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General Survey

Basic Survey on National Life, Ministry of Health & Welfare

Senior citizens' families totaled more than 5 million for the first time, and childless families accounted for 65 percent of all families, said the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) in its 1993 basic survey on national life. The average number of members per family dropped below 3 for the first time in 1992 and continued to slide to 2.96 in 1993. This shows that births continue to decline and that the aging of the population is progressing at an accelerating pace. Meanwhile, the average income per family stood at 6.478 million yen, registering a low year-on-year growth rate of 3.0 percent.

The survey, conducted in June and July 1993 through interviews, covered 50,000 families with 13,000 families covered in the income portion. National estimates were made for each item on the basis of survey results.

The total number of families in Japan was 41,826,000, which is 1.5 percent up from a year earlier. Of these, families comprised of senior citizens (a family of a male elderly person over 65 and a female elderly person over 60 alone, or a family of these elderly couples plus an unmarried child under 18) stood at 5,185,000, a 6.2 percent increase over the previous year. This shows that elderly families topped 5 million, 3.2 times the 1975 figure. In addition, families with one or more members over 65 represented 29.1 percent of the total. Of those 65 or older, 56.4 percent lived together with their children, down 12.6 percent points from the 69.0 percent recorded in the 1980 survey. The number of families without children under 18 who are unmarried also continues to rise, reaching 65.1 percent of all the families-1.76 times the 1975 figure.

The average per capita income stood at 6,478,000, yen an increase of 190,000yen over a year earlier. The income growth of 3.0 percent year-over-year was the second lowest, next only to the 1.5 percent recorded in 1987. The average income per elderly family was 3.171 million yen, a rise of 118,000yen over the previous year growing 3.9 percent from the year before. By income level, the largest share, or 16.7 percent of families of senior citizens had an income of 1-1.5 million yen. By the type of income, 1,714,000, yen or 54.1 percent, was from public pensions and annuities, followed by employment income, income from enterprise activity, income from farming and stock raising and income from domestic labor, which was 1.076 million yen, or 33.9 percent of all the income. Of elderly families receiving public pensions and annuities, 49.7 percent obtained their total income from public pensions.

New Minister of Labour

With the Inauguration of the Hata Cabinet on April 28, Mr. Kunio Hatoyama was appointed the new minister of labour. In accepting the post, he said "I would like to put myself in the position of working persons in order to realize a society in which they can find something to work for and feel happy and comfortable," thus outlining the philosophy of his program. Also, he showed the recognition that amidst the severe employment situation, "the government as a whole should work together to tackle employment issues."



Mr. Hatoyama, born in Tokyo in 1948, graduated from the University of Tokyo in 1972. Aspiring to be a statesman, he became an aid to then prime minister Kakuei Tanaka and later served as secretary to his father, Ichiro Hatoyama who was an Upper House member. In 1976, he was first elected to the House of Representatives and has since been reelected 6 times.

Mr. Hatoyama hails from a family of statesmen. His great-grandfather was speaker of the Lower House, his grandfather prime minister and his father foreign minister.

He has held such posts as parliamentary vice minister of the management and coordination agency, parliamentary vice minister of education and the head of the Lower House education committee. In 1991, he served as education minister in the administration of Kiichi Miyazawa. In May 1993, he left the Liberal Democratic Party and in January 1994, formed the parliamentary group Kaikaku no Kai together with four followers.

He is noted for his wide range of hobbies, including collecting of butterflies and cooking.
(Note from the editor: This article is written as of July, 1994.)

Working Conditions and the Labor Market

Recruiting Plans for New Grads for Fiscal 1995

In Japan, corporations recruit and employ particularly new school graduates as regular employees and these constitute the backbone of corporate society. The practice of hiring every year the bulk of employees as new school graduates, dubbed "new school graduates employment," is considered to be a major event for both students and businesses. The hiring of new school graduates means that employers recruit students graduating in March of the

following year. To recruit these prospective graduates, employers conduct various activities in the year before they graduate. On the other hand, students carry out their job-search activity in the same year while pursuing their studies. Normally, students receive promises of employment from the firm during the year and enter employment immediately after they leave school the following year.

The emerging trend in industrial circles is to reduce the number of new graduates to be hired in fiscal 1995. Hiring policies were also austere in fiscal 1994. The business daily, Nihon Keizai Shimbun (Japan Economic Journal), conducted questionnaire-based survey on recruiting plans for the year starting in April 1995 at major firms. The survey, conducted among 1,479 firms, of which 723 replied, showed new recruits will decrease by 18.1 percent, the fourth consecutive yearly decline and the first decline of this duration since statistics began in 1978. Also, hiring will show a two-digit drop for the third year in a row.

By educational background, new employment of junior-college and technical-college graduates will drop by 32.5 percent from a year earlier, and high-school graduate recruitment will decline by 24.3 percent. Both figures are double-digit declines for the second straight year. Meanwhile, the overall number of college-graduate recruits will dip 9.3 percent from the year before, showing a smaller drop than the 25.3 percent decline of a year earlier. The number of new recruits in technical fields will drop by 12.8 percent from the year before while hiring of those for administrative jobs will fall by 3.9 percent.

By industry, manufacturing firms will reduce college-graduate recruits by 13.8 percent, while non-manufacturing firms will make a 5.8 percent cut in new staff, showing a small decline from the previous year. Of 19 industries in the manufacturing sector, firms in 17, excluding office equipment and miscellaneous, will decrease the number of new recruits. Paper and pulp companies are going ahead with restructuring measures of themselves, such as mergers, and will make drastic reductions in hiring of new graduates. They will hire 30.9 percent fewer graduates than the year before. Nonferrous, other metal as well as of rubber manufacturers, dogged by structural recession, will also slash the number of new recruits. Nonferrous and other metal firms will employ 35.2 percent fewer graduates than last year while rubber manufacturers will hire 53.5 percent fewer. In the non-manufacturing sector (24 fields), meanwhile, companies in 9 types of businesses, including real estate and housing and communication, have decided to boost the number of new recruits by 5.6 percent from the previous year. Many firms, particularly major ones, such as automakers and electrical machinery makers, remain cautious in their recruiting plans for next spring. Their decision about recruitment in the coming months will possibly call for further reductions.

Another survey, conducted by Toyokeizai Shimposha among 2,110 stock exchange listed firms, found only 4.4 percent responding they will boost or slightly increase the number of new recruits. On the other hand, 20 percent said they will reduce new employment to some extent.

According to a questionnaire administered by the Mainichi Shimbun to presidents of 50 major corporations, 74 percent predicted employment condition for new graduates will "be severer." Thus the issue of job-hunting for new school graduates seems to be increasingly serious.

Human Resources Management

1994 White Paper on Industrial Relations

In March, Japan Productivity Center for Socioeconomic Development, formerly the Japan productivity Center, headed by Mr. Masao Kamei, published its 1994 white paper on labor-management relations. Using economic data in the period from the first quarter of 1975 to the second quarter of 1993, the annual report analyzes the mechanism of recent employment fluctuations of white-collar workers. A one-percent decrease in real gross national product led to a 0.7 percent drop in the number of white-collar workers, which was equivalent to approximately 200,000 employees. The ongoing strengthening of the Japanese currency works to raise real hourly wages in dollar terms and lower the number of white-collar workers. Thus, estimates predict that a 20 percent rise of the yen shrinks the number of employees by 0.34 percent, or about 95,000.

The white paper analyzes that the recent 2 percent reduction in total hours actually worked brings on a 0.85 percent, or 240,000 rise in white-collar workers together with an increase in the number of part-timers. Shortening of work hours, however, also gives a boost to the rate of hourly wages, and thus a 2 percent cut in work hours slashes 10,000 white-collar jobs, bringing the net increase in the number of white-collar workers to 230,000.

From these three economic factors, it can be seen that economic fluctuations in the past year reduced the overall demand for white-collar workers by about 70,000 (based upon assumption of 20 percent yen appreciation).

Loss of 70,000 jobs for white-collar workers cannot stir a debate over "excess employment of white-collar workers," the annual report points out. In actuality, however, the high growth of over 5 percent during the bubble years increased demand for white-collar workers by about

1.2 million annually. The economic slowdown suddenly destroyed this situation, thus creating a social problem, the annual report stresses.

Meanwhile, according to the report's calculations, the number of white-collar workers with college degrees has been rising by about 840,000 (approximately 1.2 million college graduates as a whole) each year now that members of the second baby-boom generation are currently reaching job-search age. The increased supply of new labor further intensifies difficulty of graduates in finding jobs and thus fuels excess labor conditions, the annual report notes.

Demand for white-collar workers with college educations will only increase by 360,000 because of negative growth, a strong yen and the rise in real wages, and lack of demand for 500,000 white-collar workers has created unemployment and further redundancies, the annual report concludes.

Public Policy

Middle-aged & Older White-collar Workers Transferred to Firms Outside of Keiretsu

With the financial euphoria of the bubble years over, the nation's economy has been mired in a prolonged slump. In this process, Japanese corporations are implementing employment adjustment measures for workers, particularly middle-aged and older white-collar workers. In light of this situation, in May 1993 the government compiled a supplementary budget for "assistance in job separation and change of middle-aged and elderly white-collar workers" and "education and retraining of middle-aged and elderly white-collar workers." To draw up this specific plan, the Ministry of Labour launched the Group for Studying Revitalization of Middle-aged and Older White-collar Workers (Head: Akira Takanashi, professor emeritus of Shinshu University), a private panel to advise the director-general of the Employment Security Bureau. The Group recently released a report which includes measures to deal with employment problems of middle-aged and older white-collar workers.

With those engaged in managerial, clerical and professional and skilled jobs as well as those in sales work regarded as white-collar workers, the number of the nation's white-collar workers was only 16.3 million in 1973, accounting for 45.1 percent of all employees. However, the number rose to 28.0 million in 1993, making up 53.9 percent of the total. What is more, middle-aged and elderly (aged 45 and older) white-collar workers numbered 6.07 million accounting for 11.5 percent of all employees in 1973, but jumped to 12.2 million, or 18.3

percent of the total, in 1993. According to a survey, taken in November 1993 by the Industrial Employment Security Center, which shows surplus excess and shortages of white-collar workers by industry, over all the percentage of establishments replying that managers and clerical workers are "redundant" surpassed those answering "shortage." This is especially notable in manufacturing, wholesale and retail trades and eating and drinking places. Regarding those in professional and skilled jobs and in sales, in almost all industries the percentage answering "shortage" exceeded those replying "excess." Lack of white-collar workers was particularly strongly felt in construction, services and consumption-related businesses of the manufacturing sector. Meanwhile, many firms strongly feel redundancies exist among middle-aged and elderly white-collar workers but intend to keep them employed, by means of overtime reductions and postponement of new hiring, to effectively use the potential of these workers in the mid- and long-term perspective.

In view of this fact, the Group pointed out the following measure as necessary to secure future job opportunities for middle-aged and older white-collar workers. First, to revitalize in-house organization, it pointed out the need to foster *bona fide* specialists who are made available both within and outside the company and to clarify personnel- and ability-evaluation yardsticks. As external revitalization measures, the Group noted the need to study farming out workers to smaller subsidiaries outside of the keiretsu, or corporate groups, as well as transferring to affiliates within the keiretsu. Further, transferring of permanent domicile, or transfers based on the assumption that workers will change their permanent employment place of record in future years is also recommended. It thus pointed out the need for establishment of a prior-training system toward this end. In addition, the Group referred to the inauguration of a variety of know-how and a fund-aid systems for those who leave the company to start a business of their own and effective utilization of the temporary help service business. To implement these plans, the Industrial Employment Security Center points out the need to strengthen transfers to subsidiaries and other related firms outside of the keiretsu which have so far been implemented. It also emphasized the need to join in cooperation with the "Lifelong Ability Development Center," which will also be launched, to effectively carry out these activities.

Special Topic

Will the Union for Middle Management Expand?

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1. Why the Debate on Unionization of Middle Managers?

Amid the prolonged recession which began in 1991, the issue of "a labor union for middle management" has emerged. The following three points may be cited as factors behind the abrupt appearance of unions of middle managers.

First, the current recession has prompted personnel adjustments, and many middle-aged and elderly workers, those in managerial positions in particular, have been shed. They are no longer privileged members of corporate society. They are either the first to be driven out of the company or will be in the same boat as other rank-and file workers. They will likely face deteriorating working conditions. If so, should they not form labor unions for themselves to defend their own interests?

Second, there has been constant talk of future trends of middle managers. With labor organizations shifting their structure away from the pyramidal type and toward the network type, it is predicted that the number of middle management positions will decline and that their role to be played in corporate society will undergo change. Is there not the need for them to defend their interests as experts on business management by uniting and organizing themselves?

The third point runs counter to the second one. The ranks of middle management have fattened in recent years, particularly in big businesses. With employees aging, attempts at offering them posts with adequate titles resulted in excess nominal middle-management staff. Can this situation be left alone as a factor likely to reduce the significance and role of labor unions?

This paper first introduces the traditional mode and concept of labor unions for middle managers, then confirms what changes have occurred in recent years and last predicts how they will develop in the not-too-distant future.

2. Why Have Middle Managers Remained Unorganized?

The labor union movement developed rapidly after WW II. As a form of organization, labor unions adopted ways of organizing regular employees in the workplace en masse, regardless of job type and position. The period from the 1940s to the 1950s witnessed many cases in which young section chiefs, who would become mainstays of the workplace as middle managers, were also active as union leaders. It was no wonder that the leader of workplace, who was highly capable, with a strong sense of justice and popular amongst fellow workers, would also display leadership within the enterprise-based union organization. Naturally,

however, the companies discouraged midlevel managers' participation with labor and against the top executives. This is because middle managers are primarily to work in the interests of enterprises. Labor and management thus scrambled for human resources to be their officers.

This problem, however, was overcome as enterprise-based unions matured. The collective agreement between labor and management defined the scope of organizable workers and whose actions resulted in strife between labor and management. In consequence, at present many unions have agreements or practices which more or less restrain the right to unionize those in managerial positions, such as section chiefs and above, together with the secretary to the president, staff members of personnel departments and security guards. (Note 1).

Japan's enterprise-based unions hardly organize non-regular employees who will likely come into and out of the external labor market (When they did organize non-regular employees, they first tended to put them on the regular-staff payrolls.); nor do they organize even those regular employees qualified to be unionized who are within the internal labor market, after they have been promoted to a certain level.

What, then, is the problem with managers joining enterprise-based labor unions?

One problem is that labor and management do not agree on their interests. Fears are strong that in the labor union, managers who represent the viewpoint of the employer, once admitted to be union members, would most likely ruin the autonomy of the unions. In administering the labor union, those in managerial posts and those in general regular posts sometimes have different interests. Conflicting interests will make the union's policy determination a complicated and difficult process. The employer, for his part, did not like the idea of managers, whom they want to work in the company's interest, joining a labor union.

Second, the number of managers was, once, not so large in the pyramid-type organization, and the union did not feel that organizing managers was a "must" to secure membership fees and union members alike. In terms of leadership, those talented workers who got off the elite track often became active as union officials.

Third, we must take into account the effects of provisions specified in the Trade Union Law (TUL). The present Law, enacted in 1949, when industrial relations were construed as "confrontations between labor and management," defines labor unions as "those organizations, or federations thereof, formed autonomously and composed mainly of the workers..." (Article 2). In addition, the Law does not recognize as labor unions those organizations "which admit to membership officers; workers in supervisory positions having direct authority with respect

to hiring, firing, promotion or transfers; workers in supervisory positions having access to confidential information relating to the employer's labour relations plans and policies so that their official duties and responsibilities directly conflict with their loyalty and responsibilities as members of the trade union concerned; and other persons who represent the interests of the employer." (Article 2(1))

As we have seen, the way that both sides think, administration of the labor union and legal provisions went hand in hand in keeping managers at a distance from the labor union. What is more, features of the labor union were widely believed to be alien to managers. The principle of equality and groupism does not fit well with those managers trying to make their way up to the corporate ladder to the executive suite. Managers who deem themselves better-treated than general workers in terms of working conditions, authority and rank do not want to put themselves back amongst organized labor.

3. Recent Changes and Reasons for them

Many enterprises do not consider those employees that are section chiefs and above eligible for union membership. In these enterprises where the seniority-based promotion is observable, those employees deemed to have reached a certain level of ability are promoted with their seniority as one of the important indicators. The natural consequence is that they are promoted to the post of section chief before they reach the 35-45 age bracket and leave the labor union (Note 2). In short, the labor union comprised primarily of employees aged 40 and under, with this age as the divide which represents their interests.

When the economy goes into a slump, enterprises are tempted to retrench through labor-adjustment moves amongst middle-aged and older managers rather than amongst young employees. Middle managers are no longer young. They are less adaptable to change and are costly. Also, they are not in a position to negotiate from strength. On the other hand, young employees are highly flexible, can be entrusted with the future of the company and are relatively low cost labor. In addition, they are difficult to fire because they are labor union members. Many young employees secretly harbor animosity toward middle-aged and older employees who are highly paid relative to their contribution to the company and who hamper young employees' promotion. This subtly affects the way labor unions respond to management (Note 3).

Thus, middle management staff find it difficult to expect preferential treatment from the company and to keep their interests in person. Yet they cannot rely on existing enterprise-based labor unions and so, some midlevel managers join trans-corporate labor unions to try to secure their own rights and interests (Note 4). But these labor unions are so

small in size as to be virtually nonexistent. They are totally different from labor unions for middle management found in Western nations.

On the other hand, what has recently drawn much attention is the policy of uniting and organizing managers at enterprise-based labor unions of major firms. They are setting forth plans to unionize those who are in fact without any subordinates but who are treated as managers and lower-echelon managers (Note 5). These plans are intended to respond adequately to the problems of middle managers and to the changing environment surrounding them, thus ensuring their interests can be protected. At the same time, this move is intended to put brakes on the declining unionization rate and to secure the influence of labor unions.

How about the employer's stance? In firms, the section constitutes the basic unit of bottom-up management, which the chief manages. Accordingly, few employers, it seems, allow the section chief to be involved in labor unions. Furthermore, employers strongly wish to be given a free hand in personnel administration, unaffected by labor unions as practical as possible. Thus, it seems that they are not happy about the idea of even nominal managers without subordinates joining the labor union. Organizing these managers will depend on how labor-management consultations and negotiations will progress.

Organizing nominal managers without subordinates poses practically no legal problems (Note 6). What is more, there is little danger that employers will intervene in middle management unions through corporate hierarchy, if they are composed only of managers who are at almost the same level (section chiefs alone, for instance) and have none of their subordinates (general employees, etc) nor their superiors (division chiefs). Thus, they could be considered to be eligible for labor union participation in the context of the norm and spirit and the letter of the TUL. Even though it will be difficult to legally obligate employers to bargain collectively and to ensure normative force to collective agreements, and, in addition, it is dubious whether going on strikes would be justifiable, the door is always kept open to formation of an association of managers outside the labor legislation (Freedom of assembly and associations in Article 21 of the Constitution of Japan).

4. A Bright Day Ahead for Middle Management Unionization?

As can be seen, the possibility is that a certain of nominal managers, particularly at the lower-echelon, will become union members depending on how labor-management relations progress. They find themselves little hindrance from the TUL to organize. They will be able to proceed to unionize especially if subject to union shop agreements. With the landscape surrounding middle-aged and older managers becoming bleaker, this will likely be a

harbinger of substantial change.

Even so, it is quite doubtful whether unionization of middle managers will expand smoothly. First, employers will resist to such a move. Second, there is little hope that unions of middle managers, if they are of the regional type, will grow into big organizations since a transverse job market for middle management has yet to be formed. Third, the union for middle managers as an enterprise-based organization consists of those with high educational attainment who tend to be individualistic, career-oriented and choosy about work. They feel incompatible with the labor movement, and it is skeptical whether they will willingly unite and organize. Sometimes they are even conscious status wise about becoming managers and being no longer unionists. It is thus predicted that targeted managers will oppose or show indifference toward the move to form a union for managers. Fourth, very often enterprises already have an organization of middle managers alone (a social gathering in most cases) (Note 7). Accordingly, it is not easy for a union of middle managers to grow into a large and effective organization, while at the same time competing with the existing type of gathering.

No moves have yet to emerge to clarify the legal status of unions of middle management through legislation. Moreover, the current TUL does not work outright against formation of unions of middle managers. If ever the move to unite and organize middle management staff progresses legally, it is more probable that the employee-representation system (labor-management consultation system) might be legislated in some form or another, with representatives of middle managers taking part.

Thus, future prospects are that through labor-management negotiations, a segment of nominal managers will be organized as members of enterprise-based unions by becoming professionals or specialists rather than managers that lower-echelon managers will be treated as union members in terms of job content. Judging from the negative stance adopted by managers, however, it is unlikely that the move will become a powerful force. Regional unions of middle management will also unlikely be universal or large unless structural changes take place in the labor market. Even though the scope of membership for enterprise-based unions does expand, it seems highly likely that regional unions of middle managers will end up being a passing phenomenon due to such cyclical causes as the recession, for instance.

Notes

- 1) These agreements, the content of which should essentially be drawn up independently by the labor unions, serve to determine the scope of application of the union shop system adopted by many firms. In practice as well, they serve to determine the eligibility of middle management to be unionists.
- 2) According to a National Personnel Authority survey on the realities of wages at private firms (1993), the average age of middle managers is 51.1 for clerical division managers, 49.8 for branch managers, 46.1 for clerical section managers, 42.8 for deputy clerical section managers, 40.7 for clerical chiefs and 29.4 for clerks. This shows that job statuses are, as a general, allocated according to age.
- 3) Take Honda Motor Corp's adoption of an age-limit to the tenure-of-office system for executives and

managers, for instance. The company's labor union and employees aged around 30 reportedly welcomed the news (March 19, 1994 issue of Nihon Keizai Shimbun and March 19, 1994 issue of Nikkei Sangyo Shimbun). Furthermore, according to a survey of attitudes of new recruits conducted by Sakura Bank Sogo Kenkyujo (covering 1,512 new recruits at 466 firms in March-April 1994-July 6, 1994 issue of Nihon Keizai Shimbun), 67.8 percent of new male recruits and 58.5 percent of females replied that labor adjustments (such as dismissal) especially targeted at middle-aged and elderly workers were "natural" or "inevitable."

- 4) Well-known examples are: the CSU (Cemedine Supervisory Union) Forum organized by about 20 managers of Cemedine, a maker of adhesives, and the Tokyo Management Union (71 managers) affiliates with the Tokyo Labour Union of Zenkoku Ippan. In January 1994 the former union, which the employer refused to bargain collectively with, raised complaints of unfair labor practices.
- 5) Denki-rengo (Japanese Electrical Electronic & Information Unions) is moving toward organization of middle managers. Also, a federation of labor unions at Nippon Steel (about 43,000 members), an enterprise-based organization, set forth a policy of organizing a part of the company's middle managers (about 6,000 persons). At Nippon Steel, on-site and above and white-collar chiefs and above (with college education; in late 20s and above) are now non-unionists but the union is calling for organizing them.
- 6) There has been a case in which a union for middle management was recognized as a labor union (Aomori Local Labour Relations Commission, December 1984). But in many cases, unions prudently treated managers as non-unionists in applications for qualification of a union (As example, umpires of the Pacific League, one of Japan's two professional baseball leagues, created a professional baseball umpire branch of Solidarity Labor Union and applied to the Metropolitan Local Labour Relations Commission to act as a conciliator for collective bargaining. The union itself excluded chief umpires from its members (December 17 morning issue of the Asahi Shimbun).
- 7) For instance, a social gathering of 365 middle managers recently decided to support the merger of their bank at a general meeting (June 5 morning issue of Nikkei Shimbun). As shown in the case, more often than not middle managers speak up when confronted with serious corporate management conditions.

Japan Labor Bulletin participates, along with several foreign labor law journals, in a consortium for the exchange and publication of international labor law materials. The other members of the consortium are:

Australian Journal of Labour Law, North Ryde, Australia

Arbeit und Recht, Kassel, Germany

Comparative Labor Law Journal, Pennsylvania, the U.S.

Industrial Law Journal, Oxford, England

International Journal of Comparative Labour and Industrial Relations,
Leicester, England

Lavoro e Diritto, Bologna, Italy

Relaciones Laborales, Madrid, Spain

Revue Internationale de Droit Comparé, Paris, France

Travail et Emploi, Paris, France

Statistical Aspects

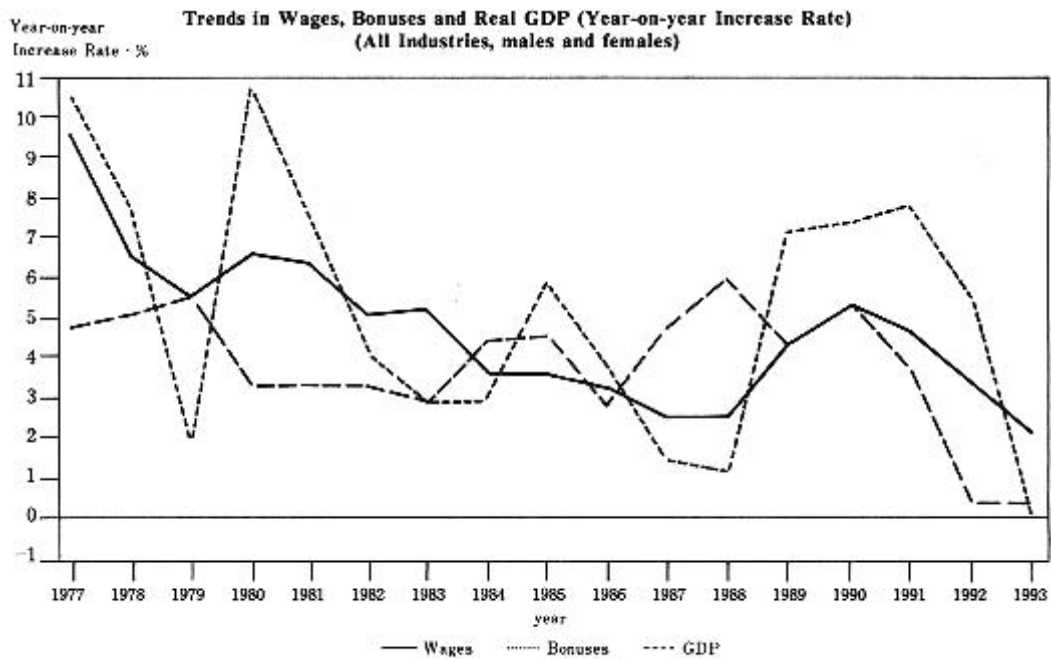
Recent Labor Economy Indices

	March 1994	February 1994	Change from previous year
Labor force	6,573 (10 thousand)	6,497 (10 thousand)	51 (10 thousand)
Employed	6,365	6,302	10
Employees	5,189	5,152	47
Unemployed	190	191	40
Unemployment rate	2.9%	2.9%	0.6
Active opening rate	0.66	0.65	-0.20
Total hours worked	160.4 (hours)	157.0 (hours)	-1.5*
Total wages of regular employees	(¥thousand) 274.9	(¥thousand) 272.9	2.2*

Source: Management and Coordination Agency, Ministry of Labour.

Notes: 1. *denotes annual percent change.

2. From February 1991, data of "Total hours worked" and "Total wages of regular employees" are for firms with 5 to 30 employees.



Source: Economic Planning Agency

Ministry of Labour, *Basic Salary on Wage Structure* for each year

Note: Represents year-on-year rate of increase for annual average wages and bonuses (all industries, all sizes, all educational levels, males and females) (part-timers excluded)