with some incentives. It is not a compulsory layoff or discharge but workers know of the result when they refuse it--the transfer to an undesirable location or position. Workers usually know how to behave.

18) Precisely speaking "interest" is also included.

19) If they are to have a statistical meaning, they do not necessarily present the degree of the seriousness of "problems and difficulties" and the importance as "needs".

20) Plus another item of Y. Satisfaction.

21) The ultimate goal of this research is to grasp workers' needs. From the definition of social needs, the situation that violates provisions setting the minimum standard, for example, could be immediately deemed a social need.

22) The order of presenting the items in the preceding and present chapters was based on this categorization.

23) In reality, management's decisions and practices are necessarily restricted in various ways by non-union employee groups and by other factors.

24) We could find many "problems and difficulties" in this field, for example, in various consultation-counselling programs including EAPs. The following are the numbers and kinds of cases in the consultation & counselling program of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, which covers approximately 50 thousand of its 200 thousand employees. Eighty percent of the cases concern "off-the-job problems":

Consultation And Counselling
Employee Personal Service Room
Tokyo Metropolitan Government(f.y.1984)

Items	cases	%	Content & Examples

[On-the-Job Problems]			
Personnel	285	13.5	Transfer, Turnover, Promotion, Pay Raise, Retirement, etc.; e.g. "I want to be transferred because of the long commuting distance." "How can I change jobs?"
Wages &	41	1.9	Salaries and various allowances; e.g. "Wasn't the calculation of my starting salary wrong?" "The salary of a person who entered the government after me is higher than mine."
Fringe	19	0.9	Mutual Aid Society benefits, employee dormitories, etc.; e.g. "How large a housing loan can I get from the Mutual Aid Society?" "How can I apply for dormitory accomodation?"
Human	59	2.8	Human relations with bosses, coworkers and subordinates; e.g. "My boss treats me coldly." "I am not getting along well with my colleagues."
Others	38	1.8	On-the-job accidents, etc.; e.g. How can I apply for workers' comp?"
Total	442	20.9	

[Off-the-Job Problems]			
Human	128	6.1	Human relations between a husband & Relations a wife, parents and children, a wife and a mother-in-law, a man and a woman, and among brothers and sisters, neighbors, etc.; e.g. "Trouble with my husband because of his relation with a woman." "My wife and my mother don't get along well."
Mental	273	12.9	Mental anxieties such as loss of confidence, anthropophobia, and neurosis; "I get nervous if I have to talk in front of others." "A friend of mine behaves strangely. I'm afraid he may be mentally ill."

Health &	138	6.5	Problems of illnesses and medical care; Medical care; e.g. "I feel sick and am worried that it might be something serious." "Are there any proper hospitals or facilities?"
Housing	41	1.9	How to purchase real estate, obtain finance, overcome housing troubles, rent a house, etc.; e.g. "What kinds of loans are available?" "I have left a binder but want to cancel the contract."
Financial	137	6.5	Re: Family budgets, loans, debts, etc.; e.g. "I can't repay my debt to loan sharks[sarakin] and credit companies."
Legal	694	32.8	Land, houses, inheritance, donation, obligatory right, obligation, marriage, etc.; e.g. "The landlord has raised the ground rent." "The procedures to inherit property and to refuse succession." "Concerning divorce compensation."
Traffic	140	6.6	Solution after traffic accidents, the Accidents demand for compensation, the out-of-court settlement, etc.; "I want to claim damage for an accident." "The other party has asked for an out-of-court settlement. Should I agree to it?"
Others	122	5.8	Day care, education, etc.; e.g. My 9th grade daughter has refused to go to school."
Total	1673	79.1	

Grand Total	2,115	100.0	

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Employee Personal Services Room, Let's Make a Workplace Worth Working: What is happening at your workplace----now?, 1986, 1 .60 and 62.

25) When we design a program, it may be effective or even indispensable to know where a specific need we are focusing on is placed with respect to the various needs of the whole man [or woman]. It goes without saying that some intermediary research or typical "needs surveys" (pp. 55 and 378-9) are necessary between the research we are now engaged in and the actual program design.

26) It is questionable how far the recently enacted Sexually Equal Opportunity in Employment Act will go in the future?

CHAPTER FOUR

LABOR ADMINISTRATION AND WORKERS' WELFARE

One of the reasons for starting this research was a question to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Advisory Council, "How ought workers' welfare administration to be?"¹⁾ and a goal of this paper was to give an answer to it. In Chapter One, we established a general model of the workers' welfare concept through a review of various similar existing concepts in the world. In Chapters Two and Three, we extracted workers' needs, which embodied the concept, concerning present day Japanese workers.

In this chapter, we will first take a general view of the present labor administration by the Japanese national and the Tokyo metropolitan governments with some emphasis on "workers' welfare" programs, mainly for American readers. Then, by comparing the administration with the workers' welfare definition given in Chapter One and the workers' needs extracted in Chapters Two and Three, we will discuss the relationship between the workers' welfare concept of and labor administration, define the meaning of workers' welfare administration, and erect some pillars or principles for it which clarify the territory and problems to be considered and under which various concrete programs and services should be designed.

I TODAY'S LABOR ADMINISTRATION

Japanese administrative structure is composed of three tiers----national, prefectural²⁾ and local governments. It is basically equivalent in its organization and function to the United States'----federal, state and local. A difference is that Japan's power is more centralized than the United States. Or, Japanese prefectures and cities are less independent, with less autonomy than their U.S. counterparts. Most policies and programs are designed uniformly under national laws, and the personnel and financial relationship between the national, prefectural and local governments makes it difficult for lower level governments to deviate from them. Also many higher level government employees work in lower level governments,³⁾ and many lower level government programs are run with national government grants-in-aid.

Labor administration is mainly conducted by the national and prefectural governments. The involvement of local governments in this field is almost nonexistent with the exception of the management of mutual aid society programs and Workers' Welfare Halls for smaller firm workers.⁴⁾

Table IV-1 gives an outline of the organizations of the Ministry of Labour,⁵⁾ National Government, and the Bureau of Labor Affairs,⁶⁾ Tokyo Metropolitan Government. It presents the sub-fields of the labor administration, the clusters of programs. Most staff organizations such as managerial, clerical and research and planning divisions and departments have been omitted from the table. Also omitted are the organizations for home labor and foreign affairs.

Table IV-1: Organizations of Labor Administration
 ---National and Tokyo Metropolitan Governments---

Ministry of Labour National Government	Bureau of Labor Affairs ¹⁾ Tokyo Metropolitan Government
Central Industrial Relations Board	Prefectural Industrial Rela- tions Board
Labour Policy ²⁾ [Rosei] Bureau	Labor Policy ²⁾ [Rosei] Department
Women's Bureau	(Women's Section)
(Welfare Division)	(Workers' Welfare Div.)
Labour Standards Bureau (Workers' Comp Insurance) ³⁾	
Employment Security Bureau	Employment Security Department
(Employ't Insurance Div.)	Employment Insurance Department
(Older Workers Department) (Unemployment Relief Div.)	Older Workers Department (Unemployment Relief Div.)
Skill Development Bureau	Skill Development Department

1) See the footnote 5) of the body. (p.383)

2) The Japanese name is Rosei, whose major responsibility is industrial relations.

3) The official names of the organizations in charge are Compensation Division and Workers' Compensation Insurance Business Room. Concerning the choice of the word in translation between Workers' Compensation and Workman's Compensation, see 14) p.385.

Source: Ministry of Labour, Guidebook to Labor Problems [Rōdō-mondai no shiori], 1987 and Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Summary of Policies and Programs [Jigyo gaiyo], 1987. The table was made by the author. The order of organizations have been rearranged for the sake of comparison.

Readers will note the great similarity between the administrative organizations of the two governments. Most are largely parallel. The biggest difference is that the Labor Standards administration, which enforces minimum standards of wages, hours, safety and health and other labor conditions, falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of the national

government. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government has nothing to do with it. Other differences are mainly those of what division and department is in charge. For example, the national government has an independent bureau named the Women's Bureau whereas the Tokyo Metropolitan Government does not but the equivalent business is carried on by its Labor Policy Department. On the other hand, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government has independent departments named the Older Workers Department and the Employment Insurance Department whereas the national government does not but the equivalent administration is subject to the jurisdiction of its Employment Security Bureau. Workers' welfare administration, on which we will focus below, is dealt with by the Labor Standards Bureau⁷⁾ at the national level, but by the Workers' Welfare Division of the Industrial Relations Department, at Tokyo level.

Today's Japanese labor administration and programs can be categorized into ten fields: industrial relations (Industrial Relations Boards and the Labor Policy Bureau and Department), labor standards, workers' compensation insurance, employment security, employment insurance, unemployment relief, skill development, women, older workers, and workers' welfare. The following is a brief outline of those fields and programs.⁸⁾

1. Industrial Relations

"The development of the wholesome labor movement and the establishment of stable labor relations"⁹⁾ are goals of the industrial relations administration. What the first half of the sentence means

implies that the labor movement and labor relations of the country are lead in a direction that governments desire, and of course this direction changes over time. These changes were characterised by the unionization just after World War II and "democratization" in the late 1940s and early 50s, and in recent years it has been "cooperative labor unions". What the second half of the sentence implies is the prevention and solution of labor disputes, namely industrial peace.

The other side of the coin is the protection of workers' rights to organize, particularly from employers' interference such as unfair labor practices.

To serve these ends, two hundred forty three [9 in Tokyo] field offices named Labor policy Offices are scattered all over Japan. Also National and Prefectural Labor Relations Boards are playing important roles particularly for the second mission.

Interesting is the deviation in aims between the Tokyo Metropolitan Government level from the national government. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government has still kept the 1940's slogan of "Organize the unorganized" in and upholds "the improvement of labor conditions" as the ultimate goal, which means that the administration has positioned the former, or industrial relations, as a tool with which to realize the latter. This arises from the fact that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government labor administration has a strong emphasis on workers in smaller firms who are mostly unorganized.

(1) Collection of Labor Information

The governments collect current information on the movements and situations of labor and management and the conditions of workers through their daily operation and various surveys. Major surveys regularly conducted are the General Survey on the Labor Situation, the Survey on Economic Demands and Labor Conditions, the Labor and Management Relations Survey and others. Many special surveys are also conducted by the Ministry of Labour, Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Labor Affairs, and their Labor Policy Offices. This information is collected for governments' use in steering their administrations, whose goals were mentioned above, but most information is, at the same time, made available to labor, management and citizens in general for their use. At the Tokyo Metropolitan Government level, many surveys are conducted primarily as an information and data service.

(2) Labor Education

Many pamphlets, newspapers, lectures, seminars and even correspondence courses, workshops and other educational programs are offered to management, labor and citizens in order to "promote the growth of a healthy labor movement and establish stable labor relations.... through providing correct knowledge on labor problems and issues."¹⁰⁾ Topics cover not only industrial relations but also most fields of labor administration to be mentioned below.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government and its Labor policy Offices, for example, provided 137 seminars, lectures and workshops in the fiscal year 1986 for 14,318 participants.

(3) Promotion of Communication and Understanding Among Management, Labor, Public and/or Government

The governments have organized meetings, study groups, committees, boards and councils, which consist of management, labor, public and/or government at various levels----national, prefectural, local, industrial, corporate, etc.----for the purpose of steering the labor movement in the right direction, nurturing the cooperative atmosphere among parties, and avoiding strong opposition against new policies and programs. Their positive meaning is citizen participation. Some examples of them now in operation are:

[National]

Labor & Industrial Meeting[Sangyō rōdō konwakai]

Study Group for Worker's Participation[Rōdōsha sankā mondai kenkyūkai]

Liaison Committee on Multi-national Corporation Labor Problems
[Takokuseki kigyō rōdō mondai renraku kaigi]

Liaison Committee for Problems of Japanese Overseas[Kaigai hōjin mondai renraku kaigi]

[Prefectural and District]

Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Advisory Council[Rōdō shingikai]

The Labor Administration Council[Rōsei kyōgikai] at each Labor Policy Offices

Labor Information Exchange Meetings[Rōdō jōhō kondankai] at the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and each Labor Policy Offices

(4) Solution of Labor Conflicts

The Japanese Labor Relations Board system is very comparable to that of the United States. There are a central board at the national level and prefectural boards at all prefectures,¹¹⁾ which are tripartite. Their responsibilities include the certification of labor unions, the relief of unfair labor practices, and the mediation and arbitration of labor disputes. Those are all mandated by laws. Here again, the Tokyo

Metropolitan Government is unique. Its Labor Policy Offices, without any legal mandate, receive requests for consultations from workers and employers and assist them to solve problems and disputes between individual workers and employers as well as between collective labor and management.

2. Labor Standards

This is the administration charged with guaranteeing minimum standards of labor conditions to protect workers and fair competition conditions for employers. No workers should be allowed to work below these standards. The central legislation in this field is the Labour Standards Act, but the Minimum Wages Act, the Wage Payment Guarantee Act, the Occupational Safety & Health Act, the Pneumoconiosis Act and others are also important. The coverage of the provisions of the Labour Standards Act ranges from wages, hours and safety and health to company dormitories, work rules and women and minors.¹²⁾

Labor standards administration is the exclusive jurisdiction of the national government, and prefectural governments legally have nothing to do with it.

The total of 47 national government Prefectural Labour Standards Offices and their 346 field offices throughout Japan assume the following responsibilities (Refer to the preceding sub-section, however, for modification of the goal and function of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government industrial relations administration):

(1) Guidelines and Manuals

Under laws and regulations, the Labour Standards Bureau sets up various guidelines, standards and manuals, most typically on occupational safety and health. Examples are safety assessment guidelines on chemical plants and tunnel constructions, safety standards on the structures of machine tools and the use of industrial robots, and regular self-check guidelines on forklifts and boilers. (Safety & Health Act Articles 28, 45, 88 and others)

(2) Approval and Permission

The Labour Standards Bureau of the Ministry of Labour receives various notifications and reports from employers and the bureau grants approvals and permissions to them. The Labour Standards Act, for example, demands that employers notify and get approvals from the administration when they hire children younger than 15 years of age (Article 56), have employees work overtime and on holidays (Article 36), lay off employees without a 30-day notification (Article 20), and promulgate work rules (Article 86).

(3) Inspections and Corrective Measures

The central responsibility of the administration is field inspections¹³⁾—to ascertain if the standards on wages, hours, safety & health and other working conditions, which those above mentioned laws and regulations require have been observed or not. They are conducted regularly according to an annual plan, on serious occupational accidents like fires and explosions, on receipt of complaints from workers, and after a certain period of time following those inspections. If

violations of standards are found, a corrective advice is issued, and for serious intentional cases, the administration proceeds with judicial steps. Chiefs of field offices can also order the suspension of use or the alteration of workplace buildings, dormitories, facilities, materials and other features which contravene safety and health standards.

(4) Prevention Campaign and Education

The prevention campaign and educational programs are naturally conducted for making those laws, regulations and guidelines known to everybody and having the standards observed through seminars, lectures, pamphlets, posters, and others means.

(5) Loans

Loans are available to employers to improve the work environment (85 percent of expenses with 4.6 % interest for smaller firms, and 65 % with 4.8% for large firms up to ¥180 million, 10-20 years), to organizations that provide health checkup and monitor the work environment to build or purchase the necessary facilities and equipment (4.6 %, up to ¥100 million, for 7-20 years), and to associations of smaller employers' organizations to conduct safety and health education, health checkups, environment measurement, and for similar educational and prevention activities.

3. Workers' Compensation Insurance¹⁴⁾

In spite of various preventive measures on occupational safety and health, workers may sometimes, unfortunately, suffer on-the-job injury, disease, or death. The Workers' Compensation Insurance compensates for medical expenses, income during disability, invalidity and death and aims to guarantee the livelihood of workers and their survivors. The major benefits are as in Table IV-2:

The Workers' Compensation Insurance is administered by the central

Table IV-2: Kinds and Contents of Benefits of
Workers' Compensation Insurance

Injury & disease	Medical Treatment Compensation Benefit
Disability	All expenses for medical treatment
	Temporary Disability Compensation Benefit
	80 percent of the average daily wage* for the fourth day of absence and after
Long-term medical treatment	Injury & Disease Comp. Pension
	313 days(the 1st grade)-245 days(the 3rd grade) of the average daily wage, and a lump sum of ¥1.14 million(the 1st grade)-¥1 million (the 3rd grade)
After-effect	Physical Handicaps Compensation Pension
	313 days(the 1st grade)-131 days(the 7th grade) of the average daily wage, and the lump sum of ¥342 million(the 1st grade)-¥159 million(the 7th grade)
	Physical Handicaps Compensation Allowance
	503 days(the 8th grade)-56 days(the 14th grade) of the average daily wage(the one time allowance, and a lump sum of ¥650 thousand (the 8th grade)-¥80 thousand (the 14th grade)
Death	Bereaved Family Compensation Pension
	153 days(a person)-245 days(5 persons or more), of the average daily wage and a lump sum of ¥3 million
	Bereaved Family Compensation Allowance
	1,000 days of the average daily wage and a lump sum of ¥3 million in case of no beneficiaries of Bereaved Family Compensation Pension
	Expenses for Funeral Rites
	¥225 thousand + 30 days of the average daily wage, or 60 days of the average daily wage

(* Strictly speaking, a complicated calculation is applied.)

government and covers all workers with a few exceptions.¹⁵⁾ All premiums are paid by employers, and range from 0.5 percent to 14.5 percent of the total wages depending on the kind of business. For firms beyond a certain size an "experience rating" system has been adopted, that is, the more accidents they have, the higher the premiums they have to pay.

The Japanese Workers' Compensation Insurance program has two features. One, accidents while commuting are covered; second, the insurance fund administers some occupational welfare programs. In terms of the latter, the following kinds of programs are operated by the Workers' Compensation Insurance Fund.¹⁶⁾

Programs for rehabilitation and reemployment:

The construction and operation of Workers' Compensation hospitals, rehabilitation workshops and other facilities; the provision of prosthetic devices and health after-care; and loans for reemployment funds and automobiles.

Assistance programs for victims and survivors:

The provision of expenses for nursing, schooling, day-care and others; loans on the security of pensions; and construction and operation of Workers' Compensation Insurance halls.

Prevention programs for occupational safety and health:

The construction and operation of physical examination centers; subsidies to occupational safety and health prevention organizations; and the encouragement of industrial medical science.

4. Employment Security

Although a Ministry of Labour publication reads, "The ultimate goal of the employment policy is....to achieve full employment and maintain it, through which the security of stable employment and workers' effective display of ability are sought after....,"¹⁷⁾ as in industrial

relation and labour standard administration, the employment security administration basically has a double mission: i) to secure employment for workers and ii) to supply the necessary manpower to employers or the nation. The latter has been repeatedly discussed as the mobilization function of the employment administration. Simply remember the fact that the predecessor of Employment Offices were Work Mobilization Offices [Kinrō dōin-sho] during World War II.

The employment service (job referral) and various subsidies to employers to avoid layoffs and promote employment are two central programs here. While the former is common throughout the world, the latter is rather unique to Japan. Besides these two, financial benefits to workers, quota systems, and welfare programs are also important. Many of these programs have been developed along worker group lines, for instance, older workers, the handicapped, port laborers, construction workers, seasonal workers, buraku people, day workers, part-time workers, unemployed coal miners, unemployed workers from U.S. bases, Okinawans, new school graduates, mothers in fatherless families, and the unemployed from certain depressed industries or areas. The concept of "employment security" in a broad sense connotes unemployment insurance, unemployment relief and vocational training, but they will be discussed in separate sections later.

The employment security administration is also nationally administered by the national government. Although there are Employment Security Departments or Divisions in prefectural governments, nearly a hundred percent of their staffs are national government employees.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government additionally operates a Job Aptitude Consultation Office with its own funds.

(1) Job Referral

The job referral program is rather conventional. It is computerized and centralized. There are 616 public employment offices (including 134 for day workers) throughout Japan, of which 32 (including 14 for day workers) are in Tokyo. Excluding day workers, about 420 thousand workers [30 thousand in Tokyo] visited those employment offices for jobs at least once and about 128 thousand [6 thousands in Tokyo] got jobs through them every month on average in 1986.

In addition, within the boundary of Tokyo, there are: a Human Resource Bank for professionals and managerials, 4 Part-time Work Banks, 17 Older Worker Job Consultation Offices and Rooms, a Job Consultation Office for seasonal workers, and a Student Job Center, which all provide referral services as well as consultation and/or other assistance services.

(2) Subsidies to Employers

With the affluence of the Unemployment Insurance Fund owing the low unemployment rate, Unemployment Insurance was renamed Employment Insurance in 1975 and shifted its emphasis from simple payment of unemployment benefits more to preventive and positive measures against unemployment. Funds are used for various subsidies and loans to employers. Two types of subsidies are particularly noteworthy: i) subsidies for individual firms to enable them not discharge their employees into the external labor market but retain them in the internal labor market, and ii) subsidies to increase job opportunities of special groups of workers who would have difficulty finding jobs if the general labor market were completely free. Examples of the former are the

Employment Adjustment Subsidy and Older People Employment Security Subsidies. An example of the latter is the Subsidy for Employment Development for Special Category Job Seekers, who are older workers, physically and mentally handicapped workers, ex-coal miners, and others in similar straits. Most programs were initiated in 1977. The content of those subsidies as well as names of other subsidies and loans are:

Employment Adjustment Subsidy

If employers suspend their business operations because of sluggish business, provide education/training, or lend their employees to other companies and pay the suspension allowance¹⁸⁾ and wages, instead of laying them off, the government compensates for 1/2 (2/3 for smaller firms) the amount the employers paid during the¹⁹⁾ business suspension, education/training or loan period.

Older People Employment Security Subsidies

If employers who have a compulsory retirement age of 60 or above continue employment of their employees beyond 61 years old under their re-employment programs and the like, the government grants the employers ¥600,000 per full-time worker and ¥300,000 per part-time worker per year.

The Subsidy of Employment Development for Special Category Job Seekers

If employers hire workers in the following categories as regular employees through Employment Security Offices, the government subsidizes 1/4 (1/3 in case of smaller firm employers)²⁰⁾ of the wages paid for 12 months.

Older workers(45 years of age or above); the physically or mentally handicapped; mothers in fatherless families, repatriates from China; ex-U.S. base workers(35 years or older); ex-coal miners; unemployed Okinawans; ex-fishermen; the unemployed from designated depressed industries and areas; and others

The Subsidy for Employment Promotion of Post-retirement Workers

Older People Part-time Employment Subsidies

The Re-employment Promotion Course Attendance Encouragement Subsidy

Workplace Adaptation Training Expenses

Life-time Vocational Training Promotion Subsidies

The Physically-handicapped Worker Employment Subsidy

Construction Employment Improvement Subsidies

Whole Year Employment Subsidies for seasonal workers and forestry workers

The Winter Season Employment Security Subsidy

The Worker's Housing Construction Loan
The Welfare Facility Construction Loan
The Vocational Training Facility Construction Loan
The Whole Year Employment Loan for Facilities
The Workplace Improvement Loan for Older People's Employment

Grant-in-aid for handicapped workers' work facilities

(3) Affirmative Actions

Most workers in Japan usually cannot find a second job after their first retirement without great difficulty. This problem was referred in Chapter Two, pp.64 and 119.

The campaign for later compulsory retirement ages has been staged by the government for more than a decade. Particularly the Older People Employment Security Act requires employers to make an effort to postpone workers' compulsory retirement ages to 60 years of age or later. Employers with a younger than 60-year-old retirement age are requested to raise the age, ordered to make corrective plans and advised to implement them, and have their names publicized.

The Ministry of Labour also administers legally required quota programs, one for older workers and the other for the handicapped. The quota, or the employment ratio, for older workers(55 years of age or above) is 6 percent of regular employees. Employers who exceed the quota receive ¥20,000/month per older worker as a reward. Some public works in certain areas are required to have middle-aged and older workers of a ratio of 40 percent or more of all unskilled workers. The ratio for the handicapped is 1.6 to 2.0 percent depending on the category of the employer. Employers who are reluctant to hire the handicapped are ordered to make hiring plans and must pay penalties of

¥40,000 per capita for the unfilled quota. On the other hand, employers who employ more than the required percentage receive rewards.

(4) Supportive Programs for Workers

To increase employability, various assistance programs are available to workers. The central program is financial assistance to Unemployment Insurance recipients, workers who change jobs, and the handicapped. The Unemployment Insurance fund and the handicapped worker employment (penalty) fund described above are used as the sources of financing the programs. Some of these assistance programs appear below.

- Re-employment Facilitating Seminar Attendance Allowance for unemployment insurance recipients
- Employment Facilitating Allowance for middle and older aged job seekers (¥2,650-4,740/day)
- Vocational Training Allowance
- Wide Area Job Hunting Activity Allowance
- Moving Allowance for workers who change their address to take jobs or receive training which has been referred by Employment Security Offices
- Employment Outfit Allowance for the unemployed from U.S. bases and others who are employed through Employment Security Office's referrals or start their own businesses
- Loans for commuting automobiles, typewriters, industrial sawing machines, electric wheel chairs and word processors, for physically handicapped people

Various welfare facilities and programs are also available for various population groups. "Facilities" include those for training, housing, accommodation, resting, dining, bathing, meeting, and recreation. "Programs" include training, safety and health courses, consultation and referral programs. The following programs are unique. The Personal Reference Program helps job seekers who have difficulty getting jobs for some various reasons(e.g. being "too young" or "too

old") and the Suretyship Obligation Program provides up to ¥4,000,000 for older people to start their own businesses.

5. Unemployment Relief

Governments are the employers of last resort. The national and prefectural governments provide the unemployed with road repair, embankment construction, ground leveling, sewer laying, street cleaning, school swimming pool construction and other work. The program has been operated by prefectural governments with two third of the administrative expenses and a half of the material expenses provided by the national government. As of 1987, an hourly wage ranged between ¥614 to ¥887 in Tokyo, and in addition twice yearly bonuses were paid according to the number of days worked.

The unemployment relief public work program was initiated in 1949, during the mass unemployment era after World War II, and played a very important role of guaranteeing a worker's living. Around 1960-61, approximately 350 thousand unemployed workers used to be in the program. Today, however, only 68 thousand are in the program because of the lower unemployment rates since the 1960s and early 70s and because of the government's policy, since 1971, to eliminate the program. With no new influx allowed, the average age of the participants has reached 62.6 years as of September 1986, and thus the unemployment relief program is now under the jurisdiction of Older Workers Departments. (cf. Table IV-1).

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government, with its own funds, provides some supplementary programs for the unemployed such as clerical workers and those from isolated islands and also various welfare programs and services such as accommodation facilities, absence allowance for accidents and illnesses, condolence money, traveling clinics, and loans for living.

6. Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment Insurance guarantees income and living to workers while they are unemployed. The benefit depends on age and number of years insured, and the basic benefit ranges from ¥2,570 to ¥7,330 or from 60 to 80 percent of the previous wage for 90-180 days for young people and up to 300 days for older people. See Table IV-3 below for qualifications, amounts and duration of benefits for the generally insured. New beneficiaries of this benefit numbered 1,486,000 nationally in 1986. Under certain conditions some extension programs and supplementary allowances are also available, and older workers in a certain category receive benefits under a different scheme as do day workers under a separate program.

The Unemployment Insurance is a national program. Premiums are paid by both employers and employees while the government subsidises a quarter of the benefit. There are some additional benefits for the generally insured and different benefits for a certain category of older workers and day workers.

Table IV-3: Unemployment Insurance Basic Benefits
(General Insured)

1. Qualification: Insured for six months or longer in a year prior to the date of unemployment
2. Daily Amount: ¥2,570-¥7,330 (60-80 percent of previous wage)
3. Duration of Benefit Period:

Age	Number of Insured Years			
	Less Than 1	1-5	5-10	More Than 10
Younger than 30	90 days	90	90	180
30-45	90	90	180	210
45-55	90	180	210	240
55-65	90	210	240	300
Those with Employment Difficulty				
Younger than 55	90	240		
55-65	90	300		

4. Special Extension:

- a. Special Individual Extension Benefit
- b. Individual Extension Benefit
- c. Training Extension Benefit
- d. Wide Area Extension Benefit
- e. Nation-wide Extension Benefit

This Unemployment Insurance program is roughly similar to the U.S. one, except that it is a national program. For more about the change of name to Employment Insurance, the shift of the emphasis to prevention, the expenditure for various subsidies and loans, see the foregoing discussion of Employment Security.

7. Skill Development

Skill Development is a euphemism for vocational training. The operation of public vocational training, the assistance of private sector vocational training, and the official certification of trade skills fall under this administration. Together they "aim at developing and advancing workers' skills to secure their working lives and promote their status, and also at contributing to the development of the economy and society."²¹⁾

(1) Public Vocational Training

Four types of programs are provided at 382 vocational training schools, skill development centers, a vocational training college and junior colleges. They are operated either by prefectural governments,²²⁾ the national government or the Employment Promotion Projects Corporation which is a quasi-public organization established by the national government. The four types of programs are:

- Basic Training for new school graduates and other young people
- Ability-recultivating Training for those who change their jobs, both for general workers and, specifically, for middle-age and older workers
- Training for the handicapped
- Supplemental Training for those who finished the basic training courses or are already equipped with a certain level of occupational skill and knowledge

Courses range from welding, auto mechanics, drafting and accounting to interior construction, gardening, personal computer and social service helping. In Tokyo, for example, in 1986, 117 kinds of courses were offered under the first three of the above-mentioned programs. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government allocates certain slots in shoe-making and automobile driving courses to buraku people.

Most courses are for six months, one year or two years, except for Supplemental Training courses which are of 14 to 150 hours. Across the country, in 1987, the total number of slots for basic, ability-recultivating and handicapped training was 133,000, and for supplemental training, 251,000. Equivalent numbers for Tokyo were 9,000 and 13,000 respectively.

Trainees who are Unemployment Insurance beneficiaries are entitled to a training allowance of ¥20,750 per month. Those who are middle- or older-aged and not beneficiaries of Unemployment Insurance and who have inadequate incomes are entitled to an allowance (¥106,570 per month as of 1987). Financial loans are also available for trainees in economic difficulty who have excellent records.

(2) Assistance to Vocational Training in the Private Sector

The governments provide consultation, advice and information and also make training instructors and public training facilities available to employers and their associations that offer vocational training to their employees. Recently, Job Skill Development Centers and Area Vocational Training Centers were opened specifically for this purpose.

Also, various loans and subsidies are available to promote vocational training in the private sector. They include:

A loan for education/training facilities and machines

Employers and their associations that build or improve facilities or purchase machines and equipment to educate/train their own employees (90 percent of expenses up to ¥50 million for employers and ¥100 million for their associations; interest rates of 4.8 percent for smaller firms and 5.0 percent for large firms; 15-20 years for buildings and 5 years for machines and equipment)

Subsidies(1/4-2/3 of expenses, including wages during education/ training)

Skill Development Subsidies

Employers who provide vocational training to their own employees

Self-enlightenment Subsidies

Employers who give their employees paid educational/training leave or pay their employees expenses to receive training

Skill Test Promotion Subsidies

Smaller firm employers who develop and implement approved in-firm skill test programs

Smaller Firm Skill Development Subsidies for "Business Change"

Employers who are changing their businesses and who provide training for their employees to change or diversify their skills

Smaller Firm Association Skill Development Promotion Subsidies

Employers' associations which educate or train their members with middle or long range perspectives considering the changes of consumers' needs and competition from NICs

Subsidies for Approved Vocational Training

Employers and their associations that provide vocational training that meets the standards of the Ministry of Labour

(3) Trade Skill Test

The government operates an official certification program for trade skills, which "aims at promoting workers' motivation to learn skills, enhancing the community's recognition of the skill and the effectiveness of vocational training and contributing to the improvement of workers' skills and status."²³⁾ Tests are given for the first and second ranks in most kinds of skills.²⁴⁾ As of July 1987, 134 kinds of skills are listed in the certification program. Some examples of these skills are gardening, forging, auto mechanics, sewing, printing, ham & sausage making, tile-setting, flower ornamentation, oil hydraulic-equipment adjustment, and electronic machine assembling.

Two types of programs supplement this central trade skill testing program. The first is the Approved Skill Test program run by non-profit

organizations(9 skills as of September 1987)) and private firms and their associations(34 skills in 10 corporations or their association), which are conducted under the certification, "Approved by the Ministry of Labour." The other is the Skill Certification program by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, which certifies that training school graduates have reached a certain skill level and because of this they will be exempted from taking written exams of the Trade Skill Tests.

8. Women Labour

While all of the administration described previously was classified primarily by the kind of services it provided, such as employment service, vocational training and occupational safety and health, women labour administration is by client to be served.

The clients to be served in this case are women workers, and the goal is to elevate their status. There are two groups of programs: Traditional protective programs and anti-discrimination programs.

(1) Traditional Protective Programs

The protection of female workers, who, traditionally, are considered "weak"----as well as minors----has made up an important part of labor administration since factory acts were enacted throughout the world and falls under the jurisdiction of the labour standards administration in Japan. Protective restrictions have been imposed on maximum working hours, late night work, dangerous and harmful jobs, underground work and work on menstruation days. (See the Labour

Standards section above.) Additional protection has been offered, for example, to pregnant working women²⁵⁾ and part-time workers²⁶⁾ under Ministry of Labour guidelines. While the Labour Standards Administration is responsible for enforcement, the Women Labor Administration is also engaged in the dissemination of knowledge and public education about labor standards that apply to women.²⁷⁾

To improve the welfare of working women, the administration, in 1953, established Centers for Working Women, where consultation/advice services and educational and recreational activities are offered. In 1986, there were 199 such centers.

(2) Anti-discrimination

The world trend since the 1975 UN International Women's Year increased interest in lifting the discrimination against women in Japan and led to the enactment of the Act for the Security of Equal Opportunities and Conditions Between Men and Women and the Promotion of Other Women Workers' Welfare in Employment (hereafter referred to as the Equal Employment Act). The enforcement of and public education²⁷⁾ about this law and its guidelines are the central issues in this administrative field today.

The Ministry of Labour Women & Minors Division, located in each prefecture, provides a consultation service and gives advice, guidance and recommendation to solve the disputes between female workers and employers. Unsolved cases could go to the Equal Opportunity Mediation Committee within the division, which is composed of a panel of five learned and experienced men/women.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government was a pioneer in this administrative field. Its Bureau of Labor Affairs' Women's Work Section was active in public education and campaigns for sex equality. It also established the Sex Equality of Employment Grievance Committee several years before the Equal Employment Act was enacted and the Mediation Committee was formed.

In Japan, a hindrance in achieving equality between sexes partly exists in women's working patterns of their careers; That is, the M-letter shape²⁸⁾ of labor force participation rates. Still, today, many women workers leave or have to leave the labor market upon marriage, child birth, or when they want to bring up their children,²⁹⁾ and find it difficult to return to work with good conditions, particularly under the life-time employment system. (See p.49) Many return to jobs as part-time workers. Then it is important to have programs that discourage termination of employment on marriage, pregnancy and child birth, and facilitate the return to employment after a break of several year.

i) Childcare Leave

To encourage childcare leave programs, which allow women to take leaves of absence for a few months or years and assist their return to jobs, the government provides Childcare Leave Subsidizes³⁰⁾ to employers, stations Childcare Leave Program Advisors at the Women and Minors Divisions of the Ministry of Labour for consultation and advice, and conducts public education/campaigns such as the annual Ten-day Childcare Leave Program Campaign. The amounts provided by the various subsidies as of 1987 are:

Child Care Leave Subsidies³¹⁾

For smaller corporations: ¥1,000,000 (¥600,000 for the first year and ¥400,000 for the second year) per employer

For larger corporations: ¥800,000 (¥450,000 for the first year and ¥350,000 for the second year) per employer

Specified Job Childcare Leave Subsidies³²⁾

For certain kinds of employers, e.g. voluntary hospitals, who pay the labor and social insurance premiums on behalf of workers(e.g. nurses) who take these leaves: ¥6,500 per month per worker given to employers

ii) Re-hiring of Ex-employees and Assistance to Re-employed Workers

Female Reemployment Facilitation Subsidies³³⁾ are given to employers who rehire their former employees who resigned because of pregnancy, child birth and child rearing and spend some years out of the labor market. The subsidy amounts are ¥300,000 for smaller corporations and ¥200,000 for larger corporations per re-employed worker.

Fifty five facilities specialize in assistance to women who were full-time housewives for years and want to return to jobs. The facilities provide skill training for such jobs as word processing, operating personal computers, accounting, caring for the sick, and sewing, and also provide consultation, advice and information services.

The following services are available especially for mothers in fatherless families or widows who have been at home for a long time and have to return to work:

Consultation and advice at public employment offices(216) by
Job Advisors for Widows

Vocational training allowances(¥114,250 per month on average)

Travel expenses for skill training

Subsidies to employers who employ them and provide work place
adjustment training(¥18,700 for 6 months)(See p.231)

Unique is the Family Service Club, which is a kind of mutual assistance program to match the needs of communities(e.g. the nursing of children and old people in homes) and the needs of women whose children become old enough to permit their return to work. The program provides short term supplemental jobs as preparation for full-time regular employment, as well as consultation services, lectures and workshops. It aims at both providing job opportunities and improving the welfare of workers' families in their communities.

9. Older Workers

This is another area where we considered those served by the administration rather than just the types of service provided.

Although some emphasis on older workers has been put into each of the above areas, for example, Employment Security and Skill Development, a special feature are the Senior Citizen Human Resource Centers. Senior Citizen Human Resource Centers get job offers from the communities and refer older workers to them. The Centers function like the previously described employment service except that the workers referred here are older workers, mainly sixty years of age or older. The uniqueness is that the program cuts across both "labor" and "welfare". The work which older workers take is not only for wages but for "life worth living"[ikigai]. The retired older workers do not want to work eight hours a day, five or six days a week, but may want to work fewer hours and days with more relaxation to contribute to communities by contributing skills and experience acquired through long careers. Many

older people mention "participation in community life," "maintenance of health," "appreciation by others," and "the small sums of money to give to grandchildren" as the motivation to continue working.³⁴⁾ Jobs include shōji (sliding door) papering, gardening, tutoring, letter addressing, and clerical assistance, which are temporary and supplementary jobs of daily necessity in communities.

A Senior Citizen Human Resource Center is an association. The centers receive work orders from the community to allocate to its members, who actually work. Job providers and workers are legally not in a direct employment relation, but providers and centers are in a kind of contractual relation. Providers pay for the work to the center, which pays dividends to its members.

The program was developed in 1974 by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and expanded to all of Japan in 1980 by the national government. As of 1986 there were 290 centers nationally, including 56 in Tokyo. Members of the 56 centers in Tokyo totalled 36,000.

10. Workers' Welfare

Although an annual report by the Ministry of Labour defines the jurisdiction of workers' welfare administration as "on- and off-the-job life problems[seikatsu mondai]",³⁵⁾ actually it seems to include most everything not covered by other administrations mentioned previously. National programs administered directly by the Ministry of Labour or through prefectural governments include: (1) the campaign for the five-day work week and shorter working hours, (2) the Workers' Asset-building

Program, (3) Smaller Firm Retirement Allowance Programs, (4) workers' welfare halls and other facilities, (5) Smaller Enterprise Groups, (6) the Wage for Bankrupt-Firm Workers Program, (7) programs for working youth, and (8) assistance to and supervision of welfare activities by workers' organizations. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government adds: (9) Cultural, recreational and sports activities through the Workers' Welfare Association, (10) loans for living expenses, (11) the Older Worker's Welfare Promoters Program, (12) programs for buraku-min, and (13) some others which belong to the above categories (1)-(8). The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Workers' Welfare Division also administers programs for home-work workers but they are omitted in this paper to simplify the discussion.

All programs deal with "welfare above a minimum", not "welfare as a minimum." (See Chapter One.) All programs pertain to fringe benefits except for the programs of (1), partly (5), (6), (7), and (11) above. All programs focus on workers of smaller firms except for the programs of (1), (2) and (8) above, which also cover workers from larger corporations, and program of (12), which covers non-employees.

(1) The Campaign for a Five-day Work Week and Shorter Working Hours

To be noted is the recent expansion of the jurisdiction of the MOL Labour Standards Bureau to better labor conditions beyond the minimum standards which laws and regulations stipulate. As of 1987, the campaign for shorter working hours is in full swing, for example, the campaign for the five day work week, for taking more vacations or annual personal paid holidays, and for less overtime work. These moves owe much to the pressure from foreign countries because of trade friction.

(2) Workers' Asset-building Program

The Workers' Asset-building Program and the following Smaller Enterprise Retirement Allowance Program aim at the guarantee of workers' long-term life planning and stability and, at the same time, at the growth of social overhead capital and society's security in general.

The Workers' Asset-building Program is somewhat similar to Independent Retirement Accounts (IRAs) in the United States.³⁶⁾ Workers have a certain amount of their monthly pay checked off for savings, house ownership and retirement preparation. To this, employers³⁷⁾ may contribute up to ¥100,000 per person per year, which is encouraged by the government through tax privileges³⁸⁾ and subsidies.³⁹⁾ The money collected goes to banks, life insurance companies or other financial institutions for seven year investments. The accumulated fund can be loaned at low interest for long terms to employers, employer's organizations and workers' welfare organizations to construct houses to be sold to workers for lower prices or with interest subsidies, and to employees to build, purchase or renovate their own houses directly from the extra-governmental Employment Promotion Project Corporation which manages this program or indirectly through their employers. The government also subsidizes the interest. Education loans are also available.⁴⁰⁾

An annuity can be received at 60 years of age or later.

(3) The Smaller Firm Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Program

As seen in Chapter Two, the retirement allowance differential between larger corporations and smaller corporations is enormous. The

Smaller Firm Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Program aims at making it possible for workers in smaller corporations to receive a proper retirement allowance.

"Workers in smaller corporations" here means regular employees in firms with 300 employees or fewer or capitalized at ¥100 million or less (100 or fewer or ¥30 million or less in wholesale industries, and 50 or fewer or ¥10 million or less in retail and service industries). Employers pay premiums (¥3,000-20,000) monthly into the Project's Corporation fund. For example, a payment of ¥3,000 per month would guarantee an allowance of ¥573,090 after 10 years and ¥3,562,600 after 30 years. An payment of ¥20,000 would guarantee ¥3,682,390 after 10 years and ¥22,891,600 after 30 years. Approximately half the new program participants belonged to the former category in 1987. The government subsidizes a one third of the premiums from new participants for two years.

Construction, sake manufacturing and forestry workers have identical but separate programs. As of March 31, 1986, the total number of participants in all four programs was 440,000 firms and 3,791,000 employees.

The Smaller Firm Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Projects Corporation, an extra-governmental organization, is responsible for the program's management.

The accumulated funds are loaned to employers at low interest rates to improve employee welfare facilities for housing, medical and health care, lunch and cultural activities.⁴¹⁾

(4) Welfare Facilities

The Governments and their extra-organizations build and manage various kinds of welfare facilities by either directly or through contract. The following are examples, many of which have already been referred to in previous sections:

- Smaller Firm Recreational Centers
- The Occupational Total Welfare Center
- The Workers Employment Welfare Center
- Sports facilities for workers
- The Workers Total Welfare Center
- Joint welfare facilities
- Outdoor activity facilities for workers
- Houses for Working Women
- Working Youth Homes
- The National Working Youth Hall
- Working Youth Friendship Centers
- Middle- and Older-Aged Workers Welfare Centers
- Port Laborers Welfare Centers
- Construction Workers Training Welfare Centers
- Seasonal Workers Welfare Centers
- Employment Centers for the Handicapped

The target populations for these centers are smaller firm workers and other disadvantaged groups such as female, youth, older, port, construction, seasonal and handicapped workers, who do not enjoy such welfare facilities at their own workplaces. They contrast with full-time regular employees in large leading corporations. These welfare facilities usually accommodate conference rooms, gyms, ping-pong rooms, social halls, go (a checker-like game) rooms, rooms for cultural activities such as flower arrangement and tea ceremony, small libraries and cafeterias and, sometimes, swimming pools, bowling alleys, saunas, physical training rooms, physical strength test rooms, banquet rooms, exhibition halls, music halls, hotels and even wedding halls.

While these facilities can be used as workers desire, various cultural, recreational and sports programs are sponsored and sports-recreational instructors or leaders are often stationed at these halls.⁴²⁾ The instructors also play a role as facilitators for working youth to organize various informal circles and to make friends.

Users of the Tokyo Workers' Welfare Hall, the largest hall among Workers' Welfare Halls in Tokyo, numbered 580,000 in 1985.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government has built nearly thirty Workers' Welfare Halls since 1967 throughout Tokyo for smaller firm workers, and this building formed the central program in its workers' welfare administration. The halls have been turned over to local governments and the Tokyo Occupational Welfare Association, the administration of which will be described below.⁴³⁾

(5) Grants-in-aid to Smaller Firm Groups

To encourage small firms to ameliorate employees' labor conditions and stimulate occupational welfare, prefectural governments designate a certain number of employers' organizations, approximately 25 in Tokyo, as special "Smaller Firm Groups" and give three yearly grants. With the grants, the groups may have seminars, conduct surveys, implement welfare activities and distribute various printed matters to their members. Groups which have completed these kinds of programs form a federation, to which the government provides a subsidy for their operation.

This is a national program financially.

(6) The payment of Unpaid Wages

The national government pays employees of bankrupt employers 80 percent of unpaid wages up to ¥560,000 per worker. In the fiscal year 1986, nationally, 56,414 workers recovered part of their wages under this program.

This program is required by the Wage Payment Guarantee Act and is financed by the Workers' Compensation Insurance fund.

(7) Working Youth

The key concepts of the administration for working youth are the protection of minors, or "the weak", and the promotion of young workers' welfare, which are identical to the concepts of the administration for working women, while the phrase "the sound upbringing" of youth replaces the "anti-discrimination" one in the working women's administration.

The Labour Standards Act stipulates the minimum working age, labor conditions notification, and night work prohibition for minors, and places the Labour Standards Bureau Women & Minors Divisions in charge. (cf. The section of Labour Standards.) Present administrative emphasis is on the work done by high school students.

Welfare facilities exclusively for working youth comprise 530 Working Youth Homes, a National Working Youth Hall and 4 Working Youth Friendship Centers. There, various cultural, recreational and sports programs are provided, Working Youth Home Leaders are stationed, consultation and advice services are given, and voluntary circle activities are encouraged and assisted. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Workers' Welfare Halls mentioned above double as Working Youth Halls.

The administration provides education, guidance and advice to employers, their organizations, working youth and others to improve human relations in the workplace, facilitate adaptation to jobs and make workplaces more attractive to young people, thus to promote higher morale. It also holds training sessions for Working Youth Welfare Promoters and Working Youth Welfare Officers, who are legally required⁴⁴⁾ to be assigned at firms with 20 minor employees or more, to receive consultation, give advice and play the central role for recreational activities at workplaces.

Relatively new programs are the international exchange programs. One is the Working Holiday Program with Australia and Canada, which provides their young people with opportunities to work and travel in Japan, and vice versa. The other is Friendship Plan for the 21st Century with ASEAN countries and China, under which Japan accepts their urban youth for experience. Tokyo Metropolitan Government's program includes a cruise to China. Over 300 working youth in their 20s in small firms are provided with an opportunity for group life and international experience. The cruise lasts 12 days, during which Beijing and Tiaindjin are visited and various seminars and activities are held on board.

(8) Promotion of Voluntary Welfare Activities

There are two methods of governmental intervention, subsidy and inspection. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government, for example, granted subsidies of ¥7 million in 1987 to the Tokyo Workers' Welfare Council to allow them to run welfare facilities, recreational programs and sports festivals. Workers' Welfare Councils were organized in the early 1950s

by national federations of labor unions,⁴⁵⁾ major national unions and workers' cooperative federations, both at the national and local levels, to promote workers' welfare activities such as campaigning and lobbying for social security, housing and anti-inflation, organizing and coordinating workers cooperatives and sponsoring recreational programs. The government also gives a subsidy of ¥2,000,000 to partially cover the expenses for the May Day Rally in Tokyo held jointly by the four national federations of labor unions.

Prefectural governments regularly supervise and inspect Workers' Credit Co-operatives or workers' banks to protect their consumers' interests. The banks have been organized prefecture by prefecture and, as of March 31, 1986, their total deposits reached ¥4,951 billion, whose holdings ranked between 22nd, the Saitama Bank and 23rd, the Yokohama Bank in a listing of commercial banks in Japan. The Tokyo Workers' Credit Co-operative had 32 branch offices and 7,255 members or investors, 96 percent of whom were labor unions or their federations.

(9) The Tokyo Occupational Welfare Association

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government established the Tokyo Occupational Welfare Association, Inc. in 1975 as an auxiliary organ to extend its workers' welfare administration to smaller firm workers.⁴⁶⁾ At the present time, the following activities are run by that association.

- (i) Research and dissemination of workers' welfare activities
- (ii) Rental resort inns and hotels during the summer and winter vacation seasons
- (iii) Cultural and sports programs; e.g. cooking, flower arrangement, koto and calligraphy classes, ping pong, go and shōgi tournaments and art exhibitions

(iv) Fire insurance mutual society

(v) Management of Workers' Welfare Halls (See the above (4).)

(vi) Management of Dormitories for Youth and meeting and conference rooms attached to Labor Policy Offices (See p.313)

(10) Loans for Living Expenses

Just as there is a great contrast of recreational facilities between large corporations and small firms, so do employees' loan programs differ. A maximum of ¥500,000, or ¥700,000 in special cases, can be loaned to smaller firm workers through the Workers' Credit Co-operative when they receive no bonus payment in summer or winter or if their general living fund is short. In 1985, 6,847 workers got loans totalling ¥2,132,529. The interest rate as of April 1, 1987 was 4.9 percent on loans to be repaid within three years in installments.

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government pays the surety fee and part of the loss resulting from obligation guarantees to the Tokyo Workers' Cosurety Association.

(11) Middle-Age and Older Worker Welfare Promoters

The Tokyo Metropolitan Government instituted a Middle-Age and Older Worker Welfare Promoter Program in 1973 so that employees in smaller firms can be advised on pre-retirement plans and helped to secure a comfortable retirement life.

Seven-day training seminars for prospective Promoters are held for employers and persons in charge of personnel management. Training includes such subjects as legal, economic, employment and health

problems of middle-age and older people, counselling methods, pre-retirement planning and case studies. A retraining seminar is also held annually for promoters.

(12) Programs for the Buraku-min

There are about 600,000 buraku-min, or special village people, who were created by rulers during the feudal period as out-cast people. Although the caste system was abolished more than 100 years ago, buraku-min still sometimes experience discrimination, against which the government has implemented various kinds of programs in various departments. The Bureau of Labor Affairs Workers' Welfare Division of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government is responsible for three programs to ameliorate their occupational health and working conditions and to promote their welfare.

The major program aims to improve their occupational health and working conditions. Many buraku-min are engaged in leather and footwear industries, often with their wives, in their homes. Their work rooms, where they use organic solvents, are small and poorly ventilated. Workers often suffer from headache, stiff shoulders, dizziness, eye mucus and other illness. The government has assigned Occupational Health Specialists to disseminate knowledge and information on occupational health and working conditions and to give advice to buraku workers. The government subsidizes 95 percent of expenses for the installation of ventilation equipment in their work rooms. In addition, the government specially assists them and allows them to participate in Workman's Compensation Insurance, although they are not strictly employees but self-employed workers,⁴⁷⁾ working at home.

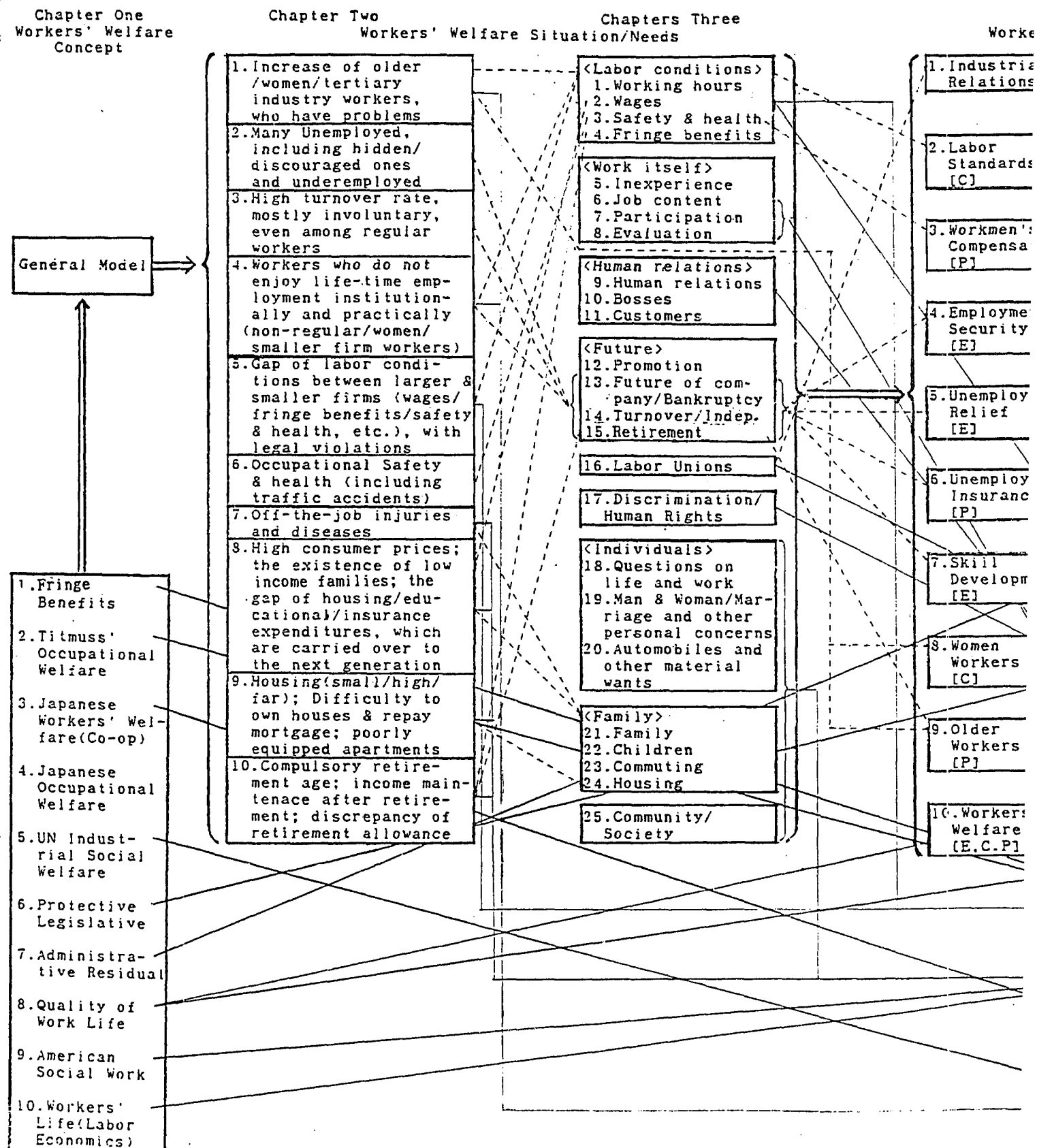
The second program is the assignment of Labor Problem Advisors and Occupational Welfare Advisors whose responsibilities are to advise the buraku-min of labor problems, to promote citizens' understanding of buraku-min anti-discrimination programs, and to raise the buraku-min's status in the society. The last program sponsors a recreational program----one day bus trips----for buraku-min homework workers, who have few recreational opportunities.

II LABOR ADMINISTRATION AND WORKERS' WELFARE: A PROPOSAL TO TOKYO METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

Figure IV-1 summarizes what has been described previously in Chapters One through Four and what will be discussed in the remaining part of this chapter.

The columns have been arranged in chapter order, from left to right. In the bottom half of the first column, readers will find the ten concepts of workers' welfare which exist throughout the world today. From them a general model of the workers' welfare concept was extracted as shown in the top half of the same column. In the second and third columns, readers will find the workers' welfare situation of contemporary Japan, or their needs. The second column is a summary of Chapter Two. The third column is a summary of Chapter Three. The more accurate relations among chapters are shown in the supplemental figure on the upper right corner of the figure. In the fourth column, readers will find clusters of programs of the Japanese labor administration.

Figure IV-1: Summary of All Chapters



Chapter Four Workers' Welfare Policies & Programs/ Administration

1. Industrial Relations
2. Labor Standards [C]
3. Workmen's Compensation [P]
4. Employment Security [E]
5. Unemployment Relief [E]
6. Unemployment Insurance [P]
7. Skill Development [E]
8. Women Workers [C]
9. Older Workers [P]
10. Workers' Welfare [E.C.P]

I. Workers' Welfare as the goal

II. Workers' welfare as a field

<General Pillar>

1. Grasp of all needs

(Research and organization in charge)

<Content Pillars>

(Guarantee of minimum standards)

2. Solution of illegal situation

(Grievance Committee for legal violation)
(Employer's name publicizing program)

3. Protection of human rights/anti-discrimination

(Degree-offering joint courses between universities and governments)

(For above minimum)

4. For better labor conditions (working hours, transfer, HR, job content, etc.) (all sizes)

(Incentive & assistance to ameliorate difficulties of simple, repetitive, shift work, etc.)

5. Introduction of industrial democracy (all sizes)

(General campaign for co-evaluation/evaluation disclosure, etc.)

6. Gap-filling between larger and smaller enterprises

(Guarantee of survivors' living after death due to non-occupational injuries and diseases)

7. Off-the-job problems

(Personal social services at Labor Policy Offices)
(Sick nurse program)

<Instrumental Pillars>

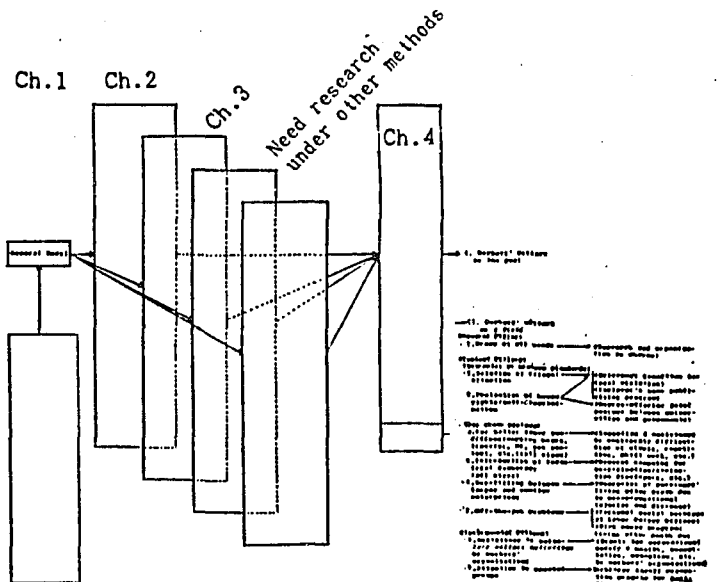
8. Assistance to voluntary welfare activities by workers' organizations

(Grants for occupational safety & health, consultation, education, etc. to workers' organizations)

9. Attention to special groups

(Arbitray layoff preventive program for part-time workers)

More Accurate Relations Among Chapters



[] indicates the process of labor power reproduction cycle to which each division of the administration mainly relates. [E] stands for the exchange process, [C] the consumption process and [P] the production process. (cf.pp.28-29 and 33)

Column five is the concluding part of this study, which will be explained in this section. The relationship between the workers' welfare concept and the workers' welfare administration and the framework and content of the workers' welfare administration will be given. The last column at the extreme right would be filled in with concrete programs to be developed in the future under each item of the fifth column. Some examples of programs that could be developed have been written within parentheses.

The items in each column are, of course, not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, "10.Retirement" in Column 2 overlaps with "4.Gap between larger and smaller enterprises," and "transfer" (because of ijime) of "6.For Better Conditions" in Column 5 pertains to "5.Human Rights/Anti-Discrimination".

Lines indicate relationships among items. It could be read, for example, that the ten concepts described in Column 1 have been utilized to draw the conclusion in Column 5 in two ways: One, via the general model and workers' needs and, two, directly. All related items are not necessarily linked with lines. For instance, "5.Inexpererience" in Column 3 may relate to "8.Skill Development" in Column 4, and "5.UN Industrial Social Welfare model" in Column 1 may relate to "8.Gap-filling" in Column 5. Only major relations have been indicated.

1. Workers' Welfare As the Goal of Labor Administration

Comparing labor administration programs described in the preceding section with the definition of workers' welfare given in Chapter One and workers' needs extracted from Chapters Two to Three, we learn two things: 1) It is not the Workers' Welfare Administration in a narrow sense (pp.242-) but the entire labor administration that is responding to the definition of workers' welfare presented in Chapter One and the needs identified in Chapters Two to Three. 2) Only part of the identified needs are addressed by the existing labor administration programs. This sub-section is concerned with the first point and the next sub-section with the second point.

The whole labor administration seems to be directed toward the promotion of workers' welfare. The phrases, "the promotion of worker's welfare," as well as "the improvement of labor conditions," "the guarantee of life," and similar phrases, which are identical in a sense with the concept of "the promotion of workers' welfare", were found repeatedly in the preceding section and are found in various reports and documents of the Ministry of Labour of the national government and the Bureau of Labor Affairs of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, as aims of their policies and programs. The goal of the whole labor administration may be fairly stated to be the promotion of workers' welfare.

In order to ascertain whether this proposition is fair or not, let us take a look at the provisions of major labor legislation bearing on these policies and programs. The first article of most Japanese laws is devoted to a statement of the mission or purpose of the legislation. Table IV-4 is a summary of these mission statements developed by the

Table IV-4: Purposes of Labor Legislations

Names of Laws	Promotion of Workers' Welfare	Economic & Social Development of the Nation, etc.
[Labor Relations]		
Trade Union Act	to elevate the status of workers....; to protect the exercise by workers of autonomous self-organization and association in trade unions	
Labour Relations Adjustment Act		to contribute to the maintenance of industrial peace and to economic development
Act concerning Control of Methods of Acts of Dispute in Electric Enterprise and Coal Mining Industry		to protect public welfare....
[Labor Welfare]		
Labourers' Credit CO-opera- tive Act	contributing to the improvement of the econo- mic status of worker	
Act for the Promotion of the Workers' Property Accumula- tion	to ensure the stability of workers' living..	and....to contribute to the sound development of national economy
Smaller Enterprise Retirement Allowance Mutual Aid Act	contributing to the promotion of welfare of these employees	and the growth of the enterprise
Working Women Welfare Act	to further the welfare and improve the status of working women	
Working Youth Welfare Act	to further the welfare of young workers	
[Labor Standards]		
Labor Standards Act	(No purpose provisions)	
Security of Wage Payment Act	to contribute to the stabilization of workers' living...	
Minimum Wages Act	to improve the working conditions of low-paid workers... and....to contribute to stabilizing workers' living, economy	raising the quality of labour force and securing fair competition among undertakings as well as to promote the sound development of the national economy

Names of Laws	Promotion of Workers' Welfare	Economic & Social Development of the Nation, etc.
Industrial Safety and Health Act	to secure....the safety and health of workers in workplaces as well as to facilitate the establishment of comfortable working environment....	
Working Environment Measure- ment Act	to secure....the optimal working environment.. ..and maintain the health of workers in work- places	
Pneumoconiosis Act	contributing to the maintenance of workers' health as well as the promotion of their welfare	
[Employment Security] Employment Measures Act	thus contributing to the promotion of employ- ment security and elevating the economic and social status of workers	to contribute toward the balanced development of the national economy and the achievement of full employment
Employment Security Act	to contribute to the security of employment provide people with opportunities to get a job suited to their ability	and the progress of the national economy and meet the labour force needs of industries
Emergency Unemployment Countermeasures Act	to assure livelihood security	and to contribute to the rehabilitation of national economy....
Act concerning Special Measures for the Promotion of Employment of Middle-Aged and Older Persons, etc.	to stabilize the employment of middle-aged and older persons, etc. to promote their employment suited to their abilities	
Physically Handicapped Persons' Employment Promo- tion Act	to ensure the security of employment of physically handicapped persons for promoting the taking by physically handicap- ped persons of employment suited to their ability	to adjust to economic burdens resulting from the employment of physically handicapped persons
Act concerning Temporary Measures for Workers Dis- placed from Specified Depressed Industries	to contribute to the stabilization of the employment and living of workers displaced from specified depressed industries, etc.....	
Port Labour Act	and to promote the stability of employment and welfare of dock workers	to secure manpower resources necessary for port transport services contribute toward the development of the national economy

Names of Laws	Promotion of Workers' Welfare	Economic & Social Development of the Nation, etc.
Act concerning the Improvement of Employment, etc., of Construction Workers	to contribute to the stabilization of employment of construction workers.... for the improvement of their employment, the development and improvement of their ability, and the promotion of their welfare	
[Vocational Training] Vocational Training Act	to develop and improve the ability of workers as well as to the economic and social development needed for their vocation....and....to assure the security of employment and the improvement of the workers' status....	
[Labor Insurance] Workmen's Accident Compensation Insurance Act	to give [workers] prompt and equitable protection against injury, disease, invalidity or death.. and to promote rehabilitation....,to assist the said workers and their survivors and to secure proper working conditions, etc., and thereby to contribute to the promotion of the welfare of workers	
Employment Insurance Act	to stabilize the livelihood of workers....and and at the same time to prevent unemployment, increase employment to promote their employment....[to] develop and improve workers' capacities, opportunities, improve employment structure, and promote workers' welfare, with a view to contributing to the stabilization of employment of workers	

author.

Labor legislation, or the labor administration authorized by them, has a double purpose. One purpose is the social and economic development of the nation; the other purpose is the promotion of workers' welfare. "The social and economic development of the nation" could be interpreted to mean the protection of the public welfare, the maintenance of industrial peace, the achievement of full employment, the improvement of the employment structure, the supply of the labor force needed by industries, the equalization of conditions for competition, and the growth of enterprises. These functions range from the maintenance of public order to the protection of individual enterprises. The latter function could be located, if desired, somewhere between "the social and economic development of the nation" and "the promotion of workers' welfare." The expression, "the promotion of workers' welfare" could be replaced an enumeration of functions, such as: the elevation of the status of workers, the stabilization of workers' living, the improvement of working conditions, the security of the optimal working environment, the maintenance of workers' health, the promotion of employment security, the development of the ability of workers, and the protection of the right to exercise autonomous self-organization by workers.

In summary, Article 1 of both the Employment Measures Act and the Minimum Wage Act reads:

<Employment Measures Act>

...to contribute toward the balanced development of the national economy and the achievement of full employment by establishing both a qualitative and quantitative balance between labour supply and demand and enabling workers to make effective use of their abilities....thus contributing to the

promotion of employment security and elevating the economic and social status of workers.

<Minimum Wages Act>

....to improve the working conditions of low-paid workers by guaranteeing a minimum wage....and at the same time to contribute to stabilizing workers' living, raising the quality of the labour force and ensuring fair competition in all undertakings as well as to promote the sound development of the national economy.

More succinctly, Article 1 of the Ministry of Labour Inauguration Act reads:

[The Ministry of Labour is established,] aiming at workers' welfare and job security, and thus the contribution to economic prosperity and the stability of their lives....

Some laws, and thus the policies and programs, have either of the two as their stated purposes. Most labor laws, policies and programs, however, usually incorporate both purposes, rather than being mutually exclusive, although with the emphasis on one or the other, regardless of the mission statement.

The two goals usually agree each other because the pursuit of the social and economic development of the nation, and similar goals should entail the promotion of workers' welfare as individuals, and, conversely, the pursuit of the promotion of the welfare of workers as individuals would result in the social and economic development of the nation.⁴⁸⁾ However, these two rationales are apparently different in approach. The former perspective is the approach from the total society, or, a macro-orientation; the latter perspective is the approach from individual, or, a micro-orientation. Sometimes they conflict.

The former might be called the labor economics approach; the latter the social work approach.

The differences of emphasis of the two approaches between the central government and the prefectural governments are worth noting. Our hypothetical conclusion is that the central government puts the emphasis on the labor economics approach; prefectural governments on the social work approach. The following points tend to support this conclusion. 1) The central government must emphasize the management of the whole country, even at the cost of sometimes neglecting needs and welfare at the individual level. 2) The economy today has been so intimately interrelated and integrated across prefectural and district boundaries that prefectural governments cannot exert much influence through their policies and programs at a macro-level. For example, the central government thinks of how to lower the unemployment rate, shift the industrial structure and regulate the influx of foreign workers, but it is difficult for prefectural governments to take effective measures on these matters. What prefectural governments can do is to assist the unemployed with their living, guarantee employment to workers, and protect undocumented workers from having to work in conditions below minimum standards. 3) In fact, most programs of prefectural governments deal with individual welfare, for example, the workers' welfare programs of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government described previously. Their focus on the individual's welfare is not the matter of sollen [should] but that of sein [to be]. 4) While the national government is mostly engaged in major policy and program development, being some distance from the people, prefectural governments are running the nationally-authorized programs, as well as their own, and facing the people

directly daily. Programs that prefectural governments establish on their initiative are more welfare-oriented although they tend to be smaller in scale. More interesting, however, is the modification of the goal or the shift of the goal's emphasis when prefectural governments actually implement the nationally designated policies and programs. One good example is the industrial relation administration. While the goal of the national administration in this field is the maintenance of industrial peace and influencing the labor movement in the direction the administration desires (p.221), Tokyo Metropolitan Government emphasizes the goals of "the improvement of labor conditions" and "the organization of the unorganized"⁴⁹⁾ over the stated national goal. 5) A significant difference is in the "people-consciousness" of central government officials and prefectural government officials, which not a few observers note.⁵⁰⁾ These differences could well be subjects of future research.

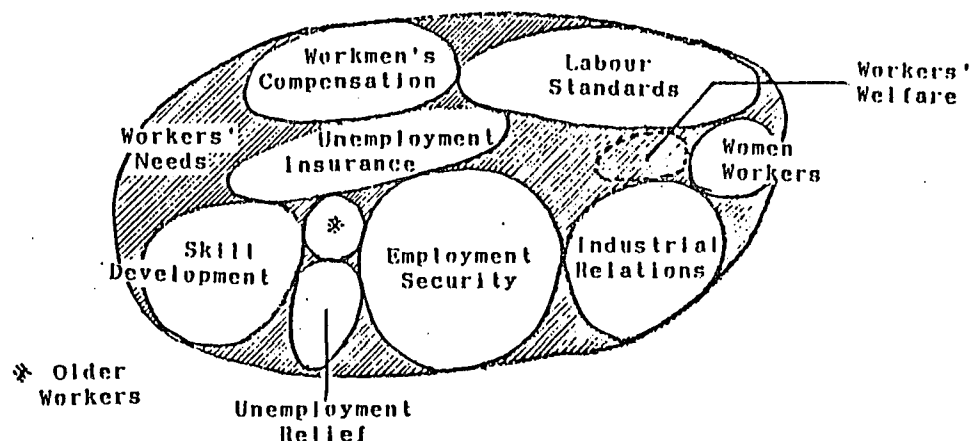
Here our first proposal is prefectural governments, including the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, should institutionalize workers' welfare as the goal concept of their labor administrations or consciously take the social work approach.

2. Workers' Welfare As an Administrative Field

The second point which we learned from the comparison between the workers' welfare definition drawn in Chapter One and Japanese workers' needs today found in Chapters Two and Three and the labor administration and its programs described in this Chapter was that the latter (the

labor administration and its programs) filled only a part of the former (the workers' welfare definition and the workers' needs). Figure IV-2 shows this relationship:

Figure IV-2: Workers' Needs and Labor Administration



This figure suggests how a second concept of workers' welfare, or workers' welfare in a narrow sense, might be constructed. The outer circle indicates the whole sphere of workers' needs, that is, workers' welfare which is to be realized; the smaller circles indicate present labor administrative fields or organizations for them. To realize workers' welfare, each field or organization of the labor administration fills some kinds of workers' need, leaving others unfilled, as shown within the shaded areas of the figure. Although all fields of labor administration are workers' welfare administration in a general sense, they carry their own labels, which implies "domains", such as employment security, skill development, labor standards, and so on. Then what should the administration which deals with the shaded parts outside the domains be named? Is there any reason we cannot straightly name it

"workers' welfare administration"? The existing workers' welfare administration, which is drawn with a dotted circle, covers only part of these needs unfilled by other well-established administrative fields, whereas it should cover the whole. An analogy with the relationship between AFL-CIO and its local unions in the United States may be useful. While all locals belong to the AFL-CIO, most are identified by the names of international unions with which they affiliate. Some do not affiliate with any of the international unions and are named AFL-CIO locals. Workers' welfare, therefore, might be redefined as follows:

Workers' welfare is the administration that undertakes to fill workers' needs or realize workers' welfare which has not been covered yet by other existing well-established labor administration categories.

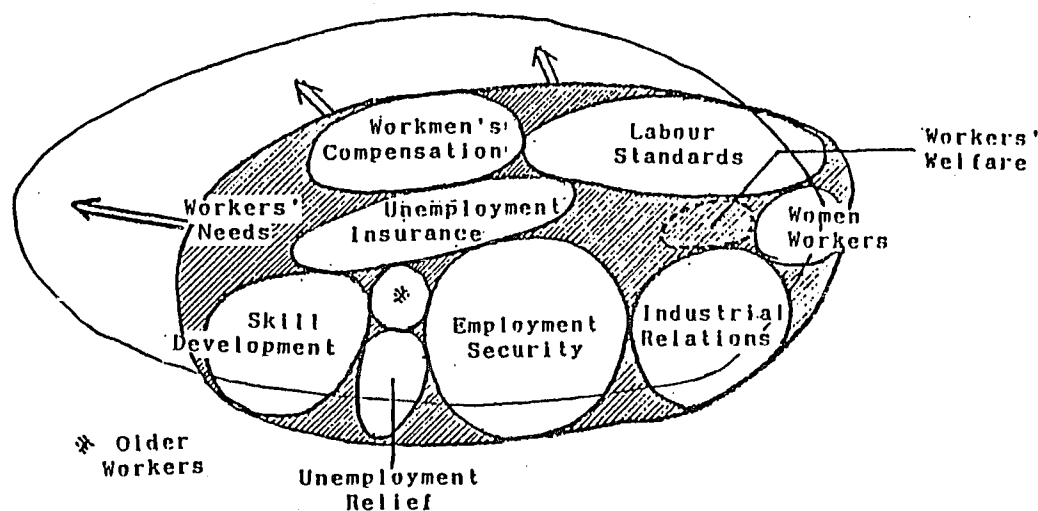
Remember "7. Administrative Residual Model" in Chapter One.

Workers' welfare is thus first the leading concept of the whole labor administration and secondly the administrative field which deals with workers' needs untouched by other labor administrations. The workers' welfare concept operates at two levels.

Although this second definition of workers' welfare seems to be passive, it is very important in order to secure the flexibility of labor administration. To say nothing of Karl Marx, the reality constantly changes but institutions do not and will not change so easily. New needs are constantly being born with some old needs becoming invalid while the administrative organizations and programs tend to remain the same.

The present basic structure of labor administration was formed

Figure IV-3: Change of Needs and Rigidity of Administration



forty years ago and has remained mostly unchanged, except for older workers and women workers administration. Although forty years ago most needs, if not all, might have been filled by the present labor administrative fields or programs, the gap between needs and the administration has certainly widened. Some unfilled needs could be taken care of by the present established fields through their expansion but all other needs which are more remotely connected to the existing fields must be met by the workers' welfare administration. Similar or related programs newly developed under the heading of workers' welfare can be clustered in the future into a new administrative field to become independent "domains" carrying their own names or titles.

3. Nine Pillars

With this concept and framework of workers' welfare, through the analysis of the programs presently operated by the workers' welfare administration, and keeping in mind the unfilled needs extracted in Chapters Two and Three, we will inductively delineate the content and territory of workers' welfare administration at the present times by erecting nine pillars or principles, which, in turn, can deductively serve as guidelines when programs are designed. What should be done in the name of workers' welfare administration and how?

Pillar (1) is a general rule which is the premise for all, Pillars (2) through (7) are directly concerned with the content of workers' welfare, and Pillars (8) and (9) are effective when designing programs. Be noted that the nature is different among Pillar (1), Pillars (2)-(7), and Pillars (8) and (9).

<General Pillar>

- (1) The Grasp of the Whole Workers' Needs

<Content Pillars>

(Guarantee of Minimum Standards)

- (2) Solution of Illegal Situations
- (3) Protection of Human Rights/Anti-discrimination

(For Above Minimum)

- (4) For Better Labor Conditions
- (5) Introduction of Industrial Democracy
- (6) Gap-filling Between Larger and Smaller Corporation
- (7) Off-the-job Problems

<Instrumental Pillars>

- (8) Assistance to Voluntary Workers' Welfare Activities by Workers' Organizations
- (9) Attention to Special Groups

Brief explanations will follow for each pillar.

<General Pillar>

(1) The Grasp of the Whole Workers' Needs

The first pillar is directly derived from the definition of workers' welfare given in Chapter One and the preceding two subsections, 1. and 2., of this section.

The existence or emergence of unfilled needs is a natural consequence as discussed above. The first assignment of the workers' welfare administration is thus to grasp the gamut of workers' needs and to follow their changes at all times.⁵¹⁾ Without knowing them nothing can be done. Society is moving and needs are newly being born whilst others are becoming outdated. Of course the workers' welfare administration does not need to develop all programs to fill these needs it has found by itself, but could entrust the program design and implementation to other existing administrative divisions----for example, those of older workers to Older Workers administration and those of vocational training to Skill Development administration. Only needs outside the territory of other administrative divisions must be considered for program development by the workers' welfare administration.

This mission to measure the whole range of workers' needs is indispensable because no other administrative divisions do and could perform this function. However hard and seriously each of existing administrative divisions may do its own job and follow changing needs, what it would do should be limited to its own territory or to that immediately around it. Only the workers' welfare administration could achieve this mission.

<Content Pillars>

The following pillars pertain to the content of workers' welfare.

(Guarantee of Minimum Standards)

(2) Solution of Illegal Situations

The enforcement of laws and regulations stipulating minimum standards is the start and base of all workers' welfare. Most provisions of the Labour Standards Act, the Minimum Wage Act, the Equal Opportunity Act and the Occupational Safety and Health Act, and some provisions of the Employment Security Act, the Employment Insurance Act, and the Workers' Compensation Insurance Act, as well as the prohibition of unfair labour practices by employers in the Labour Union Act, are some examples of such legislation. Without the realization of these minimum standards no level of workers' welfare is attainable. Or observance of these minimum standards would solve most existing problems concerning workers' welfare and would solve most problems in the future. (cf. "6. Protective Legislative Model" in Chapter One)

Violations of these laws and their regulations were sporadically found in Chapters Two and Three. For example, too long working hours, no or little breaks, wages below minimum wages, concealed on-the-job accidents, discrimination against women and disturbance of workers' right to unite. These have been continuously reported and the causes have been also repeatedly pointed out for several decades. For example, underfinancing and understaffing in the labor standards administration have been apparent for quite some time. A workplace might only be revisited for inspection once in 20 years by an inspector. The past

extensive experience teaches us that the passivity and inefficiency of the national government's enforcement machinery probably will not change in the future. The situation should not be left to chance. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government's workers' welfare administration can and must intervene.

A problem, however, exists. The administration of most of these laws is exclusively under the authority of the national government, and prefectural governments are not empowered to enforce these provisions.⁵²⁾ Can prefectural governments do nothing?

Basically speaking, the workers' welfare administration is, with a few exceptions, an administration having no legal backup⁵³⁾ which comes intrinsically from our definition as a residual model or a temporary depository model. The residual part tends to be an untouched part without any legal intervention. Still, prefectural governments could be involved in several ways. Regarding the tools they could use, see the sub-section 4. below (p.376-7).

The logic of the prefectural government's involvement is that it is not in the enforcement of such regulatory legislation as the Labour Standards Act, which is under authority of the national government, but the violations of regulatory legislation in general, which should not be allowed to exist judging from the social norm.

(3) Protection of Human Rights/Anti-discrimination

A similar concern is the protection of human rights. Although laws and regulations are lacking and insufficient, the erosion of fundamental human rights should not be allowed. These rights are from requirements of a higher order----the provisions of the Constitution, natural rights,

and/or basic social norms. Japan is especially weak in this area as compared with the United States.

Two problems involving human rights were found in our research in Chapter Three. One, for example, pertains to discrimination by sex and education, and against undocumented workers and buraku-min.⁵⁴⁾ Sexual harrassment and hazing[ijime] cases were also reported. The other pertains to civil and political freedom. Example which were found were the body check at wholesale/retail stores and the coercion by management to support a specific political party or candidate and to participate in voluntary activities.⁵⁵⁾ The size of an enterprise has no effect in this section.

Non-regulatory measures similar to those mentioned above (4), that is, public education, referral, persuasion and forming a grievance committee may be at least taken by governments.

(For Above Minimum)

(4) For Better Labor Conditions

Regardless of the existence of legislation, sometimes governments try to influence certain situations or conditions in society beyond the minimum and toward the direction they regard desirable----desirable from their own value judgement, which usually are rooted in norms of the broader society. Of course, governments cannot do all they want but do try to anticipate the trends and changes in society. Very often all they can do is just facilitate a social trend or change. A difference of this pillar (6) from the preceding pillars (4) and (5) is whether the

requirement by the social norm is absolute or not. (cf. "8. Quality of Work Life Model" in Chapter One)

A combination of incentives, education and persuasion is usually used. Tripartite meetings, committees and councils are often organized.

Already implemented in programs in this category are a higher retirement age campaign for an increasingly aging society and a shorter working hour campaign resulting from the pressure from other countries.

Most "problems and difficulties" in the areas of human relations with coworkers, bosses and customers, transfers of workers, treatment of employees near retirement, job content such as that of simple, repetitive and shift work in Chapter Three, as well as many in the areas of working hours, wages and safety and health, are totally out of the regulatory control by legislation, but should not be remained untouched. These problems all pertain to the nuclei of personnel and production management.

(5) Introduction of Industrial Democracy

This could be included in the above "(6) Better Labor Conditions," but is singled out in the sense that it is foreign to Japan and has totally slipped out of sight.⁵⁶⁾ Industrial democracy is becoming universal in developed Western countries (cf. "8. Quality of Work Life Model" in Chapter One), and will certainly become important in Japan in the near future. Quality Control circles and other forms of "participation in decision making" in Japan have nothing to do with industrial democracy although some foreign scholars praise them as such and Japanese scholars follow suit.⁵⁷⁾

Many of the complaints and troubles mentioned in Chapter Three regarding human relations, bosses, participation, and evaluation cannot be solved without an understanding of the idea of industrial democracy. Many workers referred to absolute employers and managers, unfair or unconvincing personnel evaluation, no say in decision making, and suppressive workshop atmosphere.

The preceding section (6) and the present section (7) apply to workers in enterprises of all sizes; the next section (8) applies to workers in smaller enterprises.

(6) Gap-filling Between Larger and Smaller Corporations

This pillar is drawn from the combination of the pillar "(3) Attention to Special Groups," and pillars (4) to (7) above.

The differences in labor conditions by size of enterprise is enormous. This contrast was extensively described in Chapters Two and Three, especially in Chapter Two, regarding wages, hours, fringe benefits, safety & health and almost all aspects of labor conditions. Violations of minimum standards discussed above in section (4), for example, are usually found in smaller firms.

This "Filling the Gap" principle has been the core idea of the workers' welfare administration in Japan since the 1960s,⁵⁸⁾ particularly in the field of fringe benefits, the gap of which is much larger than in cash wages between large and small firms. Smaller Firm Group Projects and Smaller Enterprise Retirement Allowance Projects by the national government, the construction and management of Workers' Welfare Halls, living loans through Labor Banks, and recreational, cultural and discount programs through the Workers' Welfare Association by the Tokyo

Metropolitan Government, and Mutual Aid Programs by local governments all fall into this category.

The reverse redistributive function of fringe benefits has been pointed out by Titmuss since the 1950s (cf. "2. Titmuss' Occupational Welfare Model" in Chapter One). So, filling the gap and ameliorating the differences between larger and smaller corporations is very important. It is more so for prefectural governments, particularly today when the central government is shifting its emphasis from public programs to employer-provided fringe benefits in order to lessen its financial burden on it.⁵⁹⁾ The reverse-redistributive effect must be compensated.

(7) Off-the-job Problems

Chapter Two disclosed that many Japanese workers had problems and difficulties in their health, housing, education of children and retirement life as well as family budgeting in general.

Although our research in Chapter Three did not directly bring various problems in personal, family and community life to light, sporadic cases in this category were found and the extensive spread of such problems among Japanese workers were conjectured from an example of EAPs in the footnote 7) on pp.215-6. Many cases referred to the effect of working hours, wages, shift work, transfers and other labor conditions, as well as working itself, on personal and family lives.

The present workers' welfare administration in Japan is generally unaware of or unconcerned about off-the-job problems but should pay attention to them. An exception is the Asset Building Program for stabilization of society and the worker's life. Extrapolating to the

whole labor administration, we have only Workers' Compensation and Unemployment Insurances and a small program for older workers. The main focus of all the other programs is on either the exchange process(e.g. employment security and skill development) or the consumption process(e.g. labor standards) of the labor power reproduction cycle, although they certainly affect the production process or off-the-job life. Budget figures suggest that programs focused on the exchange process predominate.

The solutions to non-workplace problems do not necessarily require new programs in the workers' welfare administration but only the linkages or networks with other labor or non-labor administration programs. Some problems related to housing, education of children, and public services in communities, for example, can be solved by existing programs under the jurisdiction of other departments of the government.

This pillar can be deemed as a corollary of the "Gap-filling" pillar in a sense, but goes beyond it.

<Instrumental Pillars>

The following pillars are not those exclusively for workers' welfare administration but are specifically emphasised in this administration.

(8) Assistance to Voluntary Workers' Welfare Activities by Workers' Organizations

Workers' welfare should be essentially improved by workers for themselves. This is a general agreement and a premise of the present

labor administration in Japan⁶⁰) (Refer to Constitution Article 28, Labour Unions Act, etc.) Thus governments protect union rights through the unfair labor practice system, Industrial Relations Boards and Labor Policy Offices. However, governments may additionally assist workers' organizations sometimes technically, financially and organizationally in running workers' welfare programs, which are in accord with administration's purposes, before the governments decide to operate these programs themselves.

In fact, already today, the labor administration assists Workers' Banks financially, implements programs through them, and supervises and audits them to protect the interests of workers. The Tokyo Metropolitan Government also has assisted the Workers' Welfare Council, composed of various workers' organizations, with its recreational, sports and other welfare programs and facilities.

Especially in Japan we cannot miss this pillar because of a historical reason on the traditional definition of workers' welfare. (cf. "3. Japanese Workers' Welfare Model" in Chapter One) Workers' welfare has been defined as co-operative and other business activities financed and administered by workers' organizations to defend their lives as consumers from exploitation by capitalists. Most typical are consumers' co-ops, workers' banks, workers' mutual aid societies, and housing, medical and travel co-operatives.

A goal of workers' welfare should be to nurture workers' self-reliance and self-determination.

(9) Attention to Special Groups

Chapter Two brought to light the existence of the huge number of non-regular workers whose labor conditions tend to be less privileged--part-time workers, temporary workers, seasonal workers, and sub-contracting firm workers. There are several other groups of disadvantaged workers who have special needs to be filled----for example, older workers, youth workers, women workers, handicapped workers, construction workers, port laborers and service industry workers. Smaller firm workers in general can be treated in the same way.(cf. The pillar (6) above) UN model in Chapter One also emphasises particular attention to special sub-population groups.

Not only in the workers' welfare administration but also in administration in general, basic administrative organizations and programs have been developed along the lines of identified needs(e.g. vocational training, employment services and occupational safety and health) and of groups having special needs(e.g. woman workers, older workers, and port laborers) or for the mesh of both.(Figure IV-4) It is

Figure IV-4: Design of Administrative Organizations & Programs

	Labor Standards	Employment Service	Vocational Training
Workers in general			
Women Workers			
Older Workers			
Handicapped Workers			
Undocumented Workers			

a matter of a choice of which classification to adopt as the primary basis when designing organizations and programs. However, in the workers' welfare administration, more and special attention should be paid to the subjects of needs, the disadvantaged groups.

The concepts of "the disadvantaged", "the unprivileged" or "the weak" may be sometimes more useful and effective than the simple dichotomy between capitalists' and workers' classes.

4. Examples of Possible Program Areas and Program Designing

To make it clear what these nine pillars mean, some examples of possible program areas(including some organizational innovation) are given in this subsection. The examples to be given do not necessarily mean the priority of the programs.

As far as Pillar (1), The Grasp of the Whole Workers' Needs, is concerned, the organizational guarantee for this mission, which does not exist today, would be necessary. Also the development of research methods for needs extraction is urgent. A multiple research approach would have to be adopted to explore workers' needs, as was discussed in Section I of Chapter Two.

In terms of Pillars (2)-(7), Table IV-5 lists examples.

An example of Pillar (8), Assistance to Voluntary Workers' Welfare Activities by Workers' Organizations, is the creation of a fund to offer grants to voluntary non-profit workers' organizations. The grants could be used for the promotion of occupational safety and health, mutual aid societies, consultation programs, workers' education, industrial

Table IV-5: Pillars (2)-(7) and Examples of possible Programs

(2) Solution of Illegal Situations	The government should not buy goods and services from illegals and human rights.
(3) Protection of Human Rights/	To ease the problem of discrimination by school level come Anti-discrimination between universities and the government solution is on the individual base. The government universities and send in some workers accompanied by (Today, some private corporations have financed certain that the corporation's name be put on them.)
(4) For Better Labor Conditions	Educational programs or campaign for improvement of human of transfers of workers to remote districts without treatment of employees near retirement, and amelioration which are source of serious "problems and difficulties" for Mass media should be fully utilized. Financial incentives
(5) Introduction of Industrial Democracy	An industrial democracy awareness program should be started jointly by an employer/employee education. For example, jointly by an employee and his or her supervisor or, at the employee, could be a subject. Also that letters employee, that more says be guaranteed to workers, and that to employees, could be another subjects.
(6) Gap-filling Between Larger and Smaller Corporation	Some programs that easily come to mind are satellite and smaller firms are concerned environments and working conditions. A guarantee for support due to non-occupational injuries and diseases, and supplement beyond the coverage of national health insurance would be whereas most employees of leading corporations have packages.
(7) Off-the-job Problems	Reminded of working women's difficulties, we need at least and aged parents, a sick nurse program, domestic work assistance programs which could be thought of in the off-the-job (EAPs) or personal social service (PSS) programs particularly large corporations have their own EAPs or PSS programs, but to use them, being afraid of breach of confidentiality case of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, its nine Labor have a consultation, referral and assistance program in and other workplace problems and could relatively easily non-workplace problems. These kinds of programs also meet needs of workers. (cf. Pillar (1))

1) Actually one of the offices has recently started to receive consultations regarding mental

IV-5: Pillars (2)-(7) and Examples of possible Program Areas

 government should not buy goods and services for companies which violate regulatory
 station and human rights.

 ease the problem of discrimination by school level completed, a degree-offering joint program
 -discrimination between universities and the government might be possible although the
 tion is on the individual base. The government may buy some slots for enrollees at
 ersities and send in some workers accompanied by scholarships and employer persuasion.
 ay, some private corporations have financed certain university courses, in turn, requiring
 the corporation's name be put on them.)

 ational programs or campaign for improvement of human realtions at workplaces, consideration
 transfers of workers to remote districts without their families [tanshin-funin], better
 tment of employees near retirement, and amelioration of simple, repetitive and shift work,
 are source of serious "problems and difficulties" for so many workers, should be developed.
 media should be fully utilized. Financial incentives may be accompanied.

 Industrial democracy awareness program should be started by a general campaign or through
 cracy employer/employee education. For example, that personnel evaluation be made
 ly by an employee and his or her supervisor or, at least that the evaluations be shown to
 employee, could be a subject. Also that letters of recommendation should be open to the
 yee, that more says be guaranteed to workers, and that more company information be available
 employees, could be another subjects.

 programs that easily come to mind are satellite kitchens or canteen programs in areas in
 smaller Corporation which small firms are concentrated, and grants to improve workplace
 onments and working conditions. A guarantee for survivors' living after a worker's death
 to non-occupational injuries and diseases, and supplemental compensation for medical expenses
 and the coverage of national health insurance would be also effective to small firm workers,
 as most employees of leading corporations have such coverage in their fringe benefits
 ages.

 ded of working women's difficulties, we need at least more day care programs for children
 aged parents, a sick nurse program, domestic work assistance programs and the like. Other
 ams which could be thought of in the off-the-job field are employees assistance programs
) or personal social service (PSS) programs particularly for smaller firm workers. Most
 corporations have their own EAPs or PSS programs, but still, workers there often hesitate
 se them, being afraid of breach of confidentiality and disadvantageous treatment. In the
 of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, its nine Labor Policy Offices, field offices, today
 a consultation, referral and assistance program in the area of labor-management relations
 other workplace problems and could relatively easily expand it to encompass this area of
 workplace problems. These kinds of programs also work as an effective route to grasp the
 of workers. (cf. Pillar (1))

 ently started to receive consultations regarding mental health.

democracy and similar objectives. Even employers and their non-workers' organizations may be allowed to apply for the fund to improve workers' welfare. This program may best fit the nature of workers' welfare administration we discussed----the definition as a "residual model" and the security of flexibility of administration. (pp.260-261) Pioneering needs, which workers' welfare administration often takes care of, tend to require some time till the administration responds to and also be too small in scale for the administration to develop and operate a program for them. The latter is the case for some long lasting needs, too. This is a "catch-all" program. It may also tell what programs the administration should develop.

Pillar (9), Attention to Special Groups, might bear a program for part-time workers to prevent arbitrary layoffs, a program for a subcontracting firm's workers to eliminate unfair pressure from the parent companies, a program for service industries to control working hours and enhance participation in legally-required national insurances (cf. Chapter Three), and a series of programs including affirmative action for buraku-min (cf. Chapter Four).

The next step should be to designate "possible program areas" more extensively and to design concrete programs. Findings in Chapters Two and Three are again useful. Under the nine pillars, numerous programs are necessary and possible. However, much would have to be done before program designing begins. (i) Although Chapters Two and Three have certainly presented much more information than that from which we drew the conclusion stated here in sub-sections 1.-3., there is still an enormous distance between the findings in those chapters and the data necessary for designing the

programs. The findings must be operationalized and specified, and put in priority order. Each program to be designed would require some additional research. (ii) In order to design actual programs, the future direction of the changes of workers' needs and the social, economic, political and demographic situations surrounding them must also be examined. Today, high-technology, internationalization, the aging of the population, increase in service and soft industries, and more womenpower have been discussed. (iii) The present and future programs for workers' welfare by labor unions, corporations and other voluntary organizations ought to be studied----what are they doing? All workers' welfare needs do not have to be filled by public administration. (cf. the workers' welfare definition in Chapter One on p.39) Some needs can be dealt with by either governmental or non-governmental organizations, although the social and political implication may differ. Overlapping should be avoided and some linkages considered. (iv) The analysis of administrative tools would be useful. Pillar (8), Assistance of Voluntary Activities, is only one of them. Even when legal backup is lacking, which is common in the arena of workers' welfare administration, the following tools have been presently used or easily thinkable:

Ordinances[jorei]

Regulations[kisoku]

Guidelines[yoko, shishin, gaido-rain]

The Formation of Agreement(Citizen Participation; e.g.

Tripartite meetings, committees and councils)

Financial Incentives(e.g. grants) and Technical Assistance

Grievance Committees(cf. Sex Discrimination Grievance Committee)

Publication of Names of companies which violate laws, regulations, etc.

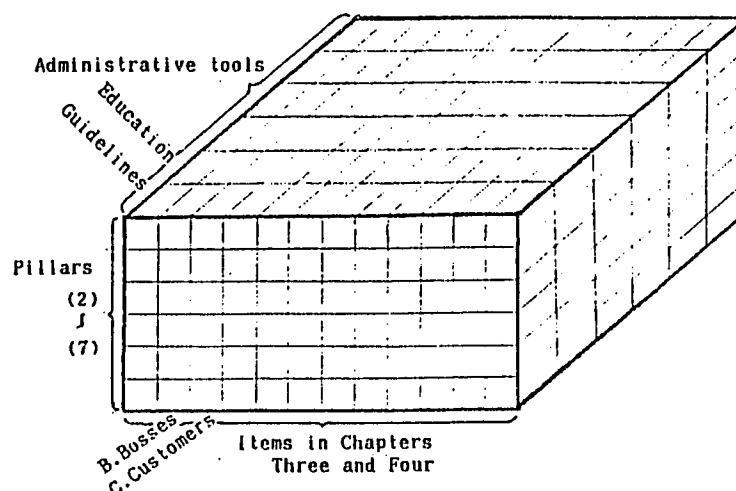
Commendations

Persuasions(e.g. employers)

Education(e.g. T.V., radio, newspapers, posters, pamphlets,
 seminars, classroom lectures, and special events)
 Consultation and Referrals
 Appointment of Advisors
 Research and Surveys and the publication of their results
 The Suspension of Business Activities with companies which
 violate laws, regulations, etc. (The use of the position as
 a party to an business business)
 The use of the position as an employer
 Other application of Clean Hand Principle(The government does
 not force others but does for itself, e.g. in its services
 and programs.)

Some other tools may be created. And, lastly (v) of course, the power
 structure among various social sub-groups in and out the government must
 be analyzed. These all would go beyond the assignment of this study.
 Still our pillars, especially Pillars (2) through (7), are possibly
 usable in various ways for both need finding and program designing. For
 example, the second column of Table IV-6 may be devided for instance by
 items in Chapter Three such as working hours, wages and safety and
 health, by population sub-groups such as service workers, older workers

Figure IV-5: A Utilization of the Pillars
 ----A Three Dimension Model----



and female part-timers, or by expectable future directions such as internationalization and higher technology, for more detailed investigation. The idea could be further developed into a three dimension model, adding another factor, for example, of administrative tools. See Figure IV-5:

5. A Supplemental Proposal

The mission of this study stops here. However, to make our proposals effective, a supplemental proposal, which is not necessarily drawn from our present study above, must be added.

The last proposal to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government is to plant a mechanism within its organization which can bear programs. We must guarantee the birth of programs as a system, for example, having a section or a staff exclusively in charge for this purpose. Outside consultants may or may not be regularly used to get expertise and/or offset understaffing at present.⁶¹⁾ The Tokyo Metropolitan Government does not have this mechanism for program self development while the national government does. To exaggerate, most Tokyo Metropolitan Government labor administration programs were created overnight before budgetary requests, or simply are copies of what the national government requested.

A lot of research and many surveys have been conducted in and out the government on workers' conditions and needs and changes of circumstances. Most typically, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Institute for Labor Research produces several research reports every

year. But none of those research and surveys has resulted in service programs since the Institute's founding a decade ago. There are two reasons for this. One pertains to the nature of the research, the other to the organization of the administration. Most of this research is "basic research", not "applied research", which is a reflection of the status quo of social science in Japan. In the natural sciences, research ranges from very basic research, for example, dealing with atoms and molecules, to very applied research, for example, how to make some merchandise marketable, including its shape and color. In the social science on the other hand, research leans toward basic research and is nearly nil at the program level. The more abstract a research is, the more highly respected it is likely to be. The more practical it is, the less it is respected. The surveys and research by the administration, many of which are conducted by social scientists, cannot help but be affected by this influence. From this research, the administration expects results directly usable for programing only to be disappointed. That is a common complaint. At the extreme, Japanese social scientists are amateurs in practical research, and thus their products are far removed from the level for actual program and reality. A deliberate effort to tie research to programing must exist on the administration side, an emphasis which is completely lacking today. A section or staff, whose duty is exclusively to produce programs, should re-examine research undertaken from the perspective of program application, develop more program-oriented studies, design some programs, introduce pilot programs, get feedback from them, refine them and then implement them on a larger scale.

The government should make progress and evaluation reports on the implementation of the above proposals to Labor Administration Advisory Council at the end of the second and fourth years. They should at least include this information: (1) the organizational development for need assessment and program design, (2) the creation and implementation of new programs and services, and (3) the application of the nine pillars.

III SUMMARY

We have constructed a concept of workers' welfare through the analysis of ten similar concepts existing in the world today; identified needs of present Japanese workers using governmental statistical data and our own interview research; reviewed today's labor administration by the Japanese national and Tokyo metropolitan governments, surveying their programs by department; contrasted the concept, needs and administrations to find that workers' welfare is a primary goal and concept of all labor administration and is secondly an administrative field of the labor administration; and erected nine pillars or principles on which workers' welfare programs can operate. Several possible program areas were given as examples. We now have a clearer picture of what workers' welfare is and what the workers' welfare administration has been doing and should and could do for workers' welfare.

Opposition to the proposal to Tokyo Metropolitan Government can be anticipated and has already been presented in the process of our

discussions at the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Administration Advisory Council. All reforms face resistance by individuals and organizations in the society, whatever they may be. It is of no relevance whether the resistance benefits those who resist or not. A bureaucracy's resistance to changes is well-known. The assumption we made at the very beginning of this paper, that is, "The labor administration is making serious efforts to improve the conditions of labor"(See Preface) may even have to be questioned. Some of the nine pillars, particularly "the solution of illegal situations," "the protection of human rights," and "the introduction of industrial democracy," may generate employers opposition, because employers have enjoyed a rather reluctant enforcement of those laws, for example, regulatory minimum labor standards, by the national government. The pillars would probably lead employers to estimate more cost and less latitude. The strongest resistance may come from the conservatism of some labor unions. The local union and its parent labor union which organize public employees engaged in labor administration may fear any changes that might aggravate their own labor conditions, such as the reduction of manpower and the increase of work assignments.

The most serious criticism of and opposition to our proposal and our whole present study may be in regard to the recommendation to position the concept of workers' welfare at the center of the whole labor administration.⁶²⁾ This positioning contradicts some traditional unionists' and others' understanding of the concept of workers' "welfare", which is one set against the concept of "rights". These critics contend as follows: Welfare is what one can go without but is better to have, or what is voluntarily provided or given as a favor, not

as a right. Namely the guarantee of minimum standards under the Labour Standards Act, the entitlement of benefits under Workers' Compensation Act and Unemployment Insurance Act, the right to organize under Labour Union Act, and other rights are out of the welfare concept. They are rights. The adoption of the workers' welfare concept as the central goal of labor administration would dilute the distinction between the working class and the population in general, or blur the class view. They think the workers' welfare concept should stay at the periphery as it now does. (cf. p.34 regarding the two-fold meanings of "welfare", that is, "minimum" and "above minimum", and p.4 regarding development of "fringe benefits" from "favor" to "right".)

It will be easily understood that our concept of workers' welfare as a goal of the whole labor administration is a superconcept over rights or is inclusive of them, if the above sections are carefully read. The traditional unionists' and others' misgivings, however, are understandable in the present situation in that the Japanese central government Ministry of Labour is shifting its emphasis from "rights" to "welfare"⁶³⁾ and the newly-established national center of labor unions, Japan Private Trade Union Council(JPTUC) [Rengo], is shifting its emphasis from "wages" and other core labor conditions to "welfare".⁶⁴⁾ A further criticism reads; the former (MOL' shift) aimed at changing the quality of the labor movement or preventing radical movements among small firm workers, while the latter (JPTUC's shift) aimed at escaping from the tougher responsibility. With a weaker union movement, employers' associations are applying pressure to shift the emphasis of the formal mission of the labor administration from the protection of workers to service to both employers and workers in order to erode

mutilate workers' rights. For example, employers' associations are insisting on elimination of the designation, the Labor Union Division, from Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Labor Affairs.⁶⁵⁾

Part of the agenda of this study was the question: Can this tide rushing towards "welfare" be stemmed? Can this big tide be blocked with the traditional "welfare vs. right" theory? If not, and accepting the tide, the goal might be achieved by deepening the concept of workers' welfare and having "rights" and basic labor conditions included in the concept of "workers' welfare". And, setting "workers' welfare" as the goal concept, the insistence that the labor administration should serve both workers and employers equally and be neutral between the two parties might be precluded. The whole administration of governments must naturally take care of the whole population but all its divisions do not necessarily have to. The labor administration could focus on the protection of workers just as the Ministry of International Trade & Industry and the Bureau of (Labor and) Economic Affairs of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government focus on the well-being of employers.

1) See Preface.

2) Officially there are four different Japanese names for prefecture, to (Tokyo), dō (Hokkaidō), fu (Ōsaka and Kyōto), and ken (all others), but their functions are similar.

3) In particular see Additional Clause Article 8 of the Local Autonomy Act.

4) See Local Autonomy Act Article 2.

5) Japanese laws and national government organizations spell "labour" according to the British style while the Tokyo Metropolitan Government spells "labor" according to the American one.

6) The official name is the Bureau of Labor and Economic Affairs. The bureau is in charge of not only labor affairs but also economic affairs, which is omitted here.

7) While this paper was being written, the national government's Industrial Relations Bureau has recently taken over some workers' welfare programs from the Labour Standards Bureau.

8) Refer to Ministry of Labour, Guidebook to Labour Problems[Rōdō-mondai no shiori], 1987 and Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Summary of Policies and Programs[Jigyō gaiyō], 1987.

Prof. Saburo Matsuoka more simply classifies the labor administration into four categories: Labor standards, labor unions, employment and welfare. ("What Is Labor Administration?", a book review on All Ministry of Labour Employees Union, This Is Labor Administration (Tokyo: Labor Education Center, 1976), Labor Law Ten-Day Report, No.909 (August 10, 1976))

9) Guidebook to Labour Problems, p.226, and a circular notice "Re: The Promotion of Prefectural Labour Policy Administration" by the Ministry of Labour Director of Labour Policy Bureau addressed to governors of prefectures(Rō-hatsu No.5, Jan. 21, 1986), p.1. A booklet, Ministry of Labour, The Story of Labour Administration [Rōdō-gyōsei no hanashi], Domestic & Foreign Labour Series No.1 (1949) (p.41) had also the same kind of content.

10) Guidebook to Labour Problems, p.227.

11) In addition, there are Seamen Central and Prefectural Labor Relations Boards and Public Corporations Labor Relations Board.

12) The following are some examples of minimum standards(as of 1987):
[Wages]

Minimum wages(as of March 31, 1987):

By prefecture: ¥3,884/day ¥497/hour(Tokyo)

cf. ¥3,323 (Kagoshima, etc.)

By industry(Tokyo): ¥4,442/day ¥571/hour(paint manufacturing industry)-¥3,982/day ¥509/hour(textile industry)

cf. ¥3,945/day(the average of all minimum wages by industry in Japan)

Prohibition of compulsory deposit (i.e., checkoff for saving)

Wage payment in cash and in full directly to workers, and at least once a month at a definite date

Sixty percent of the average wage due to work closure for which the employer is responsible

Twenty five percent increase in wages for overtime, holiday or late night work

[Working hours]

Maximum 8 hour work day and 48 hour work week

A forty five minute recess for a six hour work day, and a one hour break for an eight hour work day

At least one rest day per week

Six annual paid personal holidays for the second year of employment and an additional day for each working year up to 20 days

[Layoff]

30 days advance notice

Prohibition of the laying off of workers injured or taken ill while on duty during the period of medical treatment and 30 days thereafter

Prohibition of layoff of pregnant women or those who have given birth during maternity leave and 30 days thereafter.

[Women and minor workers]

Prohibition of the employment of minors under 15 full years of age

Restriction of overtime work for women: 2 hours/day, 6 hours/week and 150 hours/year

Prohibition of late night work(10 p.m.-5 a.m.), dangerous and harmful jobs, and underground labor for minors and women.

Six weeks of maternity leave before and after childbirth respectively

[Others]

Work rules must be drawn up and made available at workplaces in firms with ten workers or more defining the terms of working hours, payment of wages, retirement, safety and health, vocational training and others.

The private lives of workers in company dormitories must be respected.

Security of safety and health of dormitories, e.g. ventilation, lighting, heating, cleanliness, and sleeping facilities must be assured.

(Note: There are many exceptions and restrictions to each item.)

13) Currently, the emphasis of inspection and guidance is on the following:

1. Supervision of firms which have many accidents. Parent companies and subcontract companies are supervised en bloc.
2. Prevention of occupational diseases.
3. Improvement of working hours of drivers, which are closely related to traffic accidents, esp. regulations of portal to portal hours, overtime work and holiday work, making sure break times can be taken, abolition of cumulative piece work wage rate, maintenance of driving records.
4. Supervision of hospital, social welfare facilities and others, which are behind in their surveillance level as compared with other industries.
5. Checking on construction industries which have problems in occupational accidents, delay and lack of wage payment, safety and sanitation in dormitories, unclear employment relations and others.
6. Looking after general labor conditions and safety and health of the expanding tertiary industry, especially with smaller firms.
7. Safeguarding labor conditions of part-time workers

14) Considering the present status of women in Japan, "Workman's Compensation Insurance," as used in the United States in the past, might be more appropriate in translation. "Workers' Compensation" as used in this paper simply follows the usage in the United States today. There is no distinction between "Workers' Compensation" and "Workman's Compensation" in the Japanese language. Both are expressed with the same word, Rōdō-sha Saigai Hoshō.

15) Non-regular blue collar public servants, and seamen under the Seamen's Act are covered by separate programs. Workers in some agricultural, forestry and fishery firms with fewer than 5 employees are voluntary participants for the time being.

16) There is another kind of program for the promotion of labor conditions under the Workers' Compensation Insurance fund----the payment of wages when employers fail to pay wages.(See p.246)

17) Ministry of Labour, Guidebook to Labour Problems, p.6.

18) See the preceding section on Labour Standards on p.225.

19) There are many restrictions and exceptions, which is the case for other subsidies and allowances in this chapter.

20) For the heavily handicapped, 1/3 and 1/2 for 18 months respectively.

21) Ministry of Labour, Guidebook to Labour Problems, p.119.

22) A school of a local government is included.

23) The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Summary of Policies and Programs[Jigyō Gaiyō] p.103.

24) Some tests do not have class divisions.

25) The Motherhood Health Management Guidelines on the time of doctors' consultations and the change of working hours and the work content for pregnant women stipulates, for example, the assignment of Motherhood Health Management Doctors at each MOL Women and Minors Division for consultation and guidance. The guidelines are now being considered for revision because of the introduction of ME(micro-electronics) and OA(office automation) into the workplace.

26) Part-time Work Guidelines supplement a flaw of the Labour Standards Act, which did not expect such a prevalence of part-time workers as today and the need for their protection.

27) The Ministry of Labour has taken the lead in designating special campaign months, adopting logoes and slogans and holding seminars and workshops for employers, labor unions, female workers and students, and the public in general.

28) The Women's labor force participation rate drops in their late 20s and early 30s with two peaks in their early 20s and 40s.

29) On the other hand, the necessity and possibility of aged parents' support programs are recently the subject of discussion and research in order to face an aging society.

30) The program started in 1975.

31) The financing source comes from the Employment Insurance fund.

32) The program started in 1978.

33) The program started in 1986.

34) In reality, many work for wages in the program. The national government places more weight more on work for wages while the Tokyo Metropolitan Government emphasizes work for "a life worth living".

35) Guidebook to Labour Problems, p. 190.

36) In the United States, employers do not contribute to IRAs, although there is a special tax incentive for an optimal employer-employee retirement plan. An IRA is totally outside the employer.

37) The labor union's agreement and the Labour Minister's approval are necessary to the contribution.

38) Both the contribution employers make and the benefits workers receive have tax privileges.

39) To encourage smaller firm employers to make the contribution, the government(Employment Promotion Projects Corporation) grants a subsidy, which ranges from 5, 10 or 20 percent of the contribution depending on the size of the firm.

40) Workers in the program or their family members enrolled in senior high schools or higher educational institutions can get loans to cover such costs as the entrance fee, tuition, facility and equipment expenses and the examination fee directly from the Employment Promotion Project Corporation or via employers.

41) The loan interest is 5.2 percent, the period is for 15 years, and the maximum amount is 70 percent of expenses up to ¥50 million for individual companies and ¥100 million for multi-employer facilities.

42) In 1985, at the Tokyo Workers' Welfare Hall, the largest hall of the Workers' Welfare Halls in Tokyo, a ping-pong tournament, an art exhibition, go and shōgi(Japanese chess) tournaments, a dance party and other activities were held, involving a total of 6,264 participants. Instructors of ping-pong, physical training, jazz dance, social dance, go and others were posted there.

43) Halls within the ward area, the central part of Tokyo Prefecture, have been turned over to local governments while those outside the ward area have gone to the Tokyo Occupational Welfare Association. The Tokyo Workers' Welfare Hall, the largest hall among them, and Keihin Workers' Welfare Hall, a hall for workers in and around Keihin Island, have also been managed by the Tokyo Workers' Welfare Association but the ownership itself has been retained by the government.

44) The Working Youth Welfare Act requires firms which employ 20 or more minors to "endeavor to appoint at each workplace a person who takes charge of such matters as necessary guidance, counselling and recreation(hereafter referred to as the 'promoters of working youth

welfare'), in order to facilitate the adaptation of young workers to their new workplace"(Article 13)

45) There are four national federations of labor unions in Japan, instead of one(AFL-CIO) as in the United States. They are usually divided along political party lines and often vigorously severely compete with each other, however workers' welfare is the field of their common interest on which they unite.

46) It was changed from a corporation into a foundation in 1985 with the funds from the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, related local governments and the Tokyo Occupational Welfare Association, Inc.

47) The Workers' Compensation Insurance Act in Japan specially allows one-person owners [hitori-oyakata] to participate in the program " when a 'one-person owners' association....has been given government consent"(Article 29). The government subsidizes those owners' organizing these associations and their campaigning for and participation in the program.

48) e.g. A Ministry of Labour publication in the early days stated this logic plainly. (The Story of Labour Administration, p.25.) It also stated that the Ministry of Labour was a service ministry. (ibid., Introduction and p.25).

49) e.g. Tokyo Metropolitan Government Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs, Summary of Policies and Program [Jigyō Gaiyō], 1987..

50) For example, Mr. Kenji Matsumoto, a free-lance copy writer, strongly emphasized this point during my interview with him.

51) cf. A Ministry of Labour circular notice, "Re: The Promotion of Prefectural Labour Policy Administration, p.5.

52) Regarding a legal discussion, see Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Institute of Environmental Pollution, Environmental Pollution and Tokyo[Kōgai to Tokyo-to], 1969.

53) To be exact, there are two different cases, cases where there are no legal statues to go on and cases that laws have assigned the administration to the national government.

54) No undocumented workers and buraku-min cases were reported in Chapter Three.

55) Many other problems which fall into this category have been reported, for example, in Asahi-shinbun Department of Art and Science, Family: What's Wrong? [Kazoku: Nani-ga yande irunoka?](Tokyo: Asahi-shinbun-sha, 1984) Chapter 3.

56) A tripartite study group for workers' participation [Rōdōsha sankā mondai kenkyūkai] was organized in 1980 by the Ministry of Labour.

57) Tatsuru Akimoto and Robert Cole, "QC Circle Program in an American Auto Plant," Nihon Rōdō-kyōkai Zasshi, Sep. 1983.

58) For example, see the recent move regarding the national pension.

59) Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Future Welfare Programs for Smaller Firm Workers in Tokyo[Tokyo-to ni okeru kongono chūshō-kigyō kinrōsha fukushi taisaku ni tsuite](A Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Administration Advisory Council report) April, 1983.

60) cf. A Ministry of Labour circular notice, "Re: The Promotion of Prefectural Labour Policy Administration, p.4.

61) The Tokyo Metropolitan Government now has the "no increase in personnel" policy, while it has surplus finance.

62) For example, see Akira Morita, Opinions for the Interim Report of Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Administration Advisory Council Labor Policy Sectional Meetings[Tokyo-to rōsei-shingikai rōsei-shisakubukai no chūkan-hōkoku ni atattenno ikensho] presented to the Council, on June 23, 1988.

63) For example, the Ministry of Labour Bureau of Labour Policy has recently initiated a workers' welfare program, although it had to take and did indeed take into account the following logic to justify the implementation of the program by the Bureau in charge of collective labor and management relations: the low economic growth since the oil shocks---the lareger disparity of labor conditions between large corporations and smaller ones---the increase of dissatisfaction of smaller firm workers---the possible collapse of stable labor and management relations.

64) For example, see JPTUC, "Our Way and Role" and Policy Statement [Undo-hoshin], Nov. 20, 1989.

65) For example, management representatives at the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Administration Advisory Council repeatedly express this kind of opinion.

WORKS CITED

1. Books and Articles

American Association of Social Workers. Social Policy for Today. 1949.

Abegglen, J.C. The Japanese Factory: aspects of its social organization. 1958.

Akabas, Sheila H. and Kurzman, Paul A. ed. Work, Workers and Work Organizations: A View from Social Work. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.

Akimoto, Tatsuru. "An Exploration into the Concept of 'Social Work in the World of Work' in the United States," 1976. (Typewritten.)

_____. "'Occupational Social Work' in the United States [Amerika ni okeru 'Rodo Sosharu Waku']." Social Welfare [Shakai Fukushi Gaku]. No. 20 (1979).

_____. Detroit: Social Unionism in a Natural Development[Detoroito: Sosharu Yunionizumu no Hitsuzen]. Tokyo: Nihon Hyoron-sha, 1981.

Akimoto, Tatsuru and Cole, Robert. "QC Circle Program in an American Auto Plant." Nihon Rodo-kyokai Zasshi. September 1983.

Aoto, Minoru. "International Comparison of Unemployment". Monthly Labour Statistics & Research Bulletin. Vol.36, No.11 (Nov. 1984).

Asahi-shinbun. Department of Art and Science. Family: What's Wrong? [Kazoku: Nani-ga yande irunoka?]. Tokyo: Asahi-shinbun-sha, 1984.

Bradshaw, J., "The Concept of Social Need," New Society, 30 March, 1972. Quoted in Richard, Thayler, "Problem Analysis: Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment," p.297.

Bureau of National Affairs. Personnel Management: BNA Policy and Practices Series. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1980.

Central Association for Workers' Accident Prevention. Safety & Health Yearbook [Anzen Eisci Nenkan] (1985).

Contemporary Wage & Benefits [Gendai Chingin Fukushi]. November 15, 1984.

Davey, Harold W.; Bognanno, Mario F.; and Estenson, David L. Contemporary Collective Bargaining. 4th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1982.

Fair Trade Commission. Supplemental School Industry Survey [Gakushū-juku Sangyō no Jittai Chōsa]. 1986.

Glaser, Barney G. and Strauss, Anselm L. The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research. New York: Aldine Publishing, 1967.

Hardman, J.B.S. "The Drive for Power."

Horie, Masaki. Working Class in Japan [Nihon no Rōdōsha Kaikyū], Tokyo: Iwanami, 1962. Quoted in Shōbei Shioda, ed., Labor Problems in Japan [Nihon no Rōdō Mondai], p.121, Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1964.

Hoshino, T. & Kodama, M., ed. Social Welfare Research. Tokyo: Minorva Shobo, 1974.

Japan Broadcasting Corporation(NHK). People's Living Hours Survey[Kokumin Seikatsu Jikan Chōsa].

Japan Productivity Center. Labor Statistics for Practical Use [Katsuyō Rōdō Tōkei]. 1985 ed.

Jinushi, Shigemi. "About Social Needs." Public Health. 1974.

Japan Private Trade Union Council. "Our Way and Role." Nov. 20, 1987.

_____. Policy Statement[Undō-hōshin]. Nov. 20, 1987.

Keyfitz, Nathan and Flieger, W. World Population. 1968.

Kirinoki, Itsuro. Corporate Welfare, Workers' Welfare [Kigyō Fukushi, Rōdōsha Fukushi]. Tokyo: Japan Institute of Labour, 1983.

Koizumi, Konoshin. Labor Economics. Tokyo: Asakura Shoten, 1968.

Kokumin Seikatsu Center, ed. [Charts] International Comparison of Life. 1985 ed.

Labor Problems Literature Study Research Team. Labor Problems in Japan: Literature Study [Bunken Kenkyū: Nihon no Rōdō Mondai]. Tokyo: Sōgō Rōdō Kenkyūsho, 1971.

Marshall, T.H. Social Policy. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1978.

Matsuoka, Saburo. "What Is Labor Administration?" A review of All Ministry of Labour Employees Union, This Is Labor Administration (Tokyo: Labor Education Center, 1976). Labor Law Ten-Day Report. No. 909 (10 August, 1976).

Merton, Herbert C. "A Look at Factors Affecting the Quality of Working Life." Monthly Labor Review. Vol. 100, no.10 (Oct. 1977).

Miura, Fumio. Social Welfare Management(Introduction). Tokyo: Japan Council of Social Welfare, 1979.

Moorthy, M. V. Principles of Labour Welfare. Visakhapatnam(A.P.): Gupta Brothers(Books), 1968. Quoted in United Nations, Industrial Social Welfare, 1971.

Morita, Akira. Opinions for the Interim Report of Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Administration Advisory Council Labor Policy Sectional Meetings[Tokyo-to rōsei-shingikai rōsei-shisaku-bukai no chūkan-hōkoku ni atattenō ikenshō]. 23 June 1988.

Musashino Chamber of Commerce. Labor Conditions & Occupational Welfare in Musashino District. 1987.

Nakamura, Y.; Satō, S.; Ogura, G.; Ichibangase, Y.; and Miura, F., ed. Course: Social Welfare. 10 Vols. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1982. Vol. 3: Social Welfare Policy edited by Fumio Miura & Masao Mitomo.

Nishimura, Hiromichi. Workers Welfare[Rōdōsha Fukushi Ron]. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1973.

_____. Occupational Welfare Today [Gendai no Rōdō Fukushi]. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1980.

Ōkochi, Kazuo & Azuma, Mitsutoshi, ed. Labor Cyclopaedia[Rōdō Jiten]. Tokyo: Shōrin Shoin Shinsha, 1975.

Ono, Akira and Minami, Ryōshin, ed. Labor Economics. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1972.

Ono, Akira et al. Labor Economics. Tokyo: Sōgō Rōdō Kenkyūsho, 1981.

Reynolds, Lloyd G. Labor Economics and Labor Relations. 6th edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Roethlisberger, F.J. and Dickson, W.J.. Management and the Worker. 1939.

Root, Lawrence S. Fringe Benefits: Social Insurance in the Steel Industry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1982.

Shiraishi, Eiji. "International Comparison of Unemployment Concepts." Monthly Labour Statistics & Research Bulletin. March 1982.

Sloane Arthur A. and Witney, Fred. Labor Relations. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977.

Soeda, Yoshiya. "Social Welfare Research." In Social Research Method, p.275. Edited by Fukutake & Matsubara. Tokyo: Yūhikaku, 1970.

Sohyo, et al. Labor Movement and Welfare Activities. A pamphlet. January 1960.

Sumiya, Mikio. Theory of Labor Economics. Tokyo: Tokyo Univ. Press, 1976.

Thayer, Richard. "Problem Analysis: Alternative Measures of Needs Assessment---Measuring Need in the Social Services."

Tilove, Robert. "Pensions, Health and Welfare Plans." Quoted in Lloyd Ulman, ed., Challenges to Collective Bargaining, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967.

Titmuss, Richard M. "The Social Division of Welfare; Some Reflections on the Search for Equity." Essays on "The Welfare State". 2nd ed. London: Unwin University Books, 1963.

_____. "The Role of Redistribution in Social Policy." Commitment to Welfare. 2nd ed. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1976.

Tokai Bank. Survey on Educational Expenses for Children. March 1986.

Tsunoda, Yutaka, ed. Workers' Welfare[Rōdōsha Fukushi]. Tokyo: Shiseido, 1974.

Tsuru, Shigeto and Sabashi, Shigeru. Quality Life. Tokyo: Kōbundo, 1983.

Walton, R. "Need, a central concept." Social Service Quarterly. 1969.

Wilensky, H. L. and Lebeaux, C. N. Industrial Society and Social Welfare. 1958.

Zensen Domei. Situation and Workers' Consciousness in Bording-Out Industry [Gaishoku Sangyō no Jittai to Rōdōsha Ishiki]. 1985.

2. Public Documents

(1) Japanese Governments

Gunma Prefecture. Survey on the Consciousness of Middle- & Old- Workers [Chūkōnen rōdōsha ishiki chōsa]. 1984.

Management & Coordination Agency. Japan Standard Industry Classification.

_____. Japan Standard Occupation Classification.

Management & Coordination Agency. Bureau of Statistics. 1980 census. Vol. 2.

_____. Employment Structure Survey [Shūgyō Kōzō Kihon Chōsa]. 1982 ed.

_____. Employment Structure in Japan [Nihon no Shūgyō Kōzō]. 1982 ed.

_____. The Summary of Results: 1983 Housing Survey of Japan Prompt Report.

_____. 1983 Housing Survey of Japan.

_____. Family Income and Expenditure Survey. 1984 ed.

_____. Monthly Report of Retail Prices: Consumer Price Index. 1984 ed.

_____. Labour Force Survey Annual Report. 1984 ed. and 1985 ed.

_____. Labour Force Survey Special Survey. February 1985.

_____. Family Saving Survey. 1985 ed.

_____. Japanese Population by Town & Village, City & Ward, and Prefecture [Zenkoku todōfuken shiku chōson betsu jinkō]. 1985 Census Preliminary Report. December 1985.

Management & Coordination Agency. Bureau of Statistics, ed. Employment Situation of Population & Industrial Structure [Jinkō no Shūgyō-jōtai to Sangyō-Kōsei]. 1980 Census Monograph Series no. 4. 1983.

Ministry of Construction. Housing Demand Situation Survey [Jūtaku Juyō Jittai Chōsa]. 1984 ed.

_____. The Fourth Housing Construction 5-Year Plan.

Ministry of Education, F.Y.1984 Educational Expense Survey.

_____. Students' Life Survey, 1984.

_____. Supplemental School Survey [Gakushū-juku Chōsa]. F.Y. 1985 ed.

_____. Education Statistics Handbook [Monbu tōkei yōran].

Ministry of Labour. The Story of Labour Administration [Rōdō-gyōsei no hanashi]. Domestic & Foreign Labour Series No.1. 1949.

_____. The Analysis of Labour Economy. [Annual Labour White Paper]. 1960s, early 1970s, 1975 and 1984 eds.

_____. Summer Holidays System Survey [Kaki Kyūka Seido Jittai Chōsa]. 1980.

_____. Work Environment Survey. 1981.

_____. Survey on Workers' Health Conditions. 1982.

_____. Workers' Welfare Facilities and Programs Survey [Rōdōsha Fukushi Shisetsu Seido Tō Chōsa]. 1983 ed.

_____. Employment Survey of Older Workers [Kōrei-sha Shūgyō Jittai Chōsa] (1983).

_____. General Survey on Wages and Working Hours System [Chingin Rōdōjikan Seido Sōgō Chōsa]. 1983, 1984 and 1985 eds.

_____. Labour Statistics & Research Monthly [Rōdō tōkei chōsa geppō]. Vol.36, no.11 (November 1984).

- _____. Survey on Employment Trend, 1984.
- _____. Basic Survey on Wage Structure, 1984.
- _____. Monthly Labour Survey [Maigetsu Kinrō Tōkei Chōsa]. 1985 ed.
- _____. Guidebook to Labor Problems [Rōdō Mondai no Shiori]. 1985 ed. and 1987 ed.
- _____. 1985 Employment Management Survey [Koyō-kanri Chōsa].
- _____. Ministry of Labour. Bureau of Employment Security. Report on Employment Service.

Ministry of Labour. Director of Labour Policy Bureau. "Re: The Promotion of Prefectural Labour Policy Administration." A circular notice, addressed to governors of prefectures. (Rō-hatsu no.5, Jan. 21, 1986).

Ministry of Labour. Labour Standard Bureau. The Result of Inspections Under Labour Standards Act, etc. [Rōdō Kijun-hō tō ni motozuku Kantoku Gyōmu Jisshi Jōkyō].

- _____. The Fatal & Injured Report.
- _____. Survey on Industrial Injuries.
- _____. Occupational Diseases Data.
- _____. Pneumoconiosis Health Check Results.
- _____. "Concerning the Conduct of Labour Standards Administration, 1985."

Ministry of Labour. Labour Market Center. Employment-separation Survey of Newly School Graduates [Shinki gakkō sotsugyō shūshu' no shūshoku-rishoku jōkyō chōsa kekka]. March 1975, 77 and 78.

Ministry of Welfare. The 40th Revised Welfare Benefits Standard Table. April 1984.

Ministry of Welfare, ed. Welfare White Paper [Kōsei Hakusho]. 1984 ed.

Ministry of Welfare. Institute for Population Research. Population Statistics Materials [Jinkō tōkei shiryō-shu]. 1983 ed.

- _____. Predicted Future Population in Japan.
- _____. 1985 Complete Life Table [Kanzen Seimei-hyō].

National Tax Administration. Wages/Salaries in Private Firms, from taxation statistics [Zeimu-tōkei kara mita Minkan Kyūyo no Jittai]. 1984 ed. and 1985 ed.

Social Insurance Agency, ed. Annual Report [Jigyō Nenpō]. Tokyo: Social Insurance Asso., 1986.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Bureau of Labor Affairs. The Analysis of Labour Economy [Annual Labour White Paper]. 1960s and early 1970s editions.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs. Labor Conditions and Workers' & Managements' Consciousness in Smaller Manufacturing Enterprises in Tokyo, 1983.

_____. The Summary of Labor Consultations and Conciliations [Rōdō-sōdan oyobi Assen no Gaikyō]. F.Y. 1985 ed.

_____. Survey on Offered Starting Salaries for New Graduates, March 1986 [Shinki Gakkō Sotsugyo-sha Kyūjin Shoninkyū Chōsa].

_____. Wage & Retirement Allowance in Smaller Firms. 1986 ed.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Bureau of Labor & Economic Affairs. Summary of Policies and Programs [Jigyō gaiyō]. 1987.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Employee Personal Services Room. Let's Make a Workplace Worth Working: What is happening at your workplace-----now? 1986.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Institute of Environmental Pollution. Environmental Pollution and Tokyo [Kogai to Tokyo-to]. 1969.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Future Welfare Programs for Smaller Firm Workers in Tokyo [Tokyo-to ni okeru kongono chūshō-kigyō kinrōsha fukushi taisaku ni tsuite]. A Tokyo Metropolitan Government Labor Administration Advisory Council report. April 1983.

(2) Others

EC. Statistics Bureau. "Labor Costs Classification."

ILO. Canada's Concern for Workers' Welfare. April/June 1948.

_____. Official Bulletin. Vol. XXXIII, no. 1 (1 April 1950).

_____. Subject Guide to Publication of the ILO 1919-1964. Geneva: ILO, 1967.

_____. ILO Catalogue of Publication in Print 82.

_____. Improvements in the Quality of Working Life in Three Japanese Industries, edited by Shinichi Takezawa. Geneva: ILO, 1983.

_____. Year Book of Labour Statistics. 1983 ed.

_____. Quality of Working Life in International Perspective, by Yves Delamotte and Shinichi Takezawa. Geneva: ILO, 1984.

_____. Bulletin of Labour Statistics.

ILO. Asian Regional Conference, 1950. Provision of Facilities for Promotion of Workers Welfare. Report II.

ILO. Tripartite Technical Meeting on the Timber Industry. Conditions of Work and Workers' Welfare in Logging Camps. Geneva: ILO, 1958.

ILO. The Meeting of Experts on Welfare Facilities for Industrial Workers, 1964. Welfare Facilities for Workers in Industry in Asia.

ILO. 16th Board Meeting, 1967. "International Standard Classification of Labor Costs."

OECD. Labor Force Statistics. 1980 ed.

United Nations. The Aging of Population and its Economic and Social Implications. 1956.

_____. Report of the Interregional Seminar on Social Aspects of Industrialization. 1965.

_____. Precedings of the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare. 1969.

_____. Industrial Social Welfare. 1971.

_____. Report of the United Nations Interregional Seminar on Industrial Social Welfare. 1972.

_____. Demographic Indicators by Countries. 1981.

_____. Yearbook of Industrial Statistics.

U.S. Department of Labor. BLS. Employment & Earnings. January 1984.

_____. Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Firms.

_____. Handbook of Labor Statistics.

_____. International Comparisons of Unemployment.

(3) Dictionary

Contemporary Social Welfare Cyclopaedia. Tokyo: Japan Council of Social Welfare, 1982.

Japanese-English Dictionary of Current Terms [Saishin Nichibei Hyōgen Jiten]. Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1984.

Handbook of Social Welfare Terms. Tokyo: Nihon Bunka Kagaku-sha, 1978.

Osaka City University. Institute of Economics. Dictionary of Economics. Tokyo: Iwanami, 1965.

Social Welfare Dictionary. Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1974.

Webster's Seventh New College Dictionary. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam, 1972.